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*Alla mia famiglia*

...ἀλλὰ Νέμεσις τις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν εὐδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρματι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε.

(PLUT., *Philopoemen*, 18, 2)



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## ABBREVIATIONS OF LEXICA, SERIES ET SIMILIA

Epigraphic sources have been abbreviated according to the system used by *SEG*, available at this page:

<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/>

- An. Ép.*                      *L' Année Épigraphique*
- BMC*                              *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek coins of...*
- New Pauly                      *H. Cancik, H. Schneider (eds.), Brill's New Pauly, Encyclopaedia of the ancient world, Leiden 2002-*
- CBI*                              E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, E. Wittkopf, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1990
- EAD*                              M.-T. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée. «Exploration archéologique de Délos», 30, Paris 1974*
- EAOR II*                        *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano, Regiones Italiae VI-XI, Ricerche di storia epigrafica e antichità, G. L. Gregori (eds.), vol. 2, Rome 1989*
- EAOR VII*                      *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano, Baetica, Tarraconensis, Lusitania, L. Gómez-Pantojia (eds.), vol. 7, Rome 2009*
- EKM*                              L. Gounaropoulou, M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Epigraphes Katō Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou), vol. 1, Epigraphes Veroias, 1998 Athens 1998*

<i>ID</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 7 voll., Paris 1926-1972
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , sous la direction de Fanoula Papazoglou, Belgrade 1976-
<i>LGPN</i>	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews (eds.), <i>A lexicon of Greek personal names</i> , Oxford 1987-
<i>NEPKh</i>	E. Solomonik, <i>Novye èpigrafičeskie pamâtniki Hersonesa</i> , 2 voll., 1964-1973
<i>RE</i>	G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus (eds.), <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893-
<i>SB</i>	F. Priesigke, F. Bilabel, E. Kiessling, H.-A. Rupprecht (eds.), <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , voll. 1-18, 1915-1993, Strasbourg – Berlin – Leipzig
<i>Salamine XIII</i>	J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, J. Marcillet-Jaubert (eds.), <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> , 13 voll., <i>Testimonia Salamina, corpus épigraphique</i> , vol. 2, Paris 1987
<i>SNG Aulock</i>	H. von Aulock, <i>Sylloge nummorum Graecorum</i> , Deutschland, Berlin 1957-1968
<i>SNG Levante</i>	E. Levante, <i>Sylloge nummorum Graecorum, Cilicia</i> , Zuerig 1986
<i>Studia Pontica III</i>	J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont, H. Grégoire (eds.), <i>Studia Pontica, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie</i> , vol. 3, Bruxelles 1910
<i>TAM</i>	Tituli Asiae Minoris...
<i>ThesCRA</i>	Thesaurus cultuus et rituum antiquorum, Los Angeles 2004-2014

## FOREWORD

My first acquaintance with the cult of Nemesis dates from my MA research into the creation of the cult of Mars Ultor and its associated role in political propaganda. The connection between Mars and Nemesis has only been attested indirectly and even then, very rarely. However, the Roman concept of ultio, revenge and vengeance, was almost certainly inspired by the Greek concept of nemesis, righteous punishment. The latter was incorporated into Roman governance and was a key tool in the management of the Empire.

The goddess Nemesis and the concept she embodied was originally taken to be the supreme indignation at the violations of harmony, disruptions to the general order of life and nature. Nemesis was entrusted with supervising “perfect balance” and the role she held during the Greek and Roman times led to her continued influence throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, Renaissance and modern times. Thanks to the syncretism and association with other deities as well as the power of her symbolism, it is possible to admire representations of her in, amongst others, paintings and frescos on buildings, to read her name in Byzantine texts and to encounter her in philosophical thought.

From the earliest stages of my research it was clear that the ideals personified by Nemesis had enormous psychological impact and this remains the case today. Her role was so fundamental to Greek and Roman people that she was their paradigm of harmony and cosmic order. Unlucky or unfortunate events were attributed to her anger at the diversion from the “normal” way of things.

Studying this goddess took me across time and space leading me to realise that what I always considered a relatively minor deity – almost unknown outside the world of academia – was, in reality, one of the main pillars of Greek religion and culture. The relatively few temples and monuments to Nemesis which survive today should not mislead us: In the ancient world, everyone was aware of her power. In her representation of eternal harmony, the right measure, and the idea of not overpassing the personal limits, Nemesis’ cult was widely spread in Greek poleis

and Roman communities, sustained by hopes for reward and fears of retribution for any missteps. The available evidence clearly suggests that all individuals had their own personal Nemesis, a force aware of every foul action and always ready to punish. It can be said that she was one of the inner forces of the individual. Indeed, “transformations” of her role have been noted in many other religions. Christianity “translated” her role into that of the personal angel, destiny, or the ever-watching eye of God. In Hinduism her meaning may have been included in the deity which is thought to live inside every person. From mythology to politics, sport, war, and funerary rites, Nemesis and her concept applied to so many spheres of human activity that it is very difficult to define where her influence ended.

There have already been in depth studies by various scholars on the figure of Nemesis which have elevated her from her originally supposed status of a minor deity. Hermann Posnansky’s book *Nemesis und Adrasteia. Eine mythologisch-archäologische Abhandlung* (Breslau 1890) remains one of the basic treatises exploring the syncretism between Nemesis and Adrasteia. This study provides a large collection of findings from various geographical areas and historical periods and continues to be a good general reference book on the subject.

Other publications from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have shed light on the cult of Nemesis, but mostly focusing only on singular findings secondarily related to her. Examples include Zeus Hysistos, the Sun and funerary inscriptions of Jewish communities; the Egyptian gods Serapis and Isis; the Charites; and within the context of the theatre-areas and athletic competitions. We are deeply indebted to Volkmann<sup>1</sup> and Perdrizet<sup>2</sup> for their analysis of specific findings from Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor. The former focused more on the athletic context while the latter explored the symbolism and monuments related to Greek religion and monotheistic codes of belief. However, these studies took into consideration a limited group of findings without dealing with the panorama of the evidence that survives from different times and place. Nemesis remains a goddess sometimes associated with

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<sup>1</sup> See Volkmann 1928; Volkmann 1934.

<sup>2</sup> See Perdrizet 1898; Perdrizet 1912; Perdrizet 1914.

Tyche, sometimes with Aequitas and sometimes close to the Egyptian gods or the imperial cult.

In 1993 Michael Hornum<sup>3</sup> published a collection of all known literary and epigraphic evidence on Nemesis and focused on her connection with the Roman power and involvement within the *munera* system which is considered to be a true expression of Roman identity and authority. Hornum's research covers the complete area of the Roman Empire and aimed to support the central idea of Nemesis' connection with – if not dependence on – the Roman ludic context. This one-sided opinion which rejects any relationship between the goddess and the Greek athletic sphere has been widely criticised especially by Angelos Chaniotis<sup>4</sup> who offered a brief but penetrating contribution to the study of the goddess.

Egypt was a very significant and unusual area of the Empire where the cult of Nemesis acquired a very strong and special character. B. Lichocka notices the absence of studies on the subject and authored an accurate and remarkable book, *Nemesis en l'Egypte Romain* (University of Michigan, 2004). Today it is an essential guide for anyone approaching Nemesis' cult in Egypt. Lichocka's work clearly underlined the multifaceted character of Nemesis and confirmed Egypt's position as a fecund place for the synthesis of local traditions with Greek cults. Prior to her book Lichocka contributed to studies about Nemesis' cult in articles on iconography and new findings<sup>5</sup>.

Tim Wittenberg produced a continuation of Hornum's work, *Kult bei der Arena, Nemesis-Heiligtümer im Kontext römischer Amphitheater* (Oxford 2014), which dealt with the presence of Nemesis in Roman amphitheatres from an archaeological perspective. This publication bridged the gap in the investigation into the areas where Nemesis was materially worshipped. The author analysed twenty-one amphitheatres throughout the western provinces of the Empire and prepared a well-structured study which offered a complete overview of the amphitheatre's cults and

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<sup>3</sup> See Hornum 1993.

<sup>4</sup> See Chaniotis 2010a, pp. 541 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Lichocka 1978; Lichocka 1989.

the material spaces devoted to the goddess. He particularly looked at the border areas where he found many indications of Nemesis as the goddess of the amphitheatre and army. Even if Wittenberg's research excluded the Eastern provinces, it is important to mention his contribution to the present study for its rigorous archaeological method, yet further study of the Greek theatres used as arenas and the presence within the same of Nemesis cult needed to be done.

This research to explore the cult of Nemesis against the complex background of Greek communities during Roman times with a special emphasis on their beliefs, morality and goals. The ambitions of this study are twofold: To present a wide overview of the present evidence on Nemesis within the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and to release Nemesis from her traditionally assumed, exclusive role within the field of the arena, the participants in ludic contests such as gladiators, *venatores* or *editores* of the spectacles. This was already achieved in part by Hornum although he did not materially add much to the examination of the social aspects in Nemesis' cult. It is very well known that Nemesis was much more than just the goddess of gladiators, hunters and soldiers but more work needs to be done to clarify the nature of the worship she had in the Roman East. Indeed, the intention is to provide an idea of how Nemesis was revered in the everyday life of the people and her governance of human affairs was recognised in many spheres. Beyond her success in the ludic spheres, she also reflected the guiding principles of life. These she personified, as well as the Roman interest and involvement in the linking of those principles to Roman identity and power.

This research also attempts to appreciate better the Greek nature of Nemesis and its later development under Roman influence in imperial times. She was a goddess with Greek origins who acquired a special Roman profile and the present study seeks to understand how the Greeks reacted to the transformation of their goddess in Roman Times. How much of the original Greek nature still exists in Greek data of the imperial period and how much of a Roman 'edition' they present? The abundance of evidence of the Roman era in the Eastern areas of the Empire attests to the fact that Nemesis was a well-known goddess who was worshipped by the Greek communities and Roman colonies. Here the content of Greek and Roman character in the various findings is explored in the cult areas and contexts of the

discoveries. At the same time one should note the parallel effort of Greek communities and the imperial power to convey political messages through representations of Nemesis.

The first two chapters aim to clarify the figure of Nemesis and her initial phase of development from Homer to the popular beliefs and superstitions of the Greek and Roman people by looking at the historical and mythological principal cult data from Rhamnous and Smyrna. The second chapter focuses on the iconography, that is, mainly the attributes of Nemesis during Greek and Roman times. The available representations are extremely accurate, detailed and variously combined thus suggesting possibilities of associating Nemesis with different deities and ideals.

The third chapter examines how the cult of Nemesis in the eastern provinces was used for political propaganda in the interest of the Empire among the social components of the provincial communities such as (*i. a.*) private worshippers, local authorities and Roman officers. In regard to politics the research may begin by taking into consideration the conscious and planned ‘use’ of the *ultio* and Mars Ultor in the Augustan age, both of which were pillars of imperial ideology. The association between Nemesis and Mars Ultor has already been the subject of scholarly research: Erika Simon<sup>6</sup> investigated the iconography shared by the two gods, in particular the attribute of the griffin, while Mika Kajava<sup>7</sup> rightly associated the Rhamnousian temple with Augustus’ ambitions of bonding the Romans, the victors against the Parthians, and the old Athenian victors at Marathon. To date, however, the evidence of the relationship and mutual influence between Nemesis and Mars Ultor is limited. Even if they personified the same concepts in similar critical events it has been rare to find them clearly fused or represented together.

The latter part of chapter three is dedicated to the study of selected epigraphic evidence which assists in recognizing the kind of people who worshipped Nemesis such as *pontarches*, *eirenarches*, *gymnasiarches*, *beneficarii consulares* and the attempts to affirm their power or create personal connections with higher imperial

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<sup>6</sup> See Simon 1962.

<sup>7</sup> See Kajava 2000.

authorities. In the eastern cities Nemesis' venerators were people of various walks of life: We find a *demosios doulos* (*servus publicus*), local authorities (*strategoi*), members of the local *élite* with a direct connection with the Roman governors (*eirenarchs*), a Roman *proconsul* and others. In all these cases Nemesis was considered an emanation of the State and all had their own reason for becoming 'attached' to it.

Chapter four focuses on the social shades of the spread of Nemesis' cult. This is the main *corpus* of this research, analysing evidence from three main aspects of civic life: Cemeteries, theatre-areas, and organized forms of private associations. Cemeteries have always been the most important and original source of information for the ancient world. Tombs and burial inscriptions reveal inner feelings and fears and the most embedded beliefs of the people where Nemesis naturally played a role. Indeed, her chthonian nature is a well-known aspect but has yet to be precisely defined by scholars. The present research considers the people who invoked Nemesis to protect their own tombs or to avenge the deaths of the unjustly killed. Naturally, Nemesis appears to be strictly connected to justice and to deities such as Artemis, Tyche, Hecate, and the Thessalian Enodia.

Archaeological, artistic and epigraphic data are the focus of the second section of the fourth chapter, defining the chronology of the combination of Nemesis with the Roman festivals and its geographical spread; the material evidence and the location of little shrines dedicated to her cult in Greek theatres and stadiums. The association of Nemesis with the Roman games was an unexpected success in the Greek East where the goddess had an ancient tradition. Festivals dedicated to the imperial cult represented Roman identity but were also an opportunity to improve the economic balance of communities as well as a public demonstration of the acceptance of and loyalty to the central power.

Nemesis was at the centre of many private gatherings of persons with specific purposes. Evidence discovered includes a *synetheia Nemeseos* (Thessalonica), a *stemma* of the friends of hunting (Philippi), some *Nemesiastai* (Nicaea) and people called *philoploi* on a little statue of Nemesis of unknown provenance. Even the *Augustales* appear to be deeply connected with the goddess in Stobi acting as



witnesses to the natural relationship between the central power and the goddess. These urban bodies celebrated rituals around Nemesis, probably related to the theatre's context, hunts and sports. Here an attempt is made to gain a deeper view of the nature and goals of such institutions and their members, clarifying their social weight and needs while always keeping in mind the general landscape of religious associations. The comparison with similar western cases such as the *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum* of Vintium and the *Amici Nemesiaci* of Eborac amongst others helps understand and “measure” this peculiar associative phenomenon which in the Latin/Latinized West appears to be related to education, youth and hunting.

The sufficiency of available evidence has been a constant cause of anxiety for this author. From all perspectives and fields of study the evidence regarding Nemesis is very limited and broadly dispersed in areas far away from each other, also of different background. The attempt to combine different findings from Roman or Greek contexts has always been a difficult task with an ever-present danger of crossing the fine line between found hypothesis and speculation. One of the most interesting parts of the evidence is the confirmation of Nemesis' multi-faceted profile which could be considered “expendable” in different fields.

A complete picture of the quantity and geography of findings is given in the catalogue which forms the second volume of this dissertation. After collecting evidence from the Greek Orient, the aim has been to complete Hornum's catalogue<sup>8</sup> by supplementing it with entries of coins and statues in order to facilitate a clearer understanding of this text. The pieces of evidence are divided into geographical areas with a presentation of inscriptions, statuary and coinage related to Nemesis for each city and the corresponding bibliography.

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<sup>8</sup> See Hornum 1993, Appendix 1 and 2 on the literary and epigraphic findings.



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## CHAPTER 1 NEMESIS – THE BIRTH AND DIFFUSION OF A CULT

*A Homeric concept. Hesiod's hyper-uranic goddess. Represented in myth, but always as a lateral, subordinate idea. Historicized at Marathon, feared by the people: Nemesis was deeply ingrained in daily life as well as in main mythological sagas and historical events. Greek culture, focused as it was on the social consequences of individual and collective behaviours, developed her as a goddess, the mother of balance and harmony.*

### **1. 1 Earliest attestations: A survey of the literary evidence defining the nature of the Greek cult.**

#### **1. 1. 1 Homer, Hesiod, Aidos, Themis.**

Many in the intellectual tradition of the western world are at least vaguely aware of the goddess Nemesis, and they typically classify her as the embodiment of one of the most common and deepest feelings in human nature: Vengeance. From Homer to Hesiod and the Attic tragedians, there was a gradual passage from the notion of Nemesis as a concept, νέμεσις, the “righteous popular indignation” and “fear of the god” to a divinized force, and ultimately a goddess with a cult that could be found throughout the Greek world, and which was connected locally with the main sanctuaries of Rhamnous and Smyrna.

In Homer the concept of *nemesis* represented the indignation that derived from a lack of decency, modesty and justice in the individual person both in regard to the

self and to society. *Nemesis* could be felt or experienced by both humans and gods alike. This specific idea of *nemesis*, as an emotion that both gods and humans engaged with and also feared, as well as the active avoidance another person's *nemesis*, can be understood as a reaction to immoral and shameful acts that violated the ideal of harmony that formed the basis of Greek culture<sup>9</sup>. The social dimension of this concept was certainly part of what Dodds characterized as “shame-culture”, implying a community where the individual could be “sacrificed” for the sake of plurality. This sacrifice of an individual's interests for the well-being of the society was expressed by the necessity of fulfilling one's own duties as defined by one's social class. Avoiding those duties that the society demanded was a source of outrage. Such indignation was paired with the concept of αἰδώς, the sense of shame that compels one to fulfill duties and obligations towards the community. This is clearly expressed in the thirteenth book of the *Iliad* by Poseidon's reaction to the decision of the Achaeans to withdraw from battle: The god felt indignation and shame. This episode is particularly interesting given the argument used by Poseidon to encourage and persuade the Achaeans: He says he wouldn't be so irate if men not trained as warriors wished to withdraw, but he feels *nemesis* for the Achaeans who refuse to honour their status as glorious warriors and the duties associated with their exceptional abilities. The god encouraged the Achaeans to respect themselves, warning them to feel in their heart indignation and shame, *nemesis* and *aidos*<sup>10</sup>.

The fear of provoking *nemesis* in the hearts of others is also present in the *Iliad*. Two of the scenes which most clearly portray the fear of being the object of

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<sup>9</sup> On the Homeric *nemesis* as an emotion traditionally considered in the ambit of wrath but corresponding to a deep feeling with an important social impact see Bonanno 2014, pp. 93-94, with further bibl.

<sup>10</sup> *Il.*, 13, 117-122: οὐδ' ἄν ἔγωγε | ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσαίμην ὅς τις πολέμοιο μεθείη | λυγρός ἐών: | ὑμῖν δὲ νεμεσῶμαι περὶ κῆρι. | ὧ̅ πέπονες τάχα δὴ τι κακὸν ποιήσετε μείζον | τῆ̅δε μεθημοσύνη: ἀλλ' ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε ἕκαστος | αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν: δὴ γὰρ μέγα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν. “But it is no longer well that ye are slack in furious valour, all ye that are the best men in the host. Myself I would not quarrel with one that was slack in war, so he was but a sorry sight, but with you I am exceeding wrath at heart. Ye weaklings, soon ye shall cause yet greater evil by this slackness. Nay take in your hearts, each man of you, shame and indignation; for in good sooth mighty is the conflict that has arisen”. A similar speech from an outraged Apollo to the withdrawing warriors occurred also on the Trojan side see *Il.*, 4, 505-514.

*nemesis* are similar in subject, but different in context. In the third book we find Helen refusing to lie down with Paris after he avoided fighting Menelaos. Helen knew that by sleeping with him she would provoke the feeling of *nemesis* in the Trojan women who had lost their men in battle<sup>11</sup>. The second case, this time featuring the gods, is found in the fourteenth book, when Hera refuses Zeus' desire to sleep with her outdoors on the summit of mount Ida. Even the mother of the gods was afraid of being seen and thus incurring the *nemesis* of the other gods<sup>12</sup>.

The Homeric poems reveal that in what appeared to be a strict and censorious society, there nevertheless existed a freedom that allowed the individual to choose whether to embrace or avoid that which could cause social indignation. Indeed, the expression οὐ νέμεσις reveals the autonomy of each individual, who is free to follow the morals of the society<sup>13</sup>. Interestingly, at Rhamnous, Nemesis was worshipped with Themis (Θέμις), the goddess representing what was commonly accepted and allowed by justice. However, the presence of *themis* does not seem to have an effect on one's choice whether to heed *nemesis*. Indeed, the expressions *themis (esti)* (*Il.*, 9, 134) or *ou themis* (Bakchylides 3, 88-90, Maelher) correspond to what was right or wrong by custom or by law. For this reason, no emotions, shame or regret were included in the meaning of *themis* – even if *athemistos* was the man who did not recognize the principle of *themis* as intended in a moral sense<sup>14</sup>. Consequently, one may notice that Hesiod considered Themis the second wife of Zeus, mother of the Horai, Eunomia and most of all Dike<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> *Il.*, 3, 410-12.

<sup>12</sup> *Il.*, 14, 333-6. On this issue see also Scott 1980, p. 27; cfr. Turpin 1980.

<sup>13</sup> On the reaction of Priamus to the beauty of Helen for which, the king says, there was no shame to fight, see *Il.*, 3, 156-157: οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς | οἱδ' ἄμφι γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.

<sup>14</sup> HOM., *Il.*, 9, 63-64: ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος | ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.

<sup>15</sup> HESIOD., *Theog.*, 901-902. See Burkert 2005, pp. 17-18. Plato considered Nemesis as the “messenger” of Dike, in *Laws* 717D. The literature from the late Empire onwards considered the two deities closely connected. See PSEUDO-CALL., *Hist. Alex. Magni*, 2, 22, 15, 1.3; LIB., *Decl.*, 4, 2, 48, 2-3.

Nemesis underwent some transformations in the writings of Hesiod, who described a pre-Olympian Nemesis who was part of the world's primordial structures. Nemesis appears as the daughter of Night (*Nyx*) in the *Theogony*<sup>16</sup> and is again associated with Aidos in *Works and Days*. In the latter case she is described as living among humans in the Golden Age, only to abandon them at the beginning of the Iron Age, a time of corruption and spiritual and material misery<sup>17</sup>. Thus during the Imperial period (and mostly under Augustus), Nemesis would become one of the important virtues the *princeps* inserted in his propaganda of the revived Golden Age.

In contrast to prevailing common and popular opinion, originally Nemesis was not the goddess of vengeance: Her application in that sphere of interest represented only the last phase of her interpretation. The role of Nemesis was much wider than that of the other gods and in classifying her as the goddess of vengeance we ignore her multi-faceted profile and create a misleading interpretation of her nature. Nemesis' action was much deeper and more primitive, responsible as she was for the restoration of harmony in general. This is the principal message embedded in the testimonies that follow.

### 1. 1. 2 Nemesis in the Greek tragedies.

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<sup>16</sup> *Theog.*, 223: τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν, πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι. Cfr. PLUT., *Mor.*, *de Defectu oraculorum*, 413, a, 6-7. According to Robertson the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> books of the *Iliad* (on the ruin of Troy by Aphrodite) were the inspiration for Hesiod to consider Nemesis as the daughter of Night. See Bonanno 2016, pp. 106 ff.; Robertson 1964, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>17</sup> HES., *Works*, 195-201: Ζῆλος δ' ἀνθρώποισιν οἰζυροῖσιν ἅπασιν | δυσκέλαδος κακόχαρτος ὀμαρτήσσει, στυγερώπης. | Καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης | λαυκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψαμένα χροὰ καλὸν | ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῶλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους | Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις τὰ δὲ λείπεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσειται ἀλκή. "Envy, foul-mouthed, delighting in evil, with scowling face, will go along with wretched men one and all. And then Aidos and Nemesis, with their sweet forms wrapped in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed earth and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods: And bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no help against evil".



Nemesis is a highly visible and well-defined goddess in the Attic tragedies, where she played an active role in human affairs, especially the antithesis to the concept of hubris. In *Seven Against Thebes* Aeschylus does not explicitly include the goddess amongst the *dramatis personae*, but we can recognise the characteristics of the ideals she personified in the punishment of Capaneus. Overconfident and filled with hubris, the warrior underestimated both the thunders of Zeus and the walls of Thebes. When he attempted to breach the walls with a burning torch, Zeus immediately punished him according to justice; as Eteocles asserts: πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκη τὸν πυρφόρον | ἤξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον | μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλασιν τοῖς ἡλίου<sup>18</sup>. The chorus also emphasises the need to punish this hubristic man, this enemy with the arrogant spear – ὑπερκόπῳ δορί – must be castigated with thunder. Indeed, the idea of thunder which strikes the boasting enemy is very closely in line with Nemesis' ideals. Moreover Zeus is described as νεμέτωρ (= “he who distributes to everyone his destiny”)<sup>19</sup> with all the qualities that were later assigned to the goddess. The mention of this specific epithet demonstrates the evolution of the simple idea of the distribution of destinies into a quality ascribed to Zeus, a sort of *Strafgott*, and later into the fundamental essence of a goddess. More than a generation later, Euripides makes explicit the role of Nemesis in Zeus' punishment of Capaneus in the *Phoenician Women*, where Antigone speaks of the warrior's arrogance. She states that Capaneus was chastised by Nemesis and Zeus,

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<sup>18</sup> AESCH., *Sept.*, 437-445: Ἐτ: καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται. | τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων | ἢ γλῶσσ' ἀληθῆς γίγνεται κατήγορος: | Καπανεύς δ' ἀπειλεῖ, δρᾶνπαρεσκευασμένος, | θεοὺς ἀτίζων, κάπογυμνάζων στόμα | χαρᾶ ματαία θνητὸς ὦν εἰς οὐρανὸν | πέμπει γεγωνὰ Ζηνὶ κυμαίνοντ' ἔπη: | πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκη τὸν πυρφόρον | ἤξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον | μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλασιν τοῖς ἡλίου.; Et.: “Here too gain follows with interest from gain. The tongue proves in the end to be an unerring accuser of men's wicked thoughts. Capaneus makes his threats, ready to act, irreverent toward the gods, and giving his tongue full exercise in wicked glee, he, though a mere mortal, sends a loud and swollen boast to Zeus in heaven. But I trust that the fire-bearing thunderbolt will justly come to him, and when it comes it will not be anything like the sun's mid-day heat”.

<sup>19</sup> AESCH., *Sept.*, 481-85: Χο: ἐπέυχομαι τῷδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ἰὼ | πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν. | ὡς δ' ὑπέραυχα βάζουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει | μαινομένα φρενί, τὼς νιν | Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίων. Ch.: “O champion of my home, I pray that this man will have good fortune, and that there will be bad fortune for his enemies. As they boast too much against the city in their frenzied mind, so, too, may Zeus the Requirer look on them in anger!”

who made human arrogance vain: Νέμεσι καὶ Διὸς βαρύβρομοι βρονταί, κεραυνῶν τε φῶς αἰθαλόεν, σύ τοι μεγαλαγορίαν ὑπεράνορα κοιμίζεις<sup>20</sup>.

Although in *Seven Against Thebes* the ideals of Nemesis are implied and clearly linked to Zeus, in *Prometheus Bound* (where Zeus is not the highest god but a fallible deity) Aeschylus expressly portrays Nemesis as a powerful force who dominates even a Titan and the father of the gods. The play's premise revolves around the chastisement of the protagonist who broke the Olympian rules for the benefit of mortals<sup>21</sup>. Prometheus refuses to collaborate with Zeus by not revealing the future events, but he criticizes him harshly. The choir of Oceanides cautions him not to be arrogant because: οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν σοφοί<sup>22</sup>. In a

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<sup>20</sup> EUR., *Phoen.*, 182-184.

<sup>21</sup> The unlucky hero is represented in total contrast with the highest symbols of the *status quo*, such as Kratos, Bia, the cynical and even opportunist Hermes and naturally Zeus himself. Prometheus is considered as ποικιλόβουλος (“complex projects mind”, HES., *Theog.*, 521) ε ἀγκυλομήτης (“contort advise mind”, *Theog.*, 546). The result of the deceptive division of the sacrificial meats directed by the Titan is called δολίη ἐπὶ τέχνῃ (“deceptive, malicious slyness”). In the play Prometheus also appears as the father of all arts (505-506), having taught mortals every form of art and handicraft.

<sup>22</sup> AESCH., *Prom.*, 936: “those who venerate Adrasteia are wise people”. The cult of Adrasteia paralleled and matched with that of Nemesis and sometimes the two entities were completely fused. See *LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, p. 736. Part of the tradition links Adrasteia to the figure of Adrastos who according to Herodotus was the “material executor” of Nemesis’ will. When talking about the fortune of Croesus the historian described the harsh punishment of the gods, the ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη, for Croesus’ unbalanced and arrogant idea of being the happiest man in the world (1, 34). For this reason Croesus lost his son, killed by a certain Adrastos, a man whose actions were fed and purified by the involuntary murder of his brother by Croesus himself. On the other hand, Eustathius (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes* 1, 557, 3-29, on *Il.*, 2, 828-829) referred to Adrasteia as the city of the king Adrastos who first erected a temple to Nemesis. Herodianus (and the Pseudo Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica*, 3, 1, 276, 15-17) attests that Adrasteia was the first queen of Troy, the daughter of Melissos the nephew of Ida. This name may just have been an epithet of Nemesis while others retained Adrasteia as the supervisor of Adrastos’ affairs, the only warrior to have survived the war against Thebes. For examples of Nemesis and Adrasteia mentioned together, see MEN., fr. 39, 321, 1-2; DIOD: TARS., *Ant. Gr.*, 9, 40.5. According to Eustathius, Pausanias considered Adrasteia as different from Nemesis (10, 37, 8: ἡ δὲ Ἀδράστεια ἴδρυται μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σφίσι, μεγέθει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδέουσα ἀγαλμάτων ἐστίν). Aeschylus located Adrasteia on the mount Ida in Phrygia (AESCH., fr. 158, 2 Radt). It seems that she also shared some characteristics with the Thracian Bendis. Ammianus Marcellinus identifies Nemesis with Adrasteia (*Rerum*

complete conflation of the two figures Nemesis is here called *Adrasteia*. The form προσκυνοῦντες (προσκυνέω/προσκυνῶ = “to obey the gods”, “to bend oneself and worship”, “to adore”, etc.) is a verb which implies that Adrasteia-Nemesis dominated everything and everyone within a strict hierarchy. In other words, Nemesis was conceived here as the representative of the cosmic order; even a Titan, who considered the Olympian “government” as something “new”<sup>23</sup>, was bound to respect her. It seems that Aeschylus wanted to underline the importance of good behaviours in life, and perhaps especially when the character who violated such rules is beloved by the people; the punishment of the violation of the cosmic order represented by Nemesis appears then as a sort of overarching *lex divina*.

The Titan is guilty of making “overly lofty projects” and having broken the law in an attempt to help mankind<sup>24</sup>. Kratos also asserts τοιαῦσδέ τοι ἄμαρτίας σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην, ὡς ἂν διδαχθῆ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα στέργειν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ

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*Gestarum Libri* 14, 11, 25-26): *haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrix, aliquotiens operatur Adrastia, (atque utinam semper!): quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesis appellamus*. On this syncretism, see also: HARP., *Lexicon*, 10, 16-11, 19; scholiast on Euripides’ Rhesus 342; LIB., *Progymnasmata*, 2, 10, 2; inscriptions from Cos, Cat. 2. 6, 2. 7. See Posnansky 1890; Fischer 1992, pp. 195, 197; Stafford 2000, pp. 100, 202-203. Other sources mention that Adrasteia was one of the nurturers of Zeus (CALL., *Hymn. ad Jup.*, 69) or the daughter of Oceanus (IG., *Fabulae*, 182: Idothea, Amalthea, Adrasteia daughters of Oceanus or Melissos and nurturers of Zeus).

<sup>23</sup> Allen 2002, pp. 26 ff. has analysed the characterization of Zeus’ government as “new”, cruel and tyrannical. The Oceanines considered Zeus’ power as based on unjust laws and cruelty: *Prom.*, 148-151: νέοι γὰρ οἰακονόμοι κρατοῦσ’, Ὀλύμπου: νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει. τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν ἀστοῖ. “for there are new rulers in heaven, and Zeus governs with lawless customs; that which was mighty before he now brings to nothing”. A sense of “relativity” emerges in the tragedy with Zeus and the Olympian order appearing as fallible and imperfect. Other references on this subject at vv. 35, 96, 312, 389, 439, 942.

<sup>24</sup> His real guilt, however, together with breaking Zeus’ new rules, is the ability of foreseeing future events and his refusal to reveal to Zeus what he knows about the destiny of his power. As his name suggests (προ + μανθάνω = “to see before”, and “to know before the events”) he could foresee the future and this ability together with the audacity of violating Zeus’ order was probably the real conflict in his character, something which was unacceptable to the Olympian gods.

παύεσθαι τρόπου<sup>25</sup>. According to Mariani, Prometheus' guilt is to have wittingly acted against Zeus' order, attacking his governance and subsequently promoting himself as a possible alternative ruler<sup>26</sup>. Moreover the rightness of the punishment is confirmed by statements like δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην, or derivatives of the verb διδάσκω, and generally expressions related to the semantic sphere of teaching such as ὡς ἂν διδαχθῆ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα στέργειν<sup>27</sup>: They all contribute to present this brutal and cruel retribution as right, a necessary "lesson"<sup>28</sup> for the Titan who gave to mortals the reason and the archetype for breaking the cosmic order. Therefore, the concept of teaching the correct behaviour to mortals is a typical characteristic of Nemesis' action, clearly evident even centuries later in the Roman representations where she spits on her chest, educating people and showing to them the right forms of behaviour to follow, namely modesty and moderation<sup>29</sup>.

The mention of Adrasteia/Nemesis in *Prometheus Bound* could be seen as further confirmation of the spread of her cult in Greece during the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. The Rhamnousian temple of Nemesis was built around the 430 B.C., when the cult statue was probably dedicated. During that period Nemesis assumed great relevance for the city of Athens, so much so that Aeschylus mentioned her in the play as the supreme force respected by every wise person. There was also an important cult of Prometheus in Athens and an altar was dedicated to him in the Academy next to the cult of the main gods, Athena and Hephaestus<sup>30</sup>. Attempts to pin down a date the first presentation of the play have resulted in heated scholarly debates which have

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<sup>25</sup> *Prom.*, 8-11. "He (Prometheus) is bound to make requital to the gods, that so he may be lessoned to brook the sovereignty of Zeus and forbear his championship on man".

<sup>26</sup> Prometheus, using his slyness, exposed the weakness of the new Olympian *kosmos*. For this reason, he could not agree to collaborate with his enemy as it would be the same as admitting that his punishment was legitimate, thus confirming his guilt. See Mariani 2002, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the term Διὸς τυραννίδα, the characterization of Zeus as a tyrant is particularly evident in this tragedy. The word τυραννίς and its derivatives appears here thirteen times while it can be found only eight times in the whole of Aeschylus' corpus of plays.

<sup>28</sup> The idea of teaching is also confirmed by the Oceanides when assuring the protagonist's behaviour served as a lesson (391): ἡ σή, Προμηθεῦ, συμφορὰ διδάσκαλος. See Allen 2002, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> See below, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>30</sup> PAUS., 1, 30, 1-2. See Pisi 1990 on the Athenian cult of Prometheus. Athens organized the annual festival of *Lampadedromiae* in honour of the Titan (PAUS., 1, 30, 3).

implications for our understanding of the Athenian political context<sup>31</sup>. It seems that the most likely period falls between 440 and 430 B. C., as the *Knights* of Aristophanes included a parody of the tragedy<sup>32</sup> – thus serving as a *terminus ante quem*<sup>33</sup>. *Seven against Thebes* and *Prometheus Bound* in particular help us to more precisely understand the perception the Athenians had of the goddess in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Nemesis, was notably revered throughout the years of the Peloponnesian war where the Athenian Empire found a gruelling rival in Sparta.

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<sup>31</sup> The debate about dating also implies Athenian political issues in an attempt to liken the tragedy's character with real Athenian people. The interpretation of the tyrannical Zeus has fuelled the debate with some scholars looking at the inspirations for the theatrical play, the resolute figures of tyrants such as Xerxes or the Pisistratides. For the figure of Xerxes see Baglio 1952 (confuted by Podlecki 1966, pp. 111-112). See also La Course Munteanu 2012, p. 178. Rivolta 2012, pp. 20 ff who recently considered 460 B.C. as a possible date for the publishing of *Prometheus Bound* in relation to the Athenian political issues between Pericles and Cimon, respectively representatives of the democratic and aristocratic forces.

<sup>32</sup> *Prom.*, 59, 308/*Knights*, 758 ff.; *Prom.*, 623/*Knights*, 836. A successful parody has to refer to a well-known subject and such reference be immediate. This implies that either the *Prometheus* had been published at a later date such as 440 or 430 B.C. or it was regularly presented to a public who knew its verses well. Griffith favours 440 or 430 B. C. but he does not find any parallels between *Prometheus* and the work of Sophocles and Euripides very convincing. Nevertheless, he thinks that these authors did not want to echo one another and if they did reference a colleague this would have been entirely coincidental and a result of a completely natural and spontaneous creative process. On the other hand, Griffith himself admits the possibly conscious imitation of *Prometheus* by Aristophanes for comic purposes in *Knights* (424) and *Birds* (414). See Griffith 1977, pp. 9-13. The possible imitation of *Prometheus* in the *Birds* (414 B.C.) could even reinforce the appearance of Aeschylus' play in the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. *Prometheus*, then, would have been cited in parody in 424 and 414 B.C.

<sup>33</sup> Scholars have proposed many possible date ranges, from 479-475 B.C. to 424 B.C. The first date refers to the eruption of the Sicilian volcano Etna in 479 B.C. as per the *Marmor Parium* or 475/4 B.C. as per according to Thucydides, mentioned in the play (351 ff.) as a form of *vaticinium ex eventu*. Herrington suggests the years 458-456 on the basis of Aeschylus' second visit to Sicily: The scholar accepts the limitations of the date range 479-424 to 479-441 when considering the possible echoes of Prometheus in Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Antigone*. Podlecki also considered a setting in Sicily during Aeschylus' second journey more likely, when Etna erupted, and people would have been more interested in the local events referenced in the play. See Herrington 1970, pp. 127-129; Podlecki 1966, pp. 146-147. For a summary of the debate, see La Course Munteanu 2012, p. 166, n.6.

Nemesis was also considered to be the deity who cared for those who died unjustly. In Sophocles' *Electra*, the female protagonist invoked Nemesis in the name of her father who had been unfairly killed, admonishing her mother and reminding her that the goddess cared for deceased people: ἄκουε, Νέμεσι τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως<sup>34</sup>. The tragedy was performed for the first time in 413 B.C. when the temple and the statue of Rhamnous had already been dedicated and the aetiological myth of the cult established<sup>35</sup>.

### 1. 1. 3 Nemesis as mother of Helen.

Part of the ancient tradition presents Nemesis as the mother of Helen of Troy, first attested by Athenaeus: ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἶτε Κύπριός “τίς ἐστὶν ἡ Στασίνοσ ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην διὰ τούτων τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι. τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότῃτι μιγεῖσα Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι τέκεν κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, φεῦγε γὰρ οὐδ’ ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃτι πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίῳνι<sup>36</sup>. One may consider the motherhood of Nemesis as an “automatic” and even an *a priori* punishment of the arrogance of the Trojans, the eastern enemies of the Achaeans and Greeks. This tradition, considered by

<sup>34</sup> SOPH., *Electr.*, 793-6: Ἦλ: ἄκουε, Νέμεσι τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως. Κλ: ἤκουσεν ὧν δεῖ κάπεκύρωσεν καλῶς. Ἦλ: ὕβριζε: νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχάνεις. The hubris, understood as offensive talk against the deceased, clearly emerges from Electra's discretion and reluctance to speak about Aegysthus. *Elect.*, 900-902: ΕΙ: αἰσχύνομαι μὲν, βούλομαι δ’ εἰπεῖν ὁμῶς. Ορ: τί χρῆμα; λέξον: ὡς φόβου γ’ ἔξωθεν εἶ. ΕΙ: νεκροὺς ὕβριζεις, μή μέ τις φθόνῳ βάλλη. See also *Elect.*, 1466-7: Αἴγ: ὦ Ζεῦ, δέδορκα φάσμι’ ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν οὐ | πεπτωκός: εἰ δ’ ἔπεστι νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω.

<sup>35</sup> See below for the Rhamnousian sanctuary (pp. 31 ff.) and for the worship of Nemesis in a funerary context (pp. 145 ff.).

<sup>36</sup> ATH., *Deipnosoph.*, 8, 334 b-c: “(I am) also (aware) that the author of the epic poem the Cypria, whether is a certain Cyprias, or Stasinus, or whatever name he prefers to be called, represents Nemesis as being chased by Zeus and turning into a fish, in the following passage: after them she bore her third child, Helen, a wonder to mortal eyes. Fair-haired Nemesis bore her after having sex with Zeus, the king of the gods, under harsh compulsion; for she tried to escape and was unwilling to have sex with Father Zeus, son of Cronus”. See *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, p. 733 (P. Karanastassis).

Dietrich<sup>37</sup> to be the Attic version of the myth of Helen, was also represented on the decorative base of the Rhamnousian statue of Nemesis depicting Leda in the act of delivering Helen to her natural mother<sup>38</sup>. This decoration confirms that the birth of Helen was a myth of high importance in the Rhamnousian tradition and one could say also for Athenian political propaganda during and after the Peloponnesian War. A special *floruit* of the interest in the cult of Nemesis and the figure of Helen can be seen in different branches of Attic art in the last three decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. The birth of Helen was often represented on contemporary Attic vases and was observed on at least sixteen vases studied and collected by R. Kekulé von Stradonitz<sup>39</sup>. Sometimes the birth of Helen was depicted on the altar where Leda, on the instructions of Hermes, left the egg she delivered<sup>40</sup>. Yet Cratinus' tragedy *Nemesis*

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<sup>37</sup> See Dietrich 1967, 158-9. The "Lacedaemon" tradition considers Helen as the biological daughter of Leda who conceived her and Pollux with Zeus and Castor and Clytemnestra with Tyndar. All the brothers were born from the same egg.

<sup>38</sup> PAUS., 1, 33, 7-8: νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίδειμι ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματός ἐστιν εἰργασμένα, τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνας, Λήδαν δὲ μαστὸν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι: πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι. ταῦτα ἀκηκοῶς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγομένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεών τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἴππέα ὄνομα: ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως, πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναῖκα λαβών: Ὀρέστης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινάσης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. "Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love. I will now go onto describe what is figured on the pedestal of the statue, having made this preface for the sake of clearness. The Greeks say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, while Leda suckled and nursed her. The father of Helen the Greeks like everybody else hold to be not Tyndareus but Zeus. Having heard this legend Phidias has represented Helen as being led to Nemesis by Leda, and he has represented Tyndareus and his children with a man Hippeus by name standing by with a horse. There are Agamemnon and Menelaus and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and first husband of Hermione, the daughter of Helen. Orestes was passed over because of his crime against his mother, yet Hermione stayed by his side in everything and bore him a child". On the reconstruction of the base, see Shapiro Lapatin, pp. 108-110; Despinis 1971, pp. 66-73; Petrakos 1998, pp. 251-265; Petrakos 1986.

<sup>39</sup> See von Stradonitz 1908. Cfr. Bottini 1992, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>40</sup> In cases where the scene is bigger Clytemnestra or Hermes can be found. See Bottini 1992, pp. 76-77.

and the reconstruction of the Rhamnousian sanctuary<sup>41</sup> belong to the same period. As Bottini<sup>42</sup> highlights, work on the sanctuary of Rhamnous would have been delayed for some years at the beginning of the conflict between Athens and Sparta, in the period around the peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). Athens then renewed its interest in Nemesis, commissioning also the creation of the cult statue and its base. Helen could have been viewed as a unifying figure for the two cities which were coexisting in (temporary) peace. By adding the figure of Helen to the Rhamnousian sanctuary the Athenians may have even hoped it would serve an apotropaic purpose. The Spartan queen was not only subject to the power of Nemesis, but was even her direct descendant.

The relationship between Nemesis and Helen is also visible on the famous *amphoriskos* of Heimarmene, held today in Antikenmuseum of Berlin. There Nemesis plays the role of the outraged goddess (or outraged mother?) pointing to Helen who, sitting on the lap of Aphrodite, is destined to be abducted by Paris<sup>43</sup>.

#### **1. 1. 4 Nemesis in other myths.**

Although she appears in some traditions as the mother to Helen of Sparta, and makes significant appearances as “simply” the punisher of hubris in several other important myths, she is never fleshed out as a character or given the role of protagonist. Nemesis does not represent the “happiness” achieved through the triumph of justice; on the contrary, she appears as cold, implacable, obliged to act and lacking an individual personality. This particular aspect appears to derive from Homer’s and Hesiod’s traditions and the creation of a deity from the sense of indignation and the supreme forces beyond the Olympic framework: Nemesis the daughter of Nyx. While the Olympic gods were normally characterized by human traits, human stories and special interests in addition to their hidden habits and declared virtues, Nemesis was far removed from all this. She was not born in the

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<sup>41</sup> Callicrates, the architect of the Parthenon, began work at the temple of Nemesis in 436 B.C.

<sup>42</sup> See Bottini 1992, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>43</sup> The *amphoriskos* is dated to around 430 B.C., the same period the statue of Nemesis was inaugurated. See Shapiro 1993, pp. 173-177, fig. 129 p. 193.



sea; did not drive the chariot of the sun; did not hunt; and did not possess any particular abilities or define a specific realm of intervention. We do not therefore have mythological scenes where she appears as an independent goddess, a humanised character within the narrative. Instead, along with the other primitive forces, Nemesis is considered to belong to the fundamental structure of the universe. This particular view, attested from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., continued well into late antiquity, as confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus. According to him, Nemesis was a lunar winged goddess beyond time and space who dominated the whole universe; a force able to change fortune and destiny<sup>44</sup>.

Nemesis also forms part of the myths detailing the life of individual characters, such as the life of Narcissus as related by Ovid<sup>45</sup>. In such cases she deals with the myriad and formidable issues of mortal souls and their psychological characteristics. In the story of Narcissus, the psychologies of two characters are compared: The protagonists, Narcissus and Echo, represent the human personality split into two, extreme egocentrism and the absolute lack of independent identity. The goddess is called to solve the inner issues of the individual, with shame and resentment viewed as a private issue: Boasting, superiority, impiety, egocentrism, scorn, etc. are to be punished. Narcissus will die because he is completely self-centred, displaying arrogance to everyone who tries to approach him. From a psychological point of view, as no one can be righteously killed for denying a lover, what the “cruel” intervention of Nemesis implicates is the lack of balance within the protagonist himself. On the other hand, Echo was punished for not being sufficiently “centred” on herself; her absolute lack of an individual identity reflects a different kind of imbalanced behaviour. The goddess secretly restores the balance in a “disturbing” situation by bringing about Narcissus’ death.

In a similar capacity, Nemesis is also involved in the myth of Aura, as attested by Nonnus of Panopolis. The young huntress mocked the body of Artemis, saying that it was more suitable for producing children rather than for virginity and hunting.

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<sup>44</sup> AMM. MARC., *Rerum Gestarum Libri*, 14, 11, 26.

<sup>45</sup> OV., *Met.*, 3, 339 ff.; also, PAUS., 9, 31, 7-9; CONON, *Narrations*, 24; NONN., *Dionys.*, 11, 22 ff., 48, 582 ff.

Artemis asked Nemesis to intervene and punish Aura<sup>46</sup>. Dionysus was the executor of the punishment, raping the young girl in her sleep. The result of this violence was the pregnancy and birth of a pair of twins. In this myth too the internal, unbalanced essence of Aura is emphasized at the beginning of her unfortunate story. Aura dared to mock a goddess, thus going beyond the limits of a mortal. The violation of these limits was an inharmonious act that necessitated punishment by Nemesis<sup>47</sup>. From this point of view, Aura brought this punishment on herself, thereby “correcting” her disharmony.

The myths make it clear that the only way not to be crushed by the omniscient goddess was to avoid upsetting the order of things. For mortals, this meant following a precautionary behaviour of modesty and moderation: virtues that Greeks and Romans considered as the foundation of an upright society.

The initiates to the Orphic mysteries, for instance, assigned to Nemesis the formidable (even cruel) role as the supreme judge of thoughts and teacher of intentions. The goddess who knows every intent appears as omnipresent and immanent, especially in Orphic philosophy which invokes her in a particular form: “ὦ Νέμεσι, κλήζω σε, θεά, βασιλεία μεγίστη, πανδερκής, ἐσορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων [...] σοὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ γνώμη πάντων μέλει, οὐδέ σε λήθει ψυχὴ ὑπερφρονέουσα λόγων ἀδιακρίτῳ ὀρμηϊ. Πάντ’ ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούεις, [καὶ] πάντα βραβεύεις. Because perfect balance was a fundamental requirement of the initiation rituals, the Orphics also recognise Nemesis as a teacher: δὸς δ’ ἀγαθὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, παύουσα πανεχθεῖς γνώμας οὐχ ὀσίας, πανυπέρφρονας, ἀλλοπροσάλλας<sup>48</sup>. Even with this different shade of meaning, her ability to know people’s intentions is confirmed in the Callimachean hymn to Demeter where Nemesis, observing everything and everyone, notes the arrogant words of the

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<sup>46</sup> NONN., *Dionys.*, 48, 309 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Compare the feeling of *nemesis* expressed by Poseidon for the coward behaviour of the Achaeans not commensurate with their social status, above, p. 19.

<sup>48</sup> *O.H.*, 61. See Appendix p. 313.

reckless person whom Demeter will later punish with a perfect *contrappasso*<sup>49</sup>.

## 1. 2 The sanctuaries at Rhamnous and Smyrna.

The roots of the cult of Nemesis can be located at the sanctuary of Rhamnous, where she was venerated together with Themis, as the goddess of just punishment<sup>50</sup>. There, the goddess' roles and her characteristics began to take shape as her presence was identified in both historical and mythological events. As discussed above, the Attic Nemesis was considered to be the mother of Helen and thus deeply connected to the Trojan war. She was also linked to the battle of Marathon. According to Pausanias the goddess punished the Persians for their arrogant behaviour as aggressors: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης: καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ μηδὲν σφισιν ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὄν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποίησιν.<sup>51</sup> Their arrogance was displayed not just by their invasion of Greece but also with their conviction that they would certainly win. As Pausanias and the *vulgata* substantiate<sup>52</sup>, the Persians arrived in Greece carrying a marble block from the island of Paros for the dedication of their *tropaeum*, from which, later, the Greeks fashioned the cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous. If this legend has any historic truth, this “refuelling” at Paros would not have necessarily been an indication of arrogance and *superbia*, at least from the point of view of the massive Persian Empire whose great military forces could have seen this act as “normal administration”. As Ehrhardt emphasised, the Babylonian and Assyrian tradition of

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<sup>49</sup> CALL., *Hymn to Dem.*, 56: ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν. Nemesis seems to be a “collaborator” of Demetra who will actively impose punitive measures onto the arrogant person.

<sup>50</sup> See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, pp. 733-734 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>51</sup> PAUS., 1, 33, 2: “It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished”.

<sup>52</sup> AUS., *Epigr.*, 42; *Ep.*, 27, 51-57; PARMEN., *Ant. Gr.*, 26, 222.

erecting a marble stele at the scene of a victory<sup>53</sup> lends credence to the legend of the transportation of a marble block from Paros by the Persians. It is again Pausanias who refers that, after the Greek's defeat of the Persian invaders, Phidias shaped the cult statue of Nemesis from the Parian marble block destined to be the Persian *tropaeum*<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand, Pliny declares that Agoracritus, a Phidias' disciple, created the cult statue of Rhamnous changing a statue of Venus into Nemesis<sup>55</sup>. In fact, Ehrhardt has an interesting interpretation of these conflicting legends, based on the presence of certain imperfections in the marble from which Agoracritus sculpted Nemesis<sup>56</sup>. Ehrhardt<sup>57</sup> supports Pausanias' version of the Nemesis' statue's genesis, argutely referring that the dimensions of the original marble block from which the statue was formed would have been more appropriate for a stele, and not for a statue carved "in the round" such as the Nemesis of Rhamnous. What can be said with some certainty is that the story of the Parian marble transported in the confidence of certain triumph for the Persians would have been interpreted by the Greeks as excessively hubristic. From this perspective the legend presented by Pausanias would seem a fitting end to the block of marble. However, Pausanias himself was writing six centuries after the fact and was relying upon local legend. Thus, his narrative can only definitively show that the concept of *nemesis* was personified as the goddess who punishes arrogant and boasting behaviours<sup>58</sup>. The

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<sup>53</sup> The kings took ensured Empire that copies of those stelai were dispersed throughout their Empire. See Ehrhardt 1997, pp. 36 ff., and bibl. n. 64.

<sup>54</sup> PAUS., 1, 33, 3: τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως.

<sup>55</sup> PL., *N. H.*, 36, 5: *eiusdem discipulus fuit Agoracritus, etate gratus, itaque e suis operibus pleraque nomini eius donasse fertur. Certavere autem inter se ambo discipuli venere facienda, vicitque Alcamenes non opere, sed civitatis suffragiis contra peregrinum suo faventis. Quare Agoracritus ea lege signum suum vendidisse traditur, ne Athenis esset, et appellasse Nemesin. Id positum est Rhamnunte pago Atticae, quod M. Varro omnibus signis praetulit. Est et in matri magnae delubro eadem civitate Agoracriti opus.* This legend linked the two goddesses in a very interesting manner, if one takes into account the tradition of the Cypria, where Nemesis was considered as the mother of Helen, who was an instrument in the hands of Aphrodite during the Trojan conflict. On the other and, Pliny's version divided the scholarship on the interpretation of the symbols of the Rhamnousian statue, for which we refer to the next chapter, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>56</sup> See Ehrhardt 1997, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>57</sup> See Kajava 2000, p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> The goddess is used to explain *a posteriori* events, something typically done when historicising. The Romans increased her popularity, assigning to her the role of bulwark against the "*superbi* and

Athenians cleverly created the profile of a cult by fusing the historical fact of the battle of Marathon with the legend, broadly accurate, of the arrogant Persians.

