

NADEŽDA GAVRILOVIĆ
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

CERAMIC *CRUSTULUM* WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF NEMESIS–DIANA FROM VIMINATIUM

A Contribution to the Cult of Goddess Nemesis
in Roman Provinces of Central Balkans

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e-mail: nadia011@yahoo.com

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Abstract. – The analysis of iconographic representation from ceramic medallion/cast for cakes (*crustulum*) from Viminatium showed that we are dealing with a very rare type of iconographic representation of goddess Nemesis–Diana. The monuments with syncretistic presentation of goddess Nemesis–Diana are not only very rare, but they imply a very close connection of the goddess with imperial cult and with games and gladiator fights in amphitheatre. Overview and analysis of all so far known cult monuments of goddess Nemesis, opened a question about the correlation of goddess and presumed amphitheatre in Viminatium and also a question about new aspect of honouring Nemesis in the territory of Roman provinces of Central Balkans – as a patroness of agonistic competitions and protectress of gladiatorial games and gladiators.

Key words. – Ceramic medallion/cast, Viminatium, Nemesis, Cult, Votive monuments, Iconography, Central Balkans.

Among numerous and very interesting cult monuments and objects from Roman period from the territory of Viminatium there is a fragmented ceramic round medallion/cast, with one part of its right half missing. *Crustulum* from Viminatium was published and briefly described by N. Vulić, while A. Jovanović also made a brief remark about it.¹ Considering very evident similarities between iconographic presentation from Viminatium with relief presentation from Andautonia and also with other known monuments of Nemesis–Diana, we decided to overview and analyse again the presentation depicted in Viminatium's *crustulum*, in intention to prove that we are dealing with very important example of syncretism between the goddesses Nemesis and Diana, which implies a close connection between Nemesis and gladiatorial games on Central Balkans.

In the middle part of *crustulum*, a standing winged female figure is presented, with her body turned on the left side (fig. 1). She is dressed in short, belted chiton and on her legs she probably wears hunting boots (due to the damaged part of the representation it is not possible with certainty to recognize goddess' clothes). Woman's hair is made up in a bun, with a crescent motive on her head.² Her right hand is outstretched and in it she holds a short

¹ As an analogy for the representation from the cast for cakes from Viminatium, N. Vulić is mentioning relief presentation from Andautonia, Vulić 1934, 55, n. 55, cf. Knezović 2010, 193–198, fig. 7. Jovanović 2007, 253–261.

² N. Vulić thinks that the goddess has perhaps a casket on her head, while A. Jovanović sees *corona muralis*, Vulić 1934, 66. Jovanović 2007, 257. However, we think that there are no certain elements for closer analysis of the attribute the goddess has on her head, beside clearly visible motive of crescent.

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Fig. 1. Presentation from crustulum from Viminacijum (Vulić 1941–1948, 55, бр. 55)

Fig. 2. Presentation from votive monument from Andautonia (Knezović 2010, 194, fig. 7)

Сл. 1. Представа са crustulum-а из Виминацијума (Вулић 1941–1948, 55, бр. 55)

Сл. 2. Представа са војивној споменика из Андаутионије (Кнезовић 2010, 194, fig. 7)

sword and a whip. Her left hand is proned beside her body, and it is lightly bent on a column (?) above which is a trident. Beside goddesses' right leg, there is an object of unknown function (altar?).³ There is a smaller male figure beside goddess' left and right side.

Although the female figure from the *crustulum* found in Viminatium is not doing the gesture of „spitting into her bosom“, which is characteristic for goddess Nemesis⁴ and very common in her iconography and although the attributes as measuring rod, wheel, rudder and scales aren't present in the image from Viminatium, it can be presumed with certainty that it is goddess Nemesis who is presented. Namely, whip, short sword and trident are arms which gladiators used in their combats, but also attributes with which Nemesis was represented as a patroness of amphitheater, gladiatorial games and gladiators.⁵ But, what makes the representation from Viminatium particular comparing to other presentations is that on the cast from Viminatium, goddess is presented in short chiton, with a small crescent on her head and maybe hunter's boots on her legs – therefore in the

same way that the goddess Nemesis–Diane was presented.⁶ The attributes that goddess holds in hands are typically gladiator's arms – short sword was used by two types of gladiators – Tracians and Samnites.⁷ The whip (as a torch) is a characteristic weapon of bestiarii or

³ N. Vulić thinks that it is a four-legged animal, which body is turned towards the goddess, while in opinion of Prof. cast Aleksandar Jovanović it is an altar.

⁴ The so called “spitting gesture” of goddess Nemesis has an apotropaic meaning, Stafford 2005, 293.

⁵ We should, however, keep in mind that Nemesis was presented with the crescent motive on the head, as in terracotta from Fayum and presentation from Taragona, Hornum 1993, pl. IX. Garcia Y Bellido 1967, 94, fig. 9bis.

⁶ N. Vulić identifies female figure from cake cast from Viminatium as Nemesis, Vulić 1934, 55, n. 55. A. Jovanović presumes that it is a syncretic presentation of Victoria–Fortuna–Demeter, that is Fortuna–Victoria, Jovanović 2007, 257–258.

⁷ Blade (short sword) appears as Nemesis attribute on a gem from Berlin, relief from the theater in Tasos and on the coins from Sinopa (from the period of reign of Traian Decius), Hornum 1993, 67.

venatores, while the trident is main weapon of *retisarii*. Two smaller male figures who are standing beside Nemesis can maybe be recognized as Dioscures, who were as a goddess Nemesis celestial deities,⁸ but also as gladiators (as in representations from Teurnia and Taragona)⁹ or maybe members of *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum*.¹⁰ Cake cast from Viminatium is dated in II–III century A. D.

Close connection between goddesses Nemesis and Artemis/Diana was confirmed in Roman period, as in epigraphic monuments dedicated to Nemesis and Diana,¹¹ as in monuments dedicated to syncretistic goddess Nemesis–Diana.¹² But the strongest connection between two goddesses presents their context in amphitheatre and games which were held in it, since Nemesis was honoured by gladiators and *venatores*, as Diana as protectress of hunt and wild animals was also honoured by *venatores*.¹³ Still, iconographic presentations of Nemesis–Diana are very rare and so far only few are known – beside already mentioned relief presentation from Andautonia (fig. 2), there are statue from Carnuntum, statue from Aquileia, relief from Milet amphitheatre, votive monument from Ovilava, relief from Teurnia and presentation from Andautonia.¹⁴ So much is valuable presentation of Nemesis–Diana from cake cast from Viminatium, since it contains all the characteristics of this type of iconographic presentations of goddess Nemesis.¹⁵ *Crustulum* from Viminatium could have been made in honour of some religious, imperial or public event held in Viminatium (gladiator's games, competitions in amphitheatre etc.)¹⁶ Since it is known that during the celebrations of imperators' birthday, some of the members of imperial family, imperator's triumph, as of the day of city of Rome, giving of *crustulum and mulsum* was practiced, we shouldn't dismiss any of the mentioned possibilities as the reason for the making of *crustulum* with the representation of Nemesis–Diana from Viminatium.¹⁷

