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Introduction

The study of ancient monuments and buildings as a means of understanding the past has a long history[1]. Detailed recording of standing architectural remains and their classification according to building type and function were, and still are, considered fundamental for the reconstruction of an ancient settlement. Yet, archaeological research often remains limited to the period of construction and initial use of monuments, especially in classical archaeology. Since a monument is not a sealed time capsule for which significance derived from its original function and period of construction and primary use, this is a reductionist perspective in which only certain periods and functions are seen to matter and which is blind to the long and interesting lives of monuments[2]. There is therefore a need for an alternative perspective that allows for the continued recognition of key episodes in a monument's life and which also recognizes that its significance is cumulative and changing, with a wider range of activities, events, and memories augmenting and enriching traditional period-limit views.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1 = Sagalassos Project (Özge Başağaç). – *Figs. 2. 12* = Sagalassos Project (Eliane Mahy). – *Figs. 3–9. 11. 13. 16–23* = Sagalassos Project. – *Fig. 10* = British Museum Catalogue no. 665 © Trustees of the British Museum. – *Fig. 14* = Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1850. – *Fig. 15* = Bronze Coin of Claudius II, Sagalassus. 1942.148.7, Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (CC BY-NC 4.0 / Desaturated from original).

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1 Reynolds 2009.

2 Rohl 2015.

As scholars moved away from a focus on the initial use-life of artefacts to adopt a biographical approach to objects[3], such an approach has now also been advocated for classical monuments[4]. The notion of the biography of objects goes back to Kopytoff who felt that things could not be fully understood at just one point in their existence, and that processes of production, exchange and consumption – or in architectural terms, the construction, use and decay of a building – had to be looked at as a whole[5].

The aim of this paper is to outline such a life history for the Tychaion, or sanctuary of the goddess Tyche at Sagalassos, a medium-sized city in the ancient region of Pisidia (southeastern Turkey). This relatively modest shrine in the shape of a baldachin supported by columns, which was dedicated to the Greek goddess of fate and fortune, occupied a highly visible location in the very centre of the city, the Upper Agora. First described by the team of Count Lanckoronski during their architectural survey of the city in the late 19th century[6], the monument was excavated in 1992 and briefly discussed in the preliminary excavation report[7]. It was then studied as part of the research on architectural decoration during the Roman Imperial period by Vandeput[8], while its late antique inscriptions were published by Devijver and Waelkens[9]. The building was identified as a Tychaion by Talloen and Waelkens on the basis of 3rd century A.D. numismatic evidence[10], and its conversion into an imperial monument discussed as part of the late antique development of the city by Waelkens and Jacobs[11]. Therefore, several aspects of the monument and episodes in its history have been studied, but always individually and never as part of a diachronic holistic approach. Most recently, the building has been the subject of a control excavation, as part of programme of such small-scale excavations aimed at establishing the historical evolution of the Upper Agora[12]. By bringing the results of those test excavations and of a renewed study of the extant remains together with all available information, this paper intends to sketch the complete life-cycle of the Tychaion, from its origins in the early Roman Imperial period until its destruction as part of the demise of Sagalassos as a classical city in the middle of the 7th century A.D.

A biography of an object, however, is more than simply listing the sequence of events it underwent and the changes to its form that resulted from this. It is also a metaphor for understanding the way human and object histories inform each other[13]. The central idea behind the concept of biography is that as people and objects gather time, they are transformed and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other. This paper therefore intends to go beyond the description and classification of architectural form and function, and any modifications these experienced, to engage with social themes such as identity, memory and other aspects of social organization, which made the Tychaion an emblematic monument for the society that built it. For

3 Gosden – Marshall 1999.
4 Rohl 2015.
5 Kopytoff 1986.
6 Lanckoronski 1892, 137 f.
7 Waelkens 1993, 16, elaborated in Waelkens et al. 1995, 24 f.
8 Vandeput 1997, 43–45. 195 f.
9 Devijver – Waelkens 1995, 118 f. nos. 4–6.
10 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 188–191.
11 Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 9–104.
12 Talloen – Poblome 2016.
13 Gosden – Marshall 1999.

Fig. 1
Plan of the Upper Agora: 1) Tychaion; 2) Arches of Claudius; 3) ›Market Building‹; 4) eastern aedicula of the Antonine Nymphaeum

a building, like any other object, not only changes through its existence, but it often has the capability of accumulating histories, so that its present significance derives from the persons and events to which it is connected[14]. It is the dialectical relationship of the monument and the community – how it was shaped by the community and how it in turn shaped that community and its material culture – that will be the common thread of the episodes in the biography. Specific attention will therefore be paid to the meaning of the building for the civic community based on its resonance through the material culture of that community using a variety of locally produced objects that refer to the monument, such as coinage, architecture, epigraphy and ceramics.

Imperial Period Canopy Monument (Early 1st Century A.D.)

The canopy monument is situated more or less in the middle of the south side of the Upper Agora, along a major thoroughfare that crossed the south part of the agora between the southwest and southeast entrance gates (*Fig. 1*). Yet, unlike the trapezoid square, which has a northwest-southeast orientation, the Tychaion is exactly oriented towards the north. The square monument (with a side of 3,10 m measured from plinth to plinth; *Fig. 2*) had a nearly square canopy roof (measuring 3,20 by 3,10 m and 1,60 m high; *Fig. 3*) with four concave sides composed of three superposed courses of blocks in local limestone decorated with leaf-like carved tiles on the outside and crowned by a pinnacle, as indicated by the dowel hole on top. On the exterior side, the lower part of the lower

14 Gosden – Marshall 1999, 170.

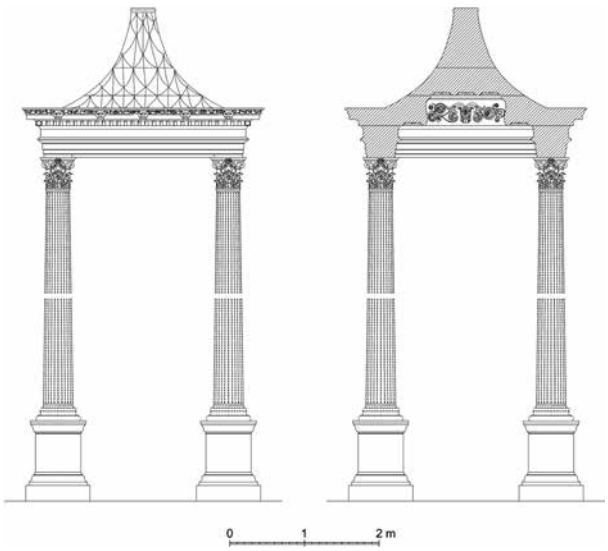

Fig. 2
Reconstructed elevation and section of the Tychaion

course of the blocks was elaborated as a cornice decorated with a dentil frieze in the lower part and an anthemion of open and closed palmettes interspersed with lion heads above. On the interior side, this lower part is decorated on all four sides with floral ornaments consisting of a central acanthus bush from which tendrils sprout in opposite directions[15]. Dowel holes and pour channels present in levelled square surfaces (with a side of 0,46 m) on the northwest and northeast corners of the canopy roof (*Fig. 5*) indicate that two *akroteria* were placed there; there are no traces of such *akroteria* on the south side. The rough execution of the levelled area, removing some of the leaf-like tile decoration of the roof, suggests that these were probably later additions.

The roof was supported by an entablature consisting of combined architrave-frieze blocks (width: 0,39 m for the architrave and 0,47 m for the frieze; height: 0,42 m), a single block for each side, with a length of 2,35 m on the east and west side, and 2,80 m on the south side; of the north block only a fragment of 1,10 m could be found. The lower architrave part had three fasciae while the upper frieze was plain. An inscription was originally present on the architrave-frieze of the north side facing the agora but has been completely erased (*Fig. 4*). It undoubtedly concerned the dedication of the monument but the object of the dedication and the party responsible for its construction – public or private – can no longer be identified. Soffit mouldings are present on the undersides of the architrave-frieze blocks. The entablature in turn was carried by four columns and capitals which are now missing. A few surviving pieces of Ionic capitals found in the vicinity have been ascribed to the monument[16], although this seems unlikely as will be shown below. The columns were placed on top of 0,86 m high square pedestals with mouldings at the top and bottom of the shaft (with a side of 0,60 m for the shaft and 0,70 m for the top moulding) provided with a square plinth (0,75 m wide and 0,21 to 0,25 m high). Two dowel holes and accompanying pouring channels on top of each pedestal indicate the presence of column bases which have disappeared.

Given the lack of capitals, the architectural order of the monument is not completely clear. Waelkens reconstructs the columns as Ionic[17]. Yet, the acanthus decoration of the entablature sug-

15 For a detailed description of the building and its decoration, see Vandeput 1997, 43–45. 195 f.

16 Waelkens et al. 1995, 24 f.

Fig. 3
The canopy roof of the Tychaion

Fig. 4
Erased inscription on the northern architrave of the Tychaion

gests a Corinthian style for the monument[18]. This is further corroborated by the terracotta representations of the shrine which also depict Corinthian capitals (see below).

Originally, a statue base stood in the centre of the monument. Only the substructure in the shape of a square plinth (with a side of 1,18 m and a height of 0,30 m) consisting of three limestone blocks is preserved as a result of later changes (*Fig. 6*). Setting lines on the corners of the plinth indicate the presence of a second step, which has been removed.

Traces on the pavement slabs on the north side of the shrine confirm that this was the

Fig. 5 Northwest corner of the canopy roof

17 Waelkens et al. 1995, 24 f.; Devijver – Waelkens 1995, 117 f.

18 A similar tendril frieze was present on the so-called NW Heroon overlooking the Upper Agora, which could be reconstructed as a Corinthian *naiskos* (Waelkens et al. 2000a).

Fig. 6
Plinth of statue base and place marks on the north side of the Tychaion

original form and position of the monument and not a late antique re-assemblage of the roof of an older structure with new pedestals as initially contended by Waelkens[19]. There, a dowel hole and its pour channel have been recorded, situated in the axis of the monument, 0,40 m north of the plinth of the central statue base. It indicates the place of an additional fixture, given its location most probably an altar (*Fig. 6*). The channel, oriented from the dowel hole towards the north, was cut into the slab over a length of 0,20 m and was used for pouring molten lead to fix and seal the dowel connecting the alleged altar to the slab. This length suggests a diameter (or thickness) of ca. 0,40 m for the altar. The relatively small size of the altar suggests an installation for libations or burning of incense rather than a fire altar for burning sacrificial victims[20]. It would then have been used for daily ritual practices by people frequenting the agora rather than for animal sacrifice on the occasion of civic festivals. Together with the location of the dedicatory inscription, the positioning of the altar on the north side of the monument indicates the orientation of the building towards the agora.

Crude rectangular cuttings (0,13–0,18 m wide and 0,065–0,075 m deep), are present in the top moulding of all the pedestals on the sides that face another pedestal (*Fig. 7*). They can be seen as indications that the sides of the structure were closed off by some kind of balustrade or fence. Barriers in shrines are generally known to have functioned as psychological rather than physical boundaries to prevent undesirable forms of ritual adoration[21]. As a result of the presence of such

19 Waelkens et al. 1995, 24 f. Although Vandeput (1997, 196) believes the monument to be in its original position, she too sees it as a 4th century composition of existing (entablature and roof) and new (pedestals) pieces. Her 4th century date of the pedestals, however, seems based on the inscriptions which are a later addition to the monument, rather than the pedestals themselves; pedestals are known to have supported columns since the 2nd century B.C. and were particularly popular during the Roman Imperial period (see Laflı – Christof 2011, 257 and n. 44. 45 for references). There are, however, no later pieces involved as indicated by the Roman Imperial period depictions of the monument (see below). This has recently been confirmed by a study of the stone techniques used in the monument, which attributed all remaining elements to the early Roman Imperial period (F. Doperé, Stone cutting techniques and chronology, unpublished field report).

