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THE CULTS OF NEMESEIS AND TYCHE AT SMYRNA

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Background of the Cult

According to Hesiod¹, Nemesis² was the daughter of Nyx. It was believed at Rhamnous that the father of the goddess was Okeanos, while at Smyrna her mother was held to be Nyx.³ Nemesis was the product of the personification of the concept of Divine Punishment/Revenge⁴; she was a deity who took precautions against excess, who punished the immoderation of humans, and also man's excessive confidence in himself and his good fortune.⁵

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¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 220-225. The same information is also repeated by Pausanias: Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 7.5.3.

² There is no Latin name for Nemesis, whose statue stood in the Capitol of Rome (Plin., *Nat.* 11.103; 28.5).

³ Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 7.5.3. Nemesis was also considered to be the mother of Helen (Hesiod, *The Cypria*, Frag. 8, in: *Homeric Hymns and Homericica*; Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 1.33.7).

⁴ From the 5th century B.C.E. onwards Nemesis was personified as a goddess who punished the evil behavior of the dead (Marjorie Susan Venit, "The Stagni Painted Tomb: Cultural Interchange and Gender Differentiation in Roman Alexandria", *AJA*, 103/4 (1999), p. 648).

⁵ Margaret Melanie Miles, "A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous", *Hesperia* 58/2 (1989), p. 138; Azra Erhat, *Mitoloji Sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1996, p. 215; John Roberts (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, New York 2007, p. 498. As a symbol of moderation and restraint Nemesis generally carries a measuring bar and a bridle. Like Tyche, Nike, the Charities and the Erotes, in whose company she is sometimes seen, the goddess is defined as an allegorical abstraction of divine powers (J.J. Coulton, N.P. Milner and A.T. Reyes, "Balbura Survey: Onesimos and Meleager Part I", *AnatSt*, 38 (1988), p. 131).

Strabo's⁶ states that Nemesis had a temple in the vicinity of Cyzicus and an altar on the banks of the Aesepus (Gönen) River, and that the first temple built for this goddess was constructed by King Adrastus. Though she was also worshiped at Rhamnous⁷ in Attica, Strabo's statement has been the cause of a search for the goddess' origins in the lands of Asia.⁸ Further, it has been suggested that the typical symbols of the goddess do not belong to Greece⁹, and even that Smyrna was the original homeland of the Nemesis cult.¹⁰ On the other hand, as a different hypothesis, it has been proposed that the cult of Nemesis carried from the Greek mainland to Anatolia by the first Ionian colonists.¹¹ However, according to Miles, since Nemesis was a personification the cults of the goddess probably sprang up independently of each other.¹² Therefore this researcher is of the opinion that there is no need to theorize an association between the cults at Smyrna and Rhamnous.¹³

That Nemesis was worshipped at Smyrna, where she was held equal to the mother goddess, is attributed to the hubris which caused the city's ruin in the war waged against the Lydians in the 6th century B.C.E.¹⁴ Thus it is thought that the earliest cult

⁶ Strab., *Geogr.* 13.1.4.

⁷ It has not been possible to identify with certainty the beginning date of the Nemesis cult at Rhamnous. However in ancient literature the goddess is associated with the Athenian victory at Marathon; this gives some clues that support the development of the cult at least as early as immediately after the Persian Wars (Strab., *Geogr.* 9.1.18, 23; Plin., *Nat.* 36.5; Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 1.33.2-3, 7). Inscriptions from the sacred precinct are of a nature to prove the continuing increase of the cult from the mid-5th century B.C.E. onwards (Kenneth Dean Shapiro Lapatin, "A Family Gathering at Rhamnous? Who's Who on the Nemesis Base", *Hesperia* 61/1 (1992), pp. 107-108). On the other hand, the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, where the cult rituals of this goddess were carried out, approximately dated to the years 430-420 B.C.E., was a peristyle Doric temple (Miles, op. cit., p. 138; Lapatin, op. cit., p. 108). For the temple's architectural characteristics, see also: W. H. Plommer, "Three Attic Temples", *B&A* 45 (1950), pp. 66-112; William Bell Dinsmoor, "Rhamnountine Fantasies", *Hesperia* 30/2 (1961), pp. 179-204; A. Trevor Hodge and R. A. Tomlinson, "Some Notes on the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous", *AJA* 73/2 (1969), pp. 185-192; Mark Wilson Jones, "Doric Measure and Architectural Design 2: A Modular Reading of the Classical Temple", *AJA* 105/4 (2001), pp. 675-713.

⁸ G.M. Lane, "Smyrna", in: E.A. Park and S.H. Taylor (eds.) *Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository*, vol. 15, Andover/London 1858, p. 218.

⁹ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. II, Berlin 1932, p. 468.

¹⁰ Jean Coman, *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle*. Strasbourg 1931, p. 27.

¹¹ Hans Herter, "Nemesis (Smyrna)", in: G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (eds.) *RE*, vol. 16, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart 1935, p. 2352.

¹² Miles, op. cit., p. 138, n. 5.

¹³ Besides Smyrna and Rhamnous, the cult of Nemesis also held an important place at Alexandria. Inscriptions dated from the end of the 2nd to the 1st century B.C.E. indicate the existence of a temple of Nemesis here (Venit, op. cit., p. 649). Further, the headless statue of a winged Nemesis upon a plinth carved from the same block and brought to light in the French excavations at Thasos between 1928-1932, is thought to be the single known copy of the cult statue in the temple of Nemesis (Pierre Devambez, "Sculptures thasiennes", *BCH* 66-67 (1942), pp. 216-223; C. Bradford Welles, "Archaeological Digest", *AJA* 51/4 (1947), pp. 439-440).

¹⁴ Robert Fleischer, "Eine neue Darstellung der doppelten Nemesis von Smyrna", in: M.B. de Boer and T.A. Edridge (eds.) *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1, E.J. Brill, Leiden 1978, p. 394, n. 10.

of Nemesis was founded at Smyrna after the Lydians had destroyed the city¹⁵, probably around 575 B.C.E.¹⁶ The distinguishing feature of the cult in this city is that two Nemeseis¹⁷ are worshipped together. To date, there have been various theories proposed to explain the significance of the worship of a pair of goddesses. That the double Nemeseis was the twin mountain peaks at Smyrna, which in our time are called “The Two Brothers”¹⁸, or that they were the two aspects of the goddess as a punitive and stabilizing deity¹⁹, or that they symbolized the union of the old and the new city upon the command of Alexander the Great²⁰, or yet that they represented the union of the

¹⁵ Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 138. Based on the results she obtained from an investigation of the places where Nemesis is found and in spite of fact that the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous was dedicated to Livia in the second half of the 1st century C.E., Tataki intuitively indicates, as proof that the cult of Nemesis first appeared at Rhamnous, the continuation, throughout the Roman Period, of the athletic games associated with the goddess: Argyro B. Tataki, “Nemesis, Nemeseis, and the Gladiatorial Games at Smyrna”, *Mnemosyne* 62 (2009), p. 642. On the other hand, Büyükkolancı and Şimşek make an unsupported claim that the cult of Nemesis came from Ephesus to Smyrna as a result of a migration mentioned in Pausanias: Mustafa Büyükkolancı and Celal Şimşek, “Ayasuluk’ta Bulunmuş (Efes) Nemesis Adak Steli”, in: S. Aybek and A.K. Öz (eds.) *Metropolis İonia II. Yolların Kesiştiği Yer: Recep Meriç İçin Yazılar*, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul 2010, p. 83.

