Identity, Religion and Empire:

the Civic Coins of Roman Phoenicia

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Abstract

This thesis will examine the role that religious imagery on civic coinage played in the expression of identities and religious mentality in Roman Phoenicia. This medium comprised low-value bronze currency, which was produced by individual cities for primarily local use. Their reverses preserve a vast corpus of imagery but, despite this repository of visual evidence, there are only a few studies that engage with the material and none that focus solely on Phoenicia. When working with numismatic evidence there has been a tendency either to accept the images shown as completely realistic, or to reject the informative potential of designs outright. This approach aims to seek a middle ground between these extremes: to accept the limitations and challenges of numismatic material, but also to demonstrate its validity as a resource.

The aim of this thesis is to collate religious types – images of deities and sacred architecture – from a range of cities, to ask what they can reveal about how these cities wished to represent themselves to both inter- and intra-communal audiences, and how the communicative potential of coin reverses were exploited. In addition to using civic coins to explore identities on a local level, this thesis will also ask to what extent their designs interacted with the concept of a provincial Phoenician identity. It will also explore the impact of Roman authority and cultural influences, to examine what it meant to be Phoenician during the Roman period.

Chapter One will conduct a survey of prior approaches to cultural exchange and interaction will be undertaken, and the methodology will be established. Chapter Two will address the practical function of civic coinage – how it looked, how it was produced, how it circulated – as well as exploring how previous studies have handled coin types as evidence. The following two chapters will divide the numismatic material into representations of deities and temples before being thoroughly analysed to ask what messages they can reveal. The final chapter will apply the findings of previous chapters to the city goddess Tyche, to

examine her role in representing the city on coin types, and assess the wider implications

for civic coins in terms of local, provincial and imperial identities.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

Ancient texts are cited according to the abbreviations listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (fourth edition). Entries that are not included in this work are replicated in full, with the exception of the following commonly used references:

Referred to as:	In bibliography as:
Babelon	Babelon (1893)
BMC	Hill (1910)
BMC Pal.	Hill (1914)
BMC Syr.	Wroth (1899)
Lindgren	Lindgren and Kovacs (1985)
Lindgren III	Lindgren (1993)
Meshorer	Meshorer (1985)
RIC IVa	Mattingly *et al* (1936)
Righetti	Righetti (2006)
Ros. I.	Rosenberger (1972)
Ros. II.	Rosenberger (1975)
RRC	Crawford (1974)
RPC 1	Burnett *et al.* (1992)
Sawaya	Sawaya (2009)
SNG Bern	Kapossy (1993)
SNG Cop.	Breitenstein (1982)
SNG Fitz.	Robinson (1971)
SNG Hunt.	Goddard (2007)

Coin References

Unless specified otherwise, all BMC references refer to the city under discussion.

References listed in **bold** refer to the catalogue numbers established in the appendix.

Figure 6.2a: Reverse of Heliopolis Tyche bust, Heliopolis AD 244-249.

Figure 6.2b: Reverse of Heliopolis Tyche bust, Heliopolis AD 253-268.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Thesis context

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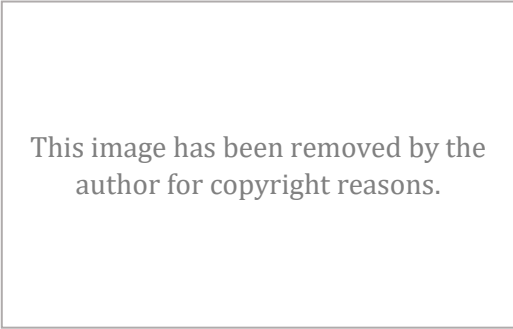
Figure 1.1: Bronze coin issued by Byblos, under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 27.9mm, 16.66g. BMC 51.

Observe this bronze coin from Byblos. Consider the unlikelihood of its survival over millennia, and its now obscure journey from an unknown location, presumably somewhere along the Phoenician coast or Lebanon ranges, to the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals. We can date it to between AD 218 and 222 by the labelled depiction of Elagabalus [ΑΥΚ ΜΑVΡ ΑΝΤωΝΙΝΟC] on the obverse, and the inscription on the reverse identifies it as being struck by the city of Byblos [ΙΕΡΑC ΒVΒΛΟV]. To be able to identify a visual artefact with securely known geographical and chronological parameters is an advantage not frequently enjoyed by those working in the discipline of visual and material antiquity.[1] Now consider the overall visual impact of this object. Its form and function are immediately recognisable, having remained largely unchanged since the economic reforms of Croesus of Sardis in the sixth century BC.[2] Think about its purpose. This is an object that would have jangled around in someone's purse before being handed over for low cost

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[1] For limitations of the epistemology of classical archaeology, see Smith (2002) 74-77.
[2] For the original function of coinage antedating this point, see Price (1983) 1-10, especially 7-8.

goods, perhaps grain or bread. It might have been treasured, or carelessly dropped, rolling away into the street. Its shape and its weight are familiar to a modern viewer, as is the metallic scent that it would leave on your hands upon handling it. The representation of the emperor's head on the obverse does not provoke much comment as, even today, many of us are accustomed to seeing our ruler's portrait on currency every day. Even at first glance, we *know* this object; we understand its purpose and function. But the reverse is not the symbol or crest that we would typically expect. This coin portrays a strange building, with an unfamiliar character – a goddess? a statue? – housed within. The goddess, identified as Tyche, who represented the citizen body and city of Byblos, is housed within an elaborate building, presumably also from Byblos. The typically more abstract symbols that appear on British coins today – flowers, royal symbols, crests and badges – are designed to apply to the entire country, in contrast to the adaptation of specific local landmarks designed to appeal to one community.

The focus of this thesis will be the reverse types issued by the coastal cities of Roman Phoenicia during the first three centuries AD. As will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, religious practice is often considered an aspect of community that most clearly reflected social attitudes and practices, and so it will be religious imagery that forms the criteria by which evidence will be selected and analysed.[3] This is not to suggest that the obverse was not also an important communicative political tool but, for Phoenician coinage, it was the reverse that possessed the potential for more complex and nuanced designs, hence the emphasis on reverse types over the obverse.[4] In collating and analysing a variety of visual and material evidence, this thesis will also explore whether these coin types reveal

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[3] Mattingly (2014) 46.
[4] For more detailed discussion of the communicative value of obverse and reverse types, see 2.2.2.

any engagement with a wider sense of provincial identity, as well as how these cities reacted and interacted with Roman authority.

It is necessary to unpack this rather broad statement before continuing, by setting out the exact parameters for this study. The cities that will serve as the primary geographic focus comprise Aradus, Tripolis, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre and Ptolemais. At times, I shall also discuss the coinages of other cities, such as Caesarea ad Libanum, Orthosia, Heliopolis and Botrys, which may be less well-attested or located further inland. These coastal cities, some of which had their own natural harbours, faced out onto the Mediterranean Sea, and were backed almost immediately by the foothills of Mount Lebanon behind (fig. 1.2). These coastal cities are typically considered by modern scholars to be culturally distinct from the inland cities of northern Syria.[5] The concept of this separate character has survived to the present day, where some in modern Lebanon evoked ancient Phoenicia to justify and legitimise a separate nation with a collective identity and shared cultural past.[6] The definition of this region as Phoenicia also requires additional clarification. Although the province of Syria Phoenice was only established under Septimius Severus in AD 194, the term 'Phoenicia' will apply to this region, encompassing the coastal strip and Mount Lebanon, and the Anti-Lebanon behind. Although it may be seen to be anachronistic to apply political borders retrospectively, the coastal strip of Lebanon had been considered as Phoenician by both Greek and Roman sources since the writings of Herodotus, whereas the position of the inland boundary of Phoenicia has always been rather ambiguous.[7]

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[5] Sartre (1991) 336.
[6] Quinn (2018) 3-25, especially 3-12.
[7] Hdt. 7.89; Strabo 16.2.21; Plin. *HN* 5.66-67; Millar (1993) 296; Grainger (1991) 12.

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Figure 1.2: Map of Phoenicia during the Roman period. Adapted from Aliquot (2009) fig. 1.

The chronological parameters of this study lie between the foundation of the *colonia* at Berytus in 15 BC and the last issues of civic coinage, which date from Tyre and were issued under the sole rule of Gallienus (AD 260-268). The *colonia* at Berytus established the settlement of the veterans of two Roman legions, the *legio V Macedonica* and *legio VIII Gallica*, and resulted in the city being granted *ius italicum*, which essentially converted the city into Italian land. The foundation of *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus* in the centre of the Phoenician coastal strip must have sent social, political, cultural and religious shock waves across the region, and established the permanent introduction of what was initially a 'Roman' settlement, populated by Roman veterans, who brought their religions and cultural practices with them. The impact of and response to this new cultural influence will be measured on civic coins from the region, to assess how cities responded to Roman political authority, which the *colonia* at Berytus must have made much more immediate. Under Roman rule, Eastern cities were responsible for the funding and production of bronze coinages, a practice that typically antedated the Roman annexation of these provinces and was probably overseen by a magistrate or *boulē*.[8] The cessation of civic issues remains largely unexplained. Some have concluded that the changing political state of the Roman Empire meant that the value of bronze became greater than the value of the coins themselves, or that the plentiful supply of radiates rendered civic coinages unnecessary.[9]

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[8] Katsari (2011) 210-211.
[9] Hendin (2010) 59; Butcher (1988) 20-22.

1.2 Prior approaches

The questions surrounding the process(es) of cultural change and the impact of Roman imperialism on local identities have been some of the most hotly debated in classical scholarship and archaeology. As a result of our focus on how communities elected to publically express their civic identity, presumably both internally and to others, we must acknowledge that a significant extent of this would have been affected by how they responded to and interacted with Roman political authority. To understand more thoroughly how provincial cities perceived Roman control and new cultural influences, this thesis will utilise previous scholarly research to examine how the question of cultural exchange and influences has been approached. From this foundation it will be possible to highlight how these publications have influenced this thesis, and how it will develop and apply their findings.

1.2.1 Romanisation

One of the most significant theories concerned with cultural influence is the contentious theories surrounding 'Romanisation'. The development and reception of this theory has been thoroughly analysed at length elsewhere, and thus it is not the current intention to recapitulate the entire development and arguable subsequent collapse of Romanisation as a theoretical approach, but rather to briefly summarise a few salient points.[10] Although the theory is most commonly used in relation to Rome's relationship with the western empire, discussion surrounding the model highlights the methodological concerns associated with the exchange of cultural influences, and has influenced a vast array of subsequent studies into provincial identities. Although scholarly thought has developed from this approach, its

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[10] Mattingly (2004) 5-8; Gardner (2013) 1-6; Webster (2010) 210-217.

significance and impact on how we perceive the effects of Roman control in the provinces must be acknowledged.

The Romanisation model was first proposed and outlined by Francis Haverfield (1923), and it has persisted in being one of the more pervasive discussions of cultural influence between Rome and the provinces. Haverfield considered the conquest and acquisition of provinces by the Empire as a deliberate installation of superior Roman practices, with the intention of civilising their inhabitants with the intention of creating an 'orderly and coherent culture'.[11] This perception of the inherent superiority of Roman cultural practices and the barbarism of its conquered peoples reflects the contemporary attitudes of the British elite during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who celebrated the introduction of 'civilisation' to countries across the British Empire, the benefits of which were considered not only evident, but inexorable, by contemporary authors. Haverfield interpreted Roman control of the provinces as a protective force, sheltering those within its borders from the regions beyond where 'roared the wild chaos of barbarism', and painted the British colonialists as the natural successors of Rome, legitimising the British Empire and also emphasising their inherent cultural superiority.[12]

This cultural approach to colonial expansion has proved pervasive. In a similar fashion, the paradigm of 'Manifest Destiny' dominated American popular belief in the nineteenth century, which maintained that it was the divine right of the United States to expand westwards across America, and asserted that territorial expansion would spread 'progress and enlightenment' to indigenous peoples.[13] This view even had parallels in Imperial Rome

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[11] Haverfield (1923) 11.
[12] Haverfield (1923) 11.
[13] Greenberg (2005) 21.

itself; Pliny the Elder referred to Rome as chosen by the gods to 'gather the scattered realms and to soften their customs…and to give civilisation (*humanitas*) to mankind', a sentiment later echoed by Welsh-American missionary and journalist, Henry Morton Stanley.[14] Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1890) described the local people as 'still fixed deeply in barbarism' and, like Pliny, considered it Britain's divine responsibility to lead them out of the 'deplorable state they are now in'.[15] Thus, the concept that indigenous cultures benefited from imperial control served to ameliorate the realities of conquest for both colonial and post-colonial authors.

These interpretations are far too embedded within colonial attitudes to imperial conquest and expansion for modern scholarship to maintain and circulate the theory unaltered from its origins as set out by Haverfield, and subsequently the model has been qualified and softened into various forms over the decades, as its supporters sought to reconcile it to a post-colonial society. The theory was developed further by Millett in the 1990s, who argued that we must view the process of Romanisation as one of 'dialectical change' and not as the dominance of a superior culture over another, passive, one.[16] However, not all of the challenges of the Romanisation models are satisfactorily resolved. Millett perpetuates the top-down hierarchy of the traditional Romanisation model by further proposing the concept of 'progressive emulation', in which the lower classes of provincial societies would have actively emulated the elite and aspired to imitate Roman culture, which disseminated it throughout the region.[17] He does restore some agency to provincial peoples, arguing that the impetus behind the adoption of Roman practices should be viewed as 'locally driven rather than externally imposed'.[18] However, this approach still implies a recognition of the

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[14] Plin. *NH* 3.39.
[15] Stanley (1890) 31.
[16] Millett (1990a) 1.
[17] Millet (1999b) 38.
[18] Jones (1997) 34.

superiority of Roman culture over traditional practices, and is still focused on the elite, with those lower down the social hierarchy blindly emulating their 'betters'. MacMullen (2000) attempts to overcome this difficulty by endowing a (limited) sense of agency to local non-Romans by suggesting that they accepted the fact of Roman political authority, and decided to 'play the game by local rules' in order to get ahead.[19] Some aspects of this can be applied to Phoenicia, where the atmosphere of political competition saw cities vying for titles and benefactions, in order to outrank their neighbours and achieve recognition of their cultural heritage and status.[20]

In an attempt to move away from this 'top-down' view of cultural exchange, Hawkes (1999) pointed out that even if we do see the non-elite adopting Roman material culture, we cannot and should not assume that this is evidence that they actively sought a Roman identity, or even that they openly embraced Roman-style artefacts.[21] This potential ambiguity when working with material or visual evidence is taken up by Webster (2001), who strongly argues that Romanisation models are too deeply flawed to be of any use, and that we should instead turn to 'creolisation' as a new framework through which to grasp cultural change. Originally a linguistic term, creolisation has come to be more generally used to refer to the cultural negotiations and adjustments that were made between Creole societies to negotiate the impact of European colonists.[22] For the purpose of this thesis, the focus of creolisation on non-elites limits its application to Phoenician practices concerning coinage. The absence of any named individuals on Phoenician civic coinages suggests that it was perhaps the *boulē* who was responsible for their issue, or that an official was charged with overseeing coin production on behalf of the city, and we can assume that these offices must

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[19] MacMullen (2000) 5.
[20] Butcher (2003) 101.
[21] Hawkes (1999) 89.
[22] For a detailed summary, see Webster (2001) 217-219.

have comprised of individuals with fairly high status.[23] Unlike other aspects of material culture, which Webster argued may have been used in ways 'according to a different, indigenous, set of underlying rules', the function of coins is not under debate. Some Phoenician cities had been minting their own civic currencies for centuries before the Roman period of control, suggesting that they would have already been accustomed to negotiating new cultural influences via their coin types.[24] Creolisation emphasises how material culture is used to negotiate and adapt to new cultural influences, making it valuable for this thesis as it interrogates the visual evidence provided by civic coins to explore to what extent they were used to forge new social identities.

Overall, one of the most frequent objections to the more recent incarnations of Romanisation is its inability to satisfactorily capture the full complexity and diversity of cultural change. In only seeing how cultures were the same, we lose sight of the complexities and pluralities that characterise human society, both ancient and modern. Romanisation gives these processes the illusion of homogeneity and unity, which hinders any meaningful chance of understanding the variety of ways in which Roman culture interacted with those of the provinces. Additionally, the colonial baggage of Romanisation risks alienating a modern audience and, as Mattingly warns, has the potential to damage our subject.[25] The theory almost exclusively focuses on a narrow band at the upper end of the social spectrum, whereas creolisation arguably goes too far to the other extreme in focusing exclusively on the non-elite. Another difficulty is evidenced by Millett, who suggested that whilst elites adopted outward symbols of Roman culture to advance themselves politically, they also did so in acquiescence of its innate superiority to their own

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[23] Katsari (2011) 210-212.
[24] Webster (2011) 219.
[25] Mattingly (2014) 40. On post-colonial approaches, see Gosden (2012); van Dommelen (2011).

traditions.[26] This prioritisation of Roman practices is also characteristic of Woolf, where the elite recognised the benefits of the 'civilising process' and the political rewards that engagement with Roman imperialism entailed; a linguistic approach that inherently emphasises the superiority of Roman culture.[27]

This trickle-down effect of cultural practices to the non-elite is problematic, for if this emulation ceased, it is ascribed to covert resistance where Roman practices acted as a façade masking the continuance of local customs, known as the British nativist model (see below).[28] A final critique of Romanisation with particular weight for this thesis is that it does not apply well to the complexities of the varied cultural interactions played out in the east of the empire.[29] For Phoenicia, which had experienced centuries of Seleucid and Ptolemaic control, as well as the influence of local dynasts and client kings, the variety of cultural forces at work must have been considerable. To approach Phoenicia from the perspective of Romanisation is to lose sight of this cultural richness and to prioritise the influence of Rome above all else.

The repercussions of these studies for this thesis are limited by the primary focus on numismatic evidence, which effectively sidesteps some of the issues associated with the use of material culture to study cultural interaction and social identity. Unlike the ambiguously-used objects proposed by creolisation models, coins arguably bypass most of these complex and largely invisible cultural negotiations through their possession of a widely recognised purpose and function; to be traded for low-value goods or services. Even if some individuals may have interacted with them in unusual ways (saving particular types that had personal

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[26] It should be noted that Millett himself no longer uses the term, due its challenging heritage; 'I now tend not to use the term Romanisation partly because it has become too loaded with contested meanings to convey conveniently any neutral idea' Millett (2004) 169-170.
[27] Woolf (1998) 60-67; also Woolf (1994).
[28] Webster (2001) 216; Hawkes (1999) 89.
[29] Mattingly (2014) 40.

meaning for them, for example), it seems fair to hypothesise that people who handled these coins would have used them in broadly similar ways. Coin evidence also allows us to circumnavigate one of the main issues with Romanisation models, namely its emphasis on elites and elite culture. These bronze coins were one of the lowest financial denominations that were issued in these cities, and as such did not serve to cater to the interests of an aristocratic minority alone.

Despite its limitations, the Romanisation model was and remains an important early model, which serves as a foundation from which later scholars have developed our understanding of cultural interactions. More recently, there has been a move away from Romanisation to discuss the theoretical concept of 'identity'. This thesis will follow this approach and, instead, seek to better understand the relationship between Phoenician cities and Roman authority by exploring the concept of identity.

1.2.2 Graeco-Roman 'veneer'

A different approach to cultural exchange is the view that Hellenistic and Roman cultural influences only superficially impacted upon the very top levels of a culture, whilst, below the façade, traditional beliefs and practices continued unchanged as they had for an unspecified number of years. Although this view argues that the process of Romanisation never occurred and local culture remained at its heart unaltered, there are elements of crossover between the two models. From the writings of Haverfield onwards, scholars have recognised that religious practices and belief seemed unusually unaffected by the new range of cultural influences suddenly available.[30] As Lipiński concluded in his 1995 monograph, 'la religion résiste à l'hellénisme, puis à la Romanisation, auxquels elle

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[30] Haverfield (1923) 21; Sarte (2005) 275; Mattingly (2014) 46; Webster (2001) 217.

emprunta surtout une veste extérieure'.[31] In arguing that this 'outer jacket' of Roman and Hellenistic culture could be shrugged off and put on again at will, Lipiński encapsulates this concept of a Graeco-Roman façade. Rather surprisingly, given Webster's strong argument against Romanisation, the creolisation model separately draws a similar conclusion. In objecting that Romanisation does not allow for Roman material culture to be used in ambiguous ways, the, 'indigenous set of underlying rules' discussed above, whereby provincial citizens adapted Roman artefacts to suit their own motives, this theory suggests that traditional culture lurked below the surface, persisting despite the myriad of new influences it was being introduced to.[32] Ball (2001) is one of the most outspoken Anglophone authors in favour of this view, arguing that 'scratch a "Roman" city…we find something that is Near Eastern. The Corinthian colonnades vanish like a mirage'.[33] This binary either/or approach to cultural change and identity was characteristic of the weaknesses often applied to Romanisation, and it is no more convincing in this guise.[34] If we apply this concept of a cultural façade to coin designs, then we could either expect coins to have wholly reflected types popular in the Hellenistic and Roman world, or to ignore these influences entirely and only showcase traditional symbols and images. The variety of types produced in the East demonstrates that cities were not overly concerned with reflecting solely popular Roman coin types back to Roman authorities, for then this raises the question of why cities went to the effort to produce their own coins, rather than relying on the circulation of Roman-issued bronze currencies as cities did in the West.[35] Additionally, the sheer quantity and variation of types implies that the purpose of coin designs was not merely to pay lip service to Roman authorities by showing designs that local authorities believed would appease them. As for the other option, that coins were

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[31] Lipiński (1995) 493.
[32] Webster (2001) 219.
[33] Ball (2001) 246-396, especially 394-396; 446-450 for summary.
[34] Ball (2001) is widely considered to be reacting against Millar (1993), who focuses mostly on literary and epigraphic evidence and emphasises the Graeco-Roman character of the region.
[35] Katsari (2011) 209-210.

included as a part of this cultural façade and only reflected types with traditional significance, further discussion will demonstrate that this was not the case and, instead, designs seem to reflect a merging of cultural and political influences.

The evident problem with the concept of a cultural façade is its inherent unlikelihood. Although the nature of Roman authority probably entailed at least a degree of resistance or conflict from some, it is unlikely that this would have resulted in deliberately masking one culture with another, as this is simply not how society operates. Cultural change is not about dominance, but dialogue. Phoenicia had experienced centuries of cultural interactions, whether in the form of international trade or foreign conquests. Attempting to search through material culture and numismatic imagery for an original sense of Phoenician self, unsullied by any other cultural influence, is arguably an impossible task. Even if it were possible to sift through the diverse cultural stimuli at play in the region by the Roman period, we must question whether, and why, we would want to?

The objective of this thesis is to explore how cities wished to publically express images of identity to both an inter- and intra-communal audience, and cultural influences were a critical aspect of this. These cities were the result of their past experiences, which could be adapted and emphasised to suit their current needs and motives. Political events could cause certain elements of these historical identities to be emphasised over others, but we should not interpret these as value judgements on behalf of these cities, where the city inherently recognised one culture as superior to another, even its own. Prioritising imagery that, as modern scholars, we associate with a particular culture over that of another, is to risk imposing our own cultural bias on the evidence and distorting any interpretation to suit our own ideological expectations. It is vitally important that we recognise that identity was a fluid, changeable concept, and not one that was universally fixed.

1.2.3 Phoenicia and Phoenician identities

We are fortunate to have a number of recent works that endeavour to synthesise the archaeology, history and culture of Roman Syria and Phoenicia, with Millar (1993), Ball (2001) and Butcher (2003) – to name the best known – all aspiring to address and interpret the data being uncovered from the region. The magisterial work by Millar set the benchmark for future research, with a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the evidence for Roman influence that rarely deviates from what can be directly inferred from the available sources. Millar's discussion of Phoenicia characterises the coastal cities as 'an area of cities with Greek institutions', and concludes that little, if anything, remained of the 'Phoenician' culture in Berytus and its hinterland, but that Sidon and Tyre were most resistant to the 'amnesia' of their pre-Hellenistic past.[36] This echoes the view of Sartre (1991), who stated that 'l'hellénisation, survenue très tot dans les cites côtières où les noms indigènes deviennent rares dès l'époque hellénistique, a touché massivement les élites urbaines de Phénice'.[37]

At present, further development of Millar's view of the epigraphy is restricted by the absence of published epigraphic evidence from Roman Phoenicia, which limits the extent to which we can assess the impact of Roman rule on religious life within these cities, although this absence is in the process of being redressed. The *Inscriptions grecques et latine de la Syrie* (IGLS) programme, which seeks to establish a comprehensive corpus of all Greek and Roman inscriptions from the ancient region of Syria, is preparing volumes that will collate evidence from Berytus and its hinterland, and the northern Phoenician cities.[38]

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[36] Millar (1993) 264-295; especially 274-295.
[37] Sarte (1991) 316.
[38] Aliquot, *IGLS* VIII/2; Yon *IGLS* VIII/2.

The contribution of these forthcoming volumes will doubtless prove invaluable to the study of religious and civic life in Phoenicia.[39]

Millar's conclusion that the cities of the Phoenician coast had largely forgotten or chosen to ignore their pre-Greek past is understandable if the evidence is primarily literary, but is this reflected by other forms of evidence? Ball emphatically argues against this interpretation.[40] He rightly cautions against the exclusive use or prioritising of literary evidence and advocates instead for the examination of material artefacts, although his argument that 'they reflect a far more accurate picture of society as a whole' may be a step towards the other extreme.[41] With few surviving remains preserved in urban Lebanon today, the discussion is introduced with the statement that they 'retained its "native" (in this case Phoenician) character throughout', although exactly what is considered to be Phoenician is left unspecified.[42] In the absence of material remains, no conclusions are explicitly made regarding the civic identity of Roman Phoenicia, other than a vague speculation that Berytus' civic buildings may have been a 'Roman gloss, thinly disguising stronger native elements'.[43] Ball further limits his argument by omitting detailed discussion of the religious architecture within the Phoenician hinterland (1.2.4) and their possible relationship to the coastal cities, which is unfortunate, as it could have led to some interesting discussion on cultural influences on architectural styles. Later Ball does discuss some temples from the Beqa' Valley, but emphasises their non-classical features, attributing the 'throne-room' of the adyton to Mesopotamian influence and likening the Palmyrene temple of Bel to the Vitruvian temple of Bacchus at Baalbek and the Great

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[39] At the time of writing, Volumes IX and X, which collate evidence from Sidon and Tyre respectively, have no date for publication.

[40] Ball (2001) 2.
[41] Ball (2001) 5.
[42] Ball (2001) 170-179.
[43] Ball (2001) 173.

Temple at Niha.[44] The issue with this comparison is that it takes no consideration of the other differences: the contrast in internal layout, in location, in sculptural decoration, to name but a few. This search for traces of a traditional identity causes Ball to overlook significant differences between the religious sites and their geographical, social and political contexts.

An additional work I wish to note is that of Butcher (2003). A prolific researcher of Roman Syria and its material culture, Butcher collates a variety of material and textual evidence (including coinage) to discuss the role that Syria played in the Roman period, whilst consistently considering the changing socio-political contexts at work in each region of Syria. Like Millar, Butcher is cautious about over-interpreting the available evidence but, in contrast to Millar, he explores evidence from the entirety of Roman Phoenicia, resulting in a much more varied and wide-ranging corpus. In drawing upon numismatic designs, the fluidity of cultural interaction and influences is recognised, and Butcher concludes that 'history is always being rewritten to serve the interests of the present'.[45] Butcher's focus on the pluralities of identities and array of influences at work across Roman Syria is one that will be developed in the discussion below, and applied to Phoenicia alone.[46]

As well as these broad general studies that seek to collate evidence for the entire province of Syria, including Phoenicia, Quinn has recently published a monograph entitled *In Search of the Phoenicians* (2018), which explores the evidence for Phoenician ethnicity during the Roman period. There have been prior works that focus solely on Hellenistic Phoenicia, but studies that solely examine the region in the Roman period are relatively rare, and studies that discuss Phoenician identity rarer still.[47] Quinn develops the foundation provided by

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[44] Ball (2001) 337-341.
[45] Butcher (2003) 280.
[46] Butcher (2003) 332-334; 336-337; 339.
[47] Caubert *et al* (2002); Grainger (1990); Aliquot and Bonnet (2015); Bonnet (2015).

these previous general studies, to ask unanswered questions surrounding Phoenician identity, and takes the label 'Phoenician' to conduct an extensive study on precisely what ancient authors meant by the term, and to query to what extent it is appropriate to discuss a unified Phoenician culture or identity. Her overarching premise is to explore meaningful identities and communities and, in doing so, she breaks down much-discussed theoretical concepts such as identity and ethnicity. From a range of evidence, ranging from literary to material, and ancient and modern, Quinn concludes that Phoenician identity was 'deployed as a political and cultural tool', but was not claimed as an ethnic identity.[48] In the same way that Romanisation was often criticised for emphasising the degree of sameness between different social groups, causing us to lose sight of the complexities and pluralities that characterise all human societies, Quinn criticises the non-critical use of ethnic labels as answering questions about historical identities before they have even been asked.[49] Moving forward, we can apply the question of a broader sense of Phoenician identity to civic coins, to ask whether we can trace engagement with Phoenicia, on a provincial level and also on a civic level.

As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, coins are a valuable asset in examining questions of identity. Their designs projected political and cultural ideas that were aimed, in the first instance, at a local audience, and they would have been designed to meet the social expectations and understanding of those audiences. As a form of evidence not commonly integrated into these scholarly discussions, we can explore whether their

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[48] Quinn (2018) 202-204.
[49] Mattingly (2014) 40; Quinn (2018) xix: 'labels like 'Phoenician'...assume an underlying commonality between speakers of the same language which cannot be easily demonstrated; they produce identities where they do not to our knowledge exist; and they freeze in time particular identities that were, in fact, in a constant process of construction, from inside and out'.

designs reflect the totality of the historical amnesia suggested by Millar, or the coldly pragmatic 'veste extérieure' espoused by Lipiński.[50]

1.3 Research Questions

Having examined the state of research in this field in the section above, and established some of the gaps and debates, I will now outline the research questions that this thesis sets out to explore:

To what extent were civic coins used as a means to express and communicate local identity, and were reverse types designed to be meaningful to the contemporary viewer?

The absence of studies that exclusively focus on Phoenician civic coinage is one of the primary motivating factors behind this work. Phoenician coin imagery offers an extraordinarily large corpus of visual evidence for these major Roman cities and, yet, as has been established above, no previous study has utilised this evidence in one coherent visual analysis. This thesis will aim to redress this absence and provide a detailed examination of a range of types from a variety of cities, which has not been previously undertaken on this scale. As Mattingly (2014) rightly cautioned, when searching for expressions of identity 'in a world of potentially infinite identity presentations, it is preferable to seek to delineate some broad communities rather than atomisation to the level of individuals'.[51] The goal of this study is not to ask how these coins were interpreted by individuals, or whether they

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[50] Millar (1993) 6; Lipiński (1995) 493.
[51] Mattingly (2014) 41.

reflected individual expressions of identity and attitudes to Roman authority. The question of how one citizen perceived these concepts is one that can never be satisfactorily answered, even for famous individuals about whom we have vast amounts of surviving material, such as Alexander the Great or Augustus. Identity can be expressed in innumerable ways including, but not limited to, wealth, religion, language, literacy, education, gender, age, location, origin, and social status.[52] Thus, rather than risk becoming mired in these countless forms of identity expression, it will instead be more profitable to ask how Phoenician cities presented a sense of communal self, and whether they created a sense of differentiation from or unity with other Phoenician cities.

Imagery is a useful lens through which to study ancient identities. Hölscher writes that images are constructs used to select specific subjects and symbols 'relevant for their [the community] purpose, focus on particular aspects of them, and enhance the expressive power' of these elements.[53] If these images are related to ideas and ideals, then surely they must reflect (in some way at least) how people conceived these deities and temples, making them meaningful expressions of cultural belonging. When working with symbolism and more obscure images, we must remain constantly aware that it is unlikely that we could ever grasp the full complexity of the meaning behind the representations. However, the situation is not hopeless, for the very nature of imagery is that it would have had different levels of meaning for each individual, and to attempt to ascertain how the images would have appealed to the individual is not a profitable endeavour. It is *how* these images were used that is valuable to this thesis, and that they were designed at all indicates their emotive potential. Andrade argues that one of the functions of the *boulē* which oversaw the city was to produce and maintain 'a field of signification that enabled civic communities to…cohere around shared symbols', and civic coinage seem to have been an integral element of the

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[52] Mattingly (2011) 217.
[53] Hölscher (2003) 2.

creation of shared symbols of belonging.[54] We can examine types to explore when and for how long designs were issued, which can suggest which types held significance for the community, whether it be long-lasting or fleeting. Tradition alone carries a weight of meaning, but types that appear briefly may have held the attraction of re-imagining the familiar as new and unusual.

To what extent can civic coins reveal insights into religious practice in Roman Phoenicia?

The validity of coin types as historical evidence has often been queried, and the question of 'accuracy' is one that overshadows the use of numismatic evidence. Some scholars have maintained that coins should not be considered as a valid form of evidence for religious practice, as they believe that coins reflected the political concerns of the community more than the religious and urban landscape in which they were issued.[55] Conversely, others have interpreted them as almost the equivalent of photographic evidence, and have even made the bold step of reconstructing entire buildings as entirely faithful to the coin representations.[56] As with any form of visual evidence, scholars face the constant risk of misinterpreting motifs, and assigning significance and meaning to elements where little was originally intended. Even modern art is open to constant interpretation and re-interpretations, depending on the individual and context, and every individual will understand, process and make associations from images in a unique way. If we consider the vast distance in time, culture and society, hope of ever being able to securely interpret the numismatic imagery seems slim. This work will explore to what extent there is any middle

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[54] Andrade (2013) 142.
[55] Belayche (2003) 116.
[56] Hefner (2008).

ground between absolute acceptance of the designs, and the utter refutation of their contribution to the study of ancient cultures.

Did Phoenicians ever act as a unified social group or acknowledge a regional identity through their coin types?

With the ambiguity over the geographical boundaries of Phoenicia, and the serious issues raised by Quinn over whether these peoples ever defined themselves as 'Phoenician', we must seriously question to what extent these coins present the view of engaging with a unified Phoenician identity. This can be discussed by exploring whether these cities ever overtly referred to Phoenicia on their coins, or in more subtle ways. With the quantity and variety of material available, we will have the opportunity to explore whether certain deities and stylistic practices were shared by different cities, and to ask whether this might reflect political relationships. If coin imagery was used as a tool with which to express social identities, then it may provide an opportunity to examine how these cities interacted with their neighbours, whether in positive or competitive ways.

Can coin types be used to understand how Phoenician cities reacted and interacted with Roman authority?

The processes of cultural interaction and exchange have been addressed above, and they will remain a consistent focus throughout this thesis. By exploring coin types produced in Phoenicia throughout the period of coin production under Roman control (approximately 15 BC to AD 268), this study will explore the extent to which these cities engaged with Roman authority and culture, and how this fluctuated and developed over the period of

Roman rule. We will examine whether coin types reflect any changes in the socio-political environment, such as the aftermath of civil war or the acquisition of new civic titles.

It may also be in the adaptation of overtly Roman iconography, such as sculptural types that have clearly Roman influences, or the representation of temples with similarities to Roman architectural styles. Some have argued that all coin designs were intended to be aimed at the empire and 'holder of imperium', but does the coin evidence support this view?[57] We will examine coin imagery to ask whether these cities produced types that specifically reacted against Roman influence by engaging with their pre-Roman history and local traditions, or whether more typically 'Roman' imagery was seemingly favoured instead. In short, can coin types reveal anything of Phoenician cities' attitudes to Roman control?

1.4 Methodology

The following discussion will set out the various methodological approaches which will be crucial to effectively address these research questions. To do so, key themes have been extracted that will prove key to this thesis, and will be explored in order to define the approach that subsequent arguments and discussion will take.

1.4.1 Identity

The term 'identity' can be so broadly defined and widely applied that it is important to define explicitly what is intended by the concept. The challenge when working with these

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[57] Belayche (2003) 126.

theoretical constructs – culture, ethnicity, identity – is that much of the literature is more focused on their ideological concerns and intricacies than developing these labels as clearly defined conceptual tools. After other scholars whose work has also focused on exploring expressions of identity, the definition of identity will be taken from Brubaker and Cooper (2000), in recognition of the complexities and nuances that characterised their approach.[58] Brubaker and Cooper set out five key uses for the term 'identity' in order to circumnavigate its ambiguity and demonstrate the critical need for 'conceptual clarity required for social analysis and political understanding'.[59] These fundamental uses can be identified as follows:

1. The basis of social or political action, which highlights non-instrumental methods of social and political action.

2. A specifically collective phenomenon, which denotes a fundamental 'sameness' among members of a group or category. This sameness is expected to be demonstrated in shared disposition or consciousness, collective action, or solidarity.

3. A core element of 'self-hood' (individual or collective), or a fundamental condition of social being. This is invoked to indicate an 'allegedly deep, basic, abiding, or foundational' consciousness.

4. A product of social or political action, used to emphasise the processual, interactive development of the type of collective solidarity, self-understanding or 'groupness', which makes collective action possible.

5. A temporary product of plural and competing discourses, used to emphasise the 'unstable, multiple, fluctuating, and fragmenting nature' of the sense of 'self'.

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[58] Mattingly (2014) 41.
[59] Brubaker and Cooper (2000) 36; for definition of identity see 6-8.

The approach of this thesis will adapt and emphasise elements of the definitions set out in points 2 to 5, due to their emphasis on collective and diverse identities, which can characterise a community's understanding of itself, and can also be influenced by changes in environment. This form of collective identity is termed a 'social imaginary' by Taylor, who defines this concept as how 'ordinary people' conceive their social surroundings and interactions, and express it in images, stories, and legends.[60] He argues that social imaginary leads to common understanding and practices, resulting in a shared sense of legitimacy. Although the collective sense of legitimacy and its application to material culture and culture is valuable to this study, it should be emphasised that these 'imaginaries' could still be deeply and meaningfully felt.

Also crucial to the self-categorisation of social identity constructs is the concept of the 'other', a group that can be marked as separate in order to more firmly define the sense of belonging to a particular social group.[61] This sense of 'otherness' is also key to Barth's approach of the ethnic identity, where cultural *differences* are integral to creating and reaffirming a sense of collective identity.[62] As such, coin types will be explored to assess to what extent this collective 'sameness' in the form of shared consciousness and solidarity is apparent, and whether it is possible to define who these cities considered as 'other', the geographically distant Roman imperial centre or a focus on those closer to home. To ask whether coin types marked the difference between the issuing city and a broader sense of unified identity (whether Phoenician or Roman), a wide-ranging variety of designs from a range of cities will be analysed in great detail to search for shared images or practices, which may suggest that cities engaged with regional symbols and practices. Representations of temples may indicate shared architectural practices, or the same deities appearing in multiple cities may suggest a regional pantheon. We will also look to common

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[60] Taylor (2004) 23.
[61] Hogg and Reid (2006) 9; Quinn (2018) 72.
[62] Barth (1969) 13-14.

symbols and imagery on Roman imperial coinage, to ask whether cities seem to have engaged with practices beyond Phoenicia. The ability to examine isolated individual coin types in minute detail will be critical, but it will also be vital to take a step back to compare it to other contemporary types produced in neighbouring cities, in order to contextualise it within a wider visual and numismatic context.

1.4.2 Religious mentality

The choice to make religious imagery the focus of this study is a result of its integral role in expressions of identity, whether individual, or, more valuably for this thesis, communal. Religion was a deeply influential and significant part of ancient communities, forming at least one type of identity amongst a host of others. It could be deployed as a unifying tool, but could also be used to create and reinforce distance and boundaries. Membership of cults would create a more exclusive sense of identity, and elements of religious dress demarcated the sacred role of religious officials as distinct from the average worshipper, and were sometimes associated with religious practices that antedated Roman rule.[63] As well as these more exclusive functions, religious practices could also bring the community together, with festivals and processions that unified the community and reaffirmed a sense of belonging. As well as these practical components to religion and civic identity, the term 'religion' can be used to signify many different concepts. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz defined religion as a 'system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations…by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence'.[64] Although this statement captures the complex and meaningful emotive power that religion can hold over an individual, we should be cautious about any definitions that offer a universal classification. For an individual, religion is a unique and personal

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[63] Butcher (2003) 331.
[64] Geertz (1973) 90.

experience, even for the non-religious, who can feel curiosity, envy, confusion, anger, benevolence, or even indifference. It should also be stressed that religious belief and practice were very different concepts. With belief being a private and individual phenomenon, it is rather the public expression of religious practice and traditions that will be examined here.

This complexity is further exacerbated by the view that, arguably, 'religion' as we understand it did not even exist in antiquity.[65] Rives argues that there was no coherent distinction separating the 'religious' and the 'secular', and makes the point that public religion in Rome was intensely socio-political, with initially the Senate, and later the emperor, responsible for decisions regarding public cults, with officials undertaking rituals on behalf of the community.[66] The continuing viability of the Roman community depended on the faithful observation of ritual duty, and thus it is logical that the two were intertwined. It has also been argued that the social value of local cults was recognised by Roman authorities, with cities and their gods treated as 'recipients of honours rather than of orders' to ameliorate Roman political administration.[67] In this way, the running of local cults became integral to the organisation of a provincial city, with 'cult and city always engaged in an intimate reciprocal relationship'.[68]

As such, can we arbitrarily define and separate religious imagery from other genres – civic, political, militaristic, and the like? These classifications are arguably a necessary element of classical scholarship, in that they create the illusion of order amid the volumes of information, whether literary, material, or historical. However, particularly on a

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[65] Rives (2000) 246.
[66] Rives (2000) 255-257. Even in the Hellenistic East, religious practice was a socio-political affair, see Parker (2011) 40-63; Koester (1995) 347.
[67] Dignas (2002) 220.
[68] Dignas (2002) 221.

numismatic medium, is this type of distinction too crude a tool to distinguish and categorise coin imagery? It is true that the material of this study represents deities and temples, but on quintessentially profane objects. Coins were not intended to be votive objects; they had a practical economic function. Although they carried images that reflect the religious sphere, this thesis will also examine the social role that they played, and how they proliferated designs that, arguably, reaffirmed and promoted what it meant to be a citizen of that city. This will be suggested by the longevity or level of detail of certain types, which could support the premise that coin designs were intended to be seen and recognised as appropriate to the city; in short, that they were meaningful. New or altered types will be examined to assess whether these reflect changing political and social pressures, where a change in iconography may reflect contemporary major political events or a variation in political titles.

It is worth exploring to what extent it is fair to define the imagery on these coins as religious, or whether they reflect a blending from different spheres, challenging our tendency to neatly classify ancient genres. For the purposes of this thesis, 'religious' imagery will be defined by clearly identifiable features and iconography, such as temples which are recognisable through columns, pediments, cult images, and altars, and of deities, identifiable by their dress, attributes, divine acolytes, and reproduction in other visual media.[69] We remain aware that, in reality, the situation was more blurred, and that even the coins themselves may have possessed ideological nuances, whether religious or social, that are invisible to our analysis. To further demonstrate this ambiguity between the religious and secular, this thesis will emphasise the importance of considering the more locally charged reverse alongside the image carried on the obverse, as well as examining the role that coin legends also played in the overall interpretation of the type.

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[69] Discussion of methodological concerns surrounding architectural coin types can be found in 2.1.2.

1.4.3 Corpus of evidence

Despite the extraordinarily large and varied corpus of evidence, there is a lack of detailed scholarship that sets out to collate and analyse communicative and persuasive role of Phoenician civic coin reverses. This thesis will undertake a detailed examination of a range of types from a variety of cities and approach the numismatic data from an art-historical perspective. Each type discussed will be thoroughly examined and analysed using a micro-iconographic approach to individual interpretation, which may reveal small but significant details that have been previously overlooked. Close analysis such as this may indicate that imagery which may initially appear generic may in fact have been anything but. It is imperative that we do not make the mistake of treating coins as the equivalent to photographic evidence. Chapter Two will discuss this in more detail, but stylistic choices would have been made to suit the needs of the artist, and it is important that we recognise that this would have affected the type's appearance.

To gather the material that will form the corpus of evidence, this thesis will primarily draw upon published specimens in catalogues, including the British Museum's *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (1910), *Roman Provincial Coinage* volumes, the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* volumes, Lindgren (1985, 1993) and Babelon (1983). Online databases, such as those belonging to the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the American Numismatic Society, will also be utilised, although they only provide, at most, limited interpretations. As well as published coins, this work will also utilise specimens advertised for auction, whether online (acsearch.info) or in published volumes such as Righetti (2006). Auction catalogues are extremely useful sources of evidence, as they often include rare and high-quality specimens which are not well represented in some of the older published

catalogues. The conscious decision has been made not to pursue recent unpublished additions to coin collections and collate them into an updated catalogue in the style of Sawaya (2009). The evidence as it stands has been widely scattered around various collections and remains largely unexplored in detail. It is not the intention of this thesis to focus on more recent acquisitions, but rather it seeks to collate the evidence as it stands at present. After this initial survey, later works can focus on updating our published evidence.

Other visual media will also be deployed so that we can contextualise the coin designs within their wider visual and material context when possible, as coin artists would have been influenced by other material and visual culture within the city. These images were not produced within a vacuum and so, for example, when a temple is shown, it will be compared to surviving temple architecture to better identify what stylistic abbreviations have been made and to speculate over whether these choices reflect a conscious desire to emphasise a particular characteristic. Types showing deities will be compared to statuary types and other artistic media to ask how far coin types reflect wider engagement with popular artistic styles and iconography. In addition, when possible, literary evidence will be exploited to develop our understanding of how these cities were perceived by an external audience, as the vast majority of our evidence comes from authors who were not inhabitants of these cities. Considering the focus on religious practice, epigraphic evidence will also be key to examining how citizens honoured their gods, and additionally how religious practice was experienced and demonstrated in a public setting.

1.5 Thesis outline

Moving on from this introductory chapter, Chapter Two, **Reading Coins**, will commit to a detailed study of precisely how coins functioned as a medium in their own right in the region in antiquity. It will begin by exploring prior approaches to the methodological issues

of numismatic evidence, before going on to discuss their economic function. In our focus on their imagery, it is important that we do not overlook how coins served an important economic purpose in their own right, and were not merely a visual or aesthetic tool. To try to understand coin imagery's role in these cities, it is important to first understand how these coins functioned as an economic medium, and its relationship and difference from imperial issues. This chapter will establish the motives behind their production and circulation, as well as contextualising civic coinage alongside gold and silver issues. The more thoroughly that we understand civic coins as a medium, the more apparent its social value and function will be.

From this foundation, I will then turn to Chapter Three, **Representing the Divine**, which will conduct an analysis of a variety of deities within the cities of Phoenicia. The quantity and variety of deities represented on Phoenician coinage is so great that only a selection of deities will be explored, which will be grouped into two broad categories, the anthropomorphic and the aniconic. Within these categories, I ask what civic coins can reveal about religious practice in the region, and how these images related to civic identity. During the visual analysis, the chapter will explore iconographic traditions and discuss the cultural influences apparent from their composition.

Chapter Four, **Housing the Sacred,** will focus on representations of temples and sanctuaries. These buildings were an important means of understanding, engaging with and honouring the deities discussed in Chapter Three, as well as representing a notable financial investment for the cities, and as such it was natural that they served as important icons of the city. This chapter will particularly focus on the 'accuracy' of coin representations, and the validity of coins as material evidence, and will draw strongly on the surviving rural temples from the Beqa' and the sanctuary at Baalbek, under the premise that these temples must have been influenced by these neighbouring urban centres.

Through detailed analysis, a range of exterior and interior perspectives will be discussed to assess stylistic changes, and to ask whether these architectural types were communicating different messages from those of the preceding chapter.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Five, **Tyche: Of and For the City**, will serve as a closing case study to build upon the findings of previous chapters. The wealth of numismatic evidence that we possess today representing Tyche makes the goddess, in her dual role as a symbol of the city personified as well as the recipient of cult worship, an ideal lens through which to examine these broader concerns. It will also be valuable to explore how Tyche blurred the line between the religious and civic spheres, and we can explore how this made her an optimum ideological tool for the cities of Roman Phoenicia. With the dominance of Tyche in the numismatic record, I will explore the range of stylistic forms and types to explore how Phoenician cities understood the goddess, and whether this perception changed over time. Shared characteristics and imagery could indicate shared relationships between the cities, and may indicate a wider sense of identity. Contrastingly, the absence of shared characteristics could demonstrate a more inward-facing focus, shutting out neighbouring cities and creating the 'other', which Barth argues is essential to the creation of social identities.

A survey of the coin types discussed in this thesis will be included in the appendix, located at the end of this thesis, as well as a digital copy attached. It will incorporate all of the civic types discussed throughout this study, which will be arranged geographically by city, running from north to south. Each type will be provided with a unique catalogue number, which will be referenced in the text to allow cross-referencing to the appendix.

Moving away from the prior approaches, this thesis will focus on an interpretation that examines how cities used their civic coins to represent local communal identity, whilst

simultaneously exploring their relationship to a broader sense of provincial identity and Roman rule. To do so, this approach will consider religious imagery as a focus through which to explore this sense of community, since religion was a key means by which communities defined themselves. It will emphasise that coins cannot be expected to preserve a photographic record, but instead can function as idealised cameos of what the communities perceived as most worthy of emphasis to underpin their social practices and civic identity.

Chapter Two

Reading Coins

The civic coins issued by coastal cities in Phoenicia in the Roman period are arguably one of the most accessible forms of material evidence for students of the region. Compared to other well-known and thoroughly excavated Eastern ancient cities and sites, our archaeological evidence for the Phoenician coast is more limited, as the majority of the Roman-era topography has been lost under subsequent phases of urban development, and its epigraphic evidence has yet to be collated into one coherent corpus (at least until the forthcoming volumes of the IGLS are published). Political unrest has rendered travel more challenging to areas in which temple ruins are more preserved, like the Beqa' Valley, and small finds tend to focus on pre-Hellenistic Phoenician artefacts, or be scattered through museum catalogues alongside artefacts from inland Syria. Small portable artefacts often only have a vague provenance, if they have an original provenance at all. In contrast to this often widely dispersed state of material evidence, coin imagery can provide a plentiful and accessible source of visual evidence.

Coin reverse types can provide a corpus of evidence characterised by almost unparalleled richness and variety, and will be used to explore how religious life was linked to expressions of identity in Phoenician coastal cities. For Phoenicia, coins can often be our only visual representation of buildings and cults for which we have little to no other material evidence. The iconographic influences of the figures shown on the reverse – composition, attributes, dress – and architectural conventions of buildings can also reveal how a society responded to and interacted with various cultural influences. Obverse designs reflect the political authority behind the coin issues, both through the language used for the coin inscriptions, and also in the style and the identity of the obverse portrait.

Civic titles promoted in coin legends can help scholars to securely date historical events, and their find-spots, whether in hoards or casual losses, can disclose trade networks and monetary circulation. The fact that most coins can be attributed to the rule of a specific emperor and, with some types, to a precise year, is also a great advantage compared to other examples of material culture, where their attributed dates can range across decades, if not longer.

The level of detail and quality of the designs has often misled academics as to the accuracy of coin representations (see 2.1.2), and a recurring assertion of this thesis will be that coin imagery should not be considered as the ancient equivalent to photographic evidence. Coins were not designed to be documentary tools, but rather we should interpret them as vehicles of communication and promotion. In the same way that modern travel brochures offer an idealised view of the cities they are advertising, coin imagery sought to promote stylised views of significant sites within the issuing city. It is widely accepted that Roman authorities used imperial coinage in order to propagate ideological messages to distant peoples in the provinces, which reaffirmed the totality and unity of the Roman political world.[1] Similarly, civic coins harnessed this same ideological and communicative potential, but used it in different ways, to communicate different messages. The purpose and audience of these messages will be one of the recurring foci of this thesis.

Coins can serve a two-fold purpose, as both a medium of visual and material culture. Together, they can be used to explore visual, political, economic, cultural or social history, but before we move onto the following chapters, which focus explicitly on their role as *visual* evidence, we must first seek to understand their material role. As such, this chapter

[1] Bruun (1999) 31.

will establish the context of civic coinage by discussing their appearance, production, circulation, and function. The state of evidence means that some of these aspects will be more challenging to securely establish than others, which will allow us to then explore the methodological challenges that arise when working with this form of evidence. The study will also contextualise Phoenician civic coins within their broader numismatic context by addressing how silver and gold currencies also were issued and circulated in the province of Syria.

2.1 Numismatic scholarship

Before all of this, I shall first focus on exploring how recent studies have handled numismatic evidence. As the intention of this thesis is to examine to what extent civic coin types were used to express local identity in Roman Phoenicia, I will focus more on publications that centre upon the strengths and challenges of using coin imagery as evidence, rather than works that look at monetary history or provincial economy. The categories of studies will be a broad overview of research on coinage and identity, before becoming more specific with publications that solely focus on architectural types and then figural representations on coinage. Numismatics can prove to be a complex field for the ancient historian. Despite the numerous methodological challenges that one must account for, the value of its contribution to our understanding of the ancient world has been recognised and discussed at length. The following section intends to briefly introduce and review the findings of significant prior studies, all of which have proved influential in numerous ways. The secondary material upon which this thesis has drawn will be split into three broad categories: 1) the role that coin imagery can play in studies of civic identity; 2) architectural types on coinage; and 3) figural representations of the divine. These areas all

contribute directly and indirectly to subsequent chapters, and will assist in showing how and why the research for this approach was conducted.

2.1.1 Coin imagery and identity

It is not the purpose of this study to conduct a detailed examination into how civic coins were produced or circulated, but rather to explore how they were used as an iconographic medium, and as such this is the field upon which this section will focus.[2] Not all scholars are of the opinion that coin imagery should be treated as a viable source of historical evidence, with one of its most famous critiques being published in 1956 by A.H.M. Jones, which provocatively likened coin types to postage stamps. Jones criticised what he perceived as a tendency to over-interpret imperial coin types, and speculated that ancient historians were bestowing upon them intricate levels of meaning that would not have been widely understood by the ancient viewer.[3] He went on to argue that it would more greatly benefit the study of ancient history if 'numismatists took the coin types and legends less seriously…instead of building fantastic history upon them', and concluded that coin imagery was largely unintelligible and unnoticed by Roman audiences.[4] The deliberately provocative argument of Jones was swiftly rebutted by Sutherland (1959), who condemned 'the irreducible minimal level of accuracy' of Jones' comments, and characterised his presentation of the evidence as a 'serious and misleading understatement'.[5] However,

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[2] Butcher is one of the more prolific authors to publish on this subject, with multiple publications available that focus on the production, circulation, and metallurgy of Syrian coinages. At present, the state of evidence is too limited for similar studies that focus primarily on material from Phoenicia (Butcher 2003b; 2004; 2012).

[3] Jones (1956) 15.

[4] Jones (1956) 16.

[5] Sutherland (1959) 50. Although a strong and fairly personal dismissal of Jones, this article has not remained a particularly strong defence, relying on the rebuttal that a 'regular historian…cannot be allowed to penalise a numismatic process' (p.54), and taking a top-down approach to coin types, where designs are treated as an 'informed and often subtly suggestive plea by the man who, granted favourable public opinion, held all the cards' (p.54), a view later discredited by Levick (1982) 107.

Jones' ambivalence to the evidential potential of coin reverses was echoed by Crawford (1983), who considered the designs on the reverse to be largely unintentional, the product of 'a combination of accident and human nature'.[6] Regardless of Roman imperial coin types, this view cannot be effectively applied to Phoenician civic coinage since, as will be demonstrated below, the level of detail combined with the variety and development of imagery makes the likelihood of the designs being accidental vanishingly small. If we were to assume that the designs of coin types and their circulation was the responsibility of only a few individuals, then how do we convincingly explain this from a broader perspective, taking into account the diversification of types from city to city? Clearly another explanation is required.

However, a benefit of the contentious nature of the scepticism surrounding the validity of coin imagery is that it has encouraged numismatic scholars to develop a more critical understanding of its communicative, ideological and persuasive potential, and also has laid foundations for a more rigorous methodology when approaching numismatic evidence. Wallace-Hadrill (1986) published a thorough methodology on how to approach coin iconography and, although his primary focus was the development of coin iconography in Rome from the Late Republic to Octavian, much of his findings can be applied to civic coins. Significantly, the author cuts through the traditional binary approach to the obverse and reverse, and argues that the coin should be treated 'as a cohesive whole', inclusive of both obverse and reverse imagery.[7] The reverse imagery could either represent (presumably) traditional and specific symbols of local authority: deities, foundation myths, civic games, temples; or more overtly political choices: the founder ploughing, laurel wreaths, Roman standards; to promote the appearance of a close allegiance with Rome. In turn, the obverse portrait of the emperor provided the currency with Roman imperial *auctoritas*, and

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[6] Crawford (1983) 59.
[7] Wallace-Hadrill (1986) 69.

legitimised the coinage with political authority. The complexities of the relationship between local coin types and Roman authority has been recognised by numerous scholars, with Howgego (1995) characterising it as indicative of a 'complex relationship between ruler and subject', where the reality of Roman rule was idealised on types by local elites as a response to Roman power, and to their own participation in overseeing the local administrative side of Roman authority.[8] Kremydi-Sicilanou (2005) perhaps over-develops this by suggesting that, in order to keep imperial favour and benefactions, civic types could have been chosen with the intention of pleasing Rome.[9] Although blatantly rebellious types would not have been tolerated, it is challenging to speculate precisely where and how a coin would be interpreted as opposing Roman rule.[10]

2.1.2 Coins and architecture

Architecture was an ideal medium to promote symbols of social belonging and pride. Monumental temples testified to the financial resources that the city possessed, showcased the relationship that it shared with local and high-status cults, and provided evidence of the monumentality necessary to be counted amongst the prestigious cities in the Roman Near East. The socially competitive nature of architecture will be discussed further in Chapter Four, but here I will briefly review significant publications that have contributed to our study of architectural types.

Of the two visual categories, of deity and architectural types, architectural types are the more widely covered in literature, with Donaldson (1859) publishing the first extensive

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[8] Howgego (1995) 44.
[9] Kremydi-Sicilanou (2005) 96.
[10] Interestingly, even coin reverses issued under the Bar Kokhba revolt were not explicitly 'anti-Roman', but rather used a language of meaningful symbols and buildings, in a fashion not dissimilar to other regional civic coin types.

volume studying architecture on a variety of denominations from the Greek and Roman worlds, with the intention of highlighting the 'rich treasury of evidence which medals offer'.[11] He drew attention to the tendency to treat coins as illustrative devices that conveniently provide the reader with essentially a snapshot of a long lost building or monument, but emphasised that we should treat the image carefully as a miniature artwork in its own right.[12] In 1911, G.F. Hill published a study, which developed evidence that he had previously collated in the *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (1910). He notes that the majority of Phoenician coin types provide our sole source of evidence for the outward appearance of religion in the Roman period, and approaches the evidence from the perspective of a 'student of ancient religion' as opposed to a numismatist.[13] The early state of published material means that Hill's article is primarily focused on description and speculation, and he sought to identify the deities and temples depicted on a range of civic coinage issued by cities along the Phoenician coast. Despite the broad similarities in interest between Hill's publication and this study, this thesis will develop the evidence by applying it to questions surrounding local identity and cultural influence.

The subject of coin imagery as historical evidence for architecture was then largely overlooked by monograph publications until 1977, when Price and Trell published their well-known study on the architecture depicted on Roman bronze coins, which argued that numismatic imagery bridged the gap between literary sources, epigraphic evidence, and material remains.[14] Like Donaldson, the authors draw upon numismatic evidence from a range of cities across the empire, including three Phoenician cities – Byblos, Sidon, and Heliopolis. The authors emphasise the value of numismatic imagery for the study of

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[11] Donaldson (1859) x. For more discussions of Rome-centric architectural numismatic representations see Hill (1989), who catalogues the buildings, statuary, and monuments of ancient Rome through its coin types.
[12] Donaldson (1859) xiv.
[13] Hill (1911) 56-57.
[14] Price and Trell (1977) 15.

material culture and, like Donaldson, they discuss stylistic conventions that could be adopted by coin artists to promote the elements that they wished to emphasise.[15] The study does have its limitations; there is a tendency to accept the images shown as literal reproductions and, whilst the buildings are evidently unique and recognisable, it should always be emphasised that coins were never intended to faithfully reproduce the buildings precisely as they appeared. The discussion of how the so-called temple of Adonis at Byblos 'in reality' stood inside the colonnaded courtyard, and the unsubstantiated statement that 'Atargatis-Venus was the main deity of the temple of Bacchus' at Heliopolis are examples of bold hypotheses stated as fact, which numismatic evidence alone cannot support.[16]

This thesis has already noted above that it is problematic to treat coin designs as exact reproductions of buildings. Even in the earliest monograph on this subject, Donaldson makes the important distinction that the intercolumniation in the frontal views of temples could be 'extravagantly widened' by the artist, to better reveal the cult statue within. We can be fairly certain from surviving temple remains that, although the central space could be widened slightly, it was not to the extreme regularly demonstrated by coin artists. This is not an approach that all scholars take, and Hefner (2008) makes the bold decision to interpret the monuments displayed on coins as literal reproductions. Most pertinently for this thesis, the author examines coin types featuring the temple of Tyche at Tripolis and the so-called temple of Adonis at Byblos, where Hefner (rather like Donaldson) uses his own drawings to reinterpret how these temples both appeared.[17] In choosing to reproduce coin designs literally, Hefner, perhaps unintentionally, highlights for this study to what extremes some coins artists stylised their designs, and how problematic it can be to interpret these designs as faithful reproductions. A further problem with Hefner's work is the rather

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[15] Price and Trell (1977) 19-21; Donaldson (1859) xvi-xxiv.
[16] Price and Trell (1977) 152; 161.
[17] Hefner (2008) 222-225.

outdated methodological approach to the study of architectural coin types. Although at the time of writing this is one of the more recent monographs to tackle this subject, it is essentially an illustrated catalogue, with a limited commentary in a similar style to Donaldson (1859). This thesis will endeavour to develop from this approach, and will not attempt to reconstruct monuments from coins alone. Instead, it will explore what coin imagery can reveal about the societies and social attitudes that produced them. This thesis will follow the argument established by Burnett (1999), who maintained that, rather than attempting to speculate over the elevation and appearance of temples, we should interpret coin designs as how the people who constructed and used these temples visualised them and, as such, coin designs can give us a 'glimpse of the attitudes and cultural outlook of the world which produced them'.[18] If cities were 'artefacts created by the societies which use them', then coins are the means by which societies visualised, promoted and propagated the glory of these artefacts.[19]

2.1.3 Coins and sculpture

Generally speaking, although it has been estimated that it is likely that architectural types never accounted for more than 5% to 10% of Roman imperial coin types, scholarly interest in provincial coins tends to focus on these designs, and there are not as many monographs that deal exclusively with statuary.[20] For studies that focus on architectural types, this emphasis is sometimes justified by the assertion that it is too challenging to locate the original statue prototype amidst all the variants that also proliferated on coinage.[21] In short, it is impossible to differentiate between whether a statue on a coin reverse is replicating

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[18] Burnett (1999) 159-160.
[19] Butcher (2003) 223.
[20] Elkins (2015) 8. For example, Stewart (2003) 35-45: despite having a section entirely on depictions of statuary on visual media, coin types are not mentioned.
[21] Hill (1989) 8.

the original statue itself, or one of a multitude of other reproductions of the same image.[22] This critique of working with statuary as coin types is perhaps a result of the tradition seeking to reproduce buildings from coinage, rather than using them as a lens through which to examine how communities wished to present these monumental buildings. For this study, the proliferation of types depicting gods is testament enough of their value to the community, and it is this that shall be focused upon, rather than trying to locate the source of the original statue. If anything, the fact that the same image was reproduced in different numismatic contexts is of more interest and value to our focus, as it demonstrates that they were considered meaningful to the community in some way.

One of the most well-known studies on statuary coin types is by LaCroix (1949), who published an extensive volume examining Archaic and Classical sculpture on Greek coins from these periods. Although this work will not be engaged with in detail due to the differences in region and time period, LaCroix provides some useful methodological guidance. He cautions against interpreting images as a faithful copy of one original statue, reminding us that coin artists could have also copied reliefs and paintings, and instead recommends that, unless it is clear that the artist has intentionally copied a work of sculpture, we should see the image as a 'free imitation' or consider that it was influenced by an unknown piece of art.[23] For a modern scholar to effectively identify a reproduction of a piece of sculpture, LaCroix encourages that one should examine: 1) archaeological material, whether original works or through the *Kopienkritik* method of assessing later Hellenistic or Roman copies; 2) literary sources, which may document and describe the appearance of well-known ancient sculptures; and 3) coin evidence, where a statue can be

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[22] For example, see the debate surrounding the cult statue of Venus Genetrix, and whether it took the form of the Louvre-Naples type, which often appears with the label GENETRIX, or whether it was in fact a variant of the more contemporary statue of Aphrodite by Arkesilaos: see Kropp (2016) 204-206.

[23] LaCroix (1949) 10.

identified by numerous means, including a location within a specific building, an architectural or sculptural accessory (altar, base, support), multiple coin reproductions of the same image, the image's composition and how it was adapted to the field, and finally any unique features specific to this image.[24] As well as these criteria, we should also include symbolic attributes, such as a cornucopia or a lightning bolt, or divine acolytes, such as *putti* or Nike. These identifying methods will all be applied to the material gathered in this study.

It may also be possible to distinguish between whether an image represented a cult statue, or simply a reproduction of the divine image. Mylonopoulos discusses an etic approach to the definition of cult images in both Greek and Roman contexts, and concludes that there is a range of criteria that is significant for determining the consecrated nature of the deity. The first relevant aspect of this for this thesis is an image's spatial context.[25] This was not only restricted to its position within a sanctuary, but also other, less evident, areas of sacred space, such as groves, caves, grottos or enclosures, all of which could be linked to cult activity in the Roman world.[26] Another criterion could be its involvement in cult activities, such as processions involving the image or the receiving of ritual garments. These will be applied to coinages to explore whether the distinct types of statue were being represented.

Of course, not all figures on coinage are necessarily sculptural representations, but may in fact represent a manifestation of the deity.[27] Evidence for this will be discussed on an individual basis, but typical indications of the deity represented in manifest form could be indicated by the deity interacting with other divinities or performing rituals, whereas one would typically expect a cult image to be depicted within a temple context. This distinction

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[24] LaCroix (1949) 10-16.
[25] Mylonopoulos (2010) 6-12.
[26] Stek (2014) 228.
[27] For discussion of non-anthropomorphic divine images, see 3.3.

is in contrast to the view of Price and Trell, who claim that an anthropomorphic image pictured within a temple on coin designs was done so in a way that 'would suggest the age-old custom of epiphany, a god appearing in person before his worshippers'.[28] However, I would argue that depicting a deity within such a securely identifiable context as a temple would suggest that, as LaCroix also maintained, it could be identified as a cult image, especially if it were reproduced on a range of types and issues.

2.1.4 Subsequent approaches

From the context established by prior scholars, this thesis will work to develop some of their findings. Above all, the scepticism of Jones and Crawford is not an approach that is particularly profitable to the study of ancient history. True, we must take care to not over-interpret designs, or to assign levels of meaning that are not apparent or are unclear, but symbolism and meaning are areas of visual analysis that are highly subjective, and it is wise to not generalise that all coin reverses were inconsequential to the viewer. With this being said, we must also take care not to go to the other extreme and view coins with the attitude that they preserve literal reproductions of how temples appeared in antiquity, or that deities on coins represent secure and irrefutable evidence of the extent of local religious practice. The evidence will demonstrate that care has been taken by the artist to ensure that the image is recognisable to a viewer, but stylistic compromises will have been made to fit the building or deity on a medium that is rarely more than thirty millimetres across. When it comes to visual analysis, the fact that this thesis is focused on the more localised reverse does not mean that we should ignore the significance of the obverse. The obverse imperial portrait gave the coins another facet of meaning, in that it signified the issuing city's inclusion in the Roman political world, and this should be considered during

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[28] Price and Trell (1977) 19.

interpretation of the coin's visual impact and how it related to civic identity. From the breadth of views reviewed above, it seems best to approach coinage as an idealised view of the image being reproduced, and accept that certain characteristics will have been emphasised to promote the message(s) with which the coin type is concerned. By undertaking a detailed analysis, which also takes into consideration whether and how types develop over time, this thesis intends to demonstrate that coin imagery reflected social concerns. With the recognition that analysis of types can reveal the varieties of local identities, the evidence will be examined to explore whether these expressions of identity are focused on a local, regional, or empire-wide stage.

Despite the variety and depth of knowledge demonstrated by all the works summarised briefly here, there is at present no study that draws all of these approaches together – numismatic methodology, identity, imagery – and applies them to Phoenician coinage. In the subsequent chapters, I intend to examine the coinage of Phoenicia in light of this scholarship, and explore exactly what Phoenician civic coinage can reveal to us about identity and society in these cities during the Roman period.

2.2 Civic coins: a medium

Having established the context for prior numismatic research, we can now turn to focus on civic coins as a medium. Civic coins, also sometimes referred to as Roman provincials, Greek imperials, or even Roman colonials, are local bronze coinages produced by individual cities for use within the city itself.[29] They primarily served to provide the city with its small change, as it seems unlikely that the Roman authorities were overly concerned with striking

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[29] For the merits and limitations of this terminology, see Butcher (1988) 9-11.

bronze issues for either the east or western empire. No names of magistrates are ever recorded on Phoenician coinage, suggesting that coins were not issued by private individuals, unlike in Greece or Asia Minor. Production seems to have been typically erratic, with some years producing no bronze coinage, but other years witnessing a (usually unexplained) boost in production.[30] Historically, their study has been somewhat marginalised in favour of Roman imperial coinages, which had clearly controlled weights, sizes and values, whereas civic currencies tend to be more inconsistent. In this section, the main characteristics of civic coinage will be raised and discussed, in order to increase our familiarity with how these coins functioned as a medium, and to develop our later understanding of how they were used by the community.

2.2.1 Incentives

The production and issuing of civic coins was not a requirement or obligation of provincial cities, a fact demonstrated by the western empire, where production had ceased entirely by the middle of the first century AD, for reasons that remain largely unknown.[31] This raises the question of why cities in the East continued to strike local bronze coins for centuries of Roman rule. Evidence suggests that cities had to face disproportionately high production costs when producing these low-value currencies, which further supports the question about why local authorities continued to make the effort, particularly when cities in the Roman West seemed to continue to function economically in their absence.[32]

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[30] Meadows (2014) 189.
[31] Burnett (2005) 172.
[32] Meadows (2014) 190.

Local tradition must have contributed to the continued production of civic coins. The right to mint coinage in the East was traditionally a mark of prestige that marked the city as being of high status, a motivation that cannot be underestimated in the socially competitive environment of the Roman Near East. With the practice of minting coins in Hellenistic Phoenicia being associated with power and status, it is unlikely that any city would have been inclined to cease production and inadvertently give their neighbouring cities the social edge. Although production always remained sporadic, cities were evidently able to produce enough local coins to meet their economic needs, and this public demand may have been a contributing factor to the continuing production of civic coins, with the local elite being more likely than the Roman state to respond to pressure for an increased supply of small change.[33] Although Rome did issue bronze coinage for the Syrian provinces from the mint at Antioch, it is unlikely that enough was produced to meet the economic needs of the entirety of Phoenicia, and it has been noted that the Roman authorities were likely relieved at not being required to deal with the energies and expense involved with transporting large amounts of coinage over large distances.[34]

One of the more practical advantages to minting civic coinages was that it could prove to be financially advantageous to the city. A famous honorific inscription from Sestos, Thrace, in the middle of the second century BC recorded that:

> When the people decided to use its own bronze coinage, both so that the city's
> coin type should be used as the current type, and so that the people should receive
> the profit from such a revenue, and chose men who would safeguard this trust
> piously and justly, Menas was appointed and, together with his colleague, showed

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[33] Butcher (2004) 146.
[34] Ziegler (1996) 125.

the appropriate care. As a result, through the justice and pride of these men, the
people uses its own coinage.[35]

Amongst other reasons, this inscription proclaimed that the production of local coins would create profits that would benefit the community. This system of monetary exchange was not uncommon, and echoed the earlier evidence of Plato, who recorded the existence of a well-established system of monetary exchange, where, on return to their home city, travellers would give their surplus foreign currencies to the city treasury, which would have then exchanged it for the corresponding value.[36] Evidence suggests (see 2.2.4) that in Phoenicia, at least by the third century, some local currencies could be used in neighbouring cities, and it is highly likely that travellers from more distant cities of different provinces would have had little choice but to exchange their money for local issues when arriving at new cities.[37] We know something of the mechanisms of currency exchanges during the Imperial period, thanks to an imperial *epistula* from Pergamon, dating to the rule of Hadrian, which details a petition to the emperor on behalf of the tradesmen of Pergamon. These traders felt that they were being taken advantage of by the consortium of unscrupulous money-changers, who in turn held an exclusive contract to operate a monopolistic exchange bank to transfer denarii into local bronze coinage (*assarion*).[38] On a typical day, these tradesmen and stallholders could exchange eighteen *asses* at the money-changers for one denarius, which in turn could be used as universally accepted currency to pay their wholesale suppliers, who would have little use for low-value local currency. Given that the value of an *as* in Asia Minor at this time was fixed at one-sixteenth of a denarius, one *as* would go to the civic authorities, and one would be kept by the money-changer as an *agio*, or fee. This *agio* served as an important benefit of local coinages, as the commission

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[35] IGSK Sestos I.II.43-49; also see RPC I 16-17; OGIS I no.339.
[36] Pl. *Leg.*5.
[37] For reasons as to why this would be necessary, see Butcher (2003b) 59-60.
[38] *OGIS* 484; *c.f.* Macro (1976) 169-179; Bogaert (1968) 231-234.

that would have been collected on the exchanging of silver and bronze currencies would have served as a form of tax, increasing the city's profits.