20 Sinn 2005.

21 Mylonopoulos 2011.

Fig. 7 Pedestals of the Tychaion with indication of the cuttings in the upper mouldings

a barrier, however, the inside of the structure would have been inaccessible and the altar needed to be removed in order to arrange it. Together with the rather crude execution of the cuttings this would suggest that such a barrier or screen was not part of the original monument, but added afterwards, possibly at the time of the late antique conversion (see below).

On the basis of its architectural decoration, both Waelkens and Vandeput suggested an Augustan date for the monument[22]. This date has now been stratigraphically corroborated as a result of a test sounding on the west side of the monument (*Fig. 8*). For the arrangement of the foundation blocks of the shrine a trench had been cut into the limestone bedrock. The fill of this trench contained ceramics dating to the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., which established a terminus post quem for the construction of the canopy monument[23]. Having said that, it does appear to belong to the very end of the Augustan period, or even the early reign of Tiberius, as the north-eastern foundation blocks (slabs) of the monument carried the stone mason marks AT (*Fig. 9*) – probably the initials of Attalos, a common name at Sagalassos – which were also present on the slabs of the agora pavement immediately in front of the western portico[24]. This suggested that both were carved by the same mason, and were therefore part of consecutive operations, presumably close in time. As control excavations indicated that the latter slabs were arranged sometime during the reign of Tiberius[25], the slabs underneath the pedestals of the Tychaion can be attributed to the same generation. Yet the fact that the slabs of the agora pavement were arranged around those of the monument indicates that the substructure of the Tychaion was already in place when the area was paved[26].

22 Waelkens et al. 1995, 24; Vandeput 1997, 43–45.

23 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 129.

24 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 129 and 130 fig. 16.

25 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 134.

26 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 133 f.

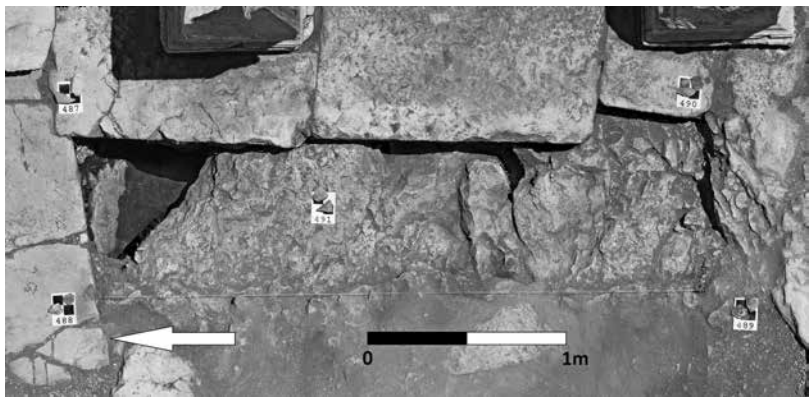

Fig. 8
Orthophoto of the test sounding on the west side of the Tychaion

Fig. 9 Stone mason mark AT on the northeast corner foundation stones of the Tychaion

Although first identified as an honorific monument, possibly even dedicated to the emperor Augustus[27], close resemblance with a shrine of Tyche depicted on city coins of the 3rd century AD suggested an identification of the canopy monument as a Tychaion in an earlier publication[28]. The evidence of these coins will be discussed in further detail below, but it can already be mentioned here that the close similarity between the structure described above and the tetrastyle shrine housing a statue of the goddess covered by a roof with the same typical leaf motif leaves little doubt about this identification. Moreover, it will be further corroborated by other categories of material evidence presented in this paper.

Originally conceived as the goddess of fate and fortune, believed to guide human affairs[29], Tyche also took on a role as tutelary city goddess in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods[30]. She was the divinity charged with the protection of the city that ensured its prosperity and happiness. The cult of Tyche at Sagalassos can most probably be traced back to the late Hellenistic period. Civic silver issues of the 1st century B.C. depicting a cornucopia, one of the main, albeit not exclusive attributes of Tyche, symbolizing the richness she distributed, suggest that the cult of Tyche may already have existed there at the time[31]. The construction of the shrine indicates that the cult became more prominent during the early Roman Imperial period. Although a

27 Waelkens 2002, 334.

28 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 188–191.

29 See Lib., Ekphraseis, 25,1, ed. by R. Foerster (Leipzig 1915).

30 Meyer 2006, 335–354.

31 Silver drachm with the laureate head of Zeus to the right (av.) and a cornucopia flanked by CA-ΓA (rv.): von Aulock 1964, no. 5154; Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1731.

surge in attention given to a city's Tyche is often held to be characteristic of uncertain times[32], the early Roman Imperial period appears to have been the start of a period of great prosperity for Sagalassos. As in numerous other cities, the *Pax Romana* that came with Roman political dominance after 25 B.C. meant increased stability and better economic circumstances for the Pisidian city to develop[33]. What is more, the building was part of a whole project of monumentalization that was taking place at time in the urban centre, following the enlargement of the Upper Agora during the second half of the 1st century B.C. This building programme of the early 1st century A.D. also encompassed the construction of the Bouleuterion to the west of the square, the *temenos* and *propylon* of the Doric Temple and the NW Heroon overlooking the agora from the northwest, a nymphaeum on the north side of the square, and several honorific monuments on the square itself[34]. During the Roman Imperial period, the ideology of the town increasingly involved the physicality of the town: a nucleated settlement with a range of public buildings which would form its showpiece and reflect the wealth of the community[35]. Furthermore, the town was not merely a physical reality, but possessed a metaphysical identity as a personified deity; this aspect received material expression in the Tychaion. The nature and scale of the programme thus point to an interdependence between the socio-political and religious realms, as the construction of religious infrastructure, administered and financed by the political and religious institutions dominated by the upper classes, generated the framework for the official communal cults in an increasingly monumentalised sacred landscape. It provided the socio-political leaders with the infrastructure for elite-controlled politics and cults. A shrine for the goddess personifying and protecting the city was certainly not out of place in this building project that came to define the physical framework of the city centre for the next 600 years[36]. Additionally, the construction may also have been part of a response – to the Roman domination and the ensuing globalization – seeking to enhance local and regional traditions and memories[37]. The effect of Empire on regions has often been found to be counterintuitive, fostering an increased sense of regional diversity and making local identities all the more potent[38]. As one of the signboards *par excellence* available to a city to express its individuality in the context of the larger entities, the Tychaion was undoubtedly important in the shaping of a visual self-representation of the local community in a period when direct Roman rule was established and the city became a part of the Roman Empire.

Whatever the exact motivation, through its situation in the middle of the south side of the new square the Tychaion contributed to the new definition of the square. The porticoes that soon afterwards surrounded the open space of the agora added to the monumentality through their continuous façades but also hid the buildings behind it. This caused the shrine, the only structure other than honorific monuments in the form of statue bases to be present on the square itself, to stand out completely, thus dominating the space and commanding the attention of all

32 Broucke 1994, 37. 44.

33 Waelkens 2002, 329–340; Waelkens et al. 2011, 57–97.

34 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 121–135; see Waelkens et al. 2000a for the NW Heroon.

35 Revell 2014, 91.

36 See Talloen – Poblome 2016; Talloen forthcoming a.

37 Galinsky 2015, 9.

38 Whitmarsh 2010, 10; Ando 2010, 33 f.

those entering it. Although relatively modest in size compared to other urban sanctuaries[39], this prominent situation underlined its importance for the civic community and its self-representation. The location of the Tychaion on the agora, a common situation for such a sanctuary as indicated by the examples throughout the eastern Mediterranean[40], connected it to civic political rituals at the heart of city life. Housing the city goddess, it was *the* sanctuary of the city: used to accommodate public rituals that produced civic awareness. People called upon Tyche to deliver protection and prosperity for the city, and the open nature of the shrine will have allowed access to the goddess at all times. Moreover, given its location on the city square along one of the major thoroughfares of the city, it will certainly have been a stopover for several processional routes as these comprised many landmarks of political, cultural and religious significance[41]. All this made the Tychaion a fundamental component of the religious landscape of Sagalassos.

Nearly every city had a Tyche who represented and ruled its destiny but not everywhere are her sanctuaries known. Architectural remains of other Tychaia in the vicinity of Sagalassos are attested at Selge in Pisidia, Side in Pamphylia, and Pisidian Antioch in Phrygia. The Tychaion of Selge is situated on the northwest side of the city's upper agora. Its plan has been reconstructed as a small *distylos in antis* temple with a cella which is wider than it is deep, on top of a high, steeply-stepped podium[42]. The current remains of the building in Corinthian order have been dated to the first half of the 3rd century A.D. on the basis of the Motoxaris inscription which lists it among the monuments on the agora reconstructed by this member of the Selgian elite[43]; its original date is not known but a late Hellenistic date or early Roman Imperial date has been suggested[44]. An early 2nd century A.D. *tholos* consisting of 12 Corinthian columns surrounding a circular *naos* on a podium accessible by a flight of nine steps has been excavated in the centre of the commercial agora of the Pamphylian city of Side[45]. It has been tentatively identified with the monument housing a statue of Tyche featuring on the coins of Side during the reign of Gallienus[46], although the coin represents a tetrastyle structure carrying a baldachin or pyramidal roof crowned by a pomegranate[47]; its identification therefore is not certain. A similar *tholos* erected in the south corner of the Tiberian *Plateia*, a plaza leading to the imperial sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch, has equally been tentatively linked to a shrine of Fortuna known from 3rd century A.D. civic coinage[48]. This eight columned circular building, dated by an inscription to the reign of Caracalla, was built on a square base. It appears that the Ionic and composite columns were standing di-

39 On the sanctuaries of Apollo Klarios and Antoninus Pius see Talloen – Waelkens 2004.

40 A combination of numismatic, archaeological and literary evidence indicates that Tyche's cult generally occupied a highly visible position in the public spaces devoted to political and commercial life of an ancient city (Broucke 1994, 40). See e.g. at Alexandria (MacKenzie – Reyes 2013), Constantinople (Lavan 2011b, 450–453), and Corinth (Edwards 1990). For the Anatolian examples of Selge and Side see below.

41 See Agelidis 2012.

42 Machatschek – Schwarz 1981, 96.

43 Nollé – Schindler 1991, 89 no. 17.

44 For the late Hellenistic date see Waelkens 1988, 583; for the early Roman Imperial date see Vandeput 2002, 210.

45 On the tholos of Side see most recently the work by the University of Graz (Austria): <https://archaeologie.uni-graz.at/de/forschen/projekte/auslandsprojekte/side-tychetempel/> (14.11.2018).

46 Mansel et al. 1956, 31–37; Mansel 1963, 106–107; Nollé 1990, 253.

47 Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 933 (Salonina).

48 Mitchell – Waelkens 1998, 156.

rectly on the stylobate without column bases. The building was covered with a conical stone roof decorated in imitation of tiling and looking like fish scales.

