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THE CULT OF GODDESS FORTUNA IN THE ROMAN CENTRAL BALKANS

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Abstract. – The cult of the goddess Fortuna has been attested on the territory of Roman provinces in the Central Balkans with numerous votive monuments, sculptures, votive reliefs, statuettes and on glyptics. The goddess was particularly popular among the army, but also venerated by administrative personnel, merchants, freedmen, slaves and women. The epithets of the goddess imply that she was honoured by her devotees as in other Roman provinces – mainly as the goddess of good luck and chance, but also as the protectress of transport, business, routes and perhaps in bathing facilities. Fortuna was usually worshipped alone, but her pairing with the Egyptian goddess Isis as the syncretistic deity Isis-Fortuna and her relationship with Genii, are confirmed in different Central Balkans localities. The goddess Fortuna's sanctuaries can be presumed in the vicinity of Ulpiana, Niš, near Kumanovo and probably in Viminacium, while her cult lasted from the 2nd to the last decades of the 3rd century.

Key words. – Fortuna, Central Balkans, Roman army, temples

The cults of different Roman, Greek and Oriental deities in the territory of Roman provinces of the Central Balkans have attracted the attention of scholars in the past, yet the cult of one of the most prominent goddesses in Roman religion, literature and art, the goddess Fortuna, without any reason remained marginalised. The paradox is even greater considering that the goddess's cult has been widely attested epigraphically and archaeologically in almost all parts of the territory, except those in the west, thus confirming her importance and popularity among different social groups in the mentioned territory until the end of Antiquity.

The cult of the goddess Fortuna was one of the most popular cults in the Roman Empire, particularly in the period of the height of its power, primarily because of the goddess's symbolism and wide inferences – in the earliest period she was venerated as the goddess of agriculture and fertility,¹ but also associated with military victory, as is implied with her earliest presentations from a mirror and a cista from Praenesta.²

The goddess was also connected with the oracles (*Fortuna Primigenia*)³ and was regarded as a protectress of individuals, magistrates, foreigners, freedmen,

¹ Champeaux 1982, 80–140. In Hellenistic period, goddess Fortuna was equalled with Greek goddess Tyche and borrowing different attributes characteristic for different deities, she soon became a very popular goddess, primarily among the Roman plebs. The oldest evidence about the goddess Fortuna are known from Latium and Campania and are all in Latin language, which suggests that she was associated with the diffusion of the Latin language in the opinion of D. Miano, Miano 2018, 73, 157.

² The earliest testimony of Fortuna's cult in Italy is presented by an engraved mirror found at Colombella, the main necropolis of Praeneste – on the mirror, Iacchus' triumph is presented and the goddess is shown embracing Minerva. The mirror probably dates from the first half of the 4th century BC. Another object on which Fortuna is presented is a cista discovered in Praenesta, dated around 300 BC, with Fortuna holding a thyrsus, Ibid, 18–21.

³ D. A. Arya suggests that the cult of goddess Fortuna Primigenia probably originates from the 4th–3rd century BC in Praeneste, when the cult of Tyche became known to the Greek West, Arya 2002, 62; Miano 2018, 38–40.

slaves and different professional associations (*collegia*) of butchers, blacksmiths, workers, singers, flute players, etc.⁴ The earliest appearance of the goddess's cult at Praeneste marked the city as her most important cult centre, attested with more epigraphic evidence about the deity from Praeneste than from any other city in Roman Empire, including Rome.⁵ In Rome, the goddess's cult was strongly connected to King Servius Tullius, with him honouring the goddess and founding several temples dedicated to her in the middle of the 6th century BC.⁶ Fortuna shared her festival day, 11th June, with Mater Matuta and, during the ceremonial procession in the honour of Fortuna, her devotees carried her statue along the river to the ceremonial bath and back to her temple. The close connection between Fortuna and the plebs in Rome (who founded all temples of Fortuna Publica in the Republican period) was formed during the Republican period and continued in the Imperial times.⁷ Due to different aspects and dimensions under which the goddess was venerated, she became an important deity for communities in various contexts (urban, military, domestic, etc.). Many different epithets of the goddess⁸ refer to the multiple dimensions she had for different social groups, implying her benevolent but also capricious nature (Fortuna Bona, Fortuna Mala, Fortuna Dubia, Fortuna Stabilis, Fortuna Obsequens, etc.)⁹ – Fortuna Muliebris was clearly a protectress of women, fertility, children, etc.,¹⁰ Fortuna Virgilis (Virgo) was associated with young girls, the rites of passage to their adulthood (their sexual maturity), Fortuna Virilis was related to women's sexuality, Fortuna Barbata supervised young male adults and men, Fortuna Equestris protected the equites and the cavalry as a military unit, etc.¹¹ In later periods, the goddess was venerated as the protectress of transportation, trade, commerce, sea-routes and as the deity of good luck and chance. The canonized image of the goddess Fortuna presented a mature woman standing or seated, with a veil, diadem, mural crown, polos or stefane (like a tiara) on her head and holding a cornucopia, rudder, globe, patera, etc. in her hands.¹² The attribute of a cornucopia became a regular attribute in Fortuna's iconography from the 2nd century BC,¹³ although it was already a standard symbol of different Greek (for example, Tyche) and Italian deities, but also of Isis, the Egyptian goddess.¹⁴ The first representations of Fortuna with a rudder, a symbol of commerce and shipping, date from the 1st century BC,¹⁵ while the first images of the goddess with a ball, sphere or globe

(symbolising the goddess's fickle mood and power over the world and its fate) are known from the period of Vespasian's reign.¹⁶ The association of the Egyptian goddess Isis with Fortuna happened began in the 2nd century BC, through Alexandrian traders who travelled to Puteoli, Praeneste, Pompeii and thus introduced the cult of Isis in Rome, but also through the Roman presence in the Greek East.¹⁷ Although the dedications to Isis-Tyche exist (but are rare and of a later date),¹⁸ the Romans did not acknowledge the term "Isis-Fortuna", which is a modern creation and there is no known dedication to "Isis-Fortuna".¹⁹ The syncretism between the two goddesses did not take place before the late 1st century BC and, judging by the finds, it is characteristic only for the Imperial period.²⁰ Particularly popular in Pompeii, the syncretistic deity Isis-Fortuna, was respected not only because of the protection over a person or a family, but also because both goddesses were associated with the sea, trade and commerce, which made Isis-Fortuna the protectress of business and successful business ventures. The close connection with the goddess Nemesis, probably established in the Hellenistic era, but certainly proven during the Imperial period, is evident not only in mu-

⁴ Miano 2018, 36.

⁵ Ibid, 14; The main cult centres of Fortuna in Italy were Praeneste, Rome and Antium, Arya 2002, 40.

⁶ Miano 2018, 77–86.

⁷ Ibid, 199–200.

⁸ For the epithets of the goddess Fortuna see Kajanto 1981, 1983, 1988.

⁹ Arya 2002, 59.

¹⁰ However, the goddess Fortuna Muliebris was not only connected to women, because the dedications from men to the goddess also exist, Miano 2018, 126.

¹¹ Ibid, 128–131, 198.

¹² Arya 2002, 68 etc.

¹³ Rausa 1997, 126, num. 3; Champeaux 1982, 43; Lichocka 1997, 32–34.

¹⁴ The cornucopia, a symbol of plenty, fertility, abundance, food, etc., was quite an appropriate attribute for both Tyche and Fortuna because of their similar symbolism, Arya 2002, 73.

¹⁵ On the reverse of late Republican coins of Publius Sepullius Macer (from 44 BC), where Fortuna is presented holding a rudder and cornucopia (later also on the coins of Marcus Antoninus from 41 BC and of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus from 40 BC), Lichocka 1997, 147–149.

¹⁶ Ibid, Fig. 177; Rausa 1997, 131, num. 3b.

¹⁷ Arya 2002, 242.

¹⁸ Kajanto 1981, 502

¹⁹ Arya 2002, 54, ft. 148.

