

RELIGIONS IN THE  
GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

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The Variety of  
Local Religious Life  
in the Near East

*in the Hellenistic and  
Roman Periods*



Edited by  
TED KAIZER

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BRILL

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in the Near East

# Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

*Editors*

H.S. Versnel  
D. Frankfurter  
J. Hahn

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# The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods

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*This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes. Enquiries regarding the submission of works for publication in the series may be directed to Professor H.S. Versnel, Herenweg 88, 2361 EV Warmond, The Netherlands, h.s.versnel@hetnet.nl.*

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# ARTEMIS AND ZEUS OLYMPIOS IN ROMAN GERASA AND SELEUCID RELIGIOUS POLICY<sup>1</sup>

ACHIM LICHTENBERGER

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TWO SANCTUARIES

The well-known Roman city of Gerasa in the Decapolis (in present day Jordan) was dominated by two large sanctuaries: the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and the sanctuary of Artemis [PLATE XLVIII].<sup>2</sup> Both temples occupied prominent positions in the city. While the Artemision was located in the city centre at the main thoroughfare (the *cardo*), the Olympieion was situated on a terrace at the southern end of the Roman city. As the latter did not fit into the overall orthogonal plan of the Roman city, the Oval Forum (southwest of the Olympieion) had—in terms of city planning—an integrating function. However, this slightly peripheral position of the Olympieion was not the original one: the sanctuary of Zeus lies exactly opposite the so-called Camp Hill, on which—as far as we know—the Hellenistic settlement of the city developed.<sup>3</sup> Thus, originally, the Olympieion had been a sanctuary that was placed closely to the central settlement, while the later place of the Roman Artemision was off the centre, or even outside the city. Only with the expansion of the settlement towards the north, the place of the Artemision was pushed into the very centre.

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<sup>1</sup> This article was written while I was a Feodor-Lynen-Fellow at Cambridge University in 2003/04. I am grateful for the grant by the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Foundation and for a Visiting Fellowship by Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> For the topography and archaeology of Gerasa, see Kraeling (1938); Browning (1982); Seigne (1982) and (2002); Lichtenberger (2003), p.191-5 (with further literature). On the term Decapolis, see *ibid.*, p.6-20. For deities and cults in the Decapolis see now also the dissertation by Riedl (2003), cf. <http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/2005/155/>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kraeling (1938), p.30-1.



## ZEUS OLYMPIOS

We know from inscriptions (starting in the early first century AD) that Zeus Olympios was worshipped in the temple in the southern part of the city [PLATE XLIX].<sup>4</sup> Zeus Olympios, the god of Mt Olympus, had his most famous sanctuary in Olympia in Greece. His cult statue was made by Phidias in the fifth century BC.<sup>5</sup> It was the most famous cult statue of Zeus in Antiquity, and showed the god seated with beard, Nike and a sceptre. In the second century BC, under the Seleucid king Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-163 BC), Zeus Olympios gained importance as dynastic cult of the Seleucids, and the cult of Zeus Olympios seems to have been introduced in some cities of the vast empire.<sup>6</sup> The statue of the Seleucid Zeus Olympios [PLATE L] was modelled on the famous Zeus Olympios of Phidias.<sup>7</sup>

Gerasa was also refounded under the Seleucids and received, as is attested by inscriptions and coins, the name 'Antioch by the Chrysorrhoeas, the former Gerasa'.<sup>8</sup> With the battle at the Paneion (near the source of the Jordan) in 200 BC, Antiochos III (223-187 BC) brought southern Syria under Seleucid control,<sup>9</sup> and sometime in the second century BC the refoundation of Gerasa probably took place.<sup>10</sup> We do not know under which king Gerasa was founded, but the local cult of Zeus Olympios might hint at Antiochos IV. In Gerasa the cult of Zeus Olympios fits well with the name of the city (Antioch) and the position of the temple close to the Hellenistic settlement on Camp Hill. It is fairly likely that Zeus Olympios was the god of 'Antioch by the Chrysorrhoeas, the former Gerasa'. But the full name of the city also shows that, apart from 'Antioch', there

<sup>4</sup> For the inscriptions, see Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.373-8 n<sup>os</sup>2-7; p.379-80 n<sup>o</sup>10; p.381-2 n<sup>os</sup>13-4. Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.209-11 with n.1883.

<sup>5</sup> On the Zeus of Phidias in Olympia, see Richter (1966).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Seyrig (1939); Mørkholm (1963), p.58-74; id. (1966), p.122-33; Bunge (1974), p.78-9; Tölle-Kastenbein (1994), p.143-5; Lichtenberger (2003), p.279 n.1, and p.341 n.271.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Maderna (1988), p.28-30.

<sup>8</sup> For the name, see Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.390-1 n<sup>o</sup>30, p.401-2 n<sup>os</sup>56-8, p.406-7 n<sup>o</sup>69, p.424-5 n<sup>os</sup>143-5(?), p.426 n<sup>o</sup>147, p.428 n<sup>o</sup>153(?); Seyrig (1950), p.33 n.45; Spijkerman (1978), p.300-1; Lichtenberger (2003), p.192.

<sup>9</sup> Sartre (2001), p.200-1.

<sup>10</sup> On the Seleucid city foundations and settlements in Jordan, see now Thiel (2003), p.225-9.

must have existed a 'Gerasa'. It is significant in this respect that 'Gerasa' is a Semitic name, that is attested in a Nabataean inscription of the first century BC as 'Garshu'.<sup>11</sup>

On the terrace in Gerasa, the earliest archaeological evidence for a cult of Zeus Olympios stems, according to the excavator J. Seigne, from the second century BC. Seigne claimed to have found, at the place of the later temple of Zeus Olympios, an Iron Age cave sanctuary. From this he suggested a continuity of cult into the second century BC. Unfortunately, Seigne did not yet publish his evidence, but it is doubtful whether it is possible to make this connection: the Iron Age finds which he mentioned in his publications end in the seventh/sixth century BC,<sup>12</sup> and from there we have a too large gap of settlement until the second century BC. It is more likely, therefore, that the Iron Age finds are traces of an earlier settlement that has nothing to do with the Hellenistic one and with the cult of Zeus Olympios.

Since it is usually assumed that the introduction of the cult of Zeus Olympios by the Seleucids was a far-reaching and well-planned measure of religious policy, it is of major importance to know whether there was at Gerasa a pre-Hellenistic cult of a Zeus-like god, who in Hellenistic times could have become the cult of Zeus Olympios. It is generally supposed that the cult of Zeus Olympios substituted, through *interpretatio Graeca*, the cults of ancient oriental sky and weather gods, and that the new cult of Zeus Olympios, the highest Greek god, had a uniting effect for the Seleucid kingdom.<sup>13</sup> By this we would have a well-planned action with the goal of fusion (*Verschmelzung*, to use Droysen's term) of East and West.<sup>14</sup> Although this model of Hellenistic culture as such a mixed culture has been disputed in the last decades and is probably not followed any longer,<sup>15</sup> the approach to regard Zeus Olympios as the *interpretatio Graeca* of older gods usually remains untouched from this criticism. However, this view finds no support in the evidence from Gerasa: here we do

<sup>11</sup> Starcky (1965), p.95-6.

<sup>12</sup> Seigne (1997), p.995; id. (2002), p.13.

<sup>13</sup> For Gerasa, see e.g. Kraeling (1938), p.28 and p.31-2; Freyberger (1998), p.29. In general, see Bickermann (1937), p.94-6; Rostovtzeff (1939), p.294-5; Seyrig (1939), p.300; Sourdel (1952), p.19; Tschirikower (1959), p.181-2; Mastrocinque (2002), p.361.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bähler (1999), p.1005.

<sup>15</sup> On the discussion, see Schuler (1999), p.131-2.

not have proof for continuity from a pre-Hellenistic highest god to Zeus Olympios, and in the following it is argued that this model probably does not work for other places either.

