

Glyptic Depictions of Tyche in Asia Minor

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Abstract. *This paper is devoted to depictions of Tyche on engraved gems in Asia Minor, mostly dating from the Roman period. The aim is to create an iconographic typology for Tyche as represented in Roman glyptic art in Turkey, to reveal the development of the iconography of the goddess in the East and to distinguish more individualised images from the products of mass production. The study material is located in local museums, from west to east, in Izmir, Ephesus, Akhisar, Aydın, Marmaris, İznik, Burdur, Ankara, Konya, Amasya and Gaziantep in different parts of modern-day Turkey. 40 engraved gems, a glass medallion and a terracotta bulla with Tyche iconographies are here divided into twelve types which are presented with their compositions and chronologies. As a result of this study, a deepened iconographical analysis of these gems was constructed which indicates that many types depicting Tyche are of local significance.*

Rezumat. *Această lucrare este dedicată reprezentărilor zeiței Tyche pe pietre prețioase gravate din Asia Mică, datând în mare parte din perioada romană. Scopul este de a crea o tipologie iconografică pentru Tyche, așa cum este reprezentată în arta gliptică romană din Turcia, de a dezvălui dezvoltarea iconografiei zeiței în Orient și de a distinge imaginile mai individualizate de produsele producției de masă. Materialul de studiu se află în muzeele locale, de la vest la est, în Izmir, Efes, Akhisar, Aydın, Marmaris, İznik, Burdur, Ankara, Konya, Amasya și Gaziantep, în diferite părți ale Turciei moderne. 40 de pietre prețioase gravate, un medalion de sticlă și o bulă de teracotă cu iconografii ale zeiței Tyche sunt împărțite aici în douăsprezece tipuri, prezentate împreună cu compozițiile și cronologiile lor. Ca urmare a acestui studiu, a fost realizată o analiză iconografică aprofundată a acestor pietre prețioase, care indică faptul că multe tipuri care o înfățișează pe Tyche au o semnificație locală.*

Keywords. Intaglio, cameo, engraved gems, finger-rings, Tyche, Fortuna, Asia Minor, Turkey, Syria, Roman period, glyptics, iconography, Roman archaeology.

*In memoriam Erika Zwierlein-Diehl
(* 28.III.1936 – † 24.V.2025)*

Introduction: Tyche in Asia Minor

Tyche was one of the most popular deities depicted in glyptics during the Roman Empire. The images of the goddess portrayed on Roman intaglios evolved from Hellenistic concepts that gained popularity and took on new forms in the Roman period. Tyche and her symbols frequently appeared as amuletic motifs, offering protection to the wearer in various ways.

During the Hellenistic period Tyche is frequently featured on coins in Anatolia and the Near East, and there were cults dedicated to Tyche throughout the rest of the Mediterranean littoral and beyond. According to Susan B. Matheson, the goddess Tyche was often worshipped as the actual personification of a city and its fortune.³ Further, Tyche came to represent not

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³ MATHESON 1994, 19.

only personal fate, but the fate of entire communities. Cities venerated their own Tychai, specific iconic versions of the original Tyche, and this practice was continued in the iconography of Roman Asia Minor.⁴

Iconographically, Tyche appears on many coins struck during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially in the eastern part of the ancient world, generally wearing a mural crown and carrying a cornucopia, an emblematic *gubernaculum* (a ship's rudder), and sometimes accompanied by a wheel of fortune, or even standing on a wheel, presiding over the entire circle of fate (Pl. 1:1b and Pl. 1:5b for a seated version). The significance of the mural crown is that it identifies her as the goddess of a city (Pl. 1:2a). According to S. B. Matheson, the deity, being one of the Oceanids, was considered to be an ocean goddess.⁵ Citing the manner in which Pindar refers to her in his poems, he “implores her to keep watch around Himera, a port” (Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 12, 1–2), she is very frequently depicted holding a ship's rudder (Pl. 1:3b). In Late Roman times sets of figures, usually four, represented the Tychai of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch-on-the-Orontes.⁶ Thus, her iconographic construction experienced a slight change with the adaptation of innovations in figural art from the fourth cent. AD onwards; these changes in the artistic culture of Late Antiquity, however, have not yet received sufficient attention in the scientific world. In this regard the sixth cent. AD mosaic depicting a bust of Tyche from the “House of the Deer” at Apamea, Syria should be noted.⁷

Tyche, not only personified and guarded cities, as represented by official art and coinage, but protected buildings (especially bath-houses both because of fire risk and because bathers were naked and, thus, especially vulnerable there)⁸, as well as ships, which were ever liable to shipwreck. This ubiquity is apparent from her presence throughout the Roman Empire in personal as well as in public dedications and altars⁹, as well as in sculptured images, paintings

⁴ In the text, the geographical term “Asia Minor” has been employed, although the Roman province of Asia occupies only a small part of the Anatolian peninsula. Moreover, Antioch-on-the-Orontes lies in ancient Syria while Istanbul and its hinterland, “Turkey in Europe” was in Thrace. Anatolia is the usual geographic definition for the pre-Greek glyptic art in the Near East, but we used the employed term “Asia Minor” in our discussion of Roman gems in most of present-day Turkey. However, some gems treated in this paper come from the ancient territories of northern and north-western Syria.

⁵ MATHESON 1994, 20.

⁶ SHELTON 1981, 86–88, pls. 35–43.

⁷ BALTY 1995, 49–50, pl. 3, 2.

⁸ There were good reasons for Tyche to have been combined with river deities at thermae: The preponderance of evidence from the Syro-Palestinian and Arabian provincial urban centres which minted coins in the second and third cent. AD shows that cities featuring Tyche standing or seated in triumph above water deities had constructed significant water supply systems by the period at which the coins were struck. With the completion of canals and underground conduits that led from outlying springs and catchment basins, citizens could draw water from public wells that opened above these aqueducts, whose waters perpetually flowed on beneath the surface to debouch at a central terminus where perpetually flowing fountains supplied citizens with water to drink amongst architecturally lavish *Nymphaea* which created moist pleasant-sounding and numinous settings while the baths were designed to make provincial citizens or travelers feel that they were truly “Romans”. These fountains and baths were particularly striking in the arid environs of Syria-Palestine and Arabia. Civic leaders who included the image of Tyche standing or resting with her feet on water-deities claimed a superior status. They believed that their Tyche was to be worshipped, for providing plentiful water and they highlighted her power by having her depicted on their coins.

⁹ For a dedication to Tyche from Caesarea Germanicia, cf. LAFLI, BRU 2020, 372–373, no. 2 (with fig.). In the transcription of this dedication, however, the name of the dedicant here could perhaps be revised to read the two part name of a Roman citizen, e.g., Ἰουνία Ἀρονίη (rather than Μουνία Ἀ., although there is a Roman nomen Munius/Munia) with a Roman nomen and a Greek cognomen; otherwise, a sequence of two non-Roman names in the nominative (and one of them unattested) do not make much sense in its former transcription.

and, of course, in the gems which are discussed in this paper.¹⁰ Although this study is essentially concerned with material from Anatolia, we are very well aware of her significance in other provinces including those in the West of the Empire, for example in Gaul¹¹ and Britain¹² where she was known by the Latin name, *Fortuna*.¹³ Depicted in a wide range of media, for example sculpture, bronze figurines and coins as well as gems, she played a significant role in the lives of inhabitants throughout the Empire. An interesting case is provided by a find from a sailing barge wrecked in the river Thames at Blackfrairs, London, in which a bronze coin of the Emperor Domitian was selected for placement in the mast-step because, on its reverse side, it depicted *Tyche/Fortuna* who the sailors clearly believed, would protect the ship.¹⁴ In any case gems travelled across the Empire on the signet rings of their wearers: A carnelian from Villetelle, Hérault, Occitanie is an octagonal gem of second–third cent. AD date¹⁵, a shape that Andrew Goldman believes was the hallmark of a group of gems from workshops situated at Gordion in Anatolia.¹⁶ However, it is important to stress that in the Greek-speaking Eastern part of the Empire, even when iconographies are sometimes identical to those in the West (notably our Types 1–3 below), *Tyche* may have meant more to those for whom she was depicted. She was not simply a personification of good fortune, but the goddess who enshrined the very spirit of place, which is the reason there were specific *Tychai* of Antioch, Caesarea and many other places including Mount Argaeus in Cappadocia. In Egypt, she was equated with Isis and this aspect did feed back into depictions of *Fortuna* in the West; though in the first instance this identification was an aspect of the Eastern *Tychai*.

Although *Tychai* are being studied in several geographic areas, the cult of *Tyche* and her depictions in Anatolia are still not widely known nor published to any great extent.¹⁷

So far there are only a few specific studies of *Tyche* as she appears on Graeco-Roman glyptics: In 1973 Paule Roscam published a study of intaglios depicting the goddess based on the gems in the *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles* in Belgium; this was followed by Tamás Gesztelyi in 1975, writing with particular reference to an intaglio from Hungary. Radu Ciobanu's paper, published in 1989, is based on the typology and iconography of glyptic representations of the cult of *Nemesis* and *Fortuna* in Dacia.¹⁸ In the same year, an article by Jeffrey Spier listed a number of Hellenistic garnets which depict busts of *Tyche* (our Type 11 below), all but one of them the goddess wearing a mural crown.¹⁹ Marco Cavalieri based his 2008 paper on an intaglio showing *Tyche/Fortuna* found at Castelraimondo in the eastern Italian Alps and, finally, in 2025, Claudia Tozzi published a gem depicting *Tyche/Fortuna* excavated from a necropolis in Rome. All of these are cited in the bibliography.²⁰ Furthermore,

¹⁰ DOHRN 1960 (*Tyche* of Antioch); CHRISTOF 1993 (*Tyche* of Antioch); VILLARD 1997; RAUSA 1997; and LICHOCKA 1997 (iconography of *Fortuna*).

¹¹ GUIRAUD 1988, 2008.

¹² HENIG 2007.

¹³ ARYA 2002 in general.

¹⁴ MARSDEN 1966, 37, pl. 8.

¹⁵ GUIRAUD 2008, p. 110, no. 1162.

¹⁶ See GOLDMAN 2014, although he does not cite this example.

¹⁷ For *Tychai* in northern Italy, cf. CORALINI 1994; in Archaic and Republican Italy, cf. MIANO 2018; in Dacia (with *Nemesis*), cf. CIOBANU 1989; *Tyche* of Berytus, cf. KROPP 2011; and in Roman Palestine, cf. BELAYCHE 2003.

¹⁸ CIOBANU 1989, 280–281.

¹⁹ SPIER 1989, 24, nos. 27–33, 26–27, figs 19–22, 32, 33, fig. 42.

²⁰ Also cf. below, Type 1; for two other glyptic assessments of *Tyche/Fortuna* as depicted in Italy, cf. SENA CHIESA 1966, 235–236; and MAGNI 2009, 94–95.

there has been only a single study of Tyche syncretised with Isis in the glyptic arts of Roman Asia Minor, the results from which are presented in chapter 3 below.²¹ In 2022 Sébastien Aubry published a lengthy paper on the cults of Nemesis of Smyrna and the Tyche of Antioch and their syncretism, discussing them in relation to glyptic examples as well as images in other media.²² Finally, a recent contribution to the proceedings of a conference Martin Henig focuses on Ceres in the glyptic art of the western provinces where he also refers to Fortuna and her glyptic appearances in Britain and the West of the Empire.²³

The fact that iconographically Tyche was often syncretised with Demeter, Nemesis, Nike, Athena and Isis, and frequently associated with Zeus, Serapis and Hermes, often renders it difficult to distinguish her as a separate subject, and makes her typological evolution in glyptics much more difficult to assess than that of many other prominent deities. In any case even a standard image of Tyche/Fortuna in the mind of the person wearing her image may have been elided with a local deity as one of us has suggested in the case of Ceres in Britain.²⁴ The problem is fully apparent in the case of a rare chalcedony statuette, a goddess wearing chiton and himation, from the well-known tomb at Cologne/Köln-Weiden in Germany, which was published by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl as a figure of Fortuna, though no attributes survive such as cornucopia and rudder, and Elisabetta M. Galletti more plausibly considers it to have depicted Ceres.²⁵ In addition it should be noted that many gems portray a female figure holding a cornucopia and a patera, a type sometimes described as Fortuna, but also identified on the basis of coins as the Roman personification of Abundantia or Concordia.²⁶ These types are not included in this survey in detail, because we have none in our sample, but see Pls. 5:8 and 6:5²⁷ and at chapter 3, no. 1 below, i.e., an intaglio from Juliopolis in south-eastern Bithynia in central Turkey. They were surely regarded as a type of Tyche in the Eastern provinces.

Research question, aims and methodology

Recently we have begun producing a series of research papers, taking Anatolia as a base from which to deepen the iconographic representation of each mythological figure depicted on engraved gems from the Graeco-Roman East. So far we have produced four essays, one on Dionysus, one on Demeter, one on Hermes and the other on plants in Anatolian glyptics.²⁸ This paper is the fifth in this series taking the theme of Tyche as its subject. As this enigmatic Graeco-Roman deity, with her specific relationship to Asia Minor and the rest of the Near East, frequently appears on Anatolian gems, we have attempted to group her appearances into twelve iconographic types (cf. Pl. 8). Thus, we hope to achieve a base to broaden our knowledge of this goddess/personification, as well as to establish, in due course, a firm basis for future scientific research on glyptics in Turkey.

²¹ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022; generally, on the syncretisation of Tyche/Fortuna with Isis on gems, cf., e.g., VEYMIERS 2009, 221, nos. V.BBC 44–V.BBC 46, pls. 12–13, figs V.BBC 44–V.BBC 46; BEAURIN 2008; CLERC 1998; SFAMENI GASPARRO 1998.

²² AUBRY 2022, 90–104 (Nemesis of Smyrna), 104–113 (Tyche of Antioch).

²³ HENIG 2025, 260–261 and 263–265.

²⁴ See HENIG 2025 above.

²⁵ DEMETER; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1985; GAGETTI 2006, 321–325, no. G9.

²⁶ ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 215, nos. 1554–1558; HENIG 2007, 131–132, nos. 328–337; JOHNS 1997, 89–90, nos. 157–166.

²⁷ HENIG 1971.

²⁸ LAFLI, HENIG 2023, 2024a, 2025 and 2026.

Stylistic descriptions of gems treated here are given according to the studies of Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink, Gemma Sena Chiesa and E. Zwierlein-Diehl.²⁹ Although we find Maaskant-Kleibrink's classification problematic, as so many styles were employed at the same time, we have, nevertheless, attempted to employ this classification to relate our material from the Roman East with the unprovenanced material in the Dutch Royal Collection³⁰ and from Nijmegen³¹ which she classified in this manner. Nevertheless, when she came to analyse 'the style and technique of the engraved gems' from the Snettisham Roman jeweller's hoard from Norfolk, UK³², she attributed the distinct styles of cutting employed there simply to two (or possibly three) contemporary engravers (presumably a master and apprentices) in a single mid-second cent. AD workshop rather than the work of different periods which they clearly were not. Similarly in the case of the rich material from Turkey, we need to isolate regional styles and identify specific workshops, as we already do in publishing sculpture.

In most works on Roman-period gems the Latin name of the Roman goddess Fortuna equated with Greek Tyche has often been employed for the commoner types, Tyche being reserved for depictions of amuletic characters, including syncretic deities combining elements of several goddesses like Ceres, Minerva, Isis etc., as well as for specific regional types, referencing specific cities as shown on depictions of Tychai on local coinages.³³ In this paper we employ the name "Tyche" rather than "Fortuna" throughout, as our material comes from Asia Minor which was mostly Greek speaking in Roman times, so the Greek name would have been employed almost universally.

The colours of each gem are described in a non-specific way by eye as there is currently no universally agreed colour chart employed for ancient engraved gems.

Previous publications of engraved gems depicting Tyche in Turkey

From published archaeological reports containing records of glyptic finds in Turkey we have located only three excavated gem finds which depict Tychai, as listed here³⁴:

1. Two finger-rings set with gemstones depicting Tyche were excavated in Juliopolis in south-eastern Bithynia:

a. A silver ring, recovered from grave no. 120 in the necropolis of Juliopolis in 2010, is exhibited today at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Pl. 2:1; acc. no. 12-62-11; ring 21.8 x 21.6mm, jasper 10 x 7mm).³⁵ It shows a figure of the Abundantia/Concordia type, but is thought to be a Tyche figure, and is engraved on an oval-cut red jasper.³⁶ The goddess stands with her body frontal, head turned to the right. Her hair is tied in a bun descending to the nape of her neck, and she wears a high-belted chiton and himation. She holds a cornucopia on her right arm from which the end of her himation hangs, and holds a patera in the palm of

²⁹ For a concordance, cf. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1991, 8–12 which includes a long discussion of glyptic styles, techniques and typologies established over years of research.

³⁰ MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978.

³¹ MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1986.

³² JOHNS 1997, 25–33.

³³ See MATHESON 1994, 23, 25.

³⁴ For an extensive survey of all former glyptic finds from Asia Minor, cf. LAFLI, HENIG 2024b, 148–156.

³⁵ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 84–85, cat. no. 2, 97, fig. 2.