¹⁶ The destruction of Old Smyrna by Alyattes is dated to approximately 600 B.C.E. However, on the basis of archaeological data retrieved from the excavations of Old Smyrna, Cook thinks that it is possible to perceive the plundering of the city as happening after 600 B.C.E., while Hanfmann proposes 610-600? (John Manuel Cook, “On the Date of Alyattes’ Sack of Smyrna”, *BSA* 80 (1985), pp. 25, 28; G.M.A. Hanfmann, “Sardis, Old Smyrna Pyrgoi. New Light on an Old Problem”, in: C. Bayburtluoğlu (ed.) *Akurgal’a Armağan/Festschrift Akurgal (Anadolu/Anatolia 22)*, 1981/1983, pp. 244-245. See also Ekrem Akurgal, *Anadolu Uygarlıkları*, İstanbul 1988, p. 372; Ekrem Akurgal, *Eski Çağda Ege ve İzmir*, İzmir 1993, pp. 13, 103, 107).

¹⁷ From Anatolia, besides the Smyrnaean Nemeseis, a double Aphrodite Kastnietis at Aspendos in particular (for detailed information related to the characteristics of the cult see also, L. Robert, “Monnaies et divinités d’Aspendos”, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), pp. 177-188), and a double god on the coins of Gagai are known (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 394).

¹⁸ Ramsay identifies the Twin Nemeseis with the peaks now called the Two Brothers (in Turkish it is also known as İki Kardeşler or Çatalakaya), which rise on the southern shore of the Bay of Smyrna, and states that former inhabitants looked at these hills to track weather signs: W.M. Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, London 1927, p. 55; W.M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 91. However Fleischer considers Ramsay’s guesses about the goddess’ dual nature having come from the Two Brothers to be unfounded: Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

¹⁹ The duality of the goddess probably served to establish that she had both a good and a bad aspect. But as time went by this distinction was lost (Herter, *op. cit.*, p. 2364; Coman, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 394, n. 10; Michael B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State & the Games*, New York 1993, p. 11; Cecil John Cadoux, *İlkçağ’da İzmir: Kentin, En Eski Çağlardan M.S. 324’e Kadar Tarihi*, translated by B. Umar, İstanbul 2003, 287).

²⁰ The cult of the double Nemeseis, is associated with the Hellenistic Period moving of the city site to Mount Pagus. According to Farnell, the Nemesis of Old Smyrna was the fortune of the city (Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 2, Oxford 1896, p. 494). Thus for the new settlement a new copy of the cult statue was created and belief in the goddess was continued. But Fleischer states that the theory based on the synoikismos has long since been left behind (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 394). Taking into account the founding story in Pausanias, Hornum proposes that the people of Smyrna did not

Attic Nemesis with an Aeolian goddess associated with her²¹, the deity Adrasteia²², are among these theories about what the duality represented.

Price evaluates the duplication of Nemesis as a practice aimed at strengthening the quality of her divine station.²³ According to the author, “depictions of two identical woman figures side by side are encountered in the Minoan and Mycenaean ages. The existence of these representations of a religious meaning goes back as far as the early Anatolian cultures at Çatalhöyük. Reflections of the Great Mother, who is depicted on Hittite seals as a pair together with lions, are observable in the depictions of a pair of Cybeles which are frequently encountered in the Greek world.”²⁴ On the other hand, paired cult images are quite widespread around Anatolia, Syria²⁵ and Greece; early information concerning them is encountered around Cappadocia.²⁶ Apparently, paired cultic images are of Asian origin, though not original to Smyrna. That one encounters these depictions in different geographies indicates that the pair of Nemeseis does not form the basis of the cult at Smyrna. This situation becomes clearer with the occasional occurrence of a single Nemesis upon coins.²⁷

worship a pair of Nemeseis resulting from an old and a new city of Smyrna (Hornum, op. cit., p. 12). For the Nemeseis, whose temple was upon Mt. Pagus, had previously ordered the city to be moved here. Perhaps the only thing that can be said on this subject is that the double Nemeseis, related in Pausanias as inspirational beings, became the most visible symbol of the new city. On the coins of Smyrna, the Amazon, who expresses the bond between the old city and the founders of the new one, is shown carrying in her hand a statue of the double Nemeseis (D.O.A. Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1987, p. 27); this may be perceived as one example of this thinking.

²¹ Hornum, op. cit., p. 11; Cadoux, op. cit., p. 287.

²² Nemesis was worshipped in Northern Mysia under the name of Adrasteia (Strab., *Geogr.* 13.1.4). Adrasteia was a kind of twin of Nemeseis; she took her name from the Phrygian hero Adrastus and in the late period was known as the goddess of inescapable fate. At Andros and in Cos joint worship was performed for both goddesses. The Adrasteia cult, whose origins were independent of Nemesis, was found especially at places where Cybele was worshipped, such as Priapus, Cyzicus and the Troad (Farnell, op. cit., pp. 499-500; also for a similar phenomenon at Attoudda in Phrygia see Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements...*, p. 55; for the relationship of Nemesis to Cybele, see F. Legge, “The Most Ancient Goddess Cybele”, *JRAS* 49/4 (1917), p. 710.

²³ Theodora Hadzisteliou Price, “Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought”, *JHS* 91 (1971), p. 54.

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 53-54.

²⁵ It appears that in Syria the cult of Nemesis was remarkably privileged. Taking into account coins, sculptural works, votive inscriptions and sacred precincts, Seyrig has identified traces of the goddess in fifteen cities: Henri Seyrig, “Antiquités syriennes 4, Monuments syriens du culte de Némésis”, *Syria* 13/1 (1932), pp. 50-51.

²⁶ Fleischer, op. cit., p. 394. Evidence coming from settlements such as Methynna, Aphrodisias, Çavdarlı/Afyon, Thasos, Ephesus and Tomis indicates an increase over time of the attention paid to the cult of Nemesis (Cadoux, op. cit., pp. 289-290; Hornum, op. cit., App. 2, no. 235; L. Robert, “Documents d’Asie Mineure”, *BCH* 106 (1982), fig. 29; Paul Bernard and François Salviat, “Inscriptions de Thasos”, *BCH* 86 (1962), p. 598, Taf. LXXVIII, 3; Fleischer, op. cit., p. 394; V. Lungu, “Smyrne et La Mer Noire, Note Archeologique”, *Anatolia Antiqua* 14 (2006), pp. 356-357).