²⁰ Ibid, 247.

tual attributes like the wheel, but also in the same roles, like the role of city goddess.²¹

In the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans, the cult of the goddess Fortuna has been attested with seven epigraphic monuments and an impressive number of sculptures, statues, relief presentations, bronze statuettes and gems with the image of the goddess. All epigraphic monuments are dedicated to the goddess Fortuna alone, without or with an epithet of which some usually accompany the deity's name in other parts of the Roman Empire, while other epithets are confirmed only in the epigraphic monuments dedicated to Fortuna from Roman Central Balkan localities, which will be discussed later.

The first votive monument dedicated to the goddess Fortuna and the only one discovered in the northern parts of the territory was found in Colonia Ratiaria (Archar).²² The monument is dedicated to Fortuna without an epithet and the dedicator is Gaius Luccius Capito, who was a soldier of the legion VII Claudia. His gentile name, Luccius, is very frequent in Italy and other provinces like Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, Dalmatia, etc., while his cognomen Capito is more seldom attested, mostly again in Italy.²³ In the territory of the Central Balkans, the cognomen Capito is confirmed only once more, on a rectangular plate found in the locality of Drmno, Viminacium.²⁴ Unfortunately, the reason for Gaius Luccius Capito to make a dedication to the goddess Fortuna is not stated in his dedication, but it can be presumed that it was general thanks for the luck in the life of a soldier, to the goddess who protected him in the battlefield and from all other dangers that Gaius Luccius Capito was exposed to during his army service.

The second votive monument dedicated to Dea Fortuna was discovered in 1899, in the Niš fortress.²⁵ Since the text of the now lost monument was quite damaged by atmospheric conditions, its restoration can point to either one dedicant Elius (Aelius) Flavius Restutus or three dedicators by the names of Elius, Flavius and Restutus. However, what can be said with certainty is that the monument was erected for the health of the emperors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus in 221, judging by the names of the consuls Gratus and Seleucus.²⁶ As Fortuna's epithet, *Dea* began to be very frequently used in Germania and Britannia in the late 2nd century,²⁷ while the closest geographic analogy can be found in a votive monument from Sirmium, also dedicated to Dea Fortuna.²⁸ The name Restutus (deriving from Restitutus) is known primarily

in the western Empire and in provinces of Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia.²⁹ The monument is possibly erected by the order³⁰ of the priest Aurelius Dexter, whose name Dexter is also attested on monuments from Singidunum, Čair (Kostolac) and Aračinovo (east of Scupi). Aurelius Dexter was probably the priest of Fortuna in her sanctuary located in Naissus (Niš).³¹ Due to the names of the consuls, the votive altar from Niš can be precisely dated to 221.

The third votive monument dedicated to Fortuna Domina was found in the village of Čiflak, near Orahovac (Ulpiana).³² It was erected by Aurelius Cassinus,

²¹ In Carnuntum, and perhaps Ephesos, Fortuna of the city was worshiped at the amphitheatre together with Nemesis, Hornum 1993, 20, 25–26, 41.

²² The votive monument dedicated to the goddess Fortuna was discovered in Archar (Ratiaria). The text of the inscription reads: *C (aius) Luccius / Capito / mil (es) leg (ionis) / VII Cl (audiae) opt (io) / Fortun / ae v (otum) s (olvit) l (ibens) m (erito)*, *AE* 2010, 1392.

²³ The gentile name Luccius; Luccius is most frequently attested in Italy, Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, Dalmatia, Gallia Belgica, Pannonia, Moesia Inferior, Gallia Lugdunensis and Roman Britain, Bošković-Robert 2016, 49, ft. 317. As for the cognomen Capito, it is attested in Italy, Spain, Britain etc., Dean 1916, 77, 150.

²⁴ On a rectangular limestone plaque found in Drmno, Viminacium, a libertus Publius Aelius Capito is mentioned, *IMS* II, 140–141, num. 127.

²⁵ The votive monument dedicated to Dea Fortuna (dim. 0,84x0,45x0,42m) was discovered in 1899, beside the entrance of the Niš fortress. The text of the inscription reads: *Deae Fortunae / pro s(alute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) / [Aug(usti) e]t [Caes(aris)] / A(e)lius Flavius / Restutus / s(ua) p(ecunia) / [Gr] ato et Sel<e=A>uco co(n)s(ulibus) / [A]urel(ius) Dexter / sacerdos p(oni?) i(ussit) m(erito?)*, *IMS* IV, 69, num. 4.

²⁶ The votive monument dedicated to Dea Fortuna can be precisely dated due to the names of the consuls Gaius Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and Marcus Flavius Vitellius Seleucus, Samuel 1972, 272.

²⁷ Kajanto 1988, 558.

²⁸ The dedication to Dea Fortuna on the votive monument from Sirmium was made by a certain Marcus Aurelius, Mirković 1971, 61, num. 3.

²⁹ *IMS* IV, 69, num. 4; Migotti 2017, 104.

³⁰ If the part of the inscription is reconstructed as *p(oni?) i(ussit) m(erito?)*, then the monument would have been erected on the order of the priest Aurelius Dexter.

³¹ The name Dexter is also confirmed on the monuments found: in the fortress of Kalemegdan in Singidunum, *AE* 2001, 1727, Viminacium *IMS* II, 92, num. 53 and Skoplje *IMS* VI, 97, num. 72. The cognomen Dexter is attested in Italy, Spain, Belgium, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Dacia, Noricum, Roman Britain and Moesia Inferior, Bošković-Robert 2006, num. 7, ft. 62.

³² The votive monument dedicated to Fortuna Domina was discovered in Gračanica (Ulpiana). His dedicant is Aurelius Cassinus, a decurion. The text of the inscription reads: *Fortunae Do/minae / Aur(elius) Cas(sinus) / dec(urio) p(osuit)*, *IlJug* II, num. 532.



Fig. 1. Votive altar from Orahovac, near Ulpiana
(after: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD033750>)

Сл. 1. Војивни жртвеник из Ораховца, близу Улпијане
(према: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD033750>)

a decurion who was probably stationed in the area of Ulpiana, perhaps guarding some of the mines of the territory (Fig. 1). The name Cassinus is very rare and, as far as we know, it appears only on a monument (or monuments) from Rome.³³ The rarity of this particular monument can also be seen in Fortuna's epithet *Domina*, which is confirmed only on one more monument, discovered in the locality El Mesaurat in Egypt.³⁴ The probable period when the monument to Fortuna Domina was erected is from the second half of the 2nd century to the 4th century.

The next votive monument with a dedication to the goddess Fortuna was also found in the area of Ulpiana, at the entrance of the Gračanica monastery (Fig. 2).³⁵ The monument, unfortunately lost, was a limestone slab, an architrave with the inscription field in the form of a *tabula ansata*. The goddess Fortuna Aeterna, who is here the personal protectress of the family Furii, received the dedication from two procurators, Pontius Uranius and Furius Alcimus, of *vir clarissimus* Gaius

Furius Octavianus Amphilocheius, who belonged to the senatorial order (*ordo senatorius*), but also to one of the most important and richest families in Ulpiana, gens Furii.³⁶ Furius Octavianus, who was a consul in 220 and, two years later, a legatus of Moesia Superior,

³³ *CIL* VI, 3412, *ICUR* – IX, 23861. The name Cassinus perhaps appears on one other monument from Aquileia, but the inscription is fragmented and does not allow the certain reconstruction of the name Cassi[---], *CIL* V, 8314.

³⁴ The text of the votive monument from the locality of El Mesaurat (dated from the 3rd to the 5th century) reads: *Bona Fortuna Dominae / Reginae in multos an/nos feliciter venit / (a) b urbe mense Apr(ili) / die XV [et v] idit Acu/tus*, *CIL* III, 83.

³⁵ The monument was discovered in the area of Ulpiana, Lip-ljan. The text of the inscription is reconstructed: *Amphi / lochii // Fortunae aeter [n] ae domus Furianae / proc (uratores) C (ai) Furi Octaviani s (larissimi) v (iri) Furius A [l] cimius [et] Pon / tius Uranius pecunia Octavianin [a] faciendum curaverunt*, *CIL* III, 8169.

³⁶ Душанић 2006, 91–92.