First, let us return to Gerasa. The oldest temple architecture of a cult of Zeus stems from the early first century BC.<sup>16</sup> At this time a small and probably rectangular *naos* with lavish stucco and architectural decoration was erected on the terrace. In AD 27/8 we hear of the completion of a large courtyard with an altar on the terrace. A large temple building, a prostyle peripteros, was build only in AD 163/4, orientated towards the courtyard with the old altar. Recently, dining-rooms have been found behind the temple building, which probably served for banquets.<sup>17</sup> Under Domitian a theatre was built close to the temple.<sup>18</sup> It probably functioned not only for civic, but also for cultic purposes of the Zeus-cult, as was the case in other places in the Near East.<sup>19</sup> There is only very little evidence for a female partner, a *parhedra*, of Zeus Olympios in Gerasa. We have no evidence that Hera, the Greek wife of Zeus, was worshipped together with Zeus Olympios in Gerasa. Only in one inscription, a goddess is mentioned in connection with Zeus. It is Tyche and the relevant inscription from the mid-second century AD states: Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ σωτήρι καὶ Τύ[χῃ].<sup>20</sup> If the reconstruction of the last word is correct, we have to take into account that in Gerasa, the cult of the city goddess Tyche was somehow connected with Zeus Olympios.

#### ARTEMIS OF GERASA

The cult of Artemis in the sanctuary-complex in the centre of the city [PLATE LI] can—like the one of Zeus—be established through inscriptions, which have been found in its vicinity and which mention the goddess.<sup>21</sup> The earliest inscriptions stem from the second half of the first century AD. The large sanctuary was probably built

<sup>16</sup> For the building history of the temple of Zeus in what follows, see Seigne (1997) and (2002).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Egan and Bikai (1998), p.598.

<sup>18</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.398-9 n°51; Segal (1995), p.75-7.

<sup>19</sup> See now Nielsen (2002), p.39-59 and p.237-59.

<sup>20</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.381 n°13.

<sup>21</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.388-91 n°27-32; Gatier (1985), p.308-12 n°2-3; Gatier (1988), p.151-4 n°5.

at that time, but it will have been completed only in the later second century.<sup>22</sup> This is attested by building inscriptions and the architectural decoration.<sup>23</sup> Once it had been completed, it was a temple-complex that could be reached through an elaborate Propylon building at the eastern side of the *cardo* and through another Propylon-stairs-complex to the west of the street. First one came to a forecourt and from there through another large staircase and another Propylon to the temple forecourt proper. This forecourt was surrounded by columns, with a hexastyle peripteros on a podium in its centre. In front of the temple an altar was placed. A theatre was built close to the Artemision, also in the second half of the second century AD.<sup>24</sup>

Artemis was a Greek goddess of nature and a goddess of transition and initiation. In Asia Minor and in the Near East, she was often identified with local indigenous goddesses.<sup>25</sup> The most famous example is the Artemis of Ephesos, a Hellenized Anatolian goddess.<sup>26</sup> As the epithets of Artemis in Gerasene inscriptions are unusual for the Greek goddess, but hint at her Semitic origin instead, a similar *interpretatio Graeca* seems to have been the case in Gerasa. For example, we find epithets like *Thea Patroa Artemis*,<sup>27</sup> *Artemis Kyria*,<sup>28</sup> *Thea Artemis*,<sup>29</sup> or *Kyria Urania Artemis*.<sup>30</sup> In the Near East all these epithets are well-attested for local gods with non-Greek Semitic origin.<sup>31</sup> The difference between Artemis and Zeus Olympios, who has no such epithets, becomes obvious. Zeus Olympios is always called just Zeus Olympios and there is no other name for him that would hint at a Near Eastern background or origin.<sup>32</sup> If Artemis had been as Greek as Zeus Olympios, we would have to explain her Gerasene

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<sup>22</sup> On the building history of the Artemision, see Fisher in Kraeling (1938), p.125-38; Parapetti (2002). For further literature, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.193 n.1696.

<sup>23</sup> On the architectural decoration, see Bloedhorn (1993), p.46.

<sup>24</sup> Segal (1995), p.72-4.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Augé and Linant de Bellefonds (1984).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Fleischer (1973).

<sup>27</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.388-9 n°27.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.389-90 n°s28-29; Gatier (1985), p.310-2 n°3.

<sup>29</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.391 n°32.

<sup>30</sup> Gatier (1988), p.151-4 n°5.

<sup>31</sup> See Lichtenberger (2003), p.202 with further literature.

<sup>32</sup> The only other epithets for Zeus Olympios are *Phyxios* and *Soter*. On *Phyxios* in Gerasa, see now Rigsby (2000).

epithets by assuming a local contamination. But as we do not find such epithets for Zeus Olympios, such a contamination of Artemis seems unlikely. If we look for possible partners of Artemis, we also find some indication for a Near Eastern origin of the goddess. Though there is no inscription which mentions Artemis with a partner, there are small finds (terracotta plates), sculptures (altars) and inscriptions which refer to Artemis and which hint at the fact that she had a solar sky-god as her partner.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish exactly which ancient Near Eastern goddess was interpreted as Greek Artemis, but it is likely that she should be sought among goddesses like the Syro-Phoenician Astarte or Atargatis-Dea Syria.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR ZEUS OLYMPIOS AND ARTEMIS COMPARED TO THE ARCHITECTURAL AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Civic coins in the Roman East, so-called ‘Greek imperial’ (or ‘Roman provincial’) coins, are an invaluable source for local history and cultural conditions of cities in the East, as they often depict local themes.<sup>35</sup> In Gerasa civic coinage starts (as far as our evidence is concerned) in AD 67-8 and ends, as in most cities of the region, in the third century AD under the emperor Elagabalus.<sup>36</sup> Artemis is depicted throughout this period on civic coinage and she is found on different denominations and types.<sup>37</sup> Thus we can see the goddess standing [PLATE LII], we find her bust [PLATE LIII], or the goddess is shown hunting to the right [PLATE LIV]. Some coins even show Artemis standing in her temple [PLATE LV].<sup>38</sup> Apart from this we find her animals, stag and rabbit.<sup>39</sup> Artemis is the most frequent motif on the coins of Gerasa and her types entirely dominate the coinage of the city.

<sup>33</sup> See Lichtenberger (2003), p.202-8.

<sup>34</sup> On Atargatis/Dea Syria, see now Lightfoot (2003).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Butcher (1988); Nollé (1997) with further literature.

<sup>36</sup> On the coinage of Gerasa, see Spijkenman (1978), p.156-67; Lichtenberger (2003), p.195-200.

<sup>37</sup> See *ibid.*, p.195-7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pl.21 MZ108-9.

<sup>39</sup> Rosenberger (1978), p.50 n°3; see also Lichtenberger (2003), p.195 with n.1736.

If we look for Zeus Olympios in the civic coinage we make a surprising discovery: he is hardly present. Only in the first emission [PLATE LVI].<sup>40</sup> After that he completely vanishes from the civic coinage. This evidence stands in sharp contrast to the other information we have for the significance of Zeus Olympios in Gerasa: according to the architectural and epigraphic sources he seems to have been more or less as important as Artemis. Furthermore, Zeus Olympios figures prominently in the coinage of other cities in the Decapolis, which means that depicting him on coinage was regarded as prestigious by the neighbouring cities. It is unlikely that the lack of Zeus Olympios in the civic coinage of Gerasa is due to inaccuracy of the numismatic record, as many specimens of coins of Gerasa are known. Even if new coin types will be discovered, the overall picture will hardly be altered. To find an explanation for the entire dominance of Artemis on coins, we have to look at the civic coinage more closely.

#### THE COINS WITH ARTEMIS-TYCHE

From the times of Hadrian some unusual coins of Artemis were issued, showing the bust of Artemis with the legend *Artemis Tychè Gerasôn*, 'Artemis, the Tyche of the citizens of Gerasa' [PLATE LIII].<sup>41</sup> This is a remarkable legend, for Tyche, the Greek goddess of fate, was also a personification and tutelary deity of cities, and her Greek iconography was fixed as a goddess with mural crown.<sup>42</sup> At all other places in the Decapolis, Tyche was depicted according to this iconography and sometimes she had further Greek Tyche-attributes, like the cornucopia and the rudder on the globe.<sup>43</sup> In Gerasa the case is different. But we have a comparable example from a city nearby: in the coinage of Bostra, under Antoninus Pius,

<sup>40</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.158-9 n°1; *RPC* I, p.669 n°4841; Lichtenberger (2003), p.199.

<sup>41</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.158-65 n°s4-8,13-5,18-20,24-8,30; Lichtenberger (2003), p.196. On the specimen [PLATE 6], Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., *Mail Bid Sale* 61, Closing Wednesday, September 25, 2002, p.93 Lot 1070, *Gerasôn* has to be reconstructed.

<sup>42</sup> On the iconography of Tyche, see Villard (1997).

<sup>43</sup> On Tyche in the Decapolis, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.295-304.