²⁷ Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna...*, p. 28.

One first encounters Nemesis²⁸ on coins struck during the reign of Tiberius in the Roman Imperial period²⁹. On the obverse of the issues are Nero and Agrippina, while the goddess is seen to have winged form³⁰ on the reverse (fig. 1).³¹ From the reign of Domitian onwards a pair of Nemeseis³² is depicted on the coins that are struck (fig. 2).³³ The importance of the Nemeseis for Smyrna is symbolized by the coins which portray their appearance in the scene of Alexander the Great's dream (fig. 3).³⁴

²⁸ See also depictions of Nemesis (*BMC Ionia* nos. 124–128, 133, 146, 151, 158, 221, 227, 241, 287, 309, 315, 353, 359, 364–365, 372, 383–384, 393, 422, 426, 428, 465; *SMG&A* nos. 2172, 2178, 2214, 2218, 2222, 2231, 2246–2247, 7981, 7991, 8008; *SMG&C* nos. 1237, 1245–1246, 1252–1254, 1294, 1304, 1317, 1352, 1370, 1375–1376, 1380–1381, 1391, 1398, 1414, 1421, 1423).

²⁹ It appears that the Roman emperors saw Nemesis as a symbol indicating the beginning of a new period of peace occurring after bitter civil wars or uprisings. In this role Nemesis-Pax would keep an eye on the preservation of the peace under the new emperor's rule. Caesar, for example, ordered that the corpse of Pompey, instigator of the Civil War, was to be buried in a small parcel of land in the temenos of Nemesis located near Alexandria (App., *Hist.* 2.90). As had happened in the reign of Claudius before him, Trajan also dedicated a statue of Nemesis, showing the victory of Justice over violence and anger, to symbolize the victory he won against the rebels (Jews) in Alexandria (M. Rostovtzeff, "Pax Augusta Claudiana", *JEA* 12 (1926), pp. 25–26, 28).

³⁰ Pausanias (*Descr. Gr.* 1.33.7) indicates that the Nemesis statues at Rhamnous and Smyrna were wingless, but that as time passed, as a result of artists associating the goddess with Love, wings were added to the statues. However, researchers propose different views on this matter. Lane for example notes that, in contrast to the goddess of Rhamnous, the Smyrnaean Nemesis is depicted as having wings and he likens her to the winged figures on Asian monuments: Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Further, it is also thought that by showing that the goddess could very suddenly appear at any time or in any place, the wings indicate speed, which was the means to catch evildoers (Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna...*, pp. 24, 28, 29; Coulton et al., *op. cit.*, p. 131).

³¹ William E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian*, New York 1980, p. 36; Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna...*, p. 28, Taf. 24 R 1–33.

³² It is believed that the depiction of the double Nemeseis on coins, which shows almost no variation, reflects either the wingless cult statues of her, with which the sculptor Boupalos decorated the Graces, as mentioned by Pausanias (*Descr. Gr.* 1.33.7; 9.35.6), or else a cult picture from the 3rd century B.C.E. On the other hand, based on information provided by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 40.13), the view that the Nemesis pictures sent to Smyrna by Trajan represented a new Nemesis type on coins that were issued during the emperor's reign, has also been suggested (Henry Lamar Crosby (trans.), *Dio Chrysostom, Discourses*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1956, p. 120, n. 4).

³³ Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna...*, 29, Taf. 5 R 1–3, Taf. 7 R 1–14; D.O.A. Klose, "Münzprägung und städtische Identität: Smyrna in der Römischen Kaiserzeit", in: W. Leschhorn, A.V.B. Miron, and A. Miron (eds.) *Hellas und der griechische Osten. Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt. Festschrift für Peter Robert Franke zum 70. Geburtstag*, SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, Saarbrücken 1996, p. 57. The coin types became more varied during the Flavian Dynasty; among these it is the Nemesis and the Amazon who represent Smyrna. Together with the Amazon, Cybele and Zeus Acraeus, Nemesis keeps the same position on the major portion of the Homonoia coins (Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Klose *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, pp. 28–29; Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 394; Klose, "Münzprägung und städtische Identität", p. 57).

³⁴ Coins which depict a pair of Nemeseis appearing to a sleeping emperor have been minted during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Gordian III and Philip I (Cadoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 288; Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, p. 29).

Eleven inscriptions, mostly from the 2nd or the 3rd centuries C.E., give examples of the practices relevant to the Nemesis cult at Smyrna.³⁵ One of these³⁶, dated to the 1st/2nd century C.E., honors the organizer of the games (agonothetes) dedicated to Nemesis and celebrates the games' having been organized in a fashion worthy of the city and the gods. Another inscription, dated to shortly after the year 124 C.E. in the reign of Hadrian, commemorates Claudius Bassus³⁷, organizer of the games dedicated to the Nemeseis.³⁸

Some researchers consider that the scope of the Nemesis cult in Smyrna was broadened in the Roman Imperial period. For example Robert, taking into consideration the story of the Martyrdom of Pionius³⁹ defends the idea that the emperor shared

³⁵ Georg Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, vol. II, 1. Bonn 1987, no. 628 = Josef Keil, "Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna", *IstForsch* 17 (1950), 55, no. 2; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 641 = CIG 3193; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 649-650; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 697 = CIG 3148 = IGRR IV 1431; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 725 = CIG 3163 = IGR IV 1403; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 740 = Keil, op. cit., p. 57, no. 8; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 741 = Keil, op. cit., p. 56, no. 7; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 742 = CIG 3164; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 748; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 759 = CIG 3161.

³⁶ Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 650.

³⁷ Here the Agonothetes of the Nemeseia, Claudius Bassus, promises to have the floor covering of the basilica done. Although supplying the flooring for a Basilica is not the most generous one of the offers, the Nemeseia Agonothetes is listed as the first of the contributors, even before the Asiarch. According to Tataki, his place at the head of the list reflects the importance of his duties: Tataki, op. cit., p. 643.