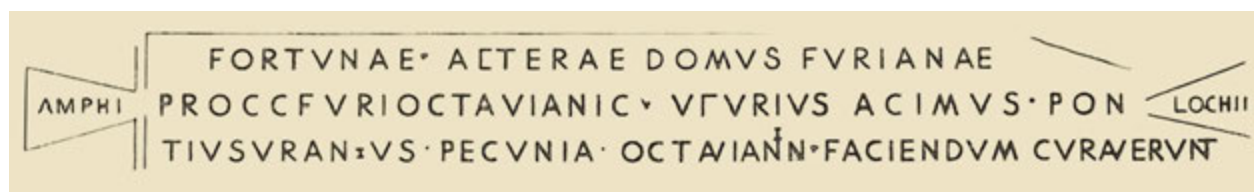


Fig. 2. Drawing of the dedication to Fortuna Aeterna, from Gračanica (after: Premerstein, Vulić 1903, 28, num. 35)

Сл. 2. Црпјеж дедикације Фортуни Етерни, из Грачанице (према: Premerstein, Vulić 1903, 28, num. 35)

had his domains with slaves in the southern parts of the Central Balkan territory – in Vlahčani, Usje, Blace, Prizren and, of course, Ulpiana.³⁷ While the epithet Aeterna is so far known only from the altar from Ulpiana, the fact that she is the protectress of the gens Furrrii has analogies in the dedications from other Roman provinces where Fortuna is the protectress of gens Flavia³⁸ or Plotiana,³⁹ the protectress of persons like in the monuments where Fortuna Crassiana, Fortuna Torquatiiana and Fortuna Zmaragdiana is mentioned,⁴⁰ the tutelary divinity of cities like Fortuna Ephesia, but possibly also the personal protectress of a Roman king, which is implied by the dedication to Fortuna Tulliana.⁴¹ This individualisation is found not only with the name of the goddess Fortuna, but also in the case of the gods Jupiter, Hercules and Silvanus, who were called *domesticus* and had family eponyms.⁴² Two procurators from the Ulpiana monument, Pontius Uranius and Furius Alcimus were *liberti* of the family Furrrii and were obviously not only making a dedication to the goddess Fortuna Aeterna, but were also dedicating a temple to her, since the inscription was placed on an architrave. As has already been mentioned, the family of Furrrii had large domains with slaves and *liberti* in different areas, among them also Ulpiana, and owed their wealth to the fertile land and rich mines in the vicinity of this urban centre.⁴³ The monument is dated to the first decades of the 3rd century, between 200 and 220.

Another monument dedicated to the goddess Fortuna was found in the southern part of the Central Balkans, in the locality of Lopate, west of Kumanovo (statio Lamud---?).⁴⁴ Unfortunately also lost, the monument was dedicated to Fortuna Salutaris by an unknown dedicant. The epithet *Salutaris* is not seldom attributed to the goddess – dedications to Fortuna Salutaris are known from different Roman provinces.⁴⁵ N. Vulić thought that Fanum Magnum, which is menti-

oned in the inscription, did not mean “a great shrine”, but was actually a toponym, while B. Dragojević-Josifovska considered the monument to perhaps have been originally situated in the presumed sanctuary of the god Mithras, *mithraeum*, located in Lopate.⁴⁶

Besides presenting the only monument in the territory of the Roman Central Balkans where the goddess Fortuna bears the epithet *Salutaris*, nothing more precise can be said about the reason for the dedication or the profession and social status of the dedicant, so the monument can be broadly dated from the 2nd to the 4th century.

³⁷ *CIL* VI, num. 10, 28; *CIL* III 8238, 8240, 8169.

³⁸ *CIL* VI, 187.

³⁹ *CIL* VI, 39860.

⁴⁰ For Fortuna Crassiana, *CIL* VI, 186; For Fortuna Torquatiiana *CIL* VI, 204; For Fortuna Zmaragdiana *CIL* VI, 39862. I. Cajanto presumes that while Crassus and Torquatus are common cognomina rarely born by slaves, while Zmaragdus is a Greek name which was frequent among slaves, Cajanto 1983, 14.

⁴¹ Fortuna is also known to be the protectress of towns, like on the monuments dedicated to Fortuna Antias/Antiatina, Arelatensis, Ephesia, Folianensis, Karn(untiensis), Nemausensis, Viruniensis, Taurianensis, etc., *Ibid*.

⁴² Carter 1900, 65.

⁴³ Parović Pešikan 1990, 612; Душанић 2006, 91–92.

⁴⁴ The votive monument dedicated to Fortuna Salutaris (height 18 cm, width 25 cm) was found in the locality of Lopate, Kumanovo. The text of the inscription reads: [Fortunae? Salu?] tari / [---] F(ano?) Ma(gno?) v(otum) s(olvit), *IMS* VI, 168, num. 217.

⁴⁵ Dedications to Fortuna Salutaris are known from: Dacia (Ampulum), *AE* 1902, 143; Germania Inferior (Bad Godesberg), *CIL* XIII, 7994; Germania Superior (Mainz), *CIL* XIII, 6678; Pannonia Inferior (Paks/Lussonium), *CIL* III, 3315; Pannonia Superior (Komarom/Brigetio), *RIU*-02, 392; Rome, *CIL* VI, 184, 201, 202.

⁴⁶ Вулић 1934, 44, num. 28; A stone plate (dim. 125 x 61 x 35 cm) was found in the locality of Lopate, bearing the inscription ...E O S A N I ..., which was reconstructed by M. J. Vermaseren as [D]eo san(cto) Mithrae or [D]eo san(cto) [invicto] Mithrae], *CIMRM* II, 341, num. 2206; Zotović 1973, 33, num. 43; *IMS* VI, 168.



Figs. 3. Votive relief of Fortuna, from Kostolac (after: Вулић 1931, 240, num. 639)

Fig. 4. Votive relief of Fortuna with the inscription Genius, from Viminacium (after: <http://lupa.at/29755?query=892058914>)

Сл. 3. Војивни рељеф Фортуне из Костољца (према: Вулић 1931, 240, нум. 639)

Сл. 4. Војивни рељеф Фортуне са највишом *Genius*, из Виминацијума (према: <http://lupa.at/29755?query=892058914>)

The last votive altar dedicated to Fortuna Sacrum was discovered in the locality of Barovo, south-west of Skoplje (Scupi).⁴⁷ The monument is lost and known only from a drawing made by A. Evans, from which we find out that the dedication to Fortuna Sacrum was made by a woman whose name was perhaps Betuv(i)a Resp(e)c[ta].⁴⁸ The epithet Sacrum is known beside the goddess's name on monuments from other Roman provinces, like Aemilia/Regio VIII, Africa proconsularis, Britannia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Etruria/Regio VII, Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, Hispania Citerior, Latium and Campania/Regio I, Noricum, etc.⁴⁹ The name Betuvia is completely unknown in the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans, but the name Respecta is known from another monument from the vicinity of Skoplje, discovered in the locality of Zlokućani, and a monument found in Ravna (Timacum Minus)⁵⁰ and also from other provinces like Africa proconsularis, Mauretania Caesariensis, Dacia, Noricum, Moesia Inferior, Numidia, Pannonia Inferior, Pannonia Superior and Rome.⁵¹ The votive altar from

⁴⁷ The text of the monument found in Barovo reads: *Fortunae / sacrum / BETVVA / Resp<e=F>c[ta]*, *IMS* VI, 51, num. 4

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Aemilia/Regio VIII: *AE* 1964, 214; Africa Proconsularis: *CIL* VIII, 1310, 14909, 15494, 16522, 23857, 25412, *AE* 2003, 2006; Britannia: *CIL* VII, 199, 433, 982; Dacia: *CIL* III, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1014, *AE* 1944, 47, *AE* 2003, 1492, *AE* 1933, 245, *AE* 1903, 67; Dalmatia: *CIL* III, 1939, 13186, 13258, 14630, 14666, *ILJug* 3, 1871, *AE* 1998, 1023; Etruria/Regio VII: *AE* 1974, 329, *CIL* XI, 3731, *AE* 2013, 502; Germania Inferior: *CIL* XIII, 8181, 8609, *AE* 1998, 968, 970; Germania Superior: *CIL* XIII, 6472, 6502, 6522, 6597, 6598, 7365, 6676, 11753, *AE* 1956, 86; Hispania citerior: *CIL* II, 5664, 2763, *AE* 1976, 329; Latium and Campania/Regio I: *CIL* X, 5384; Noricum: *CIL* III, 11729, 4778, 5117.