Athena also has the epithet Tyche.<sup>44</sup> In Bostra, Athena was probably an *interpretatio Graeca* of the Arab goddess Allat, who was the tutelary goddess of the settlement.<sup>45</sup> A similar example is known from North-Syrian Hierapolis, where the great Syrian goddess Atargatis-Dea Syria could be depicted with the mural crown as well, because she was (like the Greek Tyche) understood as the tutelary goddess of the city.<sup>46</sup>

A similar case is probably to be found in Gerasa, where Artemis as tutelary goddess of the settlement was called Tyche. Thus the Greek Tyche title was being attributed to an indigenous goddess because she had (like other highest Near Eastern goddesses) the quality of protector of the settlement, a quality which made her similar to the Greek Tyche. This quality is also found for Gad in a Semitic context.<sup>47</sup> In such contexts, the most important deity of a locality could function as its Gad. The Greek functional equivalent for Gad was Tyche. By naming the Artemis of Gerasa 'Tyche', we find something like a double *interpretatio Graeca* of the local goddess of Gerasa: first she was interpreted as Artemis and then as Tyche, to make clear her complex character that did not match simply with one Greek goddess. Such a double *interpretatio Graeca* is also found elsewhere in the Decapolis. We have for example epigraphic evidence for a Zeus Kronos<sup>48</sup> and a Zeus Poseidon<sup>49</sup> in Gerasa, and for a Zeus Ares<sup>50</sup> in Pella. And there is also iconographic evidence for a contamination of Heracles with Dionysos' and Zeus' iconography, which probably hints at Heracles being a former Melqart-like god.<sup>51</sup> Naming Artemis 'Tyche' is also a further hint at the Near Eastern origin of the deity. The Tyche epithet would be unusual for a Greek goddess: Athena, for example, is without doubt the protectress of Athens, but she is never called 'Tyche of Athens'.

<sup>44</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.70-1 n°8; Kindler (1983), p.57-8.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Sourdel (1952), p.69-73; Kindler (1983), p.57-8.

<sup>46</sup> On the mural crown of Atargatis-Dea Syria, see Lightfoot (2003), p.22-8.

<sup>47</sup> On Gad, see Kaizer (1997) and (1998).

<sup>48</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.388 n°26.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.392-3 n°39.

<sup>50</sup> Smith and Day (1989), p.131.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.290-4.

## THE COINS WITH TYCHE AND A GREEK FOUNDER

The Tyche epithet for Artemis is surprising also because in the coinage of Gerasa we find the 'regular' Tyche as well.<sup>52</sup> Tyche is depicted according to classical Greek iconography as the turreted goddess on the earliest emission of Gerasa [PLATE LVII]. On coins under Marcus Aurelius we find Tyche standing with mural crown, rudder on globe and cornucopia, together with a second figure [PLATE LVIII-LIX]<sup>53</sup>. At the same time, Tyche is furthermore shown on coins following the type of the Tyche of Antioch [PLATE LX].<sup>54</sup>

Of special interest is the type with the second figure [PLATE LVIII-LIX]. This figure is that of a young man with spear or sceptre, wearing a long coat, probably a *chlamys*. The iconography and the statuary type are reminiscent of Alexander the Great or a Hellenistic ruler.<sup>55</sup> Comparable draped figures can be found on the famous relief from Dura-Europos of the Gad of Dura and Seleucus Nicator from AD 159 [PLATE LXI],<sup>56</sup> and on the coinage of Caesarea ad Libanum under Elagabalus [PLATE LXII], which depicts Alexander the Great (who had a temple in the city) in a similar way.<sup>57</sup> According to Malalas (276), Trajan erected a statue of Tyche in Antioch that is crowned by the city's founders Antiochus and Seleucus. This composition might have looked similar to ours.<sup>58</sup> L. Dirven is of the opinion that the Antiochene group was the model for the one depicted on the relief from Dura-Europos.<sup>59</sup> The same could be true for the statues in Gerasa, but we have to be aware that such groups with *Figurenrahmen* were widespread in Syria and Phoenicia.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>52</sup> On Tyche in Gerasa, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.197-9.

<sup>53</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.160-3 n<sup>o</sup>9-10,16,21.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.160-5 n<sup>o</sup>11-2,17,22,32-3.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Smith (1988), p.32 and p.153-4; Svenson (1995), p.5-7 (on Alexander Aigiochus).

<sup>56</sup> Rostovtzeff (1939). See now also Dirven (1999), p.101-27.

<sup>57</sup> *BMC Phoenicia*, p.110 n<sup>o</sup>8-10. On the temple of Alexander, see SHA *Alex. Sev.* 5.1-2.

<sup>58</sup> For the group in Antioch, see Balty (1981), p.846 n<sup>o</sup>63, p.848-9 n<sup>o</sup>102-19 and p.851; Butcher (2003), p.238 fig.93.3. On the historicity of Malalas' account, see Dirven (1999), p.112 n.53. See also Christof (2001), p.34.

<sup>59</sup> Dirven (1999), p.112-3.

<sup>60</sup> Schweitzer (1931), p.217-28; Fleischer (1986); Christof (2001), p.181-3.



Now, who is the male figure on the coins from Gerasa? In my opinion there are two plausible possibilities: first, a Seleucid king named Antiochus, who gave his name to Antioch Gerasa, or second, Alexander the Great, who, according to a tradition recorded by Byzantine authors,<sup>61</sup> was also a founder of Gerasa. As Alexander had never been in this very region, the tradition can hardly be historical, but may be seen against the background of the so-called Second Sophistic, a period in which cities sometimes constructed such local foundation legends.<sup>62</sup> As regards Alexander, we can further put forward that a coin of Gerasa with the bust of the famous Macedonian king, with a legend naming him the founder of Gerasa, was issued under Septimius Severus and Elagabalus [PLATE LXIII],<sup>63</sup> at the same time that the type of Tyche with the second figure ceased. Both coin types had the same medium large denomination. Such a strict connection between general subject and denomination can often be observed in civic coinage. Unfortunately, there is no striking evidence for a definite identification of the figure as Alexander, but at least it is very likely that we have a coin type that shows Tyche together with a Greek founder. We have to return to this point later.

#### COIN LEGENDS AND COIN DEPICTIONS

Is it possible to conclude that there was some sort of rivalry for the title of Tyche between a Greek Tyche with a Greek founder and the Near Eastern Artemis-Tyche? This would remain a weak supposition if we did not have further evidence for this interpretation. However, there is a distinct relationship between coin legends and coin depictions. Since the time of Hadrian (after a gap of coinage since Nero) the image of Artemis is always connected with the city name Gerasa [e.g. PLATE LII-LV]. On the other hand, the coins with the Greek Tyche always name the city in the legend ‘Antioch by the Chrysorhoas, the former Gerasa’ [e.g. PLATE LVIII-LIX].<sup>64</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Gerasenos. See also below, with n.112.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Scheer (1993); Lichtenberger (2003), p.344-51 with further literature.

<sup>63</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.164-7 n<sup>os</sup>29,34-5.

<sup>64</sup> As there is no corpus of the dies of the coinage of Gerasa yet, I list the relevant obverse legends of coins from the catalogue of Spijkerman (1978):

Bust of Artemis as Artemis Tyche: “*Artemis Tyche Gerason*”  
 – p.158-9 n<sup>o</sup>4 (Hadrian): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ

Antiochene Tyche type, which is depicted between Marcus Aurelius and Elagabalus, also has the Antioch legend [PLATE LX]; only coins under Elagabalus name the city Gerasa.<sup>65</sup> It is not likely that this strict division of city-names occurred by chance and we can probably conclude from this that the Greek city-goddess Tyche was indeed connected with the city name Antioch and that Artemis Tyche was connected with the city name Gerasa. In this context we have to recall that Gerasa is a Semitic name.