Syncretistic presentation of two goddesses from cake ceramic medallion/cast from Viminatium made us to think more thoroughly about the cult of goddess Nemesis, especially since cult monuments of goddess found in the territory of central Balkans weren't so far, the object of analysis and interpretation in archaeological and scientific literature. As in Roman Empire, Nemesis becomes deity venerated in amphitheatres and protectress of different competitions, as of gladiators' games and gladiators, it is not necessary to mention the importance of her cult due to close connection to imperial cult and its propaganda.¹⁸ Beside iconographic

⁸ Almost identical iconographical presentation of goddess Nemesis between two young men is known from Alexandrian coins from the period of Septimius Severus, Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 752, n. 200. In scientific literature there is opinion that Nemesis was honored as celestial deity – writers as Macrobius describe goddesses' solar character. Also, on several votive monuments and reliefs from Siria, Nemesis was identified with the sun goddess Alat, one of three main solar deities in Palmira (the other two were Yaribol and Malakbel), Dirven 1999, 327–331. Faithful companion of Nemesis, gryphon, is not only in Egyptian mythology and iconography closely connected with solar deities, but also in Greek mythology – as an animal which was frequently presented with god Apolo, Seyrig 1932, 54–61.

⁹ On relief presentation from Teurnia, beside Nemesis–Diana, there are three bestiarii battling with a bear, Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 766, n. 269. On the presentation from Taragona, beside Nemesis–Diana, a bestiarius and bear are represented, Garcij Y Bellido 1967, 94–95, fig. 9bis.

¹⁰ In his article about votive monument found in the locality of Vintium, on which a *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum* is mentioned, H. W. Pleket gives numerous arguments for the hypothesis that under mentioned name a youth organization should be recognized, whose members were professional hunters who dedicated their catch to goddess Nemesis, honored as a hunt goddess. H. W. Pleket doesn't exclude the possibility that the members of *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum* were young men trained for gladiator fights in amphitheatres, Pleket 1969, 282–286.

¹¹ Votive monument from Carnuntum, CIL III 14077 and votive monument from Aquincum dedicated to Deae Dianae Nemesi Augustae, Hornum 1993, 214–215, n. 114.

¹² Votive monuments from Bonn and Cologne are dedicated to syncretistic deity Nemesis–Diana, Hornum 1993, 189–190, n. 64 and n. 65.

¹³ Votive monuments, however, show that goddess Diana wasn't honored by gladiators – only few dedications confirm sporadic honoring of goddess by *ursarii* and *bestiarii*, CIL XII 533, CIL VI 130.

¹⁴ The statue of Nemesis–Diana from Carnuntum represents goddess in short chiton, with one breast uncovered, with a whip in her right hand and a sword in her left hand with a little crescent on the head. There are a wheel and a gryphon beside goddesses' legs. In fragmented statue of Nemesis–Diana from Aquileia, goddess is dressed in short chiton and holds a whip and a sword in her hands. On relief from the theater in Milet, goddess holds bow and arrow, and on the votive monument from Ovilava, Nemesis–Diana is presented with a wheel and gryphon, Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 766. On votive monument from Teurnia, Nemesis–Diana is presented in short chiton with a bow and arrow, in front of the altar on which is a dedication to "Nemesis Augusta", Hornum 1993, 66–67; on a votive monument from Andautonia, Nemesis–Diana is presented inside the aedicule, on which left and right upper corner busts of Sol and Luna are presented. The goddess is dressed in short chiton, there is a little crescent on her head and hunting boots on her legs. In her hands, she holds a whip, sword and a trident, Knezović 2010, 193–196. All mentioned monuments can be dated in II–III century A. D., Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 766.

¹⁵ Hornum 1993, 66–67.

¹⁶ Ceramic medallions/casts for cakes were given as gifts during celebrations, social events as New Year, family reunions (birthdays, weddings), but they were also put in graves of deceased as "cult cakes". Inspirations for presentations on ceramic medallions were found in sculpture, statuettes, relief presentations, and casts were made

representation of Nemesis–Diana from Viminatum, there are three gems and two epigraphic monuments with iconographic representations of goddess, but also eleven votive monuments dedicated to goddess alone, but also to Iupiter, Nemesis and genius loci, that is Iupiter, Minerva, Hercules and Nemesis. On votive and funerary monuments, dedications to goddess Nemesis are made by her order (ex iussu), in dream (ex visu) or as a result of a warning made in a dream (somnia admonitus/ monitus).¹⁹ The most common epithets of goddess Nemesis are Augusta, Regina, Dea, Sancta, Victrix, Caelestis etc.

Votive monuments dedicated to Nemesis Augusta (Nemesa Augusta) are found in Belgrade, Zlokućani and Ras. Votive monument dedicated to Nemesis Augusta from Belgrade, was found during archaeological excavations in Lower city in Kalemegdan.²⁰ The dedicant is Aufidius Ingenuus, whose gentile name, in the opinion of V. Kondić, implies that he was of oriental origin.²¹ But, gentilium Aufidius is frequent in western provinces of Roman Empire, which along the fact that cognomen Ingenuus was also widely used, leaves hypothesis about eventual oriental origin of dedicant open.²² Votive monument was probably made in III century A. D.

The second monument dedicated to Nemesa Augusta by dedicant P. Petilius Mercator, was found in Zlokućani near Skoplje.²³ In the text of the monument it is said that P. Petilius Mercator was decurion duumvirus of colonia (probably Scupi), whose name is mentioned in another monument from Skoplje.²⁴ While gentile name Petilius, although it is not imperial gentile name, is frequent in the territory of Central Balkans, cognomen Mercator is rare.²⁵ Although V. Kondić thinks that cognomen Mercator is of oriental origin, therefore P. Petilius is probably of oriental origin, it should be mentioned that the cognomen Mercator is also characteristic for Celtic population.²⁶ B. Dragojević Josifovska dates the monument from Zlokućani at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A. D.²⁷

Third votive monument dedicated to Nemesa Augusta was built in the walls of early-byzantine basilica from Pazarište.²⁸ Dedicant is Gaianus, whose gentile name and cognomen aren't mentioned, so nothing further can be presumed about his origin.²⁹ Still, cognomen Gaianus is confirmed in Asia Minor and Siria.³⁰ Votive monument can be dated in II–III century A. D.