The sanctuary at Rhamnous was included in the emperor Claudius' temple renovation program. It seems that the imperial cult was fostered there, in particular the cult of the *thea* Livia, probably from the late Augustan Age<sup>59</sup>. The emperors of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. showed special interest in combining their status with the myth of Nemesis, the punisher of the boastful Persians. Indeed, this connection has been traced in the iconographic programs of the power, where the emperor and members of the imperial family wanted to combine their image with symbols of Nemesis, and also with her Rhamnousian body-type, at least for what concerns the female exponents of the Roman *élite*, as Giorgos Despintis displayed in his precious study “Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Άγορακρίτου”. The archaeologist, indeed, recognized eleven statues and several variations of the Rhamnousian statue of Nemesis, which could be linked to a determined person of the Roman society: This is the case of the copy from Aptera (Crete), possibly recognizable with a portrait of Crispina (Commodus wife), and the copy from the theatre of Butrint, possibly related to the empress Livia<sup>60</sup>. Among the variants of Nemesis' body-type, one can be reminded of the representation of Balbinus' wife on the relief adorning the sarcophagus of the imperial couple<sup>61</sup>. Returning to the sanctuary of Rhamnous, we can say that it enjoyed a revitalising period under the Roman Empire.

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*domiti*” Persians as will be analysed in the chapter four. The Parthians were presented as *superbi* and *domiti* in Augustan propaganda. See HOR., *Carm.*, 1, 12, 54.

<sup>59</sup> See below, pp. 93 ff., the discussion on the chronology of the imperial cult in the Rhamnous temple.

<sup>60</sup> Regarding the portrait of empresses, the scholars variously interpreted the head of the statue from Aptera (conserved today in Istanbul) as the portrait of Crispina or Faustina Minor, or, according to P. Karanastassis, as the portrait of a common citizen. See Karanastassis 2018, p. 250; Karanastassis 2012, p. 436, fig. 4. The copy from Messene, today conserved at the museum of the archaeological site, would probably represent a priestess: see *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2n (P. Karanastassis); Despintis 1971, pp. 39-40 with further bibl.; generally, concerning the copies of the Classical Rhamnousian statue, see *LIMC VI 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2 (P. Karanastassis). Below, pp. 211-212.

<sup>61</sup> See Despintis 1971, pp. 41 ff. Below, pp. 50, 211.

At Smyrna<sup>62</sup>, the location of another sanctuary of Nemesis, the cult of the goddess had other connotations and was always connected with a historical figure. The Smyranean cult had a double form, with the two Nemeseis represented in Roman sources as two complementary figures, never identical but perfectly balanced. Pausanias explains this peculiarity with an aetiological myth involving the figure of Alexander the Great. The author writes that the Macedonian, while resting under a tree on mount Pagus, dreamt of two goddesses<sup>63</sup> who ordered him to found a second city of Smyrna, which Alexander probably did go on to establish, either in person or by his commanders acting on his instruction. As Strabo records, Antigonos founded the second Smyrna after the destruction of the first city by the Lydians, this second Smyrna finally becoming the most beautiful city: εἶτα ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν Ἀντίγονος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν<sup>64</sup>.

In general, the pre-Roman sources of Nemesis do not document the double form<sup>65</sup> of the goddess, but some mention her in association with Adrasteia<sup>66</sup>. Farnell interpreted this duality with the real existence of the two cities<sup>67</sup>, as Pausanias himself suggested: Two cities with the same name, the same protector and thus with

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<sup>62</sup> *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 3 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>63</sup> PAUS., 7, 5, 2: Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγω, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέσεων λέγουσιν ἱερόν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῆ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρναίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας. “It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over, he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeses appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove into it the Smyrnaeans from the old city”.

<sup>64</sup> STRABO, 14, 1, 37. Cfr. Cadoux 1938, p. 98: One of Alexander’s general, Antigonos, “took steps towards the fulfilments of the earlier decision of Alexandros to re-establish the city of Smyrna”.

<sup>65</sup> Paired religious images are traced and spread in Anatolian cultures and, according to Price, also in the Mycenaean and Minoan periods. See Hadzisteliou Price 1971, p. 54. Cfr. Kiliç 2014, p. 836.

<sup>66</sup> See Posnansky 1890.

<sup>67</sup> See Farnell 1896, p. 495. Other historians considered the double nature of the goddess as a sign of opposite peace and war, good and bad, imperfect and perfect moderation. Others interpreted it with the levelling of powers itself and interesting and attractive idea. For a summary of the various interpretations, see Hornum 1993, pp. 11-12, with further bibl.

two cult statues. The double form has also been interpreted as showing both the good and the evil sides of Nemesis or as symbol of the action of equalization<sup>68</sup>. Certainly, if this duality was a development of the Roman period, we would expect this to have been remarked on by Pausanias<sup>69</sup>. With respect to the image of the cult the author only says that some golden Charites (the work of Bupalus in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), were located above the statues of the Nemeseis<sup>70</sup>, described as holy wooden statues devoid of wings: πτερὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιήται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα ζόανα ἔχει πτερὰ<sup>71</sup>. These statues, referred to as *χοανα*, were automatically considered archaic by the author<sup>72</sup>. This definition however does not preclude a Hellenistic dating<sup>73</sup>,

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<sup>68</sup> Stafford proposed an interesting interpretation of the duality of Smyrna. According to her the two goddesses represent the double victory against the Persians: At Marathon and later the conquest of Alexander. This interpretation fits well with the influence of the Roman perspective on the Smyranean cult. See Stafford 200, p. 100. The explanation of the two Nemeses with the two cities of Smyrna is so obvious if these statues are considered to be as archaic and probably wooden unless Pausanias' words are taken as an indisputable source. It can be supposed that a later statue was added during Hellenistic times referencing Alexander's "dream" or in order to celebrate the victories of the Macedonian in Asia Minor. Mavroyannis considered the introduction of a second Nemesis a symbol of Cimon's victory against the Persians at the battle of the Eurymedon as well as the connection of Rhamnousian Nemesis to Marathon. His perspective implies that the Smyranean Nemeses existed from classical or archaic times. This view however does not seem to be supported enough by the available evidence. See Mavroyiannis 2008, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Even if Pausanias is known for his unconventional and not strictly historical method, it is not easy or methodologically correct to accuse him of omitting an important detail or making a false report. With regard to the iconography, the way Nemesis was represented at Smyrna has been considered a model for the various Nemesis monuments found in the Greek areas of the Empire, as for instance the Nemesis of the theatre of Thasos (see below, pp. 178 ff.). See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 44 (P. Karanastassis); Bernard-Salviat 1962, p. 597, fig. 17; Dunant – Pouilloux 1958, p. 162.

<sup>70</sup> PAUS., 9, 35, 6: καὶ Σμυρναίοις τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη Βουπάλου, τοῦτο δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῷ Ἰωδαίῳ Χάριτός, ἐστὶν εἰκόν, Ἀπελλοῦ γραφή, Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐντῷ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ, Βουπάλου καὶ αὐται. "At Smyrna, for instance, in the sanctuary of the Nemeses, above the images have been dedicated Graces of gold, the work of Bupalus; and in the Music Hall in the same city there is a portrait of a Grace, painted by Apelles. At Pergamus likewise, in the chamber of Attalus, are other images of Graces made by Bupalus".

<sup>71</sup> PAUS., 1, 33, 7.

<sup>72</sup> See Stafford 2000, p. 98.

but with a hieratic and archaic style. The relief of Apollonia, recently dated by Tradler to the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>74</sup>, seems to confirm the Hellenistic dating of the statues. On the lower part of the relief can be found two seated Nemeseis in the act of *spuere in sinum*<sup>75</sup>, accompanied by a griffin, one of the most important features of the goddess and her zoomorphic attendance. However, the complete absence of the griffin of Nemesis in other Hellenistic monuments suggests a more probable Roman dating of this relief<sup>76</sup>.

The coinage of Smyrna does not show any traces of Nemesis in pre-Roman issues while other gods such as Cybele and Apollo were often represented and combined with their traditional symbols like the *cista mystica* and the tripod<sup>77</sup>. The mother goddess also appears on coins during the Roman period although Nemesis seems to have had limited impact on local issues<sup>78</sup>. The first numismatic evidence of Nemesis survives from Smyrna and in general is considered as a quasi-autonomous coinage of the reign of Tiberius<sup>79</sup>. There are some instances from the period of Nero and Agrippina albeit not quasi-autonomous types (with the busts of the emperors on the obverses) where Nemesis appears in the form of the *Nemesis-Pax*. In Claudius' coinage<sup>80</sup> she is represented with Hermes' symbol of peace, the *caduceus*<sup>81</sup>, a snake preceding her and, naturally, in the act of *spuere in sinum*.

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<sup>73</sup> Or, as Stafford reminds, many monuments considered as xoana were created by artists living in classical times. See Stafford 200, p. 98, n. 91 with further bibliography.

<sup>74</sup> See Tradler 1998, pp. 178-179; Hornum dated this relief in the Roman times. See Hornum 1993, p. 25. See below, pp. 53 ff. for a more detailed description of this piece of evidence.

<sup>75</sup> See below, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>76</sup> On the griffin as attribute of Nemesis, see below, pp. 66 ff. On the relief of Apollonia, see especially p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> Even on more recent Roman coins the turreted Cybele protectress of the city, as well as the Amazon of Smyrna are constituting evidence of the original and archaic history of the place. See *RPC IV*, 264-265 for the Amazon Smyrna and *RPC III*, 1969 for Cybele Sipyrene.

<sup>78</sup> Even in the decoration of the famous group of cistophori of Hadrian, Nemesis was not the only choice, but Zeus and Cybele also appear as gods representing the city. See Herzfelder 1936, pp. 11-12.

<sup>79</sup> See Cat., 2. 48; *BMC Ionia*, 124-127. Cfr. Moggi-Osanna 2000, p. 221

<sup>80</sup> See *BMC Ionia*, 287. On this issue, see below, 113 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Pax shared the *caduceus* with Felicitas. See Norreña 2011, p. 127, 170.



However, the presence of Nemesis on the local coinage of many small cities of Asia Minor, seemingly the only trace of her, does not imply a true veneration of the goddess. It should not however be believed that the absence of the goddess on the surviving local coinage indicates her cult as being of minor importance. It should be noted that Nemesis often symbolised the city in the rich alliance coinage<sup>82</sup> without necessarily implying that she was a significant religious figure of the city during Roman times. Indeed, other gods such as Zeus Akraios, Cybele, Tyche and the Amazon<sup>83</sup> appear on Smyrna's alliance coinage. The decision to depict the Nemeseis on the local currency could indicate the desire of the city to show favour to Rome, the goddess being very close to the central power.

As the story of the martyr Pionios from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. demonstrates, the cult of the Nemeseis and the Imperial cult were still closely related to each other at Smyrna in late antiquity. The martyr refused to make an offering to the emperor Decius in the temple of the Nemeseis<sup>84</sup>, the place where the imperial family had been worshipped since as early as Augustus or Tiberius. This temple of the Nemeseis was located in the South area of the *agora*<sup>85</sup>.

It is not easy to determine which of the two sanctuaries, the Attic or the Asian, is the oldest one. The archaeological and literary sources mention the cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Classical times, but a similar number of testimonies do not exist for the cult of Smyrna. An interesting attempt to locate the origin of the Smyranean cult of Nemesis was undertaken by H. Volkmann<sup>86</sup>, who dated its starting point to be

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<sup>82</sup> The alliance coinage is a phenomenon which generally began in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B. C. but the bulk of the material belongs to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. from the Greek cities of Thrace and Asia Minor at a time when the Greek cities felt the need to express their local political identity. See Dietrich-Klose 1987, p. 46, n. 279, where the specimen of alliance coinage between Thessalonica and Rome is specified along with the bibliographical source: *SNG Copen.*, 378 ff.

<sup>83</sup> See Dietrich-Klose 1987, pp. 356-35; *RPC IV*, 289, 293, 296 (alliance with Nikomedia); 298, 301, 302 (alliance with Athens); 288 (alliance with Laodicea); 304, 305, 3090 (alliance with Sparta).

<sup>84</sup> See Tataki 2009, p. 646; Bowersock 1995, pp.48; Robert 1994.

<sup>85</sup> *I. Smyrna*, 628, inscription found in the *agora* with dedication to the Nemeseis, all the gods and the emperor. See Cat., 2. 46; Tataki 2009, *l. c.*

<sup>86</sup> See Volkmann 1934, p. 74.

after the destruction of Smyrna by Alyattes in 575 B.C.<sup>87</sup>. He considered the passage of Theognides<sup>88</sup> as evidence of the ruin of Smyrna, Magnesia and Colophon due to hubristic policy. However, as Dietrich has pointed out<sup>89</sup>, it is improbable that Nemesis had already acquired the character of punisher of hubris in the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. She could have been conceived as an equalizer of what was not harmonic and in keeping with the prevailing sense of pride, honour and other social values. The obscure story of Smyrna after its destruction by Alyattes after which the city seems to have lost its civic form and to have returned to a system of small villages, does not provide any evidence for the existence of Nemesis' cult. Other historians<sup>90</sup> have argued that the cult of Nemesis developed in the Archaic period, although the Hellenistic period seems somewhat more probable<sup>91</sup>. Otherwise, the choice of Nemesis as the deity associated with Alexander the Great and the city's mythology<sup>92</sup> makes little sense. By this logic the Rhamnousian cult should be the older one. The nature of Rhamnous as a local small and isolated deme in the East Attica region appears to confirm this: If the Asian cult was the first to be established the Athenians would not have chosen a minor place such as Rhamnous to dedicate a new temple to Nemesis. On the contrary they would have emulated the Smyrnaeans and created a structure of competitive beauty and magnificence in the city of Athens. Yet no traces of Nemesis have been discovered in Athens that predate the Roman period<sup>93</sup>. Certainly, the Nemesis who brought the Achaeans to Troy; who patronised the victory of the Greeks at Marathon; and who appeared in the dreams of the greatest conqueror of the East struck the imagination of the Romans themselves, concerned as they were with maintaining their easternmost borders.

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<sup>87</sup> HDT., 1, 16.

<sup>88</sup> THEOGN., 1103 ff.

<sup>89</sup> See Dietrich 1967, p. 162, n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> See Schweitzer 1931, p. 202: He dates it to the early 7<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.; see Cadoux 1938, p. 220, who dates the cult to the period before Alyattes' destruction of the city.

<sup>91</sup> Stafford, followed by Smith, dates the cult of Nemesis to Hellenistic times making no distinction between an original single cult and a later dual cult. See Smith 2011, p. 44 with bibliography; Stafford 2000, pp. 98-100.

<sup>92</sup> It would be much easier if the story belonged to the Roman times when both Alexander and Nemesis were closely related to the emperor.

<sup>93</sup> See Dietrich 1967, pp. 161-162.

### 1. 3 The connection of the goddess with the people: The *spuere in sinum*.

Whether through a hand gesture, a facial expression, or even a simple saying, people have long found methods by which to exorcise and free themselves from the effects of negative forces, immoral feelings and bad thoughts. The Romans and Greeks had a number of such small rituals, one of which was a gesture of modesty designed specifically to avoid Nemesis' chastisement – namely spitting three times upon their own bosom. This ritual was believed to protect the person from the acts or expressions of ostentation that violated the balance of the internal (the individual psychology) and the external world. The gesture of spitting on one's own body appears to have had a purifying and protecting effect. Roman and Greek sources explain that saliva and the gesture of spitting were used in many ways, with applications in many fields from medicine to magic and superstition<sup>94</sup>. Pliny the Elder is the best source on the applications of this practice, describing in detail the powers and uses of saliva. He testified to popular beliefs starting with the idea that saliva was a *remedium* against snake poison or epilepsy<sup>95</sup> and describes how fasting spittle was used to treat rashes and leprous sores; to heal ophthalmic problems, carcinomas and neck pains; or to force an insect out from an ear. Spit was also used for what we today describe as superstition: To ward off bad luck when looking at a

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<sup>94</sup> Theophrastus (*Char.*, 16, 15) considered the use of spitting on the chest as a type of *deisidaimonia*, superstition.

<sup>95</sup> *N. H.*, 28, 7: *omnium vero in primis ieiunam salivam contra serpentes praesidio esse docuimus, sed et alios efficaces eius usus recognoscat vita. Despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est contagia regerimus*. "I have however pointed out that the best of all safeguards against serpents is the saliva of a fasting human being, but our daily experience may teach us of other values of its use. We spit on epileptics in a fit, that is, we throw back infection". According to Pliny spit was a remedy prepared by women: The saliva of a fasting woman was considered an effective and powerful medicine against bloodshot eyes and fluxes. See *PLIN., N. H.*, 28, 12.

person with a lame right leg or when passing a place of peril<sup>96</sup>. Bad luck could have been provoked by the resentment of others. Pliny states that “if one is sorry for a blow, whether inflicted by hand or by a missile, and at once spits into the palm of the hand that gave the wound, the resentment of the victim is immediately softened”<sup>97</sup>. Moreover, the *Lemuria* on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May was a ceremony with which the householder invoked the spirits of his dead ancestors and asked them not to allow them to drag living people into the Underworld: This ritual included the use of spit some beans, saying: *heac ego mitto | ... redimo meque meosque fabis*<sup>98</sup>. The spitting of beans then appears to be a protective and apotropaic gesture.

Of all Pliny’s observations, the most relevant for understanding the connection between the act of spitting and the goddess Nemesis is the idea that the Romans, spitting in their lap, asked the gods’ pardon for entertaining presumptuous hopes or expectations: *veniam quoque a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus in sinum spuendo*. For the same reasons they spit three times<sup>99</sup> on the ground before taking medicine in order to make it more effective: *et iam eadem ratione terna despuere precatone in omni medicina mos est*. It is to be inferred that only a force or deity like Nemesis could have been responsible for allowing a humble person to be healed as the result of medicine. The attitude of ancient people towards medicine was such that they respected and feared the gods who were considered to be the sole and supreme healers.

This action also seems to hearken back to the custom associated with the Roman *Invidia*<sup>100</sup> but it is not known exactly when the ritual began to be widespread.

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<sup>96</sup> In the latter case, by spitting on the right shoe the person avoids every negative effect. *N. H., l. c.: Simili modo et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditis occursum*. “In a similar way we ward off witch-craft and the bad luck that follows meeting a person lame in the right leg”.

<sup>97</sup> *N. H., l. c.: mirum dicimus, sed experimento facile: si quem paeniteat ictus eminus comminusve inlati et statim expuat in mediam manum qua percussit, levatur ilico in percusso culpa*.

<sup>98</sup> *Ov., Fast., 5, 436-438*.

<sup>99</sup> The repetition of this gesture three times is confirmed in the later *Ant. Graeca*, 26, 251, 5 (anonymous): ἐξ δὲ βαθὺν τρις κόλπον ἀπέπτυσεν.

<sup>100</sup> *Invidia* was connected to the malevolent glaring at people and to the undesirable effect of the *malocchio* which could be incurred even by the simple act of watching (*in + video*). She was a kind of magic force, belonging to the gods and humans alike, able to invoke misfortunes and catastrophes.

Again, it is Pliny who connects spitting to the idea of protection from the envious eye, the evil eye, the *malocchio* of others. He states that a nurse would spit on the ground three times if someone looked at their sleeping child<sup>101</sup>. A sleeping person is naturally more vulnerable and subject to external influence at a physical and perhaps also at an unconscious level. Pliny's study, however, focuses on the apotropaic and protective power of spitting on behalf of others or ourselves. Children were protected by Fascinus, the god who safeguarded children and successful generals against the jealousy of others. In another passage he explicitly connects Nemesis to the sphere of *fascinus* and of *malocchio*, and the impact of the *invidia* or spells when he muses "why do we meet the evil eye by a special attitude of prayer, some invoking the Greek Nemesis, for which purpose there is at Rome an image of the goddess on the Capitol, although she has no Latin name?"<sup>102</sup>.

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As the simple personification of people's evil intent, Invidia did not have a "higher moral plan" to re-establish harmony, as Nemesis did. With regards to the meaning of *phthonos* and *nemesis*, Aristoteles gave an explanation of what it meant to be an envious, malevolent and νεμεσητικός άνθρωπος: The latter was pleased by what fortunes and misfortunes rightly happen to others and sad for what unfairly happens to themselves (*Et. Eud.*, 1233b, 19-20). Similar concepts are expressed in *Et. Nicom.*, 1108b 5. See Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 776-778, where the protagonist admonishes Neoptolemus to appeal to *Phthonos* in order not to suffer the pains he was going through: τὸν φθόνον δὲ πρόσκυσον | μὴ σοι γενέσθαι πολύπον' αὐτὰ μηδ' ὄπως | ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ πρόσθ' ἐμοῦ κεκτημένῳ. Similar to Nemesis, *Phthonos* appears as the source of punishment for the immoderate behaviour which, in the case of Philoctetes, corresponds to keeping the bow of Heracles: An act that provoked envy and appeared "unbalanced".

<sup>101</sup> *N. H.*, 1. c.: *extranei interventu aut, si dormiens spectetur infans, a nutrice terna adspui(?) quamquam religione tutatur Fascinus, imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium custos [...] et currus triumphantium sub his pendens defendit medicus invidiae*. "On the arrival of a stranger, or if a sleeping baby is looked at, is for the nurse to spit three times at her charge. And yet the baby is further under the divine protection of Fascinus, guardian not only of babies but of generals [...] hanging under the chariots of generals at their triumphs he defends them as a physician from jealousy". The term *adspui* has been translated in various ways. Here it is translated as "to spit at her charge, but it has also been interpreted as "spit on the ground" (Bostock), "spit in her mouth" or "spit on the baby" (Mayhoff). Again, the protecting power of *spuere* and of saliva in general against the *malocchio* is referred to by Persius (*Sat.*, 2, 31-34): *Ecce avia aut metuens divum matertera cunis | exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella | infami digito et lustralibus ante salivis | expiat, urentis oculos inhibere petita*.

<sup>102</sup> As Pliny writes, the Romans invoked Nemesis in cases of *fascinus*, intended as *malocchio*, an effect of *Invidia*, or spells. *N. H.*, 28, 5: *cur effascinationibus adoratione peculiari occurrimus, alii*

The idea of spitting in an apotropaic way was also present in Greek sources of the Hellenistic period, which seems to be the link between the Classical conception of Nemesis as the goddess punisher of the *audaces* Persians and the more folkloristic realm related to the everyday life attested by the Roman sources.

Theophrastus referred to the *spuere*/πτύω as a form of superstition with the character of δεισιδαιμονία: μαινόμενον δὲ ἰδὼν... ἐπίληπτον φρίζας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι<sup>103</sup>. However, it is not known when exactly the *spuere in sinum* became a ritual praxis related to Nemesis. Various Greek and Latin authors give information about this. Theocritus writes in his poems that spitting on one's own chest can neutralise the negative effects of vanity and *superbia*. In poem 6, 39-40, Dameta says that he spat on himself three times as old Cotyttaris touches him, in order to remove the *malocchio* which would arise from being considered a good-looking man: ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δέ, τρίς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον<sup>104</sup> | ταῦτα γὰρ ἄ γραία με Κοτυτταρίς ἐξεδίδαξε<sup>105</sup>. Here self-confidence is given as a reason for punishment even if Nemesis is not mentioned. When discussing the concept of self-esteem there is reference to Adrasteia/Nemesis in Menander's play *Perikeiromene*, in the words of Moschion who considers himself attractive and appreciated by young ladies: οὐκ ἀηδῆς ὡς ἔοικεν εἴμ' ἰδεῖν οὐδ' ἐντ[υχεῖν, οἴομαι, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑταίρ[αις τὴν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν προσ[κυν]ῶ<sup>106</sup>. The sense of submission to the will of Nemesis-Adrasteia is very strong, because, as seen above, the verb προσκυνῶ has a

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*graecam Nemesin invocantes, cuius ob id Romae in Capitolio est, quamvis latinum nomen non sit.* This passage is particularly relevant for the information given by the author about the erection of a statue Nemesis on the Capitolium, a place of the highest importance for the Roman *pantheon*.

<sup>103</sup> THPHR., *Char.*, 16, 15.

<sup>104</sup> A *scholio* to this passage (*schol. in THEOC.*, 6, 39a, p. 201 Wendel) adds: ἔπτυσσα κόλπον: τὸν εμεσητὸν ἐκ τρεπόμεν αἱ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες. Καλλίμακος· (fr. 235 Schneider, 2, 477) 'δαίμων, τῇ κόλποισιν ἐπι πτύουσιν γυναῖκες'; 39b. τρίς ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον. ποιοῦσι γὰρ τοῦτο μάλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες."

<sup>105</sup> "But to cheat the evil eye, trice I spat into my bosom as the hag Cotyttaris taught me". See Hunter 1999, p. 259 for further discussion on this passage.

<sup>106</sup> MEN., *Perik.*, 184: "I am not, it seems, unpleasing, when one meets or looks at me, by Athena, to my thinking I am a charmer to the girls. But I know to Adrasteia – may it please her – make my bow".

clear hierarchical connotation that implies the full subjection of someone to the deity<sup>107</sup>.

Theocritus (20, 11) also describes a courtesan who refuses the advances of a young shepherd and spits on her chest three times to shield herself from possible divine retribution due to her pride. The young lady considers him to be an inappropriate lover because he is rustic and rough, with black hands and a bad smell, and in thinking this way she worries that she risks overrating herself: «χείλεά τοι νοσέοντι, χέρεις δέ τοι ἐντὶ μέλαιναί, | καὶ κακὸν ἐξόσδεις. Ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ φύγε μὴ με μολύνῃς». | Τοιάδε μυθίζοισα τρὶς εἰς ἔδον ἔπτυσσε κόλπον<sup>108</sup>. The *spuere in sinum* is always repeated three times with gestural and thus ritual and magical repetition. These two poems confirm the importance of spitting three times when overrating oneself and underrating others. The gesture humbles whoever consider themselves above their station. This behaviour recalls the stories of Aura and Narcissus<sup>109</sup>, where the contravention of “balance” has an internal and intimate character with regard to the psychology of the subject.

At present no other Hellenistic sources have been found which deal with the use of spitting for apotropaic purposes. In the Latin tradition, Catullus emphasised the importance of spit in connection with the punishment of Nemesis: *nunc audax cave sis, precesque nostras, | oramus, cave despuas, ocelle, | ne poenas Nemesis reposcat a te. | est vehemens dea: laedere hanc cavet*<sup>110</sup>. The *vehemens dea* was ready to punish any brazen attitude in any area of life.

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<sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 22-23.

<sup>108</sup> “«Thy mouth is ailing, thy hands are black, and thy smell is foul. Away, lest thou defile me». With such words as these she spat thrice into her bosom”. The young lady from the city looked at him with disgust, so that the unlucky protagonist continues, saying that “with many a ladylike air, open-mouthed and insolent she mocked me”. This behaviour has all the characteristics of boastful behaviour, a typical object of Nemesis punishment.

<sup>109</sup> With regards to the myth of Narcissus, Dametas is recalled in THEOC., *Idyl* 6, 43-40, where while expressing satisfaction for his own image, a thought which requires spitting on his chest, when he saw his reflection in the sea and found it to be not ugly as others said, but rather good-looking and nice. Relating to the danger of looking at one’s reflection in water, see ARTEM., *On.*, 2, 7. See Gow 1952, pp. 125-126, with a comment on this passage.

<sup>110</sup> CAT., *Carm.*, 50, 18-21: *nunc audax cave sis, precesque nostras, | oramus, cave despuas, ocelle, |*

A century later, Petronius detailed the extreme significance in reducing one's Ego. Talking to his crying wife Fortunata who accused him of uncontrollable libido towards a young boy, Trimalchio states: *Ambubaia non meminit? [se] de machina illam sustuli, hominem inter homines feci. At inflat se tamquam rana, et in sinum suum non spuit, codex, non mulier*<sup>111</sup>. Here the reference to spitting on one's chest cultivates a value of modesty and gratitude: For Trimalchio, Fortunata should be grateful to him, instead of "inflating herself as a frog" and complaining, for he had elevated her social status<sup>112</sup>.

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*ne poenas Nemesis reposcat a te. | est vehemens dea: laedere hanc cavet.* "Now beware of being proud, and heed my prayers; be careful to spit on the ground, my love, lest Nemesis exact punishment from you. She is a powerful goddess; take care not to offend her". Tibullus is another source for Nemesis in romantic literature, where he names the woman he unrequitedly loves with the goddess' name (TIB., book 2). See Stafford 2006.

<sup>111</sup> *Satyr.*, 74: "What is it all about? This chorus-girl has no memory, yet I took her off the sale-platform and made her one of ourselves. But she puffs herself up like a frog and will not spit for luck; a log she is, not a woman".

<sup>112</sup> An interesting philological discussion has arisen around this passage due to the material tradition of the text. The manuscript presents the word *conspuit*, where *non spuit* would be a good inference of Heinsius would be more correct. If the use of *conspuit* is maintained Fortunata would appear as a grateful and devout woman and the sentence dealing with Trimalchio would not have any sense. Thus the meaning of *spuere in sinum* that diametrically opposed to the demonstration of humility and modesty. Moreover, a passage of the *Paroemiographi Graeci* apparently sustains and confirms the lectio *conspuit*, referring to spitting on one's own chest as a practice typical of the boastful, the braggart. This alternative meaning would certainly give the sentence greater clarity but would isolate Petronius from other authors. Otherwise this passage can be interpreted as a confirmation of the act of spitting on one's chest as a sign of modesty. In fact, it is not hard to imagine arrogant people expressing false modesty, pretending, all the while making fun of those who practice temperance and modesty. Nevertheless, the genial conjecture of Heinsius is supported by another proverb with the same intent where the arrogant person is said not to spit on their own chest. Taking this approach, the conjecture *non spuit* can be accepted, satisfying every textual and anthropological demand: it confers meaning to the sentence and returns the gesture of *spuere in sinum* back to its commonly accepted meaning as the manifestation of modesty. That manifestation Petronius' contemporary Pliny clearly expresses. The genesis of the textual error from *non spuit* to *conspuit*, is easily explainable: an ordinary transposition of letters, a common error in the *scriptio continua*. Moreover the presence of *codex* could have misled the copyist and led them to write "con" instead of "non".



The gesture of spitting on the chest is mentioned again in another section of Petronius' book, but with a different connotation. Magic formulas and enchanted stones accompanied the *spuere in sinum*, serving to negate the effects of a *malocchio*. Encolpius, target of Priapus, trusted in the magic formulas of an old woman in order to destroy the god's magic spell which made him impotent. *Hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum, quos ipsa precantatos purpura involverat*<sup>113</sup>. Thus, spitting and throwing enchanted stones onto his own chest was believed to have a positive and restoring effect that concurs with testimony in medical practice<sup>114</sup>. Certainly, the atmosphere of the story is humorous but the ritual which Petronius parodies is described as being repeated three times on the chest of the man. The *malocchio*, as the illness, would then be exorcised and destroyed with rituals of a humble nature.

In a poem of the *Antologia Palatina*, Straton of Sardis describes the goddess Nemesis as ready to punish Alexis who, distracted by his vanity, does not see her arriving: Ὡς ἀγαθὴ θεὸς ἐστὶ, δι' ἣν ὑπὸ κόλπον, Ἄλεξι, | πτύομεν ὑστερόπου  
ἀζόμενοι Νέμεσιν. | Ἦν σύ μετερχομένην οὐκ ἔβλεπες, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζες | ἔξειν τὸ  
φθονερὸν κάλλος ἀεὶ χρόνιον. | Νῦν δὲ τὸ διόλωλεν· ἐλήλυθε δ' ἡ τριχάλεπτος |  
δαίμων· χοῖ θέραιες νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα<sup>115</sup>. Nemesis' intervention is against excessive and vainglorious display of beauty. Alexis' beauty is said to be φθονερὸν κάλλος, beauty being an “object of envy”. Naturally, the idea of envy/φθόνος was

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<sup>113</sup> *Satyr.*, 131: “After she ordered me in a rhyme to spit three times and throw stones into my bosom three times, after she had said a spell over them and wrapped them in purple”. See Paratore 1933, pp. 415-416.

<sup>114</sup> The Romans used a vast range of amulets or *fascinus* for more “natural” magic. Despite this understanding of Nemesis was held to a more religious and “codified” meaning that did not encroach upon the sphere of magic. Even when *spuere in sinum* appears as a product of magic as with the old woman who cured Encolpius being a sorceress, it can be better considered as a way for one's own personality to maintain humility.

<sup>115</sup> *Ant. Pal.*, 4, 12, 229: “what a good goddess is that Nemesis, to avert whom, dreading her treadeth behind us, we spit in our bosom. Thou didst not see her at thy heels, but didst think that for ever thou shouldst possess thy grudging beauty. Now it has perished utterly; the very wrathful goddess has come, and we, thy servants, now pass thee by”. See also *Ant. Pal.*, 12, 141; *Ant. Graeca* 12, 33; 12, 140.

familiar to Nemesis who at times acted as an “agent” of the divine Envy<sup>116</sup>. As Alexis cared only about his appearance as opposed to internal qualities, he found himself ‘unprepared’ in the face of old age. This is within the sphere of exaggerated self-confidence and disharmonious character. Alexis can be considered akin to Narcissus but who aged as opposed to dying. This poem is an example of how people thought about Nemesis in Late Antiquity, along with the wide range of her application in life.

With Lucian, the meaning of moderation and modesty associated with the gesture of spitting on the chest is clearly affirmed by the words of Lykinos to Adeimantos: ὑπερμαζᾶς γάρ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον οὐ πτύεις, οὐδὲ οἶσθα ὅστις ὦν ναυκληρεῖς<sup>117</sup>, an evident reference to his arrogant behaviour.

While Theocritus is recognized as the oldest source on the use of spitting to avoid punishment for errant behaviour, it is not easy to establish when exactly this ritual praxis was linked to Nemesis. The time and place in which ancient popular and oral traditions took hold are understandably very difficult to classify. The absence of this gesture in the iconography of the statue of Rhamnous suggests that in the latter half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. it was either unknown, unrelated to the goddess or so commonly used as to render representation on the cult statue superfluous<sup>118</sup>.

Whatever its precise origins, the *spuere in sinum* is the aspect which was most characteristic in the iconography of Nemesis during Roman times, as the Nemesis of Smyrna on the city coinage shows. Always depicted raising her right arm<sup>119</sup> and

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<sup>116</sup> On p. 135 the φθονερὴ Νέμεσις can be seen on a funerary stele from Bulgaria (*JG Bulg.*, 5, 5057) where the goddess appears as the one who ruined the good luck of the dead person. In that case however, the adjective φθονερὴ means ‘who envies’ and not ‘who is object of others’ envy’.

<sup>117</sup> *Nav.*, 15: “You’re too full of beans, Adimantus, and you don’t spit in your bosom, and you don’t remember who you are, you shipowner” (Kilburn). Fowler interpreted the lack of spitting on the bosom as connected with Nemesis, even though the goddess was not clearly mentioned: “You forget yourself, my Shipowner; you wax fat and kick; you withhold from Nemesis her due”. Kilburn more prudently comments on the use of spitting with a simple “against bad luck”.

<sup>118</sup> See the iconography of the goddess below, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>119</sup> The use of the right arm when representing the act of *spuere in sinum* is, on balance of probabilities, correct given that most people today are right-handed as no doubt were the ancient Greeks. The gesture performed with the right hand was simply reflected in the goddess’

holding the chiton, the goddess was sometimes even presented with her head bent as if she was preparing to spit on herself.

Even today, this act of *spuere in sinum* is rich in symbolism and remains alive in modern Greek culture, where people can be observed raising their clothes away from their chests and pretending to spit, apparently in application of a tradition continued for more than two thousand years. This contemporary custom, possibly influenced both by the Roman and the Greek tradition, is believed to fight misfortune, disease, and the malevolence and envy of others<sup>120</sup>.

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iconography. This is likely the roots of the idea of the right hand as symbol of rationality: to show respect of justice and laws: in the modern world an oath is sworn with the right hand on the Bible; the symbolism of the raised right hand of God in the Christian iconography; popular superstitions related to the right step not to mention the linguistic associations of the right hand or direction with the concept of good, fine and the left hand or direction representing the hidden, mysterious and the scary. In the ancient world Pliny sometimes differentiated between right and left part of the body when talking about the use of spit. He claimed that a person with a lame right leg was a sign of coming bad luck. Thus in the case of saliva the right hand applies the remedy on the right knee and the left hand on the left knee; the right shoe is the one spat into prior to wear or when passing a place where someone has been in danger (*N. H., l. c.*). Moreover, the so-called *dextrarum iunctio* was a very meaningful gesture in Roman cult and as a formal authorization of contracts, treaties (as symbol of *homonoia/Concordia*) since the antique times. The importance of the right hand in religious cults, for example, is visible in the ritual annually performed by the *Flamines*, when offering to Fides in the Capitolium: They were covering their right hand with a white cloth as a symbol of pureness and honesty. On this issue see Milani 2017, pp. 95 ff.; *ThesCRA*, I, p. 57, n. 129; V, p. 145, n. 285.

<sup>120</sup> The famous sentence φτύσ' το να μην το βασκάνεις (“spit on him/her, to not give them the evil eye”) is also recorded in K. Sittls, *Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1890, p. 118, supporting the idea that even a simple compliment could result in a negative impact on its recipient. Additionally Plato connected the idea of the βασκανία to the concept of boasting in *Phaed.*, 95b (μη μέγα λέγε, μή τις ἡμῶν βασκανία περιτρέψη τον λόγον) and ARISTAENET., *Epist.*, 1, 1. A funerary stele from Dorylaeum (Phrygia) clearly links Nemesis and the evil eye (Cat., 2. 65): β]άσκανε [τ]ί ν]έμεσ[ι]ν π]ο[λ]λ]ήν φ]θόνε; πῶς μ' ἀποπ[ι]πέεις τῷ ταλαν[...]......C | [.. σ]υνκλείεις [ε]||[ι]ς Τά]ρταρα γ[αίης].



## CHAPTER 2

### NEMESIS AND HER ATTRIBUTES

*The statue of Rhamnous is the only representation of Nemesis known to have survived from the Classical period, and therefore is our sole source of information for how the goddess was depicted in Classical Greek iconography. Even if precise interpretation eludes us, Nemesis' widespread power in the pre-Roman and Imperial Greek world is indisputable. The attributes later attached to Nemesis in Roman times (wheel, bridle, griffin, cubit-rule, etc.) were variously combined, and reflected how Nemesis was conceived of in one part of the Empire. As a goddess her motifs referred to the concept of destiny (wheel); the control of immoderate behaviours (cubitum and bridle); the supreme power (griffin); the punishment of Hybris or enemies (figure under Nemesis' feet); the concept of justice (scales).*

#### **The iconography of Nemesis.**

The Rhamnousian cult statue of Nemesis is almost completely lost. Only a fragment of her head has survived<sup>121</sup>, with finely-carved, curly hair parted in the middle, a style which was reproduced in Roman copies<sup>122</sup>. Many small fragments that remained archived in Rhamnous were identified and collected by Giorgos Despinis<sup>123</sup>. As aforesaid, her figure can be seen in statues which the scholar has shown to be Roman copies inspired by the original body-shape of the goddess.

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<sup>121</sup> Fragment of Parian marble, held at the British Museum, n. 1820, 0513, 2.

<sup>122</sup> Nemesis' typical hair style is evident in the marble head conserved exhibited the Museum of the Athenian *agora* in Athens. See Cat., 1. 9; *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2h (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>123</sup> See Despinis 1971, pp. 10 ff.

Although the Roman copies belong to a period from the Augustan Age to the Late Empire, they nevertheless assist us in determining the features of the original Rhamnousian archetype<sup>124</sup>. Moreover, these copies were used in antiquity as body-types for portraits of empresses, noble women and priestesses<sup>125</sup>. This model remained so popular throughout the centuries that the Romans even used it during the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., having perhaps mistaken it for the iconography of Aphrodite<sup>126</sup>.

The description of the Rhamnousian Nemesis given by Pausanias<sup>127</sup> serves not only as a rich source of information about the iconography but also as a subject of debate among modern scholars<sup>128</sup>. Pausanias' detailed report presents certain iconographic elements whose unique qualities render them difficult to interpret, and which moreover vary significantly from the later Roman representations that are familiar to us. Since Pausanias' narrative and the available archaeological data are the only known sources related to the image of the pre-Roman Nemesis of Rhamnous, it is important to examine them both closely.

Pausanias described the head of Nemesis as adorned with a crown decorated with stags and Victories. The goddess held in her left hand an apple tree branch, and in her right a bronze or gold *patera* with chiselled figures of Ethiopians: τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα: ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ πεποίηνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμεν τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων, οἱ πεποιοῖσθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν.

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<sup>124</sup> See Karanastassis 2018, p. 250; Portale 2013, pp. 223-224; Bumke 2008, pp. 118 ff.; Despini 1971, pp. 28-44.

<sup>125</sup> See aBove, p. 33.

<sup>126</sup> See Despini 1971, pp. 41 ff. The relief from Daphni today at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and the abovementioned female figure on the front side of Balbinus' sarcophagus are examples of the reuse of Nemesis' body-type (above, p. 33).

<sup>127</sup> PAUS., 1, 33, 3-8.

<sup>128</sup> See Simon 1960, p. 18; Schefold 1957, p. 565; Wittenberg 2014, pp. 12-13; Schweitzer 1931, p. 195.

Ἦκεανόν: οἰκεῖν γὰρ Αἰθίοπας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα Ἦκεανόν<sup>129</sup>. Pausanias openly admits that he does not understand the real meaning of the Ethiopians in that context, and displays a degree of scepticism toward the local *vulgata* who believed them to be people living close to the river Oceanus<sup>130</sup>. The inclusion of such a population in the decoration of a statue is unusual, and it is the only example linked to Nemesis<sup>131</sup>. Modern scholars generally interpret their presence as a symbol of the universal power of the goddess, capable of intervening

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<sup>129</sup> PAUS., *l. c.*: “of this marble Phidias made a statue of Nemesis, and on the head of the goddess is a crown with deer and small images of Victory. In her left hand she holds an apple branch, in her right hand a cup on which are wrought Ethiopians. As to the Ethiopians, I could hazard no guess myself, nor could I accept the statement of those who are convinced that the Ethiopians have been carved upon the cup because of the river Ocean. For the Ethiopians, they say, dwell near it, and Ocean is the father of Nemesis”. See *LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 1 (P. Karanastassis). Concerning the sculptor, the tradition is divided between Phidias (apart from Pausanias, other authors, such as POMPONIOUS MELA, *De Chorographia*, 2, 3, 45, 5- 46, 2, and Agoracritus, a student of Phidias (PL., *N. H.*, 36, 17; STRABO, 9, 396; Souda: Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις).

<sup>130</sup> Pausanias affirms that Oceanus was not a river, but the furthest sea to which humans could sail (1, 33, 4): Ἦκεανῶ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῶ, θαλάσση δὲ ἐσχάτη τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοικοῦσιν Ἰβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ἦκεανὸς ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν: Αἰθίοπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Σϋήνης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔσχατοι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι, καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτοι Μερὸν πόλιν καὶ πεδῖον Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν: οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίου τράπεζάν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδέ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε ποταμὸς ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος. “It is not the river Ocean, but the farthest part of the sea navigated by man, near which dwell the Iberians and the Celts, and Ocean surrounds the island of Britain. But of the Ethiopians beyond Syene, those who live farthest in the direction of the Red Sea are the Ichthyophagi (Fish-eaters), and the gulf round which they live is called after them. The most righteous of them inhabit the city Meroe and what is called the Ethiopian plain. These are they who show the Table of the Sun, and they have neither sea nor river except the Nile”. This interpretation of Oceanus is confirmed in HOM., *Il.*, 14, 200-201, 301-302, where Hera defines Oceanus as father of the gods, at the extreme edge of the world. Moreover, Homer linked the Ethiopians to Oceanus in *Il.*, 1, 422, where Zeus moves towards the Ocean and the ἀμόμονες Ethiopians, “perfect” and “righteous” people: Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ἦκεανὸν μετ’ ἀμόμονας Αἰθιοπῆας | χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ’ ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο.

<sup>131</sup> As Despinis rightly pointed out, the heads of the Ethiopians should have been carved on the external façade of the *phiale*, so that Pausanias could see them. See Despinis 1971, p. 63; Simon 1960, p. 5.

even at the very edge of the world<sup>132</sup>. Wittenberg expanded this idea by associating the Ethiopians with the East, as opposed to the apple-twig<sup>133</sup>, which was considered a symbol of the West, representing the Hesperides and their gardens. According to him, both of these elements indicate Nemesis' absolute power. Homer also characterised the Ethiopians as people living in the furthestmost corner of the world<sup>134</sup>, which also supports Wittenberg's view. As people living at the edge of the earth and far from the corrupting influence of other societies, the Ethiopians can be considered righteous people living in harmony with Nemesis' principles<sup>135</sup> and thus worthy of being represented on her *phiale*.

Another population considered in the Greek tradition to be extremely virtuous were the Hyperboreans, whom Pindar described as a people living “without Nemesis”, without her punishment and in a state of complete justice. The apple-twig evokes the myth of the golden apple, the harbinger of the Trojan war, a plausible and convincing interpretation. Moreover, it recalls the myth of Helen and Nemesis as told by the Cypria and represented on the base of the statue<sup>136</sup>.

Previous scholars have considered the stags and the Victories on the goddess' crown as symbols of the relationship between Nemesis and Artemis, and the winged Victories were also interpreted as being related to Nemesis in her role as

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<sup>132</sup> See Simon 1960, p. 18; Schefold 1957, p. 565. Nineteenth century's scholars considered the presence of the Ethiopians as symbol of Lybia, or the Arabic peninsula (wrongly confused with Ethiopia), from which the Greeks imported balsams and perfumes, and the *phiale* as a container for perfumes and oils. This perspective was supporting the aforementioned Pliny's record of a statue of Aphrodite changed into the statue of Nemesis. See G. Molini (ed.), *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata: Statue, bassi rilievi, busti e bronzi*, vol. 3, Florence 1824, pp. 50 ff. See above, p. 32.

<sup>133</sup> The apple-twig is testified also by Hesychius, s.v. Παμουσία[v]. Schweitzer 1931, p. 195 considered this attribute to be a symbol of Nemesis as a goddess related to nature, animals and agriculture. See Wittenberg 2014, pp. 12-13.

<sup>134</sup> *Od.*, 1, 22-24: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἔοντας, | Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, | οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. “The Ethiopians who dwell sundered in twain, the farthestmost of men, somewhere Hyperion sets and somewhere he rises”.

<sup>135</sup> HDT., 2, 137; HOM., *Il.*, 1, 423-425; HES., fr. 40 Merkelbach-West. See Smith 2011, p. 44 with bibl.

<sup>136</sup> Above, pp. 26 ff.



“protector of animals and hunting”<sup>137</sup>. The two goddesses had their Attic sanctuaries close to each other<sup>138</sup> but mythological or archaeological evidence to support this interpretation is still lacking. Wittenberg considered this association a symbol of the direct and powerful action of Nemesis. This interpretation falls within the Roman idea of Nemesis as an omniscient goddess<sup>139</sup>, capable of being in different places at the same time, but it does not line up with the beliefs of the Classical period, where she was strictly linked to the punishment of any violation of harmony, influencing even the chthonian context, where we see the goddess caring for people unjustly killed.

We have pointed out that Nemesis maintained her Greek name in the Roman *pantheon*<sup>140</sup>, but her most prevalent and characteristic iconography was developed during the Roman times; her image became strongly anchored in a realistic and concrete visual language that reflected the Roman interpretation of her roles. Indeed, the iconography of the Imperial period consisted of symbols that were easily comprehended by widely varying populations spread out over a huge Empire, and indeed the symbols are comprehensible even to our modern eyes. Attributes like the wheel, the cubit-rule, the bridle, the griffin, and the balance became part of Nemesis’ tool kit, in a more or less Romanized environment, while still preserving the Greek essence of the goddess, the governor of the general harmony which is deeply connected to Dike.

Nemesis’ iconography of the Roman times can be divided into two main branches and styles. One is linked to the sphere of spectacles and the army; it is less

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<sup>137</sup> See Löschke & Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 159 ss. See Dietrich 1967, p. 160, n. 8.

<sup>138</sup> Dietrich suggested a link between Nemesis and vegetation, Rhamnous being a very green area, a place of agriculture. See Dietrich 1967, p. 161 ss.

<sup>139</sup> *O. H.*, 61, 9: πάντ’ ἔσορᾶς καὶ πάντ’ ἑπακούεις, καὶ πάντα βραβεύεις. Nemesis’ ability of knowing everything is largely attested also by her relation with the sun (see below Macrobius’ statement, p. 70), the various epithets attached to her, like Oupis and πανδερκής (*O. H.*, 61, 3). The latter epithet is an epithet referred also to Selene (*O. H.*, 9, 9) and Ouranos (*O. H.*, 4, 9) in the same group of evidence. See the appendix to this chapter for the entire text of the Orphic Hymn to Nemesis.

<sup>140</sup> Like Nemesis, only Pan and the Dioskouroi did not change their names in Rome, while Ianus maintained his Roman name in Greece.

frequently found in the Greek East, except in the context of theatre-arenas, where Nemesis could be associated with Diana, adopting iconographical features typical of gladiators or soldiers: The short chiton, the boots, the cuirass, the dynamic pose (running, sometimes ready to shoot an arrow), a shield or weapons like the sword or the bow<sup>141</sup>. A second iconographic branch presents more Greek characteristics, such as a long chiton, sandals, a relaxed and solemn pose: An iconography that does not limit Nemesis to the perimeter of the arena<sup>142</sup>. Indeed, the symbols that mostly characterised Nemesis have their roots in the Greco-Roman East rather than in the western part of the Empire, where the association of the goddess with the amphitheatre was probably too close to allow wider interpretations.

A summary of the attributes of Nemesis with an explanation of their meaning is presented below.

### **The wheel**

The most common attribute of Nemesis is the wheel. It appears frequently in both eastern and western representations, with a varying number of rays, a realist or stylized form, as in the cases of the votive *naiskos* from Piraeus<sup>143</sup> (only four wheels and a simple style) and the votive relief from Ovilava<sup>144</sup> (representation of half wheel with simple but realistic style); the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. relief<sup>145</sup> from Damascus, with a Nemesis carved into a niche and with a less realistic wheel similar to the shell of a snail. The wheel has been variously interpreted as a common attribute shared with Tyche, as a solar symbol, or with the negative

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<sup>141</sup> See the altar of Miletus (Cat., 2. 33; Schweitzer 1931, p. 209, fig. 10; *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 170 (P. Karanastassis); below, pp. 239 ff.) and the stele from Patras (Cat., 1. 18; *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 167; below, pp. 252 ff.).

<sup>142</sup> The goddess of the games in the Orient does not generally show the masculinity of some western depictions. Except for a few rare cases (such as the Nemesis of Patras), the eastern interpretation of Nemesis is not clearly characterised by objects of real life, such as the cuirass or the gladiatorial equipment.

<sup>143</sup> Late Roman, *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 162 (P. Karanastassis). See Cat., 1. 21.

<sup>144</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 272 (F. Rausa).

<sup>145</sup> *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 8 (P. L. De Bellefond).

connotation of turning a person's destiny for the worst. The gesture of *spuere in sinum* is the only characteristic as common as the wheel, even if the use of spitting on herself cannot be considered as an attribute, but an attitude inherent in her character<sup>146</sup>. The most ancient data attesting the combination of Nemesis and the wheel are some coins issued by Smyrna<sup>147</sup>, Sinope<sup>148</sup>, and Irenopolis<sup>149</sup> dated to the reign of Domitian.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the whole universe was harmonized by Nemesis with the movement of her wheel: *eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur*<sup>150</sup>. The goddess Tyche/Fortuna was very close to this astral concept; indeed, we find her sometimes associated with the wheel. Nemesis and Tyche/Fortuna were both considered to be forces acting beyond the Olympian dynamics, similar to the Moirai or the chthonian Hecate<sup>151</sup>. From this point of view, Nemesis could have been conceived as a non-blind Tyche/Fortuna, with the special power of deciding which direction to turn the wheel of a person's destiny,<sup>152</sup> thereby following the causality and not the mere casualty of events. The difficulty of drawing a line between these two goddesses is confirmed by some verses of the *Tristia* where Ovid describes his detractor as someone who does not fear the power of Fortuna, nor that of Nemesis: *nec metuis dubio Fortunae stantis in orbe | numen, et exosae verba superba deae. | Exigit a dignis ultrix Rhamnusia poenas: | vidi ego naufragium qui risit in aequora mergi, |*

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<sup>146</sup> The *spuere in sinum* is very common and represented also in the western part of the Empire. On this Ovidian definition of Nemesis, see also Stafford 2006, pp. 41-42.

<sup>147</sup> See Cat., 2. 48.

<sup>148</sup> See Cat., 3. 13.

<sup>149</sup> See Cat., 5. 5.

<sup>150</sup> *Rerum Gestarum Libri*, 14, 11, 26. The astral conception of Nemesis is visible also in certain combination with deities with a strong celestial character. It is the case of Nemesis-Ourania, attested in Athens (inscription found in one of the seats of the proedria: *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 5070: ἱερέως | Οὐρανίας | Νεμέσεως*), and Nemesis-Caelestis, worshipped in the amphitheatre of Italica and Emerita Augusta in Spain (see Hornum 1993, p. 273, n. 215; p. 276, n. 220 with further bibl.).

<sup>151</sup> See below the conception of Nemesis as a driver of the souls in the Hades, and her association to the Moirai in the epitaph of Aristocles from Odessus (Cat., 11. 5). Below, p. 157.

<sup>152</sup> Or, in the words of Vermeule, Nemesis was "that aspect of Tyche or Fortuna that implies divine regulation and retribution". See Vermeule 1966, p. 31.

et “numquam” dixi “iustior unda fuit”<sup>153</sup>. Fortuna is the goddess who stands on the “unstable wheel” while Nemesis hates the boasting speech. The two goddesses complete each other: If Fortuna is blind and unstable, like the wheel, Nemesis is opposed to the arrogant behaviour that she will voluntarily punish with the *iusta unda*<sup>154</sup>.