It is also of interest that the Greek Zeus Olympios is found in an inscription from Gerasa together with Tyche,<sup>66</sup> and this is further support for the conclusion that a connection existed between a Greek founder, the city name Antioch, Zeus Olympios and Tyche. Opposed to this we have an 'Oriental' Artemis-Tyche and the Semitic name of the city Gerasa. Thus Zeus Olympios was the god of the Greek settlement of Antioch, and Artemis seems to have been the main goddess of another, probably indigenous, settlement Gerasa which preceded Antioch. Unfortunately, up to now we do not have any evi-

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- p.158-9 n°5 (Hadrian): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.158-9 n°6 (Hadrian): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.158-9 n°7a (Hadrian): ΑΡΤΕ ΤΥ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.158-9 n°7b (Hadrian): ΑΡΤΕΜΙ ΤΥ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.160-1 n°13a (Marcus Aurelius): ΑΡΤ ΤΥΧ Γ
  - p.160-1 n°13b (Marcus Aurelius): ΑΡΤ ΤΥΧ Γ
  - p.160-1 n°14 (Faustina Iunior): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.162-3 n°18 (Lucius Verus): ΑΡΤ ΤΥΧ ΓΕ
  - p.162-3 n°18 (Lucilla): [ΑΡΤΕ]ΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
  - p.162-3 n°24 (Commodus): ΑΡΤ ΤΥΧ ΓΕ
  - p.164-5 n°25 (Commodus): ΑΡΤΙ ΥΧΙ
  - p.164-5 n°26 (Commodus): ΑΡΤ ΤΥΧ ΓΕ
  - p.164-5 n°27 (Crispina): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ

Artemis-Huntress: „*Artemis Tyche Gerason*“

- p.158-9 n°8 (Marcus Aurelius): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕ[...]
- p.160-1 n°15 (Lucius Verus): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ Γ
- p.162-3 n°20 (Commodus): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
- p.164-5 n°28 (Septimius Severus): [ΑΡΤΕ]ΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ
- p.164-5 n°30 (Caracalla): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ

Tyche standing with Greek founder: „*Antiocheon ton pros to Chrysorrhoe ton proteron Geras(en)on*“

- p.160-1 n°9 (Marcus Aurelius): ΑΝΤΩΠΡ ΧΡΤΩΠΡΓΕ
- p.160-1 n°10 (Marcus Aurelius): ΑΝΤΩΠΡΧ ΡΤ ΩΠΡΓΕ
- p.160-1 n°16a (Lucius Verus): ΑΝ.ΤΩ.ΠΡ. ΧΡ.ΤΩ.ΠΡ.ΓΕ
- p.160-1 n°16b (Lucius Verus): ΑΝΤΩ.ΠΡΧ ΡΤ Ω ΠΡ ΓΕ
- p.162-3 n°21 (Commodus): ΑΝΤΩΠΡΟ Χ[Ρ]ΤΩΠΡ Γ Ε

<sup>65</sup> On these coins see below, n.115.

<sup>66</sup> Welles in Kraepling (1938), p.381 n°13.

dence for Artemis in Gerasa that is older than the first century AD, but it would not come as a surprise if someday under, or in the vicinity of, the later Artemision traces of an earlier phase were found. Indeed, in the vicinity of the Artemision two other sanctuaries are located that are of interest in this respect, as they both belonged to non-Greek deities. First, there is the temple under the cathedral that at least dates back to the first century BC.<sup>67</sup> This sanctuary can be connected with an Arab god named Pakeidas/Theos Arabikos, who is mentioned in inscriptions close to the temple.<sup>68</sup> The second sanctuary is the so-called temple C.<sup>69</sup> It probably was a sanctuary of North-Syrian deities, as can be deduced from its ground plan. From this it should be possible to conclude that the non-Greek settlement, or at least its sanctuaries, laid here, in the vicinity of the Artemision. In this region Hellenistic Rhodian jar-handles have already been found.<sup>70</sup>

#### SITUATION OF RIVALRY IN GERASA

It seems obvious that in Gerasa we have a juxtaposition of a Greek Zeus Olympios and an indigenous Artemis. What follows from this situation? One gets the impression that there must have been some sort of rivalry. A first indication for competition is the reclamation of the Tyche title on both sides. Another indication is the architectural history of the two sanctuaries, which became more and more monumental:<sup>71</sup> First a large court was built in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and a theatre close to it, then the large Artemision was erected and a theatre was built for it as well. In reaction to this, the naos of Zeus Olympios was constructed. The temple of Zeus did not have forecourts and propyla as monumental as the Artemision, but the size of its naos proper surpassed that of the temple of Artemis. Finally, a last symptom of rivalry between Artemis and Zeus Olympios may be found in the nearly complete lack of images of Zeus

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jäggi, Meier and Brenk (1998); Lichtenberger (2003), p.221-5.

<sup>68</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.383-6 n<sup>os</sup>17-22.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Fisher and Kraeling in Kraeling (1938), p.139-48; Lichtenberger (2003), p.238-41.

<sup>70</sup> Kraeling (1938), p.32; Fisher in Kraeling (1938), p.138; Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.460 n<sup>os</sup>243,246.

<sup>71</sup> See also Wenning (1994), p.13-4; Parapetti (2002), p.23-4.

Olympios on the civic coinage, with which we return to the starting point. Is it possible to explain the lack of Zeus Olympios on the coinage with the hypothesis that the civic magistrates who were responsible for coinage<sup>72</sup> were dominated by the ‘party of Artemis’, and that this led to the absence of coins for Zeus? At first sight this explanation seems attractive, but the problem arises with the existence of Tyche-coins with a Greek founder that can also be attributed to the ‘Zeus-party’. Thus the ‘Zeus-party’ seems to have been involved in civic coinage as well, but their identity fostering image was Tyche.

#### ORIGINAL JUXTAPOSITION OF A HELLENISTIC AND AN INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT

If one follows the model, that, originally, there had been two different settlements in Gerasa, one Greek and one indigenous, then it becomes very unlikely that Zeus Olympios was the *interpretatio Graeca* of an older Near Eastern deity. Rather, he seems to have reached Gerasa as a Greek deity, who was independent from the former local settlement, although we cannot exclude that later he became influenced by his Syrian surroundings. For example, the architectural disposition of the sanctuary with an open altar-court seems to be derived from local models.<sup>73</sup> But this is not surprising, as already the Roman historian Livy in the first century BC complains (38.17.12) that the Macedonians who came to Syria with the Macedonian conquest degenerated to Syrians.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, we have to assume a juxtaposition of the different cultures rather than a synthetic mixture. It seems therefore unlikely that Zeus Olympios was introduced to Gerasa as an *interpretatio Graeca* of an indigenous god by Antiochos IV or another Seleucid king in the second century BC.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> On the responsibility and reasons for civic coinage, see Ziegler (1993), p.133-53.

<sup>73</sup> On such models, see Ball (2000), p.329-56.

<sup>74</sup> See also Dirven (1999), p.115, on the temple of Zeus Megistos in Dura-Europos: “even if it is assumed that the architecture of this temple was of an oriental character, this does not necessarily imply that the temple housed an oriental god” (with further reference to Ai Khanoum).

<sup>75</sup> On the importance of the cult of Zeus for the Seleucid dynasty in general, see Mastrocinque (2002), p.355-68.

## FURTHER EVIDENCE

We can find further evidence for this interpretation elsewhere in the Decapolis: one example is Hippos, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. That city was also called 'Antioch', which hints at the fact that there had been some Seleucid involvement in civic affairs during the Hellenistic period.<sup>76</sup> In the coinage of Hippos under Marcus Aurelius we do not only find a Near Eastern Zeus Arotèsios [PLATE LXIV], but also a thoroughly Greek Zeus Olympios [PLATE LXV].<sup>77</sup> The juxtaposition of Zeus Arotèsios and Zeus Olympios finds an explanation by supposing that Zeus Olympios came to Hippos with the foundation of Antioch, and Zeus Arotèsios is (like the Artemis of Gerasa) a later *interpretatio Graeca* of a local god as Zeus. When 'Antioch Hippos' was founded, this local god was not interpreted as Zeus Olympios, but the local god continued to exist. Probably at a later time (possibly in confrontation with, or influenced by, the Greek Zeus Olympios) this god, who was a god of weather and fertility, was interpreted as Zeus Arotèsios ('ploughman'). Such a relationship between an old god and the new one is also mirrored by the name of the city, which was called 'Antiochia pros Hippo'. It is possible that the name refers to two originally separate settlements.

A similar case can probably be observed at nearby Gadara. Gadara was also called 'Antioch' and 'Seleucia'<sup>78</sup>. In the city a Heracles was worshipped, who was probably influenced by Heracles-Melqart from Tyre [PLATE LXVI-LXVII].<sup>79</sup> Apart from Heracles the other main deity of Gadara was Zeus Olympios [PLATE LXVIII], who had his sanctuary close to the citadel with the Hellenistic settlement.<sup>80</sup> We do not know the place of the sanctuary of Heracles. But we can detect an iconographic competition between Heracles and Zeus: on the city's coinage Heracles has a thunderbolt as attribute [PLATE

<sup>76</sup> On Hellenistic finds in Hippos, see Segal e.a. (2003), p.11-8.