³⁶ F1-profile for which see HENIG 2007, 9, fig. 1 and Pl. 5:8.

her outstretched left hand. A silver-plated figurine with similar iconography, holding a cornucopia and patera, is curated in the Museum of Çorum in eastern Galatia (figurine of Isis/Tyche, acc. no. Etd.323, H. 38mm)³⁷. A coin minted at Prusias ad Hypium from the reign of Antoninus Pius was excavated in the tomb where the ring was found, which suggests a date for the gem in the mid-second cent. AD.³⁸

b. A bronze ring, recovered from grave no. 349 in the necropolis of Juliopolis in 2011, is exhibited today in the same museum (Pl. 2:2a–b; acc. no. 52-3-12; ring 22 x 24.3mm, stone 11.5 x 9.4mm).³⁹ Tyche is depicted on an oval-cut chalcedony, also of F1-profile. The goddess stands, with her body frontal, and her head turned to the right. Her hair is tied with a ribbon forming a bun descending from her forehead to the nape of her neck. She sports a high polos on her head, wears a high-belted chiton and a himation which partly envelops her left arm, and holds a rudder and wheat ears in her right hand. A cornucopia rests on the column on her left side. This is the syncretic deity Tyche/Demeter.⁴⁰ There are transverse cracks at the bottom of the stone, so it is not clear whether there is a groundline or not. Since a coin depicting Julia Domna was found in the tomb where the ring was found, it is possible to date the ring to the reign of Septimius Severus.⁴¹

2. Further, a red agate ring-stone figuring Tyche and a rich assemblage of gold jewellery was excavated in the necropolis site of Karacahöyük near İncikli, 15 km north-west of Baklan (ancient Lunda or Lacerium) and 66 km north-east of Denizli.⁴² Unfortunately the ring-stone depicting Tyche from the site was not illustrated in its publication.

3. Three or four Early Roman intaglios depicting Tyche were reported in a recent publication on gems from Sardis⁴³; these figure Fortuna/Tyche, Nemesis and Tyche as well as standing figures of Tyche and Nike. Since photos were not included in the publication, we cannot include these gems in our iconographic typology.

Other previously recorded gems from Turkey in museums or private collections which depict Tyche are mainly unprovenanced, and are listed below with our revisions and comments:

4. The gem catalogue of the Erimtan Archaeology and Art Museum in Ankara by Koray Konuk and Melih Arslan offers us several examples of intaglios figuring Tyche.⁴⁴ Through this work and comparing these 12 pieces with our study material below we were able to create new typologies of Tychai for Asia Minor.⁴⁵

³⁷ İBİŞ 2021, 82, fig. 16; cf. Pl. 5:4 for a similar one curated in the Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk.

³⁸ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 84–85.

³⁹ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 85, cat. no. 3, 97, fig. 3, 98, fig. 3a.

⁴⁰ Our Type 2 below.

⁴¹ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 85.

⁴² YILMAZ et al. 2000, 202–203.

⁴³ EVANS 2020, 203, 206, 208, table 3.

⁴⁴ KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, nos. 77–86 all standing; 87 seated; and 88 standing, crowned by Nike.

⁴⁵ In a personal interview with Mr Yüksel Erimtan in 2015, who is the owner and founder of the Erimtan Museum in Ankara, he states that in the 1960s he begun with his glyptic collection through collecting gems which had been found on ancient sites, where they had been washed out from the soil after it had been raining, and which he had bought

5. In 2022 Melih Arslan and Yavuz Yeğin published an article about depictions of Tyche syncretised with Isis in Turkey, based on 13 intaglios, mostly set in finger-rings, from the collections in Ankara, i.e., eleven from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and two from the Erimtan Museum. Eleven finds are acquisitions and two of them are those excavated in Juliopolis, described immediately above. The authors evaluate iconographic features related to Isis and Tyche on these 13 specimens in which they attempted to examine the ways in which Isis was depicted as being integrated with Tyche. As expected, the Isis/Tyche type, corresponding with our Type 1, is the commonest among the compound types in the Ankara collections. On these intaglios the goddess is generally represented in a standard manner, wearing a modius, long chiton and himation, and holding a steering-oar and cornucopia. She may also hold an ear of grain and a poppy seed-head signifying prosperity, or a sistrum signifying Isis' sacred cultic rattle. Sometimes a flaming altar is shown beside her to indicate cultic worship. These ring-stones with depictions of Isis/Tyche were employed as personal seals in the Roman period.

Apart from our cat. nos. 5–8 and 24, presented below under our Types 1 and 2, two gems in Arslan and Yeğin 2022 deserve re-publication here.⁴⁶

a. In the Erimtan Museum, a red jasper intaglio set in a gold finger-ring, is inscribed Ἰσὺκλ|ἡ|πιόδο[τος] around the main figure of Tyche from right to left which reads negatively on the stone, but positively in impression (Pl. 2:3a–b; acc. no. 1108).⁴⁷ The octagonal jasper cut in F3-profile measures 10.5 x 8.5mm, and is wide at the bottom and narrow at the top. Tyche stands to the left, her body rendered from the front. The head of the goddess is shown facing left, and she sports a high calathus. Her hair is gathered back from the sides and terminates with a bun at the nape of her neck. She is dressed in a short-sleeved, high-belted chiton with a himation over it, whose ends hang down on her left side, and she holds a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia crooked on her left arm. A snake is wrapped around her bare steering arm, while three snakes with their heads upturned, are wrapped around her dress from hip to calf. The presence of an inscription indicates that the ring-stone was used both as a seal and for purposes of protection. There is a groundline. Mid-second cent. AD.

b. An oval yellow jasper cut in F1-profile, figuring Tyche syncretised with Isis, Athena, Demeter and Nike is curated in the Erimtan Museum (Pl. 2:4a–b; acc. no. 1250, 12 x 9.3mm).⁴⁸ The goddess stands with her head turned to the right and body frontal. She wears an Attic helmet on her head identifying her with Athena, and the wings of Nike sprout from her back. She is clad in a high-belted chiton and himation, and holds a rudder and ears of wheat vertically in her right hand, symbolizing the fertility of the land, the province of the goddess Demeter. A

from a jeweller in Mersin, Mr Jozef (Anadol), a local Maronite. From these statements it is clear that at least a part of that Erimtan Collection originates from Cilicia in southern Turkey, cf. <<https://www.akasociety.org.tr/erimtan-muzesi,2,28>> (status as of Jan., 1st, 2025). Also note that many of the gems from Xanten, especially from the double legionary fortress on the Fürstenberg (Vetera I) in Germania Inferior, were likewise picked up on the ground after rain, (information from Dr Christoph B. Rüger, pers.com.; see PLATZ-HORSTER 1987, 3–57; ead. 1994, 71–144, and ead. 2009 for gems from the Fürstenberg).

⁴⁶ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 87, cat. no. 13, 100, fig. 13 is Heliosarapis and not Tyche.

⁴⁷ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 87, cat. no. 10, 99, fig. 10.

⁴⁸ ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, 87, cat. no. 10, 99, fig. 10.

lock of hair or ribbon extends from under her helmet to the nape of the neck. Late second–early third cent. AD.⁴⁹

6. In her Master's thesis on the gems from the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey, Jülide S. Yinesor Demir presents 12 gems depicting Tyche, one of the largest published collections containing so many Tyche representations. This rich assemblage gathered mostly from sites in south-eastern Turkey, especially around Antioch-on-the-Orontes, offers us several typologies of Tyche-types which we present below (cf. cat. nos. 14–19, 25, 33–34, 36, 38 and 40).

In another Turkish Master's thesis on the gems from the Archaeological Museums of Konya (in ancient Lycaonia), Burdur (Pisidia) and Fethiye (Caria), Dolunay Kulbay has studied three gems depicting Tyche which we present and comment upon below (cf. cat. nos. 11–13).

7. In his museum report of 2021 Resul İbiş presents several important archaeological finds in the Museum of Çorum in eastern Galatia, where he notes that Tyche is the most usual depiction on engraved gems in Çorum.⁵⁰

8. There are several other examples of glyptic material figuring Tychai in Turkey which are summarised here (but only partially illustrated):

a. Museum of Troy, acc. no. 2650.⁵¹ Sardonyx. 11 x 10 x 3mm, Wg. 0,515 gr. Tyche faces right and holds a cornucopia in her right hand, i.e., our Tyche Type 1 described below.

b. Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş in south-eastern Turkey, acc. no. 12.14.84 (Pl. 2:5a–b).⁵² Carnelian. Acquired from Mr Osman Aksoy on 15th of June 1984 for 1850 TL (\$US 12). 8 x 2mm. Tyche faces right and holds a cornucopia in her right hand as well as a rudder in her left hand, i.e., our Tyche Type 1.

c. There is an unpublished intaglio in the Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre, acc. no. 2011/297 (A) (Pl. 2:6). Sardonyx. Excavated in the höyük site of Hacımusalar (ancient Choma) in northern Lycia, in the church of the western area, in D3U3-4-2, and delivered to the museum on 18th of October 2011. 12 x 10 x 2mm. A standing female figure looks from a photograph like a representation of Abundantia with cornucopia and patera.

d. An example of our Tyche Type 5 is curated at the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş, acc. no. 11.23.78 (Pl. 2:7a–b).⁵³ Carnelian (?). Acquired from Mr Osman Aksoy from Göksun (ancient Cocussus) in Kahramanmaraş on 12th of July 1978 for 1700 TL (\$US 70.5). 13 x 9mm. Tyche seated on a rock; this is a local Tyche based on the Antiochea type.

⁴⁹ For comparanda, cf. HENIG, WHITING 1987, 15–16, nos. 109–117 (from Umm Qeis, Gadara); HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, 80–81, no. 118 (from Aenona, Nin, Dalmatia); DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 51, no. 83 (from Bulgaria).

⁵⁰ İBİŞ 2021, 98.

⁵¹ FIRAT 2022, II, cat. no. 3, XVIII, pl. II, kat. no. 3.

⁵² AKBAŞ 2020, 60, cat. no. 20.

⁵³ AKBAŞ 2020, 59, cat. no. 19.

e. An example of Tyche Type 7 is kept at the Museum of Silifke in Cilicia, acc. no. 2632.⁵⁴ Carnelian. 13 x 11 x 3mm. The intaglio figures Tyche and Nemesis.

f. A sardonyx intaglio depicting Tyche and horse is in the collection of the Halûk Perk Research Museum in Avcılar, Istanbul.⁵⁵ Oval. 10 x 7 x 2mm. The horse faces left, with its right foreleg raised.

g. There is a second unpublished intaglio depicting Tyche with Serapis, Athena and Nike in the Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre, acc. no. 2010/621 (A), excavated in the northern part of the shop located in the western portico of the main street of Patara in Lycia, in 2010, and delivered to the museum on 6th of October 2010. Light grey chalcedony intaglio of ellipsoid shape. 16 x 26 x 5mm. Behind Serapis, on the left of the field is the figure of Tyche, wearing a turretted crown in the form of a city wall; she holds a spear in her right hand and possibly a key in her left hand. There is a groundline. Below this line ΠΑΘ (Πάτapa?) is engraved. The combination of Serapis with Athena is unusual. The scene resembles the intaglio from Gaziantep illustrated at our cat. no. 38 below, where Athena is perhaps a supporting goddess.

9. We should also note the clay bullae from Zeugma and Doliche in south-eastern Turkey depicting Tychai, especially the iconographic type of Tyche of Antioch, based on the statue designed and sculpted by Eutyichides, i.e., our Type 5 below: with the ca. 100,000 seal impressions found in Zeugma in the 1990s and 2000s, the density reveals the importance of these cities in trade and communications. Many of these seal impressions bear images of deities related to trade, notably Tyche and Hermes.⁵⁶ These bullae are generally dated to the period spanning the first cent. BC and the first cent. AD. The most significant iconographic type in this Eastern collection is the intaglio which figures Tyche crowned with a wreath by Hermes, i.e., our Type 9 below.⁵⁷

10. In the Museum of Karaman in southern part of central Anatolia there is a collection of terracotta seal impressions which was published by Ertekin M. Doksanaltı and Suhal Sağlan.⁵⁸ It is very likely that most of these pieces which were acquired from dealers originate from south-eastern Turkey, more precisely from Doliche. Among them there are seven bullae depicting Tyche embracing four iconographic types corresponding to those in our corpus.⁵⁹

Amongst these bullae in the Karaman Museum, nos. 1–4 on our Pl. 3 represent Tyche as a draped woman, facing right, her legs crossed, seated on a rocky throne and holding in her right hand an ear of wheat which hangs below her knee, a type derived from the statue of Tyche created for the city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, cf. our Type 5 below.

The bullae from Doliche in Karaman also include two other iconographic types of Tyche, described as “Fortuna” by the original researchers (Pl. 3:5–6): on fig. 5 “Fortuna” is standing,

⁵⁴ UYGUN 2016, 233–235, cat. no. 10, 239.

⁵⁵ GÜLBAY 2017, cat. no. 12 where Tyche is identified wrongly as Athena.

⁵⁶ For depictions of Tyche on the bullae from Zeugma and Doliche, cf. ÖNAL 2014; for the seal impressions from DOLICHE, cf. e.g., WEIß 1992 and 2000; from Zeugma, cf., e.g., ÖNAL 2018; cf. also chapter 5 below.

⁵⁷ ÖNAL 2007, 40, no. 73.

⁵⁸ DOKSANALTI, SAĞLAN 2008.

⁵⁹ DOKSANALTI, SAĞLAN 2008, 80–83, cat. nos. 1–4, 98, figs 1–4, 88, cat. nos. 23–24, 99, fig. 23–24, 89, cat. no. 25, 99, fig. 25; our Pl. 3.

facing right, in a pose similar to our iconographic Type 2 below, i.e., shown with corn ears, while on fig. 6 she is depicted frontally, in a seated position with a baby on her lap which also has parallels with our Type 5. The final Tyche on a Karaman bulla, illustrated on Pl. 3:7 figures a draped bust of Tyche, likewise frontal, depicted wearing a corona muralis. Thus, it resembles our Type 11.

Iconographically, these bullae are very similar to the impressions found in Doliche. Both researchers who published the bullae in Karaman believe that the artists who crafted the busts and mythological figures on the ring stones most probably also prepared coin dies in the same workshops.⁶⁰

11. Finally, other Tyche-related material from elsewhere not cited below includes a sardonyx intaglio from Dura-Europos, cf. Guiraud 1992, 69, cat. no. 7, figs 7a–b; and tesserae depicting Tyche from Palmyra, cf. Raja 2025. Also note palm branches and sheafs of wheat as attributes of Tyche, cf. Mussche 1955;

As stated above, Tyche is a familiar subject in the art of Anatolia, including gems, although those have not, to date, received systematic study. However, from a survey of this material, both excavated and curated in museums, it seems that Tyche is especially common as a subject for glyptics in particular regions notably Commagene and south-eastern Cappadocia, close to the Syrian area, and there are some local variations in Anatolia which make Tyche even more interesting as a study subject in Turkey.

Some of the published material presented above will not be discussed extensively here (though a few of these intaglios are illustrated on Pl. 2), although we will refer to them in our catalogue below, according to their individual types, as our study material is the main focus of this paper and repetition is superfluous.

Beside glyptics and terracotta seal impressions there are other media figuring depictions of Tyche from Turkey which provide comparanda to gems figuring Tyche with some exclusive types which do not seem to be represented on engraved gems: these figural groups comprise, among others, coins (Pl. 1), over life-size and life-size statues or busts in marble (though very few in numbers; Pl. 4:1–2)⁶¹, reliefs on various votive monuments, marble statuettes and small busts (Pl. 4:3–5) as well as bronze figurines or appliquéés (Pl. 5), most of which are dated to the second and third cent. AD.⁶² Iconographically and typologically bronze figurines figuring Tyche/Fortuna, found all over the Roman Mediterranean and beyond, wear very similar garments and headgear as well as most often hold a rudder in their right hand and a cornucopia crooked in their left arm.⁶³ Beside these, there is a very small group of terracotta figurines

⁶⁰ DOKSANALTI, SAĞLAN 2008, 89.

⁶¹ One of the best and widely known example of an over-life size marble statue of Tyche from Turkey is a personification of happiness holding in her arms Plutus as a child from Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, which is exhibited at the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul [acc. no. 4410 (T)] and dates from the second cent. AD, but is based on an original of the fourth cent. BC. Some well-known examples of life-size marble statues of Tyche are the three from Perge (one of them 174cm in height; today all are in the Archaeological Museum of Antalya) and one in Pergamum.

⁶² For a group of four marble statuettes from Afyonkarahisar in ancient Phrygia, cf. SÖNMEZ 2021; for a rock crystal image of the Tyche of Antioch carved in the round in the Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen, acc. no. H1428, cf. GAGETTI 2006, 385, no. G158, pl. 51; for bronze figurines depicting Tyche of Antioch, cf. MEYER 2000, and LAFLI, FEUGÈRE 2006, 42, no. 52, 56, fig. 21, no. 52.