⁵⁰ The funerary monument discovered in Zlokućani, Skoplje was erected for Aurelius Mestrianus, a veteran of the legion IV Flavia, by his wife Aelia Respecta, *IMS* VI, 38. The funerary monument found in Ravna (Timacum Minus) was erected for the husband Flavius Valens, soldier of the cohort II Aurelia Dardanorum, by his wife Rustia Respecta, *IMS* III/2, 98, num. 51.

⁵¹ *CIL* VIII, 27899, *CIL* VIII, 9065–9066, *CIL* III, 1468, 5497, 6156, *AE* 1977, 749, *CIL* VIII, 2903, 3371, 4070, *CIL* III, 3432, 3314, 4224, 4083, 10924, *CIL* VI, 36253.

Barovo is dated to the period between the 1st and the 4th century.

Two votive reliefs with presentations of the goddess Fortuna are known from Kostolac, Viminacium, but unfortunately both reliefs were discovered in a fragmented state. The first monument represents a relief presentation on a white marble plate, whose left part is missing (Fig. 3).⁵² A female standing figure is shown *en face*, standing within a temple, with long wavy hair and wearing a kalathos on her head. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia carved in detail, while in her right outstretched hand the goddess holds a patera over a lit altar. Her long chiton is richly folded and falls loosely over her body. The attribute of phiale/patera is a survival from the iconography of the goddess Tyche, whose images with a cornucopia and patera are known from as early as the 4th century BC, as on the Attic amphora from Cyrenaica, dated to 392–391 BC or coins from Argos, dated to 350–328 BC.⁵³ However, the representations of Fortuna with a patera are not so frequent, although from the 1st century they are known on imperial coins (like those of Domitian, Commodus, Pescennius Niger, etc.),⁵⁴ reliefs like the “adventus” relief of Marcus Aurelius belonging to one of the emperor’s arches⁵⁵ and marble statues, like the statue of the goddess from Cos, dated to the second half of the 1st century BC.⁵⁶

An identical representation of the goddess Tyche/Fortuna inside a hexastyle temple, holding a patera over a lit altar, is known from a Corinth coin of Antoninus Pius where, on the obverse a laureate head of the emperor is presented, while on the reverse the goddess is shown.⁵⁷ Regarding the iconographic and stylistic analogies, this type of votive relief with the goddess Fortuna are known mostly from Germania Superior and Britannia,⁵⁸ but the closest analogy would be a relief fragment from Zadar, Dalmatia,⁵⁹ after which would follow a relief fragment from the temple of Isis in Savaria, Pannonia Superior⁶⁰ and a votive relief from Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior, on which Fortuna is presented with a polos.⁶¹ Since on some of the votive reliefs of this iconographical type, the remains of paint were attested, perhaps the votive relief from Kostolac was also painted.⁶² Judging by the details of Fortuna’s face (eyes, lips, hair), dress and attributes, it is obvious that the votive relief from Kostolac, Viminacium was made by a skilful artisan, probably in the 2nd or the early 3rd century.

The second votive relief was also found in Kostolac, Viminacium (Fig. 4).⁶³ It represents a fragment-

ed marble relief whose upper left part is preserved. On the edge of the relief there is an inscription *Genio* [- - -], while under it a standing female figure with wavy hair gathered under a katalathos is presented. Her chiton is richly folded and tied under her chest. Her face is modelled in detail – her eyes are oval, she has a small nose and her lips are full. The goddess’s hair is carefully arranged, as her kalathos and dress are presented skilfully. On the goddess’s right side

⁵² The white marble plate (dim. 0.39 x 0.24 x 0.07 m) was found in the area of Kostolac, probably placed, upon its discovery, in the National museum in Belgrade, but it is now lost, Вулић 1931, 240, num. 639.

⁵³ Also, on a tetradrachm from Athens, minted around 140–139 BC, Villard 1997, 119, num. 19, 23, 24.

⁵⁴ Ibid: num. 25; Lichočka 1997, 267, V C 1.

⁵⁵ The “adventus” relief from Marcus Aurelius’ arch (eleven reliefs from the emperor’s arch are preserved – eight on the arch of Constantine the Great and three now placed in the Museo dei Conservatori) shows, in the centre, the goddess Fortuna with a staff in her left hand and a patera in her right hand, Arya 2002, 329–330.

⁵⁶ Villard 1997, num. 26.

⁵⁷ Pausanias mentions a temple of Tyche in Corinth, with a cult statue of the goddess, and several temples on the west end of the Forum have been suggested to be the sanctuary of Tyche, but they are small tetrastyle temples and not the large hexastyle building like the one presented on the reverse of Antoninus Pius’ coin, Walbank 2010, 170–171, Fig. 6.9.

⁵⁸ Votive reliefs from Germania Superior’s localities Möm-lingen, <http://lupa.at/6888?query=1403268428>; Frankfurt-Heddernheim (Nida), <http://lupa.at/7108?query=1403268428>; Saalburg/Bad Homburg, <http://lupa.at/7285?query=1403268428>; Bad Wimpfen (Vicus alisinensium), <http://lupa.at/7444?query=1403268428>; Walheim, <http://lupa.at/7677?query=1403268428>; Votive reliefs from Newcastle upon Tyne and Chester, Lichočka Fig. 413, 412.

⁵⁹ The relief fragment is of unknown provenience, but from the area of Zadar, and damaged on the top. The standing figure of Fortuna is presented, with a cornucopia in her left hand and a patera in her right hand, placed above the altar, <http://lupa.at/24296?query=1403268428>.

⁶⁰ A fragment of a relief presenting a standing Fortuna dressed in a long chiton with a himation, holding a cornucopia in her left hand and a patera in her right hand, <http://lupa.at/8009?query=1403268428>;

⁶¹ The votive relief with a representation of the goddess Fortuna, was found in 1901 in the area of the legion camp in Carnuntum. The goddess is presented inside a temple, standing, dressed in a long chiton with a himation over it, wearing a polos on her head, with a cornucopia in her left hand, <http://lupa.at/8912?query=1403268428>;

⁶² <http://lupa.at/8912?query=1403268428>.

⁶³ The votive relief (dim. 0.22 x 0.18 x 5.5) was found in Kostolac, Viminacium and now is in the National Museum of Požarevac (inv. num. 2487), *IMS* II, 64, num. 8.

probably the image of a genius was presented and she possibly held her usual attribute of a cornucopia in her hand. Dedications to Fortuna and Genius were not seldom and in the imperial period were often found in harbours, but also in many other Roman localities, like Sankt Veit an der Glan (Virunum) in Noricum, Corinth, Utrera (Baetica), Maryport (Alauna) in Britannia, Alba Iulia (Apulium), Zlatna (Ampelum), Trilj (Tilurium) in Dalmatia, Lessenich, Remagen and Voorburg in Germania Inferior, Mainz (Mogontiacum) in Germania Superior, Rome, sites in Pannoniae, Numidia, etc.⁶⁴ Presentations of Fortuna with a genius are also frequent and are known mostly from reliefs, like the one from the altar discovered in Bad Deutsch and the relief from Autun.⁶⁵ The genius was considered to be a spiritual companion and protector of an individual or a family, thus frequently depicted in the *lararium* in private homes, usually with Fortuna's rudder.⁶⁶ Stylistically, the votive relief with the inscription *Genio [- - -]* bears strong similarities to the previous votive relief and the fact that both objects were found in Viminacium implies the possibility that they were produced in the same workshop. The votive relief from Kostolac can be dated as the previous monument, to the 2nd or the early 3rd century.