<sup>77</sup> On Zeus Arotèsios and Zeus Olympios in Hippos, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.33-40 and p.49-50.

<sup>78</sup> On Gadara see now the monumental monograph by Weber (2002).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.89-95.

<sup>80</sup> On the architectural finds of what was probably the temple of Zeus, see Weber (2002), p.113-7. On the coins of Gadara with Zeus Olympios, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.96-8.

LXVI-LXVII].<sup>81</sup> In Greek and Roman iconography the thunderbolt usually belongs to Zeus and it can hardly be observed with Heracles. As regards Gadara, however, Heracles was identified with Melqart, and was as such also the old Baal of the settlement, master of the thunderbolt.<sup>82</sup> A striking parallel case for such a depiction is the Sol of Elagabalus, who on Roman imperial gold and silver coins of Elagabalus also carries the thunderbolt, as he is the former El worshipped in Emesa [PLATE LXIX].<sup>83</sup> Thus also in Gadara we have a juxtaposition of the Greek Zeus Olympios and a Near Eastern male god, whose *interpretatio Graeca* was Heracles. Naturally, the urge to interpret Melqart as Zeus (Olympios) would not have been as strong as was the case with the weather-god in Hippos.<sup>84</sup> But the structural juxtaposition of the Greek Zeus Olympios and a Near Eastern god with an *interpretatio Graeca* is comparable to what happened at Gerasa and Hippos.

Finally two famous examples from a region adjacent to the Decapolis have to be mentioned briefly: both Mt Gerizim and Jerusalem are places where indigenous deities and a Greek Zeus are found. In the past, both places have been put forward as examples for a situation in which Zeus Olympios was, under Antiochos IV, the Seleucid *interpretatio Graeca* of a local god.<sup>85</sup> However, for both places a different interpretation is possible, as at both places a Hellenistic settlement and an indigenous one are attested. In Jerusalem there was the traditional, Jewish Jerusalem, and also the Hellenized Antiochenes in Jerusalem (2 *Macc.* 4:9).<sup>86</sup> And at Mt Gerizim there were both the Samaritan community and a Hellenistic community, which is attested by archaeological finds, and which Josephus (*AJ* 12.257-64) probably means when he mentions the Sidonians in Shechem.<sup>87</sup> Thus the evidence for Zeus (Olympios) in Jerusalem and at Mt Ger-

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<sup>81</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.142-3 n<sup>o</sup>s54-5 and p.150-1 n<sup>o</sup>80. Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.90 and p.92-3.

<sup>82</sup> On Melqart see Bonnet (1988).

<sup>83</sup> *BMC Roman Empire V*, p.575 n<sup>o</sup>288, pl.91.9; Lanz, *Numismatik Lanz München, Auktion 102. Münzen der Antike*. 28. Mai 2001, p.88 n<sup>o</sup>804.

<sup>84</sup> Especially not since Melqart (as is likely) had arrived at Gadara as Heracles-Melqart.

<sup>85</sup> E.g. Bickermann (1937), p.94-6; Tscherikower (1959), p.181-2.

<sup>86</sup> See Lichtenberger (2003), p.342-3, with further literature.

<sup>87</sup> On Mt Gerizim, see now Zangenberg (2003), esp. p.33, and also J. Kirkpatrick's paper in this volume. On the Sidonian settlement in Shechem, see Isaac (1991), p.142-3.

izim does not necessarily have to be interpreted as a superimposition of a Greek on a indigenous deity, since it can also be understood as a juxtaposition of a Greek and an indigenous god. Recently, L. Dirven has also come to a similar conclusion with regard to Dura-Europos, namely that the local Zeus Olympios, who is depicted on the Gad-relief from Dura [PLATE LXI], has nothing to do with Baal-Shamin.<sup>88</sup> It seems that also there Zeus Olympios is a Greek god, who is not an *interpretatio Graeca* of an indigenous one. So far we know of no example where such an *interpretatio Graeca* of an indigenous god as Zeus Olympios can be proven.

#### ZEUS OLYMPIOS, ASYLIA AND DYNASTIC CITY NAMES

There are reasons for the importance of Zeus Olympios for the Seleucids in the second century BC other than the (not existing) possibility of using him as *interpretatio Graeca* of Near Eastern indigenous gods. Apollo had originally been the main tutelary deity of the Seleucids,<sup>89</sup> but Zeus Olympios became more important under Antiochos IV [PLATE L]. One reason was that he fitted better the needs of a Hellenistic dynasty. Since the fourth century BC, one can observe that ‘father deities’ were, as ‘ruler deities’, connected with Hellenistic rulers.<sup>90</sup> Zeus Olympios has thus to be seen more in the context of the self-representation of Seleucid rulers than in the context of Seleucid religious policy that interferes in civic affairs.<sup>91</sup>

However, there can be no doubt that the introduction of Zeus Olympios into the Decapolis has to do with the Seleucids. This is proven not only by the fact that Zeus Olympios is mentioned in a second-century inscription from Nysa-Scythopolis in the context of the Seleucid ruler cult,<sup>92</sup> but also by the fact that he is found in cities which have Seleucid dynastic names (Antioch Hippos, Antioch

<sup>88</sup> Dirven (1999), p.111-9.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Bouché-Leclercq (1913-4), p.283, p.465-6 and p.651-63; Mehl (1986), p.5-6 and p.97-101.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Maderna (1988), p.29-30; Svenson (1995), p.5-14.

<sup>91</sup> For the relationship between Zeus Olympios and Antiochos IV, see Mørkholm (1963), p.68-74, esp. p.72-4.

<sup>92</sup> The inscription refers to the priests of Zeus Olympios and the *Theoi Soterai* and to Demetrios II Nicator (129-125 BC). See Rostovtzeff (1935), p.60; Lichtenberger (2003), p.153 with further literature.

and Seleucia Gadara, Nysa-Scythopolis, Antioch Gerasa)<sup>93</sup> and which had the right of *asylia*.<sup>94</sup> E. Bickermann showed that the right of *asylia* was granted to cities in Syria by the Seleucids.<sup>95</sup> In contrast to these cities of the Decapolis, Zeus Olympios is missing in Pella and Philadelphia. Both cities did not have the right of *asylia* either, and instead of Seleucid they had Ptolemaic dynastic names. Philadelphia drew its name from Ptolemaios II Philadelphos,<sup>96</sup> and Pella was formerly called Berenike.<sup>97</sup>

Table: Relationship between dynastic city names, Zeus Olympios and *asylia* in the Decapolis

	Zeus Olympios	Asylia	Seleucid city name	Ptolemaic city name
Hippos	X	X	X	
Gadara	X	X	X	
Scythopolis	X	X	X	
Gerasa	X	X	X	
Abila		X	X	
Pella				X
Philadelphia				X
Dion				
Kapitolias	X	X		

As can be seen in the table above, for Abila and Dion the evidence is inconclusive. Abila was called ‘Seleucia’ and also had *asylia*, but up to now no Zeus Olympios has been found in the city. In Dion neither Zeus Olympios nor *asylia* nor Seleucid city-name has been found yet.<sup>98</sup> This seems to imply that either a Zeus Olympios could be found in Abila one day, or that the whole model should not be seen as too strict. Kapitolias is a special case. The era of the city goes back to AD 97/98 and the city probably received its Romanized

<sup>93</sup> For Hippos, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.28; for Gadara, see Wörrle (2000); for Scythopolis, see Rigsby (1980), p.238-42. For Zeus Olympios in Nysa-Scythopolis, see now Barkay (2003), p.141-3.

<sup>94</sup> On *asylia* in general, see Rigsby (1996). For *asylia* in the Decapolis, see Lichtenberger (2003), p.337-8.

<sup>95</sup> Bickermann (1938), p.149-56.

<sup>96</sup> Steph. Byz., s.v. Philadelphia.

<sup>97</sup> Steph. Byz., s.v. Berenike.