Fig. 10 Reverse of a coin of Antioch dating to the reign of Volusian (A.D. 251–253) depicting the Tychaion

Although these examples, on or bordering a public square, all share the characteristics of a showcase for the display of the cult statue of the city goddess, in none of these cities did the Tychaion have a square canopy roof as at Sagalassos. According to Waelkens, the Sagalassian monument should be seen as an example of Roman architectural influence as in the various Late Republican or Early Roman Imperial aedicule monuments of Italy and the West which became popular in Anatolia during the Roman Imperial period for mausolea[49]. There is, however, a much closer parallel for the structure, both geographically and functionally, namely the Tychaion of Antioch on the Orontes. Judging by the coins depicting the structure[50], the Tyche of Antiocheia – the prototype of all city-goddesses – was displayed in a similar Corinthian tetrastyle structure carrying a pyramidal baldachin roof (*Fig. 10*). Although its location is unknown and no architectural remains have been found, the form of the shrine is confirmed by the description of the structure as a four-columned canopy by the late antique author Malalas[51]. Rather than following a western example, it seems far more likely that the example at Sagalassos is based on this modest but highly distinctive architectural model from the former Seleucid capital[52].

Reliefs of Cornucopiae on the Agora Gates (A.D. 42–46)

Within a few decades after the construction of the Tychaion, two gates were erected at the southwestern and eastern entrances to the Upper Agora (*Figs. 1. 2*). They marked the access to the square and also visualized the course of the thoroughfare along the south side of the agora. The gates took the shape of triumphal arches which were dedicated to the Roman emperor Claudius in A.D. 42/43 and 43–46, respectively[53]. These monuments may have already displayed the influence of the shrine as the keystones of the arches were decorated on both faces with a cornucopia (*Fig. 11*). The latter had been associated with the goddess since the 6th century B.C. and, together with the rudder or steering oar, would become her most typical attribute[54]. The cornucopia illustrates her power to bestow prosperity, the rudder her power to guide the lives of

49 Waelkens 1993, 16; Waelkens et al. 1995, 24.

50 Depicted on local bronze coinage during the reigns of Trajanus Decius (Herennius Etruscus: Wroth 1899, no. 623; Hostilianus: Wroth 1899, no. 628), Trebonianus Gallus (Wroth 1899, nos. 639 and 654; together with Volusian: Wroth 1899, no. 656) and Valerian (Wroth 1899, no. 667).

51 Ioh. Mal., Chronographia 8,14, ed. by E. Jeffreys – M. Jeffreys – R. Scott (Leiden 1986).

52 Also coins of Caesarea Maritima depict the city's Tyche installed under a *tetrakionion* with a four-columned baldachin standing over the statue (Broucke 1994, 40).

53 Eich et al. 2018, 51 nos. 8. 9. 55.

54 According to Pausanias, the 6th century B.C. statue of the Tyche of Smyrna by the Chian sculptor Boupalos was already depicted with a cornucopia (Paus. 4, 30,6, ed. by W. H. S. Jones – H. A. Ormerod [London 1926]).

Fig. 11
West face of the keystone of the west arch of Claudius, decorated with a cornucopia

people[55]. That this symbol of prosperity can most probably be linked to the shrine is also suggested by the situation of the latter, half way on the axis between these two entrances to the agora. Gates are known to have been decorated with the symbols or effigies of deities whose sanctuaries lay on the road leading away from the gate: the relief of a double axe – the symbol of Zeus Labraundeus – features on the »Gate of the axe« at Mylasa in Caria leading to the sanctuary of Labraunda, and the busts of Leto, Apollo and Artemis are present on the Vespasian city gate of Xanthos leading to the Letoon[56].

Other elements of architectural decoration included weaponry friezes imitating those found reused at the late antique northwestern gate of the city and probably originating from the preceding Hellenistic city gate, which are seen as a reference to the warlike reputation of the Sagalassians[57]. Two defining elements of the community's identity – prosperity and power – were therefore represented on the arches, creating an ideological axis along the south edge of the square. Furthermore, the gates were a spatial expression of the new ties that linked the Roman emperors to the fortune of the city. The urban community of Sagalassos had from the early Roman Imperial period explicitly expressed its loyalty towards the newly established regime, using inscriptions which articulated its allegiance, as well as incorporating urban elements throughout the townscape which conveyed its understanding of the new world order[58]. Expressions of loyalty towards the emperors through dedicatory inscriptions were one way for a city to establish, identify and represent itself as part of the Roman Empire. The buildings or monuments that these dedicatory inscriptions were connected to, in this case triumphal arches, were picked from the well-established architectural language of the Roman world[59]. The suggested association with Tyche through the symbol of the cornucopia would therefore also reflect on the position of the Julio-Claudian dynasty at Sagalassos, as the guarantor of good fortune for the city.

55 Dion. Chrys., Or. 63,7, ed. by H. Lamar Crosby (London 1951).

56 For the Gate of the axe at Mylasa see Kızıl 2009; for the gate of Vespasian at Xanthos, see Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 189 f.

57 Talloen 2017, 207 f.

58 Talloen – Waelkens 2004; Talloen – Waelkens 2005; Talloen 2017.

59 Raja 2012, 187.

Terracotta Figurines of the Tychaion (1st–2nd Century A.D.)

The influence of the sanctuary was not only reflected in the architectural development of the town but also in the material culture of its inhabitants. At the cult site of the Rock Sanctuary, a cave-like crevice in a rock outcrop situated some 600 m east of the urban centre, numerous fragments of locally produced terracotta figurines representing the goddess Tyche have been found, contextually dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; several of them depict the Tychaion[60]. Although no intact figurine has been found, sufficient fragments were retrieved to allow a partial reconstruction of the type (*Fig. 12*). They depict the goddess standing in contrapposto with her right knee bent on a low base, wearing a full-length short-sleeved *chiton* and a *himation* draped over her left shoulder, as well as a *polos*-crown on her head. Tyche is holding a rudder or steering oar to her right with her lowered right hand; her missing left hand most probably held a *cornucopia* against her left shoulder. She is standing within a shrine composed of two columns with spiral flutes on top of low pedestals, carrying Corinthian capitals which support an arched gable with a pyramidal roof decorated with leafs and crowned by a pine cone, all on top of a rectangular podium. There is no sign of any barrier between the columns or any *akroteria* on the roof, possibly suggesting that these were later additions. Although only two columns are depicted, undoubtedly as a result of the frontal view presented by these images, the characteristic leaf-decorated roof of the structure allows it to be identified as an imitation of the canopy shrine.

Fig. 12 Reconstruction of the figurine type representing the Tychaion

These figurines present us with the earliest clues to the appearance of the cult statue present in the shrine, something that is corroborated by the image depicted on the 3rd century city coins (see below). The iconography of the statue, with *polos* and cornucopia, is based on the Tyche of Smyrna created by the sculptor Boupalos of Chios in the 6th century B.C. as described by Pausanias[61]. As mentioned above, Tyche's most typical attributes are the cornucopia and the

60 Talloen et al. 2015; Talloen forthcoming b. With 6 % of all deity representations, Tyche was the second most popular goddess worshipped at the site, after Aphrodite (with almost 70 %) to whom the sanctuary was apparently dedicated.

61 Paus. 4, 30,6, ed. by W. H. S. Jones – H. A. Ormerod (London 1926).

rudder or steering oar. These attributes were combined in the late Hellenistic period to create a significant image which endured throughout the Roman Imperial period[62]. The *polos* – a cylindrical headpiece imitating a grain measure – was a precursor to the mural crown – imitating the city walls – that would later, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards, allude to Tyche's powers to protect the city and ensure its prosperity and safety; it became the essential attribute of Tyche in her role as civic deity[63]. Judging by the image as represented by the figurines and depicted on the coins, this was not the case for the Tyche displayed within the baldachin monument at Sagalassos[64]. The guise of the goddess, wearing a *polos* rather than a mural crown is generally held to suggest that she represented the goddess of fortune, not the goddess of the city[65]. Yet, closer examination of other examples of the type of Tyche with rudder and cornucopia set within a shrine or temple informs us that the goddess never wears a turreted crown in those instances[66]. Moreover, the fact that the goddess Fortuna of the nearby colony of Pisidian Antioch was equally depicted in the same manner, wearing a *polos* rather than a mural crown, in spite of being the personification of the colony[67], also suggests that there was no strict relationship between the headdress and character of the goddess. Therefore, the presence of a *polos* instead of a mural crown does not preclude an identity as a city goddess.

The importance of these figurines goes beyond the iconography of the cult statue. Terracotta figurines were mainly used in the sphere of private religious ritual, either as votive offerings left at sanctuaries, grave gifts for a deceased member of the family, or as part of private shrines in a domestic context[68]. The adoption of the Tychaion in their iconographical repertoire shows that the impact of the monument was not limited to the public civic setting but also found its way into the private world of the local citizens, and illustrates how the monument quickly attained emblematic status[69]. As material manifestations of private religious beliefs, figurines testify to the popular appeal of the civic cult of Tyche. The public Tyche clearly also took on a personal aspect. She became conflated with the personal *tyche*, the fortune with which every individual was endowed, in the course of the Hellenistic period. It gave her a dual role as guardian of individuals and protector of cities[70]. This dual role will have ensured her popularity among the populace as expressed by the production and dedication of her images in terracotta.

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62 Edwards 1990, 533.

63 Broucke 1994, 36 f.

64 Sagalassian coin issues minted under the Severi featuring the »Tyche of Antioch« type, seated on a rock and placing her foot on a river god, do depict the goddess with a mural crown: Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1792 (Caracalla), von Aulock 1964, no. 5179 (Elagabal), Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1810 (Severus Alexander).

65 Broucke 1994, 36 f.

66 E. g. the Tyche inside a temple on a bronze coin of Hadrianopolis in Thrace dating to the reign of Gordian III (Poole 1877, no. 41); the Tyche under a tetrastyle canopy on a bronze coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum during the reign of Gordian III (Head 1901, no. 17); the Tyche in a temple on a coin of Akko-Ptolemais in Phoenicia dating to the reign of Elagabal (Kadman 1961, no. 171, variant).

67 E. g. von Aulock 1964, no. 4931 and Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1132, variant (Julia Domna).

68 On the different uses of terracotta figurines, see Huysecom-Haxhi – Muller 2015.

69 The figurines provide a further indication of how local structures and images inspired the iconographical repertoire of local coroplast production (see Talloen – Poblome 2005).

70 Smith 1994, 87.

The Tychaion on a Mould for Plaques (2nd–3rd Century A.D.)

A set of fragmentary circular ceramic moulds for the production of terracotta plaques has recently been excavated in the so-called Market Building to the east of the Upper Agora (*Fig. 13*)[71]. They were found in a destruction context in the lower floor of that building, datable to the second half of the 4th century (see below), although the moulds themselves seem to be earlier. One of these fragmentary moulds (inner diameter: 0,12 m) depicts the reversed image of the standing goddess Tyche wearing a full-length *chiton* and a *himation* draped over her left shoulder, and holding a rudder with her lowered right hand and a cornucopia against her left shoulder. She is standing within an arched distyle shrine, which can undoubtedly be identified with the Tychaion (*Fig. 13*). It is a Corinthian structure with spiral columns set on top of low rectangular pedestals and carrying an entablature with dentil frieze crowned by a pinecone, with again no sign of a barrier or *akroteria*. The building is flanked by palm branches and set within a wreath. This depiction largely confirms the image provided by terracotta figurines which can therefore be held as a realistic – albeit simplified – rendering of the structure and its cult statue.