⁶³ Two examples are illustrated at LAFLI 2015/2016, 120–121, nos. 2–3, pl. 15, nos. 2–3. For example, among the all discussed gems in our corpus below, nos. 29, 40 and 43 wear a turreted crown exactly like the bronze figurines depicting Tyche; the rest, however, sport the polos of Isis, helmet of Athena or diadem of Aphrodite on their heads.

featuring Tyche⁶⁴, although there are some examples excavated in secured contexts (such as one from Gözlükule in Tarsus).⁶⁵ In Asia Minor an entirely neglected group of material consists of lead sealings of the Roman period employed for sealing packages some of which depict Tyche (Pl. 7:1a)⁶⁶. A last group of depictions is represented here by a Late Hellenistic bronze finger ring with engraved bezel featuring Tyche (here holding what looks like a garland in her right hand rather than a rudder but more probably she is resting her hand on a thymiaterion)⁶⁷, perhaps a cheaper alternative for a gold ring or a ring set with an engraved figural intaglio (Pl. 7:2a).

Our study material

In this paper we present 40 engraved gemstones, almost all of them of Roman date (except cat. nos. 9, 19 and 28–29); a glass medallion (from Ephesus, cat. no. 21) and a related clay bulla (from Izmir, cat. no. 42) are also included. All these finds are currently curated (from west to east) in the Museums of Izmir, Ephesus, Akhisar, Aydın, Marmaris, Fethiye, İznik, Burdur, Ankara, Konya, Amasya and Gaziantep in various parts of Turkey (Map 1). The medallion and bulla widen the material spectrum covered by depictions of Tychai in the minor arts. In addition, materials from three private collections in Istanbul (Halûk Perk Research Museum and Private Collection of Mr Doğan Güreş) and Izmir (Koray Selçik Collection) are considered. As stated immediately above, particularly noteworthy are the examples from various sites in south-eastern Turkey around Antioch, curated in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, the museum most represented in this paper with 12 intaglios. Some of these gems are published for the first time.

It should be explicitly noted that the Graeco-Roman metropolis of Antioch and some other sites from which gems in the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep were obtained, lay in the territory of ancient Syria or Mesopotamia etc; we still include these gems here, as they are related to the material culture of Asia Minor (cf. chapter 2 above).

The Tyche of Antioch and other Tychai in the East

One of the most important questions in Tyche research concerns whether the models for the glyptic Tyche types were taken from the local coinage in the East; with this in mind some brief attention should be given to the Tyche of Antioch and her variants on the coins of Asia Minor and nearby regions. Almost every city had its own Tyche as its protector, some like Antioch-on-the-Orontes a distinctive iconographic type, thus, on gems and local coins: in the Graeco-Roman East one of the most popular iconographic types of Tyche was the Tyche of Antioch which refers to a colossal bronze cultic statue commissioned near the close of the fourth cent. BC by Seleucus Nicator at the foundation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes that became his dynastic capital city. The commissioning of the statue and its date has recently been discussed by Marion Meyer who assumes that it was most likely commissioned by Antiochus I

⁶⁴ Pl. 6; also cf. LAFLI, BUORA 2024, 94, no. 21, 129, fig. 21, 121, nos. 81–82, 123, figs 81–82.

⁶⁵ GOLDMAN 1950, 314–315, cat. no. 42, 215, fig. 42 interpreted as “city goddess”.

⁶⁶ Similar sealings are well recorded in Gaul and Britain, see Still 1995. A selection of inscribed lead sealings, some with figural devices are published in 1990 in volume II, fascicule 1 of *The Roman inscriptions of Britain* (RIB), eds. S. S. FRERE, M. ROXAN, R. S. O. TOMLIN, 87–124, pls vi–viii, no. 2411. RIB 2411.19 on pp. 91–92 depicts Fortuna/Tyche with the inscription FOR(tuna) AVGG [Augustorum], probably the two emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, presumably in connection with the British campaign of AD 209.

⁶⁷ GERRING 2000, 143, no. IX/33, fig. 40.

around 270 BC.⁶⁸ Eutychides, who was the pupil of Lysippos, made the bronze statue of Tyche. In the statue Tyche is seated on a rock, i.e., Mount Sipylus where the ancient city had its acropolis, and holds the branch of a palm. In this composition the young river god Orontes is portrayed swimming at her feet. Owing to the movement of traders and pilgrims within the Roman Empire the statue became very famous, and thus, the Antiochean Tyche became the prototype for a number of the Tychai of other cities in the Syrian and Levantine region (Pl. 1:6–7 for depictions of seated Tyche from Edessa and Pl. 1:8–9 for busts of Tyche from the same city). The numismatic evidence of the Antiochean Tyche has been studied by Sarah L. Yost in her Master's thesis in 2013, which shows that the image as depicted on coins changed slightly through the time.⁶⁹ In any case, from the second cent. BC and all through the Roman period Tyche is a frequent motif on Antiochean coins.⁷⁰

From the end of the first cent. BC, other neighbouring cities also began to display the Tyche of Eutychides on their coins⁷¹: first in 43 BC Seleucia-on-Tigris and at the end of the first cent. BC Tarsus in Cilicia minted coins figuring this new Tyche type. It was dispersed in the first cent. AD more extensively among the cities in Cilicia Campestris, e.g., Augusta, Mallus and Anazarbus, in Commagene, e.g., Samosata, and in Syria⁷², e.g., Apamea and Caesarea Magna, and by the end of the second cent. AD, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Midaesium (Phrygia), Side, Sillyon (both in Pamphylia), Tyana (Cappadocia), Germanicea Caesarea (Commagene), Ake-Ptolemais, Tyrus (both in Phoenicia) and Gerasa in Decapolis.⁷³ Furthermore, two Tychaions are known at Diocaesarea and Nephelis from Rough Cilicia dating from the first and second cent. AD.⁷⁴

The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima, for example, depicts the goddess wearing a short tunic, holding a vertical sceptre in one hand and a head of Serapis in the other; one of her feet rests on the prow of a galley, while beside her other leg a small male figure reclines, representing the harbour.⁷⁵ The connectivity of the Roman maritime world through its fleets is demonstrated by exactly the same type appearing on a gem excavated from the bath-house of the *Classis Britannica* fort at Dover (Dubris), Kent, UK.⁷⁶ A similar gem from excavations at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem depicts the identical martial figure, treading on a rock (?); it has been suggested that in this case she is the Tyche of Aelia Capitolina.⁷⁷ Another unusual version of Tyche, shows her similarly clad and, like Heracles, engaged in fighting a fierce lion: she is the Tyche of Cyrene, recalling the myth recounted in Pindar's (*Pythian Ode* 9).⁷⁸ The head of Tyche is sometimes shown in the East, accompanied by a ram or a star and a crescent.

⁶⁸ MEYER 2022, 27–28; and also ead. 2006.

⁶⁹ YOST 2013, 4.

⁷⁰ BUTCHER 2024; NEUMANN 2021, 63, fig. 2.4d, 65, fig. 2.5a, 103, fig. 3.1a, 109, fig. 3.2b, 113, fig. 3.3, 153, fig. 4.1, 158, figs 4.4a and 4d, 163, fig. 4.5, 167, fig. 4.7, 173, fig. 4.8, 180, fig. 4.14, 213, fig. 5.1, 230, figs 5.10a–c; STANSBURY-O'DONNELL 1994.

⁷¹ SAUER 2016, 198, note 189, 200, note 199; and NOLLÉ, NOLLÉ 1994, 77.

⁷² SMITH, LARSEN 2022.

⁷³ KLOSE 1984, 65.

⁷⁴ MAC SWEENEY 2025, 101–102, 106, table 1.

⁷⁵ AMORAI-STARK, HERSHKOVITZ 2016, 92–95, nos. 68–69; cf. Pl. 4:5 for a seated Tyche on a boat, something of a variant of the Antiochea type and similar to the standing Tyche of Caesarea, *ibid.* 92, no. 68 who stands with one foot on the prow of a galley.

⁷⁶ HENIG 2012, 124–126, fig. 68, no. 18.

⁷⁷ PELEG 2003, 55, fig. 1, no. 2; and PELEG-BARK 2011, 258, 260–261, cat. no. 1, fig. 15.1, intaglio no. 1.

⁷⁸ PHILLIPP 1986, 69–70, no. 84, pl. 20.

Depiction of other Tyche types on coins of Asia Minor

This subject was first discussed by Giuseppina Alessandra Cellini in a general sense⁷⁹ and recently by Anastasiya Yu. Baukova.⁸⁰ Coins with Tyche are numerous in Asia Minor symbolizing Anatolian cities, where the goddess is figured with a crowned head, combined on the reverse with Nike or other subsidiary elements. During the Hellenistic period the goddess symbolised luck, prosperity, providence and destiny; however, in Early Roman Asia Minor, she also became the guardian of cities and symbolized their prosperity. Some cities chose Tyche as their emblem, but they also frequently selected another divinity as their particular patron and protector. This evolution can be traced in the coinage of the cities of the province of Asia in the western part of the peninsula, which was a conglomeration of cities of the former kingdom of Pergamum. The image of Tyche as a personification of the variability of choice was widely figured in the provincial coinages of Asia Minor, struck in various denominations.

In Asian coinage in general the most popular Tychai were two types of reverse, either Tyche with a cornucopia and a rudder in her hands (i.e., our glyptic Tyche Type 1 below) or a bust of the goddess wearing a mural crown (our Type 11). However, in contrast to other territories, in Asia the bust of the goddess was almost never depicted on the obverse.⁸¹

The image of Tyche was especially often used by the magistrates of the cities of Lydia, Mysia, Troas and other regions included in the province of Asia in coinages minted in honour of Trajan, the Severan dynasty including Julia Domna, Caracalla and Elagabalus, and of Gordian III.⁸² The goddess Tyche was especially often depicted in urban coinage during the crisis of the third cent. AD, thereby emphasizing the peculiarities of economic relations and the lack of money supply at that.⁸³

In brief, the analysis of coins in Asia Minor depicting Tyche shows the evolution of the image of the goddess from being the stable patroness of cities to emphasising impermanence, the goddess coming to be seen as one, who distributes good and evil at random, despite the merits of people or cities. In the provincial coinage, her image additionally emphasized Tyche, in the guise of Fortuna or Nemesis, as the goddess of choice and of just retribution.⁸⁴ In the next two chapters we will examine if such an evolution is pertinent in the case of gems depicting Tyche in Roman Asia Minor.

Corpus of glyptic depictions of Tyche in Asia Minor

The aim of this corpus has been to commence the compilation of a glyptic repertory for a certain iconographic type in the Graeco-Roman East. We do not claim, however, that we have collected all the gems in Turkey depicting Tyche or themes and features related to her. We have, for example, no specimen of the seated Tyche type in the following selection, although it

⁷⁹ CELLINI 2007.

⁸⁰ BAUKOVA 2021.

⁸¹ BAUKOVA 2021, 23.

⁸² For Caracalla with Tyche, retrieved from <<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/84986>> or S2376 <<https://www.romancoinshop.com/en/caracalla-emperor-with-tyche-unpublished-s2376>> (status as of Jan. 1st, 2025).

⁸³ BAUKOVA 2021, 23.

⁸⁴ BAUKOVA 2021, 23.

is doubtless as common in Turkey⁸⁵, as it is elsewhere: e.g., a yellow jasper intaglio depicting a male votary half kneeling and making obeisance to Fortuna has recently be found in the excavation of the baths outside the fort at Stanwix, Carlisle, Cumbria, UK, where it should be dated to the end of the second or early third cent. AD. On this particular gem Fortuna, seated on a diphros, holds a cornucopia. Usually Fortuna is seated on the right and the votary kneels on the left side, here the figures seem to be reversed.⁸⁶

In the following section we include comparanda to a number of representations of Tyche from collections and museums around the world in order to gain an insight into the general popularity of Tyche/Fortuna during the Roman period. In compiling some references on the finds from the Western world we also have attempted to highlight a nostalgic aspect in the presence of the sacred image of Tyche in the sites and museums of the Roman West, seeing in this relative popularity an attempt to emulate the Archaic and Classical practices of introducing Eastern cults to Greece and Magna Graecia.

With this corpus we have created 12 main iconographic types with several variations, but one cannot expect exactly the same figure to be cut upon gem even by the same artist like it is the case of sculpture and other media. Therefore, it is no surprise that there are slight differences in individual gems featuring the same subject.

Small as our sample is, it makes available for a wider readership the wealth of glyptic material in Anatolia. As one of us⁸⁷, wrote twenty five years ago and remains true of this selection: “at last we have an important reference collection from Asia Minor to set alongside (the) various published catalogues...” which are predominantly from the West. It is not simply, because there has been a lack of interest in Turkey, but naturally material has been published in Turkish and so has been less available to international scholarship.

Iconographic types of Tyche in Asia Minor – Type 1: Standing Tyche without corn ear/poppy head (Pl. 8:1)

The subject is very common in the Roman Imperial coinage, in Rome and the West as Fortuna. In this type Tyche's attributes are the steering oar with attached rudder in her left hand, by which she controls events, while the cornucopia crooked in her right arm is a sign of plenty and, therefore, implies good fortune. She was widely evoked in dedications from throughout the Empire, and her ubiquity as a device on signet rings is a result of the wearer wishing to carry her image around as a personal talisman.

This type begins to be employed on gems in the Late Hellenistic period⁸⁸ and is also found on the engraved bezels of gold rings at this time.⁸⁹ It became the most popular iconographic type of Tyche in Anatolia, and was widespread all over Asia Minor, as can be seen by the locations of the various museums housing 20 gems and one glass medallion which display this type in their various collections. Many of these figures wear a polos, or sometimes a lotus flower head-dress or Hathor crown on their heads (see nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 14 as well as some

⁸⁵ See KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 111, no. 87.

⁸⁶ For other examples note SENA CHIESA 1966, 245, no. 628, pl. 32; WALTERS 1926, 187 and pl. 23, no. 1750 (inscribed FORTV-; here the votary is female); BERRY 1965, 42–43, no. 62 (purchased in Istanbul; on this gem the votary is a nude youth); MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, 287, no. 811 (the male suppliant appears to be wearing a Phrygian cap and so he is presumably an oriental); and ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 212, nos. 1531–1532. Sometimes Fortuna is standing as on HENIG 1975, 33, no. 109 (red jasper), inscribed on the reverse Βοηθεί (=help!)

⁸⁷ HENIG in his preface to KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, viii–ix.

⁸⁸ BOARDMAN, VOLLENWEIDER 1978, 88–89, no. 308.

⁸⁹ GERRING 2000, 172–173, nos. 17/8–9, figs 130–131.

representations of the goddess in Type 2 below) suggestive of identification with the goddess Isis. It should be noted that this conflation is not confined to the East as some representations of the goddess in the West also sport the polos.⁹⁰ To what degree these figures were simply regarded as Tyche or were consciously equated with Isis would have depended on the perception of the owner of the seal-ring in which the gem was set.

Most of the examples of this iconographic type are engraved on chalcedonies, especially carnelian and jasper.⁹¹

Comparanda. For glyptic comparanda more especially in Asia Minor, see especially Konuk, Arslan 2000, nos. 77–84; Walters 1926, 186, no. 1732 inscribed Φαρνάκου (=of Pharnaces) from Samsun, western Pontus; and Richter 1956, 84, no. 368 an amethyst inscribed κῶχη said to be from Antioch.

Examples of the type are ubiquitous in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire.⁹² Although there are examples of the late second or early first cent. BC, as noted above and also see Guiraud 1988, no. 208 described by her as engraved in the *style perlé gros*, and Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 28, nos. 106 and 187 both set in Augustan period rings, the majority of gems of this very common type were engraved between the early first cent. AD and the early third cent. AD. They were at the height of popularity between ca. AD 130 and ca. AD 180, and this goes for most of the examples from Turkey presented here.

There is a variant depicting Tyche seated,⁹³ although there is no such an example in our assemblage. They, however, surely exist, and in Konuk, Arslan 2000 there is a gem of this type whereas it holds an ear of wheat, as our Type 2.⁹⁴

No. 1. Tyche with standard iconographic features (Fig. 1).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.586.

Oval carnelian intaglio, red-orange. F1-profile?

11 x 8 x 2mm, Wg. 0.3gr.

⁹⁰ GUIRAUD 1988, nos. 196 and 205 (from Gaul) and HENIG 2007, nos. 317, 325 and 326 (from Britain).

⁹¹ From the Levant, HAMBURGER 1968, 30, no. 73 and AMORAI-STARK, HERSHKOVITZ 2016, 96–98, nos. 70–73 (from Caesarea Maritima, Israel); HENIG, WHITING 1987, nos. 96–101 (from Gadara, mod. Umm Qeis, Jordan). Also note a carnelian intaglio from Pattanam, ancient Muzeris, in Kerala, India, HENIG 2017, 18, fig. 3a.