<sup>98</sup> This might be due to the fact that coinage (which is our main source for civic titles) is attested for Dion only between Septimius Severus and Elagabalus. On the coinage of Dion, see Augé (1988). Exactly in this time, most other cities of the Decapolis do not mention their titles any more, which means that the coinage of Dion known so far cannot have dismissed such titles. Cf. Rigsby (1996), p.34.



name only then.<sup>99</sup> We do not know anything about a significant earlier settlement at Kapitolias, but in the light of the cult of Zeus Olympios and the privilege of *asylia*, both present, it is likely that also Kapitolias was (before its Roman refoundation) a Seleucid foundation. However, its former Seleucid name remains unknown.<sup>100</sup>

There is some evidence that in the Decapolis the sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios were connected with *asylia*. This is hinted at by inscriptions from Gerasa and Hippos, which mention Zeus Olympios *Phyxios* ('putting to flight')<sup>101</sup> and Zeus *Hikesios* ('of suppliants').<sup>102</sup> And K.J. Rigsby noticed that in Gadara the title *hiera kai asylos* is, with one exception,<sup>103</sup> only found on coins depicting Zeus Olympios.<sup>104</sup> From this he concluded that it is conceivable that the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios was the reason for the city being *hiera kai asylos*. If this proves right, it not only supports the argument of a connection between Zeus Olympios and the Seleucids, but also the methodological approach to come to far reaching conclusions from coin legends being connected with specific types.

#### WHO IS BEHIND TYCHE IN GERASA?

To one question regarding Gerasa we have to return: is it possible to find out who is behind the two parties in the city? For the time of the foundation of 'Antioch' in the second century BC it is probably correct to assume that the worshippers of Zeus Olympios were Greek settlers or Hellenized Syrians<sup>105</sup> and that the worshippers of Artemis (or whatever her name was at that time) were natives. This is supported by the reports over the foundation of other Seleucid cities as collected by P. Briant. They show that cities sometimes were divided into separate quarters for natives and Greeks.<sup>106</sup> It is also

<sup>99</sup> On Kapitolias, see Lenzen (2002); Moors (2002), p.163-7; Lichtenberger (2003), p.114-27.

<sup>100</sup> For the pre-Roman history of Kapitolias, see also the tradition linking Alexander the Great with the city, as attested by city coins of Kapitolias. Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.122-3.

<sup>101</sup> Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.376-8 n°6.

<sup>102</sup> Germer-Durand (1899), p.8 n°3; Lichtenberger (2003), p.41.

<sup>103</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.150-1 n°80 [PLATE 20].

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Rigsby (1996), p.534.

<sup>105</sup> On such population groups, see now Thiel (2003), p.227-8.

<sup>106</sup> Briant (1978), p.84 and p.88-9 = id. (1982), p.254 and p.258-9.

supported by the study of G.M. Cohen on Seleucid colonies, which were often founded near native settlements and with which a close relationship could develop, sometimes leading to fusion.<sup>107</sup> But can we assume a similar situation of division between Greeks and natives in Gerasa in the later Roman period? Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient sources that allow this assumption, and we should be cautious, as for example in the inscriptions referring to the two deities all dedicants have Greek personal names, so that an ethnic identification remains difficult. It is also unlikely to postulate an ethnic division for the Roman period, because for example the architecture of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios combines Near Eastern elements with Graeco-Roman ones (as does the Artemision).<sup>108</sup> And the Artemis goddess became a 'Greek' goddess through *interpretatio Graeca*. Thus the normative attraction of Greek culture was so strong that we cannot construct a conflicting contrast between 'Greek' and 'Oriental' in Gerasa in the Roman period.

One last example can illustrate the strength of Greek culture in Roman Gerasa. As we have seen above, it has been argued that on the coin with Tyche and the second figure [PLATE LVIII-LIX] the man behind the goddess might be Alexander the Great. But this interpretation faces a serious problem: when the bust of Alexander is depicted on coins under Septimius Severus and Elagabalus [PLATE LXIII],<sup>109</sup> the Macedonian is called 'founder' (*ktistes*<sup>110</sup>) of 'Gerasa', and not, as one would expect (despite inherent problems) of 'Antioch'.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the Alexander legend in the late antique *Etymologicum magnum*, connecting Alexander with our city, links him with the city name of Gerasa. The legend is an aetiology of that name, stating that Alexander settled elderly (*gerontes*) there, after a battle:

<sup>107</sup> Cohen (1978).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.200-1, p.207 and p.209-10.

<sup>109</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.164-7 n<sup>os</sup>29,34-5.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.164-5 n<sup>os</sup>29,31.

<sup>111</sup> The fact that the name 'Antioch' is in itself post-Alexander is no obstacle for a foundation legend connecting the city with Alexander. Even Antioch-by-the-Orontes had a foundation legend which linked the city with Alexander (Lib. Or. XI.72-74.250). Cf. Fatouros and Krischer (1992), p.106-7. See also above, n.100.

Γερασηνός. Ἀπὸ τόπου. Ἀλέξανδρος πόλιν παραλαβών, τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία πάντας κτείνας, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς γέροντας. Οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες κτίζουσι πόλιν, καὶ λαβόντες γυναῖκας ἐπιδοποίησαν.<sup>112</sup>

Thus, it seems, Alexander is connected with the name Gerasa, and we should not identify him as the man on the ‘Tyche and founder’ coins. The Greek founder on the coins, then, more likely is an Antiochos. If we carry the hypothesis of a competition in the city further and start speculating, we might assume that ‘Gerasa’ invented Alexander the Great as her founder in reaction to ‘Antioch’s’ Antiochus, so that they had a Greek founder with even more prestige.<sup>113</sup> Thus, in the second and third centuries AD, a Greek founder (and connected with him Greek culture) was highly attractive for both parties in Gerasa.

Apart from the symptoms of civic bipolarity and rivalry as presented above, we know little about the motivations of the inhabitants of Gerasa to form such parties, and we have no idea if these parties had any formal organisation.<sup>114</sup> We do not know either how the bipolarity affected daily life in the city. But there is some indication that the rivalry came to an end, or at least lost its force, in the third century AD. On the last Tyche coins of Gerasa, under Elagabalus, Tyche is depicted in the type of the Tyche of Antioch, and for the first time this type is connected with the legend *Tychè Gerasôn*.<sup>115</sup> Until then, this Tyche type had always had the Antioch-legend<sup>116</sup> and Artemis had been the only *Tychè Gerasôn*. Similarly, we do not find any coins with Tyche and the Greek founder any more under Elagabalus. If we take these coins seriously, they might hint at a change in Gerasa: by the time they were minted, Zeus Olympios, or the rivalry between him and Artemis, had lost part of its importance

<sup>112</sup> *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Gerasenos. See also the *scholion* of Iamblichus on Nichomachos arith., as quoted in Gaisford (1848), p.228,3.658F.

<sup>113</sup> In such a legend the general of Alexander, Perdikkas, who had a statue in Gerasa (see Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.423 n<sup>o</sup>137) could have played some part. Cf. Lichtenberger (2003), p.232.

<sup>114</sup> Do the two theatres mirror some kind of civic organization? There is one inscription referring to *Makedones* in Gerasa. Unfortunately, we know nothing about this group. See Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.410 n<sup>o</sup>78. If the *Makedones* are not a trade guild, the reference might indeed hint at one of our parties.

<sup>115</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.164-5 n<sup>os</sup>32-3.

<sup>116</sup> Spijkerman (1978), p.160-3 n<sup>os</sup>11-2,17,22.

and the extraordinarily bipolar city of Gerasa had lost an incentive to its enormous architectural development.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> There is evidence that the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios lost importance in the late second century and that already in the third century “parts of the sacred grounds were used for industrial purposes”, see Egan and Bikai (1998), p.598. Cf. Seigne (1997), p.1001. The Artemision on the other hand experienced further building activity in the third century AD. Cf. Kraeling (1938), p.60; Welles in Kraeling (1938), p.404 n°62 and p.408-9 n°74. See also Parapetti (2002), p.33. Does this mean that the cult of Artemis entirely dominated the city in the third century AD?