³⁸ Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 697 = CIG 3148 = IGRR IV 1431. Besides the Agon of Nemesis, the Barbilleia Agon, previously only known to have been held at Ephesus has been recorded for Smyrna and Pergamum as well (Peter Frisch, "Nemeseia und Barbilleia in Smyrna", *ZPE* 15 (1974), p. 162; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 619). At Smyrna the Nemeseis are further associated with gladiator games (Tataki, op. cit., pp. 646-647). Evidence from some ancient Anatolian cities displays the goddess' role in gladiator games. For example a votive stele, found near the southern city wall of Aphrodisias and associated with gladiator activity, is dedicated to the goddess of divine retribution and the great deity of gladiators, Nemesis (R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratte, "Aphrodisias, 2004", *KST* 27/2 (2005), pp. 19-20). An inscription from 3rd century C.E. Ephesus, placed in a wall near the entrance and towards the northern parados of the stage building, gives the information that the pronaos of the temple of Nemesis was repaired (G.M. Rogers, "The Constructions of Women at Ephesus", *ZPE* 90 (1992), pp. 221-222); another inscription upon the analemma wall in the theatre of Iznik gives the information that Ailianus Asclepiodotus of Nicaea had statues of Nemesis made and presented them to the theatre (Bedri Yalman, "Iznik Tiyatro Kazısı 1985", *KST* 8/2 (1986), p. 236), and also the Nemesis statue found in the excavations of the northern section of the theatre stage at Perge (Jale İnan, "Perge Kazısı 1985 Yılı Çalışmaları", *KST* 8/2 (1986), p. 142), can all be interpreted as clues showing the relation between the goddess and games. For evidence uncovered in excavations carried out in ancient cities of Anatolia and pertaining to the Nemesis cult see also (Jale İnan, "Perge Kazısı 1979 Çalışmaları", *KST* 2 (1980), p. 7; Jale İnan, "Perge Kazısı 1980 Çalışmaları", *KST* 3 (1981), p. 44; Marc Waelkens and Pierre M. Vermeersch, "Sagalassos 1995", *KST* 18/2 (1996), p. 130; Smith and Ratte, op. cit., pp. 19-20; Remzi Yağcı, "Soli/Pompeciopolis Antik Liman Kenti 2004 Yılı Kazıları", *KST* 27/2 (2005), p. 33).

³⁹ The story of the Martyrdom of Pionius is an important document that sheds light on events occurring in the reign of Decius (249-251 C.E.). In these records concerning the tortures suffered by the priest Pionius, mention is made of the discussions he had with the city's governor, Neokoros Polemon, and, in the end, of his death by burning. The temple of Nemeseis mentioned in the story is the place where there was a conflict between the magistrate and the Christian community in 250 C.E. After Pionius

his cult with the Nemeseis.⁴⁰ As for Tataki⁴¹, though underlining the fact that his theory cannot be proved from present documents, suggests that the temple of Nemeseis at Smyrna may have been the first temple to be dedicated to the cult of the emperor. In contrast to these two opinions, Rives states that none of the imperial temples at Smyrna seem to be jointly dedicated to the Nemeseis.⁴² To clarify the theories that have been put forth, it will be useful to focus upon the works carried out relative to the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. An inscription in the center of an architrave block at the eastern end of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous is associated with repairs done in the temple, which was rededicated to the goddess Livia by the Demos.⁴³ This inscription honoring Livia and, in the temple of Nemesis, the base of a statue honoring Claudius, are interpreted as signs that the imperial cults and the traditional cult of Nemesis were united, or that the goddess shared her cult with Livia.⁴⁴ In the same way, though we lack archaeological data, it can easily be asserted that at Smyrna the cult of the emperor was united with that of Nemeseis, or that the cult of Nemeseis was incorporated into the imperial one, as was the fashion in the Roman Imperial Period. The following inscription, dated to the years 211/212 C.E. and mentioning the enlargement of the temple of Nemeseis, strengthens this possibility:

ὑπὲρδιαμονῆς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου·
 Παπίνιος ὀφίλοσσοφος ἐγκατοχῆσας τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι
 παρὰ ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν, εὐξάμενος αὐξῆσαι τὸ Νεμέσειον,
 4 τὸν παρὰ τεθέντ' αὐτῶν οἰκονταῖς Νεμέσεσιν ἀνιέρωσεν, ὡς

refused to sacrifice, Neokoros Polemon demanded that at least he go to the temple of Nemeseis. Obviously Polemon's objective was to ensure respect for the emperor, whose cult was joined to that of the double Nemeseis (L. Robert (ed. and trans.), G.W. Bowersock and C.P. Jones, (eds.), *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, Washington 1994, pp. 65–66).

⁴⁰ Robert et al., *Le martyre de Pionios...*, pp. 52-53, 65-66.

⁴¹ As proof of this theory the researcher has pointed to an inscription on the architrave of the western stoa of the Agora: Tataki, op. cit., pp. 645-646. The inscription is dedicated to the Nemeseis, to all the gods and to the emperor. See n. 53.

⁴² J.B. Rives, "The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire", *JRS* 89 (1999), p. 147, n. 73.

⁴³ Miles, op. cit., p. 236. Up to now two differing views have been proposed concerning the dedication of the temple to Livia. The first of these is that the rededication of temple to Livia, who died in 29 C.E., was carried out three years after (45/46 C.E.) her deification by Claudius in 42 C.E. (Oscar Bronceer, "Some Greek Inscriptions of Roman Date from Attica", *AJA* 36/4 (1932), p. 400; Dinsmoor, op. cit., pp. 188, 194; Miles, op. cit., p. 239). The second defends the view that Livia (*Thea Sebaste/Divia Augusta*) who entered the Roman Pantheon in 41 C.E. during the reign of Claudius, was accepted as a goddess at Rome even before her deification and that the temple's dedication to her occurred in the first half of the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.E. – 9 C.E.) (Fernando Lozano, "Thea Livia in Athens: Redating "IG" II² 3242", *ZPE* 148 (2004), pp. 179-180).

⁴⁴ Bronceer, op. cit., p. 400; Miles, op. cit., p. 239.

εἶναι ἐν ἱερῶ τῶν κυρίων Νεμέσεων τὸ ὄλον.
 ὅ τόπος συνεχωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου,
 Γεντιανῆ καὶ Βάσσω ὑπάτοις, πρὸν ἡμερῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.

“May the life of the most pious Emperor Antoninus (= Caracalla) be long! – Because of the retreat that he made in the Temple of the Nemeseis in order to honor noble Serapis, and because of the oath he took to enlarge the Temple of the Nemeseis, the philosopher Papinius has dedicated to the Nemeseis the house immediately beside it. Thus everything is in the noble Temple of the Nemeseis – The land necessary to construct this was allocated by the Emperor Antoninus. These things were carried out under the rule of Gentianus and Bassus on the 6th of October.”⁴⁵

In the inscription one sees that the Emperor Caracalla has granted land for the temple.⁴⁶ What is interesting in this situation is that there was imperial land next to the temple of Nemeseis. According to Petzl, Papinius had the *oikos* constructed on the land granted by Caracalla and then dedicated it to the Nemeseis. The conclusion is that both the story of the martyrdom of Pionius and this inscription closely associate the temple of Nemeseis with the cult of the emperor.

The Localization of the Temple of Nemeseis

Research work done in ancient cities can reveal that the temples of Nemesis are located near agorae or theatres.⁴⁷ One example is the temple of Nemesis at Balboura, dated to the second half of the 2nd century C.E.⁴⁸; this faces south towards a paved avenue, while its back is turned towards the Agora, established at a lower level to the north.⁴⁹ Based on an inscription underneath two small niches carved side by side upon a block of the *analemma* in the theatre of Iznik, one may anticipate that a temple of the goddess Nemesis may be found near the theatre or at its entrance.⁵⁰

Certain researchers have proposed various theories concerning the localization of the temple of Nemeseis at Smyrna, twice mentioned in Pausanias.⁵¹ Cadoux, for

⁴⁵ Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 725 = IGR IV 1403. For a different translation of the inscription, see (Cadoux, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–290).