⁹² For example TOZZI 2025, 590–592, 595, fig. 1 (from Rome, Italy); PUPPO 2025, 516, cat. no. 4, 523, fig. 6a (from Florence); SENA CHIESA 1966, 235–240, nos. 574–601 (from Aquileia); MAGNI 2009, 96–98, nos. 393–411 (from Verona); PANNUTI 1983, 56–59, nos. 79–87 (from Pompeii and Herculaneum); HENIG 2007, 129–130, nos. 314–321, and JOHNS 1997, 89, nos. 154–156 (from Britain); MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1986, 61, no. 91 and 52–53, no. 106 (from Nijmegen, Netherlands); GUIRAUD 1988, 108–109, nos. 195–208 and 2008, 109–110, nos. 1158–1160 (from Gaul); CRAVINHO 2017, 192–193, no. 24 (from Portugal); CASAL GARCÍA 1990, 146–147, nos. 300–305 (probably mainly from Spain, but no. 302 is from Syracuse, Sicily); NARDELLI 2005, 237–239, figs 1–6 (from Dalmatia); HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, 78–80, nos. 114–117 (from Dalmatia); KAIĆ 2024, 172–175, nos. 190–191 (from Dalmatia); GESZTELYI 2000, 61, nos. 138–139 (from Hungary); DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, 48–50, nos. 80–89 (from Bulgaria); KLENINA, BIERNACKI 2025, 280, 282–283, acc. nos. 2329 and I-1441, 295–296, figs 8–9 (from Novae, Bulgaria, today in the Historical Museum in Svištov); LUNGU, COVACEF, CHERA 2012, 25, cat. no. 11, pl. 4, fig. 11, 94, cat. no. intaglio 1, pl. 43, fig. 1, 95–96, cat. no. intaglio 4, pl. 43, fig. 4, 104, cat. no. intaglio 26, pl. 50, fig. 26, 126, cat. no. 14, pl. 61, fig. 14 (from Romanian collections), though these are all hard stones. For other examples without provenance, PLANTZOS 1999, 123, no. 294 = FOSSING 1929, 32, no. 20 (an early example in garnet dating to the second cent. BC); *ibid.*, 112, nos. 658–667; RICHTER 1956, nos. 366–367; AGDS IV Hannover, no. 1510; AGDS I:3, no. 2607; SPIER 1992, 121, no. 315; HENIG, MACGREGOR 2004, no. 4.47.

⁹³ GUIRAUD 1988, 110, nos. 214–216 and GUIRAUD 2008, 110–111, no. 1164 (Gaul); HOEY MIDDLETON 1991, 82, no. 121 (Dalmatia); CASAL GARCÍA 1990, 147–148, nos. 306–308 (from Spain?); and HENIG 2007, 131, nos. 325–327 (Britain).

⁹⁴ KONUK, ARSLAN 2000, 111, no. 87)

A typical composition with Tyche, wearing a long chiton, holding the steering oar of a rudder in her left hand and cornucopia crooked in her right arm in classical contrapposto. No groundline. Yet her body is simply carved and subtly modelled. It is executed in Maaskant-Kleibrink's imperial small grooves style.

Comparanda. Henig, Whiting, 1987, no. 97; Konuk, Arslan 2000, no. 83.

Early second cent. AD.

No. 2. Tyche, type as last, but her body is rather schematically rendered with a pronounced curve (Figs 2a–b).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, confiscation from the 12th Court of First Instance of Izmir, from the file numbered 2022/917 in 2023. It was transferred to the museum with numerous Hellenistic and Roman burial offerings, which were found most probably in Aiolis.

Oval carnelian intaglio, reddish brown, complete, set in a gold ring Henig's Type V.⁹⁵ Rings of this form with a broader hoop than the rings current in the later first and first part of the second cent. AD are typical of rings in the later Antonine age. The bezel is set proud of a fairly broad hoop, as Marshall 1907, no. 493. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

14.1 x 8.2mm (intaglio), 34 x 28mm (ring), Wg. 9.1gr (ring).

She wears a short mantle over her chiton.

Second half of the second cent. AD.

No. 3. Tyche (Isis/Tyche) is depicted with an unusually prominent head, surmounted by a high Isiac crown, of distinctive form, equating her with that goddess (Figs 3a–b & Pl. 8:1).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.522.

Oval glass intaglio, moulded in two layers, the upper in cobalt-blue glass, F1-profile.

14 x 10 x 3.5mm.

The figure is excellently detailed especially with regard to her garments, her chiton and mantle. There is a groundline beneath the figure or the line belongs to the rudder. This gem was moulded from a very well executed engraved gem.

Maaskant-Kleibrink's imperial classicising style.

She holds a cornucopia and the steering oar by which her rudder is controlled; she appears to stand on the blade of the rudder

First-early second cent. AD.

No. 4. Tyche holding a sceptre rather than a rudder, and her usual cornucopia (Figs 4a–b). Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 18418.

Oval carnelian intaglio, dark red, cut in F1-profile. Both faces are flat with edges bevelled inwards, set in a gold ring (ring type II after Henig 2007, 9, fig. 1) with an oval collet around the gem. This is the typical ring of the late first and first half of the second cent. with a hoop of rounded section expanding towards the bezel.⁹⁶

13.3 x 11.2mm (intaglio), 32 x 26mm (ring), Wg. 8.8gr (ring).

This is an unusual image of Tyche in which she is standing frontally, head turned left (according to the stone right). She is dressed in chiton and himation; on her head she wears a lotus leaf crown identifying her with Isis. In the crook of her right arm she holds a cornucopia

⁹⁵ HENIG 2007, 12–13.

⁹⁶ HENIG 2007, 12.

from which bunches of grapes spill over the rim and, perhaps, above them a lotus bud. Her hair encircles her brows and descends at the back to the nape of her neck where they are bound in a chignon. Her face is long and thin and her nose, mouth and chin are prominent. The pleats of the chiton worn by the goddess are rendered in vertical lines, and the garment is fastened at the waist with a belt. The chiton is secured by a belt under her breasts. Her weight rests on her left foot; her right foot is raised and only her toes reach the ground. Her right leg is prominent under the tight folds of her chiton. In front of Tyche's left foot is a situla (a vessel for holy water). There appears to be a tall structure behind Tyche's back, perhaps a nilometer. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

Although similar to standard examples of Type 1, the sceptre, crown and situla equate her with Isis/Tyche.

Early or mid-second cent. AD (intaglio and ring).

Ref. Bingöl 1999, 157, no. 172; Arslan, Yeğin 2021, 121–122, 129, pls. 1–1/a (interpreted as “Isis”).

No. 5. Tyche beside a cylindrical altar (Fig. 5).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 125-1-85.

Oval, veined brown-yellow jasper intaglio, cut in F1-profile.

15.4 x 13.1 x 3.1mm.

Tyche stands frontally, head facing left, with a high modius (or cobra crown?) on her head, which again equates her with Isis/Tyche. She wears a high-belted long chiton and himation, holds a cornucopia in her right arm and a rudder in her left hand. Her chiton is bound at the front with an Isis knot. A lighted altar is depicted on the right next to the rudder, an unusual feature. Groundline. Maaskant-Kleibrink's imperial small grooves style.

Her cobra-crown, Isis-knotted dress and the altar are all iconographic features of this intaglio identifying her with Isis.

Mid-second cent. AD.

Ref. Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 85, cat. no. 5, 98, fig. 5.

No. 6. Tyche wearing a long chiton and holding a cornucopia at chest height and the steering oar of a short rudder (Fig. 6).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 139-7-95.

Oval carnelian intaglio, dark red, cut in F2 or F4-profile.

11.6 x 8.6 x 3.9mm.

According to Hélène Guiraud this type of rudder is said to have a “parapluie”, i.e., umbrella, shape.

Groundline. Maaskant-Kleibrink's round-head style.

The head is large but her hair is not indicated.

Mid- or late second cent. AD.

Ref. Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 86, cat. no. 6, 98, fig. 6.

No. 7. Tyche holding the usual cornucopia and rudder (Fig. 7).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 3481.

Oval carnelian intaglio, dark red, cut in F1-profile.

12.8 x 9.3 x 3.1mm.

The fruits and grain stalks in her cornucopia are rendered by a series of prominent, but random grooves; thus, it may be assigned to Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style. Groundline.

Tyche has a high polos on her head and there is an Isis knot in the front of the dress.

Mid or late second cent. AD.

Ref. Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 86, cat. no. 7, 99, fig. 7.

No. 8. Tyche holding the usual cornucopia and steering oar, with short rudder attached (Fig. 8).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 18865.

Oval carnelian intaglio, dark red. F1-profile.

11.5 x 8.9 x 2.8mm.

Maaskant-Kleibrink's round-head style.

The gem not only features the same iconography as cat. no. 7 above but the style is so similar that it may have been produced in the same workshop, if not by the same gem-cutter.

Mid or late second cent. AD,⁹⁷.

Ref. Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 86, cat. no. 8, 99, fig. 8.

No. 9. Tyche wearing a garment whose drapery folds create a decorative play of light and shadow, emphasizing her anatomy (Fig. 9).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.480.

The circular intaglio is engraved on a creamy-coloured, leached carnelian, misty rose in colour. F1-profile.

20 x 3mm, Wg. 0.71gr.

Tyche faces right rather than left as in the other Type 1 intaglios presented here, otherwise similar. Maaskant-Kleibrink's flat bouterolle style.

The round gem shape is suggestive of a date at the end of the first cent. BC–beginning of the first cent. AD, and is consistent with the appearance of the transverse rudder.

No. 10. Tyche who is heavily draped with a himation over her chiton, has a solid, stocky well-modelled body (Fig. 10).

Halûk Perk Research Museum in Avcılar, Istanbul.

Oval carnelian intaglio, reddish brown. A large chip on the right edge missing. Slightly curved face. F1-profile.

16 x 15 x 3mm.

The style approximates to Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style.

Again, she holds a cornucopia and a steering oar with rudder.

Mid or late second cent. AD.

Ref. Gülbay 2017, cat. no. 65.

No. 11. The same iconography as the piece above, but very coarsely cut with a very broad drill (Figs 11a–b).

Archaeological Museum of Konya, acc. no. 2011.11.31.

Elipsoid onyx intaglio with a flat surface, light red. F2-profile.

⁹⁷ MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, no. 814.

8 x 6 x 2mm.

Despite the lack of detail in the cutting of the intaglio, the workmanship employed for the figure is symmetrical and pleasing. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

Early third cent. AD.

Ref. Kulbay 2019, 51, cat. no. 14.

No. 12. The same type as nos. 10–11 above (Figs 12a–b).

Archaeological Museum of Burdur, acc. no. K.67.26.78.

Elipsoid amethyst intaglio, purple. B-profile. The gem is chipped at the top.

10 x 7 x 4mm.

Tyche's garments are rendered with considerable plasticity, although the head and face are not finely detailed, probably because of the small size of the gem. Maaskant-Kleibrink's imperial classicising style.

First–second cent. AD.

Ref. Kulbay 2019, 52, cat. no. 15.

No. 13. Tyche rendered in a series of rounded forms (Figs 13a–b).

Museum of Fethiye, acc. no. 1-13-73-1019.

Carnelian intaglio with a flat bezel, dark red. F2-profile.

9 x 7 x 3mm.

Tyche is depicted with a pinched narrow waist. Her long chiton is carved simply, with few folds. The rudder has a short handle and blade. Groundline.

The cutting is close to Maaskant-Kleibrink's round head style, but the manner in which both the goddess and her cornucopia are rendered, may indicate the work of a formerly unknown gem-cutter active in Caria.

Second cent. AD.

Ref. Kulbay 2019, 53, cat. no. 16.

No. 14. Tyche standing in a modified contrapposto attitude (Figs 14a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 10.14.78.

Carnelian intaglio with a flat surface, dark brown, with an oval shape, F-profile. It is set in an iron ring probably of type III form⁹⁸, now broken. This is a typical form for the late first and first half of the second cent. AD, but the ring is corroded.

Acquired from Mr Mustafa Güneysi from Gaziantep on 1st of May 1975 for 250 TL (\$US 3.1).

9 x 6.5mm (intaglio), 3.5 x 16.5mm (ring).

Tyche has a large and prominent head which is out of scale with her body, although the rendition is generally assured and three-dimensional. Details of her garment are similarly lacking. There is a polos on her head. The rudder is small. The gem approximates to Maaskant-Kleibrink's round head style.

Comparandum. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, no. 875, a pantheistic figure.

Second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 124, cat. no. 26.

⁹⁸ HENIG 2007, 12 and 9, fig. 1.

No. 15. Tyche leaning slightly downward in a pose suggestive of movement and the cornucopia is less detailed than usual (Figs 15a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 44.3.73.

Jasper intaglio with a flat surface, sealing-wax red, set in a broken iron ring exactly like cat. no. 14 above, type III. For the ring form, which is of the same type as no. 14 above (Henig type III), cf. Avli 2020, 113, 267–269, cat. nos. 110–111 (from the necropolis of Neapolis, Caria, mod. Yazıkent near Bozdoğan in Aydın).

Acquired from Mr Tekin Özkanat from Şar (ancient Comana or Cataonia) in Tufanbeyli, Adana in south-western Cappadocia on 21st of April 1973 for 100 TL (\$US 1.2).

7.5 x 6 x 4.5mm.

Close to Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style.

Comparandum. Same as cat. no. 14 above.

Early or mid-second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 125, cat. no. 27.

No. 16. A finely engraved representation of Tyche, naturalistically detailed and modelled (Figs 16a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, no acc. no.

Oval carnelian intaglio with a flat surface, F2-profile, dark red.

11.5 x 9 x 2mm.

There is possibly a letter C behind the cornucopia. Curved groundline.

Mid-second cent. AD or earlier.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 126, cat. no. 28.

No. 17. Simplified, but well-modelled figure of Tyche wearing detailed, heavy drapery (Figs 17a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 16.16.92.

Carnelian intaglio, light brown, complete, with an oval shape. F6-profile.

Acquired from Mr Mehmet Çınaroğlu from Antakya (ancient Antioch-on-the-Orontes) on 30th of June 1992 for 1.100.000 TL (\$US 15.9).

11 x 9 x 4mm.

Simplified rendering of cornucopia. Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style.

Mid or late second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 129, cat. no. 31.

No. 18. Tyche rendered in a very simple manner holding a highly simplified cornucopia and rudder (Figs 18a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 2021.

Oval, convex carnelian intaglio, light brown in colour

Acquired from Mr Mehmet Ali Borağan from Adıyaman (ancient Commagene) in south-eastern Turkey on 2nd of July 1960.

12.5 x 10 x 4mm.

Close to Maaskant-Kleibrink's incoherent grooves style.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 130, cat. no. 32.

No. 19. Tyche (?) (Figs 19a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 4479.

Oval, convex royal dark blue (almost purple) glass intaglio imitative of blue sapphire⁹⁹.

13 x 9 x 2.5mm.

Acquired from Mr Haydar Elçi from İskenderun (ancient Alexandretta) in south-eastern Turkey on 17th of June 1968 for 5 TL (\$US 1.8).

The figure is female, with a stocky figure and prominent breasts. She holds a cornucopia. The figure is reminiscent of the Ptolemaic queens conflated with Tychai on Hellenistic oinochoai, cf. Thompson 1973, pls. 1–3.

Second cent. BC (?).

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 128, cat. no. 30.

No. 20. Tyche with a roughly outlined figure (Fig. 20).

Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk.

Oval moulded intaglio in translucent glass, dark yellow. Truncated cone in F3-profile.

19 x 13 x 4mm, Wg. 2.9gr.

Tyche and her attributes are well proportioned.

Early third cent. AD.(?)

No. 21. Glass bulla or medallion depicting Tyche though her features are indistinct (Fig. 21).

Museum of Ephesus in Selçuk.

Almost circular dark coloured (dark brown) glass with moulded flange.

Diam. 16mm, Wg. 2.3gr.

Presumably taken from a gem, and impressed when the glass was in a viscous state. Tyche has somewhat the appearance of a Near Eastern deity, but the image is less detailed, perhaps due to its material. Two piercings on opposed edges of the medallion are preserved, possibly intended to hold the object in place in its setting.

Comparanda. Glass medallions, moulded from gems and coins, were perhaps intended to be set in a ring as in the case of cat. no. 18 above, or in a pendant. For glass medallions, though almost all of these depict heads rather than figures see Gesztelyi 2000, 82–83, nos. 271–277; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 225, nos. 2495–2496; Neverov 1988, 151–152, no. 403; and Henig 2007, 195, no. App.8 (from Silchester, Hampshire, UK, a representation of the nymph Arethusa taken from a Syracusan coin by Euaenetus). Note also Henig 2007, 174, no. 674 which is a casting in green glass with similar flange showing a raven, from Fishbourne, West Sussex, UK.

Early third cent. AD.

Type 2: Tyche with rudder and cornucopia as well as corn ears in hand (Pl. 8:2)

In all respects bar one, this is the same type as the Type 1; however, Tyche holds a poppy head and ear of wheat as well as steering oar and rudder, which distinguishes it from the last. Ears of cereal and the heads of seeding poppies were the traditional cereal crops of Rome, and are depicted as such on the Tellus relief on Ara Pacis (Fig. 22a), as well as on many gems.

⁹⁹ Recently gem quality sapphires have been reported from the region of Muğla, ancient Caria, in south-western Turkey, cf. HATİPOĞLU, ÇOBAN 2021, though even if this is true, it is of dubious relevance to the existence of glass gems and glass phalerae which are often of this colour.

Together with the cornucopia, they evoke abundance in the harvest, equating Tyche/Fortuna with Demeter/Ceres.¹⁰⁰ In any case this type is rather less common than Type 1.

Under Type 2 we have distinguished two iconographic subgroups: The first, earlier variant comprises gems on which Tyche/Fortuna stands supporting a cornucopia in one hand and holds the rudder in the other.¹⁰¹ In the second, later examples Tyche holds the rudder obliquely, in a manner that recalls an umbrella with occasional additions, i.e. with corn ears and poppy heads held in the same hand. Some representations, as with Type 1, wear an Isiac head-dress.