Under epithet Regina, Nemesis is mentioned on votive monuments from Viminatum, Slatina and Kosovska Mitrovica. Votive monument from Viminatum

of negative of casts imprinted from coins, gems, lamps, silver mirrors, jewelry, relief terra sigillata etc. As O. Brukner points rightly, content of representations on cake casts, since it was mainly of official character, influenced popularization of certain deities, religious and official holidays, as it mirrored religious life that is popularity of certain mythological themes and cults in certain parts of Roman empire, Brukner 1997, 97–98.

¹⁷ Birthdays of emperor and members of emperor's family were celebrated all over Roman Empire, with lavish games, gladiators' games and public banquets, during which *crustulum et mulsum* were widely given. Celebrations of imperial cult were marked with banquets, which were also held near temples or inside gymnasia, Fishwick 1991, 585–586.

¹⁸ Although in previous scientific literature authors mainly thought that Nemesis was the goddess of agonistic competitions, in his study of goddess Nemesis, M. B. Hornum proves that there were no dedications to goddess in so far known localities of agonistic competitions from Greek period, as there were no dedications to goddess from actors or Greek athletes and he concludes that the goddess was honored in agonistic context not until I century A. D., Hornum 1993, 43 etc. There are many presumptions about the connection between Nemesis as goddess of certain games and gladiator fights – it was presumed that Nemesis–Ticha that is Nemesis–Fortuna was honored in agonistic competitions, that Nemesis was in competitions “the judge who decides who will win or loose”, that the games were indirect sacrifice to Nemesis from the Emperor and his army. M. B. Hornum presumes that the connection between Nemesis and games dedicated to her was closely bind to official authorities and therefore represented a kind of confirmation of imperial power, Hornum 1993, 78–88.

¹⁹ As for instance monuments from Alba Iulia CIL III 14474, Carnuntum CIL III 14071, Aquileia CIL V 813, locality, 253, Grand in Belgia CIL XIII 5936, locality Chester in Britain AE 1967, 253, Salona AE 1934, 283.

²⁰ Votive monument from Kalemegdan is 58 x 30 x 30 cm, has damaged lower part. It was found in 1968. year, near the entrance of, in the opinion of Lj. Zotović and V. Kondić, cult cave, beside which there were two votive icons of god Mithra found, Kondić 1968, 276. Zotović 1966, 62–63, n. 5–6, Pl. I, 2. Text of the votive monument goes *Nemesi | Aug(ustae) | Auf(idius) Ing[e]nui opt[io?] | D P (?) |*, Kondić 1968, 273–274, n. 4. IMS I 19.

²¹ V. Kondić states that name Aufidius is very frequent in eastern provinces of Roman Empire, and his opinion about oriental origin of dedicant confirms with Greek origin of goddess and archaeological context in which the monument was found (beside two votive icons of god Mithra and eventual Mithreum), Kondić 1968, 276.

²² Cognomen Ingenuus is very frequent in Noricum, Pannonia, Italy, Belgia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Upper and Lower Moesia, Bosković Robert 2006, 106. Only in province Upper Moesia it was confirmed seventeen times, IMS I, 19, 35, 38, 177; IMS II, 44, 52, 124; IMS III/2, 33, 87; IMS IV, 45, 118; IMS VI, 102, 111, 139, 146, 228.

²³ Votive monument from Zlokućani near Skoplje was found during archaeological excavations of one part of the eastern necropolis in Scupi. Dimensions of the monument are 63 x 26 x 17 cm and the text of the inscription goes: *Nemesi | Aug(ustae) sac(rum) | P. Petilius | Mercator dec(urio) | col(oniae) II vir*, Dragojević Josifovska 1970, 153–157. IMS VI 12.

²⁴ Dedicant of the votive monument found in 1963. year near northern wall of the fortress in Skoplje was also P. Petilius Mercator, IMS VI 66. Based on the fact that both monuments with the dedicant of the same name were found in the narrow territory of Skoplje and



Fig. 3. Presentation from votive monument from Viminacium (Vasić 1979, 39, sl. 1)

Сл. 3. Представа са војивној сјоменика из Виминацијума (Васић 1979, 39, сл. 1)

is the only votive monument with fragmented presentation of Nemesis from the territory of Central Balkans (fig. 3).³¹ Fragmented part of Nemesis presentation shows lower part of gryphon's body and goddesses' feet. Goddesses' left foot stood on the back of female figure who was lying down on her stomach. It can be presumed that figural representation from votive monument from Viminacium showed type of iconographic presentation of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure.³² Dedicant is Aelius Pompeianus, corn chandler, whose gentile name Aelius implies getting citizen rights during the reign of emperor Hadrian.³³ Cognomen Pompeianus is confirmed on another monument, also found in Viminacium and it could point out to a person of oriental origin.³⁴ Iconographical presentation of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure from Viminacium is very frequent on cult monuments of goddess Nemesis and its origin is probably Egyptian.³⁵ Although several variants of this iconographic type of presentation are known, the goddess is usually standing, in short chiton (sometimes with an armour over the chiton) with right foot on male or female figure who is lying on his/hers belly.³⁶ Considering the fragmented state of the monument, it can't be presumed whether or which attributes were present in goddesses' hands, while we can be quite sure that the animal shown beside the goddess is gryphon.³⁷

There are many opinions in scientific literature about the symbolic meaning of iconographic representation

that the cognomen Mercator is quite rare, B. Dragojević Josifovska believes that both monuments were raised by the same dedicant, IMS VI 90–91.

²⁵ Gentile name Petilius was confirmed on the monuments from the locality Ravna IMS III/2 43, 50, 61; in locality Buljesovci, south from Vranje, IMS IV 119; in Skoplje IMS VI 8, 66, 139. Cognomen Mercator was confirmed on votive monuments from Belgrade IMS I 40, Kostolac IMS II 69, 120, 203.

²⁶ Kondić 1968, 276. S. Ferjančić states that cognomen Mercator is common in the regions inhabited by Celts, Ferjančić 2002, 162.

²⁷ Dragojević Josifovska 1970, 157.

²⁸ Two votive monuments were built in the walls of early byzantine basilica from Gradina in Pazariste – the larger one is without inscription, while the smaller one is dedicated to Nemesis Augusta, Popović 1997, 96–97.

²⁹ The name Gaianus was maybe mentioned in votive monument from Belgrade IMS I 160; Kostolac IMS II 90; Ravna IMS III/2 69.

³⁰ Ferjančić 2002, 201, 264, n. 205.

³¹ Votive monument was found on the locality Čair, near Kostolac. Its dimensions are 14 x 16 x 9 cm, Vasić 1979, 31. IMS II 36.

³² Iconographic representations of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure, show the goddess standing sometimes on male and sometimes on female figure. Text of the monument goes: *D(e)ae N(emese) | Ael(ius) Pompeianus | quod adiutor pom(i) | fr(umentarius) posui*, Vasić 1979, 32. IMS II 36.