It is not just traders that required a means of monetary exchange. The actuality of even a temporary military presence would result in an influx of imperial gold and silver issues which could benefit the city economically.[39] Ziegler suggests that the Roman army have been required to exchange their pay for smaller value currencies when in Near Eastern cities, resulting in the city making a small profit from the commission, firstly from the initial exchange, and then possibly from buying back surplus coins when the soldiers moved on, maintaining the quantity of coinage in circulation.[40] This process would also ensure a supply of higher value precious metal coinage for the city. The small profits to be gained from this exchange of silver coinage to local bronze, which were typically used as a means of exchange rather than a source of wealth, would have been an incentive to keep civic coinages in circulation.[41]

Returning to the Sestos inscription, additional, less pragmatic motivations for a city wishing to mint its own coinage are revealed. Rather than being initiated by the local authorities, it was the people themselves who decided to introduce the new financial system, indicating that it possessed some form of social significance. Civic pride is an element of coinage that is difficult to quantify, and perhaps also hard for us to fully grasp today in relation to coins. However, for the citizens of Sestos, newly rid of royal authority and able to govern themselves independently, civic coins provided an opportunity to reaffirm this new independence. The right to mint coins, as addressed above, indicated the high social status

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[39] Ziegler (1996) 124-125.
[40] Ziegler (1996) 126-127.
[41] Butcher (2004) 146-147.

of a community, as shown in the exceptional case of Tyre being permitted to mint in silver during the Hellenistic period after gaining *autonomia* from the Seleucids.[42] Howgego argues that, for cities in the Roman East, the production and circulation of civic coinage in itself was a mark of status and prestige.[43] The Sestos inscription demonstrates that the fact that the city's own designs would be struck was one of their motivations to mint their own coinage, which further supports the view that the coin designs were meaningful to the people. This, combined with the production costs of minting local coins, indicates that the design and manufacturing of civic coins should not be considered to be solely a reaction to economic stimuli, but was in part also an emotive decision, inspired by a desire to be represented as unique political, social and cultural entities. If the coins had served a purely utilitarian economic purpose, why go to the effort of distinguishing iconographic types? The coins were still economically valid without their designs, but their visual side is arguably an important factor, which should not be under-emphasised.

2.2.2 Appearance

As the focus of this thesis is on the imagery of civic coinage, this section serves only as a brief overview of its appearance, as numerous types will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters. Very broadly speaking, civic coins issued by Phoenician cities during our period of study share certain characteristics. They are struck in bronze, and typically weigh between five and twenty-five grams (although most are commonly between ten and twenty grams), with a diameter usually between twenty and thirty millimetres. The obverse typically bears the portrait of the emperor, or occasionally his wife or mother, along with his name and an abbreviated form of his titles. Although imperial titles are

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[42] Millar (1993) 285-286; 288.
[43] Howgego (1995) 42-43.

included, they are very rarely represented to the extent that they were on imperial types. This means that, although coin types can be dated to the reign of the emperor depicted, they cannot usually be dated to the specific year, as can be done with imperial coinage. Earlier Phoenician issues, typically before the second century AD, feature dates that correspond to the individual city's local calendar, but these were largely phased out by the end of the second century AD, when the Phoenician coast and hinterland was separated from the rest of Syria to form two distinct provinces: Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice.[44] Earlier coin types also can feature images of local deities, displacing the imperial portrait, which are typically referred to as the rather misleading 'pseudo-autonomous'.[45] Unlike in cities in Asia Minor, Phoenician cities never represented divinities or personifications that were strongly associated with Rome, such as the personified Roman Senate or Dea Roma, instead preferring to depict Tyche or other divine civic patrons.[46]

Overall, reverse types represent images and expressions of power and authority, whether this be through religious, cultural, social, or political means. For provinces such as Phoenicia, a region almost defined by cultural and religious divergences, it is important to consider the multitude of meanings that a coin could possess. It is unlikely in the extreme that there is one 'correct' interpretation of the coin, and to generalise is to risk losing some of the meaning. Although one neat answer is often appealing, it is generally neither wise nor possible. The multi-faceted levels of understanding are amongst the most engaging aspects of studying numismatic designs, even if they can also be used in more narrative ways, such as to study the appearance of gods and buildings. As recommended by Wallace-Hadrill, this thesis will consider the effect of merging the political obverse with the imagery represented on the reverse, to explore how this impacts upon its overall message.

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[44] Millar (1993) 121-122.
[45] RPC 1.41-42.
[46] Heuchert (2005) 47.

It must be acknowledged that, in attempting to read and interpret coin imagery, we are getting a restricted view. The communicative and persuasive potential of coins worked both ways, and coin designs were in all likelihood controlled to ensure that no negative or threatening ideology was propagated which could impact on the ruler's authority. To borrow an example from Rome, after Octavian's victory at Actium, he moderated his coin imagery to remove any allusions between himself and the divine, but retained them on material culture intended for the elite.[47] Similarly, although Mark Antony and Cleopatra were represented as a unified ruling force by their joint coin portraits, Cleopatra made no reference to Mark Antony on contemporary coins issued in Egypt to ensure that her rule there remained absolute.[48] Coin designs are valuable to us today as a visual resource and as an expression of symbols associated with civic identity, but they were not intended to be considered as authentic portrayals of daily life. Instead, they should be seen as idealised cameos, which represent carefully chosen and reflect traditional symbols of the city, and which in turn have their own value for the study of these cities. The designs themselves feature images that have been presumably approved by the political authorities to represent the community, and thus offer the modern scholar valuable expressions of local identity that would have been considered appropriate to Roman authority, or at least inoffensive.[49] The questions that this raises over whether these images would have been meaningful to the community at large, or whether they reflect carefully chosen and edited facets of civic life, officially approved but meaningless to the local population, will be addressed below. The fact that, for the bronze coins that make up the corpus of this study, their monetary value was relatively low means that it is unlikely that their designs would

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[47] Burnett (1987) 73.
[48] Crawford (1985) 253.
[49] Williamson (2005) 24.

have been of much concern to the Roman authorities, and their imagery would have been recognised as socially significant to most levels of society.

2.2.3 Production

Under the Roman empire, the right to mint coins was no longer ubiquitous with political autonomy, but the continued issues of civic coins implied that the issuing city was still an independent community, and served as an indication of its status as a *polis* in the administrative and cultural construct of the Roman East. In Phoenicia, the final coin issues were struck under Gallienus, both in his rule alongside Valerian from AD 253 to 260, and as sole emperor until 268. There is no surviving evidence of the Roman authorities being involved in overseeing the production or regulation of civic coinage, although it is likely that the cities did require permission from either the governor or emperor himself.[50] It is highly likely that it was the local elite who were responsible for the production of civic coinage. In Phoenicia, coin types did not carry the names of governors or civic officials, but instead bore the name and titles of the city in the name of which they were issued, suggesting that officials were acting in the name of the community that they represented. As an anonymous public form of expression, it is unlikely that the images chosen to be depicted on coin reverses were particularly personal to a limited minority, but were rather potentially selected for their accessibility to the citizen body that would be using them. Production itself was famously sporadic, with sometimes decades between issues, or for some cities production only continued for the reign of a few emperors before ceasing.

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[50] Harl (1987) 18; Butcher (2004) 242.

2.2.4 Circulation

The absence of detailed find-spot data from sites in Lebanon is a very real limitation to our understanding of how these coins circulated in the region, and one that will hopefully be addressed by future studies. The scarcity of published bronze hoards from the Roman period renders it difficult to draw conclusions on the circulation patterns of civic coinage in Phoenicia, making it challenging to judge how compatible civic coinage was in neighbouring cities.[51] If we look to general circulatory patterns of civic coins beyond Phoenicia, one of its most well-known characteristics is the fact that it did not experience wide circulation, and was produced primarily for local use. Studies of civic coinages struck in Asia Minor have shown that the majority were found within a fifty- to one hundred-mile radius of their city of issue, demonstrating the so-called 'rule of locality'.[52] Although a notably short radius, particularly when compared to the distances that could be travelled by imperial coinage, if we take into account the proximity of cities along the Phoenician coast, this radius would include most of the coastal cities, and certainly neighbouring ones.[53] In addition, the cities of the coast were connected by the first paved road in the region, which was constructed by Nero and ran from Antioch to Ptolemais, via Berytus, and by sea travel, which permitted regular and relatively quick travel between the coastal cities.[54]

Recent studies, such as that undertaken by Çizmelii Öğün and Marcellesi (2011), suggest that bronze coinage may be more mobile than previously thought, with coinage from Greek

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[51] At the time of writing, there were only five Roman-era hoards from Phoenicia were published by the *CHRE*. Two were without find-spots (9753 and 9728), and a hoard of 600 civic bronzes from Sidon, Berytus, Byblos has no further detail (8063). The other two hoards were of silver tetradrachms.
[52] Jones (1963) 318.
[53] For the distances travelled by Roman imperial coins, see the Portable Antiquities Scheme's map of coin find-spots http://tracemedia.co.uk/lostchange/ .
[54] Hall (2004) 16-18.

coastal cities being transported inland via road and river networks, as well as connections between former colonies such as Miletus, and the major sanctuaries of Ionia.[55] This could parallel what Quinn has argued about interaction between Phoenician cities, asserting that cities on the coast were more focused on interacting with towns towards the Syrian hinterland and trading over the Mediterranean rather than with their coastal neighbours.[56] If we look back to the ancient literary testimony, however, it seems that most cities had established currency exchanges which operated to their financial benefit, and it is unlikely that local bronzes would travel in any great quantities if there were ready means of changing them into the more widely accepted Roman currency. The evidence as it stands for the Roman period seems to indicate that local coinages were issued alongside imperial bronzes minted at Antioch, for use within the province, although the rate of production of both seems to vary.[57] This may vary from city to city, with the evidence from Tyre suggesting that the city favoured its own coinage above the SC bronzes produced at Antioch, especially when compared to finds from Berytus.[58] Circulatory patterns may also change over time, with coin finds from various cities suggesting that, in the third century AD (or at least under Elagabalus), civic coins may have circulated around the coastal region, with Antiochene SC bronzes seeming to be more diffused inland (fig. 2.1).[59] With the disparity of weights, sizes, types, local eras, and civic titles, it seems likely that in Phoenicia, as the evidence suggests for Syria, coins were not intended to be freely interchangeable in neighbouring cities.[60]

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[55] Çizmelii Öğün and Marcellesi (2011) 325-326.
[56] Quinn (2018) 66.
[57] Butcher (2003b) 60-65, especially 64-65.
[58] Butcher (2003b) 73.
[59] Butcher (2003b) 74-75.
[60] Butcher (2004) 242.

This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

Figure 2.1: Coin finds from selected sites, AD 193-268. Adapted from Butcher (2003b) fig.30 p.74.

As mentioned above, evidence for coin circulation patterns in Phoenicia is very poor, with the overwhelming majority of catalogue and auction specimens possessing no known find-spots. Published hoard data is similarly scarce. The Migdal hoard was discovered in 1973 to the north of Tiberias, and contained 188 bronzes from the rule of Titus to Elagabalus, with an earliest opening date of AD 74 and latest terminal year of AD 222. Out of 155 identifiable coins, 74 coins from Tyre were discovered (47.8%), 15 were from Ptolemais (9.7%) and one was from Byblos, which indicates some degree of regional travel was typical for civic coins.[61] Recent excavations from two sites in Beirut discovered coins from other Phoenician cities, albeit none were represented in particularly large numbers.[62] This

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[61] *CHRE* 7708 Migdal; Meshorer (1985) 108.
[62] Butcher (2003b) 157-160. Out of the identifiable specimens, Phoenician coinage is represented thus: 120 coins issued by Berytus, 5 Roman issues, 5 of Heliopolis, 1 of Caesarea ad Libanum, 6 of Tripolis, 2 of Byblos, 7 of Sidon, 6 of Tyre.

suggests that, although coins could travel close distances, they were not readily used as local currency by neighbouring cities.

2.3 The economic climate of Roman Syria

To attempt to understand the context in which civic coinage was issued and circulated in the Roman period, it is necessary to be aware of the monetary system that the Romans inherited from the previous Seleucid rulers, and how the provincial economy functioned. Before the Seleucids had taken control of Phoenicia, Alexander the Great had established a form of 'common currency' in the Hellenistic world, a system of gold staters and silver tetradrachms and drachms, with recognised values and weights.[63] Alexander also took the then unprecedented step of a universal iconographic programme for his coinage, which not only ensured that he was recognised by his conquered nations as the 'guarantor of the principal monetary system', but also created a sense of unity and cohesion.[64] During the rule of Alexander, civic coin production had been inadvertently suppressed, probably not through deliberate policy but rather as an unintentional side effect of the introduction of the new royal coinage financial system. Citing the lack of evidence for Alexandrine interference in local marketplaces, Meadows argues that this new, arguably simplified, monetary system merely provided towns and cities with the currency that they needed, reducing the requirement to mint their own.[65] It is at this time that the previously active mints in Phoenicia, which produced copious amounts of civic coinage in the fourth century BC, began to wane.[66]

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[63] For detailed discussion, see Meadows (2014).
[64] Meadows (2014) 174.
[65] Meadows (2014) 182-3.
[66] Elayi and Elayi (1993) 218.

After the death of Alexander the Great and the collapse of his Hellenistic empire, his successor Seleucus Nicator took control of the region, including Phoenicia and Syria. For these new royal dynasts, the right to mint in gold and silver was considered a royal prerogative, and one that the kings could bestow upon subject cities as a privilege in recognition of the city's prestige.[67] One of the influences behind the introduction of a form of 'common currency' during the rule of Alexander was to pay the military, who were often based vast distances from their city – or country – of origin. With new political systems dividing the Greek world, this need for a portable currency that could be redeemed in cities from Greece to as far away as India began to lapse, meaning that the impetus for this form of universal currency was no longer an economic necessity, and local currencies began to re-emerge.[68] Although initially the coinage remained unified, as the threat of territorial disputes and disparate claims to rule intensified, portraits and symbols began to be introduced. As Smith asserts, coin imagery came to be associated as the 'assertion of the dynast's independent royal status', providing an ideological and political motive for independent dynastic coin issues.[69] After the collapse of the Seleucid Empire, the new dynasts had access to an entirely new realm of self-expression, with no precedents in terms of coin design or local traditions to overcome.[70] Local designs began to proliferate, with Phoenician cities using coins as a medium to celebrate their autonomous status and cultural heritage.

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[67] I Macc. 15.6.
[68] Meadows (2014) 184.
[69] Smith (1988) 13.
[70] Kropp (2013) 231

With the Roman conquest of Phoenicia in 64 BC, Pompey did not interfere in the existing monetary system.[71] Under Rome, local currencies in the Roman Empire can be broadly divided into a trimetallic monetary system, formed of three distinct categories: gold and silver, which would have been used in large commercial transactions and payment of imperial taxes, and bronze or base metal, coinage, which, as discussed above, would have primarily been used for small daily transactions. Golden aurei, although acting as a stabilising influence on the value of both silver and bronze coinage, were of such a high value as to not commonly appear in normal circulation, and there is no evidence that gold coins were ever struck in Syria.[72]

Silver was minted in both Sidon and Tyre, although Sidon's issues ceased in AD 43 or 44, whilst Tyrian shekels – the required tribute made by the Jewish people to the Great Temple at Jerusalem – continued to be struck until the First Jewish War.[73] Once production of shekels ceased, the shortfall in silver coinage was taken up by Antioch, which began minting silver tetradrachms in a similar style at the official provincial mint.[74] The *Roman Provincial Coinage* project asserts that, unlike the economic situation in the west of the empire, there is little to no evidence for the domination of the denarius in local silver currencies, stating that, despite the growth in the circulation of the denarius in the Julio-Claudian period as far to the east as Greece and Cyrenaica, there is no evidence of denarii being produced in Syria, where local silver currencies provided the region with their economic needs.[75] However, circulate there denarii evidently did, with hoard evidence from the second century AD indicating that tetradrachms and denarii circulated alongside each other in the provinces

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[71] Augé (1989) 166. As Burnett notes, 'it was entirely typical of Roman administration to leave an existing system well alone, and to intervene only in response to specific needs or problems' Burnett (1987) 32.

[72] Katsari (2011) 101; Butcher (2004). There have, however, been coin hoards containing both denarii and aurei in Syria: Katsari (2011) 109; Butcher (2012) 469.

[73] Burnett (2002) 116; RPC Supplement p.45-6.

[74] Millar (1993) 289.

[75] Burnett *et al* (1991) 12.

of Syria, Palestine and Arabia, although a lack of hoard evidence means that the situation in the first century AD is rather more obscure.[76] Some question whether denarii circulated in Syria during the first century AD at all, although later coin hoards demonstrate that denarii were saved alongside Syrian tetradrachms, which suggests that there may have been some similarities in economic value.[77] Denarii were issued in Syria from the Flavian period, being introduced to the province under Vespasian.[78] When a new Roman silver coinage was created for the province, the type and standard weight were derived from the Seleucid tetradrachm coinage issued from Antioch and by AD 100, previous tetradrachms issued before Nero seem to have been withdrawn.[79]

The decision to focus on the bronze coinage issued by this region is a natural path to take. Bronze arguably formed the basis of the majority of monetary transactions in urban centres and more rural areas, with silver and gold predominantly the reserve of commercial and governmental transactions.[80] With these currencies being beyond the reach of most citizens for use in their everyday transactions, a deliberate choice has been made here to limit this thesis to bronze civic coins alone. It should be acknowledged that locally produced civic coins formed only one part of the local monetary economy, with imperially produced bronze coins, silver and gold coins, and coins issued by other cities also in circulation. The choice has been made to focus on civic coins strictly in relation to their city of issue, irrespective of imperial-produced bronzes, denarii or tetradrachms or aurei With the current lack of secure numismatic data, the varying proportions of civic bronze coins, both issued and in circulation, in comparison to other types of coinage would be extremely challenging to determine and is, at present, beyond the scope of this study, which has

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[76] Butcher (2003b) 59.
[77] RPC I, 12-3, 29, 587; Butcher (2004) 183.
[78] Butcher (2004) 51; 95-98; 192-195.
[79] Butcher (2004) 51; 181-183.
[80] Katsari (2011) 222-225.

deliberately chosen to focus on this more 'everyday' currency. As it stands in relation to this focus, we can probably assume that locally produced bronzes would have been the most familiar coin type that a non-elite citizen would have encountered on a daily basis.

2.4 Methodological challenges: authority and audience

As with any form of ancient evidence, numismatics has its limitations. Numerous questions can significantly affect our interpretation of the material: can they be considered representative of the community? Would the designs have been meaningful and understood by the average citizen in the marketplace, or would they have only been recognised as ideologically relevant by a small percentage of the community, such as the educated elite? Would people have actively looked at the images carried on these coins, or would they have been largely unnoticed, much like coins today? These concerns can be largely addressed by engaging with the methodological challenges of 'authority', the question of who was responsible for minting the city's coinage and approving designs, and their intended 'audience'.

The question of who was responsible for issuing coins – civic or imperial – is one that is often raised in numismatic scholarship. For civic coinage, to know who was in charge of approving designs would be a step towards understanding possible motivations and influences behind the choice of images that appeared on coinage, a valuable asset when considering how these images relate to identity.[81] We can speculate from the appearance of civic coins who was responsible for their production. Considering the close relationship between the political elite and provincial administration offices in ancient Rome, it is not too much of a leap to assume that the elite of Phoenician cities would have also monitored

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[81] Butcher (2007) 144.

the local economy and production of civic coinage. If these public officials also held some form of religious office, they would be well aware of the important role that religious traditions, whether ritual or cult, played in expressions of ideological power. At one level, it can be seen as a means by which local elites exercised their collective power, defined by Slootjes as 'a situation in which a group of people, working alongside each other, can enhance their joint power over others'.[82] By adapting religious imagery, the elite could have reaffirmed their own status, not only as mediators between the community and the Roman authorities, but also between representing the interests of the community to the divine world. As in Rome, first the Republican aristocracy, and later the emperors, used religious offices to establish, promote, and legitimise their power over the community, perhaps these symbols were chosen in order to reflect religious buildings or divine beings that held some form of emotive power over the community, whether traditionally or at the time of issue.[83] By being seen to honour the appropriate gods and promote symbols of value and authority to the community, the elite could reinforce and legitimise their own administrative power. If we recall the Sestos inscription, it is worth noting that the people elected men who would oversee coin production 'piously and justly'. The explicit emphasis on the need for pious men perhaps may simply reflect the people's concerns about placing officials to be responsible for civic funds, but it may also indicate some form of moral responsibility for being in charge of producing the city's local coinage.

As discussed in more detail above, the concern that coin types would have gone largely unnoticed by the majority was voiced notably by Jones (1956). To examine coin imagery from the foundation that coin reverses were largely meaningless reduces their effectiveness as a source of evidence for public expression, whether this be in relation to religion, identity, political affiliations, and the like. Williamson (2005) argues that coin

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[82] Slootjes (2011) 241.
[83] Rives (2000) 258.

types reflect conscious political choices by the relevant authority, which may reflect wider social attitudes, attempt to modify these attitudes, or ignore them.[84] Others have argued that coin imagery does not reflect expressions of communal identity, but at best it should be seen as a record of the political and ideological discourse of city elites, but even this author acknowledges that this was in all likelihood conducted through images that would not alienate other citizens.[85] It seems unlikely that Phoenician civic coin types were solely used for social capital. They did not include moneyer's name, or slogans that connected them to a particular family. It may have been that those in charge of coin production favoured designs featuring cults with which they were closely associated, but some of these types continued for centuries, and it seems unlikely that they were slavishly copied from previous issues merely in the name of tradition, or through lack of effort. As will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, imagery could change depending on political stimuli, which indicates that the content of coin types were valued by at least some who used them.

It also seems unlikely that only one audience was targeted by coin types. Even if coin types were, as Belayche argues, the medium that expressed loyalty to the empire and the holder of *imperium*, then the reverse can still be of value to us, as it will demonstrate what was considered a politically 'safe' choice of imagery.[86] If we take the view that coins did not travel beyond one city, and were primarily the local, inward-facing medium that Harl (1987) considers them to be, even then a vast number of people would have handled these coins.[87] Their low economic value means that they would typically have been traded and not stored in hoards unless they were saved in exceptional quantities, such as the 600 bronzes preserved in *CHRE* 8063. If these coins' sole function was to provide small change,

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[84] Williamson (2005) 19.
[85] Belayche (2003) 128.
[86] Belayche (2003) 126.
[87] Harl (1987) 13.

then there must have been an emphasis on recognisability – images that could have been identified quickly and easily, with a minimum of text for an illiterate viewer. Over the course of this thesis, this idea of identifiable characteristics will be revisited. The coin abbreviations of civic titles most commonly used, such as COL and MET[RO], would probably have been recognised by most, and different viewers would have been able to gain different levels of understanding and meaning from types.

The variety of types and absence of an overwhelmingly evident message (at least, for a modern viewer) does not seem to reflect attempts by a civic elite to sway the opinion of the wider community. It is the hope of this thesis that, by analysing a range of coin types, it will be possible to demonstrate that coins were a meaningful form of public expression. With the introduction of new types and stylistic development, it may be possible to ascertain that types did not ignore social attitudes, but rather engaged with them, and new types reflect when these attitudes change.

2.5 Coin imagery: symbolism and meaning

The concept of *meaning* is a persistent and contentious theme in the study of coin imagery. If we are to assert that coins can be used as a lens through which to study local identities, then the designs themselves have to engage at some level with the target audience, in this case, the issuing community. These images may not have been expressly approved by the authorities, although it is unlikely that they would have struck types that criticised any aspects of Roman rule. However, this should not be seen to lessen their ideological potential. Even in Rome itself, there is evidence that there was some concern with choosing appropriate and meaningful types for coin reverses, with a series of tridrachms and didrachms that were intended for circulation in Syria, minted in Rome during the second

consulship of Trajan, and which bore the images of Atargatis, the great Syrian Goddess, and her consort Hadad.[88] Similarly, a series of tetradrachms also feature the bust of Melqart, a traditional design for silver coinage also intended for Syrian use (fig. 2.2).[89] Here we can see a deliberate attempt on behalf of the Roman authorities to mint designs that would be recognised as appropriate to contemporary religious iconography in Syria. Although there certainly must have been some practical advantages to making coins intended for Syria visually distinct from coins destined for other provinces, it seems to indicate that at least some effort was made to produce recognisable reproductions of significant regional deities, perhaps out of respect for the cities in the province. The imperially produced coinage would have been perfectly valid without this regional choice of imagery, perhaps by engaging with the visual and religious culture of the region, the local elites in charge would have been more amenable to Roman rule. Considering the speed at which coinage was seized upon in Rome as a visual battleground for political dominance during the late Republic, and subsequently during the Triumvirate and the Imperial period, it is difficult to give credence to the potential criticism that coinage was not intended to be looked at.[90]

This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.
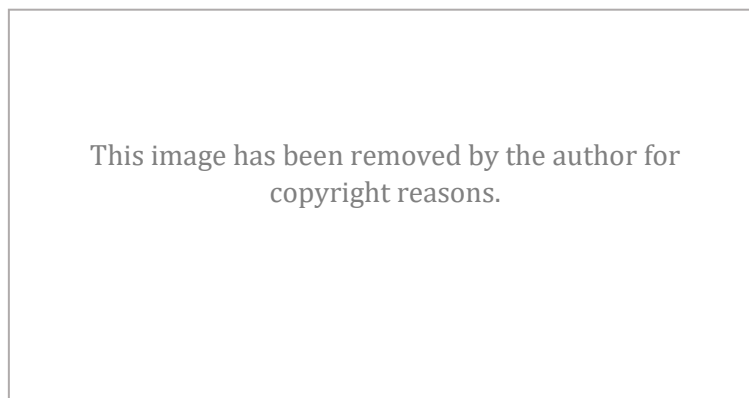
Figure 2.2: Silver tetradrachm minted in Rome for Syrian circulation. AD 103-111. 25mm, 14.9g. ANS 1968.57.137.

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[88] For detailed discussion of Atargatis, see the magisterial work by Lightfoot (2003), especially 1-44.
[89] Butcher (2007b) 278.
[90] For comments on individual use of coin imagery for political means, see Burnett (1987) 71; Wallace-Hadrill (1986) 74; Koortbojian (2006) 184; Zanker (1990) 54.

2.6 Conclusions

In the same way in which Republican coinage has been rather unfairly criticised for what was considered its aesthetically poor designs, Price and Trell (1977) believed that bronze civic coins have been likewise neglected due to their low monetary value and frequent corrosion.[91] As Republican coin types were later interpreted as placing emphasis on conveying messages through their visual content and symbolic language, it is now time that civic coins are recognised as equally valued for their communicative and ideological potential.[92] Each coin type can be treated as a unique piece of art, created by an artist with the focus on celebrating and reaffirming a city's identity, whether through its mythical origins, monumental architecture, or local deities. After all, in a largely illiterate or multilingual society, visual culture 'functioned as a literal text legible to all'.[93] It is inarguable that any study of material and visual culture – from any period – that attempts to reconstruct the level of meaning that a viewer may have bestowed upon an image or object is on unstable ground. Artistic response cannot be grouped neatly into a 'one size fits all' answer, for a person's background – whether this be wealth, social status, ethnicity, gender, age, character, education – would have impacted upon the interpretation of the image, and caused the viewer to react to it in different ways. It is also possible that some citizens would not have been overly concerned with what was shown on their coin reverses, and perhaps long-running traditional types would have been so widely recognised that they would have formed part of the visual background, where viewers were so familiar with these images as to barely notice them. However, these images were specifically chosen to represent the community to outsiders, as well as to reflect back symbols of belonging to

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[91] Harlan (1995) v; Price and Trell (1977) 15.
[92] Harlan (1995) v.
[93] Favro (1993) 231.

citizens. To recognise the images as familiar is to be a part of a social group united in collective understanding, and to be a member of the social 'in' crowd, a crucial aspect of the definition of identity pertinent to this study, as established above (1.4.1). Although to chase answers on how *individuals* may have responded to these images may well be a fruitless task, this thesis is more interested in seeking how these images could have been significant to the community as a *collective*. For this is the value of numismatic visual evidence; it showcases a variety of different scenes, long lost to the modern viewer, emphasising the elements that these artists considered most significant at the time. These are idealised, carefully selected designs, showing images of which the community could be proud, whether as a means of promoting their wealth and resources, cultural heritage, social standing, or honouring the gods. These images helped to create a visual dialogue with the citizens, and they could engage with as many of these themes as they chose.

Chapter Three

Representing the Divine

> Have you thought about what it means to be a god?...It means that everyone gets to recreate you in their own minds...you're a thousand aspects of what people need you to be. And everyone wants something different from you. Nothing is fixed, nothing is stable.

> Neil Gaiman, *American Gods*.

Although taken from a 2001 novel that deals with the multitude of religious beliefs in contemporary America, the above quote encapsulates the multi-faceted and amorphous character of religious practice in the Roman provinces. In a similar vein, Tertullian despaired at the array of local deities, writing that '*unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Astartes'*.[1] The Astarte of one city does not necessarily correspond to the Astarte of its neighbour, but can this fluidity be effectively conveyed through coin imagery? Our evidence for religious life in Roman Phoenicia is primarily comprised of visual and material culture, ranging from small votive objects, to altars, to the remains of monumental temples. Of these, coin imagery offers the most varied and plentiful source of visual evidence, preserving images of a host of deities, the identities of many of whom are lost. In addition, coinage as a medium offers an interesting blend of the divine and the profane. Coins were handled daily and their size, weight and material indicate that they were of low economic value, but they carry sacred images of local deities. The 'cleansing' of the money-changers based within the courtyards of the temple of Jerusalem, recorded in

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[1] Tert. *Apol.* 24.7: 'Each province also and city-state has its own god, as Syria has Astartes' (tr. R.D. Sider 2001).

the Gospels, indicates that civic coins and religion could share physical space.[2] In circulating images of the city's gods, coinage served to embed the image in daily experience, making the deity a familiar sight beyond the confines and restrictions of cultic space and rituals.[3] Cult images were typically separated from the profane city, safely protected within the sacred boundaries of temple space. Although they could be brought outside the temple, they were both symbolically and physically separated from the everyday. Coin reproductions of divine imagery subverted this separation of sacred and secular, although, perhaps, attempts to represent deities within their temples could have been a gesture to not only contextualise the image, but also to ameliorate this symbolic removal of the cult image from the protection of its sacred space. It is fortunate for us that it was so, as coins preserve a visual repository of numerous deities and personifications, which grants us a glimpse into the variety of religious life in local communities. Chapter Two established that coins should be treated as idealised images, which were chosen on behalf of the community to best represent them to both intra- and inter-communal audiences. This subsequent chapter will apply these findings to the representation of local deities to explore what messages may have been communicated.

3.1 Research focus

With few studies focusing on representations of gods in Phoenicia during the Roman period, this chapter intends to use divine representations to explore how religion was used to promote civic identities, and how these cities interacted with wider cultural influences. As discussed throughout 1.2, scholars have frequently been divided over the extent to

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[2] Matthew 21.12; John 2.14; Indeed, perhaps Phoenician cities had similar establishments within the grounds of their urban temples, and if visitors to the city first visited the temple to give thanks for safe passage – as recorded by the narrator of Achilles Tatius – then it would be logical for money-changers to be available there: *Ach. Tat.* 1.2.
[3] Gaifman (2006) 260.

which Eastern provincial cities were impacted by Roman rule and, as such, the choices of how these gods were represented can be used as a lens through which to determine how civic authorities wished to represent themselves on a local, and possibly regional, level. The choice of attributes, costume and body type had the potential to open up a dialogue of iconographic associations with the wider Graeco-Roman world, with which an educated citizen could engage. The evidence will be analysed to discuss the various levels of associations and meaning that each representation of the god or goddess could possess. If a type is shown standing in isolation or interacting with another deity, it could tell us more about the city's perception of its relationship with the god, and we could subsequently explore the motivations and value of claiming a relationship with this deity.

Aliquot correctly asserts that it is impossible to explore the intimate relationship between a believer and their god based on images alone.[4] Consider attempting to understand the intricacies of Christian belief and ritual with only an image of the crucifix, or how to grasp the complexities of Islam or Judaism with mostly aniconic artistic traditions. This chapter makes no claims to comprehensively understand or reveal the true nature of these gods – assuming that they even had only one universally understood character – or to reconstruct the relationship between the believer and the deity. However, to attempt to interpret coin imagery on the basis that every citizen would look at these coin images in the guise of a worshipper is flawed. These were religious images, true, but they were portrayed on a secular medium, and this thesis will focus on how they were understood and used in a civic context. The iconography and symbolism deployed may help us to understand something of their nature, and the way in which the deity was shown might also indicate whether the image reflected a consecrated cult image, or whether it showed a reproduction of the cult image that could indicate its popularity and proliferation within the city. If the deities were

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[4] Aliquot (2009) 129.

shown in manifest form, what messages could this be communicating about the city's relationship with its gods? Although architectural types will be addressed in Chapter Four, if deities were depicted within an architectural context, it may be possible to speculate that the type is referring to a specific cult site known to the city. It is vital to draw a distinction between the roles of religious belief and mentality; rather than questioning the role of religious *belief* for citizens of Roman Phoenicia – a tangled and almost limitless topic that represents a digression too vast to undertake here – this chapter will focus on the social value of religious *mentality*. If coin images are accepted as appealing to popular social attitudes, then we can explore how these images could have been interpreted by those within the city. This can be developed to also look beyond merely local representations, and examine whether the same deities were widely represented throughout Phoenicia, which may indicate a sense of a wider provincial identity.

As was discussed in 1.4.2, religious practice could be a key aspect of identity, and religious mentality is often considered to be an area of identity that most clearly reflects contemporary social attitudes. As such, religion has become a key focus for studies on identity and cultural exchanges, and the images of deities shown on coins will be analysed to explore their relationship to external cultural influences. Teixidor argues that the epigraphic record demonstrates that local religions remained unchanged by growing Graeco-Roman influences, taking a similar approach to those who espoused the idea of a cultural façade masking traditional beliefs, which continued unaffected out of Roman sight (1.2.2).[5] Although the forthcoming IGLS publications of inscriptions should shed a great deal of light on how people interacted and engaged with deities in the public sphere, coins can also be used to explore whether, and if so, how, the appearance of deities was affected by the response to Roman control.

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[5] Teixidor (1977) 6.

3.1.2 Representing the divine

Representations of the divine were vital to engagement with a deity. Religions throughout history have been characterised through the dedication and veneration of images, and their visualisation gave physical form and presence to the intangible. Lucian recounts that when the 'new' god Glycon was first discovered, a multitude of divine images were in circulation even before the name of the deity had been decided, demonstrating the power and importance of representations of the gods.[6] As the deity was not required to show themselves to their worshippers, it fell to mortals to decide on the proper representation of their god or goddess. These cult images can be roughly grouped into two main classifications, the anthropomorphic and the aniconic.

An anthropomorphic image could offer the illusion of coherence and understanding for the worshipper, and thus the ostensibly human presence of the deity could help to bridge the gap between the human and the divine.[7] A recognisably anthropomorphic deity was rendered in terms that a human audience could more easily understand, with its attributes, acolytes and composition all providing clues to the deity's nature and realms of influence, which allowed the opportunity to connect and communicate with the deity on a more conceivable level. In the discussion below, it is worth noting that not all images of the deity were reproductions of the cult image itself, a distinction made by Latin terminology, which tends to define the two separately, with a cult image of the god termed as *simulacrum*, but statues of gods that were not specifically venerated seem to have been referred to as *signa*.[8] Cult images were not limited to statuary in the round, but could also include votive

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[6] Luc. *Alex.* 18.
[7] Gordon (1979) 13.
[8] Stewart (2003) 22-23. For further discussion on the distinction between cult images and divine images, see Mylonopoulos (2010) 1-20.

paintings that had been dedicated to the temple.[9] At Hösn Niha in the Beqaʻ Valley, deep dowel holes in the back wall of the Great Temple's *adyton* have been interpreted as fixtures to support a cult relief or stele, rather than a statue.[10] Engagement with different styles of sculpture and iconography could have indicated a city's cultural knowledge and heritage and provided a wealth of influences to draw upon. With the myriad of cultural influences that was at work within Phoenicia, the style of a cult image could reveal much insight into the character of the city possessing the image.

In contrast, the very ambiguity of aniconic cult objects, with the absence of recognisable human features or attributes, testified to the incomprehensible nature of divine power. Unshaped objects were popular cult objects in the Near East, but traditionally were also worshipped elsewhere. Plain wooden planks are recorded as being used as cult objects in Archaic Greece, such as the image of Hera at Samos, which was 'in accordance with ancient custom, a piece of wood, not carved by chisels', where its perceived venerability only added to its prestige.[11] These early divine images are usually defined by the term ξόανον, which initially was used to indicate an image carved from wood but, over time, came to be used for a more general image of statue, usually of a god.[12] These unworked images were previously subject to value judgements by some scholars, who interpreted them as primitive predecessors to the *mimesis* and naturalism that was the inevitable artistic goal.[13]

Fallen meteorites could also be interpreted as divine gifts and were subsequently venerated. A Near Eastern term for these fallen stones was *baityloi*, which was used to describe animated stones that fell from the sky. Philo of Byblos records how the Phoenician

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[9] Ach. Tat. 1.2.
[10] Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) 128.
[11] Callim. *Aet.* 4 fr.100.
[12] Xen. *An.* 5.3.12, then Eur. *IT* 1359, Paus. 8.17.2
[13] For the epistemology of Greek aniconic art, see Gaifman (2010) 63-70.

goddess Astarte found a fallen star, consecrated it and gave it to the city of Tyre to worship.[14] Today, the term *baetyl* is used to refer to aniconic cult images, objects that could be completely unworked or notionally worked objects, usually stones. They could also be considered to reflect the city's ancient past and its presence implied a highly valued sense of antiquity, which in Phoenician cities could have been valued as proof of the city's venerability, as well as acknowledgment of and engagement with its pre-Roman heritage.[15] The appearance of *baetyls* offered the city a chance for almost complete exclusivity, offering a range of shapes from cones, cubes, spheres or pyramids, which were more difficult to reproduce by other cities, and thus provided the city with an almost unique icon of civic identity.[16]

For both aniconic and anthropomorphic statues, there seems to have been little to no regulation on how a deity was portrayed to its worshippers. Deuteronomy condemns the rituals of Near Eastern religions as 'abominations' and denounces 'their idols of wood, stone, silver and gold'.[17] Whether aniconic or anthropomorphic, the cult object could be used by the deity as a medium through which they could communicate and make their wishes known to the beholder. Statues and cult objects could provide a level of direct interaction atypical of most religious practices today.[18] The cult statue of Artemis of Tauris is reported to have turned away and closed its eyes when offered polluted sacrifices.[19] Strabo describes how the wooden statue of Athena at Troy closed its eyes upon witnessing the rape of Cassandra, and again when the city fell.[20] Even Lucian records – perhaps

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[14] Philo of Byblos, 2.31.
[15] Gaifman (2010) 70.
[16] Butcher (2003) 338-339.
[17] Deuteronomy 29.17.
[18] Alleged divine manifestations are usually still interpreted as messages from the divinity, such as 2003 reports of a statue of the Madonna who cried tears of blood, supposedly as a sign of dismay during an outbreak of violence in Bangladesh: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/2775461.stm
[19] Eur. *IT.* 1165-1170.
[20] Strabo 6.1.14.

cynically – that, at Hierapolis, cries could be heard from inside the sanctuary after it had been locked for the night.[21] Interference with the statues dedicated to the gods risked harming the positive influence of the god and sanctuary and, as such, proper maintenance and respect of cult images and their temples was critical to the wellbeing of the community in which it was venerated, and these were considered to belong to that community in some way.[22]

In response to the range and diversity of divine representations and to fully address the research questions that have been raised, the following discussion has been divided into three categories: the anthropomorphic, the aniconic, and the absent. As a result of the quantity of types, the intention of this chapter is not to catalogue every deity depicted on Phoenician coin types, but rather to carefully select certain 'types' of deities, with the aim of comparing material across a range of cities. For anthropomorphic deities, the analysis will focus on the deities that occur in the greatest numbers, based on the assumption that there must have been underlying reasons to justify types featuring the same deity to be produced in that volume. The second category, aniconic representations, will be examined to address the popularity and social significance behind of deities represented in this style, and compare how they differed from anthropomorphic representations. Finally, the numismatic evidence will be assessed to ask whether there were any notable absences of important and prestigious deities in civic types, to address the validity of coins as a resource to study religious history.

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[21] Lucian, *Syr. D.* 10.
[22] Cic. *Verr*. 48-52; Dignas (2002) 220-221.

3.2 Anthropomorphic images

With such a wealth of visual evidence to work with, decisions on how to select which deities to analyse have been made. Rather than attempting to address the entire range of gods preserved on the civic coinages of Roman Phoenicia, an endeavour that would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis, a more select range of divinities will be discussed. This more restricted approach will allow this study to explore the deity and its relationship with the city of issue more fully, and analyse how coin imagery reflected and interacted with Greek and Roman influences. This first area of discussion will focus on representations of deities that were either significantly influenced by or shared a close relationship to their Graeco-Roman counterparts: Poseidon and Melqart - commonly known in antiquity as Tyrian Herakles. By exploring gods who had strong parallels with those in the Graeco-Roman pantheon, it will be more possible to draw conclusions regarding to what extent they were influenced by external influences. Additionally, as their iconography is more familiar to the modern viewer, any discrepancies will be more apparent than if this thesis was analysing a more obscure and less plentifully represented range of deities.

3.2.1 Melqart

The first record of the god Melqart, the "lord of the city", is first recorded under King Hiram of Tyre, a contemporary of David and Solomon, who ruled from approximately 962 to 929 BC. The king constructed temples dedicated to Melqart and Ashtart, and first celebrated the annual *egersis* of Melqart*,* the 'awakening', which is usually interpreted as evidence of Melqart's status as a god of death and regeneration.[23] The similarities between Melqart and Herakles were recognised by the Greeks from an early stage, with a reference in Herodotus

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[23] Joseph. *AJ* 8.146; Lipiński (1995) 219; 233-234; Clifford (1990) 57.

to a temple of Herakles at Tyre, which had reportedly been established 2300 years previously when the city was first founded, and this association continued until the first century BC.[24] Herodotus mentions the ancient temple and cult dedicated to 'Tyrian Herakles' and concludes that there was evidence of at least two forms of Herakles, one being the divine son of Zeus, and the other, a deceased Tyrian hero.[25] The Macedonians also recognised the antiquity of the cult at Tyre, and associated Melqart with their Herakles.[26] The cult of Melqart was established around the Mediterranean by Phoenician colonists, one of the most famous being the ninth-century BC sanctuary at Gades.[27] Hannibal and the Barcids maintained a close affinity to the god of their mother-city during the third century BC, where Melqart was considered to be the protector of Tyre.[28] These colonies reportedly never forgot their deity's Tyrian origins, apparently even sending tithes and *spolia* to adorn the Tyrian temple.[29] The relationship between Melqart and Herakles was firmly established, as was his role as a tutelary god of Tyre, and a second century BC bilingual inscription from Malta was dedicated to "Melqart Lord of Tyre" in Phoenician and to *Heraklei archēgetis* in Greek.[30] The epithet *archēgetis* has the nuance of a city or dynastic founder, and the ways in which Tyre promoted Melqart in his role of city founder and protector on its coins will be discussed below.[31] There are dedications to Melqart known from elsewhere in Phoenicia, with an inscription from Aradus, dated to 25 or 24 BC, dedicated to Hermes and Herakles in the Greek and Melqart in the Phoenician, although Hermes was simply transliterated from the Greek.[32] At present, further knowledge of his cultic character is limited by the significant lack of published epigraphic evidence from Tyre

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[24] Hdt. 2.44.1-3; Diod. Sic. XVII.40.2.
[25] Hdt. 2.44.5.
[26] Arr. *Anab*. II.16.
[27] Strabo 3.5.5; for more discussion of this sanctuary see Garcia y Bellido (1963) and Mierse (2004).
[28] Livy 30.49.5; Miles (2011) 265-267.
[29] Quinn (2018) 113.
[30] IGLS XIV 600; CIS 122 and 222a; KAI 47.
[31] Stafford (2012).
[32] IGLS VII 4001; Millar (1993) 271.

itself.[33] It is during the Roman period that imagery associated with Melqart began to enjoy much popularity in Tyre as a reverse and obverse symbol of the city on its bronze coins, but at present let us briefly review how Melqart was treated on Tyrian coinage before this point.

For clarity, the following discussion will use the term Melqart to describe this deity to emphasise his close relationship with Tyre. It must, however, be acknowledged that the deity had long been recognised by the name Herakles as well as Melqart and, at least on coinage, the god was depicted with recognised Graeco-Roman Herakleian characteristics. In referring to this god as Melqart, it should be stressed that this is not an attempt to suggest that, despite his Western attributes, his 'authentic' nature persevered unaffected by Graeco-Roman influence. The term 'Melqart' is merely to emphasise his Tyrian identity and long presence within Phoenicia.

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Figure 3.1: Half-shekel issued by Ptolemy II, Tyre, 271-246 BC. 42mm, 71.48g. ANS 1948.19.2362. Original size.

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[33] Lipiński (1995) 226.

The club of Melqart itself had been depicted on Tyrian coinage from the third century BC, where it was shown on the reverse of a series of Ptolemaic half-shekels, paired with an eagle (fig. 3.1). The obverse was paired with the horned and bearded Zeus Ammon, the divine symbol of royal authority whose image legitimised the divinity of Alexander the Great and his Ptolemaic successors.[34] The club did not appear as an isolated reverse type in its own right until the Seleucid dynasty regained control of Phoenicia from 199 BC.[35] Later, autonomous Tyrian shekels adopted a similar style, replacing the obverse image of the king with the head of Melqart, which were issued by Tyre from 126 BC until AD 43 or 44 (fig. 3.2).[36] The god was shown with Hellenistic attributes, crowned with a laurel wreath and with a lion-skin knotted around his shoulders at the very edge of the flan, and a club featuring on the reverse to the left of the ever-present eagle. Silver tetradrachms and tridrachms bearing his likeness were produced in Rome for circulation in Syria, indicating their status as icons of the religious character of the region.[37]

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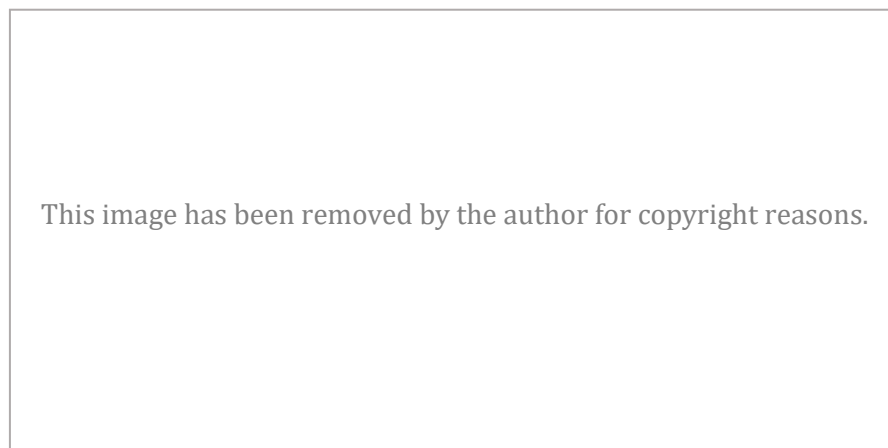
Figure 3.2: Shekel of Tyre, 43/42 BC. 28.24mm, 13.92g. Agora Auction, Auction 65 Lot 39, 14th March 2017.

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[34] Hölbl (2001) 98-99.
[35] See Grainger (1990) 87-105, especially 102-105.
[36] ANS 1948.19.2362; SNG Cop. 141.
[37] Butcher (2007b) 278.

Type One – club and wreath
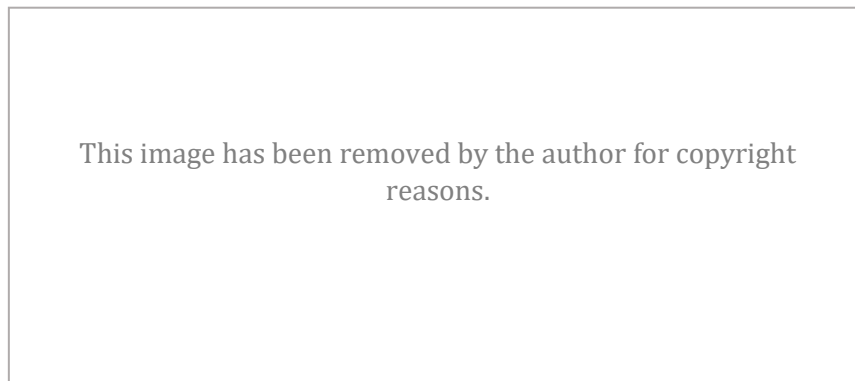
Figure 3.3: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Antoninus Pius, AD 153/154. 22mm, 9.32g. Babelon 2175.

The combination of obverse head and reverse club that was popularised under the Seleucids continued in a stylistically similar form in the Roman period, with issues that date until the rule of Commodus (fig. 3.3; **TYR002**).[38] This coin type is fairly standardised, with little variation over the centuries, which is unsurprising given the symbolic nature of the design where the emphasis is on the readily identifiable symbol. The absence of an obverse portrait of the ruler makes this one of Tyre's 'pseudo-autonomous' coins, where the image of the emperor was replaced by a local deity, in this case by Melqart. His hair is short and curled, and he is crowned with a laurel wreath. A lion-skin is knotted around the god's neck, although in a considerable number of specimens it is absent, either due to corrosion caused by its placement on the edge of the coin, or in some cases may have been accidentally struck off the flan entirely.[39] However, the god remains recognisable thanks to his consistent hairstyle, along with the bulging neck musculature.

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[38] BMC 268 (37/36 BC); Lindgren III 1465 (AD 93/94); BMC 360 (AD 183/184).
[39] RPC 4.6824; Babelon 2168, 2175.

Considering the argument made by Wallace-Hadrill, detailed in Chapter Two, that we should consider both sides of this type as a unified visual programme, let us consider the coin type as a whole, rather than isolating the reverse. The obverse image of Melqart combined with the club presents a view of Melqart much in keeping with the Graeco-Roman style. The exaggerated muscles are somewhat reminiscent of the Farnese Herakles or the Herakles Epitrapezios sculptural types but, in contrast to this typical Graeco-Roman sculptural tradition, the Tyrian Melqart is always depicted clean-shaven, in keeping more with the Herakles depicted on the obverses of Alexander the Great (fig. 3.4). The obverse type of Melqart feels somewhat generic, with little variation or identifiable facial characteristics across different specimens. This could indicate that artists were not using just one model to reproduce the image but, instead, could have drawn upon a variety of images of the god, all with the curly hair, strong chin and bulging neck, but not similar enough to be undoubtedly the same original model. The rather non-remarkable appearance of this god is interesting, and perhaps, much like the traditional and typically non-specific Tyche obverses (see 5.3), the obverse type of Melqart was intended to show the connection between the city and the deity, but was not a reflection of his divine character. The image of Melqart continues well into the Roman period, where it is shown on the reverse of the city's silver coins while paired with an imperial image on the obverse.[40]

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[40] Righetti 889.

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Figure 3.4: Tetradrachm issued by Seleucus III Soter, minted in Syria, possibly Mint of Laodicea ad Mare, c.225 BC. 33mm, 16.99g. Price 3236.

The reverse design complements and further identifies the deity on the obverse. As discussed above, the club had been a symbol of Tyre for centuries, and is the attribute of Melqart *par excellence.* The absence of the emperor or reference to Rome is noteworthy, but the sentiment that Tyrian bronze coinage offers 'no reflection whatsoever of the existence of [the] emperors' is one that should be treated with caution.[41] Although the emperor is not shown, the differences between the pre-Roman coin type and the subsequent changes made to the design issued under Roman rule reflect the impact of subtle Roman cultural influences. Notably, the god is shown wearing a laureate crown, not a lion-skin hood or a diadem in the manner of the Hellenistic kings, suggesting that the city could have been engaging with contemporary symbols of political authority. The laureate crown distances the design from its earlier precedents under the Seleucid kings and

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[41] Millar (1993) 289.

acknowledges the change in the dominant political authority in the Mediterranean, whilst not going quite as far yet as to depict a portrait of the ruling emperor.

The civic title of *metropolis* is also celebrated as MHTPO, and although the legend is written in Greek, the Greek language would have been more widely understood than Latin in the region at this time. In the context of the wider Roman empire, the title of *metropolis* enhanced the status of a city, and it appears that Tyre had used the title since the rule of Trajan, before it was officially confirmed by Hadrian.[42] Tyre could lay claim to the title through the traditional meaning of 'mother-city' due to its historical reputation of sending out colonists who founded eminent cities such as Carthage, but, under Roman control, the term became a political title that could be used to indicate the high status of a city – albeit one that could also be withdrawn to reflect a fall from favour.[43] Not only was Tyre promoting its status through Roman political institutions, both the inscription and club were enclosed within a *corona civica*, an unmistakably Roman symbol of power and virtue.[44]

Type Two – Phoenician *koinon*

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[42] *OGIS* no. 595; Millar (1993) 289.
[43] Butcher (2003) 101-103.
[44] Plin. *HN* 16.3. It cannot be argued that the oak wreath here is a reference to the Actian Games which Tyre was granted the right to celebrate at this time, as this crown was traditionally made from pointed reeds *c.f.* Klose (2005) 129.

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Figure 3.5: Bronze coin issued in Tyre, second century AD. 25mm, 9.96g. CNG Inc., E-auction 333 Lot 211, 20th August 2014.

The only other coin type that features an obverse type of Melqart first appeared in the second century AD (fig. 3.5; **TYR004**).[45] The obverse depicts Melqart in much the same style as the club and wreath type, whilst the reverse shows a frontal view of an octastyle temple, labelled as the Phoenician *koinon* (see 4.2.2 and 4.4.2). The coins are almost invariably marked with AKT or AKTI in the exergue, which has caused some confusion amongst scholars. Babelon interpreted AKT as numerals, which dated the coin to the local era 321 (AD 195/196). This view has support elsewhere; the *koinon* of Phoenicia named on the reverse may have been established in Tyre after Septimius Severus' creation of the new province of Syria Phoenice in AD 194, as a sign of imperial gratitude for the city's support against Pescennius Niger.[46] However, Hill wisely advocates caution against the reading of AKT as simply a date, stating that the common and concurrent occurrence of the AKTI label

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[45] Babelon 2182-2185.
[46] Burrell (2004) 252: Rather surprisingly, in her monograph on the subject of *koinon* and the imperial cult in Eastern cities, Burrell focuses exclusively on Tripolis and does not mention Tyre, on the basis of one coin naming Tripolis as *neokoros* (Rouvier 1754). This argument has been refuted by Sawaya (2011), who suggests that if Tripolis did proclaim itself *neokoros*, it may have only been awarded the title to punish Tyre for supporting the revolt of the *legio III Gallica* (p.608-611).

could instead be an abbreviation of AKTIA, a reference to the Actian Games.[47] Little detail

is known about the practical functions of the *koinon* but, it is known that once the institution

was first established in Antioch under Augustus, it was celebrated with games.[48] Perhaps it

is not unreasonable to hypothesise that not only was the Phoenician *koinon* at Tyre created

in reaction to the division of the province, meaning that the *koinon* at Antioch would no

longer suffice to serve the new province, but perhaps it was also celebrated with the

transformation of the Hellenistic *Heracleia* games to the *Actia Heracleia*.[49] If so, it is natural

that the institution would be celebrated on the coinage of the city, for the right to celebrate

games and festivals served as an indication of imperial approval and acknowledgement of

a city's prestigious nature.[50] The influx of competitors also had economic benefits for the

host city, which perhaps may have justified the injection of more currency into circulation.

The ambiguity between AKT and AKTI could refer to both the right to celebrate the Actian

games and the newly created province with its new administration. If so, it indicates that

artists could make creatively ambiguous statements about their designs, which could be

interpreted in a variety of different, yet accurate, ways. The rarity of the type, seemingly

only used for this one issue, suggests that it may have been created to commemorate the

newly established *koinon*. In this case, the presence of Melqart reaffirms that the *koinon*

was intrinsically linked to Tyre, despite its function as a meeting of regional representatives

across a province.

Rather than a complete denial of Roman power, this long-running obverse type has been

adapted to reflect the new political climate of the first and second centuries AD. By merging

the traditional symbols of power and status – Melqart, the club – with the more recent

Roman influences – the title of *metropolis,* the temple of the *koinon*, the oak wreath – Tyre

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[47] Hill (1910) cxxxvi.
[48] Millar (1993) 261.
[49] Sartre (2001) 343; Butcher (2003) 229.
[50] Klose (2005) 125-126; Gurval (1995) 78-80.

was redefining its superior status and rich cultural history with an updated visual vocabulary. The absence of the emperor was not an outright rejection of Roman authority as some have interpreted, but rather this coin type reaffirmed the prestigious nature of the city by combining traditional and contemporary symbols of civic power.

Type Three – Crowning trophy

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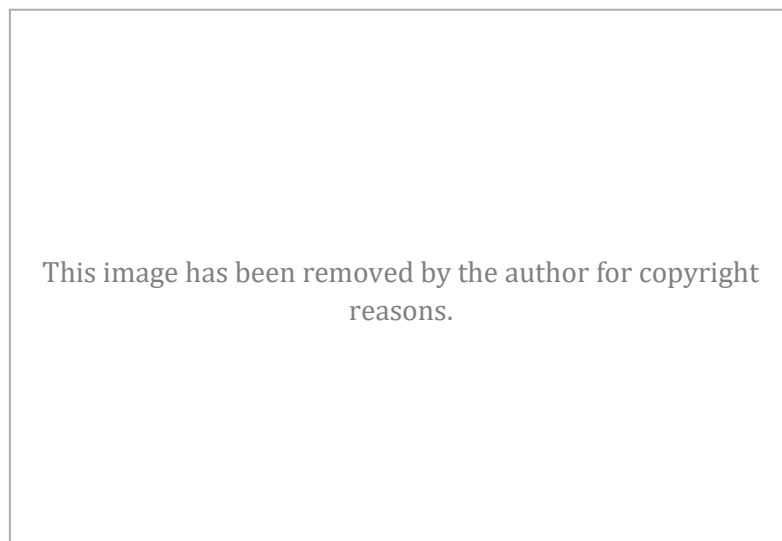
Figure 3.6: Bronze coin issued in Tyre under Septimius Severus, AD 193-211. 33mm, 29.39g. CNG Inc., E-auction 356, Lot 388, 29th July 2015.

Under Septimius Severus, Melqart began to be depicted on the reverse in a full-length anthropomorphic representation for the first time (fig. 3.6; **TYR005**). The god is shown standing nude, resting his club on his left shoulder, whilst he crowns a slightly smaller trophy to the left of the field. The city's civic title of *metropolis* is displayed in Latin on the reverse, alongside its new title of *colonia*. During the rule of Septimius Severus, a host of Eastern cities were awarded the status of *colonia*, not in the traditional meaning that they settled Roman veterans, but rather as a reflection of imperial favour. During the wars of the Year of the Five Emperors, Tyre publically declared in favour of Septimius Severus over

Pescennius Niger, which reportedly led to Niger burning the city to the ground, but it was subsequently rewarded under Severus with the title of *colonia*.[51] Again, the use of the trophy indicates an engagement with contemporary symbols of political power, as Tyre celebrated its loyalty to the new emperor as a means of broadcasting its coveted new *colonia* status. Some have even suggested that Melqart was associated with victory, which would make the triumphal connotations of the trophy even more powerful.[52]

The trophy had by this point moved away from referring to actual military victories and rather reflected the general concept of the victorious nature of the emperor, as well as his military prowess and glory. An excellent contemporary example of this is a series of denarii issued during the early years of Severus' reign, which sought to promote the legitimacy of his newly established dynasty by representing the young Caracalla as Caesar. The reverse dedicates the coin to the young Caesar as *princeps iuventutis*, the prince of youth, and shows Caracalla in military dress with a sceptre and a trophy when he was at most ten years old.[53] This change in visual vocabulary was reflected across the empire, and this type was also issued for circulation in Syria (fig. 3.7).[54] By depicting Melqart in the act of crowning the trophy, this design can be interpreted in numerous ways. As well as supporting the successes of Septimius Severus against his rivals, the choice of Melqart casts Tyre in an active role in the achievement of this victory. It could also have reinforced the Tyrian political victory of successfully navigating the turmoil of the Year of the Five Emperors and their fortuitous decision to have supported the victorious emperor, a political minefield that saw Berytus stripped of its territory as punishment for backing the wrong candidate. By adapting the new ideologies available with the trophy symbol, Tyre can be seen as celebrating its own political and social victory in terms of civic status in Phoenicia. As well

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[51] Hdn. 3.3.3-5.
[52] Erjali (2017) 6; 9.
[53] RIC IVa no.13a p.213.
[54] RIC IVa no.329 p.263

as the commemoration of Tyre's successful political manoeuvring and subsequently positive regard of the new emperor, this type also promotes its new status as *colonia*, and could also be interpreted as subtly referring to the imperial snub and punishment meted out to the rival city of Berytus.[55]
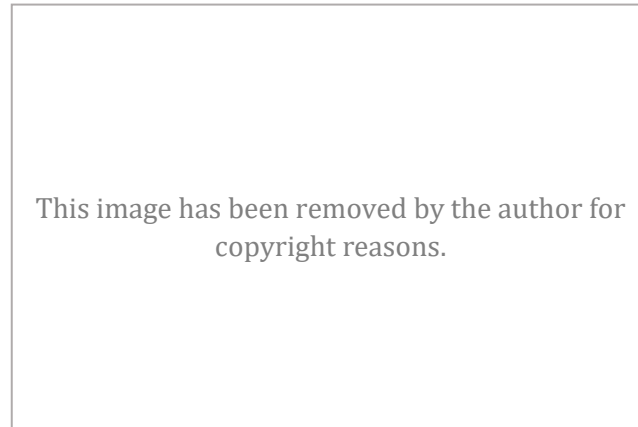
Figure 3.7: Denarius issued by Septimius Severus, AD 196/197. Mint of Laodicea ad Mare. 17.57mm, 2.89g. RIC IV no.329 p.263.

Considering the longevity of the type, which continued until the final issues of civic coinage when production in Tyre ceased under Gallienus, the design probably came to refer more to the glorious nature of Tyre than to a specific reference to one political event.[56] The victorious imagery is developed further in some later specimens, with a small Nike resting on a column appearing to the right of the field, who is reaching up to crown Melqart (fig. 3.8a; **TYR013**). A murex shell also appears next to the trophy, sometimes accompanied by a palm tree, unmistakable symbols associated with Tyre (fig.3.8b; **TYR017**). The composition of this type with the trophy is almost identical to the prolific coin series issued from the rule of Septimius Severus, which represents the city goddess Tyche, standing in

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[55] Herodian 3.3.3.
[56] BMC 485 (AD 260-268).

the same manner as Melqart (fig. 3.8c; **TYR006**), which was produced until the reign of Gallienus.[57]

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Figure 3.xa: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Tyre under Gordian III, AD 238-244. 26mm, 16.72g. Savoca Numismatik Live Online Auction 14 Lot 438, 23 April 2017. **Figure 3.Xb:** Reverse of bronze coin issued by Tyre under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 26mm, 11.94g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 832A. **Figure 3.xc**: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Tyre, under Julia Domna, AD 198-217. 27.94cm, 16.59g, BMC 369.

The type pictured in fig. 3.8c also includes a miniature form of Marsyas.[58] Marsyas was never shown with Melqart, which suggests that the Melqart composition was more strongly focused on traditional emblems of Tyrian authority and independence, whereas the Tyche type was more political, as reflected by the accompanying symbolism (see page 292). Perhaps the Tyche variant of this coin was aimed more at engaging viewers in a visual

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[57] BMC 475.
[58] RPC 9.2000.

dialogue that focused on contemporary symbols of status in Phoenicia, whereas the Melqart type prioritised the promotion of traditional symbols of Tyrian identity.

Type Four – Melqart sacrificing

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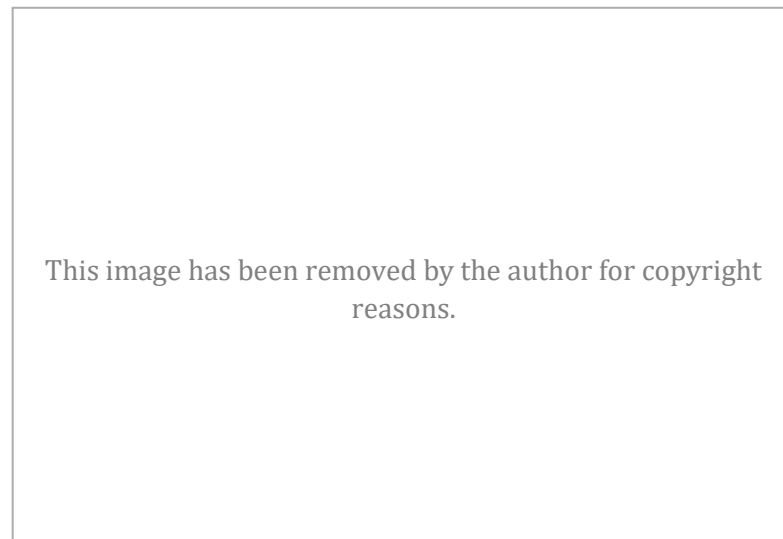
Figure 3.9: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Caracalla, AD 198-211. 34mm, 23.66g. Babelon 2198.

Under Caracalla, a new Melqart reverse type emerged (fig. 3.9; **TYR018; TYR022; TYR033**).[59] Here the god is shown full-length, standing nude in a contrapposto stance, towards the right of the field. A club rests in the crook of his left arm supported on his left shoulder, and the lion skin is draped over this arm. He is looking towards the left, and his right arm is outstretched holding a patera over an altar. In the upper left-hand register are two tall, domed objects, unidentified here but labelled on other coins as the Ambrosial Rocks (see 4.5.1).[60] Curved lines are depicted underneath the rocks, perhaps to signify

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[59] ANS 1944.100.81780; Babelon 2198.
[60] BMC 430.

stylised flowing water. As in the obverse depictions of Melqart, the god himself is still depicted beardless, and his musculature is clearly and carefully defined. The type continues for much of the city's minting history, with issues known from the reigns of Gordian III and until the rules of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, in the final years of the city's coinage.[61] It shows the god in an unusually active role, engaging and interacting with another known monuments within the city. As we shall see throughout this thesis, Tyrian coins favoured the motif of gods paying honours to other deities and civic institutions in this manner, demonstrating a close relationship between the city and its gods.

Ptolemais-Akke

Type One – club and wreath

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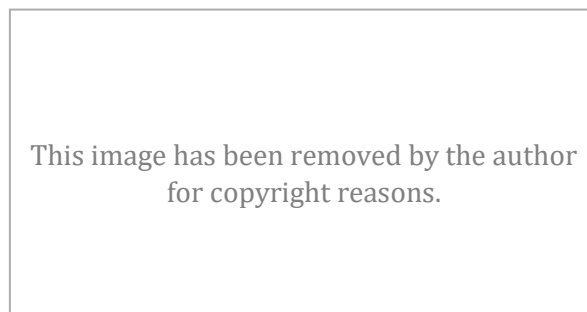
Figure 3.10: Bronze coin issued by Ptolemais-Akke under Claudius, AD 52-54. 14.4mm, 2.98g. Agora Auctions, Sale 37 Lot 136, 28 July 2015.

There is one final type concerning Melqart that must be addressed, a short-lived series issued in Ptolemais-Akke that features a club enclosed within a laurel wreath (**PTO002**).

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[61] BMC 427; RPC 9.2040; Babelon 2308-9.

The image is accompanied by the legend COL PTOL, which has led it to be dated to the reign of Claudius when the city was named as a *colonia* (fig. 3.10).[62] The type bears an exceptionally strong similarity to the type struck in Tyre, other than the obverse, which depicts a bearded and laureate head of Zeus, rather than the beardless and muscled Melqart. The type is small and very light, suggesting that it was not of high value, especially compared to the larger, heavier Tyrian issues. This is the only instance of any other Phoenician city making a numismatic reference to Melqart (or Herakles) in the Roman period, and there are a few possible interpretations. The type coincides with the grant of *colonia* status by Claudius, which occurred between AD 52 and 54, and it may have been struck to mark the occasion.[63] Given the proximity between Tyre and Ptolemais, perhaps the coin artists drew inspiration from the long-running type of Tyre, presumably familiar to them considering the stylistic similarities, but replaced the obverse image of Melqart with Zeus to differentiate the type as belonging to Ptolemais. By linking their new *colonia* status to an image of some tradition and venerability, perhaps the city sought to further legitimise its new status by pairing it with an image of traditional prestige. However, the absence of subsequent issues of this type may indicate that it was an unpopular choice, either through not reflecting popular social attitudes within Ptolemais, or through being too strongly associated with Tyre. Interestingly, the next series of colonial coin designs of the city were issued under Nero, and featured much more politically 'Roman' designs, such as the founder ploughing and Roman standards.[64] This coin type may reflect an experimental phase by Ptolemais-Akke, where new coin images were adapted and trialled as the city adjusted to its new political identity.

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[62] Ros. I.45; BMC 15.
[63] Hill (1910) lxxxii.
[64] BMC 16-18.

Having completed this discussion of Melqart reverse types, we can address some of the primary research goals of this chapter. What is apparent is that Melqart dominated on the coins of Tyre, and Tyre alone. Despite the epigraphic evidence from Aradus and the very brief appearance of the club on coins at Ptolemais-Akke, which suggests that the cult of Melqart was practiced beyond Tyre, there is a distinct absence of numismatic evidence for the worship of Melqart in any other Phoenician city.[65] However, this is not to suggest that no other cults existed, or that Tyre had exclusive rights of cult practice involving the deity, but rather that, considering the antiquity of the relationship that the city shared with this god, it is not that surprising that iconography associated with Melqart was restricted to Tyre. Any city that struck coin types with this imagery would have to accept the strong likelihood that its type would be interpreted as belonging to Tyre, and draw attention to the venerability of the cult established there rather than their own city. As it is extremely likely that civic coins travelled to some extent, types featuring imagery that was more strongly associated with a different city would have presented a lost opportunity for the city of issue to promote its own heritage and prestigious cults. The extremely brief nature of the production of the Melqart type at Ptolemais-Akke indicates that close adaptations of other cities' coin types were neither a popular nor successful choice, reinforcing the localised sense of coin imagery, rather than any attempts to celebrate a broader Phoenician identity through shared cults. This lack of shared imagery would indicate that cities would promote cults with which they had the strongest associations, and connection with which would enhance their status in some way.

So, what can study of the above types reveal about public religious practice in the community at Tyre, as well as the wider region? These types are more concerned with promoting the image of Melqart as an active symbol of the city's political status, rather than

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[65] IGLS VII 4001.

showing him as the recipient of cult worship as a statue within a temple. Although we know from ancient texts and other coin types (4.4.2) that Melqart did have his own temple at Tyre, he is never shown in an anthropomorphic form within it in the manner that Tyche is shown within her temple on Tyrian coinage. This absence strongly suggests that the actual cult statue may have been invisible, or at the least aniconic, and the numismatic representations of Melqart interacting with other symbols were intended to represent the deity in his manifest form, directly involved in overseeing and controlling the achievements and protection of the city. The writings of Silius Italicus support this hypothesis, as he recorded that when Hannibal travelled to Gades to honour 'the one who bears the club', there were no sacred statues or images of the god, only a constant fire kept alight by the priests.[66] Simply because other cities did not issue coins with images of Melqart or his attributes is not to say that non-Tyrian cults to the deity would not have existed, which is tenuously supported by the existence of the Ptolemais-Akke type. Rather, it seems that this coin imagery was more concerned with commemorating the social value of local cults, as opposed to accurately recording the variety of cults available within the city.

So, finally, to what extent do these coin types give us an insight into the various aspects of local identity and culture? It seems highly likely that Melqart was used on coinage by Tyre to solely represent the city itself, through the adaptation of a cult that had attracted foreign attention for centuries before Roman rule, and whose worship was spread across the Mediterranean. It also appears that his numismatic presence was evoked in more of a civic role than in reference to any religious function, with Melqart consistently shown actively engaging with his surroundings, with types either depicting him honouring sites within the city, or celebrating Tyre's political achievements. As an obverse type, his presence reaffirmed the status of Tyre and marked the coinage as being irrefutably Tyrian in origin.

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[66] Sil. *Pun.* 3.15-32.

The localised nature of the deity means that there was no acknowledgement of any sense of wider provincial identity, except perhaps emphasising Tyre's independent identity and status. As far as the effect of Roman influence, the coin imagery shows no sense of opposition or conflict between the numismatic representations of Melqart and aspects of Roman culture and symbolism. The god had been strongly associated with Tyre for centuries before the Roman period, but his consistent popularity did not mean that his depiction was intended to be an inherent rejection of Roman influences and authority. In the majority of examples Melqart is shown engaging and interacting with quintessential Roman images, whether in the form of the ideological symbols of power such as Nike or the trophy, or through Roman sacrificial paraphernalia such as the altar and patera. The Melqart presented to the viewer throughout the Roman period is one who is actively involved in the fortunes and religious life of the city, and in this respect seems almost akin to Tyche.