Comparanda. Gołyźniak 2017, no. 364 for a good example with references.

From Turkey note Hoey Middleton 2001, 41, no. 22 acquired near Sadak (ancient Satala) in the province of Gümüşhane in eastern Turkey and Konuk, Arslan 2000, 111, no. 87, but here Tyche is seated; from the Levant Henig, Whiting 1987, nos. 102–108 (Gadara); Hamburger 1968, 30, nos. 71–72 and 74 and Amorai-Stark, Hershkovitz 2016, 99–101, nos. 74–76 (Caesarea Maritima).

The type is also common in West, where Tyche (Fortuna) would have been seen as syncretised with Ceres, for example Sena Chiesa 1966, 240–242, nos. 602–609 (Aquileia, Italy); Pannuti 1983, 54–55, nos. 75–78 (Pompeii and Herculaneum); Dimitrova-Milcheva 1981, no. 88 (Bulgaria); Dembski 2005 nos. 328–334 (Carnuntum); Gesztelyi 2000, 61, no. 140 (Hungary); Henig 2007, 130–131, nos. 322–323 (Britain); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 44–45, no. 90 (from Nijmegen, inscribed in Greek εὐτυ/[χ-] for εὐτυχής); Guiraud 1988, 109–110, no. 209, Guiraud, Roulière-Lambert 1995, 380–381, nos. 17–19; Guiraud 2008, 110, no. 1162 (Gaul); Casal García 1990, 144–145, no. 294 (Spain?); Nardelli 2005, 239–241, figs 7–8; Hoey Middleton 1991, 81–82, no. 120; and Kaić 2024, 176–179, nos. 196–198 (Dalmatia).

The dating of this type is similar to Type 1, i.e., early second cent. AD to early third cent.

No. 22. Tyche is depicted in a realistic manner (Figs 22b–d).

Archaeological Museum of Aydin.

Oval carnelian intaglio, red, set in a gold finger-ring. The ring is comparable to Marshall 1907, no. 106 and Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 38, no. 105, of Augustan date, which have the same angular hoop on the outside and a raised bezel. Both intaglio and ring are very well preserved. 12 x 7 x 3mm (intaglio), 18 x 8 x 4mm (ring), metal quality 81% gold, Wg. 3.26gr (ring).

Tyche is depicted standing, her body frontal, head turned to the left. She wears a high-arched chiton with a two-feathered Isis crown on her head⁷, her cornucopia and the fall of her himation in her right hand, and the steering oar of the rudder, an ear of wheat and a poppy head in her left hand. Her body is slightly curved at the hips, the folds of her garments are well executed as are the poppy head and ear of wheat which she holds in the hand that clasps the steering oar, and the fruits in her cornucopia which she holds in her other hand.

Superb quality with detailed rendering; in particular Tyche's garments are richly detailed. Firm groundline. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

Early first cent. AD.

No. 23. Tyche with no facial features remaining, because the surface of the stone is almost completely obliterated at that point (Fig. 23).

Museum of Marmaris, acc. no. 2015/1158 (A).

¹⁰⁰ ZANKER 1988, 172–179.

¹⁰¹ See WEIß 2025, 110–111, nos. 220–222.

Oval chrome-rich green chalcedony intaglio. The material probably comes from the region of Eskişehir in northern Phrygia in north-western central Anatolia, cf. Platz-Horster 2010; and Kılıç et al. 2021.

Confiscated from Mr Veli Dünder on 16th of September 2015.

10 x 7 x 4mm, Wg. 1.8gr.

The cornucopia has a wide rim at the top and the figure of Tyche is depicted as notably slender. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

First or early second cent. AD.

No. 24. Tyche is depicted as a slender figure in an elegant contrapposto pose (Figs 24a–b & Pl. 8:2).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 44-526.

Oval shape, mottled pale red jasper intaglio cut in F1-profile.

13.6 x 11 x 3.1mm.

The folds of her garments, and her attributes are very well rendered (cf. no. 22 above). She wears the horns of Hathor. Tyche's garments are enriched with horizontal grooving. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

First–early second cent. AD.

Ref. Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 85, cat. no. 4, 98, fig. 4.

No. 25. Type as last but with less detailed features (Figs 25a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 31.1.75.

Oval banded chalcedony intaglio, grey, set in a large bronze ring, F5-profile. The gem is quite large in size, and upper and lower surfaces are flat.

Acquired from Mr İsmail Demirci from the village Mızar or Mizar (mod. Uluyatır) near Zeugma, 10 km south-east of Nizip and 40 km south-east of Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey, on 16th of January 1975 for 750 TL (\$US 52.4). For the localisation of the region on the Peutinger Table, cf. Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 46. It is very probable that Uluyatır was a Roman necropolis site belonging to Zeugma.

16.5 x 10 x 3mm.

On her head a polos. The poppy seed-head is clearly distinguishable. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

Comparandum. Konuk, Arslan 2000, no. 86.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 127, cat. no. 29.

No. 26. Tyche holding an unusually fleshy poppy head (Figs 26a–b).

Archaeological Museum of İzmit, acc. no. 2846.

Carnelian intaglio, dark red, set in a gold finger-ring, which is of ellipsoid shape with a flat ribbon hoop expanding towards the raised, ovoid box bezel, form IVa. F1-profile. The ring is broken in one place due to crushing, but is otherwise intact and well-preserved with some incrustation. It is comparable to Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 33, no. 149 and Johns, Potter 1983, 91–92, no. 16 both of fourth cent. AD date, and like the latter ring the intaglio is mounted on its side strongly suggestive of secondary use.

Excavated on 1st of September 1989 in trench 53 of the theatre of Nicaea in Bithynia. The gem has received partial bleaching, certainly post engraving due to exposure to great heat, for

example through burning on a funeral pyre with the deceased owner. This bleaching suggests, therefore, that the gem may have been found in a later, disrupted, burial from the area of the theatre although not from trench 53 opened during the 1989 excavation.

12 x 7 x 9 x 2mm (ring), Wg. 2.15gr (ring).

The intaglio depicts Tyche with her cornucopia, standing to the left, holding the steering oar of a rudder and a poppy head and ear of wheat in one hand, thus, equating her with Demeter (cf. a bronze coin of Caracalla from Laodicea on the Lycus, illustrated at Pl. 1:4). On her head a polos.

The intaglio is executed in Maaskant-Kleibrink's cap-with-rim style, but here treated rather clumsily which points to a date as late as the early third cent. AD; however, the ring is of fourth-cent. AD form. With its degenerate craftsmanship of the third cent. AD, it is perhaps one of the latest finger-rings depicting Tyche from Asia Minor, thus, the latest find of our corpus.

Type 3: Pantheistic Tyche (Pl. 8:3)

In this type Tyche attracted to herself a range of other attributes or identities, including the wings of Nike, implying that she was ever victorious. The assimilation of Tyche with Nike began in Hellenistic times as evidenced by a glass gem in Oxford dating to the first half of the first cent. BC (Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, 89, no. 309). On later syncretic images she often sports the helmet of Athena, thus enhancing her power to protect the individual seal wearer from misfortune¹⁰².

A Minerva-type on a stone relief from Birrens in Scotland is depicted with turreted crown around her helmet and wings recalling our Type 3.¹⁰³ The inscription describes her as Dea Brigantia (a local goddess), but beside her is an omphalos stone which is certainly an Eastern element there, and reflects influences probably from Syria in the Severan period. Through *interpretatio Romana*, Brigantia was identified with the goddesses Minerva, Tyche and Victoria.

Comparanda. Gołyźniak 2017, nos. 371–374. Spier 1992, 109, no. 275. From the Levant Henig, Whiting 1987, nos. 108–117 (Gadara); and Hamburger 1968, 30, no. 70 (Caesarea Maritima). On examples from more Western parts of the Empire see Sena Chiesa 1966, 242–243, nos. 610–615 (Aquileia); Magni 2009, 98–99, nos. 417–419 (Verona); Tamma 1991, 54–55, nos. 47–48 (Bari); Dimitrova-Milcheva 1981, no. 91 (Ratiaria, Bulgaria); Henig 2007, no. App.79 and App.129 (Britain); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 53, no. 107 (Nijmegen); Guiraud 1988, 110, no. 210, Guiraud 2008, 11, no. 1163 (Gaul); Cravinho 2017, 196–197, nos. 29–30 and Cravinho 2018, 155–156, no. 10 (Portugal); Casal García 1990, 146, no. 299 (Spain?); Nardelli 2005, 240–241, figs 9–10; Hoey Middleton 1991, 80–81, nos. 118–119 and Kaić 2024, 174–177, nos. 192–195 (Dalmatia); Gesztelyi 2000, 61, no. 141 (Hungary); Dembski 2005, nos. 341–353 (Carnuntum); and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 53, no. 107 (Nijmegen).

Gems such as these were engraved both in the second and the third cent. AD.

No. 27. Pantheistic Tyche with hair and facial features treated in a summary fashion, but the rendering of the poppy head is detailed (Figs 27a–b & Pl. 8:3).

Private Collection of Mr Doğan Güreş, Istanbul, March 2023.

¹⁰² For pantheistic Athena/Tyche, see DIMITROVA-MILCHEVA 1981, nos. 90–92 and 94 to the right, but note no. 93 to the left; and HENIG, WHITING 1987, nos. 109–117, all to the right.

¹⁰³ JOLLIFFE 1941; KEPPIE, ARNOLD 1984, 7–8, no. 12.

Oval carnelian intaglio, Venetian red, set in an corroded iron ring type III after Henig 2007, 9, fig. 1. The surface of the intaglio is flat, F-profile.

8 x 6 x 3mm, Wg. 1.2gr.

Pantheistic Tyche with steering oar and small rudder, endowed with the wings of Nike, and wearing the Corinthian helmet of Athena, as well as holding an ear of wheat further equating her with Demeter. The rendering is detailed with crisp workmanship.

Early second cent. AD.

No. 28. The gem represents pantheistic Tyche, with the wings of Nike and corn ears of Ceres but lacking the helmet of Athena (Fig. 28).

Archaeological Museum of Aydın.

Circular carnelian intaglio, orange red, F1-profile.

12 x 2mm, Wg. 1.2gr.

Despite the lack of detail, the circular form of the gem, and the style, i.e., Maaskant-Kleibrink's flat bouterolle style, proclaims its early date.

First cent. BC–first cent. AD.

Type 4: The cornucopia as a symbol of Tyche (Pl. 8:4)

A cornucopia, i.e., a typically hollow vessel of precious metal in the form of the Cretan wild goat, the Agrimi, filled with various kinds of festive fruit and vegetables, sometimes comprises the major element in a glyptic composition. It was originally the horn of the Cretan goat which suckled the infant Zeus (see Henig 1981), but in the Hellenistic period a symbol of good fortune, i.e., of Tyche, and acquired its overflowing content of fruit.¹⁰⁴ The Hellenistic world and Rome often conveyed ideas through symbols, especially symbols of prosperity rather than through the image of deities themselves, as we see in the case of the deer and bees symbolizing Artemis Ephesia on gems and coins before Emperor Augustus.¹⁰⁵ Here not only does the cornucopia evoke Tyche, but the ears of wheat symbolise Demeter, while Hermes who protected commerce and was the protector of flocks is represented by his caduceus/kerykeion. These are all symbols of prosperity, which elegantly evoke the power of Tyche/Fortuna.

However, a cornucopia combined with other symbols merely signifies good luck/fate and of course abundance; such symbolic conflations were intended to be amuletic and conceptual, and did not necessarily possess figural meaning. Overall, the cornucopia as a symbol of abundance and prosperity was vastly popular on gems both alone and together with other objects.

For a cornucopia as a major element in the composition also see no. 39 (below) from Ankara where a cornucopia is shown with a bust of Tyche and below it, a goat, which can be interpreted as emblematic of pastoral prosperity.

Comparanda. Note three Hellenistic examples of gems showing cornucopiae, a carnelian and two garnets all dated to the second cent. BC, Plantzos 1999, 134, nos. 637–639. Also note from Anatolia, Konuk, Arslan 2000, 173–174, nos. 149–150 for cornucopiae, and 172 no. 148 for a caduceus. A selection of gems depicting cornucopiae as symbols of good fortune is published in Vollenweider 1979, 371–387, nos. 415–434. Cf. also Spier 1989, 29, no. 52, 28, fig. 35; and Cravinho 2017, 221–222, nos. 64–65 in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon.

¹⁰⁴ PLANTZOS 1999, 77–78.

¹⁰⁵ LAFLI, HENIG, MASTROCINQUE 2024, 137, 140, nos. 1–2, 148–149, nos. 1–3.

This iconographic type takes its place in Anatolian glyptics mainly between the second cent. BC and the end of the first cent. BC.

No. 29. Detailed, centrally placed cornucopia composed of several elements together with other symbolic features, the kerykeion of Hermes, and corn ears and poppy heads for Demeter (Figs 29a–c & Pl. 8:4).

Museum of Akhisar (ancient Thyatira)

Oval carnelian intaglio, dark red, set in a gold ring composed of beaded wire. The ring is of fourth cent. AD form, as Marshall 1907, 97 and pl. 16, no. 571 = Henig 2007, pl. XLI, no. 362 and related to other contemporary forms, as Johns, Potter 1983, 86–89, nos. 10–12.

13 x 8 x 3mm.

Maaskant-Kleibrink's pellet style.

Gem first cent. BC, set in a fine fourth cent. AD openwork gold ring.

Type 5: Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Pl. 8:5)

Here Tyche is depicted wearing a turreted crown, seated on a rock and resting her feet on the river Orontes, represented by a swimming half-figure. For a discussion of the Tyche of Antioch on engraved gems as reflective of the statue.¹⁰⁶ Gołyźniak 2017, 211, no. 429 identifies a variant in which the goddess is veiled and holds a corn ear and poppy as the Nike of Nicaea, on the basis of local coins (cf. also Pl. 1:6 from Edessa which is near Type 5 and was derived from Tyche of Antioch; and Aubry 2022, 104–113).

Gems showing local cults were for the most part locally produced and more or less confined to the region; thus, many of the gems depicting the Tyche of Antioch were probably cut in ancient Antioch in north-western Syria or further north in Asia Minor. Especially notable in this respect is the octagonal gem in the British Museum, one of a class which seems to have been manufactured in or near Gordion in central Anatolia (Goldman 2014, 187, no. G8). At least one other gem reflecting a regional cult, Mount Argaeus (Spier 1992, 143, no. 395 = Goldman 2014, 192, no. G120) is of the same shape, and presumably cut in the same workshop. None of the gems in this section, however, are of this distinctive form. For the subject see Type 6 below.

It is interesting that one of the two supporting figures shown on cat. no. 30 below is an example of our most familiar Tyche type, i.e., Type 1. The other who wears a sword is presumably the war god Ares, and, thus, also regarded as a protective deity.

Comparanda. For individual intaglios showing Antiochea see Richter 1956, 86–87, nos. 380–381; Henig 1975, nos. 128–129; Zazoff 1969, no. 40; Tondo and Vanni 1990, no. 49; Henig and MacGregor 2004, 62–63, no. 4.41 carnelian intaglio, 63, no. 4.42, and AGDS I:3, 77, no. 2598 (Antioch) depicting Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes crowned by Nike, carnelian intaglio from Salona, Croatia, see Hoey Middleton 1991, 84–85, no. 129 (with list); Sena Chiesa 2009, 109, no. 485 = Magni 2025, 330 (a red jasper, Museo archeologico al Teatro romano in Verona, acc. no. 26456); and Magni 2009, 109, pl. 31, no. 485. Also Walters 1926, 188, no. 1757 = Goldman 2014, 180 and 187, no. G8, an octagonal onyx, probably produced in Gordion, Galatia and Walters 1926, 188, no. 1759 and AGDS I:3, 77, no. 2597 from Niğde in south-western Cappadocia, but purchased at Istanbul. Amongst many interesting gems depicting Antiochea note a carnelian

¹⁰⁶ See HORSTER 1970, 101–107 and pls. 22–23; and GESZTELYI 1975 with particular reference to a gem from Hungary.

depicting the Tyche between Apollo and Daphne who is in the process of being transformed into a tree, AGDS IV Hannover, 282, no. 1533.¹⁰⁷

Some gems showing the Tyche of Antioch reached the West in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, for example a chalcedony intaglio set in a gold ring, late fourth cent. AD ring from the Thetford Treasure.¹⁰⁸ Also note a red jasper set in the crosier of Archbishop Hubert Walter (died in 1205, found in his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, cf. Henig 1983, 58, no. 3, pl. 1c); and a carnelian which probably reached the West at a similar period which is set in the Shrine of the Three Kings (Dreikönigenschrein) in Cologne Cathedral, Germany.¹⁰⁹

These glyptic depictions are all datable between the late first cent. AD and the mid-third cent. AD.

No. 30. Multifigured scene of Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes shown with three other smaller figures (Figs 30a–b & Pl. 8:5).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.514.

Jasper intaglio, red, with sides expanding outwards, almost a truncated cone. F3-profile, but probably better classed as F2. It was clearly designed to stand proud of the bezel of a ring.

12 x 10 x 3mm, Wg. 0.7gr.

As noted above, the Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes is depicted above the swimming river god representing the River Orontes. Flanked by two other figures one Ares who crowns her with a wreath; the other Tyche, syncretised with Isis, i.e., our Type 1.