Fig. 13 Terracotta mould for plaques representing the Tychaion

One of the most interesting aspects of the mould is the reversed Greek inscription ὅς εἴδε μοῖ (»who provided for me«) above the shrine[72]. This text, especially the shape of the letters epsilon and mu, allows it to be dated to the 2nd – early 3rd century A.D.[73]. Moreover, it identifies the object as a mould for tokens, or better souvenirs, for people who visited the shrine on the Upper Agora and possibly sacrificed to the goddess. Religious tourism was a socio-culturally and economically important activity at Sagalassos. The city not only organised the festival of the Klareia in honour of Apollo Klarios, which is known to have drawn visitors and athletes from elsewhere within Pisidia and from neighbouring Pamphylia[74], but as *neokoros* or the temple warden it also housed the regional centre of the imperial cult which attracted people from all over the region[75]. As observed by other scholars, the use and promotion of distinct iconographies for deities associated with pilgrimage centres is especially characteristic of the Roman Imperial period[76]. The fact that moulds depicting the Tychaion of Sagalassos were created for a similar purpose demon-

71 Claeys – Poblome in press.

72 Thanks are due to Nikos Tsivikis and Inge Uytterhoeven for their help in reading the text.

73 See Milner 1998, 6 nos. 6, 33; 79, 40; 100, 56; 123; 103 E6; M6.

74 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 200–205; Talloen 2015, 301.

75 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 172–175. 205–207; Talloen 2015, 316; Waelkens 2015.

76 Elsner 1997; Künzl – Koeppel 2002.

strates that the monument was a considerable source of pride for the local populace, which commercialised its readily recognisable image for the production of religious memorabilia.

The Tychaion on Civic Coinage (3rd Century A.D.)

Sagalassos, like most other Pisidian cities, issued bronze coins under the Empire, bearing on the obverse the portrait and titles of the emperor (or a member of the imperial family), and on the reverse the name of the mint of issue – ›the Sagalassians‹ – and iconographic types more or less specific to the city. By virtue of their titles and images, such coins provide a good indicator of local identity within the Roman Empire[77].

The Tychaion appears for the first time on civic bronze coin issues during the reign of Philippus I (A.D. 244–249)[78]. The goddess is represented in the same manner as portrayed by the terracotta figurines and plaques: wearing *chiton* and *himation* and a *polos*-crown on her head, holding a rudder and cornucopia, and standing within a distyle shrine with a pyramidal roof, which now more clearly resembles the actual structure than earlier depictions. Furthermore, the canopy roof is now crowned by a moon crescent on top of the pinnacle rather than the pinecone depicted on the terracotta figurines and plaques. The presence of a moon crescent on top of the pinnacle of the canopy suggests that Tyche was also given a lunar aspect, perhaps as part of growing syncretistic tendencies during the Roman Imperial period[79]. Tyche was often conflated with other deities, including lunar deities like Artemis. On the coins of Corinth, for example, the temple of Tyche also has a distinct crescent moon in the pediment, while at Gerasa, Artemis was mentioned on local coinage as »Tyche Gerasōn«[80].

Three more bronze coin types, from the reign of Claudius II (A.D. 268–270), depict Tyche in the canopy-roofed monument on their reverse:

1) Æ10 Assaria, 15,91 g (*Fig. 14*): Tyche standing to the left, wearing a *chiton* and *himation* and a *polos*-crown on her head, holding a rudder with her right hand and a cornucopia with her left against her left shoulder, within an arched tetrastyle temple, the surmounted by a star and crescent, with the naked Dioskouroi standing on the corners of the roof, holding spears in their left hands[81].

2) Æ10 Assaria, 20,66 g (*Fig. 15):* Tyche standing to the left, wearing a *chiton* and *himation* and a *polos*-crown on her head, holding a rudder with her right hand and a cornucopia with her left, against her left shoulder, within a tetrastyle temple, the gable surmounted by a star and crescent, with the naked Dioskouroi wearing conical hats or *piloi* on their heads and standing on the roof, holding spears in their left hands[82].

3) Æ, 17,75 g: Tyche standing to the left, wearing a *chiton* and *himation* and a *polos*-crown on her head, holding a rudder with her right hand and a cornucopia with her left against her left

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77 Howgego 2005.

78 Unfortunately the only copy of this coin type is available on the website of a coin dealer and is therefore of unknown provenance. Researchers may contact me for further information.

79 Talloen 2015, 178 f. 194.

80 Corinth: Walbank 2010, 170; Gerasa: Raja 2012, 178 f. See also the presence of a moon crescent on the turreted crown of a Tyche statue from Amisos (Summerer – Atasoy 2002).

81 See Hill 1897, nos. 56. 57; Levante – Weiss 1994, nos. 1850. 1851; von Aulock 1964, no. 8630.

82 See Hill 1897, no. 55; Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1852; von Aulock 1964, no. 8629.

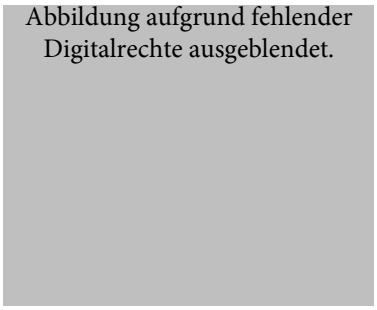

Fig. 14 Bronze coin of Sagalassos from the reign of Claudius II depicting the Tychaion – type 1

Fig. 15 Bronze coin of Sagalassos from the reign of Claudius II depicting the Tychaion – type 2

shoulder within a distyle temple, the gable surmounted by a star and crescent, with the naked Dioskouroi wearing *piloi* on their heads and standing on the roof, holding spears in their left hands[83].

Although the shrine is differently depicted in all three types, they share the presence of two standing naked male figures sometimes wearing *piloi* and holding spears on both sides of the roof crowned by a moon crescent. These figures have generally been interpreted as the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukos, the mythological twin sons of Leda from two different fathers, namely Tyndareus king of Sparta and Zeus[84]. These images of the Dioskouroi can most probably be identified with the *akroteria* placed on the northwest and northeast corners of the canopy as indicated by the level surface and fixation holes present there (see above). A figure frame of twin acolytes was also common in the depiction of the Phoenician Tyches[85] but in the case of Sagalassos something else is in play. The Dioskouroi have been identified as an indigenous group in Pisidia and the neighbouring Milyas: they were very popular as saviours and benevolent guardians, appearing on coins of several cities and on *stelai* and rock-cut reliefs in the countryside[86]. In a rural context they were generally depicted mounted on horseback, wearing a tunic and cloak, and flanking an indigenous lunar goddess sometimes identified as Artemis. This representation had been adapted to the Hellenizing environment of the *polis* as is clear from the heroic nude used for the standing Dioskouroi, rather than clothed riders on horseback, and the goddess of Fortune, Tyche, assimilated to the indigenous moon goddess through the symbol of the crescent[87]. It shows that the cult of Tyche, a Hellenistic personification, also became rooted in the regional Pisidian past. On the other hand, the traditional Spartan origin of the divine twin helped to underline the claim of a Lakedaimonian foundation for the city, as reflected by the local veneration of the hero Lakedaimon[88].

The absence of the Dioskouroi on 1st and 2nd century terracotta figurines and 2nd – early 3rd century plaques of the Tychaion, as well as on the first bronze issues from the reign of Philip-

83 See Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1849; Breitenstein 1956, no. 223.

84 Hermary 1986.

85 See Kropp 2015.

86 Robert 1983, 553–579; Delemen 1995; Kearsley 2002; Talloen 2006.

87 Coin types depicting the Dioskouroi standing beside their horses and flanking a moon crescent are known from the reign of Hadrian (Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1763) and Claudius II (von Aulock 1964, no. 5205).

88 Talloen 2015, 190 f.

pus I would suggest them to be a later – second half of the 3rd century A.D. – addition to the shrine. Yet, the architectural decoration of another structure on the agora, the Antonine Nymphaeum, seems to contradict this. This monumental fountain, built during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) on the north side of the agora, consisted of a single-storey aediculated façade above a tall podium with a large basin in front which was flanked by two lateral *aediculae*. Two colossal statue groups, representing a drunken Dionysos supported by a satyr, erected in those corner-*aediculae*, belonged to the original furnishing. Together with the architectural decoration, they form a coherent iconographic programme that substantiates the dedication of the building to the god of wine and fertility, and places the water supply under his protection[89]. However, Dionysos was not the only deity represented there. In the eastern corner *aedicula* of the nymphaeum, directly opposite of the Tychaion (see *Figs. 1. 4*), the central cassette is decorated with a relief depicting the two heads of the Dioskouroi wearing *piloi*, flanking a central panel which is unfortunately completely destroyed but can, in view of the visual link, possibly be reconstructed as the head of the goddess of fortune (*Fig. 16*), thus evoking the triad of the Tychaion. Such a visual repetition of the triad of the Tychaion in the cassettes of the Antonine nymphaeum would indicate that the Dioskouroi had been in place on the roof of the Tychaion at least by the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. If this reconstruction of the relief is correct, then it would also show how the nymphaeum, as the topographical antipode of the Tychaion, underlined the importance of the monument through its architectural decoration, much like the Claudian gates may have done before.

Often with depictions of architectural motifs on coins the question arises whether these images engage with the actual appearance of the building or whether they should be read as a symbol. Many scholars argue that representations of buildings on coins cannot simply be used as a means of architectural reconstruction, since they are not wholly faithful to the extant structure[90]. The details of a building often do not match the archaeological evidence. To a large extent this is the result of the size of the field of the coins which allows only for a shorthand representation of the building with a smaller number of columns than the original, and a simplified representation of the statue inside. This would account for the distyle representation of the Tychaion or the absence of the Dioskouroi on its roof on the issues minted during the reign of Philippus I. Having said that, type 2 of the Tychaion issues minted under Claudius II does show a great resemblance with the image put up by the terracotta figurines and plaques on the one hand, as well as the extant architectural remains on the other, thus suggesting that this representation was pretty accurate and can be considered a characteristic rendering of the building. Again, there is no sign of any barrier.

It is interesting to note that while the Tychaion was already represented by locally produced terracotta figurines within decades after its construction, it took the city more than 200 years to depict the shrine on its bronze issues. In this ›delay‹, Sagalassos appears to have followed a wider trend, with cities in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire minting coins featuring their Tychaia during the 3rd century. Famous examples are Antiocheia, Bostra, Damascus and Eleutheropolis[91], but also closer to home Pisidian Antioch depicted a tetrastyle structure

89 Waelkens et al. 1997, 136–162; Waelkens 2000, 268–279; Talloen 2015, 220.

90 See Drew-Bear 1974, Harl 1987 and Elkins 2015.

91 For Antioch, see Talloen 2017, 207 f.; Bostra: Meshorer 1981, no. 1204 (Julia Domna); Damascus: Mørkholm 1959, no. 421 (Septimius Severus); Eleutheropolis: Meshorer 1981, no. 891 variant (Septimius Severus).

housing the image of Fortuna on civic coinage during reign of Gordian III (A.D. 238–244), and coin types featuring the local distyle Tychaion are attested at Baris during the reigns of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–235) and Traianus Decius (A.D. 249–251)[92]. As mentioned above, many scholars warn against taking coin images literally, so it is not always clear whether they corresponded to actual existing structures. Heuchert, on the other hand, claims that coins displaying an image of Tyche inside a temple can be held to indicate the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to her cult[93]. At least in the case of Syrian Antioch, it is clear that the shrine existed for several centuries before it was depicted, establishing that there was no direct chronological link between the visual language of coinage and the actual architectural development of the city in this instance; the same is true for Sagalassos.