3.2.2 Poseidon

Poseidon, titled as 'Earth-Shaker' by Hesiod and Homer, was responsible for the sea, earthquakes and horses.[67] Some have argued that Poseidon occupied a liminal space, citing the proliferation of sanctuaries and temples that lie beyond city walls that were dedicated to the god, with eighteen accounted for by Pausanias alone.[68] However, given the proximity of these sites to harbours, springs and mountains, it could additionally be assigned to the fact that these are locations that were linked to the character of the god. Despite his cult statue in the 'most hectic place' in the city of Elis, probably the agora, Poseidon was not traditionally associated with civic institutions, and the violence of the natural phenomena

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[67] Hes. *Theog*. 1.15; Hom. *Il*. 7.445, 13.27-30; Paus. 7.21.7.
[68] Paus. 1.30.4; 2.2.3; 2.12.2; 2.32.8; 2.34.10; 2.38.2-4; 3.12.5; 3.20.2; 3.21.5; 3.25.4; 7.21.7; 7.24.2; 8.10.2; 8.30.1; 8.35.6; 8.44.4; 9.26.5; 10.38.8.

that he controlled is central to his character and testified to by his powerful physical appearance.[69] In Rome, Neptune was much more closely associated with the sea than with other water sources, and did not share Poseidon's power over earthquakes. A basilica dedicated to Neptune was located by the Baths of Agrippa, and was decorated with sea creatures and shells, showing a sensitive handling of the building's decoration and nature of the deity.

Phoenicia had always had a special relationship with the sea. Due to its natural topography, its ancient communities were characterised by natural harbours and a narrow coastline, backed almost immediately by the Mount Lebanon range, so that the cities that developed and flourished along the narrow strip of land had no option but to face and embrace the sea.[70] With the coastal area of Phoenicia frequently at risk of earthquakes and tsunamis on the land and the threat of sudden storms upon the waves, this current section will examine numismatic evidence for their relationship with Poseidon and other marine gods. With Poseidon in particular being associated with these natural phenomena of land and sea, one would expect that Hellenistic Phoenicia would quickly have recognised the advantages of worshipping such a god, the 'mover of the earth and barren sea', when he was introduced by Greek settlers, and perhaps recognised shared qualities with a deity of their own.[71] From as early as the first millennium BC, a natural sandstone sea wall was fortified at Botrys, and a similar example on the island of Zireh, the outer harbour of Sidon, dates from the end of the Middle Bronze Age.[72] Both Aradus and pre-Hellenistic Tyre were island settlements, surrounded by the sea on all sides. The famous reputation of the Phoenicians as seafarers and traders goes back to Herodotus, who recorded that they were the first people to circumnavigate Africa, and the legendary skill of the Phoenicians in nautical matters was

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[69] Paus. 6.25.5-6; Mylonopoulos (2010) 6; *OCD s.v.* 'Poseidon'
[70] Quinn (2018) 66.
[71] *Hom. Hymn* XXII.2.
[72] Haddad (2010) 171; Carayon *et al.* (2012) 447.

recognised within the Roman Empire.[73] Strabo writes that the Phoenicians had always excelled in navigation above all other nations, and Nonnus recounts that the first Tyrians had been taught seafaring by Tyrian Herakles himself.[74] Even sources from the New Testament emphasise the coastal character of Phoenicia, referring to the location of its major cities as 'the coasts of Tyre and Sidon'.[75]

It is through nautical trade that the region accrued much of its wealth, exporting glass, murex dye, perfumes, embroidery, linen, wines, and timber, among others.[76] Maritime trade allowed the Phoenicians to develop an economic network across the Mediterranean, which helped Phoenicia to become the mediating point between the Graeco-Roman world to the West, and the Parthians to the East. This facilitated socio-cultural interaction and dialogue with major cultural centres, from Greece and Italy to Egypt, Africa and the Parthian empire. This vital trade network was possible through the creation of harbours, whether manmade or through fortifying natural inlays. The two harbours of Tyre are recorded by Arrian, one facing south towards Egypt, and the other facing towards Sidon in the north – although there is some debate regarding the existence of the former, due to its location offering poor protection from winds.[77] Archaeological investigation of these sites remains challenging, in part due to the built-up nature of these cities today, with a significant proportion of the harbours of Sidon and Tyre now lying underneath the modern cities.[78] For Byblos, no conspicuous archaeological evidence for the harbour exists, although a small fishing harbour still functions near to an ancient tell.[79] However, some of these harbours – such as Berytus and Tripolis – are still in use in varying forms today.

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[73] Hdt. 1.1.1-2; 4.42.
[74] Strabo 16.2.23; Nonnus, *Dion.* XL.428.
[75] Luke 6.17; Matthew 15:21.
[76] Ezekiel 27; Hom. *Il.* 6. 288-290; Plin *NH* 36.65; Ballard *et al.* (2002) 160-161.
[77] Arr. *Anab.* 2.20; Haddad (2010) 172.
[78] Haddad (2010) 174.
[79] Carayon *et al.* (2015) 250; Haddad (2010) 171.

With the close association that Phoenicia had with the sea, it is natural to expect that these cities also had a similarly strong relationship with deities who could have influenced this sphere. At Aradus, numismatic evidence shows the existence of a bearded marine deity with a human torso and fish tail and accompanied by a dolphin dating on silver coins from the late fifth to early fourth century BC, which had vanished by the Hellenistic conquest (fig. 3.11).[80] By the second century BC, this marine god was shown as a human figure seated on a galley, probably reflecting the cultural influence of the new Seleucid rulers (see 3.2.3).[81] In Tyre, a coin type depicting dolphins accompanied by a male deity riding a winged hippocamp was issued from the mid-fifth century BC and continued until 306 BC (fig. 3.12).[82] However, this deity carries a bow, an attribute traditionally associated with Melqart over Poseidon, suggesting that it may be an early interpretation of that deity.[83] Another contemporary coin type supports this, showing a dolphin and hippocamp together, suggesting that they are both symbols associated with nautical dimensions of Melqart.[84]

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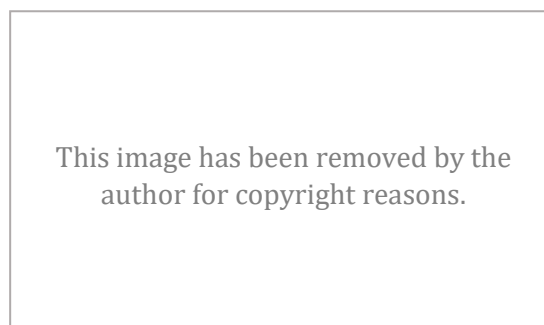
Figure 3.11: Silver coin issued in Aradus, 400-351 BC. 14mm, 3.20g. Babelon 832.

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[80] BMC 2, BMC 83-85.
[81] BMC 142-145.
[82] SNG Cop. 294-297; 298-304; 306-311. BMC 25-43.
[83] Hdt. II.44.1.
[84] SNG Cop. 305.

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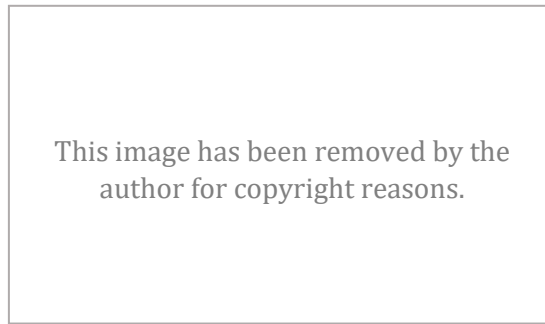
Figure 3.12: Silver coin issued in Tyre, c.312-275 BC. 20mm, 8.87g. BnF L 2808.

Coins from Berytus first appeared in the second century BC and, from the outset, they indicated worship of a Poseidon figure that is immediately recognisable to the Graeco-Roman pantheon. The type showed a full-length figure, also being drawn by hippocamps (**BER001; BER002**).[85] This figure was shown wearing a low *kalathos*, facing left, with a *patera* in his slightly outstretched right hand and a trident in his left hand. This full-length type is invariably paired with an obverse image of Tyche (fig. 3.13).[86] Later, the type was adapted again, and continued until the late first century BC (fig. 3.19; **BER004**).[87] The obverse Tyche was replaced by a heavily bearded head of Poseidon, with a trident visible over his shoulder on some specimens.[88] On the reverse is the half-figure of Poseidon, being drawn along by four hippocamps, and his powerful musculature and tousled hair are both clearly defined. The similarities between the two types suggest that they represent the same deity, who is cautiously identified by Hill as 'Baal-Berit'.[89]

In 28 or 27 BC, Berytus issued a type with a bearded male deity on the obverse, crowned with a low *kalathos* and with a trident behind his shoulder, paired with a reverse with

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[85] Righetti 782; ANS 1944.100.77115.
[86] Sawaya Suppl. 1-12.
[87] ANS 1944.100.70138; BMC 17-22; Sawaya 77-110.
[88] BMC 18-19; SNG Cop. 83.
[89] Hill (1910]) xlvii.

winged Nike walking right across a galley.[90] The Nike could be a reference to a particular military event, and considering the contemporary political upheaval in the Roman world, is it possible that Berytus was obliquely referring to the victories of Octavian at Actium and Alexandria? Octavian had visited the province of Syria at this time and, as such, Berytus could have been making a show of loyalty to the new Roman authorities by adapting iconography that would be easily accessible to a Roman audience, as well as representing the glorious victories of Octavian and his defence of the Roman state.[91]

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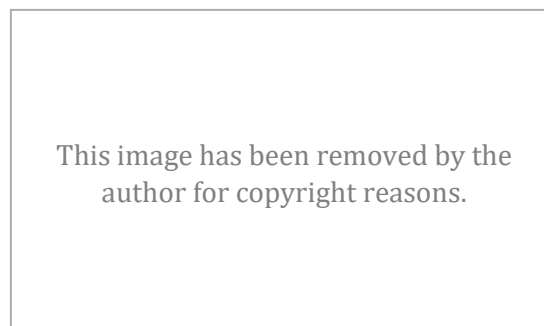
Figure 3.13: Bronze coin issued by Berytus, second century BC. 22mm, 7.78g. ANS 1944.100.70138.

This engagement with Roman authority was also paralleled with another contemporary series, issued in 29-27 BC, which took the momentous step of placing a portrait of Octavian

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[90] SNG Cop. 86-87; Babelon 1188; Sawaya 76; 111-116. SNG Cop. 88 mistakenly labelled as same type, when in fact it shows Poseidon driving four hippocamps. I am not convinced by the identification of Poseidon on the obverse, as he has none of the characteristics (trident, low *kalathos*) of the Poseidon portrait in concurrent issues. Also, so far, these coins have different deities on the obverse and reverse; i.e. Poseidon and Nike, Tyche and Poseidon, not two representations of the same deity. Perhaps this is an unknown deity?

[91] The treatment of civil war in Roman ideology is a complex one. A civil war could not be traditionally celebrated with a triumph, and Julius Caesar provoked the ire of the Roman people when he celebrated his African triumph with depictions of his enemies – in this case, prominent Roman citizens – committing suicide after his victory. To sidestep the socio-political complications, Actium was ostensibly treated as a war against a foreign power, namely Cleopatra and Egypt. The war was officially declared as a foreign war by Octavian performing the *fetiales* at the temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius, and neither Mark Antony nor any Roman citizen was referred to during the triumph of Actium, celebrated during the triple triumph of Octavian in 29 BC: Cass. Dio 50.4.5; Gurval (1996) 20-29; Lange (2013) 82-84.

on the obverse of their civic coinage, as previously done under the Hellenistic kings, a clear demonstration of Roman allegiance (fig. 3.14; **BER003**).[92] The citizens of Berytus evidently recognised the authority of the new *princeps*, and that the success of their city depended on good relations. The reverse showed a dolphin wrapped around a trident, a symbol which unmistakably alluded to Poseidon, encircled by a laurel wrath, a traditional symbol of Roman victory and glory. Perhaps as a gesture to further connect the type of Berytus, some specimens also bore the Greek inscription Βηρ[υ]τι[ων].[93] These coins disappeared when the *colonia* was established within the city.

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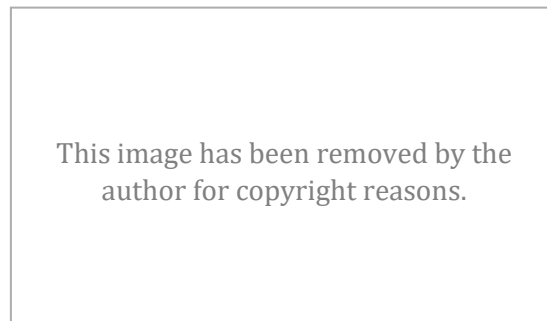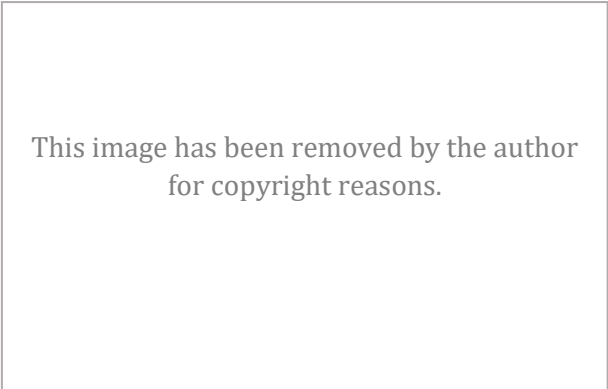
Figure 3.14: Bronze coin issued by Berytus, 29-27 BC. 24mm, 8.12g. BnF De Clercq 348.

Berytus

Type One – the Lateran Poseidon

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[92] BnF R 1713.
[93] SNG Cop. 84-85.

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Figure 3.15: Bronze coin issued by Berytus under Trajan, AD 114-117. 27mm, 14.43g. Babelon 1202.

After the early dolphin and trident type ceases in 27 BC, it is over a century before a marine deity is represented again on the coins of Berytus (**BER007**; **BER009**).[94] A series of coins was produced in the final years of Trajan's reign depict a form of Poseidon well-known in the Graeco-Roman world, the so-called Lateran Poseidon (fig. 3.15).[95] Some coins of this type are attributed to Augustus and Nerva but, given the propensity of Berytus to issue posthumous portrait obverses under Trajan, it seems appropriate that these be additionally dated to Trajan.[96] This particular statue type is named for a colossal marble fragment discovered in Portus in 1824, but is known from over thirty reproductions.[97] The composition was extremely popular in antiquity and has been known since approximately 400 BC, where it appears on an amphora, but the statue type is often credited to Lysippus. Life-size marble or bronze copies are rare, and are vastly outnumbered by smaller bronzes – although none have been found yet in Phoenicia – and they usually form isolated finds,

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[94] ANS 1944.100.77126.

[95] *LIMC* VII 'Poseidon' 34-39, 'Poseidon/Neptunus' 14-16; 24-26; 39; 46-49; 56-62; 83; 88; 90; 150-155.

[96] Trajanic coins with portrait of *Divus Augustus*: Sawaya 755, 759, 760; Babelon 1202; BMC 66; 1944.100.70237. Trajanic coins with portrait of *Divus Nerva:* Sawaya 761-66. Coins erroneously dated to the rule of Augustus: Babelon 1202; and Nerva: ANS 1944.100.70264; 1944.100.70265; 1944.100.70276; BMC 83.

[97] Bartman (1992) 102-103.

typically in provincial outposts with some military connection, leading some to speculate that they could have been popular amongst Roman veterans.[98] The typical features of the statue type are as follows: the god is either depicted nude or with his lower body draped in a chlamys. He stands barefoot, with his left leg straight and his right foot resting upon a rocky outcrop or ship prow, just below knee height. He is slightly bent at the waist in order to rest his right forearm across his right thigh. His abdominal muscles are well-defined and indicate his physical power. His left arm is raised parallel to his shoulders, whilst the forearm is raised vertically above his head, where he would have originally grasped a trident, and sometimes a dolphin accompanies him.[99] His hair is long and unkempt, with a curled beard.

The type consistently depicts the god in the typical Lateran style but, in issues under Antoninus Pius, the prow begins to be substituted by a rocky outcrop, which overtakes the prow in popularity by the reign of Commodus until the type ceases under Gordian III. The relationship between this Poseidon and the well-known sculptural type indicates that the coins could easily be a copy of a statue of the god in Berytus. A popular type which depicts a hexastyle temple with a statue of the Lateran Poseidon within indicates that this was a cult statue within Berytus, but there is no reason to rule out the existence of an additional statue of this type, such as a harbour monument, as it is sometimes depicted in Roman wall-painting.[100]

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[98] Bartman (1992) 117.
[99] *LIMC* VII 'Poseidon' 14. The trident had been an attribute of Poseidon from at least the late fifth century BC, where the position of the arms of a bronze statue, dating from approximately 470 BC, was found in the sea at Kreusis, Plataea. By the second half of the second century BC the dolphin was also among the god's sculptural attributes: *LIMC* 23; Athens Nat. Mus. 11761; *LIMC* VII 'Poseidon' 25.
[100] *LIMC* VII 'Poseidon/Neptunus' 31.

The Lateran Poseidon has been convincingly interpreted as the inspiration for the Tychai of Caesarea and Berytus (see 5.2.2; 5.2.3), which adapted the composition of the Lateran type to allude to the maritime prowess of their city.[101] The Tyche of Berytus also appeared for the first time under Trajan, as did this Poseidon coin type.[102] Perhaps those responsible for producing coin designs decided to issue a Poseidon coin series to reinforce the maritime message of their new Tyche, or to promote their engagement with wider Graeco-Roman visual culture. The visual reference to the Lateran Poseidon binds these Tychai to a prestigious Classical sculptural tradition by placing them within a visual programme dating back to Lysippus, reinforcing the independent cultural status of Berytus.

Type Two – Hippocamp type

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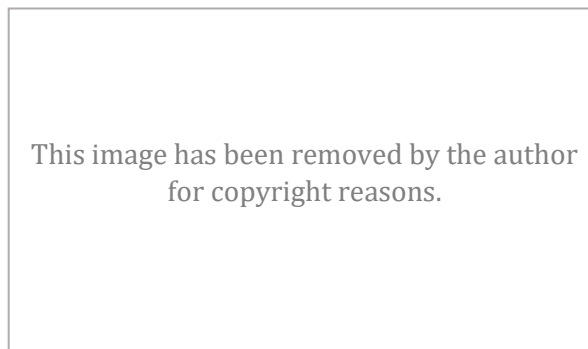
Figure 3.16: Bronze coin, issued under Caracalla in Berytus, AD 211-217. 22mm, 7.59g. Righetti 802.

Another type of Berytus also featured Poseidon, which appears only from AD 211 to 217 under Caracalla, unlike the Lateran Poseidon coin type that continues until Berytus' coinage

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[101] Kropp (2011) 391-392.
[102] Sawaya 226-7, BMC 92.

ceases (fig. 3.16; **BER010**).[103] It is viewed from a frontal perspective, in which the god is facing directly out at the viewer. He is wearing a himation and a low *polos* crown, with a dolphin in his right hand, and a trident in his right. The hippocamps are depicted in pairs, with one set facing the left, and the other the right of the field, creating an extremely dynamic impression of movement. The composition was repeated across multiple media, including a third-century AD sarcophagus and second-century AD mosaics (fig. 3.17).[104] This frontal approach was later echoed by a coin series issued in Aelia Capitolina under Elagabalus that showed a frontal view of the cult stone of Elagabal being drawn in a *quadriga*, where the horses are also parted in the same manner as the hippocamps, which suggests that it is possible that artistic conventions were noticed and adapted by other cities (fig. 3.18).[105] The similarity between this coin type and the variety of other examples, across a range of locations, dates and media, indicates the popularity of the composition, and raises the possibility that they may all be based on a lost artwork.

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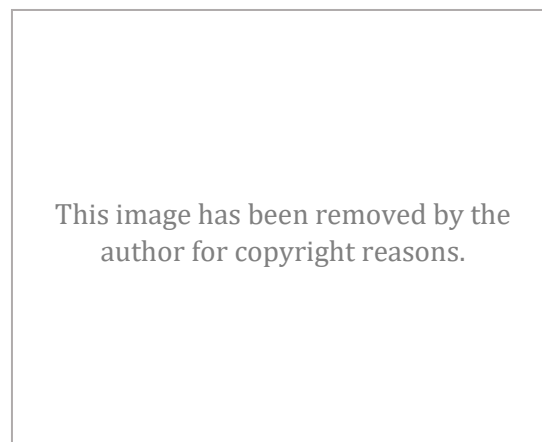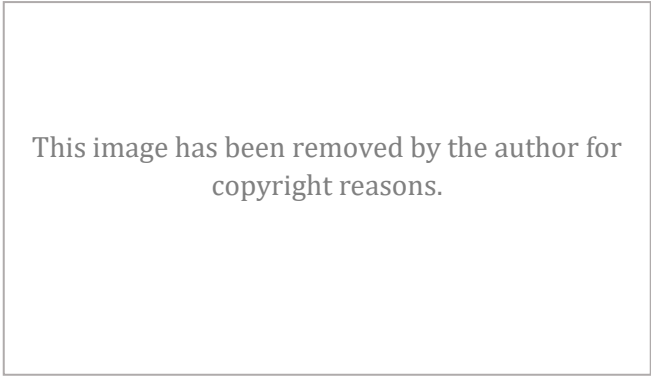
Figure 3.17: Central *emblema* of mosaic from La Chebba, Tunisia. AD 130-150. Bardo Museum, Tunis, no. A 292.

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[103] Sawaya 1463-1485; Babelon 1268-71; ANS 1944.100.72329, 1944.100.72330, 1948.19.2256; BMC 156-59.
[104] *LIMC*, "Poseidon/Neptunus" 98, 112-3, 118.
[105] BMC Pal. 85-90.

Figure 3.18: Bronze coin issued by Aelia Capitolina, under Elagabalus AD 218-222. 23.8mm, 8.67g. Heritage Auctions Inc., Auction 3018 Lot 20333, 5th September 2012.

However, the type also is reminiscent of pre-Roman numismatic treatments of Poseidon, suggesting that it may have been a revival of the traditional imagery of Berytus, as well as influences from other media. This coin type is amongst the earliest examples of this motif, which later became a popular composition across the Roman world, appearing in gemstones, villae, bathhouses, mosaics, and sarcophagi.[106] Thus, not only is the later Roman-era Hippocamp type engaging with a popular artistic style from the Roman world, it also drew upon imagery from Berytus' pre-Roman past, perhaps to compete with other cities in the region, or to demonstrate Berytus' own venerable religious traditions, independently of Roman influence.

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[106] *LIMC* VII 'Poseidon/Neptunus' 66-69; 101-118.

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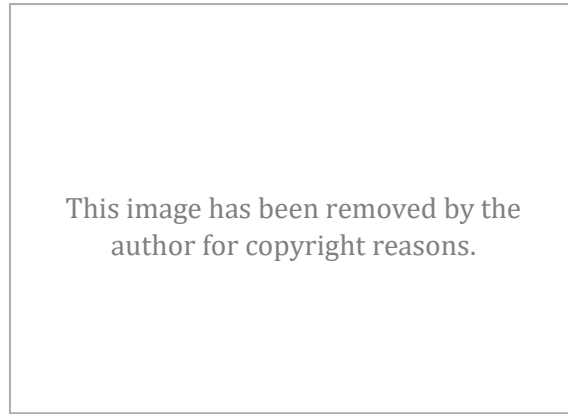
Figure 3.19: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Berytus, 28/27 BC. 21mm, 7.78g. ANS 1944.100.70138.

Type Three – Poseidon and Beroë

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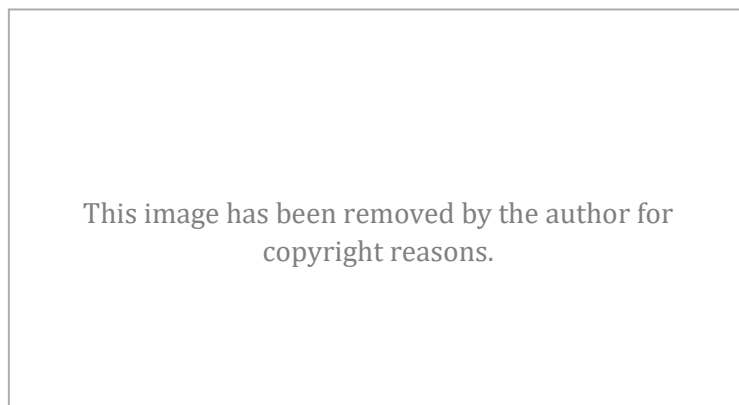
Figure 3.20: Bronze coin issued by Berytus, under Elagabalus AD 218-222. 31mm, 21.48g. Babelon 1301.

The final major Poseidon type from Berytus dates from the rule of Elagabalus in AD 218 to 222 (fig. 3.20; **BER013**).[107] Similarly to the Hippocamp type issued under Caracalla, the type was extremely popular for this short period, and then production seems to have

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[107] Babelon 1301-1304; BMC 183-191; Righetti 808; SNG Cop. 117-8; Sawaya 1726-1746.

ceased. The type depicts Poseidon abducting the nymph Beroë, an event from the foundation myth of Berytus. An account of this narrative has survived in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, which records how Eros bewitched both Poseidon and Dionysus into desiring Beroë, a daughter of Aphrodite. After a violent battle between the two gods, Zeus granted Beroë to Poseidon, who, in return, became a friend to the city of Berytus and granted its citizens 'victory in war on the sea as a precious treasure in return for his bride', and Berytus took its name from the eponymous nymph.[108] In the coin design, Poseidon stands to the right of the field facing directly outwards, with a chlamys draped around his waist, and a trident in his left hand. He is looking to the left and down at Beroë, who he is grasping with his right hand. Beroë is shown kneeling in a chiton and peplos, facing the left, but twisting to face Poseidon to the right. In her right hand she holds a one-handled water jar, and is raising her left hand in alarm as she wheels around to face the god, looking upwards to meet the god's gaze.

It seems likely that this group refers to a scene known from a site in Berytus prior to this coin being struck. It was first shown on coins struck under Macrinus and Diadumenian, within the context of a sculptural group upon the pediment apex of the temple of Tyche (4.2.3; **BER012**).[109] Bartman cites the lack of reproductions of pedimental sculpture in ancient art to 'lack of interest', a bold hypothesis that is certainly not supported in this case.[110] By choosing to depict Poseidon and Beroë in isolation from this architectural context, this type has allowed the details of the group to become more apparent. The detailed musculature of Poseidon, alongside the naturalistic folds of the deities' clothing, indicate a dynamic sculptural group composed in the Hellenistic style, in the same manner as the fourth-century BC Tyche of Antioch, created to commemorate Antioch's foundation.

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[108] Nonnus, *Dion.* 43.394.
[109] SNG Hunt. II. 3309, 3311, BMC 165-170.
[110] Bartman (1992) 118.

The lines of sight and different levels of the two figures create an apex, drawing the eye of the viewer to the intimate moment of first interaction and surprise between Poseidon and Beroë. Because of its location within the pediment there is an emphasis on frontality, but there is also a strong three-dimensional element, which can be seen in how Poseidon's right leg is placed behind Beroë, and how she twists her torso around to face Poseidon. For a viewer familiar with the foundation myth, this image would provide an enjoyable recognition of the significance of this moment, frozen in time. The closest parallel in the *Dionysiaca* is the moment where Poseidon first sees Beroë and attempts to persuade her to elope with him.[111] The match is not exact; Beroë is described by Nonnus as attending to sheep when she meets Poseidon, and there is no suggestion of Poseidon physically snatching her in this fashion. The scene bears more similarity to the account in Lucian, where Amymone, who was locally assimilated to Beroë, was seized by the sea god whilst fetching water, which would explain the presence of the jar in the coin representations.[112]

This type links the religious centre of the city goddess with a scene from the civic foundation, and creates a visual programme that promotes the city's illustrious origins and the divine alliances from which Berytus had benefited. Falling into the period where provincial elites were beginning to embrace the cultural movement of the Second Sophistic, and civic pride and identity was expressed through the promotion of what made these urban centres unique, this could explain the emphasis on the city's divine foundations. Kousser notes that divine sculptural groups at this time provided the provincial elite with powerful ideological tools, serving as a method to demonstrate the *humanitas* of their community and, in this way, this coin type indicated that Berytus too shared in the visual dialogue of elite culture across the empire.[113]

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[111] Nonnus, *Dion*. 42.438-497.
[112] Lucian, *Dial.D.* LCL 431.208-209.
[113] Kousser (2008) 81.
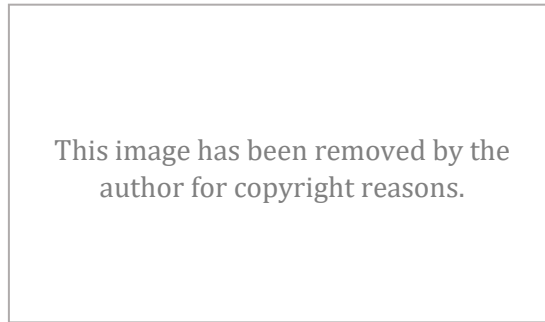
Figure 3.21: Denarius issued by Trajan AD 98-117, Mint of Rome. 18mm, 3.30g. RIC II 801.

Even more than this, this composition can be seen as engaging with a visual tradition from across the Roman empire. As well as designing the two figures to form a coherent statue type, the particular composition of this Poseidon type reflects a wider artistic programme used to denote founding figures, namely Aeneas. The famous image of Aeneas carring Anchises and the Palladium to safety was adopted by Augustus in the exedra of his new Forum to promote his connection with illustrious Roman mythical history and to reinforce his status as the descendent of Aeneas, both metaphorically and genealogically, aligning himself as the glorious re-founder of Rome. Reproduced on an broad variety of media, this composition shows Aeneas with one leg bent at the knee, and the other straight back, suggesting the same forceful motion shown in the Poseidon and Beroë type (fig. 3.21).[114] This pose was seemingly adapted for different ideological purposes in other contexts. At Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, Augustus is shown in the same composition as Aeneas and this Poseidon type. A sculptural panel in the Sebasteion represents an allegorical scene depicting a nude Augustus, standing in this same lunging pose, covered by billowing *velificatio* and flanked by personifications of the land and the sea (fig. 3.22). In showing Augustus in this style, not only is it referencing his divinity, but also it visually reinforces his ideological connection to Aeneas, an image of which was also included in the sculptural

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[114] See denarius of Julius Caesar (RRC 458/1) and the fragments of the Iberian Aeneas sculptural group, Museo Dei Fori Imperiali FA 2488-90.

programme of the Sebasteion.[115] The *alimenta* relief on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum

similarly shows a man in the same pose at the far right of the scene, who even carries a child

on his shoulders, mimicking the position of Anchises. The clear resemblance between the

stance of this man and the Aeneas group could suggest to some viewers a link between this

relief of Trajan, Aeneas, and the Golden Age of Augustus. The composition was certainly one

known to Berytus, as a contemporary coin type was also issued in the city under Elagabalus

that represented this Aeneas group.[116]

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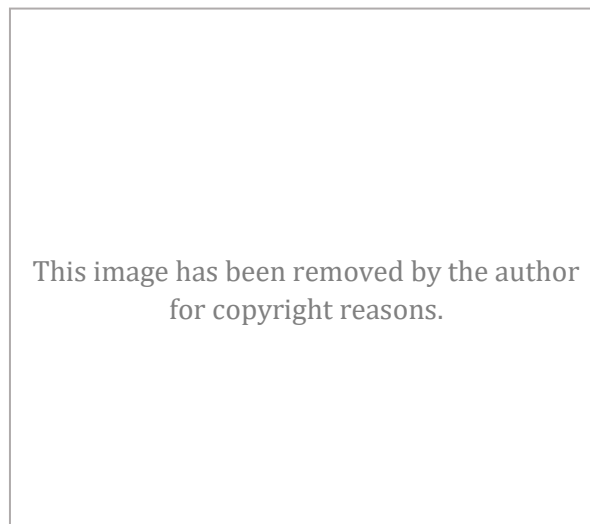
Figure 3.22: Photograph of the *Augustus by Land and Sea* panel, Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,
Asia Minor. Smith (1987) pl.VI.

In this Poseidon and Beroë type, Poseidon was shown in the same pose, which may have

carried the same ideological weight as city-founder as did the images of Aeneas and

Augustus, and additionally the composition linked the city to a wider visual dialogue across

the empire. Furthermore, if we accept that the Poseidon body type here has been adapted

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[115] Smith (1987) 97.
[116] Sawaya 119-121.

from an external artistic influence, perhaps we should look more closely at Beroë, whose body type bears some similarity to a kneeling nude statue type of Aphrodite (fig. 3.23).[117] If we accept that this as also an adaptation of another sculptural composition, then it is possible that the artist adapted two known sculptural compositions to create a new artwork for Berytus, much like the Mars-Venus portraits popularised in the Antonine period, which demonstrates a skilful handling of sculptural tradition to experience a 'closer and more intimate connection to the Hellenic past'.[118]

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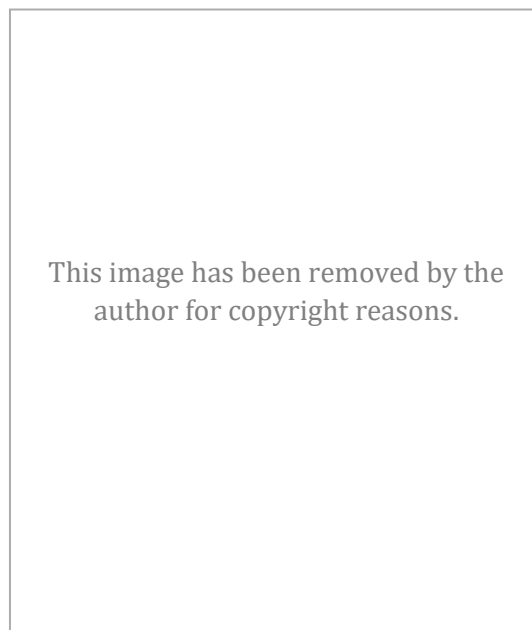
Figure 3.23: Marble statue fragment of Aphrodite, Syrian National Museum. Arachne 1728.

Aside from these Poseidon types from Berytus, there are no other coin types issued in Phoenicia during the Roman period that feature marine deities with these clearly identifiable Graeco-Roman attributes, a surprising absence when considering the close relationship that these cities shared with the sea. Perhaps it was Poseidon's reputation as a god concerned with natural phenomena as opposed to civic matters that made him an

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[117] Arachne 1728.
[118] Kousser (2007) 689.

uncomfortable fit for the emphatically civic-minded nature of local coinage. Alternatively, his dominance on the coins of Berytus may indicate that, like Melqart, the deity was too strongly associated with this particular city for neighbouring cities to compete. As indicated by local mythology, Poseidon shared a special relationship with Berytus above all other Phoenician cities, in the same way that Melqart is not used on the coins of any other city but Tyre.[119] His absence during the Roman period could even be an assertion of cultural independence by other cities; if Poseidon was the tutelary deity of the particularly 'Roman' Berytus, perhaps other cities reacted against this by looking to their own, more traditional gods, although this form of cultural conflict against Rome is not strongly evidenced. It seems likely that the absence of Poseidon on coinage may be related to the regional dominance of Tyche, who was depicted with a variety of nautical attributes. Tyche could have been considered a much more personal representation of the community, and her own powers over the sea meant that there was no need to depict Poseidon in addition, and risk one's coins becoming confused with those of Berytus. Indeed, when the narrator of *Leucippe and Clitophon* reaches Sidon safely, he goes to a temple to give thanks for his safe passage, not to Poseidon, but to Astarte, in her capacity as the supreme deity of the city.[120] Perhaps the sea was such a powerful force over the lives of many Phoenicians, it belonged to the realm of influence of the city's most powerful deity, rather than a less civic-minded deity.

Although there are no other Poseidon types, is there evidence of any shared imagery between cities? The similarities between the composition of the Lateran type and the Caesarea and Berytus Tyche are evident and have been previously noted by scholarship, and Tyche is a ubiquitous figure in Roman Phoenician civic coinages. The Hippocamp type, although it is not used elsewhere in Phoenicia, has many other contemporary artistic parallels on different media, which may suggest that the earlier, pre-Roman type was

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[119] Philo of Byblos 2.35-36.
[120] Ach. Tat. 1.2.

revitalised in response to this composition's emerging popularity, and its suitability for the city's religious traditions. Although the god was not shown in this form in other cities, we do see the frontal dynamic style adapted for use on the contemporary civic coins of Aelia Capitolina, which suggests that artistic styles on coin reverses could be seen and adapted by other cities to suit their own purposes. The Poseidon and Beroë type similarly adapts imagery seen by sculptural types from wider Graeco-Roman visual culture, and indicates that the artists of Berytus were externally focused on utilising artistic traditions from beyond their city to suit their own motivations and messages. Perhaps as the first *colonia* in Phoenicia and their strong links to Rome, it may be that visual culture was used as a way to engage with wider imperial iconographic dialogues, rather than focus their expressions of civic identity on a local level. What must be emphasised is that Berytus, typically characterised as being a 'Latin island in the sea of Oriental Hellenism', chose primarily local imagery and narratives to represent themselves on coinage, not overtly Roman symbols.[121]

3.2.3 Supreme gods

Before moving on to the following discussion, a brief explanation of what is meant by the term 'supreme' gods and goddesses is required. This term is used to signify deities whose precise identity is now lost but, through various means, be it their attributes, composition or numismatic longevity, it is apparent that they were considered significant by their cities of issue. Rather than omit them from this chapter due to their lost identity, this section will attempt to interpret what value they may have held for the cities that produced them.

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[121] Mommsen (1909) 130; Millar (1993) 280.

Aradus

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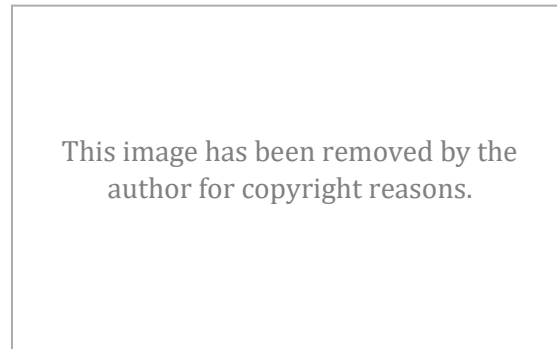
Figure 3.24: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, under Domitian AD 96/97. 20mm, 6.24g. Babelon 1144.

The deity seated upon a galley on coins issued by Aradus has been tentatively identified as Poseidon, presumably based on the maritime context and the presence of what Hill believes to be a trident that the god is supporting in his left hand, and a crown in his outstretched right (fig. 3.24; **ARA002**).[122] The issue was relatively popular, as it appears to be either a continuation or a revival of a Hellenistic type, with dated examples from 132 to 114 BC.[123] However, examination of numerous specimens has revealed that there are no examples in which the prongs of the trident are visible, indicating that it should be interpreted as a sceptre, perhaps linking the god to Zeus (fig. 3.25).[124] The relaxed pose is also very reminiscent of the seated attitude of Olympian Zeus, further supporting this view.

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[122] BMC 351.
[123] SNG Cop. 62-67.
[124] Babelon 963, 966, 1015, 1026; BnF Vogüé 306-07; BnF AA.GR.24528; 2011.sc.639; Y 28883.20; Y 28883.29; SNG Cop. 75.

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Figure 3.25: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, 135-111 BC. 21mm, 7.40g. GmbH Auctions, E-auction 23, Lot 34. 23rd February 2014.

The visual similarity to Zeus recalls a deity known from the inland sanctuary of Zeus Baectocaece, who is characterised as the master of lightning.[125] Rey-Coquais comments that theophoric names relating to Poseidon do not exist in Aradus, whereas ones related to Zeus tend to be much more common, leading him to suggest that the Zeus of Aradus may have adopted some roles generally attributed to Poseidon, and '[le] maître de la foudre et des phénomènes célestes…n'ait pas été différent du maître de la mer, des vents et des tempêtes'.[126] The image of the god, seated in a style reminiscent of Olympian Zeus upon a galley may support the argument for a deity who combined both realms of influence. With a prestigious sanctuary of a powerful god within their territory, it is natural that Aradus would want to promote its connection to it. Perhaps this coin type can be interpreted as a reference to the famous inland sanctuary of Zeus Baetocaece, and his presence on the galley indicates that he also could exercise control over maritime affairs.

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[125] *IGLS* VII.4041.
[126] Rey-Coquais (1970) 74.

Figure 3.26a: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Aradus under Trajan, AD 115/116. 24mm, 12.62g. Babelon 1155. **Figure 3.26b**: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Aradus under Trajan, AD 115/116. 22mm, 6.22g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 1245. **Figure 3.26c**: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Aradus under Domitian AD 93/94. 24mm, 8.16g. RPC 4.6748.

A later type, first appearing from the rule of Trajan, depicts a half-nude figure, seated upon the prow of a ship with a hand on the rudder (fig. 3.26a–26c; **ARA003**). Although its chest is bare, the figure is draped around the waist, and supports a cornucopia in the left arm. Typically the reserve of female divinities, the cornucopia has resulted in most catalogues identifying this deity as probably Tyche.[127] The attribution to Tyche is problematic – Tyche was never shown completely uncovered above the waist, and the ubiquitous turret crown is absent. Furthermore, the physique of the deity suggests a more masculine frame. The shoulders are broad and there are some musculature details that suggest a more powerful, barrel chest. Although the cornucopia is typically the preserve of goddesses and female personifications, it was not exclusively so. Coins issued in Alexandria depicted a god identified by the Roman Provincial Coinage project as 'Sarapis-Ammon-Ascelpius-Helios-

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[127] BMC 363; Babelon 1145; SNG Cop. 79.

Nilus-Poseidon', which show a bearded deity with attributes of all of the named gods, including a cornucopia.[128] A sculpture of a local form of Baalshamin was found in the Hauran, who is shown wearing bearing a patera and cornucopia.[129] Perhaps this later deity with the cornucopia was making a more explicit reference to the blending of nautical and earthly elements of control, with a stronger emphasis on the abundance enjoyed by the city and its territory, as well as perhaps drawing upon the connection between cornucopiae and the *Genius* of a city, to further reinforce this god's tutelary role.[130]

This deity effectively illustrates the complex nature of local religious traditions in Phoenician cities. Although both types featured deities with attributes, the meaning of which would have been familiar to an ancient, as well as a modern, viewer – wreath, sceptre, cornucopia – a more precise identification remains elusive. Returning to the opening quote at the beginning of this chapter, it appears that this Aradus deity encapsulates the fluidity of divine characteristics in the ancient world. By drawing on the imagery of a deity known from coin types that were issued during from the second century BC, the city appears to have been promoting the antiquity of its cults with a focus on this unique composition, with seemingly little interest in how marine or supreme gods were depicted elsewhere in Phoenicia. Although the attributes shown were accessible to a Graeco-Roman audience, they were used in novel ways to represent the nature of this deity to both a wide and local audience.

Orthosia

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[128] RPC 4.16233; 4.15859; 4.16076.
[129] Sartre (2005) 300.
[130] *LIMC* VIII 'Genius' 29-39.

Type One – Zeus Nikephoros

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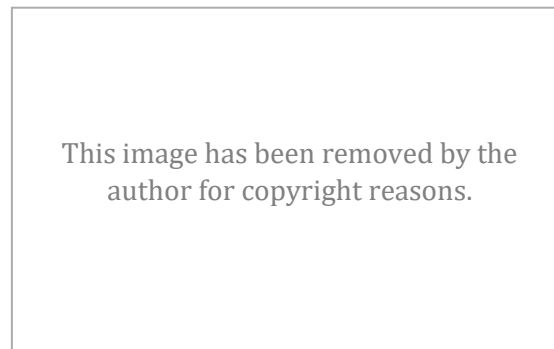
Figure 3.27: Bronze coin issued by Orthosia under Nero, AD 56/57. 18mm, 3.95g. Babelon 1492.

Among the first issues of Orthosia from under Roman control is a small bronze type, depicting a deity who greatly recalls Zeus Nikephoros (**ORT001**).[131] This Zeus was strongly associated with the Seleucid dynasty's visual programme, and the god was shown in the guise of Olympian Zeus, bare-chested but draped around the waist and seated on a throne.[132] He holds a sceptre in his left hand, and a small winged Nike in his outstretched right hand. Although the imagery is in keeping with famous Greek iconography, later types suggest that it is likely that this type refers to a more local god than the cult specific to Olympia. This Orthosia cult could have borrowed the composition in order to demonstrate the equivalent power and prestige of their own cult, or they simply used the exceptionally well-known image to increase the accessibility of their Zeus to a wider audience, particularly if their own cult statue was more unusual and thus less recognisable.

Type Two – Heliopolitan Jupiter

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[131] BnF Y 28455.84; BMC 3-4; Babelon 1492; SNG Bern 2274
[132] Lapatin (2011) 84-87.

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Figure 3.28a: Reverse of bronze coin, issued by Orthosia under Severus Alexander, AD 222-235. 24mm, 10.0g. Private collection © A.J.M. Kropp. **Figure 3.28b**: Reverse of bronze coin, issued by Caesarea ad Libanum under Severus Alexander, AD 222-235. 24mm, 7.74g. BnF 1968.145.

After the pseudo-autonomous issues struck under Nero, no further civic issues were produced in Orthosia until the rule of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. When coins were struck again at this time, Zeus made a reappearance but in a vastly different form to the preceding type (**ORT003**). The deity this time was shown in a tripartite building, where two flanking antechambers are approached by small staircases, separated by a central arched pediment, typically known as an arcuated lintel. Most specimens also preserve suggestions of a triangular pediment, indicating that the arcuated lintel may have fronted a pitched roof.[133] The two lateral antechambers flank a goddess within a central apse, which contain previously unidentified figures, with Hill tentatively identifying the left-hand figure as a deity in a tall head-dress, whilst, to the right, the description is that of a figure with a right hand on their breast. Dussaud interprets this trio as evidence for a divine triad within Orthosia, comprised of El, Astarte, and Eshmun-Adonis.[134] However, the central figure has now been identified as the Tyche of Orthosia (see page 270), and as for the lateral figures,

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[133] An excellent restored example of this form of architecture is the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus (see page 316).
[134] Dussaud (1927) 57.

whilst the British Museum specimen examined by Hill is too corroded to reveal much detail, the above pictured example in fig. 3.28a is easier to interpret.[135] In the chamber to the left of the field, a figure stands facing outwards, flanked by two indistinct shapes at approximately knee height. No detail surrounding dress or decoration is visible, but the narrow, almost columnar shape is striking. The right arm is outstretched with the forearm reaching up, and, whilst the left arm is difficult to distinguish, it does not mirror the right. A tall, narrow crown rests upon the head of the unknown figure, recalling the shape of a *kalathos*. With this description, only one identification seems likely: Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The distinctive silhouette combined with the two flanking shapes – presumably the bulls that invariably accompanied images of the god – leaves little room for alternative interpretation.[136] Even the positioning of the arms recollects the raised right hand holding the whip, and grain ears grasped in the lowered left. To the right, the figure is tall and slender, with little visible in the form of distinctive clothing or body type except long drapery wrapped around their legs. The left arm is held across the body to hold up this drapery, with the head inclining towards the ground. The right arm is bent at the elbow, stretching above the torso towards the left shoulder. The pose bears strong parallels to the Capitoline Venus, where the *contrapposto* Venus shields her body with both arms, simultaneously obscuring and accentuating her nudity.[137] There are many bronze statuettes of this form of Venus from the Roman Near East, unfortunately mostly with no secure date or provenance, but their presence testifies to the popularity of the type.[138]

Caesarea ad Libanum

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[135] BnF 1968.145.
[136] For discussion of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, see 3.4.1.
[137] *LIMC* II 'Venus' 88-95; 736-742.
[138] De Clercq 11-36; De Ridder (1905) 8-9.

This type must be talked about in conjunction with an almost identical type issued by neighbouring Caesarea ad Libanum, which can be differentiated by the Tyche within the central apse (**CAE006**).[139] It seems likely that these two types refer to a cult building that brought together both Jupiter and Venus, an unsurprising combination when considering their presence at the sanctuary at Heliopolis. It is unlikely that the type refers to one site shared by both cities as 'une sorte de sanctuaire fédéral' as proposed by Seyrig, as the iconographic differences between the two Tychai are clearly discernible, suggesting that these cities considered them to be local.[140] We know from the previous coin type that it is likely that Orthosia had its own cult of Zeus, and Caesarea ad Libanum possessed a well-known cult of its tutelary deity Venus Architis, characterised as Venus Iugens by Macrobius (**CAE003**).[141] This form of Jupiter is vastly different from the Zeus portrayed on the earlier coins of Orthosia, and Capitoline Venus is a similarly notable digression, not only from the iconography of the enthroned Venus Heliopolitana, but also from Venus Architis (3.2.4). However, this iconographic combination is not unique to these coin types, and Jupiter and Venus circulate in these forms on other media, such as the incised intaglios published by Seyrig and Hajjar.[142] Although the depiction of this Classical Venus and localised Jupiter is somewhat jarring to a modern viewer, these intaglios demonstrate that the deities could be placed together in ancient visual contexts, and perhaps the coin types referred to real cult objects from these two cities, although Hajjar speculates that these deities had been brought together rather haphazardly to simply reflect the particular devotions of the original owner (fig. 3.29a-29b).[143]

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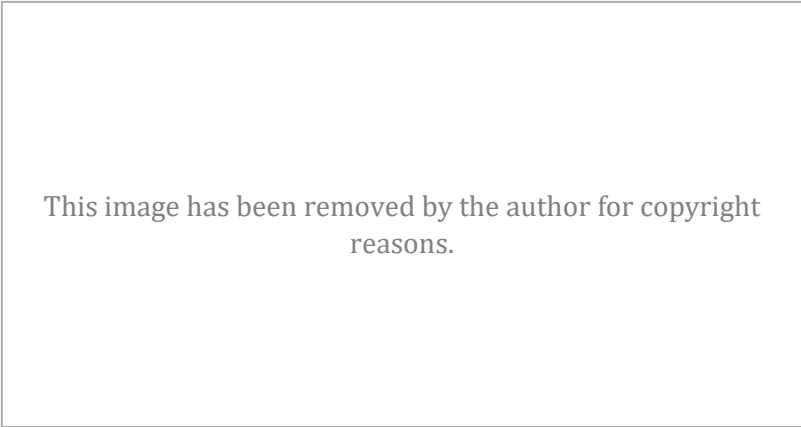
[139] This use of Heliopolitan Jupiter has been noted by Aliquot (2009) 220-221, and Kropp (2010) 232. Aliquot suggests Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum shared the same mint, given their similarities (p.220). Seyrig also asserted that these two cities shared a die link with Tripolis, although unfortunately no specimens are referenced: Seyrig (1955) 28.
[140] Seyrig (1955) 28.
[141] Aliquot (1999) 238.
[142] Seyrig (1972) 111; Hajjar (1977) no.311.
[143] Hajjar (1977) 408.

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Figure 3.29a: Onyx intaglio featuring Venus, Jupiter and Athena. Provenance unknown. British Museum. Height: 1.8cm, width: 1.4cm. Hajjar (1977) no. 311. **Figure 3.29b:** Jasper intaglio featuring Venus and Jupiter. Provenance unknown. Seyrig (1972) fig.10.3. 12x15mm.

The numismatic and other literary evidence suggests that it is likely that both cities had a cult dedicated to their own local Zeus and Venus. The detailed architectural surroundings indicate that the types had at least some basis in reality. Rather than depictions of Heliopolitan Jupiter, whose image does not circulate on coins of Heliopolis (3.4.1), both types should be interpreted as local cults, which used the most popular contemporary and regional representation of Jupiter to make the identity and character of the deity more accessible. In the same way that Jupiter Capitolinus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus were different cults, the presence of the individual Tyche reaffirmed their distinct nature and that they were specific to each city. The similarities between the two types are extraordinary for Phoenician civic coins; no other cities share such parallels in composition and production life. Other than Ptolemais-Akke, no other Phoenician city minted coins with

this form of Jupiter, perhaps again due to cities wishing to avoid confusing the cult with the prestigious cult of Heliopolis, or perhaps in recognition of some cultic restriction.

It seems that the types were almost contemporary, first appearing in Orthosia under Elagabalus, and followed by Caesarea ad Libanum under Severus Alexander.[144] The shift in iconography away from the classical Zeus issued in Orthosia under Nero to the more regional Jupiter of the Heliopolitan type indicates an engagement with more regional visual and cultural influences. The initial coin type celebrated the local cult in a form that was influenced by and maybe celebrated Orthosia's Seleucid history, as well as ensuring that it would be understood by most viewers. The later type re-imagined the deity in a form that was by this time famous from the prestigious and relatively nearby cult. It is difficult to definitively state which form these Jupiters took in reality, as it may have been that their appearance were very different but that the coin artists chose to adapt a style that would be easy to depict and recognise in the limited space of the temple antechambers. However, as Kropp cautions, there are numerous statuettes of 'Heliopolitan' Jupiter whose original provenance is unknown and we should be wary about assigning them all to Jupiter Heliopolitanus without consideration of other more local cults.[145] It may be possible that some Phoenician cities re-imagined their traditional cults using powerful and contemporary visual imagery. Caesarea ad Libanum may have wished to celebrate the promotion of Severus Alexander, son of one of its citizens, to the rank of Caesar by producing this new coin type, perhaps using the Orthosia type as inspiration.

The detail of the architecture makes it likely that the types refer to a specific cult site, and the use of familiar iconographic types makes the identification of the deities to whom it was

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[144] Orthosia: BnF 1973.208; Caesarea ad Libanum: Babelon 1500; BMC 9-10.
[145] Kropp (2010) 232.

dedicated relatively straightforward. The Orthosia types demonstrate the need for caution in accepting the appearance of deities on civic coins, as these can be adapted to suit changing cultural influences and social pressures. These types are also a unique example of shared imagery between two Phoenician cities, which could suggest that there was some form of shared heritage between the cities and the cults. However, the careful differentiation of each city's Tyche indicates a desire for the type to be correctly identified as belonging to each respective city (see page 271). The joint worship of Jupiter and Venus is known not only from the great sanctuary at Heliopolis, but also was suggested by other regional artefacts. The Tyche on each type is individual to the issuing city and the use of Jupiter adopts a regional model, but then the Capitoline Venus engages with a much more traditionally classical form of Venus, making these types a fascinating blend of imagery, and shows the two cities as engaging with a rich variety of local and wider cultural and visual influences.

Ptolemais-Akke

Macrobius recorded how the statue of Jupiter Heliopolitanus could be transported outside the temple, and a coin type of Ptolemais appears to show precisely a Heliopolitan-style Jupiter within a portable shrine (**PTO007**). Two columns support a flat architrave, within which is an image of a deity, who can presumably be identified with Jupiter.[146] Although not identical to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as this god is clad within a shorter tunic, the frontality, almost columnar appearance, *kalathos*, and flanking bulls all recall this god's iconography. The portable shrine that the deity rests within indicates the value of religious practices in the community, where the image of the god could be taken out of the sanctuary. Not only did it reinforce the relationship between the city and the god, but it also unified the

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[146] Ros. I. 76; 86.

community under a shared religious and social practice, an integral aspect of communal identity. It is possible that the city was influenced more by the neighbouring province of Syria Palaestina in the appearance of their Jupiter, who appeared in this form in many southern Levantine cities.[147] This indicates the fluidity of cultural and religious influences, and further demonstrates the need for caution when applying political boundaries to expressions of identity. Simply because one city was designated as belonging to a particular province (and Ptolemais seems to have been rather ambiguous), this did not mean that the city was immune to influences from its neighbours in different provinces.

3.2.4 Supreme goddesses

Textual references to Venus or to Aphrodite in Roman Phoenicia are almost invariably a Greek or Roman interpretation of Astarte, an identification that even the Phoenicians themselves seem to have adopted.[148] A well-known bilingual Graeco-Phoenician funerary stele changed the theophoric name of the dedicant's father from Astarte in Phoenician to Aphrodite in the accompanying Greek.[149] In the Roman period, Lucian records temples dedicated to Astarte in Sidon and Byblos.[150] This affiliation between Astarte and Aphrodite should not be interpreted as one dominant Greek deity overwhelming a regional goddess, but rather as the 'rapprochements fondés sur des jeux analogiques entre les noms, l'aspect et les mythes des dieux de la région et ceux des dieux étrangers'.[151] By identifying their goddess with renowned deities such as Aphrodite, Phoenician cities could draw upon the associations that came with her, and apply them to Astarte. There is no need to infer from this *interpretatio Graeca* that other characteristics of Astarte were completely subsumed

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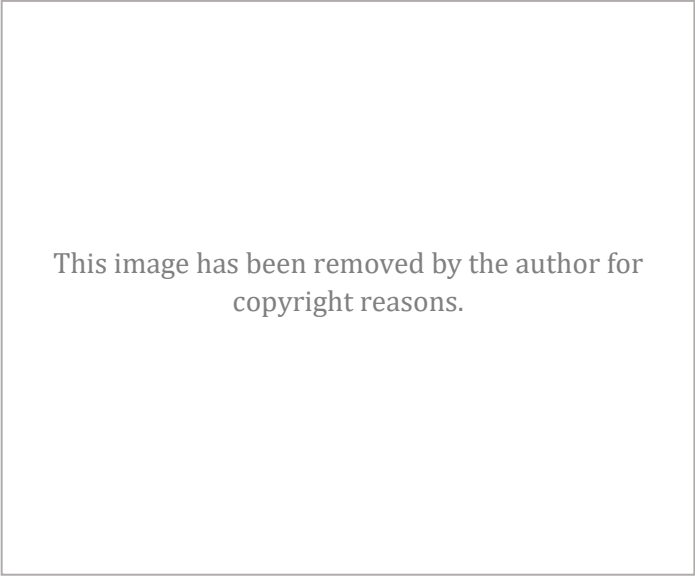
[147] Kropp (2010b) 232.
[148] Philo of Byblos 2.31; Rey-Coquais (2009) 232.
[149] *IG* II 2836; *c.f.* Stager (2005).
[150] Lucian, *Syr. D.* 4-9.
[151] Aliquot (2009) 194.

by her association with Aphrodite, but rather it should be understood that this link allowed more people to understand the characteristics and power of the goddess.

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Figure 3.30: Statue of Venus Yammouneh flanked by sphinxes, Baalbek Museum. Source: Aliquot (2009) fig.102.

Considering the absence of explicit anthropomorphic representations of Astarte on Phoenician coins during the Roman period, is it possible that she is shown instead in the style of Venus? There was a similar lack of Venus Heliopolitana on coins of Heliopolis but, like Jupiter, this was not unique to Heliopolis, but was largely consistent across Phoenician coinage.[152] The only secure representation of Venus is the Capitoline Venus shown on the coins of Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum discussed above, but it remains that both Astarte and Venus remain peculiarly absent figures on Phoenician civic coins. In spite of this, we know of numerous cults to goddesses throughout Lebanon that were characterised as 'les Dames du Liban' by Aliquot, and who were often referred to by epithets typical of

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[152] Kropp (2010b) 241.

Astarte and Venus, such as *ourania* and *kyria*.[153] Surviving artefacts even show these goddesses with visual characteristics of Venus Heliopolitana or Venus Iugens, such as thrones or sphinxes (fig. 3.30). This section will explore possible representations of Astarte in the style of Venus or other goddesses, to explore whether her popularity was reflected in the numismatic record.

Tyre

Type One – Goddess sacrificing

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Figure 3.31: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Salonina, AD 253-268. 25mm, 10.45g. Gemini, LLC, Auction VI, Lot 786. 10th January 2010.

This popular later type shows a heavily draped female wearing a *kalathos*, standing to the left, with her arms raised and outstretched (fig. 3.31; **TYR024**, **TYR034**). To her right is a

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153 Aliquot (2009) 148-152.

lit altar, above which and to the right of the field is a distyle temple in profile, which contains the club of Melqart. Below the temple is a murex shell. The motif of deities sacrificing to other deities was popular in Tyre, and evidently the composition was considered meaningful enough to adapt to different deities, such as with Melqart and the Ambrosial Rocks. Other than the *kalathos*, the female has no discernible attributes that indicate her divine character and, as such, she is often identified as Dido due to Dido's popularity on contemporary Tyrian coinage.[154] Despite this apparent regard, types featuring Dido were invariably accompanied by an identifying Greek label and, as a mortal, she is never wearing the *kalathos*, which was the preserve of the divine.[155] This suggests that this scene is intended to show a manifest goddess honouring the tutelary founder of Tyre. The *kalathos* and heavy drapery could be interpreted as meaning that this may be a rare representation of Astarte and, to have enhanced the status of the most renowned and venerable god of Tyre, an appropriately powerful goddess would have been needed to adequately demonstrate the respect being conferred. Furthermore, in his discussion of the known manifestations of Herakles from antiquity, Cicero describes one who was worshipped at Tyre, who was the son of Jupiter and Asteria, a goddess who has since been interpreted as a Hellenised form of Astarte.[156] These connections may indicate that Astarte has been adapted for the purposes of illustrating the esteem in which Melqart was held, and that the city required a deity of comparable power through which to do so.

Caesarea ad Libanum

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[154] RPC 9.1971; Millar (1993) 292; For Dido overseeing the construction of Carthage: BMC 408; 440-441; 447; 470. RPC 9.1969; 9.2000.

[155] SNG Cop. 379 (ΔΙΔω); BMC 447 (ΔΙ[ΔωN]

[156] Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.16.42; Jidejian (1969) 98-99; Friedham (2003) 249.

Type One – Venus Iugens

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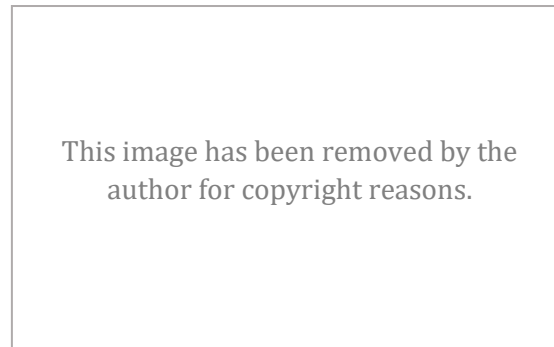
Figure 3.32: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum, under Elagabalus AD 218-222. 28mm, 22.28g. BnF Y 28455.47.

Another coin type to show a likely Astarte, also with characteristics of Venus, was struck at Caesarea ad Libanum (**CAE003**). This coin type is fairly rare, and only seems to have been issued from the reigns of Caracalla to Severus Alexander (fig. 3.32).[157] The reverse shows a *Halbfigur* of a goddess that rests between two columns, which unusually have human busts rather than capitals, and which support an arch over the goddess. Within, the goddess is heavily draped, and her head is resting upon her left hand in a gesture of mourning, which is only just visible under her drapery. To the left of the goddess is a small bird, resting upon a staff, and some examples also have a crescent moon and star flanking the figure.[158] The entire half-figure is encompassed by a long veil, which reaches to the floor of the shrine, and she is crowned by a tall, flared *kalathos*. A slight variant on this type shows the goddess as a full-length figure, but with no real suggestion of human form (fig. 3.33; **CAE005**). The goddess is completely swathed within the veil, but other than this the type is virtually identical. At the base of the exergue is a row of flared objects, interpreted as a row of *kalathoi* by Seyrig but, considering the often stylised appearance of temple architecture on

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[157] Righetti 834; BnF Y 28455.45.
[158] BMC 6; BnF Y 28455.47

civic coins, the identification made by Kropp that they should be seen as a balustrade, to separate the cult image from the viewer, may be more convincing.[159]

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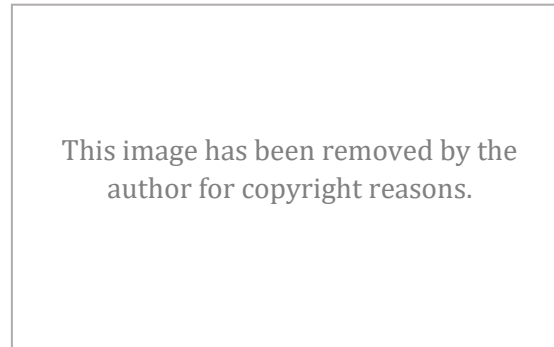
Figure 3.33: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum, under Caracalla AD 198-217. 23mm, 10.81g. Righetti 834.

We can be fairly sure in identifying the figure, both in *Halbfigur* and full-length form, as a representation of Venus Architis, a cult of Venus based at Caesarea ad Libanum.[160] Other coin types from the city indicate the presence of a Venus cult, and surviving literary evidence also testified to the strong relationship between Caesarea ad Libanum and Venus Architis. Macrobius described the cult image of the city, and called her the Venus Iugens, the 'crying Venus', in recognition of her appearance of mourning, a description with strong parallels to this coin type.[161] The concept of the crying Venus is usually associated with her joint festival with Adonis, where the goddess, mourning the loss of her beloved, searches the underworld for him and then restores him to the upper realm, the success of which was celebrated with a festival at Byblos.[162] The connection between Venus Architis and Astarte is supported by the existence of another coin type to depict Astarte in an almost identical

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[159] Seyrig (1959) 40; Kropp (2011) 402.
[160] Lucian *Syr. D.* 9; Aliquot (2009) Cat. No. 4.
[161] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.21.5
[162] Lucian *Syr. D.* 6-8; Lightfoot (2003) 306-319.

numismatic composition, produced by Gabala, a small coastal city to the north of Aradus.[163]

Here, the goddess was shown enthroned, flanked the sphinxes, the acolytes *par excellence* of Astarte, although the throne is also an integral part of Venus Heliopolitana's iconography (fig. 3.34). She still is crowned with a *kalathos*, and wrapped in the all-encompassing veil. A crescent moon and star are depicted above the throne, once again confirming Astarte's celestial nature. This demonstrates once more how cults could share similarities, whilst still being considered as local to one city.

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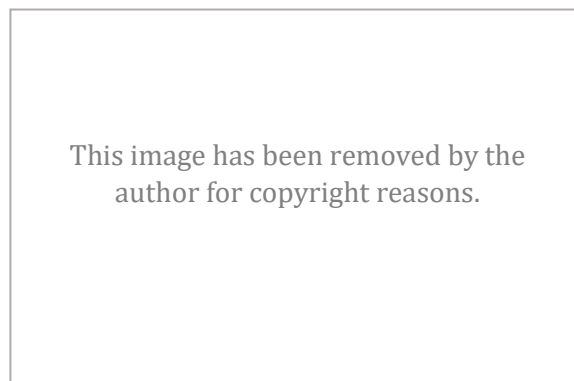
Figure 3.34: Bronze coin issued by Gabala under Caracalla, AD 198-217. 29mm, 15.30g. CNG Inc., Auction 91, Lot 634.

Type Two – *kalathos*

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[163] BMC Syr. 11-12.

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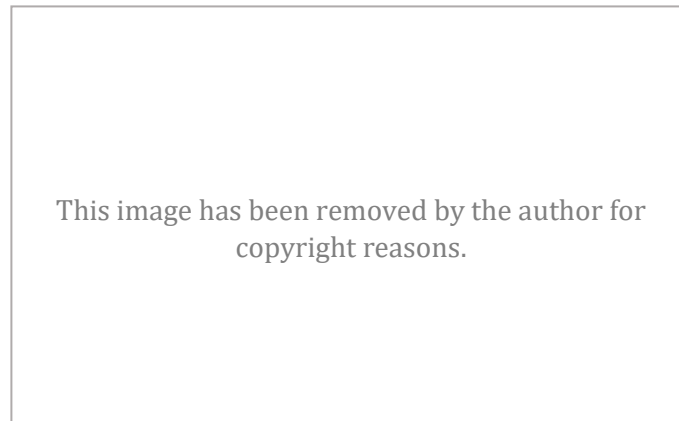
Figure 3.35: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum, under Severus Alexander AD 221/222. 20mm, 5.05g. BnF Y 28455.45.

There is one more variant of this type from Caesarea ad Libanum, of which only one specimen is known, where the same shrine is shown but only containing a *kalathos* seated upon a base (**CAE007**).[164] The *kalathos* has replaced Venus Architis, but it still symbolises the presence of the goddess. Seyrig made the connection between this coin type and an altar from Byblos, which shows a *kalathos* flanked by sphinxes and which was dedicated to *thea Ourania*, the celestial goddess, which led Seyrig to identify the *kalathos* as a symbol of Astarte.[165] This title is also seen in the Roman era dedication from Sidon to Thea Ourania Aphrodite, and to *deae Uraniae* at Berytus.[166] A poorly preserved Roman altar from Qassouba, just east of Byblos, shows a similar goddess, along with the better preserved Lady of Yanouh, also near Byblos (fig. 3.36a-36b).[167] This evidence, combined with the celestial imagery shown on some of the Venus Iugens *Halbfigur* types, would suggest that

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[164] Seyrig (1959) pl. VII.1; BnF Y 28455.45.
[165] Seyrig (1959) 38-39; SEG VII 190.
[166] Rey-Coquais (2009) 232; Seyrig (1959) 39.
[167] Ronzevalle (1930) 141 (pl. XXVI 1-3).

the deity on the coin types of Caesarea ad Libanum should be interpreted as Astarte, not Venus.[168] This striking imagery was also adopted by Venus Heliopolitana, which show the

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Figure 3.36a: Limestone altar, second half of first century AD, Byblos. 54cm x 29.5cm x 29cm. Louvre AO 4900. **Figure 3.36b**: Relief of the Lady of Yanouh. Source: Nordiguian (2005) p181.

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Figure 3.37: Limestone altar showing Heliopolitan 'triad', Venus Heliopolitana to left. Found in Fnaydiq, 30km east of Tripolis. National Museum of Beirut inv. no. 3303. Kropp (2009) fig.5.

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[168] See Aliquot (2009) 151-152, who argues that this divine imagery was propagated through the region by the Ituraeans. Kropp (2009) 371-375 similarly addresses whether Jupiter, Artemis and Hermes were originally Ituraean deities re-imagined by the establishment of a *colonia* at Berytus.

goddess in the ubiquitous seated position and flanked by sphinxes, but also crowned with a *kalathos* and wrapped in the all-encompassing veil (fig. 3.37).[169]

We are left to speculate over whether Venus Heliopolitana adopted visual characteristics of this traditional Astarte imagery, or whether later depictions of Astarte were influenced by the prestigious cult at Heliopolis. However, attempts to ascertain which deity was influenced by whom seem ultimately circular, and it is surely more interesting that the two goddesses have both been impacted and influenced by each other's presence, as it demonstrates the fluidity and flexibility of ancient religious practice. The sphinxes and long veil were both attributes of Venus Heliopolitana, and the celestial imagery and *kalathos* symbol shared a strong association with Astarte. The *kalathos* type, made use of a symbol whose significance could have been recognised by many, and is typical of the variety of symbols that provided the region with a common, if sometimes vague, religious vocabulary.[170] The Caesarea ad Libanum coin types evidently reflect the presence of a cult of a powerful goddess, who controlled the fertility of the land but also had cosmic significance. Whether this goddess is the same as the one shown in the types of Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum cannot be said, but unlike the Capitoline Venus composition, this type reflects her local identity, by promoting the unique cult of the city as well as the festival associated with Venus Iugens.[171]

The absence of other Astarte or Venus cults from other Phoenician cities remains unexplained, particularly in cities where there were textual and epigraphic references to an Aphrodite cult, such as Byblos, as well as in the surrounding rural areas. Some cities,

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[169] For discussion of this relief, see Seyrig (1955).
[170] Butcher (2003) 339.
[171] Lightfoot (2003) 310.

such as Tripolis, featured celestial imagery on their coins, but there is not the overwhelming quantity of types that one would expect if the cities were promoting their most powerful cults.[172] Perhaps, as Tertullian lamented, if each city had its own cult of the goddess, perhaps the imagery was too widely used to successfully promote any one city above its neighbours, unless her imagery was particularly unique, as will be addressed imminently.

3.3 Aniconic images

With this apparent value placed upon the unique, let us now turn our attention to our second category of divine imagery: the aniconic. This form of representation was valued for its indication of the unknowability of the divine forces that the deity could control, but it also offered the valuable opportunity for exclusivity. This section will explore a range of aniconic imagery to assess whether it was used to communicate different messages to the anthropomorphic deities discussed thus far.

3.3.1 Astarte

Sidon

Sidon traditionally shared a strong relationship with Astarte. By the fourth century BC, Astarte was a favourite of the royal family of Sidon, where a funerary inscription of Eshmunazar records that his mother was a priestess of the goddess, and that the royal family had constructed and dedicated joint temples to the goddess and her consort Eshmun,

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[172] For celestial symbols of Astarte see Butcher (2003) 340; BMC 37.

both in Sidon itself and in its recently annexed territories.[173] The narrator of *Leucippe and Clitophon* reported that, after arriving in Sidon, he went to the temple of Astarte to give thanks for his safe passage, and Lucian asserted that the Astarte worshipped in the temple at Sidon was in fact Selene, all whilst a priest assured him that the temple belonged to Europa.[174] Despite this longstanding connection with Astarte and the evidence for a temple within Sidon, the coins of Sidon do not reflect any statues that may be interpreted as associated with Astarte.[175] However, what the city did have in abundance were specimens of the following unique coin type.

Type One – 'Car of Astarte'

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Figure 3.38: Bronze coin issued in Sidon, under Julia Paula, AD 219/220. 30mm, 15.72g. Babelon 1829.