⁴⁶ Barresi thinks that the presence of the temple of Nemeseis may have affected the grant made by the emperor: Paolo Barresi, *Province dell'Asia Minore: Costo dei marmi, architettura pubblica e committenza*, Rome 2003, p. 442.

⁴⁷ See also n. 38

⁴⁸ The inscription on a lintel block of the Temple has been dated to earlier than 161 C.E. (Coulton et al., *op. cit.*, p. 130).

⁴⁹ Coulton et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 130.

⁵⁰ Yalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–237.

⁵¹ Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 7.5.1; 9.35.6

example, places the temple of Nemeseis upon Mt. Pagus (Kadifekale) (fig. 7).⁵² Keeping in mind the find places of three dedicatory⁵³ inscriptions obtained from excavations and also the spring mentioned by Pausanias, which passes through the Agora, Robert⁵⁴ has proposed that the temple of Nemeseis, the major temple of the city, was located on the southern side of the Agora of Smyrna. Petzl thinks that the temple of Nemeseis adjoined the Agora.⁵⁵ Sharing the views of Robert and Petzl, Doğer considers that the spring, which rises at a point south of the Agora and which is channeled into the complex through the west wall of the basement story of the West Portico, is in fact the spring of the temple of Nemeseis and that the Agora included both the spring and the temple of Nemeseis within its limits.⁵⁶ The only element that can be added to all these hypotheses is that the area provided for the temple was near the theatre⁵⁷ on the north slope of Pagus.

Concerning the appearance of the temple of Nemeseis, the only known example is found on a cistophorus (fig. 4). On the reverse of this coin is seen a tetrastyle temple upon a three stepped podium; it seems to be in the Ionic order and in it there is a pair of Nemeseis looking at each other.⁵⁸ For now, if one keeps in mind this example, one can consider that the temple at Smyrna was constructed in the Ionic order in conformance with the western Anatolian architectural tradition.

⁵² Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 136, n. 28.

⁵³ On an inscribed architrave belonging to shortly after 178 C.E. and found in the Agora of Smyrna one reads: “*The first and most magnificent of the cities of Asia dedicates the [hall from which the architrave came] to the goddesses Nemeseis, to all the other gods and goddesses and to the Emperor(s).*” (Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 55, no. 2; R. Naumann and S. Kantar, “Die Agora von Smyrna”, *IstForsch* 17 (1950), p. 74; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 628). On another inscription, dated to the 2nd/3rd century C.E., is placed the phrase “*The Goddesses Nemeseis, the neokoros of the emperors, the city of the Smyrnaeans*” (Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 57, no. 8; Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 740). Reasoning from these inscriptions Keil states that the West Portico was dedicated to the principal deities of Smyrna, the double Nemeseis, to the other gods and goddesses and to one or more emperors (Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 57, nos. 2, 8).

⁵⁴ According to the researcher, here was located the building called the Mouseion, where rhetoricians and philosophers gathered or gave lessons: Robert et al., *Le martyre de Pionios...*, 9. For the temple of Nemeseis see also *ibid.*, VI.3; VII.2; XV.2; XVIII.13.

⁵⁵ Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 628.

⁵⁶ Ersin Doğer, *İzmir'in Smyrna'sı: Paleolitik Çağ'dan Türk Fethine Kadar*, İstanbul 2006, pp. 91–92.

⁵⁷ The site of the theatre was chosen on the basis of the sun's direction (Naumann and Kantar, “Die Agora...”, pp. 73–74). The building was located in a natural hollow on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis and was northeast of the stadium. Walter and Berg established that the cavea of the theatre, which shows from many aspects a close association and resemblance to that of Ephesus, belonged to the Aspendos and Nicaea group known in Anatolia as the Roman type (O. Walter, and O. Berg, *İzmir'de Roma Tiyatrosu*, İzmir 1917, p. 4; see also O. Walter, “Antikenbericht aus Smyrna”, *Öjh* 21–22 (1922–1924), p. 233). In our day the theatre of Smyrna has the same size as the theatre of Pompey in Rome; with its diameter of 150 m. it is characterized as the largest theatre in Asia (Frank Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*, Oxford 2006, p. 113).

⁵⁸ Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p. 31, no. 28, 37, Plate 8, fig. 115.

THE CULT OF TYCHE AT SMYRNA

Background of the Cult

Tyche represented both good and bad destiny and luck.⁵⁹ The goddess was called “savior”, “protectress of the city” and “ruler of all”; in sculpture she was depicted as holding in her hand a cornucopia or a ship’s rudder or as a winged being upon a globe.⁶⁰ That she was shown holding a cornucopia and a sheaf of corn symbolized the richness she distributed with her hand; the rudder she held symbolized that she could direct destiny in a capricious way towards luck or misfortune; that she was shown with her foot beside a globe or a wheel or a body of water symbolized her changes in direction and speed and her unpredictable motion.⁶¹

Tyche came into being in the 4th century B.C.E. and in the Hellenistic Period as the result of a complicated evolution⁶²; she personified the destiny of a city, a ruler or a person.⁶³ Nearly every city had a Tyche who represented and ruled its destiny. In the Hellenistic Period, therefore, she doubtless served propaganda purposes as well as assuming a religious role in newly founded cities.⁶⁴

The Tyche statue made for the Smyrnaeans by Boupalos, whom Pausanias⁶⁵ characterized as an intelligent architect and sculptor, is evaluated as the earliest

⁵⁹ Roberts, op. cit., p. 792.

⁶⁰ Susan B. Matheson, “The Goddess Tyche”, in: S.B. Matheson (ed.) *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art*, New Haven 1994, pp. 20-22; Erhat, op. cit., p. 289.

⁶¹ Bayard Rankin, “The History of Probability and the Changing Concept of the Individual”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27/4 (1966), p. 486; Matheson, op. cit., p. 23. One can see the attributes of Tyche in sculptural works discovered through excavations in various ancient cities of Anatolia. See on this subject İnan, “Perge Kazısı 1980 Çalışmaları”, p. 48; İnan, “Perge Kazısı 1985...”, p. 140; R.R.R. Smith, “Aphrodisias 1990”, *KST* 13/2 (1991), p. 145; Marc Waelkens, “The 2000 Excavation and Restoration Season at Sagalassos” *KST* 23/1 (2001), p. 19; K. Levent Zoroğlu, “2010 Yılı Kelenderis Kazı ve Onarım Çalışmaları”, *KST* 33/4 (2011), p. 97.