There are different theories about which deity the wheel was originally assigned to; Hornum<sup>155</sup> believes that it was first associated to Nemesis and later to Fortuna, even though Fortuna was traditionally considered to be the goddess first matched with the wheel, later passed to Nemesis and, in turn, to Isis<sup>156</sup>. Even if the character of instability and uncertainty of the wheel is perfectly suited to the blind Fortuna, it seems that this symbol found its full affirmation and ubiquity only in its connection to Nemesis. Comparing the representations of the two goddesses in the Greek and Roman contexts, the wheel clearly appears as a common symbol of Nemesis, while Tyche/Fortuna is mostly characterised by the rudder and the *cornucopia*. Moreover, the wheel is shown in the majority of Nemesis’ evidence, and in some monuments where it clearly represents Nemesis together with other deities<sup>157</sup>. Even the griffin, as a zoomorphic representation of the goddess, was distinguished as belonging to Nemesis by two characteristics. One of them was the addition of the wheel<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>153</sup> *Trist.*, 5, 8, 7-12: “nor do you fear the power of Fortune standing on her swaying wheel, or the haughty commands of the goddess who hates. Avenging Rhamnusia, exacts a penalty from those who deserve it; why do you set your foot and trample upon my fate? I have seen one drowned in the waves who had laughed at shipwreck, and I said «Never were the waters more just»”. For further information and bibliography on this issue, see Hornum 1993, p. 26.

<sup>154</sup> Envy appears when people surpass their just allotment of fortune, and this calls down the punishment of Nemesis. Ovid (*Trist.*, 3, 4, 25-26) warns his lecturer not to overpass his own Fate: *Crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene vixit, et intra | fortunam debet quisque manere suam.*

<sup>155</sup> See Hornum 1993, *l. c.*

<sup>156</sup> See Cook 1914, pp. 271, ff.

<sup>157</sup> A valid example of the use of the wheel as representative of Nemesis in pantheistic gods is the coinage of Aphrodisias (Cat., 2. 4).

<sup>158</sup> As mentioned below, the griffin with the wheel spread especially in Egypt (in the imperial coinage of Alexandria) and in some important centres of Asia Minor (*e.g.* Smyrna), and the Orient, such as Palestine (Cat., 12. 4) and Syria (Cat., 14. 1).

The written sources rarely attest the “positive side” of Nemesis’ wheel because it is mostly negative human actions that provoke the goddess’ reaction<sup>159</sup>. Certainly, the wheel was also the symbol of rising from a negative to a positive state, but human beings, focused on their Ego, easily forget their good fortune, falling into exaggerated behaviours of victimhood and *hubris*: Both unbalanced states of mind that led to Nemesis’ punishment. Mesomedes described the wheel as τροχὸς ἄστατος<sup>160</sup>, while Nonnus of Panopolis defined it as a τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος, a wheel that turns by itself: καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος ἔην παρὰ ποσσὶν ἀνάσσης σημαίνων, ὅτι πάντας ἀγήνορας εἰς πέδον ἔλκει ὑψόθεν εἰλυφόωσα δίκης ποινήτορι κύκλῳ, δαίμων πανδαμάτειρα, βίου στρωφῶσα πορείην<sup>161</sup>. The wheel turns by itself in close relationship to the sense of inexorable justice. Nonnus considered Nemesis’ activity in the context of a “punishing circle of justice”, with a clear negative connotation. This concept reflects the ideals of the time in which the author lived, when the character of Nemesis appeared mostly linked to the punishment towards any violation of the sense of order. One may also recognize the profile of Nemesis as a “messenger” and, perhaps, *paredros* of Dike<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>159</sup> The idea of gifts by Nemesis is testified by the aforementioned Ammianus, who counterposed the *ultrix facinorum impiorum* to the *bonorumque premiatrix*. AMM. MARC., *Rerum Gestarum*, 14, 11, 25.

<sup>160</sup> *Hymn of Nem.*, 7-8: ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἄστατον ἀστιβῆ χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα. As the wheel, the λόγος is said ἄστατος in the Orphic Hymn to Nemesis (*O. H.*, 61, 5): ἀλλάσσοῦσα λόγον πολυποίκιλον, ἄστατον αἰεὶ. The speech is various and unstable, like people’s lives. Plato conceived Nemesis as closely linked to εὐφημία, considered as the good, pious, respectful and meaningful speech.

<sup>161</sup> *Dionys.*, 48, 378-381: “And there was a wheel at the feet of the queen, turning by itself, meaning that the goddess who dominates everything, drags to the ground the arrogant people, making them fall from up into the avenging cycle of Justice” (transl. of the author).

<sup>162</sup> See inscription Cat. 2. 31 (*I. Milet.*, 9, 365), where the term the name of Nemesis, παρέδρος of Dike, has been completely added by the editor. The scholars have generally accepted this philological intervention that, however, is not provable. See Plato, *Laws*, 717D. The connection between Dike and Nemesis is alive also in the Late Empire, and attested by Pseudo-Callisthenes (*SRAM*, 2, 22, 15, 1-3). The association Nemesis-Dike is attested by Mesomedes, where Nemesis is said θύγατερ and παρέδρος Δίκας (see Appendix one). The Orphic Hymn to Nemesis confirmed this bond: ἐν σοὶ δ’ εἰσὶ δίκαι θνητῶν (see Appendix), stressing the power of Nemesis on people’s lives. Moreover, the hymn to Nemesis itself (the 61<sup>st</sup> of the collection) is part of a special group comprehending the hymns to Dike (62<sup>nd</sup>), Dikaiosyne (63<sup>rd</sup>) and Nomos (64<sup>th</sup>).

Amongst all Nemesis' symbols, the wheel is the only one communicating the idea of inexorability; a concept very close to the idea of Fate, but with the possibility of self-determination for human beings. Already the ancient authors, indeed, associated Nemesis with the Erinyes, Necessity and the Moirai, chthonian and necessary forces, with an imperative and inescapable power<sup>163</sup>.

The wheel is called  $\rho\acute{o}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega\rho$  in the inscription of the funerary monument of Regilla on the Via Appia, with an evident negative connotation related to death<sup>164</sup>. The wheel of Nemesis, however, was not just the instrument of a cruel, avenging destiny: It was constantly turning because of the voluble nature of the human beings.

Nemesis' wheel generally presents four<sup>165</sup>, six or eight rays: we rarely find the goddess holding it, but generally it lies at her feet or under the paw of the griffin<sup>166</sup>. Nemesis is rarely represented standing on the wheel, as we see in 15<sup>th</sup> c.-16<sup>th</sup> c. depictions, where she appears as a sort of *daimon* or a goddess close to personifications typical of that time, like Occasio/Kairos<sup>167</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> See PSEUDO-ARISTOTELES, *De Mundo*, 401b, 11-12. The association/identification Nemesis-Adrasteia ("the inescapable") goes too in this direction.

<sup>164</sup> *IG XIV*, 1389 II; see Guarducci 1974, p. 137; Hornum 1993, p. 238, n. 153.

<sup>165</sup> Concerning the Greek context, the symbol of the sun was depicted as a wheel with four rays, as also the number four and the geometric division of the space could have represented a sort of perfection. The Pythagoreans, indeed, conferred to the number four a special meaning in relation with justice, considering the space, the Earth and the geographical directions as divisible in four equal parts. We could also find many applications in the human life of the number four, as the season, the elements of the earth, the cardinal elements, etc. However, the possible astral meaning of the wheel, and also the interpretation of numbers would take us too far and into a sphere where there are too many uncertainties and unknowns.

<sup>166</sup> See below, p. 66 ff.

<sup>167</sup> Kairos/Occasio and Nemesis seems to be deeply linked to each other, so much so that we can consider them as two different sides of the same coin. Nemesis was the goddess punishing the violation of the cosmic order, while Kairos/Occasio was also conceived as the providence representing the good consequences of human actions, when in harmony with destiny and the cosmic rules. The conceptual association of Nemesis and Kairos/Occasio is still valid during the Italian Renaissance, as witnessed by the beautiful external frescos of Palazzo Cazuffi-Rella (Trento), painted by Marcello Fogolino. Nemesis appears depicted in frontal position, standing on an eight-

The wheel does not frequently appear in pictures connected with the ludic context, where other attributes expressing moderation and self-control (such as the bridle and the cubit-rule) better communicate the respect of order and rules requested in the arena and with a more direct language. As mentioned above, representations of the wheel have also been found in the western areas of the Empire, and completely merged with the Roman environment of the amphitheatre. The relief of Andautonia is a case in point: The goddess appears in short chiton, diademed and holding the weapons of the gladiators. The Sun and the Moon appear in the background, and a six-rayed wheel is located at her feet<sup>168</sup>.

It is very surprising that a “magical” and “esoteric” symbol like the wheel is never found in evidence for Nemesis prior to the Roman period. However, the circle, like the wheel, was a symbol with deep roots and connections to eastern solar cults: We are deeply indebted to Cook’s research on the meanings of this symbol, connecting the Far East with the Greek traditions<sup>169</sup>. The wheel generally had a positive

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rayed wheel, holding a bridle in her right hand and the globe in her left. Close to her is Occasio (the Roman equivalent of Kairos), standing on a similar wheel, but holding a sword and with children who try to catch her. The globe is an attribute similar to the wheel, and that symbolized the absolute power over people’s lives. See G. Fogolari, *L'allegoria dipinta sopra una facciata di casa in p.zza Duomo a Trento, Tridentum* 5 (1902), pp. 1-14; L. Dal Prà, *L"Emblematum liber" di Andrea Alciati e il ciclo affrescato di Casa Cazuffi a Trento, Studi trentini di scienze storiche* 1 (1985), pp. 5-52.

The relationship between Nemesis and Kairos is still ambiguous. Both these personifications seem to have a connection with the concepts of destiny and fate. The Nemesis depicted on the painting from the amphitheatre of Tarraco has been interpreted also as Kairos (Mielsch 1981, p. 242; cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 65). Moreover, the iconography of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D. relief from Cairo mentioned below (p. 81) has been interpreted as a mixture of the iconographies of Kairos and Nemesis by Cook 1914, p. 863. Cfr. Cohen, p. 237, n. 89.

<sup>168</sup> See Hornum 1993, pl. 26. This mixed iconography is quite rare. The position of Andautonia, between Eastern and Western provinces, could have helped the merging of different iconographic traditions and symbols. One may recall the *sylogos* of *Nemesiastai* of Nicaea, devoted of the Ephesian Artemis. See below, pp. 264 ff.

<sup>169</sup> See Cook 1914, pp. 263 ff. The author mentioned an interesting stone tablet from the Babylonian city of Sippar, with the representation of the Sun-God holding a circle and a stick (interpreted as the

meaning and application, as many circular icons found on Greek ceramics and coinage attest<sup>170</sup>. However, the wheel has also symbolised negative actions, *e.g.* the eternal torture inflicted upon Ixion with a burning wheel<sup>171</sup>. The magical application of the wheel is attested by Pindar when referring to the magical four-rayed wheel (with a Iynx – a little bird, called also “wry-neck” – fastened to it) that Aphrodite gave to Jason in order to win Medea’s love<sup>172</sup>. Philostratus also attests the magical and apotropaic meaning of the wheel: The author said that golden Iynxes (probably fixed on wheels) were hung on the temple of Delphi, reproducing the sounds of the sirens: ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἕγγας ἀνάσαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθῶ<sup>173</sup>. The author, therefore, compared the Delphic custom with the decoration of a room of the palace of Babylonia where the king used to make judgements, saying that images of the worshipped gods were decorating the roof: δικάζει μὲν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἕγγες ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυᾶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἶρεσθαι. Ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοὶ φασιν ἀρμίττεσθαι φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια,

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sun orbit, but could we see the stick as a sort of *cubitum*?) in front of an altar with a wheel on it, symbolizing the sun. (p. 263, fig. 190).

<sup>170</sup> See Cook 1914, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>171</sup> Ixion was guilty of having broken the social rules and disrespected his benefactor. See Stafford 2005, p 206; Hornum 1993, p. 27.

<sup>172</sup> *Pyth.*, 4, 213 ff. Jason had to spin the wheel, and so Peitho would have whipped Medea and convinced her to love him. Cook considered this four-rayed wheel as a symbol of the sun. As described by Pindar, a little Iynx torquilla (a bird with a great capacity for turning its head) was fastened to that wheel, assuring to it magical powers. This bird combined with the wheel was used to rituals and particularly in love enchantments; according to Greek mythology, indeed, the Iynx was originally a nymph, who made Zeus fall in love with Io using an enchantment, and for this reason she was punished by Hera and turned into a bird (*Schol. ad Theocrit.*, 2, 17; *PIND.*, *Pyth.*, 4, 380). We have many attestations of wheels with fastened birds, such as the little clay wheel with five birds found in the cemetery of the ancient Akanthos (Chalkidiki), dated between 350-300 B.C., today at the Archaeological Museum of Thessalonica and part of the temporary exhibition *Figurines. A microcosmos of clay, 3 April 2017 - 31 December 2018*. See Cook, pp. 253 ff. with interesting parallelisms among wheels from various areas of the Greek world and some considerations on the importance of spinning the wheel in different religions and magic rituals. Cfr. Faraone 1993, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>173</sup> *V. Apoll.*, 6, 11. Pausanias refused to believe that golden singers were hung at the Delphic temple, referring the information to Pindar, who – says Pausanias – was probably more inspired by the Sirens of Homer. See PAUS., 10, 5, 12.



καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας<sup>174</sup>. In this description the mention of Adrasteia intended as a divine Necessity, stands out: Adrasteia/Necessity was another way to conceive of Nemesis, supervisor of the wise and right judgment<sup>175</sup>.

Concerning the apotropaic interpretation of the circle, one may recall the Roman *oscilla*, which people used to hang at the entrances of houses and private porticos to protect the place from misfortunes, or as a gift to a temple. This was a typical Roman custom, largely attested in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the subject of interpretations and discussions even among the ancient authors<sup>176</sup>.

Hanging wheels and circles on the ceilings of a room or a palace is attested also in Magna Graecia. The well-known Apulian vases with depictions of mythological scenes are a case in point: Wheels were often represented as hung in the interior of the room of the main scene<sup>177</sup>. There is still no certain interpretation of the function assigned to those wheels, which have been interpreted as symbols of chariots;

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<sup>174</sup> *V. Apoll.*, 1, 25: “here the king passes judgment; and jyniges of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Adrasteia and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. There the magicians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods”. See Cook 1914, pp. 261 ff. with more examples of the wheel as solar symbol from Greece and the Oriental world.

<sup>175</sup> See p. 22.

<sup>176</sup> Made of marble, the *oscilla* presented various shapes: Circular, rectangular and of a lunate shield. This object was decorated mostly with Dionysian, theatrical or mythological scenes. This tradition was very common in Italy, and we can still admire it in the House of the Gilded Cupid at Pompeii. Servius (*Commentarius ad Aeneida*, 12, 603), linked the *oscillum* to the idea of appeasement: *Varro ait, suspendiosis, quibus iusta fieri ius non sit, suspensis oscillis, veluti per imitationem morti parentari*. On the other hand, Plutarch recorded that hanging spheres was an obstacle for spiteful spirits. This latter reference suggests the apotropaic meaning of these objects (see Dwyer 1981, pp. 250-251; Voisin 1979, pp. 449). Others see a connection between the *oscilla* and the Roman tradition of hanging shields (*imago clipeata, clipeus virtutis*) for celebrating victories (PAUS., 1, 25-26; Aeschin., *Chtesiphon* 116; PL., *H. N.*, 35, 4; LIV., 25, 39 and 35, 10) or focused their attention on the Dionysian element (*Georg.*, 387-389 about a Dionysian ritual of hanging small masks on trees). See Bacchetta 2006, pp. 35-44; for a short and summarising text, see Taylor 2005, pp. 83-105.

<sup>177</sup> See Todisco 2003, p. 411, Ap 23 (krater from Ruvo di Puglia, 395-385 B.C.), p. 448, Ap 132 (Apulian krater, 350-325 B.C.), p. 455, Ap 149 (Apulian amphora from Ruvo di Puglia, 340 B.C.), p. 456, Ap 151 (Apulian krater from Ruvo di Puglia, 340 B.C.).

however, the absolute absence of any other part of those chariots<sup>178</sup> suggests a more metaphorical meaning, such as the apotropaic function of protecting the palace from misfortunes.

Certainly, the wheel had a magical and deep meaning in the struggle against negative forces; the perfect shape of the circle and the movement of the wheel inspired a sense of protection from what was unfinished and imperfect.

### **The bridle**

The brake or the bridle and the whip is the second most common attribute associated with Nemesis in the surviving evidence. This attribute is clearly connected with the goddess' involvement in Roman and Greek festivals, and especially with the hippodrome's activities, for the function of driving and restraining the horses. However, since we do not have any archaeological evidence attesting to the worship of Nemesis in the hippodrome, her bridle should be better understood as a metaphor for the need for humility and personal self-control. The bridle is said to be "unbreakable" by Nonnus of Panopolis, who offered a full description of Nemesis as an avenging goddess<sup>179</sup>.

The bridle doesn't appear in connection with other gods, perhaps because of its specialized function in ludic or war contexts, both situations where extreme self-discipline was required. In our view, apart from the meaning of continence and moderation, the bridle could have symbolized the necessary submission to authority, a concept inherent to the nature of the Roman Nemesis; holding the bridle in her hand, the goddess reminded the people of their subordination to the divine and human authorities.

The Orphic hymn dedicated to Nemesis mentions the yoke, very similar in function and meaning to the bridle, and with a clear moral meaning of submission to the

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<sup>178</sup> This is a valid argument expressed by Cook, who rejected the idea that these wheels symbolize real chariots. See Cook 1914, pp. 259-260.

<sup>179</sup> See above the episode of Aura, pp. 29 ff.

divine: “Human beings fear you (Nemesis), submitting the neck to the yoke”<sup>180</sup>. Mesomedes also mentioned this instrument when saying: νεύεις δ’ ὑπὸ κόλπον ὄφρων ἀεὶ | ζυγὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦσα<sup>181</sup>”. The poet distinguished between the yoke and the bridle that he defines as “adamantine”, so conducted by an inflexible and righteous strength<sup>182</sup>. The bridle was a typical attribute of the eastern iconography of Nemesis and we can easily suppose that it was represented in the cult statues of Smyrna, at least in statues of the Roman period. The local numismatic evidence<sup>183</sup>, in fact, attests the usual combination of bridle and *cubitus*, while the surviving coinage of Nemesis testifies to the wide spread of the bridle as Nemesis’ attribute all over the eastern areas of the Empire. Nemesis is represented with the bridle in some important monuments, such as the relief in the theatre of Hierapolis<sup>184</sup> that, for position and style, stands out among the whole decorative program of the building.

The whip was an instrument complementary to the bridle; a tool used to strike the animal driven and controlled by the bridle. The whip of Nemesis signified punishment, while the bridle prevented the goddess’ intervention, inspiring a break to arrogant and unbalanced actions. The goddess appears holding a whip mostly in finds from the western provinces or in connection with the ludic context: The well-known reliefs of the amphitheatre of Virunum, with a Nemesis-Victoria and a Nemesis-Luna holding a whip<sup>185</sup> are good examples of the latter case.

A possible representation of Nemesis with the whip is found on a famous fresco decoration from the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii<sup>186</sup>. This painting adorns all four walls of room 5 of the Villa, located in the back portion of the edifice. The

<sup>180</sup> *O. H.*, 5: ἦν (Nemesis) πάντες δεδίασι βροτοὶ ζυγὸν ἀνχένη θέντες.

<sup>181</sup> *Hym.*, 12-13: “always nods with a corrugated look, with the yoke in her hand”. See Appendix, p. 311.

<sup>182</sup> *Hym.*, 3-4: ἄ κοῦφα φρυάγματα θνατῶν, | ἐπέχεις ἀδάμαντι χαλινῶ.

<sup>183</sup> See *Cat.*, 2. 48.

<sup>184</sup> See *Cat.*, 2. 69; below, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>185</sup> See *LIMC 2009, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 12, 13 (P. Karanastassis). Wittenberg 2014, pp. 28, 105, fig. 19, 20.

<sup>186</sup> See Sauron 1998.

painting shows twenty-nine life-size figures, including gods and humans, all participating in a scene of Dionysiac context<sup>187</sup>. A winged female figure is depicted in the North-East corner of the wall, dressed in a short chiton and high boots, naked chest, standing frontally and ready to whip a young undressed lady in prone position, waiting to be punished. While the boots would recall Diana and hunt, the characterization of her wide wings with tones of black has led scholars to interpret her as a punishing Nemesis, similar to a chthonian *daimon* close to the Eryns/Furies<sup>188</sup>. Sauron<sup>189</sup> linked this chthonian Nemesis to the Etruscan Vanth<sup>190</sup>, a sort of Charon traced on tombs paintings<sup>191</sup> and sarcophagi<sup>192</sup>.

This scene has been interpreted as a Dionysiac ritual of initiation<sup>193</sup> with the *hieros gamos* of Dionysus and Ariadne<sup>194</sup>, or as the mythical story of Semele<sup>195</sup>, or even as the preparation of a woman for marriage<sup>196</sup>. If the scene is to be interpreted as a Dionysiac initiation – that seems to be the most plausible interpretation, considering the presence of a figure depicted next to Nemesis, and involved in the ritual of the uncovering of the *phallus*, symbol of fertility at the centre of the Dionysiac

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<sup>187</sup> On the use of the room and the Dionysiac religion in Rome and Pompeii, see Sauron 1998, pp. 32 ff.; Maiuri 1931, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>188</sup> See Sauron 1998, pp. 100; Veyne – Lissarague – Frontisi – Ducroux 1998, pp. 94-100; Turcan 1969, pp. 587 ff. Lehmann interpreted this figure as Agnoia who punishes the young lady who, through the Dionysiac initiation, aims to know the truth of the Mysteries. On the other hand, Toynbee interpreted the *daimon* as a Nike who whips the young lady ready to get married as a symbol of fertility and abundance. See Lehmann 1962, pp. 62-68; Toynbee 1929, pp. 85-86.

<sup>189</sup> See Sauron 1998, pp. 103, fig. 11 (Tomb François at Vulci: Vanth is depicted as demon “supervising” the sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners at Patroclus’ funeral).

<sup>190</sup> See below a more exhaustive description of Vanth, pp. 173.

<sup>191</sup> See tomb François at Vulci; the tomb of the Aninas at Tarquinia (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.). See Moretti 1974, pp. 130-136, fig. 96-97. Below, p. 173.

<sup>192</sup> See the Etruscan urn (2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.) today at the Musei Vaticani, with the representation of a winged goddess in short chiton and boots, mentioned by Veyne – Lissarague – Frontisi-Ducroux 1998, p. 99, fig. 12.

<sup>193</sup> See Scapini 2016, pp. 198 ff.; Veyne – Lissarague – Frontisi-Ducroux 1998, pp. 17 ff., 63 ff., n. 6. for a summary of the past scholarship.

<sup>194</sup> See Scapini 2016, pp. 198-199 with further bibl.

<sup>195</sup> Sauron 1998, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>196</sup> See Toynbee 1929, pp. 67 ff.

initiations<sup>197</sup> – the lady prone for whipping would represent the pure but unexperienced person, prior to initiation into the Dionysiac Mysteries<sup>198</sup>. In any of these interpretations, the cycle of life appears as the main subject, underlined by the three dancing women nearby the initiate. Even the chthonian aspect of Nemesis, which will be examined more closely later, finds here a connection with the idea of changing, evolution and new beginnings. The applications of Nemesis' qualities were various, as she was considered to be a force beyond the Olympian gods with the power to rule the natural cycle.

### **The *cubitum***

Εἰς στήλην Νεμέσεως

Ἡ Νέμεσις προλέγει τῷ πήχει, τῷ τε χαλινῷ,  
μήτ' ἄμετρον τι ποιεῖν, μήτ' ἀχάλινα λέγειν<sup>199</sup>.

The *cubitum* is the third most common attribute of Nemesis. It was an instrument for measuring length, a symbol of moderation, and of respect for personal limits and control of people's self-regard. The *cubitum* was already attached to the Egyptian goddess Maat, supervisor of people's existence, and later passed to Nemesis, who, as Maat, controlled the lives of mortals<sup>200</sup>. In contrast to the wheel – with echoes in the sphere of destiny and fate – the *cubitum* was the perfect emblem of the correct behaviour to emulate. By displaying the *cubitum*, Nemesis taught people how to avoid the unfavourable turning of the wheel, and how to achieve a favourable destiny. One could say that the cubit-rule enforced the idea of a

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<sup>197</sup> See Turcan 1969, p. 586; Maiuri 1931, pp. 151 ff. See also the Campana relief held today at the Louvre Museum, which has a similar representation of the uncovering of the *phallus* (see Maiuri 1931, p. 153, fig. 59).

<sup>198</sup> According to Sauron, the young lady waiting to be whipped is Semele: The whipping would have been a practice related to fertility and pregnancy. See Sauron 1998, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>199</sup> *Ant. Gr.*, 26, 223 (anonymous): “On a stele of Nemesis. Nemesis warns us by her cubit-rule and bridle neither to do anything without measure nor to be unbridled in our speech”.

<sup>200</sup> MESOM., *Hymn. to Nem.*, 11: ὑπὸ πήχυν ἀεὶ βίσιον μετρεῖς.

“human” participation in controlling events: In fact, not only Nemesis, but the people themselves were able to measure their actions and avoid punishment. This measurement tool is found in the eastern provinces in both public (spectacles)<sup>201</sup> and private (funerary)<sup>202</sup> contexts. Apart from Maat, the cubit-rule does not appear in connection with other deities and allows us to identify Nemesis with a great degree of confidence.

### The griffin

Ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ πεπότητο παρὰ θρόνον ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ,  
πισύρων δὲ ποδῶν κουφίζετο παλμῶ  
δαίμονος ἰπταμένης ἀντάγγελος, ὅττι καὶ αὐτὴ  
τέτραχα μοιρηθέντα διέρχεται ἔδρανα κόσμου:  
ἀνέρας ὑψιλόφους ἀλύτῳ σφίγγουσα χαλινῶ<sup>203</sup>.

The griffin, a fantastic animal with the body of an eagle and a lion, was an important figure of the Greek and Roman mixed tradition, with ancient roots in Asia Minor, Persia and Egypt. This animal was often represented at the feet of Nemesis and with its forepaw resting on her wheel. This was a feature frequently associated with the goddess: We find it on monuments of various contexts, from the ludic to the funerary, and also on the local coinage of many communities, with a wide distribution in the area of Egypt. Although the griffin could, alone, serve as a representation or embodiment of the goddess (see discussion later in this chapter), it

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<sup>201</sup> *E.g.* Nemeseis-Tychai from the stadium at Olympia: Cat., 1. 17 (below, pp. 226 ff.); Nemesis-Tyche from the theatre of Ephesus: Cat. 2. 27 (below, pp. 182 ff.); reliefs from Philippi: Cat., 10. 9-11 (below, pp. 214 ff.); relief from the theatre of Thasos: Cat., 10. 21 (below, pp. 189 ff.).

<sup>202</sup> See the funerary stele from Thessalonica, the only relief of Nemesis on a tomb which has survived. See Cat., 10. 27. Below, p. 161.

<sup>203</sup> NONN., *Dionys.*, 48, 381-386. Translation below at p. 72.

cannot be considered an exclusive attribute of Nemesis, since it was an animal with a powerful and ancient symbolism.

According to Greek mythology, the griffin was the guardian of the gold of the North, where the mythical population of the one-eyed Arimaspians were supposed to live. Herodotus<sup>204</sup> frequently wrote about the griffins and the North, followed by Pliny<sup>205</sup> and Pausanias<sup>206</sup>. The Far North was considered by the Greeks as a place with special characteristics; indeed, they believed that the Hyperboreans, a population free from corruption and rich in justice and perfection, lived there. For this reason, as Pindar claims, they evaded Nemesis' punishment: νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται | ἱερᾶ γενεᾶ: πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ | οἰκέοισι φυγόντες | ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν<sup>207</sup>.

The easternmost roots of the griffin are found in India, where the animal was again considered to be the guardian of Indian treasure<sup>208</sup>. In Egypt the animal was related to the sphere of death; it has been found on funerary decorations of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. (Fifth Dynasty). Some scholars interpreted the griffin as the personification of the Pharaoh and the Sun-God<sup>209</sup>. One may wonder if the chthonian nature of the griffin and Nemesis could have determined their association during the Roman times. The Leiden Papyrus I 384 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.) suggests a connection of the goddess and the animal on the basis of the concept of vengeance<sup>210</sup>. This piece of evidence, indeed, attests to the presence of a local god called Petbe, described as an animal with characteristics similar to those of the griffin. The papyrus probably reflects an old tradition, but its chronology in the Late Empire does not allow many hypotheses; indeed, Petbe could have been the

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<sup>204</sup> HDT., 3, 116, 1; 4, 13, 1; 4, 27, 1.

<sup>205</sup> N. H., 6, 10. See also APUL., 11, 235 ff.

<sup>206</sup> PAUS., 1, 24, 6; I 31, 2.

<sup>207</sup> *Pythia*, 10, 42-45: "No sickness or ruinous old age is mixed into that sacred race; without toil or battles they live without fear of strict Nemesis".

<sup>208</sup> PHILOSTR., *Vit. Apollon.*, 3, 48; AELIAN., *On animals*, 4, 27; 3, 48; 6, 1;

<sup>209</sup> See Barta 1973, p. 74, 348, 352; Flagge 1976, pp. 12-13. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 31.

<sup>210</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 28.

result of the Greek association Nemesis-griffin on a local deity, in a time when the goddess was already considered a goddess of vengeance<sup>211</sup>.

The origin of the relationship between the goddess and the animal seems to have come about in Roman times, even if a funerary relief from Apollonia<sup>212</sup> has raised some new questions about an association as early as the Hellenistic period. This piece of evidence presents a decoration divided into two orders: In the lower one a griffin appears between two seated female figures, one in front of the other, and likely spitting on their chests. On the upper level we see a battle scene (Amazonomachia?). According to Tradler<sup>213</sup>, who dated the relief in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., these two figures could be interpreted as Nemeseis of Smyrna, and could even have been inspired by the lost cult statues of the city. The Hellenistic date, however, seems too early for the kind of features we typically find on sarcophagi/stelai in the provincial areas of that period. Indeed, the elegance of the garments of the goddesses, the characterisation of the figure on the left (an Amazon?) as a hunter, the motif of the hero holding the hair of his enemy in the upper side of the relief (a typical artistic motif of the Roman times)<sup>214</sup>, suggest a Roman iconographic influence and a later chronology, perhaps in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

Hornum<sup>215</sup> endorsed the view of a completely Roman origin for the relationship between Nemesis and the griffin, leaving aside the interpretation of the relief of Apollonia<sup>216</sup>. The scholar considered the Roman State as the key factor in the affirmation of the griffin as the goddess' companion, in a "passage of power and

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<sup>211</sup> See Brunner 1982, pp. 992-993.

<sup>212</sup> See Tradler 1998, pp. 178-179, 237, n. 1.

<sup>213</sup> See Tradler 1998, *l. c.*

<sup>214</sup> An example of this iconographical motif is the representation of the emperor Claudius holding the conquered Britannia by her hair on a relief from the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.). Moreover, we note two statuettes showing the emperor holding a barbarian by his hair: the first is today conserved in the World Museum of Liverpool (inv. 1971.180) and the second in the Museo delle Antichità of Turin: see Riccomini-Porciani 2014, pp. 499 ff., fig. 1-3 with further bibl. On the relief of Claudius and Britannia, see Erim 1982, pp. 277-281.

<sup>215</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 31.

<sup>216</sup> Wittenberg disagreed with Tradler's interpretation of the relief, considering it too speculative. See Wittenberg 2014, p. 13.



symbol” from the Egyptian Pharaoh to the Roman governor<sup>217</sup>. He specifically mentioned some representations of the emperor and the griffin, linking them to the older Egyptian pairing of the griffin with the Pharaoh<sup>218</sup>. In Roman culture the griffin was commonly related to order and central power<sup>219</sup>. The famous griffins of the candelabra, found on the emperors’ cuirasses and a typical decorative element of the imperial residences on the Palatine Hill, are a clear example of the Roman artistic application of this figure. Therefore, we find griffins being fed by kneeling barbarians in the Campana reliefs<sup>220</sup>, as a metaphor for the Roman Empire being supported by the *subiecti*.

Concerning the earliest attestation of Nemesis paired with the griffin, one should also consider the sketch that Gandy Deering made while in Rhamnous in 1813<sup>221</sup>; he drew a griffin attacking a horse, a scene that could have been included in the upper decoration of Nemesis’ temple. Unfortunately, this piece of evidence is now lost, but we can observe that any feminine characteristics are absent from Deering’s sketch of the griffin. Feminine characteristics are a hallmark of Nemesis’ griffin, and seem to be a completely Roman attribution.

Some scholars considered Syria to be the birthplace of the association between goddess and animal, because of their shared astral nature. Indeed, during the Roman times Nemesis was venerated in Syria in connection with solar gods<sup>222</sup>.

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<sup>217</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 24 ff.

<sup>218</sup> Hornum also reports examples of the Egyptian griffin trampling the personification of the enemy of the state, which would support the connection between the animal and the ruler. See Hornum 1993, *l. c.* the discovering of depictions of the Pharaoh trampling upon a prostrate figure symbolizing the enemy of the State, leading Hornum to associate the griffin as the embodiment of the Pharaoh.

<sup>219</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 31-32.

<sup>220</sup> See Simon 1962, p. 775

<sup>221</sup> See Petrakos 1999, p. 237, fig. 152.

<sup>222</sup> For Syria as the birthplace of this association see Mesnil de Buisson 1962, pp. 387-394; Flagge 1976, p. 112; Elia 1962, p. 123; Simon 1962, p. 700. For a summary of the theories and further bibl., see Hornum 1993, pp. 29 ff. See Papapostolou 1989, p. 376 for the griffin as a symbol of Helios and the solar nature of Nemesis. In the western part of the Empire Nemesis could sometimes be found with a crescent moon on her head, a clear association with Luna, *e. g.* the aforementioned relief of the amphitheatre of Virunum (see above, p. 63).

Macrobius wrote about the celestial aspects of Nemesis, stating: *et ut ad solis multiplicem potestatem revolvatur oratio, Nemesis, quae contra superbiam colitur quid aliud est quam solis potestas, cuius natura est ut fulgentia obscuret et conspectui auferat, quaeque sunt in obscuro inluminet offeratque conspectui?*<sup>223</sup> The author describes Nemesis as an astral force close to the sun, punishing human *superbia*. One may wonder if the griffin alone, as zoomorphic representation of the goddess (and even more so with Nemesis's wheel), had a particular connection with the solar context<sup>224</sup>.

The older signs of the Nemesis-griffin association that survive today belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. The first is a depiction in a fresco found in the House of the *Fabii* (Pompeii) with a scene of initiation that includes the gods Apollo, Dionysus and Aphrodite (fig. 1)<sup>225</sup>. A griffin stands on a wall, between the two male gods – with whom it was often singularly combined in Roman figurative art<sup>226</sup> – leaning its forepaw on a wheel; the presence of this latter attribute confirms the relationship of this specific griffin with Nemesis and not with the other gods present in the scene<sup>227</sup>. This piece of evidence is an important testimony of the early diffusion of

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<sup>223</sup> MACR., *Sat.*, 1, 22: “To return to our discussion of the manifold power of the sun, Nemesis, which we worship to keep us from pride, is none other than that power of the sun whose nature it is to make dark the things that are bright and withdraw them from our sight and to give light to things that are in darkness and bring them before our eyes”. See VETT. VALENS, 2, 22 for the association of Nemesis with the planet Kronos/Saturn, in Egypt. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 29.

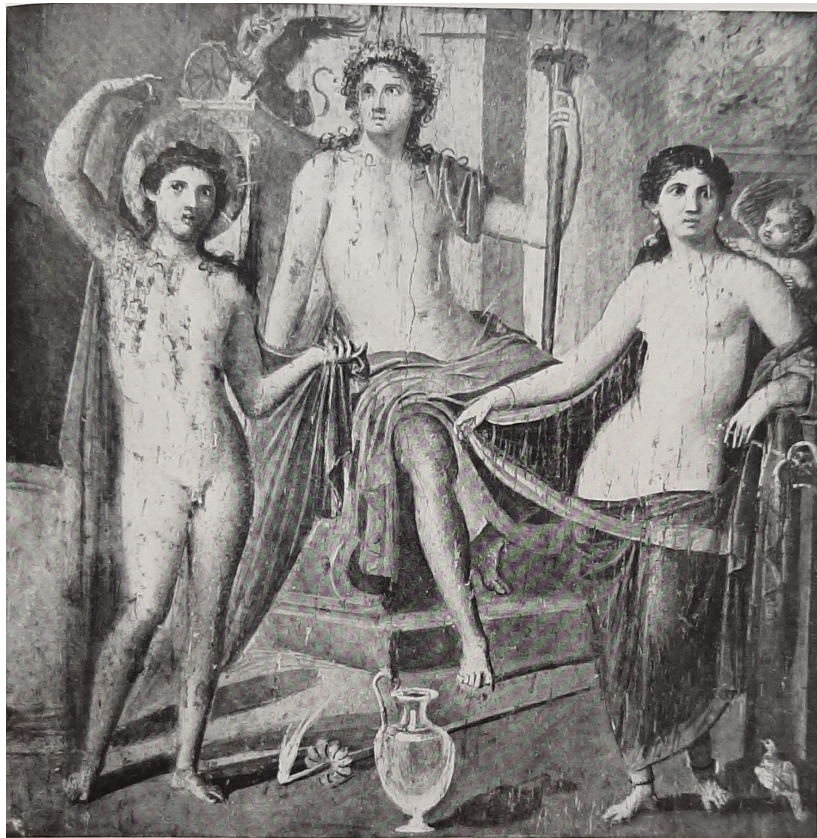
<sup>224</sup> See Papapostolou 1989, p. 376 with bibl.

<sup>225</sup> Some important features are familiar: The vase/*loutrophoros* for purifications; the torch laying down on the ground; the solemn and tense sight of the three gods, looking in different directions. The interpretation of this fresco as a gathering of gods for a judgment is not as convincing: Hornum 1993, p. 30, gave greater importance to Apollo than Dionysus. Even if the context of judgment and justice fit well with the most familiar aspects of Nemesis, the existence of other representations of Dionysian rituals where Nemesis is shown actively participating in the initiation of a young lady, gives credence to the interpretation of this fresco as depicting a ritual of initiation. See *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 292 with bibl. (P. Karanastassis). See above for the Pompeian fresco with Nemesis.

<sup>226</sup> On the relationship between the Apollo, Dionysus and the griffin, see Simon 1962, pp. 763-770.

<sup>227</sup> See the coinage of Teos (Cat., 2. 35) the Dionysian sarcophagus of Baltimora (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, E. C. Olsen, *Dionisiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, New York 1943) and a mosaic with Dionysus riding a griffin from Piazza della Vittoria, Palermo (D. Levi, *Mors voluntaria, mystery cults on mosaics from Antioch, Berytus* 7 (1942), pp. 37 ff., pl. 5). The positioning of the griffin between

Nemesis' griffin also in the Roman West. Dionysus is the main deity of the scene, sitting on a throne and holding a sceptre, accompanied by the other two gods who are functioning as *paredroi*, in subordinate positions; even the architecture of the scene and the disposition of the figures suggest different categories of significance. The interpretation of the fresco as a rite of initiation explains the need for representing Nemesis through her animal. Elia<sup>228</sup> interpreted the griffin as a symbol of the goddess' solar power, the supreme expression of universal order and balance, as the zoomorphic representation of the subordinate character of the human events towards the "cosmic law" of the solar deity. This interpretation, while intriguing, is decidedly speculative.



Pict.1. From Elia 1962, pl. 39.

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Apollo and Dionysus would not have surprised the ancient viewer: The two gods were deeply associated with each other; a couple occupying different poles, connected both to Delphi and the Hyperboreans.

<sup>228</sup> See Elia 1962, p. 120-123, pl. 39.

The second piece of early evidence is a small *naiskos* found in Alexandria which shows the emperor Domitian in the guise of the Pharaoh, delivering a little Maat to Re-Harakhty<sup>229</sup>. Nemesis' griffin appears in the upper part of the stele: It is accompanied by the wheel, and it is represented as an entity which supervises the integrity of the whole action. Nemesis herself was never the protagonist of the myths in which she was involved, instead her intervention was always secondary to the main plot, and driven by the need for restoring harmony that had been lost<sup>230</sup>. The presence of the griffin in this hieratic context is not a coincidence. The animal was deeply connected with the Pharaoh and, more generally, with power. Indeed, the griffin itself is created from two evident symbols of authority; the eagle, a leading figure of the birds' realm, and the lion, traditionally considered to be among the strongest of the animals on earth.

Literary sources from the Roman period rarely mention the griffin, and hardly ever in connection with Nemesis. However, Nonnus of Panopolis offered a vivid picture of these “birds” in the episode of Aura, the young huntress who dared to mock Artemis' body, whose hubris and punishment was discussed in chapter one. When Artemis goes to ask for Nemesis' intervention to punish Aura's arrogant behaviour. Once she arrives at Mt. Taurus, where Nemesis lived, Artemis found birds flying around the throne: ἀμφι δε οἱ πεπότητο παρὰ θρόνον ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ, | γρὺν πτερόεις, πισύρων δὲ ποδῶν κουφίζετο παλμῶ | δαίμονος ἵπταμένης αὐτάγγελος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ | τέτραχα μοιρηθέντα διέρχεται ἔδρανα κόσμου: | ἀνέρας ὑψιλόφους ἀλύτῳ σφίγγουσα χαλινῶ<sup>231</sup>. Of course, the conception of Nemesis expressed in this passage reflects the author's time (late 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.) when she was evidently considered as an avenging goddess, dominating the order of the world.

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<sup>229</sup> Today this piece of evidence is preserved at the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam (7764). See Lichocka 2004, p. 48 (Doc. 1 B 18); Hornum 1993, p. 31.

<sup>230</sup> See above p. 29.

<sup>231</sup> *Dionys.*, 48, 381-386: “an avenging bird flies around her throne, a winged griffin flies moving his four paws to proclaim the arrival of the deity, because she is also travelling in the four regions of the world, blocking the arrogant people with an unbreakable bridle” (transl. of the author).

Scholars today consider the griffin as the zoomorphic embodiment of Nemesis: Many representations of the animal alone with the wheel of Nemesis<sup>232</sup> support this theory, as do the instances where both the animal and the goddess appear together, along with the wheel<sup>233</sup>, representing entities of equal power. A case in point is a marble relief from Sarmizegetusa, showing a worshipper of Nemesis making an offering to the goddess, who is represented by the griffin with a paw on the wheel<sup>234</sup>. Moreover, the griffin was the only attribute of Nemesis able to represent her in association with other gods. Apart from the wheel, the animal often shows a feminine characteristic (usually represented by the breast) underlining its belonging to a female deity<sup>235</sup>. This is clearly attested by a rich series of Egyptian coins from Domitian's reign showing a griffin with the wheel, and sometimes with an evident feminine chest<sup>236</sup>.

A limestone stamp from Egypt (2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.; fig. 2) with Nemesis' griffin confirms the feminine nature of the animal, the inseparable relationship with the goddess,

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<sup>232</sup> E.g. a decorated pyxis of unknown provenance, held today in Rome, Collection G. Stroganoff. Lichočka 2004, p. 121, n. I H 1.

<sup>233</sup> E.g. the votive relief from Ovilava: *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 272 (F. Rausa); relief of unknown provenance, held today at the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria: See Lichočka 2004, p. 111, n. I B 1. Papapostolou expressed concerns about the idea that the griffin was the zoomorphic representation of the goddess especially when they appeared together on the same monument. See Papapostolou 1989, p. 375.

<sup>234</sup> See Wittenberg 2014, p. 18, 100, fig. 10.

<sup>235</sup> According to Erika Simon the peculiarity of Nemesis' griffin is the clear gender connection of the animal with the female goddess. More specifically the scholar underlined that the female griffin appears in certain contexts, different from those of the male griffin, which appeared mostly on funerary reliefs, public and private decorations representing symbols of power. She compared the female griffin of Nemesis with the griffins of Mars Ultor decorating the cuirass of the god on the Capitolium statue which did not specify a gender. See Simon 1962, pp. 773-774 on the statue of Mars Ultor preserved at the Musei Capitolini; cfr. Zanker 1992, pp. 200-201; Panvini Rosati 1946, p. 100, fig. 4. As discussed below, the link between Nemesis and Mars Ultor extends beyond the figure of the griffin: The two gods were closely associated with each other due to the pacific message attached to them by the Romans.

<sup>236</sup> See Lichočka 2004, pl. 6; 11, 2; 12, 2; 14, 2; 15, 2-3; 17; 18, 4. 19, 1. 2, 3. 4; 20, 1; 22, 1, 2, 3; 26, 1, 2, 3; 27, 1, 2, 3; 31, 2. In Egypt the sphinx has also been found with a female bosom, possibly an association with Nemesis (see Lichočka 2004, pl. 10).

and the association with other deities. On one side of the stamp we find a female griffin with the forepaw on Nemesis' wheel, the tail in form of a snake, and large wings. Next to the griffin we read the inscription ΝΕΜΕΣΙΣ ΝΙΚΕΑ<sup>237</sup> (with the N of ΝΙΚΕΑ turned ninety degrees to the right). On the other side, the goddess Elpis is represented holding a flower, and with a palm and a crown on her right side, and accompanied by the legend ΕΧΩ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ<sup>238</sup>. The reference to the ludic or athletic context is clear: Those participating in spectacles, or sports or drama competitions, who have the victorious Nemesis at their side, can hope to succeed<sup>239</sup>.



Fig. 2. From Perdrizet 1914, p. 95.

<sup>237</sup> The change of letters from ΝΙΚΑΙΑ to ΝΙΚΕΑ dates this piece of evidence to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. onwards. Similarly, the exchange or removal was not an unusual on these kinds of objects and coinage. See Perdrizet 1914, pp. 95-96; cfr. Flagge 1976, p. 115.

<sup>238</sup> The stamp seems to suggest that if the righteous Nemesis is at one's side there are good chances of success. See Perdrizet 1914, pp. 94-97 (fig. 2, 3, p. 95) for an interpretation of this piece of evidence in relation to the rituals of the agonistic, drama or arena contests where the invocation to Nemesis was paired with the hope of victory. This would explain the representation of Elpis on one side with a palm and crown. See Marshall 1913, pp. 84-86 for a more cautious interpretation of the evidence but also for an interesting association between Nemesis and Isis: The scholar considered a replacement of the letter Δ of ΔΙΚΕΑ with a Σ turned on its side, and the possible corruption of ΙΣΙΑΚΗ in ΔΙΚΕΑ. For Marshall even the tail of the griffin was enough to make connection with the Egyptian sphere and the goddess Isis. See also Reinach 1895, pl. 72, n. 94 (griffin with wheel); pl. 29, n. 58 (griffin with wheel and Isis on his back). For the Egyptian limestone see Hornum, p. 43, pl. 5. See also Lichocka 2004, pp. 77-78; pl. 31, 1-2.

<sup>239</sup> On the relationship between Elpis and Nemesis, see below, p. 221. See also *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 204 (P. Karanastassis) for a Roman funerary stele with the representation of Nemesis, Elpis, the griffin and a wheel.

A second interesting piece of evidence is a carnelian stone which is held today at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>240</sup>. It shows the god Serapis holding his typical *kalathos* on his head, accompanied by the moon, the sun and a female griffin with the forepaw on the wheel and a proudly raised tail. The scene suggests the communion of two gods beyond the Olympian *pantheon*, in relation to the celestial/astral sphere.

Two Syrian reliefs today conserved in the National Museum of Damascus<sup>241</sup> suggest a sort of mixed iconography of Nemesis and the griffin. The first piece of evidence is a basalt relief (fig. 3)<sup>242</sup> found in Balanaea (Baniyas): A female figure is represented in a long chiton with her left hand leaning on an eight-rayed wheel of unusually large dimensions. The state of conservation of this relief is quite poor, as is also the original artistic quality of the figure. It is not easy to distinguish the figure's details. Her arms seem too long, as well as the hand leaning on the wheel, while the face of the figure is not easily recognisable, and even resembles the shape of a bird. This could be an example of an anthropo-zoomorphic representation of Nemesis in her typical pose of *spuere in sinum* but the poor state of conservation makes it difficult to determine decisively.



Fig. 3. Basalt block with relief of Nemesis from Baniyas. From Seyrig 1950, p. 246.

Fig. 4. Basalt block with relief of Nemesis from Baniyas. From Seyrig 1950, p. 247.

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<sup>240</sup> See Hornbostel 1973, p. 321, fig. 338; Vermeule 1966, p. 31.

<sup>241</sup> National Museum of Damascus, 1674 (3724).

<sup>242</sup> See Cat. 14. 7. See Seyrig 1950, p. 246, fig. 5.

The second relief<sup>243</sup> also comes from Syria (fig. 4). Carved from basalt, it is of low artistic quality, and in a poor state of preservation. However, it is possible to distinguish a figure with a short chiton, holding a six-rayed wheel in the right hand, while she/he seems to hold a sword (or a quiver?) in the other hand. The figure is veiled, and it is not possible to determine the details of the face – which seems to be spherical, perhaps influenced by the local style – but the presence of the wheel suggests the identification of Nemesis. The block also presents a funerary inscription<sup>244</sup> of a veteran who had fought against the Parthians with Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and who died in Syria, his homeland, in 226/227 A.D. The identification of the figure as Nemesis is strengthened by the special importance of her cult among soldiers and officers in the Roman period.

As we have noted, beginning in the Roman period, the griffin was likely associated with Nemesis as a symbol of power and punishment, certainly “repeating” – and inspired by – all those griffins that were commonly represented on funerary reliefs: As Nemesis, the griffin was related to the Afterlife<sup>245</sup>. The Roman griffin of sarcophagi and funerary stelai likely had the function of *psychopompus*. Its bird-like shape may have inspired the idea of the passage into the Hades<sup>246</sup>. Sometimes the griffin was represented with the wheel of Nemesis, as her representative animal, as confirmed by many funerary monuments from Egypt<sup>247</sup>. This is the case of a relief from Alexandria that is today conserved in the Archaeological Museum of Bologna,<sup>248</sup> a funerary stele with the short epitaph “Super, died at the age of three [years] and two months”, and the image of a young boy accompanied by a griffin with the wheel. The first editors of the stele considered it in the light of Nemesis’

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<sup>243</sup> See Cat., 14. 7. See Seyrig 1950, p. 247, fig. 6.

<sup>244</sup> See Seyrig 1950, *l. c.* The funerary inscription will be further analysed below, p. 162.

<sup>245</sup> See below, pp. 125. See Hornum 1993, p.30.

<sup>246</sup> On the rich Egyptian iconography of the griffin of Nemesis on reliefs of various types from when the Greek tradition merged with local Egyptian ones, see Lichocka 2004, pl. 17.

<sup>247</sup> See Flagge 1976, pp. 113-114, fig. 135; 120-121, fig. 147-148.

<sup>248</sup> See Lichocka 2004, Doc. I B 11; pl. 17.



involvement in cases of violent death<sup>249</sup>, even if the only “violence” or injustice we can see here is the very young age of the boy<sup>250</sup>. The griffin is likely to be interpreted as a protective authority, the role which Nemesis played on tombs of the Roman period<sup>251</sup>.

A well-preserved 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. funerary portrait that can be seen today at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen shows a small griffin with a chest and wheel next to the deceased person, a young bearded man holding a fruit and a crown (fig. 5)<sup>252</sup>. Last, a funerary *aedicula* from Kôm el-Chougafa (Alexandria) presents on the top two griffins with their forepaws leaning on the wheel of Nemesis<sup>253</sup>.



Fig. 5. From Lichočka 2004, pl. 22, 2.

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<sup>249</sup> See Tradler 1998, p. 178-179.

<sup>250</sup> On a funerary stele from Odessus in Moesia Inferior, the deceased Aristocles accuses the envious Nemesis of being having caused his early death (*IG Bulg.*, 5, 5057). See below, p. 157. Cfr. Tradler 1998, p. 197, n. 1236.

<sup>251</sup> See below the examination of funerary monuments mentioning the goddess Nemesis, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>252</sup> See Lichočka 2004, Doc. I C 1; pl. 22, 2.

<sup>253</sup> See Lichočka 2004, Doc. I C 3; pl. 23, 1, 2.

The shared chthonian nature could be one of the main reasons for associating Nemesis and the griffin, but certainly their application as symbols of power prevailed in the Roman mentality, as is visible in the combination of Nemesis, the Imperial cult and the context of the *munera* – which is discussed more thoroughly in the third and fourth chapter – and the many attestations of griffins on Roman emperor’s cuirasses, and the use of griffins as symbol of the dominating Empire (e.g. the Campana relief with the griffin fed by a kneeling Barbarian). Therefore, the griffin perfectly embodied what the goddess represented as well as her fundamental characteristics in Roman times: The protection of the central power (already clear with the Egyptian pharaohs); the ability to know everything, and the power to punish with incredible strength<sup>254</sup>.

### **The wings**

In the earliest surviving evidence, Nemesis appears as a winged goddess. For example, in the coinage of C. Vibius Varus<sup>255</sup> (42-39 B.C.) she spits on her chest, without any attribute but the wings. It seems that the *spuere in sinum* and being a flying goddess are the oldest qualities associated with Nemesis in the Roman period prior to her worship in the amphitheatres<sup>256</sup>. In contrast, the Rhamnousian and Smyranean cult statues of Classical and Hellenistic times did not show these characteristics<sup>257</sup>.

We find a winged Nemesis all over the Roman Empire, and in different contexts. However, in the Greek areas the most common type of Nemesis is devoid of wings,

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<sup>254</sup> *O. H.*, 61, 8: πάντ’ ἐσορᾶς καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούεις, [καὶ] πάντα βραβεύεις.

<sup>255</sup> C. Vibius Varus was likely a *monetalis* in the period after the death of Caesar. This is supported by coins issued by Varus with bearded representations of Augustus and M. Antonius. See below, p. 119 with further bibl.

<sup>256</sup> For this reason, the addition of wings to Nemesis due to the influence of the griffin can be excluded as this became connected with the goddess only from the reign of Domitian onwards. See above, pp. 71-72.

<sup>257</sup> See above, pp. 31 ff., 49 ff.

while this attribute is largely attested in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. evidence and in the Roman imperial coinage<sup>258</sup>. The wings likely reflected the ability of the goddess to rapidly move and make successful interventions. Ammianus Marcellinus attests this interpretation: *pinnae autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucris cunctis existimetur*<sup>259</sup>. The ability to fly was more of a quality rather than an accessory of Nemesis. Flight allowed her to be omnipresent and omniscient of people's actions and behaviours. Perdrizet<sup>260</sup> suggested a relationship between the wings and Nemesis' constant authority in people's life<sup>261</sup>; he anchored this idea to the well-known dedicatory inscription carved on a marble stele from Piraeus<sup>262</sup>, with the representation of a frontal Nemesis with large wings, who crushes a bearded prostrate figure, with a wheel at her right and a snake at her left. The dedication's *incipit* reads: εἰμὶ μὲν, ὡς ἐσορᾶς, Νέμεσις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, εὐπτερος, ἀθάνατα, κύκλον ἔχουσα πόλου<sup>263</sup>. Nemesis is said to be immortal and εὐπτερος, literally “with strong wings”, with an evident positive connotation.