As for the stone sculptures and statues of the goddess Fortuna, the situation is somewhat difficult because except for the marble head from Ravna (Timaicum Minus) and Kostol and a marble sculpture from Viminacium, which obviously present the goddess, other statues are difficult to identify due to their fragmented state. Still, we will mention all the existing finds that could be identified as possible presentations of the goddess Fortuna.

The female head of a marble statue was discovered in 1935, in the area of so-called "Roman temple" in Ravna (Fig. 5).⁶⁷ At first sight, the head leaves quite a striking impression, depicting a mature woman with an austere look on her face. Her wavy hair is gathered under a kalathos, unfortunately damaged. On the back of her neck is a low bun tied with a ribbon. The traits of her face are also carefully modelled – almond-shaped eyes with emphasised pupils, lips without a smile and an almost double chin. However, the visible coldness and austerity in the facial expression make the goddess look static. Iconographic analogies, in the context of the hair and the polos on the goddess's head, can be found in a marble statue from London (British Museum) and in a bronze statuette from Volubilis.⁶⁸ The certain rigidity in the expression of the goddess's face

implies the last decades of the 3rd century as the period of its modelling.

The second marble head of what is presumably the goddess Fortuna was discovered in the locality of Kostol (Pontes).⁶⁹ It represents a mature woman with wavy hair gathered under a kalathos. Unfortunately, the head is damaged in the central part of the face, therefore we can only observe a somewhat schematic low forehead, oval eyes and small lips. Iconographically, the head of the goddess from Kostol much resembles the Fortune's head from Ravna and thus implies the second half of the 3rd century as the possible period of its modelling in some of the local workshops.

A skilfully modelled female marble statue was found during archaeological excavations from 2014 in Viminacium, in the area between the amphitheatre and city quarters (Fig. 6).⁷⁰ The statue's head was broken in the area of its neck and there is damage on the top of the head and on the statue's right arm. The female statue is placed on a semi-circular base, in a contrapposto position, with her weight on her left leg. The goddess is dressed in a long chiton belted above her waist, with a himation over her left shoulder. On her head, with wavy hair, parted in the middle and falling on her shoulders, she probably had a kalathos, which is missing now. The deity's face is elongated and the facial traits are carefully and skilfully modelled – deep eyes, long nose (unfortunately also damaged) and full, small lips. In her left hand, the goddess was holding a cornucopia, while the attribute from her right hand is missing, possibly a rudder, because on

⁶⁴ *AEA* 2004, 1; *AE* 2000, 1344; *CIL* II, 1280; *CIL* VII, 370; *CIL* III, 1008, 1018; *AE* 1971, 383; *IlJug* II, 734; *CIL* XIII, 8001, 7792, 1337; *CIL* XIII, 6728, 6747.

⁶⁵ Rausa 1997, 133, 126a, b.

⁶⁶ Arya 2002, 281, 284.

⁶⁷ The marble head of a goddess (height 8.5 cm) was found in the locality of Ravna and is now in the National museum in Niš, inv. num. 37/P, Вулић 1941–1948, 92, num. 199; Срејовић, Цермановић-Кузмановић 1987, 102, num. 42; Томовић 1993, 89, num. 82, Fig. 46, 3; Петровић, Јовановић 1997, 61, бр. 5; Дрча 2004, 147, num. 62; Илијић 2020, 19–20, Fig. 9.

⁶⁸ Rausa 1997, 128, num. 33 and 136–137, num. 180f.

⁶⁹ The marble female head (height 11 cm) was found in the locality of Kostol (Pontes), now in the National Museum in Belgrade, Томовић 1993, 90, num. 85, Fig. 31.2.

⁷⁰ The marble female statue (height 80.3 cm, width 35.7 cm) was found in 2014, during archaeological excavations in Viminacium, in the vicinity of the amphitheatre, Богдановић, Рогић, Вуковић-Богдановић 2018, 237, num. 7.



Fig. 5. Marble head of Fortuna, from Ravna (Timacum Minus) (photo documentation of National Museum in Niš)

Fig. 7. Marble head of Fortuna, from Prahovo (Aquaе) (photo: Gordana Janjić)

Сл. 5. Мермерна глава Фортуне, из Равне (Тимакум Минус) (фото-документација Народни музеј у Нишу)

Сл. 7. Мермерна глава Фортуне, из Прахова (Аквае) (фото: Гордан Јањић)

the statue's right side, the remains of a larger object are visible. The back of the statue is summarily treated, therefore it can be presumed that the statue was placed with its back to the wall. The statue of Fortuna from Viminacium copies Late Hellenistic statues (of the type Braccio Nuovo and the similar type of Claudia Iusta statues of the goddess Fortuna),⁷¹ particularly in the context of the arrangement of the goddess's hair and dress – the drapery is harmoniously arranged and the himation is richly folded, wrapped over her left arm or her left shoulder. In that context, the Viminacium statue bears close similarities with the marble statue of Fortuna from the Chiaramonti Museum in Vatican, but also with a female torso from Side.⁷² Iconographically, the statue from Viminacium bears close similarities in the treatment of hair and dress with the marble statue of Fortuna with Pontos from Constanta and a marble statue now in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston.⁷³ Stylistically, although the details of the Viminacium statue are well (facial traits, hair, the folded chiton and himation) and very realistically modelled (the modelling of the thin chiton which follows the body curves that can be observed on the statue's

right thigh and leg), a certain linearity is present in the mentioned details. Therefore, the end of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd century would be the proposed period of the statue's modelling.

⁷¹ Rausa 1997, 127–128.

⁷² The marble Fortuna statue from Galleria dei Candelabri in the Chiaramonti Museum in Vatican is a close analogy to the Viminacium statue and represents the deity with an elongated face, without any headdress on her hair and with no attributes in her hands (the attributes are missing, but presumably she was shown with a cornucopia and a rudder or a globe). The goddess is shown in a long chiton belted under her chest, with a richly folded himation over her left arm, Ibid, 128, num. 30. The female torso from Side Museum (inv. num. 126) presents the goddess dressed in a folded chiton, with the remains of a globe and a rudder, Lichocka 1997, 163, num. 333.

⁷³ The marble statue of the goddess Fortuna (height 1.55 m) found in Constanta (Tomis), now in the Museum in Constanta (inv. num. 2001), bears an inscription on the base of the statue, dedicated to ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ, by two dedicants, Agripas and Asklys. The statue is dated to the Severan period, 150–200, <http://lupa.at/21341?query=826346860>, Lichocka 1997, 39, Fig. 366a–d. The marble statue of Fortuna now in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston (height 0.95 m) is dated to around the beginning of the 3rd century, Ibid, 166, Fig. 342a–b.

The following finds could represent the goddess Fortuna, but due to the lack of any attribute or detail that would confirm their identification as such, it is somewhat dubious if they really represent the deity in question or some other goddess.

A marble female head found in the locality of Prahovo (Aqua) is slightly damaged in the area of the nose and chin (Fig. 7).⁷⁴ The elongated head of a mature woman is slightly bent on the right side, with wavy hair parted in the middle and gathered at the top of her head in a bun, with a few locks falling down her neck. The facial traits are not particularly skilfully modelled – a wide nose and tight lips correspond to the summarily arranged wavy hair, which imply a local artisan, probably from the 3rd century.