The proportions of the figures are awkward, and the carving style naive and simplistic. Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style.

This type may explicitly transfer a personal wish to a collective level.

Comparanda. For parallels to this gem see Henig 1975, 46, no. 128, a red jasper purchased in Smyrna in 1889; Walters 1926, 188, no. 1758; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 150–151, no. 1189 and AGDS I:3, 77–78, no. 2599 (bought on the art market at Istanbul), all showing Antiochea flanked by Ares crowning her with a wreath and by Tyche Type 1.

Late second–third cent. AD.

Type 6: Tyche and Athena confronting each other before Mount Argaeus; horse below (Pl. 8:6)

This composition normally contains three figures under Mount Argaeus: on the left, Tyche is depicted with a modius on her head, and her hair surrounded by a thick braid or a wide-edged diadem band around her head, wearing a high-belted chiton and himation, a cloak hanging with a horn of abundance in her right hand, and holding a rudder in her left hand. On the right, opposite Tyche, Hera or sometimes Athena, heavily draped, is dressed in peplos, her right hand is extended to Tyche, and in her left hand she holds a long sceptre with a knob at the apex. Her hair is rendered mostly similar to Tyche. In the middle a grazing horse and above, Mount Argaeus.

Cults centered on Mount Argaeus are specifically Anatolian. Not all specifically figure Tyche, though on gems which do not simply depict the mountain without human figures, Tyche is very frequently depicted and in all cases these gems are concerned with the Good

¹⁰⁷ Also SPIER 1989, 32.

¹⁰⁸ JOHNS, POTTER 1983, 82–83, no. 4.

¹⁰⁹ ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1988, 324–325, no. 229.

Fortune of a particular locality. That is reinforced by the ubiquity of the subject on the local coinage of Roman Cappadocia (SNG 1956, nos. 188, 238, 241, 265–276 and 277–282). The same scene is also figured on a haematite ring-stone of the Roman period found in Cappadocia.¹¹⁰ Thus, it is pertinent to speculate whether these gems of Type 6 were Cappadocian products, if not Caesarean, mod. Kayseri.

Comparanda. This type was recently discussed *in extenso* by Magni 2025, 334–336, note 77, 338, note 96, 341–342, B1–2 and C no. 41¹¹¹. Henig and Laflı 2024, 11–14 discuss also a gem depicting Mount Argaeus. For more complex iconography in which various goddesses are shown to left and right with the central field occupied by Mount Argaeus above and a horse below see Weiß 2025, no. 508 (Athena and Nemesis); Konuk, Arslan 2000, 62, no. 38 (Athena and Hera); Henig, Whiting 1987, 16, no. 120 and p. 38, no. 398 (Tyche and probably Hera); Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 155–156, no. 1213 (Athena and Tyche); and Furtwängler 1896, no. 2560.

This type is especially popular during the mid-second and mid-third cent. AD, although there are few earlier examples as well.

No. 31. Multifigured composition with Tyche, Hera, Mount Argaeus and a horse (Figs 31a–b & Pl. 8:6).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.579.

Oval jasper intaglio, dark red, F-profile.

12 x 14 x 3mm.

Tyche wearing a modius on her head to the left, Hera, holding a patera and a sceptre, to the right; between them Mount Argaeus above and a grazing horse below. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Quoted at Magni 2025, 341–342, B2 no. 28.

No. 32. Multifigured composition with the same characters, but with a highly linear design (Fig. 32).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 18846.

Oval jasper intaglio, pigment red, cut in F1-profile.

13.2 x 17 x 3.1mm.

This is the same composition as no. 31 above. A more summary rendition of cat. no. 31 above. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Arslan and Yeğın 2022, 86–87, cat. no. 9, 99, fig. 9.

No. 33. Multifigured composition with the same characters, but with an accented Mount Argaeus (Figs 33a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 74.1.75.

Oval jasper intaglio, dark red, missing chips on the edges of jasper and corrosion on the surface. F1-profile.

¹¹⁰ CANCIANI 1984, 1098, no. 333.

¹¹¹ London, British Museum, acc. no. 1772-0315-492. Serpentine (or red jasper). Obv. Helios (?) driving a quadriga, rev. head of Tyche of Caesarea, wearing Mount Argaeus instead of a corona muraria. Its inscription reads Εὐτυχία (Good luck) / ΒΟΚΟΝΤΙ, cf. also WALTERS 1926, 179, 22, no. 1663. Retrieved from <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1772-0315-492> (status as of Jan. 1st, 2025).

9 x 11 x 2mm.

Acquisition from Mr Mustafa Düş from Gaziantep on 1st of May 1975 for 750 TL (\$US 52.4).

Same composition as nos. 31–32 above but with Athena replacing Hera. Mount Argaeus is shown with a star on both sides of the mountain. Vertical parallel grooves pattern the garments of the two opposing figures. The horse's body is engraved with a round ball-shaped drill bit. Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style.

This gem and no. 34 below appear from stylistic similarities to have been cut in the same workshop, not surprising considered that this was a discrete localised cult.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 132, cat. no. 34.

No. 34. Multifigured composition with the same characters, but with an elongated Mount Argaeus (Figs 34a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 10.10.78.

Oval jasper intaglio, dark red, thin-sectioned, set in an iron ring. It is processed in a different style. A section of the gem, bottom left is missing. F1-profile.

9 x 15 x 2mm.

Acquisition from Mr Hasan Çalışçı from Gaziantep on 19th of June 1978 for 500 TL (\$US 20.7).

Tyche to the left, Athena to the right. The heads of both goddesses are round and prominent and can be assigned to Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style (see no. 33 above).

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 133, cat. no. 35.

Type 7: Tyche and Nemesis (Pl. 8:7)

According to Charles M. Edwards, Nemesis and Tyche began to share their cults in the Roman period.¹¹² Thus, a common depiction of Tyche was a conflated Nemesis/Tyche, and they were often equated and even syncretised in Roman glyptics.¹¹³

Only a few such gems depicting Tyche and Nemesis are known so far, and our description is almost completely based on our cat. no. 35 below. On some depictions, but not cat. no. 35 below, Tyche is depicted with the wheel which properly belongs to Nemesis, but was often interpreted as belonging to Tyche, because human fortune was often compared to the turning of a wheel. On cat. no. 35 the two deities are depicted as slightly different aspects, Fortune and Fate affected both cities and as here an individual. Later, in the art and literature of the Medieval West, Fortuna was invariably associated with a wheel.

Comparanda. For representations of Nemesis see Henig, Whiting 1987, 22–23, nos. 202–207, no. 207 being the two Nemeseis of Smyrna (Gadara); Dimitrova-Milcheva 1981, 52–53, nos. 98–100 (Bulgaria). Also see Evans 2020, 208, table 3 (cf. above).

This type is especially popular between the early second and early third cent. AD.

No. 35. Two-figure composition of Tyche and Nemesis standing side by side (Figs 35a–b & Pl. 8:7).

Koray Selçik Collection, Izmir.

¹¹² EDWARDS 1990, 533, note 19.

¹¹³ PICARD 1947; AUBRY 2022, 90–104.

Carnelian intaglio of flat oval shape, light pale brown, F1-profile.

21 x 19 x 3mm, Wg. 1.3gr.

Tyche standing, draped and holding cornucopia and rudder, in profile to the right and facing Nemesis who is standing left. Nemesis raises her right arm as though about to spit on her breast and holds something in her other lowered hand, perhaps a girdle. The voluminous robes of both personifications are rendered with precision.

Essentially this gem may have had a similar resonance to the wearer as do intaglios in collections in Bern, New York and Vienna depicting the two confronted Nemeseis.¹¹⁴ Maaskant-Kleibrink's round head style.

The cult of Tyche with the Nemeseis in Smyrna and its numismatic representation is also discussed by G. A. Cellini (1994) and Murat Kılıç (2014).

Late second–early third cent. AD.

Type 8: Artemis Ephesia, Tyche and Triple Hecate

During the Graeco-Roman periods Artemis Ephesia was another specifically local deity, though a famous one, as Ephesus was a major centre for pilgrimage. She was very much the protector of her own sanctuary so, in herself, a sort of Tyche, but her power is reinforced on few engraved gems both by Tyche and by the mysterious triple Hecate invoked in magical spells.¹¹⁵ Ephesus had something of a reputation as a centre for occult practices.

For this type we have no example from Turkey, but there are two examples with varied depictions of Artemis Ephesia at the Antiken-Sammlung Berlin, the Dressel Collection which can probably have originated from Asia Minor (cf. Weiß 2007, 176, no. 179, carnelian figuring Artemis Ephesia dated to the second cent. AD; 320, no. 670 grey green jasper depicting Artemis Ephesia flanked by Tyche and Triple Hecate, dated to the late second cent.). No other published example is known to us.

Type 9: The crowning of Tyche (Pl. 8:8)

In these glyptic depictions where Nike crowns Tyche as an honorand, this might symbolize the victory of a city, as it certainly would in public art.¹¹⁶ Certainly, in Roman iconography Tyche as good fortune became a conspicuous element of imperial propaganda, and was often used as a type in visual panegyric celebrating an emperor's triumphant achievements and beneficent rule. However, the type depicted on a gem in a signet-ring worn by a private individual, far more likely represents the achievement or at least the hope of its owner. Often Hermes, as a god especially friendly to humans, takes the place of Nike, as the god of successful enterprises, and here again the likelihood is that the gem refers to individual hopes, as it would be if the subject was Tyche by herself or Hermes by himself.

Comparanda. A common subject throughout the Roman Empire: Magni 2009, 113–114, pl. 32, nos. 501–502; Furtwängler 1896, no. 2571; Richter 1956, no. 360; Önal 2007, 40, no. 73 (Zeugma); Henig, Whiting 1987, 14, nos. 93–95 (Gadara) and 21, no. 182; Hamburger 1968, 30, nos. 65–66 (Caesarea Maritima); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, nos. 832 and 878; Dimitrova-Milcheva 1981, 41, no. 61, in which Hermes crowns a statue of Tyche, 48, no. 82 (both from Novae, Bulgaria); also Magni 2009, 99–100, nos. 428–429 (with Hermes crowning Tyche from Verona); Casal García 1990, 148, no. 310 with Nike and no. 309 with Hermes; Gesztelyi 2000, 60–

¹¹⁴ AUBRY 2022, 96, fig. 26, 98, fig. 27, 99, fig. 29.

¹¹⁵ On glyptic depictions of Artemis Ephesia, LAFLI, HENIG, MASTROCINQUE 2024, 137–149.

¹¹⁶ RAUSA 1997, 134, no. 144.

61, no. 137; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 55–56, no. 111; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 154–155, nos. 1208–1210, 156, nos. 1215–1216 on the second the inscription Κυρία Νέμεσις; Konuk, Arslan 2000, no. 88; Spier 1992, 135, no. 369; Henig and MacGregor 2004, no. 2.34; Nardelli 2005, 240–241, fig. 11 and Kaić 2024, 178–179, no. 199 (Dalmatia); Sena Chiesa 1966, 245–246, nos. 629–633 (Aquilaia); and Henig 2007, no. 305.

These gems mostly date from the mid-first to early third cent. AD.

No. 36. Nike crowning Tyche (Figs 36a–c).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 35.2.76.

The intaglio, ovoid in shape, is translucent, very light yellow in colour. The upper surface of the stone is convex and the lower surface is flat. B-3 or B-4 profile. The lower side of the gem has broken away. There is dark brown incrustation on the surface, especially in the area of the figures.

19 x 14 x 5mm.

Acquired from Mr Mustafa Kaya from the village Kapcağız, 28.8 km north-east of Kilis in south-eastern Turkey (on Syrian border) on 20th of May 1975 for 1.350 TL (\$US 94.4).

Nike is shown crowning Tyche, symbolizing the victory of a city. Both figures are engraved in a schematized manner and relate to Maaskant-Kleibrink's plain grooves style, i.e., the parallel, smooth patterning on the chitons worn by the figures are grooved, but hands and feet are not detailed.

Late first–early second cent. AD.

Ref. Ynesor Demir 2008, 134, cat. no. 36. For an Early Roman depiction of standing Tyche and Nike, see Evans 2020, 208, table 3 (cf. above).

No. 37. Hermes crowning Tyche (Figs 37a–b & Pl. 8:8).

Halûk Perk Research Museum in Avcılar, Istanbul.

Ovoid, very pale chalcedony intaglio, the colour of a cantaloupe melon, translucent but leached, F1-profile. The white leaching on the surface was perhaps deliberately applied by the gem-cutter.

10 x 8 x 2mm.

Hermes, standing on a groundline, crowns Tyche with a wreath. This is a conventional representation of Tyche with rudder and cornucopia, i.e., our Type 1. Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style.

Late second cent. AD.

Ref. Gülbay 2017, cat. no. 26.

Type 10: Tyche with Serapis (Pl. 8:9)

Tyche certainly has an affinity to the Egyptian deities; indeed she often wears the polos or a crown associated with Isis. Whether this should properly be a distinct type is debatable, but it is interesting that the cornucopia, a major emblem of Tyche, is a feature also associated with Harpocrates and Isis.¹¹⁷

Examples of such gems are dated between the late first cent. AD and the early third cent.

¹¹⁷ For this subject cf. ARSLAN, YEĞİN 2022, presented in chapter 3 above.

No. 38. Three-figure composition with Tyche, an enthroned Serapis and Isis (Figs 38a–c & Pl. 8:9).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 3853.

Oval jasper intaglio, light brown, set in an iron ring, F1-profile. The ring is very corroded and the lower parts of the hoop has broken away, but it is almost certainly of Henig type III of the first half of the second cent. AD.¹¹⁸

7 x 12 x 3mm (intaglio), 11 x 15 x 7mm (ring).

Serapis enthroned between Tyche holding a sceptre and cornucopia on the left and Isis on the right with sceptre and sistrum. Groundline. Maaskant-Kleibrink's chin-mouth-nose style; cf. ead. 1978, no. 969 which is similar.

Comparanda. The same composition exists with the enthroned Zeus, cf. Richter 1956, no. 252 = Richter 1971, 28, no. 53 (Zeus between Tyche and Elpis). Also cf. Gołyźniak 2017, 216, no. 447, where all three are on a galley, alluding to the safe transport of goods between Egypt and Italy. For the typological parallels to this gem, see Furtwängler 1896, no. 963 and Hamburger 1968, 25, no. 5 (Caesarea Maritima).

Early second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 108, cat. no. 10.

Type 11: Busts of Tyche (Pl. 8:10)

As is common knowledge, coins with a tower-crowned Tyche were struck in Alexandria, Syria and Mesopotamia (Pl. 1:7–9) as well as Cilicia, Lycia, Lydia and elsewhere in Asia Minor (Pl. 1:2) and the rest of the Roman East abundantly in the second and third cent. AD. The subject is discussed by Vollenweider in assessing two gems in the Oxford collection (see Boardman, Vollenweider 1978, 88–89, nos. 308–309). Parallel to its numismatic predecessors, the major element of this type on glyptics is the bust of Tyche, identified by the polos on her head (see also cat. no. 29 above for a cornucopia which is also the major element in the composition). Heads of Tyche were already depicted wearing mural crowns on Hellenistic gems, mainly garnets, dating to the second cent. BC, perhaps in the first instance derived from the head of Tyche of Antioch; a number of such Hellenistic gems are especially recorded from the Levantine coast.¹¹⁹ In the earlier periods, on the busts of Tyche, there was only one symbol on her head. While there is a tower crown, in later editions – as in the ring-stone cat. no. 40 we examined from Gaziantep or the coins illustrated at Pl. 1:7–9 from Edessa – a headscarf is also visible under the crown which could be a Near Eastern Roman addition according to round plastic.

Comparanda. As mentioned above, J. Spier listed some busts of Tyche engraved on Hellenistic garnets (Spier 1989, 24, nos. 27–33, 26–27, figs 19–22, 32, 33, fig. 42). See also, e.g., Walters 1926, 188, no. 1755, a red jasper depicting bust of Tyche and cornucopia, and Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 206, no. 1497 with two cornucopiae (Tyche wearing mural crown, described as Cybele). Also Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 205–206, no. 1496 (also wearing mural crown and described as Cybele) and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978, 263, no. 705, both depicting a panther below, as sometimes depicted on the provincial coinage (see Type 4 above as well).

¹¹⁸ HENIG 2007, 12 and 9, fig. 1.

¹¹⁹ PLANTZOS 1999, 124, nos. 321–323 from Tartus (mod. Antaradus-Arwad), no. 325 from Tanis (San el-Hagar), and no. 327 from Amrit (Marathus).

These Tyche-busts are customary on engraved gems between the late first cent. AD and the early third cent. AD, but most common in the entire second cent. AD. Hellenistic examples, fewer in numbers, are from the second–first cent. BC.

No. 39. Well-modelled bust of Tyche, shown in profile, with the idealized proportions of a young woman, approaching maturity (Fig. 39).

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 48-1-74.

Oval jasper intaglio, red, cut in F1-profile, complete. Superb quality.

10.9 x 8.2 x 3.1mm.

Draped bust of Tyche to the left, identified by a large cornucopia in front of her; beneath her is a seated quadruped, a goat or more probably a ram which may be indicative of pastoral prosperity. The features of the goddess are gathered around the neck with a thick braid. She wears a half-moon shaped diadem on the front of the head and a polos on the crown. The facial features of the goddess are very well rendered.