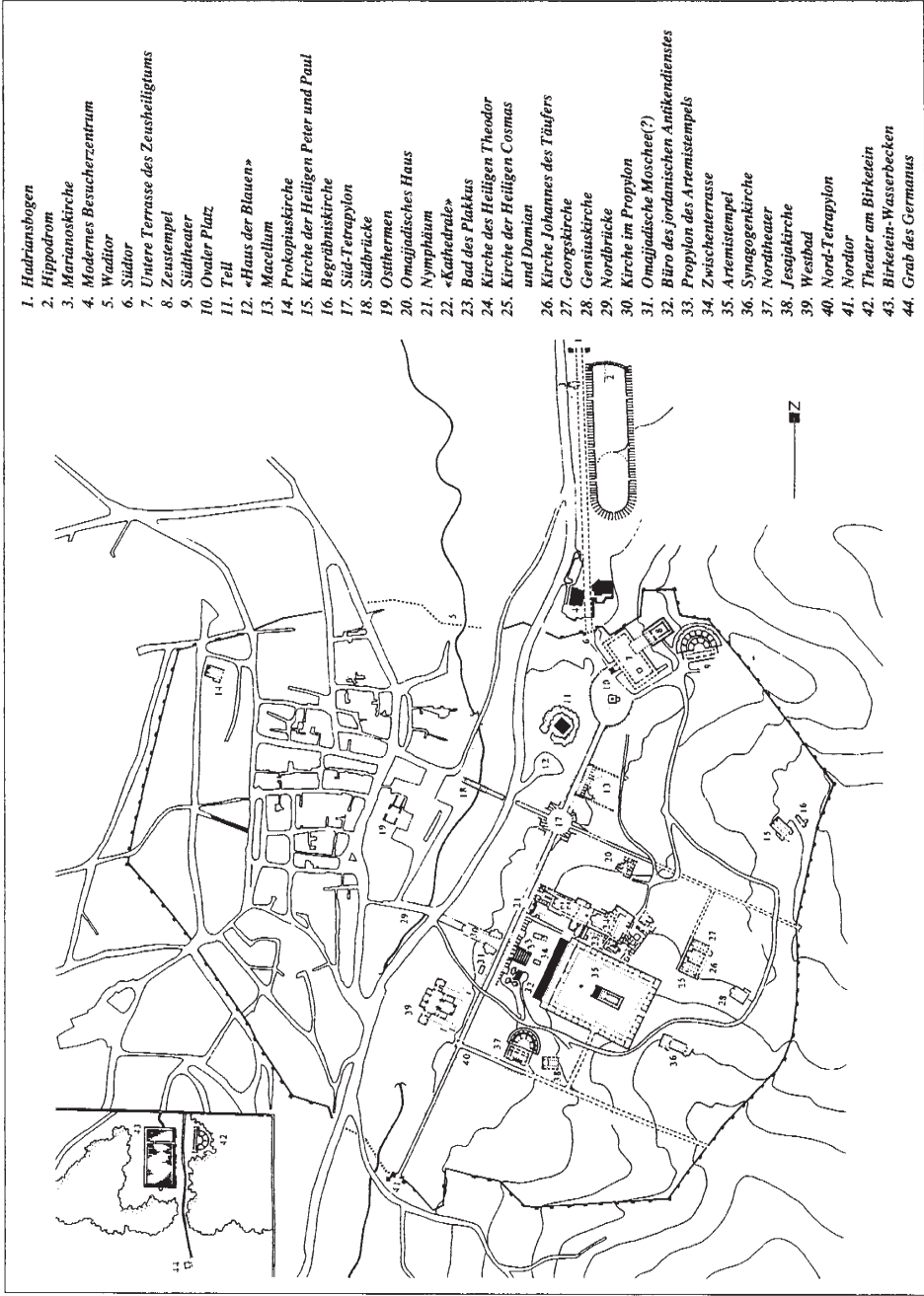


Plate XLVIII Plan of Gerasa. After Seigne (2002), p.6, fig.2.

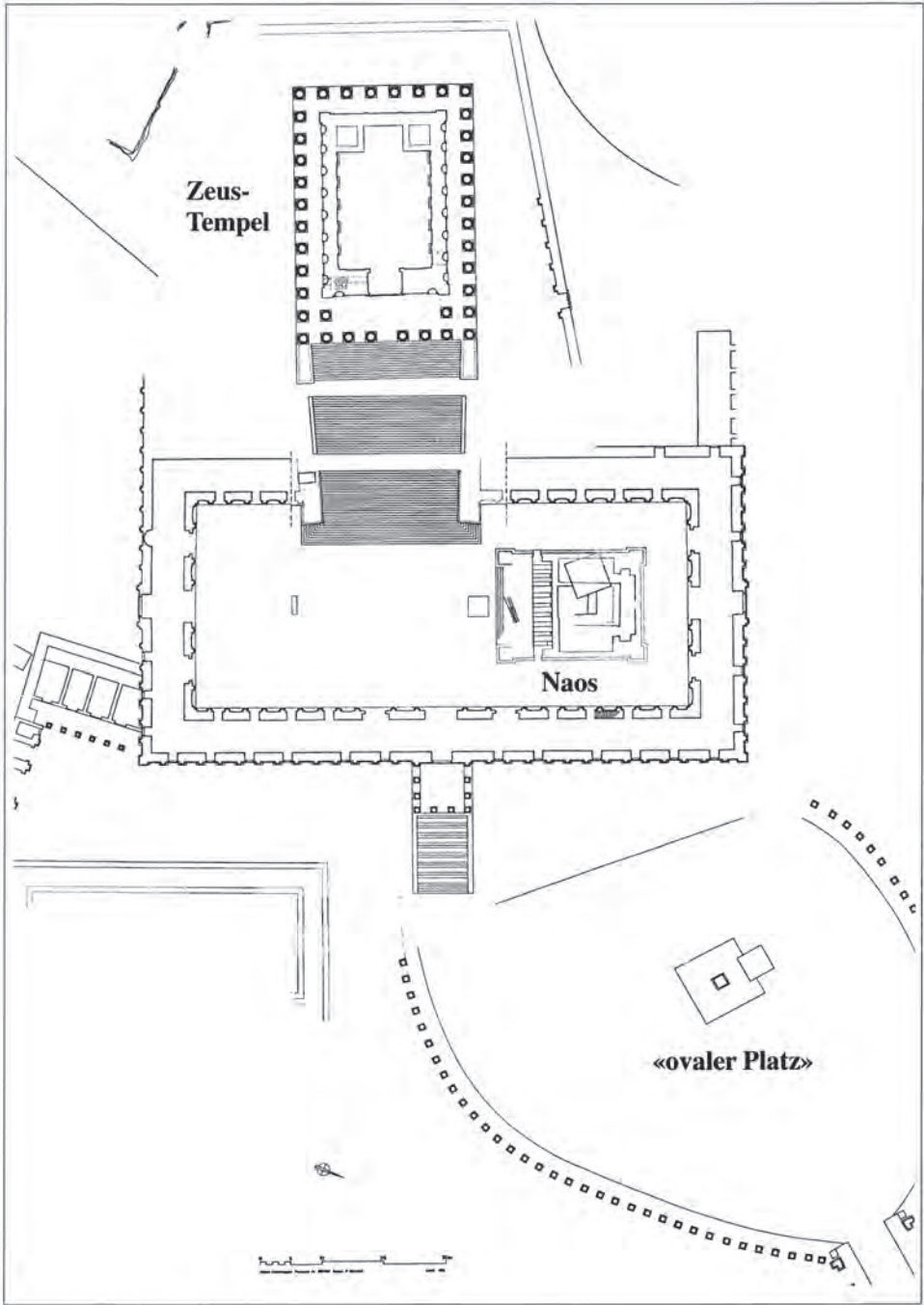


Plate XLIX Plan of the temple of Zeus Olympios at Gerasa. After Seigne (2002), p.9, fig.7.



Plate L. Tetradrachm of Antiochos IV, mint of Antioch. Obverse: head of Antiochos IV, r.; reverse: Zeus Olympios: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to r.); ΘΕΟΥ / ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (to l.); 31mm. After Newell (1917-8), p.22, n°54.