One of the most iconic reverses produced by arguably any Phoenician city was the 'Car of Astarte' type of Sidon (fig. 3.38). The design first appeared under Augustus (**SID003**), although it was under Hadrian that the type really began to increase in popularity (**SID006**), and represents a wheeled cart, or *ferculum*, similar to the ναὸς ζυγοφούμενος

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[173] *ANET* 533-534; Haelewyck (2012) 93-94; Jidejian (1971) 51-69; 98-99.
[174] Ach. Tat. 1.2; Luc. *Syr. D.* 4.
[175] For the temple of Astarte, see 4.2.1.

reported by Philo.[176] The cart is transporting an unusually shaped object, a baetyl, which was clearly the focus of the event. These early issues show the baetyl in the form of multiple objects stacked on top of a spherical base, with both angular and curved projections jutting outwards. The whole arrangement seems to rest upon a draped podium. The cart itself is guided by two large wheels, which support a base upon which rests a four-pillared structure which may have been carved from wood to avoid burdening the vehicle with too much weight. The structure is covered by capitals and an elaborate roof, possibly in the style of a *cyma recta* with a projecting cornice and sometimes palm branches. However, under Elagabalus, more notable variations of the baetyl began to appear (**SID009; SID010; SID013**). The car becomes more embellished in later types, and the baetyl begins to become increasingly varied. It is also at this time that the accompanying legend changes to Latin, commemorating Sidon's new status as *colonia*. It also displays the title PIA, presumably to reinforce Sidon's loyalty to Elagabalus during an uprising that saw their rival Tyre stripped of its civic titles for supporting the wrong side. Backing Elagabalus was a shrewd political move, considering the emperor's ties to Syria and the likelihood of imperial benefactions and rewards to come, and it is not surprising that the city chose to promote its loyalty and its newly acquired colonial status. The inclusion of these new titles could also be seen as a celebration of Sidon's promotion and subtle reminder of Tyre's downfall, no mean feat considering the ancient rivalry that existed between the two cities.

This type can also reveal something of religious practice. The *ferculum* was steered by the two poles projecting from the front, and if the vehicle was pulled by hand, this could have been a prestigious social position for either initiates of the cult or for local officials. Religious practice reinforced social status and hierarchies, and processional vehicles such as this are known from other civic coins from the province of Syria, that will be addressed

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[176] RPC I.4608; Philo of Byblos 2.19.

throughout this thesis. At Heliopolis, the *ferculum* that carried the image of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was carried by the 'leading men' of the province, who underwent strict ritual cleansing beforehand, including head shaving and sexual abstinence.[177] At Seleucia, two *keraunophoroi*, 'bearers of the thunderbolt', were elected to carry the symbols of Zeus Keraunios on feast days and processions.[178] These processions were an opportunity for the community to come together, but also allowed the deity to visit the chief sites in their city and reclaim them as their own. Transporting the deity also permitted it to perform an active role in their own festival whilst observing the rituals and honours being offered to them. With the political unrest surrounding Elagabalus' rule, both within the Roman military and in the region, communal religious celebrations such as these would have reinforced civic order and social hierarchies, and the social implications of the vehicle that transported it must not be overlooked.

But it is the object sheltered within that is our primary focus. Due to the numerous specimens of this type, many have survived in excellent condition, but their clarity reveals surprising inconsistencies in its appearance (fig. 3.39a-39d). This variation has been noted before: Seyrig notes that, despite the spherical shape remaining constant, 'son entourage varie notablement'.[179] Hill acknowledges that the 'nature of the object…is difficult to determine'.[180] Its spherical shape is its only unchanging characteristic, for it is easy to identify on every surviving specimen, regardless of other variations. Looking at these four pictured specimens below, all of which were issued within the four years of Elagabalus' reign, one is struck at how short a period this was to be constantly re-designing and reissuing coins to reflect minor changes to the base or decoration, which is what Seyrig had

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[177] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.23.13.
[178] Butcher (2003) 348.
[179] Seyrig (1959) 48.
[180] Hill (1910) cxiii.

suggested.[181] This also reflects the tendency to treat coins as completely faithful reproductions, something that they were never intended to be. Sometimes the globe seems to be almost encircled within horns, and sometimes the podium is obscured by three dots, which are usually identified as stylised sphinxes (fig. 3.39a; 3.39d). It rests upon a flat base with a curved platform, presumably to secure the object whilst in transit. Some specimens have crescents resting on top of it, although how these are affixed to the object remains a mystery. These discrepancies must be addressed.

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Figure 3.39: Reverses of four bronze coins issued by Sidon under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. **a**) 26mm, 12.30g, Babelon 1791 **b**) 23mm, 12.45g, RPC 3.3871 **c**) 30mm, 20.92g, BnF Chandon de Briailles 869 **d**) 26mm, 13.15g, BnF Vogüé 380.

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[181] Seyrig (1959) 49.

It is almost certainly not a question of artistic skill alone that prevented more coherent representations of the cult object, with some types being remarkably fine. Additionally, despite its immense popularity, it is significant that the object is never shown independently or in any other context; it is invariably sheltered within the *ferculum*. To depict the object in clearer detail, it seems that it would have been a natural decision to remove the large vehicle in which it was transported, which must have been challenging to replicate on the miniature flan. But, together the two elements remained. This implies that not only was the cart an important part of the composition, it was crucial. I believe that the same reason behind the changing appearance is also responsible for the omnipresent nature of the vehicle, the appearance of which, as should also be noted, does not change. The possible reason that the object's appearance was so inconsistent and the fact that is always contained within the *ferculum,* is that this was the only time that it was seen by the public and artists, from a distance during religious processions. This recalls the similar situation of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, where numerous variations in reproductions of his image suggests that the cult image could also only be viewed at a distance (see 3.5.1). There was no attempt made to display this object within a temple, which could suggest that it was either not displayed to the casual visitor or pilgrim, or, perhaps, but less likely, artists decided that it would not be possible to effectively represent it within an architectural setting considering the dimensions of the object. Some form of cult restriction may have prohibited viewing of the object within its temple, or at least observing it at close range.[182] For this particular divine image, the vehicle in which it was transported was essential to the understanding of the identity and significance of the object within.

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[182] This restriction seems to have been unique to Sidon, as coins from further inland at Bostra show a similar stacked baetyl resting on a platform and approached by a staircase. BnF *Fonds général* 102; for more on the môtab of Dushares, see Will (1986) 346.

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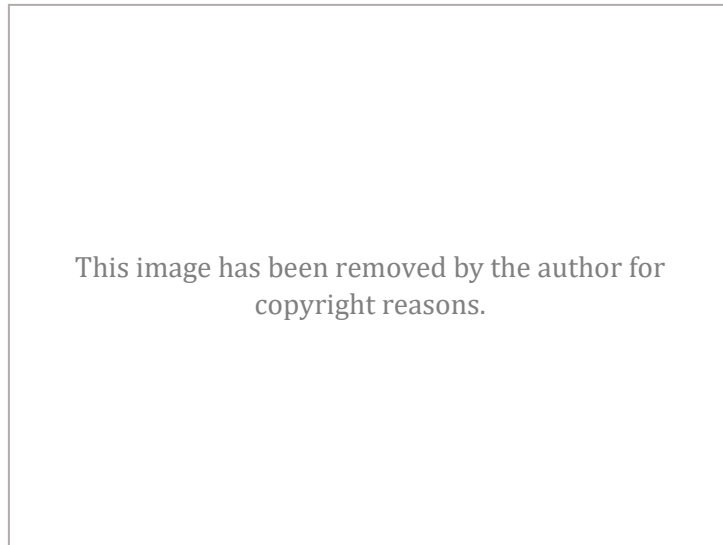
Figure 3.40: Limestone votive throne dedicated to Astarte, 47cm. Second century BC, Khirbet et-Tayibeh (south of Tyre). Source: Will (1986) fig.6.

The identification of the type as 'the car of Astarte' goes back to the seventeenth century, but is often believed to be a result of the Astarte thrones.[183] Their identification with Astarte is fairly secure, thanks to a bilingual Phoenician-Greek inscription that dedicates one such throne to ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗ ΘΕΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ in Greek, and the 'Lady of Byblos' in Phoenician. [184] The example pictured above (fig. 3.40) has a Phoenician dedication to Astarte, as well as being flanked by sphinxes, the acolytes of the goddess.[185] These thrones, made of bronze or terracotta, are usually empty, but sometimes contain spherical shapes loosely reminiscent of the example shown in these coins (fig. 3.41a). This raises a problem for the hypothesis that restrictions prohibited close viewing of the cult object for, if the object was able to be reproduced in miniature votives, then why was it not reproduced on coinage? If the object on the Astarte throne is intended to represent Astarte as Seyrig suggests, then this would suggest that there would have been no restrictions on representing it on coins either.

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[183] *c.f.* Seyrig (1959) 48-52.
[184] Bordreuil and Gubel (1985) 182-3; Budin (2004) 132.
[185] Seyrig (1959) 50; no. 6.

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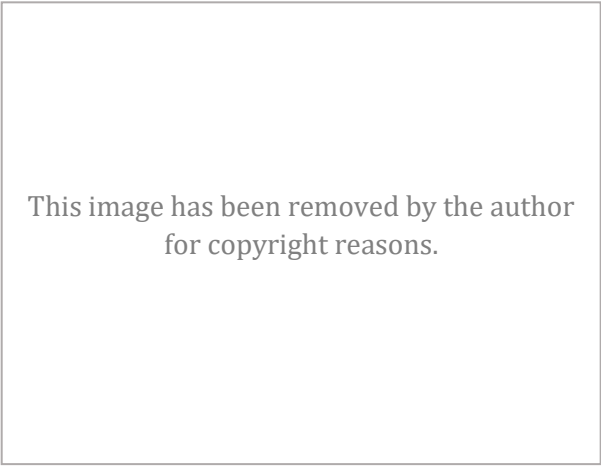
Figure 3.41: Bronze plated votive throne from Sidon. 6/7cm high. Adapted from Seyrig (1959) pl. X. no.3 and 5.

However, the existence of the thrones does not invalidate this proposed hypothesis of a degree of uncertainty surrounding the cult object of Astarte. The date of these thrones are often obscure, and it is possible that cult practice did not remain static, but developed over time. Additionally, Seyrig refers to an example where the globe appears more disc-shaped, and suggests that it may have been an early model or an unskilled artist, but perhaps this instead indicates a degree of variation between the object that the thrones held.[186] Although many are empty, some examples have grooves on the seat to secure a now-lost object, which led Will to conclude that these thrones were 'moins vides peut-être qu'on ne le pensait'.[187] We cannot assume that the objects that they held were uniform, although we can be fairly sure that they were aniconic, as the decoration and dedications on the base of the thrones would have been blocked by the legs of seated figures (fig. 3.42).[188]

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[186] Seyrig (1959) 50.
[187] Will (1986) 348.
[188] Seyrig (1959) 50.

Figure 3.42: Terracotta throne of Astarte, 11.6cm. Source: Bordreuil and Gubel (1985) fig. 8.

Overall, this reverse design succeeds in being one of the most popular and long-lasting types issued by Sidon. It fulfilled the criteria of civic coins, in promoting the city using a unique image specific to Sidon. Its association with Astarte seems fairly secure, and supports the earlier hypothesis that images of Astarte were only valued for civic coinage if they were distinct enough to separate them from the divine images of other Phoenicia cities. The precise role that the transportation of this object played in Sidon is unknown, but it demonstrates the social power and importance of religious practice, and the type was popular enough to be produced for the entirety of Sidon's civic coinage, even being adapted for the following types.

Type Two – Eshmun and the car of Astarte

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Figure 3.43: Reverse of bronze coin, issued by Sidon under Severus Alexander AD 222-235. 23mm, 8.56g. BMC 321.

Interestingly, a concurrent, albeit less copious, type issued under Elagabalus shows the vehicle in the upper register of the field, with a god below making a sacrifice over a small altar (fig. 3.43; **SID012**).[189] He is draped in a himation, and at his side rests a staff with a snake wrapped around it, the attribute of Asklepios. Asklepios is considered to be strongly related to Eshmun, with Damascius referring to the god as 'Asklepios from Berytus, or Eshmun for the Phoenicians'.[190] Eshmun was the *paredros* of Astarte but, unlike Asklepios, Eshmun was not the son of Apollo, but rather a mortal of high status, which placed him 'dans la sphere de ce qui était pour les Grecs celle des héros et des demi-dieux'.[191] Astarte became enamoured with Eshmun when she observed him hunting, but he castrated himself to avoid her attentions, almost dying in the process, until Astarte saved him by transforming him into a god.[192] Eshmun had a large sanctuary three kilometres north of Sidon, where an Astarte throne was set into a niche, underneath a frieze showing a hunting scene. In the second century AD, the sanctuary was furnished with a colonnaded street, banquet buildings and water pools.[193] The inclusion of Eshmun with the car of Astarte

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[189] BnF L 2893; BnF 321 (Severus Alexander).
[190] Dam. *Isid.* 142B.
[191] Will (1985) 111-113.
[192] Dam. *Isid.* 142B.
[193] Stucky (1997) 4.
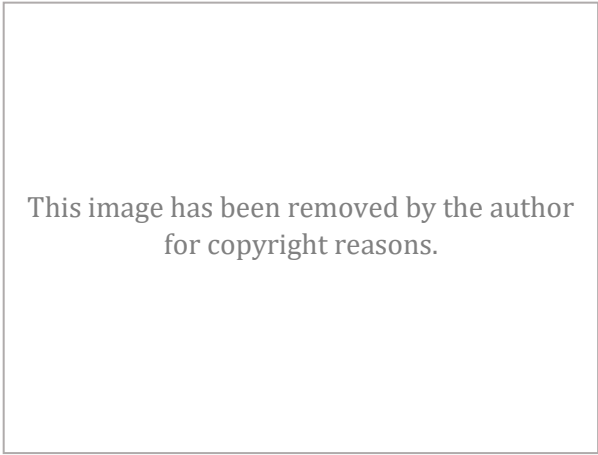
further strengthens the identification of the type as the cult object of Astarte, and it reinforces the shared relationship between the two deities. This type also recalls a similar composition above from Tyre, which shows Melqart making an offering in front of the Ambrosial Rocks, and a goddess (perhaps Astarte) making a dedication before the temple of Melqart. Perhaps, by showing deities with easily identifiable attributes – Eshmun with the snake staff, or Melqart with the club and lion-skin – and a clear connection to the recipient of the sacrifice, the artists were hoping to clarify the identity of the object being sacrificed to. This indicates a desire to have the identity of the deities correctly recognised. It also hints at the richness of religious tradition in Sidon, where socially significant deities were interconnected, and manifest gods could be shown interacting and engaging with aniconic objects. The vehicle is a constant feature of Sidonian city coinage until coin production ceased under Severus Alexander, under whom it appeared as a mintmark, and was evidently considered a fitting icon of Sidonian identity.[194]

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Figure 3.44: Bronze coin issued by Sidon, under Julia Paula AD 219/220. 31mm, 14.62g. BnF R 1896.

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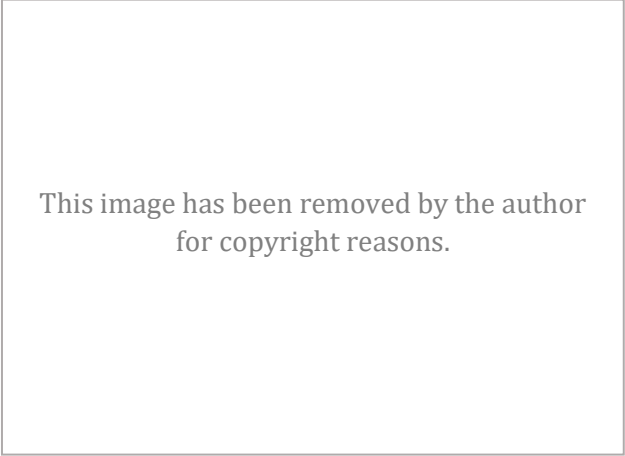
[194] BMC 321.

Despite the prevalence of Astarte in modern scholarly thought, evidence for her presence on the coinage of Roman Phoenicia is limited. From other material culture, such as the Astarte thrones, and the relationship between Eshmun and the car of Astarte, it seems fairly secure that we identify this object as the aniconic cult image associated with the goddess. The type is unique to Sidon, and is evidently one of its most significant and high value bronze issues, considering the abundance, size, and weight of the specimens. No other Phoenician city bears such a cult object, and the continuous issues of this type indicate that it carried emotive power for Sidonian citizens, and the civic titles that accompany it – both Latin and in Greek – emphasise its social significance. The type gives an intriguing glimpse of local religious life, and we can speculate that prestigious local citizens would have been responsible for steering the vehicle that carried the cult object, which would have reinforced civic hierarchies and embedded this religious tradition in Sidonian society. Although lacking the attributes associated with anthropomorphic deities, something of the deity's character is revealed by a variant of the type that shows the vehicle encircled within a zodiac, which could refer to the celestial nature and cosmic significance of Astarte, supported by her epithet *ourania* (fig. 3.44; **SID015**). The numismatic evidence suggests that the cult object of Astarte was often restricted from view, and may have only been displayed to the profane gaze – in this form, at least – when transported outside the confines of the temple, presumably for some festival.

3.3.2 Adonis

Byblos

Type One - Temple of 'Adonis'

Fig. 3.45: Bronze coin from Byblos, issued under Macrinus AD 217/218, 30mm, 19.53g. Münzen und Medaillen GmbH, Auction 11 Lot 168, 7th November 2002.

Under Macrinus, Byblos issued a coin type showing an extremely unusual object situated in the centre of a *temenos* within a complex sanctuary environment (fig. 3.45; **BYB005**). The object is pyramidal, rising to the height of the surrounding peristyle. The base of the object is protected by some form of fence or grill, which presumably would have either helped to support the object, serve some decorative function, or to delineate its sacred nature and separate it from the *temenos*. The type is short-lived, with specimens only known from the one-year reign of Macrinus from AD 217. We can be fairly sure that this object can be identified as sacred due to its location within a sanctuary, and its prominence in the design. A large gap between the columns of the peristyle suggests that visitors and pilgrims would have been able to enter the precinct containing the baetyl, although we cannot be sure whether it was the recipient of sacrifice and other cultic obligations, making its identification as a cult object, rather than a divine object, problematic. The most relevant challenge with this type is typical of unlabelled aniconic types – which deity is being represented?

Generally, the type has been referred to as the temple of Adonis, even though there is little secure evidence to support this attribution, and the aniconic type of Sidon raises the question of whether this should be interpreted as another image of Astarte. Lucian refers to a large temple of Byblian Aphrodite, in which they also performed rituals to Adonis. This pairing of the goddess with a consort was a frequent occurrence in Phoenicia, and her cult was regularly paired with the local male deity, such as Adonis, Melqart or Eshmun.[195] Similarities have also been noted between this object and the cult stone of Aphrodite at Paphos, an ancient temple of the goddess that reportedly had been initially founded by the Phoenicians, preserved on coins where it is flanked by stars (fig. 3.46).[196] Tacitus described this aniconic image of Paphian Aphrodite in Cyprus as essentially a large cone, with a broad base that rose to a narrower top, but he explained that the meaning of this form of cult image is obscure.[197] Interestingly Tacitus also mentions that the only offerings permitted by cultic regulations were prayers and 'pure fire', which could explain the altar visible inside the main building on the Byblian type. The prominent star in the exergue of this Byblos type is also noteworthy. The epithet *ourania* is known to have been associated with the cult of Astarte at Byblos, and the celestial and cosmic characteristics of the goddess are well evidenced today.[198] Herodotus reports of a hymn, known as the Linus-song, for a slain youth sung in both Cyprus and Phoenicia, which perhaps could be in honour of Adonis as consort of the goddess, but all this suggests is that, as Lucian tells us, rites to Adonis were performed at the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos as well as in Byblos.[199]

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[195] Aliquot (2009) 213; Lucian, *DDS* 6; s.*v. OCD.* "Adonis"; Lightfoot (2003) 55-56.
[196] Hdt. 1.105.
[197] Tac. *Hist.* II.3.
[198] Soyez (1972) 157-9; Seyrig (1959) 39-40.
[199] Hdt. 2.79.

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Fig. 3.47: Bronze dupondius issued in Paphos, Cyprus under Trajan, AD 112-117. 26mm, 10.79g. Roma Numismatics Ltd., Auction 2 Lot 654, 2nd October 2011.

Despite noting the resemblance between this object and its counterpart at Paphos, Ronzevalle argues that the image represents the consecrated tomb of Adonis.[200] He rejects a sacred context to the auxiliary temple, arguing that the flames are too stylised to represent a true altar – although it is difficult to conceive alternative methods to clearly depict flames in such a miniature format other than in a stylised form – and that the altar itself is a tripod, which are traditionally funerary in function in Phoenicia.[201] By comparing this altar to other numismatic examples, Ronzevalle makes a connection between this Byblos type, the type discussed above from Sidon showing Eshmun sacrificing to the car of Astarte, and that of Tyre showing Melqart sacrificing below the Ambrosial Rocks. He claims that this altar, appearing on coins from three Phoenician cities, symbolises 'la jeunesse des dieux auxquels il est consacré et souligne en même temps leur caractère de dieux mourants et renaissants'.[202] Some have also argued that this type is reminiscent of the *bāmāb* sanctuaries derided in the Old Testament, which were fundamentally an open-air complex, sometimes with auxiliary-roofed cult buildings, which were reportedly associated with

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[200] Ronzevalle (1930) 153.
[201] Ronzevalle (1930) 181-2.
[202] Ronzevalle (1930) 183.

fertility cults, or commemoration of the deceased.[203] This conclusion is bold, to say the least. It is problematic to definitively state that small altars such as the type within this temple were exclusively used in relation to 'dying/resurrecting' young male deities. Despite Ronzevalle's identification of the pyramid shaped baetyl as the tomb of Adonis, there seems to be little evidence to be able to associate this object explicitly with the demi-god. The only symbol on this coin type is the star, which suggests a deity with more celestial links than Adonis.

Should we look to an association with Astarte instead, or perhaps a shared sanctuary? There is much evidence of shared sanctuaries between supreme goddesses and their *paredros*. In Dura-Europas, the temple of Atargatis had a site dedicated to Adonis, and conversely Atargatis was also worshipped at the sanctuary of Adonis. [204] Pausanias records a reportedly ancient joint sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite in Amathus.[205] Cicero states that a form of Venus 'was conceived of Syria and Cyprus, and is called Astarte; it is recorded that she married Adonis'.[206] Further evidence of the temple dedicated to μέγα ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης Βυβλίης reported by Lucian, who witnessed the ὄργια of Adonis performed there, is lost.[207] The most significant temple remains from Byblos are a Hellenistic-era temple, known as the temple of the Obelisks, before which it was dedicated to the Egyptian deity Reshep. The surviving obelisks from this site somewhat resemble the cult object on this coin type, although they are much more numerous, with no focus on one image. Some Astarte thrones can occasionally contain obelisks such as these although, as Lightfoot notes,

[203] Boyd Barrick (1975) 570-2.
[204] Casadio (2003) 253.
[205] Paus. 9.41.2
[206] Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.59.
[207] Lucian *Syr. D.* 6.

a sudden change in divine recipient from Reshep to Astarte or Adonis was unlikely when the sanctuary was redeveloped during the Hellenistic period.[208]

Given the links between this type and what we know from the temple of Aphrodite, there seems little to securely associate the object with Adonis. The similarities between the shape and size of the shape strongly recall the cult stone of Aphrodite at Paphos, securely identified by Tacitus, to the extent of indicating that this object may well have been associated with Astarte. The star in the exergue hints at associations of a celestial nature, of which we are aware from various epithets of the goddess, as well as a discussion by Macrobius who commented upon the relationship between Aphrodite at Byblos and the zodiac.[209] Lightfoot also notes that this coin type matches no excavated remains from Byblos, although this is unsurprising.[210] The temple structures have evidently been conflated to fit within the restrictions of the field, prioritising the altar within the temple and the open-air baetyl, which must have been one of the identifying features of the sanctuary. Although some Astarte thrones do include two aniconic shapes, suggesting that they represent the goddess and her consort, when only one object is portrayed the inscriptions dedicate the image to Astarte, not to Adonis. Although we cannot definitively locate this temple in its surviving archaeological context, this is not problematic as it was never this study's intention to match the type with archaeological remains. Instead, the parallels between the elements shown on this type and other visual and textual evidence demonstrate that a link to Astarte is plausible. Given the links between Astarte and Aphrodite with Adonis, it is certainly not unreasonable to speculate that the complex depicted could have been associated with Adonis, but the identification of the object as his tomb is far from the certainty that Ronzevalle argues. This type could represent a sanctuary

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[208] Lightfoot (2003) 308.
[209] Seyrig (1959) footnote 3. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.21.1-6.
[210] Lightfoot (2003) 309.

of Astarte – whether as Astarte, Byblian Aphrodite or Ba'alat Gebal – and it is possible that Adonis was also worshipped here too. But this can only remain as speculation and, in the interest of caution, it is better to assign this type to the local form of Astarte, as there is little firm visual or textual evidence to explicitly link the type with Adonis.

3.4 'Absent' deities

3.4.1 Jupiter Heliopolitanus

In the discussion of Jupiter in 3.2.4, Jupiter Heliopolitanus remained a rather vague figure. The use of Heliopolitan imagery was noted in relation to those two types, but the god who inspired them was not referred to in detail, so it can be treated in the proper depth here. The cult of the supreme god of Heliopolis, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, often abbreviated to IOMH, is characterised as a 'superstar cult', which attracted foreign patronage and benefactions for Heliopolis.[211] Images of the god have been as far afield as Gaul, as well as late second-century dedications known from the Janiculum in Rome.[212] Much has been published on the character and appearance of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, with Kropp (2010b) providing a detailed synopsis of his attributes and character, so this will only consist of a brief summary.[213] Jupiter Heliopolitanus' general appearance is well-known, thanks to surviving sculptural fragments, statuettes, reliefs and altars, and his localised nature is demonstrated by the epigraphic focus on his status as *Heliopolitanus* (fig. 3.47).[214] The god is shown as youthful and beardless, and his hair is styled in thick, wavy layers and crowned with a conical *kalathos*. He is invariably depicted frontally, and is clad

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[211] Butcher (2003) 337.
[212] Smith (2012) 282; CIL VI.420; 421.
[213] Kropp (2010b) 231-40; Aliquot (2009) 200-229.
[214] Rey-Coquais (1967) 50.

in a long, tightly-fitting robe (*ependytes),* and accompanied by two flanking bull acolytes. His right arm is raised to shoulder height, with the forearm stretched outwards vertically, holding a whip, and his left arm is bent and held close to his body, while he is holding grain ears or, occasionally, a thunderbolt.[215] The decoration of the richly decorated *ependytes* is notably inconsistent, except for the sides, which are decorated with elongated thunderbolts. Its imagery is typically cosmic, but no two surviving specimens representing Jupiter Heliopolitanus featured the same combination of decorative elements.[216]

Macrobius characterises Jupiter Heliopolitanus as a local form of Helios, citing the appearance and nature of the god's cult.[217] However, his characterisation as a solar deity has been thoroughly refuted by Seyrig, who instead concludes that it is Heliopolitan Mercury, not Jupiter, who was associated with a solar cult.[218] The frequent recurrence of celestial deities such as Helios and Selene, and other zodiac symbols on the *ependytes,* demonstrated the cosmic power of this supreme god. The charioteer pose and celestial decoration, which Macrobius cites as proof of the god's solar character, are instead interpreted as an Eastern visual tradition, and the presence of Helios is testament to the god's cosmic supremacy.[219] Rather than a sun god, his other divine attributes of corn, whip, bull acolytes and *kalathos* all suggest a primarily agrarian influence.

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[215] For the rarity of the thunderbolt attribute, see Kropp (2010b) 232.
[216] For catalogue and discussion of decoration of all extant specimens, see Kropp (2010b) 233-235.
[217] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.23.10-12.
[218] Seyrig (1971) 345-348; Aliquot (2009) 206; Kropp (2010b) 237-240.
[219] Seyrig (1971) 346.

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Figure 3.47: 'Sursock bronze'. Bronze statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Second century A.D, 38.4cm. Louvre no.37401. Source: Aliquot (2009) fig.99.

There was more to Jupiter Heliopolitanus than controlling the rains and crops. Macrobius also recorded that there was also an oracle of Jupiter at the sanctuary, which would manifest when the cult statue was carried out of the temple upon a *ferculum* by the 'leading men of the province', and paraded around the *temenos* to a crowd of pilgrims and visitors.[220] Once aloft, the statue would propel its bearers through divine will, and the priests would then decode its movements. Alternatively, the oracle could be consulted from a distance, and sealed tablets sent to the sanctuary would be returned completed by the god – an opportunity of which apparently Trajan availed himself. Unsurprisingly, when Heliopolis was granted civic independence from Berytus and was subsequently able to mint its own coins, the city seized upon this previously prohibited form of public expression. However, neither Venus nor Jupiter, heralded as *kyrios* and *rex deorum*, remains conspicuously absent on the coins of Heliopolis.[221]

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[220] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.23.13-16.
[221] Hajjar (1977) no.18; no.169; no.197.

This surprising absence cannot be satisfactorily dismissed as oversight or disregard on behalf of the officials at Heliopolis. Perhaps the epithet *Heliopolitanus* was sufficient to promote the deity's connection with the city, and the local elite decided to promote other aspects of Heliopolis on its coinage, such as their sanctuary, civic games, or Tyche. However, the inconsistencies in the reproductions of the divine image, in contrast to the detailed and consistent reproductions of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and Artemis of Ephesus, has led some to argue that this reflects a degree of artistic *uncertainty* surrounding the decorative details of the cult image.[222] This could indicate that access to the cult image was restricted, either by ensuring that a maximum distance between the cult image and the viewer was enforced, or by only bringing the cult image outside on certain occasions, such as the proclamations of the oracle, as argued was the case at Sidon, as suggested by the car of Astarte type issued by Sidon. With so little remaining of the *cella* of the temple of Jupiter, few conclusions can be made about the visibility of the cult statue, but the size of the *temenos* and the practice of reserving *exedrae* for the sole use of specific communities indicates that particular religious events would have attracted large crowds, making observation space competitive, and perhaps further obstructing the view of artists when they sought to reproduce the famous cult image.[223]

Generally speaking, the absence of Jupiter Heliopolitanus does not convincingly support the view that coin imagery can be used as evidence for religious practice, as no specimens explicitly show the image of the most important god in Heliopolis, religiously, socially, and politically. In reality, the situation is more complex than this. The cult itself is not entirely absent, but numismatic types were instead focused on representing the temple, sometimes

[222] Kropp (2010b) 234.
[223] IGLS VI.2800-2804.

accompanied by an ear of wheat, an undisputed attribute of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (see 4.2.3; 4.4.1).[224] Had our knowledge of the cult been less detailed, we could still speculate that it housed a significant agrarian deity, which is not too far removed from our current state of understanding. However, even the absence of Jupiter Heliopolitanus coin types may be able to reveal something about religious practice in the city. This absence supports the argument that cult object was obscured from view within the temple, along with the hypothesis that the variation of reproductions may have been caused by artistic uncertainty regarding its finer details, which in turn can inform us of how the cult statue was viewed. Additionally, it may have been the result of a cultic restriction placed on reproducing the god's image on a profane medium such as coinage, a proscription that clearly did not apply to all local forms of Jupiter cults if we consider the types of Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum. If there were a restriction of this nature at Heliopolis, this absence would demonstrate that deities were not solely used to suit political ideologies and promote local identity at all costs, but would have carried emotive power in their own right, which could dictate civic decisions.

3.5 Conclusions

Overall, this chapter has examined a range of the most iconic types issued by Phoenician coastal cities to address how valid coins are as a tool to explore religious practice in Phoenicia, and to demonstrate how these types expressed levels of identity. The evidence has revealed that Phoenician cities were fiercely individual with regards to the divine figures that they depicted. These coins reflect social attitudes, and it is striking how localised the coin types were. There was no interest in engaging with a wider regional identity; these types are associated only with their city of issue. This suggests that, if a city

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[224] BnF Fonds général 161; SNG Cop. 437.

had a particularly strong connection to a deity or cult, such as Sidon and Astarte, or Melqart at Tyre, then, even if other cities worshipped a similar cult, its social value as a coin type was diminished. By circulating types that were too similar to those of other cities, or by representing aspects of a cult that was already dominated by another city, cities ran the risk of accidentally promoting their neighbours, rather than themselves. Cities seem almost proprietary with their coin types, with any similar imagery quickly disappearing, as seen by the early issue of the Herakles type at Ptolemais-Akke, which appeared to have been struck only once during the first issues of the city before being abandoned.

The question of the extent to which coins can be used as a document of religious history is a complex one. Certainly, coins should not be treated as an exhaustive repository of every deity worshipped within a city, with other material evidence often testifying to dedications made to gods who do not make any appearance on coin imagery, and deities who we know had a well-established cult not being represented, such as Aphrodite at Byblos or Jupiter at Heliopolis.[225] This is not a shortcoming of numismatic evidence – coins were not designed with the intention of being a repository of religious practice; they served as a medium of public expression. Coins were a method to outwardly express what was valued by the community – whether socially, ideologically, or politically – and religious imagery was a theme that encompassed all of these areas.

Powerful deities like Jupiter and Astarte are conspicuous in their absence from the majority of cities, but I see no reason to suggest that the types discussed in this chapter do not reflect an established cult within the city and, similarly, it is unlikely that these cities were the only communities to worship the deities displayed on their coinage. Instead, the fact that deities

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[225] For example, a Roman altar dedicated to Zeus Epouranios from Byblos (Louvre AO 4848), or an Aradus dedication to Herakles (IGLS 7 4001).

were typically restricted to one city indicates that coin imagery was not only used as a tool for social and political discourse, but that cities were aware of what was popular on coin types of neighbouring cities and made a conscious effort to avoid producing similar types, and shared imagery between cities is extremely rare. Caesarea ad Libanum and Orthosia were the only cities to issue an almost identical type, but even this was differentiated by the inclusion of each city's Tyche. The fluidity of religion, characterised in the opening quote, is also glimpsed by these types, where traditional images of gods were replaced with more localised types, as seen in the representations of Zeus at Orthosia.

The iconography of anthropomorphic deities was largely focused on accessibility, with deities shown with widely recognised attributes or well-known compositions – Melqart with his lion-skin and club, or Capitoline Venus. The unchanging nature and longevity of some types suggests that the types may reflect statues from within the city, such as Poseidon at Berytus, with his strong association with the Lateran sculptural type. It seems that deities with more complex iconography were not typically favoured by long-running types, and the majority of most of the above types could be understood on some level, even by such distant viewers as modern scholars, where knowledge of the social, political, and cultural context is much more fragmentary. Despite the familiar Graeco-Roman characteristics, there is no denying that these deities were inextricably bound to their city. These attributes defined the nature of their gods and enhanced their recognisability to any unfamiliar viewers, but the gods themselves were used to promote the glory and heritage of the city itself, which suggests that civic identity was the primary concern in their adaptation for coin types. Aniconic representations stressed the unique aspect of their cult, and found a way to make the widely practiced cults exclusive to their city, and although the nature of aniconic deities cannot be signified by the range of attributes, baetyls provided a wholly distinctive image. Both aniconic objects discussed were invariably located within a

context that defined their religious function – *ferculum* and temple – so their purpose could be understood, and their social significance be recognised.

Other than the careful avoidance of deities already associated with other Phoenician cities, there is no real indication that cities promoted or engaged with the concept of a provincial or Roman identity. The only suggestion at an acknowledgement of the concept of a Phoenician identity is the determined effort which cities made to avoid reproducing deities associated with different cities on their own coins, indicating that the primary concern of coin types was to promote the city itself, marking themselves with particular gods to demonstrate their distinct nature and identity. Even though deities could be shown interacting with objects and symbols strongly associated with Roman culture, such as the trophy, the overall effect of this is to reflect a comment on the nature of the city. By using Roman symbols and attributes, this does not reduce the significance of these deities, but rather enhances their accessibility and increases the layers of meaning that the god may have had, the cultural implications of which could then have reflected back on the issuing city.

At times during this chapter, the depiction of statues and baetyls within architectural settings has been noted, but rarely expanded upon. These architectural surroundings will now become our primary focus, as we ask whether they fulfilled a different communicative role than types featuring deities alone. I will explore what the inclusion of a temple context adds to the overall interpretation of the type, and how this reflects on promoting aspects of civic identity. In contrast to the intensely local state of deity types, can we expect to see architecture which reflects shared regional styles, that subsequently may provide more evidence of a sense of a unified Phoenician practices, or adoption of Roman styles?

Chapter Four

Housing the Sacred

Monumental sanctuaries were a physical testament to the prestigious nature of the god(s) whom they housed, as well as demonstrating the wealth and resources of the community necessary to construct and maintain these buildings. Study of religious architecture is a long established discipline of classical archaeology and, as Aliquot states, 'l'étude des sanctuaires est indissociable de celle des communautés d'où sont issus leurs commanditaires, leurs responsables et leurs visiteurs'.[1] In addition to their practical religious function, temples and sanctuary complexes were a reflection of the communities that created them and were associated with their most important deities. They served as a focal point for religious festivals that brought the community together, as it was through collectively engaging with their cults through festivals that citizens reaffirmed their sense of social unity and communal identity. With identity partially defined as a fundamental 'sameness', demonstrated by collective action, temples provided a locus for this form of shared experience of ritual.[2] Monumental architecture served as the public face of the city, and provided the community with arguably one of the most striking visual statements of civic identity. It is inarguable that temples were a significant financial investment, but their ideological value should not be overlooked. Monumental buildings were essential for 'the pride of cities to be enhanced and the dignity of the community to be increased and…to receive fuller honour both from the strangers within their gates and from the proconsuls'.[3] As such, their commemoration on coinage is to be expected.

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[1] Aliquot (2009) 71.
[2] Brubaker and Cooper (2000) 36; see 1.4.1.
[3] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 40.10.
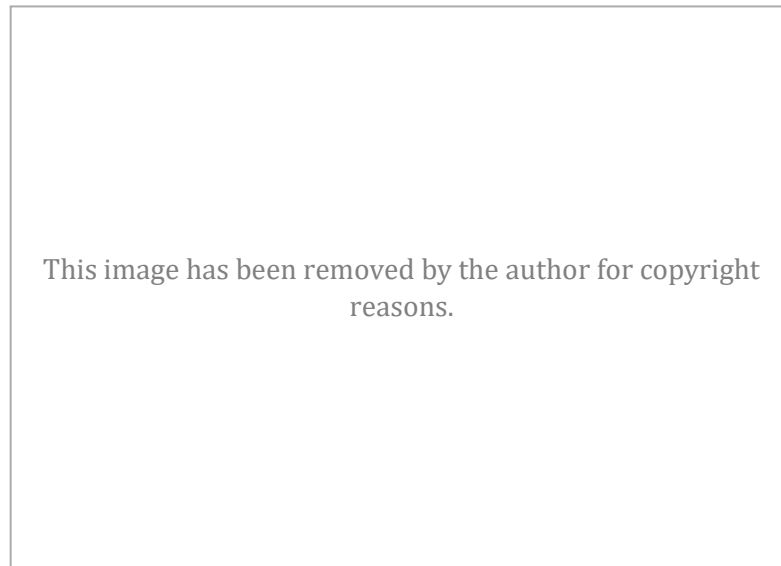
Figure 4.1: Percentage of buildings donated by elite benefactions in Roman Asia Minor. Zuiderhoek (2009) fig.5.2.

Temples, in the same manner as numismatic imagery, were both externally and internally-facing symbols of identity. Elite contributions would have helped to construct and maintain these buildings, a vital component of euergetism, and religious buildings were the favoured medium through which to do so (fig. 4.1). Not only did these buildings suitably honour and appease the gods who influenced the fortunes of the city and its people, but they were also a tangible way of promoting the elite's wealth and engagement with Graeco-Roman culture and learning. As we will see below, this is not to imply that traditional religious practices were immediately abandoned or replaced, but rather these buildings made use of the array of influences at their disposal to best honour the deity, and reflect the city. The focus of this chapter differs from that of Chapter Three, dictated by the fact that these coins reflect evidence which still have some form of tangible remains surviving from the region. The following research questions are thus aimed at addressing how these coins adapted

representations of temples to suit the field, and to what extent their communicative potential was affected by the change in content.

As discussed in 2.1.2, the expectation that coins faithfully reproduced temples has caused some to react against these non-critical interpretations by arguing that these coins represented cults that did not exist.[4] This chapter will examine the evidence to address to what extent coin designs can be used to study lost architecture, by drawing upon archaeological remains from the region to better understand how these temples may have looked. Can (and should) coin types be interpreted as realistic reproductions of a city's temples, and if not, then what messages are being communicated instead?

If we accept that religious architecture reflected the society that created it, then it can be analysed to assess the impact of various cultural influences, whether traditional, regional, or Graeco-Roman, and thus reveal something of social attitudes and how cities responded to new practices and styles. When considering regional influences, the impact of the renowned sanctuary at Heliopolis will be considered, and the appearance of temples will be analysed to assess to what extent these cities engaged with Roman culture.[5] As Webster asserts, simply because we objectively recognise the building or artefact as belonging to one culture, we cannot assume that they were used in the way which we would expect. In the vast majority of cases, we have no way of knowing with certainty the character and practices of these religious centres. Considering the close relationship between architecture and social practices, the appearance of provincial temples has often been a

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[4] Belayche (2003) 116.
[5] Although Heliopolis is often attributed to the province of Syria Coele after its annexation from Berytus, we should not overlook that it was considered the territory of a Phoenician city for nearly two centuries, and as such will be considered alongside other architectural evidence.

focus to assess how 'Romanised' a provincial society appeared.[6] One must be careful when judging social customs based on religious architecture, not to divorce these architectural coin reverses from their archaeological context. We know enough of the overall layout of temples in the region to speculate whether certain features were emphasised, and if so what insight this revealed into what the city may have valued and emphasised, and possibly their motives for doing so.

The preceding chapter demonstrated how cities valued the unique, but also the recognisable, for their coin reverses. Divinities were shown with popular attributes to signify their nature, but their depiction was almost entirely restricted to just one city. As we analyse the evidence, we should consider whether the almost possessive concern with unique civic coin reverses also applied to architectural types, or whether the types reflect shared regional styles across Phoenicia and Syria, which were not subjected to the same proprietary claims.

As in Chapter Three, the following discussion has been divided into broad categories: exterior views, interior views, side perspectives, and outdoor sanctuaries. This chapter aims to address the established research questions by exploring a variety of architectural types, to achieve a more comprehensive overview of the context. The quantity of material means that the types discussed will not represent an exhaustive catalogue of all architectural types, but as a result it will be possible to examine each type more closely. Before moving on to the coin types, it is first important that we understand the appearance of temples in Roman Phoenicia by examining their remains as they exist today. As no Roman-era temple survives from any Phoenician city, the role of rural sanctuaries and the

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[6] Segal (2013) viii-ix; Ball (2000) 317-356.

temples at Heliopolis will prove valuable to our understanding of whether there were regionally prevalent styles and whether this was reflected on coinage.

4.1. Religious architecture in Roman Phoenicia

With the vast majority of Phoenician temples and their surrounding features now lost, coin reverses are often the best, if not the only, tangible evidence of their existence, and our awareness of the appearance of regional religious architecture is limited by the absence of extant remains from Phoenician urban centres.[7] However, in the absence of urban temples, we can turn instead to the numerous rural temples that were constructed further inland. The first significant major study on these rural sites was undertaken by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938), who offer a study of Roman-era Syrian temples complete with photographs, drawings, and reconstructions. Although it does not cover the same quantity of material as later works, it was extremely detailed, and preserves elements that were destroyed by the end of the twentieth century as a result of earthquakes and looting.[8] Nordiguian (2005) provides a thorough study of the temples as they stood at that time, which is particularly valuable for its excellent photographs. The most influential work on religious architecture for this study is the remarkable monograph of Aliquot (2009), which not only fills in the gaps of Krencker and Zschietzschmann to produce an immensely detailed catalogue of all known Roman-era religious sites in Lebanon, but has also synthesised it with a rich study of religious life in the region, and the impact of Greek and Roman influences.[9] In addition, the monumental temples at Heliopolis will also be used as further evidence, considering the impact that their scale and decoration must have had on

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[7] For the purposes of this study, it is temples within the region which will be focused on. For architectural practice in Rome itself, see Stamper (2005).

[8] I.e. the damage at Hösn Niha: Nordiguian (2005) 64

[9] Aliquot (2009) catalogues eighty six known cult sites from the Beqaʻ, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges.

neighbouring cities. The extraordinary scale of the Heliopolis sanctuary was probably not typical of what one would expect to have been seen in the built-up environment of Phoenician cities, and we can assume that urban temples may have taken a middle ground between the monumental grandeur of Heliopolis and the smaller rural temples.

Both Near Eastern and Greek religious practices shared a predilection for constructing temples in dramatic or aesthetically pleasing natural settings, a quality apparent in the vast majority of sanctuaries in the Beqa' Valley.[10] As Roman control became more established, these rural sacred sites became more developed as local communities responded to the additional resources at their disposal, and sanctuaries were adapted in response to broader socio-economic and architectural stimuli (fig. 4.2).[11] Greek belief held that some mountains could possess attributes that were physical manifestations of their gods, a tradition that also prevailed at the sanctuary complex of Qalaat Faqrā, which has been attributed to Zeus Beelgalasos, a previously unknown god whose name may be a corruption of 'Baal of *galasos*', the Aramaic or Arabic term for jagged ground.[12] The architecture of the temple reflected this character, with the *naos* and the precinct of the second-century AD temple chiselled out of the living rock.[13]

The level of preservation of rural religious architecture in modern Lebanon is varied. Some structures have vanished entirely, although their stone blocks and inscriptions can be seen reused in churches and mosques. Others have been left standing, but adapted to suit new religious architectural requirements, such as at Bzizia, where the façade was walled in and two apses were added to form a church.[14] Enough, however, are more extant, which allows

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[10] Thomas (2007) 17.
[11] Stek (2014) 229.
[12] Steinsapir (2005) 73.
[13] Ward-Perkins (1994) 300.
[14] Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) 4-7.

us to assess common features that these temples possessed, which in turn can inform our understanding of the appearance of temples in Roman Phoenicia. Although situated in rural locations, some of these temples were of impressive proportions. We can reasonably assume that urban temples were constructed to greater sizes and with more costly materials than limestone and sandstone, but although these rural temples may have been funded through private dedications and sanctuary income, it seems unlikely that the temples were designed by the local residents alone, with no external influences or assistance.[15] Architects working within cities may have been hired or consulted for technical support, which would suggest a degree of similarity between urban and rural religious architecture, albeit maybe on a reduced scale for the rural counterparts. With this in mind, it is worth discussing common design features shared by the majority of extant temples in rural Lebanon. In the interests of limiting the material, the focus will be on temples from northern and southern Lebanon ranges and the Beqa' Valley, the majority of which date from between the second and third centuries AD and which should be in close enough proximity to the coastal cities to lie within their territory, or at least be affected by their realm of influence.[16] Little is known of these cities' hinterlands today, but epigraphic evidence sometimes reveals which villages (and subsequently temples) were attached to which city, such as Yammouné belonging to the *colonia* of Heliopolis, and Chhim was under the control of Tyre.[17]

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[15] *IGLS* 6.2946.

[16] The precise territorial borders of Phoenician cities are unknown. The indication that Sidon shared a common border with Damascus indicates that their hinterlands could stretch further inland than one would necessarily expect: Joseph. *AJ* 18.6.3 [153].

[17] Aliquot (2009) no. 52 and 39.

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Figure 4.2: Map showing the distribution of architectural styles of Roman temples in rural Lebanon. Aliquot (2009) fig. 33.

It was important for these temples to be in a position that emphasised their appearance and sacred function. For these rural temples, their very presence amidst the rural landscape would have made them stand out to passers-by, but some were deliberately constructed in areas to emphasise them further. Some, like at Ham, occupied conspicuous terraces that overlooked the nearby ancient village, whilst others, such as at Chlifa, dominated the landscape above the settlement.[18] When dramatic locations were not possible, other methods were employed to emphasise the location of the temple, such as at Chhim, which was redeveloped in the early third century, possibly as a result of nearby Sidon being granted *colonia* status.[19] To emphasise its significance, a large wall was constructed to clearly delineate the religious sphere of the temple from the village beyond, which had organically developed rather haphazardly around the temple.

Sacred architecture in the Roman Near East often possessed layers of architectural and visual separation between the temple and the world beyond, in the form of *propylaea*, *temenoi* and staircases. The *temenos* was typically entered through a monumental gateway, the *propylaeum*, which funnelled visitors before releasing them into the space and spectacle of the sacred precinct, which was often bordered by a peristyle. These *propylaea* could often tantalisingly hint at the monumentalised grandeur within, such as at Qalaat Faqra, where the visitor entered through a grand decastyle portico. The Artemision at Gerasa is an excellent example of degrees of separation between the sacred and secular worlds, possessing two second-century AD *propylaea* between the *cardo* and the temple itself, which were raised by a steep staircase so viewers could glimpse the entrance to the domain of the goddess beyond.[20] Before reaching the temple proper, these sanctuaries were often delineated by the *temenos,* a boundary that separated the profane world from the sacred

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[18] Aliquot (2009) 240 (Cat. No. 62 and 51).
[19] Aliquot (2009) 274 (Cat. No. 39).
[20] Lichtenberger (2008) 137.

area within, and ancient religions placed great emphasis on keeping the boundaries between the two distinct.[21] The *temenos* was often clearly marked by walls, such as at the western sanctuary of Ain Aakrine, whose protective wall was constructed of five metre long blocks.[22] Even in rural areas, the *temenos* designated the land surrounding the temple as not for common use and a physical distinction such as this was even more essential in the city with its various pollutants, both physical and spiritual.

The temple designs of Mount Lebanon and the Beqaʻ varied as a result of disparities between their dates of construction, the availability of resources, and the choices of the villagers. However, there are some common features that recur across the area, indicating popular stylistic elements. Focusing on the areas in closer vicinity to the coast, it appears that the order of choice seems to have been a tetrastyle prostyle (fig. 4.3a). Out of the sufficiently surviving structures in the Beqaʻ and Lebanon ranges, evidence suggests that approximately 60% were tetrastyle prostyle, compared to the other popular styles of distyle *in antis*, pseudodipteral, and hexastyle prostyle, which account for approximately 12% of the surviving sample (fig. 4.3b). A tetrastyle prostyle temple had a strong emphasis on frontality, and was typically raised on a podium and approached by a staircase that was typically flanked by two *antae*. This podium and staircase seem to have been extremely popular, to the extent that, at Hösn Niha, the ground level was excavated in front of the smaller, earlier temple so that a staircase could be constructed, giving the illusion that the temple was towering above the viewer.[23] Sometimes these staircases could span almost the width of the temple façade, and were of varying heights. At Niha, Temple A took this convention even further by having an approach of three flights of stairs, each of ten steps,

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[21] Lennon (2014) 53.
[22] Aliquot (2009) 243 (Cat.No.9).
[23] Aliquot (2009) 302.

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Figure 4.3a: Tetrastyle prostyle temples, from left to right: Bakka, Qsarnaba, Hösn Niha (Temple A), Niha (Temple B), Niha (Temple A). Adapted from Aliquot (2009) fig.34a.

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Figure 4.3b: From left to right, examples of: hexastyle prostyle layout (Qalaat Faqra); distyle *in antis* layout (Hösn Niha B, Chlifa); pseudodipteral layout (Beit Jallouk). Not to scale. Adapted from Aliquot (2009) fig.34a.

which Krencker interpreted as a response to the influence of the temple of Bacchus at Heliopolis, to whose territory Niha belonged.[24]

As far as the evidence indicates, almost all of the temples were raised above the *temenos* floor level by means of a high podium or platform. In some cases, such as at Sarba near Berytus, the podium is all that survives.[25] The tetrastyle façade is typically in the Corinthian style, arguably the Roman decorative style *par excellence,* but Ionic was also a popular choice.[26] Within the temple itself, the layout is usually divided into a *cella* and *adyton* at the rear, but many temples also include a *pronaos*. Some temples have staircases concealed by the main doorway to provide access to the roof, but this is fairly uncommon.[27] Within the *cella*, some of the structures had engaged columns along the interior, and the *adyton* occupied within one third to a half of the *cella*.

The *adyton* was the holy-of-holies, the most sacred part of the temple, which housed the cult statue or object. The *adyton* platform was almost invariably raised, with some examples reaching a height of nearly two metres above the *cella* floor.[28] Raising the cult image would have emphasised its importance, whilst on a practical level it also increased its visibility to the viewer. The temple doorways are generally wide to accommodate for this, although the monumental Temple A at Hösn Niha has marks in the door lintel for a grille, which would have restricted access beyond that point to all but a select few. Access to the *adyton* must have been tightly restricted, but care was taken for the deity within to be visible from the outside. Temples with notably raised *adyta* often took further measures to enhance the visibility of the cult image, with the temple at Qsarnaba having narrow slits along its rear

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[24] Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) 107; Abou Diwan and Doumit (2016) 234.
[25] Nordiguian (2005) 146-147.
[26] Wilson-Jones (2000) 136.
[27] For discussion, see Amy (1950) 82-136.
[28] Yanouh 1.92m; Qsarnaba 1.84m.

wall to let light in and, at Yanouh, the North Sanctuary had large lateral windows at precisely the height of the adyton platform, which allowed light in and additionally enabled viewing the cult object at close range, without entering the *cella* (fig. 4.4a and 4b).[29] Alternatively, some temples seem to have had stricter regulations controlling the viewing of the cult object. The temple at Bziza had grooves in the stone blocks of the *adyton,* which Aliquot interprets as evidence that the *adyton* could be screened from the viewer. In this instance, there is no staircase leading to the *adyton* platform, suggesting that it was the sacred image that was shielded and isolated from sight and approach, at least for some of the time.[30]

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Figure 4.4a: Photograph showing the North Sanctuary at Yanouh, seen from the south-west. Source: Aliquot (2009) fig. 137.

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[29] Aliquot (2009) 255-6.
[30] Nordiguian (2005) 170-175. Aliquot (2009) 247.

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Figure 4.4b: Photograph of the lateral windows of the Northern Sanctuary at Yanouh. Source: Nordiguian (2005) p.175.

The *adyton* platform could usually be reached by a staircase, which at Deir el-Qalaa spanned almost the width of the *cella*, apart from two small *antae* but, conversely, access to the platform of some *adyta* was further restricted by a narrow staircase, such as at Sfiré's Temple B, or Temple B at Niha. At Temple A in Niha, the staircase was divided into two parts: the initial flight of steps is split into three by two balustrades, and leads to an intermediary landing, where one can gain access to a crypt (fig. 4.5a). From this level, the central and left-hand staircases proceed to the *adyton* platform, although the right is blocked by the entrance to the crypt. The raised platform could contain a statue base or a richly decorated niche set into the back wall of the *cella* like at Yanouh (fig. 4.5b). The *adyton* itself was typically the focus of architectural detail and decoration. At Ain Aakrine, the *adyton* supported a colonnaded façade, decorated with Ionic capitals resting on Attic bases. Corinthian capitals were popular within the *adyton*, with their ornate appearance an

appropriate indication of the most sacred area of the temple.[31] Sometimes these covers could take the form of a colonnaded baldachin, as in Temple A at Niha, or, as is seen at Dakoué, an aedicule built into the back wall covered with an entablature. These elaborate *adyta* effectively served as a temple within a temple; they framed, emphasised, and protected the cult object displayed within. In the majority of cases it seems that the *adyton* was meant to be seen, even if not at close quarters, and the decoration or canopy above ensured that the cult image was not lost within the expanse of the *cella*.

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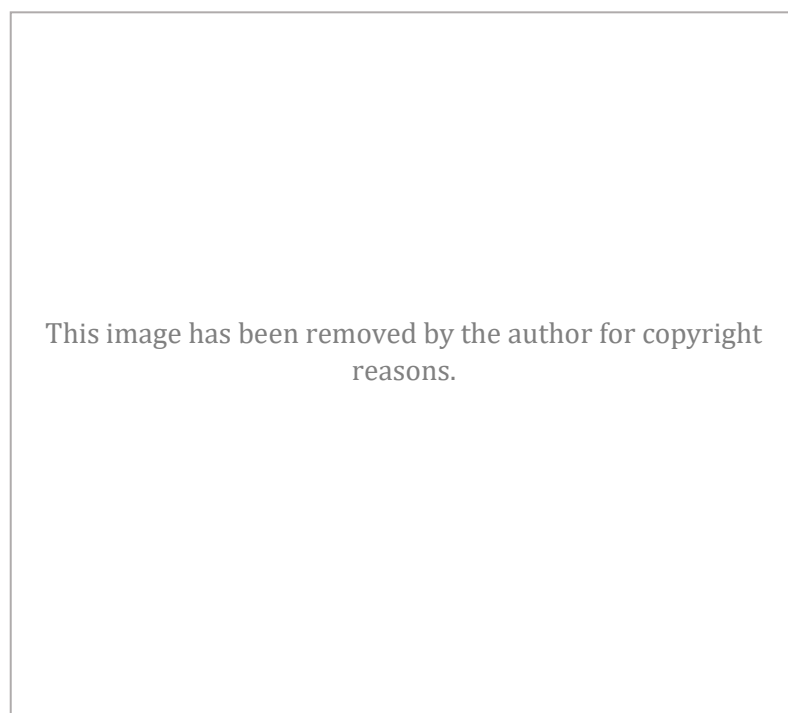
Figure 4.5a: Photograph of the *adyton* of Temple A, Niha. Source: Nordiguan (2005) p.54.

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[31] Pollitt (1986) 248.

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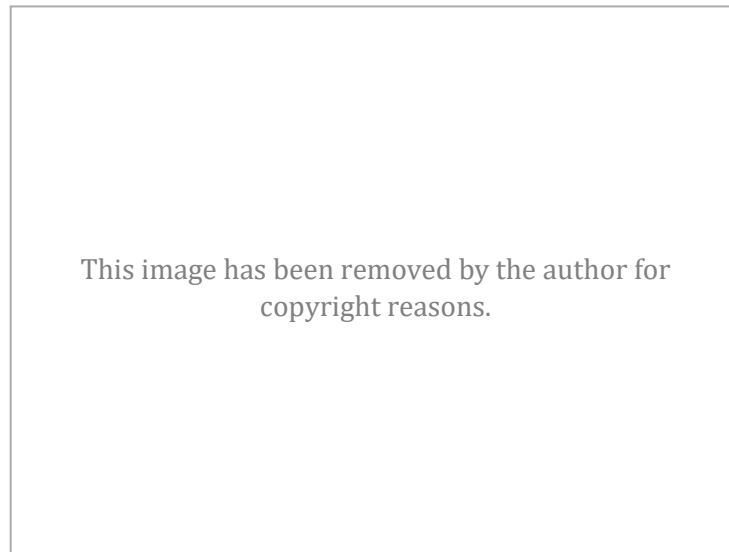
Figure 4.5b: Photograph of the shell niche in the rear wall of the Northern Sanctuary *adyton* at Yanouh. Source: Aliquot (2009) fig.38.

It is apparent that temple architecture from Roman Phoenicia shared broad similarities in design. Housed within a sacred precinct, the *temenos* marked the area as separate from the mundanities and profane influences of the world beyond its protective borders. The temple situated within was typically front-facing, with the focus on the columned façade. Within the temple, the *adyton* at the rear of the *cella* housed the sacred object, usually below a colonnaded canopy or sheltered within a niche set into the rear wall of the *cella*. Classical orders are easily recognisable, with the Corinthian and Ionic orders much in evidence, whilst the distyle *in antis* temples tend to favour the Doric order. The overall appearance of these rural temples bore strong similarities to typical Roman designs. The frontal emphasis, the singular point of access, the popularity of the Corinthian and Ionic orders; are all testament to Roman influence. Other features, such as the raised and separate *adyton* and the colonnaded canopy that covered the cult image, are less typical of traditional Roman practice.

The layout of the most sacred aspect of the temple may have remained unchanged by the introduction of new influences, due to religious practices and traditionalism, although new fashions and styles were readily adapted for the outer appearance of the temple.[32] The extent to which these buildings were explicitly influenced by Roman traditions is ambiguous. Some, such as Temple A at Niha, appear to have been directly impacted by the sanctuary at Heliopolis, a complex that had no explicit evidence of imperial sponsorship or involvement. It seems likely that some of these temples were the result of the acknowledgement and appreciation of immensely prestigious nearby sanctuary and the availability of architects in the region during and after phases of its construction, rather than in recognition of Roman authority. Architecture was not a static institution, but rather one that was characterised by development and innovation. Greek religious architecture has long been recognised as a 'combination of rigid conservatism and subtle innovation', but this can also be applied to the temples of Roman Phoenicia.[33]

We cannot expect that the appearance of temples in the major coastal cities to have been identical to their rural neighbours. However, the reoccurrence of similar features in the rural temples strongly suggests that these elements may have been repeated on a grander scale in the cities. In the same way that the sanctuaries at Hösn Niha were adapted to fit the narrow terraces on the steep and mountainous terrain, we could expect to see similar constraints on temples to fit into the urban topography. The scale was probably larger and more embellished as a result of the benefits of building in a urban location, such as ease of access, a readily available workforce, and wealthier and more numerous elite sponsors. We can reasonably assume that the sanctuaries of Lebanon and the Beqaʻ were influenced not

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[32] Lawrence (1996) 151.
[33] Beard (2002) 128.
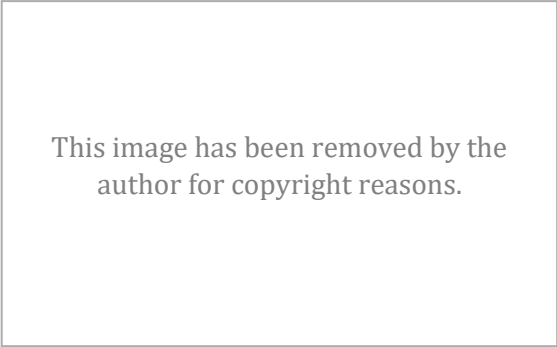
only by each other, but also by urban temples, and that technical knowledge and possibly labour could have been sought from the cities.

Adaptation of Roman architectural characteristics was a natural consequence of the growing influence of Roman culture, and it should not be taken to assume that traditional beliefs and practices were abandoned in favour of those deemed to be superior. Nor should the survival of elements such as the *adyton* be interpreted to mean that religious mentality continued unaffected by Roman authority under a pretence of adherence to Roman cultural practices. Cultures and beliefs are fluid, not fixed, and may change as a result of social and political pressures, and it is precisely how the community perceived and presented these pressures that will be the focus of this chapter.

4.2. Exterior front views

4.2.1 Sidon – Temple of Astarte

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Figure 4.6: Bronze coin issued in Sidon, 10/9 BC - AD 116/117. 21.69mm, 5.43g, BnF Vogüé 368.

The first case of a temple depicted on civic coinage in Roman Phoenicia was from Sidon (fig. 4.6; **SID002**). The type was issued from the very late first century BC and continued until the rule of Trajan, making it the first known use of an architectural type on Phoenician civic coinage.[34] It is challenging to identify which side is the obverse without the head of a deity or ruler, so for the purpose of this discussion, I will identify the side with an image of the deity as the obverse, in this case, Zeus' abduction of Europa, which this reverse type was invariably paired with. A popular narrative in antiquity, the myth saw Europa, the daughter of the king of Sidon, abducted by Zeus in the guise of a bull, who carried her across the sea to Crete.[35] Her brother, Cadmus, was dispatched to search for her, and in doing so founded Thebes and introduced the alphabet to the Greek world.[36] There seems to have been some confusion over whether the narrative was based in Sidon or Tyre, with Ovid stating that Europa came from 'the land of Sidon' but that Cadmus was 'prince of Tyre'.[37] However, the narrative is only depicted on the coinage of Sidon, which suggests that their claim was recognised by the other Phoenician cities.

The reverse shows the frontal view of a tetrastyle temple. It rests upon a high podium, which supports four tall columns spaced at equal intervals with carefully depicted capitals, the shape of which recalls the Ionic order. A broad entablature is supported above the columns, above which is a triangular pediment. Inside the tympanum is some form of decorative detail, identified as a scroll by Hill, but other specimens seem to depict a circular globe in the centre, perhaps suggesting that there may have been an image in the pediment, such as a bust of Helios or Selene, who were both popular additions to rural temples and

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[34] BMC 164-166; SNG Hunt. 3331. In contrast, the first architectural coin type from Rome was struck in 135 BC: Hill (1989) 7.
[35] Hom. *Il.* 14.321; Paus. 7.4.1; Luc. *Dialogue of the Sea Gods.*15; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1.
[36] Hdt. 5.58; Ov. *Met.* 3.132-3.
[37] Ov. *Met.* 2.840; 3.128.

signified the cosmic power of the deity within (fig. 4.7).[38] This feature is not apparent on all specimens, suggesting that some artists did not have the inclination or means to include such a small detail, instead relying on the fact that the audience would have been aware that it was to serve as visual shorthand for whatever form of sculptural decoration was featured in the pediment. Beyond the temple itself, a square object blocks the centre of the podium, perhaps an altar. Behind the altar, flanking the temple are two freestanding columns. These columns do not share the same ground-line as the podium and altar, suggesting an attempt at foreshortening to create the illusion of depth.

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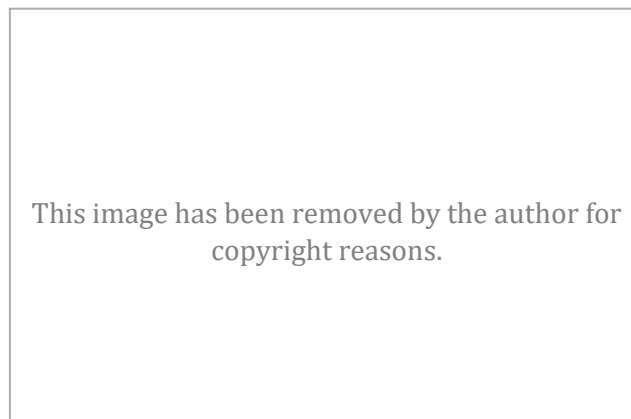
Figure 4.7: Photograph of pediment decoration depicting Helios, Ain Horché. West Hermon. Source: Aliquot (2009) fig.57.

The flanking columns are particularly significant, as they can provide a clue to the occupant of the temple. Not only were freestanding columns used to mark the onset of establishment and order as one entered the sacred precinct, they had particular significance in Syria and Phoenicia, where temples with freestanding columns were known.[39] Lucian reports on the two 'phalli' located immediately through the *propylaeum* at the temple of Atargatis in

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[38] Hill (1910) 169; BnF Vogüé 368; Nordiguian (2005) 112-113; On the cosmic symbolism of Helios and Selene when used in architectural contexts, see Aliquot (2009) 142-145; Seyrig (1939) 442.
[39] Wright (1992) 476.

Hierapolis, which were ascended biannually by holy men in a public act of divine supplication.[40] Another example is the famous Jachin and Boaz pillars that adorned Solomon's Temple of Jerusalem, reportedly installed at the direction of the Tyrian architect Hiram.[41] More locally to Phoenicia, freestanding columns had been associated with the religious spaces of Melqart since the time of Herodotus, who described two columns at Tyre that embellished the precinct of the temple of Tyrian Herakles.[42] Thus, it is evident that freestanding columns within sacred precincts were not exclusively associated with just one deity, and we should not immediately assign the temple to Melqart. As is stands, there is nothing on the coin type to suggest a link to Melqart who, in any case, was much more strongly associated with Tyre than Sidon (3.2.1).

As the first known temple on Phoenician civic coinage, the design unsurprisingly demonstrates less of the stylised tendencies that would characterise later architectural types. The central columns are not widened to reveal the cult image, suggesting that, at this point, the artist was not overly concerned with explicitly identifying the occupant of this temple. Detailed decoration is minimal, but emphasis seems to have been placed on the surrounding aspects to the temple, the flanking columns, the altar and the possible pedimental decoration, which would all have been identifying characteristics to a familiar viewer. This may indicate that civic coins at this early stage in Roman Sidon were more focused on presenting images inwards to the community itself, rather than broadcasting messages of their superiority to an external audience of citizens from neighbouring cities. Despite the need for caution regarding attempts to reconstruct temple appearances from coin evidence alone, the effective simplicity and unusual features suggest that it may have borne some similarity to a temple that existed in Sidon, particularly when one considers its

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[40] Luc. *Syr. D.* 28; For commentary on these *phallobatai*, see Lightfoot (2003) 417-421.
[41] 1 Kings 7.13-14
[42] Hdt. 2.44.2.

resemblance to the tetrastyle prostyle façade favoured in the rural areas. It also demonstrates that, even at this early point in Roman rule, Roman architectural influences were being adapted, as shown through the frontal emphasis, podium, and column capitals and bases. However, the flanking columns and the presence of Europa and the bull makes this type distinctly Sidonian, albeit in more widely accessible visual terms.

The abduction of Europa by Zeus on the obverse may give us an indication of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. Europa was a well-attested character in Sidon, with the confusion commented on above over whether the temple in Sidon was dedicated to Europa, Astarte, or even Selene.[43] Some representations of Selene show her riding a bull in a manner reminiscent of Europa, and it is tempting to connect this mention of Selene to the pedimental detail visible on some specimens as, if the temple did have a decorative device such as this, it may have led some to either confuse the identity of the occupant with Selene, or to conflate the celestial nature of both goddesses.[44] Significantly, Lucian informs us that Europa could be identified with the supreme goddess Astarte, who was particularly associated with Sidon (3.3.1).[45] This connection between Europa and Astarte is further supported by Achilles Tatius, who describes in detail an *ekphrasis* of a painting of Zeus' abduction of Europa amongst the temple's votive offerings, where Europa is described wearing a veil, which 'floated down about her shoulders, bellying out through its whole length and so giving the impression of a painted breeze'.[46] The *ekphrasis* bears strong similarities to the popular composition of Europa and the bull, which is also known from other reproductions from Phoenicia, and serves to indicate that there could well have been

[43] Luc. *Syr. D.* 4.
[44] *LIMC* VII 'Selene, Luna' 46.
[45] Lightfoot (2003) 58; 164.
[46] Ach. Tat. 1.1.

a recognised relationship between Astarte and Europa, who were both female deities linked to the cultural and mythical heritage of Sidon (fig. 4.8).

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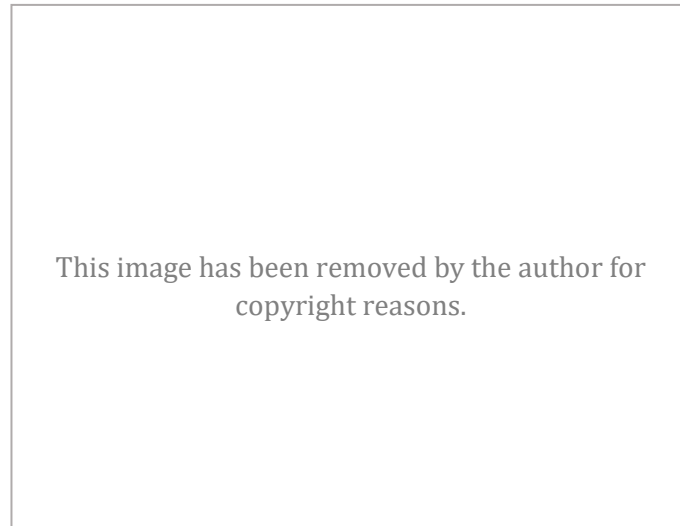
Figure 4.8: Mosaic from Byblos, on display in the National Museum of Beirut. Licence: Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0. Accessed 26/11/2017.

As two divinities whose relationship with the city enhanced the status of Sidon, it does not seem unlikely that there may have been a link between Europa and Astarte in the city, and that the temple shown may have belonged to Astarte. To strengthen this hypothesis further, if we examine material evidence associated with the cult of Astarte in Phoenician colonies, the temple dedicated to Astarte at Kition in Cyprus was found to possess two freestanding columns that flanked the inner sanctuary from as early as the ninth century BC.[47] It seems highly plausible that there could have been two columns within the sanctuary at Sidon, variations of which were then installed at the new temple by Sidonian colonists. Given the links between Europa and Astarte, and the presence of columns such as these in the temple

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[47] Mierse (2004) 567; Wright (1992) 476.

of Astarte at Kition, it seems reasonable to suggest that this temple could be identified as a depiction of the temple of Astarte in Sidon.

4.2.2 Tyre – temple of the Phoenician *koinon*

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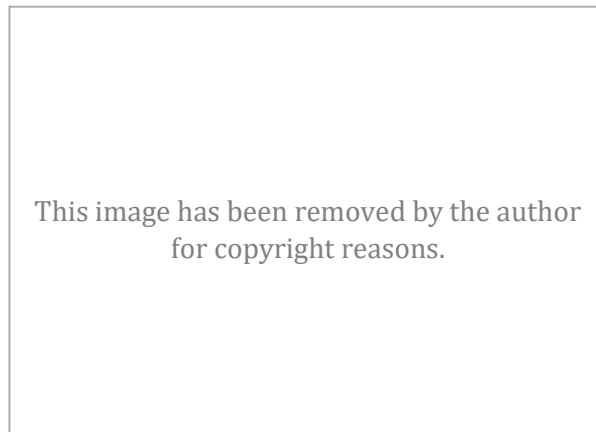
Figure 4.9: Bronze coin issued in Tyre, after AD 194. 26mm, 13.71g. Münzen and Medaillen GmbH, Auction 32, Lot 328, 26th May 2010.