Another marble female statue which could represent the goddess Fortuna was discovered in the locality of Kostolac, Viminacium, as a chance find (Fig. 8).⁷⁵ The fragmented statue, preserved only from the neck to approximately the knees (without head, hands and legs), shows a standing female figure dressed in a long chiton, tied under the breasts and topped with a mantle over her left shoulder. The back of the statue is only summarily treated, as it probably stood with her back against the wall. The dress is richly folded, yet quite rigidly, implying a local origin of the statue's artisan. Iconographically, the statue from Viminacium corresponds to known statuettes of the goddess Fortuna/Tyche, presented with a cornucopia in the left hand and a patera in the right hand. Stylistically, although



Fig. 6. Marble statue of Fortuna, from Viminacium (after: Боїдановић, Ројић, Вуковић-Боїдановић 2018, 237, num. 7)

Fig. 8. Marble torso of Fortuna, from Kostolac, Viminacium (photo documentation of National Museum Požarevac)

Сл. 6. Мермерна статуа Фортуне, из Виминацијума (према: Боїдановић, Ројић, Вуковић-Боїдановић 2018, 237, нит. 7)

Сл. 8. Мермерни торзо Фортуне, из Костолоца, Виминацијум (фото-документација из Народној музеја Пожаревац)



the chiton and himation of the statue are richly folded, they are simplified and are not following the curves of the goddess's body in a natural way. There is a noticeable similarity between the fragmented statue from Viminacium and the Fortuna/Tyche marble statue from Cluj-Napoca, dated to the first half of the 3rd century.⁷⁶ However, if we compare the fragmented statue from Viminacium with a marble sculpture of Fortuna also found in Viminacium, a certain schematisation and rigidity in the fragmented statue's modelling suggests a later period of its carving, probably the second half of the 3rd century.⁷⁷

Bronze statuettes of the goddess Fortuna or the iconographic type of Isis-Fortuna are known from different localities of the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans, with some of the finds being produced with a firm knowledge of the goddess's iconography. The first bronze statuette of the goddess Fortuna was discovered in the village of Bogdanica in the area of Asenovgrad.⁷⁸ The deity is standing in a contrapposto position, with her weight on her left leg, dressed in a long richly folded chiton, belted under the breasts. Her wavy hair is divided in the middle and gathered in a bun on the back of her neck. There is a half-crescent diadem in her hair. She is dressed in a long chiton, with a himation over her back. Unfortunately, both attributes are missing from her hands – she probably held a cornucopia in her left hand and a rudder, on which she placed her right hand. The treatment of the statuette implies a solid, yet not highly skilful provincial work, from the 2nd or the 3rd century.

The second bronze statuette of the goddess Fortuna was found in Stobi, in 1937, during archaeological excavations (Fig. 9).⁷⁹ The goddess is represented standing, in contrapposto position with her weight on her left leg. Her head is slightly tilted to the right, dressed in a long chiton with short sleeves and a himation over it. She wears a round diadem on her head, while her hair is parted in the middle and partly gathered under the diadem. The goddess is holding a large cornucopia in her left hand, while her right hand is placed on a wheel (*rota Fortunae*). The attribute of a wheel, a symbol of the cycle of life but also of the goddess's capricious nature, appears in Fortuna's iconography in the period of Trajan's reign, perhaps even in the Augustan period, due to the cult of Fortuna Redux.⁸⁰ Iconographically and stylistically, the bronze statuette from Stobi is similar to the bronze statuette from Bonn, particularly considering the analogous way of dress and cornucopia modelling.⁸¹

Although the details of the figure – the facial traits, dress and the attributes are modelled with precision and carefully, it is a provincial work produced in the 2nd or the 3rd century.

The bronze statuette of the goddess of, unfortunately, unknown provenience presents a very skilfully modelled statuette where Fortuna is presented standing, in a contrapposto pose, with weight on her left leg (Fig. 10).⁸² She wears a long chiton with short sleeves and a himation over it. Her wavy hair is parted in the middle and tied in a bun on the back of her head, on which the goddess wears a diadem. The attributes from both hands, presumably a rudder and cornucopia, are missing. Iconographically and by the stylistic characteristics, the bronze statuette of Fortuna of unknown provenience is analogous to the bronze statues of the goddess from London (British Museum) and

⁷⁴ The marble female head (height 9 cm) was found in the locality of Prahovo (Aqua), and is now situated in the Museum of Krajina, Negotin, inv. num. 127, Ibid, 89, num. 83, Fig. 19.4; Jaњић 2016, 65, cat. 4, Fig. 4. I would like to express my sincere thanks to my dear colleague Gordana Janjić for the photograph of the marble head from Prahovo.

⁷⁵ The marble statuette (height 23.9 cm) was found in the locality of Kostolac, and is now in the National Museum Požarevac, inv. num. 02_2504, Tomović 1993, 90, num. 86. I would like to sincerely thank my dear colleague Teodora Branković, for the photograph of the marble statue from Kostolac, Viminacium.

⁷⁶ The marble statue of Fortuna/Tyche (height 0.45 m, width 0.35 m, depth 0.1 m) discovered in Cluj-Napoca, now in the Museum in Cluj (inv. num. 1354) represents a female figure standing on a base, dressed in a long chiton and himation. The attributes are missing, Diaconescu 2012, 70–71, num. 38, Fig. 38.

⁷⁷ Срејовић, Цермановић-Кузмановић 1987, 88, num. 35.

⁷⁸ The bronze figurine of the goddess Fortuna (height 5.8 cm) was discovered in the locality of Bogdanica in the area of Asenovgrad, now in the National Museum of Sofia, inv. num. IB 3456, Ognenova-Marinova 1975, 160, num. 183; Ružić 2006, 182, cat. 231, Fig. 231.

⁷⁹ The bronze statuette of Fortuna (height 8.5 cm), was found in the locality of Stobi, now it is placed in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 2777/III, Величковић 1972, 58, num. 86, Fig. 86.

⁸⁰ Arya 2002, 88; The cult of Fortuna Redux was acknowledged with the consecration of an altar in Fortuna Redux's honour, as a gesture of gratitude towards the deity who brought Augustus safely from Syria, Miano 2018, 159.

⁸¹ Rausa 1997, 129, num. 44d.

⁸² The bronze statuette of unknown provenience (height 15.4 cm), now situated in the City Museum of Belgrade, inv. num. AA/1658, Античка бронза Сингидунума 1997, 38, num. 23, Fig. 23. My deep gratitude goes to our dear colleague Milorad Ignjatović for the photograph of the bronze statuette of unknown provenience.



Figs. 9. Bronze statuette of Fortuna, from Stobi (after: Величковић 1972, 58, num. 86, fig. 86)

Fig. 10. Bronze statuette of Fortuna of unknown provenience

(photo documentation of City Museum Belgrade, courtesy of Milorad Ignjatović)

Fig. 11. Bronze statuette of Isis–Fortuna, from Guberevac (photo documentation of National Museum in Belgrade)

Сл. 9. Бронзана сџаиџуеџа Форџуне из Сџобија (џрема: Величковић 1972, 58, num. 86, fig. 86)

Сл. 10. Бронзана сџаиџуеџа Форџуне неџознаџе џровениџенџије

(фоџо докуменџација Музеја џрада Беоџрага, захваљуџуџи Милораду Иџџаџовићу)

Сл. 11. Бронзана сџаиџуеџа Изџде–Форџуне, из Губереџа (фоџо-докуменџација Народног музеја Беоџраг)

Vienna.⁸³ Nevertheless, the skill with which her facial traits, hair and richly folded dress are modelled implies a possible import, produced in the 2nd century.

The bronze statuette discovered in Guberevac represents a type of Isis–Fortuna, because of Isis' head-dress (cow horns are presented on the rim of a modius and there are a solar disc and feathers above the horns) on the goddess's head (Fig. 11).⁸⁴ The deity is presented standing, in contrapposto, with her weight on the left leg. The goddess's head is slightly turned to the right and her hair is divided in the middle and collected in a bun on the back of her head. She is dressed in a long chiton with short sleeves, with a himation over her left shoulder. Isis–Fortuna holds a cornucopia in her left hand, while with her right hand she holds a rudder. Iconographically, the statuette belongs to the well known Isis–Fortuna type, which appeared quite late in Roman art, due to the late syncretism of

the two goddesses (as was already mentioned, not before the late 1st century BC). The bronze statuette of Isis–Fortuna represents a unique find in the Central Balkan territory and shares close iconographic and stylistic similarities with a bronze statuette from Savur-

⁸³ The bronze statuette of Fortuna from Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna represents the goddess dressed in a long chiton with a himation, wearing a diadem on her wavy hair. In her left hand, the deity holds a cornucopia, while the attribute from her right hand (probably a rudder) is missing, Lichočka 1997, 128, Fig. 432. The bronze statuette of Fortuna from the British Museum in London is very similar to the previous statuette, except that besides the diadem, the goddess is also wearing a modius on her head, Ibid 121, Fig. 455.