⁶² Matheson envisages the evolution of Tyche towards a personification more general than that of a Nymph and towards her later role as Fortune from the seventh century onwards (Matheson, op. cit., p. 20).

⁶³ Matheson, op. cit., p. 19.

⁶⁴ Tyche managed to survive in the Christian cities of late antiquity (P.B.F.J. Broucke, “Tyche and the Fortune of Cities in the Greek and Roman World”, in: S.B. Matheson (ed.) *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art*, New Haven: YaleBull, 1994, pp. 38, 44). Perhaps because of her role as the great protectress of cities, her shrines were preserved while the temples and statues of other pagan deities were being wrecked (Matheson, op. cit., p. 25). In the second half of the 4th century C.E. the ancient belief in Tyche became, from an intellectual aspect, respectable in some pagan circles. In the years from Julian to Theodosius Tyche held a high place. The last defenders of paganism protected with extreme respect this most enduring goddess, the last of the antique deities (C.M. Bowra, “Palladas on Tyche”, *CQ* 10/1 (1960), p. 118; Rankin, op. cit., p. 484).

⁶⁵ Pausan., *Descr. Gr.* 4.30.6.

- Σμάραγδοςπρύτανισναὸν Τύχης
κατασκευάσει ἐν τῷ φοινικῶ-
16 νι Κλαυδιανὸς πρύτανις χρυσώ-
σει ἐν τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου
τῆς γερούσιας καὶ Οἰεῖς τὸν χα-
ριστήριον ἐν ἡκείονα σὺν σπει-
20 ροκεφάλῳ· Νυμφιδία ἀρχιέρεια,
Κλ(αυδία) Ἀρτέμυλλα, Κλ(αυδία) Πῶλλα,
Κλαυδία Νεικήτου, Θεουδιανὸς
στεφανηφόρος β', Φλ(αουία) Ἀσκληπιακή,
24 Εἰσίδωρος σοφιστής, Ἄντωνία
Μάγνα, Κλ(αυδία) Ἀρίστιον, Ἀλβιδία
Μάγνα μ(αριάδα) α'· Κλ(αυδία) Ἡδεῖα μ(αριάδα) α'· Κλ(αυδία)
Χάρις
μ(αριάδα) α'· Κλ(αυδία) Λεόντιον μ(αριάδα) α'· Κλ(αυδία)
Ἀυρηλία
28 κείονας Κυμβελλείτας σὺν
σπειροκεφάλοις εἰς τὸν φοινει-
κῶνα β'· οἵ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι μ(αριάδα) α'·
Μητρόδωρος Νεικάνορος ^{ΔΙΚΗΝΟΣ} εἰς
32 τὸν φοινικῶνα (δηνάρια), ζφ'· Μούρδιος
Καικιλιανὸς μ(αριάδας) β'· καὶ ὁσα ἐπετύ-
χομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος
Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἄντωνίου Πολέμω-
36 νος· δεῦτερον δόγμα συνκλήτου,
καθ' ὃ δις νεωκόροι ἐγόναμεν·
ἄγῶνα ἱερὸν, ἀτέλειαν, θεολόγους,
ὕμνων δούς, μυριάδας ἑκατὸν
40 πεντήκοντα, κείονας εἰς τὸ
ἀλιπτήριον Συναδίου σοβ',
Νουμεδικούσκ', πορφυρείτας·
κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡλιοκά-
44 μεινος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ὑπὸ Σέξτου
ἀρχιερέως.

The forty-five line inscription contains the following information concerning the temple and the area where it was located:

- 7-8 Chersiphron of Asia promises to donate gardens in the Palm Grove,
- 9-10 Lucius Pompeius promises to donate 50.000 drachmae for the Palm Grove,
- 14-16 Prytanis Smaragdus promises to have a temple of Tyche constructed in the Palm Grove,
- 27-30 Cl(audia) Aurelia promises to erect 52 columns, together with their bases and capitals, for the Palm Grove⁷⁰,
- 31-32 Metrodorus, son of Nicanor promises to donate 7500 denarii for the Palm Grove.

From the year 212 C.E. onwards, a portion of the city coins of Smyrna⁷¹ that belong to the 3rd century C.E. show on their reverse a tetrastyle temple housing a cult statue of Tyche (fig. 5). According to Klose, what is intended to be shown here is perhaps the temple that Prytanis Smaragdus had constructed in the Palm Grove.⁷²

The Localization of the Temple of Tyche

Archaeological and written evidence indicates that the cult of Tyche occupied a very visible position in the public spaces set apart for the political and commercial life of an antique city. One encounters ruins of Tyche temples in several ancient cities and the areas where they are sited generally show similarities to each other.⁷³

⁷⁰ The 52 columns donated together with their bases and capitals indicate the importance of the Palm Grove for the city, and also the building of a colonnade for the grove. Further, the very large space devoted in the inscription to donations made to the grove suggest a religious use for it (Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*. New York 2007, p. 130).

⁷¹ For the earliest depictions of the Tyche on the coins see *BMC Ionia* nos. 159, 233, 238–240, 354, 385, 387, 394, 417–418, 426, 428–429, 444; *SNGCop* nos. 1114–1120, 1183–1205, 1226–1232, 1316, 1320–1321, 1382–1385, 1393, 1400; *SNGvA* nos. 2190–2192, 2219, 2226, 2227, 2229, 7990; Klose 1987, 34, Taf. 41 R 3–6 12–15, Taf. 1 R 12–17, Taf. 14 R 16–20.

⁷² Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna...*, p. 34, Taf. 13–15, 45.

⁷³ Besides the early temples of Tyche at Elis, Corinth, Argos, Pharai and Sikyon Akropolis, it is known the the goddess also had temples at Caesarea, Antioch, Alexandria end Constantinople (Bowra, op. cit., p. 118; Matheson, op. cit., p. 20). Further, it is thought that the worship of Tyche and Nemesis was probably carried out in a sanctuary on the lower story section of the Palmyrene Gate dedicated to Tyche (Gad); this was in Dura, in eastern Syria on the bank of the Euphrates (Susan Downey, ““Temples à Escaliers”: The Dura Evidence”, *CSCA* 9 (1976), p. 29). At es-Sanamén, on the border of the same country, stands another temple of Tyche (191 C.E.); in its facade arrangement arcuated lintel was preferred and Hellenistic influences are visible in the column capitals (J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, London 1989, pp. 334, 344).

For example at Corinth⁷⁴ and at Side⁷⁵ the Agora was preferred for the construction of her temples. Also, it has been suggested that a temple foundation on the southwest of an Agora Basilica, lately uncovered in work carried out in Kelenderis, may belong to a temple of Tyche.⁷⁶ As for the temple of Tyche at Diocaesareia, this is located in the west part of the city on the axis of the main street, which extends in an east west direction.⁷⁷ However for the moment it does not seem possible to say what kind of city block it was located on.