Tyre did not follow its rival Sidon's precedent until the late second century AD, when the city issued its first coin type to depict a temple (fig. 4.9; **TYR004**).[48] This type showed a frontal view of the *koinon* of the Phoenicians, which was an administrative civic institution, where regional representatives from either part or the entirety of a province would meet. The *koinon* of the Phoenicians was not established until the rule of Septimius Severus, when the new emperor created the province of Syria Phoenice in AD 194.[49] The function and role of the *koinon* and imperial cult in Phoenicia has been discussed more extensively in 3.2.1, so here the temple is the primary focus. The obverse depicts the head of Melqart, faces the right of the field and is crowned with a laurel wreath, and a lion-skin is knotted around his

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[48] BMC 361; SNG Hunt, II. 3421; RPC 4.5662; Babelon 2182.
[49] Burrell (2004) 252.

neck. The reverse shows an unusual octastyle temple from a frontal perspective. It is reached by a broad staircase that spans the entire breadth of the temple. Eight columns support a broad entablature, above which is a pediment crowned by *acroteria.* Within the pediment is a suggestion of a cornice, and some coin depictions reveal an additional *acroterion* on the apex of the pediment. Some specimens, such as the one pictured above, also include some form of decoration in the tympanum of the temple, indicating perhaps sculptural detail or a bust.[50]

Although the *koinon* performed a mostly administrative function, coinage issued in the name of the *koinon* often featured the temple dedicated to worship of the imperial cult.[51] This coin type is not labelled *neokoros*, a highly esteemed title that was awarded by the emperor to acknowledge that the city contained the region's official temple of cult, and a term that as of yet no Phoenician city referred to.[52] This could indicate that the focus of this type is not the temple in its capacity as the provincial centre of the imperial cult, but it is rather the identifying symbol of the Phoenician *koinon,* which is of course also labelled by name. This suggests that the ideological emphasis of the coin type is on Tyre as the location of this provincial function, and the representation of Melqart serves to further reiterate that it was Tyre that was favoured by being awarded the honour of hosting the *koinon* above all of the other Phoenician cities. Considering the design as a cohesive whole, the presence of Melqart on the obverse binds the reverse firmly to the iconography of Tyre. Worship of the supreme god was inextricably linked to the foundation and history of Tyre, and emphasises the role of Tyre in hosting the *koinon*. The legend labels the building for those unfamiliar with it, perhaps indeed for those visiting Tyre from other cities to act as envoys at the *koinon* itself. This type is additionally one of the last pseudo-autonomous issues to be struck

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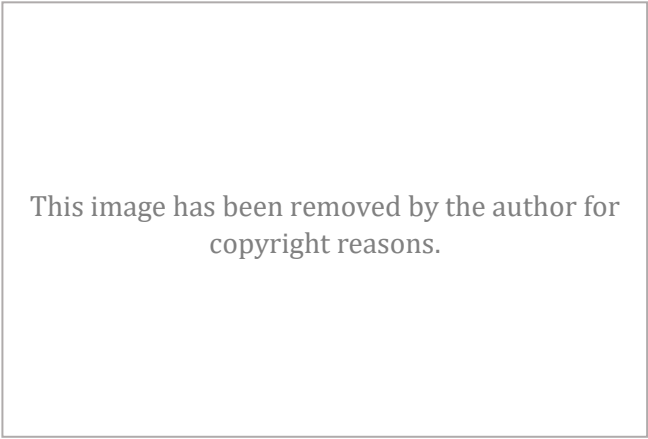
[50] BMC 362-366.
[51] Heuchert (2005) 30.
[52] Klose (2005) 127; Sawaya (2011) 595.

by Tyre, making the focus on current Tyrian status all the more interesting when paired with the traditional emblem of Melqart.

Some attention to architectural detail has been made, with *acroteria* clearly visible on the apex and the corners of the pediment, but other than this and the unusual eight-columned façade, there is little to set this type apart. Its simplicity of design recalls the much earlier type of Sidon rather than other contemporary temple type, perhaps to endow the image with the illusion of tradition. Although most viewers would presumably be aware that the Phoenician *koinon* had only recently been established in Tyre, it could be that, in depicting the temple in a traditional style, this type was intending to refer to the long-established nature of the *koinon* itself, which had been established in Antioch for nearly two centuries before this point. In doing so, perhaps the type was emphasising the honour that had been paid to Tyre in being chosen to host this office. What has yet to be explicitly noted by scholars is the similarities between this Tyrian reverse type and the reverse produced from Bithynia that also commemorated the *koinon* of Bithynia (fig. 4.10). Although the city of Nicomedia had received *neokoros* status under Octavian in 29 BC, it did not appear on coins until the first silver provincial coinage was issued under Hadrian who had helped to rebuild the city in AD 120 after an earthquake.[53]

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[53] Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 147; Burrell (2004) 147-149; Cass. Dio. 51.20.6-7.

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Figure 4.10: Silver coin issued by Bithynia, under Hadrian AD 117-138. 27mm, 11.19g. RPC 3.969.

The similarities are striking; both coin reverses show an octastyle temple, accessed by a broad staircase and crowned with *acroteria*. There are also equivalent parallels between the socio-political contexts of these two cities. Like Tyre, Nicomedia was the first city within their province to be awarded the *koinon*, and both Tyre and Nicomedia sided with Septimius Severus during the civil wars of AD 193, which saw their rival cities of Berytus and Nicaea penalised for backing Pescennius Niger.[54] Although this would be unprecedented on Phoenician civic coins, is it possible that Tyre looked to the Roman East for a suitable reverse design? With no real substantial contact known between Tyre and Nicomedia, nor even Phoenicia and Bithynia, this would demonstrate a previously unknown degree of awareness of coin designs across the empire. It also raises the distinct possibility that the temple shown on the Tyrian coins may not have existed in actuality, but rather that it symbolised Tyre's journey which resulted in their being bestowed the Phoenician *koinon* and being recognised as the capital of the new province.[55] This is

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[54] Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 147-150.
[55] Sartre (1991) 53.

supported by the fact that Tyre never proclaimed themselves as *neokoros*, and the rather vague nature of the temple itself. There are no identifying symbols or labels, unlike the Nicomedia type which named the cults that the temple housed: Roma, Augustus, and the Roman Senate and People. Sawaya is rightly cautious about assigning the title of *neokoros* to Tyre, stating that we should wait for 'preuves irréfutables' before we can determine any city as being the provincial centre for the imperial cult.[56] The consistent accompaniment of the legend ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗϹ (see 4.4.2) may have in fact been to identify the symbolic function of the imagined temple, and it is notable that no other Phoenician coin type explicitly labels a design in this fashion.

This type is significant for being the only civic coin type in Phoenicia that explicitly marks itself as Phoenician, or even acknowledges the existence of the province. It was first issued after a period of civil war, much of which took place in the Roman East, presumably making this a disruptive and unsettled time in the region. If this type did represent a temple which did not exist, it would explain Tyre's silence on the title *neokoros*, and may also be a reason for the somewhat untidy appearance of the temple, especially when compared to the rather beautiful series issued by Bithynia. The similarities between Bithynia and Tyre, both in this coin type and their contemporary political circumstances, are undeniable, and suggest at a wider familiarity with different coin types than previously hypothesised. Even if this temple never existed, its symbolic role is evident and reaffirmed by the title of 'Phoenician koinon'. Its presence testifies to the increased status of Tyre and its new provincial significance.

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[56] Sawaya (2011) 612.

4.2.3 Heliopolis – temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus

It would be impossible to conduct a study of religious architecture within Phoenicia without discussing the religious complex at Heliopolis. The notable absence of key Heliopolitan deities from its coinage has been discussed in 3.4.1, so we will examine here whether the temples of the iconic sanctuary were used to promote Heliopolis in a way that the city was seemingly unable to do with Jupiter and Venus. The only city in the Beqaʿ to gain independent civic status, it is unsurprising that coin production was seized upon as a method of promoting and celebrating their new independence from Berytus.[57] The advantage that Heliopolis offers is that, unlike the cities on the coast, the sanctuary has been well excavated, and it has survived until present day in relatively good condition, with some aspects, such as the temple of Bacchus, almost fully extant. This provides this thesis with a rare and valuable opportunity to compare coin imagery with the surviving architecture, meaning that it will be possible to explore the stylistic decisions made by the artists and which features they decided to promote.

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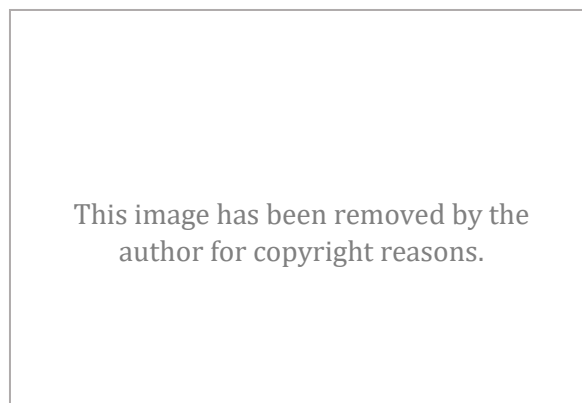
Figure 4.11: Bronze coin issued by Heliopolis under Septimius Severus, AD 194. 26.2mm, 13.11g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 1261.

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[57] Butcher (2003) 116.

The first coin type to be issued by Heliopolis is a frontal view of the temple of Jupiter (fig. 4.11; **HEL002**). Using the data collated in the catalogue by Sawaya (2009), the coins of this type measured an average of 25.5mm across, and weighed approximately 11 grams.[58] This very approximate data seem to provide a good indication of a relatively average economic value. The legends COL H are included within the exergue, linking the city's new political status with its primary source of prestige and economic income: the sanctuary of Jupiter. Above the exergue, there is a frontal view of the temple of Jupiter, which is shown resting on a flat platform with no staircase or podium. Ten columns support an entablature and triangular pediment, inside which is a carefully defined square object, possibly a window. The temple fills the entirety of the field, and the monumental staircase that survives today has been removed to allow space for their new civic title of *colonia* in the exergue. Although lacking any sculptural decoration, the design of the type is impressive, for even without the colossal podium and staircase, as the way that the temple expands to fill the entire field provides an indication of the sheer scale of the structure, reflecting the almost inconceivable spectacle of the temple when witnessed in person.

The focus of this type was solely on emphasising the monumental scale of the temple, with no suggestion of the surrounding features that surrounded the temple within the *temenos* or even the cult within. The absence of the staircase and podium has already been noted, but also missing were any other architectural elements that fronted the temple, such as the two central tower altars (one Augustan and one Flavian), which were located directly in front of the temple structure (fig. 4.12).[59] The emphasis is on frontality and impact, with the striking scale of the temple façade intentionally being promoted uninterrupted. The type did not enjoy significant longevity, implying that the view may have been a readily

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[58] Sawaya 1-11; BnF Chandon de Briailles 1261; Price and Trell 280.
[59] Aliquot (2009) 286-287.

identifiable, straightforward image quickly drawn up for Heliopolis' first coin issues, which was later replaced with more specific and technically complex designs, as the city became more comfortable with numismatic production.

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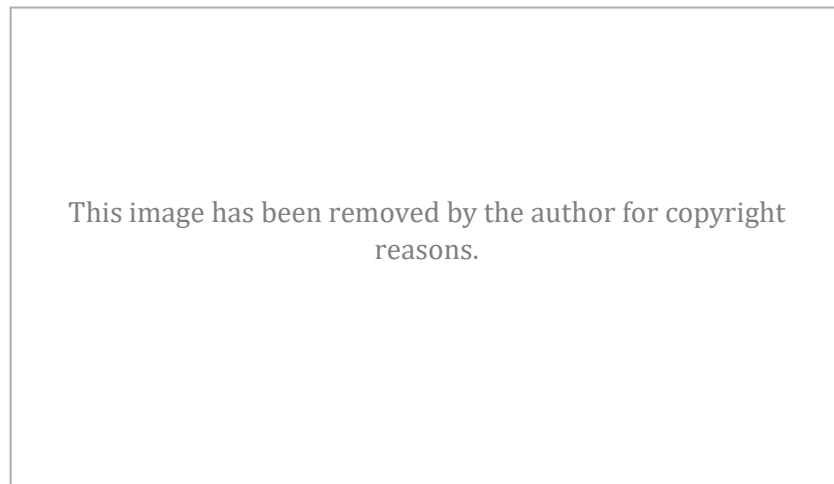
Figure 4.12: Plan of the sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. (A): Temple of Jupiter, (B): lustration basins (C): tower-altars (D): hexagonal courtyard (E): *propylaeum* (F): Temple of Bacchus. Adapted from Ragette (1980) p.130.

So, if we reconsider the question of the 'accuracy' of coin representations, let us ask how this coin type reflects what we know of the appearance of the temple of Jupiter. Almost nothing remains of the *cella* today, but the peristyle was formed of ten columns along the front and rear of the podium, with nineteen columns along the lateral sides, including both corners. Thus, the decastyle façade is matched by the coin reproductions. We know from the surviving column shafts that they stood 20 metres tall, and their height is clearly emphasised by the design of this type, where they stretch up to fill the field, leaving no room for other decoration or inscriptions. Taking into account the monumental podium and height of the columns, the apex of the pediment is believed to have stood approximately 40 metres above the courtyard below, but it would have been difficult to convey this height on

a coin type that simply showed the temple atop the podium approached by a staircase. If we consider frontal architectural types issued by other Phoenician cities, it is impossible to get a sense of the size of the structure from their design but, this type, filled with columns that rear above the stylobate, captures a true sense of scale and visual impact, in a way which a more 'accurate' reproduction may not have been able to do.

Let us briefly return to the aforementioned tower altars. The three hundred carved fragments of carved staircases means that we know that it was possible to ascend these altars, and the worn tread of the surviving stairs suggests that they were in frequent use by a number of visitors.[60] Having ascended the larger Flavian altar, it has been estimated that one would have been raised to approximately 14 metres high, making it roughly level with the stylobate of the temple on its podium, which in turn towered 12 metres above the courtyard floor.[61] Given the roughly equivalent height of the temple and later tower-altar, I am inclined to argue that the frontal perspective of the temple shown on this coin type actually mirrors what a visitor would have seen when standing on top of the altar, raised directly in front of the temple at an almost equal height to the *cella* itself, or possibly on the same level as a raised and screened *adyton* (fig. 4.13). This view would have emphasised the colossal height of the peristyle, not the staircase and podium below, and the columns would have risen above the viewer to essentially blot out all other elements of the sanctuary. This is precisely what this coin type conveys, even to the modern viewer.

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[60] Nordiguian (2005) 27; Ragette (1980) 34.
[61] Kropp and Lohmann (2011) 39; Aliquot (2009) 287.
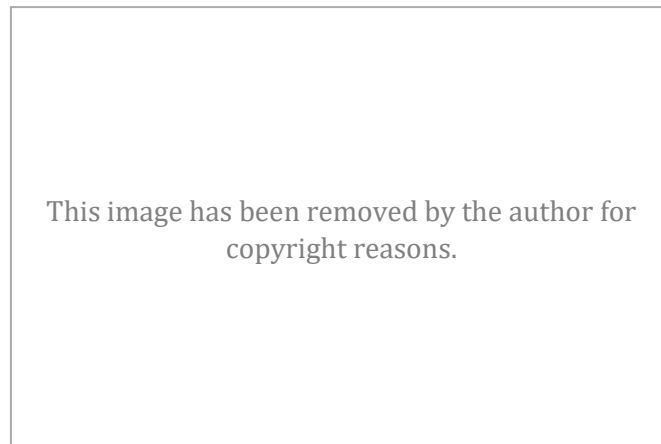
Figure 4.13: Proposed side profile of the *temenos* of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Amy (1950) fig. 28.

Thus, although we must always advocate caution in reproducing temples from coin types alone, this type clearly and carefully reflects what we know of the appearance of the temple of Jupiter, omitting any apparently stylised features to instead emphasise its monumentality. Without the presence of cult image within, the artist had to rely on other characteristics to identify the temple, which in this case were the ten columns of the peristyle, along with the colossal height of the façade. In addition, it demonstrates how challenging it is to draw any conclusions about the 'nature' of a sanctuary, as in whether it was more Roman or more traditional, based on coins alone, for coinage will typically only reveal one carefully selected view. If this type was from any other Phoenician city, we would in all likelihood not know anything of the appearance of the cult statue of Jupiter, or how it was carried outside the temple to deliver oracles, nor would we know of the other architectural elements surrounding the temple in the sanctuary, such as the lustration basins or tower altars. None of these features are apparent in the coin evidence, and yet they dramatically alter how we perceive the nature of the cult. As a major and well-preserved sanctuary which has benefited from archaeological excavations, and a well-attested epigraphic record that testifies to the local nature of the cult, Heliopolis

demonstrates the need for caution when labelling a building as 'Romanised', as it is likely that there may have been many additional local features that would influence our interpretation.

4.2.4 Tripolis – altar of Zeus Hagios

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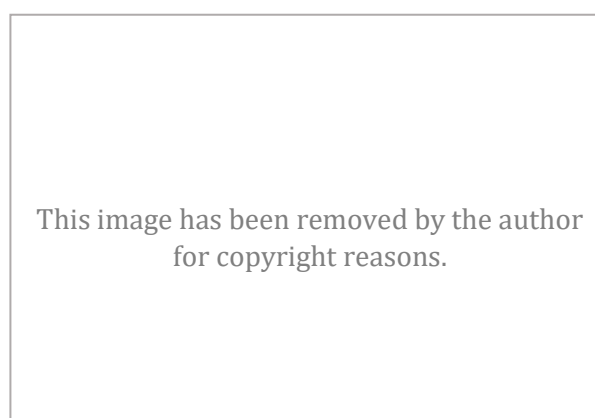
Figure 4.14: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis under Elagabalus, AD 220/221. 27mm, 16.0g. Numismatik Naumann Auction 10, Lot 315, 1st December 2013.

The so-called temple of Zeus Hagios is a popular feature on the coinage of Tripolis (fig. 4.14; **TRI006; TRI010**).[62] The building resembles, at first glance, a typical Roman temple, with a tetrastyle façade, raised on a podium and accessed via a narrow central staircase. On some specimens, stylised decoration hints at a detailed sculptural programme on the broad entablature, which in turn supports a triangular pediment similarly decorated with *acroteria*.[63] Inside the tympanum of finer specimens is a radiate bust, probably a bust of Helios.[64] It seems that it is this pediment bust which has resulted in the identification of the building with Zeus Hagios, however it is now generally accepted that these busts refer to

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[62] BMC 73-75; 84; Price and Trell 738; SNG Cop. 286; 292.
[63] BnF Y 28887; Babelon 1937
[64] BnF AA.GR.12915.

the cosmic power of the deity housed within and should not be identified as the deity themselves.[65] However, with further analysis it becomes increasingly evident that there are aspects that do not correlate to what we would expect in a representation of a classically Roman temple. The columns divide the interior into a tripartite structure, within which are three elements. On the left of the field is a nude radiate male, wearing a *chlamys* and standing in *contrapposto* with his right arm raised and, to the right, stands a draped female holding a torch across her body. Usually identified as Helios and Selene, these figures would have testified to the cosmic power of the deity with which they were associated. Although we have come across the two deities as pedimental busts, these are evidently depicted as full-length sculptures.[66] With no staircases, they seem to form part of the façade, as if contained within large recessed niches. In the centre, a narrow staircase leads to another unusual aspect of the image: a lit altar. The altar is clearly the visual focus; it appears in the centre, and is the only part of the building that is accessible by the staircase, whereas the flanking figures are inaccessible, raised above the ground-line with no staircase to reach them. A sacrificial altar had no place within a temple, and yet a lit altar it undoubtedly is, as care has been taken to depict the flames rising from its surface, and it bears no similarity to the *thymiateria* that were widely used to burn incense. The narrow staircase leads between the two central columns, giving a sense of depth that suggests that the four columns and their pediment may be a façade, fronting the altar that was housed within an internal structure. This is supported by the presence of the square, which protrudes from each corner of the pediment to form a background behind the temple, which creates the sense of the façade projecting outwards from a separate structure behind.

There are numerous interpretations that can be offered to make sense of this structure. It could be a monumental gateway, with the tetrastyle façade providing access to the central

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[65] Dussaud (1927) 75; Aliquot (2009) 142.
[66] *LIMC* VII 'Selene, Luna' 29; 46.

space glimpsed within, represented by the lit altar. However, the columns resting on the ground level and the sculptures within the niches do not favour this interpretation, and it is unlikely that the staircase would be depicted as narrow as this if it were intended to be a *propylaeum*, as *propylaea* on coinage were characterised by broad, more accessible staircases (**HEL005**). We could consider this to represent the temple itself, despite the unlikelihood of a lit altar within the *cella* or *pronaos*. The square background could represent a flat roof, perhaps used for cultic activity, remains of which can be found in the Beqaʿ at Qalaat Faqra, Deir el-Qalaa, and Hösn Niha.[67] It could be intended to represent the *adyton*, where the cult image of the altar was covered by a projecting colonnaded *baldachin*, with the square background included to represent the back wall of the *cella*.

Despite this speculation, it remains a fact that the lit altar challenges all interpretations of this type as a temple. Although our evidence of altars being located outside the temple proper largely comes from Graeco-Roman practices, it seems unlikely that the altar would be located inside, for the practicalities of clearing up after sacrificial rituals alone.[68] It is possible that this type could represent a monumental altar complex in the style of an open air altar within a walled enclosure, such as the Ara Pacis, and was fronted by this tetrastyle portico and sculptural decoration. This identification would explain the location of the altar and the unusually attentive focus on depth and perspective. There is no way of knowing whether a sacred fire was kept alight on the altar, or whether it rather symbolised an unknown characteristic of the cult. Its presence recalls the cult of Zeus Bomos ('the altar') at Burj Baqhira in northern Syria, of which little is known, but it is tempting to speculate that there may be a similar link between this unknown deity and the mysterious altar.[69] Its

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[67] For the use of flat roofs for sacrificial purposes, see Gawlikowski (1998) 47-48.
[68] At Heliopolis the smaller altar still has traces of drainage channels used to clean the sacrificial platform, as well as a well filled with ashes: Aliquot (2009) 286; Hajjar (1985) 300-309.
[69] Sartre (1991) 326; 491.

presence on the coin type could be symbolic of an aniconic deity, which a citizen would have been able to recognise more readily than we can today.

A variant of this altar shows the same structure conflated with presumably its *propylaeum,* that helps to further our understanding of the building (**TRI007**). The reverse shows two structures beside each other, both facing frontally. On the left is the altar of Zeus Hagios, identifiable due to the central altar flanked by Helios and Selene. The peculiar turreted roof on the smaller building correlates to the unusual roof shown on the frontal type of the altar in isolation, indicating that there was something atypical about the roof or façade that the artist wished to emphasise. Directly in front of this structure is a large altar, supporting the view above that the lit altar may have represented the deity, and was not intended to have a practical function. To the right is another, larger, tetrastyle building, accessed by a broad, shallow flight of steps. Within the tympanum are some traces of decoration, and the apex is crowned by an *acroterion.* Between the columns are three doorways, one large central door framed by two smaller lateral doors, which reach about half the height of the exterior columns. It is apparent that these two structures, although both clearly religious in context, do not represent one coherent building, but more likely represent two buildings from the same sanctuary. The larger structure has the indication of three smaller interior doors behind its columned façade, through which visitors could have been funnelled to gain access to the *temenos* beyond, and where they would have been greeted by the sight of the practical altar in front of the monumental altar. This type of entrance was a popular feature of larger sanctuaries in the Beqaʻ, with both Qalaat Faqra and the sanctuary of Zeus Baetocaece possessing the remains of impressive entrance porticoes fronting three doorways, one large and two small, which led into the *temenos.*[70]

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[70] Steinsapir (1999) 185; Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) 44.

The type demonstrates the challenges that even a minute element like the square behind the pediment can present to the interpretation of a coin type, and how ambiguous these coins could have been to an uninitiated viewer. If we take the view that civic coins would only circulate within their cities of issue, then a design such as this would cause few problems. However, even to a viewer unfamiliar with the pantheon and buildings of Tripolis, the tetrastyle façade clearly denotes its religious context, and the altar indicates its sacred role. The *propylaeum* variant demonstrates the importance of examining coins in their numismatic context; it elucidates the role of the altar of Zeus Hagios more clearly, by the presence of the secondary, external altar. A sacred fire within a temple was not unknown within the Roman world, with the Vestal Virgins charged with keeping the fire of Vesta alight within her temple in the Forum Romanum.[71] This type indicates that perhaps the altar within the structure was more symbolic or ceremonial than the previous type suggested, and may have served as an aniconic representation of the deity.

4.2.5 Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum – Tychaion

As in 3.2.3, this section will examine the above types issued by Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum concurrently, due to their strong similarities (**ORTOO3-ORT005; CAES006; CAE008**). As the deities contained within the structure have been discussed above, our focus is now on the building itself (fig. 4.15a and 15b). Two lateral staircases approach a tetrastyle façade, which supports an arcuated lintel and triangular pediment roof. An entablature cuts across the arcuated lintel of the Orthosia type. Price and Trell have argued that broken pediments such as these signify the *adyton* being brought forward, in order to emphasise the cult image.[72] A central Tyche stands within the central space under the arch, flanked by the niches containing the representations of Jupiter and Venus. However, these

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[71] Plut. *Vit. Num*, 9.5.
[72] Price and Trell (1977) 19.

niches with their respective sculptures do not appear on all types, but are sometimes replaced with small doorways, as shown in fig. 4.15a, or shown empty with an exaggerated central niche (**CAE004**), which complicates the assertion that arcuated lintels indicate an *adyton*.[73]

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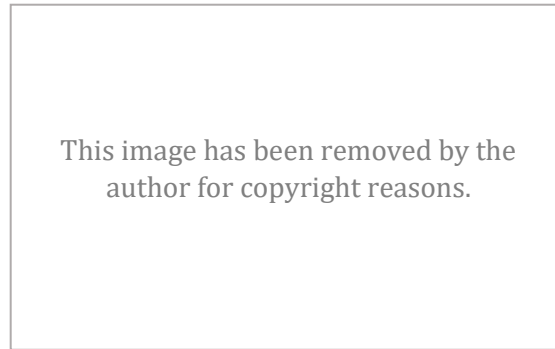
Figure 4.15a: Bronze coin issued by Orthosia under Severus Alexander, AD 221/222. 24mm, 11.47g. Jean Elsen et ses Fils S.A. Auction 114, Lot 457. 15th September 2012.

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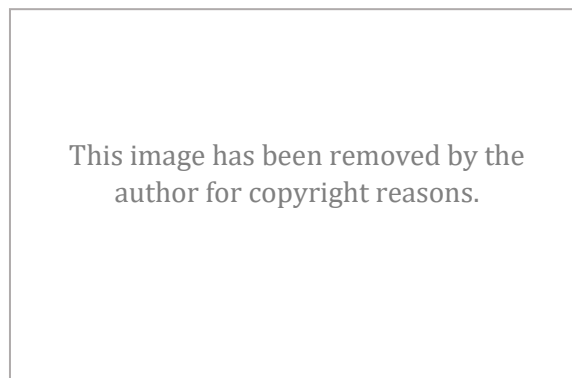
Figure 4.15b: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum under Severus Alexander, AD 221/222. 25mm, 8.88g. Righetti 836.

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[73] BnF Y 28455.48; Lindgren III 1399; BMC 8-9 (Caesarea ad Libanum); Babelon 1498-1501; BnF E2920 (Orthosia).

The two types, one with the divine images in niches, the other with the doorways, seem to represent two distinct views of the same building. The type with the flanking divine figures may indeed be a view of the *adyton* and, in fact, it bears a striking parallel to surviving temples in rural Lebanon and Syria, such as the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên in the Hauran, or the temple at Mismiyeh, which was dismantled in 1875 (fig. 4.16a and 16b).[74] Despite the absence of a staircase, the central apse containing Tyche may in fact be the focus, and the lack of stairs may reflect the architecture of these temples, such as Is-Sanamên, where the gilded statue of Tyche was placed within the apse, which was raised above floor level with no central stairs.[75] Perhaps the type was intended to reveal a glimpse of the *adyton* and the deities who were housed within, but when the flanking deities are absent, it is possible that the type reflects a stylised view of the exterior of the building. As seen in the Tripolis

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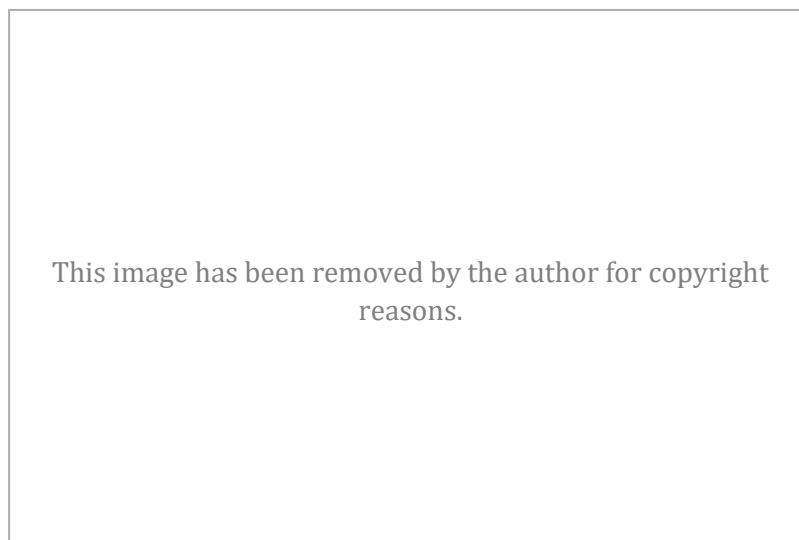
Figure 4.16a: Cross-section of the Tychaion interior at Is-Sanamên, Hauran. 21m x 23m. Cummings (1909) fig. 1.

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[74] For Mismiyeh, see Segal (2013) 163-169.
[75] Butler (1906) 415.
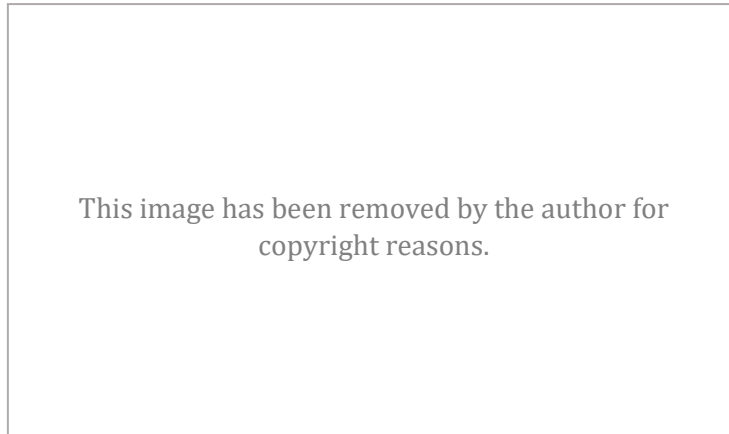
Figure 4.16b: Photograph of the temple at Mismiyeh photographed in 1875 by T.R. Dumas. Segal (2013) fig. 148.

propylaeum type, these delicate stylised doorways could indicate entrances through the façade. Tyche may have been brought to the foreground to indicate her visibility through the large, central doorway, and her inclusion ensured that each type was correctly associated with the respective issuing city, despite the shared architectural similarities.

The range of types examined above help us to address the research questions established above. Initially, the Sidon type seems to have been a less stylised reproduction of the temple of Astarte, as it reflected elements of temple layout that we know from sanctuaries in rural Phoenicia and Heliopolis, such as the frontal approach and external altar, and even the flanking columns were a popular element in the region. Despite the lack of a cult image, the freestanding columns were presumably an integral identifying characteristic and, if the temple was indeed dedicated to Astarte, the absence of a cult image mirrors the apparent restrictions over its reproduction as discussed in 3.3.1. This section has also established that, without corresponding archaeological remains such as those we possess at the temple of Jupiter in Heliopolis, it is largely impossible to judge the extent to which these
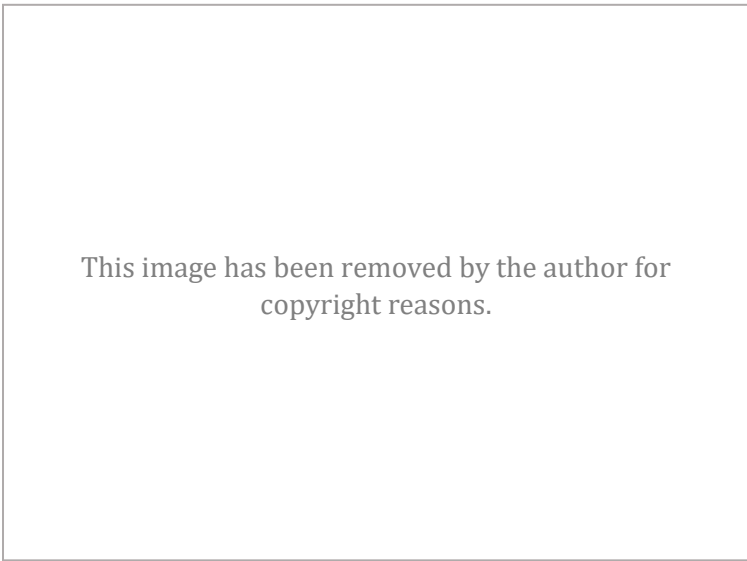
sanctuaries were influenced by Rome, and how much they engaged with local religious practices. All types emphasised recognisability, whether by widening the central space between columns and enhancing the size of the cult statue as seen at Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum, or by an accompanying inscription, such as the temple of the Phoenician *koinon* at Tyre, of which there are now significant doubts as to its existence. All of the discussed types loosely resemble the tetrastyle prostyle layout favoured in the region, as shown above in fig. 4.3a, which may suggest that the rural temples were influenced by the styles of their urban counterparts.

The types additionally reveal various social attitudes to religious architecture. The temple of Phoenician *koinon* symbolises the office's function, whether it existed in reality or not, but the presence of the local deity Melqart on the obverse reflects its indisputably Tyrian association. Other than perhaps Heliopolis, the varied and stylised nature of these temples may indicate that these coins were not predominantly focused on the architecture itself, but rather on what the architecture could communicate to the viewer about the city. By showing the cult image in a temple, it grounded the image to a particular location for those who were familiar with the city's monumental buildings and, to those who were not, it indicated that the city had sufficient financial resources and cultural knowledge to construct monumental temples. It also demonstrated that the city enjoyed the support of the deities within, whose prestige was reflected back on the cities themselves. Some architectural detail could be shown, like *acroteria* or statue groups, which could be an abbreviated form of the sculptural decoration that existed in reality, but this was generally not the main concern. The exaggeration of cult images could indicate that it was the deity within who was the real priority, and perhaps the prominence of the cult image implies that, like some of the temples of the Beqa', care was taken in the temple design to retain and enhance the visibility of the cult image housed within.

4.3 Interior views

The temple representations on Phoenician civic coins are not always as readily identifiable as they initially appear. Despite the readiness of catalogues to define any structure with columns and a pediment as a temple, is this always necessarily the case? The subsequent section will explore numismatic types that deviate from how we could expect a typical reproduction to appear, and examine whether it is possible for these designs to be in fact representing a glimpse within the temple itself.

4.3.1 Berytus – adyton of the temple of Tyche

Figure 4.17: Bronze coin issued by Berytus under Trajan, AD 112-117. 32mm, 23.30g. Babelon 1220.

The first and most popular religious structure to be depicted on the coins of Berytus was the temple of Tyche, known from the rule of Trajan (fig. 4.17; **BER005**).[76] Not only is this the first time that a temple was shown on Berytus' coins, it is additionally the numismatic debut of this iconographic form of Tyche, unsurprisingly termed the Berytus type.[77] Depicted is an invariably front-facing tetrastyle temple, approached via a flight of steps, which is extremely narrow to the point of resembling a ladder. Whether this is to accommodate the abbreviated inscription in the exergue, or whether this is reflective of a narrow staircase in reality, is unknown. Where the type differs from later temple representations is that flanking the steps is a clearly delineated platform, on which rests two large pedestals, by which two columns respectively were supported. The column bases and capitals are separately defined and, in the centre, is a large space where the cult statue of Tyche is displayed. The statue reaches the entire height of the temple interior, but does not share the pedestals that supported the columns, instead being depicted on a separate ground level. A wide entablature supports a pediment with a cornice, in the centre of which on some examples is a round shield.[78] Tyche is the subject of visual emphasis; placed centrally and displacing the columns to either side. Although this is highly unlikely to accurately reflect the actual size of the cult statue, it prioritises the clarity of her image, but not at the expense of the temple.

It is the two pedestals upon which the columns rest that make this image appear less like a temple exterior, and have more similarities to a temple *adyton*. Tyche clearly stands on a platform, which raises the question of why the columns are not depicted resting on the same floor. Care has evidently been taken to indicate that the columns did not rest only on bases, but instead the bases were raised up on separate podiums, distinct from the platform

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[76] BMC 92; Sawaya 655-66.
[77] Kropp (2011) 391.
[78] BMC 122-135.

that supports the statue of Tyche. Comparing it to surviving sacred architecture, I would argue that this is intended to represent a view of the *adyton* itself, depicting the cult image covered by a carved canopy or baldachin, which resembled a form of 'un édifice dans l'édifice', and emphasised the statue's sacred role.[79] Reconstructions of the fairly well-preserved interior of the temple of Bacchus at Heliopolis show the *adyton* covered by a canopy such as this. The *adyton* is covered by almost a miniature temple, with a central staircase that ascended to the platform containing the cult image, passing between two separate pedestals that bore the columns which in turn supported the pediment (fig. 4.18).[80] The similarities between this coin type, and how the reconstruction would appear from a frontal perspective, are compelling.

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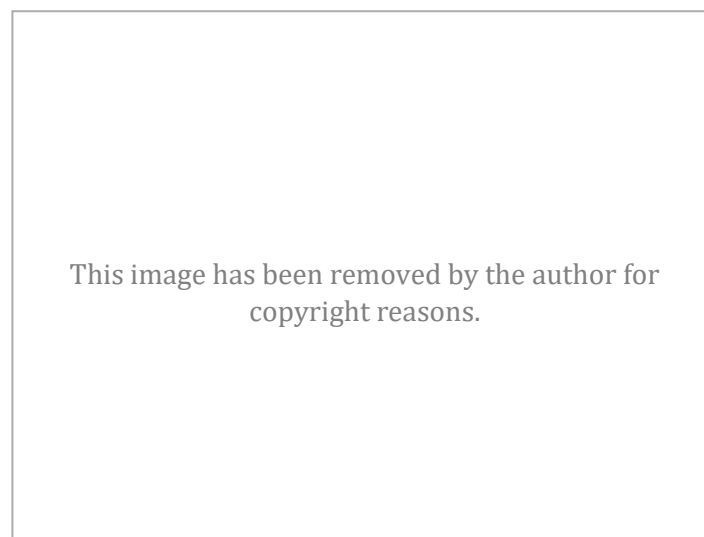
Figure 4.18: Proposed reconstruction of the adyton of the temple of Bacchus at Heliopolis. Aliquot (2009) fig. 37.

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[79] Aliquot (2009) 99.
[80] Krencker later qualified his reconstruction by acknowledging that after further study he would change many minor details, although the essential elements would remain the same: Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) 285.

What remains is to speculate on the reasons behind such an unusual perspective. As a new type in a double sense – both in the choice of deity and architectural setting – perhaps the artists were working from a much closer perspective than usual, designing the type from sketches of how the goddess truly appeared in her temple. Then, as artists became more familiar with designing types of this nature, they began to make stylistic adaptations, which meant that they were able to show more of the sculpturally complex exterior of the temple, whilst adopting the convention of displaying the cult image by widening the central space between the columns. This type demonstrates an early stage of coin imagery development, before creative development allowed coin artists to adapt the size of the field to suit their requirements and show both the monumental exterior of the temple alongside the identifying divine presence.

4.3.2 Byblos – temple of Tyche

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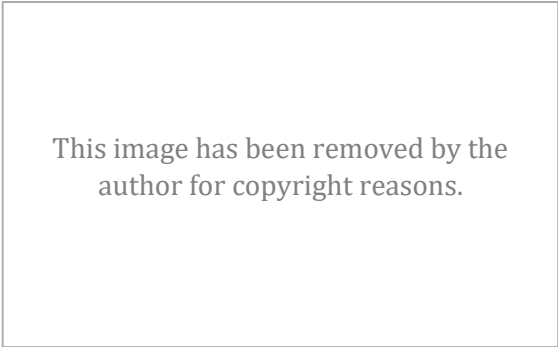
Figure 4.19a: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Commodus, AD 177-192. 29mm, 17.05g. RPC 4.6771.

From AD 177, Byblos issued an unusual type which depicted a central figure of Tyche standing between two columns, topped with what appears to be stylised Corinthian capitals (fig. 4.19a; **BYB001**). Overhead is a shell niche or apse, portrayed as a curved semi-circular

arch with scalloped edges, the three-dimensional nature of which is perhaps more clearly shown in the more corroded specimen depicted below (fig. 4.19b). This coin type continued to be issued in this form until the rule of Diadumenian, at which point it vanishes from the record.[81] Identified as a distyle temple by Hill, the domed shell niche does not recall known temple architecture in the region, even distyle *in antis* structures.[82] Rather than a temple, this could represent an apse or niche containing the statue of the goddess, perhaps within the *adyton* of the temple itself.

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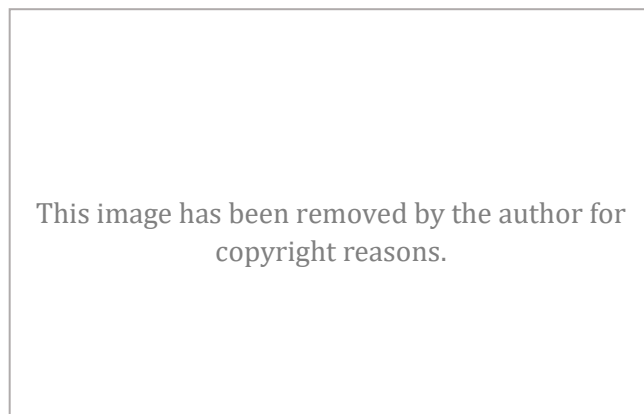
Figure 4.19b: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Commodus, AD 177-192. 28mm, 14.63g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 922.

With no other architectural features, there is little to identify this structure as a temple in its own right, particularly with no suggestion at scale. We cannot assume that the structure is life-size, and we should be open to the suggestion that this coin type may be representing a smaller shrine than what we typically would expect to see on coins. The simplicity of the design does not lend itself to a monumental temple, but it does correlate very well to known examples of *adyton* aedicules and central temple apses. Less than 40 kilometres from

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[81] BMC 40.
[82] Hill (1910) 101.

Byblos, an almost identical niche was found built into the back wall of the *cella* at Yanouh (fig. 4.5b). Located at the very centre of the temple, it was embedded in the wall a metre above the *adyton* platform, meaning that it was 3.2 metres above the floor of the *cella*, allowing the image of the deity to tower over any observer and enhancing the image's divine power. Furthermore, Aliquot argues that the whole niche would have been fronted by a three-dimensional arch, and a small Corinthian capital has also been found in the ruins.[83] An extra projecting arch may explain the slight variant on this type where an extra two columns appear behind the first set, indicating a degree of depth whilst still keeping the detail of the arch (**BYB006**).[84] The Tychaion at Is-Sanamên and temple at Mismiyeh also contained the cult image within a deep central apse such as this, and there is no reason not to suggest that a similar feature may have been located within the temple of Tyche in Byblos. Even if the type referred to a different niche or aedicule, there is still little cause to identify it as a temple, particularly when it bears such a marked resemblance to this other form of architectural feature.

Based on what we know of the appearance of *adyta* in the region, the Berytus type gives what appears to be a genuine glimpse inside the temple, where the new Tyche of the city was sheltered beneath a colonnaded canopy. Both of these types favour the individual and unique, either through their choice of cult image, or through the style of shrine that protected the divinity within. As such, we see a more discerning social attitude to representations of religious architecture, where the unique is valued as being solely associated with each particular city. The deities were prominently displayed to ensure the recognisability of the type and its association with the issuing city, but the unusual architecture promoted the city in different ways.

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[83] Aliquot (2009) 256-257.
[84] BnF Chandon de Briailles 923; SNG Cop. 141; BMC 29-33.

4.4 Side perspectives

So far, this chapter has focused on frontal views of religious buildings, whether the exterior or the interior. Frontal views emphasise the temple façade and sometimes its sculptural decoration, whether this be in the form of *acroteria* or the sculptural busts within the tympanum. However, the focus of the majority of these types prioritises not the appearance of the temple, but rather, and arguably, the cult statue housed within. This following section will focus on different ways in which architecture could be treated by civic coins, to explore whether the underlying interpretation changed when the cult image was not as prominently displayed.

4.4.1 Heliopolis – temples of Jupiter, Mercury, and Bacchus

Type One – temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus

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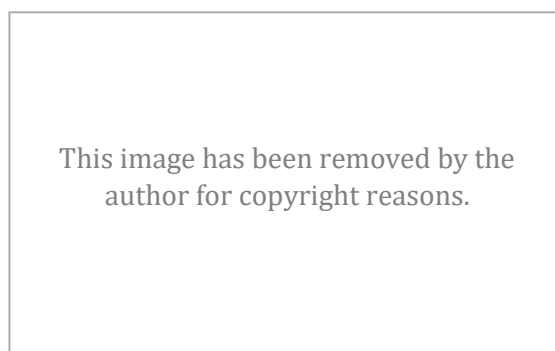
Figure 4.20: Bronze coin issued by Heliopolis under Septimius Severus, AD 193-211. 25mm, 9.63g. Jean Elsen et ses fils S.A., Auction 103 Lot 490 12th December 2009.

As we saw above, Heliopolis embraced an unusual perspective when portraying their temple of Jupiter. Unlike the short-lived front view, a prolific type was issued under the Severans which showed the temple of Jupiter from an aerial perspective (fig. 4.20; **HEL003**). This type first appeared after AD 196 and continued throughout the city's numismatic corpus, being represented during issues from AD 244 to 249, when coin production then ceased.[85] The type shows the temple from the south, where the podium had the most courses constructed from the *trilithon* ashlar blocks, which individually weighed one thousand tons and thus, in terms of technical skill alone, was the most impressive side.[86] It emphasises the scale of the colossal podium, which is ascended by a broad staircase flanked by two *antae*. The columns of the temple are all carefully depicted, with ten columns along the front and nineteen down the long sides, and a triangular pediment flanks a pitched roof. This type is extremely focused on presenting a careful reproduction of the temple's most impressive characteristics, namely the scale of the podium and its temple, but it also shows the temple of Jupiter from a perspective compelling in its novelty.

In the same way that the front view in 4.2.3 matches the perspective from a real site in the sanctuary, this aerial perspective matches the view that would greet those who ascended to the roof of the neighbouring temple of Bacchus via the two staircases within its entrance wall.[87] Although it cannot be known how many visitors were permitted access to the roof, the view supports the earlier hypothesis that Heliopolitan coin artists made initial sketches of the temple from various viewpoints in the sanctuary. It is attention to detail that characterises this type, with even the roof tiles carefully depicted. The colossal height of the

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[85] Sawaya 62-69; 382; BnF Chandon de Briailles 1267; BMC 2-4; Price and Trell 290.
[86] Nordiguian (2005) 33. The scale of the *trilithon* is still marvelled at today, with a peculiar theory circulating that the stones were moved with extra-terrestrial input, as discussed in further detail in the following documentary episode: *Aliens and Sacred Places*. Dir. G. Tsoukalos. 0.39-25 – 0.40.48.
[87] On the staircases see Amy (1950) 114; Aliquot (2009) 250.

podium is captured, as is the scale and quantity of the columns, demonstrating that Heliopolitan coinage favoured designs that stressed the monumentality and spectacle of the temple's dimensions, at the cost of inscriptions or sculptural detail. Even the size of the staircase is clearly demonstrated, which is one of the few surviving aspects of the temple of Jupiter today (fig. 4.21). Surprisingly, Ball discounts the generally accepted theory that high staircases such as this, which appeared in many temples in the province, were an adaptation of Roman architectural practices, and attributes it instead to the raising of the temple to fulfil the 'local tradition of high places'.[88] In doing so, he omits to consider the practical role of the staircase in accessing the temples which were typically constructed on a high podium, a quintessentially Roman feature, and additionally fails to note the Hellenistic tradition of terraced sanctuaries such as at Kos, or Praeneste, where the staircase played a fundamental role in the viewer's experience when approaching the temple.

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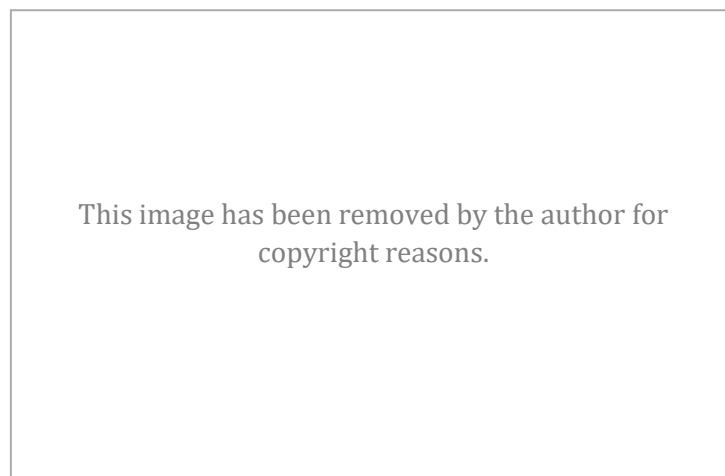
Figure 4.21: Photograph of the monumental staircase leading up to the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Ragette (1980) p.25.

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[88] Ball (2000) 346.

This composition seems to have been a new innovation, unique to Heliopolis, that was never imitated by other Phoenician cities who preferred to depict scenes that were more familiar and accessible to their citizens. Similar to the front view, the emphasis was once more on the scale and monumentality of their temples, with this type additionally promoting the technical prowess of its distinctive temple, and adapting unusual perspectives that were located within the sanctuary.

Type Two – temple of Mercury
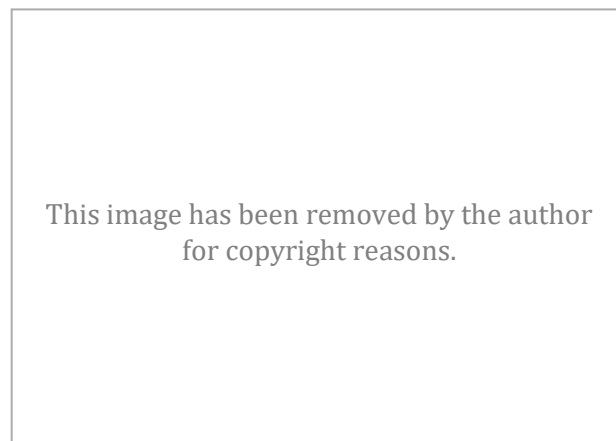
Figure 4.22: Bronze civic coin issued by Heliopolis under Philip I, AD 244/245. 29mm, 14.81g. CNG Inc., Mail Bid Sale 75 Lot 848, 23rd May 2007.
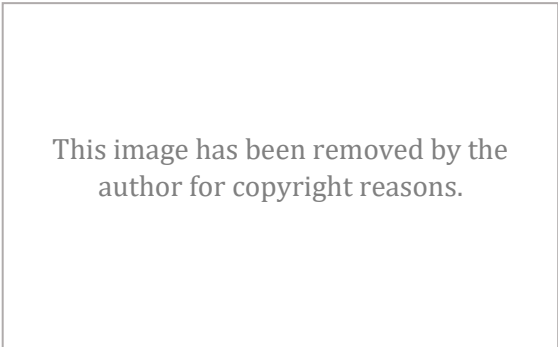
Another Heliopolitan type to experiment with unusual aerial perspectives appeared later, under the rule of Philip the Arab from AD 244 (fig. 4.22; **HEL004**).[89] The temple depicted most likely belonged to Mercury, identified by the inclusion of the *caduceus* in the field.[90] The temple is in the right hand upper register of the coin, and appears to be in the Roman architectural style, resting on a high podium with an emphasis on frontality, just as in the previous Heliopolis type. The temple sits within a clearly defined *temenos*, marked by walls

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[89] BnF M 1178; BnF Y 28472.8; BnF Fonds général 163; ANS 1944.100.83844; ANS 1944.100.83845
[90] Sawaya (2009) 98.

on all sides. To the right of the temple is an unclear object, cautiously identified by Sawaya as an altar or purse, which further linked the building to Mercury. The *temenos* blends fluidly into a staircase, which drops sharply and fills most of the field. To the right of the staircase is vegetation and rocks, suggesting that it was constructed above a natural hilly landscape, which helps to further identify the temple by its location. This aerial perspective is unique; it develops the previous type further by imagining the view from the air, rather than observing the temple from a physical viewpoint. There seems to have been a particular concern with identifying the building, demonstrated by the inclusion of the purse and the *caduceus*, perhaps as a result of the unusual perspective and the temple's location outside the city. The *caduceus* is also found on the underside of the doorway to what is generally identified as the temple of Bacchus, highlighting the difficulties with using symbols as identification.[91] However, its inclusion on the representation of a temple that has no other identifying symbols or characteristics is surely an attempt by the city to increase the chances of viewers identifying the temple.

Type Three – temples of Jupiter and Bacchus

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Figure 4.23: Bronze coin issued by Heliopolis, under Valerian AD 253-260. 27mm, 13.31g. Gorny und Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung Auction 233, Lot 2132. 6th October 2015.

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[91] Butcher (2003) 366.

Another late Heliopolitan type that adopted this unusual side perspective was only issued under Valerian, who ruled from AD 253 to 260 (fig. 4.23; **HEL006**).[92] The design itself shows two temples whose size, appearance and proximity typically identifies them as the neighbouring temples of Jupiter and of Bacchus. The right-hand temple is depicted from a side perspective in the foreground, resting on a large podium. Six columns surround the structure and a broad entablature supports a triangular pediment, with no additional sculptural details. The temple to the left is almost a mirror image, but the overlapping podia indicate that it was slightly behind the temple on the right. Some issues have three crowns above the temple, with two palm branches protruding out of the middle crown, and a single branch in the flanking ones.[93]

As this type was exclusively issued during this one reign, it may reflect financial pressures that required the minting of new bronze coins, associated with a specific event, in this case, possibly the Sacred Capitoline Oecumenical Iselastic Games, a festival for which coin evidence also appeared for the first time under Valerian.[94] These games were international and victors won the right to a triumphal entry on their return home. Civic festivals such as this proliferated on the third century coins of major Eastern cities, and it is interesting to see Heliopolis engaging with contemporary cultural events, particularly ones strongly connected with celebrating Graeco-Roman culture.[95] The crowns at the top of some of the issues makes a clear association between these games and the sanctuary complex, perhaps indicating that the temples played some unknown role in the awarding of the victors' honours.[96] This type highlights how cultural events were linked with the religious sphere,

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[92] BnF Chandon de Briailles 1294; Sawaya 647-651.
[93] Sawaya (2009) 101.
[94] BMC 27; BnF Y 28472.11.
[95] Butcher (2003) 229.
[96] Sawaya 647-651.

and it is also interesting that it appeared at a time when monumental civic building projects were in a marked decline.[97] Perhaps Heliopolis, expecting the influx of visitors to the city to take part in the games, had this type struck to commemorate the occasion, and chose to do so by showcasing their renowned and most impressive monumental structures. As well as commemorating the games, if any visitors kept the coins, either by accident or design, then the image of not just one, but two of their most spectacular temples would have circulated beyond the city.

Although it is logical to identify these representations as the temples of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Bacchus, it is apparent that they have intentionally been removed from any semblance of their original appearance, scale and location. All the surrounding monuments have vanished, and they have been moved to fit within the limits of the field. Depicted on the same ground level and of similar sizes, there is no way to securely distinguish between the two temples, which makes it impossible to determine whether either temple was prioritised, except for the right-hand temple being slightly further forward. This type is probably the result of an artist's decision to further associate the civic games with the city of Heliopolis, and the temples were one of the emblems most strongly associated with the city.

4.4.2 Tyre – temple of the Phoenician *koinon*

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[97] Butcher (2003) 229.

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Figure 4.24: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Volusian, AD 251-253. 21mm, 7.89g. RPC 9.2021.

Also under the Severans, there was a resurgence of representations of the Phoenician *koinon* at Tyre, which first appeared under Caracalla and were then struck sporadically until the rule of Volusian and Trebonianus Gallus.[98] The temple is now depicted in side profile, revealing it to be pseudodipteral by the columns that continue along the long sides of the temple (fig. 4.24). It rests upon a high podium, accessed via a broad staircase at the front of the building. Within the tympanum of some specimens is a crescent star, perhaps a stylised radiate bust. Under Macrinus, two concurrent types were issued which varied dramatically in weight, with some closer to twenty or thirty grams in comparison to the more typical eight or nine, perhaps indicating two separate denominations.[99] Aside from the change of perspective, the most notable difference between this type and its frontal counterpart are their inscriptions. Whereas the frontal type features a label identifying the design as ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗC, the type struck under Caracalla displayed Tyre's abbreviated colonial title, *Septimia Turus Metropolis Colonia* (**TYR007**), or transliterated the original

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[98] BMC 376; Babelon 2233.
[99] ANS 1944.100.81792 (19.06g); BMC 382 (8.62g); BMC 383 (27.05g).
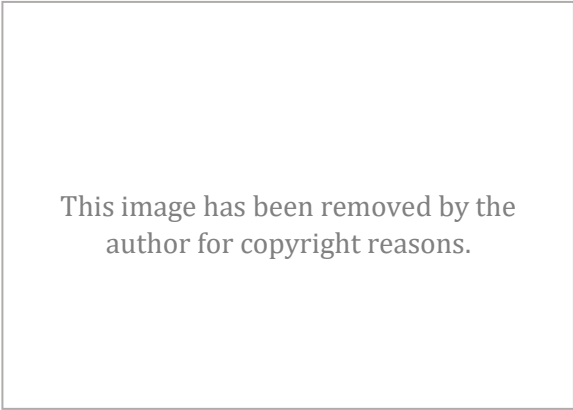
inscription the Greek terminology into the Latin alphabet: COENV PHOENICES (**TYR011; TYR012**).[100]

There is still no indication of which cult – imperial or otherwise – was practiced within. With the *koinon* type initially used to promote Tyre's political status, its role in glorifying Tyre seems to have remained unchanged, and still it is unclear whether the temple reflects an actual cult site within Tyre. The type may commemorate the completion of a building project to create a temple for the *koinon*, or the temple still served a symbolic function and did not exist in reality. The inclusion of the *koinon* inscription serves to identify its symbolic purpose, a necessary inclusion considering the absence of other notable characteristics or symbols. It seems that the purpose of this type was to circulate the civic and political status of Tyre to both an internal and external audience and it used a simple image of this temple as a medium through which to do so, which was differentiated from other public cults by its label and absence of any divine imagery. Moreover, in depicting a temple, it adds a sense of legitimacy to Tyre's claims to superiority by invoking the authority of whichever religious entity was located within.

Tyre – temple of Melqart

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[100] Millar (1993) 291.

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Figure 4.25: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Trebonianus Gallus, AD 251-253. 28mm, 17.63g. RPC 9.1991.

The temple of Melqart did not make its numismatic appearance until relatively late in Tyre's history, with earlier coin types preferring to promote images of the god himself, through depicting Melqart and his attributes on their coin obverses and reverses (fig. 4.25; **TRY024**; **TYR034**). This popular later type was first issued under Trebonianus Gallus and shows a female figure, presumably a goddess, possibly Astarte, wearing a *kalathos* and with her arms raised in supplication over a lit altar (see 3.2.4).[101] To the right and above this scene is a small distyle temple in side profile containing the club of Melqart, below which is a murex shell. The distyle temple is approached by a broad flight of stairs, and its pediment is decorated with curved *acroteria* on the sides and apex. Interestingly, in all the examples the pediment is not a sharply defined triangular shape, but rather seems more curved and stylised, perhaps suggesting a vaulted roof within, or to increase room for the suspended club.

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[101] RPC 9.1991; Babelon 2219-2220; Babelon 2234; RPC 9.1971.

Despite the absence of a podium, a staircase approaches the front of the building, suggesting that it could have been raised above ground level or, like the distyle *in antis* temple at Sfiré, it was fronted by a staircase, but did not rest on a podium to accommodate the natural slope of the terrain.[102] The way that the club is suspended within the *cella* makes it unlikely that this represents a realistic image of the interior. Perhaps, like Jupiter Heliopolitanus or Astarte, there were restrictions against viewing the cult image, or the god was indeed represented by a club, which has been brought forward to clearly identify the temple's occupant. If the cult image was invisible or aniconic, perhaps artists decided to employ the other means of depicting Melqart detailed in 3.2.1, which communicated the relationship between Tyre and the powerful god, rather than wrestle with the challenges of representing the cult image and temple. An aniconic or even invisible image of the god is entirely possible and has precedents of its own; Silius Italicus reports that the temple of Tyrian Herakles at Gades possessed no 'statues or familiar images of the gods'.[103] This was presumably a trait introduced by early Tyrian colonists, as Appian records that at the Gades temple 'the religious rites…are still of the Phoenician type, and the god is considered by the worshippers the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules'.[104] It is apparent that the focus of the coin type is not the temple, despite its ancient reputation, but is rather on the relationship between Melqart and this goddess.

The building depicted is a fairly close representation of a distyle *in antis* temple, and the unavoidable question of whether this was the case has no satisfactory answer. As a fairly late issue for Tyre, it is tempting to speculate that this style was emphasised for its archaic appearance, endowing the image with the authority of tradition. Alternatively, the style of temple could have been chosen simply because the absence of a colonnaded peristyle

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[102] Aliquot (2009) 239.
[103] Sil. *Pun.* 3.30-1.
[104] App. *Hisp*. 1.2.

meant it was simpler to reproduce, and created enough space for the goddess and sacrifice to be clearly represented. Although these visual abbreviations are common, it seems unlikely that one style of temple order would be so carefully replaced with the approximation of another, and it was surely not beyond the artist's skill to include a peristyle if it was pseudoperipteral. More importantly, with the goddess and her sacrifice filling most of the field, the temple frames and highlights the club, clarifying who was receiving the sacrifice, particularly if the cult image of Melqart could not be represented in anthropomorphic form. A club suspended in the field in isolation would not be overly clear, and additionally risked being easily corroded after extensive handling. By placing it within a temple, it shows that the sacrifice being performed has a specific cult function to an identifiable recipient.

It is apparent that temples shown from a side or aerial perspective have a rather different emphasis from the temples previously discussed, which were generally more focused on identifying the cult, rather than showing details of the temple itself. Here, the alternative and novel perspective is what is valued. Heliopolis dominates this category of designs, which perhaps reflects a desire of the local elite to develop ways unique to Heliopolis to promote their temples and cause them to stand out from other Phoenician cities, emphasising the sanctuary's unparalled status in the region. Perhaps as the artists of Heliopolis were free of following years of traditional types, they were able to produce more creatively novel types. Again, it is possible that some of the designs were a result of sketching from life, with coin designs correlating to architectural remains and reconstructions from the sanctuary. Other than the symbol of Melqart at Tyre, we do not see representations of deities housed within any of these temples and so, with these types, the focus was predominantly on the architecture, whether it was its appearance, technical ability or location. Tyre developed the side profile *koinon* type, perhaps influenced by the

novel perspectives established by Heliopolis, but its political emphasis remained unchanged. In offering unusual views and perspectives of their temples, these cities ensured that their types stood apart, and emphasised the technical skill that went into their temples' construction, rather than turning them into decorative frames to emphasise the divine occupant.

4.5 Outdoor sanctuaries

To focus exclusively on traditional temples may result in the unintentional impression that temples were only place that religious practice was experienced. Types discussed in Chapter Three, like the car of Astarte, hint at the more pervasive nature of religious experience, unrestricted to within the confines of the temples. This following section wishes to redress this prior focus on temples by exploring what appears to be an open-air site, to explore the different ways which religious and cultural traditions could be experienced in Phoenicia.

4.5.1 Tyre - Ambrosial Rocks

Under Elagabalus, a new coin type began to circulate in Tyre, showing an arrestingly novel scene: the Ambrosial Rocks (fig. 4.26). A note of caution must be sounded in response to Bijovsky's assertion that this was Tyre's most popular coin type 'without any doubt', as this type, despite its resurgence under Gordian III and Gallienus, does not come close to exceeding the copious issues of Tyche types.[105] This statement reflects an error made by unwary numismatists, where unusual types are sometimes prioritised over more simple

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[105] Bijovsky (2005) 829.

designs, a fact testified to by the prevalence of high-quality auction specimens. This does not refute the fact that the Ambrosial Rocks did enjoy significant popularity, but they were not the predominant Tyrian coin issue. An emblem of the city, the Rocks featured on a range of other types and can be loosely grouped into the following iconographic types.

Type One – domed rocks

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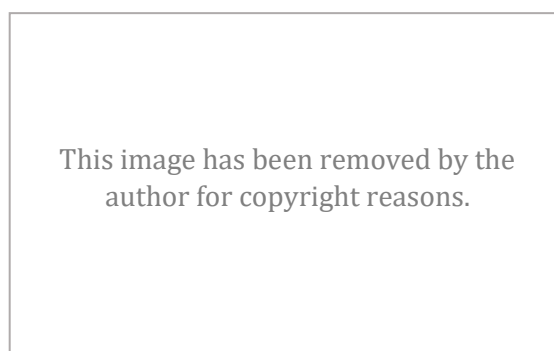
Figure 4.26: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. Type One. 25mm, 11.42g. CNG Inc., Triton XVI, Lot 739, 8th January 2013.

It should be noted that the first specimens of the type, issued under Elagabalus and Julia Maesa, were all labelled TVRIORVM, indicating that they were produced after Elagabalus had stripped Tyre of its colonial and *metropolis* status.[106] Two large, domed rocks rest on a clear ground-line, separated by an olive tree. A dog stands facing a murex shell in the exergue (**TYR015**). The rocks are labelled as ΑΜΒΡΟСΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ, leaving no doubt to their identity. The dog and murex shell refer to the discovery of purple dye, the export that was responsible for much of Tyre's wealth. The myth states that, whilst walking with the eponymous nymph Tyrus, Melqart saw his dog chewing on a murex shell, staining its jowls the famous purple. Tyrus then requested of Melqart a gown dyed this colour, and thus,

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[106] Babelon 2241; ANS 1923.150.392.

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according to the myth, the dye industry was born. The rocks are large and broad, reaching the lower branches of the olive tree. This olive has a strong relationship with the cult of Melqart and Tyre, with Achilles Tatius referring to an olive tree located at a coastal site in Tyre, where rites to Herakles were performed.[107] Similarly, a relief from Tyre depicts a scene identified as the birth of Melqart, which is dominated on the right by a flaming olive tree.[108]

The text that allows us to begin to interpret the Ambrosial Rocks type is Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. The *Dionysiaca* relates how 'starclad' Herakles of Tyre (*Herakles aristochiton*) recounts the foundation of Tyre. Herakles particularly favoured an autochthonic race of people, whom he charged with founding the future city of Tyre. He instructed the people on how to create the first ships, and how to sail them to the Ambrosial Rocks. These rocks floated across the sea and on one grew an olive tree, within which perched an eagle. A snake, which lived in harmony with the eagle, encircled the trunk, and both creatures were unharmed by the fire that engulfed the tree. Upon sailing to the rocks, the people were tasked with sacrificing the eagle to Zeus and Poseidon, at which time the rocks would become stationary, and Tyre should be built upon them. When the people reached the Rocks, the eagle willingly complied with its fate, and the city was founded.[109] Although the dating of the *Dionysiaca* is notoriously difficult, most estimates range between the fourth and fifth centuries AD, which means that it post-dates the initial Ambrosial Rocks coin types by over half a century.[110] The fact that the stones are labelled is extremely interesting, as it suggests that the image may be new or unfamiliar to many, and there was a conscious wish for it to be identified

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[107] Ach. Tat. II.14.
[108] Seyrig (1963) 23-24.
[109] Nonnus, *Dion.* 421-525.
[110] Hernández de la Fuente (2018).

correctly. This implies that, although the Ambrosial Rocks myth may be known, it perhaps had no visual counterpart in this style until this time.

The type references the privileged and auspicious beginnings of Tyre, reinforced by the inscription TVRIORVM. Not only does the Ambrosial Rocks narrative reflect the relationship shared by the city and Melqart, it additionally emphasised Tyre's status as the city of the first seafarers.[111] The murex shell advertises Tyre's source of wealth and its significance as a prominent trading centre. The appearance of this type at a time that saw the political punishment of Tyre, as well as the elevation of its rival Sidon, is wholly appropriate to the political nature of coin imagery. The mythical origins of the city and its ancient cult of 'Tyrian Herakles' owed none of its prestige to Rome, and it is logical that the local elite at this time would wish to reaffirm Tyre's high status, independent of Roman political authority and benefaction.

Types Two, Three, and Four – stelae-like rocks

Under Gordian III, the type underwent some stylistic changes and a new type emerged. The rocks became much more stylised, resembling stelae rather than the naturalistic Rocks of the preceding type (Type Two; **TYR019**). These stelae are tall and narrow, and each rest upon clearly defined individual bases flanking the olive tree (fig. 4.27a). The unchanged label and central tree indicates that the identification of the scene remains unchanged. This form recalls an earlier type issued under Caracalla, where Melqart is shown sacrificing to the Rocks in this stelae form (**TYR018**). Also under Gordian III, another variation appeared (fig. 4.27b; **TYR020**). The much rarer Type Three shows the overall composition in a

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[111] Quinn (2018) 48-52.

drastically changed format. The tree has been displaced to the right, and the two stelae are now grouped together, sharing the same base. To the left is a *thymiaterion*, indicating the cultic significance of the site, and a crescent moon and star flank the stelae, which recalls the connection between the myth and *Herakles aristochiton*. The label of Ambrosial Rocks is still present, despite the change of composition. Later issues (Type Four) see the traditional symmetrical layout of two stelae flanking the central tree restored (fig. 4.27c; **TYR021**). This final type is a blend of the previous styles, with the two rocks retaining their more slender appearance when compared to the domed naturalistic Rocks of Type One, but also appearing more natural than the heavily stylised stelae (Type Four).

In short, from the rule of Elagabalus there are four distinct types that depict the Ambrosial Rocks, one of which appears and vanishes within the reign of Gordian III. The differences between the symmetrical composition and the more stylised stelae are evident, although the causes behind its change are more obscure. Bijovsky suggests that the naturalistic type depicts the myth itself, whereas the stelae grouped together with the altar represents an open air temple of Melqart.[112] The brevity of the stylised, non-symmetrical Type Three, which was only struck under Gordian III, indicates that it was not as popular as the other composition and the type returned to the characteristics of the earlier type, merging aspects of Types One and Two. We can speculate from the appearance of the Ambrosial Rocks on the Melqart type, discussed above, that the Ambrosial Rocks had been a recognised feature of Tyrian visual culture for some time, and may have reflected a physical site from within Tyre.

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[112] Bijovsky (2005) 829.

Figure 4.27a: Bronze coin issued by Tyre, under Gordian III AD 238-244. Type Two. 31mm, 17.09g. ANS 1944.100.81882.

Figure 4.27b: Bronze coin issued by Tyre, under Gordian III AD 238-244. Type Three. 30mm, 20.30g. BnF Y 28596.16.

Figure 4.27c: Bronze coin issued by Tyre, under Valerian AD 253-260. Type Four. 27mm, 17.82g. CNG E-auction 307, Lot 231, 24 July 2013.

The composition of the Rocks flanking the olive tree, shown in the majority types, is more likely to reflect the appearance of the monument, not only because of the greater quantity of specimens that follow this composition, but also as this symmetrical composition is popular in Phoenician coinage, with parallels seen at nearby Ptolemais-Akke.[113] The stylised version represented in Type Three emphasised the cultic value of the Ambrosial Rocks, in the same form that they were shown being sacrificed to by Melqart. I am not convinced that we should see the variety of types as a progression from mythical narrative to physical cult site, but rather that all four types could be variations of the same cult site. The crescent moon and star included in Type Two indicate the divine significance of the scene, and some later specimens also include an altar within the exergue to reaffirm its cultic significance (**TYR030**).

Despite the challenges in interpreting these variations, I do agree with Bijovsky that it is unlikely that the Rocks represent aniconic cult images of Melqart.[114] Despite the symbols shown on some specimens which do indicate the site had some ritual function, the type discussed in 4.4.2 shows that when artists wished to show Melqart receiving a sacrifice, they chose the club to symbolise the god, not the Ambrosial Rocks. Furthermore, the type issued under Caracalla shows Melqart himself making a sacrifice below the Rocks, a role typically undertaken by deities who shared some relationship, such as Eshmun and the car of Astarte (3.3.1), but not the deity sacrificing to themselves. It is more likely that the Rocks represent Tyre and the god is honouring the city that he favoured, which, in turn, honoured him. Like the car of Astarte, the Ambrosial Rocks were commonly used as a mintmark of the city until the end of its civic coin production, indicating that they served primarily as a symbol of civic identity, rather than as an aniconic image.[115] Perhaps this type represented

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[113] ANS 1944.100.71249.
[114] Bijovsky (2005) 831.
[115] ANS 1944.100.81990; BMC 468.

a site that commemorated the foundation of the city and Tyre's ancient relationship with Melqart, which did have some cultic function, whilst not being in the same category as a temple. The type demonstrates how it was not temples alone that could have cultic significance, and is further evidence of how mythical narratives and traditions inextricably linked deities to the civic identity of a city.