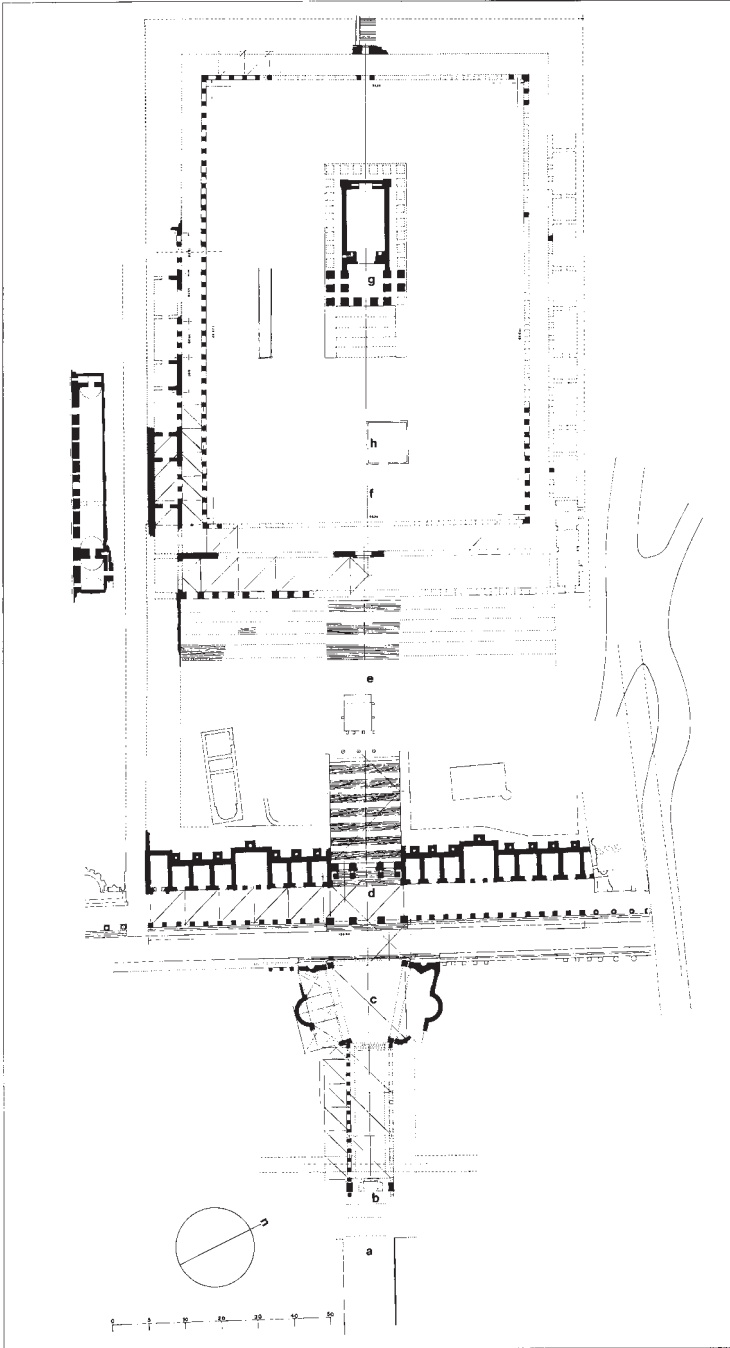


Plate LI Plan of the Artemision in Gerasa. After Parapetti (2002), p.26, fig.34.



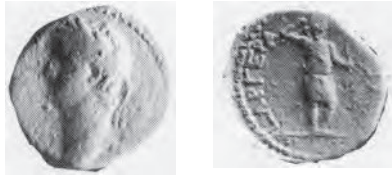


Plate LII Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Nero, l.; reverse: Artemis standing, r.: ΛΑΡ (130 = AD 67-8) ΓΕΡΑ; 11gr; 22mm. After Rosenberger (1978), p.50, n<sup>o</sup>4.



Plate LIII Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Hadrian, r.: ΔΙ (14 = AD 131-2) ΑΥΤΚΤΡ / ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣΕΒ; reverse: bust of Artemis with bow and quiver, r.: ΡΤΕΜΙΣΤΥΧΗ; 12,81gr; 27mm. After Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., *Mail Bid Sale* 61, Closing Wednesday, September 25, 2002, p.93 Lot 1070. For the coin's date, see Stein (1990), p.185-6.



Plate LIV Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Commodus, r.: ΑΥΤ Κ Λ ΑΥΡ / ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΝ; reverse: Artemis as huntress, r.: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥ / ΧΗ / ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ; 14,67gr; 26mm. After Spijkerman (1978), p.162-3, n<sup>o</sup>20.



Plate LV Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Elagabalus, r.: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ; reverse: Artemis standing, r., in distyle temple: ΓΕΡΑΣ; 5,6gr; 16mm. After Lichtenberger (2003), p.453, MZ108.



Plate LVI Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Zeus, r.; reverse: cornucopiae: ΛΑΡ (130 = AD 67-8) ΓΕ / ΠΑΣΑ; 3,53gr; 15mm. After Spijkerman (1978), p.158-9, n°1.



Plate LVII Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Tyche, r.; reverse: laurel wreath: ΛΑΡ (130 = AD 67/68) ΓΕΡΑ / ΣΑ; 8,53gr; 16/18mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.158-9, n°2.



Plate LVIII Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Marcus Aurelius, r.: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣ Μ / ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩ; Reverse: Tyche standing, behind her, at r., male figure holding spear: ΑΝΤΩΠΡ / ΧΡΤΩΠΡΓΕ; 7,84gr; 22/24mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.160-1, n°9.



Plate LIX Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Lucius Verus, l.: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ / ΛΟΥΚΙ ΟΥΗ; reverse: Tyche standing, behind her, at r., male figure holding spear: ΑΝΤΩΠΡΧ / ΡΤ / Ω / ΠΡ / ΓΕ; 11,09gr; 25/24mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.160-1, n°16.



Plate LX Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Marcus Aurelius, r.: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ / ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤ; reverse: Tyche type Antioch: ΑΝΤΩΠΡΧ / ΡΤΩΠΡΓΕ; 17mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.160-1, n°11.



Plate LXI Gad relief from Dura Europos, Yale University Art Gallery. 1938.5314.  
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Plate LXII Bronze coin of Caesarea ad Libanum from the time of Elagabalus.  
Reverse: tetrastyle temple with Tyche being crowned by Alexander the Great:  
COLCES, in ex: AA; 6,94gr; 24/27mm. Cf. Hill (1910), p.110, n°8.



Plate LXIII Bronze coin of Gerasa. Obverse: bust of Elagabalus, r.: ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ; reverse: bust of Alexander the Great, r.: ΝΑΡΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩ; 6,48gr; 18mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.166-7, n°35.



Plate LXIV Bronze coin of Hippos. Obverse: bust of Elagabalus, r.: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ / ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ; reverse: Zeus Arotesios in tetrastyle temple: ΑΝΤΙΟΧ ΠΡ ΙΠ ΙΕΡ ΑΣΥΛ, in pediment ΖΕΥΣ; 12,45gr; 29/30mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.176-7, n°29.



Plate LXV Bronze coin of Hippos. Obverse: bust of Faustina Minor, r.: ΦΑΥΣ- ΤΕΙΝΑ / ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ; reverse: Zeus Olympios, r.: ΑΝΤΙΠ / ΡΙΠΙΕΡ / ΑΣ; 6,71gr; 20mm. Cf. Martini (1992), p.468, n°1094.



Plate LXVI Bronze coin of Gadara. Obverse: bust of Lucius Verus, r.: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ / Λ ΑΥΡ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ; reverse: laureated bust of Heracles with thunderbolt, r.: ΠΟ[Μ]ΓΑ / ΔΑΡ ΣΚΣ (226 = AD 162/3); 12,60gr.; 27/28mm. Cf. Sternberg (1998), p.54, n°416.



Plate LXVII Bronze coin of Gadara. Obverse: bust of Elagabalus, r.: ΑΥΤ Κ ΜΑ / ΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ; reverse: Heracles with thunderbolt fighting snake-like monster: ΓΑΔΑΡ / ΕΩΝ / Κ Σ Ι Α ΑΥ; 10,24gr; 24/26mm. Cf. Spijkerman (1978), p.150-1, n°80.



Plate LXVIII Bronze coin of Gadara. Obverse: bust of Lucius Verus, r.: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ / ΑΥΠΟΥΗΡΟΣ; reverse: Zeus Olympios, l. in tetrastyle temple: ΠΟΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ / ΚΣΥ // ΙΑΑ, in pediment ΕΚΣ (225 = AD 161/2); 10,50gr; 27mm. Cf. Classical Numismatic Group (2003), p.100, Lot 727.



Plate LXIX Denar from an eastern mint (Antioch?). Obverse: bust of Elagabalus, r.: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΠΙΟΥΣ FEL AVG; reverse: Sol rad. walking r., in his r. hand thunderbolt, l. hand with flowing cloak: SOLIPRO / P / VGNATOR; 3,65gr; 18mm. Cf. Lanz, *Numismatik Lanz München, Auktion 102. Münzen der Antike*. 28. Mai 2001, p.88, n°804.