At Smyrna the existence of a temple of Tyche is known only from epigraphic and numismatic evidence; like the other examples it was probably located in the area around the Agora. This supposition is further strengthened by a relief portrait of Tyche on a white marble keystone found in the Agora and dated to 180 C.E. or later (fig. 6).⁷⁸ If one considers that one of the city towers was called the Agathe Tyche Tower⁷⁹, then the southern part of the Agora, near the fortification walls, or else the

⁷⁴ It is thought that one of two structures in the Agora of Corinth may be a temple of Tyche. Various theories, put forth based on the description of Pausanias and on some of the retrieved finds, try to prove that a temple in the southwestern corner of the Agora ("Temple F", Robert L. Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Princeton 1951, pp. 57, 67-72), or yet another one in the northwestern corner ("Temple D", Charles K. Williams II and Joan E. Fisher, "Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest", *Hesperia* 44/1 (1975), pp. 25-27), may be a temple of Tyche. From the Agora one reached the temple of Tyche, described by Scranton as a tetrastyle Ionic structure rising from a three stepped podium immediately south of the Agora. The letter forms of an inscribed block piece belonging to this temple, dated to within the 1st century C.E. and to the second phase of the building activity that began with the Augustan Period, also give a date within the first half of the 1st century (Scranton, op. cit., pp. 57, 150; John Harvey Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton/NJ 1966, p. 33, no. 56).

⁷⁵ At Side the temple of Tyche is located in the center of the Agora. Dated to the 2nd century C.E., the temple, together with the Agora and the latrine structure, is evaluated as one of the elements which complete the main theatre building (Hüseyin Sabri Alanyalı, "2009 Yılı Side Tiyatrosu ve Çevresi Çalışmaları", *KST* 32/2 (2010), p. 442; Hüseyin Sabri Alanyalı, "Side 2010", *KST* 33/2 (2011), pp. 525, 530).

⁷⁶ The temple's two stepped stylobate has survived to our own day and it is anticipated that the shrine was constructed in the Corinthian order. It is also thought that the head of a statue of Tyche, brought to light in excavations made around the building, indicates the goddess to whom the temple was dedicated (Zoroğlu, op. cit., pp. 93, 96-97).

⁷⁷ The eastern facade is arranged as a hexastyle. Though it is thought that the temple may have been constructed simultaneously with the founding of the city, beginning from the 1st century C.E., the stylistic characteristics of its Corinthian capitals indicate the middle of the 2nd century C.E. (D. Wannagat, S. Westphalen, N. Kramer and R. Koch, "Bericht über die Forschungen in Diokaisareia/Uzuncaburç 2004", *AST* 23/2 (2005), pp. 4-5).

⁷⁸ Mustafa Şahin and Mehmet Taşlıalan, "Smyrna Agorası Heykeltıraşlık Buluntuları", *Olba* 18 (2010), p. 213, no. 37, fig. 49.

⁷⁹ Cadoux, states that, between inscriptions whose period it has not been possible to identify with certainty, there is one which mentions two towers named Agathe Tyche and Eucteria, while a second mentions two other towers named Hercules and the Dioscouri: Cadoux, op. cit., p. 145, n. 52. Petzl dates the inscription in which the names Agathe Tyche and Eucteria appear to the 3rd/2nd century B.C.E.: Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 613a.

area between these same walls and this city block will be the most appropriate position for the localization of the temple (fig. 7).

CONCLUSION

Evaluating the function of the agora's building complex will contribute to the above debate directed towards deducing which can be the most appropriate area chosen for the temples of Nemeseis and the Tyche at Smyrna.⁸⁰ Although one may think that the state function of the Agora of Smyrna was foremost, or that it was designed for state use, today's researchers avoid definitely calling this building complex a "State Agora". The fact that one cannot answer the question of what purpose was served by the buildings that are probably still underground and waiting to be excavated on the eastern and southern sides of the agora influences such an attitude. However, the theories proposed by academics who take archaeological data and ancient sources as a base, while placing the state function of the Agora of Smyrna in the foreground, also present evidence that in some periods the area was used for commercial purposes.⁸¹ Though some results can be arrived at from archaeological

⁸⁰ The Agora of Smyrna, of which a large section has been uncovered, was sited according to the direction of the sun upon the furthest slope of Pagus, which sinks towards the north with an increasingly gentle gradient. In this city block, where excavation work presently continues, the whole of the Basilica on the north has been uncovered. On the west the West Portico and the structures immediately in back of it, where digging continues, have been partially uncovered. The eastern and southern sections, still under modern buildings, await excavation. See on this subject (F. Miltner and S. Kantar, "İzmir'de Roma Devri'ne Ait Forumda Yapılan Hafriyat Hakkında İhbari Rapor", *Türk Tarih, Arkeolojya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 2 (1934), p. 227; R. Naumann and S. Kantar, "İzmir'de Roma Devrine Ait İyon Agorasında Yapılan Hafriyat Hakkında İkinci İhbari Rapor", *Belleten* 7/26 (1943), p. 215; Naumann, "Die Agora...", pp. 73–74, 77, 90; M. Taşhalan and Th. Drew-Bear, "Rapport sur les travaux effectués sur l'agora de Smyrne", *Anatolia Antiqua* 12 (2004), pp. 296, 300, 303; M. Taşhalan and Th. Drew-Bear, "Fouilles de l'agora de Smyrne: Rapport sur la campagne de 2004", *Anatolia Antiqua* 13 (2005), p. 390; M. Taşhalan and Th. Drew-Bear, "Fouilles de l'agora de Smyrne: Rapport sur la campagne de 2005", *Anatolia Antiqua* 14 (2006), pp. 314, 318; A. Ersoy, "2007 Yılı Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazısı", *KST* 30/2 (2008), pp. 3, 33-46; A. Ersoy, "2008 Yılı Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazısı", *KST* 31/2 (2009), 409-433; Ersoy et al., "2009 Yılı Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazısı", *KST* 32/2 (2010), 133-150; Ersoy et al., "2010 Yılı Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazısı Raporu", *KST* 33/2 (2011), 179-204.