4.6 Conclusions

After analysing a range of types, it is apparent that architectural types offer a valuable insight into religious architecture in Phoenicia. This is not to say that they should all be treated as faithful reproductions, but we do not have to go as far as to argue that a temple on a coin is no evidence that the cult was practiced by the city. By analysing the typical appearance of Roman-era temples in rural Lebanon and Heliopolis, it seems apparent that the temples of Phoenicia typically shared the following characteristics: they were located within a separate precinct, usually demarcated by a wall and sometimes entered through a *propylaeum*. The tetrastyle prostyle form was usually favoured towards the coast, which was in keeping with the Roman architectural emphasis on frontality. The temple was sometimes fronted by a large altar and was almost invariably approached by a staircase, and most were raised on a podium. Within the temple, the cult image was usually housed within a separate *adyton*, which was typically raised above the floor of the *cella* and could be glimpsed through the large central doorway. This summary is intentionally generic, but it serves to demonstrate how much coinage reflects key architectural features of surviving temples in the region. The types discussed all have a focus on frontality, with even unusual perspectives such as aerial and profile views indicating that temples were approached and entered from a frontal point of access. However, it should also be noted that coin types retained the sense of locality and individuality that characterised the findings of Chapter Three. Although they share some broad similarities, no architectural coin type was identical

to those of other cities; even the Tychaion shown on the coins of Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum was carefully distinguished by Tyche. The distinct nature of architectural types was either emphasised by the presence of the unique cult image, such Tyche at Byblos or the club of Melqart at Tyre or, as was the case at Tripolis, unusual architectural features such as the background wall and internal altar. Despite their initial similarities, cities seem to have been just as proprietary towards their architectural types as they were towards their gods.

The comparison of rural Lebanese temples to Phoenician coin has not been attempted before, but it has revealed how some types seem to have been more faithful to their architectural counterparts than others. It is not profitable to generalise by stating that Phoenician cities 'accurately' represented their temples, as the cities did so in a variety of ways. Some aspects of stylistic conventions are evident. The Tripolis type, which showed the *propylaeum* alongside the monumental altar to the left, demonstrates how artists could visually abbreviate a complex scene to suit the restrictions of the minute diameter of the coin field. The Tychaion of Orthosia and of Caesarea ad Libanum switch between internal and external views, where the interior of the temple revealed the triad of deities within, or instead Tyche was shown in isolation through the large central door, flanked by two smaller lateral doors leading into the temple. The interpretation of slight variations, such as the Ambrosial Rocks, can prove challenging, but the fact that their composition did vary so much was surely meaningful as it shows types being adjusted to presumably better suit the expressive needs of the city.

In contrast, some types do seem to correlate more strongly to what we know of existing architecture. Despite its stylistic abbreviations, the building of the Tychaion that were issued by both Orthosia and its neighbour Caesarea ad Libanum strongly reflects a style of

building known from Syria, where a large central apse was flanked by two flanking chambers, a layout reflected by the doorways into the temple. However, no city seems to draw upon its architecture more markedly than Heliopolis. Heliopolis offers us the unique opportunity to compare coin types with physical remains from the sanctuary, and the parallels in this case are striking. Through analysis of the site, many of the coin types reflect how the temples may have been seen from physical viewpoints. The frontal view of the temple of Jupiter could mirror what was seen from the platform of the Great Altar, and the side aerial perspective of the temple viewed from the south must resemble its appearance from the roof of the neighbouring temple of Bacchus. Perhaps Heliopolis wished to acknowledge the unique status of its monumental sanctuary and sought to represent their sacred buildings in novel ways that would correspond to its extraordinary nature and scale. It should also be noted that modern photographs of the sanctuary often reflect the same perspectives, demonstrating the challenge of capturing the scale of the monuments in other artistic media.

This is not to say that coin imagery should be accepted without careful consideration of its iconography or stylistic choices. For example, in some cases it seems likely that the type did not reflect a temple at all, such as at Byblos, where the type previously identified as a 'distyle shrine' may well represent the goddess within a shell niche or apse in the temple *adyton* (fig. 4.5b; fig. 4.28). At Tyre, the Ambrosial Rocks have elements of cult practice, testified to by the presence of altars, but are unlikely to be aniconic images of Melqart, or to depict the ancient temple of the god recorded by Herodotus. However, conventions such as this are a known fact when researching coin imagery and, more importantly, it should be reaffirmed that, for these coins to be meaningful, the imagery had to be recognisable. Stylistic abbreviations and exaggerations tend to emphasise the more identifiable features, such as the cult object.
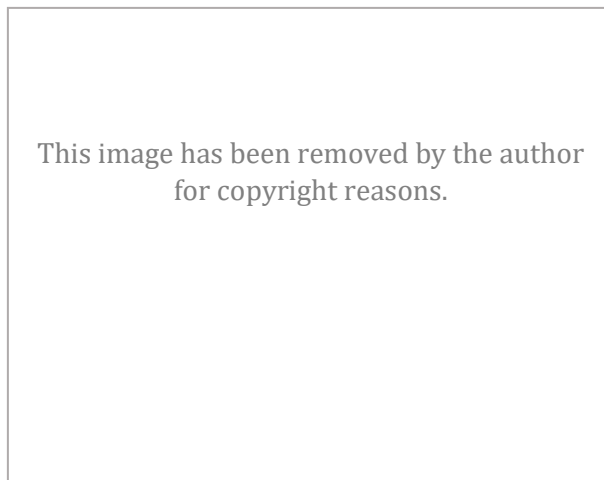
Figure 4.28: Photograph of the interior central apse of the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên. Taken by H.C. Butler (1906). Accessed 10th May 2017. Princeton Archaeological Archives no. 880.

As ever, we must not overlook or underemphasise the communicative value of civic coinage. Each type represented images that must have spoken both for and to the local community and their ideological potential must have been exploited, which can reveal social attitudes to local religious buildings. Architectural types can reveal insights into cult practice, particularly when combined with research into other religious imagery. At Tyre, the presence of the club within the temple of Melqart highlights the absence of the cult statue. The club within the temple may indicate that, as at the Tyrian colony of Gades, the cult image may have been aniconic. Similarly, the absence of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on the coin types of Heliopolis corresponds to some restriction that shielded the cult statue within the temple from view or reproduction, particularly when considering the view from the Great Altar, which, as replicated by the frontal type, should have revealed a direct glimpse into the temple.

As well as giving some indication of religious practices, architectural types can also reveal political influences. The most overtly political type to depict a temple was issued at Tyre, which represented the temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, the seat of regional dialogue and possibly the centre of the imperial cult, despite the absence of the title of *neokoros*. The similarities between this type and the Bithynia *koinon* type throws doubt on the existence of the temple in Tyre at all, but rather suggests that the temple was used to symbolise the institution of the *koinon*, and the temple reflected the divine authority that chose Tyre to host the *koinon*, legitimising Tyre's new regional status. The coinage of Tyre seems particularly sensitive to political influences, as the first Ambrosial Rocks type was only produced when the city was disgraced under Elagabalus, as if to highlight their cultural heritage independent of Roman political authority.

Of course, a greatly important aspect of civic coinage's ideological power was its social significance. Types were valued for being unique, and for what they could reflect on the city. This is illustrated by every type discussed; even Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum took care to differentiate the two temples. Sidon recognised this at an early stage and included the freestanding columns in the first architectural type to be struck in Phoenicia. Heliopolis emphasised the impact and scale of its architectural achievements; Tripolis valued the atypical nature of its monumental altar. Tyre promoted the image of a temple to proclaim its regional and inarguable claim to political status. Monumental architecture, including temples, aggrandised a city's urban landscape and allowed it to enter into a cultural dialogue, not only locally but on a regional level. Grand temples demonstrated a city's financial resources, and promoted areas of its cultural heritage and social significance.

Recalling the findings of the preceding chapter, is there evidence that architectural types were perceived differently compared to types that carried images of deities? One area of

similarity is that both categories of imagery had a concern with recognisability. In the same way that anthropomorphic deities were usually portrayed with popular attributes or symbols that revealed their realms of influence, temples were commonly shown with the deity clearly portrayed within. Even Sidon, which issued the a temple coin type before stylistic shortcuts became more commonplace, took care to include identifying characteristics, suggesting that recognisability was a prevalent concern, which artists later adapted by bringing the *adyton* forward, or widening the central intercolumniation. Unlike deities, where sometimes the unfamiliar cult objects such as the car of Astarte seem to have been valued, architectural types do not seem to share this interest in the unknown. Even types with no distinguishable characteristics or cult image were accompanied by labels to ensure their correct identification, such as the *koinon* type at Tyre (ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗC) and Heliopolis (ΙΟΜΗ). If these coins could and did circulate further afield than their immediate locality, perhaps this reflects a social concern that ensured that the buildings would still be identified and associated with their issuing city. Perhaps, considering that temple construction was more of a communal effort with elites and citizens coming together to make dedications and enhance the temple, this emphasis on recognisability is less surprising, whereas unusual cult objects were possibly more inward-facing and recognition served as a badge of belonging. This focus on ensuring that types are recognised and understood indicates once again the significance of coin imagery, as well as the social importance of these buildings. A city could choose to represent a generic temple to demonstrate its wealth and resources, but coin artists made the effort to distinguish *which* temple was shown. Details that may seem minor to a modern viewer, such as the square background behind the Tripolis altar, or the type of Tyche in the central apse of the temple from Orthosia or Caesarea ad Libanum, have all been included for a reason, even if their significance is no longer immediately apparent.

The role that architecture played in cultural identity has long been recognised by academics. Even today, scholars have noted how modern empires exploited past architecture to evoke the characteristics of previous empires and justify their claim to be their cultural successors.[116] Ball argues that 'so different are eastern temples from those in the West that the two are really fundamentally different types of building', and emphasised the 'thinly disguised Semitic deity' which was housed within all temples in the Roman Near East.[117] What is apparent from analysis of these coin types is that neither a 'Roman' nor 'traditional' identity dominated at the cost of the other. Architecture was not a fixed institution, but one that adapted to new cultural influences, and many of the structures discussed appear to have been influenced by Roman architecture. Coins only project one view of a temple, which makes it problematic to draw conclusions regarding the cultural influences behind its appearance. As we saw on the coins of Heliopolis, the surrounding architectural elements were absent, without which the appearance and nature of the sanctuary loses its complexity. The *adyton*, represented by types issued by Berytus and Byblos, and possibly by Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum, was typically a more regional feature, and this reflects how architecture could blend favourable elements into one cohesive structure, without it necessarily having to be a statement of cultural conflict or dominance.

These coin types demonstrate a vibrant sense of identity and self, which is predominantly local in nature. Although Tyre's *koinon* type is the only Phoenician civic coin series to explicitly mention Phoenicia by name, its focus was on reflecting the associated prestige back on Tyre itself. Although stylistic innovations could be shared and adapted, temple representations were unique to their issuing city, and should not be considered as bland or generic imitations of Roman designs. These temples served as the public face of their

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[116] Mattingly (2011) 11.
[117] Ball (2000) 317; 322-323.

community, and represented the combined effort of the citizen body. By celebrating and commemorating them on coinage, cities drew attention to their own cultural heritage and social resources.

Chapter Five

Tyche

Τύχαι δὲ ἄρα πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπη βούλονται φέρου- σιν, ἐγκαθίδρυνται δὲ δικαίως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντα δικαίως κατορθοῦσι τιμώμεναι.

And in fact Tyches carry all human affairs in whatever way they want, and their [images] are justly set up in the cities, as a result of which, when they are worshipped, they set right everything justly.

Ps.-Nicolaus' *Ekphrasis of the Tychaion,* 1.

Analysis from previous chapters has found that, above all else, civic coin types valued the unique and the local. Certain deities were appropriated by particular cities, and even temple architecture was portrayed in ways only associated with the city of issue. Recognisability was prized, with the coin artists of even the earliest types typically taking care to ensure that the type was easily identifiable, whether through distinct architectural features, or clearly depicted attributes. However, this localisation is perhaps made clearer by the proprietary nature of coin imagery, and this chapter intends to explore how well these findings apply to the only deity to be represented on the coins of almost all Phoenician cities – Tyche.

The opening quote is taken from an *ekphrasis* from the late fourth century AD by an unknown author, erroneously attributed to Libanius, which described the appearance and

sculptural programme of the Tychaion at Alexandria.[1] It encapsulates the power that Tyche held over ancient cities and people, for the goddess could control their fates and fortunes. Tyche possessed a dual role, both protecting and personifying the citizen body, and was the most prolific deity represented on civic coinage in Phoenicia. For Phoenician civic coins, which named no specific individuals or offices responsible for their production, their ideological content was entirely focused on the city, making Tyche the ideal candidate to represent them.[2] In a society where the presence of local deities proliferated, the universal awareness and recognition of Tyche could have served as a powerful symbol of belonging and shared identity, whilst simultaneously functioning as a visual testament of a unique civic sense of self.

5.1. Divine origins and character

Tyche has been a constant but muted presence on coinage in the preceding chapters, with no analysis of her civic significance and role. As the opening quote demonstrates, Tyche was uniquely bound up in everyday life, unlike the deities previously discussed who were largely responsible for natural phenomena – rain, oceans, earthquakes, harvests, and so on. The fates of people and cities depended on her favour, which has led scholars to speculate that the proliferation of her image took on an almost apotropaic quality.[3] Tyche was not referred to by Homer, but makes a brief appearance in the *Theogony* where she was named as a daughter of Ocean.[4] Initially she was considered to be an unpredictable, random force, which could not be prevailed over by reason or justice, and personified the rather vague concept of change, from which she later evolved to represent personified fortune (τύχη)

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[1] (Trans, Reyes 2013). For authorship and dating see McKenzie and Reyes (2013) 37-38; Gibson (2007).
[2] Butcher (2005) 148.
[3] Pollitt (1994) 15.
[4] Hes. *Theog.* 360.

before being considered a goddess in her own right, one who controlled the fortunes of men. Tyche's popularity possibly stemmed from the period of rapid change and political uncertainty that characterised the Hellenistic Greek world, initiated by the rise of Macedonia, which saw the fortunes of men and cities rise and fall often for reasons beyond their control.[5] This transition from allegory to goddess allowed individuals and communities the hope of ameliorating the whims of Tyche through cult practice. Plutarch describes her as 'unstable, though good…[but] deceitful in its gifts', and acknowledged that she favoured the Roman people.[6] This 'deceitful' aspect of Tyche is well attested; she was seen as frivolous and capricious, and individuals reacted to the unpredictability of their fate in different ways, some with acceptance, but others, like Palladus, violently railing against the injustices of fortune, calling the goddess πόρνη, or strumpet.[7]

When supplicating the changeable goddess, the outcome – always unpredictable, whether good or bad – could be influenced through the fulfilment of the correct rituals, and the cult of *Agathē Tyche* – Good Fortune – received cult worship in an attempt to appease the goddess and encourage her goodwill. In Asia Minor, epigraphic evidence of her cult was characterised by joint dedications with a wide range of other divinities, argued by some to herald the later complex relationships that she shared with other deities in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East.[8] A statue of Isis-Tyche stood in the *pronaos* of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, and a shrine to this goddess is depicted in the Nilotic frieze at Pompeii.[9] Tyche shared iconographic attributes with Nemesis, as both controlled fate, although Nemesis, as daughter of Dike, was more strongly associated with justice, whereas Tyche was more volatile.[10] A relief from Khirbet et-Tannur depicts Tyche within a zodiac, perhaps

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[5] Broucke (1994) 37.
[6] Plut. *De fort. Rom.* I.
[7] Palladus 10.87; Bowra (1960) 120.
[8] Matheson (1994) 20.
[9] *CIL* XIV 2867; Meyboom (1995) 62.
[10] Edwards (1990) 532-537; Matheson (1994) 25.

to symbolise the cosmic forces that controlled human destiny, or to link her with another deity who possessed more celestial influences (fig. 5.1).[11] If the zodiac does refer to the control of human fates, it indicates a departure from the earlier concept of Tyche as a random, uncontrollable force.

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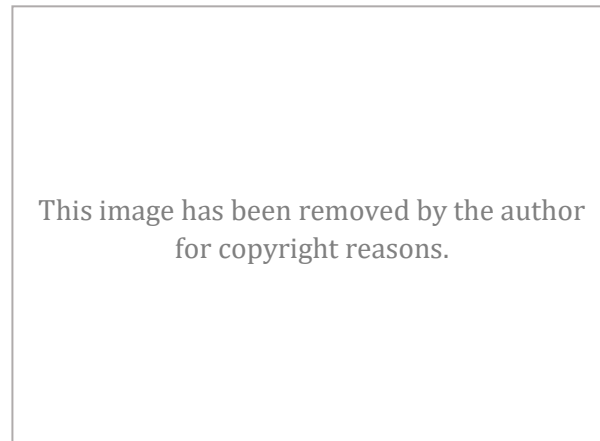
Figure 5.1: Limestone relief of Tyche within a zodiac. Khirbet et-Tannur, second century BC. 29.5 x 35.6 centimetres. Cincinnati Art Museum 1939.233.

After the Hellenistic period, it seems that the growing popularity of Tyche led her to absorb characteristics of traditional tutelary deities, which will be interesting to apply to the evidence from Phoenicia. Despite her origins as a personification of fortune, it seems that by the Roman period, Tyche was well-established as a deity. Shelton suggests that Tyche was not considered as prestigious as the supreme Olympian deities, pointing out that, although she possessed divine attributes, she was not involved in local histories or mythical narratives.[12] However, her role in controlling the fate of men and *poleis* indicates her power in civic life, and a fourth-century BC Attic inscription vowed to sacrifice to all of the city's gods and heroes but, above all, to Agathē Tyche 'for the safety of the city'.[13] Similarly, other

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[11] For analysis of the Zodiac Tyche, see McKenzie *et al.* (2013) 42.
[12] Shelton (1979) 29.
[13] *IG* II^2 1195; Tracy (1994) 241-244.

epigraphic evidence lists her alongside other Olympian deities such as Zeus and Dionysus, and a second-century AD altar from Gerasa is dedicated to Tyche and Zeus Soter.[14] Local Tyche cults abounded, which suggests that, in her capacity as city protector, it is possible that she was considered as belonging to individual communities and was responsible only for their interests. In Crete, the cult of Tyche Protogeneia was unique in the Greek world, leading scholars to suggest that it was a distinctly local cult, and the *Tychai* of Palmyra and Dura-Europas were labelled on the fresco of Julius Terentius as belonging to their respective cities (ΤΥΧΗ ΠΑΛΜΥΡωΝ and ΤΥΧΗ ΔΟΥΡΑΣ). [15] Her later association as city protector was intensely valued in the intensely competitive civic climate of Roman Syria and Phoenicia, and each city required a representation of their own Tyche to represent and protect their community. This protective capacity is emphasised by the location of some sanctuaries dedicated to Tyche, such as the Tychaion at Dura-Europas, which was built into the main gate to the city.[16]

5.1.2 Research focus

Until now, there has been no study that comprehensively surveys and analyses the variety of numismatic representations of Tyche across Roman Phoenicia. This chapter will collate this evidence together to examine the treatment of the goddess, and question how she was used by respective cities to represent themselves on coinage. In the same way that socio-political upheaval characterised Tyche's initial development, the fortunes of the cities of Phoenicia and Syria in the Hellenistic and Roman period were similarly impacted by forces beyond their control, whether through the rivalries of the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic

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[14] Tracy (1994) 242; Lichtenberger (2008) 136.
[15] Spyridakis (1969) 43.
[16] Stillwell (1976) 286.

dynasties, or the later revolts and civil wars that unseated and promoted emperors. How is this empire-wide turbulence mirrored on a provincial, if not a civic, scale, where cities competed for prestige and titles, and local elites competed for political and religious offices? These were turbulent times, and Tyche offered the opportunity to optimise the outcome, whilst also providing a means of displaying a symbol of the permanence of the community. This thesis will also address whether the proliferation of Tyche types indicate that she was considered a meaningful symbol of the community, or whether her coin types should instead be interpreted as 'banal' representations of a shared political identity in the Graeco-Roman world.[17] Her unique relationship with the city and citizen body is seemingly at odds with her universal appearance on Phoenician coins, and this apparent dichotomy will be explored in detail throughout.

Previous chapters indicated that Phoenician cities typically chose not to acknowledge or engage with the concept of provincial identity, but Tyche was distinct in being the only deity to be represented on the civic coins of almost all major Phoenician cities. As well as being able to explore how Tyche related to civic identity, this chapter will also address whether the use of Tyche was a demonstration of a unified sense of provincial Phoenician identity. The concept of a 'collective self' is described by psychologists as a community 'defined in group terms and connected to fellow group members', which could also be applied to a collective of different communities. As such, is it possible that the regional presence of Tyche indicates that there was a concept of collective self, shared by Phoenician cities?[18]

The ambiguity between Tyche's role as both a city goddess and representation of the community is one that has been addressed in terms of the Greek world, but not the

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[17] Belayche (2003) 127.
[18] Hogg and Reid (2006) 9.

Phoenician. This chapter will examine evidence for Tyche's character and religious role, to assess whether coin types suggest that she was considered a deity in her own right, or whether the material indicates that her primary role was to personify the city and the citizen body. Furthermore, as demonstrated by previous analysis, discussion of the iconography and attributes of Tyche may indicate how these cities chose to interact with Greek and Roman cultural influences. Over the centuries of Roman rule, do depictions of Tyche change to reflect different levels of engagement with Roman political authority and, if so, how? Representations of Tyche will be applied to known events in these cities' political lives, and we will ask whether they responded to changing socio-political stimuli. Analysis of her iconography and architectural surroundings will also allow us to explore the influences behind her design, and discuss what implications her appearance may have had on the community that she represented. The temples and buildings within which she was shown can be examined to see if they too submitted to the concern for individuality and recognisability demonstrated in Chapter Four.

5.2 Iconographic tradition(s)

Pausanias recorded that the first statue of Tyche was created at Smyrna in the sixth century BC by the sculptor Bupalos, and noted that Pindar called her the 'supporter of the city'.[19] The oldest attributes associated with Tyche are the rudder and the cornucopia, although these attributes do not appear together until the first century BC, where they were shown alongside the goddess Fortuna on Republican coinage minted at Rome.[20] The mural crown first appeared on the Tyche of Eutychides, which marked the goddess as belonging to and

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[19] Paus. 4.30.6.
[20] RRC 480/25.

representing Antioch, and this rapidly became an essential defining characteristic of Tyche in the Near East, although Fortuna could appear without it.

Three broad iconographic types of Tyche were adopted in Roman Syria, which are categorised as the Antioch, the Caesarea, and the Berytus types. It should be stressed that these labels are strictly modern terminology which define the type by its city of origin for convenience, but does not denote political allegiances. For example, the Caesarea type being shown by another city should not be interpreted as a political or cultural alliance between the two. These compositional types will be summarised below so that we can explore how they were later treated by the coastal cities and can recognise any variations or adaptations that may arise.

5.2.1 Antioch type

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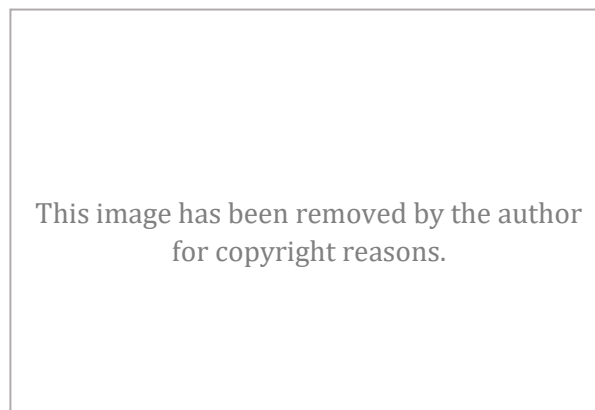
Figure 5.2: Bronze statuette of the Tyche of Antioch. First-second century AD, Antaradus, Syria. H. 16.5cm. Louvre, De Clercq Collection Br 4453. © RMN / Hervé Lewandowski.

The earliest form of Tyche in Syria depicted her in her role as the city personified, symbolising the anthropomorphised fortune of the city. Eutychides of Sicyon, a student of Lysippus, was commissioned by Seleucus Nicator to produce the sculpture, which was possibly set up in 296 to 293 BC.[21] The bronze statue was to commemorate the foundation of Seleucus Nicator's new city Antioch, and subsequently is referred to as the Antioch type. Thanks to various smaller copies surviving today, we can be fairly sure of the composition. The goddess is depicted tranquilly seated, heavily draped in swathes of material. She is veiled under her turret crown, which represents the towers and walls of the city. She is seated upon a rocky outcrop, intended to represent Mount Silpius, and at her feet is a nude half-figure of a swimming male, the personified River Orontes. Her left hand rests upon the rock, and in her right are ears of wheat, indicating the fertility of the land that she represents and personifies. Her legs are crossed, and her torso twists around to the left, creating a sense of movement unexpected in a seated sculpture. The statue is characteristic of contemporary Hellenistic sculpture, with the outstretched arms of the Orontes expanding to fill the space around the statue, and the naturalistic rocky outcrop and three-dimensional composition are also typical. In a famous bronze statuette, the goddess gazes past the viewer, disengaged from the mortal realm (fig. 5.2). This detachment indicates that the viewer can petition the goddess for her good favour, but it is the choice of the goddess whether to oblige. The Antioch type dominated the region for the next three centuries although, with a few exceptions, her presence on Phoenician coinage was mostly restricted to obverse types, which will be discussed below.

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[21] The floruit of Eutychides has been dated to the 121st Olympiad – 296-292 BC – by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34.19); Paus. 6.2.6-7; John Malalas 201.1-2; Downey (1961) 73.

5.2.2 Caesarea type
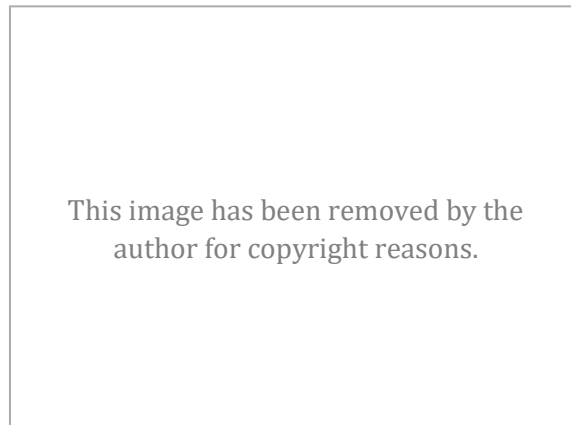
Figure 5.3: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea Maritima under Trajan, AD 112-117. 34mm, 29.94g. Heritage Auctions, Inc. Auction 2012, Lot 20579. 9th March 2012.

The dominance of the Antioch type was later challenged by the Caesarea Tyche, which was first depicted on the civic coins issued at Caesarea Maritima in Judaea under Nero, the year before the city was granted *colonia* status (fig. 5.3).[22] In the same way that the Antioch type commemorated the foundation of Antioch, the Caesarea Tyche was in all likelihood commissioned to celebrate the new status of Caesarea Maritima, illustrating that not only should Tyche be considered a religious concept, but also that she played a significant civic and political role. The goddess was shown standing, facing frontally but with her head inclined slightly downwards and to the left. Her feet were bare, and her right foot rested upon the prow of a galley. Clothed in a short *peplos* and *apoptygma,* which left her legs bare below the knee, and she carried a *parazonium* on her left side. The material from her *peplos* covers her left shoulder, but her right shoulder and breast are uncovered. Her left hand supported a stylis, which in most examples rests upon a half-figure of a nude male, the

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[22] BMC Pal. 13-15; Kropp (2011) 391.

personification of the harbour Sebastos. Her outstretched right arm held a male bust, the image of the emperor, towards which she gazes down.

Despite the nod towards local landmarks with the personified Sebastos, this type was overt and explicit in its allegiances to Rome, as the personification of the city was focused on the representation of the emperor. The characteristic turreted crown remains, but gone are the natural attributes of corn and rock, to be replaced with maritime attributes and personified man-made creations. This Tyche, unlike the Antioch type, shares a far closer relationship to the human realm. As Kropp notes, the distinctive tunic and exposed breast is typical of Dea Roma or Virtus.[23] This preoccupation with maritime attributes is unsurprising after examining earlier Caesarean coins, which were issued between AD 14 and the reign of Claudius and featured rudders, tillers and anchors, all symbols that testified to Caesarea's nautical character.[24] Despite the continued popularity of this Tyche in Caesarea – evidenced by the fourth-century AD cup discussed above – this style was not popular in Phoenicia, with no full-length representations of this Tyche on civic coinage, perhaps due to her political and militaristic connotations.

Tyche's presence in Judaea is mildly surprising, given the perception of the region as one where the largely Jewish population would not tolerate any form of figural representation.[25] However, as von Ehrenkrook points out, this generalisation is based on accepting the reports by Josephus of strict aniconism at face value.[26] He argues that Josephus instead indicates that the injunction against images should be interpreted as a

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[23] Kropp (2011) 391.
[24] BMC Pal. 1-4.
[25] Mettinger (1995) 19; Stewart (2003) 64-72; Joseph. *BJ* 1.648-655; *AJ* 15.267-279.
[26] Von Ehrenkrook (2009) 3.

proscription of *divine* images, particularly against depictions of Yahweh.[27] Essentially, we must not forget that Jerusalem was considered 'the city of kings and capital of the whole race', whereas Caesarea was characterised as being predominantly a Greek city that harboured good will to the Romans.[28] Although in Jerusalem this anthropomorphic deity may not have been accepted, Caesarea was a city with established links to the trade routes between Egypt and Phoenicia, and was presumably exposed to the external cultural influences one could expect to accompany these.[29] Perhaps Tyche served as a form of compromise between different religious practices – a divinity, but more in her capacity of personifying the fortunes of the city. In a similar way, it seems that Tyche was tolerated by early Christians in a way in which the Olympian pantheon was not, and was spared iconoclasm through her role as the city personified, not a goddess.[30]

5.2.3 Berytus type

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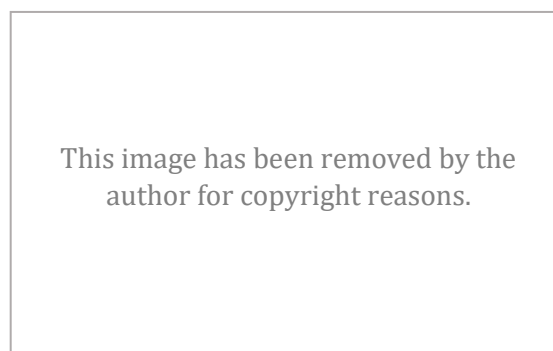
Figure 5.4: Reverse of bronze coin issued in Berytus, under Valerian, AD 253-260. 28mm, 18.3g. Kropp (2011) fig. 3.

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[27] Von Ehrenkrook (2009) 78.
[28] Joseph. *BJ* 4.84; 2.66.
[29] Belayche (2003) 118-119; for rejection of figural representation at Jerusalem, see Joseph. *BJ* 2.169-172.
[30] McKenzie and Reyes (2013) 48.

The iconographic Tyche that proved the most popular in Phoenicia was the Berytus type (fig. 5.4). This is the latest type to appear in the region, appearing for the first time on the coins of Berytus during the latter years of Trajan's reign.[31] Similarly to the Caesarea type, this Tyche also abandoned natural landmarks in favour of maritime attributes, but the more aggressive *parazonium* was replaced by the less militaristic *aphlaston*. She stands upright, facing frontally, with her left foot resting on a prow. Unlike the Caesarea Tyche, she wears a long *chiton*, which is raised with her left hand to reveal her left knee. In her right hand she holds a *stylis*, and an *aphlaston* is balanced in the crook of her left arm in a style reminiscent of a cornucopia, perhaps to suggest at the prosperity and abundance that Berytus enjoyed from nautical trade. As the Berytus Tyche has been the focus of recent scholarship, her artistic influences will not be focused upon too strongly here, other than to draw attention to the similarities between the composition of the Berytus Tyche and the Lateran Poseidon (3.2.2), who also first appeared on the coins of Berytus at this time, standing with his leg supported on a prow or rock and resting on a trident.[32] The concurrent appearance of a Poseidon type in Berytus perhaps reinforced the connection between Tyche and Poseidon, and distanced the type from connotations of Dea Roma that characterised the Caesarea Tyche. It is possible that the sudden emergence of both deities was related to the introductions of new sculptures to the public spaces of Berytus, perhaps a copy of the proposed Lysippan original that had inspired the Lateran Poseidon, as well as the newly commissioned Tyche cult statue? By drawing upon the influences of the Lateran Poseidon, the Berytus Tyche also engaged with Hellenistic sculptural tradition and the cultural prestige connected to the Greek past, but made important changes in dress and attributes to differentiate it from the Caesarea Tyche and her inextricable links to Dea Roma. This Tyche reinforced its connection to Berytus' mythical founder, Poseidon and, in this way,

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[31] Sawaya 655-662.
[32] Kropp (2011) 392-407; Kropp (2015) 201-218.

promoted the cultural autonomy of the city by celebrating its pre-Roman heritage alongside its colonial status.

5.3 Obverse types

It is important that we do not exclusively focus on reverse designs, although these comprise the majority of the corpus of Tyche types. The obverse of the coin is primarily concerned with depicting its source of authority, whether cultural or political. Before Phoenicia was annexed by Rome, this authority was often granted to either the kings or the tutelary deity of the city. When represented on an obverse, the deity legitimised and reinforced the political regime in place by lending these authorities some degree of the respect that communities paid to these gods. Additionally, comparison between the obverse and reverse can offer some interesting comparisons between how Tyche was treated on both sides of the coin.

5.3.1 Antioch type

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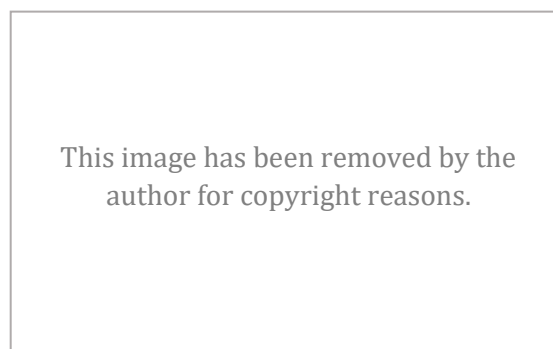
Figure 5.5a: Coin issued by Aradus, 214/213 BC. 19mm, 6.78g. Babelon 949.

The first known numismatic obverse to feature Tyche in Phoenicia dates from a hemidrachm of Aradus issued between 260 and 240 BC, only thirty years after the dedication of the new Tyche of Eutychides at Antioch (fig. 5.5a; **ARA001**).[33] The bust is shown in a style that would become typical: depicted in side profile, heavily draped and veiled, and wearing a turreted crown. This type is later adopted by neighbouring Phoenician cities, with Tripolis, Ptolemais and Berytus all following suit in the second century BC, and specimens known from Byblos, Sidon and Tyre that date from the first century BC.[34] Even Heliopolis, which did not gain the right to mint coins until Septimius Severus, chose to depict this traditional head of Tyche on its coin reverses, complete with the veil, drapery and mural crown (**HEL001**).[35] These obverse types were primarily issued until the rule of Trajan, from which point they were replaced with a portrait of the emperor by the majority of cities. Tyre was the notable exception, whose Tyche obverses were issued until AD 196 under Septimius Severus, with only slight decreases in weight and diameter (fig. 5.5b).[36]

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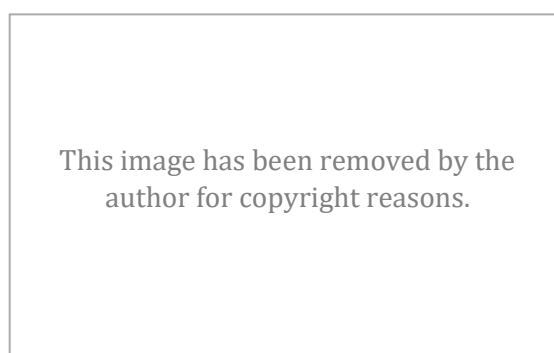
Figure 5.5b: Bronze coin issued by Tyre, AD 127/128. 13mm, 1.82g. RPC 3.3903. Magnified x 3.

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[33] BMC 87; Lindgren III 1334.
[34] BMC Berytus 1 (second century BC); Tripolis 1 (second century BC); Ptolemais 8 (second century BC); Byblos 12 (first century BC); Sidon 87 (174-150 BC); Tyre 246 (113/2 BC).
[35] BnF Chandon de Briailles 1271.
[36] BMC 255; 329.

Some cities did adapt their obverse Tyche during the early Roman period, sometimes showing the goddess with an attribute over her shoulder, such as the Tyche of Sidon who carried an *aphlaston*, or the Tyche of Tyre with a palm (**TYR001**).[37] The symbol could also refer to the association between Phoenicia and the palm tree, the φοῖνιξ, characterised as the 'emblème phénicien par excellence'.[38] It indicates a concern to localise the obverse Tyche from early on in the Roman period by using symbols that had been popular in the cities for centuries.[39] It also demonstrates how the character and representation of deities was not static, but that they could develop and merge over time. Tyche's complex relationship with traditional Phoenician goddesses is evidenced further by a different obverse type from Sidon, which replaces the *aphlaston* with a six pointed star in a crescent to the right.[40] As discussed in 3.2.4, this form of astral imagery is often linked to interpretations of Astarte. This unusual inclusion of celestial imagery with Tyche may suggest shared characteristics between the Sidonian Tyche and Astarte, whilst acknowledging their separate nature, or hint at the close relationship that the city shared with the supreme Phoenician goddess.[41]

Obverse Tyche types continued to be produced in some cities during the Imperial period, including Sidon, Tyre and Aradus, where they contrast against the full-length reverse image of Tyche.[42] Almost all the major Phoenician cities favoured forms of the Berytus type for their reverses and, even if only depicted on the obverse, the Berytus composition of Tyche would be distinct from the Antioch form; she is not veiled nor as heavily draped. This raises

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[37] Tyre: BMC 255 (AD 3/4); ANS 1944.100.73059 (AD 112/113); SNG Cop. 344. Sidon: BMC 171 (AD 44/45); SNG Fitz. 6059 (AD 116/117) ANS 1944.100.71666 (AD 116/117).

[38] Aliquot (2017) 85. By the Roman period it seems reasonable to suggest that the palm was more strongly associated in Roman thought with Judaea, not Phoenicia, which reveals something of how the meaning of a symbol could change based on who was using it.

[39] Babelon 1654 (82/81 BC); BMC 97 (174-150 BC).

[40] BMC 188 (AD 87/88); Babelon 1743 (AD 87/88).

[41] Lucian recorded a large temple at Sidon, which the citizens maintained was dedicated to Astarte (Luc. *Syr. D.* 4).

[42] Sidon, SNG Cop. 247 (AD 117/8); Tyre BMC 329 (AD 195/6).

the question of why these cities chose to depict an obverse style of Tyche that did not match the reverse types, and a solution may be found in the very venerability of the obverse Tyche. These obverse busts were likely to have been influenced by the Hellenistic sculpture from Antioch, whereas the Berytus form of Tyche did not appear for another four centuries. This meant that the Antioch type had already been firmly established on coin obverses and had become immersed in civic attitudes and visual vocabulary, making this form of Tyche a significant emblem of civic identity, nearly five centuries after the original sculpture was dedicated. The city recognised that this image of the goddess was linked to the city's past, and when Tyche was depicted in obverse form in the Roman period, she was a symbol of the venerability of the community and an emblem of their sense of local self.[43]

5.4 Reverse types

Having acknowledged the different treatment and role that Tyche experienced on obverses, let us now turn to the real bulk of evidence – reverse types. This section will collate and analyse numismatic representations of the Tyche of each city in Phoenicia. Due to the quantity and diversity of types, the criteria used to identify Tyche will be the turret crown and nautical attributes. The mural crown, as demonstrated, seems to have been a prerequisite of Tyche's iconography, and its absence must cast doubt over the identification of a female deity as Tyche. The nautical attributes, given the coastal location of these cities and the influence of the Berytus type, are likewise to be considered as crucial characteristics. By necessity, this is a rather brief and blunt distinction, and one that may not prove exhaustive. Some characteristics may appear without the other, but the absence

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[43] Wallace-Hadrill (1986) 69.

of both must strongly imply that the deity in question is not Tyche, and will be dealt with elsewhere within the chapter. To effectively address the range of evidence, the material will divided into its three iconographic categories as established in 5.2. The cities will be discussed in geographical order, starting with Aradus and the northern cities and working south down the coast to Ptolemais-Ace.
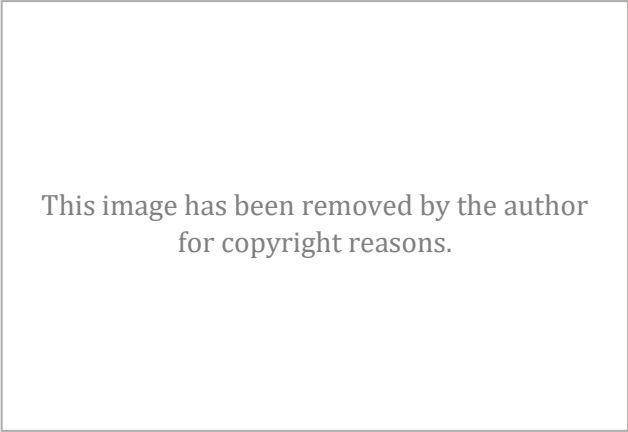
5.4.1 Antioch types

Aradus

Although the most venerable form of Tyche in Roman Syria, the Antioch type was not overly popular as a reverse type in Phoenicia, with only two cities adopting the design for their coins: Aradus and Ptolemais (**ARA007; PTO003**). Separated by over one hundred miles, the cities share no clear historical relationship that would indicate that this form of Tyche would be appealing. The appearance of the Antioch type of Tyche from Aradus may seem unusual when one considers Aradus' historically difficult relationship with the Seleucids, with nearly two centuries of struggle to separate themselves from the Seleucid dynasty before the city gained its independence in 129 BC.[44] However, the type was produced so late in Aradus' minting history, under Gordian III, that we can assume that awareness of these historical disputes would have died out.[45] Instead, the physical proximity between Aradus, at the very northern end of Phoenician, and Antioch, may have led to Aradus adopting the ancient Tyche type, which was novel for its rarity in Phoenicia.

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[44] Grainger (1990) 177.
[45] BMC 389; BnF Y.28883.64.

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Figure 5.6: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, under Gordian III, AD 239/40. 27.94mm, 15.49g. BnF Y.28883.64.

This type did not experience much popularity, and was only issued during the reign of Gordian III (fig. 5.6). In fact, the city already had a well-established reverse type of Tyche, which may explain the lack of interest in this new one. The design is typical of the Antioch type; the goddess is depicted seated on a rock, and is crowned and swathed in heavy drapery, the folds of which are clearly distinguished. At her feet is a swimming half-figure of a male, identified as a river god by Hill.[46] Aradus was noted in antiquity for possessing no water source on the island itself, instead either having water brought over from the mainland settlement of Antaradus, or the freshwater spring Ain Ibrahim, which had its source in the sea between the island and the coast, and was piped to the surface.[47] Thus, the personified river god could be the spring Ain Ibrahim, although as demonstrated in 3.2.3, Aradus may have adopted symbols and deities from its hinterland on its coinage, thus not ruling out the river Eleutheros for this type.

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[46] BMC 389.
[47] Plin. *HN* 5.34.128: Strabo 16.2.13.

Some specimens also contain the head of a bull to the right of the field, a link to another popular reverse design of Aradus, a leaping bull, which was issued from the late Hellenistic period until the late second century AD.[48] This bull may be a reference to the cults at the sanctuary of Zeus Baetocaece, which was linked to a type that showed a lion and bull flanking a cypress tree (**ARA005**).[49] The presence of the bull is evidently one that had significance for the city due to its long-running presence as a solitary type on the coins of Aradus, and its inclusion on the Tyche type reinforced the image as belonging to Aradus, despite its new style. This reverse type was one of the final issues struck by the city before coin production ceased, and it can be seen as an assertion of local identity, where an image that was strongly associated with the heritage of the wider region was promoted alongside a symbol of local identity. It may be that the lateness of the type and sudden appearance of the new Tyche is related to the growing significance of Antaradus and could have represented the mainland settlement. Despite Antaradus being widely considered to have eclipsed the significance of Aradus in the later Imperial period, it never minted its own coins. If this type was produced on behalf of Antaradus, the traditional Tyche may have been valued as a way to legitimise its own relatively recent rise to political significance.[50]

Ptolemais-Akke

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[48] ANS 1944.100.70670 (94/93 BC); ANS 1948.19.2173 (AD 116/117); BMC 379 (AD 162/163).
[49] Babelon 1174; BMC 383-385; ANS 1961.154.243; Hill (1910) xxxvii.
[50] Hill (1910) xvi; Butcher (2003) 112.

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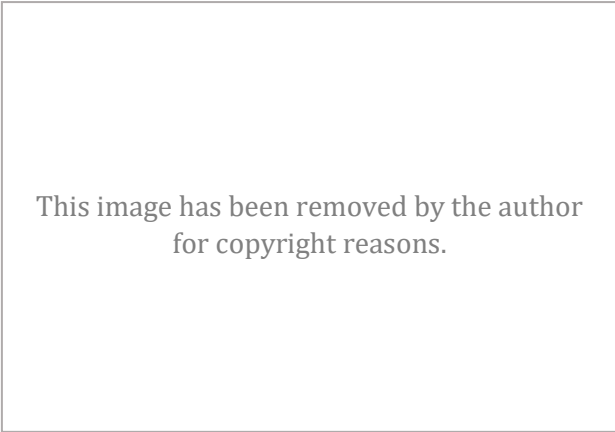
Figure 5.7: Bronze coin minted by Ptolemais under Marcus Aurelius, AD 161-180. 25mm, 11.87g. RPC 4.6875.

The only other known Antioch Tyche from a Phoenician city was produced at Ptolemais-Akke, which enjoyed much greater popularity here than at Aradus whilst neither being particularly long-lasting (fig. 5.7; **PT0004**). The type appeared during the latter years of Trajan's rule and continuing until the reign of Commodus, and, like Aradus, Ptolemais-Akke also issued a separate Tyche type, although at Ptolemais the two types were issued concurrently (see page 298).[51] Examples are relatively plentiful, indicating its popularity, and most weigh over eleven grams, suggesting that they were of a relatively average value and easily accessible to the general population.[52] This type adapted the traditional Antioch type, showing the goddess in profile, and leaning much further forward than was traditional. She is seated on a naturalistic rocky outcrop, leaning forward with her forearms resting over her knees in a relaxed manner. She is veiled and draped, and the turreted crown is clearly indicated. At her feet swims the typical male half-figure, probably the river Belus, which reached the sea at Ptolemais and was, according to Pliny, considered sacred

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[51] BnF Chandon de Briailles 1002 (AD 116/117); RPC 4. 6879 (AD 161-169).
[52] The concurrent Ptolemais-Akke Tyche type typically weigh between 5 to 7 grams, *cf*. RPC 3.3913.

for unspecified religious rites.[53] Despite being in Ptolemaic control from 148 BC, the city was controlled by the Seleucids from 200 BC until the death of Antiochus XII Dionysus in 84 BC.[54] The presence of this form of Tyche could be an acknowledgement of the city's pre-Roman heritage, with Tyche commemorating the time when the city was considered to be the centre of Seleucid power in the south of the region.[55]

Its appearance on Ptolemais' coins could have been spurred on by the contemporary debut of the Berytus Tyche, but also the re-dedication of a replica of Eutychides' Tyche at Antioch by Trajan, making the concept of having a Tyche specific to Berytus more appealing. With the restoration of the Antioch statue by Trajan, there may have been an increased awareness and value attached to the Hellenistic type at this time. Another benefit of the Antioch type may have been that it permitted natural personifications, and the river Belus had both religious and economic significance to civic life. The Antioch type allowed the city to celebrate the Belus, which was one of their sources of wealth and was celebrated independently on other coin types, where it was depicted in personified form, indicating its social and possible religious significance.[56] This Tyche type demonstrates Ptolemais engaging with a regional visual dialogue, adapting the choice of iconography to include important local characteristics.

5.4.2 Caesarea type
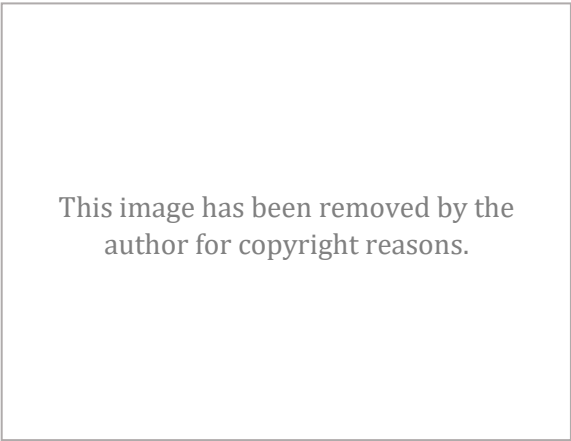
Caesarea ad Libanum

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[53] Plin. *HN* 36.65.
[54] Hill (1910) lxxviii.
[55] Grainger (2010) 394.
[56] BMC 43; 46; Strabo 16.2.25; Joseph. *BJ* 2.10.2; Plin. *HN* 36.65; Scott and Degryse (2014) 15-17.

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Figure 5.8: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum, under Antoninus Pius, AD 149/150. 23mm, 8.72g. CNG Mail Bid Sale 57, Lot 870. 4th April 2001.

The Caesarea Tyche was not a popular type in Phoenicia. The image was probably considered too political and too aggressive to appeal to the coastal cities, which valued strong visual representations of their own historic character. The only exception to this comes from Caesarea ad Libanum, who adapts the bust of the Caesarea Tyche for a reverse type, paired with an obverse depicting a portrait of the emperor. The type at first glance appears to be in keeping with the majority of other Tyche obverses (fig. 5.8; **CAE001**). The goddess is draped, facing right, and her hair is rolled into a chignon under the ubiquitous turret crown. However, her difference from traditional Antioch Tyche busts becomes increasingly apparent, with her torso shown twisted to face the viewer, rather than the usual side perspective, clearly displaying both shoulders. Additionally, and more surprisingly, the material covering her torso exposes her right shoulder and breast to the viewer. This exposure breaks from the typical draped Tyche obverse types, indicates that this is a rare adaptation of the Caesarea Tyche, a choice unique within Phoenicia.

We can only speculate as to why the city chose to set aside centuries of regional tradition and opt for this Caesarea type. The coin type first appeared during the middle of the second century, with the first examples dated to AD 149 or 150. This rules out a celebration of a new Roman title, such as *colonia* status, which, according to the numismatic evidence, Caesarea ad Libanum did not gain until either 218 or 219 under Elagabalus.[57] However, it has been argued that it was at this time that the city was effectively re-founded from Arca to Caesarea ad Libanum by its Ituraean rulers, who renamed it in honour of Rome as a deliberate political choice to ally themselves with the Roman authorities, as opposed to the name 'Caesarea' reflecting an emancipation from a client king, as was usually the case.[58] At the very least, the choice of name could reflect a deliberate acknowledgement of the relationship that Caesarea shared, or wished to share, with Rome. The re-foundation of the city could have justified the adoption of this specific form of Tyche, with her visual similarities to Dea Roma. Rather than adopting a traditional Tyche, the new city may have chosen this image to broadcast their political allegiances and new facet to their identity. Additionally, it maintains the association of Tyche as a commemoration of political events, such as the (re)founding of a city.

5.4.3 Berytus types

Aradus

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[57] BMC 6.
[58] Aliquot (1999) 240.

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Figure 5.9: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, under Elagabalus AD 218/219. 21.59mm, 7.98g. BnF 1966.453.

Despite possessing the two numismatic forms of Tyche, the goddess was not a particularly visible deity on the coins of Aradus. During the Hellenistic period, the goddess enjoyed greater popularity and is often associated with maritime attributes, featuring as an obverse type alongside an *aphlaston* or combined with a galley on silver Attic hemidrachms.[59] She is clearly and consistently distinguishable on obverses by her turreted crown and hairstyle, rendering her distinct from another unknown female portrait wearing a *stephane*, possibly Europa, due to her invariable association with the leaping bull reverse, who was identified as 'Astarte-Europa' by Hill.[60] In contrast, the frequency of her appearances on Roman-era reverse types is relatively low.

In addition to the much later Antioch form discussed above, there are two clear types that feature Tyche, one depicting the goddess standing alone, which first appeared under Commodus (**ARA004**), and a later type showing her between two columns underneath a

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[59] BMC 173; 320.
[60] See BMC 365 for portrait of Europa (AD 93/94); BMC 354 for bust of Tyche (AD 115/116).

domed canopy (fig. 5.9; **ARA006**).[61] In this form, Tyche stands looking towards the left. She is wearing floor-length drapery, which loops around her torso. Her right arm is outstretched and holding a wreath, and a cornucopia rests in her left arm. Flanking the goddess are two small columns, reaching the height of her waist, upon which rest two small Nikai, standing and reaching up to crown the goddess with two small wreaths. Aside from the marked *contrapposto* position, the usual prow is absent, and she carries none of the usual maritime attributes, such as rudder, tiller, *aphlaston* or *stylis*. This lack of nautical attributes for a goddess representing an island city perhaps can be explained by the prevalence of the popular type depicting a god seated on a galley (3.2.3), which reduced the need for another deity to influence marine matters. Instead, her attributes of wreath and cornucopia emphasise her role in securing peace and prosperity for the community.

The rare type pictured above is often absent from most catalogues and auctions and seems to have only been struck during the reign of Elagabalus.[62] What is particularly notable is that the two Nikai are shown flying unsupported by columns, an unusual break from tradition. The columns are generally interpreted as an indication that a scene may represent a statue group, with the columns serving as a nod to the requirements of representing the scene. These apparently free-flying Nikai contrast to the more physical setting of the distyle canopy, which grounded the composition in reality. Considering the scarcity of civic coinage from Aradus in the early third century, the rarity of this type fits with the overall political decline of Aradus and its coinage, whilst at the same time reflecting the growing popularity of depicting architectural elements on reverse designs under Elagabalus. The preceding type of the statue in isolation is only issued under Commodus, but the reappearance of the sculpture group in an architectural context demonstrates its

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[61] SNG Fitz. 6019.
[62] BMC 386; BnF 1965.739.
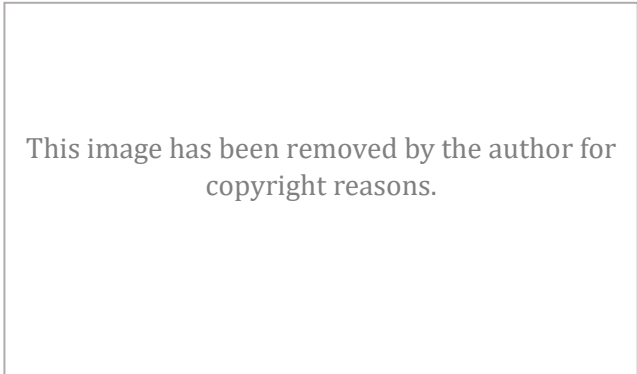
continued value to the city, and the possible desire to engage with popular numismatic artistic developments on other cities' coins.

It is vital to address one further coin type from Aradus, which features a deity typically identified as Tyche. The deity, discussed in 3.2.3, is seated upon a galley, with a cornucopia in his/her left arm, and with the right hand on the tiller, guiding the ship. Previous studies identify the deity as Tyche, or note the ambiguity, terming the figure 'Tyche or Poseidon'.[63] Considering the broad shoulders, barrel chest and the clearly delineated abdominal musculature visible on some specimens (fig. 5.10a), it is problematic to identify this figure as female, despite the typically feminine attribute of the cornucopia. However, despite the evident masculinity of most specimens, some do appear decidedly more feminine (fig. 5.10b). This would not be the first time that a tutelary deity took on characteristics of Tyche (or vice versa); at Tyre, Melqart was shown crowning a trophy, in precisely the same manner as the Tyche of Tyre. Perhaps this was a convention adopted to demonstrate some form of shared relationship or realm of influence between the two deities? It also may suggest (as discussed above) that this deity may represent the *genius* of the city, which typically were shown with a cornucopia. If so, it would go a way towards explaining the apparent relationship between Tyche and this unknown god.

The standing Tyche ceased under Elagabalus before being apparently replaced with the variation of the Antioch form discussed above. Neither forms of Tyche included nautical attributes, but the nautical context and the fact that both echo Tyche iconography to the extent that it seems likely they were intended to be recognised as representations of the same goddess. The change in form could represent two distinct Tychai, with the earlier type

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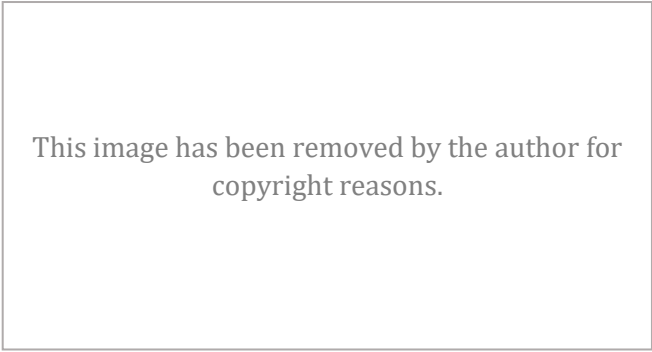
[63] For identifications as Tyche, see RPC 3.3814, 3819-20; BMC 378; 380-382. For Tyche/Poseidon: ANS 1992.54.678.

representing the city of Aradus, and the new form chosen to represent the more politically powerful settlement of Antaradus. If it is the same Tyche, then it seems unlikely that the goddess was arbitrarily changed from one form to another for no reason, and could reflect a new political stimulus or events that were responded to with a new form of Tyche. The brevity of this form of Tyche indicates that it was not held in such regard as the Tychai of other Phoenician cities, and perhaps Aradus found other means to express the identity of its community.

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Figure 5.10a: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, AD 162/163. 24.13mm, 11.65g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 1251.

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Figure 5.10b: Bronze coin issued by Aradus, under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, AD 162/163 23mm, 10.54g. CNG Inc., E-auction 375, Lot 591. 1st June 2016.

Caesarea ad Libanum
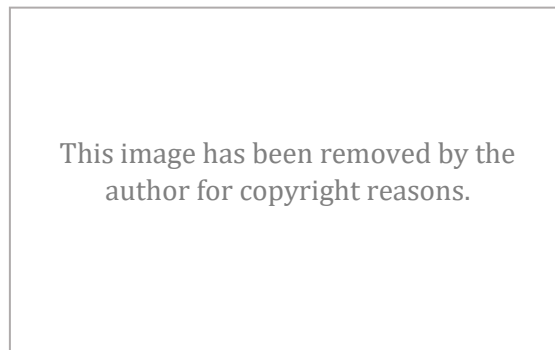
Figure 5.11: Bronze coin issued by Caesarea ad Libanum, under Severus Alexander AD 221/222. 27.94mm, 7.74g. BnF 1968.145.

Unlike the Caesarea bust type favoured by the obverses of Caesarea ad Libanum, its reverse type of Tyche was much closer to the Berytus style, first appearing under Elagabalus within the tetrastyle temple discussed above in 4.2.5 (fig. 5.11; **CAE004; CAE006; CAE008**).[64] The flanking figures Focusing on Tyche, the goddess is facing outwards, wearing long drapery. Her right arm is raised, resting upon a *stylis*, but it is unclear whether there are any objects resting on her left arm. Her left foot rests upon a half-figure of a swimming male, presumably the personification of the local river Eleutheros. Behind Tyche is a male figure, standing at the same height as the goddess to signify his importance, who is crowning her. His attire is a short tunic, reaching to approximately mid-calf with pleats visible in some examples, and a cloak is draped around his left shoulder.[65] The identification of this figure has remained elusive. The Tychaion at Alexandria contained a statue convincingly argued to be Alexander the Great in his role as city founder, and an association between Tyche and city founders recalls the description of the Trajan-era statue of Tyche at Antioch, which was

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[64] BnF Y 28455.48; BMC 6-8.
[65] BMC 8.

accompanied by sculptures of Seleucus I Nicator and Antiochus crowning the goddess.[66] The city could have adapted this element of the Antioch type in recognition of its Hellenistic heritage, when it was known as Heracleia.[67] Alternatively, the figure could be the emperor himself, as the city had also made the unusual choice to depict Antoninus Pius as a reverse type in his own right.[68] The inclusion of the emperor on the reverse, traditionally the reserve of local images of power, could indicate that the city wished to honour and link itself with Roman authority.

The appearance of this Tyche group coincided with the city's acquisition of *colonia* status, dated by numismatic evidence to the early years of Elagabalus' reign, both through coin legends and a Marsyas reverse type.[69] Its appearance alongside an inscription promoting the city's new titles may suggest that the group had been commissioned to celebrate the new civic status of the city, or that the type was evoked a pre-existing cult site to commemorate it. Tyche's previous appearance as an obverse type implies that the city was already familiar with the goddess, although perhaps felt that their new status required an updated stylistic form. This acquisition of *colonia* status would have been precisely the form of prestigious event that other Phoenician cities would – and did – advertise on their civic coinage. This Tyche type demonstrated that the city was engaging with widely recognised symbols of political status, for which Tyche was integral means of doing so.

The central position of Tyche within the temple, flanked by Jupiter and Venus, suggests that this may be a shared space dedicated to the important deities of Caesarea ad Libanum. As discussed in Chapter Three (p.124), despite the similarities in appearance between this

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[66] John Malalas 11.9.9. For discussion of the statue of Alexander the Great in the Alexandrian Tychaion, see Gibson (2007) 438-445.
[67] SNG Cop. 256; Aliquot (1999) 238.
[68] Babelon 1416-1418; BnF Chandon de Briailles 956.
[69] BnF Chandon de Briailles 960; BMC 6.

type and Orthosia's, this was probably intended to represent more local forms of these deities, which has adopted accessible imagery from Jupiter and Venus to denote their gods' equal power and influence. Belayche argues that Venus and Tyche were often affiliated to each other in cult spaces such as this, but the presence of Tyche and Venus in two distinct guises on this coin type suggests that this was not the case here.[70] We know from the Ekphrasis of the Tychaion at Alexandria that the temple contained statues of twelve unnamed deities, as well as the statue of Tyche for which it was named.[71] Although we do not know the precise identity of these deities, it seems logical to assume that they held some significance to the city and its people, and this coin type may reflect a similar situation, where the most important deities were worshipped alongside the city's Tyche, to firmly link the cult to Caesarea ad Libanum.

Orthosia

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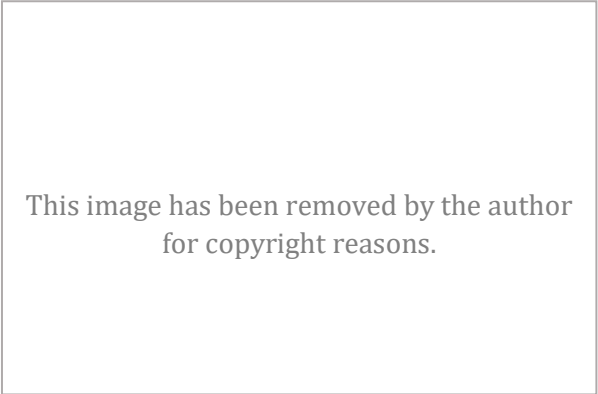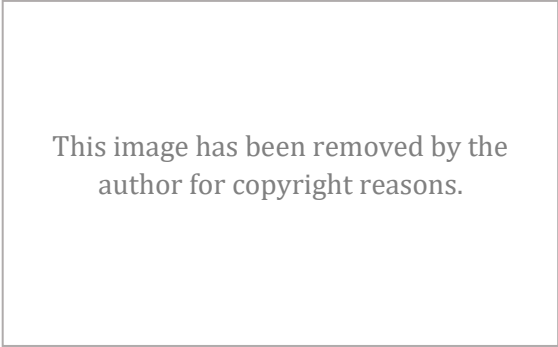
Figure 5.12: Bronze coin issued by Orthosia, under Antoninus Pius, AD 138-161. 23mm, 10.51g. BnF AA.GR.24543

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[70] Belayche (2003) 121-124.
[71] Ps-Nicolaus *Ekphrasis.* 25.5.

Unlike its neighbour at Caesarea, the Tyche of Orthosia first appeared as an independent type under Antoninus Pius (fig. 5.12; **ORT002**).[72] She was depicted facing frontally, with her left foot resting upon a prow. Long drapery is pulled up with her left hand to expose the left knee, and a stylis rests in her right hand. Her turreted crown is clearly distinguishable, and a small Nike rests on a column to the right of the field, reaching up to crown the goddess with a wreath. In the exergue, below the ground-line that supports the goddess, swims the presumed personification of the local river, the Nahr-el-Bârid. This river god and the absence of the aphlaston differentiates this form of the goddess from the Berytus Tyche, which it otherwise mirrored, and indicates that the city evidently took care to ensure that its type was distinct by adapting other suitable iconographic traits.

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Figure 5.13: Bronze coin, issued by Orthosia under Severus Alexander, AD 222-235. 24mm, 10.0g. Private collection © A.J.M. Kropp.

Under the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, the Orthosia Tyche was represented within a structure that has already been noted as being almost identical to the contemporary type of Caesarea ad Libanum (fig. 5.13).[73] Not only was Tyche depicted in a virtually matching structure, but she was also flanked by the same figures of Jupiter and Venus. One would almost interpret this as the same structure issued by Caesarea ad

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[72] RPC 4.6212; BnF AA.GR.24543; Lindgren III 1410; ANS 1944.100.71171.
[73] BnF 1973.208; BnF E 2920; Babelon 1498-1501; BMC 5-6.

Libanum were it not for the central Tyche, who was clearly the Tyche of Orthosia. The differences between the two Tychai indicate that this was intended to reflect two separate cult sites, which were specific to the city of issue. Even if the two types did represent a shared sanctuary of both cities, the distinct Tychai demonstrate that the cities perceived and promoted them in relation to their own communities. The presence of Tyche binds the popular iconography of Jupiter and Venus, widely replicated across the region, to their respective cities, transforming them into a predominantly local manifestation of both cults.

Tripolis

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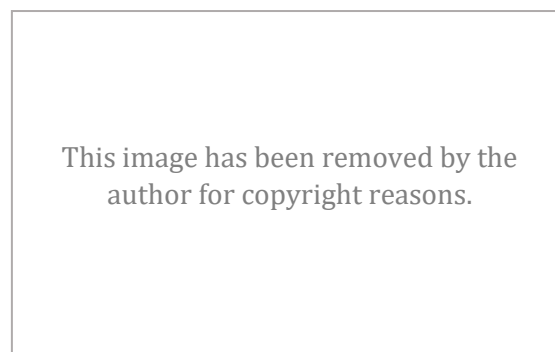
Figure 5.14: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis under Antoninus Pius, AD 147/8. 26mm, 11.20g. BnF Chandon de Briailles 902.

The Tyche of Tripolis first appeared under Trajan and was issued relatively unchanged until the rule of Caracalla in AD 215 or 216 (fig. 5.14; **TRI002**).[74] The type seems to have been of fairly average value, with weights typically within the eleven to thirteen gram range, and a diameter of approximately 25 to 27 millimetres. Tyche is shown standing in profile, facing to the right. Her right arm supports a *stylis*, and her left hand pulls her long drapery upwards, to reveal her bare left knee and leg, with her left foot resting upon the

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[74] ANS 1944.10072566; SNG Cop. 278.

prow of a ship. Her drapery, although reaching down to her ankles, exposes her right breast, and her turreted crown rests on top of her hair, which is styled into a chignon.

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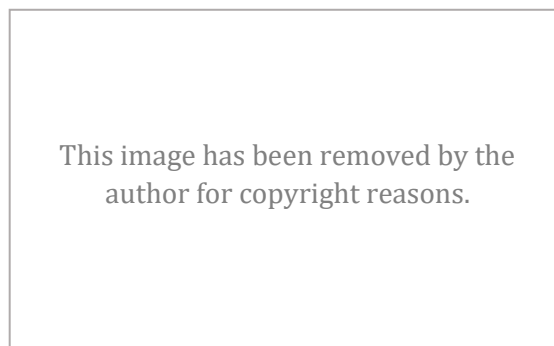
Figure 5.15: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis under Septimius Severus, AD 151/152. 26mm, 13.01g. Babelon 1929.

The type later underwent an interesting development during the final years of the reign of Septimius Severus, being expanded to include a crowning Nike resting on the ubiquitous column, with the group being flanked by the Dioscuri (fig. 5.15; **TRI004; TRI005**).[75] The Dioscuri stand facing inwards, framing the goddess to increase her visual prominence, and emphasising her superior status. The twins are depicted nude, with their right hands resting on spears and with bunches of grapes in their lowered left hands. The importance of grapes to Tripolis is significant, with the high quality of wine produced from the city commented upon by Roman authors.[76] This type seems to have been restricted to the Severan dynasty, and the weight of this type was much more varied than that the preceding Tyche type, with weights ranging from 16.37g to 6.59g, perhaps indicating that the same design was used across multiple denominations.[77] Their inclusion with Tyche and their grape attributes indicates the significance that the Dioscuri evidently enjoyed in Tripolis,

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[75] BMC 69; Babelon 1929; ANS 1944.100.72593
[76] Plin. *HN* 14.9.73.
[77] Respectively BMC 69; BnF Chandon de Briailles 905.
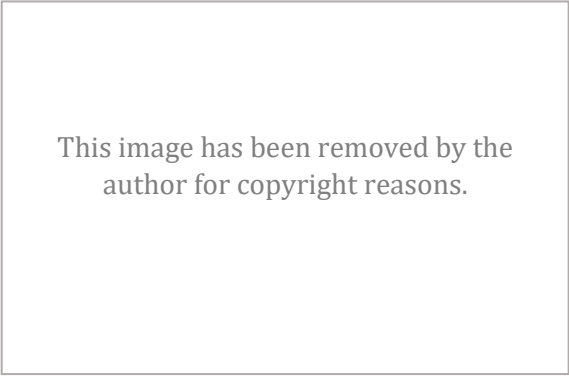
supported by the fact that they had been independently featured on a variety of reverse types both before and during Roman rule.[78] The evidence suggests that the types were briefly issued alongside each other, but the more elaborate Dioscuri type continued until the rule of Elagabalus.[79]

Once again, this Tyche bore strong similarities to the Berytus type but was differentiated through the absence of the *aphlaston.* The intermittent presence of the Dioscuri with their grapes localised Tyche further, reinforcing her association with Tripolis. With coin types that depicted both Tyche and the Dioscuri independently of each other, it is unlikely that the figures formed a specific statue group within Tripolis, but rather it seems more plausible that the artist combined three civic emblems to create a type that would irrevocably invoke Tripolis. Complex scenes involving Tyche surrounded by acolytes became increasingly common in the late second century AD, and are reproduced in statuette form elsewhere in Phoenicia, as well as on coinage from other cities.[80] When Tyche is shown within what was presumably her temple, the focus is on the image of Tyche alone, not in a group with the Dioscuri (fig. 5.16; **TRI008; TRI009**). It should also be noted that, when Tyche is depicted within the temple, she is shown from a frontal perspective rather than the side profile reserved for the coins that depict her independently. This could indicate that the image represented the same sculpture, but is shown from a more visually dramatic side perspective in isolation, as well as permitting the artist to avoid exaggerating the width of the central doorway.

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[78] SNG Fitz. 6066 (first century BC); SNG Cop. 277; BMC 66-68 Babelon 1930.
[79] Babelon 1961.
[80] 'Laraire de Tortose', Louvre Br 4455; Sawaya 1607.
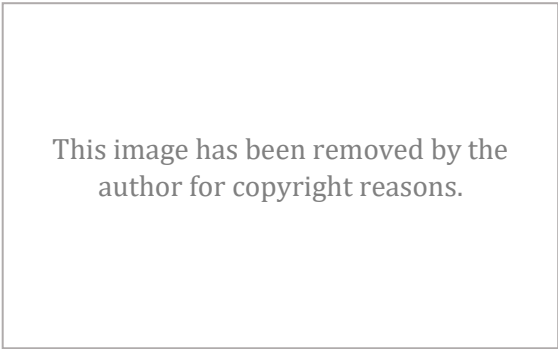
Figure 5.16: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis under Elagabalus, AD 219/220. 28mm, 20.10g.

Babelon 1953.

Botrys

Figure 5.17: Bronze coin issued by Botrys under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 23mm, 10.12g.

BnF De Clercq 338.

Very little is known about the city of Botrys, located between its northern neighbour Tripolis and Byblos to the south, and its coinage does not do much to further illuminate our state of knowledge.[81] After it was annexed from the Ituraeans by Pompey in 63 BC, it was

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[81] Coinage of Botrys is not well-represented in most catalogues, and most better-quality specimens can usually be found on auction sites.

the only city in Phoenicia to adopt the Actium era of dating coins, but its minting output seems to have been low and limited to the Severans.[82] Coins issued in Botrys always included their year of issue, allowing for the secure dating of most specimens. Few popular attributes of Phoenician Tychai can be seen on surviving representations of the Botrys Tyche, who dominates what little numismatic evidence remains (fig. 5.17). Almost uniquely in Phoenicia, the city seems to have closely shared symbolic imagery with Tripolis, with coins depicting bunches of grapes and the *pilei* of the Dioscuri, which perhaps reflected a historical or political connection with its more well-known neighbour.[83] The goddess is invariably shown within a columned building, although it has previously never been explicitly noted that its façade varies between hexastyle and octastyle.[84] The octastyle type (**BOT001**) is typically heavier than the hexastyle (**BOT002; BOT003**), perhaps indicating that the change in building style could be used to denote a different denomination, and the slightly larger field was easier to include the extra columns.[85] The building itself supports an arcuated lintel, under which stands Tyche, and has a triangular pediment roof. A narrow staircase leads to the central apse containing the goddess.