⁸⁴ The bronze figurine of Isis-Fortuna was discovered in Guberevac, now it is in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 2778/III, Величковић 1972, 62–63, cat. 92, Fig. 92; Античка бронза Сингидунума 1997, 40, cat. 31, Fig. 31.

dija,⁸⁵ a bronze figurine from Trieste⁸⁶ and with a bronze statuette found in the area of Lika, now kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.⁸⁷ Stylistic characteristics of the statuette from Guberevac (not skilfully modelled face traits, hair and summarily done attributes) imply a coarse provincial work from the 3rd century.

The last bronze statuette which could perhaps present the goddess Fortuna was found in the southern parts of the Central Balkans, in the vicinity of Prilep.⁸⁸ The deity is presented standing in a long chiton with a himation. It seems that besides a veil on her head, the statuette also has a modius (?). A cornucopia is presented in her left hand, while the attribute from her right hand is missing. This type of bronze statuettes of Fortuna represent the so-called Great Mother type of the goddess's statuettes, which are mostly known in terracotta.⁸⁹ The fragmented statuette of the deity presents a coarse, unskilful product of the 3rd century, which, in the opinion of M. Veličković, could have served as an ornament for a hairpin.⁹⁰

Besides votive reliefs, sculptures and statuettes, the image of the goddess Fortuna is known from nine gems. The image of the goddess on glyptic art has been transferred from her presentations on coinage, particularly being popular during the 2nd and the 3rd century across the whole Roman Empire, some provinces like Dalmatia in particular.⁹¹ On so-far known gems from the Roman Central Balkans, the goddess is presented alone or with the goddess Victoria (on four gems, Fig. 12a) and on two gems Isis–Fortuna is in the company of Hermes–Thoth (Fig. 12b). On the gems where Fortuna is shown with Victoria and Hermes–Thoth, both deities, Victoria and Hermes, are presented crowning the goddess with a wreath.⁹²

On almost all nine gems the canonized image of the goddess is shown – she is presented standing, dressed in a long chiton with a himation, holding a cornucopia in her left hand and placing her right hand on a rudder.⁹³ The majority of gems are of local production, which can be observed in the summary presentations of the goddess and her attributes. The differences are only visible in the details and elaborateness of the image – on the gem of unknown provenience, Fortuna is presented placing her left hand on a rudder in the form of a shut umbrella, as in Nerva's coins with the legend *Fortuna Augusti*,⁹⁴ While on three gems (two of unknown provenience and one found in Kostolac, Viminacium), the goddess's figure is summarily presented.⁹⁵ This iconographic type of Fortuna pres-

entation on gems has numerous analogies all over the Roman empire, but in the context of the stylistic characteristic the Central Balkans' Fortuna gems are similar to gems from the province of Germania, Spain etc.⁹⁶ The four gems (one gem from Ritopek, one gem from Veliko Gradište and two gems of unknown provenience)⁹⁷ with the presentation of Victoria crowning Fortuna with a wreath, have their analogies in finds from Gottingen, Braunschweig, Monaco and Bruxelles,⁹⁸ but also Brunswick, Berlin, Hanover, etc.⁹⁹

As for the two gems (both gems are of unknown provenience)¹⁰⁰ with the composition of Hermes–Thoth crowning Isis–Fortuna with a wreath, the closest iconographical and stylistic analogies can be found in gems from Copenhagen, Bucarest, Braunschweig, Monaco, Narbona, Vienna,¹⁰¹ Hannover, etc.¹⁰²

Two gems with the representation of the goddess Fortuna distinguish from the other examples – the gem inlaid in a silver ring found in Novi Beograd (New Belgrade) made of multilayer agate and the gem of

⁸⁵ The bronze statuette from Savudrija was found at a Roman villa on the coast in the locality of Savudrija, Girardi Jurkić 2012, 146, Fig. 19.

⁸⁶ Лисичар 1961, 131, Fig. 8.

⁸⁷ Rausa 1997, 137, num. 180n.

⁸⁸ The bronze statuette of the goddess (height 3.8 cm) was found in some locality in the vicinity of Prilep. Its lower part is missing, and is now situated in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 2779/III, Величковић 1972, 58–59, num. 87, Fig. 87; Константин Велики и милански едикт 313. године 2013, 306, cat. 62.

⁸⁹ The “Great Mother” type of Fortuna terracotta statuettes is known mostly by the finds from Rome, Rausa 1997, 126, num. 1b, d.

⁹⁰ Величковић 1972, 59.

⁹¹ Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, 94; Nardelli 2008, 237.

⁹² The group composition of the goddess Victoria who is giving a wreath to Fortuna is shown on the gems Ibid, 404–405, cat. 271–274, T. XXIII, Ibid, 96; on two gems, Hermes–Thoth is presenting a wreath to Isis–Fortuna, 417–418, cat. 315–316, T. XXVII, Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid, 406–408, cat. 275–283, T. XXIV.

⁹⁴ The oval gem of unknown provenience is made of orange carnelian (13.2 x 10.2 x 3.2 mm), now held in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 1865/II, Ibid, 406, cat. 275, T. XXIV.

⁹⁵ Ibid, cat. 276–278, T. XXIV.

⁹⁶ Like gems from Hannover and Seville, Rausa 1997, 136, num. 177a, 168d; gems from Berlin, Lichočka 1997, Fig. 542–543.

⁹⁷ Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, cat. 271–274, T. XXIII.

⁹⁸ Rausa 1997, 134, num. 143–147.

⁹⁹ Lichočka 1997, num. 532, 533, 537.

¹⁰⁰ Нововић-Кузмановић 2005, 417–418, cat. 315–316, T. XXVII.

¹⁰¹ Rausa 1997, 134, num. 132–134.

¹⁰² Lichočka 1997, num. 536.



Fig. 12. Gems with a presentation of:

a) Victoria crowning Fortuna; b) of Hermes–Thoth crowning Fortuna; c) Fortuna and a child
(photo documentation: Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Сл. 12. Геме са прегсјавама:

a) Викторије која крунише Форџуну; b) Хермес–Тоџа који крунише Форџуну; c) Форџуне и деџетџа
(фоџо-документџација Археолошки инсџитџуџи Беоџраг)

unknown provenience, made of obsidian. The gem from the Novi Beograd locality presents a stylised but very skilfully modelled image of the goddess Fortuna, where significant attention has been paid to the details of the deity's figure, shown with a cornucopia in her right hand and placing her left hand on a rudder.¹⁰³ There is a strong resemblance to the stylistic characteristics of the gem from Oxford.¹⁰⁴ The gem from Novi Beograd is dated to the 3rd century. The gem of unknown provenience shows the goddess holding a cornucopia in her right hand, while with her left stretched hand she is touching the hand of a child who kneels beside her (Fig. 12c)¹⁰⁵ This iconographic type of goddess Fortuna presents her as the protectress of children and their fate, which is related to the same function the deity had in Praeneste. An almost identical presentation is found in a gemstone from Munich, dated to the period of the 2nd–3rd century.¹⁰⁶ The gem of unknown provenience is most probably an import from Italy, not only because of the symbolic role of the goddess, but also because of the skilful modelling of the composition, in the same period as its analogy from Munich, in the 2nd or the 3rd century.

Considering the popularity of gems with the image of Fortuna in the Central Balkan Roman provinces, it can be presumed that her popularity was due to her protection and guidance of individuals during their lives, but also after their deaths, securing them salvation and happiness.

The epigraphic and archaeological material from the Roman Central Balkans attest to the significant popularity of Fortuna's cult in the mentioned territory – she was honoured under different epithets (*salutaris*, *aeterna* or *sacra*) mostly by frequent ones, but also by

¹⁰³ The gem in a silver ring (width 2.9cm) was found in Novi Beograd, and is now situated in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 882/II, Поповић 1992, cat. 90; Нововић–Кузмановић 2005, cat. 282, Т. XXIV.

¹⁰⁴ Rausa 1997, 129, num. 51i.

¹⁰⁵ The gem of unknown provenience, bought from H. Lederer from Belgrade, now in the National Museum in Belgrade, inv. num. 340/III, Нововић–Кузмановић 2005, cat. 283, Т. XXIV.