Fig. 16 Central cassette of the eastern corner aedicule of the Antonine Nymphaeum

During the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the cities of Pisidia, and of Asia Minor as a whole, produced massive numbers of coin types[94]. This is the time of the so-called Second Sophistic which gave rise to manifold expressions of local patriotism and pride in the great past of one's community, especially in the area of cult and religion[95]. Civic coinage was one medium through which such ideas were expressed. The representations on those coins were chosen locally and could therefore be moulded to express the local situation and self-perception[96]. As such, coins are a manifestation of sanctioned memory. They often provide a glimpse of the local gods and heroes that are specific to that community, but buildings of extraordinary importance were also singled out. Coins do not allow a detailed depiction of the wider urban area due to the limited available space, so elements of the city had to be selected. This selection already demonstrates their importance in the city fabric or identity for those in charge of minting, i. e. members of the city elite. The Tychaion, as one of only three structures to be represented on the bronze issues of Sagalassos, was among them[97]. This prominence accorded to the shrine again highlights its importance: the monument was chosen to represent the city as an identity marker, strengthening its status and reaffirming its religious importance.

As recently stated by Kropp, the meaning of such local, divine images is rarely explored but when examined in their proper context, these seemingly generic images can be shown to be meaningful to the local community in many different ways[98]. Although symbols like Tyche are

92 Pisidian Antioch: Levante – Weiss 1994, no. 1220 (Gordian III); Baris: von Aulock 1979, nos. 286–291 (Iulia Mamaea); nos. 324–332 (Herennius Etruscus).

93 Heuchert 2005, 50.

94 Rebuffat 1992.

95 On the Second Sophistic see Borg 2004.

96 Howgego 1995, 84.

97 The other two structures were an octastyle temple probably dedicated to the imperial cult (Talloen 2015, 173. 176) and a shrine with two altars possibly housing the cult of the Dioskouroi (Talloen 2015, 56. 108. 109).

98 Kropp 2015, 201.

sometimes called generic or non-descript types because of their standard iconography which was commonly repeated across space and time, she was customized at Sagalassos through the characteristic architectural frame of the statue and her association with the indigenous Dioskouroi, generating a specifically local identity which would have been easily recognisable.

What then was the function of these images on civic issues? From what little we can tell about their distribution and circulation, most civic coins did not travel very far[99]. They are often found within the territory of the issuing authority, i. e. the city, and were only accepted as currency within that territory. So the audience for the issues was the local population and coin types were not intended to convey information to outsiders, but should be seen as a kind of dialogue that the community was having with itself[100]. It has been argued that the issuing authorities and the target audience of the civic coin types may be one and the same, namely the members of the civic elite[101], who did so on behalf of the *demos*. Hence the coins could be mainly intended to legitimate those elites in their own eyes, not to act as legitimation aimed at social inferiors. Having said that, mostly non-elite citizens of Sagalassos will have mostly used the bronze coins, looked at their images and come up with their own take on what they meant. Moreover, the depiction of the Tychaion in popular categories of material culture such as the terracotta figurines and plaques discussed above clearly illustrates that the iconography of the shrine was common among all classes. Therefore, it was meaningful to both elite and non-elite, and was an image that spoke for and to the community as a whole.

The Inscription of Governor Panhellenios (Second Half of the 4th Century A.D.)

A reused limestone hexagonal statue base (height: 1,81 m) found along the eastern edge of the Upper Agora carried in its secondary, late antique use a marble statue of a *huparchos* or governor named Panhellenios (*Fig. 17*)[102]. The epigram on the shaft of the base reads as follows: »The Boule and the Demos have placed you, governor Panhellenios, there, where the *temenos* of all the gods is located. Not only the gods, but also the Tyche of Sagalassos, who is watching you, friend of the blessed, from nearby, rejoice in this«[103]. Since no province is mentioned by name he was most probably the governor of Pisidia which had been a province since A.D. 309[104].

This Panhellenios can most probably be identified with the homonymous person mentioned in the 380s by Libanios and the *Codex Theodosianus*[105]. He appears to have been a native of Asiana, educated at Athens, who served as c*onsularis Lydiae* in A.D. 382[106]. Since the latter is

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99 Butcher 2003, 219.

100 Kropp 2015, 211.

101 Butcher 2005, 14. 152. 155 f.

102 Eich et al. 2018, 117 no. 47.

103 Βουλὴ καὶ / δῆμός σε, / Πανελλήνιε / ὕπαρχε, hedera / ἔνθα θεῶν / τέμενος ἵδρυ- / σεν ὥστε / hedera θεόν. hedera Χαίρουσιν δὲ / θεοί, χαίρει / δὲ Τύχη Σα- / γαλασσοῦ, / ἀγχόθι δερ-κομένη τὸν / μακάρεσσι / hedera φίλον. hedera (Eich et al. 2018, 117 no. 47). Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 98 translated the »*temenos* of all the gods« as »Pantheon«.

104 Drew Bear – Christol 1999.

105 Lib. epist. 861 and 863, ed. by R. Foester – E. Richtsteig (Leipzig 1922), dated to A.D. 388, and Cod. Theod. 10, 10,17, ed. by P. Krueger et al. (Hildesheim 1990). See also Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 98 and Eich et al. 2018, 100.

106 Jones et al. 1971, 665 3 Panhellenios.

a provincial governor of consular rank, he most probably held the lower ranked office of *praeses* of Pisidia a few years prior to that, in the 370s.

In the epigram, the Tyche of Sagalassos is mentioned as being present in the immediate vicinity of the honorific monument for the governor. Unless there was another statue of the goddess present in this part of the Upper Agora, this most probably refers to the cult image of the Tychaion located some 20 m southwest of the find spot of the Panhellenios base. Given the dominant location of the shrine on the agora and its influence on architectural surroundings as well as material culture, it is safe to assume that the inscription does indeed refer to the Tychaion. Such an identification would then also confirm the status of Tyche as city goddess, in spite of the absence of a mural crown in iconographical sources.

Fig. 17 Inscribed statue base set up in honour of governor Panhellenios

Furthermore, the inscription indicates that the status of the Tychaion, as well as the unidentified »*temenos* of all the gods«[107], was such that they could serve as points of reference in the contemporary late antique urban landscape. As this is not something one can associate with derelict and abandoned cult buildings, the two sanctuaries most probably were still in use at the time, something also hinted at by the »rejoicing of the gods« mentioned in the inscription[108]. Although the combination of diminishing financial resources and growing imperial opposition to polytheistic cults must have caused the abandonment of many sanctuaries over the course of the 4th century[109], the Upper Agora was obviously still a focus of official polytheistic ritual at this time, and the Tychaion continued to be a source of civic pride[110].

107 The location of the »*temenos* of all the gods« is not certain but most have been present on the east side of the agora, the only area where such a *temenos* could have been present, given the presence of porticoes to the south and west, and a nymphaeum to the north.

108 The Tyche of Constantinople, for example, was still the recipient of cults during the reigns of Constantine and Julian (see Poulsen 2014, 209), and when the latter visited Antioch in A.D. 361/2 nearly all of the city's temples had been closed, but the Tychaion was still functioning (see Broucke 1994, 46).

109 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 349–351.

110 Talloen forthcoming a.

The Conversion into a Dynastic Monument (A.D. 378)

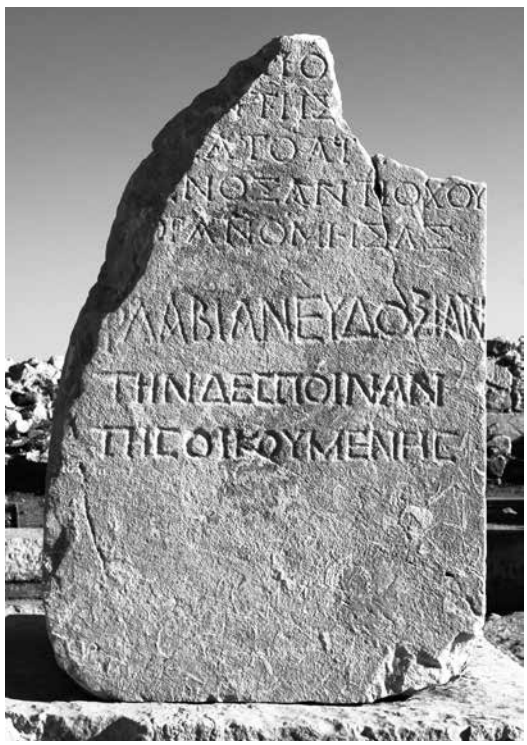

Fig. 18 Inscribed statue base for the empresses Constantia (?) and Eudoxia in the centre of the Tychaion

Surprisingly, only a few years later the Tychaion was converted into an imperial honorific monument for the ruling Valentinian dynasty. The altar on the north side was probably removed, while the original base and the divine effigy it carried underneath the canopy were replaced by a smaller, reused limestone statue base of a former *agoranomos* or overseer of the market, which was dedicated consecutively to two empresses, designated »mistress of the civilised world« (*Fig. 18*)[111]. The first was most likely Constantia (A.D. 374–383), daughter of the Flavian emperor Constantius II and wife of the Valentinian emperor Gratian. Afterwards, the name of Flavia Eudoxia, to be identified with Aelia Eudoxia (A.D. 395–404), wife of the emperor Arcadius, was carved over it. The use of Flavia for Eudoxia, rather than the habitual Aelia, corroborates the identification of the original honorand as Flavia Maxima Constantia. The two pedestals carrying the columns on the north side received honorific inscriptions for the emperor Gratian (A.D. 367–383), the husband of Constantia, and his co-ruler Valentinian II (A.D. 375–392), both honoured as »master of the civilised world« on the northern faces of the northwestern and northeastern pedestals of the shrine respectively (*Figs. 19. 20*)[112]. The screen between the pedestals of the shrine, indicated by the roughly executed slots in the top mouldings, may also have been put in place at the time of this conversion, which would have necessitated the removal of the altar.

The epigraphy of the monument allows us to date this event with an exceptional precision: the emperors that were honoured, Gratianus and Valentinianus II, were those of the Western Empire; their Eastern colleague Valens or his successor Theodosius are missing. At first sight, this would seem to go completely against the customs of imperial veneration. Yet, during the second half of the year 378, after the battle of Hadrianopolis on 9 August during which Valens lost his life, and prior to the appointment of Theodosius as emperor of the eastern half of the Empire on 19 January 379, the emperors of the West effectively ruled over the East. Gratian, the emperor of the western Roman Empire and nephew of emperor Valens, was his heir and assumed control of

111 The inscription was carved on the lower portion of a rectangular base of beige limestone (0,98 m high, 0,65 m wide and 0,64 m thick), the top part of which was broken off. It was placed on a two-stepped plinth of which the lower step belonged to the original statue base; the upper step was equally a reused block (Eich et al. 2018, 99 no. 37c).

112 Devijver – Waelkens 1995, 117–119 nos. 4–6; Eich et al. 2018, 97 f. nos. 37a. b.

Fig. 19 Northwestern pedestal with an inscription for the emperor Gratian

Fig. 20 Northeastern pedestal with an inscription for the emperor Valentinian II

the Eastern Empire with his younger half-brother Valentinian II as his nominal co-ruler. And it is most probably to this short period that we can date the conversion of the Tychaion[113], which, considering the brief time interval since the erection of the Panhellenios statue, makes it a rather sudden event. Lavan has argued that the closure of temples can be seen as the last chapter in the long-term decline of the importance of urban pagan shrines, connected to alienation from the principal rite of animal sacrifice[114]. While it is true that the pagan sacred landscape was not an inert collection of shrines but a living ensemble with sanctuaries falling out of use and new ones being erected according to changes in local religious practice[115], the Panhellenios-inscription discussed above clearly illustrates that in the case of the Tychaion we are not dealing with a deserted sanctuary but with a centre of municipal cult which still stood at the very heart of the late antique community, both spatially and ideologically.

The conversion of the Tychaion was not a large-scale project. Recent excavations conducted to the west of the monument yielded no evidence of any major structural changes at this time, as the

113 Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 96–101. The authors, however, also consider the possibility of the Arian controversy as responsible for the absence of the eastern ruler in the monument (*in casu* Valens or Theodosius; Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 99–103), yet there is no evidence to that extent at Sagalassos or elsewhere in Pisidia.

