During the waning years of the Athenian democracy (378-322) Athens transformed her civic virtues, such as *demokratia* (democracy) and *tykhe* (fortune) into cult personifications. In his efforts to renew Athens’ fortunes after 338, Lykourgos (re)built temples and sanctuaries including one for Tykhe (Fortune) (Messerschmidt, 2003: 18-19, following Hintzen-Bohlen, 1997: 21-37). Demos is also rejuvenated at this time, in image and in cult. There is little continuity, however, between fifth- and fourth-century personifications at Athens. Demos is the only fifth-century cult personification whose popularity continued in the arts of Athens after 378. Peitho appears only once in fourth century Athens, in a mythic scene on a Kerch *pelike* dating to 340-330, VP 71 (fig. 4.6). Although Eirene, Eunomia, and Eukleia were all known in the arts of fifth-century Athens, the earliest attestations of their worship belong to the fourth century. As I discussed in chapter 10, Eirene did not receive a cult until the peace of 375/4, when she returned to the Athenians in a mature form.

The evidence for new cult personifications in 4th-century Attika comes from a diverse range of material: inscriptions, references in the written sources, and works of art. Given the scattered nature of this evidence it is difficult to make meaningful distinctions between the personifications that were deified and those that were not. Some new political personifications in fourth century Attika may have been worshipped with Olympian divinities, such as Ploutos with Demeter (as discussed in chapter 10). Yet the number of personifications associated directly with Olympian divinities—through shared cults as well as co-representation in the visual arts—declined dramatically in the fourth century. This may signal the final stage in the assimilation of personifications into Athenian culture, a stage in which they had become commonplace enough to warrant legitimate independent cult status.

**Tykhe**

By the end of the fourth century, Tykhe, the personification of Fortune, comes to represent the fortune of individual rulers and cities, as in the famous case of the Tykhe of Antiokheia (noted in chapter 9, 92). The cause and meanings of fortune are of course varied. *Tykhe* represents many different types of fortune, including occurrence, chance, luck, achievement, success, even wealth: “*tyche* can accurately be described as the outcome of all causes affecting an individual considered from a standpoint of personal advantages” (Kershaw, 1986: 2/3). The multifaceted Tykhe, who is both good and bad, is a Hellenistic development of a persona evidenced in early Greek literature. In *Hymnos Homerikos eis Demetran* (417-420) Tykhe is enumerated among Okeanids who play with the earth goddess’ daughter, Kore. Perhaps this one mythic locus helps us understand the relevance of this water nymph to fertility and thus to agricultural wealth (as discussed in chapter 10, 112-113). Alkmanos, in the Archaic period, notes her sisterhood with Peitho and Eunomia (see chapter 5, 55). Pindaros, in the Classical period, lists her as a daughter of Zeus (Pindaros, *Olympionike* 12.1) and mightiest of the Moirai (Pindaros, *Hymnoi* fr. 41 Snell-Mählere [=Pausaniás 7.26.8]). She certainly has early associations with the divine: Arkhilokhos (fr. 16 West) made the connection between Tykhe and Moira (Fate), who together affect everything.
Pindaros, writing in the middle of the fifth century, also provides the first attestation of Tykhe as a civic deity (Pindaros, Hymnoi fr. 39 Snell-Mähler [=Pausanias 4.30.6]). In a hymn, seemingly to Tykhe, he refers to ῥφερόπολις (Fortune supporting the city), and in an Olympian Ode invokes her as σώτειρα Τύχα, "saviour Fortune" (Pindaros, Olympionike 12.2). In Agamemnon (produced in 458) Aishkylos infers that Tykhe is a saviour goddess, when she is credited with saving a boat from a storm (Aishkylos, Agamemnon 664). In On the Nature of Things, Empedokles says that "...all things are conceived in the will of Tykhe" (1 B103 DK). In his explanation that everything exists in threes, Ion of Khios, however, noted that tykhe is one of three virtues, along with conscience and might (36 B1 DK), and that, although tykhe differs from sophia (wisdom) in many things, these two entities effect things in the same way (through the gifts that they bring to humans) (36 B3 DK [=Ploutarkhos, Peri tes Romaioin tukhes 316d, with Ploutarkhos' commentary]). Empedokles' explanation is the closest Tykhe comes to personification in pre-Socratic fragments. Tykhe is prominent in the works of Euripides, for example, when Odysseus (in Kyklops, c. 408) threatens Hephaisistos not to betray him and his crew, for "If you do, we will make a goddess of Tykhe, and count her higher than all the other gods!" (Euripides, Kyklopes 607). Even that author continues the sophistic trend of regarding Tykhe as a force that is important, but separate from the gods (Elektra 892; Hypsipyle fr. ap. Lydum, p. 48 Bond; and Iphigenia in Aulis 1403; see Giannopoulou, 2002). Tykhe's civic nature, for which she became extremely popular in the Graeco-Roman period (Matheson ed., 1994, especially Broucke, 1994), is not explicit in fifth century Attic literature. Whereas Classical authors expound on Tykhe's fickle ways, and the good and bad luck that is granted in certain situations, or to certain individuals (see especially Euripides, Alkestis 785 and Herakles 480), the Tykhe noted in Attic inscriptions always bears the epithet Agathe (Good). It is natural that her worshippers would have supplicated Tykhe's good side. By the first half of the fourth century Tykhe receives dedications and sacrifices: IG II² 4564, on Athens, EM 10380, records a dedication to the twelve gods and to Agathe Tykhe, from 370 or later. Inscriptions such as IG II² 4610 (SEG 34.165; 304/3) also attest sacrifices to Athena Nike, Agathe Tykhe, and the (Makedonian) 'Saviours', in thanks for military successes (Woodhead, 1981).

The concept of tykhe clearly developed through the Classical period (Berry, 1940) and by the middle of the fourth century many saw Tykhe as a power comparable to, if not quite the same as, the gods (Platon, Nomoi 709b). By the last quarter of the fourth century, Agathe Tykhe receives a cult in her own right: Lykourgos boasts of his repairing the Temple of Tykhe as part of his renewal of the city at this time (Lykourgos, Peri tes dioikeseos fr. 5.6; Conomis 1970, 98-100). A contemporary inscription from 335/4—IG II² 333.19-20—tells us that this was no empty boast. Another inscription—IG II² 1035.44, 48—suggests that this Sanctuary was located at some point along Athens’ Long Walls. The prominence of the concept of tykhe in Pausanias' discussion of the altars of Eleos (Pity or Mercy),1 Aidos (Reverence), Pheme (Rumour: Herman, 2006: 338; Stafford, 2000: 10-11), and Horme (Impulse: Stafford, 2000: 204-205), all located in the Agora, has tempted scholars to place Tykhe's cult centre also there (Koumanoudes, 1955):

In the Athenian Agora, among other things which are not known to all, there is an altar of Eleos [Pity/Mercy], who is of all gods the most useful in human life and in the vicissitudes of fortune, but is honoured by the Athenians alone among the Greeks. And they are known not only for their humanity, but they also revere the gods more than other people, for they have altars of

1 By Pausanias’ time eleos seems to have meant ‘mercy’, as Stafford has discussed in connection with the Roman sources for the altar of Eleos (Stafford, 2000: 199-222). Yet in the fifth and fourth centuries eleos was closer in meaning to pity (Konstan, 2001: 53; see also LSJ s.v. ἐλεός). N. Robertson, 1992: 51-52 argues that “a personification like Pity...would not be worshipped in the fifth century” and suggests rather that from the beginning this was a nickname for the altar of Zeus Agoraios, as earlier suggested by Oikonomides, 1964: 32-39.