³³ M. Vasić also mentions that the fact of establishing the institution of *frumentarii* also implies the period of emperor Hadrian, Vasić 1979, 35.

³⁴ IMS II 53. M. Mirković thinks that Aelius Pompeianus, probably from Legia VII Claudia, was almost certainly of oriental origin, because *frumentarii* were exclusively persons of oriental origin, IMS II 36.

³⁵ The examples of this type of iconographic representations of goddess Nemesis are quite numerous – the earliest representation of Nemesis standing upon the enemy is known from the coins of emperor Traianus from Alexandria, dated in 108/109, 109/110, 111/112 year A. D., from two marble statues from Egypt from second half of II century A. D., from fragmented statue from locality Quasr–Qarun from Egypt, from terracotta from Fayum, from relief from Thebes, from relief from theater in Gortina, from relief from Pireus, from relief from Thessaloniki, from relief from Brindisi, from marble statue from Jerusalem, from bronze relief from Macedonia, from hematite from Paris and from imperial gold ring from London, Hornum 1998, 131–133. Majority of authors think that model for this type of iconographic presentations of Nemesis should be looked for in egyptian iconography and representations of pharaoh standing upon a prostrate figure. M. B. Hornum also thinks that the model for mentioned type of presentation could be looked for in presentations of Roman Emperor from Pax Augusti, dated in the early period of Emperor Traianus' reign, Hornum 1993, 34–36.

³⁶ On so far known representations of Nemesis who is standing upon an enemy, certain deviances can be seen – sometimes the goddess is shown in long chiton (statues from Hildesheim and reliefs from Pireus, Brindisi and Gortina), sometimes the goddess is doing the gesture of spitting in her chest (relief from Brindisi and two statues from Egypt), sometimes the goddess has other attributes in hands like measuring stick (relief from Pireus) and scales (reliefs from Thessaloniki and Cairo) and sometimes she is followed by gryphon (reliefs from Patras and Thessaloniki) or snake (relief from Pireus) or even both (relief from Gortina), Vasić 1979, 32–33. Hornum 1993, 34.

of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure, so it should be just mentioned that today mainly following opinion prevails – that the figure of Nemesis on this type of representations symbolizes support to Roman state and Emperor in their fate and deeds, especially in connection to the battle against Rome's enemies.³⁸ In his analysis of Nemesis standing upon a prostrate figure from the votive monument from Viminatium, M. R. Vasić thinks that it doesn't have nothing to do with agonistic, but with the career of dedicant Aelius Pompeianus, who becomes frumentarius and that the monument from Viminatium symbolizes dedicant's triumph, and not the idea of punishing the crime.³⁹ M. R. Vasić dates the votive monument from Viminatium into the period of the reign of the dynasty of Severi.⁴⁰

Votive monument found in the village of Slatina, near Kosovska Mitrovica, is dedicated to Iupiter, Nemesis Regina and Genius Municipium Dardanorum.⁴¹ Dedicant is Septimius Vitalis, beneficiarius consularis of legia VII Claudia.⁴² Votive monuments with joint dedication to Iupiter and Nemesis are not frequent and beside monument from Slatina, there are only two known monuments – from Rome and Sarmisegetusa.⁴³ Somewhat common are the monuments dedicated to Nemesis and genius loci.⁴⁴ The votive monument from Slatina is dated in the end of II or the beginning of III century A. D.

There are two monuments dedicated to Nemesis Regina, by beneficiarius consularis of Legia IV Flavia, found in Kosovska Mitrovica.⁴⁵ The dedicant of the first monument is Gaius Valerius Valens, whose gentile name and cognomen are very frequent on the territory of Central Balkans.⁴⁶ The other monument from Kosovska Mitrovica is dedicated to Nemesis Regina by Ulpus Martialis, whose gentile name and cognomen are also very common in the Central Balkans' region.⁴⁷ As in previous case of dedicant Gaius Valerius Valens, it can be presumed that Ulpus Martialis was romanised inhabitant who made a dedication to Nemesis in II or III century A. D.

Until now, only two monuments were discovered in which Nemesis has the epithet of Sancta – the first monument was found in Viminatium, while the other was found in the locality of Komini.⁴⁸ The monument from Viminatium is actually the statue of Nemesis, with the inscription *Deae Sanctae Nemesi* (fig. 4).⁴⁹ The goddess is shown in long chiton, with her left hand leaned on a rudder and gryphon by her left leg.⁵⁰ The right hand of a statue shows that Nemesis did the gesture of spitting in her chest. This type of iconographic

³⁷ Representations of Nemesis with gryphon who is mainly sitting beside goddesses' legs with front paws leaned on a wheel, can be dated in Roman period probably from the period of Vespasian, which is confirmed by the fresco from the house of Fabii from Pompeii. However, a funerary monument from the locality Apollonia in Albania should be mentioned – in it a gryphon is shown between two figures who make a gesture of spitting in their chest. The monument is dated in the first half of II century B. C. The earliest representations of gryphon and wheel come from Egypt, like images from bronze coins from Alexandria coined in the period of Domitian, Hornum 1993, 24–25.

³⁸ Hornum 1998, 137. P. Pedrizet thought that it is a representation of Nemesis who is winning an opponent of a participant in games, Pedrizet 1914, 99. B. Schweitzer mentions that it is a type of representation from Egypt on which a pharaoh wins enemy, Schweitzer 1931, 214–216. Y. Papapostolou believes that Nemesis who is standing upon an enemy represents the goddess of war and victory, Papapostolou 1989, 375. Certain authors even mentioned that it is a representation of Nemesis who is winning personified hybris, that the representation of Nemesis who is standing upon an enemy actually represents Roman idea of conquering the vanity or that the motive of Nemesis Victrix actually presents a Roman emperor who is winning the enemy, Hornum 1993, 34–35.

³⁹ Vasić 1979, 35.

⁴⁰ Vasić 1979, 35.

⁴¹ Dimensions of the text field of Slatina monument are 36 x 30 cm, Vulić 1941–48, 102, n. 223.

⁴² Gentile name *Septimius* is most common on the monuments from Upper and Lower Pannonia, on the territory of Italy, Dalmatia, Spain, Dacia and Galia Narbonensis, Bošković Robert 2006, 94. On Central Balkans' localities, gentile name *Septimius* was confirmed many times on following localities: Ratiaria AE 1979, 539; Belgrade IMS I 45, 117; Ravna IMS III/2 48, 60, 83, 90; Ulpiana II Iug 534. Cognomen *Vitalis* is also known from several monuments from Central Balkans as monuments from Belgrade IMS I 100, 123, 125; Viminatium IMS II 45, 53, 126; Ravna IMS III/2 34d, 63, 86; Naissus IMS IV 18, 90; Skoplje IMS VI 30, 88, 100.