The Botrys Tyche was depicted facing frontally, but also standing in *contrapposto*. She is draped in a long *chiton* and is also wearing a mural crown, with her right arm raised, and her left hand is lowered and outstretched. Her raised right hand holds a sceptre and her lowered left hand a collection of small objects. Considering the use of grapes as a reverse type, it is possible that if, like Tripolis, the city produced grapes for the wine trade, it seems reasonable to suggest that the tutelary goddess of the city would be depicted with bunches of grapes, rather than the bunch of apples speculated by Lindgren.[86] The small window of

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[82] Seyrig (1954) 75.
[83] BnF Y. 28466; Righetti 820.
[84] ANS 1944.100.70782-70787; BMC 2; SNG Cop. 131.
[85] Hexastyle type: BMC 2 8.99g; Octastyle type: Babelon 1341: 12.30g.
[86] Lindgren (1985) 120: Lindgren I 2276.

minting activity from Elagabalus and Severus Alexander corresponds to the growing popularity of elaborate architectural types featuring Tyche in Phoenicia, and the inclusion of Tyche reflected not only an appropriate choice of civic emblem, but also a growing regional concern with being seen to engage with contemporary cultural (and numismatic) practices in the region.

Byblos

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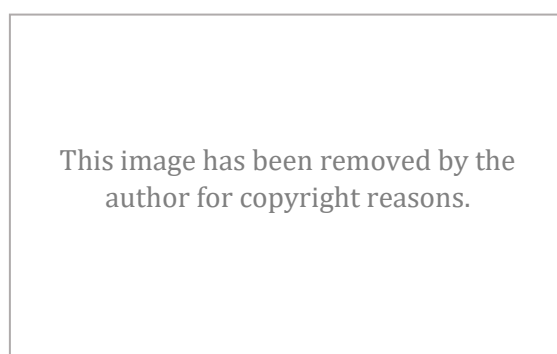
Figure 5.18: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Diadumenian, AD 217/218. 26mm, 12.35g. Babelon 1398. (Type A).

The Tyche of Byblos appeared in two distinct but concurrent forms (**BYB001; BYB002**). The marginally earlier type (Type A) was first issued under Lucius Verus (fig. 5.18), followed quickly by the second type (Type B), which appeared under Commodus (fig. 5.20).[87] Both were invariably associated with different architectural façades and both have a separate set of attributes, but both have iconographic elements that identify them as Tyche. Our current focus, Type A, was shown in a form much closer in style to the Berytus type. The goddess is also turreted and wears long drapery, and stands with a sceptre, and a Nike crowns the goddess while supported on a small column. This Tyche is always shown standing within a building, perhaps to further differentiate her from the Tyche of Berytus,

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[87] RPC 4.6887; ANS 1992.54.818.

which varied dramatically in scale and complexity. Later specimens develop from the stylised distyle arch shown in fig. 5.18 (and also discussed in 4.3.2), in keeping with the trend for increasingly complex architectural facades witnessed under Elagabalus.[88] Tyche remains under the traditional shell niche, but the building itself is now hexastyle, which supports a broad entablature (fig. 5.19). An elaborate curved *acroterion* is shown on some specimens at the top of the apse and, sometimes the central columns appear to be spiral.[89] This disparity between architectural surroundings will be returned to below.

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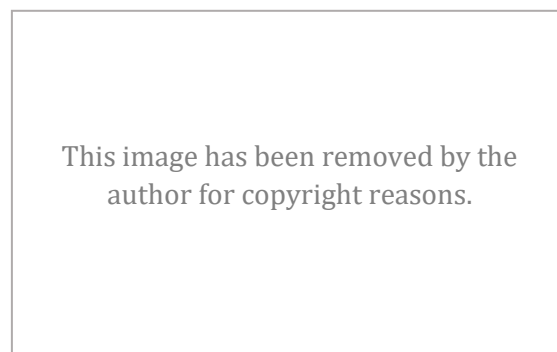
Figure 5.19: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 26mm, 10.45g. Babelon 1408. (Type A).

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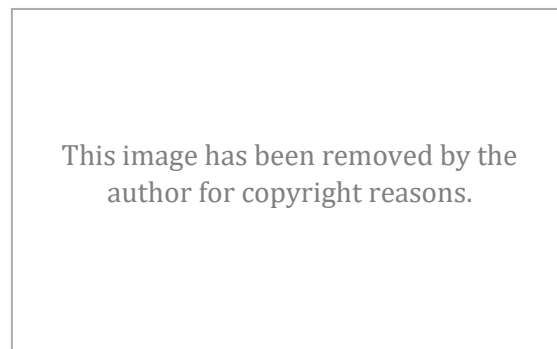
Figure 5.20: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Septimius Severus, AD 193-211. 26mm, 11.01g. Münzen und Medaillen GmbH Auction 32 Lot 311, 26th May 2010 (Type B).

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[88] Babelon 1388; ANS 1944.100.70895; SNG Fitz. 6033.
[89] BMC 48.

In the second type, Type B, Tyche is shown facing towards the left of the field, not directly facing the viewer (fig. 5.20; **BYB003**).[90] She is turreted, and her right foot is raised resting on the prow of a galley, with her *chiton* raised above her knee and folds of material falling down to her left foot. Her raised right hand holds an *aphlaston* aloft and her left hand rests upon a rudder. Immediately striking about this design is the pose of the goddess, with some specimens emphasising the raised leg and outstretched arm to stress an almost lunging, dynamic movement, creating a sense of power (**BYB004**).[91] The way that Tyche gazes at the *aphlaston* recalls how the Tyche of Caesarea observed the imperial bust, although the Byblos Tyche does so in a more forceful way. This diverts the focus of Tyche – and perhaps the city she represents – to the traditional nautical prestige that the city enjoyed. This Tyche was likewise shown within a variety of architectural surroundings, typically within a tetrastyle temple with a broken pediment, which sometimes also featured smaller arches over the columns (fig. 5.21; **BYB010**; **BYB011**).[92]

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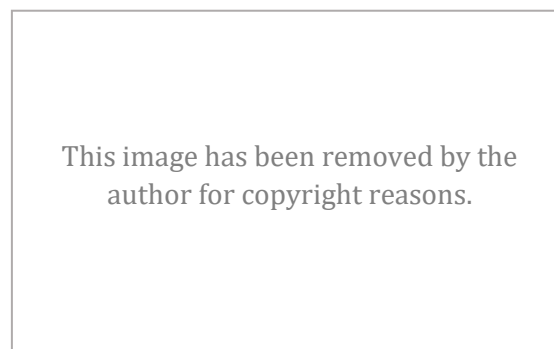
Figure 5.21: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 24mm, 8.44g. BnF B Chandon de Briailles 924. (Type B).

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[90] ANS 1944.100.70866 (AD 180-192); BnF B 817.
[91] BMC 26.
[92] BnF B 817; BMC 56; Babelon 1403.

The variety of architectural forms that characterised the depictions of the two Tychai of Byblos requires further comment. The increasing complexity of the architecture associated with Type A, developing from stylised apse or niche to an impressive hexastyle façade with an arcuated lintel, demonstrates an inconsistency atypical of architectural coin types in Phoenicia (fig. 5.18-5.19). The Type B Tyche is also sometimes shown in a different four-sided vaulted structure, the delicacy of which and its slanting lateral sides gives the illusion of depth and the sense that this does not refer to a monumental temple, but instead somewhat resembles a freestanding baldachin (fig. 5.22; **BYB012**).[93] The two Tyche types were always depicted in distinct forms of architecture to indicate their separate nature. It may be that the complex building with which Type A was later associated reflects the growing regional practice of architecturally complex coin types, but the differences between the temples shown on Type B are so notable that it seems likely that they may have represented different structures.

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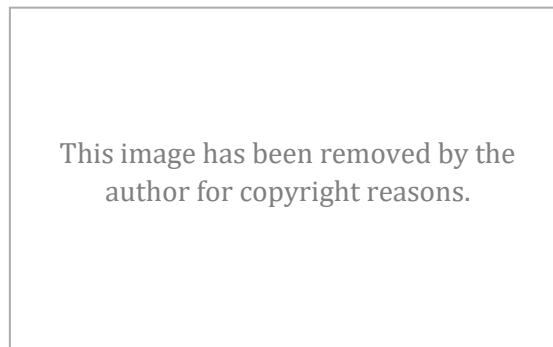
Figure 5.22: Bronze coin issued by Byblos under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 25mm, 10.38g. BnF Vogüé 331. Type B.

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[93] Righetti 829; BnF B 816; SNG Fitz. 6035.

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Figure 5.23: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Byblos under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 33.02mm, 20.89g. BMC 48.

The monumental nature of the apse containing the figure of Tyche in later issues of Type A recalls the appearance of some monumental fountains in the Roman Near East – and the archaeological remains of the late second or early third century monumental fountain at Byblos demonstrate that it had a central apse, framed by two lateral wings, just as this coin type does (**BYB008**; **BYB009**).[94] The central apse was also crowned by a half dome, as the style of these later coin types emphasises, along with the lateral sides and absence of a pediment roof (fig. 5.19; fig. 5.23). It must be noted that there were significant differences between the coin type and the design of this fountain; the lateral wings contained two levels of niches, and the apse contained three niches as well as the water basin. However, the façade depicted by the coin type shares some notable similarities, raising the possibility that this type may in fact commemorate the relatively new monumental fountain of Byblos. Tyche was often an important figure at Eastern fountains and *nymphaea*, and perhaps the Type A Tyche occupied the central niche of the new fountain. Rather than crowd the field with the numerous additional niches and sculpture, it is possible that the artist has focused on the key characteristics of the fountain – the façade (measuring sixteen metres in length),

[94] Richard (2012) 262; Cat. no. 17.

the monumental central apse and the local Tyche – to define it as belonging to the citizens of Byblos.[95]

The reasons behind this variety of iconography and architectural surroundings are unknown. All of these types were issued concurrently, which rules out political factors influencing a change in coin design, and the inscriptions remain unchanged. This could suggest that the two Tychai should be considered as distinct entities. It seems that care was taken to ensure that they are still visually recognisable as Tyche, with her regionally familiar attributes very much in evidence. It is possible that they represented two distinct aspects of Byblos, perhaps the city and citizen body, or they had different realms of influence, with the nautical character of Type A hinting at a maritime connection, and the similarities between Type B and the Berytus form perhaps suggesting a more political influence.

[95] Richard (2012) 262.

Berytus

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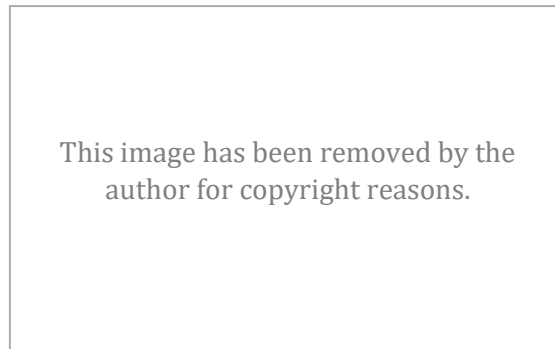
Figure 5.24: Bronze coin issued by Berytus under Hadrian, AD 118. 31mm, 28.27g. RPC 3.3850.

Berytus was the first city in Phoenicia to circulate an image of Tyche on its coin reverses (fig. 5.24; **BER005**). Unusually for Phoenician civic coinage, Berytus included specific imperial titles on the obverse, meaning that the first specimens of the type can be dated precisely to between AD 112 and 114.[96] This demonstration of interest, or even mere recognition of the political happenings in Rome on civic coinage is unique to Berytus, and is likely to be related to the large proportion of veterans settled within the city and its territory. Citizens of Rome would have been accustomed to imperial titles on the obverse, which suggests that those responsible for the city's coin production were deliberately acknowledging typical Roman practices. The style remained unaltered for the entirety of Berytus' coin production, which ceased under Gallienus (**BER019**).[97] The goddess was invariably shown frontally, draped in a long *chiton* with her left foot resting on a prow. She carried both a *stylis* and *aphlaston*, and a Nike reaches up from a small column to crown her. After the initial *adyton* issues (4.3.1), the type becomes more stylised, showing the goddess within a tetrastyle façade, which rests upon a flat ground-line.[98] No podium is shown, but a

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[96] RPC 3.3840; Sawaya 654.
[97] Righetti 818.
[98] Sawaya 1176-1181.

narrow staircase descends from the centre of the temple. The columns are widened to create an unrealistically large opening in the centre, in which stands a full-length image of the Tyche of Berytus. The height of Tyche is similarly exaggerated, with the goddess reaching up to fill the entire central space of the temple with her turret crown grazing the bottom of the pediment entablature (fig. 5.26). Atypically, the entablature is not broken by an arcuated lintel, but rather represents a more standard Roman-style triangular pediment.

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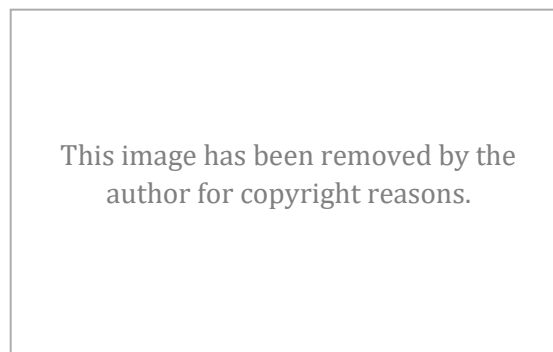
Figure 5.25: Bronze coin issued by Berytus under Commodus, AD 180-192. 28mm, 11.61g. RPC 4.6768.

Under Septimius Severus the type began to include more detail, with flared *acroteria* appearing upon the corners of the pediment of the temple, as well as a circular ornament within the tympanum, possibly a shield or a stylised radiate bust (**BER011**). If this decoration did reflect sculptural detail on the temple, speculation over whether it was a new feature is challenging, as it is possible that the decoration had just never been depicted until this point, perhaps due to indifference on behalf of the artists and elite. Its appearance coincides with the punishment of Berytus at the hands of Septimius Severus, who penalised Berytus with the loss of Heliopolis for their support of Pescennius Niger. Perhaps alarmed at their drop in regional status, along with the changing political hierarchy in Phoenicia, the Berytus elite wished to promote and aggrandise their own symbols of cultural status and partially did so through suggesting at the spectacle and grandeur of their temple of Tyche.

It is also possible that the temple did undergo renewal or restoration at this point, as a period of intense building programmes took place in the region under the Severans, which was reflected on the coins of many cities.[99] Even during more stable political times, cities could have their pre-eminence challenged by their neighbours and rivals and, to maintain their social position, they actively promoted their unique claims to status. As Berytus had recently fallen out of imperial favour, it is possible that the citizens focused on emphasising the richness of their monumental buildings to reaffirm their right to high social status.

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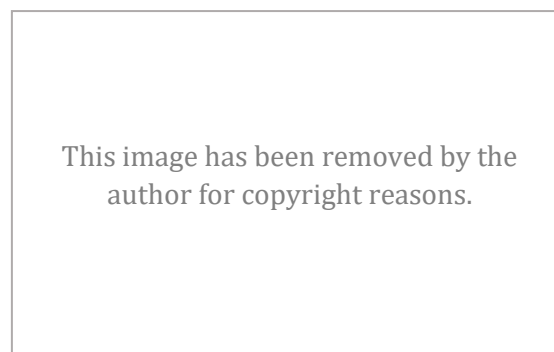
Figure 5.26: Bronze coin issued in Berytus by Diadumenian, AD 217/218. 29mm, 21.53g. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 117 Lot 987, 24th November 2003.

Under Macrinus, an extraordinary amount of sculptural detail began to appear, although structurally the temple architecture remained unchanged (fig. 5.26; **BER012**). The imagery shows a tetrastyle temple with a distinct cornice, and the round shield remains in the centre of the tympanum. The columns have been separated to the far side of the field, leaving a greatly exaggerated space for the cult statue of Tyche and her acolytes. The *acroteria* depicted on earlier specimens have been developed from curved ornaments to winged Nikai, holding wreaths outstretched above their heads. Below the temple in the exergue, the stairs are flanked by trident-bearing cupids, riding dolphins towards the centre, under

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[99] Heuchert (2005) 51.

which are two vessels or cups, perhaps to symbolise ornamental fountains or lustration basins such as those seen at Heliopolis.[100] Within the temple, two winged cupids are depicted alongside Tyche on separate bases, reaching up to the goddess with their torches. At the apex of the pediment, a statue group depicts the abduction of Beroë by Poseidon, a local variation of the Greek myth featuring the nymph Amymone, which tradition held was a myth that recorded the foundation of Berytus, and referenced the city's close relationship to Poseidon (3.2.2; **BER013**).

Together, these new elements created a visual programme of intense civic pride. Tyche, in her role as city protector, was shown within an elaborate monumental temple, a testament to the wealth and *humanitas* of the Berytus elite. The presence of the cupids and their illumination of Tyche indicated the glorious nature of the goddess, which was reinforced by the crowning Nike on the *acroteria*, who also enhanced the impressive nature of the temple on its approach. The sculptural group of Poseidon and Beroë referred to the divine foundation of Berytus, and recalled the divine support of Poseidon that Berytus traditionally enjoyed.[101] The trident-wielding cupids riding dolphins in the exergue were also a visual reference to Poseidon, whose iconography had featured dolphins on the civic coinage of Berytus for centuries (**BER003**).[102] It has also been suggested that the cupids could be linked to the legend that Berytus was the birthplace of Eros, reinforcing the unique mythical past and heritage of the city and its special relationship with the divine.[103] Overall, this type reinforced the preoccupation with local identity and the prestigious status of Berytus. In reaffirming the status of Tyche using architectural means and divine acolytes,

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[100] More visible in BnF 1984.817.

[101] Nonnus, *Dion.* 42.510-526; 43.210-133.
[102] For discussion, see chapter 3.2.2.
[103] Kropp (2011) 395; Nonnus, *Dion.* 41.128.

the citizens of Berytus elevated her to the rank of major goddess, which is further demonstrated by the inclusion of important gods from the local pantheon, such as Poseidon.

The size, weight, and complexity of design of surviving specimens suggests that this was a relatively high value denomination. However, impressive though its technical skill and level of detail was, this type was of limited circulation, only appearing in great numbers under Macrinus and his son Diadumenian, with a few specimens from the early years of Elagabalus' reign, before it ceased entirely; perhaps it was decided that the value of the coin was not worth the intricacies of its design, or its production met contemporary economic needs and was no longer required.[104] The earlier, less intricate type continued beyond this point; the pediment is still crowned with *acroteria*, but the Nikai and the other acolytes are nowhere to be seen. Given their other similarities, it is highly probable that the same temple is depicted on both types, in forms that represented distinct messages. The simplicity of the earlier, long-running type emphasises the image of Tyche and subsequently her significance to the city, whereas the complex temple depictions accentuated not only the glory of the goddess, but also how this relationship is entwined with the other prestigious deities and mythical history of Berytus, which serves to enhance the status of the city, rather than simply that of the goddess alone. Although the architecture changes around the goddess, her appearance remains unchanged from the rule of Trajan through to Gallienus. This form of the goddess remained a stable and meaningful public expression of identity for Berytus for over two centuries and, although this message could be further developed through the addition of divine companions and sculptural decoration, Tyche herself remains a fixed constant in the medium of civic coinage and public expression.

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[104] SNG Hunt. 3311.

Sidon
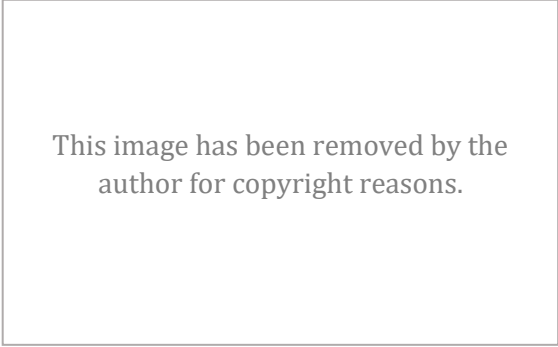
Figure 5.27: Bronze coin issued by Sidon, under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 31mm, 19.98g. BnF B 820.

The Sidon Tyche is one of the latest Tyche types to appear on Phoenician coin imagery, first appearing under Elagabalus (**SID008**).[105] She was almost identical to the Berytus type in composition, pose, and dress, except that a small figure of Marsyas stands to her right on the left of the field, who is depicted in the typical style, nude, with a wineskin over his shoulder and with one arm raised (fig. 5.27).[106] A rarer type also shows the entire group depicted within a tetrastyle temple with an arcuated lintel, suggesting that it could reflect a sculptural group (fig. 5.28; **SID011**).[107] The notably large diameter and weight of both types indicates that they may have been of higher value, which perhaps reflects the high status of the goddess whose image they bore or her significance to the community, as well as fulfilling an economic purpose. The emergence of Tyche corresponds with the city acquiring *colonia* status, a process which would have resulted in a restructuring the city's magistracies, and the subsequent replacement of its Greek coin legends with Latin.[108] Thus,

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[105] SNG Cop. 257; BMC 242; ANS 1944.100.71727.
[106] This type differs drastically from the 'hanging' Marsyas popular from the Hellenistic period. For further discussion, see Newby (2016) 71-9.
[107] ANS 1944.100.71725
[108] Millar (1993) 20.

the appearance of Tyche, along with the Latin inscriptions, commemorates the emergence of Sidon onto a wider political stage and its engagement with provincial political discourses.
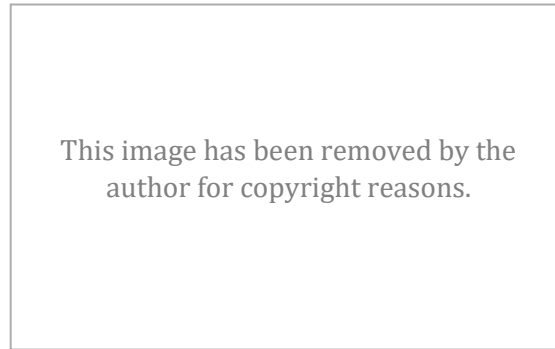
Figure 5.28: Bronze coin issued by Sidon under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 32mm, 20.10g. Babelon 1780.

Marsyas enhances the political overtones of this type. According to myth, Marsyas, a river god of Phrygia and discoverer of flute-playing, was flayed by Apollo in punishment for challenging the god to a musical contest but, in one narrative, he escaped the wrath of Apollo and fled to Italy.[109] A statue of Marsyas was dedicated near the *ficus Ruminalis* by the Comitium in the Roman Forum during the early third century BC, which saw the god carrying a wineskin with one arm raised, a gesture that reportedly symbolised the wealth and material abundance enjoyed by the city.[110] He was widely considered a symbol of freedom as well as a protector of the Roman people and their rights and, subsequently, Roman colonies often established a statue of Marsyas within their *fora* as a symbol of communal Roman identity and the *ius Italicum.*[111]

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[109] Hdt. 7.26.3; Sil. *Pun.* 8.502-5.
[110] Coarelli (1985) 54-8; Servius *ad Verg Aen.* 4.58.
[111] Meshorer (2013) 5.

The relative scarcity of Tyche issues in Sidon is evident when compared to other Phoenician cities. The city's coinage was already dominated by types that refer to or depict female deities, such as Europa with the bull, and particularly the Car of Astarte (3.3.1), which perhaps fulfilled many of their ideological numismatic requirements. Sidon enjoyed a long relationship with numismatic designs and prestigious and unusual deities, but Tyche offered an opportunity for the city to develop a new type to celebrate its new facet of political identity, combining important civic symbols with political status. Tyche was a regionally recognised symbol of social representation, and the contemporary shift to Latin coin legends further reinterpreted the city's status in terms of Roman authority. In this instance, it appears that Tyche's appearance on coinage was a means for Sidon to circulate its political status independently from their traditional coin imagery, which was heavily divested with symbols of religious and social significance.

In the absence of other evidence, it is difficult to speculate whether Tyche was a recognised deity in Sidon prior to this, or whether it was contemporary political events that inspired Sidon to depict Tyche on coinage for the first time. If we consider the *aphlaston* that the Sidonian Tyche carried, this symbol was also featured on another coin type, which showed a goddess on a galley holding an *aphlaston* (**SID004**), which were issued from the late second century BC until the end of Trajan's reign.[112] Although this form of Tyche had not featured on Sidonian coinage previously, this is not to say conclusively that the goddess was introduced to the city solely for the purpose of commemorating its new political status, but may have been a familiar deity in Sidon for centuries, and whose imagery had now been re-imagined to suit the changed political environment. The invariable inclusion of Marsyas was two-fold, it defined this Tyche's political nature, irrevocably linking her to the city's

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[112] BMC 128; ANS 1944.100.71666.

acquisition of *colonia* status, but also made her unique to Sidon. However, the small stature of Marsyas casts him into the role of an attribute of Tyche, and thus, despite his important connotations for Sidon's political status, he is shown alongside her traditional symbols of power.

Tyre

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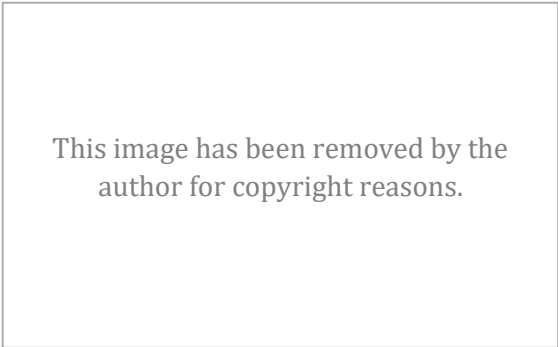
Figure 5.29: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Caracalla, AD 198-217. 27mm, 13.38g. Babelon 2197.

In contrast to the dearth of Tyche coin types in Sidon, the Tyche of Tyre is one of the city's most plentiful coin reverses. This Tyche is shown frontally, draped typically in a long *chiton* and crowned by Nike atop a column (fig. 5.29; **TYR006**). Marsyas was included from the earliest issues of the type, again on a diminutive scale, and to his left is a trophy that is crowned by Tyche. Similarly to Sidon, this type only appeared at a fairly late point in the Roman period under the Severans, this time under Caracalla rather than Elagabalus.[113] In a concurrent type, the goddess was sometimes shown within a large hexastyle temple with its own large altar, fronted by a broad staircase and with the cult image sheltered beneath an arcuated lintel.[114] Also like Sidon, Tyre made use of the iconography of an earlier form

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[113] BMC 369; 372-373.
[114] BnF 1966.453; Babelon 2227; BMC 393.

of the goddess, which had been issued on coinage from the second century BC until the reign of Antoninus Pius, who was depicted aboard a galley with a *stylis* and a wreath (fig. 5.5b; **TYR001**; **TYR003**).[115]

The wreath, with its connotations of victory, may have been adapted for use on the later representation of Tyche by the inclusion of the trophy. The victorious imagery, with Tyche herself crowning the trophy while being crowned by Nike, could be a reference to the city's support of Septimius Severus during the Year of the Five Emperors in AD 193. The city received *colonia* status as a reward and the right to host the Phoenician *koinon*, and it was at this time that the city issued a type depicting Melqart crowning a trophy in the same style as this Tyche design, possibly in recognition of the socio-political victory that had resulted from Tyre's fortuitous decision to support Septimius Severus (3.2.1). It also corresponded to the imperial portrait's first appearance on Tyrian bronzes and, with the following appearance of Tyche on the coins of Caracalla and Julia Domna, demonstrated some degree of Tyrian commitment to engage with symbols of socio-political power in the context of Roman Phoenicia, at least on its coinage.

The Tyrian Tyche provides a valuable insight into how coins were not only an important reflection of a city's political status, but also later iconographic developments strongly indicate that they were a useful and meaningful method of public communication. Under Elagabalus, Tyre was implicated in a revolt of the *legio III Gallica*, and subsequently lost its status of *colonia* and metropolis. During this period of disgrace, Marsyas, the symbol of *colonia*, was replaced with a palm tree, the symbol associated with Tyrian independence since the end of the second century BC.[116] This shift from Marsyas to the palm tree reveals

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[115] RPC 3.3903; BMC 248; ANS 1944.100.72980; RPC 4.10140.
[116] BMC 246-247.

that these coins could accurately reflect social information, and that it was important enough to Tyre that the coin design was amended to remove the symbol of Marsyas when Tyre lost the right to call itself a *colonia* (**TYR016**). It is doubtful that the removal of Marsyas from coinage was enforced by Roman authorities, thus could indicate a civic concern for coins to accurately reflect political information through imagery, or that Tyre felt their punishment strongly enough to seek to reinforce their own political and cultural standing with a traditional and meaningful symbol of local identity. This loss of status also sees Tyre revert from the political titles that it no longer possessed to the more inwardly-focused legend TVRIORVM. However, once these Tyre's titles were restored, so was the image of Marsyas, which again supports the view that there was an expectation for civic coins to accurately convey messages about civic status.[117]

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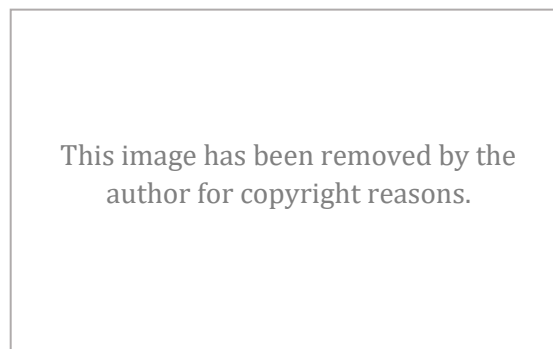
Figure 5.30: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Elagabalus, AD 218-222. 30mm, 21.08g. Babelon 2217.

An unusual variation of this type shows Tyche without her long *chiton*, which had been replaced with a much shorter, more militaristic garb, more reminiscent of the militaristic Caesarea Tyche (fig. 5.30; **TYR016**).[118] This Tyche appeared under Elagabalus, both before and during the period of disgrace. The general composition, other than the replacement of

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[117] BMC 416.
[118] Babelon 2216; BMC 416

Marsyas with a palm tree, remained unchanged. This short *chiton* and composition mirrors the famous bronze statuette known as the *Laraire de Tortose*, which was reportedly found in Antaradus (fig. 5.31). The degree of localisation demonstrated by Phoenician Tyche thus far suggests that this group may have originated from Tyre or its vicinity, due to the association between Tyre alone and this form of Tyche.
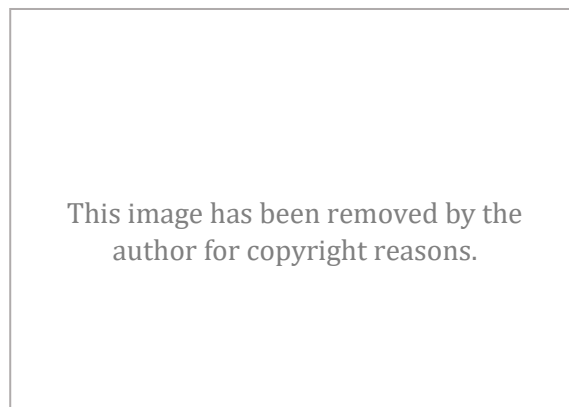
Figure 5.31: The 'Laraire' statuette. Bronze, 28.90cm. Found in Tartus, Syria. De Clercq 1967. Louvre inv. no. Br 4455.
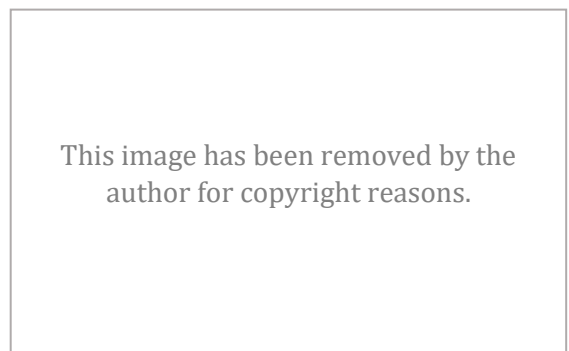
Figure 5.32: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Valerian, AD 253-260. 27mm, 12.95g. CNG Group E-Auction 382 Lot 272, 7th September 2016.

More than any other Phoenician city, Tyre experimented with representations of Tyche, showing her in a variety of scenes and going well beyond the typical types, which usually

showed the goddess standing alone or within a temple (**TYR008**). An example of innovative ways in which Tyre's relationship with Tyche was explored is evidenced by a very late type, which first appeared under Philip the Arab after AD 244, and continued until the reign of Trebonianus Gallus (fig. 5.32; **TYR023**).[119] The type itself is complex, featuring not just one representation of Tyche, but five. The upper register of the coin is reserved for the instantly recognisable Tyche of Tyre, crowning the customary trophy and accompanied by Marsyas. In case these attributes were unfamiliar to the viewer, a murex shell and club are depicted to the right of the field, and a palm tree is to the left, all symbols that had been associated with Tyre for centuries. Tyche and her collection of attributes rest upon a ground-line in the upper register, separating the scene from the events below, creating a sense of perspective and distance, and emphasising the primary significance of the Tyrian Tyche. Below there are four other Tychai, all depicted in long *chitons* and turret crowns. The two Tychai on the far left and right of the scene are raising their arms towards the Tyrian Tyche in a gesture of supplication. The right hand Tyche is more unclear, but may have her hand resting on a rudder. The Tyche second from the left raises up a dish of offerings, and her neighbour to the right is pouring libations on an altar. We can assume that these four Tychai either represented local towns controlled by Tyre from within their territory, or perhaps they represented Tyre's important colonies. The reverse inscription of COL TYRO METRO could favour the latter interpretation, but this is a relatively typical reverse legend and should not be accorded too much weight.

This numismatic motif of gods making offerings to other deities was a known practice in some Phoenician cities. Tyre already had two such types, which showed an unknown goddess (possibly Astarte) making an offering before the temple of Melqart (**TYR024**), and Melqart sacrificing beside the Ambrosial Rocks (**TYR015**; **TYR018-TYR020**). Their

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[119] BMC 433; Lindgren III 1477.

neighbour and rival Sidon issued a type with Eshmun making an offering to the car of Astarte (**SID012**).[120] The honours paid by these unidentified Tychai to the Tyrian Tyche reflected the respect due to Tyre itself and served as a visualisation of the primacy of the city, which was further supported by the central placement and size of the city's Tyche in the upper register of the field. Ancient viewers would probably have known or been able to guess the identities of the four other Tychai despite their lack of identifiable markers or symbols. This absence of individual characteristics may reflect a lack of concern with ensuring their recognisability, or they could have been deliberately omitted to enhance the supremacy of the Tyrian Tyche, and maximise her visibility. Given Tyre's historical reputation as a great metropolis, it is not unreasonable to expect that these represented cities either founded or controlled by Tyre, or that their lack of characteristics could instead mean that they actually embody an unknown number of cities.

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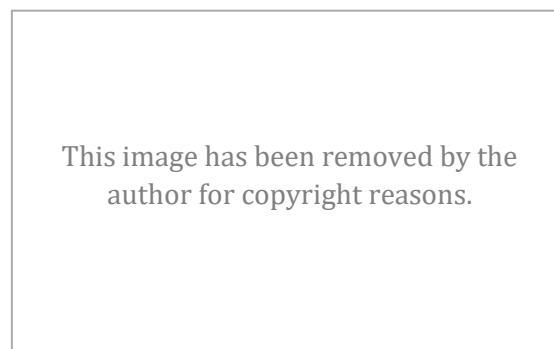
Figure 5.33: Bronze coin issued by Tyre under Trebonianus Gallus, AD 251-253. 31mm, 18.34g. RPC 9.2000.

Coins issued under Trebonianus Gallus showed the traditional Tyche composition paired with a seated Roma, who is helmeted and seated in profile, wearing a *chiton* and himation, with a shield resting against her throne (fig. 5.33; **TYR028**). Her left hand rests upon a

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[120] RPC 9.2021; 2022.

spear, and her right hand is outstretched holding an uncertain object, possibly a Nike, but similar types minted in Rome show the Palladium held out in this manner.[121] The two goddesses are divided by a palm tree, which separates their attributes of murex and grain *modius.* The shared field and equal size of the goddesses emphasises the close relationship between the two cities, and perhaps suggests equal status. The attributes of murex shell and palm tree reaffirmed traditional symbols of Tyrian identity. This coin type reflected Tyre's desire to promote its social capital, and its close relationship with Rome was a way in which to do so. Specimens only survive from the rule of Trebonianus Gallus, and this overt expression of a relationship with Rome could have been a response to the Sasanian invasion that entered Syria in AD 253, with Persian forces reaching as far as Antioch.[122] Growing unrest in the East resulted in increased Roman military presence, and Tyre may have decided to explicitly broadcast where their loyalty lay.[123]

Ptolemais-Akke

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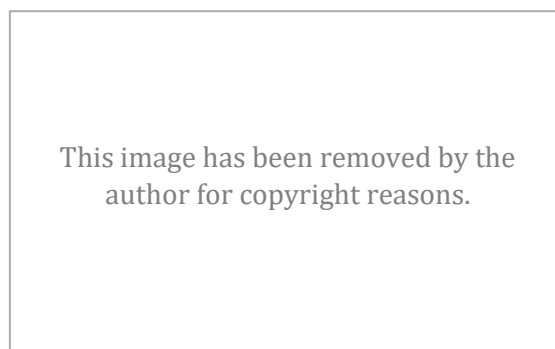
Figure 5.34: Bronze coin issued by Ptolemais-Akke, under Philip the Arab AD 244-249. 27.7mm, 18.02g. Heritage Auctions Inc., Auction 3018 Lot 20349, 5th September 2012.

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[121] RIC 11a; RSC 61.
[122] Millar (1993) 160. For detailed narrative of the invasion, see Millar (1993) 159-173.
[123] In support of this, coins were also issued showing clasped hands over a palm tree, perhaps symbolising concord between Tyre and Rome; BnF 1965.769.

As was the case at Aradus and Byblos, Ptolemais deployed two compositional forms of Tyche: the Antioch form discussed above in 5.4.1, and a standing type closer to the Berytus style (fig. 5.34; **PTO005**). Issued from the time of Hadrian, the goddess is shown draped, holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia resting in the crook of her left arm.[124] A small Nike crowns the goddess from a column, and some later types included additional symbols of civic status, such as the *caduceus* and Marsyas. It is unlikely that these two symbols formed part of the original group, as Tyche was additionally shown standing within a tetrastyle temple with an arcuated lintel, without these later additions.[125] The fact that coins portraying this Tyche form were issued concurrently with the adaptation of the Antioch type, may suggest that the two Tychai were intended to represent two distinct groups, perhaps the city and citizen body? Earlier coin types of the city demonstrate that coin types could be issued in the name of either Ptolemais or Akke, which may suggest that the two Tyche types were associated in some way with the two separate names of the city.[126] Types issued under the name of Ptolemais carried a reverse that depicted a Tyche with a rudder and a cornucopia, which may support this view, as well as indicating that Ptolemais also utilised traditional divine imagery from its pre-Roman past for its Tyche.[127]

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[124] BMC 25; Babelon 1531; SNG Bern 2279.
[125] SNG Bern 2282; BMC 49; Babelon 1547; SNG Cop. 184.
[126] Babelon 1519 (Akke); 1521 (Ptolemais). Hill (1910) lxxxi.
[127] Lindgren III 1411; Babelon 1520-1523.
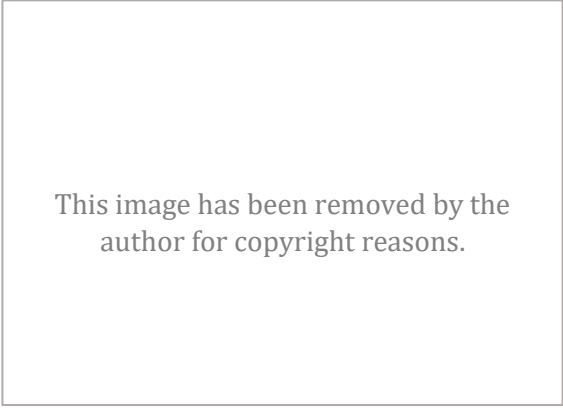
Figure 5.35: Bronze coin issued by Ptolemais under Aqulia Severa AD 220-222. 10.41g. Size unknown. LHS Numismatik AG, Auction 100 Lot 533, 23rd April 2007.

A rare coin type from Ptolemais adapts Tyche to a more complex architectural scene, depicting a monumental fountain with Tyche as the central sculptural focus (fig. 5.35; **PTO006**).[128] The reverse illustrates a two-storied structure, crowned with a tetrastyle building crowned with an arcuated lintel and triangular pediment. The base of the structure contains a series of spouts within arches, confirming its identity as a fountain. The apex and corners of the pediment are decorated with *acroteria*, and it rests upon a broad entablature. Under the arch in the central intercolumniation stands the Ptolemais Tyche, complete with her attributes of cornucopia and rudder, being crowned by Nike. Either side of the central column, sheltered by the entablature are two lateral statues, whom Meshorer has identified as Perseus with the head of Medusa to the left, and Athena to the right. On the ground storey below is a series of niches, each of which contain small statues. The central niche is roofed with another arch, in which stands an obscure figure, with possibly a staff in its left hand. Contrary to Meshorer's suggestion that this type represents a nymphaeum topped with a Tychaion, it is more likely that the building should be considered a two-storied, coherent whole.[129]

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[128] Price and Trell (1977) fig.73; Price and Trell comment that it had been previously identified as a harbour, although they do not cite where this attribution was originally made [p.44].
[129] Meshorer (1985) 15.

Monumental fountains such as this were a key way for cities to publically express their identity in a civic forum, and commonly contained statues of important local deities, mythological cycles and legendary city founders.[130] As Longfellow argues, monumental fountains strove to combine the glorification of a city's mythical past alongside the city's place in the contemporary Greek world, whilst simultaneously celebrating the impact that 'present-day Roman amenities' had on the city, all of which could be represented by Tyche.[131] To see Tyche represented in such a prestigious manner – centrally and of an increased size – indicates her social importance and meaningful nature to the citizens of Ptolemais-Akke. It is also interesting that Tyche is shown in a columned building with an arcuated lintel façade, and it should be noted that, if one omits the lower storey, this structure is in keeping with many other temples containing a statue of Tyche. Perhaps as a result of her civic role, there seems to have been an association between Tyche and water sources. There is evidence that a statue of Tyche was included in a nymphaeum at Caesarea Maritima that was attached to the western façade of the podium of the temple of Roma and Augustus.[132] In addition, the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên in Syria, which was dedicated in AD 192 by a Roman centurion, was surrounded by water on three sides. This is not to suggest that all buildings on coins that depict Tyche were intended to represent *nymphaea* or fountains, but it is important to consider that a coin type showed only a privileged and isolated view of a building, and some of these types may refer to structures other than temples. As was raised in Chapter Four, the buildings represented on coinage would in all likelihood have had additional features or complex interactions with the surrounding urban landscape that have been removed for the aesthetic demands of the coin type.

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[130] For discussion of urban identity and monumental fountains, see Richard (2012) 242-248.
[131] Longfellow (2011) 94.
[132] Cummings (1909) 418; Porath (1996) 113.

5.5 Bust types

As well as the more common full-length reverse types, some cities experimented with different forms that they could use to represent Tyche on their coinage. This resulted in Tyche being shown in a *Halbfigur*, the head and the torso, as well as in bust form. This section will explore these types and whether their interpretation and message differ from the traditional full-length styles.

Tripolis

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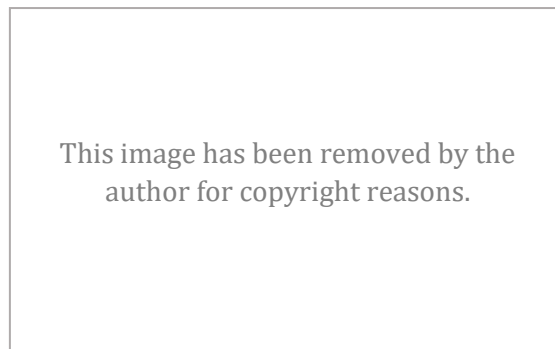
Figure 5.36: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis, under Caracalla AD 210/211. 24mm, 11.47g. BnF 1965.749.

In a type that first appeared under Caracalla, the Tyche of Tripolis was shown between two columns with capitals that supported an arched roof or ceiling (fig. 5.36; **TRI003**). Within the structure, Tyche was shown in the form of a bust in profile, draped and turreted, in a style reminiscent of how she was shown in obverse types.[133] The Dioscuri are shown in the lower register, each holding a horse and spear, facing inwards and looking up at the shrine. This type coincided with the type discussed above, which featured the central standing

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[133] Babelon 1948.

figure of Tyche flanked by the Dioscuri holding grapes. It seems likely that this could be a portable shrine, which contained either a full-length figure of Tyche or a monumental bust of the goddess. We have seen in previous chapters how vehicles were sometimes replicated on coins to show divine objects being transported, presumably in processions, an event seemingly popular in Phoenicia and Syria. It is unclear whether this Tyche was really transported in bust form, or whether it was intended to symbolise a full-length representation of the goddess.

There is evidence for both practices; a coin type from Laodicea ad Mare was produced from the rule of Commodus to Elagabalus that showed a bust of Tyche in a similar shrine, with the bust carefully depicted resting on a throne-like support.[134] The whole field of this coin type was filled with the shrine, so it seems likely that, had the Laodicea ad Mare Tyche been full-length, there would have been enough space on the field to depict her so, and the support that is carefully depicted for the image to rest upon further indicates that the bust was transported in this form. Additionally, it presumably would have been easier to secure the image when transported in this form, rather than as a full-length statue. Material evidence from Roman Syria does suggest that divine images could be replicated as large busts during transport, with terracotta statuettes showing busts being shown carried by camels.[135] However, the image of Jupiter within the portable shrine on the coins of Ptolemais-Akke was clearly full-length, as was the (albeit seated) Tyche of Antioch.[136] If Tyche was transported in her typical full-length form, depicting the abbreviated bust form here had the advantage of being very distinctive by recalling traditional coin obverse images of the goddess, and thus ensuring that she was correctly identified by the viewer. The presence of the Dioscuri in the lower register reduced the space available for Tyche,

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[134] BMC Syr. 78; 103.
[135] Louvre AO 6619.
[136] Ptolemais-Akke: ANS1944.100.71247; Antioch: BMC Syr. 653-657.

and the bust allowed the goddess to be represented in a miniaturised yet recognisable form. If this type was intended to depict the Tripolis Tyche in a portable shrine, it further demonstrates the value of Tyche in both a religious and social context. The transportation of the goddess suggests that she was involved in the festivals of the city, and her image was paraded through the streets of Tripolis. Even if this type represented a static shrine to Tyche, albeit in a much stylised and abbreviated form, the presence of the Dioscuri indicates their connection with the goddess, and subsequently the relationship that Tripolis shared with these deities.

The appearance of the goddess in reality is perhaps less significant than the evidence of her civic role, and to attempt to distinguish her form could be to lose sight of the social importance evoked by the event that the image may have represented. A fourteenth-century painting depicted two cult icons of Mary *Hodegetria*: the larger version protected behind a grille, alongside another, smaller copy, that was used for veneration and processions. Mylonopoulos has argued that both icons should be interpreted as cult images, that happened to serve different purposes in a variety of ritual contexts.[137] If we apply the same concept to this type, then what matters is that the goddess and the function that she fulfilled for the city was recognisable, however she actually appeared during processions.

Berytus

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[137] Mylonopoulos (2010) 7-8.

Figure 5.37: Bronze coin issued by Berytus under Gordian III, AD 241-244. 30mm, 18.21g. Babelon 1321.

This final Tyche type of Berytus appeared fairly late in our period of interest, with issues first being produced under Gordian III between AD 241 and 244 (fig. 5.37; **BER018**). The temple remains largely unaltered from previous types, with the Poseidon and Beroë group still clearly visible on some well-preserved specimens, indicating that this should be identified as the same temple of Tyche discussed above (4.2.3).[138] However, the typically unchanging figure of Tyche is now drastically different; instead of a full-length figure, she has been reduced to a monumental *Halbfigur*. Gone is the drapery, and she is now wearing a scale-like costume vaguely resembling *lorica squamata*. Flanking the goddess are two small, slender objects, possibly *cornucopiae,* and two poles supporting eagles, presumably a reference to the Roman legions.[139] She is turreted, confirming the identification of Tyche, but the hairstyle suggests crimping waves that frame the face of the goddess, similar to those worn by the contemporary empress Sabinia Tranquillina (fig. 5.39). Despite the differences between the traditional Tyche and this new type, the unique and recognisable aspects of the temple leave us in no doubt that this represents the temple of Tyche once

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[138] Babelon 1321.
[139] Kropp (2011) 396.

again, and this must presumably be an image of Tyche, albeit in a radically different form. This half-figure of Tyche somewhat echoes the Venus Iugens type produced by Caesarea ad Libanum (3.2.4). Both half-figures share the frontal perspective, bird acolytes and the half-figure format but rather than Tyche's mural crown, Venus Iugens wears a *kalathos*, widely accepted as being the symbol of Astarte.[140] The *kalathos* has led some to conclude that Venus Iugens is in fact a rare depiction of Astarte, and the similarities between this goddess and the Tyche of Berytus 'suggest similarities with Astarte without explicitly equating the two goddesses'.[141]

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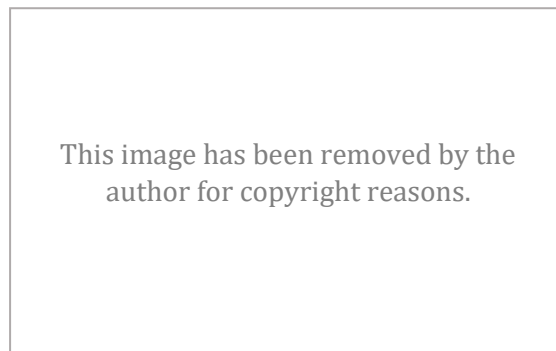
Figure 5.38: Marble bust of Sabinia Tranquillina, c. AD 241-244. 54.6cm. Sotheby's Auction, Egyptian, Classical and Western Asiatic Antiquities, 8th December 2010, New York, Lot 56.

We know from other cities that coins did not necessarily reflect the true appearance of sculpture unless it was in some way advantageous for them to do so. We have already seen how Orthosia had two distinct forms of Jupiter on their coinage, first in the form of Zeus Nikephoros, and then in the style of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. At Laodicea ad Mare, civic coins depicted Artemis Brauronia, whose cult image was given to the citizens of Laodicea by Seleucus Nicator in the third century BC.[142] Early coinage of the city depicted Artemis in her

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[140] Seyrig (1959) 39.
[141] Kropp (2011) 401-403.
[142] Paus. 3.16.8

classical huntress guise, wearing a *chiton* and often carrying a spear or bow and with a quiver over her shoulder but, from the late second century AD the goddess is shown standing in the centre of the field, frontally facing outwards. She wears a flared long gown, and her right arm is raised holding an axe.[143] At her left shoulder is a small round shield, and her head, on top of which is a *kalathos*, faces to her left. She is flanked by at least one stag and sometimes two. This more rigid depiction of Artemis is likely to be the original cult statue of Artemis Brauronia, which was now represented on coinage as a result of its enhanced social value. Elites were increasingly concerned with promoting their city's unique cultural heritage, rather than reproducing more accessible iconography to demonstrate their participation in a Graeco-Roman visual and cultural dialogue. The more ancient statue was still recognisable through the inclusion of the stag acolytes, but it defined the city's identity in a different way to the more classical Artemis. Is it possible that this was the case at Berytus?

It seems unlikely that this type commemorated the re-emergence of an ancient image of Tyche, whose most venerable form in Syria was characterised by the Antioch type, and we can be fairly sure that the Tyche of Berytus was created in its typical form for Berytus in the early second century AD. This traditional Berytus Tyche continued to be produced even after the introduction of this different form, indicating that it still was considered significant to the representation of the city.[144] Like the introduction of the 'new' Artemis Brauronia, it is evident that the city was placing value on the ancient nature of their cult – and possibly the city that she represented. Monumental busts of goddesses were a popular coin motif in the Roman Near East, but these are typically shown in profile, within distyle, possibly portable, shrines, not within a complete temple.[145] Scholars have concluded that the

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[143] As interpreted by Wroth; BMC Syr. 113.
[144] Righetti 818.
[145] Tripolis: Babelon 1948; Tyre: RPC 9.2006. Also see Gabala (Righetti 643); Laodicea ad Mare (SNG Fitz. 5957); Paltos (BnF Chandon de Briailles 1410); Damascus (BnF AA.GR.11371).

emergence of this *Halbfigur* type linked her to a wider Phoenician tradition, and that her appearance in this type could be interpreted as Berytus drawing upon what they considered to be an ancient visual treatment of the goddess, in which the half-figure may have invoked 'age-old relics from an era before anthropomorphic images of gods'.[146] Pausanias records how a priestess of the sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoebe at Sparta reworked one of their ancient baetyls to give it a human face, but left the other images untouched. Perhaps this new Tyche reflects a similar action, with the intention of creating an image to reflect the ancient nature and venerability of their city goddess, but in a way in which her identity would still be recognised, hence the attention to the identifying characteristics of her temple.[147]

Its sudden emergence suggests that this was a new creation which re-imagined the goddess in a form that emphasised her venerability and legitimised the new style through recognisable features. This legitimacy may have come from elements that recalled supreme goddesses such as Astarte, evidenced by the earlier reproductions of Venus Iugens at Caesarea ad Libanum. Particularly interesting is that, other than the crown, there are none of the attributes traditionally associated with the Berytus Tyche: the *stylis*, the *aphlaston*, the prow, or the crowning Nike. This peculiar view emphasises the identifiable characteristics of Tyche – her crown and temple – on a miniaturised scale, ensuring that the goddess could be instantly recognised. It may have been easier to transport the goddess in this form, where the flat base of the image could be secured more easily than a presumably marble, over life-size, anthropomorphic statue. As well as these archaicising characteristics, some elements, such as the flanking eagles and the suggestion that the crimped hairstyle was similar to that worn by the empress, further binds this Tyche to contemporary Rome. The fact that this coin type was only issued during this three-year period indicates that it

[146] Kropp (2011) 396; 405.
[147] Paus. 3.16.1.

was not overly popular, and the fact that the coins continue to depict the traditional Tyche long after this type ceases is revealing. The primacy and prestige that Tyche held for the city of Berytus is unmistakable.

Tyre

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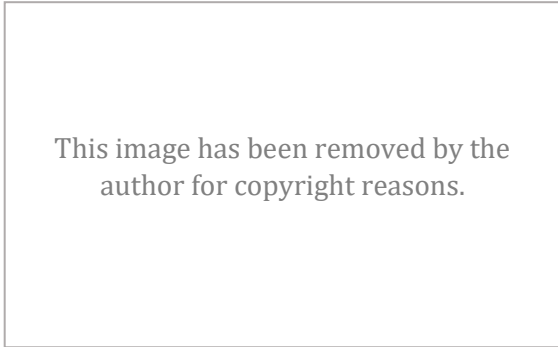
Figure 5.39: Bronze coin issued by Tyre, under Trebonianus Gallus, AD 253-268. 26mm, 11.54g. Lindgren III 1480.

These two cities were not alone in showing Tyche in this abbreviated form, and a later type from Tyre showed Tyche within a similar arched structure to the Tripolis type (**TRI031**). Produced for the first time under Trebonianus Gallus, it depicted Tyche in a portable shrine, which contained the goddess in the form of a monumental *Halbfigur*, facing right (fig. 5.40). The term *Halbfigur* is more appropriate here than bust, as the image possessed the indication of arms and bodily volume that was typically not indicted by a bust in the Roman sense.[148] She is turreted and draped, with her hair in a bun at the nape of her neck, and there is an indication of arms. The image rests within an arched portable shrine, supported by four columns with capitals, and two frontal poles are clearly depicted, which would have

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[148] Kropp (2011) 395.

been lifted to carry the shrine. There is a clear emphasis on three-dimensionality, with the rear columns visible at the back of the platform. Religious festivals, which brought the community together, were popular at Tyre, evidenced by the *egersis*, and this type again reaffirms how vital civic coinage can be at preserving otherwise unknown elements of religious practice from Phoenicia.[149] It also shows the significance of the role and close relationship that Tyre had with the public cult of their Tyche, which is supported by epigraphic evidence.[150]

Again we must wonder whether the shrine carried a stylised version of a full-length statue, reduced to half size to maximise its recognisable features, or whether it did in fact carry a half form of Tyche. The evidence discussed above does demonstrate the popularity of these half-figures and monumental busts, and despite the lack of any visible support for the image, the fact that the shrine fills the entirety of the field, unrestricted by accompanying divinities such as the type from Tripolis, suggests that, had the city wished to represent a full-length image of Tyche, they would have been able to do so. This indicates that Tyre may have had a separate image of a more traditional Tyche to parade in processions, during which the sole focus was on the goddess, and hence the city, without the distraction or hindrance of her various acolytes and attributes.

5.6 Conclusions

The above discussion has sought to gather together the variety of Tychai in Roman Phoenicia, to analyse their imagery and discuss the functions and roles that they fulfilled for their local community. There were, of course, specimens and types that have not been

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[149] Amitay (2010) 18.
[150] MUSJ 38,1.1962.18

included in this study, but these typically represented rare types, whereas the intention of this chapter was to focus on broader, regional patterns, to examine what Tyche can reveal about different Phoenician identities under Roman rule.

It should be stressed that every Phoenician Tyche discussed above was completely distinct and unique (fig. 5.40). Despite the frequent parallels and similarities, no two Tychai shared the same combination of attributes, and thus each can be individually associated with their own city of issue. As seen in the almost identical temple types issued by both Caesarea ad Libanum and Orthosia, the representation of Tyche alone could link the coin type back to the respective city. Although many Phoenician Tychai drew upon characteristics of the Berytus type, each combination of attributes and composition was highly localised to their city of issue.

Tyche began to appear in forms associated with the Berytus type from the rule of Trajan onwards. After the first appearance of the Tyche of Berytus in issues from AD 112 to 117, Ptolemais-Akke quickly followed suit but interpreted the type in its own way, issuing its own interpretation of the Antioch type in 116 or 117, and Tripolis also issued a Tyche under Trajan.[151] After this there was a brief lull until AD 150 or 151 during the rule of Antoninus Pius, when Caesarea ad Libanum issued their Tyche, as did Orthosia in an undated series.[152] Byblos produced its first Tyche type under Lucius Verus (AD 161-169), which was subsequently followed by its second Tyche type issued under Commodus.[153] Aradus additionally issued its Tyche under Commodus, and then Ptolemais-Akke issued its second Tyche type during the rule of Septimius Severus between AD 193 and 211.[154] Tyre issued

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[151] Berytus: Sawaya 655; Ptolemais-Akke: BnF Chandon de Briailles 1002; Tripolis: BMC 44.
[152] Caesarea ad Libanum: BMC 3; Orthosia: Babelon 1497.
[153] Type A: RPC 4.6887; Type B: ANS 1944.100.70867; RPC 4.6772.
[154] Aradus: Babelon 1170; Ptolemais-Akke: BMC 30.

its first Tyche reverse under Julia Domna, which could fall between 193 and her death in 217, considering her continued influence during the rule of her son.[155] The Tyche of Sidon appeared with an obverse portrait of Julia Paula, marking it to the period of 219 or 220, and was followed by the Tyche of Botrys, making her appearance under Severus Alexander as Caesar in 221 or 222.[156] The final Tyche type to be issued in Phoenicia was the second type produced at Aradus under Gordian III (AD 241-244), which was an adaptation of the Antioch type.

One of the main concerns of this chapter, and thesis overall, was to examine the validity of coin designs as evidence for religious practice in Phoenicia. For Tyche specifically, her origins and development, from fortune personified to a goddess in her own right, have often caused some confusion over her specific role. There is little evidence that Tyche should be considered as solely the personification of the city but, instead, evidence seems to suggest that she was treated as an independent deity within the civic pantheon. Evidence from Tyre and Tripolis demonstrates that she could be included in processions in the same way that other significant regional deities were transported in litters by the faithful. This alludes to

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[155] Tyre: BMC 369.
[156] Sidon: BMC 289; Botrys: BMC 2.

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Figure 5.40: Collection of Tyche types from all Phoenician cities. Chronological from left to right. Not to scale. See appendix for bibliographic information.

Tyche's important religious role, but also her social value, where citizens could have witnessed the manifest presence of the deity who influenced their fates and represented them to outsiders whilst being processed through their streets, or carried out of her temple.

A coin type from Tyre that showed Tyche within her temple also included an altar outside the building (**TRI029**), which further supports the claim that Tyche had a cultic role, despite the assertion that 'la seule figuration d'une divinité sur le monnayage n'implique pas de facto l'existence d'un culte local'.[157] Taking what we have learned from Chapter Four, to discredit the evidence of coin imagery completely needlessly problematises our study of the region. The artists who produced these coin designs had evidently taken care to ensure that the Tyche within was distinct and recognisable, making it unlikely that similar care would not have been taken with her architectural context. Furthermore, we know from inscriptions that invoked the goddess, along with references to priests and piety, that Tyche did enjoy cult activity in Phoenicia, with even a dedication to a priestess of the cult of Agathe Tyche in Tyre.[158]

As well as cult practice, Tyche types can suggest information regarding religious architecture in the region. Chapter Four concluded that, from the evidence analysed, it is possible to treat coin imagery as a valid source for exploring architecture in Phoenicia, provided that one maintains an awareness of stylistic abbreviations made as concessions to the restrictions of the medium (4.6). The evidence in the previous chapter also suggests that architecture was focused on aggrandising the community, whether by the means of emphasising the local cult that it housed, the elaborate sculptural decoration, the monumental scale, or the unique political role that it signified. The architectural Tyche

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[157] Belayche (2003) 126.
[158] SEG 1.550; MUSJ 38, 1.1962.18.

types offer a new chance to revisit the social role that architectural types played in Roman Phoenicia, as this time the evidence is all connected to the same deity – Tyche. The goddess was shown in a vast array of architectural surroundings, from niches to monumental temples to nymphaea. However, if we unpack the evidence a little more, some regional patterns begin to emerge.

Figure 5.41: Bronze coin issued by Tripolis under Elagabalus AD 219/220. 28mm, 20.10g. Babelon 1953.

Firstly, almost all of the architectural types were issued under Elagabalus. Berytus was a notable exception, where the initial type seems to have been taken from a view in the *adyton* (4.3.1). Byblos was the next city to make the leap to depicting their Tyche (Type A) within a structure, the distyle shrine or apse with the shell niche roof, which was first issued under Lucius Verus.[159] This Tyche was never depicted without some form of architectural shelter, perhaps to avoid confusing her with the Berytus Tyche, to whom she was otherwise identical. Tripolis was the next city to show Tyche within a clearly identifiable temple, in this case inside a complex colonnaded and domed structure, unique to this city (fig. 5.41). This type was issued under Macrinus in AD 217 or 218 and then, after this point, all other Phoenician cities produced their own architectural types under Elagabalus, except for Botrys, who struck its type almost immediately after this wave of new types under Severus Alexander.[160] Even the shrine or apse that contained the Byblian Type A Tyche underwent a great transformation under Elagabalus, being transformed from a distyle structure to an elaborate hexastyle façade, supporting a broad entablature and central arch, possibly the

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[159] RPC 4.6886.
[160] Aradus: BMC 386; Orthosia: BnF 1973.208; Byblos (Type B): BnF M 5959; Sidon: ANS 1944.100.71785; Tyre: Babelon 2227; Ptolemais-Akke: BMC 37. Botrys: BMC 2.

city's fountain.[161] Clearly Phoenicia experienced some form of stylistic stimulus, which resulted in Tyche types being produced within temples and shrines, perhaps in response to one city making the decision to include Tyche's architectural surroundings. This growing complexity is typical of evidence discussed in Chapter Four, where architecture on coins became increasingly elaborate under the Severans, perhaps in response to the building programme that many cities undertook at this time.
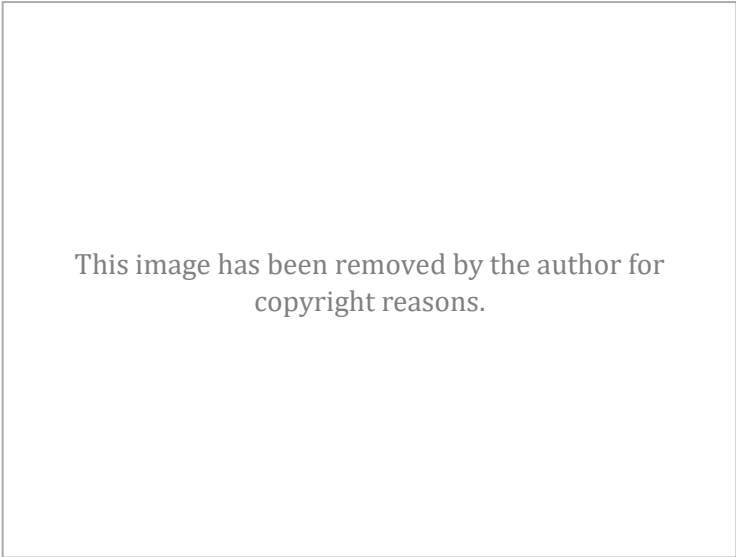
Additionally, other than Byblos (Type A) and Berytus, all these temples were shown with an arcuated lintel pediment, a well-preserved example of which is the remains of the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus, dedicated shortly before AD 138 (fig. 5.42).[162] Although the central intercolumniation was often widened to create more space for the cult image, the arcuated lintel was not an essential stylistic concession to increase the available space, with types from Berytus often being of comparable size to other city's coins, and yet never deviating from the standard triangular pediment with seemingly no significant impact on depicting their Tyche clearly.[163] Often these arcuated lintels would be carefully decorated to hint at sculptural decoration, further supporting the view that this style was not a stylistic simplification manoeuvre, but rather a deliberate reproduction of a familiar architectural feature.[164]

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[161] BnF Chandon de Briailles 959.
[162] Broucke (1994) 44. Note the central arch, which is surmounted by a bust of Tyche, presumably to indicate the shared relationship between the civic deity and the living Roman god.
[163] Compare two specimens both issued under Elagabalus: Sawaya 1713 (Berytus, 30mm) with BMC 243 (Sidon, 30mm).
[164] BMC 290.

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Figure 5.42: Photograph of the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus, before AD 138. Photograph © Carole Raddato. Licence CC BY-SA 2.0. 8th April 2015.

Although remaining cautious about interpreting coin types too faithfully, this pattern does seem to indicate that this was a regionally favoured style of architecture for temples dedicated to Tyche across Roman Phoenicia. Their sudden emergence on civic coins also suggests at their existence prior to Elagabalus' rule, as it seems unlikely that temples to Tyche would all be constructed and reproduced on coinage concurrently. More likely is that, perhaps as a result of unknown cultural influences, the architectural settings associated with Tyche suddenly were valued by cities in a way in which they had not previously been. Perhaps all that was needed was for one city to make the visual leap for other cities to subsequently adopt the practice, so as to promote the status of their own Tyche cults. As discussed in 4.2.6, there is evidence in Phoenicia for this form of structure associated with Tyche, with the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên and the temple at Mismiyeh containing a large central apse, flanked by lateral niches, with a tetrastyle peristyle on the external façade. These coin types suggest that cities may have favoured this style of building for their

temples of Tyche, a departure from many numismatic representations of other temples housing other cults, which adopted more classical styles.

We must not overlook the fact that, despite their similarities in appearance and role, one city's Tyche should not be considered the same as that of its neighbour, in the same way that the Jupiter of Orthosia was not the same deity as the Jupiter of Heliopolis, and did not share the same cultic restrictions. Although these coins may reflect popular regional styles and cultural influences, these Tychai were in all likelihood still considered the unique property of each city and demonstrated the locality of the deities within, despite Seyrig's view that the site probably represented a 'federal' sanctuary.[165] Considering the inclusion of other important deities in some coin types, it demonstrates not only the corresponding significance of Tyche as a deity, but also indicates her role in linking these cults to individual cities, rather than suggesting that cities engaged with cults on a regional level. Perhaps other temples of Tyche depicted on coinage would also have contained other cult statues of important local deities, such as the Tychaion at Alexandria.[166]

However, in addition to these religious implications, in what ways was Tyche used as a symbol of civic identity? The uniqueness of her iconography across a range of Phoenician cities indicates how she was used to identify and represent one city in a variety of ways. At one level, the proliferation and popularity of her images on coinages from across Phoenicia could have been an act of honouring the goddess by propagating her image across the city and its hinterland. As Pollitt argued, images of Tyche could be 'both amuletic and apotropaic, images both of hope and anxiety', and her dominance on coin designs could be an additional civic attempt to elicit the goddess' favour and protection for their community

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[165] Seyrig (1955) 28.
[166] For further discussion see Gibson (2007); McKenzie and Reyes (2013).

and citizen body.[167] Her interaction with a range of local deities – the Dioscuri at Tripolis, Jupiter and Venus at Orthosia and Caesarea ad Libanum, Roma and other Tychai at Tyre, Poseidon and Beroë at Berytus, the caduceus at Tripolis – all suggests an important civic and religious role that Tyche fulfilled, as well as the relationship that these cities shared with their gods. Her presence localised these cults, and made them intensely personal to the respective city. In a society where ownership of prestigious cults could enhance a city's own political and social status, the evidence discussed in Chapter Three indicates that cities seem to have been fiercely protective of their cults, where the numismatic promotion of significant cults was typically restricted to one city. The inclusion of Tyche would have ensured that cults promoted on coins were correctly identified as belonging to the issuing city, even if the coin strayed beyond its territory. The similarities between the composition, attributes and character of Phoenician Tyche suggests that the significance of the goddess was intended to be recognised not only by citizens, but also by those outside the city itself. The self-categorisation that arguably lies at the core of all social identity construction and conceptualisation, requires a group to be marked as 'other' for the boundaries and behaviour of the social group to be meaningful.[168] If representations of Tyche were designed to be deliberately and carefully distinct from those of their neighbours, then this could be evidence of marking the boundaries between social groups to form deliberate concepts of local identity.

Tyche's political role is also evident from her coin representations. Sidon only produced a coin type with Tyche when they gained *colonia* status, and the ubiquitous Marsyas at her side is all that differentiated this Tyche from the Berytus Tyche. Tyre also first represented Tyche on its coinage after its acquisition of *colonia* status for their support of Septimius

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[167] Pollitt (1994) 15.
[168] Hogg and Reid (2006) 9; Quinn (2018) 72.

Severus in the civil war of AD 194, pairing Tyche with symbols that promoted the status of the city. These symbols fluctuated based on the status of the city, with Marsyas being removed and replaced with the palm tree when Tyre fell out of imperial favour and lost its *colonia* status, and then reversing the shift when its title was restored. Caesarea ad Libanum produced a Tyche coin type when the city was re-founded in honour of Rome, and other cities seem to have been prompted to produce Tyche types in response to actions of other Phoenician cities. The introduction of the Tyche of Berytus may have spurred on Tripolis and Ptolemais-Akke, who had already achieved *colonia* status under Claudius, and Orthosia also issued a Tyche type during the reign of Antoninus Pius, perhaps as a reaction to the contemporary re-foundation of its neighbour Caesarea ad Libanum. Byblos produced its two Tyche types under Commodus, as did Aradus, although their second type was not to appear until much later. This all testifies to the presence of Tyche as a means of promoting their socio-political capital, as well as engaging with contemporary visualisations of social power.

Although Tyche was evidently associated with political and social status in terms of Roman authority, this is not to suggest that she was solely used as a political symbol, divested of any traditional meaning. Earlier numismatic evidence from some Phoenician cities indicates that artists during the Roman period may have drawn upon earlier Tyche types for influences, such as at Ptolemais-Akke, where the earlier goddess was often shown in a range of cities with a rudder and cornucopia aboard a galley, and later Tyche types maintained these characteristics.[169] Pseudo-autonomous coin issues of Sidon, struck in AD 44 or 45, show the goddess standing on the prow of a galley, holding a *stylis* and *aphlaston*, which were also adapted for their Tyche to celebrate their colonial status.[170] This indicates that we should be cautious about identifying the Berytus type as the sole influence for

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[169] Sofaer pl.6.105.
[170] BMC 169-170;

Phoenician Tychai, for this Tyche and subsequent stylistic forms may have additionally drawn upon other traditional visual sources for inspiration. Under Domitian, Tyre showed a similar scene on a series of reverses, where a turreted goddess was shown with a *stylis* on board a galley, except this time she is holding out a wreath, not an *aphlaston*.[171] The subsequent Tyche of Tyre replaced the wreath with a trophy, keeping the same connotations of victory. This being said, not all cities chose to maintain, or were even aware of, their earlier Tyche iconography. Tripolis, whose pre-Roman Tyche was depicted on tetradrachms with a rudder and cornucopia, abandoned this in favour of the *stylis* and ship prow.[172] However, the prevalence of nautical attributes that characterised Phoenician Tychai may well be a consequence of earlier popular attributes. This is not to imply that Roman cultural influences overruled these previous representations, but rather the cities of Phoenicia adapted to Roman control and began to promote themselves in new ways, testifying to the fluidity of religious mentality and civic expression in Roman Phoenicia. Furthermore, the presence of Tyche on coin obverses before the Roman period indicates that Phoenician cities were already familiar with the goddess before Roman control.

Having discussed how Tyche was used to represent these cities, I must now ask what types of identity she was used to express. Previous chapters have found that, when cities depicted deities on their coin types, these deities often did not appear elsewhere on the coins of neighbouring cities. Tyche was a notable and recurring exception to this pattern, and is the only known goddess to be depicted on the coins of every major Phoenician city. However, as seen in previous chapters, all the coin types had a clear concern with recognisability, and Tyche's attributes were typically clearly displayedThe uniqueness of each Tyche suggests that, once again, it was civic identity being prioritised, as these cities sought to represent themselves in independent ways, with no overt recognition of wider Phoenicia. Even

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[171] BMC 299-312.
[172] Babelon 1878.

symbols such as the palm, which was historically associated with Phoenicia and used on Tyche types during the period of Tyre's disgrace, was probably more strongly associated as a symbol of Tyrian independence than Phoenician solidarity, having appeared as such on the city's coins since it first gained *autonomia*.[173]

That being said, the very individuality of Phoenician Tychai may be linked in some way to the concept of belonging to this wider identity. In the field of social identity studies, 'norms' are recognised as being 'shared patterns of thought, feeling, and behaviour', and regional representations of Tyche arguably fall within this sphere.[174] Although these social norms can be applied to the identity of individual cities, the similar characteristics of each Tyche could be interpreted as a shared pattern of artistic expression and behaviour. If we accept modern scholarship's theory that 'ethnicity' should be interpreted as an ideology that emerges at certain points in a social group's history, particularly in response to changing social stimuli, then the sudden appearances of Tyche at critical times in a city's developing relationship with Roman political authority – the acquisition of *colonia* status, for example – could be evidence of the acknowledgement of a broader sense of Phoenician ethnicity as an aspect of identity.[175] However, this possible recognition of a conceptualisation of Phoenician identity fades in comparison to the overwhelming focus of Tyche imagery on the local and unique. The careful separation of each form of Tyche prioritises the city's identity above all else, with the boundary-marking between its own Tyche and all other Phoenician Tychai being a consequence of the primacy of the representation of local identity.