⁸¹ Among this complex of buildings it must perhaps have been only the Basilica building that, true to its original purpose, continued its function to the end of the Roman Period. That all of the portraits found in the Agora of Smyrna were retrieved from the Basilica is an indication that the building preserved its official title from beginning to end. This same conclusion is supported by the fact that all the portraits retrieved from the Agora of Smyrna were shaped according to the royal portrait traditions of their various periods (Tolga Koparal, "Smyrna Agorası'ndan Ele Geçen Roma Devri Portreleri", Master's diss., İzmir 2007, p. 210). Further, from 178 C.E. onwards, one perceives that the religious use of the Agora is in the forefront (Şahin and Taşhalan, op. cit., pp. 220, 222). For the discussions on this matter, see Miltner and Kantar, op. cit., pp. 232–233; Naumann and Kantar, "İzmir'de Roma Devrine Ait İyon Agorası...", p. 220; Robert et al., *Le martyre de Pionios...*, pp. 33–34, III.6,7, 55, n. 7; An inscription from the Agora of Smyrna mentions, though in garbled form, a series of merchants (Petzl, *Die Inschriften...*, no. 719). See also the ancient literature on the Agora of Smyrna Acl. Arist., *Or.* 17.11, 18.6, 19.3, 23.24, 21.5, 47.22, 49.3.39, 51.5.31; Philost., *Lives of the Sophists* 1.25.

evidence relevant to this use of the eastern side of the Agora⁸², the situation is not the same for the southern side. Yet it is still possible to advance theories. For example Taşlıalan and Drew-Bear think that there was here a symmetrical portico, a terrace serving for religious activities or a nymphaeum.⁸³ When one takes into consideration the evidence presented above it appears that, of these three possibilities, the most probable one is that the southern side of the Agora had a religious nature. According to this, it is within the realm of possibility that the temples of Nemeseis and Tyche were located in the still unexcavated southern building area of the Agora of Smyrna, or else immediately outside this city block on land towards the south near the theatre; the two structures may even have been near each other, perhaps placed side by side (fig. 7). At the base of such a thought lies the fact that Nemesis was mostly identified with Tyche, for these goddesses shared their cults and iconographies in the Roman Period.⁸⁴ For example, at Balbura a statue of Tyche was erected in the same street as the Temple of Nemesis⁸⁵, on a sarcophagus from Aphrodisias the characteristics of three deities⁸⁶ are united in a single complicated divine figure⁸⁷, it has been established that a statue⁸⁸ found at Corinth represents the Nemesis-Tyche combination, and at Dura, in addition to Cybele and Atargatis, Nemesis is also associated with Tyche⁸⁹; all these are of a nature to prove this idea. In the same way, on the Smyrna-Ephesus homonoia coins, the fact that Nemesis is shown as Tyche can be evaluated as a reflection of just such an approach.⁹⁰

Comparisons made among the narrative of Pausanias, the story of the Martyrdom of Pionios and similar examples are of a nature to verify the location of the temple of Nemeseis within the city of Smyrna. On the other hand, the portrait of

⁸² It is thought that the architectural order of the still unexcavated East Portico is similar to that of the West Portico. However, it is proposed that because of the natural topography of the area, there may be no cryptoporticus in the East Portico (Naumann and Kantar, "Die Agora...", p. 90; Taşlıalan and Drew-Bear, "Rapport sur les travaux Rapport sur les travaux...", p. 303).

⁸³ Taşlıalan and Drew-Bear, "Rapport sur la campagne de 2004", p. 433.

⁸⁴ Charles M. Edwards, "Tyche at Corinth", *Hesperia* 59/3 (1990), p. 533.

⁸⁵ Coulton et al., op. cit., p. 131.

⁸⁶ Tyche, Victory and Nemesis.

⁸⁷ R.R.R. Smith, "Aphrodisias 1990", *KST* 13/2 (1991), p. 145.

⁸⁸ In 1902, to the west of the northwest stoa and ten meters north of the eastern end of Temple D, the statue of a dressed woman figure was found. For a long time this statue was identified as a copy of a classical statue called the Torlonia-Hierapytna type, of which five copies were known (Edwards, op. cit., p. 531).

⁸⁹ Matheson, op. cit., p. 25.

⁹⁰ B. Schweitzer, "Dea Nemesis Regina", *Jdl* 46 (1931), p. 204, no. 19; Coulton et al., op. cit., p. 131, n. 25. Though these examples seem to indicate that both goddesses may have shared the same temple at Smyrna, the fact that on coins the goddesses are shown independently of each other within different temples weakens this possibility.

Tyche upon a keystone⁹¹ found in the Agora of Smyrna can be interpreted as an indication that the Temple of Tyche may also be found in the area around the Agora. In that case, if one considers admitting the existence of a temple of Tyche in the same building block with the temple of Nemeseis, this also gives rise to the possibility that the Agathe Tyche Tower, mentioned in the inscription⁹² cited above, belonged to one of the city walls surrounding Pagus and facing north towards the bay.⁹³ In the place where the temple of Tyche was built the equipping of this section of the city with a detailed water system⁹⁴ must have ensured an environment convenient to supply the water needed to grow an apparently artificially formed grove of palm trees.⁹⁵

The theories put forth above concerning the localization are theories created in the absence of archaeological data. For this reason, in the Izmir of our own day, until the part of the city block that is buried under the modern city is expropriated and uncovered within the scope of work carried out for the protection of historical, environmental and cultural heritages, the location of the temples of Nemeseis and Tyche will remain a subject of argument.

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⁹¹ See n. 78

⁹² See n. 79

⁹³ When one considers the two inscriptions and the periods to which the city walls are dated one can surmise that, in the course of the founding of the new city in the Hellenistic Period and together with the fortification walls, a temple of Tyche was constructed, and that afterwards, among the building activities realized in the reign of Hadrian, a new temple was constructed in place of the goddess' old one, or that the old temple was restored.

⁹⁴ Water was brought to Mt. Pagus from Mt. Nif, about 30 km. away. A building called the Nymphacum, whose ruins used to be between the gate of Kadifekale and the Stadium, was connected to this water line (F.W. Hasluck, “The ‘Tomb of S. Polycarp’ and the Topography of Ancient Smyrna”, *BSA* 20 (1913/1914), pp. 92–93); this points to engineering systems used for the purpose of storing and distributing water on Pagus. Further, from still existing remains it is understood that underground channels were used to transfer water to the city. See on this subject G. Weber, “Die Wasserleitungen von Smyrna 1-2”, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 14 (1899/1), pp. 5-6; (1899/2), p. 186.

⁹⁵ See. n. 69. The lands within the borders of Anatolia are not the palm tree's natural habitat. It is widespread in America, Asia and the Pacific islands, rarely growing in Africa. Palms are defined as tropical region trees or vines.

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Fig. 1: Smyrna coin of Nero (Klose 1987, Taf. 24, R 24).



Fig. 2: Smyrna coin of Domitian (Klose 1987, Taf. 5, R 2).

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Fig. 3: Smyrna coin of Marcus Aurelius (Klose 1987, Taf. 40, R 8).



Fig. 4: Smyrna coin of Hadrian (Metcalf 1980, Plate 8, Fig. 115).



Fig. 5: Smyrna coin of Philippus Arabs (Klose 1987, Taf. 14, R 4).



Fig. 6: The relief portrait of Tyche on a white marble keystone found in the Agora (Şahin and Taşlıalan 2010, fig. 49).



Fig. 7. Map of Ancient Smyrna: 1. Agora, 2. Pagus (Kadifekale), 3. Theater, 24. The area where the temples of Nemesis and Tyche might have been located? (The map was created by Ersoy, A., S. Alatepeli and Y. P. Erturan. The area numbered as 24 was added on the map by Kılıç, M.).