⁴³ A votive monument dedicated to Iupiter, Mars, Nemesis, Sol and Victoria was found in Rome, CIL VI 2821. A monument dedicated to Iupiter, Iunona, Minerva, Fortuna, Apolo, Diana, Nemesis, Mercury, Hercules, Sol Invictus, Asclepius and Higia was found in Dacia, AE 1977, 673.

⁴⁴ Votive monuments dedicated to Nemesis and genius loci were found in Dalmatia (*Deae xante Nemesi et genio municipii*) II Iug 602; Upper Pannonia (*Nemesi Augustae et genio loci*), Bošković Robert 2006, 194

⁴⁵ First votive monument from Kosovska Mitrovica is 80 x 32 x 29 cm. The text of the inscription goes: *Nemesi reg(inae) | sac(rum) Pro | salutem (sic) | dominor(um) duorum | n(ostrorum) Aug(ustorum) | C. Val(erius) Valens | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) | v(otum) l(ibens) l(aetur) m(erito) p(ost) s(uit)*, Vulić 1931, 91, br. 210. Dimensions of the other votive monument are 88 x 32 x 28 cm and the text of the inscription goes: *Nemesi reg(inae) | sac(rum) | Ulp(ius) Martialis b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) | lig(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, Вулић 1931, 91, 6p. 211.

⁴⁶ For gentile name *Valerius* look at the volumes of IMS, while the cognomen *Valens* is particularly common in the province of Dalmatia, but also in Singidunum IMS I, 134; Ravna IMS III/2 50, 51, 59; on the territory of Naissus IMS IV 75, 85; Skoplje IMS VI 135, 138, 141, 155.



Fig. 4. Statue of Nemesis from Viminacium (Вулић, Ладек, фон Премершгајн 1903, 65, сл. 7)

Сл. 4. Слика статуе Немезе из Виминацијума (Вулић, Ладек, фон Премершгајн 1903, 65, сл. 7)

representations is very common all over the Roman Empire. Still, as the closest iconographic analogies, two marble statues from Anatolia should be mentioned.⁵¹ Statue of Nemesis from Viminacium was very meticulously done and it implies that it was modelled by a very skilled artisan, who made it in II century A. D. While the fact that dedicant's name and occupation are not known doesn't allow any hypothesis about the reason for making the dedication to Nemesis or eventual aspect under which the goddess was venerated, from the text of Komini monument it can be read that the dedicant Saturninus, was beneficiarius consularis of Legia XI Claudia. The epithet *Sancta* is in the monument

from Komini written in vulgar shape *Xanta*. Dedicant's name *Saturnin* was confirmed on other Central Balkans' localities and B. Dragojević Josifovska thinks that it is a Latin name favorised among autochthonous population.⁵² Therefore it can be presumed that the beneficiarius consularis Saturnin was romanised citizen who built a monument to goddess Nemesis in II or III century A. D.

Only on two votive monuments, the goddess has no epithet. First votive monument was found in Viminacium and it has the inscription *Deae Nemesi*.⁵³

The other votive monument was found in Prizren and it is dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva, Hercules and Nemesis.⁵⁴ The dedicant of the monument is beneficiarius consularis Legia IV Flavia, Iulius Firmus.⁵⁵ The monument was probably made at the end of the II or the beginning of the III century A. D.

⁴⁷ For gentile name *Ulpus* look at the volumes of IMS, while the cognomen *Martialis* is confirmed on votive monuments from Viminacium IMS II 53, 325; Ravna IMS III/249, 109.

⁴⁸ The monument from Viminacium with the inscription *Deae Sanctae Nemesi* was actually the statue of goddess with gryphon, high 58 cm, which unfortunately disappeared, IMS II 37. Votive monument from Komini, high 80 cm, was dedicated to Nemesis and genius loci. Text of the inscription goes: *Deae xante | Nemesi et Geni[o] municipi h(uius) | Saturninus | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) | libies (!) posuit*, II Iug 602.

⁴⁹ It is a marble fragmented statue, since head, both arms of goddess, lower part of rudder and gryphon's head are missing, Вулић, Ладек, фон Премершгајн 1903, 64, V, sl. 7.

⁵⁰ Since the head of the figure is missing, the existence of the head attribute can only be presumed – it was maybe calathos, corona muralis or veil, analogous to other known representations of Nemesis.

⁵¹ Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 749, 173a and 175a.

⁵² The name *Saturninus* was confirmed in monuments of Viminacium IMS II 53, 166; Ravna IMS III/2, 46; Naissus IMS IV 110, 111; Skoplje IMS VI 24, 120, 143. A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović mentions that the name Saturnin was most frequent in northern Africa and that it came to Pannonia from northern Italy or Dalmatia, Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1970, 27.

⁵³ It is a votive slab, 10 x 17 cm, with the presentation of lower part of naked figure, who kneels on right leg. Text of the inscription goes: *Deae Ne[mesi] - - cum] suis [- -], IMS II 35.*

⁵⁴ Marble votive monument from Prizren, 42 x 12 x 17 cm has the text which goes: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) | [M]iner[vae Her] | [cu]lli Ne[mesi] | [..Jul(..) F]irmus(?) | b(ene)f(iciarius) [co(n)s(ularis?) | [leg(onis)] III Fl(aviae) F(elicis) [...] | pos(uit)*, II Iug 1439. N. Vulić was the first author who published the votive monument from Prizren and read instead of Nemesis, Neptune, Vulić 1931, 135, n. 325.

⁵⁵ Gentile name *Iulius* is not that often in Roman provinces of Central Balkans, but the cognomen *Firmus* is very common. For cognomen *Firmus* look IMS I 44, 125; IMS II 51, 53; IMS IV 107; IMS VI 87, 155.



Fig. 5. Presentation from gem from Viminacium (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 338)

Сл. 5. Представа са теме из Виминацијума (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 338)

From the overview of so far known votive monuments dedicated to Nemesis, it can be seen that the epithets *Augusta* and *Regina* are the most frequent epithets under which the goddess is mentioned on votive monuments from Central Balkans. The epithet *Augusta* implies the connection between the goddess and official cult – as the epithet *Augustus*, the epithet *Augusta* in the earliest period meant taking deities' powers for the Emperor and his family.⁵⁶ Later, the epithet *Augusta* meant taking the Emperor and his family under the protectorate of the goddess along whose name the epithet is applied.⁵⁷ The epithet *Augusta* was earliest mentioned with the name of goddess Nemesis 162. year A. D., on votive monument from Aquincum,⁵⁸ and that it almost certainly emphasized close connection between the goddess and emperor is confirmed by the frequent mentioning and presenting Nemesis with deities who were real presentations of imperial virtues – like Fortuna,

Iustitia, Victoria, Pax etc.⁵⁹ The epithet *Regina* is also very frequent on votive monuments and it implies Nemesis as a queen, her closeness to Roman Empress, but indirectly also her connection to goddess Iunona.⁶⁰ Considering that on the votive monument from Sočnica, the dedication was made to Nemesis Regina and

⁵⁶ McCullough 2007, 92–93.