114 Lavan 2011a, p. xlvii.

115 Caseau 1999, 25.

early 1st century A.D. foundation deposits related to its construction remained undisturbed[116]. As it only involved the likely removal of the altar, replacing the statue of Tyche with that of an empress, and carving three short inscriptions, while probably erasing the original dedication on the northern architrave, this transformation could have been achieved very rapidly. The altar as means of communication with the goddess was an essential element of cult and therefore had to be removed in order to deconsecrate the building. Having said that, the veneration of the late antique Christian rulers that came to replace Tyche could have involved the burning of incense[117], so the altar may have remained for some time, although the arrangement of a barrier – if contemporary – would exclude this. The cult statue of the goddess, on the other hand, was necessarily removed as part of the de-sacralization; it was substituted by a ›new‹ statue base for the image of the empress that came to replace the goddess of Fortune. Even if this alteration of the Tychaion was not a large-scale project, it was of major significance. The desecration and conversion of one of its most prominent sanctuaries – the signboard of the city as demonstrated above – constituted a decisive moment in the history of Sagalassos.

What could have caused this sudden turnaround? The conversion of what was only few years earlier a key signboard of the city's public identity suggests a dramatic event underlying this measure. The 4th century has often been described as an age of religious turmoil[118]. Certainly, as demonstrated by the edicts of *Codex Theodosianus*, the legal status of paganism deteriorated sharply at this time. Temples and other religious buildings attested to the vitality of the polytheistic community and its right to practice its religion and publicize its cult. This is why they were targeted by the Christian imperial authorities who wished to control the religious affiliation of their subjects. From the reign of Constantine onwards, laws were enacted which ordered the abolition of pagan practices[119]. As a result, the temples and shrines, which had once sacralised the landscape, were now officially considered polluting the earth, opening the door for violence against them, as suggested by the literary accounts of the destruction of the sanctuaries of Zeus Belos at Apameia, Zeus Marnas at Gaza and Sarapis at Alexandria[120].

Although it was frowned upon by the authorities, because it rubbed against the grain of social order, it is beyond dispute that some violence did occur. Nevertheless, tracing temple destruction in the archaeological record has proven difficult as there is little real evidence in Asia Minor for actual destruction of pagan sanctuaries[121]. At Sagalassos, the poorly known sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may have undergone such a fate. So far only the 2nd century A.D. dedicatory inscription of the sanctuary and some column parts have been retrieved, found on the Upper Agora where they were reused as the cover stones of a sewer. The Christian acclamation *Eis Theos* (»One God«) carved on the monument, is a formula normally associated with religious competition and common in the late 4th or early 5th century[122]. Both the mutilated relief and the

116 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 133.

117 Barcelo 2003.

118 E. g. for Rome, see Salzman et al. 2015; for Alexandria see Kristensen 2009.

119 Cod. Theod. 16, 10,4, ed. by P. Krueger et al. (Hildesheim 1990): A.D. 346/354/356. For an overview see Bayliss 2004, 8–31.

120 Busine 2013.

121 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 349–355.

122 Trombley 1993, 313–315. The phrase was a liturgical feature of temple conversion during the 4th to 6th centuries (Trombley 2004, 72).

graffito appear to show a vigorous Christian reaction at the sanctuary and may even indicate its violent destruction, although such a hypothesis remains unproven.

Yet, while there is no clear evidence for actual temple destruction at Sagalassos, there are other signs for social unrest in the second half of the 4th century. The so-called Neon Library, a dynastic monument in the eastern part of the city, fell victim to fire during the second half of the 4th century[123]. The focused destruction of the *emblema* of its mosaic floor, featuring a mythological subject – the departure of Achilles for the Trojan war – clearly demonstrates that this was more than just an accident but a result of arson, perhaps even carried out by a mob untouched by the classical education or *paideia* that this building represented. None of this, however, necessarily involves Christians. Having said that, the ongoing excavations of the so-called Market Building, a Hellenistic public building with shops and storage facilities adjoining the east side of the agora, to which a public latrine and bathing complex were added in the Roman Imperial period and possibly the site of the »*temenos* of all the gods« mentioned above, have yielded indications that this building too fell victim to fire in exactly the same period as the Neon Library[124]. Burnt wooden beams and large fragments of its mosaic and opus sectile floors were found close to the floor level of the subterranean latrine in the western aisle of the building. Here as well there are indications that this destruction was deliberate as the burnt and cleaned-up deposits found in the filled-in lower floor of the Market Building contained numerous fragments of mythological statuary (e. g. Apollo and Aphrodite) and honorific monuments, some of which (like cut off genitals) can most probably be attributed to iconoclasm. Interestingly, they included a piece of a marble statue, namely a left hand holding a cornucopia, that may well have belonged to an effigy of Tyche, perhaps even the cult statue discussed above (*Fig. 21*). If these pieces are indeed the result of iconoclasm directed against objects of idolatry, then a role played by Christians played in these events becomes far more likely.

Fig. 21 Fragment of a marble statue from the fill of the Market Building, depicting a left hand holding the end of a cornucopia

Whatever the case, these two instances indicate a society in turmoil, which affected the very heart of the urban centre[125]. And it is very tempting to relate the altogether sudden conversion

123 Waelkens et al. 2000c, 425–437.

124 Claeys – Poblome in press.

125 Also the so-called Prytaneion, a public dining hall on the west side of the upper agora, suffered fire damage during this period (Uytterhoeven – Poblome in press).

of the Tychaion to these dramatic incidents. Moreover, the conversion of the Tychaion was not a standalone event. It was to be the starting point for a process of de-sacralization involving several pagan shrines in the vicinity of the square and elsewhere in the city. The late Hellenistic Doric Temple, for example, overlooking the Upper Agora from the West, was converted into a watch-tower and incorporated into the late fortifications by the beginning of the 5th century[126]. And while the sanctuary of Antoninus Pius on the southern outskirts of Sagalassos must still have served the imperial cult around the middle of the 4th century as suggested by the propagation of the *neokoros* title, test excavations within the *temenos* have demonstrated that the complex went out of use by the end of that century. Although the emperor remained a sacred person in Christianity, as the representative of God on earth (see below), no building could be dedicated to his exclusive cult by the time of the reign of Theodosius I. Once cult activity ceased, the large Corinthian *peripteros* and the surrounding Ionic porticoes were quarried for stone to reuse in encroaching structures within the *temenos*, as well as in late antique fortifications and church building elsewhere in the city[127].

The dominant position of the Tychaion on the agora may have become offensive in the late antique city to the growing Christian population, which would appear to have become increasingly militant, if the instances cited above were indeed religiously motivated destructions. In the light of these events, it may then have been agreed that something should be done to placate the Christian community and reduce the religious tensions. In any case, the conversion of the canopy monument into an imperial monument meant the end of the Tychaion and the cult of Tyche that it housed. Such a conversion could only have occurred when the local civic protection of the cult came to an end. As an official sanctuary of the city, the baldachin shrine, together with its altar and sacred images, would have been consecrated to Tyche by the civic community and its priests. Therefore, only the civic authorities could deconsecrate it. Given that this act entailed the end of public sacrificial rituals designed to protect political business, as well as changes to the civic ritual calendar, the conversion most certainly affected the local religious identity. It signalled the loss of pagan control over urban religious topography and marked the official end of Sagalassos as a polytheistic city, even if Christian monuments do not appear to have been taken over immediately[128]. This makes Sagalassos one of few ancient communities where the official switch of ideology can be so precisely determined in chronological terms. The official cult of Tyche had become something of the past, but the Tychaion remained entrenched in the collective memory as will be demonstrated below.

Unlike some of the other pagan sanctuaries in Sagalassos, the Tychaion remained a prominent landmark in the cityscape[129]. The small shrine could easily have been dismantled. Instead the authorities opted to reuse it. The respectful treatment of the building corresponded to contemporary legislation: the Theodosian code contains suggestions for the upkeep of some temples as long as they did not accommodate sacrifice[130]. Such re-employment of former shrines for sec-

126 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 361.

127 Talloen – Vercauteren 2011, 355 f.

128 Talloen forthcoming a.

129 Also in several other cities *Tychaia* are known to have continued into late antiquity, serving different roles: the Tychaion of Antioch was converted into a martyrion for Saint Ignatius to replace Tyche as the protector of the city under Theodosius II (Evagrius Scholasticus, Historia ecclesiastica, 1,16), but that of Alexandria was allegedly converted into a tavern at the end of the 4th century (Anth. Pal. 9, 180–183, ed. by W. R. Paton [London 1915]).

130 Cod. Theod. 16, 10,8, 15, 18, ed. by P. Krueger et al. (Hildesheim 1990). On this topic see also Jacobs 2014.

ular purposes reflects the ambiguity in Christian policies toward old religious buildings. While denouncing the sanctuaries associated with demons and their worship, Christian authorities made a point of maintaining an artistic and urban heritage[131]. Ancient cities were landscapes of memory, nowhere more so than in their monumental, temple-filled centres. The preservation of monuments concerned with the history of the city was a central feature of urban development during late antiquity; at Sagalassos the Tychaion was one of these monuments[132]. But its reuse was more than merely avoiding the scarring of the esteemed urban landscape, as it also included a new ideological function as an imperial dynastic monument.

The choice for reuse of the Tychaion as an imperial monument may have been obvious for a city like Sagalassos, where worship of the Roman emperors was a well-established practice. It had helped the city to achieve its greatest status, as *neokoros* of the imperial cult, something to which it held on, well into the 4th century[133]. Moreover, the appropriation of the shrine for imperial veneration would have been acceptable to both Christians as well as pagans, a part of the population that will still have been considerable at this time. Reverence for the emperors remained a conventional feature of urban political and religious life in the later Roman Empire. Although emperors were still being deified at the beginning of the 4th century, by the end of the century most of the specifically religious aspects of the imperial cult had disappeared and imperial statues were mainly honorific in nature, retaining the associations and connotations with authority they had. Yet, the emperor still acted as the medium between God and his people, and retained such titles as *divus*[134]. By removing the monument out of the sphere of civic religion and into the ›secular‹ realm of imperial veneration, it could be shared by all citizens, regardless of their religious allegiance. According to scholars like Peter Brown and Robert Markus, the end of the monopoly of traditional civic religion enabled the emergence of a secular sphere and the development of a public culture in which all citizens could take part[135]. But even if the veneration of the imperial family was accepted by the Christians, imperial images could still be the target of violence as shown by the »riot of the statues« that took place in Syrian Antioch in A.D. 387[136]. The fence or balustrade erected between the pedestals may perhaps have been a measure put in place at this time to prevent such sacrilege, although its late antique date – while plausible given the removal of the altar it implied – is not certain.

While images of Tyche are known to have been tolerated in the late antique cityscape, because of their association with the civic foundations of the community[137], it is unlikely that the cult statue itself would have been reused to represent the empress, especially as the statue base was changed, now reusing the much smaller one of a former *agoranomos*. The fate of the effigy after its removal is unknown; given the numerous fragments of marble sculpture found in the

131 Busine 2015, 6.

132 See also the conversion of the temple of Artemis and Hadrian along the *Embolos* of Ephesos into a monument commemorating the mythical foundation of the city during the reign of Theodosius (Ladstätter – Pulz 2007, 403; Quatember 2017).

133 Talloen – Waelkens 2005; Waelkens 2015; Talloen forthcoming a.

134 Trombley 2011; Kahlos 2016.

135 Markus 1990; Brown 1995, 40–54. According to Busine, for the period from Constantine to Justinian, when the traditional civic cults no longer addressed the totality of citizens and the Christian cults did not yet do so, we must reconsider the issue of cult-based citizenship (Busine 2015, 11).