It is also possible to find different interpretations of Nemesis, with and without wings, coexisting in the same place. At Thasos<sup>264</sup>, Nemesis is represented in all the possible ways: As a single or double goddess, with and without wings. The same for the sanctuary of Zeus at Dion, where a statuette of a winged Nemesis (wearing a long chiton, sandals, trampling a prostrate figure, with the wheel and the balance at her feet) has been discovered in the sanctuary of Demeter<sup>265</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.), and a

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<sup>258</sup> For example, see the coinage of Nemesis-Pax mentioned below, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>259</sup> *Rerum Gestarum Libri*, 14, 11, 26.

<sup>260</sup> See Pedrizet 1912, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>261</sup> He also compares Nemesis with other gods such as Iris, Athena, Hera or Eros, and sometimes represented with wings. See Pedrizet 1912, *l. c.*

<sup>262</sup> See Cat., 1. 21. Today it is held at the Louvre Museum. See Hornum 1993, pl. 12.

<sup>263</sup> See Cat., 1. 21 for the entire inscription. See Perdrizet 1898, p. 600.

<sup>264</sup> See Cat., 10. 21-26. Holtzmann 1994, pp. 148-150, nn. 88-90. More references below, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>265</sup> See Cat., 10. 3. This statuette is the only evidence of a relationship between Demeter and Nemesis. However, Demeter's sanctuary at Dion was also a place of worship for Persephone whose chthonian nature was similar to that of Nemesis. See Pingiatoglou 2015. Aphrodite was also venerated there as the goddess Kourotrophos and is sometimes merged or simply associated with Nemesis. One example is the epithet Ourania referring to Nemesis in the theatre of Dionysus that

relief with a non-winged Nemesis, wearing a short chiton, and holding a wheel and a balance<sup>266</sup> should be related to the little Roman theatre<sup>267</sup> and its activities (likely dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.). In some other cases we observe this freedom in representing Nemesis both winged and unwinged, according to the time, the taste of the dedicant/artist and the message to convey. The wheel/*cubitus*/bridle/balance were attributes able to communicate and represent different shades of Nemesis' action. The wings seem to express a quality of Nemesis (omnipresent and omniscient), that was likely considered as “obvious” and inherent in her character even when not explicitly represented. This general iconographic freedom is also traced in the western areas of the Empire, and mostly in the context of the amphitheatre. When Nemesis was explicitly related to Diana, the preferred iconography was devoid of wings, but closer to the concept of hunt<sup>268</sup>; however, even without an evident association with Diana, Nemesis was sometimes represented without wings<sup>269</sup>.

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recalls a characteristic of Aphrodite. For iconographic associations between Aphrodite and Nemesis, see Despina 1971, pp. 41 ff.; below, p. 239.

<sup>266</sup> See Cat., 10. 2 Below, pp. 249 ff. The provenance of this relief is not certain.

<sup>267</sup> See Palaiokrassa 1985, pp. 55-57.

<sup>268</sup> See the statue from the amphitheatre of Carnuntum of Nemesis with a short *chiton* and boots and the relief from the amphitheatre of Teurnia, where Nemesis-Diana holds a bow and quiver looking at a scene of *venatio*. See Wittenberg 2014, pp. 101-102, fig. 12, 13. An exception is the aforementioned altar found in the theatre of Miletus, with its representation of a cuirassed and winged Nemesis-Diana, stretching her bow while in a running pose (Cat., 2. 33).

<sup>269</sup> The fresco of the amphitheatre of Tarraco depicts a Nemesis without wings in the centre, with a personification of the *Genius Loci* to her left holding a *cornucopia* and in front of a kind of tripod for offerings. This last detail emphasises the importance of the goddess to the whole community, represented by the worshipping *Genius* as well as the *venator* with a bear to her right. She wears a short *chiton* similar to a military garment in a running pose; under her bent leg a wheel is represented. She has a half moon on her head; holds a globe and crushes a prostrate figure. She is depicted on a wall connecting the rooms in the substructure of the building where gladiators and hunters waited for the spectacles and entry into the arena of the amphitheatre. Wittenberg rightly supposed that she was probably worshipped with a short prayer by participants of the games before fighting or hunting. This kind of Nemesis, cuirassed and crushing a figure, is not a clear connection with Artemis but transmits the idea of punishing the arrogant and the enemy in the arena according to divine justice, the concept most closely associated with Nemesis. Similarly, the relief of Nemesis discovered in Andautonia presents a goddess without wings and clearly refers to the gladiatorial world, as its main goddess. See Wittenberg 2014, pp. 30, 101, fig. 11 and Hornum 1993, pl. 15;

The wings can be also linked to Nike/Victoria. The majority of the sources attesting a winged Nemesis (recorded in different contexts over wide geographical areas), clearly distinguishes the goddess from Nike/Victoria, but we have some attestations of a syncretism between the two goddesses with the wings serving as a sign of their special synthesis. This is the case of a marble fragment today preserved in the museum warehouse of Damascos (uncertain provenience) representing a winged female figure holding an attribute possibly recognizable as a *cubitum* or a bridle<sup>270</sup>. Concerning the western part of the Empire, one can remember the aforementioned relief from Virunum, where two reliefs show a worshipper offering to Nemesis, conceived as Nemesis-Victoria (winged) and Nemesis-Luna (non-winged and with a crescent moon on the head)<sup>271</sup>. The coinage of Nemesis-Pax of the time of Hadrian is an example of the association Nemesis-Victoria, which is confirmed by the legend *VICTORIA AVGVSTA*<sup>272</sup>.

### **The figure under the feet of Nemesis**

The figure under the feet of Nemesis does not entirely correspond to the kind of iconography typical of the Greek tradition, but it is quite frequently found on monuments in Greek and Hellenized areas. This symbol has been variously interpreted as the “punished” *superbia*, or as the personal enemy of the worshipper of Nemesis<sup>273</sup>: In the previous case, the trampled figure generally presents feminine features, while in the latter a masculine character, normally symbolized by the beard and sometimes interpreted as the personification of the Barbarian. Some examples of this specific iconography are the aforementioned dedication from

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Beltrán Lloris 1999, pp. 76 ff.; Beltrán Fortes 2001, pp. 197 ff. (Tarraco); Hornum 1993, pl. 26 (Andautonia).

<sup>270</sup> See *LIMC Suppl. 2009*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 5. Weber 2007, pp. 299-305. The author considered the port cities of northern Syria, such as Latakia, the possible origin of this fragment.

<sup>271</sup> See above, p. 63.

<sup>272</sup> On this peculiar coinage where Nemesis is combined with Pax, see below, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>273</sup> See Lichočka 1989, pp. 116 ff. for comparisons with statues of the emperors crushing the surrendering Barbarian. Cfr. Hornum 1993, pp. 32 ff.

Piraeus<sup>274</sup>, a relief from the theatre of Gortyn<sup>275</sup>, an oversized relief from Patras<sup>276</sup> and the fragment of a small statuette from the sanctuary of Dion mentioned above<sup>277</sup>. Concerning the relief of Gortyn, where Nemesis appears with a long chiton, a griffin and a snake, the trampled figure could be interpreted as the personification of the enemy within the context of the arena: The opponent that every gladiator would have considered as *hubristes*. The statuette from Dion was found in the sanctuary of Demetra, but we cannot exclude an older location near the temple of Zeus Hypsistos or the Roman theatre<sup>278</sup> (both buildings were part of a later extension to the city, and were located relatively close to one another)<sup>279</sup>. From the fragment that has survived, we see that the goddess wears a long chiton and sandals. We can still distinguish the lower part of the wings in the backside of the statue, while the crushed figure with feminine characteristics (breast and long hair) possibly symbolizes the personification of Hybris. At the feet of the goddess is a six-rayed wheel, while a balance is carved next to Hybris. The scale confirms and stresses the importance of trampling the arrogance, enforcing the sense of justice implied in Nemesis' intervention<sup>280</sup>.

A relief from Cairo<sup>281</sup> (fig. 6) clearly confirms the idea of Nemesis as a goddess who punishes the personification of Hybris. It is a limestone stele with a crowned and winged Nemesis<sup>282</sup> with hair that has been parted in the usual manner, in the

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<sup>274</sup> Cat., 1. 21. Below, p. 150.

<sup>275</sup> Cat., 6. 2. See *LIMC Suppl. 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 154 (P. Karanastassis); Montali 2006, pp. 251-252.

<sup>276</sup> Cat., 1. 18. Below, pp. 165-167 ff.

<sup>277</sup> Cat., 10. 3. See *LIMC Suppl. 2009, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 4 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>278</sup> See Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 53, fig. Γ10.

<sup>279</sup> See Palaiokrassa 1985.

<sup>280</sup> Another representation of Nemesis with a scale was found in Dion. See Cat., 10. 2; Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 167; below, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>281</sup> See *LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 165 (P. Karanastassis); Perdrizet 1912, p. 263.

<sup>282</sup> Muñoz interpreted this figure as a Christian representation of Bios while in the Catalogue of the Coptic objects of Cairo Museum Strzygowski described it as a Kairos. Perdrizet 1912, p. 264 rightly emphasises the feminine character of the face and the unusualness of the cuirass in the iconography of Kairos and Bios. The diadem and the hair lying against the shoulders were already found in Nemesis' iconography, although not in relation to Kairos and Bios. Cook concurred with the

middle of the forehead, wearing a short chiton (similar to the military garment) in a running pose, typical of the Roman iconography. She holds a sword in her left hand and a not clearly identified object in her right hand. A balance and an eight-rayed wheel appear on the background, while a veiled female figure is crushed under Nemesis' feet. The interpretation of this figure as Hybris is confirmed by another female figure represented close to her, bent on her knees and with a sad attitude, rightly interpreted as *Metanoia*<sup>283</sup>, the sense of regret, which rightly accompanies the punishment.

The relief from Patras, today conserved in the beautiful Archaeological Museum of the city, presents a Nemesis totally conceived in the Roman western iconographic idiom, close to the world of the *ludi* and the army: The goddess is winged, cuirassed, with a short chiton and accompanied by the griffin with the forepaw on the wheel. Under the goddess a female figure is represented, symbolizing the hubris of the enemy in the arena, if this relief was part of the amphitheatre's context.

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interpretation of Nemesis given by Perdrizet but found its origins in the iconography of Kairos. See Muñoz 1906, p. 213; Strzykowski 1902, p. 103, fig. 159.

<sup>283</sup> See Perdrizet 1912, p. 266. A Similar figure exists on a Medieval relief from Torcello with the representation of Kairos in the centre, holding a sort of *cubitum* and standing on two wheels. *Metanoia* is to his left, with an aspect of sadness and resignation. See Perdrizet 1912, pp. 265 ff., fig. 2. On the relief from Torcello, see also Cozzi 2016.



Fig. 6. Relief of Cairo. From Perdrizet 1912, p. 263, fig. 1.

The stele from Piraeus presents several interpretive difficulties: The figure crushed by Nemesis is obviously masculine, but there is no apparent link to the ludic sphere. Nemesis appears as winged, wearing a long chiton, accompanied by the snake and the wheel. The inscription on the relief indicates no connection with the theatre-arena or a public dimension<sup>284</sup>; it appears to be an individual's private dedication to the goddess. From this point of view the figure under Nemesis' feet could be interpreted as representing an enemy of the dedicant. Taking into account all these characteristics, it can be argued that the male person trampled by Nemesis is to be conceived as the personification of the enemy of Nemesis and the State, and so as the *superbi* that Vergil<sup>285</sup> suggested to shatter.

A terracotta figurine from the Faiyum Oasis, representing a veiled Nemesis holding a torch and trampling a prostrate female figure, has been considered as belonging to the Late Hellenistic period<sup>286</sup>, but this would antedate of the iconography of Nemesis crushing someone under her feet. Lichocka more aptly dated this statuette

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<sup>284</sup> See the text of the dedication below, p. 150.

<sup>285</sup> *Aen.*, 6, 851-853.

<sup>286</sup> See Wittenberg 2014, p. 16.



at the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D., which seems to be a more realistic date<sup>287</sup>: Indeed, a chronology in the Hellenistic times would be a *unicum* for this peculiar iconography, so deeply related as it is to the symbology of the Empire.

As discussed above, the act of treading on the enemy of the State is a well-known iconography of some Roman emperors, who were considered as the mortal embodiment of the State itself. Trajan was particularly careful in being represented as the victorious commander he was. An example is an *aureus* issued in Rome after the Dacian campaign, showing Trajan on both the sides of the coin, with his bust on the obverse, and in the act of stepping on the submitted Dacian on the reverse<sup>288</sup>. Levi rightly linked this peculiar latter iconography to a statuary archetype, and especially to a statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna<sup>289</sup> where the emperor appears with *paludamentum*, crushing under his left foot a powerless lying figure, who tries in vain to stand up<sup>290</sup>. Therefore, the same motive will continue to be represented on coinage of the Late Empire, as attested by some issues of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.<sup>291</sup>, suggesting that the trampled figure accompanying Nemesis may have been a by-product of the iconography of the defeated enemy of the State.

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<sup>287</sup> See Lichocka 2004, p. 119, n. I, E, 1.

<sup>288</sup> *BMC Emp. III*, 242. See Levi 1952, p. 17, pl. 6, 3.

<sup>289</sup> Today in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, 585, inv. n. 50. See Levi 1952, pl. 6, 1; Opper 2008, p. 70.

<sup>290</sup> This statue was probably inspired by an older model of Trajan today not survived. Levi based the identification of the image on the coin with a statuary model on the fact that only head and shoulders of the prostrate enemy were represented, instead of the full body. See Levi 1952, pp. 16-18, 23-24. Another example of the victorious Hadrian crushing a prone figure under his feet comes from Piraeus and is today conserved in the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. According to P. Karanastassis, the existence of this latter statue of Hadrian testifies the Attic origin of the iconographic model of the statue from Hierapytna. Moreover, the archaeologist attests to the existence of more than twenty copies, while only these two cases, the Hierapytna and Piraeus ones, show the emperor crushing under his feet the personification of a subjugated population. See Karanastassis 2018, pp. 440-441, n. 38.

<sup>291</sup> See Levi 1952, pl. 10.

The motive of the conquering emperor/Empire was so important in Trajan's coinage<sup>292</sup>, that even the first attestations of Nemesis crushing a figure under her feet belong to his reign. More precisely, the goddess is attested on some Alexandrian bronze coins of the years 108-112 A.D.<sup>293</sup>: There, she appears winged, with short chiton and cuirass, in a running pose, and with a figure of unspecified gender lying under her feet. This specific iconography recalls the aforementioned reliefs from Patras and Thebes. Moreover, Nemesis is represented in the manner of the Roman soldier (representative of the Empire, as also the emperor was) both inside and outside the context of the arena. Indeed, it is probable that this kind of iconography spread into amphitheatres and theatre-arenas because of the involvement of soldiers in the spectacles (mostly at the boundaries of the Empire) and because the arena itself was one of the most significant symbols of the Roman identity. However, it is this author's view that the combination of the soldier's garment and the act of treading on a prostrate figure connects the goddess firstly with the imperial ideology of the winning emperor/*Urbs*/Empire and the concept of victory<sup>294</sup>. Even the running pose of Nemesis detached on these pieces of evidence recalls the dynamism and power of the Empire. As Hornum<sup>295</sup> rightly noticed, this particular interpretation would suggest an assimilation of the fallen figure under Nemesis' feet with the enemy of the State, as the goddess would be conceived as the divine counterpart of the emperor, who wanted to be seen as the embodiment of the State.

The motive of the Barbarian and enemy of the State crushed under the feet of the emperor, bond to a trophy, or dragged in triumph, is a typical feature of the

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<sup>292</sup> See, for example, the coinage from Alexandria, in Rabe – Noeske 2016, pl. 43, 3512-3513 (Rome holding a Nike); pl. 44, 3533-3534 (Nike holding a branch); pl. 45, 3599, pl. 56, nn. 3685-3688 (two captives bond at the trophy); pl. 58, 3702-3713 (emperor standing on the quadriga); Levi 1952, pl. 6, 4 (emperor crushing a Barbarian with his horse); Levi 1952, pl. 6, 2 (emperor crowned by a Victory and with two captives at his feet).

<sup>293</sup> See Christiansen 1988, 152, 159, 176.

<sup>294</sup> The aforementioned altar from Miletus with Nemesis-Diana dressed like a soldier and stretching the bow is a case of complete assimilation of the soldier's iconography in the world of the spectacles. It is hard to discern if this specific iconography preceded the assimilation of Nemesis in the Roman identity. For the altar, see below, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>295</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 32 ff.

emperors' iconography<sup>296</sup>. However, apart from Nemesis, this particular motive appears linked also to other gods. Particularly interesting examples are the coins of Diocletian<sup>297</sup>, with a Jupiter stepping upon enemy, while Victory hands him a globe. Therefore, some issues of Trajan combined Pax and Rome<sup>298</sup> with the iconography of the crushed enemy: We see Pax holding a *cornucopia* in her left hand, and a branch in her right, and standing on the enemy, of which we can recognize only head and shoulders<sup>299</sup>. This peculiar combinations of the act of crushing the enemy with personifications of the *pax* of the Empire and Rome itself can be seen as a further confirmation of the identification of Nemesis with the State<sup>300</sup>.

The act of trampling a figure has been also connected with Egyptian art, and especially to the representations of the Pharaoh crushing the enemy<sup>301</sup>, or to the

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<sup>296</sup> See Levi 1952, p. 35, n. 59.

<sup>297</sup> See Levi 1952, p. 35, pl. 13, 3.

<sup>298</sup> *BMC Emp. III*, p. 164, n. 772.

<sup>299</sup> *BMC Emp. III*, p. 61, n. 212; p. 170, nn. 800-805. A variation of this motive sees Pax seating, with the kneeling enemy in front of her (*BMC Emp. III*, p. 61, 216-221).

<sup>300</sup> This identification is witnessed also by a marble statuette from Memphis, with the representation of Nemesis trampling on a male bearded figure, spitting on her chest and holding a wheel with her left hand. This piece of evidence has been generally recognized as a portrait of Faustina Maior (*LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 158 (P. Karanastassis); also, *LIMC Suppl., 2009, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 15 (P. Karanastassis); McClintock 2015, fig. 1; Hornum 1998, pp. 131-132, with further bibl.) in the guise of Nemesis, and could prove an interest of the emperors in connecting the trampling Nemesis with their personal image, of that of the members of imperial *domus*. Concerning Faustina Minor and Antoninus Pius, the *Historia Augusta* (*H. A., Ant. Pius*, 6.) records that, when the empress died, Antoninus Pius accepted her deification by the Senate, and that her image was located in all the circuses of the Empire: *tertio anno imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata est delatis circensibus atque templo et flaminicis et statu is aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc concesserit, ut imago eius cunctis circensibus poneretur*. The expression *cunctis circensibus poneretur* does not help us discern between circuses, amphitheatres, or hippodromes, since the term was used to mean all these buildings (See McClintock 2015, p. 304 with further bibliography). Moreover, there is no evidence that the image of the deceased Faustina in the ludic context coincided with that of the winning Nemesis, but certainly a similar iconography would not have been discordant with the games and the imperial propaganda dominating the ludic buildings.

<sup>301</sup> See Schweitzer 1931, p. 217, fig. 12; Flagge 1976, p. 108; cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 35, pl. 16.

Classical world<sup>302</sup>, especially to the *Amazonomachia* carved on the so-called Strangford shield, today conserved at the British Museum<sup>303</sup>. This latter piece of evidence is a marble Roman copy of the Classical Athena Parthenos's shield, where a central figure, traditionally identified as Pericles, is represented in the act of crushing a powerless Amazon lying in supine position. The idea of a relationship between the imperial symbology and the Phidian representation of Athena is particularly attractive, but the Roman date of the copy, as well as the typically Roman character of other figures represented<sup>304</sup>, does not allow a safe correspondence with the Classical model.

### **The snake**

The snake is one of the less common attributes of Nemesis, which, when it is represented, is usually shown at her feet. It is quite difficult to give an interpretation of this animal when associated with the goddess, because of the wide range of monuments on which it can be found. Indeed, we find the snake in the ludic context<sup>305</sup>; associated with the griffin as symbol of Nemesis<sup>306</sup>; in private dedications<sup>307</sup> and in Roman imperial coinage<sup>308</sup>. Regarding this latter case, the snake appears at the feet of Nemesis-Pax in gold and silver issues from the reign of Claudius. In this coinage the idea of peace is conveyed by the *caduceus* and the

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<sup>302</sup> See Levi 1952, pp. 30-31. The author mentions also the decoration of an Etruscan *candelabrum*, with the warrior laying his foot against the defeated enemy (see n. 26).

<sup>303</sup> On this piece of evidence, see Ras 1944.

<sup>304</sup> E.g. a naked warrior on the right holds the female enemy by her hair, grabbing a dagger, in a typically Roman attitude, well-known in the emperor's iconography.

<sup>305</sup> The relief of Gortyn is again an important piece of evidence: the snake is paired with the griffin and next to Nemesis within the amphitheatre. The two animals are perfectly balanced on either side of the goddess. Cat., 6. 2.

<sup>306</sup> E.g. the aforementioned mould stone with Elpis and the griffin with a tail in form of snake. Above, pp. 74.

<sup>307</sup> E.g. the aforementioned Piraeus relief (Cat., 1. 21). Above, p. 84.

<sup>308</sup> *BMC Emp. II*, 6, 7, 26, 27, 39- 41, 51-53, 58, 59, 61, 68, 69, 108 (Claudius); *BMC Emp. II*, 97. See *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 236 Vespasian (F. Rausa); *BMC Emp. III*, 697, 698; see *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 238 Trajan (F. Rausa). See below, pp. 115 ff.

branch held by the goddess, while the animal appears before her, looking in the same direction of the goddess, as a sort of guide. The identification of this snake with the Egyptian *uraeus* is not sufficiently explained or supported by evidence, while one may see a total absorption of the animal into the sphere of the Greek and Roman Nemesis<sup>309</sup>. Indeed, the coins of this series are rarely minted in Alexandria, while Rome and the Galliae are the major mints<sup>310</sup>. Concerning these specific pieces of evidence, where the snake is combined with the *caduceus* and the palm branch, it is probably to be concluded that a positive meaning is intended, related to the ideology of a peaceful Empire. Without referring to any possible meanings of the snake related to the healing sphere, we can consider it as confirmation of the Greek nature of Nemesis, able to improve people's lives by informing or punishing their behaviours.

The coinage from Aphrodisias<sup>311</sup> (fig. 7) provides ambiguous evidence for the relationship between snake and goddess. A pantheistic goddess appears on the reverse equipped by many attributes, including features of Nemesis: The female deity is a syncretism of many gods, where we can certainly recognize Nemesis (cubit-rule, wheel), Tyche/Fortuna (*cornucopia* and *polos*) and perhaps Victoria/Nike (wings). The position of the snake on the wheel suggests that the animal belongs to Nemesis, which appears as the dominating goddess.

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<sup>309</sup> The origin of the *conubium* Nemesis-snake is likely to be of Egyptian due to the quantity and variety of Egyptian finds and because of this animal's close relationship with Egyptian symbolism and religion. The snake is not often found on western monuments, whether in the form of reliefs, statues, or frescos. Apart from ancient Egyptian religion where the serpent is considered *uraeus*, it appears also in connection with Serapis and Isis who were sometimes combined with Nemesis during the Roman period (see the intaglio with Serapis and the griffin of Nemesis above, pp. 74-75). See the Trajan bronze drachma from Alexandria with Isis-Thermouthis with a female torso and the lower body in the form of a snake combined with a griffin and the wheel of Nemesis (see Lichocka 2004, p. 136, 10a and Dattari 1969, 934). There is a similar coin from the time of Hadrian from Alexandria: a Sphinx-Toutou with a snake on the right, a crowned head with *uraeus* in the front and a female griffin with its forepaw on the wheel (see Lichocka 2004, p. 138, 10b 1-10b 2). See the dedication of Sosion Eumenos Oinaios to Isis-Nemesis found at Delos (Cat., 1. 13-15, first mid of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.; *LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 187): See Hornum 1993, pp. 195-196, n. 76-78; Hauvetted-Besnault, 1882, pp. 337-338, n. 40. See Petersen 1889, p. 42, fig. 31. Cfr. Perdrizet 1898, pp. 599-600.

<sup>310</sup> See below, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>311</sup> The snake appears on the wheel of Nemesis. See Cat., 2. 4.



Fig. 7. Bronze issue of the reign of Septimius Severus with the pantheistic goddess of Aphrodisias (bust of Iulia Domna on the obverse). From MacDonald 1992, 97.

### **The balance**

The balance was not properly an attribute of Nemesis, but originally attached to Dike<sup>312</sup> and later to Kairos<sup>313</sup>, while today it is generally considered to be the symbol of Law. An inscription found in Hierapolis on marble blocks that were reused in the temple of Apollo attests to this close connection to Dike and her scales: Ζωῆς εἰσὶ χρόνοι· τί μάτην, ἄνθρωπε, μεριμνᾷς; | Ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης πλά<σ>τιγγα σαλεύει<sup>314</sup>. The balance expressed the concept of justice, applied in a different sphere. One of them was that of the Afterlife, where the souls of deceased people were weighed and judged. This peculiar application of the balance was already a part of the Egyptian religion, where we see representations of Maat balancing the heart of each soul with the weight of a feather<sup>315</sup>. The balance was deeply connected with the idea of destiny in the Homeric world. When Zeus wanted to know who, between Hector and Achilles, would have won the fight, he weighed their lives on a balance, not being able to change what was already written by the

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<sup>312</sup> See HOM., *Hymn to Merc.*, 324; HES., *Fragm.*, 286. On this issue, see Gagarin 1974.

<sup>313</sup> On Kairos, see above, p. 58.

<sup>314</sup> Cat., 2. 68; *SEG* 39: 1377 bis (I): “the years belong to life; why, man, do you worry in vain? Nemesis rocks the scale of Dike for the mortals”.

<sup>315</sup> On the possible relationship Maat-Nemesis see Lichočka 2004, p. 10 with further bibl.

Fates<sup>316</sup>. Later on, the Christians also attached this symbol to the idea of the “extreme” judgment<sup>317</sup>.

The two-branched balance conveys the ideas of harmony and a cause-effect relationship; both of them can clearly be associated with Nemesis, as a punishing and balancing force. For this reason, even if not originally conceived of as an attribute of Nemesis, we often find the balance associated with her in various contexts and periods, confirming that Nemesis completely absorbed this symbol into her personal iconography. As in the aforementioned relief from Cairo<sup>318</sup>, we see a completely Roman Nemesis, characterized by many of her attributes and attitudes, but all of them expressing the sense of justice: The combination of the crushed Hybris, the personification of the regretting Metanoia, the wheel of destiny and fortune, and the balance clearly convey the idea of a supreme justice applied by Nemesis.

As we will explore in the fourth chapter, the balance is found in the Greek theatre-arenas (with emphasis on the entrances) in relation to Nemesis and the *ludi*, where she was mostly embodying the idea of justice in the games. The aforementioned relief from Dion<sup>319</sup> is a clear example of a representation of Nemesis with the balance (the style and general low quality would suggest a chronology in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.) in the context of the *munera*.

This attribute became very common from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. onwards. The coinage can help define the main period of its spread, since a message stamped onto the small canvas of a coin had to be direct and easily interpreted. The bulk of the numismatic evidence showing Nemesis with a balance belongs to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., from the Severan dynasty onwards, with a good quantity of issues during the reign of Gordian. On the other hand, we notice very few coins of the time of Marcus Aurelius<sup>320</sup> and Commodus, and one single piece dated to the reign of Hadrian<sup>321</sup>,

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<sup>316</sup> See *Il.*, 22, 208-213.

<sup>317</sup> See M. Feuillet, *Lessico dei simboli cristiani*, Milan 2007, p. 20.

<sup>318</sup> Above, p. 82.

<sup>319</sup> *Cat.*, 10. 2.

<sup>320</sup> Coins of Trapezus, Traianopolis and Philippopolis. See *Cat.*, 3. 15; 16. 21; 16. 16.

but of dubious interpretation. The balance is variously combined with the other attributes of Nemesis<sup>322</sup>. Surprisingly, we do not find the balance as an attribute of the two Smyranean Nemeseis, usually holding *cubitum* and bridle, and characterized by the *spuere in sinum*. On the other hand, the Smyranean Nemeseis are curiously represented with the balance in the *homonioia*-coinage of other cities: A sign that this attribute had already been accepted as representative of the double goddess<sup>323</sup>.

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<sup>321</sup> Coin from Claudiopolis, where it is difficult to clearly discern the figure represented. See Cat., 3. 3.

<sup>322</sup> See for example the coinage from Dionysopolis (Gordian, Cat., 2. 64), Plotinopolis (Caracalla, Cat., 15. 17). In the coinage of Themenothyrai (Cat., 2. 82) Nemesis appears with *polos*, scale and bridle.

<sup>323</sup> An issue from Tralles of the reign of Gordian III, where Zeus Larasios holding a Nike represents the city and two Nemeseis, one spitting on her chest and holding the cubit-rule, the other holding bridle and balance, represent the city of Smyrna. See Cat., 2. 83.



### CHAPTER 3 NEMESIS AND IMPERIAL ORDER

*Unlike other Greek gods who were fully incorporated into the Latin pantheon, Nemesis always maintained her Greek name and profile. The Latin concept of ultio most closely paralleled one important characteristic of Nemesis, but ultio was never worshipped as a divine entity. Instead, Augustus applied it to the god of war, who became Mars Ultor. The Augustan age was a fundamental period for the elaboration of the ideology of ultio alongside the goddess' cult and the imperial propaganda, even if very little evidence for Nemesis has survived. In the first part of this chapter two areas of research are developed: 1. the similarities between nemesis and ultio, and Nemesis and Mars Ultor, 2. a review of the data before and after the Augustan principate to highlight the Augustan impact and efforts in the elaboration and spread of the Nemesis cult within the new Roman context. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the individual worshippers of Nemesis, including a selection of inscriptions showing a various and special social involvement in the cult of Nemesis, where people aimed to establish a connection with local and Roman authorities.*

#### **3. 1 *Ultio* and Nemesis in the Augustan age. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242.**

Understanding the meaning of *nemesis* in the Roman context is a fundamental matter for anyone undertaking a study of the role of the Greek goddess in the Roman Empire. The fact that she never had a Latin name at Rome<sup>324</sup> could suggest that the concept she personified was a typical aspect of the Greek culture, later absorbed and elaborated by the Romans. Of course, an important function of the Classical Nemesis was expressed by the Latin term *ultio* (*ulciscor* = “to punish”,

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<sup>324</sup> As Pliny says, a statue of Nemesis was located on the Capitoline hill, but this goddess was called by her original Greek name. See PL., *N. H.*, 28, 22, 5-6; 11, 251, 3-4.

“to avenge”); this *ultio*, originally intended as a private revenge, assumed a new meaning in the Imperial period, when it began to be understood as the chastisement legitimized by Justice and not subject to human debate or beliefs about right and wrong. It was the kind of “revenge” that was wholly acceptable to the gods, with a private character and with no negative consequences for the person (or the city) who exercised it. This abstract concept had never been personified into a proper deity. However, Augustus combined it with Mars, calling him Ultor.

In the first part of this chapter, we will attempt to clarify how Nemesis’ cult passed through a period of “incubation” in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. to be completely absorbed and modified during the imperial period as a representative of the imperial peace in the form of Nemesis-Pax. While we do not have any signs of this latter syncretistic goddess under Augustus, the affirmation of a sense of diplomatic *ultio*<sup>325</sup> in the foreign politics of the Empire suggests that the elaboration of Nemesis as a goddess of peace occurred first during Augustus’ principate, only to mature later from the reign of Claudius onwards.

While references to *ultio* are recognizable and explicitly declared in the political decisions of the *princeps* (as expressed in the Latin sources), evidence of Nemesis in the Augustan period is somewhat lacking. Apart from Ovid<sup>326</sup>, who admonished his enemies to be aware of Fortuna and the avenging goddess from Rhamnous (*ultrix Rhamnusia*), Nemesis is rarely found, not even in connection with the central power. Surprisingly, we have hardly any certain attestation of the *princeps* worshipping the goddess. This gap of evidence is even more unexpected if we consider the great ideological effort made by Augustus to apply the concept of

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<sup>325</sup> See Cresci Marrone 1993, pp. 111 ff.; *R. G.*, 29

<sup>326</sup> OV., *Trist.*, 5, 8, 7-12: *nec metuis dubio Fortunae stantis in orbe | numen, et exosae verba superba deae. | Exigit a dignis ultrix Rhamnusia poenas: | inposito calcas quid mea fata pede? | vidi ego naufragium qui risit in aequora mergi, | et ‘numquam’ dixi ‘iustior unda fuit’*. “Do you not fear the power of Fortune, standing on her precarious wheel, and of the goddess who hates arrogant words? The avenging Rhamnousian exacts punishments on those who deserve them: why do you trample upon my fate with set foot? I have seen drowned in the sea one who laughed at a shipwreck, and I said, “Never were the waves more just!”

*ultio/nemesis* to the propaganda of *pax*<sup>327</sup> based on military power and the *libertas* of the Oecumene<sup>328</sup>.

Only one piece of evidence seems to have been a probable witness to the *princeps*' involvement in (and awareness of) Nemesis' cult, with a special interest in her Rhamnousian temple. Archaeologists have identified a marble slab carved on the eastern external architrave<sup>329</sup> of the building (pict.8) bearing a dedication to Livia: ὁ δῆμος | θεᾶι Λειβία<ι>, στρατηγούντος | ἐ[πι] τοὺς ὀπλε[ί]τας τοῦ καὶ ἱερέως θεᾶς | Ῥώ[μης] κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος Δημοστράτου | [τοῦ Διονυ]σίου Παλληνέως, ἄρχον[τ]ος δὲ | [— — —] τοῦ Ἄν(τι)πάτρου Φλυέω[ς ν]εωτέρου<sup>330</sup>.



Fig. 8. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242. From Petrakos 1999, vol. 2, p. 124, n. 156.

This inscription has been commonly considered to be the earliest evidence for Roman presence in the temple<sup>331</sup>, which probably accommodated the imperial cult

<sup>327</sup> See Norreña 2011, pp. 127-129.

<sup>328</sup> The iconography of Nemesis confirms her being part of the imperial ideology of the Ecumenical Empire. A yellow jasper from Aquileia dated to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. is a case in point: a winged Nemesis in the act of *spuere in sinum*, stands on a globe, symbol of the wide range of the pacified Empire. For the jasper see *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 241 (F. Rausa).

<sup>329</sup> Various scholars investigated the exact position of the inscription: Dinsmoor and Miles located it on the external facade of the temple because of the light material, suitable for the external walls of the building. See Dinsmoor 1961, p. 182 ff.; Miles 1989, pp. 163-164. Cfr. Stafford 2013, pp. 209-210.

<sup>330</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242; *SEG 39*: 216. See Petrakos 1999, n. 156 and Schmalz 2009, p. 103 with a summary of the previous editions of the inscription.

<sup>331</sup> Many other later findings discovered around the shrine confirm a significant imperial presence, such as an altar of the emperor Claudius (see Petrakos 1999, n. 157) and the base of a statue of

from the time of Claudius onwards. This dedication was addressed to Livia, described as *thea*, a term corresponding to the Latin *dea/diva*. One could wonder if the cult of Livia substituted that of Nemesis. Probably, the two cults would have been juxtaposed, as is documented for many other Greek temples in Greece and Asia Minor<sup>332</sup>. In our view, the dominant position of the dedication at the entrance of the temple suggests that the empress' cult played an important role in the shrine, even if there is no hint at an identification of Livia and Nemesis in the text of this (or any later) inscription<sup>333</sup>. Many scholars have attempted to define the character of this inscription and the possible consequences this dedication implied<sup>334</sup>. The official dedicator is the *demos* of Rhamnous or Athens<sup>335</sup>, which probably aimed to increase the presence of the imperial cult in Attica, to flatter the Roman authorities<sup>336</sup>. The characterization of the hoplite general as priest of the *Sebastoi* is

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Hadrian dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Atticus, father of Herodes Atticus (see Petrakos 1999, n. 158).

<sup>332</sup> See Price 1984, pp. 103 ff. We do not know if a cult of Livia was celebrated inside the temple, with offerings and cultic rites. Price (p. 85) rightly noted that the title of a *divus/a* did not imply the beginning of a cult. As E. Stafford reminds, other examples of juxtapositions of cults are noted in the Acropolis of Athens, with the cult of Iulia Domna and Athena Polias, in the Athenian agora, in the temple of Ares, at Priene and Olympia. See Stafford 2013, p. 233.

<sup>333</sup> E. Stafford considers the absence of a statue of Livia in the temple, alongside Nemesis' cult statue, as an element possibly validating the idea of a syncretism between empress and goddess cults. On the other hand, Stafford admits that this fusion of cults, if happened, did not last for long time, since later dedications seem to remember only Nemesis. See Stafford 2013, p. 233.

<sup>334</sup> Pouilloux considers the empress and Nemesis as associated to each other; Price thinks that the Rhamnousian temple was abandoned before the introduction of the imperial cult. For a summary of the past theories with the relative bibliography, see Stafford 2013, p. 210. Kajava considers the propaganda against the Parthians (seen as descendants of the Persians) as the main reason for choosing a rural and minor temple for the imperial cult. The interpretation of the inscription *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 5143* on one seat of Dionysus theatre ([*ἱερείας Νεμέσεως*] ἐν Ῥαμ[νοῦντι]), dedicated to the priestess of the Livia in Rhamnous is not sufficiently convincing. See Kajava 2000, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>335</sup> The absence of further specifications about the *demos* and the declared presence of the major authorities of Athens proves that the dedication was made by Athens, as unified city comprehending the *demos* of Rhamnous. As Stafford pointed out, the *Rhamnousioi* were capable of taking autonomously public decisions but the authority of the Athenian *demos* is clearly dominating (*SEG 41: 75*). See Stafford 2013, p. 208 with bibliography.

<sup>336</sup> See Kantirea 2007, pp. 115-116. Cfr. Lozano 2002, p. 27. This political-religious orientation towards the Empire finds an Athenian parallel in the erection of the temple of Augustus and Rome in

a certain sign of the deep Roman influence which Attica experienced in the Early Empire. Therefore, the addition of the imperial cult in Nemesis' temple could have attracted a new interest to a remote area, which from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. was going through a period of decline<sup>337</sup>. Scholars<sup>338</sup> dated the temple's restoration to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., under Claudius' reign, in a period of Roman enthusiasm for the renovation and revitalisation of Classical Greek shrines. Consequently, the *terminus post quem* for the inscription's chronology has been traditionally considered to be the reign of Claudius<sup>339</sup>, as a sort of provincial reaction to the official deification of Livia at Rome (41 A.D.)<sup>340</sup>. Recently, Lozano, followed by Schmalz, has proposed a new date in the Augustan age with interesting arguments.

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front of the Parthenon's entrance in 19 B.C., where it is still located today. This particular location has been discussed by archaeologists and scholars, and sometimes linked to the decorative program of the Parthenon, with scenes of fights between the Greek civilization and the symbols of what was considered as Barbarian. See Morales 2017, pp. 149-150; Spawforth 2012, pp. 105-106; Baldassarri 1998, pp. 45 ff.; *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3274; Kajava 2000, p. 49; Schmalz 1994, pp. 36 ff.; Fouquet 2012, pp. 37 ff.; Hoff 1996, pp. 185-194. Moreover, the shrine of Eleusis should have contained honours to the divine Augustus in the very first stage of his principate. See Schmalz 2009, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>337</sup> Spawforth considered the rural temple of Rhamnous to be a suitable place for a gradual introduction of the imperial cult, without harming the Greek social and political sensitivity overmuch. However, it is difficult to think that this honour was planned only by the Athenian authorities, without the permission – if not the initiative – of the Roman government. See Spawforth 1997, p. 194. However abandoned the temple may have been, it was famous enough for Catullus (*Carm.*, 68, 77-78) and Ovid (*Trist.*, 5, 8, 7-12) to mention it in their poetry.

<sup>338</sup> See Miles 1989, p. 236 with further bibl. As Kajava already pointed out, Claudius was very popular in Athens, as confirmed by the high number of his representations that have been discovered, and by the institution of the *Megala Panathenaica Sebasta* (Panathenaic festival combined with the imperial cult) during his reign. See Kajava 2000, p. 44.

<sup>339</sup> See Brooner 1932, pp. 397-398: He dates the inscription to Galba's short reign reading Αιολίωνοϛ in the missing part of line 6; Pouilloux 1954, n. 46; Dinsmoor 1961, pp. 187-194: he prefers a dating in Nerva's reign, filling the same gap with the name Ἀντίπατροϛ. Kirchner (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242) supported the chronology of Claudius as, more recently, also Stafford 2013, pp. 209 ff., Kantirea 2007, p. 215 and Kajava 2000, even if this latter author admitted a special relationship between Mars Ultor/imperial *domus* and Nemesis, not only in their attributes (griffin) but in the joint participation in the Parthian issue.

<sup>340</sup> CASS. DIO, 60, 5, 2. According to the author, Claudius erected a statue of Livia in the temple of Augustus, establishing sacrifices for his grandmother by the Vestal Virgins, and imposing that women should use her name when taking oaths.

The identification of the two officers is an issue that is most difficult to untangle. The recognition of the hoplite general of Athens, a magistrate of the whole city, would be decisive for dating the inscription. This is no easy task, because the hoplite general and priest of Augustus and Rome Demostratos could correspond to the *hymnagogos* of an inscription from Eleusis (20/19 B.C.)<sup>341</sup>, or to one of his descendants, who lived in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.<sup>342</sup>. The second person partially mentioned in the inscription has been identified as Aiolion<sup>343</sup> or Antipatros<sup>344</sup>, son of Antipatros the Younger, already known under Claudius' reign. The restoration of the name Ἀντίπατρος τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου Φλυέως νεωτέρου, recently accepted by M. Kajava and E. Stafford, does not help date the inscription, since this Antipatros could be the well-known *archon* of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., or one of his ancestors, who lived in the Augustan age. Lozano considered both Demostratos and Antipatros to be people who lived and undertook their offices in the time of Augustus. On the other hand, E. Stafford<sup>345</sup> rightly emphasized that while the aforementioned inscription from Eleusis concerning Demostratos, the priest of the *Sebastoi*, is a valid argument for the Augustan date (since we do not have to suppose an unknown descendant), the identification of the *archon* Antipatros with an unknown ancestor of the Antipatros known by the evidence complicates the interpretation. Both the Augustan and the Claudian dates require that we posit the existence of a person who is not attested in the documentary sources at our disposal.

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<sup>341</sup> Lozano and Schmalz considered Demostratos as the *hymnagogos* of Eleusis. See *SEG 30*: 93, l. 25 (so-called "Temistokles Decree"). See Lozano 2004, pp. 179-180; Schmalz 2009, pp. 73-74, who exhaustively summarized the past scholar's opinions.

<sup>342</sup> This is the idea of those who date the inscription to the Claudian reign. See Stafford 2013, pp. 208-209, who criticizes Lozano's identification of Demostratos with the *hymnagogos* of Augustan age.

<sup>343</sup> See Schmalz 2009, p. 103. Brooner 1932, pp. 397-400; Kirchner 1935 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 3242*); Pouilloux 1954, n. 46.

<sup>344</sup> See Stafford 2013, p. 206; Lozano 2004, pp. 177 ff.; Kajava 2000, pp. 39 ff.; Dinsmoor 1961, pp. 186-194.

<sup>345</sup> See Stafford 2013, p. 209.

The second major point of discussion is the veneration of Livia in Athens and the use of the epithet *thea* associated with her. A group of Attic inscriptions<sup>346</sup> attest that the empress was worshipped as a goddess in Athens long before her deification. The eastern provinces were more willing to include the imperial cult in their *pantheon* than the Roman people were<sup>347</sup>. This is confirmed by the variety of epithets and combinations with gods and mortals which characterised Livia's attestations in the Attic inscriptions. Solid evidence for the Athenian tendency to divinize living members of the imperial family even in the Augustan age is the association of Livia with Hestia and Iulia that was recorded on a seat in the theatre of Dionysus<sup>348</sup>. The mention of Iulia confirms the Augustan date of the inscription that should precede her exile and *damnatio memoriae*<sup>349</sup>. Therefore, Livia appears in association with Pronoia on a marble slab from the portico of Athena Archegetes, with the titles "*Iulia Thea Sebaste Pronoia*": Ἰουλίαν θεὰν Σεβαστὴν Πρόνοιαν | ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀρήου πάγου καὶ ἡ βου|λή τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἀναθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | Διονυσίου τοῦ Αὔλου Μαρα|θωνίου, ἀγορανομούντων | αὐτοῦ τε Διονυσίου Μαρα|θωνίου καὶ Κοίντου Ναιβίου | Ρούφου Μελιτέως<sup>350</sup>. This piece of evidence has been dated by Kirchner to after Livia's death in 29 A.D. The combination of Livia with Pronoia/Providentia in Athens makes the Rhamnousian association with Nemesis – who was, in certain respects, the representative of opposite concepts of those of the Imperial providence – even more unusual and rare. However, the combination Livia-Pronoia/Providentia must have conferred upon the empress the title of custody over the positive future of Rome. Providentia was a personification of the Empire and the imperial *domus*, which was

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<sup>346</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3238 (*Ioulia Thea Sebaste Pronoia*), 3239 (*Iulia Thea Sebaste*): These two inscriptions have been dated by Kirchner after Livia's death in 29 A.D. but there is no reason for not considering the *terminus post quem* the adoption of Livia in the Julio-Claudian family in 14 A.D. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3241 (*Iulia Sebaste*, 14-29 A.D.; Grether dated it in the late Augustan period, changing Σεβαστή with Σεβαστοῦ); *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3261/*SEG* 47: 220 (statue base of Tiberius and Livia, 14-29 A.D.). *SEG* 22: 152 (*Iulia Sebaste Artemis Boulaia*, reign of Tiberius). See Lozano 2002, p. 31; Schmalz 2009, p. 104; Grether 1946, p. 231.

<sup>347</sup> On the imperial cult in Attica, see Lozano 2002; Evangelidis 2008, pp. 125-144; Spawforth 1997, pp. 183 ff.; Clinton 1997, pp. 163 ff.; Hoff 1996, pp. 185-200; Stafford 2013, pp. 219 ff.

<sup>348</sup> In *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 5097.

<sup>349</sup> See Lozano 2004, p. 178.

<sup>350</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3238.

embodiment of the good destiny of Rome. The inscription on a statue base of Livia found close to Ilissos' island has the same *terminus post quem* at Livia's death: Ἰουλίαν θ[εάν] | Σεβ[αστήν] | [— — — ἀγορανομή]σας ἀνέθηκε<sup>351</sup>. An *agoranomos* dedicated this statue but, unfortunately, this fragment does not bear his name. Livia was also called θεά Σεβαστή on a silver didrachm of the Tiberian period (ca 20 A.D.) in Byzantium<sup>352</sup>, and *thea*, together with her son, called *theos*, on a coin of Mytilene<sup>353</sup>. Generally, it can be said that Livia was called *thea* and explicitly combined with goddesses more frequently than her male counterparts were, even before her death and deification<sup>354</sup>.

The inscription on a marble base found on the East side of the *Propylaia* on the Acropolis simply mentions the Salus Augusta (Σεβαστῆ Ὑγεία)<sup>355</sup>, which has been considered an indirect denomination of Livia. Taking into account some *dupondii* of Tiberius' reign<sup>356</sup> showing Salus and Livia, which were issued during a period of convalescence of the empress that occurred in 22 A.D., Kirchner dated this piece of evidence to that year. Graindor<sup>357</sup> and Grether<sup>358</sup> expressed some doubts about this association, but a Livia-Salus combination would certainly symbolize the Empire as "saviour", a message promoted by the central propaganda. Finally, a bronze coin issued at Smyrna with the head of Livia and the Senate on the obverse and Tiberius within a temple on the reverse could confirm the worship of Augustus' widow and

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<sup>351</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3239; *SEG 37*: 149 and *SEG 35*: 146. This inscription has been read by its first publisher as a dedication to the emperor Julian, until P. Grandior recognized it as a dedication to the 'thea' Livia, supporting his interpretation with the paleographic analysis of the letters, which seems to be older than the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>352</sup> *RPC I*, 1779. See Lichocka 2010, p. 175; Harvey 2020, p. 178.

<sup>353</sup> *RPC I*, 2345. See Harvey 2020, *l. c.*

<sup>354</sup> See Harvey 2020, p. 177 ff.

<sup>355</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3240.

<sup>356</sup> *RIC I*, p. 68, n. 22. See Lichocka 2010, p. 175. See Harvey 2020, p. 180.

<sup>357</sup> See Graindor 1927, p. 156.

<sup>358</sup> See Grether 1946, p. 231, mentioning also inscription from Tralles attesting a shared cult of Tiberius and Livia Hecate, probably dated from the reign of Tiberius onwards.



her son in the years between her death and 35 A.D., long before her deification at Rome<sup>359</sup>.

Concerning the epithet *thea*, the Greeks used it to translate the Latin term *dea* and *diva*, without any distinctions of meaning between a “goddess” and a “divinized” being. The Greeks did not create a specific term to express the divine nature of the dead emperor/empress (*divus/a*), which we could compare with the figure of the Christian saints<sup>360</sup>. Consequently, the use of *thea* in this context does not help us to date the inscription, distinguishing between a living or dead Livia. Taking into account the relative simplicity of the expression ‘*thea* Livia’, Lozano stated that it could likely have been common already in the Augustan age (6-10 A.D.). In fact, some official expressions, like Iulia Sebaste or Livia Sebaste<sup>361</sup>, were attached to Livia only after Augustus’ death and her adoption into the Iulio-Claudian family<sup>362</sup>. Therefore, we find other evidence of the epithet *thea* referring to Livia in the late Augustan age<sup>363</sup>.

Some other pieces of evidence for the use of *thea* have been found on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor. A dedication to Livia Drusilla and Iulia Minor is particularly important for the certain *terminus ante quem* given by Iulia’s exile. On this marble slab the two women are honoured by the demos of Thasos as

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<sup>359</sup> See *BMC Ionia*, p. 268, nn. 266-168. See TAC., *Ann.*, 4, 15: *decrevere Asiae urbes templum Toberio matrique eius ac senatui. Et permissum statuere*. Also *Ann.*, 4, 55. Cfr. Burrell 2004, p. 61; Price 1984, p. 258.

<sup>360</sup> On the use of the term *theos*, see Price 1984, pp. 79-95. Cfr. Lozano 2007.

<sup>361</sup> See Lozano 2002, *l. c.* and 2004, p. 179 for further bibliography. In the Augustan Athens (and surroundings) Livia was simply called Livia Drusilla, as attested by the dedication on a big monument of Augustus and her at Eleusis (31-27 B.C.; *SEG 24*: 212; cfr. Clinton 1997, pp. 163-165). See *F. Delphes II*, 1, 269-270 (Iulia Livia); Schmalz 2009, p. 61 (Livia Drusilla). After the adoption in 14 A.D., the empress is often called only Iulia by the authors (CASS. DIO, 55, 13, 1a; 55, 32, 2). Cfr. Lichocka 2010, p. 175, who affirms that Livia was called ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (a title in between her being wife of a *Sebastos* and her full divinization as *Sebaste*) on coins from Alexandria during the principate of Augustus.

<sup>362</sup> On the adoption of Livia, written in Augustus’ will, see TAC., *Ann.*, 1, 8.

<sup>363</sup> *IGR IV*, 249 (dedication from Assos to the *thea* Livia who is regarded as “New Hera”). See Schmalz 2009, p. 74; Kajava 2000, p. 42, n. 10.

benefactors. The second part of the inscription reads: ὁ δῆμος | Λειβίαν Δρου[σιλλ]αν τ[ῆ]ν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος | γυναῖκαν θεὰν εὐεργέτιν. | Ἰουλίαν Μάρκου Ἀγ[ρ]ίππου θυγατέρα | ὁ δῆμος. While Iulia is identified only with her name, Livia's denomination is more interesting, with her full name and the epithet *thea*. Friedrich (*IG XII*, 8) dated this piece of evidence between 19 and 12 B.C., considering the birth of Iulia Minor (19 B.C.) as a possible occasion to honour her and the empress, while Agrippa's death would be the *terminus ante quem*<sup>364</sup>.

An inscription from Attouda confirms that the epithet *theos/thea* referred to the living imperial couple. A certain Tattius Aristonomus made a dedication to Livia, calling her simply *thea* and wife of the *theos* Caesar: Λιβίαν θεάν, γυν[αῖκα Αὐτοκράτορος] | Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, | Τάτιον Ἀριστονό[μου? καθιέρωσεν]. This piece of evidence was discovered on the wall of a house and has been dated between 3 and 10 A.D.<sup>365</sup> The term *thea* referred to Livia during the Augustan age seems not to have been an “anomalous case”, as Kajava<sup>366</sup> defined it, claiming that it could at least denote the existence of a cult synthesis of Livia-Nemesis at Rhamnous, for which, however, there is no evidence.

Considering the important architectural projects undertaken by Augustus and the Athenians themselves<sup>367</sup>, we cannot exclude the possibility that the restoration of the temple occurred during the Augustan period, and perhaps in the last decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. If we locate the dedication to Livia in the late Augustan period, we should also consider that the general renovation of the temple began some years before. One may think that, if the restoration works started in the same period or after the inauguration of the temple to Mars Ultor and Gaius' expedition in the East (2 B.C), there would still be a considerable period of time (almost 20 years) from the dedication of the monopteron<sup>368</sup> on the Acropolis for the Athenians to adjust themselves to the Augustan ideology and dedicate Nemesis' temple to the Roman empress.

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<sup>364</sup> Iulia's exile could be considered the ultimate *terminus ante quem* of this piece of evidence.

<sup>365</sup> *MAMA VI*, 66.

<sup>366</sup> See Kajava 2000, pp. 60-61.