⁵⁷ A. D. Nock thinks that the dedicants who added the epithet *Augusta* to the names of certain goddesses, wished their blessing for the Emperor and his family. However, D. Fishwick presumes that in most cases this isn't true and that the epithet *Augusta* was used in general context of the meaning of the word "emperor's, imperial" Fischwick 1991, 448–449.

⁵⁸ On the votive monument from Aquincum, Nemesa is mentioned as *Nemesa Omnipotens Augusta* CIL III, 10441. H. Volkmann thinks that Nemesis' epithet *Ultrix*, known from the votive monument from Stobi, implies connecting of goddess to Emperor through Mars Ultor, whose connection to Roman emperors dates from the period of Augustus, Volkmann 1934, 60. It is interesting that Ovidius also mentions Nemesis as *Ultrix*, but as the one who is arengeress, without any connection to emperor, Hornum 1993, 40. For the votive monument from Stobi dedicated to Nemesis, look Papazoglu 1952, 279–293.

⁵⁹ The connection between Nemesis and Fortuna probably dates from period of Augustus, CIL III 1125. Fortuna, as Nemesis, is a goddess who can influence happiness and unhappiness of ordinary man, but she is also the one who gives the justice. Plutarch identifies goddess Necessitas with Nemesis and Fortuna, as in iconographic representations in the temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome, the strong connection of Fortuna with Lares, Nemesis and Emperor, was emphasized. Finally, goddess Fortuna Rescipiens is together with Nortia and Nemesis, warning triumphators but also the emperor to *hybris*, Arya 2002, 285, 328, 333–334. The connection between Nemesis and Iustitia/Dike is logical, because both are punishing the ones who deserve the punishment and revenge in the name of the ones to whom the injustice was done. On a votive monument from Ist century B. C. Nemesis has the role of Dika's parendra, and in a votive monument from Thessaloniki dated in II–III century A. D. Nemesis is called *Dikaia*, Hornum 1993, 39. In the "Hymn to Nemesis" of poet Mesomed from II century A. D., Nemesis is shown as Dika's daughter, Bru 2008, 299, and late antique writer Nono (Nonnus) identifies Nemesis and Dike, Marshall 1913, 86. The examples of mutual connections between Nemesis and Nika/Victoria are really numerous, starting with the presentations on money during the reign of emperor Hadrian or Commodus, Hornum 1993, 39; votive monument from Egypt from II century A. D. dedicated to Nemesis Nikea, Pedrizet 1914, 94–95; Mesomed calls Nemesis by the name *Νίκη* and in the votive inscription from Ephesus the dedication is made to *Νεικονεμεσειον*, Chapouthier 1924, 295. The connection Pax–Nemesis is confirmed once more during the defeat of Pompeius by Iulius Caesar in Alexandria, when Caesar put a statue of Nemesis–Pax near Pompeius grave and marked her as a goddess of peace. Later, the figure of Nemesis–Pax appears in money of Claudius (winged Nemesis with caduceus pointed towards the snake in front of her and legend Pax Augustae) and Vespasianus, money of Smirna coined during the reign of Nero, money of Traianus, Hadrian, Rostovtzeff 1926, 25–27.

⁶⁰ Hornum 1993, 17–19.



Fig. 6. Presentation from gem of unknown provenience (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 339)

Сл. 6. Прегled са теме непознатe провенијенције (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 339)

Iupiter Optimus Maximus, the connection between Iupiter and Nemesis who is here venerated as supreme goddess, is more than obvious.

The epithet Sancta (Xanta) can imply the connection to official cult. Analyzing the corpus of votive monuments dedicated to goddess Nemesis from whole Roman empire, we concluded that this epithet is quite rare, maybe because it was “pushed a side” by the “imperial” epithet – Regina.⁶¹

Only on one monument from Central Balkans (Viminatium), the dedication is made to *Deae Nemesi*, which is somewhat surprising considering that the dedications to Dea Nemesis are very frequent in other parts of Roman Empire.⁶²

The votive monument from Prizren is dedicated to Iupiter, Minerva, Hercules and Nemesis and it puts the goddess in the company of *dii militares*. The fact that Nemesis was honoured as the protectress of soldiers and generally as the goddess of army success and victory is further supported by the fact that the dedicant of the

monument is Iulius Firmus beneficiaries, as that numerous monuments dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Minerva and Hercules, were made by soldiers.⁶³ On votive monuments from Sočanica and Komini, Nemesis is in the company of genius loci, which is not frequent in other parts of Roman Empire. It is known that on the votive monument from Aquincum theatre, Nemesis is also mentioned with genius loci, as she is presented with the figure of genius on a fragmented fresco from the theatre in Taragona.⁶⁴ Considering the fact that Nemesis was not so rarely identified with Fortuna/Ticha as the city protectress, that is as the one who is making right every wrongly made decision to town which is under her protection.⁶⁵ It is possible that under this aspect, Nemesis was maybe venerated by dedicants from the monuments from Sočanica and Komini.

Beside the presentation from *crustulum* of Viminatium and already mentioned monument of Aelius Pompeianus from Viminatium, the presentations of goddess Nemesis are known also from three gems. On the gem from Viminatium, there is a syncretistic presentation of Nemesis–Fortuna, who is standing turned on the left side (fig. 5).⁶⁶ The goddess has wings on her back and

⁶¹ Beside the monuments from Viminatium and Komini, Nemesis has the epithet Sancta only on one votive monument from Rome (the monument is dedicated to *Nemesis Sanctae Campestris*), CIL VI 533.

⁶² Hornum 1993, 36, 68–69.

⁶³ Goddess Nemesis was favorite and very popular among soldiers who venerated her as *Nemesis Campestris*, like in a votive monument from Rome, CIL III 533 (*Nemesis Sanctae Campestris*). Still, it should be mentioned that beneficiaries consularis appear as dedicants on monuments from the locality Lom from Lower Moesia AE 1900, 198 and CIL III 14208, on two monuments from locality Caseiu in Dacia AE 1957, 328 and 329, on monument from lower Pannonia AE 1984, 729, on three monuments from Dacia CIL III 825, 826 and 827 and on a monument from the locality Turkevar in Upper Pannonia CIL III 10955, Weber-Hiden 2008, 618.