136 Kahlos 2016, 127–130.

137 Lavan 2011b, 450–453; MacKenzie – Reyes 2013, 48.

destruction deposits of the Market Building, including the aforementioned left hand holding a cornucopia, it may also have been damaged as part of alleged riots[138]. Cult statues were generally considered dangerous by Christians and therefore often destroyed[139].

The choice for Constantia to replace Tyche may have been prompted by the popularity of her father, the emperor Constantius II, in the city: two identical statue bases honouring Constantius II and his brother Constans were placed along the east side of the square and the nearly 14 m tall honorific column, erected during early 1st century A.D. in the southwest corner of the Upper Agora, was rededicated to the emperor[140]. Such a choice for Constantia corroborates the continuing force of sentiment in favour of the Constantinian dynasty, as also evident in other events of the later 4th century, such as the emperor Gratian marrying Constantia. The Valentinians were trying to link themselves to the preceding dynasty, and may well have used this tie to justify their rule over the East at this time of crisis, following the defeat at Adrianopolis[141]. By taking Tyche's place under the baldachin, the empress became *de facto* the new protectress of the city, continuing in this way a traditional association between female rulers and the goddess[142]. Tyche imagery had been incorporated into the Roman imperial cult and women in the imperial family had been divinized in the guise of Tyche[143]. The capacities of Tyche as guardian, saviour and bearer of fortune and fecundity, were thus conferred on the empresses. It would therefore have been an understandable step to replace the image of Tyche with that of an empress.

Yet, around A.D. 400 Constantia's name was erased and replaced by that of Flavia (usually named Aelia) Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius. After her coronation in A.D. 400, Arcadius had official images of the empress, the so-called *laureatae*, sent to all important cities of the East[144]. As one of the leading cities of Pisidia, as indicated by its title of metropolis[145], Sagalassos may also have received one of these *laureatae*. Another reason for this honour may have been in return for her patronage: Eudoxia demonstrated *eusebeia* by devoting her imperial resources to the victory of the dynastic faith, which led many bishops to seek her patronage[146]; this may also have occurred at Sagalassos, although evidence is lacking so far. In any case, an image of the empress was set up on top of the same statuary base as that of Constantia.

The statues of the Dioskouroi, on the other hand, possibly remained in place. The fact that the names of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II were written in the accusative case means

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138 The upper part of a marble statue of Tyche found on the Lower Agora of the city cannot have belonged to the cult statue as it could be attributed to the reign of Hadrian (see Waelkens et al. 2011, 94 f.) and has a raised right arm which cannot be reconciled with a stance of the goddess holding a rudder.

139 See Kristensen 2013, 85–88 and 118–135.

140 See Devijver – Waelkens 1995, 116–118 who erroneously identified Constans as Constantius II. See Eich et al. 2018, 92 f. nos. 32. 33 for Constantius II and Constans, and 94 no. 34 for the rededicated honorific column.

141 Mitchell 2015, 84. On the importance of Constantia as last member of the Constantinian dynasty see McEvoy 2016.

142 Queens and empresses had always been associated with Tyche as demonstrated by Smith 1994.

143 Smith 1994, 88.

144 Holum 1982, 65 f. Other than Constantinople, a (gilded bronze) statue of the empress is also attested at Scythopolis in Palestine (Last Statues of Antiquity, LSA 2836 [J. Legahan], <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=2836> (26.11.2018).

145 Talloen – Waelkens 2005, 245 f.

146 Holum 1982, 54. Eudoxia supposedly played a key role in the destruction of the sanctuary of Zeus Marnas in Gaza and the subsequent building of a church at the same spot (see Marcus Diaconus, Vita Porphyrii, 75–76, ed. by Societatis Philologae Bonnensis Sodales [Leipzig 1895]) and she may also have been responsible for the construction of the new city walls of Jerusalem (Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007).

that both emperors were somehow represented. As the pedestals on which the inscriptions were carved still supported their columns carrying the canopy roof, the representations cannot have been present on the pedestals themselves. Luke Lavan suggested wooden painted portraits (*pinakes*) which would have been attached to the columns[147]. But most probably the conversion will have been even simpler than that, with the existing statues of the Dioskouroi, standing as *akroteria* on the corners of the roof exactly above those inscriptions, being re-baptised (or perhaps slightly modified) as images of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian[148].

As early as the reign of Augustus, members of the imperial family had been associated with the twin gods: Gaius and Lucius; Tiberius and Drusus; Germanicus and Drusus the Younger. The Augustan ideology of paralleling the imperial successors with the divine Dioskouroi continued on and off in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, particularly if the imperial households produced real twins, and had a long afterlife, continuing as late as the 5th century[149]. The imagery of the Dioskouroi as devoted brothers and stars continued to be evoked in panegyrics to the Imperial family, and it was even taken over in text and art by Christians and applied to saints[150]. The fact that they continued to be viewed as saviours and benevolent guardians in late antiquity may have made it possible to retain their images on the roof of the Tychaion, which were now renamed as emperors.

If this reconstruction is correct, then the triad of Tyche and her protectors, the Dioskouroi, was being replaced by that of an empress and two emperors. This would confirm that the recycling of the monument was not a simple matter of convenience or economics. Reuse of existing structures is sometimes seen as being due to the modest municipal funds that were available to smaller cities for construction activities[151]. Yet, in the case of the Tychaion the local authorities clearly sought to recuperate the ideology of the monument. The reuse of the shrine not only ensured visual continuity at a dominant location in the cityscape but, through its iconography, also allowed the intricate meanings of the monument – fortune and protection of the community – to be recuperated, especially as the display of new honorands appears to have copied – to some extent – that of the original gods. All this will have created experiences that strongly resembled those of the past. At the same time, the reuse of the Tychaion for the display of portraits of contemporary rulers also confirmed the continued importance of the agora as the representational centre of the city.

The Agathē Tychē Inscription on the Southeast Gate (Late 4th – 5th Century A.D.)

In spite of the conversion of the shrine, the concept of divine Fortune was not completely done away with as is suggested by the formula »*Agathē Tychē*« (Good Fortune) carved on the western face – facing the former Tychaion – of the northern pillar capital of the arch of Claudius

147 Lavan 2013, 316; he was followed in this by Waelkens – Jacobs 2014, 97.

148 The team of Count Lanckoronski (1892, 138) had already suggested that the images of the emperors were displayed on the flat corners of the canopy roof but did not make the connection with the Dioskouroi.

149 Van den Hoek 2014, 283–292.

150 The Dioskouroi are mentioned as saints on plates of African Red Slip Ware by whose intercessions the faithful will be guided (van den Hoek 2014).

151 Jacobs 2012, 148.

Fig. 22 The »*Agathē Tychē*« formula carved on the western face of the northern pillar capital of the south-east arch

marking the southeastern entrance to the Upper Agora (*Fig. 22*). The two words were arranged on either side of a nicely carved Latin cross, indicating the Christian nature of the text as well as the Christianization of the monument, and placing the passage of those frequenting the agora under the protection of the Christian God. The exact date of the inscription is difficult to ascertain on the basis of letter shape alone, but comparison with the aforementioned Panhellenios inscription dating to the 370s and a mid-5th century inscription for the influential general Flavius Zeno (*floruit* 447–451)[152] suggests a date closer to the former. In any case, a date between the late 4th century – the end of the polytheistic city – and the early 6th century – when inscriptions used completely different forms of letters – seems certain. This would make the inscription the first known public Christian element on the Upper Agora.

The fact that an arch, a structure which expressed power and triumph, got a Christian character through the symbol of the cross, was quite telling for the new status of Christianity. It publicly declared the community's commitment to Christianity. The use of a typically pagan introductory formula with explicit reference to Tyche, though, is equally striking. Beneficent female personifications such as Tyche are known to have remained a popular presence in the late antique households. While many of these personifications alluded to moral qualities and may have had Christian overtones, they also invoked material wealth, prosperity and security (*Soteria*), as well as physical prosperity (*Agathē Tychē*)[153]. But here we see the concept being used in a public context, as part of an official monument[154]. The short inscription clearly indicates

152 Eich et al. 2018, 115 no. 46. The similarity to the lettering of the formula »*Agathē Tychē*« (without a cross) above the west city gate at Aphrodisias, dated to A.D. 355–360 (Roueché 2004, no. 19), seems to corroborate such a late 4th century date.

153 Maguire 2001, 244.

154 In Carian Stratonikeia, a series of honorific monuments were set up by the *demos* sometime during the 5th century A.D. in honour of a certain Maximus. Although the monuments had an explicitly Christian character, in one case the traditional opening evocation of Good Fortune »*Agathē Tychē*« was used (Last Statues of Antiquity,

that there was no Christian policy to forget about Tyche. Rather, it should be seen as an act of remembering, albeit in a Christianized form. Moreover, the fact that the inscription was carved on the side of the gate facing the former Tychaion may even indicate that it was also intended to refer to the function of the building, as the shrine of formerly divine, now imperial Fortune. The concept of Fortune was thus not irreconcilable with Christian religion when it was made explicitly Christian: the memory of (the concept of) Tyche was not suppressed but given a Christian meaning.

Fig. 23 Sherd of a relief decorated *oinophoros* depicting the Tychaion

The Image of the Tychaion on Locally Produced *oinophoroi* (Late 5th – Early 6th Century A.D.)

The enduring importance of the Tychaion during the late antique period is confirmed by its depiction on a sherd of a locally produced round *oinophoros* or wine flask with relief decoration, datable to the late 5th to early 6th century (*Fig. 23*)[155]. Pottery production at Sagalassos had a long tradition of using religious inspired images for its decorated pottery[156]. With the manufacture of such relief-decorated moulded ware, decisions were made regarding which imagery was deemed appropriate. Far from being trivial ornaments, the selection of representational motifs and imagery on these objects was negotiated by the properties of the materials as well as the ›world of ideas‹ of their producers and users.

Mould-made *oinophoroi* were first produced at Sagalassos in the second half of the 4th century A.D. Their iconography was originally dominated by the image of Dionysos. This has recently been linked to a specialization in economic activity taking place at Sagalassos, namely viticulture, which not only resulted in the wine flasks but also in establishing a production line of amphoras[157]. From the second half of the 5th century, Christian motifs such as crosses and fishes were equally present, and occasionally Christian scenes were depicted, to accommodate the increasingly dominant Christian part of society[158]. Yet, in this late 5th to early 6th century example, centre

LSA 1201(U. Gehn), <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=LSA-1201> (28.11.2018); in another it was replaced by the Christian formula »Christ was born to Mary« (Last Statues of Antiquity, LSA 1200 (U. Gehn), <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=LSA-1200> (28.11.2018). Also in nearby Aphrodisias, the formula was used for public honours of governors in the 5th and early 6th centuries (Roueché 2004, nos. 62. 85. 87).

155 The fragmentary vessel was found on the surface in the eastern domestic quarter of the city (inv. SA2012Y-78).

156 Talloen – Poblome 2005; Talloen 2011.

157 Talloen – Poblome 2019.

158 Talloen 2011, 585–588.

stage is taken by the image of the Tychaion. Significantly, the monument was not represented on the *oinophoros* in its contemporary form, as an imperial monument, but as the former shrine of Tyche, with the goddess and the Dioskouroi represented, in a manner which is very reminiscent of coin type 1 minted under Claudius II (see above; *Fig. 14*): the goddess of Fortune is depicted holding rudder and cornucopia, standing underneath an arched baldachin carried by two (instead of four) spiral columns, on top of which two standing figures holding spears and a pinnacle in the shape of a lunar crescent are present. In view of the close resemblance, the coin type may have served as archetype for the creation of the mould. The central image was surrounded by a circle of four Greek crosses alternating with four wreaths.