Note that like Type 6 above, such engraved red jasper gems were probably produced in a workshop located in Caesarea in Cappadocia during the second and third cent. AD, and the abundant presence of such finds in the museums in Kayseri, Ankara and Çorum in Central Anatolia strengthens the fact that such red gems are of Cappadocian origin.

Comparanda. With regard to composition note also Henig, Whiting 1987, 24, no. 218, a red jasper from Gadara depicts a bust of Harpocrates with a large cornucopia below, which parallels the composition of the Ankara intaglio. The Gadara gem is set in a late second cent. AD ring.

Our gem should, however, be dated rather earlier, to the early or mid-second cent. AD. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

Ref. Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 88, cat. no. 12, 100, fig. 12.

No. 40. Simplified bust of Tyche, shown in profile, wearing a mural crown and a veil (Figs 40a–d & Pl. 8:10).

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 15.8.76.

Circular garnet intaglio, imperial red, cut in F1-profile, set in an iron ring.

8 x 7.2 x 3.5mm.

Acquired from Mr Ahmet Şerefoğlu from Gaziantep on 4th of June 1975 for 120 TL (\$US 8.3).

This gem figures a bust of Tyche, possibly intended for the Tyche of Antioch, as she is depicted on contemporary coins.

It is executed in Maaskant-Kleibrink's small grooves style, characterised by the parallel smooth grooves on the crown upon Tyche's head.

Comparanda. Richter 1956, 87, no. 382 = Horster 1970, pl. 22, no. 4; AGDS I:1, no. 379; AGDS IV Hannover, 292, no. 1592; also note the frontal bust; AGDS I:3 Munich, 78, no. 2600, bought at Smyrna, where the bust is being crowned with wreaths by two small figures of Nike.

First–second cent. AD.

Ref. Yinesor Demir 2008, 131, cat. no. 33.

No. 41. Female bust, shown in profile, with few distinctive attributes, but very similar to no. 39 above and like her, wearing a polos on her head, and, thus, most probably Tyche (Figs 41a–b).

Museum of Amasya.

Oval garnet intaglio, reddish brown, cut in F1-profile.

11 x 5mm (intaglio), 22mm (ring), metal quality 98% gold, Wg.1.4gr (ring).

The ring approximates to form Henig 2007, type II (see Henig 2007, 177, pl. 50, no. 711; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 31–32, pl. 50, no. 140; Chadour 1994, 89, nos. 301).

A draped female bust is depicted in profile to the left. Her hair is tightly bound back in a chignon. A polos protrudes from her forehead suggesting an identification with Isis-Tyche. Maaskant-Kleibrink's classicising style.

Comparanda. Spier 1992, 84, no. 191.

Mid or late second cent. AD (intaglio and ring).

No. 42. Terracotta bulla depicting bust of Tyche with a long, straight nose, full lips, and a heavy lower jaw (Fig. 42).

Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.588.

Almost circular terracotta bulla, brown fabric.

11 x 12 x 2–4mm, Wg. 0.6gr.

Provenanced most probably from the south-eastern part of Turkey, i.e., more precisely from Zeugma or Doliche.

Female bust right, probably a bust of Tyche. She has short hair falling in a fringe from her brows and over her temples, and seems to wear a diadem on her forehead and a tower-crown above, as related to the Hellenistic type derived from the Tyche of Antioch, as no. 40 above.

Comparanda. Konuk, Arslan 2000, no. 210; Önal 2014.

Late first–late second cent. AD.

Type 12: Tyche of Constantinople crowning Constantine the Great (Fig. 43 and Pl. 8:11)

The type of Nike or Tyche crowning a Roman Emperor was not new. It was anticipated in the Hellenistic period, and on a sardonyx cameo in a private collection in Sweden a half draped figure taken to represent Cleopatra wearing the crown of Hathor/Isis holds a large cornucopia, and may be taken to be the Tyche of her colleague, Mark Anthony (Henig 2017, 28–29, fig. 13). On the *Gemma Augustea* in Vienna, Tyche wearing a mural crown and perhaps representing the oikoumene crowns Augustus with a wreath (Smith 2021, 109–110, no. 11). Other examples of the crowning of an emperor on cameos include an example in Nancy, France where a small Nike on Nero's outstretched arm crowns Nero (Smith 2021, 126, no. 41) and another, of similar date, now set in the Shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne, depicts Tyche in the guise of Nero's mother, Agrippina Minor (r. AD 49–54), holding a cornucopia in her left hand, crowns Nero with a wreath which she holds out in her right hand.¹²⁰

There is no example of this type in any Turkish collection that we have examined, but one famous example exists in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, acc. no. ж 146 an oval sardonyx cameo, creamy white on dark brown (18.5 x 12.2mm). Although the provenance of this reworked cameo is completely unknown, strictly we should not have included it as a type of Tyche from Turkey, we have decided to do so as this unique, state cameo, a very peculiar and individual work, not meant to be widely copied or made in series, offers a very distinctive iconographic type, most likely originally fashioned in Constantinople, i.e., the newly founded capital of Constantine's empire.

¹²⁰ SMITH 2021, 124, no. 39.

Here the Tyche of Constantinopolis crowns Constantine the Great; however, the gem was reworked in the early 19th cent. by Benedetto Pistrucci (1783–1855), an Italian gem-engraver, who is best known for his Saint George and the Dragon design for the British gold sovereign. It is very strongly classicising and, if genuine, might actually show a Tyche crowning an earlier Emperor such as Trajan.

Ref. Stefani 1856, str. 73; Maximowa 1927, 299; Delbrueck 1933, 130, fig. 32; Bruns 1948, 29, fig. 25; Neverov 1971, 95, no. 106; and Neverov 1988, 138–139, no. 354.

Miscellanea

There are few other iconographic types of Tyche which we have not yet detected among the Anatolian gems: AGDS III Kassel, 217, pl. 95, no. 82 [carnelian, second cent. AD, a pair of Tyche, clasped hands, busts of Helios and Selene].¹²¹

Conclusions

As it is seen, in Turkey the number of depictions of Tyche on other media, such as marble statues as well as figurines in marble, bronze and terracotta is fewer than on coins and gems depicting Tyche. However, our present study of the iconography related to Tyche on 40 selected gems from entire Turkey and distinguishing 12 types out of 40 objects is somewhat arbitrary and the fact that these gems are curated in local museums in Turkey is not a proof that they were all found in their close neighbourhood. Therefore, the Anatolian and other gems discussed in this paper are doubtless a very small proportion of an extensive corpus.

Although the number of Tyche types in our corpus is limited, it is very likely that some of the (very) local types which appear on coins will occur on local gems, and this is something we must bear very much in mind, as it is likely that some of the die-engravers at these mints also engraved gems, because they possessed many of the requisite skills. Moreover, as more gems are discovered, we may well recognise stylistic traits common to coins and gems assigning them to the same workshop. In any case, the local coins as objects of the same size as gems provide the best artistic comparisons in many cases. This is a practice which is applicable only to the Eastern provinces of the Empire as, by and large, the West only had the official imperial currency and local issues were not struck.

Some other generalisations can also be made: the commonest types are the Types 1–3 which were ubiquitous throughout the Roman world, from Britain to Syria and even beyond, because the subject-matter was universal, positive and could guarantee good luck and prosperity overall. For these ubiquitous types there is nothing exceptional to conclude about their presence in Asia Minor and they do not differ from those circulating in the western Mediterranean. The remainder of the Tyche types is of special significance for Asia Minor and northern as well as north-western parts of Syria, though their limited number stands in sharp contrast to the coinage, which figures far more local types than the gems so far recorded. We included some local city Tychai, and there were many others in Asia Minor, the Levant and North Africa with a far more restricted remit, although they were surely important to those who lived and worked in these regions, as is shown not only by gems, but especially by local

¹²¹ AIAX, cf. Retrieved from <<https://datenbank.museum-kassel.de/29234>> (status as of Jan. 1st, 2025)]; HENIG, WHITING 1987, 16, no. 119 (heliotrope; two Tychai, clasped hands, bust of Helios and Selene, XAPA, perhaps AIAX); HENIG, WHITING 1987, 38, no. 399 (blue glass, first cent. AD, Tyche, Nike, clasped hands, busts of Helios and Selene); AMORAI STARK 1993, 86, no. 104 (heliotrope, Tyche and Victoria, clasped hands, busts of Helios and Selene, inscription AIAX); ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1979, 156, pl. 106, no. 1214 (carnelian, a pair of Tyche, busts of Selene and Helios, griffin).

coins and by statues set up in prominent places in the cities. These rare types may indeed reflect local cults of Tyche in the Roman East. It is also interesting to note that these gems depicting local Tyche types mostly originate from southern and south-eastern Turkish areas, like Cilicia and Commagene that are close to Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Cultic evidence for Tyche, and concomitant depictions of the goddess are more numerous in southern Anatolian regions, such as Cilicia and Pamphylia than in other parts of present-day Turkey.

In general the appearance of Tyche on gems and other iconographic media, most notably sculpture but also on bronze figurines is quite standardized, and, in particular, most of her freestanding statues and statuettes assume basically the same static pose. Generally, there are few glyptic types and variants all of which are derived from a limited number of prototypes.

In Anatolia Tyche is often shown with other deities or syncretised with goddesses particularly Isis, especially on some gems among those of Type 1 (see above). However, although she adopts features of Isis, none of the gems in this study figure Tyche together with Isis. The number of gems in our corpus which signify a connection between Tyche and Isis possibly provides important evidence, when all representations of Fortuna/Fortuna Panthea in museum collections are compared, e.g., it may turn out that Tyche/Isis was more popular in the eastern Mediterranean and point to the likelihood that many, perhaps most, of these were produced in the workshops operating in ancient Anatolia and the Levant, in contrast, for instance, to the Tyche/Ceres type, which may have been more popular in the West. A few intaglios figuring Tyche may also be related to the large category of magical gems, all of which were Eastern productions.

Red jasper and red carnelian stand out as the most popular stone varieties for the ring-stones depicting Tyche and at least some of these products, especially in the collections in Ankara will have been produced in the workshops in Galatia and Cappadocia, located more precisely around Ancyra, Gordion and Caesarea. But the preponderance of carnelian is not Tyche-specific as far as the Roman period is concerned, as 50–60% of all gems were made of carnelian, which was, indeed, the most popular glyptic medium both in the eastern and western Mediterranean areas, because of its ubiquity and widespread availability.

It should be noted that the earliest depictions of Tyche on gems in Asia Minor date from the Middle Hellenistic period, and the last date to the mid or late third cent. AD. They are most frequent in the second cent. AD.

In general it is hoped that the engraved gems from Turkey depicting deities and mythological subjects will be examined with the help of scientific cutting-edge methods of analysis, i.e., innovative technical ones, focused, for example, on advanced mineralogical tests etc., in order to provide more precise results on gemstone sources and techniques, and to advance future research.

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If not given on the photographs, images are not to scale.

The gems at the Museums of Izmir were studied with an authorisation granted to E. Laflı by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of the Cultural Monuments and Museums of the Republic of Turkey on 13 April 2010 and registered as B.16.0.KVM.0.13.04.00-155.01.(TA10.B81)-77614. The necessary documentation was assembled in June–July 2010 by E. Laflı.

The gems at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara were studied with an authorisation granted to E. Laflı by the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey on 2 February 2004 and registered as 60364499-155.01-E.149289. The necessary documentation was assembled in December 2004 by E. Laflı.

Authorization to publish the marble bust of Tyche from Ayasoluk with its five images on Pl. 4:3 and Pl. 5:4 as well as Figs 20–21 was granted by the Museum Directorate of Ephesus on 15 February 2017 to Mr Kerim Özgür Özgen (Izmir) under permit 84400790-155.02/158 whose father, Mr Atilla Özgen (Izmir), took these images within the studies of his son's Master's thesis. We would like to thank both K. Ö. Özgen and A. Özgen for the documentation and for permission to use their photographs in this paper.

Permission to publish Fig. 23 conserved at the Museum of Marmaris was granted by the Directorate of Museum of Marmaris to Esat Onur Tuğay on 16 July 2023 under permit B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1/14 (030317). The photo of the gem was taken by E. O. Tuğay in August 2023 whom we would like to thank for allowing us to illustrate this image in the paper.

Permission to publish Fig. 26 in the Archaeological Museum of İznik was granted by the Directorate of the Museum of İznik to Dr Fatih Hakan Kaya (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir) on 15 March 2023 under permit 62901608-155.01/E. 228521. Fig. 26 was taken by M. Albayrak and O. Yurteri in 2023 whom we would like to thank for permission to illustrate this image in the paper.

Permission to publish Fig. 35 in the Koray Selçik Collection, Izmir (formerly in the Ms Berna Oğuz Collection, Izmir) which is officially registered at the Directorate of the Museum of Izmir, was granted by B. Oğuz in 2021. The photograph was also taken by her and we would like to thank her for allowing us to use this image in this paper.

If not given otherwise, all the rest of the photos were taken by E. Laflı.

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Four ancient coins (aurei) from the Roman Empire, arranged in a 2x2 grid. The top-left coin shows a profile of a man with a beard and a crown. The top-right coin shows a seated figure holding a staff. The bottom-left coin shows a profile of a man with a beard. The bottom-right coin shows a seated figure holding a staff. A scale bar at the bottom indicates 0, 5, 10, 20, and 40mm.



Plate 1 – Coins featuring various types and related variants of Tyche from Asia Minor and Roman province of Mesopotamia.

Nos. 1a–b – Bronze coin of Setae, Lydia, semi-autonomous issue, ca. AD 198–268. Obv. Draped bust of Serapis right, wearing modius (or polos), shoulders draped. Rev. CAITT-HNQN around, Tyche standing left, calathus on head, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopia in left. BMC 33; Lindgren III 506; Leypold I, 1147; GRPC Lydia 47 (photo. E. Laflı, 2025); no. 2 – Bronze coin depicting turreted, veiled and draped bust of Tyche on the obverse and seated, enthroned divinity on the reverse, confiscated with 79 other items and assigned to the Museum of Muğla by way of the Fourth Court of First Instance of Muğla (case file no. 2021/186) (photo. E. Laflı, 2021); nos. 3a–b – Antoninus Pius, AR denarius, AD 138–161. Obv. ANTONINVS AVG COS III P P around, Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right. Rev. FORTVNAE around, Fortuna standing front, head to left, holding rudder on globe with her right hand and cornucopiae with her left. It was confiscated with 5.694 other items in Izmir in 2016 and assigned to the Archaeological Museum of Izmir by way of the 43rd Court of First Instance of Izmir (case file no. 2016/861) (photo. E. Laflı, 2017); nos. 4a–b – Bronze coin of Caracalla, Laodicea on the Lycus, Phrygia, AD 198–217. Obv. AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOC around, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩ-Ν ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ around, winged Tyche Panthea (multi-deity) standing left, wearing calathus, crescent behind shoulders, holding corn-ears, ship's rudder and cornucopia, wheel at foot left. Mionnet IV, 780; SNG Munich 396; Waddington 6303. It was confiscated with 22 other items in 2022 and assigned to the Archaeological Museum of Izmir by way of the 26th Court of First Instance of Izmir (case file no. 2022/278) (photo. E. Laflı, 2022); nos. 5a–b – Severus Alexander, AR denarius, AD 223 (?). Obv. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG around, laureate, draped bust right. Rev. P M TR P II COS II (?) P P around, Fortuna seated left, holding rudder and cornucopia. Same confiscation as no. 4 (photo. E. Laflı, 2022); nos. 6–9 – Four bronze coins from Mesopotamia with three Tyche types; Museum of Şanlıurfa, third cent. AD (photo. E. Laflı, 2025); no. 6 – Tyche seated left on an outcropping rock, between two stars, holding patera over altar before her, forepart of the river-god at her feet, swimming left below; no. 7 – Tyche seated left on pile of rocks, altar before her, stars before and behind; nos. 8–9 – Two turreted, veiled and draped bust of Tyche of Edessa to right.



1

2a-b



Plate 2 – Seven gems depicting depicting various types and related variants of Tyche in Turkish museums.

No. 1 – Silver ring, recovered from grave no. 120 in the necropolis of Juliopolis, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, acc. no. 12-62-11 (reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 97, fig. 2); nos. 2a-b –Bronze ring, recovered from grave no. 349 in the necropolis of Juliopolis,

Museum of Anatolian Civilizations; acc. no. 52-3-12 (reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 97, fig. 3, 98, fig. 3a); nos. 3a-b – Jasper intaglio set in a gold finger-ring figuring Tyche, Erimtan Museum in Ankara, acc. no. 1108 (reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 99, fig. 10); nos. 4a-b – Jasper figuring Tyche syncretised with Isis, Athena, Demeter and Nike, Erimtan Museum, acc. no. 1250 (reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 100, figs 11-11a). nos. 5a-b – Carnelian intaglio in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş, acc. no. 12.14.84 (reproduced from Akbaş 2020, 60, cat. no. 20); no. 6 – Sardonyx intaglio excavated in Hacimusalar/Choma in the Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre, acc. no. 2011/297 (A) (photo. by Ü. Demirer, 2024); nos. 7a-b – Another carnelian intaglio in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş, acc. no. 11.23.78 (reproduced from Akbaş 2020, 59, cat. no. 19).