<sup>367</sup> On Roman and Augustan Athens, see Toher 2014; Shear 1981.

<sup>368</sup> See above, p. 96, n. 335 with bibliographic references.

If Lozano<sup>369</sup> is correct and the date of this piece of evidence belongs to the time of Augustus, a possible association between Livia and Nemesis would reveal that the *princeps* linked his political ideology and propaganda to the Attic Nemesis, conceived first as the avenger of the Greeks at Marathon. The lack of a specific mention of Livia as Nemesis in the inscription does not allow a certain association between the empress and the goddess, but the position of the dedication at the entrance of the temple makes this possibility quite credible. Moreover, we could certainly see two different efforts, easily combined and “coordinated” with each other: One from the *princeps*, which aimed to create a personal bond with the Rhamnousian Nemesis through his wife, and the other from the *demos* of Athens (with the participation of Rhamnous), which opened the doors of an old shrine to the cult of the imperial family. As said above, the supporters of the Claudian date saw this specific dedication as a provincial “reply” to Livia’s deification at Rome, suggesting, in any case, the parallelism of the empress (as *diva*) with Nemesis. However, one may consider that Augustus would have been very interested in creating a connection with an Attic goddess, so deeply related to the glory of the Athenians at Marathon<sup>370</sup>: Augustus and his *entourage* of poets and artists often presented the Roman people as the political and moral successors of the Athenians, while the Persians corresponded to the Parthians, the contemporary enemies of Rome<sup>371</sup>. Augustus consciously stressed these connections during the celebrations of the inauguration of the temple to Mars Ultor (2 B.C.). On that occasion, he organized a revival of the battle of Salamis<sup>372</sup> and put the Roman eagles in the new shrine<sup>373</sup>. Indeed, the *princeps* insistently aimed to present his government as the

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<sup>369</sup> See Lozano 2004, pp. 177 ff.

<sup>370</sup> See above, p. 31. Already Kajava 2000, pp. 46 ff. considered the possibility that the connection between Livia and Nemesis was determined before Claudius, but he prefers to date the dedication in the year 45/46 A.D.

<sup>371</sup> HOR., *Carm.*, 1, 2, 49-52: *hic ames dici pater atque princeps | neu sinas Medos equitare inultos*. On the identification Romans/Athenians and Parthians/Persians, see Buraselis 1995a, pp. 125 ff.; Angeli Bertinelli 1979, p. 43.

<sup>372</sup> *R. G.*, 23.

<sup>373</sup> For the representation of the battle of Salamis, see *Ars Am.*, 1, 171-172; for the location of the standards within the temple of Mars Ultor, see OVID, *Fast.*, 5, 579-596, the main “political manifesto” of the Augustan propaganda.

*ultor* of Rome against the Parthian enemy. The issue of the Roman *ultio* on the Parthians was often mentioned in the imperial propaganda, even after the restitution of the standards occurred in 20 B.C., to emphasize the idea that Augustus' principate was absolutely necessary for the sake of Rome. In fact, ten years after the *restitutio signorum*<sup>374</sup>, the Parthian king Phraates IV sent his children to Rome as a sign of his will to collaborate with Rome. Considering the role of *ultor* played by Augustus, and his interest in Marathon, the late Augustan period appears to be the most probable context for the association of Livia with the Rhamnousian Nemesis in the interest of imperial propaganda<sup>375</sup>, and coherent with the Roman focus on the Oriental frontiers<sup>376</sup>.

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<sup>374</sup> R. G., 32: *ad me rex Parthorum Phrates, Orodis filius, filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam, non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum suorum pignora petens*. Iustinus attests this fact, but does not distinguish between the restitution of the signa and the journey of Phraates' sons. See IUST., 42, 5, 8-9. L. Ross Taylor dates the restitution of the *signa* and the submission of the Parthians princes in the same occasion (20 B.C.) while we follow M. Pani in considering the journey of the royal family to Rome about ten years after the Roman standards, as a sign of renewed and confirmed friendship with Rome. See Pani 1972, pp. 26-35; Ross Taylor 1936, pp. 161-173; cfr. Anderson 1932, pp. 264-265.

<sup>375</sup> See Kantirea 2007, *l. c.*; Kajava 2002, pp. 41 ff., who admits that the choice of the Rhamnousian temple as the new house of Livia's cult followed political and ideological motives; however, he dates the inscription in the Claudian times, as also Claudius' first interest in the dedication to his grandmother. Moreover, even if he rightly underlined the importance of the Parthian question for the Empire (as all Augustus' attempts to be associated to the Athenians), Kajava opted for the Claudian chronology, supporting it with the new frictions between Rome and Parthia over Armenia around the year 40 A.D.

<sup>376</sup> Following Augustus' dynastic ambitions, Gaius Caesar guided a campaign in the East that ended in diplomatic agreements (2 B.C.-2 A.D.; CASS. DIO, 55, 10, 17; 55, 10a, 4). Ovid attests the great expectations "built" on Gaius' campaign in *Ars Am.*, I, 177-180: *ecce, parat Caesar domito quod defuit orbi Addere: nunc, oriens ultime, noster eris. Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi gaudete sepulti, Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus. Ultor adest*. Gaius was also called "Neos Ares" in Athens (*IG IP*<sup>2</sup>, 3250; *SEG 21*: 702), as reminded by Spawforth 1997, p. 187. On Augustus interest on the future of the dynasty, the political propaganda and the image of Rome against the eastern enemy, see Spannagel 1999, pp. 15 ff.

### 3. 2 Mars Ultor and Nemesis. Pax and civil war.

The concept of righteous punishment was closely related to the ideal of *bellum iustum*, which was one of the main pillars of Rome's "self-consciousness"<sup>377</sup>. The *bellum* was *iustum* when waged against foreign enemies and with a specific *casus belli*, where Rome had a defensive role, reacting to the external aggressiveness; the application of the *ultio* in politics added the possibility (and duty) of retribution and retaliation for the offended reputation of Rome<sup>378</sup>. Cicero wrote that no war can be conducted according to justice, except for the one avenging or defending Rome from a foreign danger or pursuing the *ultio*: *nam extra <quam> ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causa bellum geri iustum nullum potest*<sup>379</sup>. Following Cicero's path, Augustus justified the war for revenge and retaliation when Rome was "insulted" by the enemy. The concept of *ultio* gave the Empire more "freedom" to reply to the various threats: Certainly, it allowed Rome to stand always on the "just side". For this reason, we can consider *ultio* as the Latin counterpart of

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<sup>377</sup> On the concept of *bellum iustum* see Buraselis 2017, pp. 134, 158; Zuccotti 2004, pp. 1-64; Calore 2007, pp. 607-616; Linderski 1985, pp. 133-164.

<sup>378</sup> In other words, Augustus applied the rightness of *ultio* to the civil battles at the beginning of his personal ascent: The battle of Philippi was then the necessary revenge on Caesars' murderers. That *ultio*, indeed, was presented as moral and even religious by the *princeps*, who wanted to overpass the embarrassment of a fratricidal fight. OV., *Fast.*, 3, 699-710: *meus fuit ille sacerdos; | sacrilegae telis me petiere manus | Ipsa virum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui: | quae cecidit ferro, Caesaris umbra fuit*". | *Ille quidem caelo positus Iovis atria vidit | et tenet in magno templa dicata foro. | At quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum | Numine, polluerant pontificale caput, | morte iacent merita: testes estote Philippi et | quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus. | hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa | fuerunt Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem*. "He was my priest; the hand with sacrilegious weapons hits me. I have myself taken the soul and left the mere body. What the weapons killed was the shadow of Caesar. In the sky, he sees the house of Juppiter, having also temples dedicated to him in the great *forum*. Those who outrage a *pontifex* found a righteous death. Be witness of the battle of Philippi and the field, which shines of the scattered bones. These are the work, the pity, the first interests of Caesar: to avenge the father with the righteous weapons" (translations of the author). Here Ovid underlines Augustus' kinship with Caesar, while the "righteous weapons" are an evident adherence of the poet to the idea that Philippi was a right fight to do. The religious character of the *ultio Caesaris* of Philippi is given by the divinization of Caesar, who is a *sacerdos* of Vesta and – Vesta says – sees Jupiter's house.

<sup>379</sup> CIC., *Rep.*, 3, 35, frg. 1.

*nemesis*, and key for understanding Nemesis' value and weight in the imperial propaganda, when Rome needed to play the role of the invincible and righteous punisher. This role was necessary in a conception of Rome as centre of the Oecumene<sup>380</sup>. As Nemesis, the *ultio* was firstly a "personal fact". Differently from *vindicta* (*vindico* = "to liberate", "to restore freedom") and concepts like *vindicare in libertatem*<sup>381</sup>, or *manumissio vindicta* (the liberation of a slave)<sup>382</sup>, the *ultio* was not related to the idea of restoring the lost freedom; the *ultio* was focused on the sense of punishment, restoration of the balance (e.g. replying to the enemy's attack, or killing the murderers of Caesar) and maintenance of peace. Both *vindicta* and *ultio* were largely used by Augustus in his political propaganda to overshadow the embarrassment of the civil wars. In fact, we can recognize the attempt of the *princeps* to appear as *liberator* (= *vindex*) of Rome – after Philippi and Actium – and *ultor* of the Empire with the punishment of his adopted father's murderers and the recovery of the *signa Parthica*. Concerning the first case, Augustus affirms in his achievement: *annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi*<sup>383</sup>. This passage is referring to the civil wars, so to *bella interna*, a very delicate issue for any Roman emperor. The Greek translation of *in libertatem vindicavi* – δουλήας ἠλευθέρωσα – confirms even more directly the sense of restoring the freedom to the Romans after the "slavery" imposed by Brutus' and Cassius' faction.

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<sup>380</sup> In the Augustan propaganda, Rome was at the centre of the inhabited world, while the foreign populations were presented as either submissive to, or crushed by, the Empire. VERG., *Aen.*, 6, 851-853: *imperium orbis terrarum: Romane, memento | (haec tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. On this issue see Cresci-Marrone 1993. The dominant role of Rome and Augustus in the Empire-Oecumene is expressed by the pediment of Mars Ultor's temple, identified in a relief of the Ara Pietatis Augustae: Mars appears in the centre, with spear, sword and a foot on the globe. See Cresci Marrone 1993, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>381</sup> AUG., *R. G.*, 1, 1: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi*. CAES., *Civ.*, 1, 22, 5-6: *populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret*.

<sup>382</sup> See Rea 1986, pp. 81-85 for a Greek case of *manumissio vindicta* (διὰ βινδικτῶν). Cfr. Piccioni 2014, p. 426.

<sup>383</sup> *R. G.*, 1, 1.

A *cistophorus* from Ephesus of the Late Republic (28 B.C.)<sup>384</sup> shows an Octavian called *vindex* on the obverse and a representation of the goddess Pax with a *cista mystica* and a *caduceus* on the reverse. This piece of evidence attests that in those years Octavian aimed to demonstrate his personal revenge as an act of public interest (*vindicta*) for the sake of the State (*Pax*). This coin, however, is the only one we have with Octavian Augustus as *vindex*. In fact, many years later, Augustus presented in his memories the *bella interna* against Brutus and Cassius as a form of *ultio* legitimized by justice: *qui parentem meum necaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudicii publicae legitimis ultus*<sup>385</sup>.

The aforementioned recovery of the Roman standards in 20 B.C. from the Parthian king Phraates IV is the second fundamental form of *ultio* promoted by Augustus in his propaganda, and recalled in his memoir: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi. Ea autem signa in pentrali, quod est in templo Martis Ultoris, reposui*. Augustus managed to recover the Roman eagles lost by three commanders<sup>386</sup>: A goal that already Caesar was aiming to achieve before being killed. The meticulous choice of *coegi* (verb with a strong compelling meaning) and the adjective *supplices* clearly denote that Augustus wanted to appear as a strong leader also in the case of a diplomatic agreement<sup>387</sup>. With this second retaliation on a foreign enemy the *princeps* wanted to combine the previous personal *ultio* on Brutus and Cassius with the meaning of the State's retribution against the Parthians.

Revenge and punishment were concepts associated with different gods during the Augustan reign. The role of *vindex* was traditionally linked to Apollo – the torturer

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<sup>384</sup> *RIC I<sup>2</sup>*, 10; see Newby 1938, p. 2.

<sup>385</sup> As pointed out by Piccioni, the language chosen to describe this delicate moment of Augustus' ascent to power was carefully selected to present the personal revenge a of Roman against a Roman as a righteous action. See Piccioni 2014, pp. 424-425.

<sup>386</sup> Augustus underlines the significant effort this mission required and the value of his personal success, stressing that three times the Roman army had been defeated by the Parthians: In 53, 40 and 36 B.C., under the command of M. Licinius Crassus, Decidius Saxa and Marc Antony.

<sup>387</sup> The *supplices* Parthians are represented on the decoration of the cuirass of the Prima Porta Augustus: Specifically, the Parthian king returns the standards to Augustus. On this passage of *R. G.*, see Arena 2014, p. 94.

of Marsyas<sup>388</sup> and the cold killer of the children of Niobe<sup>389</sup> – since the first period of the principate, with a total association between the god and Octavian Augustus<sup>390</sup>. On the other hand, both the *ultiones* on Caesar’s murderers and the Parthians, guilty of having detained the symbols of Rome, were associated with Mars Ultor from 20 B.C. onwards. The recovery of the standards seems to be the occasion where Augustus first conceived the idea of Mars Ultor. Indeed, we do not have a single attestation of Mars Ultor in the twenty-two years after the battle of Philippi. His absence from the evidence suggests that the myth of Octavian’s vow at the Philippi was a legend invented some years later for political motives<sup>391</sup>. From that period, Mars Ultor became the main deity of the Augustan propaganda, even if Augustus never identified himself with the god as he did with Apollo. The temple

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<sup>388</sup> See PS.-APOLL., *Bibl.*, 1, 24; HDT, *Hist.*, 2, 26, 3; DIOD. SIC., *Bibl.*, 5, 75, 3; PHILOSTR., *Imagines*, 2.

<sup>389</sup> See HOM., *Il.*, 24, 602 ff.; PS.-APOLL., *Bibl.*, 3, 46. See especially NONNUS, *Dionys.*, 48, 395 ff. where Nemesis appears as the executor of Artemis’ wreath and revenge.

<sup>390</sup> As attested by Suetonius, Octavian organized a banquet to celebrate his engagement to Livia, calling the guests to dress like a god: He was Apollo. On this episode and the general identification of Octavian Augustus with Apollo, see Piccioni 2016, p. 430.

<sup>391</sup> OV., *Fast.*, 5, 571-580 is our main source for the vow to Mars Ultor made by Octavian before the fight. This legend, however, does not correspond to a real event; this is confirmed by the complete absence of Mars Ultor from any kind of source around the time of Philippi or directly afterwards. Therefore, Horace associated Octavian with the god Mercury, calling him “*ultor Caesaris*” in a poem dated in 23 B.C. (*Carm.*, 1, 2). The first surviving coinage of Mars Ultor belongs to the year 19 B.C. (*RIC I*<sup>2</sup>, 66-69, 69a, 69b; 70a, 103, 104, 105a, 105b, 507), more than twenty years after the supposed vow. For these reasons, we can safely say that Augustus created this legend in the years 23-20 B.C., when he was undertaking the diplomatic negotiations with the Parthian kingdom. Recovering the *signa Parthica* from Phraates IV, a foreign enemy, Augustus found a way to present the issue of Rome’s retaliation in harmony with the codified idea of *bellum iustum*. Herbert Brown thinks that Augustus aimed to hide the diplomatic nature of the *ultio* on the Parthians, including the *ultio Caesaris* in his propaganda, or pushing Gaius against the Parthians at the end of the century. However, being the *ultio Caesaris* a retribution on Roman citizens, one may think that Augustus tried to dignify his past actions with the *ultio* on the Parthians. On this issue see Rich 1998, pp. 71 ff.; Herbert-Brown 1994, pp. 98 ff.; Cresci Marrone 1993, pp. 111 ff.



of Mars Ultor stood in the middle of the *Forum Augustum*, while the concept of *ultio* was widely mentioned and promoted by the entourage of the *princeps*<sup>392</sup>.

What is particularly interesting is that, as avenger, Mars acquired a peace-ensuring profile. He was presented by Ovid as the father of the *gens Iulia* and all the Roman people<sup>393</sup> and a peaceful god, called to leave shield and spear in a peaceful atmosphere, in a poem openly against the civil wars: *bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta, | Mars, ades et nitidas casside solve comas*<sup>394</sup>. The temple of Mars was a centre of civic and political activities<sup>395</sup>: In his shrine, Rome ratified treaties with other populations; the Senate discussed foreign affairs; the symbols of triumph were deposited and from there the new proconsuls symbolically began their journey to the Roman provinces they were called to govern. The traditional god of war became the guarantor of *pax* and *fides* – always threatening the military retaliation – between the submitted populations and Rome, as supervisor of the diplomatic agreements of the Empire.

The *ultio* became a fundamental condition for the Empire to appear as peaceful and balanced, just as Nemesis was conceived as a peace-bringing goddess from the reign of Claudius onwards<sup>396</sup>, as will be explored below. This author believes that behind the epithet Ultor, Augustus hid the aim of avoiding a concrete military

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<sup>392</sup> The Parthians are the *Medi Inulti* in HOR., *Carm.*, 1, 2, 49-52 and *Latio imminentes* (with a clear sense of menace for Rome) in HOR., *Carm.*, 1, 12, 43-44. The poet mentioned the *ultio Caesaris* in *Carm.*, 1, 2, but conferring the role of divine *ultor* to Mercury, with no references to Mars.

<sup>393</sup> See OV., *Fast.*, 5, 574: “*Si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos | auctor, et ulcisci numn utrumque paro: Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum*”. Moreover, Mars appears as ancestor of the *gens Iulia* together with Venus on a relief of Civita Castellana (today in Rome, preserved at the Museo della Civiltà Roma, see Weinstock 1971, p. 129, pl. 14), on an altar from Ostia (today at the Palazzo Massimo) and in literature: HOR., *Carm.* 1, 2, 36; PROP., *Carm.*, 3, 4. Even the Feriale Cumano attests a celebration of Mars Ultor in relation to Venus, the mythical mother of the *gens Iulia*: LS 108 = *Inscr. It.* XIII 2, 279: [III id. Iul. Natalis divi Iuli. Supplicatio Iov]i, Marti Ultori, Veneri [genetrici]. See Zanker 1992, pp. 195 ff. This particular new profile of Mars is confirmed by his association to Jupiter Conservator in a dedication from Volcei/Buccino (*CIL X*, 403). On the epithet *conservator*, see below, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>394</sup> OV., *Fast.*, 3, 1-4.

<sup>395</sup> CASS. DIO, 55, 10, 2-3; SVET., *Aug.*, 21, 2; 29, 2.

<sup>396</sup> See below, pp. 115 ff.

revenge – always too dangerous an affair in the expanded Empire – hoping for peaceful and stable resolutions without moving the army. Therefore, threatening the retaliation of the Empire was the best way to keep Rome away from any kind of real fights. This occurred many times during Augustus’ principate, in the aforementioned recovery of the standards in 20 B.C.<sup>397</sup>, when, as Velleius<sup>398</sup> wrote, the diplomatic treats were supported by Tiberius’ legions in the East, threatening a military intervention. This tactic was later repeated with Gaius’ expedition to the Euphrates, when the young commander moved the troops in a war campaign but with the hidden purpose of a diplomatic resolution<sup>399</sup>.

Mars Ultor and Nemesis are almost never represented together, and literary sources do not attest a special relationship or affinity between them. In fact, only a marble relief in form of *aedicula* discovered on the Esquiline hill (246 A.D.) shows the two gods together, flanking Jupiter who stands in the middle of the scene with the eagle at his feet<sup>400</sup> (fig. 9). Two praetorians from Augusta Viromandorum (Belgic Gauls) dedicated this monument, as an inscription at the feet of the gods reveals<sup>401</sup>. Mars appears at the left of the scene, armed like a Roman legionary, with helmet and spear (as Victor or Ultor). On the other side, Nemesis is represented veiled, holding a *cubitum*, and bending her right hand in a strict garment. She lays her right foot on the wheel while a griffin appears at her left side. Jupiter is half naked, crowned and with a long beard. A Victory with palm is represented on the right side of the relief and the Sol Invictus on the opposite side. The *incipit* of the inscription presents all the deities, defining them as “gods of the fatherland”: *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) ET MARTI ET NEMESI [et] SOLI ET VICTORIAE ET OMNIBVS / DIIS PATRIENSIBVS*. The insertion of Nemesis in a relief with such a strong martial

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<sup>397</sup> On the need of Augustus to avoid a military defeat in the east, see Sidari 1982, p. 18; Magie 1908, pp. 148-149.

<sup>398</sup> VELL., 2, 44.

<sup>399</sup> The Augustan court presented Gaius’ expedition as a real war campaign, continuing the typical Augustan propaganda of the conquest and submission of the Parthian enemy. See OV., *Ars Am.*, 1, 191-199. On Gaius’ expedition, see VELL., 2, 100-102; CASS. DIO, 55, 10, 17-10a, 9; TAC., *Ann.*, 2, 3-4. Cfr. Sidari 1982, pp. 26 ff.; Pani 1972, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>400</sup> This relief is conserved today at the Musei Capitolini in Rome. See Colling 2010, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>401</sup> *CIL VI*, 2822; see Hornum 1993, p. 237, n. 152.

character is not surprising at all. The goddess, indeed, was venerated by the soldiers<sup>402</sup> in areas close to the borders, as confirmed by various finds discovered in places where stable troops were settled and amphitheatres built<sup>403</sup>.



Fig. 9. Relief from Rome, Musei Capitolini. From Colling 2010, p. 222.

Even if not openly linked to each other, the concepts of peace and revenge implied in the figures of Mars Ultor and Nemesis seem to link them to the imperial ideology, which was also expressed by the army as an instrument of effective or threatened retaliation<sup>404</sup>. In our view, these gods, in particular, shared an association with peace after civil war as gods who guaranteed the righteous victory. Indeed, every victor of *bella interna* needed to be accepted by the people as the righteous winner.

Caesar first confirmed this personal need, when defeated Pompey, for showing that the justice of Nemesis was on his side. Once in Egypt, Caesar found his opponent beheaded by Ptolemy XIII's killers, who even delivered him his head. As Appian

<sup>402</sup> For dedications from soldiers, see Hornum 1993, App. II.

<sup>403</sup> See Wittenberg 2014.

<sup>404</sup> The epithet *aneiketos* referred to Nemesis on dedications from the western *parodos* of the theatre of Philippi (2-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., Cat., 10. 9-11), links her with the military world and Mars (who appears with Nemesis and Victoria on the reliefs linked to the dedications).

wrote, Caesar could not stand the sight of Pompey's head, ordering that it be buried in the place where he later founded a sanctuary to Nemesis: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καί τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο<sup>405</sup>. The reasons for founding this 'temenos' can be interpreted in two different ways, a political and a religious/psychological one. Rostovtzeff<sup>406</sup> considered Caesar's initiative as a demonstration of the punishment he gave to the *hybristes* Pompey. At the end of the war, Caesar likely needed to present Pompey as the one who began the civil conflicts. However, another possible interpretation of this fact can be argued, regarding Caesar's religious sensitivity. One may consider that if Caesar knew Nemesis' "balancing powers" and aversion to boasting behaviours, he would not have been eager to punish a man who, because he was stabbed in the back, had automatically become a victim. In fact, Caesar ordered the execution of Pompey's murderers by punishing them for their unjust and inhuman act towards a Roman citizen: An act certainly despised by Dike and Nemesis<sup>407</sup>. One may recall that later Caesar stood against Ptolemy XIII, the initiator of Pompey's murder, in the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, supporting Cleopatra to the throne. Thus, he must have been particularly interested in promoting and supporting this specific aspect of Nemesis. Moreover, it is possible that Caesar, through punishing them, sought to avoid any possible retribution of Nemesis on his own person<sup>408</sup>. A contemporary sample of

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<sup>405</sup> APP., *B. C.*, 2, 13, 90: "When they brought him the head of Pompey, he (Caesar) could not stand for it, and ordered to be buried: The small shrine, close to Alexandria, was called *temenos* of Nemesis" (transl. of the author). See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, p. 734 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>406</sup> See Rostovtzeff 1926, p. 25.

<sup>407</sup> On the association of the two goddesses, see p. 57.

<sup>408</sup> PLUT., *Pomp.*, 80, 5: τοῦτο Πομπηίου τέλος, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ ἔλθων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγους τοσοῦτου καταπεπλησμένην τὸν μὲν προσφέροντα τὴνκεφαλὴν ὡς παλαμναῖον ἀπεστράφη, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου δεξάμενος ἐδάκρυσεν ἣν δὲ γλυφὴ λέων ξιφῆρης. Ἀχιλλᾶν δὲ καὶ Ποθεινὸν ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχῃ λειφθεὶς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἠφανίσθη. "This was the end of Pompey, and not long afterwards Caesar arrived in Egypt, and found it filled with this great deed of abomination. From the man who brought him Pompey's head he turned away with loathing, as from an assassin; and on receiving Pompey's seal-ring, he burst into tears; the device was a lion holding a sword in his paws. He put to death Achilles and Potheinus. The king himself was defeated in battle along the river and disappeared". From the reaction of Caesar, who "burst into tears" at the sight of Pompey's head, we can recognize the special consideration conferred to a Roman citizen

this mentality is found in Diodorus Siculus, who witnessed that, after Pidna, Aemilius Paulus advised and admonished the Senate not to inflict an exaggerated punishment on King Perseus, warning of Nemesis' retaliation on those who abuse their power: τὴν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι<sup>409</sup>. The chthonian nature of Nemesis<sup>410</sup> would further confirm Caesar's intentions to honour and "protect" his opponent's name rather than marking him as *hybristes*. We can say that Caesar restored the justice towards a Roman citizen, concurrently discouraging any backlashes from Pompey's followers<sup>411</sup>. Moreover, he certainly wanted to "clean" his personal image from the shame of having killed Roman people. Augustus replied to the same need by creating the legend of the vow to Mars Ultor<sup>412</sup>. However, Augustus developed the idea of revenge, conferring upon the field of Philippi a sense of justice and personal retaliation, combining it with the concept of the State's welfare.

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(even when a personal opponent), rather than a sign of hypocrisy, as Dio commented (42, 7, 8, 2). Indeed it is Dio himself who said that Caesar recognized his opponent Pompey as Roman citizen and son-in-law (42, 7, 8): πολίτην καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων. Cfr. Vojvoda, who supports the idea that Caesar avenged the unjust murder of his rival. See Vojvoda 2008, p. 396. In addition, one may see a connection between Caesar's severity with the killers of Pompey and the story of the execution of king Darius' murderers by Alexander. Naturally, being the work of the Pseudo-Callisthenes dated in the Late Empire (about 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.) it cannot be considered safe evidence, but it could always reflect a true episode – or a part of it – of Alexander's conquest of the East (PS.-CALLISTH., 2, 21, 22-26). On the other hand, Caesar himself was fascinated by the figure of Alexander, who probably inspired him in planning a military campaign against the Parthians.

<sup>409</sup> *Bibl.*, 31, 9, 4: παρήνεσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, τὴν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι. Cfr. *RE XVI*, 1935, s.v. "Nemesis", col. 2367 (H. Herter). The term *nemesis* can be interpreted as a concept or as the goddess' name. The latter option seems more probable, since Diodorus obviously spoke about a divine revenge, opposed to the ἀνθρώπινον φόβον. Cfr. *DIOD. SIC.*, 11, 21-32.

<sup>410</sup> See below, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>411</sup> Already Vojvoda considered Caesar as "a just avenger of the death of his opponent, but also a great military leader, Pompey". See Vojvoda 2008, p. 396. The temple of Nemesis could have had a funerary function, as the main character of the pre-Roman Nemesis of Alexandria seems to be chthonian. For the pre-Roman cult of Nemesis in Egypt see a 100 B.C. inscription from Memphis and a Late Ptolemaic papyrus of unknown provenience. See Hornum 1993, pp. 13-14 with *bibl.* and pp. 182 n. 51; p. 186, n. 60 with further bibliography.

<sup>412</sup> *OV.*, *Fast.*, 5, 571-580.

The revenge of Caesar had more a “personal” character. The punishment “blessed” by Nemesis was a retribution after *bella interna*, and not an instrument to restore the *libertas* of Rome, threatened by an external enemy. At that time, Caesar still had not elaborated the importance of associating private and public retribution in the propaganda, namely the *ultio* and the *vindicta*. Caesar did not even understand the importance of affirming the power of Rome in the propaganda rather than in real and dangerous campaigns<sup>413</sup>. This Alexandrian temple is the only sign of Caesar’s veneration of Nemesis: A worship that Augustus probably kept in mind when trying to concrete his bond with the *gens* Iulia, creating Mars Ultor’ cult. The Nemeseum, indeed, was probably a model for the *princeps*, who built his propaganda upon the correspondence between his personal revenge and the State’s retaliation.

The shadow of the civil war distinguishes another piece of evidence for Nemesis, dated to the Late Republic. It is a silver coin (fig. 10)<sup>414</sup> issued by C. Vibius Varus, a magistrate in the years after Philippi<sup>415</sup>. The figure on the reverse of the coin has been correctly interpreted as a winged Nemesis who raises her dress to spit on her chest; she wears a long chiton looking to the right in a quite static pose. On the obverse of the coin we recognize the bust of Minerva (or Rome), with helmet and shield. This piece of evidence has been dated between 42 and 38 B.C.<sup>416</sup>, soon after the battle of Philippi, with the probable aim or effect of supporting Octavian’s cause. It is possible that Octavian himself asked to display the goddess on the issue

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<sup>413</sup> The Ides of March blocked Caesar’s project to invade the Parthian kingdom with the troops, as Crassus, Saxa and Marc Antony did before him. See *R. G.*, 1, 1; PLUT., *Caes.*, 58, 6. Cfr. Syme 1999, pp. 174 ff.

<sup>414</sup> *RRC I*, p. 507, 35; *RRC II*, pl. 40, 494/35; *BMC Rep. I*, 4299. See also Babelon 1885, vol. 2, p. 547; *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 231 (F. Rausa).

<sup>415</sup> Broughton enlisted him in the section of the *triumviri monetales*. Riccio mentioned other coins issued by Varus of the time soon after the murder of Caesar, with Octavian and Antonius appearing as bearded. See Riccio 1836, p. 176.

<sup>416</sup> For a comparison of dates, see Broughton 1952, vol. 2, p. 455. Babelon and Rausa date the coins to 43-42 B.C. while Sydenham opted for the year 39 and Grueber for the 38 B.C. Rostovtzeff seems to date the coin at 73 B.C. but we can easily suppose a writing mistake in the numbers’ order. See Rostovtzeff 1926, p. 25, n. 4; Babelon 1885, *l. c.*; *LIMC VI, I, l. c.* (F. Rausa); Grueber 1910, p. 590, n. 4299; Sydenham 1952, pp. 66-67.

of Vibius Varus, in order to stress his relationship with the avenged adoptive father and the Alexandrian *temenos*; if the result of Octavian's initiative, this coin would witness that the future *princeps* had not yet fully developed the iconographic propaganda of his reign, which was based on the *pax Romana*, and all the positive virtues his government assured to Rome, rather than the idea of revenge.

In conclusion, it seems that Nemesis was a well-known deity among the Romans and probably useful for justifying a victory in a civil war, and an ideological connection between her and Mars Ultor, as between Caesar and his adoptive son, is a compelling consideration.



Fig. 10. From *RRC II*, pl. 40, n. 494/35

### 3. 3 Nemesis-Pax on imperial coins.

Turning to the period after Augustus' *principate*, we have a series of *aurei* and *denarii*<sup>417</sup> issued in Rome and Lugdunum from Claudius' to Trajan's reign (with a single isolated example of the emperor Valerianus) representing the goddess Nemesis. Unlike Vibius Varus' coin, these imperial series present a Nemesis with attributes of Mercury (the *caduceus*) and Pax (a palm branch). Both these symbols were related to the concept of peace that Nemesis was supposed to bring and assure to the Empire, as long as law and order were respected. At this point one may recall the didactic purpose of the *spuere in sinum* demonstrated by Nemesis, who was teaching people not to overrate themselves, but to follow moderation: Both

<sup>417</sup> Bibliography in the following pages.

concepts that could have been easily shifted to the political sphere, where the subjugated populations were called, and warned, by Rome not to rebel against the Empire's order. It can be argued that the Nemesis-Pax on these imperial coins was perfectly expressing the fundamental meaning of the *pax Romana*: The welfare of a peaceful State was guaranteed by the menace of a military retaliation. As already pointed out in previous studies<sup>418</sup>, these coins occasionally follow a period of political instability, such as the end of a civil turmoil or the beginning of a new reign. A brief and updated summary of this numismatic evidence is thus presented here.

The iconography of these series is generally simple, with a winged Nemesis in profile, spitting on her chest and holding the aforementioned attributes of *caduceus* or branch. Occasionally a snake (the *uraeus*?)<sup>419</sup> is represented next to the goddess and preceding her. Although its meaning in this context is still not fully comprehended, it is this author's belief that the snake should have a connection with Pax. Indeed, some coins<sup>420</sup> from Alexandria from the reign of Trajan, represent an upright *uraeus*, holding a *caduceus* with its twirled tail.

The first coins of this type were issued in Rome, between 41 and 51-52 A.D.<sup>421</sup> The legend *PACI AVGVSTAE/-I*, variously abbreviated, was often inscribed at the borders of the coin. Two *denarii* dated to 68 A.D. from Galliae present a laurel crown with the legend *SPQR* on the reverse, and the same Nemesis-Pax of Claudius on the obverse. Again, six *aurei* were minted at Lugdunum in 71-72 A.D., when Vespasian acquired the imperial power, after fighting against his opponents in a difficult civil conflict. A winged and victorious Nemesis with attributes of peace symbolizing the restoration of the power, was certainly the perfect symbol to promote on a similar occasion<sup>422</sup>. A *denarius* of Vespasian<sup>423</sup> (73 A.D.) and another

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<sup>418</sup> See Rostovtzeff 1926, pp. 26-27.

<sup>419</sup> On the snake as Nemesis' attribute, see above, pp. 70 ff. Vojvoda mentioned Salus and Minerva Victrix in relation to the snake of this kind of iconography of Nemesis. See Vojvoda 2008, p. 395.

<sup>420</sup> See Rabe – Noeske 2016, pl. 57, 3690, pl. 61, 3738-3755, pl. 72, 3898, pl. 90, 4146-4148.

<sup>421</sup> *BMC Emp. I*, 6, 7, 26, 27, 39-41, 51-53, 58, 59, 61, 68, 69, 108.

<sup>422</sup> See Rostovtzeff 1926, *l. c.*

<sup>423</sup> *BMC Emp. II*, 141, 150. See *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 236 (F. Rausa).



dedicated to the Diva Domitilla<sup>424</sup> follow in the list; they were both issued by Roman imperial mints and present the same iconographic scheme of the Claudian Nemesis-Pax, with the goddess spitting on her chest, and holding a *caduceus* pointed at the snake who precedes her.

The meaning of all these coins is confirmed by their legends: The goddess who punishes acts of *superbia* is the guarantor of the imperial peace. In fact, the peace-bringing and threatening<sup>425</sup> aspects of Nemesis were different, but complementary features of the goddess' profile in the imperial propaganda: Threatening the punishment of the rebellious populations, she maintained peace<sup>426</sup>.

Two *aurei* of Trajan<sup>427</sup> have been the subjects of discussion for their belonging to the so-called “revival” coinage: A specific coinage with an antiquarian character, inspired by older mints and celebrating the past emperors. On the reverse of the coin, we recognize the bust of Caesar with the legend *DIVVS IVLIVS* and a Nemesis-Pax (of the same type as Claudius) on the reverse, pointing a winged *caduceus* to the ground. Scholars are divided about the historical context of these coins. Rostovtzeff<sup>428</sup> connected them to a turbulent period in Alexandria (109-110 A.D.), that ended with the destruction of the Nemeseum (115 A.D.) by the Jewish people of the city, in constant conflict against the local Greek population<sup>429</sup>. On the

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<sup>424</sup> On the *reverse*: *PACI AVGVSTAE*; *BMC Emp. II*, 72; see *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 237 (F. Rausa).

<sup>425</sup> Nemesis is said *Ultrix Rhamnusia* in *OV., Trist.*, 5, 8.

<sup>426</sup> Some coins of Nero's reign from Smyrna with a Nemesis-Pax of the Claudian iconography (*Cat.*, 2. 48), and some bronze issues from Irenopolis (Cilicia) from Domitian to Alexander Severus (*Cat.*, 5. 5) testify to the success and the influence of the Claudian coinage's iconography. See *SNG Levante*, 1602, 1604, 1615, 1619.

<sup>427</sup> *BMC Emp. III*, 697, 698; see *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 238 (F. Rausa). See Vojvoda 2008, pp. 393-397.

<sup>428</sup> Rosotvtzeff accepts Eckel's ideas on this subject. See Eckel 1972, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>429</sup> See the aforementioned (p. 109) passage of Appian's *B.C.* (2, 13, 90) on the Alexandrian Nemeseum, here complete: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο: ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρέφθη. “Caesar could not bear to look at

other hand, Mattingly<sup>430</sup> dated these issues at 107 A.D., during Trajan's military repressions in Egypt; in the same year, indeed, the emperor decided to melt the worn-out circulating coins to introduce new pieces into the market<sup>431</sup>.

Apart from the contemporary events that could have induced Trajan to associate Caesar to Nemesis-Pax on these specific issues, one may consider other purposes of this mint and the aims of the emperor<sup>432</sup>. Certainly, Trajan knew that this "revival" coinage would have evoked the foundation of the Nemeseum in Alexandria and the end of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey<sup>433</sup>. Why, then, evoke those events? It is this author's view that no emperor identified himself with Caesar more than Trajan, whose military nature and formation resembled the character of the Roman dictator. We would not be surprised if Trajan aspired to connect himself with Caesar, but the presence of Nemesis could attest the aim to focus on Alexandria, a constant theatre of turmoil. As Vojdova has pointed out<sup>434</sup>, these coins were part of a larger coinage program, where the figure of Caesar was glorified and honoured. Caesar, indeed, was represented in another "restored" mint together with Venus Victrix and the legend *C IVLIVS CAES IMP COS III*. From this specific issue, it is evident that Trajan highly appreciated Caesar, considering him an emperor *ante litteram* and military model.<sup>435</sup> Indeed with the revival

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the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war". Vojdova supports the combination of the mint of this restored coinage and the probable reconstruction of the destroyed temple. See Vojdova 2008, pp. 393-399.

<sup>430</sup> *BMC Emp. III*, pp. xci-xcii.

<sup>431</sup> CASS. DIO, 48, 15; Mattingly considers a possible reason for renewing the circulating coinage the celebration of the tenth year of Trajan's reign. See Mattingly 1926, p. 266.

<sup>432</sup> Generally, Trajan aimed to reinforce the image of his reign, carefully choosing different subjects, which reflected virtues and values he wanted to promote. As Mattingly noticed, the *aureus* was the coin symbol of the Empire. See Mattingly 1926, *l. c.*

<sup>433</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>434</sup> See Vojdova 2008, pp. 394-395.

<sup>435</sup> Trajan's propaganda was focused on the concept of victory, as we can deduce from his coinage and his use of Nemesis' image. On this issue, see Pastor 2011, pp. 91 ff.

coinage, the emperor stressed the role of Caesar as divine ancestor of the *gens* Iulia and all the Romans<sup>436</sup>.

Another matter is the identification of the Nemesis-Pax of Trajan's restored coins with the ancient cult statue of the Alexandrian Nemeseum. Rostovtzeff<sup>437</sup> accepted this theory, but we do not have any evident and certain attestation to support it. On the other hand, it seems quite unlikely that coins with Nemesis-Pax were issued as early as the time of Caesar, and with references to the cult statue<sup>438</sup>. One may consider that not all the restored coins followed a real prototype truly issued in the past; some of them could have been completely original prototypes. To use Mattingly's words "the only element of pure restoration is the portrait: Apart from this, the series is used to present the Empire in a particular light"<sup>439</sup>. Moreover, such identification would imply that Claudius first looked at the cult statue of Alexandria as a model for his coinage, later reproduced by his successors. We should not forget that the *temenos* of Alexandria probably had an essential chthonian nature, with the purpose of protecting the soul and the tomb of Pompey. In this context, a Nemesis-Pax would be quite unusual<sup>440</sup>. On the other hand, we cannot ascribe the notion of *ultio* as balancer of the political decisions of Rome in the Late Republic; Caesar, indeed, had never considered threatening retaliation in order to avoid moving a military campaign, and he never included diplomatic agreements in the group of the acceptable victories. Caesar's Nemesis was a goddess related to the personal

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<sup>436</sup> This is confirmed by another coin of the same antiquarian-taste series, representing Venus Genetrix on the obverse and Aeneas carrying Anchises and holding the Palladium on the reverse. See Mattingly 1926, p. 250; *BMC Emp. III*, 31 (inspired by 38 B.C. Caesar's coin). Cfr. Vojdova 2008, p. 394. Trajan's attempts to connect his figure with the *gens* Iulia certainly reflects his personal admiration for Caesar, with whom he shared military talent.

<sup>437</sup> Rostovtzeff follows this idea firstly expressed by Eckel. See Rostovtzeff 1926, pp. 24-29.

<sup>438</sup> More recently Wittenberg 2014, p. 16; see Hornum 1993, *l. c.*

<sup>439</sup> See Mattingly 1926, p. 276.

<sup>440</sup> Rostovtzeff considers the letter sent by Claudius to the Alexandrians proof of the emperor's interest in the local events. Precisely, the letter regarded the dedication of a statue of *Pax Augusta Claudiana* by the Greek population to the emperor, who tried to maintain a balance between the Greek and Jewish people. Although this letter shows a real interest of the emperor in the Alexandrian matters, we cannot be sure that he took inspiration for his coinage from the Nemeseum's statue. See Rostovtzeff 1926, pp. 26-27.

sphere, not yet deeply interconnected with the imperial politics and the application of the *ultio* to the welfare of the State, as well as to *pax Augusta*. We could say that, during the Late Republic, the cult of Nemesis was in a period of transition from the Greek to the Roman *pantheon* and interpretation, but still maintaining her Greek characteristics. In fact, Caesar was far from the political vision of an Empire which reached its maximum and sustainable expansion<sup>441</sup>. This is confirmed by the aforementioned *aureus* of Vibius Varus, showing that even Octavian wanted to appear on the right side of the conflict in 42 B.C., but without implying any idea of *pax*. Similarly, Caesar's Nemesis did not preside over the agreements of Rome, threatening retribution and protecting the internal peace. One could say that Nemesis could not be called *Ultrix* without being previously associated to *Pax*. In conclusion, it seems plausible that Trajan wanted to honour Caesar, merging the end of the civil wars (and the foundation of the Nemeseum at Alexandria) with the later iconography of Nemesis-Pax, typical of the Empire<sup>442</sup>.

Following the list of the imperial issues featuring Nemesis-Pax, we have four bronze *sestertii* from Rome, dated between 119 and 138<sup>443</sup> A. D: A winged and diademed Nemesis performing the *spuere in sinum* and holding a branch in her left hand (but without the snake) appears on the reverse. A 135 A.D. *denarius* (chronology by Mattingly) deserves special attention: Nemesis-Pax appears in a rare association with Victoria. In fact, we recognize a winged Nemesis holding a branch and surrounded by the legend *VICTORIA AVG[usta]*. Considering this female figure as the Victoria who spits on her chest, Mattingly linked this coin to the repression of the Jewish rebellion in Egypt<sup>444</sup>. Finally, a single *sestertius* of Lucius Verus follows the Nemesis series of the emperors, even if the goddess represented on the obverse does not hold any attribute<sup>445</sup>.

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<sup>441</sup> Indeed, he was ready to move a military campaign against Parthia in 44 B.C., perhaps convinced by the relationships Pompey had with that kingdom. See CASS. DIO, 51, 1-2; cfr. Weinstock 1971, p. 131.

<sup>442</sup> See Weiser 1999, p. 238.

<sup>443</sup> See Rausa 1992, p. 764, n. 239; *BMC Emp. III*, 1548-1551, 1615-1616.

<sup>444</sup> See Mattingly 1925, p. 221; cfr. Rostovtzeff 1926, p. 27.

<sup>445</sup> *RIC III*, 1494. Mint of Rome. The legend on the *recto* – *L(ucius) VERVS AVG(ustus) ARM(eniacus) PARTH(icus) MAX(imus)* clearly connects this coin to Lucius Verus' victory on the

What emerges from this survey is how the meaning of Nemesis evolved from the time of Caesar to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. The Nemesis of Alexandria supervised the just and balanced revenge, while Augustus inserted her in his close entourage (Livia), affirming an implicit relationship with Mars Ultor and concurrently the propaganda of the *pax Augusta*. From Claudius to Lucius Verus, Nemesis is considered an important condition for the imperial peace. She is not missing in coinage at the end of unstable periods, such as the beginning of Vespasian's reign or the years of internal conflict in Alexandria during Trajan's reign. Trajan maintains Caesar's conception of Nemesis, even if the association with Pax seems to be important to him as well.

### 3. 4 *Ultrix Augusta*.

The epithet *ultrix* associated with Nemesis in the Roman environment attests to the close relationship between the goddess and the Roman idea of *ultio*. This is the case of a statue of Nemesis donated to the *municipium* of Stobi in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>446</sup>, where a Nemeseum was built in the middle of the theater's *postscaenium*: *DEO CAES(ari) AVG(usto) | P(atri) P(atriciae) ET MVNIC(ipio) | STOB(ensium) VLTRICEM | AVGVSTAM | SEX(tus) CORNELIVS | AVDOLEO | ET C(aius) FVLCINIVS | EPICTETVS | ET L(ucius) METTIVS | EPICTETVS | AVGVSTALES | F(ecerunt)*. The chronology and the presence of an emperor-*deus* are central to scholarly discussions. While Saria<sup>447</sup> opted for Hadrian's reign and Volkmann<sup>448</sup>

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Parthians. It is the unique case of Nemesis coinage reminding the military campaign of 168-169 A.D., but we cannot consider this as a special connection between Lucius Verus' successes in the East and Nemesis, since those victories are associated with many other gods and virtues.

<sup>446</sup> Cat., 10. 14. See Hornum 1993, p. 244; Papazoglou 1990, pp. 213-221; Saria 1938, p. 106. Many other dedications and fragments of Nemesis statues have been detected in Stobi, where the Roman presence was dominant. Stobi was one of the few Greek cities where the archaeologists could easily trace a Nemeseum located in the theatre. On this issue, see Saria 1940; Saria 1938 coll. 82 ff.; below, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>447</sup> See Saria 1933. Cfr. Papazoglou 1990.

<sup>448</sup> See Volkmann 1934, pp. 54-61.

for that of Trajan, Papazoglou dated the inscription at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., during the reign of Commodus. Papazoglou compares this piece of evidence with analogous dedications (on marble and on coinage) to the divinized emperor already in the time of Domitian, and considers this to be the period of dedication of the Nemeseum in the theatre<sup>449</sup>. This, however, is not certain.

The dedicators are the three *Augustales* of the city, freedmen with local origins who acquired Roman citizenship<sup>450</sup>. By their nature, the *Augustales* were deeply entrenched in the imperial cult. This detail, and the epithet *Augusta* added to *ultrix* confirm the close relationship between the Roman Nemesis and the cult of the State. One may wonder if this Nemesis *Ultrix Augusta* of Stobi is to be considered only in the context of the games of the theatre, sponsored by *Augustales*, imperial priests and Roman authorities, or also as part of the propaganda supporting the eastern military campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. Indeed, we notice a strong presence of Nemesis in the theatres of northern Greece and Paeonia (Stoboi, Philippi, Thasos) with epithets like *Ultrix*, *Augusta* and *aniketos* that could easily be connected to the context of war and imperial propaganda<sup>451</sup>.

In this context the meaning of *ultrix* should correspond to that of “avenger”, as a parallel to Mars Ultor. In our view, the reference *Ultrix Augusta* should be a common way to indicate Nemesis, just as *ultrix* was a sort of equivalent of her proper name, given by the peculiar profile the goddess acquired in the Roman *pantheon*. This is confirmed by a bilingual inscription on a marble plaque from Rome, which attests the particular meaning of the epithet *ultrix*: μεγάλη Νέμεση. Ἡ βασιλεύουσα τοῦ κόσμου) | *MAGNA. VLTRIX. REGINA. VRBIS | EX VISV | HERMES. AVG(usti) LIB(ertus) VILICVS | EIVSDEM. LOCI. ARAM. ET | CRATERAM CVM BASI. BICAPITE | D(onum) D(edit)*<sup>452</sup>. While the Greek portion briefly describes the goddess as μεγάλη and βασιλεύουσα of the world (equivalent of

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<sup>449</sup> See Papazoglou 1990. The Nemeseum of the theatre has been variously dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., when the stage building was reconstructed after being damaged by an earthquake.

<sup>450</sup> As Papazoglou pointed out, the *cognomen* Audoleus seems to be Paeonian, while Epictetus belongs to purely Greek onomastics. See Papazoglou 1990, p. 213.

<sup>451</sup> On these cities, see below pp. 203 ff; 214 ff.; 189 ff.

<sup>452</sup> *CIL VI*, 532. See Hornum 1993, p. 236.

the Latin *magna* and *regina urbis*) the Latin also adds the epithet *ultrix* that, in Greek, could be translated only with the name itself of Nemesis. This altar was dedicated by a Greek freedman of the emperor called Hermes, in the same place where he was living. Naturally, the principal language used is Latin, but Hermes wanted to give a personal touch to the dedication inserting a shorter version written in Greek. This piece of evidence, dated to the imperial period, is an important testimony of the equation between Nemesis, Mars and their shared epithet. The addition of *Ultrix* in the Latin part confirms that Nemesis was the female version of Mars Ultor in Rome and among the people who were close to the central power, as a *libertus* of the emperor was.

3<sup>rd</sup> c. coinage<sup>453</sup> issued by the city of Cremna (Pisidia) witnesses the specific shades the epithet *ultrix* attached to Nemesis could have involved. On a series from Geta to Aurelianus we notice the representation of Nemesis, holding a *cubitum* and with a griffin at her feet, and the legend *VLTRI(x) COL(oniae) CR(remnensis)* on the reverse (fig. 11), which seems to connect Nemesis with the Tyche of the city. Rarely Nemesis was regarded as the protective goddess of the community<sup>454</sup>: This is clearly attested by a mint of the reign of Volusianus, with a Nemesis who spits on her chest and holds a *cubitum*, accompanied by the legend *COL(oniae) IVL(iae) AVG(ustae) F(ortuna) CRE(mnensis)*<sup>455</sup>. The late chronology of these coins is not surprising: The assimilation of Nemesis with Tyche seems to be a phenomenon of the Late Empire, not attested before the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Cat., 13. 6.

<sup>454</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 41-42.

<sup>455</sup> Cat., 13, 6. Aulock, *Instanb. Mitt.* 22, 1515; *RPC IX*, 976.

<sup>456</sup> See the statue of Nemesis-Tyche from the theatre of Ephesus, possibly protector of the city, below, pp. 182 ff.



Fig. 11 Coin of Geta, *SNG Aulock*, 5097.



Fig. 12 Coin of Aurelianus, *SNG Aulock*, 5116.

Consequently, an issue of the reign of Aurelianus<sup>457</sup> shows a female figure, holding a sceptre on one hand, and the bust of the emperor on the other hand. A griffin appears at her feet, while the legend at the borders of the coin defines her as Fortuna (fig. 12). From the aforementioned mints with legend *Ultrix Coloniae Cremnensis* and the assimilation with Tyche/Fortuna, we can assume that Nemesis had the role of representing and preserving the destiny of the community. Therefore, her cult was well rooted in the city, as much as the cults of the main gods of the Roman *pantheon*<sup>458</sup>.

One may wonder what the term *ultrix* meant in this context. Did Cremna need a divine “avenger”? We do not have records of pillages or attacks on the city in the years of these issues. In fact, the pillage carried out by a certain Lydius<sup>459</sup> is dated some years later, under the reign of M. Aurelius Probus (276-282 A.D.). Indeed, we should definitely interpret the expression *ultrix coloniae Cremnensis* with the meaning of “defender” rather than “avenger” of the city. The term *ultor* acquired various shades of meaning in the Latin language and in the Greek translation. A case in point is the translation of the *Res Gestae*, where the god *Ultror* became Ἄρης

<sup>457</sup> Cat., 13. 6. *SNG Aulock*, 5116. Obverse: *IMP CSL DOM AVRELIANO*; reverse: *FORTVNA COL CREMN*.

<sup>458</sup> Nemesis was well known and worshipped in Cremna, as attested by a dedication to her of the colony of Cremna found in the baths of the city, traditionally considered a library (see Cat., 13. 4). Hornum mentions this coinage as an evidence of Nemesis “goddess of the city”, like a Tyche, but without deepen the meaning of being the “avenger”, the “punisher” of a city. See Hornum 1993, p. 41.

<sup>459</sup> ZOSIMOS, *Historia Nova*, 1, 69.



ὁ Ἀμύντωρ (“the defender”)<sup>460</sup>. Nevertheless, the expression Mars the Defender reflected the real political and civic functions of the Roman temple of Mars as centre of peaceful agreements and the previously quoted Ciceronian statement on the right kinds of war, motivated to avenge Rome, or to contain or reply to the enemy’s attack.

The epithet *conservatrix* (“preserver”, “guardian”) applied to Nemesis can confirm this role of defender. The goddess is called *conservatrix Augusta* in a private dedication from Chersonesos on the Bosphoros: *D(eae) NEMES[ic]O|NSERVATRICI | T(itus) FL(avius) CELSI|NVS [bf] CO(n)S(ularis) | LEG(ionis) XI CL(audiae) [p]|RO SALVTE | SVA ET FIL|IORVM <i> | VOT(um) POS(uit)*<sup>461</sup>. Although this piece of evidence was discovered in the theatre of the city in a 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. layer, it is thought to date somewhat earlier, on the basis of the presence of a *beneficiarius consularis* on the administrative board of the city<sup>462</sup>: Titus Flavius Celsinus, dedicator of the inscription, invoked Nemesis for his sake and the sake of his family. For this reason, this inscription has a clear “private”

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<sup>460</sup> R. G., 29: *ea autem signa in penetrali, quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui* = ταύτας δὲ τὰς σημείας ἐν τῷ Ἄρεως τοῦ Ἀμύντορος ναοῦ ἀδύτῳι ἀπεθέμην. The right translation of the Roman god was Ἄρης ὁ Τιμορός, as confirmed by Dio Cassius more than a century later (CASS. DIO, 54, 8, 3: ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἄρεως Τιμοροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ). Concurrently, we should not doubt the knowledge of the Latin language by the Greek translator chosen by Augustus to translate his achievements.