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[173] Babelon 2023.
[174] Hogg and Reid (2006) 8.
[175] Quinn (2018) xx.

Let us step back from the questions of local and provincial identity, and ask whether these Tyche types can reveal anything of how these cities engaged and interacted with Roman culture. The Nike who crowns many Phoenician Tychai is one such attribute that originated from contemporary Roman visual culture. Although Nike had been associated with the abstract concept of victory on coins since at least the fifth century BC, Nike's relationship with Rome as Victoria had been almost as longstanding, with her first temple established on the Palatine in 294 BC.[176] Early representations of the goddess were characterised by dynamic motion, either striding, running or flying, but the Nike of 'dreadful fury' was reduced on coinage struck by Octavian to a *victoriola*, to signify Octavian's (semi-divine) role as 'bringer of victory' in restoring the Republic after bitter civil wars, after which it became an imperial attribute.[177] The crowning Nike had undoubtedly imperial connotations by the Roman period, being strongly associated with crowning emperors, but rarely on such a diminutive scale such as this.[178] The miniaturisation of Nike, highlighted by the inclusion of the almost invariable small column, detracts from the Roman emphasis of the attribute. Rather, its presence adapted the routine allegory for the celebration of the ruler's victory and instead refocused it on Tyche, proclaiming and reinforcing the political and social status of the city itself through the goddess. Although as a symbol it was predominantly associated with the glorification of imperial rule (such as the famed Arch of Titus relief), the Phoenician cities transferred its prestige to acknowledge and celebrate their own authority. Furthermore, Nikai were associated with Tyche across the Roman East, and their presence testified to 'the power of Tyche, since Tyche knows how to conquer all'.[179]

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[176] *s.v.* OCD 'Nike' and 'Victoria'; Platner-Ashby (1929) 570; Livy 10.33.9.
[177] *Hymn. Orph.* XXXII; Koortbojian (2006) 186-189.
[178] Kropp (2013) 380-384, especially 380.
[179] Ps.Nicolaus *Ekphr.* 25.6.

Other characteristics that were strongly associated with the Berytus type, and could subsequently be interpreted as an engagement with Roman authority – the *aphlaston*, the *stylis*, the prow of the galley – were already present in Phoenicia before Roman control, as has been discussed above.[180] Thus it seems likely that artists drew on multiple visual sources at their disposal, whether traditional or Roman, to create a goddess who would not only be specific to their city but would also testify to its prestige, whilst still being recognisable as a regional Tyche. There seems to have been little explicit engagement with images or symbols that were considered 'Roman', which is unsurprising considering the local focus of each Tyche. When symbols were used that could be explicitly associated with Roman political visual language, such as Marsyas, it was to highlight the new political status that the city in question had been awarded, and thus was still aimed at promoting the status of the city through the lens of Roman political authority. When this status was revoked, as it was at Tyre, the artists behind the Tyche type made use of other symbols to promote the heritage and historical independence of the city, indicating that Phoenician cities could adapt traditional symbols of ideological power if desired.

To summarise, the findings of previous chapters have demonstrated how civic coins depicted imagery that was unique and local to the city of issue, indicating the value of Tyche, both in her role as a goddess, but also in her function as a representation of the city on the imperial stage of Roman political authority. The focus on Tyche, as a deity nominally shared across Phoenicia, provided an opportunity to examine how her representations were handled by coin artists, and to ascertain what insights into civic identity that this evidence can reveal. On one level, Tyche represented a level of visual engagement with the cultural and political realms of Roman authority. Her depictions on the coins of some cities seem to have been heralded by the acquisition of *colonia* status, or to announce a city's engagement

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[180] Tyre: BMC 248 (113/112 BC); Sidon: Babelon 1648 (84/83 BC).

with provincial political visual discourse. On this political level, types were similar enough that their common purpose and function was evident to a viewer, but so was their difference from each other. There was no overt sense of Phoenician identity apparent in any of the types in isolation, but their overall parallels and careful distinction indicates an awareness of other provincial practices and a desire to distance themselves from the iconography of neighbouring cities, whilst still maintaining enough similarity that the Tyche's identity and the significance of her different characteristics would be recognised.

From a religious perspective, these coin types suggest that Tyche was more than a political tool in the province and was received as a significant cult in her own right, depicted in a variety of monumental temples. One type contained an altar, implying her cultic significance as a recipient of cult and, as we discovered in Chapter Four, although coin designs commonly omitted architectural additions such as this, this did not mean that they did not exist in reality. It is possible that many of the temples that inspired these Tyche architectural types may have also contained cult implements and tools such as this. Epigraphic evidence further confirms the presence of Tyche cults in Phoenicia, and some coin types even recorded vehicles to transport images of Tyche in processions and festivals. Her very popularity on coin reverses may even hint at her religious significance; as a goddess, Tyche's whims could control the fate of both individual mortals and entire cities, and the propagation of her image may have been believed to invoke her favour and elicit a more benign fate.

As a social phenomenon, Tyche was honoured as a goddess, but also valued as a symbol of the city and the citizen body. The first or early second century coin types that draw on the traditional representations of the goddess depict a common Tyche, shared by a number of Phoenician cities, which develops in the second century AD to be replaced with distinct and

local forms of Tyche, who can be clearly associated with individual cities. Her ancient origins in the Greek world allowed elites to engage with and demonstrate their understanding of Greek culture as encouraged by the Second Sophistic movement, but they also adapted traditional divine iconography to identify these Tychai as belonging to their communities. As types from Ptolemais and possibly Byblos also demonstrate, representations of Tyche could be depicted in monumental civic structures such as fountains, which further testifies to the ubiquitous and pervasive presence of Tyche in these cities. The distinct combination of iconographic attributes that was deployed for each Tyche demonstrates the overwhelming value placed on the local, but this individuality was undertaken in ways that would result in the image of Tyche still being recognised and understood across the province. This may suggest that Tyche coin types, more so than other Phoenician deities represented on civic coins, acknowledged the existence of the province of Phoenicia, albeit in a way that emphasised their distinct character and identity.

The categorisation of Tyche as a political, social or religious phenomenon is, at its heart, a rather blunt modern approach, where binary distinctions are often drawn to distinguish and separate the above realms of influence. In actuality, it is unlikely that Tyche was considered in these terms by the communities that she represented, and her various facets of meaning were unconsciously and collectively understood in ways that are not apparent from coin imagery alone. What coin designs do allow us is a glimpse of the different ways in which Tyche was associated with the community, and how Tyche representations were adapted by Phoenician cities to express these ideological and political associations.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

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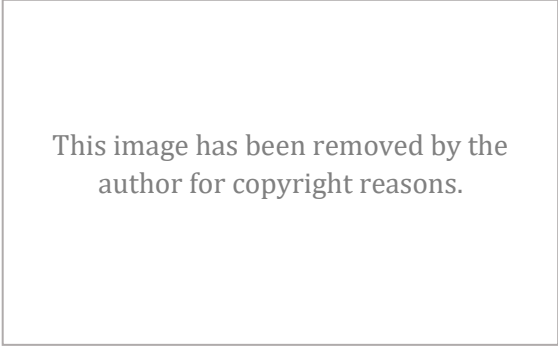
Figure 6.1: Bronze coin issued by Heliopolis under Otacilia Severa, AD 244-249. 30mm, 22.32g. Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbery Grün e.K. Auction 44, Lot 322. 10th November 2005.

Observe this coin from Heliopolis (fig. 6.1; **HEL007**). Think of its size, shape, weight, its metallic smell. Look to the familiar portrait of the ruler on the obverse, in this case the image of Otacilia Severa, Augusta of the Roman Empire from AD 244 to 249. On the reverse there is an image of the Tyche of Heliopolis, shown standing, heavily draped in a *chiton* and *peplos*. She supports a rudder in her right hand, and a cornucopia rests in her left arm. Two winged Nikai on small columns hold an inflated veil above her head, and two small nude male figures reach up with torches, perhaps *genii* or, some have suggested, miniature athletes.[181] This choice of imagery is entirely localised to Heliopolis; no other Tyche in Phoenicia or Syria possessed this precise iconography, with this exact combination of attributes and acolytes. However, as well as this careful distinction of her imagery, we can also see the typical engagement with wider regional patterns. The use of the rudder seems

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[181] Sawaya série 43; BMC 21-22.

slightly incongruous for a city situated nearly one hundred kilometres inland, but the ancient combination of rudder and cornucopia renders the identification of the goddess indisputable. The use of the Nikai on columns engages with a valued element of Phoenician Tyche iconography, demonstrating the awareness of regional styles, whilst simultaneously the inclusion of the numerous acolytes and unusual combination of multiple Nikai and the veil makes this Tyche Heliopolis' own. The proprietary nature of coin types featuring deities and architecture in Phoenicia has been demonstrated time and time again throughout this thesis, and this coin type indicates the same recognition of wider provincial patterns that characterised Tyche types, but again there was the conscious decision to mark the city as separate and distinct.

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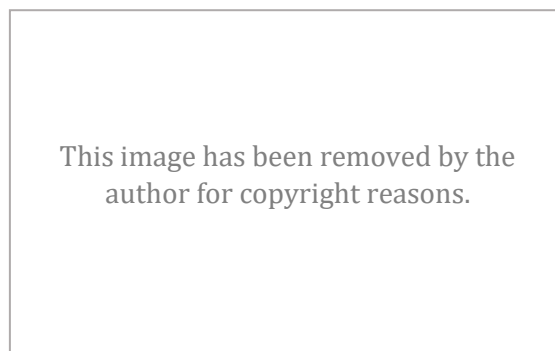
Figure 6.2a: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Heliopolis under Philip the Arab, AD 244-249. 28mm, 16.30g. Righetti 663. **Figure 6.2b**: Reverse of bronze coin issued by Heliopolis under Gallienus, AD 253-268. 24mm, 10.27g. BMC 29.

To interpret the significance of this type, it is important to consider it alongside other contemporary issues, and there are a few variations that develop our understanding of Tyche's role in the city and the inextricably tangled nature of local representation, provincial identity and Roman cultural influence and political authority. One type shows Tyche in *Halbfigur* form, placed upon a processional throne, which is flanked by two nude male figures, identified as *genii*, who hold the *vexilla* on either side of the half-figure of

Tyche, which is placed on a pedestal (fig. 6.2a; **HEL008**).[182] In another type the males have vanished, and only the *vexilla* remain (fig. 6.2b; **HEL010**).[183] The Roman character of the *vexilla* is bolstered by the sporadic inclusion of the titles of two Roman legions, the *legio VIII Augusta* and the *legio V Macedonica*.[184] As has been reinforced throughout, we should not prioritise the presence of the Roman symbolism at the expense of Tyche, whose form is central to the composition, and who we can assume carried the ideological weight of her role as city goddess. This variation demonstrates a different facet to Heliopolis' cultural identity, combining its Tyche with images of Roman authority to a degree seldom seen in any other Phoenician city. However, this is not atypical of Heliopolis; Heliopolitan coin types had always drawn upon Roman symbols for its reverses, with types featuring *aquilae* and Caracalla and Geta as young Caesars among almost the first issues of its coinage.[185] The presence of Tyche in *Halbfigur* form highlights her active religious and social involvement with Heliopolis, indicating a similar form of festival to honour the goddess that is testified to in 5.5. The presence of Roman symbolism does not detract from the civic power of Heliopolis, rather it enhances it by depicting the civic goddess as a deity worthy of honour and acknowledgement by Rome. This coin type is characteristic of the findings of this thesis, which has demonstrated that symbols of local identity were intricately bound up in interacting with Roman authority and Phoenician patterns of social behaviour but, at the core, expressed the sense of locality.

6.1. Overview of findings

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[182] ANS 1944.100.83843; Sawaya 510-516.
[183] Lindgren III 1285; BMC 29; SNG Cop.444.
[184] Sawaya série 45; Righetti 663.
[185] Sawaya 95-132; Sawaya 133-160.

Through the analysis of this final coin type, we see a crystallisation of responses to the research questions that were set out in Chapter One. Before we continue, let us take a step back to reiterate the initial intentions posed by this thesis, as set out in 1.3. Coin types were to be analysed to ask how the medium was used to express symbols of local identity, and to what extent coin types were a meaningful form of communication. Religious imagery was identified as the ideal lens through which to explore this, and provided a foundation from which to examine what insights coins could offer to religious practice in the region. Through analysis of a range of numismatic imagery and practices, this thesis would also search for evidence of a shared Phoenician identity, and the extent to which coins revealed a sense of a regional unity and of collective self. Finally, any study that wishes to address provincial identities must also engage with the fact of Roman control and, as such, this thesis also intended to examine how these cities responded to and interacted with Roman authority, by exploring how it impacted upon their coin types.

Chapter Two demonstrated the importance of examining a coin type as a cohesive whole, and not divorcing the ideological potential of obverse and reverse. Although it was the reverse that was the focus of this study, this approach was developed to not isolate individual coins, so that other contemporary types were considered alongside the specimen to create a broader understanding of contemporary numismatic imagery. It should not be forgotten that the obverse brought its own authority to the type's visual programme and thus from almost the beginning of our period of study, we can witness the merging of Roman and local identities, where images of Roman authority were placed alongside the symbols of what the community considered significant. Although civic coin imagery has long been considered to be primarily inward-facing, to remind and reinforce to the local community what defined them as a social group, there is evidence of a consciousness of other cities' numismatic practices. The existence of regional patterns, such as the sudden

emergence of Tychaion coin types under Elagabalus, and careful distinction from the coin types of other cities, demonstrates an awareness of other coin types, and a desire to remain a separate civic and political entity. To circumnavigate the pitfalls associated with numismatic evidence, this thesis has sought to adopt the middle ground: coin types must not be uncritically accepted as faithful reproductions of deities and particularly temples, but nor should they be deemed invalid or overlooked as a source of evidence.

Chapter Three demonstrated that coins do not necessarily reflect cult practice across all Phoenician cities, but neither should we expect them to. The range of deities discussed highlighted the possessive nature of coin types featuring deities, where primarily significant gods were depicted on the coinage of just one city. This did not reflect what we know of religious practice, with epigraphic evidence testifying to the presence of these cults existing in other cities, but this does not undermine the use of coin imagery as historical evidence. Rather than using coins as a documentary repository of evidence for religious practice, which was never their intended purpose, this thesis instead demonstrates the social capital of religion. Deities who shared a strong or unusual relationship with a city, whether in terms of an unusual manifestation of a cult, such as Astarte at Sidon, or the age of the cult, like Melqart at Tyre, were used to represent the city on a numismatic level, and the representational value of these types was such that neighbouring cities recognised the claim of one city to a particular deity, and largely did not attempt to compete. This localisation was a phenomenon that increased over time, with Ptolemais-Akke producing the club and wreath type associated with Tyrian Melqart briefly during the first century AD, which then abruptly ceased. For cities to circulate types too similar to those of another city was to compromise their ideological import for local citizens, and risk accidentally promoting the prestigious cult of another city.

This chapter also demonstrated that coin types can reveal elements of cult practice, such as the procession featuring the cult object of Astarte, where the omnipresent *ferculum* and inconsistencies of the object within suggest that it was only seen in this processional form, and at a distance. The absence of the cult image of Jupiter at Heliopolis contrasts with his representation at Ptolemais-Akke, Orthosia, and Caesarea ad Libanum, which indicates some restriction against the viewing of the cult image within the Heliopolis temple, and also testifies to the local nature of cults, where Jupiter of Orthosia could be subject to different cult requirements from Jupiter of Heliopolis. The focus on legibility and identifiable characteristics was prevalent, with divine attributes and symbols carefully represented. Anthropomorphic deities were typically shown in Graeco-Roman form, due partly to the centuries of western influence in Phoenicia, but it additionally ensured that a wider audience would have recognised the depiction, which would then testify to the cultural identity and heritage of the city in question. For instance, Melqart, known across the Graeco-Roman world as Tyrian Herakles, was shown in classical Greek form with a lion-skin and club, although other numismatic and literary evidence suggests that the cult image would not have appeared in this style. Even aniconic deities, including the pyramidal cult object at Byblos, were represented alongside celestial symbols, which were presumably an essential characteristic of the deity and would have aided identification to a contemporary viewer.

Chapter Four was one of the most relevant chapters for the question of the validity of coin imagery as evidence. By being the first study to compare coin types to surviving religious architecture in modern Lebanon, this thesis contextualised the imagery alongside contemporary structures, which allowed interpretation of the 'accuracy' of architectural reproductions. It is evident that the majority of temple representations were stylised to emphasise certain features, and there was the same concern with identifiability that

characterised the material discussed in Chapter Three. This concern with correctly identifying the depicted temple was visible even in the very first architectural type in Phoenicia, the temple of Astarte at Sidon. Although no deity was shown within, the two freestanding columns that flanked the temple must have been meaningful for the viewer, and later coin evidence even suggests that there may have been a prohibition against viewing the cult image of Astarte within her temple in any case. Characteristics such as cult image and sculptural decoration were typically key to identification, but Heliopolis was unique in its effective emphasis on colossal scale and monumentality as the crucial identifying characteristic of its sanctuary. Types such as the altar at Tripolis remind us of the need for caution when defining buildings as temples without thorough analysis, since, whatever the original purpose of the structure shown on the Tripolis type, artists took care to distinguish it from typical temple facades. For types with no visible cult image, such as the Phoenician *koinon* and the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the identity of the building was elucidated through clarifying coin legends, which were reinforced for Heliopolis by means of symbols and the abbreviated name of the deity within. The parallels between the temple of the Phoenician *koinon* and the temple of Roma and Augustus established by the *koinon* at Bithynia also alerts us to the possibility that this temple may not have existed in Tyre, but rather symbolised the office of the *koinon*, and legitimised the choice of Tyre to host the assembly with the religious authority of the emperor.

The popularity of tetrastyle prostyle temple orders along Mount Lebanon is seemingly mirrored by coin types, where stylised frontal views were prevalent, indicating the influence of Roman material culture. This is not to suggest that Phoenician cities passively accepted the superiority of Roman architecture. The frontality of many coin types may be more a result of emphasising the key characteristics of the structure, coincidentally mimicking the frontality of Roman temple designs, but also the construction of rural and

urban temples may have been influenced by fashions established closer to home, such as the monumental sanctuary at Heliopolis, rather than imitating more distant Roman architectural styles. To judge the character of Phoenician urban temples and sanctuaries by coins alone is unwise, for many elements may have existed that would have drastically altered our impression of the cult and sanctuary, as demonstrated through comparison between the coins of Heliopolis and its surviving temples. Rather, coin imagery suggests that cities may have adapted a range of architectural influences for the purposes of their sacred architecture, and the coin's purpose was to reflect the resources and wealth of the community that had produced it, not to create a sense of cultural conflict.

Chapter Five built from the foundations of Chapters Three and Four to examine how Tyche, a deity unique in being shared by all Phoenician civic coins, was treated on coinage. The individuality of Tyche is striking, with not one Tyche depicted in an identical fashion to that of another city. Despite the political unity implied by the rather arbitrary creation of Syria Phoenice in AD 194, representations of Tyche testify to the increasing localisation and separate nature of Phoenician cities. Although coin images had initially depicted the goddess in a regionally shared form, turreted and aboard a galley with a *stylis*, by the end of the second century AD cities were producing these distinct forms of Tyche that were only associated with their city of issue. It is almost as if the increased political unity of Syria Phoenice caused cities to react by becoming increasingly focused on the city and citizen body.

The arcuated lintel that is used by many types to show Tyche within a temple may suggest the regional association of Tyche with one architectural form, a practice that was also

employed in coinage from Syria Palaestina.[186] Representations of Tyche drew upon many associations, with some, like Sidon, utilising imagery that had been linked with their Tyche from the second century BC, and others adapting their iconography to suit changing political and visual practices, such as the transformation of the wreath held by the early Tyche of Tyre to a trophy in the later type. The inclusion of altars, temples and other deities indicates the cultic character of the goddess, reinforcing the concept of her as a deity in her own right, rather than simply a personification. From the degree of differentiation, it seems fair to argue that, although the goddess shared her name and role across Phoenicia and despite her initial regional iconography, by at least the second century AD it appears that in practice every Phoenician Tyche was considered unique to her home city, indicating a range of Tyche cults, rather than one cult shared across the region.

6.2 Wider debates

The findings of previous chapters have demonstrated the specific insights that reverse types can allow into religious practice, with the intention of proving that coin imagery can and should be treated as a source of religious evidence. In many cases, the mere act of really looking at a temple on a coin type can demonstrate the problems with treating it as an entirely unaltered reproduction of its appearance but, similarly, I see little cause to reject all coin types as inherently unreliable evidence of religious practice, as their imagery shapes and constructs perceptions of religious identity.

At present, for many of these cities coins represent our best chance of learning something of their religious life and aspects of their public religious identity. The attention to detail,

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[186] Belayche (2003) 127.

such as the sculptural detail on the temple of Tyche at Berytus, seems unlikely to have been produced from the imagination of one coin artist, particularly when considering the long-running Poseidon and Beroë type, and the fact that, if the type was a simple invention, the artist would have had to ignore all existing temples in Berytus to represent a temple that no citizen would have recognised, which seems an unrealistically complicated approach. Although there is evidence in the Roman world of coins representing temples that did not exist, such as the Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor or the Republican coin type struck in 44 BC showing a temple dedicated to CLEMENTIA CAESARIS, and perhaps even the Tyrian temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, it is unlikely this practice was widespread.[187] To reject all numismatic visual evidence would problematise our study of a region already characterised by sparse evidence, and the quantity, variety and development of types suggest that artists were drawing upon real models for inspiration.

The function of civic coins was primarily to circulate within the city itself, and the absence of named individuals responsible for Phoenician coin production has resulted in a medium that is resolutely public-minded and, as such, the focus on cults and temples associated with the city is natural. Many scholars have noted the local nature of civic coin imagery, and they are correct in doing so. Civic coins do reflect the community and draw upon the symbols that the majority of citizens would have understood and recognised, even if shown in an abbreviated or stylised form. What the findings of this thesis must emphasise is that, not only were these images local, they were proprietary. This indicates not only the meaningful nature of coin designs, where the appropriate nature of reverse imagery was noted and valued, but it further demonstrates an awareness of wider regional practices and a desire to remain distinct from these. Identity has been defined in recent studies as 'the

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[187] Simpson (1993) 120-122; Simpson (1977) 93. Coins showing the Capitoline temple of Mars Ultor were issued in Spain and Ephesus, whereas Phoenician coins were representing buildings presumably from within their own city or hinterland. The Republican coin reflected a Senatorial decree to build the temple, which was understandably withdrawn following the fall of Julius Caesar.

idiosyncratic use of specific materials and symbols when compared with the "other"', which not only may change under different circumstances, but may also emphasise what could be considered as quite small differences'.[188] If we apply this interpretation to this thesis, what are coin reverses if not visual statements of these icons of difference? The difference between the Tychai of Sidon and of Berytus is only the inclusion of Marsyas, a seemingly minor addition to us, but one that is unvarying and evidently important by which to distinguish the two. Similarly, the temples of Caesarea ad Libanum and Orthosia were differentiated by the presence of Tyche alone, again perhaps a minor distinction to a modern viewer, but clearly critical for the cities to reinforce the local nature of their deities. Even apparently small differences in architecture, such as the square background to the altar type at Tripolis, are a result of an artistic decision deeming them vital to include, and as such should be recognised as significant.

Although coins were not designed with the purpose of providing a repository of religious evidence, this is not to say that they cannot be adapted to provide some indication of religious life. The existence of processional litters and thrones indicates the importance of processions in the community, where divine images were paraded to demonstrate their continued involvement with the city, and presumably for the deity to witness the honours being offered to them. There is literary testimony of this practice at the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and the epigraphic evidence for reserved spaces for communities inside the *temenos* from where to observe these occasions further indicates the important social role that religious practice played in collective cohesion and unity. I do not find the concept that cities fabricated the existence and appearance of cults and temples aimed at pleasing Rome and the emperor particularly convincing, especially considering the attention to detail demonstrated by some types (the removal of Marsyas on Tyrian coinage, for example).[189]

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[188] Quinn (2018) 72.
[189] Belayche (2003) 116; 125-126.

We can treat coins as some evidence for the existence of cults within a city, or the appearance of a temple, particularly if we acknowledge that some aspects may have been abbreviated or removed to suit the particular message of the type in question. Careful analysis and comparison between cities can indicate cult restrictions, such as the prohibition of viewing the cult image at close proximity or within its temple, which characterised the aniconic Astarte at Sidon, and the numismatic absence and sculptural inconsistencies of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Coin evidence for cult images can reveal the artistic influences adapted by the sculpture, such as Berytus engaging with a copy of a Lysippan original for its statue of Poseidon, but they can also indicate the fluidity of religious practice. Deities shown in a particular way on coins may not reflect their actual cult object. Melqart at Tyre was shown consistently in the Graeco-Roman style when interacting with other symbols associated with Tyre but, within a temple, he is only shown in aniconic form, echoing what we know of the invisible or aniconic form of the cult object in Tyrian colonies. Even though the image may not reflect an accurate reproduction of the deity, it does not make it meaningless; rather it reveals that the image shown on coinage had its own separate social value to the city; in the case of Melqart, it reinforced his recognised role as tutelary god of Tyre and continued favouring of the city.

Our search for Phoenician identities has highlighted how coin types can be used as a new and valid approach to studies on identity. The most recent study of Phoenician identity concluded separately that, as a form of resistance, cities on the Phoenician coast organised themselves into small city-states with deliberately 'flimsy political links…requiring larger powers to engage in multiple negotiations', thus avoiding the 'heaviest excesses of imperial power'.[190] From the surveyed evidence, coin imagery supports this fragmented view of Phoenicia: cities promoted themselves as distinct political entities, and their coin titles

[190] Quinn (2018) 203.

reveal that they were treated as such, being rewarded and punished by Roman authorities as individuals. Simultaneously, perhaps the term 'resistance' implies a sense of opposition and conflict that is not reflected by coin evidence. Roman influences, be they demonstrated by architectural style or choice of attributes, seem to have been employed for a similar purpose of all coin imagery: to glorify the heritage of the city and emphasise a sense of communal belonging. Greek and Roman imagery – trophy, trident, Marsyas, laurel wreath, club, Nike – were all symbols that could be recognised by many viewers, even viewers as culturally distant as we are examining coin types today. Perhaps these cultural influences were valued for their role in ensuring the recognisability of the meaning and identity of deities and temples, a preoccupation apparent across most designs. To ensure that the appropriate social capital was gained from coin reverses, its meaning must be apparent. It is likely that a citizen would have been able to perceive more associations from the image than a visitor from a neighbouring city, but its approximate message would have been acknowledged. Although this localisation does not fully support the argument that the *boulē* consolidated the diverse communities and local cultures into 'one cohesive network', it should be noted that these cities did adopt the same methods to promote their difference from each other, which does suggest an element of common social practice.[191]

With no other evidence of how cities perceived their existence under Roman control, it is difficult to state definitively that they can be considered as reacting against the concept of Phoenicia as a Roman collective. Simply because we cannot see the expressions of Phoenician identity is not to say that it did not exist in some form. Although the absence of evidence is not a secure place from which to argue, it is the absence of engagement that reveals more about how Phoenician identity was perceived. The careful distinction between Tyche types and the avoidance of any repetition of deities suggest that there was

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[191] Andrade (2013) 132.

some form of recognition of Phoenicia as a wider identity, but the concept of Syria Phoenice was, at its heart, a political construct imposed on the region for largely administrative purposes, rendering it unlikely that cities would have devoted much energy to engaging with it. No Phoenician ever identified him or herself by the ethnic label 'Phoenician' and when one considers that the cities were consistently treated as separate political entities, it may be that there was little interest in or incentive to supporting the concept of regional identity. The only coin type to acknowledge the existence of Phoenicia in any form was the Tyrian *koinon* type, initial issues of which still emphasised the Tyrian control of the institution with an obverse image of Melqart. Even so, the distinct possibility that the reverse was influenced by the *koinon* type of Bithynia perhaps reflects less concern with choosing an appropriate local image for what was primarily a regional phenomenon. Again, one must recall the functional role of coins, which served to provide the local community with small change and, as such, cities valued the tangibility of images of the community far more than the rather vague and ambiguous concept of what it meant to be 'Phoenician'.

Roman authority served as an umbrella under which all of these cities existed, understood themselves and perceived others. Roman political influence remained an intensely visible presence on civic coins, most notably in the form of the obverse, which dominated the coin types of all Phoenician cities from the late second century AD, but also in the form of imperial titles and honours. Titles like *colonia* and *metropolis* testify to the social and political competitive environment in which these cities participated under Rome, and the removal of said titles is evidence of the fluctuating state of political hierarchies and the necessity of promoting the city's current high status. Decisions for which one city was punished, such as Berytus' support of Pescennius Niger in AD 193, could see another city being rewarded, such as Tyre. Coins carefully reflected this changing political landscape, with Sidon creating a Tyche to commemorate its acquisition of *colonia* status, and Caesarea

ad Libanum producing a Tyche to commemorate its re-foundation and engagement with Roman political dialogue. The use of Tyche demonstrates how deities could be adapted to suit political motives, but her presence within temples and monumental fountains should also be considered as evidence of her continuing civic and religious significance, which was seemingly not drained by her developing political role.

The appearance of architecture on coinage further evidenced the influence that Roman practice played in religious life. Surviving rural temples and coin evidence for religious buildings indicate that they were largely front-facing, and approached by a single anterior staircase, where a central door revealed the cult statue within. A triangular pediment topped the building, sometimes containing detailed sculptural programmes, such as that at the temple of Tyche at Berytus. However, these practices were sometimes merged with the arcuated lintel, frequently referred to as a 'Syrian gable' for its regional prevalence, as in Tyche Type B at Byblos, or were shown in completely different styles, such as the Tychaion at Orthosia, the façade of which recalls the interior of the Tychaion at Is-Sanamên and the temple at Mismiyeh. Rather than crediting Roman influence alone with the external appearance of temples, we should not overlook the significance of Heliopolis, which, whilst Roman in style, also contained many non-Roman elements, such as the tower-altars, not to mention the cults themselves. Heliopolis may have impacted on architecture across the region, much as the construction of the Great Temple at Jerusalem initiated a frantic building programme across the Near East in the first century BC, as major cities sought to reinforce the splendour of their own monumental architecture.[192] Furthermore, after phases of Heliopolitan construction, there may have been readily available skilled workers looking for employment, and the similarities between some temples in rural Lebanon and the Heliopolitan temple of Bacchus have been noted above. There is no reason not to

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[192] Kropp and Lohmann (2011) 47.

suggest that urban temples were similarly influenced, and that they may have owed much of their style to what was perceived as a regional influence, rather than explicitly imitating external Roman styles. We must also acknowledge the limitations of the idealised view that architectural types can offer, useful though they are in the absence of all other evidence. We know very little of actual cult practice within the represented temples, and even less of their surrounding features or interiors. It is safest to conclude that, whilst Roman influences were evidently drawn upon for religious architecture, it should not be prioritised at the cost of other influences possibly not prioritised by the artist.

6.3 Broader implications

This research represents a comprehensive survey and analysis of religious imagery represented on Phoenician civic coinage. For numismatists, this thesis has synthesised numismatic material from Phoenicia that was previously scattered across catalogues and databases, but has also critically applied it as a lens through which to examine the cities that produced it. In taking an entirely new approach to the study of provincial identity by utilising a previously under-exploited form of evidence, the study has demonstrated the crucial role that civic coins played in the expression of local identities. In doing so, I hope that the most significant contribution that this thesis sets out to make is to demonstrate the value of civic coins as a valid form of historical evidence, particularly for research focusing on cultural interaction and exchange in the provinces. Not only do coin types represent the development of popular social attitudes in the increasing localisation of coin types, but also their careful distinction from other cities is testament to the preference for unified *civic* solidarity in the face of engagement with provincial identity. Coins served as explicit statements of symbols of belonging for local citizens, and the findings of this thesis have shown how they can be used as evidence for the fluctuating sense of collective self. Future

studies of both material culture and identity should endeavour to utilise them as such. Such deliberate representations of civic identity in a Roman province provide a rare opportunity for the ancient historian, and this study has demonstrated the wealth of interpretative analysis that can be drawn from them. . As the result of this largely art-historical approach, I have collated a wide range of civic coin types from the region, and presented them in one cohesive appendix, which will be a useful resource for both numismatists and ancient historians from which to study a range of types, weights and sizes of bronze currency across a Roman province.

I have demonstrated the multiplicity of identities and forms of cultural exchange in these cities by examining the evidence for the articulation of identities, primarily on a local level, but by also taking a step back to search for a wider sense of Phoenician unity, and even for engagement with Roman identities. Mitchell's discussion of Panhellenic identity describes the need for definitive social categories as a modern 'disease', a view that mirrors the critique of many discussions of cultural influence and identity that had the tendency to overlook the inherent plurality of identities in search for one, clear-cut expression of self.[193] To divide our search for expressions of identity into these three broad categories (local, provincial and Roman) may suggest a degree of consistency that did not in fact exist but, this being acknowledged, taking this approach can reveal the plurality of cultural influences at work in even just one coin type. It may well prove impossible to excise the impact and influence of Rome from these cities and their coin imagery, even if one should wish to. One cannot and should not attempt to prioritise one particular identity over that of another, but rather approach the evidence by interpreting the type as a cohesive whole. The cross-disciplinary approach of applying modern studies of social identity to ancient evidence demonstrates the validity of searching for collective statements of self-hood, and the

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[193] Mitchell (2007) xx.

association between coin types and particular cities is proof of the 'fundamental "sameness" demonstrated in...collective action or solidarity'.[194] The assumption that the presence of an ethnic label is an indication of an acceptance or engagement with that identity is a risky one, for, as both the findings of this study and of Quinn's monograph have effectively demonstrated, the concept of a Phoenician identity is not one that was typically utilised by the inhabitants of these cities themselves.

The approaches that could develop from this precedent are two-fold, with implications for both numismatic and identity studies. The paucity of find-spot data for existing coin specimens is a significant barrier to research on how these coins functioned as a medium. However, as Sawaya (2009) has demonstrated, careful collection and cataloguing of one city's specimens can reveal information regarding denominations and relational value, which, if expanded to include all Phoenician cities, may develop a more thorough understanding of whether these coin types were of equivalent value to neighbouring cities, and whether this would indicate that coins could have circulated further than previously thought. This could be supplemented by forthcoming volumes of unpublished epigraphy, where there are opportunities to synthesise studies of coinage and inscriptions to explore a range of social attitudes to the public expression of religious practice and social identity. Further studies of this nature, which value a thorough approach to the study of numismatic imagery, could expand the basis of this thesis to include a vaster range of religious iconography, or introduce a greater number of non-religious types to explore whether identity statements were handled differently using secular imagery. Additionally, with the ambiguity over the Phoenician border, it would be valuable to now expand these findings to include types issued by neighbouring provinces, such as Syria Coele and Syria Palaestina. Cultural influence did not automatically cease at the provincial boundary, assuming that

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[194] Brubaker and Cooper (2000) 36.

such a definitive border even existed, and it would be integral to our understanding of provincial identities in the East to explore whether the localisation and variety portrayed on Phoenician civic types characterised coin imagery across Roman Syria. Over two hundred cities in the Roman East minted coins during the Roman period, and Phoenicia provides a glimpse into just one region, albeit one of the most prevalent in terms of civic issues.[195] So how does Phoenician coinage compare to neighbouring provinces? The civic coinage issued by the cities of northern Syria, which later formed Syria Coele, appears to start becoming more prevalent under Hadrian and Trajan, which is largely in keeping with the situation in Phoenicia. No other study exists which examines a range of civic coinage to apply to the study of local identities, but some broad similarities are visible which can suggest how the study of Roman Syrian coinage could be synthesised into one overarching work.

In some cases the imagery of Phoenician coins is mirrored by that of other cities, suggesting a broader visual and religious programme than that indicated by the localised nature of Phoenician types. Scholars have previously advised that studies of ancient religious should rigorously pursue 'local contexts as the basis for all discussion of religious phenomena', an approach the coin evidence also supports.[196] Coins of Gabala, in Seleucis in Pieria, showed an almost identical deity to Venus Architis from Caesarea ad Libanum, whose attributes – the veil, the *kalathos* – are merged with characteristics of Venus Heliopolitana – the throne, the sphinxes (see fig. 3.34).[197] Coins issued by Dium and Abila show a flaming altar within a temple, again strikingly similar to the so-called Zeus Hagios type of Tripolis.[198] Furthermore, Dium also displayed a god almost identical to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as did

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[195] Burnett (2011) 2; Burnett *et al.* (1992) 24-25.
[196] Kaizer (2008) 35.
[197] BMC Syr. 7; 11.
[198] Dium: Lindgren III 1303; Abila: SNG Bern 2183.

Neapolis in Samaria.[199] This all indicates how cults could be considered the property of separate cities, with seemingly distinct manifestations of the respective deities. Monumental busts of deities were similarly transported in portable shrines, demonstrating the regional value of religious practice for social cohesion.[200] However, the cities of Syria Palaestina do not seem to have been quite as protective of which deities they represented on coinage, with both Tiberias and Capitolias depicting an enthroned Zeus within a temple.[201]

Even similar architectural practices can be noted; the arcuated lintel associated with all Phoenician Tychai (except for Berytus) is used ubiquitously with the Tychai of Syria Palaestina.[202] The intentions of coin artists do not seem to differ from their Phoenician counterparts. Chrétien-Happe concludes that 'le respect de la réalité importait peu aux graveurs', and advocates, as this study also does, the need to see coins not as photographs, but as images influenced by changing fashions and stylistic methods.[203] Similarly, a complex type issued by Neapolis depicting the mountain sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Gerizim, became increasingly stylised over the course of Roman rule, with only the integral elements essential for its identification remaining on third-century AD coins.[204] This particular case, where this increasing stylised nature was described as turning the type into 'less as a description of the site and more as a symbol of the city itself', was characterised as being atypical of the contemporary situation in the Near East.[205] However, arguably most Phoenician architectural types were adapted to ensure the correct identification of the building with less concern for the accuracy of the representation – consider the *propylaeum*

[199] Dium: SNG Fitz. 5982; Neapolis: Meshorer 133.
[200] Gabala: BnF fonds général 1033; Damascus: Righetti 611; Laodicea ad Mare: 5957.
[201] Tiberias: RPC 3.3932; Capitolias: RPC 4.6552.
[202] Belayche (2003) 127; *cf.* Dispolis: BMC Pal. 3; Dora: Ros. II.38; Eleutheropolis: BMC Pal. 1; Sepphoris: Meshorer 92.
[203] Chrétien-Happe (2004) 144.
[204] DeRose Evans (2011) 174-179; Sofaer 19; ANS 1944.100.69135.
[205] DeRose Evans (2011) 177.

type of Tripolis, where temple and its gateway were conflated (**TRI007**), or the temple of Tyche with its vastly exaggerated central space to reveal the cult image.

The Tychai of neighbouring Syrian provinces seem to be differentiated from each other similarly to how they were in Phoenicia. As the Botrys Tyche was shown with a bunch of grapes, some cities adapted unique symbols to further differentiate their Tyche from their neighbours, such as the heifer that stands at Tyche's feet on coins of Gaza, and in Abila in the Decapolis, Tyche was flanked by two small Nikai, as well as being crowned.[206] Some cities shared the similar predilection for the unique, as demonstrated by the Tyche of Antioch ad Hippum, who is draped and bearing a cornucopia in the usual style, but fittingly holds a tiny horse outstretched.[207] Cities adapted the same attributes and types in different ways to promote their own distinct identity, typically slightly earlier than Phoenician cities, who only began to depict these more localised forms of Tyche during the late second century AD, whilst cities in northern Syria and Judaea began to do so under Hadrian. Tyche also was represented in temples earlier elsewhere in Roman Syria compared to Phoenicia, again typically under Hadrian. Overall, the same concern for specificity witnessed in Phoenicia is notable on other Syrian coins, although it should also be noted that Tyche is much less prevalent elsewhere than on Phoenician currencies and appears in fewer numbers on other Eastern coinages. Further study of civic coinages issued in the Roman Near East may serve to elucidate our understanding of cultural influence and contact over provincial boundaries.

Phoenicia in particular offers profound attractions to any historian of cultural influence, with a rich variety of cultural forces at work prior to its annexation by Rome, and its civic

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[206] Gaza: Meshorer 58; Abila: Sofaer 12.
[207] BMC Syr. 1.

coinage offers an insight into how these forces shaped the communities that existed there. As a result of this study, the value of Phoenician civic coins has been recognised and studied in the detail that it deserves. The diversity and quantity of its coin types constitute a source of evidence that is wholly unmatched by civic coins in the west of the empire, even for the brief period that they were still being produced, and yet the numismatic evidence of Phoenicia has remained under-exploited. For future scholarship, this thesis will establish the ideological and communicative potential of civic coins from the region, and demonstrate the need to integrate coin types more thoroughly into any study of ancient visual or material culture. The types testify to fluid and varying states of identity that characterised provincial communities, and to how these same communities responded to changing socio-political environments. As objects that were handled on a daily basis, they offer a tangibility that is arguably unmatched by other visual or material media, and provide an incredibly diverse and plentiful visual resource, which reflects images and symbols that were considered significant enough to be used to represent the city to both etic and emic perspectives. The recognition that civic coins offer an unparalleled indication of social attitudes and religious practices will open up a new expanse to enrich the study of provincial identities, and our understanding of civic life in the Roman Near East. Coin imagery is a detailed and multi-faceted glimpse into complex and diverse communities, of which very little other evidence remains.

This is a critical time for any study focusing on the Roman Near East. The atrocities (both human and cultural) committed in modern Syria by so-called Islamic State during the course of writing has reinvigorated national interest in the archaeology of the region, and emphasised the need to protect the rich cultural heritage of the Syrian people. In parallel to this, the increasing recognition of the value of cross-disciplinary research could result in collating disparate evidence and approaches, to further our understanding of the complex

communities that inhabited the region in the past, to effectively preserve them for the future.

Appendix

The following appendix includes specimens of the coin types discussed and referenced in this thesis. This appendix has been produced to provide the reader with a resource where the coin types which have been referenced above have been collated by their city of issue, regardless of their design. The coin images are depicted to scale, to demonstrate their original size, and a reference has been included so that the coin type can be looked up in its original catalogue if required. The coins illustrated and referenced below do not form a comprehensive guide to all civic coins issued by the cities of Roman Phoenicia, but rather serves to bring together the range of coin types which made up the evidence for this thesis, which were previously scattered throughout catalogues and auction sites.

Catalogue Number	Date	Obverse	Reverse	Legend(s)	Weight (g)	Notes	Image	Bibliographic information
ARADUS								
Aradus was the only island city in Roman Phoenicia, lying off the northern coast. It was a major commercial centre during the Hellenistic period, but began to decline in significance during the second century AD. By the late Roman period it had largely been eclipsed by Antaradus, its major mainland settlement.								

ARA001	260-240 BC	Prow of galley, facing left.	Turreted head of Tyche	Obv: none Rev:	1.78		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 87.
ARA002	115/6	Turreted bust of Tyche. Palm branch to left.	Deity seated on prow of galley with trident. Athena as figurehead.	Obv: none Rev: EOT	5.24		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 354.
ARA003	162/3	Confronted laureate heads of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.	Deity seated on galley, steering with tiller and holding cornucopia	Obv: ΑΝΤωΝΙΝΟC ΚΑΙ ΟΥΗΡΟC [CEBACTOI] Rev: ΑΚΥ / ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ	12.58		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 779
ARA004	187/8	Laureate bust of Commodus.	Tyche holding wreath and cornucopia, flanked by two columns with Nikai crowning.	Obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤ ΚΟΜ[…] Rev: ΗΜΥ / ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ	12.28		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Fitz 6019.

ARA005	217/8	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed	Cypress tree flanked by ox and lion.	Obv: AVTK MAVP ANTωNINOC Rev: APAΔIωN	14.25		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1174.
ARA006	218/9	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Statue of Tyche within distyle structure.	Obv: [AVTK MAV]P ANTωNINOC Rev: YOZ / APAΔ[IωN]	7.98		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF 1966.453.
ARA007	239/40	Radiate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche, draped, seated on rock, half-figure of male swimming below.	Obv: BAVTOKKNANTΓOPΔIANOC Rev: ETOVCHЧ VAPAΔIWN	13.98	N = retrograde	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 389.

CAESAREA AD LIBANUM

Initially known as Arca, or Heracleia during the Hellenistic period, Caesarea ad Libanum was re-founded under Antoninus Pius by its Ituraean rulers as an homage to Rome. The city was the birthplace of the emperor Severus Alexander and was awarded *colonia* status, and was home to the cult of Venus Architis, also known as Venus Iugens.

CAE001	149/150	Laureate head of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, left.	Turreted bust of Tyche, bare breast.	Obv: ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΚΑΙ CEB EYCYIOC Rev: KAICAR AC LIBANOU/ AZU	8.72		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 833.
AE002	218/9	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Venus Architis (*Halbfigur*) within distyle shrine.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL CESARIA LIBANI / ΛΦ	21.22		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 6.

CAE003	219/20	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Tyche in apse with two flanking antechambers. Marsyas in exergue.	Obv: IM C MAVR ANTONINVS Rev: COL CES / ΑΛΦ	6.94.		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 8.
CAE004	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, cuirassed	Venus Architis (full-length) within distyle shrine with balustrade.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL CES LIB	10.97		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Y.28455.46

CAE005	221/2	Radiate bust of Severus Alexander, draped.	Tripartite temple with central Tyche, flanked by Jupiter (L) and Venus (R).	Obv: [...]ΔROS CAISAR Rev: COL CESARIA LIB / ITVR	8.88		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 836.
CAE006	221/2	Radiate bust of Severus Alexander, draped.	A *kalathos* on base within distyle shrine.	Obv: AVAΛΕΞΑΝΔROS CESAP Rev: COL CESAR	5.05		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Y.28455.45.
CAE007	222-235	Draped bust of Severus Alexander.	Tyche in arched structure, flanked by Jupiter and Venus in lateral chambers.	Rev: COL C-E-SA-RIΛ LIB/ITVR	7.74		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF 1968.145.

ORTHOSIA

Situated only ten kilometres from Caesarea ad Libanum, little is known of Orthosia. It did not acquire any known civic titles, and its remains are unexplored. Along with Caesarea ad Libanum, it seems to have served as a fortification during the Hellenistic period to prevent access to southern Phoenicia.

ORT001	56/7	Turreted head of Tyche	Seated god in style of Olympian Zeus.	Obv: HIT Rev: [OPΘ]ΩΣΙΕΩΝ	3.95		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1492.
ORT002	150/1	Laureate bust of Antoninus Pius, draped and cuirassed.	Standing Tyche, crowned by Nike. Swimming male in exergue.	Obv: A YT KAI TI AIΛ AΔP ANTωNEINOC CEB Rev: BΞY / OPΘωCIEω	11.85		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1497.

ORT003	218-222.	Laureate bust of Elagabalus.	Tyche in tripartite temple flanked by Jupiter and Venus in lateral chambers.	Obv: AYK MAVP[...] Rev: [OPΘ]ΩΣΙΕΩΝ	11.80		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF 1973.208.
ORT004	221/2	Laureate bust of Elagabalus.	Tyche in tripartite temple.	Obv: AVK MAV [...] Rev: OPΘCEΩN / ΓΛΦ	8.45		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Y 28455.101
ORT005	221/2	Laureate head of Severus Alexander.	Tyche in tripartite temple.	Obv: AVK MAV... Rev: OPΘΩ C E [ΩN] / ΛΓΦ	11.78		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 5.

TRIPOLIS

Allegedly founded as three distinct urban settlements by Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, Tripolis was an important Hellenistic city. Less is known of the city during the Roman period, although it seems to have held important Greek civic titles and institutions, and was famed for its wine production.

TRI001	2nd century BC	Turreted bust of Tyche, hair in chignon.	The Dioscuri charging on horseback (not pictured).	ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ	4.45		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 1.
TRI002	147/8	Laureate bust of Antoninus Pius, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche standing holding stylis, left foot on prow.	Obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΑΙΛ ΑΔΡ ΑΝΤωΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ ΕΥC Rev: ΘΝΥ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤωΝ	15.57		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 4.6799.

TRI003	210/1	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed.	Dioscuri, holding horses and spears, looking up at Tyche in portable shrine.	Obv: AYK MAY ANTωNωNOCCEB Rev: TPIΠOΛIT·	9.10		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1948.
TRI004	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped.	Tyche flanked by Dioscuri, crowned by Nike.	M AVR AVTOωVIVOS Ceβ	12.94		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Cop 286.
TRI005	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche flanked by Dioscuri, crowned by Nike.	Obv: M AVR AVTOωVIVOS CEβ Rev: TPIΠO	11.97		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF B 824

TRI006	215/6	Radiate head of Caracalla.	Altar of Zeus Hagios, with central altar, flanked by Helios and Selene.	Obv: MAP AYP ANTΩNEINOC CEB Rev: TPIΠOΛITΩN ZKΦ	16.60		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1937.
TRI007	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Two tetrastyle structures, side by side, altar to left.	Obv: AYK MAY ANTωNINOC Rev: ΔIOC ΔΓIOY TPIΠOΛITΩNV	14.75		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1966.
TRI008	219/20	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche within central apse of tripartite temple.	Obv: AVT KAI AN ANTωNINO[...] Rev: TPI ΠO ΛI TωN / AΛΦ	22.15		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Chandon de Briailles 913.

				Obv: K MAVP AVTωVIVOS Rev: BΛΦ	15.12		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Cop. 291.
TRI009	220/1	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche within central apse of tripartite temple.	Obv: K MAVP AVTωVIVOS Rev: BΛΦ	15.12		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Cop. 291.
TRI010	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	So-called temple of Zeus Hagios, with central altar, flanked by Helios and Selene.	Obv: AYTK MAVP ANTωNINOC Rev: TPI ΠO ΛI TωN	13.93		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Lindgren I 2355.

BOTRYS

Almost nothing is known of Botrys, a small coastal city. From numismatic evidence it seems that, like its neighbour Tripolis, it produced wine. Unusually for Phoenicia, the city used the Actium era for its brief coinage, perhaps following the example of its southern neighbour Byblos.

BOT001	218-222	Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus.	Tyche standing in columned octastyle temple.	Obv: AVTKA MA[...] Rev: BOTPO	18.97		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG, E-auction 203, Lot 406. 28.01.09.

	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus	Tyche standing in hexastyle temple.	Obv: [...] ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Rev: BOT PY	9.82		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Lindgren I 2276.
BOT002								
BOT003	221/2	Laureate head of Elagabalus.	Tyche standing in domed hexastyle temple.	Obv: [...] ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Rev: BOT PV... / BMC	8.52		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG E-auction 367, Lot 404. 27.01.16.

BYBLOS

Byblos was an ancient city that underwent something of a decline during the Hellenistic period, but experienced a revival under Roman control, gaining a degree of civic monumentality. The city had an important cult and festival dedicated to Byblian Aphrodite (probably a local form of Astarte) and her consort Adonis.

BYB001	177-192	Laureate bust of Commodus draped and cuirassed.	Tyche in shell-niche.	Obv: AYT M AY KOMMOΔON EYT Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOY	17.05		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1387.
BYB002	180-192	Laureate head of Commodus	Tyche, facing left, holding aphlaston in right hand, and rudder in left.	Obv: AVT M AV[P] KOMMOΔON EVT Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOY	9.84		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.70866.
BYB003	198-211	Laureate bust of Septimius Severus, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Tyche, facing left, holding aphlaston in right hand, and rudder in left.	Obv: CEΠT CE[OVH] POC ΠEPT CEB Rev: [I]EPAC BYBΛOY	11.61		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 26

BYB004	198-217	Radiate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche, facing left, holding aphlaston in right hand, and rudder in left.	Obv: [M·AYP·CE]OYHP·ANTΩNINOC·CEB Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOY	7.30		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1392.
BYB005	217/8	Laureate bust of Macrinus, draped and cuirassed	So-called temple of Adonis. Crescent in exergue.	Obv: AYT KAI MAKPINOC CEB Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOV	22.50		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1394.
BYB006	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche standing in tetrastyle niche, crowned by Nike.	Obv: M·AYP·CEOYH·ANTΩNINOC·CEB Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOY	11.95		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Chandon de Briailles 929.

BYB007	217-218	Barehead-ed bust of Diadumen-ian, cuirassed.	Tyche standing in distyle niche, crowned by Nike.	Obv: ΜΟΠ ΔΙΑΔΟVΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙ Rev: BVB ΛOV / IEPAC	13.15		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 40.
BYB008	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped.	Tyche standing in apse of hexastyle structure, crowned by Nike.	Obv: AY KA[I MAYP]ANTΩNINOC Rev: IE PAC / BYBΛOY	12.13		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF De Clercq 344.
BYB009	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche standing in apse of hexastyle structure, crowned by Nike.	Obv: IMP CAIS M AR ANTONINVS AV Rev: BVB ΛOV / IEPAC	16.66		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 51.

BYB010	218-222	Radiate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche, facing left, holding aphlaston and rudder, within tetrastyle temple.	Obv: [AY·KAI·M·AYP·ANTΩ]NINOC Rev: [IEP]AC [BYBΛOY]	9.23		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Chandon de Briailles 930.
BYB011	218-222	Radiate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche, facing left, holding aphlaston and rudder, within tetrastyle temple.	Obv: AY·KAI·M·AYP·A[NTΩNINOC] Rev: IEPAC BYBΛOY	8.44		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF B 817.
BYB012	218-222	Radiate bust of Elagabalus, cuirassed.	Tetrastyle structure containing Tyche.	Obv: [AV]·KAI·MAVANTWNINOC Rev: IEPACBV / BΛOV	10.38		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Vogüé 331.

HELIOPOLIS

For the first two centuries of Roman rule in Phoenicia, Heliopolis was part of Berytus' hinterland, but was granted *ius Italicum* and colonial status by Septimius Severus in AD 194. It housed the exceptional sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, whose cult was famed across the empire.

HEL001	209-212	Laureate bust of Geta, draped.	Veiled and turreted bust of Tyche.	Obv: GETA CAESAR Rev: COL HEL	9.82		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Münz Zentrum Rheinland Auction 184 Lot 363. 16.05.18.
HEL002	193-211	Cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus.	Decastyle façade of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.	Obv: IMP L SEPT SEV PERT AVG Rev: COL H	14.49		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG Inc. E-auction 181, Lot 284. 06.02.08.

HEL003	193-211	Laureate bust of Septimius Severus, draped and cuirassed.	Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus aerial view.	Obv: L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS AVG Rev: COL HEL IOMH	10.28	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Chandon de Briailles 1267.
HEL004	244-249	Laureate bust of Philip I, draped and cuirassed.	Temple of Mercury.	Obv: IMP CAES MIVL PHILIPPVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG CL HEL	14.86	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Cop. 435.
HEL005	244-249	Laureate bust of Philip I, draped and cuirassed.	*Propylaeum* of sanctuary.	Obv: IMP CAES MIVL PHILIPPVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL AVG IOMH	12.15	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF F 7577.

HEL006	256/7	Laureate bust of Valerian, draped and cuirassed.	Two temples in side perspective, above, prize crown.	Obv: IMP CAES P LIC VALERIANVS P F AVG Rev: COL HEL	13.67		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG Inc., Mail Bid Sale 79, Lot 669. 17.09.08.
HEL007	244-249	Laureate bust of Philip the Arab, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche of Heliopolis, flanked by Nikai and *genii.*	Obv: IMP CAES M IVL PHILLIPVS PIVS FEL Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL / HEL	14.27		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF AA.GR.15216.
HEL008	244-249	Laureate bust of Philip the Arab, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche of Heliopolis, flanked by *genii* with *vexilla*.	Obv: IMP CAES M IVL PHILLIPVS PIVS FEL Rev: COL HEL VIII AVG LEG V MACED	16.30		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Münzen & Medaillen GmbH Auction 20. Lot 663. 10.10.06.

	256/7	Laureate bust of Gallienus, draped and cuirassed.	Bust of Tyche of Heliopolis on processional throne. Flanked by Nikai with inflated veil.	Obv: IMP CAES P LIC GALLIENVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL HEL	8.22		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Sawaya 766.
HEL009								
HEL010	253-268	Laureate bust of Gallienus, draped and cuirassed.	Bust of Tyche of Heliopolis on processional throne. Flanked by *vexilla*.	Obv: IMP CAES P LIC GALLIENVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL HEL	8.87		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG Inc., E-auction 181. Lot 290. 06.02.08.

BERYTUS

Berytus was the site of the first permanent settlement of Roman veterans in the Near East, being named a *colonia* in 15 BC. It has typically been characterised as possessing a more Roman character than its neighbours, and it later became an important site for the study of Roman law. It initially had an immense inland territory, including the Beqaʻ Valley and Heliopolis, which was later removed.

BER001	Second century BC	Turreted head of Tyche.	God with low *kalathos*, l., holding a patera in r., and trident in l. being drawn by hippocamps.	Obv: none Rev: none	5.09		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 782.
BER002	175-64 BC	Radiate head of Antiochus IV	God in himation, standing in *contrapposto*. Patera in r., trident in l.	Obv: none Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ	6.94		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.77115.
BER003	150-145 BC	Head of Alexander I Balas.	Trident with entwined dolphin.	Obv: none Rev: Λ Λ ϕ ϕ	1.45		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.77126.

BER004	28-27 BC	Laureate head of Poseidon, bearded, trident over shoulder.	Bare-chested half-figure of Poseidon, in car drawn by four hippocamps.	Obv: none Rev: L Γ N / [BHPY] TI	7.78		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.70138.
BER005	112-114	Laureate head of Trajan.	Tetrastyle adyton façade of temple of Tyche.	Obv: IMP CAES NER TRAIANO AVG GERM DAC COS VI Rev: COL BER	23.36		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 3.3840.
BER006	114-117	Laureate head of Trajan.	Tyche standing, crowned by Nike.	Obv: IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OP AVG GER DAC P P Rev: COL BER	21.65		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1222.

BER007	114-117	Head of Augustus, l	Lateran Poseidon, foot on prow, holding trident r. and dolphin l.	Obv: DIVVS AVGVSTVS Rev: COL BER	14.41		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 3.3848.
BER008	138-161	Laureate bust of Antoninus Pius, draped and cuirassed.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche .	Obv: ΛNTONINVS ΛVG PIVS P P T P Rev: COL BER	18.05	All As = Λ	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Sawaya 1177.
BER009	177-180	Laureate and draped bust of Commodus (Augustus)	Lateran Poseidon, facing right, left foot on rock, holding trident r. and dolphin l.	Obv: IMP·L·AVR·COM Rev: COL·IVL·AVG·FE[L·BER·]	7.10		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 4.6763.

BER010	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla.	Poseidon, draped with kalathos, facing (head left), in car drawn by four hippocamps	Obv: IMP MAVR SEV ANTON AVG Rev: COL BER	9.74		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Sawaya 1481.
BER011	198-217	Laureate head of Caracalla.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche.	Obv: IMP MAVR SEV ANTON AVG Rev: FEL AVG COL IVL BER	15.60		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger E-auction 403 Lot 832, 27.04.11.
BER012	217/8	Bust of Diadumen-ian, draped and cuirassed.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche plus acolytes, Poseidon and Beroë on pediment.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: [C]OL IVL AVG FEL / BER	21.31		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 169.

BER013	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped (not pictured).	Poseidon standing with trident, grasping kneeling Beroë.	Obv: IMP CAES M AVR ANTONIVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG BER	17.42		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 183.
BER014	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Hexastyle temple of Poseidon.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL BER	12.0		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	SNG Hunt. 3318.
BER015	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL BER	21.33		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Münzen & Medaillen GmbH Auction 20 Lot 806, 10.10.06.

BER016	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche.	Obv: IMP CAES MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL BER	22.13	R in retrograde.	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 171.
BER017	238/9	Radiate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Lateran Poseidon, foot on rock, holding trident r. and dolphin, l	Obv: IMP GORDI-ANVS AVG Rev: CO/L BE/R	5.46		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.72436.
BER018	241-244	Radiate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Tetrastyle temple of Tyche, half figure of Tyche within. Lion in exergue.	Obv: IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG COS II P P Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL / BER	18.21		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1321.

BER019	253-268	Radiate head of Gallienus, facing left.	Tyche facing frontally, crowned by Nike.	Obv: IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG Rev: COL IVL AVG FEL	17.31		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 818.

SIDON

Famous for its murex, bronze, and glass industries, Sidon was one of the most important Phoenician cities, and was the ancient rival of Tyre. It was awarded *colonia* and *metropolis* status under Elagabalus, and was the home of a prestigious cult to Astarte. It had a vast hinterland that bordered Damascus.

SID001	84/3 BC	Head of Tyche, turreted and veiled. Necklace.	Tyche standing on prow of galley with stylis, left hand on tiller.	Obv: ΣIA Rev: LZK / ΣIΔΩNIΩN	5.14		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1648.

SID002	9/8 BC	Tetrastyle temple behind altar. Flanking columns.	Europa being abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull.	Obv: none Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΛΓΡ	6.55		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 165
SID003	6/7	Laureate head of Augustus	Wheeled car of Astarte	Obv: none Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ	6.28		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 1.4608.
SID004	75/6	Bust of Dionysus, ivy crown.	Tyche, crowned, standing on prow of galley with stylis and aphlaston.	Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ / ϚΠΡ Phoenician inscription to right.	6.66		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 192.

SID005	87/8	Bust of Tyche, veiled and turreted. Crescent above, star to right.	Galley.	Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ / ΘΕΑΣ ΗΥΡ	3.22		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1743.
SID006	117-138	Laureate head of Hadrian	Wheeled car of Astarte	Obv: ΑΥΤΟ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΣΕΒ Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ	12.54		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Vogüé 376.
SID007	117-138	Turreted head of Tyche, with aphlaston	Wheeled car of Astarte	Obv: none Rev: ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ	8.81		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1767.

SID008	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Tyche crowned by Nike, Marsyas to left.	Obv: IMP CAESAR MAVR ANTO[NINVS AVG] Rev: AVR PIA SIDON COL METRO	18.68		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 242.
SID009	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Car of Astarte.	Obv: IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL METR AVR PIA SID	18.90		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1783.
SID010	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Car of Astarte.	Obv: IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: COL METR AVR PIA SID	16.39		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Y 20263.

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SID011	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, cuirassed (not pictured).	Tyche crowned by Nike, Marsyas to left, all within tetrastyle temple.	Obv: IMP CAESAR MAVR ANTONINVS AVG Rev: AVR PIA SID COL METRO	20.74		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 243.
SID012	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Eshmun making offering over altar to car of Astarte.	Obv: IMP CAE M A ANT[ONINVS …] Rev: [COL AVR] PIA METR	9.85		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1819.
SID013	219/20	Draped bust of Julia Paula, crowned with stephane	Car of Astarte.	Obv: IVLIA PAVLA AVG Rev: COL AVR PIA MET	15.72		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 1829.

SID014	219/20	Draped head of Julia Paula	Car of Astarte.	Obv: IVLIA PAVLA AVG Rev: COL AVR PIA MET	3.31		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF E 2931.
SID015	219/20	Draped bust of Julia Paula.	Car of Astarte encircled within zodiac.	Obv: IVLIA PAVLA AVG Rev: none	14.62		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF R 1896.

TYRE

Tyre was one of the most important Phoenician cities. Originally an island, it was connected to the mainland during a seven-month siege by Alexander the Great. It was the home of the famous cult of Melqart, recognised by Graeco-Roman audiences as 'Tyrian Herakles', and gained its wealth from the murex industry. It was named *colonia* and *metropolis* under Caracalla, and was the home of the Phoenician *koinon* from AD 194.

TYR001	113/2 BC	Veiled and turreted head of Tyche, earring, palm branch behind.	Goddess standing on prow of galley with stylis and outstretched aphlaston.	Rev: LΔI / Phoenician inscription	3.52	לצר (of Tyre).	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 248.

TYR002	98/9	Laureate bust of Melqart, lion-skin off flan.	Club within oak wreath	Rev: ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕωΣ / ΔΚΣ	9.51	לצר (of Tyre)	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 3.3879.
TYR003	104/5	Veiled and turreted head of Tyche, earring, palm branch behind.	Goddess standing on prow of galley with stylis and outstretched aphlaston.	Rev: ΛΣ / Phoenician inscription.	1.55	לצר (of Tyre)	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 3.3883.
TYR004	> AD 194	Laureate head of Melqart with lion-skin.	Octastyle temple of the Phoenician *koinon*.	Obv: ΤΥΡΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛεωΟC Rev: ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗC ΑΚΤ[Ι]	11.55	Tyre in Phoenician.	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 4.5662.
TYR005	193-211	Draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus.	Nude Melqart with club, crowning trophy to left	Obv: L SEPT SEVRERT AVG IMP Rev: SEP TYRVS METRO COLONI	29.39		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG E-auction 356 Lot 388 29.07.15.

TYR006	198-217	Draped bust of Julia Domna (not pictured).	Tyche crowning trophy, crowned by Nike, Marsyas at feet.	Obv: IVLIA AVGVSTA Rev: SEP TVRVS METR COLONI	16.59		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 369.
TYR007	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla.	Temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, side view.	Obv: IMP MAVR ANTONINVS Rev: SEP TVRVS METRO COLONI	13.25		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 376.
TYR008	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche within hexastyle temple with arcuated lintel.	Obv: IMP MAVR ANTONINVS Rev: SEPT TIM TVR COL	11.88		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF 1966.453.
TYR009	209-211	Draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus.	Laureate bust of Melqart, lion-skin around neck.	Obv: AYT KAI CEΠ CEOYHPOCCE Rev: ΔHMAPX GΣVTTATΓ	12.84	AR	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG E-auction 375 Lot 89 1st June 2016.

TYR010	198-217	Laureate bust of Caracalla, cuirassed.	Melqart sacrificing over altar with patera, with club and lion-skin. Above, Ambrosial Rocks with water flowing.	Obv: M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG Rev: SEP TYRVS METRO COLONIA	23.66	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 2198.
TYR011	217/8	Laureate bust of Macrinus (not pictured).	Temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, side view.	Obv: IMP CAES MACRINVS AVG Rev: COENV PHOENICE	8.62	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 382.
TYR012	217/8	Laureate bust of Macrinus, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, side view.	Obv: IMP CAES MACRINVS AVG Rev: COENV PHOENICE	27.05	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 383.

TYR013	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, cuirassed.	Melqart with club, crowning trophy, crowned by Nike.	Obv: [IMP CAES] MAV ANTONINVS [AVG] Rev: TVRIORVM	11.94	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Chandon de Briailles 832A.
TYR014	218-222	Draped bust of Julia Maesa, crowned with stephane	Laureate bust of Melqart, lion-skin around shoulders.	Obv: IVLIA MAESA Rev: TVRIORVM	8.92	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Righetti 904
TYR015	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks between an olive tree, dog in exergue.	Obv: IMP CAES M AV ANTONINVS AVG Rev: TVRIORVM / AMBPOCIE ΠΑΙΤPE	11.42	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG Triton XVI Lot 739 08.01.13.

TYR016	220-222	Draped bust of Aquilia Severa, crescent in hair.	Tyche touching trophy, crowned by Nike, palm tree to left.	Obv: IVL AQVILIA SEVERA AVG Rev: TVRORVM	11.38		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 416.
TYR017	238-244	Laureate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Melqart with club, crowning trophy to left, crowned by Nike on column, right.	Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL TYR MET	16.72		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Savoca Numismatik E-auction 14, Lot 438 23.04.17.
TYR018	238-244	Laureate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed (not pictured).	Melqart sacrificing over altar with patera, with club and lion-skin. Above, Ambrosial Rocks with water flowing.	Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL TVR MET[R]	8.57		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 427.

	238-244	Laureate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks between an olive tree. Murex in exergue.	Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL TYR METRO / AMBPOCIE ΠΕΤΡΕ	17.09		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	ANS 1944.100.81882.
TYR019								
TYR020	238-244	Laureate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks, olive tree to right and altar to left. Crescent moon to left, star to right, Murex in exergue.	Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL TYR METRO / AMBPOCIE ΠΕΤΡΕ	20.30		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BnF Y 28596.16.
TYR021	238-244	Laureate bust of Gordian III, draped and cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks between an olive tree. Crescent moon to left. Murex in exergue.	Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Rev: COL TYR METRO / AMBPOCIE ΠΕΤΡΕ	16.19		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG E-auction 285 Lot 235 22nd August 2012.

TYR022	251-253	Laureate bust of Trebonianus Gallus, draped and cuirassed	Melqart sacrificing over altar with patera, with club and lion-skin. Above, Ambrosial Rocks with water flowing.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METROP	10.70		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2040.
TYR023	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed,	Tyche between crowning Nike and palm tree. Below, four Tychai make various offerings.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	11.77		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.1997.
TYR024	251-253	Laureate bust of Volusian, draped and cuirassed.	Goddess sacrificing before the temple of Melqart.	Obv: IMP C C VIB VOLVSIANVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	12.08		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2021.

	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed.	Temple of the Phoenician *koinon*, side view.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREB GALLUS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METR	9.60		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2042.
TYR025								
TYR026	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed,	Tyche crowning trophy, crowned by Nike, Marsyas to left.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	11.69		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.1998.
TYR027	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed	Laureate bust of Melqart, lion-skin around shoulders.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	12.54		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2041.
TYR028	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche crowning trophy, crowned by Nike, Marsyas to left. To right, Roma seated on shield holding palladium.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO MET	18.34		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2000.

TYR029	251-253	Laureate bust of Volusian, draped and cuirassed	Temple of Tyche, altar and murex shell in exergue.	Obv: IMP CC VIB VOLVSIANVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	12.08		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2019.
TYR030	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks between an olive tree. Dog and murex in exergue.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METRO	12.29		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG E-auction 135 Lot 72. 15.03.06.
TYR031	251-253	Laureate bust of Gallus, draped and cuirassed.	Monumental bust of Tyche in arched portable shrine.	Obv: IMP C C VIBIVS TREBO GALLVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO MET	14.16		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 9.2006.

TYR032	253-260	Radiate bust of Valerian, draped.	Melqart with club crowning trophy, left. Below, Ambrosial Rocks with water flowing.	Obv: IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METR	18.68		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 2308.
TYR033	253-260	Radiate bust of Valerian, draped.	Melqart sacrificing over altar with patera, with club and lion-skin. Above, Ambrosial Rocks with water flowing.	Obv: IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METR	14.25		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 2309.
TYR034	253-268	Draped bust of Salonina.	Draped goddess, sacrificing over altar to temple of Melqart.	Obv: CORNE SALONINA AVG Rev: COL TVRO MET	14.10		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	CNG Auction 90 Lot 1147 23 May 2012.

	253-260	Laureate bust of Gallienus, cuirassed.	Ambrosial Rocks between an olive tree. Altar and murex in exergue.	Obv: IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG Rev: COL TYRO METR	18.20		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Babelon 2349.
TYR035								

PTOLEMAIS-AKKE

Ptolemais became a Roman colony between AD 52 and 54, and settled Roman veterans. The only city to acquire a Hellenistic dynastic name, it continued to issue coinage in the name of Akke until the first century AD. It was reportedly the first site to provide the sand necessary for glass production.

	39/8 BC	Bare head of Mark Antony, within laurel wreath.	Tyche, turreted and facing left, holding a cornucopia and a rudder.	Rev: ΠΤΟΛ[Ε]ΜΑΕ[Ω] / ΙΕΡΑΣ LIA ΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΥ	10.56		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Heritage Auctions, Signature Auction, Lot 20559. 09.05.12.
PTO001								
PTO002	52-54	Head of Zeus, bearded.	Club within laurel wreath.	Obv: none Rev: COL PTO	2.56		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	BMC 15.

PT0003	116/7	Laureate head of Trajan, left.	Tyche (Antioch style) seated on rock. River god at feet.	IMP CAES NER TRAI[A]NO OPT AVG GER DA PAR	11.27		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 3.3911.
PT0004	161-180	Laureate bust of Marcus Aurelius, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche (Antioch style) seated on rock. River god at feet.	IMP CAES M AVR AN[T] AVG	11.87		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	RPC 4.6875.
PT0005	218-222	Laureate bust of Elagabalus, draped and cuirassed.	Tyche holding rudder and cornucopia, crowned by Nike.	Obv: ANTONINOC AVG CA Rev: COL PT	9.44		This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Heritage Auctions, Inc. Auction 3018, Lot 20344, 05.09.12.
PT0006	220/1	Diademed and draped bust of Aquilia Severa.	Monumental fountain with central Tyche.	Obv: IVL AQVILIA SEVERA AV Rev: COL PTO	10.41	unknown.	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	LHS Numisma-tik AG Auction 100 Lot 533 23.04.07.

	244-249.	Laureate bust of Philip the Arab, draped and cuirassed.	Portable shrine with Jupiter.	Obv: IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS P F AVG Rev: COL PTOL	unknown.	unknown.	This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.	Meshorer 11.
PTO007								

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