¹⁰⁶ Rausa 1997, 118, num. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Kajanto 1988, 566.

¹⁰⁸ The votive monument dedicated to Dea Fortuna was found at the entrance of Niš fortress, where, near by, public thermae were discovered in later archaeological excavations. A votive monument, possibly from Aesculapius' shrine, was also found in the area of Niš fortress, dedicated by the first known physician in Niš, Claudius Magnus, Gavrilović Vitas 2020, 69–70. The cult of Fortuna Balnearis was popular in the baths in the frontier provinces and the goddess was probably considered the guardian of bathing facilities and thermal sources, Kajanto 1988, 573–574; Champeaux 1987, 215, ft. 80, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI. 5.3, 13; XXVI. 2.9. In his Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (A. D. 404), Claudian implies that the cult and the temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome were still significant for the population and the city at the beginning of the 5th century (in 404), Claudian, *Panegyric*, XXVIII. 1.

a very rare epithet *Domina* from a votive altar found in Čiflak, near Ulpiana, which is attested only on one more votive monument, discovered in El Mesaurat in Egypt. Her dedicants were procurators, decurion, soldiers, but also a woman who was probably a Romanised inhabitant from the vicinity of Skoplje (Scupi). That the goddess Fortuna was venerated by soldiers not only in epigraphic, but also archaeological monuments, could be implied by the finds of marble statues of the deity, found in Roman fortresses in Ravna (Timacum Minus), Kostol (Pontes) and Prahovo (Aquae). Soldiers (from ordinary soldiers to *legati* and veterans) represent the most numerous of the goddess's devotees in other Roman provinces as well (particularly in the frontier provinces), like in Germania Superior, Britannia and Pannonia, which is quite logical since the goddess symbolised protection and luck.

The official goddess, *Fortuna populi Romani*, was protectress of Romans, especially in war,¹⁰⁷ therefore it was quite natural for soldiers to turn to and pray to *Fortuna imperatrix mundi*, as the goddess who would make them safe during their travels and combats and who would bring them luck and success in their campaigns and wars. The marble statues of the goddess discovered in Viminacium could present the deity's cult statues that were placed in her temple or the temple of some deity that had similar competences as Fortuna (the goddess Nemesis, for example). Currently known bronze statuettes of the goddess present typical provincial works from the 2nd or the 3rd century, with the exception of the statuette from Guberevac, which is a unique find of the iconographic type of Isis–Fortuna, where Fortuna is presented with an Isis headdress on her head, while holding a cornucopia and a rudder. As for the gemstones with the image of goddess Fortuna, besides her usual presentation as a standing mature woman holding a cornucopia and a rudder in her hands, two more types of iconographic presentations are

known – of Victoria crowning Fortuna with a wreath and of Hermes–Thoth crowning Fortuna in the same way. An exquisite example is presented on a gem of unknown provenience, where Fortuna is shown placing her hand on a child's head, thus confirming the dimension of the goddess as the protectress of children and youth. As for the temples and presumed sanctuaries of Fortuna in the territory of Central Balkan Roman provinces, the inscription on an architrave found at the entrance of the Gračanica monastery near Ulpiana confirms that there was a temple of the goddess there. Another sanctuary of Fortuna can be presumed in Niš (Naissus), based on the presence of her priest Aurelius Dexter in 221, which could, perhaps, have been connected with the cult of *Fortuna Balnearis*, the protectress of baths and thermal springs.¹⁰⁸ A third temple of the goddess could be assumed in the locality of Lopate, west of Kumanovo, where, besides a votive monument dedicated to Fortuna Salutaris, the remains of some sacred antique objects were also discovered. Although, to date, the cult of the goddess Fortuna has not been epigraphically attested in Viminacium, the finds of two votive reliefs and two marble statues of the goddess indicate the possibility of the existence of a sanctuary or a shrine in the capital of Moesia Superior, where Fortuna was venerated.

The latest monuments of the goddess's cult from the Roman Central Balkans are dated to the last decades of the 3rd century, when the budding Christianity was overpowering paganism, not only in this particular territory, but over the entire Roman Empire. However, the cult of the goddess who ensured the emperor's wellbeing, safety and rule, and who also gave her protection and luck to individuals and families, still influenced the lives of Roman emperors and citizens in the period of Late Antiquity, as her temples, like the temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome, still existed in the early 5th century.¹⁰⁹

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:**Abbreviations:**

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> , Paris 1888–
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> , edd. H. Temporini & W. Haase, Berlin 1972–
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Th. Mommsen, ed., Berolini: apud G. Reimerum, (Berlin 1863–)
<i>CIMRM</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , I, II, M. J. Vermaseren, Hague 1956, 1960
<i>ICUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores</i> , ed. G. B. Rossi, Roma 1857–
<i>ILJug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> , I–III, Ljubljana 1963–1982
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I–VI, Belgrade 1976–1995
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , LIMC I–VII, Zürich–München, 1981–1997; VIII, Zürich–Düsseldorf, 1997
<i>ССКА</i>	<i>Сѣоменик Срѣске Краљевске Академије</i> , Београд 1872–1947

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КУЛТ БОГИЊЕ ФОРТУНЕ У РИМСКИМ ПРОВИНЦИЈАМА ЦЕНТРАЛНОГ БАЛКАНА

Кључне речи. – богиња Фортуна, римске провинције централног Балкана, римска војска, светилишта

Култ богиње Фортуне у римским провинцијама централног Балкана потврђен је бројним вотивним споменицима, вотивним рељефима, скулптурама, бронзаним статуетама и представама богиње на гемама. На основу убикације локалитета на којима је култ Фортуне потврђен, може се констатовати да највећи број споменика потиче из источних и јужних делова централног Балкана, за разлику од западног дела, у коме није констатован ниједан споменик божанства. На вотивним споменицима, дедикације богињи Фортуни се чине самостално или са Генијем, са епитетима под којима је богиња позната и у другим римским провинцијама (*Dea, Salutaris, Sacrum*), изузев епитета *Domina* на вотивном споменику са локалитета Чифлак, близу Улпијане и *Aeterna* на вотивном споменику из Грачанице. На једном од два вотивна рељефа из Костолца, посвета је упућена Генију, који је вероватно био представљен заједно са Фортуном на оштећеном делу рељефа, у функцији заштитника одређене особе, породице и/или дома особе/особа у питању.

Налази мермерних скулптура и бронзаних статуета богиње Фортуне указују да је божанство представљано по увреженом иконографском канону – као зрела жена која стоји, обучена у дуг хитон са химатионом преко левог рамена, некада са калатосом, полосом, дијадемом или велом на глави, држећи рог изобиља у левој руци и десном руком ослоњена на кормило. Одређене скулптуре и статуете, као мермерна скулптура Фортуне из Виминацијума и бронзана

статуета богиње непознате провенијенције, представљају изузетно вешто и значајки моделоване примере провинцијске уметности из 3. века н. е. Бронзана статуета богиње из Губеревца представља синкретистички тип Изиде–Фортуне, препознатљив по карактеристичној Изидиној круни на глави божанства, који је познат и са две геме непознате провенијенције, са представом Хермеса–Тота који крунише Изиду–Фортуну венцем. До сада познати налази гема указују на развијену локалну производњу глиптике, изузев геме непознате провенијенције на којој је богиња Фортуна приказана са дететом, што је у вези са димензијом Фортуне као заштитнице деце и дечје судбине (*Fortuna Praenestina*), и која се може сматрати италијанским импортом услед симболичке представе, али и изузетно прецизне и значајке обраде саме композиције.

Епиграфски и археолошки налази у вези са култом богиње Фортуне указују на постојање храмова божанства у или у околини Улпијане, у Нишу, у околини Куманова, вероватно и у Виминацијуму. Храмове богиње Фортуне треба свакако очекивати и на другим локалитетима централног Балкана, услед њене улоге заштитнице појединаца, али и породица и градова, богиње која доноси срећу у ратним, али и мирнодопским условима, у трговини, на копненим, речним и морским путовањима, термама и бањама, једном речју у различитим животним околностима обичног човека, али и императора, његове породице и римске државе.