<sup>461</sup> Cat., 15. 7. See Hornum 1993, p. 73.

<sup>462</sup> The presence of a *beneficiarius consularis* at Chersonesos belongs to a wider phenomenon of provincial administrators coming from the military hierarchy. The creation of an administrative *corpus* made by military officers started with Augustus but spread mostly under the Severans: MacMullen does not record any *beneficiarius consularis* before Commodus, while 4 or 5 from Commodus to Septimius and 31 or 32 from Septimius to Maximinus (See MacMullen 1963, p. 68). The number of the soldier enrolled as *beneficarii consulares* increased during the reign of Septimius Severus and this enlargement was due to an attempt to conserve resources previously destined for freedman and slaves (MacMullen 1963, p. 67 with further bibl.). It is reasonable to think that this presence of military-members/administrators was coupled with the consolidation of a centralized and militarized Empire. Unfortunately, we do not know how long the militarization of the provincial administration continued after the Severans. The role of the *beneficiarius consularis* was perhaps the most popular and diffused in cities of Pannonia, where the military presence was of primary importance.

character: Nemesis was named so in her capacity as a “preserver”<sup>463</sup> goddess, for the good health of the worshipper.

Another inscription from Moesia Superior sheds light on the association of the epithet *conservatrix*. It is a private dedication to Nemesis *Regina Conservatrix* found in Novi Pazar (uncertain chronology): *NEMES[i] | REGINA[e] | [Co]NSERVA[tr(ici)] | M(arcus) AVREL(ius) SEREN(us) | B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) LEG(ionis) VI[II] | EX VOTO POSVIT | SI[3]IIIAROCII | CO(n)S(ulibus) | [3]MANTIVNI*<sup>464</sup>. Again, the dedicator is a *beneficiarius consularis*, a Roman citizen with a career in the *Legio VII*; indeed, like Chersonesos, the cities of the Balkan area were located in a strategic position for the passage of troops and the establishment of Roman garrisons.

The epithet *conservatrix* is widely attested in the western areas of the Empire, and mostly in Dalmatia, Moesia, Britannia and Hispania, but also in Rome and in many Italian cities. This appellation seems to belong first to the goddess Fortuna<sup>465</sup>, again intended as protector/preserver of a community (as the typical turreted Fortuna of the city). However, we find it also attributed to Diana<sup>466</sup>, Minerva<sup>467</sup>, and other minor goddesses, such as Caelestis<sup>468</sup>, Salus<sup>469</sup> and Ceres<sup>470</sup> who were considered to be *conservatrices*. The character of the dedications addressed to a deity called “preserver” is generally private (for one’s own sake; to fulfil a vow), or related to the sake of the emperors and the Roman State. Therefore, the above-mentioned goddesses had a close connection with the Roman authorities, the army and the Roman *munera*; consequently, the majority of the evidence has been discovered in

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<sup>463</sup> This aspect of the of the worship of Nemesis for the preservation of the welfare of the dedicant could be related to the assimilation of the goddess with Tyche in the same period.

<sup>464</sup> CBI, 569.

<sup>465</sup> *CIL VII*, 954 (Manchester/Mamucium); 211 (Netherby/Castra Exploratorum);

<sup>466</sup> *CIL III*, 3074 (Issa/Vis); *CIL V*, 3223 (Verona); *CIL V*, 3632 (Aquincum/Piliscsaba).

<sup>467</sup> *CIL XIV*, 44 (Portus/Fiumicino); *An. Ép.*, 1976, 287 (Leon).

<sup>468</sup> *CIL VIII*, 20743 (Auzia/Sour el Ghozlame). This inscription, confirms the special ownership of the epithet *conservatrix* by Fortuna: Indeed, it is dedicated to Caelestis, who, apart from being called *Augusta* and *conservatrix*, she is also *redux*, as Fortuna was traditionally named.

<sup>469</sup> *An. Ép.*, 1988, 501 (Folginiae/Foligno).

<sup>470</sup> *IMS II*, 4.

communities with an amphitheatre or a stable *legio*. The dedicators are mostly men of the army, who likely considered a goddess *conservatrix* – either Fortuna or Minerva, or Diana – as a preserver and defender of the Roman order and boundaries<sup>471</sup>. The epithet *conservator* was also used as an imperial title and in one case related to Mars<sup>472</sup>; various emperors became symbols and guarantors of the “stewardship of the commonwealth”, *custodia* of the *res publica*, *libertas*, *dignitas*, *pax eterna*, *Patria*, or of a certain city<sup>473</sup>. The conferral of the role of guardian of the State to Nemesis seems apt, since the goddess was closely related to the central power, as a personification of the Roman order.

The addition of the epithet *Augusta* or *Regina* to *conservatrix* attests to a deep connection between Nemesis and the Roman Empire. The protection requested by Flavius Celsinus to the goddess has a completely private character (*pro salute sua et filiorum*) but his military career confirms the importance of the preserver goddess in the martial context<sup>474</sup>. Indeed, the army was stably present in the city, which was up against the Bosphoran kingdom on one side and the Scythian populations on the other. The key position of the city determined the establishment of a Roman garrison, with soldiers of the *Legio V Macedonica*, and later of the *Legio XI Claudia* and *I Italica*. In the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., the community became the headquarters of a military tribune, commander of all Roman troops in Tauris, with about a thousand and five hundred soldiers and officers<sup>475</sup>. The permanent

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<sup>471</sup> The aforementioned dedication to Minerva *An. Ép.*, 1976, 287 (*Minerva Conservatrix Patriae*) from the settlement of the *Legio VII Gemina* clearly confirms this interpretation. See Ortiz de Zarate - Ávila 1999, p. 224. An inscription from Aquincum (*CIL III*, 3507; 171-230 A.D.) presents the goddess Iuno Bona Dea as associated with Fortuna Conservatrix, as a preserver goddess; see Brower 1988, pp. 234-235. When this epithet is applied to common women (mostly on epitaphs) it is to be interpreted as “protector, guardian of the family”, e.g.: *An. Ép.*, 1993, 1276; *CIL X*, 2053, 2844; *CIL XIII*, 1897.

<sup>472</sup> *CIL VIII*, 14454 del 198-209. See Mastino 1981, p. 62.

<sup>473</sup> See Noreña 2011, p. 246. On the particular use of the epithet *conservator* under the Severans, with emphasis during Elagabalus’ reign, see Rowan 2012, pp. 140 ff., 189, 204 ff. fig. 76. Commodus already associated this epithet to Sarapis, see *RIC III*, 261, 601, 605.

<sup>474</sup> Another *beneficiarius consularis* dedicated to Nemesis in Alsó-Kosáli (Romania), defining the goddess as *Regina*. See *CIL III*, 7633.

<sup>475</sup> See Mack-Carter 2003.

garrison conferred a high level of Romanization to the city, reflected in the local oligarchic government<sup>476</sup>. Since Fortuna is the goddess usually called *conservatrix*, it is possible that Nemesis was associated with her in these two pieces of evidence from Chersonesos and Novi Pazar, even if not explicitly expressed. Indeed, Nemesis was sometimes conflated with Fortuna with the function of protecting the city<sup>477</sup> as is the case of the aforementioned coinage of Cremna<sup>478</sup> (above, fig. 3) and two inscriptions from the amphitheatre of Carnuntum, attesting the worship of a Nemesis Fortuna Karnuntina<sup>479</sup>.

Hornum explained the epithet *conservatrix* with a possible assimilation of Nemesis to Juno (again attested at Carnuntum)<sup>480</sup>, since *conservator* was a common epithet of Jupiter<sup>481</sup> (preserver of the Roman State and the imperial *domus*, with which the State was identified), but there is no further evidence in support of his idea.

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<sup>476</sup> Chersonesos received a special statement called *eleutherium* by Caesar, later renewed by Augustus and again in 130 A.D., while facing attacks from barbaric populations. For a brief overview of the history of the city in its political key-role between Romans, Scythians and Kingdom of Bosphorus, see Marchenko 2004, pp. 172-190.

<sup>477</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 41-42.

<sup>478</sup> Cat., 13. 6.

<sup>479</sup> *An. Ép.* 1929, 226, Hornum 1993, p. 165: *FORT(unae) KARN(untinae) | C(aius) IVL(ius) FLO|RENT(inus) AN|TIST(es) DEAE | V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus)*; Hornum 1993, p. 165: *N(emesi). F(ortunae). K(arnuntinae). | MVN(icipes) K(arnuntini) L(ibentes) M(erito)*. See Hornum 1993, p. 42.

<sup>480</sup> Limestone statue base (1,19 m. h.) with a votive inscription from some members of the Roman army. *CIL III*, 11121: *IVNONI | NEMESI | EPPIVS. MARTINVS | ET. MEM. ESPER. TVB | LEG. XIII. G. ET. IVL. | RODO. ET.* See Hornum 1993, pp. 17, 154, n. 3; cfr. Betz 1935, p. 303.

<sup>481</sup> See, among the numerous attestations, Dessau 3, 6462 (Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator of the *domus Augusta*); *CIL X*, 403 (Jupiter Conservator and Mars Ultor); *An. Ép.* 1996, 772 (Jupiter Opt. Max. Conservator and Iuno Minerva); *CIL XI*, 4639 (Jupp. *Custos* and *Conservator*). When the emperor was associated to Jupiter, he himself became *conservator*: see the dedication to Hadrian from Alexandria Troas/Turkmenli (*J. Alex. Troas*, 53, 21); dedication to Augustus Jupiter of a statue of Jupiter Conservator from Dougga/Thugga (*An. Ép.* 1997, 1656; Khanoussi-Maurin 2000, p. 49). Caracalla is resitutor and conservator in *CIL XIV*, 2596.

The attestations of Nemesis and Jupiter together are very few. One of them (where Jupiter is not *Conservator*) is the cameo with Jupiter-imperator and a female figure (perhaps a Nemesis-empress).

### 3. 5 Nemesis and authority: Individual worshippers and local magistrates.

The social character of Nemesis' worshippers has been analysed in numerous studies<sup>482</sup>. It has been demonstrated that a vast variety of individuals venerated the goddess, including wealthy citizens, local and Roman officials, slaves and women, all people outside the world of the arena or the military camp. Even in the ludic context, the *editores* of the spectacles appear as Nemesis' worshippers, and also the community of people attending to spectacles. Literary sources, archaeological testimonies (*e.g.* reliefs), and the epigraphic evidence attest the wide variety of Nemesis' devotees.

Apart from the social origins of the worshippers, one may observe that the cult of Nemesis served an important role in the social and political balance of the Greek communities. The interpretation of Nemesis as a symbol of the Roman State is a typical aspect of the cult's "Roman" character: The emperors first combined Nemesis with the *pax Romana*<sup>483</sup> and the Empire's identity, as a symbol of the submission of the foreign populations and *ultio* of Rome. Both were elements recalled in the amphitheatre's activities. However, various forms of devotion are attested in the provinces, where the communities were anxious to show their attachment to the Empire, or tried to create links with the Roman authorities.

Nemesis' cult, in fact, spread all over the Greek cities thanks to her close connection with the emperor and his cult, widely accepted in the eastern provinces. The goddess was mentioned in official dedications by the political bodies of the Greek communities and combined with the main local cults; many individuals invoked her with the purpose of creating a bond with the local authorities. On the other hand, also the Roman authorities in place aimed to show their personal worship of the goddess, in her quality as representative of the State.

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On this piece of evidence, see *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 133 (P. Karanastassis); Vollenweider 1964, pp. 8-9, pl. 1. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 17.

<sup>482</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 70 ff.; Futrell 1997, p. 114; Pastor 2011, pp. 84 ff. Cfr. Canto 1984.

<sup>483</sup> See above, pp. 115 ff.

A presentation of some characteristic case studies will illustrate this mutual interest of central power and provincial realities, institutions and private citizens. We have selected inscriptions that show the variety of the social backgrounds of Nemesis' worshippers, favouring the purposes and the characters of the dedications. We have included both Greek and Latin inscriptions with an official or private character. With the exception of a dedication from Scupi, all the inscriptions come from communities (*municipia*, *coloniae*, or simply Greek cities) of Greek tradition and culture, with a more or less evident Roman presence and where it is possible to see an interaction between the Greek and Roman sides. First, we will examine inscriptions where Nemesis is worshipped by people with a peculiar bond with their city, such as the δημόσιοι δούλοι (3. 5. 1). Next, public dedications from local authorities or individuals are taken into consideration (3. 5. 2). In this case, Nemesis was combined with the local gods and inserted in the institutional life of the city. The imperial cult emerges with the involvement of authorities like the *pontarch* and the *archiereus*<sup>484</sup>, and with the mention of the Roman games, as attested in Stratonicea<sup>485</sup>. Finally, we will examine few cases of private dedications to Nemesis Augusta by Roman officials (3. 5. 3), trying to separate the personal worship from the demonstration of having a link to the central power.

### **3. 5. 1 Nemesis and the people linked to the city.**

#### **1. Inscription from Balboura (Lycia), *terminus ante quem* 158-161 A.D.**

Τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπόταις Ὀνήσιμος δημόσιος | κατασκεύασεν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Νεμέσεως  
| σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν<sup>486</sup>.

Onesimos, δημόσιος δούλος of the city, financed the construction of a temple of Nemesis and offered the relevant statues. The inscription was found within the

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<sup>484</sup> *IScM III*, 75. Below, pp. 134-136.

<sup>485</sup> *I. Str.*, 1006. Below, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>486</sup> *Cat.*, 9. 3.

temple itself, located in the centre of Balboursa. This building, a little *sacellum* with four columns in the frontal façade, was erected along one of the main streets of the city, close to the *agora* and the local baths; this shrine was flanked on two sides by two *exedrae*, one financed by Onesimos himself and the other by a certain Meleager, a member of the local *élite* (fig. 13)<sup>487</sup>. The *terminus ante quem* of this inscription is given by exedra of Meleager, constructed between 158 and 161 A.D. Coulton suggested a date during the reign of Antoninus Pius, on the basis of the palaeographic style of the letters. The use of decorative asterisks in the inscription suggests a dominant position of this dedication, perhaps at the entrance of the temple<sup>488</sup>.

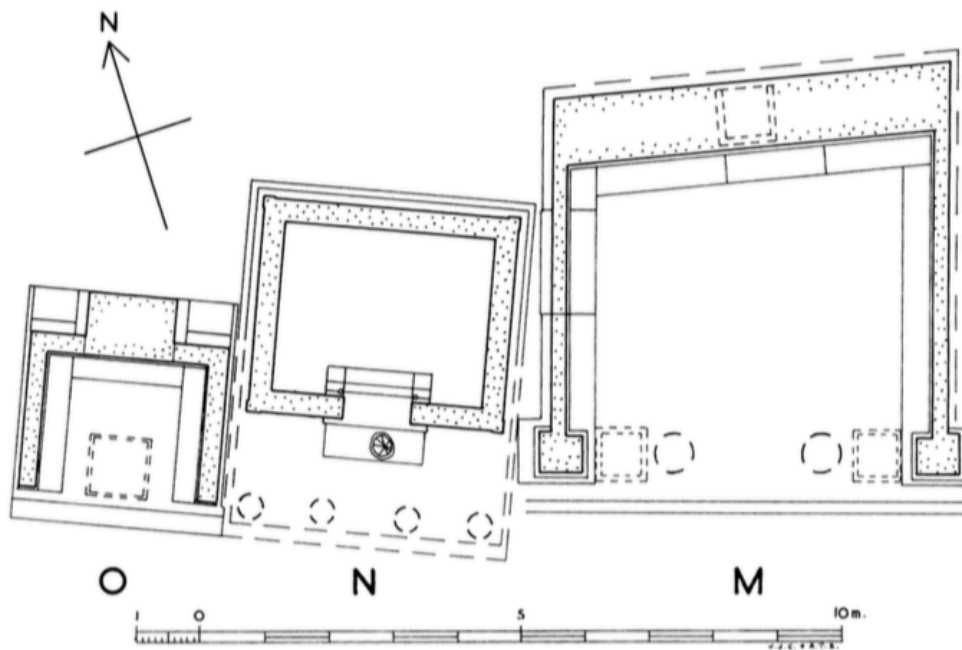


Fig. 3. Restored plans (M = exedra of Meleager, N = temple of Nemesis, O = exedra of Onesimos). (ATR and JJC)

Fig. 13. From Coulton 1988, p. 124.

<sup>487</sup> See the reconstruction in Coulton 1988, p. 124, pict. 3, 4. From the social characters of the inscriptions found in the *exedra* of Meleager – financier and “ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ αἰῶνος” of the local games – we can consider that the street where Onesimos erected his temple was an area where the rich *élite* and local authorities constructed monuments; for example, the *agoranomoi* offered monuments to the city, as *IG III*, 465 attests the *agonanomos* Stephanos, who made a dedication to the *Sebastoi* and the *Demos* of Balboursa. On this inscription, see Coulton 1988, p. 131.

<sup>488</sup> See Coulton 1988, p. 126.

The public slave was a person who belonged to the community, receiving a salary (*peculium*), and living independently in a proper house. Public slaves were generally employed in archives, or in various public activities. Ulpianus attests that the public slaves were entitled to bequeath their *peculium* during the Late Empire<sup>489</sup>. Onesimos dedicated the temple of Nemesis and the statues to “his masters” (τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπόταις), which should be seen as the Demos and the *Boule* of Balboursa, since Onesimos was a slave belonging to the city. We could easily link and extend the meaning of this term to the Roman authorities (and naturally the emperor)<sup>490</sup>, but there is no explicit evidence that Onesimos included the proper representatives of Rome in his dedication. On the other hand, Onesimos is the donor of another monument in Balboursa, where he offered the statues of the *Demos* and the *Boule* to “his own masters”, represented by the statues themselves: Βαλβουρέων | τὴν Βουλὴν | καὶ τὸν Δῆμον | τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ | δεσπότας | Ὀνήσιμος δημόσιος *vac.* δ(οῦλος) οἷς καὶ προσέθετο εἰς τὸ | σειτομέτριον κατ’ἔτος | Μ(δίους) *vac.* TNB<sup>491</sup>. It seems reasonable that Onesimos dedicated the temple of Nemesis first to these two civic institutions. The insertion of the possessive pronoun ἑαυτοῦ in both the inscriptions confirms the close relationship between the donor and the local authorities. Previous scholars have analysed the personal possibilities and the limits of a public slave, and certainly Onesimos’ donations shed light on the ability to gain a considerable economic independence and present himself in public as a free citizen<sup>492</sup>. Nemesis offered an ideal intermediary for approaching the local authorities. As attested in the aforementioned inscription,

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<sup>489</sup> *Reg.*, 20, 16.

<sup>490</sup> An inscription from Balboursa attests the dedication of a city gate (*tripylon*) to the emperors called “*despotai* of lands and seas” (*IG III*, 468; Severan times): [γῆ]ς καὶ θαλάσσης {θαλάσσης} δεσπόταις Αὐτοκράτορσι Κα[ίσαρσι] Λουκίῳ Σεπτιμίῳ Σεουήρῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Περ[τίν]ακι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἄντων[εῖνῳ].

<sup>491</sup> *CIG*, 4380k<sup>2</sup>: “Onesimos the public slave dedicated the *Boule* and the *Demos* of Balboursa to his own masters, to whom he also made over towards the corn-dole 352 modii a year” (transl. by Coulton 1988, p. 136).

<sup>492</sup> Public slaves already in Classical Athens were able to appear at the Athenian court without a patron speaking for them. This is attested by Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 54-64. Cfr. Ismard 2015, p. 116.



Onesimos managed to gather significant monetary power, taking care of the local *annona* with 352 *modii* of grain.

It is well known that sometimes the title of public slave could have acquired a more formal than practical meaning, as also free citizens aimed to be δημόσιοι δούλοι and have a public salary. This is shown by an edict<sup>493</sup> of Paullus Fabius Persicus, governor of the Province of Asia under Claudius, who attempted to normalize the economic balance of the Ephesian Artemision, showing that even free citizens longed to become public slaves. However, as the onomastics suggest, Onesimos was actually a real slave who aimed to express his gratitude and devotion to the city of Balboursa (his own master), honouring a goddess related to the city, symbol of the Roman Empire. This seems to be the most relevant motivation behind Onesimos' dedication and veneration of Nemesis<sup>494</sup>. One may consider also the possibility that the city slave Onesimos dexterously gained through this dedication religious protection against any possible protest by the proper city magistrates against his handling of the city's finances. However, due to the lack of sources on the quality of Onesimos' work in the city, this latter idea can be only a supposition. Coulton considers the cult of Nemesis to be a city cult, since we note a public slave acting like a civic magistrate; this variation of the goddess' cult could be possible

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<sup>493</sup> *I. Eph.*, 18: ὁμοίως ὅσοι ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι δούλων δημοσίων ὑπηρεσίαν παρέχονται καὶ περισσῆ δαπάνη φορτίζουσιν τὰ κοινά, ἀπολυθῆναι ὀφείλειν δοκοῦσιν ὑποσταθέντων εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ὑπηρεσίας αὐτῶν δούλων δημοσίων. “Those who, as free men, assumed the position and the mansions of the public slaves, going to overload the public funds, should have been fired and substituted with other – true! – public slaves”. These words are confirmed by the Latin version of the inscription: *item qui liberi servorum publicorum munus praestant et impensa supervaqua rem publicam onerant, dimitti placet, servis publicis in locum eorum substitutis*. The position of public slave became a sort of remunerative and coveted job at Ephesus. Persicus' attempt included a regulation of the management of the public slaves. Before him, Vedio Pollio (after 31 B.C.) tried in vain to contain the temple's expenses, ordering measures that the Ephesians never applied (*I. Eph.*, 17. See Dörner 1935, p. 16.

<sup>494</sup> *Contra* Coulton, who considers Onesimos' choice as mainly based on the role of Nemesis as punisher of arrogant behaviours. See Coulton 1988, p. 130. A correspondent western case of a *servus publicus* who worshipped Nemesis comes from Aquileia, though without any attempt to publicly show the personal devotion: *NEMESI | AVG(ustae) | ...] ACVTIO | [re]I P(ublicae) SER(vus) | .....] CIO*. For other dedications from slaves and freedmen of the city, see *CIL V*, 17; *CIL V*, 8241. Cfr. Pascal 1964, p. 38.

thanks to her connection with the civic institutions and the Roman power clearly visible in this piece of evidence. Moreover, this inscription proves the widespread nature of people's interest in Nemesis' cult, and also the significant role the goddess acquired for a public slave of a little Lycian town.

## 2. Philadelphia/Imsiören (Cilicia), dedication to Zeus Phanaseus.

Διὶ Φα|νασεῖ ἀπ|ευξάμε|νος ἀπέδω|κεν τὴν εὐ|χὴν καὶ Νέμε|σιν ἀνέστησεν Νιν[ει]ς  
(?) | οἰκο|νομῶν<sup>495</sup>.

Nineis, an *oikonomos*, offered a statue of Nemesis to Zeus Phanaseus. The *oikonomos* was a slave who took care of buildings and dedications of monuments, under the supervision of the *agoranomos* of the city<sup>496</sup>. The Greek *oikonomos* corresponded to the Roman *procurator* and could have been a slave, “property” of the city or a temple<sup>497</sup>. In the first case, we could compare Nineis' donation to that of Onesimos of Balboursa, but certainly on a drastically lower scale. This dedication has a private character as ἀπευξάμενος should indicate the attempt to avoid some evil influence, but it can still prove a special devotion towards Nemesis by slaves, either property of the city or of a religious institution.

Various cities of Cilicia attest to Nemesis' cult, either in coinage or in private dedications. An oracular text mentioning Nemesis has been found in the city of Hamaxia<sup>498</sup>, while an important inscription connecting Nemesis and the imperial cult comes from Guney Kalesi<sup>499</sup>.

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<sup>495</sup> Cat., 5. 8. See Hornum 1993, p. 294; Bean – Mitford 1970, p. 218.

<sup>496</sup> See Bean – Mitford 1970, p. 105.

<sup>497</sup> Coulton does not exclude that Nineis was a public *oikonomos*, while Bean and Mitford consider him as *oikonomos* of a certain temple.

<sup>498</sup> SEG 32: 1313; Bean – Mitford 1970, p. 80, n. 53.

<sup>499</sup> SEG 37: 1211. See Nollé 1987, pp. 240-241.

### 3. 5. 2 Nemesis in official provincial dedications or in dedications by local officials connected with the Roman power.

#### 1. Callatis (Western Pontus). *IScM III*, 75, dedication of a statue of Nemesis. Mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

Αγαθῆ τύχη· ὑπὲρ τῆς πό[λε]ως ἄρχοντες οἱ περὶ Φλ(αοῦιον) Φάρον | ποντάρχη  
κὲ βασιλέα κὲ ἀρχιερέα]<sup>500</sup>

This inscription, dated to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., served as the marble base of a statue<sup>501</sup> today acephalous, but where one may recognize a female figure wearing a long chiton and accompanied by a griffin at her right. The authorities of Callatis dedicated this monument for the sake of the city. They are identified with the ἄρχοντες “around” the ποντάρχης, βασιλεύς, and ἀρχιερέύς of the imperial cult Flavius Pharus, with the expression οἱ περὶ<sup>502</sup>, meaning the council of government around a certain magistrate. He was probably a member of the local *élite* of Greek origins with Roman citizenship or a descendant of a slave freed by a certain Flavius<sup>503</sup>.

The title of ποντάρχης was similar to that of ἀσιάρχης, βιθυνιάρχης, and so on. These officials presided the corresponding *koina*, where they were responsible for the imperial cult and the organization of the Roman games<sup>504</sup>. In the case of Pontus, we point to an epitaph from Tomis (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.): [...] χρυσεῖος στεφάνοις | πορφυραῖος τε πέπλοισ· | δις γὰρ ἐποντάρχησα | καὶ Ἄραιως ἄθλα ἐτέλεσα, [...] καὶ πόλι<v> οὐχ ὑβρίσας· [...] Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες οἱ ἐμοὶ | σταδίοισι δαμέντες [...] ]<sup>505</sup>. The deceased person is described as wearing the purple robe and the golden crown

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<sup>500</sup> Cat., 11. 1.

<sup>501</sup> See Aristodemou 2016, pp. 182-183, fig. 2.

<sup>502</sup> On the use of the expression οἱ περὶ + the name of a magistrate, see e.g. POL., 21, 30, 7: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δαμοτέλην.

<sup>503</sup> Stoian noted that only five ποντάρχει out of twenty-six were not Roman citizens, arguing that the five cases are likely dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., at the beginning of the use of this specific title. See Stoian 1965, p. 88.

<sup>504</sup> See Edelmann-Singer 2105, pp. 117, 167. See below, p. 281.

<sup>505</sup> *IScM II*, 188. Cf. Robert 1940, pp. 101-102.

– typical attributes of the ἀγωνοθέτης or the high priest – and to have been twice ποντάρχης, financing the “games of Ares”, as the Roman fights were called in the Greek language.

The ποντάρχης was deeply connected to the local politics of Callatis, as evident from the interest of the *archontes* to appear “around” him. Ποντάρχης and ἀρχιερέυς of the province were titles often combined in a sort of *cursus honorum*<sup>506</sup>. The fact that these titles referred to the same person in different moments of his career highlights that they had slightly different functions and rules, as is also clear from the duration of their offices: The ἀρχιερέυς was a lifelong office, while each ποντάρχης was in charge for a limited period of one year<sup>507</sup>. Lastly, the title of βασιλεύς is likely to be interpreted with a religious meaning, in connection with the two abovementioned titles<sup>508</sup>.

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<sup>506</sup> This is witnessed by some 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. inscriptions from the Western Pontus. *IScM II*, 52: [ἀγαθ]ῆ τύχη | [τὸν π]οντάρχην καὶ ἀρ[χιερέ]α τῆς Ἐξαπό<λ>εως |[τὸ]ν υἱὸν τοῦ Πόντου καὶ | πρῶτον ἀγωνοθέτην| θεοῦ Ἀντινοῦ, Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιον Ποσειδώνιον,| υἱὸν Φαίδρου τοῦ ποντάρ|χου καὶ υἱοῦ τῆς πόλε|ως, φυλὴ Ἀργαδέων, | τὸν ἑαυτῆς προστάτην. “To the Good Fortune; the tribe of the Argadei (honors) its own benefactor the *pontarch* and high priest of the κοινόν of the six cities (*hexapoleos*), son of Pontus and first *agonothete* of the god Antinoos, Titus Flavius Poseidonios, son of Phaidros, *pontarch* and son of the city” (transl. of the author). 130-138 A.D. Tomis. For the κοινόν of the *Hexapoleos* and the relationship between ποντάρχης and ἀρχιερέυς see Cumont 1901. *IScM II*, 69: ἀγαθῆι τύχη· | ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ|μος Τ(ίτον) | Κομίνιον | Κλαυδιανὸν | Ἑρμάφιλον τὸν | σοφιστὴν καὶ | ἀγωνοθέτην | ἀρετῆς χάριν· | τὸν ποντάρχην | τῆς Ἐξαπόλεως | καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα | τῶν β’ ? αὐτοκρατόρων. “To the good fortune; the Boule and the Demos (honor) Titus Claudianus Hermaphilos the sophist and ἀγωνοθέτης because of his virtue. Ποντάρχης of the *Hexapoleos* and high priest and priest of the emperors for the second time” (transl. of the author). 161-180 A.D. Tomis. *IScM I*, 178: ἀγαθῆι τύχη. | ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τ[ὸν] | ἀρχιερέα καὶ ποντάρχη[ν] | [[ — — — — — ]] ἐν [πολ]λοῖς διαδειξάμενον τ[ὴν] | περὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὖνο[ιαν], | προνοησάμενον δὲ [καὶ] | τῆς κατασκευῆς τ[οῦ λι]μῆνος καὶ λογιστε[ύσαν] | τα μετὰ πάσης πίστεω[ς] | δημοσία τῆ ἀναστάσε[ι τοῦ] | ἀνδριάντος ἡμείψατ[ο]. This inscription underlines the role of the benefactions made by the *pontarch* and *archiereus* in the city. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. Istros-Histria.

<sup>507</sup> See Stoian 1965, p. 87, citing the inscription *IScM II*, 116, where a certain Publius Flavius Theodoros is called δισποντάρχης, which reveals that one could become *pontarch* more than once.

<sup>508</sup> The term βασιλεύς appears in the literary evidence in relation to Augustus (poetry of Antipater of Thessaly, *Ant. Pal.*, 10, 25, 5) but it does not appear in prose before the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. We trace some cases during the Severan dynasty and later, under the reign of Gordian III. For a brief summary of the sources mentioning this term and its derivatives, see Mason 1974, pp. 120-121.

The inscription attests that the imperial cult, as well as the organization of the Roman games, was deeply rooted in the civic life of Callatis and the cult of Nemesis was closely related to them and to the civic institutions<sup>509</sup>. This piece of evidence demonstrates the interest of the highest local politicians to show their attachment to the Roman Empire and the imperial cult through the veneration of Nemesis.

## 2. Termessos (Pisidia). *TAM III*, 912. Dedication to Nemesis Adrasteia by an *eirenarch*.

[Ι(ερεὺς) θ]εᾶς Ἐλευθέρας | Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ζηνοδο|τιανὸς Μολ|λιανός, υἱὸς  
| Τι(βερίου) Κλαυδίου Φλώρου, | εἰρήναρχος, | Νεμέσει | Ἀδραστεία<sup>510</sup>.

The *eirenarch* and priest of Eleuthera<sup>511</sup> Tiberius Claudius Zenodotianus Mollianus dedicated an altar to Nemesis Adrasteia in the city of Termessos. The *eirenarch* was a sort of police commander<sup>512</sup>, entitled to maintain safety in urban and rural areas, pursuing and arresting the bandits<sup>513</sup>. This office was quite common in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as also in Egypt, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. The Roman governors directly appointed these officers, choosing them from a list of names presented by each community. According to the onomastics, the *eirenarchs* were all members of the local *élites*, which naturally aimed to build significant

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<sup>509</sup> Some 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. coins from Callatis confirm the iconography of the statue here mentioned. The goddess always appears in a long *chiton* and with some of her attributes, mostly the wheel, the cubit-rule and the bridle. See Cat., 11. 2 with references to bibliography.

<sup>510</sup> Cat., 13. 24.

<sup>511</sup> Artemis was worshipped as Eleuthera in nearby Myra. See Fleisher 1973, pp. 229-233, with further bibliography.

<sup>512</sup> These high officers led a body of security (*diogmitai*), with military training and character. On the *eirenarchs*, see Brelaz 2005; Giannakopoulos 2003; Rife 2002; Fuhrmann 2012, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>513</sup> See *I. Eph.*, 802, 21-22 and *TAM III*, 104, 8-10 for the rural areas around the city as territories under the control of the *eirenarch*. Bandits were a phenomenon of the rural areas, as the ancient authors attest: MARCIAN, *Dig.*, 48, 3, 6, 1; PETR., *Sat.*, 111; APUL., *Met.*, 1, 7; 1, 15; 2, 22; 3, 29; 4, 6; 7, 4; 8, 15. Cfr. Dmitriev 2005, pp. 208-209.

connections with the Roman State and its highest authorities. This office conferred power and prestige to those who undertook it<sup>514</sup>.

This Zenodotianus Mollianus also dedicated altars to other gods, such as Apollo Patroos<sup>515</sup>, Agathe Tyche<sup>516</sup>, and Artemis Agrotera. As already pointed out by N. Giannakopoulos, the ideas of agriculture and safety were clearly implied in these dedications. It cannot be certainly said that Zenodotianus Mollianus aimed to create and show his power and his personal connection with the Roman Empire on the basis of the dedication to Nemesis Adrasteia. On the other hand, one may note that three of these deities personified the authorities, local and Roman: Apollo, conceived as Patroos, was closely related to the civic institutions; Tyche was traditionally considered protector and preserver of the community, while Nemesis Adrasteia was the deity most associated with the idea of punishment of any violation of the State's order and rules. Naturally, the mission of an *eirenarch* – as well as the title of his office – was in complete harmony with the imperial propaganda of the *pax Romana*. Therefore, a dedication to Nemesis by an official called to oversee the local peace and stability was most appropriate.

### **3. Stratonicea (Caria). I. Str. 1317, 1318, 1005, 1006. Four dedications to Nemesis by the local authorities.**

#### ***I. Str., 1317***<sup>517</sup>

ἐπὶ Διομήδου[ς] | τοῦ Διομήδου|ς τοῦ Ἱεροκλέος | χιμερινῆ{ν}ς {χιμερινῆς}

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<sup>514</sup> The office of *eirenarch* was completely absorbed in the everyday life of the Greek cities, and the direct connection with the Roman governor gave a considerable power to the aristocrats who held this position. In some cases, we can see a relationship between the holding of the *eirenarchia* and a subsequent military career at high levels. On the other hand, the *eirenarchia* was a sort of liturgy that aristocratic members of the Greek communities tried to avoid; Aelius Aristides is a characteristic example (*Sacr. Tales*, 4, 72-73). See Dmitriev 2005, pp. 206 ff.; Giannakopoulos 2003, p. 848.

<sup>515</sup> *TAM III*, 906.

<sup>516</sup> *TAM III*, 909.

<sup>517</sup> *Cat.*, 2. 21.

|στρ<α>τηγοὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς χώ|ρας Λεωνίδης | Λεωνίδου Κο(λιοργεύς), | κατὰ πόλιν  
δὲ | Ἴεροκλῆς Θε|ομνήστου Λο(βολδεύς), | Καλλικράτης | Χρυσίπ<π>ου Ἴα(σεύς?),  
| Μενέδημος | Λέοντος τοῦ | Μενεδήμου Κω(ραιεύς) | ὁμονοήσαντες | Νεμέσει·  
νεωκόροι | Στέφανος ΟΝΣ[—] | [—]ο[—]

**I. Str., 1318<sup>518</sup>**

Στρατηγοὶ οἱ | ἄρξαντες τὴν χει|μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ | στεφανηφόρου Ἀρι|στολάου·  
Ἴάσων Νέ|ωνος Λο(βολδεύς) καθ' ὕ(οθεσίαν) Ἀριστέο[υ] | Κω(ραιεύς), Διονύσιος  
Φα|νίου Κω(ραιεύς), Πολύαρ|χος Ἐρμοκράτου Λο(βολδεύς) | καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας  
στρατηγὸς Λέ|ων Δημοσθένου | Κω(ραιεύς) ὁμονοήσαν|τες Διὶ Στρατείῳ καὶ  
Νεμέσει χα|ριστήριον· νεω|ποιὸς Μουσαῖος.

**I. Str., 1006<sup>519</sup>**

[Οἱ σ]τρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄρ[ξ]αντες τὴν χει|μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀρ|χιερέως Μέντορο|ς τοῦ  
Ἀπελλοῦ, Ἀντί| οχος Σωκράτους | Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἀπολλώνιος | Διοφάντου τοῦ  
Ξά|νθου Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἴεροκλῆ|ς Ζήνωνος Κω(ραιεύς), | καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώ|ρας  
στρατηγὸς Μενέδημος Ἀπε|λλοῦ Ἴε(ροκομήτης), ὁμονοήσ|[αντ]ες Νεμέσει.

Three marble slabs from Stratonicea present a dedication to Nemesis from the *strategoι* of the city in charge for half of the year, either during the winter or the summer period<sup>520</sup>. In this case, they served during the winter season (τὴν χειμερινήν). The mention of the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας is not rare, as that was an office particularly widespread and witnessed in documents from Carian cities. The functions of this kind of *strategos* was similar to that of an *eirenarch*<sup>521</sup>.

The eponymous officer of these inscriptions is either the *archiereus* or the *stephanophoros*, who could have even been the same person, as another inscription

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<sup>518</sup> Cat., 2. 22.

<sup>519</sup> Cat., 2. 20.

<sup>520</sup> On this kind of political organization, see *CIG*, 2654 (Knidos); *I. Strat.*, 524.

<sup>521</sup> See Dmitriev 2005, p. 210.

from Stratonicea recorded<sup>522</sup>. It can be said that the mention of the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας confers a significant political resonance to the dedications. However, it cannot be determined whether the purpose of these pieces of evidence was the organization of the *munera*, which was a crucial part of the political and religious activities of the Greek cities during the Roman Empire. Undoubtedly, the inclusion of Nemesis in public dedications by the civic authorities probably suggested the local loyalty to the ideology of the Empire.

### ***I. Strat., 1005***<sup>523</sup>

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀρ|τεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ιδ]ώρου] πενταετηρικὸς ἀ[γὼν καὶ ?] | μον[?]ομαχία ἤχθη· θερυνῆς | [οἱ στ]ρατηγοὶ Δί, Ἐκά[τη], Νεμέσι, ὁμονο[ή]σαν|τες.

This dedication is accompanied by a relief with a horse rider, who has been identified as Zeus Panamaros. The rider is moving between two torches, while a wheel of Nemesis is carved under the left hoof of the horse. This dedication is explicitly addressed to Zeus, Hecate and Nemesis by the *strategoι* of the summer period. Zeus and Hecate were the main gods of Stratonicea, and the association of Nemesis with them is proof of the relevant position of her cult in the city. The same can be said for *I. Str.* 1318, where she appears as the recipient of the dedication together with the main god of the city Zeus Strateios.

As the main authorities of the city, the *strategoι* were entitled to organize the Roman festivals, here attested by the fragmentary term μονομαχία, rightly completed and restored by L. Robert<sup>524</sup>. In all these inscriptions Nemesis appears as a goddess able to help the public authorities in the correct accomplishment of their offices. Nemesis was indeed related to the protection of safety and order, supervising the imperial and local authorities entitled to punish illegal behaviours.

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<sup>522</sup> *I. Strat.*, 1316: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ στεφαν|νηφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ | Σεβαστήου διὰ γένους | Μενέλαος Παιωνίου | Κωραεὺς χαριστήριον. See also Cousin 1891, pp. 423-424.

<sup>523</sup> *Cat.*, 2. 19.

<sup>524</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 172.



## 9. Panamara (Caria). *SEG 4: 277*. Public dedication to the double Nemesis.

Θεαῖς μεγίσταις Νεμέ|σεσι Τι. Κλ. Τι. υἱὸς Κυ. | Λαίνας, φιλόκαισαρ καὶ | φιλόπατρις, υἱὸς τῆς | πόλεως, ἀρ[χ]ιερεὺς | καὶ στεφανηφόρος τὸ | δ'καὶ ἱερεὺς γ' ἐν Κομ[υ]||ρίοις καὶ ἐν Ἡραίοις πρῶτος καὶ | μόνος καὶ γυμνασίαρ|χος ἐνιαύσειος μετὰ | τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλ. Σαβεινια|νοῦ Παιωνίου χαρισ|τήριον<sup>525</sup>.

This dedication contains the only trace of Nemesis that has been found in Panamara. It has been generally dated to the imperial period, but a more precise date has not been proposed. The dedicant, a certain Tiberius Claudius Lainas, seems to be a Romanized Greek citizen of Panamara. The inscription shows a rich *cursus honorum*: Lainas was high priest of the imperial cult; he wore the crown of the *agonothesia*, and he was also priest of the local festivals, the *Komyriaia* and *Heraia*. Moreover, he was the first and only person to have acted as a *gymnasiarch* for the whole year, together with his son Claudius Sabinianus Paionius. Certainly, Lainas was an influential member of the local *élite*, which was well-connected with the Roman network: The term *philokaisar*<sup>526</sup>, proudly shown in first position before all the other honours, confirms this close relationship. Moreover, after the epithet *philopatris* and “son of the fatherland”<sup>527</sup>, he demonstrated his position as high priest of the imperial cult.

A dedication to the Nemeseis from such an important citizen, so deeply connected with the Roman reality and religion, confirms that Nemesis was considered a goddess very close to the imperial cult, concurrently underlining the aim of a rich provincial to advertise his personal involvement in the Roman sphere.

The presence in Panamara of the cult of the double Nemesis recalls other evidence from cities of Caria, as a bronze coin from Ceramus of the reign of Antoninus Pius with two Nemeseis on the reverse, or two dedications from Halikarnassos, one from

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<sup>525</sup> Cat., 2. 13. *SEG 4: 277*; cfr. Robert 1940, p. 64. See Volkmann 1934, pp. 73-74.

<sup>526</sup> See Buraselis 2000, pp. 102 ff. on the meaning of this title, possibly related to the imperial cult.

<sup>527</sup> On this title see Giannakopoulos 2008, pp. 258 ff.

a gladiator (*retiaris*) and one from an uncertain dedicator. Thus, even if the present dedication of T. Claudius Lainas is the only attestation of Nemesis' cult in the city, the presence of the goddess in her double form is not a surprise. Moreover, the two Nemeseis are also frequently traced in various cities of the nearby Phrygia, and in both regions this phenomenon seems to be somehow linked to Smyrna, a city with many connections with neighbouring cities<sup>528</sup>.

### 3. 5. 3 Private dedications by Roman officials.

#### 1. Iconium (Galatia). Hornum 1993, p. 294. Private dedication by a Roman governor.

Κοῖντος Ἐβουρηνοῦς Μᾶξιμος Νεμέσει ἐπιηκόω<sup>529</sup>.

A stone found at Iconium, today Konia, bears a private dedication to Nemesis made by Quintus Ebureus Maximus, governor of Galatia, Pisidia and Paphlagonia. His career began under Domitian, and he became *legatus* of the *Legio Traiana Fortis* before 109 A.D. He received the title of *proconsul* of Galatia probably towards the end of Trajan's reign or at the beginning of Hadrian's. This is the only epigraphic evidence for a governor of an eastern or western province who worshipped Nemesis in a private way. However, even if the dedication does not present any direct purpose beyond the personal worship, it is probable that Q. Eburneus Maximus considered Nemesis to be a symbol and protector of the Roman State. The choice of writing in the Greek language should reflect the will of Maximus to exhibit to the local population his personal attachment to the goddess, presented as "listener", and, implicitly, as his protector. We can recall that some of Nemesis' shrines in the western amphitheatres were located on the short axes of the buildings, being

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<sup>528</sup> A way Smyrna could have influenced other cities with her double Nemesis' cult is the mint and circulation of alliance coinage, where the Ionian city was represented by the two goddesses. Concerning the area close to Panarama, one may remind alliaice coinage from Magnesia ad Sipylum (Cat., 2. 52), Philadelphia (Cat., 2. 54) and Thyateira (Cat., 2. 56) and Ephesus (Cat., 2. 29).

<sup>529</sup> Cat., 8. 2.

connected both to the arena's activities and the lodge of the local governor, positioned exactly on the shrine<sup>530</sup>, who was depicted as especially connected with the goddess. This topographic detail underlines the political and social significance of Nemesis, her importance for the public parade, which ended at her shrine, and for the Roman authority.

## **2. Scupi (North Valley of Axios), today “Northern Macedonia”. Dedication of a *decurio* of the Roman colony of Scupi.**

*NEMESI | AVG(ustae) SAC(rum) | P(ublius) PETILIVS | MERCA|TOR DE(urio) | COL(oniae) IIVIR*<sup>531</sup>.

This dedication to the Augustan Nemesis is carved on a marble altar. The dedicator is a Roman citizen, Publius Petilius Mercator, who was *decurio* of the Roman colony of Scupi, certainly a member of the local Roman *élite*. Mercator was also *duumvir*, the most important office in a Roman colony. The epithet Augusta certainly stresses the link between the goddess, the emperor and Mercator's role as a “mediator”, a leading official between the colony and the imperial Nemesis. We have other attestations of *duumviri* dedicating to the goddess from the amphitheatres of Aquincum<sup>532</sup>, Leptis Magna<sup>533</sup> and Sarmizegetusa<sup>534</sup> and, probably, the theatre of Savaria<sup>535</sup>.

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<sup>530</sup> This is the case of the amphitheatre of Augusta Emerita, Tarraco, Lugdunum, Aquae Neri, Carnuntum. See Golvin 1988, pp. 337-340. Cfr. Wittenberg 2014, pp. 30,37-38, 41 ff.; Futrell 1997, pp. 116-117; Hornum 1993, pp. 56-70.

<sup>531</sup> Cat., 11. 7.

<sup>532</sup> *CIL III*, 10440, dedication to Nemesis Diana Augusta from *duumviri quinquennales*; *CIL III*, 10447, fragmentary dedication likely to Nemesis from the *duumviri*.

<sup>533</sup> Dedication to Nemesis Augusta by a *duumvir quinquennalis*. See Hornum 1993, p. 243, n. 159.

<sup>534</sup> *CIL III*, 13783, Dedication by a *duumvir quinquennalis* and *decurion* of the city. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 263, n. 193.

<sup>535</sup> *An. Ép.* 1972, 389, dedication to Nemesis Augusta by a *duumvir iure dicundo*. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 225, n. 123 with further bibl.

## 7. Corinth (Achaia). Private dedication to Nemesis by a Roman official.

*NEMESI AVGVSTAE | SACRVM | AVRELIVS NESTOR OPTIO | LEG(ionis) IIII  
FL(aviae) FEL(icis) EX VOTO*<sup>536</sup>.

This dedication was found in the *forum* of the colony of Corinth, and it is dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. Aurelius Nestor Optio was likely a Romanized Greek citizen, who served as *optio* in the legion Fourth *Flavia Felix*, which was active in the northern borders during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. It is not possible to say whether he was from Corinth or if he arrived there after his military service, perhaps as a member of the governor's staff. Therefore, it cannot also be argued that Nemesis Augusta was commonly venerated in Corinth. Probably this Roman officer aimed to thank the goddess for having survived the military campaigns in the North, or for his possible relocation to the rich and peaceful Corinth, close to the *proconsul* and in a powerful position<sup>537</sup>. This kind of dedication resembles the western finds from the urban and legionary amphitheatres that were made by soldiers and veterans<sup>538</sup>. Moreover, the appearance of Nemesis as Augusta in this specific piece of evidence puts her in explicit connection with the emperors, just as the classical concept of *pax Augusta* formed the core of imperial propaganda.

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<sup>536</sup> Cat., 1. 11.

<sup>537</sup> See Mitropoulos 2020; Hoskins Walbank 2010, p. 366 with further bibl.

<sup>538</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 153 ff.

## CHAPTER 4

### NEMESIS AND THE SOCIETY OF THE ROMAN EASTERN PROVINCES

#### 4. 1 Goddess of death.

*Cemeteries have long served as privileged sources of information about religion and customs of ancient communities. Fortunately, they also give information about Nemesis: Indeed, the funerary context is one of richest sources – although perhaps the least studied – for the cult of Nemesis in the Greek East under the Roman Empire. The variety of “roles” conferred upon the goddess on tombs and in literary evidence is a reflection of people’s feelings about Nemesis. Moreover, the study of how people referred to her in their funerary monuments acquires a special relevance because of the gravity conferred to actions related to death. We find her worshipped in many ways, such as: 1) protector of dead people and their tombs, 2) cause of death, 3) avenger of murdered people, 4) and even “Charon” of the righteous souls in Hades.*

##### 4. 1. 1 Introduction to the chthonian nature of Nemesis.

Nemesis has been sometimes described as a chthonian deity, a goddess linked to the Beyond<sup>539</sup>. Her connection with deities like Isis<sup>540</sup> or Hecate<sup>541</sup> in both the

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<sup>539</sup> See Futrell 1997, pp. 111 ff.; Farnell 1896, p. 490.

<sup>540</sup> See the dedications from Delos of a priest of Serapis, who financed a temple and a statue of Nemesis-Isis. 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (Cat., 1. 13-15). See Hornum 1993, pp. 195-196, n. 77, 78. Below, p. 159.

eastern and western provinces of the Empire confirms this peculiar aspect of her figure. But, from what point in time was she considered as a chthonian deity? Was this a fundamental aspect of her divine profile? Since we do not find expressions of her chthonian nature in the cults of Rhamnous, Smyrna, or later in the Roman “reinterpretation” of the figure, we do not have a precise idea of the quantity, the importance, and – most of all – the character of the funerary evidence linked to her in the East<sup>542</sup>.

As a matter of fact, the number of funerary sources related to Nemesis is very limited, if compared with the large quantity of findings belonging to the ludic, political or civic spheres. However, if numbers do not impress, and we cannot speak about a preponderant phenomenon (only about a dozen examples from the Roman East) the character of these peculiar burial sources reflects an original and primary area of interest in Nemesis, since death was the most serious aspect of life to take care of.

As evidence shows, the link of Nemesis with death is a common feature of the eastern and western Empire<sup>543</sup>, but we certainly find a greater number of findings in the East. The figure of Nemesis on eastern tombs assumed various connotations, such as that of preserver of the deceased, guardian of the tomb, or the guide of the soul into Hades. In contrast, we notice a limited range of roles and functions assigned to the goddess in findings from the western provinces. Chronology is another important factor that characterizes these burial findings (both in the West and East); the majority of them belongs to the Roman times: A curious

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<sup>541</sup> See the epitaph of the priest of Nemesis Enodia (Cat., 9. 5), below, pp. 163 ff. See the relief (unknown provenience, today preserved in Alexandria) with the representation of a sphinx with three heads with *polos*, female breast and Nemesis’ wheel, see Lichočka 2004, 117, n. I B 20 with further bibl., pl. 20. See also the gem of the Roman times from Dacia, with the *heros equitans* on one side and the couple Hecate and Nemesis on the other, see *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 203 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>542</sup> As mentioned above in the introduction, scholars have already studied Nemesis’ involvement in the funerary sphere, but only in relation to singular findings. See, among others, Perdrizet 1914; Vollkmann 1928.

<sup>543</sup> From the western Empire: Carmo/Carmona, imperial time: *D(is) M(anibus) | DERPS | AVGVSTE | NEMESI*. See Hornum 1993, p. 272, n. 212 with bibl.

phenomenon that might suggest a systematic “funerary declination” of Nemesis in the eastern communities of the Empire. However, the pre-Roman evidence is very rare: An inscription from Attica dated in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>544</sup> and one from Palestine of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>545</sup> Taking into account the prevalent Roman chronology, one may expect to find some traces of athletes or participants in the Roman spectacles, as a sort of *continuum* between the special worship of Nemesis in the athletic/ludic context and her involvement in protecting/rewarding her worshippers in the Beyond. However, we find only a pair of tombs of gladiators invoking Nemesis in the western areas of the Empire<sup>546</sup>, while we almost never find such a kind of evidence in the Hellenized areas. Indeed, we notice almost average citizens invoking the goddess as protector or guarantor of justice on their tombs.

As stated in the first chapter, Homer and Hesiod assigned to the concept/goddess Nemesis the idea of indignation at an unjust action, or a violation of the social order and conventional duties. However, the first appearance of Nemesis in the funerary sphere belongs to the Classical period. The literary sources describe a goddess with a chthonian nature, somehow related to Hades but also closely connected with Dike, as a sort of supreme collaborator and “guarantor” of justice<sup>547</sup>. Nemesis is the

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<sup>544</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 13115. See below, p. 156.

<sup>545</sup> See Peek 1960, p. 112, n. 162. See below, pp. 157-158.

<sup>546</sup> One of them consists of an epitaph from Verona, dating under time of Marcus Aurelius (*CIL V*, 3466; Hornum 1993, p. 241 with bibl.): *D. M | GLAVCO. N. MVTI|NENSI. PVGNAR | VII. O. VIII. VIXIT | AVRELLIA. MARITO | B. M. ET. AMATORES | HVIVS. PLANETAM | SVVM | PROCVRARE | VOS. MONEO. IN | NEMESE. NE. FIDEM | HABEATIS | SIC. SVM. DECEPTVS | AVE. VALE.* Nemesis is presented in a negative way, as a force that turned her back to the unlucky dead Glaukos; she is thought of as destiny, a characteristic recorded also in the eastern burial inscriptions (below, p. 157).