Plate 3 – Seal impressions.

Nos. 1-7 – Seven terracotta seal impressions depicting various types of Tyche in the Museum of Karaman, most probably originated from Doliche in south-eastern Turkey (reproduced from Doksanaltı, Sağlan 2008, 98, figs 1-4, 99, figs 23-25).



1



2





Plate 4 – Marble statues and statuettes depicting various types and related variants of Tyche in Turkish museums.

No. 1 – Fragment of a colossal statue of Tyche with a fruit-filled cornucopia from Dorylaeum in Eskişehir, Archaeological Museum of Bursa, acc. no. 55 (photo. A. Çetingöz Özkan, 2018); no. 2 – Roman copy of the Tyche of Antioch with an inscription, Archaeological Museum of Hatay, Antakya (photo. G. Geçimli, 2020); nos. 3a–e – Marble head from Ayasuluk near Ephesus, identified as a city Tyche by the mural crown on her head. Such a statue would most likely have been set up in a public place such as an agora or the baths. P.H. 195mm, H. (polos) 70mm, max. W. 131mm, W. (face) 100mm, max. D. 90mm. Confiscated with 33 other items in Selçuk in 2017 and assigned to the Museum of Ephesus, Selçuk by way of the Court of First Instance of Selçuk (case file no. 2017/339) (photo. A. Özgen, 2018); no. 4 – Votive statuette figuring Tyche carved from Phrygian marble, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (photo. E. Laflı, 2004); nos. 5a–c – Marble statuette figuring Tyche of Antioch, Archaeological Museum of Afyonkarahisar, acc. no. 7658 (photo. E. Laflı, 2004).



1



3



4



6



Plate 5 – Bronze figurines and appliqués depicting various types and related variants of Tyche in Turkish museums.

No. 1 – Archaeological Museums of Istanbul (photo. E. Laflı, 2004); no. 2 – New archaeological museum in the Izmir Arts and Culture Factory, former Tekel Premises in Alsancak (photo. E. Laflı, 2024); no. 3 – Museum of Marmaris (photo. E. Laflı, 2018); no. 4 – Isis equated with Tyche/Fortuna, Museum of Ephesus, Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017); no. 5 – Museum of Kırşehir (photo. E. Laflı, 2017); no. 6 – Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre, acc. no. 2012/52 (A). H. 49mm, W. 15–28mm, Th. 10mm. Confiscation on 10th of May 2012 (photo. Ü. Demirer, 2024); no. 7 – Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum of Elazığ (photo. E. Laflı, 2013); no. 8 – Fortuna/Abundantia type holding patera rather than rudder, common on coins, gems and bronzes in the West; Archaeological Museum of Mersin, acc. no. 23.49.73 (photo. E. Laflı, 2006); no. 9 – Bronze appliqué of Tyche of Antioch, Archaeological Museum of Hatay, Antakya (photo. G. Geçimli, 2020).



Plate 6 – Terracotta figurines featuring various types and related variants of Tyche in Turkish museums.

No. 1 – Museum of Akhisar (photo. E. Laflı, 2016); no. 2 – New archaeological museum in the former Tekel Premises in Alsancak, İzmir (photo. E. Laflı, 2004); no. 3 – Museum of Sinop (photo. E. Laflı, 2016); no. 4 – Fortuna/Abundantia type; Archaeological Museum of Uşak (photo. E. Laflı, 2013).



Plate 7 – Other instrumenta featuring various types of Tyche in Turkish museums.

Nos. 1a–b – Roman lead seal from Izmir depicting Tyche, confiscated with 676 other items and assigned to the Archaeological Museum of Izmir by way of the 11th Criminal Court of Izmir (case file no. 2024/835) (photo. E. Laflı, 2024); nos. 2a–b – Bronze finger ring with engraved bezel featuring Tyche holding a garland in right hand rather than a rudder, confiscated with 39 other items in 2021 and assigned to the Museum of Milas by way of the Fourth Court of First Instance of Milas (case file no. 2022/546) (photo. E. Laflı, 2022).

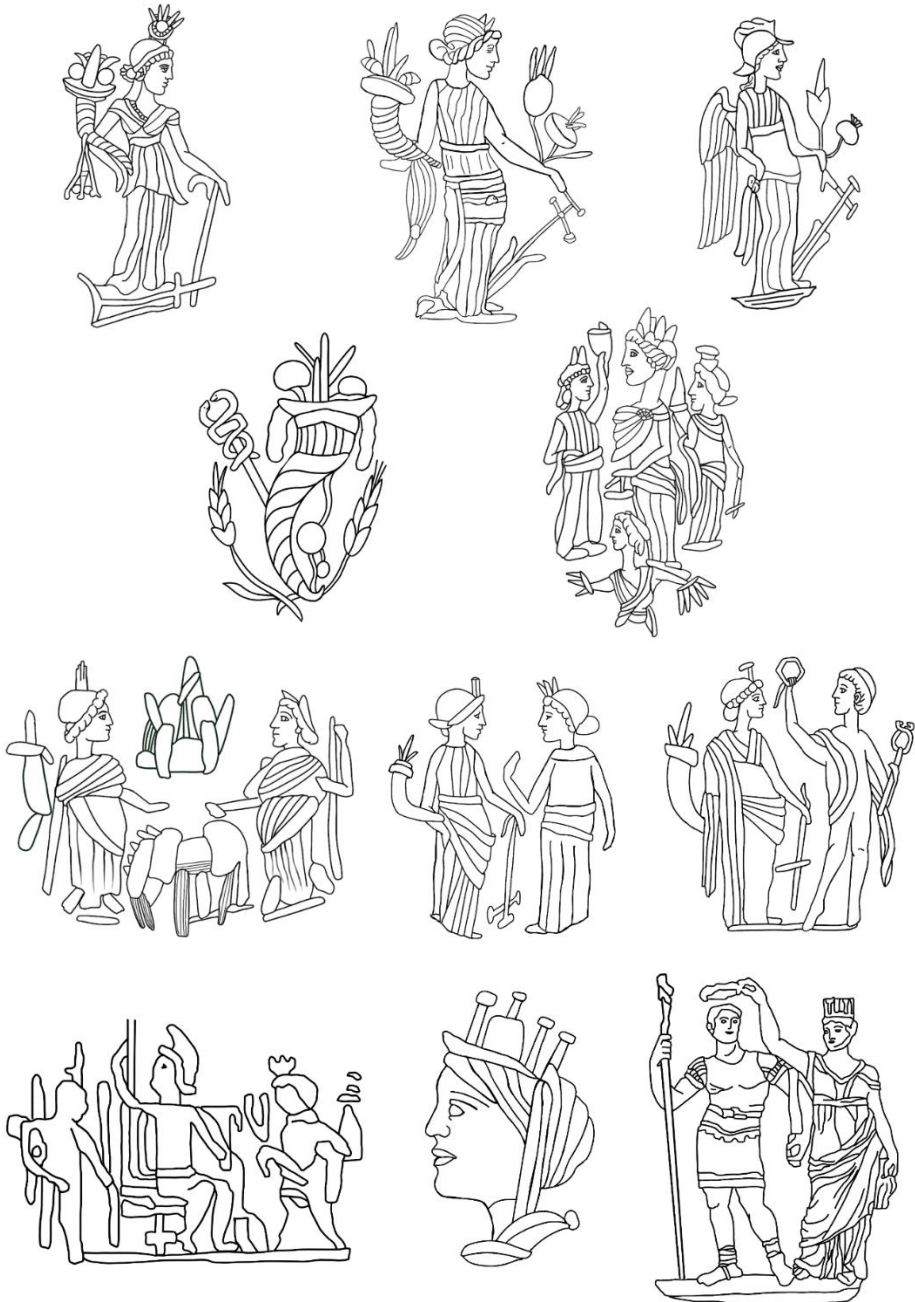


Plate 8, nos. 1-11 – Eleven main iconographic types of Tyche depictions on Anatolian glyptics (drawn by İ. Özelce, 2024, and L. Özlüoğlu, 2025, not to scale).



Fig. 1 - Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.586 (photo. E. Laflı, 2010).



Fig. 2 - Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Izmir (photo. E. Laflı, 2023).



Figs 3a-b - Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.522 (photo. E. Laflı, 2010).



Figs 4a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 18418
(reproduced from Arslan, Yeğin 2021, 129, pls. 1-1/a).



Fig. 5 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 125-1-85
(reproduced from Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 98, fig. 5).



Fig. 6 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 139-7-95
(reproduced from Arslan, Yeğin 2022, 98, fig. 6).



Fig. 7 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 3481
(reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 99, fig. 7).



Fig. 8 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, no acc. no.
(reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 99, fig. 8).



Fig. 9 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.480 (photo. E. Laflı, 2010).



Fig. 10 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Halûk Perk Research Museum in Avcılar, Istanbul (reproduced from Gülbay 2017, cat. no. 65).



Figs 11a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Konya, acc. no. 2011.11.31 (reproduced from Kulbay 2019, 51, cat. no. 14).



Figs 12a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Burdur, acc. no. K.67.26.78 (reproduced from Kulbay 2019, 52, cat. no. 15).



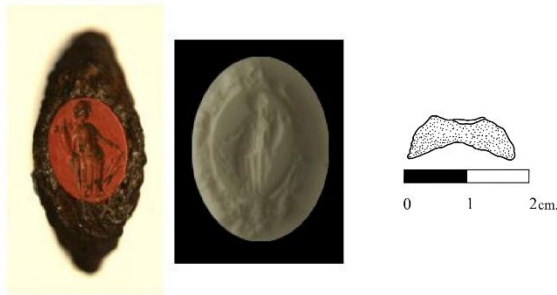
Figs 13a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Fethiye, acc. no. 1-13-73-1019 (reproduced from Kulbay 2019, 53, cat. no. 16).



Figs 14a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 10.14.78 (reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 124, cat. no. 26).



Figs 15a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 44.3.73

(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 125, cat. no. 27).



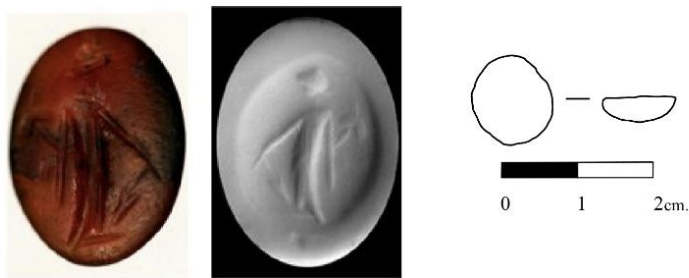
Figs 16a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, no. acc. no.
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 126, cat. no. 28).



Figs 17a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 16.16.92
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 129, cat. no. 31).



Figs 18a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 2021
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 130, cat. no. 32).



Figs 19a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 4479
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 128, cat. no. 30).



Fig. 20 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Ephesus, Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017).



Fig. 21 – Glass medallion figuring Tyche

Type 1, Museum of Ephesus, Selçuk (photo. A. Özgen, 2017).

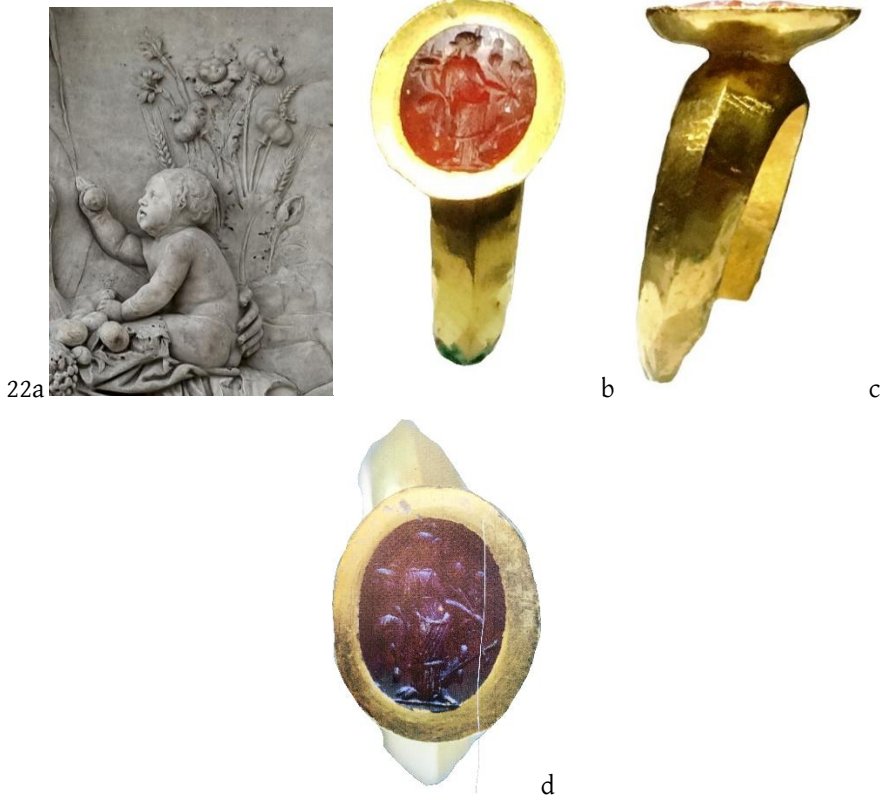


Fig. 22a – Ears of cereal and the heads of seeding poppies depicted on the marble panel of Tellus (upper panel), left section of the east facade of the Ara Pacis Augustae, Museo dell’Ara Pacis, Rome (photo. E. Lafli, 2002).

Figs 22a–d – Intaglio figuring Tyche Type 2, Archaeological Museum of Aydın (photo. E. Lafli, 2023).



Fig. 23 – Intaglio figuring Tyche
Type 2, Museum of Marmaris, acc. no. 2015/1158 (A) (photo. E. O. Tuğay, 2023).



Figs 24a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 2, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 44-526
(reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 98, fig. 4).



Figs 25a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 2, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 31.1.75
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 127, cat. no. 29).



Fig. 26 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 2, Archaeological Museum of İznik, acc. no. 2846 (photo. M. Albayrak and O. Yurteri, 2023).



Figs 27a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 3, Private Collection of Mr Doğan Güreş, Istanbul, (photo. D. Güreş, 2023).



Fig. 28 – Intaglio figuring Tyche

Type 3, Archaeological Museum of Aydın (photo. E. Laflı, 2023).



Figs 29a-c – Intaglio depicting the cornucopia of Tyche

Type 4, Museum of Akhisar (photo. E. Laflı, 2023).



Figs 30a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes with Ares and Tyche,
Type 5, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.514 (photo. E. Laflı, 2010).



Fig. 32 – Intaglio figuring Tyche with Hera and Mount Argaeus,
Type 6, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 18846
(reproduced from Arslan and Yeğın 2022, 99, fig. 9).



Figs 33a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche with Athena and Mount Argaeus,
Type 6, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 74.1.75
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 132, cat. no. 34).



Figs 34a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche with Athena and Mount Argaeus,
Type 6, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 10.10.78
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 133, cat. no. 35).



Figs 35a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche and Nemesis,
Type 7, Koray Selçik Collection, Izmir (photo. B. Oğuz, 2021).



Figs 36a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche crowned by Nike,
Type 9, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 35.2.76
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 134, cat. no. 36).



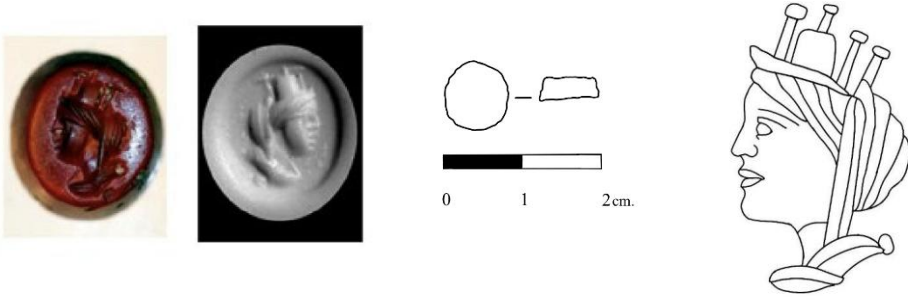
Figs 37a-b – Intaglio figuring Tyche crowned by Hermes,
Type 9, Halûk Perk Research Museum in Avcılar, Istanbul (reproduced from Gülbay 2017, cat.
no. 26).



Figs 38a-c – Intaglio figuring Tyche with Serapis and Isis,
Type 10, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 3853
(reproduced from Ynesor Demir 2008, 108, cat. no. 10).



Fig. 39 – Intaglio figuring a bust of Tyche,
Type 11, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, acc. no. 48-1-74
(reproduced from Arslan and Yeğin 2022, 100, fig. 12).



Figs 40a-d – Intaglio figuring a bust of Tyche,
Type 11, Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 15.8.76
(reproduced from Yinesor Demir 2008, 131, cat. no. 33).



Fig. 41 – Intaglio figuring a bust of Tyche,
Type 11, Museum of Amasya (photo. E. Laflı, 2017).



Fig. 42 – Terracotta bulla figuring a bust of Tyche,
Type 11, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, acc. no. 013.588 (photo. E. Laflı, 2010).



Fig. 43 – Cameo figuring the Tyche of Constantinopolis crowning Constantine, Type 12, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, acc. no. j 146 (reproduced from Neverov 1971, 95, no. 106).



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