Given that the official cult of Tyche had been abolished for a century or more at the time of production of the *oinophoros*, the aspect of memory, materialised by the bronze coin minted more than 200 years earlier, seems to have played a crucial role in the creation of its image. Yet, this imagery represented more than a nostalgic use of a coin type. While some inhabitants may still have been pagan at the time, the use of crosses surrounding the scene clearly indicates that this was (also) intended for a Christian audience and thus meaningful to them.

Images of abstract personifications, including city personifications, were a characteristic of late antique imagery: the Tychai of major metropoleis as well as smaller cities were represented in both official and private categories of material culture during the 4th–6th centuries[159]. They indicate how the figure of Tyche continued to be a signboard for cities during late antiquity. Similarly, even though the life of her cult statue had most probably been curtailed like that in many other cities[160], the image of Tyche within her shrine also continued to fulfil such an emblematic function at late antique Sagalassos. In the Christianised city, the citizens publicly participated in Christian forms of worship but at the same time also defined themselves in terms of their membership of the city, and not only by their religious allegiance[161]. As mentioned above, a composite civic and Christian culture had developed, knitting the community together around common points of reference like the former Tychaion. Yet, in the 6th century the pagan symbolism of the civic monuments was increasingly suppressed, under pressure from Christianity which came to dominate the urban landscape, especially in the form of ecclesiastical buildings[162]. In the case of the *oinophoros*, viewers will have been reassured of the Christian character of the image by the cross-decoration surrounding the former pagan icon, which at the same time celebrated and neutralized the monument, and indicated how such concepts had been given a Christian reinterpretation[163].

The Dismantling of the Collapsed Structure (Second Half of the 7th Century A.D.)

The Tychaion met the same ultimate fate as many other monuments of Sagalassos: it was destroyed by an earthquake which must have occurred around the middle of the 7th century[164]. At the time, the area of the Upper Agora was already being abandoned, as can be told from the

159 Saradi 2006, 135–139; Lavan 2011b, 450 f.; Poulsen 2014.

160 See Lavan 2011b, 451 for further references.

161 See Holum 2005, 87; Busine 2015, 12.

162 Saradi 2006, 149; see Talloen forthcoming a.

163 See Saradi 2006, 143.

164 Poblome et al. 2017, 304.

accumulation of waste in several of the surrounding buildings, many of which were falling into disrepair[165].

The seismic catastrophe destroyed much of the remaining urban fabric and eventually caused the former city centre to be abandoned[166]. The surviving populace relocated to the promontory on the southern outskirts of the city carrying the former sanctuary of Antoninus Pius where they established a new, fortified settlement or *kastron*[167]. It was most probably in the course of this process that the remaining inhabitants removed several elements of the Tychaion, such as its columns and capitals, for reuse elsewhere, leaving pedestals, elements of the entablature, the roof and statue base in place. Herewith, the life history of this defining monument came to end, more than 600 years after its original construction.

Conclusion

This paper has tried to produce a cultural biography of the Tychaion at Sagalassos by interpreting it as an architectural mirror of the community that constructed it, as well as tracing its importance for that society reflected in local material culture, throughout its existence from the early 1st century A.D. to the middle of the 7th century A.D. It thus aimed to shed light on the symbolic meaning and ideological messages conveyed by this particular building.

In spite of its modest size, the Tychaion, as the abode of the (city-)goddess of Fortune, constituted one of the major shrines of Sagalassos as is clear from the role it played in the physical framework of the site and its material culture. Especially striking is the seamless continuity at a vital location in the cityscape. Of all the pagan sanctuaries in the city, it remained closest to the original form up to the abandonment of the monumental city centre, signalling its continuing importance throughout the ages. The careful siting of monuments often created semantic resonances across space and time. In this particular case, these resonances are clear from the different media that conveyed the notion of Tyche. Not only did several other monuments of the Upper Agora use the Tychaion as a reference point through their iconography and / or epigraphy, creating an intricate web of meaning, but also local material culture, ranging from official documents such as civic coinage to more popular categories like terracotta figurines, plaques and pottery, evoked it over a period of time spanning more than 600 years. The example of the Tychaion illustrates how public buildings were vital parts of a communal identity that was represented through a variety of media, such as coinage, inscriptions, sculpture and architecture. This wide array also demonstrates how civic identity was a carefully calibrated phenomenon, guided by members of the elite but informed by their relationships with the rest of the populace. Moreover, the evidence presented here suggests that, from the early Roman Imperial construction of the monument onwards until its early Byzantine demise, the image of Tyche within her shrine remained an acknowledged badge of the city, a lasting symbol that expressed collective values with which the community could identify itself, even in Christian times.

Having said that, the Tychaion also provides an informative example of how a monument constitutes an element of tradition but at the same time equally adapts to the circumstances of

165 Poblome et al. 2010.

166 Talloen – Poblome 2016, 146.

167 Poblome et al. 2017, 305–307.

contemporary society. The shrine is the material manifestation of the accruing, multi-layered meanings embedded in the urban landscape and the changing nature of civic identities which were continuously being reformulated and reasserted. The product of a community with a growing taste for monumental display during the early Imperial period, the Tychaion originally gave architectural expression to a new age of peace and prosperity which had evidently set in. The cult of the local city goddess must have played a crucial role in this age, both in terms of ensuring this prosperity and establishing its position within the world. Consequently, her shrine became an architectural icon for the community, a major constituent of its identity. The addition of elements like the Dioskouroi-*akroteria* further illustrates how civic identities emerged from a variety of cultural components that came together from broader cultural traditions, in this case indigenous and Greek.

With the transition from pagan to Christian antiquity, the shrine, as a repository of the city's collective memory, was turned into a monument of the imperial present. When the cult statue of the Tychaion was removed and the dedicatory inscription erased, at least part of its memory was erased as well. Yet, the monument continued to function and acquired new layers of meaning. Figures were rebranded and associated with imperial virtue; especially the choice to replace the goddess with an empress is telling of the ›new‹ meaning that was given to the monument: the personalities honoured there were still responsible for the well-being of the city. The community consciously maintained certain traditions of place and imagery in order to retain established elements of community life and identity. In this way it was able to adapt public space to the new, dominant religion without creating a significant disturbance to community identity.

In short, the biography of the Tychaion portrays it as an active participant in the creation and maintenance of collective identity and memory, but its memorial power was far from static, assuming new roles and meanings as the social identity it supported changed.

Abstract: The study of ancient monuments and buildings as means of understanding the past often remains limited to the period of construction and initial use of monuments. This is a reductionist perspective in which only certain periods and functions are seen to matter and which is blind to the long and interesting lives of monuments. There is therefore a need for an alternative perspective that allows for the continued recognition of key episodes in a monument's life and that also recognizes that its significance is cumulative and changing, with a wider range of activities, events, and memories augmenting and enriching traditional period-limit views. Such a biographical approach is adopted in this paper for the Tychaion or sanctuary of the goddess Tyche at the ancient city of Sagalassos (Southeast Turkey). This paper intends to go beyond the description and classification of the architectural form and function of the monument, and any modifications these experienced, to engage with social themes such as identity, memory and other aspects of social organization, which made the Tychaion part of the society that built it. In order to approach this dialectical relationship of monument and community, the paper, on the one hand, will investigate how the life history of the Tychaion reflected that of the community which was responsible for its construction, and for which it served as an emblematic monument. On the other hand, it will also examine how the monument affected that society, more specifically how it came to play a role in the construction of its cultural memory, based on its resonance through the material culture of the community.

Das Tychaion von Sagalassos. Die kulturhistorische Biographie eines emblematischen Denkmals

Zusammenfassung: Die Erforschung antiker Denkmäler und Gebäude als Mittel die Vergangenheit zu verstehen beschränkt sich oft auf die Zeit, in der der Bau entstanden ist, und auf seine anfängliche Funktion. Dies entspricht jedoch einem reduktionistischen Ansatz, der nur auf eine bestimmte Zeitepoche und Funktion fokussiert ist und der blind ist gegenüber den langen und interessanten Biografien der Monumente. Daher wird eine alternative Betrachtungsweise benötigt, die es ermöglicht, die darauffolgenden zentralen Zeitabschnitte im Leben eines Monuments zu berücksichtigen. Zudem sollte auch die wachsende und wandelbare Bedeutung der Gebäude sowie ein breites Spektrum an sozialer Aktivitäten wie Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen einbezogen werden, um den traditionellen, auf eine Zeitepoche beschränkten Blick zu erweitern. Dieser biografische Ansatz wird hier für das Tychaion bzw. für das Heiligtum der Göttin Tyche der antiken Stadt Sagalassos (Südosttürkei) angewendet. Der Artikel versucht über die Beschreibung sowie Einordnung architektonischer Formen und über die Funktion des Monuments sowie seiner Veränderungen hinaus, soziale Themen wie Identität, Erinnerung und andere Aspekte sozialer Organisation zu untersuchen, die das Tychaion zum Bestandteil der Gesellschaft machte, die es erbaute. Um sich dieser dialektischen Beziehung zwischen Monument und Gesellschaft anzunähern, wird in dem Beitrag zum einen dargelegt, wie die Lebensgeschichte des Tychaion die der Gesellschaft widerspiegelt, die für den Bau verantwortlich war und für die er gleichzeitig als emblematisches Monument diente. Zum anderen wird mittels Hinweise aus der materiellen Kultur untersucht, wie das Monument die Gesellschaft beeinflusste, und in dieser Hinsicht speziell, wie es im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Menschen von Sagalassos an Bedeutung gewann.

Sagalassos Tykhaionu. Simgesel Bir Anitin Kültürel Biyografisi

Özet: Geçmişi anlamak için antik anıtların ve binaların çalışılması, genellikle yapının dönemiyle ve anıtların ilk kullanımlarıyla sınırlı kalır. Bu indirgemeci bakış açısı, yapıların sadece belirli dönemlerini ve işlevlerini görürken, anıtların uzun ve ilgi çekici diğer dönemlerini görmez. Bu yüzden, anıtın her dönemindeki kilit noktalarını ve onun gittikçe artan ve değişen önemini tanımlayan, faaliyetler, etkinlikler ve hatıralar gibi daha geniş bir yelpazenin göz önüne alındığı alternatif bir bakış açısına ihtiyaç vardır. Bu biyografik yaklaşım, bu makâlede Sagalassos antik kentinde (Türkiye'nin güneybatısında) bulunan tanrıça Tykhe'nin kutsal alanı için (Tykhaion) kullanılmıştır. Makâle Tykhaion'u, onu inşa eden halkın bir parçası yapan kimlik, hafıza gibi sosyal temalar ve sosyal faaliyetlerin diğer taraflarıyla ilişkisini kurarak anıtın tanımının, mimari şeklinin sınıflandırılmasının ve anıtta yapılan değişiklikleri belirtmenin ötesine geçmeyi amaçlıyor. Makâle bir taraftan, anıtın ve halkın arasındaki bu diyalektik ilişkiyi ele almak amacıyla, sembolik bir anıt olarak hizmet eden Tykhaion'un geçmisinin onu yapan halkı nasıl yansıttığını inceleyecek. Diğer taraftan ise, anıtın halk üzerindeki etkilerini inceleyecek. Özellikle, anıtın halkın kültürel geçmisini şekillendirmede nasıl bir rol oynadığını kültürel malzemeye yansımasına dayanarak araştıracak.

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