<sup>547</sup> In the Sophoclean *Philoctetes* we find the concept of *nemesis* as the divine revenge and punishment of the injustices committed by the Atrides (601-602): ἡ θεῶν βία | καὶ νέμεσις, οἵπερ ἔργ’ ἀμύνουσιν κακά; Moreover, the relationship between Nemesis and Dike is confirmed by two oracular responses: One from Tymbrida, reading: Νέμεσις ἀνθρώποισι τὴν δίκην νέμει (Cat., 13. 25), and the other from Hierapolis, where Nemesis moves the balance of Dike: Ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης πλά<σ>τιγγα σαλεύει (Cat., 2. 67; Ritti 1985, pp. 130-132). Lastly, Aelius Aristides confirmed the relationship Nemesis-Dike, referring to them the ability to supervise the destinies of men: δύο γὰρ τοῦτο θεὰ περιέρχεσθον ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Νέμεσις καὶ Δίκη, οὐκ ἔδωσαι μείζον τῆς φύσεως φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως μικροὺς ἐκ μεγάλων ποιοῦσαι, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν μηδένα

avenger of the dead Agamemnon in the “Electra”<sup>548</sup>, even substituting the Erynies, which, like Nemesis, were considered by Greek and Roman people to be the daughters of Nyx<sup>549</sup>.

Demosthenes allocated a funerary character to the Rhamnousian festivals in the oration against Spudias; in particular, he affirmed that his wife gave a *mina* on the behalf of her (deceased) father during the Nemeseia at Rhamnous<sup>550</sup>. Plato considered Nemesis (called Adrasteia) the supreme force supporting the Valley of Ideas, where the souls can admire the Truth<sup>551</sup>. Without examining further Plato’s philosophical conception, one may just wonder if his assignment of such an important role to Adrasteia belongs to a background of Attic traditions as well as funerary celebrations. Indeed, the chthonian dimension of Nemesis is confirmed by Timaeus of Locri (either a Plato’s character or a real Neo-Platonist), who ascribed the goddess σὺν δαίμοσι παλαιμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπόπταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, with avenging chthonian *daimones* who supervise the life of human beings<sup>552</sup>.

#### 4. 1. 2 Survey of the funerary monuments.

Almost the entirety of burial findings is dated to the Roman Empire, when the connection of Nemesis with justice became deeper and tighter: A fundamental aspect for the determination of the roles conferred to the goddess on funerary monuments. In the whole eastern part of the Empire, we could trace seventeen cases where Nemesis is connected with death in funerary monuments, primarily stelai (some of them even of dubious interpretation): Few findings, but widely

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ποιῆται λόγον; “for these two goddesses, Nemesis and Dike, survey all the affairs of men, not allowing men to be overly prideful beyond their nature, but easily making small from great, if someone of them (the great) pays no attention”.

<sup>548</sup> SOPH., *Electr.*, 793-796; 900-902; 1466-1467.

<sup>549</sup> See AESCH., *Eum.*, 321; LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra*, 432; OV., *Metamorph.*, 4, 451; VERG., *Aen.*, 6, 250; 12, 848.

<sup>8</sup> *Or.*, 41, 11, 7-8: Εἰσενεγκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὰ Νεμέσεια τῷ πατρὶ μῶν ἀργυρίου καὶ προαναλωσάσης. See Posnansky 1890, p. 27; cfr. Papapostolou 1989, p. 377.

<sup>551</sup> *Phoedrus*, 248c: θεσμὸς τε Ἀδραστέας ὄδε. See also PROCL., *Theol. Plat.*, 4, 6; 17.

<sup>552</sup> *De natura mundae*, 225, 5-6. See Hornum 1993, pp. 109-110.



distributed geographically. There is evidence from Palestine<sup>553</sup>, Paphlagonia<sup>554</sup>, Pamphylia<sup>555</sup>, Phrygia<sup>556</sup>, Lydia<sup>557</sup>, Attica<sup>558</sup>, Peloponnese<sup>559</sup>, Macedonia<sup>560</sup>, Moesia Inferior<sup>561</sup>, and, lastly in Alexandria of Egypt<sup>562</sup>. Different purposes inspired people to pray to Nemesis on their tombs (or on the tombs of their relatives). The invocation to protect the grave monument from vandalism or a later reuse of the materials is the most common; the specific choice of mentioning Nemesis instead of a generic curse could suggest that the goddess was considered particularly efficacious in punishing the perpetrators of any damage. In ancient times, communities tried to prevent potential acts of vandalism in several ways, with invocations to both the divine and human authorities<sup>563</sup>. From this point of view, Nemesis was used as a warning to the people passing by the tomb to respect it. We refer to two peculiar stelai from Phrygia<sup>564</sup>, whose texts end with this closing

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<sup>553</sup> Peek 1960, 112, 162.

<sup>554</sup> Laflı-Christof 2012, 29.

<sup>555</sup> *I. Perge*, 366 (Perge).

<sup>556</sup> *CIG*, 3857m (Bennisoa); *MAMA X*, 12 (Appia); *TAM VIII*, 18, pp. 33-34 (Iulia).

<sup>557</sup> Paz de Hoz 1999, p. 260, n. 43,1.

<sup>558</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 10385; see Hornum 1993, p. 201, n. 88.

<sup>559</sup> *IG IV*, 444 (Phlissia).

<sup>560</sup> See Bosnakis 2008, n. 108, *IG X*, 2, 1, 62. See Hornum 1993, p. 210, n. 109; Papazoglou 1963, pp. 525-6; Hogart 1887, p. 363, n. 5.

<sup>561</sup> *IGBulg I*, 220.

<sup>562</sup> Nemesis is mostly represented by the griffin on Egyptian funerary monuments. See Lichocka 2004, pl. 17, 22, 23. See above, pp. 76-77.

<sup>563</sup> For example, moving the bones of the dead, or damaging a tomb could have been punished by fines payable to the public treasury. See McLean 2002a, pp. 271-276; McLean 2002, p. 25, n. 62; Strubbe 1991.

<sup>564</sup> One from Bennisoa (*CIG*, 3857m) and the other from Appia (*MAMA X*, 12). The inscription from Bennisoa is dedicated by the parents to their daughter who died prematurely: ἀέναον τόδε σῆμα πατήρ εἴδρυσεν θυγατρί, ἀθανάτην τειμήν, μνημόσυνον δακρύων. | μήτηρ δὲ ἡ βαρυπενθᾶς ἐπὶ τέκνου ταχυμοίρου | ἐμαυτὴν ζῶσα συγκατέθηκα τάφῳ, | εἵνεκον ἱστοργῆς δάκρυσιν μυρομένα. | χαίροις, αἰσθλὲ ὀδεῖτα· σοφῶ νοῖ μάνυε τειμάν | Πλούτωνος βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, | ᾧ χωρὶς μακάρων πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα. | ἔστι γὰρ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τόνβοις μὴ β]λάνης τόνβον, ἀλλὰ ἀναγνοῦς πάριθι. | Τειμέας καὶ Νανα γονεῖς. “A father set up this everlasting monument to his daughter, an immortal monument, a memorial tear. And I, her mother, deeply sorrowing over my swift-dying child, deposited myself, living in her tomb, an alcyon moist with mournful tears. May you rejoice, great traveller. Announce for wise mind the honour of Pluto, king

formula: ἔστι γὰρ <ρ> ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τόνβοις· μ[ὴ β]λάψης τόνβον, ἀλλὰ ἀναγνοῦς πάριθι. Nemesis is presented as a great goddess (μέγα), who stands on the tombs. The use of ἐπὶ τόνβοις communicates the idea of a direct implication of Nemesis, who stays “on the tomb” and is ready to castigate every sort of material damage. Nevertheless, this kind of closing formula shows that – at least in Phrygia – the practice of mentioning the goddess on the epitaphs was a widely accepted phenomenon<sup>565</sup>. This fact assumes greater importance if one considers the noteworthy variety of funerary traditions in that area<sup>566</sup>.

We see a similar inscription from Piraeus ending again with the invocation to the power of Nemesis: Συνναδεὺς θεράπων | Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνθάδε | Μόσχου — — λειτῆ ὑ|πὸ στήλλῃ κέκλιμαι | ὠκύμορος — — ἦν πα|ρίοις εὖφημος ἀεὶ, ξέ|νε, μηδ’ ἐπὶ λύμῃ — | χεῖρα βάλοισ· φθιμένων ὠκυτάτη | Νέμεις — —<sup>567</sup>. This piece of evidence, dated to the reign of Claudius, presents the dead (a servant named Synnadeis Apollonios) threatening the passenger who does not respect his tomb, reminding him of the power of Nemesis, φθιμένων ὠκυτάτη, “extremely rapid”. In our view, even though we lack other Attic inscriptions ending in this way, this peculiar φθιμένων ὠκυτάτη sounds like a known formula, reminding the ἐν

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of earthly men, to whom all of us, with the exception of the blessed, are liable. For Nemesis is a great goddess among the dead; she is also on the tombs. Do not damage this tomb, reading another. The parents Teimeas and Nana” (translation of the author). The inscription from Appia is shorter and directly addressed to the foreigner who will pass by the tomb: C[— — —] | νουφιδίους εἰς θαλά[μους γα]|μετή· | ὧ̄ ξένε μὴ ψάυση· σ τάλλαν | χερὶ μη δ’ ἐπὶ νεκραῖς ταῖσι κα|σιγνήταις χεῖρα [κακ]ῆν ἐπιθής· | ἔστι καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις νέμεις μέγα ἐστ’ ἐπὶ τόνβοις, | μὴ ψάυσης [τόνβ]ο[ν] ἀλλ’ ἀνα|γνοῦς πάριθι.

<sup>565</sup> Another inscription from Dorylaeum mentions the idea of revenge/punishment of Nemesis, but it seems more as name than as goddess. See Cat., 2. 65 (*MAMA V*, KB 3, ll. 16-18): [β]άσκανε [τ]ί ν|έμεσ[ιν π]ο[λ]λὴν φ|θόνε.

<sup>566</sup> The Phrygian cities, from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods, are characterized by peculiar local customs, evident and recognizable in the large variety of funerary rites. On this topic, see Thonemann 2013, pp. 36-38. Generally, in Phrygia the use of threats with maledictions against the possible violator of the tomb was especially diffused.

<sup>567</sup> Cat., 1. 20; *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 10385: “Apollonios of Synnada, servant, here I lie under a polished gravestone of a calf, dying prematurely; (a stele) which may you, stranger, pass by silently, and not cast a hand in disrespect; most swift is Nemesis of the dead” (transl. from Hornum 1993, p. 201, n. 88). See also Perdrizet 1914, pp. 90-91.

φθιμένοις of the aforementioned Phrygian tombs.

What generally emerges from the funerary inscriptions is the profound relationship between Nemesis and the concepts of justice and punishment; the semantic notion of *dike*, indeed, is often implied on this kind of invocations. For example, the epitaph of a stele found in Maionia in Lydia, dating to the early imperial period, ends with: χαίροις, πᾶς πάροδε, τὰς | Νεμέσις σοι, μή τίς μοι | τὴν στήλην ἀδικήσεις<sup>568</sup>. As before, the concept of wrongdoing in violating the monument is expressed very clearly to the living (τὴν στήλην ἀδικήσεις). This peculiar inscription is dated to A.D. 26/27, and it is among the older sources of the Roman Nemesis not only in the funerary field, but among all the evidence related to the goddess' cult. Concerning the specific use of τὰς Νεμέσις, we are not sure that the presence of the accusative article τὰς can help us distinguish between the goddess Nemesis (in her double form) and *nemesis* as a concept meaning righteous revenge<sup>569</sup>. Invoking Nemesis on a funerary monument was a way to protect the deceased person by guaranteeing the favor of the goddess; the punishment for those who tramp upon, damage and violate the tomb was a direct “concern” of Nemesis: τὰς Νεμέσις σοι clearly involves the direct intervention of the goddess on the individual. From this piece of evidence, we can easily recognize that Nemesis was conceived of in a distinctive way by each single person, with a connection to each individual's destiny; thus the way in which a dead person addressed the wayfarer could be summed up as “if you damage my tomb, your personal Nemeseis will intervene, and not mine (μή τίς μοι)”. This expression recalls a similar invocation from a funerary monument found in Cotyaeum in Phrygia. Domna, daughter of

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<sup>568</sup> Cat., 2. 53. See *TAM V*, 1, 591, with correction of παροδείτας νέμεσις σοι with πάροδε τὰς Νεμέσις σοι by Jones 1984, p. 285. The scholar interpreted τὰς Νεμέσις σοι with the double form of Nemesis of Smyrna, considering it as “a touch of poetry”. Those double Nemeseis could have been easily worshipped in Maionia, in this case representing the divine punishment, or the destiny. See Paz de Hoz 1999, p. 260, n. 43, 1.

<sup>569</sup> We find elsewhere the use of *nemesis* as a concept and not as a goddess, as well as the consideration of Nemesis as a unique goddess and personal deity for each individual. Nevertheless, in some inscriptions, such as the confession-inscriptions from Asia Minor, *nemesis* as well as the verb *nemesizo*, denotes a “punishment”, far from the original Homeric meaning. See Chaniotis 1990, pp. 127-128; Petzl-Malay 1987, pp. 459 ff.; Strubbe 1991, p. 46; Versnel 1991, pp. 60 ff. Cat., 2. 50-51 (inscriptions from Katakekaumene).

Proteas and Tatias, honoured her parents with a burial stele, warning that “the god” will punish anyone who violates the tomb. However, what we literally read is more complicated: τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσεις, a very short and concise sentence, where τὸν θεόν can mean a god like Helios, Zeus, destiny, or the righteous Nemesis<sup>570</sup>. A comparison between this kind of Nemesis and the Erynnyies arises: While the latter are traditionally considered as guarantors of the revenge of the person who suffered an injustice, the first appears here as the personification of the sense of justice that is inside the person who caused the damage. Certainly, the verb ἀδικέω was accurately chosen to legitimate the punishment of the deity invoked in protection of the monument. The semantic sphere of justice, therefore, is primarily present on epitaphs; in the case of Nemesis, it is naturally implied<sup>571</sup>.

An interesting slab from the Peloponnese confirms the tight connection between Nemesis and the legitimacy of punishment. This piece of evidence comes from Phliasia<sup>572</sup> – *gradus scalarum e lapide calcaria* – where it was found in a private house and dated in the imperial period. After an empty first line, we can read: τις I[— —] | καὶ ὅτι ἂν ποιῆς τῶ[ιδε], | εἰς σεαυτὸν τρεπέ[σθω]. | ταῦτά σοι εὐχόμεθ[α]. | εἰ δέ τι ἐκόν, ἐξαμ[οιβήν] | οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐπαράσα[σθαι]. | δίκη δὲ ἐπικρέματα[ί σοι] | τιμωρὸς ἀπελθόντ[ι περ] | ἀπειθῆς Νεμέσε[ως]. | *vacat* | Ἀριστομ[ε]ν[— —] | ἀεὶ κα<ι> <π>ανταχοῦ | μέ[ν]ο[ς θ]υμῶ ἢ κα[ρδία(?)]. Even if we cannot determine with certainty the original function of this marble slab, we could easily suppose that it was an admonition against the violation of a tomb similar to the others mentioned above<sup>573</sup>. Despite the poetic style of the inscription (which is unusual, but not completely unknown in funerary monuments), we read a long suggestion to beware of Nemesis’ retribution. The direct address to the stranger and the use of the first plural person (σοι εὐχόμεθα) recall burial language

<sup>570</sup> See Pfluh-Möbius 1979, pp. 516-517, n. 2161, fig. 108; Strubbe 1991, p. 35; Buckler – Calder – Cox 1925, pp. 157 ff., n. 144 e 153. On the Christian/Jewish use of this expression, see M. Waelkens 1979, pp. 126-128. See Strubbe 1991, for the use of this expression outside the monotheistic context.

<sup>571</sup> The use of the attribute *dikaios* related to the deity called confirms the need for legitimations. For a generic analysis of the question, see Strubbe 1991.

<sup>572</sup> Cat., 1. 19; *IG IV*, 444.

<sup>573</sup> Wilde considered the inscription as part of a sanctuary or a tomb, without further analysis. See Wilde 1895, p. 213; cfr. Hornum 1993, pp. 200-201, n. 87.

and confer to the text a peculiar formal character. Here, we see the avenging/punishing justice of Nemesis exercised upon an individual. Naturally, one should not consider the term τιμωρὸς (used by the Greeks for defining mainly Mars Ultor), as the Greek equivalent to the Latin term *ultrix*, the Roman epithet assigned to Nemesis. Still, the presence of the term τιμωρία places the chronology in the imperial period<sup>574</sup>. Here, the inscription refers to the punishment of the human being, always to be interpreted as a just balance of events, the basis for the preservation of a higher harmony. At the end of the fragment, we find a reference to a certain Aristomenes, probably the owner of the tomb. The position of his name at the end of the text does not weaken the interpretation of this inscription as an epitaph, since we observe a sort of freedom in the composition of funerary dedications in poetry or prose.

A stele from Iulia in Phrygia<sup>575</sup> would appear to simply mention Nemesis as god, if the interpretation of the text is correct: ὁ κοινός ἐστιν ἀνά[γκη] | ἔστι θεὸς] Νέμεσις [πρὸς | τὰ δίκ]αγια βλέπε. The claim/admonition τὰ δίκ]αγια βλέπε (literally “look the right things”) is referred to the passenger, who is warned to keep righteousness. Thus, the language of justice is employed again. This sentence precedes the presentation of the deceased: A man, who fell before the Fates after a full and successful life.

The connection of Nemesis with the concept of justice implies that she was involved not only in punishing, but also in rewarding. This concept appears clearly in a dedicatory inscription from Cyprus carved on the base of a statue of Nemesis, probably part of a *temenos* dedicated to her. We read: τὴν δυνατὴν Νέμεσιν με θεὰν [...] τὴνδε Δικαιοσύνην, | ἥτις ἔφυν θῆρ | ἰς ἀσεβεῖς, παρὰ δ’ εὐσεβέ<εσ>σιν | τοῖς τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν εἰδόσιν ἰμι | Τύχη. Here, it is specified that the strong Nemesis

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<sup>574</sup> Actually, we do not have any pre-Roman evidence, which speaks about a “punisher” Nemesis with the explicit epithet τιμωρὸς. This epithet seems to reflect completely the Roman interpretation of the goddess’ action, even if the aetiological myth of Rhamnous (PAUS., 1, 33, 2-3) was very close to the notion of revenge. Close, but not the same: Nemesis, as said before, balanced the violation of the harmony caused by the arrogance of the Persians. See chapter one.

<sup>575</sup> Cat., 2. 73. *TAM VIII*, 18; Hornum 1993, p. 294, n. 247.

becomes Dikaiosyne with the impious people and Tyche with pious ones<sup>576</sup>. Mitford dates this piece of evidence at the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. on a palaeographic basis. We certainly recognize a sort of common imperial language related to concepts of ἀσέβεια/ἀδικία or in the use of the term δίκη. With ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία the Greeks expressed the notion of a sin, a disrespectful action against the gods (ἀσέβεια) or the people (ἀδικία)<sup>577</sup>. In this specific case, these two terms are not to be considered with the proper Greek meaning, but as expressions of the same concept of not being morally virtuous, violating the order/balance of gods and humans alike. Thus, in this inscription Dikaiosyne and Tyche constitute different aspects of Nemesis, one related to the punishment, and the other to the reward<sup>578</sup>.

Outlining the profile of Nemesis in the context of death, we clearly distinguish another peculiar aspect of her cult, again related to justice: The pursuit of revenge. This specific “variation” of Nemesis’ action is closer to the role that was commonly conferred to the goddess, who was considered to be an avenger of injustice behaviours. A 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. epitaph from Alexandria (Egypt)<sup>579</sup> attests the invocation to Nemesis, God Hypsistos<sup>580</sup> and the Sun for the sake of a young girl, Arsinoe, who was probably killed by poison<sup>581</sup>: θεῶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ πάντων | ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ | Νεμέσεσι αἶρει Ἀρσεινόῃ ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας. | ἥ τις αὐτῇ φάρμακα | ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχραρε τις αὐτῆς τῶ | θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε | αὐτούς. In this epitaph, Nemesis is clearly attested as chthonian goddess, invoked together with the celestial

<sup>576</sup> Cat., 7. 5. See Mitford 1946, pp. 24-25, fig. 1. One may note the implied idea of Dikaiosyne as a punitive and harsh goddess, and of Tyche as Fate/Fortune, both related to Nemesis and varying her character. Cfr. Mavroyiannis 2008, p. 65.

<sup>577</sup> XEN., *Cyr.*, 8, 8, 7: διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θεοῦ ἀσέβειαν, περὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδικίαν. See also XEN., *Hell.*, 7, 3, 6.

<sup>578</sup> These two aspects of the goddess are perfectly expressed by her attributes, especially the whip and the wheel. For the discussion on Nemesis’ attributes, see above, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>579</sup> *SB I*, 1323; See Lichocka 2004, p. 147, n. 2A, 5. Cfr. *Studia Pontica III*, p. 16, n. 9; Cumont 1922, p. 130. This piece of evidence is not recorded in the present catalogue.

<sup>580</sup> Θεὸς ὑψίστος: Could be interpreted as Zeus, but, according to Perdrizet, also as the God of the Jewish and Christian people. See Perdrizet 1912, p. 257. See also Bergmann 1911, p. 506.

<sup>581</sup> The term φάρμακα (as well as φαρμακεύειν) is usually interpreted as “poison”, but sometimes also as “spells/enchantments”. See Gager 1992, p. 187.

gods of the pagan and the monotheistic religions<sup>582</sup>. The three gods are appealed to for finding and punishing the one responsible for Arsinoe's death. It seems like the relatives of the victim expected help from these deities in establishing justice through the punishment of the murderer<sup>583</sup>. Indeed, while the Sun<sup>584</sup> and the God Hypsistos (πάντων ἐπόπτης) were deities who always watched and knew everything, Nemesis (in her double form)<sup>585</sup> was the only deity whose revenge did not imply a series of reprisals<sup>586</sup>, because she was closely related to justice. The presence of the Sun God in invocations of justice is confirmed by other inscriptions, where the ability to see (typical of the celestial gods) makes this deity a guarantor of just revenge<sup>587</sup>. Moreover, the link between Nemesis and “the Highest” seems to suggest a role of the goddess beyond the Olympian gods and their specific cults<sup>588</sup>.

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<sup>582</sup> The invocation of celestial and chthonian gods together on burial monuments is a well-known phenomenon in Asia Minor. See Keil-Wilhelm 1915, pp. 46-47: Ἐξορκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐπιουράνιον Θεὸν καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην καὶ τοὺς [...] καταχθονίους θεοὺς.

<sup>583</sup> The relationship between Nemesis and the Sun is well developed in the Roman Orient. An important papyrus from Lyon (see Volkmann 1928, p. 302, n. 14; 310) testifies the connection between these two entities; similarly, the Leiden Papyrus 1, 384, which identifies the vengeful Egyptian Petbe with the griffin in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. On Nemesis-Helios see also Seyrig 1932, pp. 60 ff. and the coins from Rhodes (Cat., 2. 17) with Helios on the obverse and Nemesis on the reverse of the coins, even if they cannot be certain evidence for the relationship between the two deities, because of the main role assigned to Helios in the island. Cfr. Papapostolou 1898, p. 376.

<sup>584</sup> On the Sun as god who sees and knows everything, see Strubbe 1991, pp. 46-47.

<sup>585</sup> On the veneration of the double Nemesis in Egypt, see Lichocka 2004, p. 7, 20 ff.

<sup>586</sup> This is a detail that Caesar probably considered when he dedicated a *temenos* to Nemesis on the buried head of Pompey. See above, pp. 111-113 ff.

<sup>587</sup> See Jordan 1979, p. 522-525; Cumont 1923; Cumont 1926-27. Likewise, the sight of Nemesis is confirmed by the choice of the griffin as her *alter ego*. With wings and sharp eyes, this animal represents at best the importance of seeing and knowing for a goddess of balancing between punishment and reward like Nemesis.

<sup>588</sup> The invocation of Nemesis and Zeus Hypsistos together is also attested in a stele of a Roman citizen from Thessalonica (Cat., 10. 28; *IG X*, 2, 1, 62). We read: Διὶ ὑψίστῳ θεῶν δικαίαν Νέμεσιν Κό. Φούριος Οὐρβανὸς ἀνέθεκεν εὐχὴν. This small stele (0, 29 m. h.) belongs to Quintus Furius Urbanus, citizen of Thessalonica, as other Macedonian inscriptions confirm (see below). On this specific piece of evidence, we also find the representation of a winged Nemesis in short *chiton* (typical of Roman iconography), holding a balance, crushing a female figure, accompanied by a griffin at her feet. In this peculiar representation, Nemesis clearly holds her “instruments” for judging the deceased (and assuring him/her a peaceful death); she does not raise her hands for praying, as

This inscription is particularly interesting for understanding Nemesis' popularity when someone was demanding a righteous vengeance for a murdered person, recalling a sort of *tabella defixionis*: Curses and spells that were usually placed in the tomb or in places of death, like the amphitheatre<sup>589</sup>.

The oldest pre-Roman funerary inscription mentioning Nemesis (4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.) presents an invocation to the goddess, possibly related to the revenge for a person unjustly killed. It is a marble slab from Attica, representing two female figures, perhaps the deceased and her servant. The inscription between them reads: — ον τόδε γαῖα καλύπτει| [— — N]έμεσις [σ]φαγέα.| [— — θ]ανόντων ζῶσα | λέ[λειπται]| [— — ἦθ]εσι χρῆσαμεν —<sup>590</sup>. The initial reference to the earth, which “covers”, is clearly related to the buried body, as well as the goddess Nemesis who could be the avenger/protector of someone who has been killed (σφαγέα could refer to the goddess, as feminine nominative, but also to an object, the dead woman). The verb λέλειπται (<\* λείπω) means literally “that remains”, which could easily be

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Perdrizet suggests (Perdrizet 1914, *op. cit.*). On the *gens Furia* in Macedonia: *EKM 1, Beroia*, 27; *IG X, 2, 2, 75* (Herakleia Lynkestis); *IG X, 2, 1, 60* (Thessalonica); *IG X, 2, 1, 208, 244, 466* (female name), 468, 542, 811, 899 (female name).

The request for righteous vengeance on burial inscriptions was a common practice in the Jewish communities, as the epitaph of Heraklea attests (from the cemetery of Rheneia, near Delos, *EAD 30, 485, 2 = ID 2532, 2*): The relatives of the young woman killed by poison or spell (φονεύ|σαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν ταλαίπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεαν ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἴμα ἀδί|κως) ask the God Hypsistos for a fair revenge (ἐγδικήσης). This inscription is carved on the two sides of a marble slab, and it is accompanied by a relief of two opened hands in the act of praying. Perdrizet considers this peculiar piece of evidence (together with the Alexandrian epitaph of Arsinoe) a proof of the connection of Nemesis with the monotheistic religions regarding the pursuit of revenge. His thesis still needs to be supported by evidence, but nevertheless sounds interesting, since it could partly explain the transmission of Nemesis (her gestures and symbolism) through the centuries. See Gager 1999, pp. 185-187; Perdrizet 1914, pp. 89-93. The open hands representation is recorded on three gravestones. See Strubbe 1991, p. 42: “the raising of the hands is the symbol of the invocation to Helios for divine vengeance”. See S. Mitchell, *Regional epigraphic catalogue of Asia Minor, vol. 2*, Michigan 1982, p. 104, n. 110.

<sup>589</sup> Strubbe 1991; Versnel 1991; Papapostolou 1989, p. 377; Wittenberg 2014, p. 9; Hornum 1993, pp. 72, 76.

<sup>590</sup> *Cat.*, 1. 22; *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 13115.



related to death (as also the rest of the inscription), while the participle ζῶσα should allude to the deceased woman<sup>591</sup>.

The surprising role of “killer” is attached to Nemesis on a stele from Odessus in Moesia Inferior<sup>592</sup>. We refer to the epitaph of the young Aristokles, deceased before reaching the age of marriage: Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἑλληνοῦ ἥρωος χαῖρε. Under the relief: ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γονέων παῖς ὀρφανός, ᾧ παροδεῖται· | λειφθεῖς τὴν φθονερῆν εἶδον ἐγὼ Νέμεσιν· | ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης θαλάμων ἀμύητος, ἄτεκνος. The inscription attests that he saw the φθονερῆ Nemesis when he was eighteen years old. Here, even if “causing” the death by her own envy, Nemesis does not appear strictly as the deity who brings death. A similar idea of a threatening Nemesis, as a goddess with negative effects on the deceased (more or less directly causing their death) comes from a stele found in Gaza dated in the pre-Roman period<sup>593</sup>. This stele is well-known among historians and philologists due to the rich vocabulary and the elaborate language, which clearly belongs to the Hellenistic period. We read at the

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<sup>591</sup> This peculiar piece of evidence is the most ancient attestation of the goddess Nemesis within the sphere of death, and comes from Attica, where annual festivals of funerary character are attested in Rhamnous. See above, p. 148.

<sup>592</sup> Cat., 11. 5. A marble plaque with a relief of a Thracian rider and the epitaph above it. See *IGBulg. I*, 220; cfr. Tradler 1998, p. 197, n. 1236. Similar to this piece of evidence is a stele from Philippi dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. (Cat., 10. 13): A Thracian rider is represented accompanied by Nemesis in the centre of the relief, but this finding needs an autopsy due to the poor quality of photos/images available. The connection between Nemesis and the Thracian rider – sometimes a funerary symbol itself – should belong to the merging of local cults in the Danubian area. At any rate, certainly Nemesis reinforces the possibility that this peculiar piece of evidence is a funerary monument. This kind of finds sometimes presents a Nemesis in secondary position, connected with rituals of initiation, as also the Sun and the Moon, the bulls, the deer, and other animals and plants. On this argument see Nemeti 2015, pp. 129-138 and especially a marble relief from Alba Iulia and one from Paračin (p. 130, fig. 3, 5), which present a knight in the centre of the scene, heading right and holding a spear in his hand, trampling on a figure depicted face down, and in front of two female figures waiting for him, variously interpretable as a Nemesis with another deity or as two Nemeses of Smyranean type (the cult of the double Nemesis was widespread in the Danubian area). On the relief of Alba Iulia, one of these figures raises the *chiton* to spit on her chest, in the manner of Nemesis.

<sup>593</sup> Cat., 12. 5. See M. Hornum 1993, p. 227, n. 136. More specifically, the year 201 B.C. is considered as the inscription’s *terminus ante quem*, corresponding to the assumption of the reign by the Seleucides.

very beginning of the inscription: ἐξ εὐδαιμοσύνης πῦρ ἄγριον ἦλυθεν ὑμέων, | Χαρμάδα, ἔσφηλεν δ' ἐλπίδα τις Νέμεσις. Charmades was a man of Cretan origins (perhaps a mercenary in the Ptolemaic reign) who achieved many goals in his life: family, wealth, honours and political success. However, his child (who bore the name of the father) died prematurely, and a high fever killed his nephew, as Nemesis sadly “balanced” the situation<sup>594</sup>. The goddess is described here as “one Nemesis” (τις Νέμεσις), as she partly lost her divine individuality, becoming “one of the numerous possible Nemeseis”, here interpreted as the destiny of Charmades and bringer of death. The early chronology of this stele could easily justify the use of the concept instead of the deity; τις νέμεσις could be intended as an idea of retribution/destiny, without any sort of indignation in the Homeric sense, but also without any personal connotation of a goddess.

The Cretan origins<sup>595</sup> of Charmades do not permit us to consider this epitaph, which remains a *unicum* in the Palestinian area, as an indication of the pre-Roman diffusion of Nemesis' cult. In fact, we cannot know if the local citizens of Gaza recognized this epitaph as something familiar to their religious customs. On the other hand, if Charmades or his relative conferred upon Nemesis the role of the guardian of the tomb, we could suppose an interrelation between the funerary monument and the surrounding society; namely, an admonition not to damage the monument would have implied an involvement of the community, which would have recognised the protective role of the goddess and acted accordingly<sup>596</sup>. Certainly, we should acknowledge a kind of “acceptance” of death, as Nemesis was considered a deity who balanced a prosperous and satisfying situation with a pitiful one.

As is commonly known, the Hades of the Greeks and the Romans was located in the earth, or more precisely beneath it. One stele recently found at Hadrianopolis in

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<sup>594</sup> Ll. 3-6.

<sup>595</sup> Unfortunately, there is no other evidence for funerary worship of Nemesis in Crete.

<sup>596</sup> All other traces of Nemesis in Palestine belong to the Roman period, and consist of reliefs, coins (with the goddess or the griffin) and votive inscriptions. Certainly, we do not have any sign of Nemesis preceding the Roman expansion and the annexation of Palestine into the Roman provincial net.

Paphlagonia<sup>597</sup> confirms this idea, and testifies another peculiar way to consider Nemesis. The goddess, indeed, appears as a sort of “Charon”, helping the souls enter the Hades. On this piece of evidence, we read: ἐ Μοῖρα | ἀπάξας ἐκόμισσεν ὑπὸ χθόνα τούνεκα πᾶσιν | ἐσθλοῖσιν Νέμεσις τις ἐφίπταται ἐς Αἰδάο. The evident role of “driver” of souls echoes the relationship between Nemesis and Hecate<sup>598</sup>, the latter known as the goddess of passages, and the main assistant in the greatest passage of human life. The peculiar use of ἐς Αἰδάο clearly conveys the idea of the journey to a place, underlining the role of Nemesis as a guide between the worlds above and below the earth. This is confirmed also by the verb ἐφίπταται (ἐπι+πέτομαι)<sup>599</sup> referring to Nemesis, meaning “flying over” (in this specific case towards Hades), bringing the souls ὑπὸ χθόνα, while the Moira simply defines the moment of death<sup>600</sup>.

<sup>597</sup> Cat., 3. 5. See Laflı-Christof 2012, n. 29.

<sup>598</sup> See below, p. 164.

<sup>599</sup> This verb confirms also the idea of a funerary Nemesis equipped with wings: An attribute that, in this specific field, belongs to Nemesis independently by Tyche and the ludic context. On the other hand, the name Αἰδάο is commonly cited on funerary stelae anticipated by the preposition εἰς/ἐς/ίς or as a part of the expression ἐλθῶ[v δόμον εἰς Αἰ]δαο (Attica, *SEG 30*: 270, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), ἦλθα θοῶς εἰς Αἰδαο δόμο[υς] (Sparta, *IG V*, 1 732) where the verb ἔρχομαι clearly indicates the idea of movement towards to Underworld. Differently, when preceded by ἐν, Hades becomes part of expressions like εἰν Αἰδαο δόμοισιν (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen* 96,179, Cilicia and Isauria), χαῖρε καὶ εἰ[v Αἰ]δαο (*I. Kourion*, 68, 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.), κατοδύρομαι εἰν Αἰδαο (Bernand, *Inscr. Métr.* 35, late Ptolemaic period), where none of the verbs/expressions denotes a movement towards Hades, but simply a statement of being already there.

<sup>600</sup> It is not surprising that the roles of the Moires, Nemesis, Invidia and Dike are sometimes switched. The famous passage of the *Silvae* (2, 6, 73-78) can testify this dismay: *attendit torvo tristis Rhamnusia vultu | primum implevitque toros oculisque nitorem | addidit ac solito sublimis ora levavit | heul misero letale favens, seseque videndo | torsit et invidia mortemque amplexa iacenti | iniecit nexu carpsitque immitis adunca ora verenda manu*. “The gloomy dame of Rhamnous marked him frowning; and first she filled out his thews and gave his eyes new gleam, raising his head higher than of wont, deadly favors alas! to the hapless lad, torturing herself with malignant gaze; then embracing him as he lay, she cast upon him the chains of death, mercilessly plucking with her talons the face she should have revered”. The goddess of Rhamnous seems concretely to be the Parca with the sharp claws, which kills the unlucky young boy, object of Envy (2, 6, 68-70: *sed gnara dolorum Invidia infelix animi vitalia vidit laedendique vias*). Certainly, Nemesis is the goddess causing death, but the “hand” is that of the Parca. Also Cornutus seems to have confused the forces/deities; having spoken about Zeus, who punishes and avenges, he assimilates Nemesis to Adrasteia and Tyche: Then

The hymn of Mesomedes confirms this special task of Nemesis: τὰν μεγαλονορίαν βροτῶν νεμεσῶσα φέρεις κατὰ Ταρτάρου<sup>601</sup>. The action of “delivering” the souls to the Underworld inspired an association of Nemesis with the Egyptian deity Maat, who weighed the souls that arrived in Underworld. Nemesis, however, by “carrying” the souls, gives the impression of having already delivered her judgment. This peculiar Nemesis-Maat *conubium* is testified by the aforementioned Egyptian *naiskos* (Domitian age) where Nemesis appears in the form of her griffin, supervisor of the delivery of Maat from the Pharaoh/Domitian to Re-harachty (= Ra)<sup>602</sup>. Indeed, we cannot exclude the possibility that Nemesis was partially a Greek “translation” of Maat<sup>603</sup>. The cubit-rule, for example, was an attribute shared

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Zeus is also similar to the Moires and Destiny because the distribution of the destinies is not something visible (*Comp.*, 13, ll. 11-14): “Zeus is also Fate/Moira, because the distribution of things which happen to each person is not visible. From this, the other allotments have come to be called fates”. Also, in *Comp.*, 13, ll. 17- 23 we read that Adrasteia is also called Nemesis from «distribution» for she determined what happens to each person; Fortune from building our environments, that is, being the creator of the things which happen to people; and Oupis from the punishment of the things worthy of retribution, as if she were secretly following behind, carefully watching the things we do”. See also Dionysius’ statement regarding the cult of Πίστις Δημοσία that Numa established. He says that, according to second mythical king of Rome, Justice, Themis, Nemesis and the Eryns were enough venerated, while Πίστις, the Faith, had not been revered by the Romans yet (DION., HALIC., *Ant. Rom.*, 2, 75, 2-3). Nemesis, Dike and Themis were considered as part of the same context as that of the Eryns. On the nearness between Nemesis and the Moires, see also Tradler 1998, pp. 177-178. On Cornutus’ work, see J. G. Anscombe, *An etymological commentary on Cornutus’ Epidrome*, University of Leeds, 2005: <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/11272/1/421944.pdf>

<sup>601</sup> See Appendix one, p. 311.

<sup>602</sup> See above, p. 72.

<sup>603</sup> See Lichocka 2004, p. 10, n. 72; Flagge 1976, p. 115, fig. 138. Concerning Egypt, the decline of Nemesis in the funerary context could be reflected also in her relationship with Isis during Roman times, when the Oriental cult spread along the Empire, becoming part of the “enlarged” Roman *pantheon*. Isis, Egyptian goddess and supervisor of the life/death passage, was at the centre of a kind of ritual very close to the Eleusinian one. Therefore, as she belonged to the chthonian sphere, she formed a solid connection with Nemesis. Indeed, the syncretism Nemesis-Isis is attested for the first time on 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. dedicatory inscriptions from Delos. We know three dedications (Cat., 1. 13-15) by a certain Sosios Eumenos Oinaios from Athens, priest of Serapis, who offered statues and the temple of Isis-Nemesis (τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἰσιδος Νεμέσεως). According to Hornum, a temple

by the two goddesses, symbolizing the perfect metre and balance. Furthermore, some scholars suggested a correspondence between the double Nemesis of Smyrna and Maat, when the latter is represented with a double shape during the judgment of the souls<sup>604</sup>.

Returning to Greece, we also find cases where the goddess is simply associated with the name of the deceased, with the general function of protecting the tomb and the soul. We refer to an epitaph of Cos and a stele from Thessalonica (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.). In the first case, Nemesis is linked in a simple way to the name of Pistos (the dead woman), and her father Glaukos<sup>605</sup>: [N]εμέσεως. | Πιστῶς | τᾶς Γλα[ύ]κου Σιδω|νί[α]ς. The use of the genitive Νεμέσεως seems to suggest a sort of belonging of the deceased person to the goddess. The latter evidence<sup>606</sup> presents a relief of Nemesis in long chiton, in the act of spitting on her chest<sup>607</sup>. The sobriety and minimalism of these two finds denote that Nemesis was a goddess extensively employed on funerary monuments: The concepts of moderation and temperance were well communicated, with the simple mention of her name or the addition of her image.

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of Nemesis-Isis was already in existence long before the Roman appropriation of the island. On Nemesis-Isis, see Hornum 1993, pp. 195-196 with further bibli., and Hauvett-Besnault 1882, pp. 336-338. See also Alvar 2018, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>604</sup> See Lichocka 2004, p. 10, with further references.

<sup>605</sup> Cat., 2. 8. This inscription belongs to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (Bosnakis 2008, n. 108): Nemesis had been traditionally worshipped together with Adrasteia since the pre-Roman period on the island. See *IG XII*, 4, 1, 318, l. 11 and 325, l. 16, for *diapraphe* for the sale of the priesthood of Nemesis-Adrasteia in the second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.; see Segre 1993, ED 144, l. 9 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.); ED 62, l. 16 (1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.).

<sup>606</sup> Cat., 10. 27. Λύκιος Κανουλειῶς | Ζώσιμος αὐτῶ ζῶν | καὶ Κανουλεῖ|α Ποταμί|α | τῆ ἀπελευθε|ρα καὶ Εὐερ|γερ' ἴση μνή|μης | ἔτους ΓρΣ. See Hornum 1993, p. 210, n. 109; Papazoglou 1963, pp. 525-6. More references in the catalogue.

<sup>607</sup> She just spits on her chest, while holding the cubit-rule, which is the unique attribute represented. Treu considers this relief, the product of Greek craftsmanship of the Roman times inspired by the Classical models. He compares this relief with the two Nemeseis-Tychai statues of the stadium of Olympia (Cat., 1. 17; *LIMC VI*, 1, s. v. *Nemesis*, n. 180 a-b; below, pp. 226 ff.). See Treu 1894, p. 237. This iconographical simplicity is quite surprising if we consider the late date of the relief, when the figure of Nemesis was already characterised by her traditional attributes. This simplicity should have confused Hogart, who interpreted this figure as a child who holds a stick.

Nemesis' name is not even mentioned on a rectangular funerary stele<sup>608</sup> (fig. 4) from the region of Balanaea (Baniyas, Syria), dated to the years 226/227 A.D. and today held at the National Museum of Damascus. Nemesis is represented veiled and in a short chiton, leaning her hand on a wheel. The quality of the relief is extremely poor, as the state of conservation is quite bad. The inscription accompanying the relief reveals the identity of a Roman citizen from Syria, veteran of the *Legio Prima Parthica Severiana*, who fought against the Parthians in the campaigns of Septimius and Caracalla: Γ. Λούκιος Μάρκελλος | οὐτρ(ανός) {οὐετρανός} | λεγι(ῶνος) α΄ Παρθικῆς Σεουηρι(ανῆς) τὸν κόσμον ἐκδημήσας, | ἐν δυσὶ πυγμαῖς ἀθλεύσας | ἤλθον ἰς τὴν πατρίδα, τόδε τὸ ἡρώδιον οἱ | κοδομήσας· ὧδε ἐπάύσα | τὸ μου ἢ ψυχῆ, ἔτους σπθ΄. Gaius Lucius Marcellus specified on his epitaph that he fought as a gladiator twice in the west provinces of the Empire, and perhaps later became a soldier and a veteran under the Severans. His profile perfectly coincides with that of the typical Nemesis worshipper, even if here the goddess is not even explicitly mentioned, and seems to be totally considered in her quality of chthonian goddess, protector of the tomb.

Apart from investigating the burial findings naming Nemesis with different titles/functions, a way to deepen our understanding of the chthonian nature of the goddess is to search for common features shared with other chthonian deities. A burial from the west cemetery of Perge comes to our aid, showing an indirect but unique relationship between Nemesis and Hecate, the supervisor *par excellence* of the passage into the Beyond; this relationship was well-known in the Western parts of the Empire, such as the Danubian area, where archaeologists found gems and amulets portraying the two goddesses together<sup>609</sup>. Concerning Perge, the epitaph of

<sup>608</sup> Cat., 14. 7. See Seyrig 1950, p. 247. Above, p. 76.

<sup>609</sup> A gem of the Roman times is particularly interesting for its peculiar miniatures. On one side of it we undoubtedly recognise the triple Hecate holding a sword, a whip and a torch, flanked on her right by Nemesis, depicted in long garment, who spits on her chest looking to Hecate herself. A naked figure lying face down under the two goddesses remembers the initiatic or funerary sphere; in fact, far from the more usual representations of the ideal bearded Barbarian or the female personifications of hubris (both lying supine, to better symbolize their being defeated by Nemesis), this specific figure seems not to be punished but protected by the jurisdiction of the two goddesses. Nevertheless, the other side of the gem also seems characterised by the initiatic context. See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*,

a certain Eutychedios (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.) reveals the existence of a local cult of Nemesis. The deceased presents himself as priest of Nemesis Enodia: Εὐτυχιανὸς Μάγνου Φιλίππου Τηλέφου ἱερεὺς Νεμέσεως ἐνοδίας κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ οἴκημα σωματοθήκης ψαλιδωτὸν<sup>610</sup>. Enodia (ἐν-ὁδός = “on/of the street”, “on/of the crossroad”) was an appellation normally referring to the material location of monuments/temples/statues generally located in places of passage such as crossroads. In the last edition of this inscription<sup>611</sup>, Sahin opted for the interpretation of ἐνοδίας as a common epithet of Nemesis considered as “guardian of the streets” (“straßenschützenden”), rather than a proper name of a syncretistic deity Nemesis-Enodia. However, Enodia was an individual goddess, easily associable with Nemesis. We find traces of her cult in Thessaly<sup>612</sup> (inscriptions from 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.), Macedonia<sup>613</sup> and Epidauria<sup>614</sup> (from 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to 5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.), but also in Nemea and Athens. She was related to the Afterlife and the judgment of souls, generally linked to the sphere of irrational and magical rituals;

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n. 208 (P. Karanastassis) with bibl.; Mitropoulou 1978, p. 43, n. 47b. Another interesting jaspis gem shows the triple goddess in the middle, with a cross on her head, a small Athena Polias on the left and a Nemesis (who spits on her chest) with wheel on the right of the gem. This piece of evidence does not explicitly present initiatic/magic elements, while the cross on the head of Hecate could represent the metaphorical as well as material crossroads. See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 205 (P. Karanastassis); Mitropoulou 1978, p. 42, n. 46, fig. 61. On similar tablets and Danubian stones, see Nemeti 2015, 129-138.

<sup>610</sup> Cat., 9. 5; *I. Perge*, 366.

<sup>611</sup> See n. above.

<sup>612</sup> Polyaeus attests a curious way to win in the battlefield, telling the story of a priestess of Enodia who performed magical rituals that spread craziness through the opposing army (*Stratagemata*, 7, 43: τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἐνοδίας). Therefore, two dedications to the Thessalian Enodia (5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.) come from Larissa: One to the Enodia Astike and the other to Enodia Stathmia. Moreover, women used to worship Enodia for the wellness of their children: *IG IX, 2, 575, 577*. See Mili 2015, p. 150-151. Lastly, concerning Enodia and the sphere of magic, see her relationships with Artemis, Hecate, Medea and Iphigenia drawn by Mazzola 2006.

<sup>613</sup> *EAM*, 94, 116, 117; see Nigdelis – Souris 1996, pp. 69-80 (*SEG 46: 745*): inscription from the sanctuary of Enodia at Deftero Rema with information about the manumission of a slave. The manumission was a practice that often took place during the festival of Enodia, celebrated in the 12th of Dystros (February).

<sup>614</sup> *I. Epidaurios*, 116: Ἐνοδ [ἰα] Ἄνθα[ς].

she was also considered to be a protector of passages, among which, naturally, the one between death and birth. As minor local goddess, Enodia was sometimes related to various deities, such as Artemis<sup>615</sup>, Hermes<sup>616</sup>, Persephone<sup>617</sup> and Poseidon<sup>618</sup>; however, the strongest and deepest connection was with Hecate<sup>619</sup>. Unfortunately, it is difficult to define Enodia's area of action and her profile.

<sup>615</sup> *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 1, 500: Τι[μαίο]υ | πυροφορή|σας | Ἀρτέ|μιδι Ἐνο|δία; *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 1 274: [Ἀρτάμιτι] | [Ἐ]νοδ[ία] | Λᾶνθο[ς]. The cult of Artemis-Enodia spread from Pherai to all of Thessaly and Macedonia, as well as in southern Greece, probably because of the relevant role of the polis of Pherai in the Archaic and Classical times. *SEG 45*: 645 (4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.): [[Ἀη[μ]ήτηρ.] | [[Ἐν]οδία.] | [[Ἀφροδίτη.] | [[Ἀημήτηρ.] | [[Ἐν]οδία.] | [[Ἀθην[ᾶ].] | Ἀθηνᾶ. | Ἐνοδία. | Δημήτηρ. See Miller 1974, pp. 233-235 and 250-251.

<sup>616</sup> THEOC., *Id.*, 25, 4: Ἐκ τοι ξεῖνε πρόφρων μυθήσομαι ὅσσ' ἑρεεῖνεις, | Ἑρμῆω ἀζόμενος δεινὴν ὄπιν εἰνοδίοιο: | τὸν γάρ φασι μέγιστον ἐπουρανίων κεχολῶσθαι, | εἴ κεν ὁδοῦ ζαχρεῖον ἀνήγηταί τις ὀδίτην. “Willingly, stranger, I will tell thou akest, for I reverence the awful power of Hermes of the Ways. Beyond other gods is he wroth, men say, if one refuses a traveller that craves directions”. Concerning the funerary context, apart from the role of ‘psychopompos’, Hermes was sometimes mentioned in *tabellae defixionum*: see DTA 107, 4<sup>th</sup> B.C.; cfr. Faraone 1991, pp. 15, 18-19.

<sup>617</sup> EUR., *Ion.*, 1048: Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος; SOPH., *Ant.*, 1199-1201: καὶ τὸν μὲν, αἰτήσαντες ἐνοδίαν θεὸν | Πλούτωνά τ' ὀργὰς εὐμενεῖς κατασχεθεῖν | λούσαντες ἀγνὸν λουτρον. “After we had prayed to the goddess of the roads and to Pluto to restrain their anger in mercy, we washed him with pure washing, and with freshly-plucked boughs we burned what remains there were”. Here Enodia is deeply related to Pluto and rituals for dead people. She is clearly characterised as θεός. For Wilamowitz this ἐνοδίαν θεὸν was a Persephone-Enodia. See Chrysostomou 1998, pp. 112-113, n. 379; Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen I*, p. 169 (ed. 1952).

<sup>618</sup> Ionic *naiskos* from Larissa (second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.) dedicated to Zeus, Poseidon and Enodia today preserved at the Museum of Larissa. See Chrysostomou 1998, pp. 55-56; cfr. Chrysostomou 2008, p. 250.

<sup>619</sup> Hecate was characterised as εἰνοδία at the beginning of her orphic hymn (*O.H.*, 2, 1), with the meaning of “protector of the streets” (a more general epithet than the later τριοδίτην, that means specifically “of three directions/ways”: LUCIAN, *DMort.*, 1). A mystery cult of Hecate took place in Aegina, where she was probably known as Enodia. See LUCIAN, *Nav.*, 15, PLUT., *Perieg.*, 2, 30, 2. For the mysteric aspect of the cult of Hecate, see ARIST., *Wasps*, 122 and PAUS., *l. c.*

Sophocles mentioned Hecate-Enodia (Fr. 535 Radt): Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερόν, τῆς εἰνοδίας Ἐκάτης ἔγχος, τὸ δι' Οὐλύμπου προπολοῦσα φέρει καὶ γῆς ἀνιοῦ ἱεράς τριόδους, στεφανωσαμένη δρυὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς ὤμων σπεύραισι δρακόντων. “Oh Sun, lord and sacred fire, weapon of Hecate Enodia, that she holds when at the Olympus, and when she opens the three passages of earth, crowned with an oak wreath and braid snakes” (translation of the author). Cfr. Mazzola 2006, p. 308.



evidence for her tends to be variable. The piece of evidence from Perge is an absolute *unicum* in the definition of Nemesis as Enodia/*enodia*, and it is not easy to say whether these two goddesses were conflated into a single one. However, either as a syncretistic or an individual deity, the Nemesis worshipped by Eutyichianos probably had monuments on the streets of Perge, justified by her role as *psychopompos* as seen above<sup>620</sup>.

Lastly, Nemesis and Enodia are both attested in the funerary monument (*Triopeiion*) dedicated by Herodes Atticus to his wife Regilla on the Via Appia (Rome). While the usual warning<sup>621</sup> to the wayfarer mentions Athena, the “Rhamnousian Oupis”<sup>622</sup> and Demetra (invoked as punishing goddesses), the chthonian Demetra and Kore are called to be guardians of the place under the surveillance and “the warranty” of Enodia (μάρτυς δαίμων Ἐνθοδία<sup>623</sup>) on the columns at the entrance of the monument.

#### 4. 1. 3 The *munus* as a chthonian/apotropaic ritual related to Nemesis.

Even if the chronology of the funerary evidence belongs almost completely to the Roman period, the chthonian nature of Nemesis seems to be an original Greek feature of the goddess, which preceded her absorption in the Roman *pantheon* and

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<sup>620</sup> The attribute *enodia*, however, could also be metaphorically interpreted with the ability of Nemesis of “appearing on the street of life, turning up or down the people’s destiny,” but this can be only a conjecture.

<sup>621</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 238, n. 153; Guarducci 1974, p. 137.

<sup>622</sup> The name Rhamnousian Oupis underlines the power of seeing and knowing everything typical of Nemesis (quality that matched Nemesis with Zeus/God Hypsistos and the Sun in the aforementioned inscription); indeed, the epithet Rhamnousian related to Oupis does not leave any doubt about the identification with Nemesis, since she was the main deity venerated at Rhamnous – the identification with Themis, on the other hand, would not fit so well with the idea of controlling and supervising. To confirm that this deity is Nemesis we have a second mention of Nemesis in the monument, this time as ἀπρόφατος Νέμεσις καὶ ρόμβος ἀλάστως. The identification of Oupis with Nemesis or a force similar to her is not new: It is recorded by Cornutus in his *Compendius*, IX-XIV. See Guarducci 1977, p. 234; Farnell 1896, p. 490.