⁶⁴ Hornum 1993, 164–165, n. 18–20.

⁶⁵ For arguments about Nemesis as city protectress look Hornum 1993, 41–42.

⁶⁶ In female figure from the gem found in Viminatium, I. Novović-Kuzmanović recognizes *Victoria–Fortuna–Nemesis*, where the attribute of wings would imply the goddess *Victoria*. However, as we already previously mentioned, the wings are also the attribute of goddess *Nemesis* and since no other motive, characteristic for the iconography of goddess *Nika/Victoria* (girlandes, laurel wreath, palm twig), it is our opinion that here as in the next example – the gem of unknown provenience, we have the representation of *Nemesis–Fortuna*. The gem from Viminatium is made of orange-red karneol, dimensions 11, 6 x 7, 6 x 3, 2 mm, Novović Kuzmanović 2005, 425, n. 338, T.XXIX.



Fig. 7. Presentation from gem of unknown provenience (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 340)

Сл. 7. Представа са теме непознате провенијенције (Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, Т. XXIX, бр. 340)

the rudder in one hand. There is a wheel beside her feet. The other gem of unknown provenience represents the goddess in almost identical way (fig. 6).⁶⁷ Syncretistic presentations of goddesses Nemesis and Fortuna are known from many monuments and the deity is usually shown with a rudder in one hand, with a cornu copiae in the other hand and with a wheel or gryphon beside her feet.⁶⁸

The assimilation of Nemesis and Fortuna is confirmed equally in epigraphic and in cult monuments.⁶⁹ Writers like Dio Chrysostom and Ammianus Marcellinus even identified Fortuna and Nemesis.⁷⁰ On the sculptures of the Fortuna–Nemesis type, like several statues from Aquincum, the goddess is shown with the attributes of globe, torch, cornu copiae, with a wheel beside her feet, on which a gryphon laid his front paws.⁷¹ From the text of votive monument from Aquincum we know that Nemesis' temple in Aquincum was renewed on 24th June, when holiday of Fors Fortuna was celebrated in Rome.⁷² The attribute of wheel is present in iconography of both goddesses, especially on the representations of II and III century A. D.⁷³ However, symbolic meaning of the attribute is different – on the monuments of goddess Fortuna, the wheel symbolizes the changes in human life and goddesses' power over human destinies, while in the monuments of goddess Nemesis, the wheel is more in the connection to the righteous punishment which is coming to all who challenge Nemesis' anger.⁷⁴ On the gem from Viminatum

and the gem of unknown provenience, a rudder is present as goddesses' attribute and it is a characteristic iconographic motive in representations of Fortuna during the imperial period.⁷⁵ The representations of Fortuna with both attributes, rudder and wheel, are known from the period of reign of emperor Traianus.⁷⁶ As the closest iconographical analogy to representations of Nemesis–Fortuna from the gem from Viminatum and the gem of unknown provenience, a statue from the theatre in Ephesus should be mentioned, where the goddess is presented with the rudder and cornu copiae in her

⁶⁷ The gem of unknown provenience is also made of orange-red karneol, dimensions 8, 4 x 6, 6 x 2, 8 mm, Novović Kuzmanović 2005, 425, n 339, Т. XXIX.

⁶⁸ Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 750–751, n. 180–186.

⁶⁹ CIL 1125 (*deae Nemesi sive Fortuna*). For iconographic presentations of Nemesis–Fortuna look Karanastassi, Rausa 1992, 750–751, n. 180–186.

⁷⁰ Arya 2002, 335.

⁷¹ So far, several statues and fragmented statues of Fortuna–Nemesis were found in Aquincum. The best preserved sculpture is 102 cm high and on it the goddess is standing, with slightly put in front left leg, in long chiton, with a diadem and veil on her hand. In her right hand, the goddess is holding a long torch, while in left hand she holds a globe. There is a wheel in her left leg, with a gryphon. Statue of Fortuna–Nemesis is dated in the first half of the III century A. D., Szirmai 2005, 286–291.

⁷² CIL III 10439.

⁷³ In earlier literature, it was thought that one of the main Nemesis' attribute – the wheel, goddess actually took from Fortuna/Ticha. But, the discovery of silver vase from I century B. C. in Sarmatian grave in Novocherkassk confirmed the wheel as Nemesis attribute, before it became the attribute of goddess Fortune/Ticha (the earliest representation of Fortuna/Ticha with the wheel is known from the fresco from the locality Echzell in Germany, dated in I century A. D. in Germany, Hornum 1993, 26.

⁷⁴ Arya 2002, 87. Claudian and Nonnus from Panopolis in their books *De bello Gothico* and *Dionysiaca* think that Nemesis wheel is in connection to punishing arrogant people. Similar idea is present in Mesomed's "Hymn to Nemesis", Hornum 1993, 27.

⁷⁵ Antique writers like Dion Chrysostom, Plutarch and Fronton, mention rudder as one of the attributes of goddess Fortuna. Pindar and Aeschil represent first Greek writers who describe Ticha as "the one who rules people's lives", but the earliest iconographic presentations of Ticha with the rudder are known only from 212. year B. C., from the coinage of Siracusa and Tripoli. In antique writings of Terentius and Lucretius, Fortuna is called Gubernatrix, that is "the one who leads", and first known presentations of Fortuna with a rudder and cornu copiae are known from 44 year B. C. from the coins of P. Sepulius Macer, Arya 2002, 68 etc.

⁷⁶ The motive of rudder in Fortuna's iconography isn't symbolizing just her role in determining fate of the people and cities, but also her changeable nature who decides positively or negatively about fate of the people or even states. However, during the Roman period, the attribute of a rudder in Fortune's cult also means the stability of the emperor's reign, Arya 2002, 127.

hands and winged gryphon beside her feet. The close analogy are also two statues of the goddess found in Olimpia, on which she holds measuring stick and rudder, while beside her feet is a wheel.⁷⁷

The representation of two Nemesis from the gem of unknown provenience is the only example of this type of iconographic representations of Nemesis from the territory of Central Balkans (fig. 7).⁷⁸ The model for this type of presentations are naturally images of two Nemesis, whose cult originated in Smirna.⁷⁹ Identical image of two Nemesis with adorantes analogous to the presentation from the gem of unknown provenience is not known, but as the closest iconographic and stylistic analogies presentations of two Nemesis from gems from New York, Vienna and Berlin, should be mentioned.⁸⁰

At the end of the overview and analysis of cult monuments of goddess Nemesis, and in the light of the fact of the discovery of the amphitheatre in south-eastern part of Viminatium, we are wondering whether previously mentioned monuments should be differently seen and interpreted.⁸¹ This would primarily be applied to *crustulum* with the presentation of Nemesis–Diana, due to very well known connection between Artemis/Diana and agonistic competitions and gladiators' respecting Diana, but also to votive monument of Aelius Pompeianus with the presentation of Nemesis who is standing upon an enemy, considering that this type of iconographic presentations was very popular in amphitheatres all over Roman empire.⁸² Also, the existence of Nemesis temple in Viminatium, but maybe in Belgrade too, should be presumed.⁸³

Instead of the conclusion, we would briefly repeat that the cult of goddess Nemesis was numerously confirmed on various localities in Central Balkans and it also comprehended very rare presentations of the goddess, like syncretistic image of Nemesis–Diana from the cake cast from Viminatium and presentation of two Nemesis from the gem from Belgrade. While we can't say more about the degree of knowledge of the theology of Nemesis cult by autochthonous population, we can conclude that Viminatium was certainly a very strong centre of goddesses' cult, which is proved not only by numerous monuments, but also by the fact that Nemesis was confirmed and venerated by spectators and participants of competitions and gladiator fights held in amphitheatre of Viminatium. Therefore it is clear that, beside respecting Nemesis as the protectress of emperor and his family (*Nemesis Augusta*, *Nemesis Regina*), protectress of the city (monuments dedicated to

Nemesis and genius loci) and military goddess (monument dedicated to Iupiter, Minerva, Hercules and Nemesis), a possibility of honouring Nemesis on Central Balkans territory as the protectress of amphitheatre, competitions and gladiator fights, should also be considered.

Translated by Nadežda Gavrilović

⁷⁷ Hornum 1993, 66.

⁷⁸ The gem of unknown provenience is made from red coloured jaspis, dimensions 23, 6 x 16, 2 x 4 mm, Novović-Kuzmanović 2005, 425, n. 340, T. XXIX.

⁷⁹ Beside Ramnunt and Alexandria, Smirna presents one of the oldest and most important centers of Nemesis cult. Pausania talks about the existence of Nemesis cult in Smirna during the archaic period, while during the classical and hellenistic period, the cult of two Nemesis existed in Smirna. L. I. Farnell presumes that two Nemesis from Smirna were in the beginning the goddesses of vegetation, while later they become the protectresses of the city, which is confirmed by the attribute of the crown in the shape of the city walls which goddesses wear on the coins of Smirna, Farnell 1896, 493. Different authors explained the phenomenon of the cult of two Nemesis in Smirna with presumptions that one Nemesis presented the good side of goddesses character, and the other Nemesis the bad side of goddesses' character, Farnell 1896, 493–494. E. Tournier thinks that one Nemesis presented Atic Nemesis, while the other was Eolic goddess Adrasteia, Tournier 1863, 99 etc. Different authors explained double representations of the goddess by Asiatic influences and assimilation of Nemesis with unknown Anatolian local goddess, Hornum 1993, 11.

⁸⁰ Karanastassi, Rausa 1992 739, n. 5–7.

⁸¹ In conversation with a colleague Ivan Bogdanović, I found out that in north-eastern part of city area of Viminatium, an amphitheater made of stone and wood, was discovered. It was probably built at the beginning of the II century A. D. The dimensions of the object are still undefined. I would like to express my thankfulness to colleague Bogdanović for this valuable information.

⁸² The analysis of whole corpus of Nemesis cult monuments in Roman empire of M. B. Hornum shown that the type of presentations where Nemesis stands upon an enemy has been numerously confirmed inside the amphitheatres (like the presentation from Taragona, which was found on the left wall of amphitheater or the presentations from Gortina, Patras etc.) and that it was very popular, Hornum 1998, 138.

⁸³ Several cult monuments of goddess Nemesis found in Viminatium, imply the possibility of goddesses' sanctuary as the fact of existence of amphitheater inside of which or in which surroundings, a *nemeseum* could have existed (as in Apulum, Sucidava, Ulpia Traiana, Sarmisegetusa, Aquincum, Carnuntum), Ciobanu 1989, 276–277. We also think that based on so far confirmed cult monuments of Nemesis in Central Balkans, a possibility of other types of goddesses' sanctuaries should be considered, for details about existing types of *nemesea* look Hornum 1993, 56 etc.

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Резиме:

НАДЕЖДА ГАВРИЛОВИЋ, Археолошки институт, Београд

КЕРАМИЧКИ CRUSTULUM СА ПРЕДСТАВОМ НЕМЕЗЕ–ДИЈАНЕ ИЗ ВИМИНАЦИЈУМА:

прилог познавању култа Немезе у римским провинцијама централног Балкана

Кључне речи. – керамички медаљон/калуп за колаче, Виминацијум, Немеза, култ, вотивни споменици, иконографија, Централни Балкан.

Врло редак тип иконографске представе богиње Немезе, познат као тип представа Немезе–Дијане, је посведочен на *crustulum*-у из Виминацијума. У питању је представа Немезе у одећи (кратак хитон), обући (ловачке чизме) и са атрибутима (кратак мач, бич, трозубац) уобичајеним у иконографији богиње Дијане. Овај тип представа је врло значајан за потврђивање везе богиње Немезе са такмичењима, играма и гладијаторским борбама одржаваним током римског периода. Поред ове представе, на локалитетима централног Балкана су констатоване још четири иконографске представе богиње Немезе (на вотивном споменику и три геме), као и дванаест вотивних споменика посвећених божанству. На вотивним споменицима, богиња се најчешће помиње под епитетима *Augusta*, *Regina*, *Sancta* и са боговима Јупитером, Херкулом, богињом Минервом и генијем места. Из анализе посвета, као и занимања и порекла дедиканата се може закључити да је Немеза поштована као империјално божанство, као војничко божанство, али можда и као заштитница места, односно града. Представа Немезе–Дијане са *crustulum*-а из Виминацијума није једина ретка потврђена представа богиње

на територији централног Балкана – на локалитету Виминацијум је такође пронађен вотивни споменик са типом иконографске представе „Немезе која гази непријатеља“, док су на гема из Београда приказане две Немезе, тип иконографске представе познат још из архајског периода грчке уметности. Концентрација више Немезиних кулних споменика пронађених на територији Виминацијума, као и њихове иконографске особености, имплицирају претпостављање блиске везе између богиње и недавно откривеног амфитеатра у североисточном делу града. Уједно, сматрамо да има елемената и за претпостављање постојања светилишта Немезе у Београду и унутар или одмах поред амфитеатра у Виминацијуму. Из свега наведеног, сматрамо да ранија мишљења изнета у стручној и научној литератури о непостојању потврде Немезе као богиње такмичења и гладијаторских борби, односно покровитељке гладијатора на централном Балкану, треба ревидирати и претпоставити још један аспект под којим је богиња Немеза такође поштована – као заштитница агонистичких такмичења, игара и гладијаторских борби.