<sup>623</sup> *IGUR II*, 339a-b; see Guarducci 1977, pp. 233-234, fig. 66.

adaptation into the context of the amphitheatre. Therefore, apart from the Rhamnousian festivals attested by Demosthenes<sup>624</sup>, the two pre-Roman epitaphs found in Attica<sup>625</sup> and Gaza<sup>626</sup>, and the specific associations of Nemesis with other gods of the Greek *pantheon* related to funerary rites (Moires, Erynies, Hecate, Enodia) confirm the antiquity of the Nemesis' involvement in the sphere of death.

Therefore, the central role of Nemesis in the passage of the soul to the Afterlife should have been seen as an important aspect worthy of worship by people involved in traditionally dangerous activities, people such as the soldiers<sup>627</sup>, gladiators, and *venatores*. Nemesis' shrines in the amphitheatres expressed not only the identification of the goddess with Roman power<sup>628</sup>, but also, and mainly, her originary role in the theology of death. Ville<sup>629</sup> made the connection between the amphitheatre and the concept of death, considering the ritual aspect of the gladiatorial fights as always present in the spectacles, even when they had clear agonistic purposes. Indeed, even the architectural features of the amphitheatre find their basic *raison d'être* in the concept of the passage between life and death<sup>630</sup>.

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<sup>624</sup> *Or.*, 41, 11, 7-8. Above, p. 148.

<sup>625</sup> *Cat.*, 1. 22; above, p. 156.

<sup>626</sup> *Cat.*, 12. 5; above, pp. 157-158.

<sup>627</sup> On the other hand, Diosono considers the association of Nemesis with the imperial cult and the Roman State as the main factor for the success of her cult among the army. The identification of the emperor and the Roman order with the goddess certainly played a fundamental role in the spread of Nemesis' cult among soldiers and military officers. However, the imperial cult and worship of Rome cannot fully explain the personal belief in Nemesis these people showed in private dedications, as the funerary ones, *ex voto*, and for the sake of their families. See Diosono 2019, pp. 90.

<sup>628</sup> This idea is supported mostly by M. Hornum, who based his book on it. See Hornum 1993.

<sup>629</sup> See Ville 1981. Cfr. Le Glay 1990, p. 217.

<sup>630</sup> In this vein we recall the religious and symbolic importance of the direct connection between the *porta sanavivaria*, and the *porta libitinaria* through which the fallen gladiator was carried out. See Wittenberg 2014, pp. 8-9. On the religious character of the amphitheatre, see Le Glay 1990, pp. 217 ff. We can recognize Greek celebrations with the meaning of punishment, sacrifice and ritual death, such as the festival of Artemis Orthia, where the official ceremony included the whipping of young boys. Moreover, one may remind the evaluation of the arena as a place with a particular "energy" given by the violent death of gladiators, witnessed in the Greek Magical Papyri (4, 1390-1404), where it is recommended to perform a spell into the arena. See Betz 1986, pp. 64-65, cfr. Diosono 2019, p. 93.

The *Historia Augusta* witnessed the attempt to exorcize death before a battle through gladiatorial combats dedicated to Nemesis-Fortuna. In the lives of Maximus and Balbinus, the biographer Iulius Capitolinus described the rituals preceding the fight: *unde autem mos tractus sit ut profiscentes ad bellum imperatores munus gladiatorum et venatus darent, breviter dicendum est. Multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes factam ut civium sanguine litato specie pugnatum se Nemesis, id est vis quaedam Fortunae, satiaret*<sup>631</sup>. Here Nemesis appears as a force/ability of Fortuna, able to influence the success of a fight: An aspect of Nemesis that reminds the aforesaid syncretism with Fortuna conceived as protector of a city<sup>632</sup>. Capitolinus clearly explained the reasons for organizing this fight with the term *satiaret*: Nemesis has to be satisfied with bloody games so that she does not require a sacrifice of soldiers in battle, and so the game became a sort of expiation. One may notice that the idea of supreme harmony, typical of the pre-Roman Nemesis, was behind this practice. As Capitolinus specified, the *veteres* would call this ritual *devotio*: Something widely present in the Roman history and mythology<sup>633</sup>, embodying the model of the right behaviour for every member of the army and in general for the Roman people<sup>634</sup>. According to

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<sup>631</sup> *H. A., Maximus and Balbinus*, 8.

<sup>632</sup> See above, p. 123.

<sup>633</sup> The first attestation of the *devotio* dates back to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., in the context of the Great Latin War (LIV., 8, 9, 4-8), with the self-sacrifice of the *consul* Decius. Polybius attested the heroism of Horatius Cocles (POL., 6, 54-55). See LIV., 8, 10, 11-14 for how the practice of *devotio* in battle evolved over the centuries. Dio Cassius attests the case of the self-sacrifice of Sextus Pacuvius for the well-being of Augustus. DIO CASS., 53, 20; particularly interesting is the case of Atanius Secundus, who, according to Cassius Dio (59, 8, 3), decided to fight in the arena for the sake of the emperor and the State. See Milani 2017, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>634</sup> The practice of the *devotio* is widely attested for the years of the Roman Republic, and naturally not in relation to Nemesis, when the goddess was probably not yet known and worshipped; in these cases the ritual was addressed to the Roman chthonian gods (the Manes, but also the principal gods of the Roman *pantheon*) as a self sacrifice which avoided divine punishment and gained the favour of the gods on the battlefield. Looking at this practice and to the custom of dedicating a *munus* before an imminent battle, one could consider the latter a developed form of scapegoat ritual, where the gladiator's death took the place of that of a single brave man. Wiedemann rejected the ideas of "human sacrifice" or scapegoat ritual recently proposed by some scholars; according to him, the death in the arena was too honorable to be considered a human offering or scapegoat sacrifice.

the biographer, the act of *devotio* had the power to ensure the favour of Nemesis-Fortuna and keep the Romans safe from military defeats. Naturally, gladiatorial fights were also a way to instil bravery and courage in the soldiers, as Capitolinus later asserted<sup>635</sup>. Apart from Balbinus, the emperor Julian also dedicated a *munus* before the beginning of a war campaign against the Persians<sup>636</sup>, but without any reference to Nemesis.

The connection between the *munus* and death goes back to the organization of the first spectacles. In fact, the *munus* was initially conceived as a spectacle for a funerary occasion. According to Servius<sup>637</sup>, during the funerals of important people (*virorum fortium*) some gladiators called *bustuarii* (*bustum*, “bust”, and so “tomb”) used to fight until death near the tomb. These combats, dedicated to the deceased person, soon became a form of public spectacle; the first spectacle set up in Rome is traditionally considered to have occurred during the funerals of Junius Brutus Pera, an important Roman citizen who died in 264 B.C.<sup>638</sup>. Several other public memorials were organized from the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to the Late Republic<sup>639</sup>. This practice was evidently a means to affirm the social role and

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However, one may notice that the noble death and the personal success of a gladiator do not exclude the possibility of an ancestral meaning of sacrifice related to the arena. Cfr. Futrell 2001, p. 193 for a detailed summary of these facts; Wiedeman 1992, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>635</sup> *Alii hoc litteris tradunt, quod veri similius credo, ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre et vulnera et ferrum et nudos inter se coeuntes, ne in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.* “Others more likely claim that the Romans, when about to start a war campaign, needed to see fights, wounds, and naked fighters, in order not to be scared later by the enemies in the battle, or by wounds and blood”.

<sup>636</sup> This issue has been the focus of special attention by scholars. Certainly, the *munus* became a sort of favourable *auspicium* for every sort of success that the emperor wanted to achieve. See Ville 1981.

<sup>637</sup> SERV., 10, 519-520.

<sup>638</sup> On that occasion three pairs of gladiators fought in the *Forum Boarium*, and the possible interpretation of the fighters as human offerings has animated academic discussions. LIV., *Epit.*, 16: *Decimus Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorum in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit*; VAL. MAX., 2, 2, 7; AUSON., *Griph. Tr. N.*, ll. 37-39: *tris primas Thraecum pugnas tribus ordines bellis Iuniadae patrio inferias misere sepulcro*; SERV., 3, 67. For a discussion about the *Forum Boarium* as a place for combats.

<sup>639</sup> 216 B.C., M. Aemilius Lepidus, 22 pairs of gladiators in the Roman *Forum* (LIV., 23, 30, 15); 200 B.C., M. Valerianus Laevinus, 25 pairs of gladiators in the Roman *Forum* (LIV., 31, 50, 4); 183

economic power of the deceased and his family<sup>640</sup>. Futrell has recently proposed that the first gladiatorial spectacles in Rome date to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.: She supports this earlier date with two main arguments: First, the enlargement of the seats (*meaniana*) for watching the *spectacula* in the Roman *Forum*, described by Festus as a work realized by the censor C. Meenius: *meniana appellate sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula*. As a historian who lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D., Festus probably intended the term *spectacula* to be interpreted as gladiatorial fights and hunts. Moreover, Futrell believes that a type of armour called “Samnite”<sup>641</sup> belongs to the period of the wars between the Romans and the Samnite populations, which occurred in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>642</sup> This theory seems to be supported by Livy, who described how the Romans and the Campanians celebrated their shared victory over the Samnites: While the former were decorating the *forum* with the shields of the enemy, *Campani, ad superbiam et odio Samnitium gladiatores, quod spectaculum inter epulas erat, eo ornatu armarunt Samnitiumque nomine compellatur*<sup>643</sup>. Even if a very attractive theory, one may notice that the Romans were always very careful in conferring a “national taste” and historical background to their celebrations: Indeed, the Samnite fighter could easily have been introduced later, as the other kinds of fighters in the spectacles, for “variety” and to lend a “patriotic touch” to the general context.

The origins of the gladiatorial games in honour of a deceased person have divided scholars, who have opted for either an Etruscan or Greek/Osco-Samnite<sup>644</sup> tradition

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B.C., P. Licinius Crassus, 60 pairs of gladiators in the Roman *Forum* (LIV., 39, 46, 2); T. Quinctius Flaminius, 37 pairs of gladiators in the Roman *Forum* (LIV., 41, 28, 11); finally, in 65 B.C. G. Julius Caesar (father) had 320 pairs of gladiators fighting at his funeral in the Roman *Forum* (PLUT., *Caes.*, 5, 2, 5).

<sup>640</sup> POL., 6, 53-54 for the use of public funerals for political purposes. See Hopkins 1983, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>641</sup> On the Samnite armour, see Mattesini 2009, pp. 78-80.

<sup>642</sup> M. Torelli mentioned the armour type of the Samnite gladiator in connection with the depiction of a warrior from Ceri and dated to the year 520, but this is considered by some scholars to be a fake. See Torelli 1981, p. 6; Cfr. Bellelli 2011.

<sup>643</sup> LIV., 9, 40, 17.

<sup>644</sup> Of this idea, mainly Wiedemann 1992 and Ville 1981.

that was later absorbed by the Romans<sup>645</sup>. Ancient sources, such as Nicolaos Damasceneus<sup>646</sup>, located the origin of the *munera* in Etruscan customs. However, we must take into account the Roman view on foreign neighbours, who were thought of as a population with “lower” morality<sup>647</sup>. One may expect an even worse opinion of the Etruscan traditions and lifestyle during the Augustan age, which was a period of revival of the ancient national traditions<sup>648</sup>. Certainly, the Etruscans used to organize banquets and games (as individual fights, or executions with animals and the so-called Pyrrhic dances)<sup>649</sup>, probably with the function of sacrifice for the benefit of a deceased person. Widemann completely rejected the idea of an Etruscan origin of the *munus*, considering the representations of single combats on south Italian vases and the depictions of fights for the deceased on tombs from Paestum<sup>650</sup> as more reliable arguments<sup>651</sup>.

One may recognize, however, that the Etruscan branch is quite fascinating also for the ambiguous figure of Vanth, a daemon represented on several tombs in the role

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<sup>645</sup> A summary of the scholarship on this subject is proposed by Welch 2007, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>646</sup> See Atheneus, mentioning the Augustan writer Nicolaos of Damascos, 4, 153. Cfr. Wiedemann 1992, p. 32.

<sup>647</sup> Not only the Romans, but also the Greeks had negative opinions of the Etruscans. Etruscan women, for example, were considered by the Greeks as *heterai* because they enjoyed a greater freedom in comparison to the Greek and Roman women. See ATH., *Deipnosoph.*, 1, 23d; 12, 517 d-518 b; PLAUT., *Cistellaria*, 561-564.

<sup>648</sup> See Wiedemann 1992, *l. c.*

<sup>649</sup> See the couple of boxers and the Phersu on the Tombs of the Augurs in Tarquinia (second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.). The Phersu is represented in the act of torturing a hooded man. Futrell considered this man as a *venator*, while Ville identified him as a participant in a foot race. In our view, the detail of the covered head suggests the depiction of a person sentenced to death. The Pyrrhic dance was a sort of parade of men with their weapons. We find a parietal depiction in the Tomb of the Bigae, in Tarquinia (first 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), with a man, with helmet, spear and shield, next to three naked performers in the games. On the Tomb of the Augurs, see Moretti 1974, fig. 15. Cfr. Futrell 1997, pp. 14 ff.; Ville 1981. On the Tomb of the Bigae, see Moretti 1974, pp. 90-92, Futrell 1997, p. 17, fig. 6. Pyrrhic dance was later performed in the amphitheatre, according to PL., *N. H.*, 8, 5, NICOLAUS, *Ath.*, 14, 631.

<sup>650</sup> See Welch 2007, pp. 12-13, fig. 3 (tomb 53, Andriuolo necropolis), 4 (tomb X, Laghetto necropolis).

<sup>651</sup> See Wiedemann 1997, p. 31. On the discussion on the interpretation of Etruscan depictions and the representations from Paestum, see Thuiller 1990, pp. 139-140.

of a terrifying Charon<sup>652</sup>. This female winged force, similar to the Erynies, was usually depicted with a short chiton, boots and hair tied in the manner of Artemis, and was sometimes accompanied by a snake and represented with other daemons, waiting to conduct the deceased into the Underworld<sup>653</sup>. This specific function of Vanth recalls the aforementioned epitaph from Hadrianopolis<sup>654</sup>, mentioning the Moira and Nemesis together, the former as a bringer of death, the latter as a guide of the soul “under the earth”. The winged punishing figure from a fresco decorating the Pompeiian Villa of the Mysteries<sup>655</sup>, possibly identifiable as Nemesis, who whips a young lady-initiate, could also be influenced by the iconography of Vanth, usually represented in a terrifying way. However, as the scholarship currently stands, this can be only an assumption.

Concerning the idea of symbolic blood offering for the benefit of a dead person, we note some ancestral rituals already present in the Homeric tradition, such as on the occasion of Patroclus’ funeral, when Achilles ritually threw twelve Trojan prisoners onto the ceremonial pyre<sup>656</sup>. Therefore, one may recall the Roman celebration of the *Lemuria*, which, according to Ovid<sup>657</sup>, was a ritual performed in the night of the 9<sup>th</sup> day of May. This was a ceremony dedicated to the Lares by the householder to “free” the dead ancestors, who were believed to attempt to drag the living into the Underworld<sup>658</sup>.

Apart from the Etruscan or Greek origins of the custom of fighting for the benefit of a deceased person, what seems really important is the evident need of all Greeks,

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<sup>652</sup> See Paschinger 1992.

<sup>653</sup> See the Tomb of the Aninas, in Tarquinia (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.), with the depictions of Vanth (winged, with short *chiton*, hair tied and holding a torch) and Charun (winged, with a terrific profile, holding a hammer). See Moretti 1974, pp. 130-136, fig. 96-97.

<sup>654</sup> See above, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>655</sup> See above, pp. 63-65.

<sup>656</sup> *Il.*, 23, 175-176.

<sup>657</sup> *OV.*, *Fast.*, 5, 419-493.

<sup>658</sup> An interesting detail of this ritual is that the master of the house was evoking the souls with specific formulas and gestures, which included spitting some beans onto the ground: This latter, is a detail reminiscent of the apotropaic and exorcizing powers of the gesture of spitting in Roman culture. See Scullard 1981, p. 18; Ogilvie 1969, p. 85. On this issue, see above, p. 38 ff.

Etruscans and Romans to exorcize death with a symbolic or real death, which could be considered a sacrifice. Certainly, the evolution of these fights into an entertaining spectacle is a completely Roman phenomenon. However, it is possible to discern the existence of a “balancing sacrifice” for the sake of the community in what seems to be a simple grisly spectacle also in the Late Empire, and in situations of great danger and tension, such as the period before a fight against the enemy.

In conclusion, it is difficult to combine the cult of Nemesis with the ancient rituals of *devotio*, or the idea of a bloody, or symbolic, sacrifice on the tomb of an important person. Indeed, Nemesis is never clearly attested as a supervisor of those Roman rituals. However, her chthonian nature, her similarities with the Erynies and the great success of her cult in the amphitheatres of areas with stable legions, like the Britannian and Danubian boundaries, seems to suggest a wider and deeper meaning of the goddess, as “supervisor”, or “protector” of those who have to die in the arena or in the battlefield.



## 4. 2 Games, spaces and worshippers

*Throughout the Roman Empire we find evidence for the worship of Nemesis in amphitheatres and “modified theatres”, where niches and sacella (inside the buildings or close to them) were places for offerings, vows and probably ceremonies in honour of the goddess. While we can delineate the space and functions of Nemesis’ sanctuaries in the western amphitheatres with a good level of certainty, the situation in the eastern areas of the Empire appears less clear, and most of the time it is not possible to recognize the exact location of the cult places. In this chapter we will see the way in which Nemesis was absorbed in the Greek ludic buildings, with an eye to society and religious syncretisms.*

### 4. 2. 1 The ludic buildings.

As the western epigraphic evidence confirms, Nemesis was venerated by gladiators, participants in the games, members of the army, and citizens, as a goddess related to Diana and hunt<sup>659</sup>, but also in connection with other deities, such as Fortuna<sup>660</sup>

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<sup>659</sup> *CIL III*, 4738, Teurnia: Votive altar with the representation of Diana offering at the altar of Nemesis. See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 269 (F. Rausa); Foucher 1974, p. 188, 192; Hornum 1993, p. 167, n. 24; Wittenberg 2014, p. 102, fig. 13. *CIL III*, 14076, Carnuntum: Altar found in the Nemesis shrine of the legionary amphitheatre: *NEMESI REG(inae) ET DEANE SAC(rum)*. See Wittenberg 2014, p. 104, fig. 17; Hornum 1993, p. 157, n. 8. *CIL III*, 1221; *An. Ép.* 1953, 93, Bonna (100-110 A.D.): Altar dedicated to Nemesis-Diana by an architect of the *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*: *NEMESI DEA|NAE PVBLI CLAVDIA | SAVARIA ACV(i)|LEIENSIS OPPONI(us) | IVSTVS ARCHIT(ectus) | LEG(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis)*; see Hornum 1993, p. 189, n. 64. *CIL III*, 10440, Aquincum (259 A.D.): *A | DEAE DIANA NEMESI AVG(ustae)*; see Hornum 1993, p. 214, n. 114. *An. Ép.* 1962, 107, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensum (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.): *DIANE NEMESI AVR(elius) AVITVS T(h)R(AEX) D(edit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)*: This last dedication to Diana-Nemesis by a *thraex* confirms the link between the two goddesses in the amphitheatre’s context. See Hornum 1993, p. 189, n. 65. See also the statue of Nemesis-Diana from the amphitheatre of Carnuntum (*LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 273 (F. Rausa); Hornum 1993, p. 66, pl. 24). On the cult of Nemesis-Diana in the amphitheatre, see Carabia 1990, pp. 231-240.

<sup>660</sup> For the Nemesis-Fortuna of Carnuntum, see above, p. 128.

and Caelestis<sup>661</sup>. A large number of *ex voto*, prayers for the sake of the emperor, personal requests, curses and general offerings, was dedicated by gladiators, soldiers and veterans. The aforesaid chthonian nature of Nemesis should have played a fundamental role in her being accepted and worshipped by these categories of people constantly exposed to life's dangers.

The chronology of the findings of the western provinces is mostly set between 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.: A relatively limited range of years in comparison with the older absorption of Nemesis' cult in the Roman *pantheon*. The Severan period seems to be the apex of the diffusion of Nemesis' cult, or at least of the will – or even the need – of the communities to show the local worship of the goddess<sup>662</sup>; this phenomenon could be a consequence of both the spread of festivals inspired by the imperial cult – related to Nemesis – and the beginning of a period of political instability. As the findings in Greek theatres and stadiums reveal, the Greek communities inserted the cult of Nemesis into the ludic contexts, with similarities and distinctions from the western amphitheatres. Certainly, one should consider the nature of the western and eastern ludic buildings: Places with different architecture, position, vocation, capacity, meaning and fruition.

T. Wittenberg in his *Kult bei der Arena* highlighted that the distribution of Nemesis' shrines in the amphitheatres was concentrated in areas at the boundaries of the Empire (mostly Britannia and Danubian area), subjected to various pressures, such as rebellions or incursions from external populations<sup>663</sup>. The author analysed twenty-one amphitheatres, trying to identify the position and the character of the shrines. He could recognize *sacella* located in small rooms close to the *cavea* or the arena, *aediculae* in the corridors and temples outside the building. As Wittenberg pointed out, the position of these little temples should have been linked to local public celebrations; therefore, whether the sanctuary was built inside, in the

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<sup>661</sup> *An. Ép.* 1961, 48, Emerita Augusta: 3<sup>rd</sup> c. dedication to Dea Invicta Caelestis Nemesis. Cfr. Hornum 1993, p. 273, n. 215.

<sup>662</sup> The provincial coinage of Nemesis confirms this chronology, with an increment of short-ray, bronze and poor (but autonomous) issues from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

<sup>663</sup> For a brief summary of the amphitheatres of the Balkan and Danubian areas, see Bouley 1990, pp. 241 ff.

corridors, or outside the building, the scholar considered it as a fundamental station for the public parade of Roman or local festivities directed to the amphitheatre<sup>664</sup>. This accurate classification is supported by a significant amount of evidence and a generally good state of conservation of the buildings. Unfortunately, in the Greek/Hellenized provinces there is less abundant archaeological evidence for Nemesis in the ludic buildings, but the issue is worthy of greater study. This scarcity could be the consequence of the many uses of theatres and stadia, which were not only devoted to the setting up of *munera*.

It is very rare to find an amphitheatre in Greek cities because such buildings were extremely expensive. Indeed, the only places where we tend to find amphitheatres are cities with a relevant political profile in the Empire, such as Roman colonies and provincial capitals like Corinth and Gortyn (the seat of the Roman *proconsul* of Achaia and Crete and Cyrenaicae), Patras (a city located in a very strategic place for defence and trade), Antiochia (capital of province of Syria); all cities with a heavy Roman character and significant political impact. On the other hand, the Greek communities managed to set up the Roman spectacles in the so-called *édifices mixtes*: Theatres modified to become little arenas of sorts<sup>665</sup>.

This section of research is dedicated to this type of ludic structure, namely theatre/stadium-arenas, with the promotion and inclusion of the Roman games in the Greek realities as a central issue, together with the shades that the cult of Nemesis acquired in this ludic context. The aim here is to focus on the diffusion of the cult of the goddess in the Greek provinces, addressing a few crucial questions: Was Nemesis spontaneously venerated by the Greek-Hellenized populations, as a goddess-supervisor of athletic and ludic activities? Or, was she completely merged with the Roman spectacles and the general Romanization process? Certainly, the spread of Nemesis' cult in the East hit upon a pulsing vein of the Greek populations, which enthusiastically adopted the tradition of Roman combats and hunts.

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<sup>664</sup> The inscription from Gythium (*SEG* 9: 923) is the best testimony of a civic parade in the Greek theatre under the Roman Empire, with the imperial family in the first position. See Di Napoli 2014, pp. 83 ff., 197-199.

<sup>665</sup> On this topic, see Golvin 1988, pp. 237-249.

The modification of the theatres respected the fundamental issue of spectators' safety. The need to divide the orchestra-arena from the people was the main reason for certain changes in the structures, such as demolishing the first rows of seats to raise the *podium* to about 1,50-1,60 m. h.<sup>666</sup>. A system of wooden pales<sup>667</sup> held a protective net to better guarantee spectators' safety. Some rectangular niches were excavated in the *podium* in order to help the movements of fighters and hunters. Lastly, the closure of the *parodoi* could allow the *orchestra* to be a perfect little area for combats or a place which could be adapted for naval battles. Such structural modifications were sometimes also applied to stadiums, where hunting wild beasts was certainly easier than in a theatre. This kind of hybrid-building is seen in numerous cities of Asia Minor and Greece (e.g. Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, Aphrodisias, Messene, Athens, etc.)<sup>668</sup> as well as in the most Romanized Greek cities (such as Philippi, Patras, Gortyn and Corinth) and in cities with a special religious significance (such as the oracles of Dodona and Delphi).

The process of "Romanization" is well attested in Athens, where we can recognize many Roman interventions: Combats and hunts were normally set up in the theatre of Dionysus and the Panathenaic stadium, as both literary and archaeological sources testify. Dio Chrysostomos denounced the bloodshed on the seats of the *proedria*<sup>669</sup> during the Roman *munera*, confirmed by a fence running around the

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<sup>666</sup> During the Roman times many Greek theatres were also enlarged with the addition of more rows of seats at the edge of the cavea. On the structural modifications of the theatres to become arenas, see Moretti 1992, pp. 179-185.

<sup>667</sup> These pales were fixed in holes excavated in the floor, in a fence around the *orchestra* (like in the theatres of Athens and Perge) or in the *podium* (like in Aphrodisias' theatre). On the reconstruction of the system of wooden post and net system, see Welch 1998b, pp. 560-56, fig. 12; Welch 2007, p. 166 ff., fig. 102 (theatre of Dionysus), fig. 104 (theatre of Perge), fig. 105 (theatre of Aphrodisias).

<sup>668</sup> See Welch 2007, *l.c.*; Welch 1998b.

<sup>669</sup> DIO CHRYS., *Or.* 31, 121: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ θεῶνται τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὗ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν τιθέασιν: ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι τοῖς θρόνοις, οὗ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. Cfr. Welch 2007, pp. 165 ff.

*orchestra* still visible today<sup>670</sup>. On the other hand, it seems that the emperor Hadrian organized a cycle of *venationes* there, where it is said that more than one thousand animals died<sup>671</sup>. The stadium of Athens<sup>672</sup>, as many others<sup>673</sup>, saw the erection of an internal wall closing the curved *sphendone* in an elliptical building, more suitable for the Roman *munera* and less expensive for the periodical maintenance.

Regarding the material traces of Nemesis in the eastern *édifices-mixtes*, and the precise localization of specific *sacella*, the main areas with interesting findings are Ionia<sup>674</sup>, Bosphorus<sup>675</sup>, Macedonia<sup>676</sup> and Pamphylia<sup>677</sup>: Regions far from each other, with different local traditions. For what specifically concerns the buildings, we can hypothesize the presence of a *sacellum* of Nemesis in two distinct places: The *proscenium/postscenium* (and its immediate vicinity) and the entrances of the theatre and stadium.

It was possible to locate a *sacellum* in a certain area of the building thanks to the discovery of evidence for Nemesis. These pieces of evidence consist mainly of statues, reliefs and dedications to the goddess, with a fundamental connection to Roman spectacles, but also to Greek sport and drama. With the exception of new evidence from the theatre of Mytilene (1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.)<sup>678</sup>, the time-range of the findings

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<sup>670</sup> The fence, as the restoration of the pavement of the orchestra, was built during the reign of Nero. See Welch 2007, pp. 172-174.

<sup>671</sup> *H. A.*, 19, 3: *in omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit. Athenis mille ferarum venationem in stadio exhibuit.* The number of the animals killed in the hunt could have been overstated, but the organization of a hunt in the stadium would not be a surprising event.

<sup>672</sup> See Welch 1998a, pp. 132-138, fig. 17.

<sup>673</sup> See Welch 1998b, pp. 564-565, fig. 13; see Hrychuk Kontokosta 2008, p. 30 with further bibl.

<sup>674</sup> Ephesus, statuette of Nemesis-Tyche (see Hornum 1993, p. 41, pl. 17); dedication of a *pronaos* of Nemesis (*I. Eph.*, 204); *Neikonemeseum* (*I. Eph.*, 411). Further references below, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>675</sup> Chersonesos Taurica, *An. Ép.* 1967, 127-128, n. 430. Further references below, pp. 194 ff.

<sup>676</sup> Thasos, reliefs and statues from theatre and *agora* (see Holtzmann 1994, pp. 149 ff. n. 89- 91); dedications to Nemesis (*IG XII*, 372-373).

<sup>677</sup> Side, dedications to Nemesis. See Hornum 1993, p. 59; pp. 302 ff., nn. 260-262.

<sup>678</sup> See the forthcoming book of Pavlos Triandafyllidis, with the results of the excavations conducted in collaboration with Giorgio Rocco and Monica Livadiotti of the University Politecnico of Bari.

extends from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. Frequently, dedications of gladiators concurrently confirm the use of the theatre as arena and their personal devotion to Nemesis. The situation of the eastern *édifices-mixtes* is sometimes so poor in respect to archaeological evidence that we can only hypothesize the presence of a shrine based on a single find. However, this is possible only when the provenience of the specific piece of evidence has been recorded precisely.

The buildings where we can assume a shrine in the proximity of the *proscenium* are the theatre of Ephesus, Thasos, Chersonesos Taurica, Side, and Stobi. We have included in this section also the theatre of Aphrodisias, where a statue still not clearly identified – but with some similarities with the Rhamnousian Nemesis – was discovered in the *proscenium*. As for the shrines in the vicinity of the *skene* building, the localization of the cult places in the corridors has been characterised by the discovery of Nemesis' traces *in situ*, in the form of reliefs and dedications. The goddess had a special influence in the entrances of the theatres of Philippi<sup>679</sup>, Nicaea<sup>680</sup>, Hierapolis<sup>681</sup> and in the hidden tunnel of the stadium of Olympia. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to assume the presence of a *sacellum* in the entrances of theatres and stadiums, but certainly the collection of findings lets us consider these places of passage as particularly dominated by Nemesis' authority. The corridors, indeed, were places where both local officers and individual citizens were able to leave a trace of themselves, showing their virtues and self-promoting their image in the city<sup>682</sup>. This phenomenon was so evident that sometimes it is difficult to discern it from the evidence of Nemesis. Apart from the theatres mentioned above, that we can consider as the “lucky examples”, we have many

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<sup>679</sup> Philippi, dedication of the priest of Nemesis and two reliefs (Cat., 10., 9-11; see Rizakis 2017, pp. 186-187; Aristodemou 2015, pp. 74 ff.). Further references in the catalogue and below, pp. 213 ff.

<sup>680</sup> Dedication to Nemesis (Cat., 3. 8; *SEG* 36: 1153). Below, pp. 228 ff.

<sup>681</sup> Representations of Nemesis in the southern *parodos* (Cat., 2.70-71). Below, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>682</sup> This self-promotion could have taken the form of an inscription attesting an act of evergetism, or a communication to the city from the local authorities. See the case of Iulia Potentilla, showing her evergetism to the city of Ephesus in the *parodos* of the theatre (Cat., 2. 25), and the local authorities of Aphrodisias, which were used to attach to the wall of the northern *parodos* some inscription attesting the special privileges of the city, free and autonomous. On Ephesus see below, pp. 179 ff.; on Aphrodisias' case, see Chaniotis 2003a, pp. 251-252.

findings somehow related to Nemesis or the ludic context that are more difficult to interpret. They are mostly dedications, but there are also a few reliefs. These have been classified in two categories: The first is comprised of evidence able to suggest the presence of a shrine of Nemesis that we cannot precisely locate. The second category is made up of evidence possibly related to the context of spectacles and Nemesis' cult, but with less obvious connections with the local theatre, amphitheatre or stadium. The cities where we discovered this kind of evidence are mostly in Asia Minor – where the spread of the Roman festivals was a wide phenomenon, with clear political purposes – with a few centres in Greece: Dion<sup>683</sup> in Macedonia, Gortyn<sup>684</sup> and Kato Poros<sup>685</sup> in Crete. The place of discovery (mostly far from theatres or completely unknown) characterised also this latter group of evidence, and thus our inability to presume a certain place of worship.

#### **4. 2. 2 Shrines of Nemesis possibly located in the proximity of the *proscenium* of the theatre.**

##### **Ephesus**

The discussion about the possible existence of a cult of Nemesis within the theatre of Ephesus is predicated upon two discoveries: A statue of the goddess<sup>686</sup> found in the proximity of the *skene* and an inscription<sup>687</sup> from the northern entrance of the

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<sup>683</sup> Relief of Nemesis-Aequitas (Cat., 10. 2; see Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 167). Below, p. 246 ff.

<sup>684</sup> Relief of Nemesis (Cat., 6. 2; see Montali 2006, pp. 194-197). Below, p. 248.

<sup>685</sup> Dedication to Nemesis (Cat., 6. 3; *SEG 2009*: 1059). Below, p. 245.

<sup>686</sup> See Cat., 2. 27; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 181 (P. Karanastassis). See Hornum 1993, p. 41, pl. 17; Schweitzer 1931, p. 208.

<sup>687</sup> Cat., 2. 25; *I. Eph.*, 2042.

theatre, today conserved in the Kunsthistorische Museum of Wien<sup>688</sup>. The first piece of evidence is a medium-sized (ca. 1,21 m. h. basis included)<sup>689</sup> marble statue of a female figure, wearing a long chiton, with a *polos* on her head, holding a *cornucopia* and a cubit-rule. A griffin and a *cista* (or a globe) are positioned at her feet. These attributes suggest a syncretism between Nemesis (cubit-rule and griffin) and Tyche (*polos*, rudder, *cornucopia* and *cista*/globe). The presence of the *polos* would inspire a conception of Nemesis-Tyche as a protector of the city<sup>690</sup>. A similar iconography has been identified in a relief<sup>691</sup> (fig. 15) from Athens, recently found in the storage of the Musei Oliveriani of Pesaro (Italy) and in the Nemesis-Tyche from Olympia stadium<sup>692</sup>. The relief from Athens is a pentelic marble block, similar to a *horos* (1 m. h.; 0, 30 m. w.; 0, 21 m. d.), discovered in the area of Ambelokipi<sup>693</sup> and bought by the princess of Wales Caroline of Brunswick during her stay in Athens in the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>694</sup> This relief was considered lost but is recorded in documents and drawings<sup>695</sup>. It shows a female figure in long *chiton* and *himation*, with an important *polos* on her head, holding in her right a *phiale* and a rudder in her left hand. A griffin is placed at her feet, with the forepaw on the head of an ox, represented upside-down. The style of the garment, the association of Nemesis with Tyche and the presence of the griffin suggest a Roman chronology in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., while the *phiale* characterizes this relief as inspired by the Attic model of Nemesis from Rhamnous<sup>696</sup>. The form of the stele could have

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<sup>688</sup> Inv. I 931. See *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake. Katalog der Antikensammlung II*, Wien 1978, pp. 109-110, n. 146.

<sup>689</sup> See n. above.

<sup>690</sup> As aforesaid, Nemesis was sometimes associated with Tyche as preserver of the city, but we traced this peculiar conception of the goddess only in Roman *municipia* or *coloniae*. See above, p. 123.

<sup>691</sup> See Micheli 2018, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>692</sup> Cat., 1. 17; below, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>693</sup> Many pieces of art have been found in that area, where a workshop of artists was located. See Anguissola 2012, p. 124. Cfr. Micheli 2018, *l. c.*

<sup>694</sup> See Micheli 2018, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>695</sup> See the sketch of Sir William Gell, today conserved at the British Museum. See Micheli 2018, p. 69, fig. 5, with further references to documents of that times; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, fig. 183 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>696</sup> *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 1 (P. Karanastassis). See above, pp. 49 ff.



signified the area of a *temenos* of the goddess, for which, however, we lack any evidence.



Fig. 15. Nemesis-Tyche from Ambelokipi. From Micheli 2018, p. 67.

The Nemesis-Tyche of Ephesus has been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., probably later than the enlargement of the *skene* occurred in the years 140-144<sup>697</sup>. The modification of the theatre's structures was part of the general competition between the Greek communities of the Empire who wished to host the imperial festivals and cult, in order to gain political and economic privilege<sup>698</sup>. The theatre was founded during the Hellenistic reign of Lysimachus, while various restorations were carried out in Roman times<sup>699</sup>. It housed up to 24 thousand spectators, and it was one of the

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<sup>697</sup> See Heberdey-Niemann-Wilberg 1912, pp. 162-163.

<sup>698</sup> In those years Ephesus was competing against Smyrna and Pergamum for the recognition of its titles (Ephesus received its second *neokoria* by Hadrian): Antoninus Pius stated the titles of Ephesus in a letter to the city. See Burrell 2004, p. 69. On the granting of the freedom to organize festivals to the Greek cities from the emperor, see Pleket 2014, pp. 370-372;

<sup>699</sup> Under Claudius, Nero, Domitian and Traian. See Immendörfer 2017, p. 108.

biggest theatres in the ancient world<sup>700</sup>. The veneration of the syncretistic goddess Nemesis-Tyche within the theatre was probably linked to both the ludic and dramatic spectacles held in the building, but the use of the building for civic purposes could suggest a wider worship of the goddess, independent of the spectacles.

This Nemesis-Tyche suggests the presence of a shrine of Nemesis in the proximity of the *proscenium*, where the statuette was found. However, the other archaeological and artistic findings of the theatre do not help to define the character of the Nemesis' cult: Statues of Dionysus, Heracles, Demos, and Asclepius could symbolize the importance of the building for education, drama and civic functions, but with no link to Nemesis. Moreover, we do not have traces of the imperial cult in the theatre, although this is something that was usually related to her<sup>701</sup>.

The second piece of evidence to take into consideration is our main testimony for a temple of Nemesis. This is an inscription found in a late wall in the northern *parodos*, attesting to the existence of a *pronaos* of a temple of Nemesis: ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ | ἡ πόλις ἐπεσκ[ευ]ασεν τὸ πρόν[α]ον τοῦ Νεμεσ[ίου] | ἐκ προσόδων [Ἰουλί]ας Ποτεντίλλ[ης] | γραμματεῦον[τος] | Μ. Ἀρουνκηίο[υ] | Οὐηδίου Μιθριδ[άτου]<sup>702</sup>. It is a dedication to good Fortune attesting to the restoration of the *pronaos* of Nemesis, where the aforementioned Nemesis-Tyche could have served as the cult statue: The size, even if medium, and the elegant pose of the sculpture could easily correspond to such a significant function. The renewal of the building was provided by a certain Iulia Potentilla, likely the daughter of Iulius Artemas, a high-ranking member of the Ephesian *élite*, who was secretary of the *demos* and ambassador under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus<sup>703</sup>. Therefore, this inscription

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<sup>700</sup> See Immendörfer 2017, *l. c.*

<sup>701</sup> See Aurenhammer 1990.

<sup>702</sup> Cat., 2. 25; *I. Eph.*, 2042. See Hornum 1993, p. 287, n. 239; Heberdey-Niemann-Wilberg 1912, p. 164.

<sup>703</sup> On Iulia Potentilla, see *PIR* J 686.

can be dated to the late Severan period/reign of Gordian III<sup>704</sup>. As member of the local *élite*, Iulia Potentilla financed the erection of other buildings: Another inscription found in the South *analemma* of the theatre attests to the financial donation she gave to the city for the restoration of the πτερόματα τοῦ πετάσου καὶ τὴν ἀντίσκηνον<sup>705</sup>.

The find spot of the inscription mentioning the *pronaos* cannot help us to define the location of the shrine to Nemesis. It was certainly not located in the entrance, where we would expect to find only small dedications, reliefs, or *aediculae*. Moreover, the character of this dedication speaks more to a public display of power by a private citizen, rather than a relationship between the entrance and cult of Nemesis. Merkelbach<sup>706</sup> did not specify if the inscription was originally located in the wall, or moved from another place: the scholar just affirms that the wall of the north *parodos* was “close to the *skene*-building”. Hornum<sup>707</sup> more audaciously considered the piece of evidence as “probably originally from a Nemesis shrine in the stage building”.

Papapostolou proposed a different reading of the inscription, considering a change from τὸ πρόν[α]ον τοῦ Νεμεζ[ίου] to προσκίην[ι]ον τοῦ Νεμεζ[ίου]. The scholar clearly wanted to support the idea of a temple in the proximity of the *proscenium*, but his interpretation of the text seems too dissimilar to what has been read by the editor of the inscription: The change of the “ν” of πρόναον in “σκήν” of πρόσκηνιον would imply a significant space on the marble that it is hard to

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<sup>704</sup> The completion of the third order of the *scaenae frons* belongs to the late Severan period (around 210 A.D.). Heberdey-Niemann-Wilberg (*l. c.*) considered this inscription as dated between 200 and 210 A.D. as well as *I. Eph.*, 2041 mentioned in the next page.

<sup>705</sup> *I. Eph.*, 2041: ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ | ἡ πόλις τὰ πτερόματα τοῦ | πετάσου καὶ τὴν ἀντίσκηνον ἐπεσκεύασεν ἐκ προσόδων Ἰουλίας Ποτεντίλλης, | γραμμ(ατεύοντος) Ἰουλ(ίου) Φιλομήτορος. Cfr. Heberdey-Niemann-Wilberg 1912, pp. 163-164. The city is the first and formal dedicant of the works, but the private nature of the funding is clearly specified (ἐκ προσόδων Ἰουλίας Ποτεντίλλης). One may recognize the personal attempt of Potentilla (she or a relative of hers) to build a good reputation for her and her family. See Barresi 2003, pp. 407-408.

<sup>706</sup> *I. Eph.*, 2042.

<sup>707</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 287, n. 239.

imagine<sup>708</sup>. If there was a small *Nemeseum* in the *proscenium* of the theatre, it would have been probably no more than a little room, inserted in the numerous sections of the Roman *skene*<sup>709</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not have any archaeological sign of a temple of Nemesis anywhere in the city of Ephesus; however, if Iulia Potentilla financed the restoration of the *pronaos* in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., the original building should have been much older<sup>710</sup>. We do not know if the building restored by Potentilla corresponded to the *Neikonemeseum* attested by the inscription: [Ἀρτέμι]δι Ἐφεσί[αι] .... [[Νέρωνι]] Καίσαρ[ι Σεβαστι] [[Γερμανικωι]] | [Γ. Στερ]τίνιος Ὀρπηξ σὺν Στερτιν[ίαι Μαρεΐναι τῆι ἑα]υ[τ]οῦ θυγατρί, ἱερῆι Ἀρ[τέμιδος] ----- τὸν τοῖ|χον τὸν κατακερκίζοντ[α] κ[α]ὶ ἐ[.....]ον καὶ τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἱε [-----] ..... περιπ[ά]τωι κ[α]ὶ Νεικονεμεσ[εΐωι .....] ἔργων αὐτῶν τόπον [-----] ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων ἐντὸς διετίας καθιέρω[σεν] .....τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς τρίτην σελίδα ὁ ἐ[.....]<sup>711</sup>. This inscription is a dedication to the Ephesian Artemis and the emperor Nero by a certain Gaius Stertinius Orpex and his daughter, priestess of Artemis. Despite the fragmentary state of conservation of the inscription, it is evident that this couple financed some works for the community over a period of about two years; among these works, they took care of the *Neikonemeseum* of the city, which previous scholars have located near the stadium<sup>712</sup>. The Nike–Nemesis pair has been connected to the context of games. The association with Nike, however, does not limit the “interest” of Nemesis to the Roman games, as we cannot exclude that Nemesis-Nike was worshipped also by Greek athletes and actors during athletic and drama contests. Concerning the theatre, a location of the shrine near the *orchestra* in the *proscenium* would have allowed participants in the

<sup>708</sup> See Papapostolou 1989, p. 368, n. 51.

<sup>709</sup> Each Roman *postscenium* was characterized by two rows of eight rooms, connected to each other, or directly to the internal or external side of the theatre. Being the scenic edifice directly connected to the surroundings by a main central passage, a *Nemeseum* in that position would have been accessed easily from the area outside the building. See Wilhelm-Wilberg, pp. 47-50.

<sup>710</sup> Apart from cases of unexpected events, such as earthquakes, that could accelerate the normal deterioration process of a building.

<sup>711</sup> Cat., 2. 24; *I. Eph.*, 411.

<sup>712</sup> See *RE Suppl. XII*, 1970, s.v. *Ephesos*, col. 1638 (W. Alzinger). Johannis Malalas (*Chron.*, 307, 5-17) testified the existence of a temple of Nemesis and one of Zeus within the stadium of Daphne, near Antiochia in Syria.

Roman games to quickly pray to the goddess, and the citizens would have had easy access to her shrine.

One may hypothesize the existence of two temples: A shrine (or at least an *aedicula*) of Nemesis-Tyche inside the theatre and a temple of Nemesis-Nike close to the stadium<sup>713</sup>, where the ludic and athletic interest of the goddess was probably more emphasized: The civic assemblies, indeed, took place in the theatre, while the stadium should have been completely devoted to sport and spectacles.

An inscription from Aquileia (Cisalpine Gaul) could confirm the existence of the worship of Nemesis in the city of Artemis. It is a dedication to Ephesian Artemis on behalf of the Nemesian hunters of the city, gathered in a private association. However, we do not have attestation of this kind of group in Ephesus, and the association of Aquileia could be the result of the merging of local and Ephesian factors<sup>714</sup>.

Lastly, Nemesis is attested in Ephesus also in her double form: Two marble statuettes<sup>715</sup>, today preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Selcuk, present two identical Nemeses, with the same attributes (cubit-rule in their left hand, a griffin at their feet, in specular position) and both spitting on their chests. Unfortunately, their original find spot is unknown, but they have been dated in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., probably for their iconographic style, close to that of the Nemesis wearing a long *peplos*, quite similar to that of the double Nemesis from Olympia<sup>716</sup> and the theatre of Thasos<sup>717</sup>. These two little goddesses are placed on the same marble base, conceived as an offering to Nemesis. Overall, Nemesis' worship was likely part of a new set of cults which began to be more and more relevant in Ephesus during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries<sup>718</sup>, while the cult of Artemis was facing a sort

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<sup>713</sup> See *RE Suppl. XII*, 1970, s.v. *Ephesos*, col. 1638 (W. Alzinger).

<sup>714</sup> See Brusin 1960, pp. 219-227. Below, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>715</sup> *Cat.*, 2. 28; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 138 (P. Karanastassis); Fleischer 1978, pp. 392-396.

<sup>716</sup> *Cat.*, 1. 17. Below, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>717</sup> *Cat.*, 10. 25.

<sup>718</sup> A case in point is the inscription *I. Eph.*, 1060, where we note the *prytanis* Favonia Flaccilla thanking many deities, such as Demetra, Kore, Hestia Boulai, Apollo (Klarios and Sopolis) but not

of crisis of social participation probably attributable to a general economic crisis and the large expenses that religious celebrations would have implied<sup>719</sup>.

## Thasos

Numerous examples of Nemesis have been discovered on Thasos: Reliefs, dedications and statues were distributed all over the urban area, including the *agora*, the theatre and near the city's gates. As was common in the Greek environment of the Roman times, the gladiatorial games were usually organized on the island. Indeed, epigraphic evidence of gladiators (mostly funerary monuments) attests that *munera* took place in the local theatre or the stadium<sup>720</sup>.

Thasos was an important ally of Rome since the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. An honorary statue base of a descendant of Sextus Pompeius (governor of the Province of Macedonia who died in 118 B.C.), witnesses that the island experienced significant Roman control in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. The Thasian *fides* to Rome remained intact even during the war against Mithridates VI of Pontus, and this loyalty assured Thasos the control over its old properties-*poleis* on the continent and over Skopelos and Skiathos<sup>721</sup>. This good relationship was damaged after the battle of Philippi, when the island chose to

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Artemis: Φαβωνία Φλακκίλλα πρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος ἡ | ἀρχιέρεια εὐχαριστῶ Ἑστία Βουλαί<α> καὶ Δήμητρι | καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρη καὶ Πυρὶ ἀφθάρτω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι | Κλαρίφ καὶ Σωπόλι καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι | ὀλοκληροῦσάν με μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου μου Ἀκακίου | καὶ τῶν τέκνων μου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μου | τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκτελέσασαν τὰ μυστήρια πάντα | εὐτυχῶς ἀποκατέστησαν. With the new cults, the entire city was renovated, with an evident urban *floruit* that replaced the Hellenistic city. This wealthy period was at its height during the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., when the procession in honour of Artemis' birth changed its course, the theatre was restored, and many other buildings were erected *ex novo* or renewed. See MacLean Rogers 2012, p. 239.

<sup>719</sup> It seems that from the Severan times to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. it was quite arduous to find candidates for the role of *kouretes* or *prytanis*. At the same time, new roles and positions such as the *protokouretes* indicates the need for wealthy people to serve as financiers of the rituals. As Maclean pointed out, the coincidence of many negative factors, such as the economic crisis, the earthquake of 262 A.D. and the sack of the Artemision by the Goths, led to the fall of the traditional rituals related to the Ephesian Artemis. See MacLean Rogers 2012, pp., 239-241, 249-256.

<sup>720</sup> See Mendel 1900, pp. 273-274; Bernard-Salviat 1962, pp. 606-608. For instance, see *IG XII*, 8, 551.

<sup>721</sup> See Dunant-Pouilloux 1958, pp. 37 ff., nn. 174-175. Cfr. Grandjean-Salviat 2012, pp. 49-50.

support the losing side of the civil conflict. Despite this episode, Augustus and his successors gave many benefits to the island<sup>722</sup> that under Hadrian flourished with buildings and social life<sup>723</sup>, and developed the imperial cult among the local religious traditions<sup>724</sup>.

The *Anthesteria*, *Dionysia* and *Choreia* were organized in the theatre in honour of Dionysus, the main deity of the building. Built in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the theatre was modified for hosting the Roman games around 140 A.D., when a fence was erected around the *orchestra*'s perimeter and the *skene* was rebuilt on the Hellenistic foundations<sup>725</sup>. However, Roman games were performed already in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.<sup>726</sup> (fig. 16).

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<sup>722</sup> See Dunant-Pouilloux 1958, pp. 76 ff., nn. 185, 186.

<sup>723</sup> See Grandjean-Salviat 2012, pp. 49-51; Dunant-Pouilloux 1958, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>724</sup> The island has always boasted sources of wealth, such as the colonies in the area of Pangeus, rich in metals. For a general knowledge about the island, see Wynne-Thomas 1978; on inscriptions attesting the cult of the emperors, see Dunant-Pouilloux 1958, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>725</sup> An inscription carved in the marble slabs of the parapet (*SEG 18*: 361) records the names of the financiers of the works at the theatre, mentioning a certain Heragoras and his wife Ispane, identified with a woman who left a bequest to Thessalonica to stage *munera* in honour of the emperor Hadrian (*IG X*, 2, 1, 137, ll. 6-14. See Daux 1972, pp. 487-493; Daux 1973, pp. 587, 137). See Karadedos – Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, p. 281; Grandjean-Salviat 2012, p. 137.

<sup>726</sup> See Grandjean-Salviat 2012, *l. c.* above.

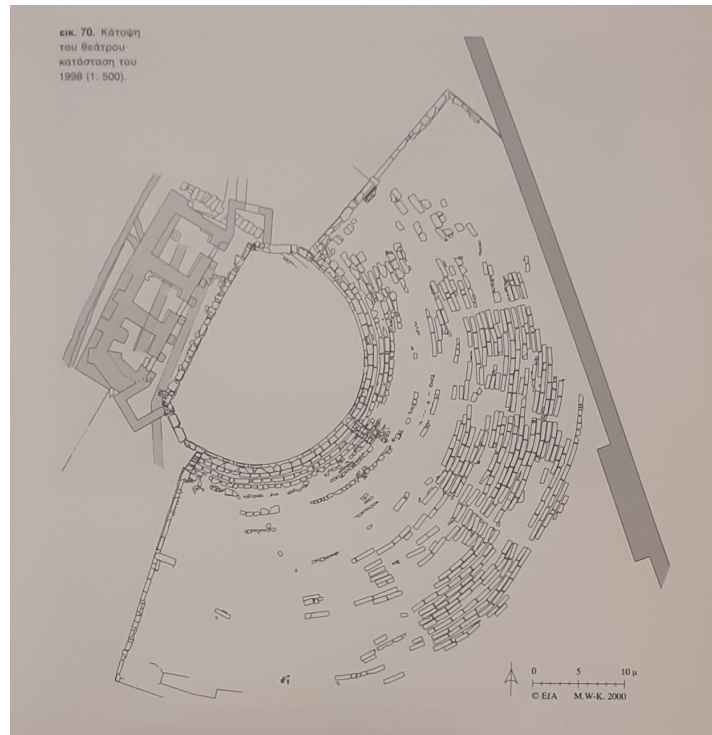


Fig. 16. The theatre of Thasos in 1998. From Grandjean-Salviat 2012, p. 135.

The *proscenium* remained very similar to the original form with twelve Doric columns; the Roman restoration added decorative elements, with the representation of Dionysus and gods linked to fights and hunts: Ares<sup>727</sup> appears with the gladiatorial helmet, shield and spear, while the Thracian rider<sup>728</sup> is represented hunting a boar. These two representations were set in the northern side of the *proscenium*, while the very last column of the South side bears a relief of Nemesis facing the *orchestra*<sup>729</sup>. The relief presents a Nemesis whose face has unfortunately

<sup>727</sup> See Holtzmann 1994, p. 110, pl. 35b. We find Ares as the supervisor of the amphitheatre/theatre-arena at Philippi, where he is represented together with Victoria and Nemesis (see below, pp. 214 ff.). Both Thasos and Philippi are places in northern Greece, located in strategic positions. The presence of Ares reflects a particular emphasis given by and dedicated to the Roman authorities, *munera*, and the army.

<sup>728</sup> See Holtzmann 1994, p. 109, pl. 35a, 35b. The meaning of the Thracian rider goes beyond the spectacles, as does also his relationship with Nemesis. He was represented in many funerary reliefs, and not only those of participants in the games; we find the Thracian rider associated with Nemesis in the Danubian area, as reported by Nemeti. See Nemeti 2015, *l. c.*

<sup>729</sup> See Holtzmann 1994, p. 150, n. 91, pl. 52c. See Bernad & Salviat 1962, p. 603; cfr. Aristodemou 2015, p. 77. On the cult of Dionysus and the Thracian rider see also Seyrig 1927, pp. 198 ff.



been ruined by a sort of *damnatio memoriae*. However, we can recognize the goddess in a long garment, holding what should be a *cubitum*. Fortunately, the inscription under the figure provides the name of the person who financed this relief: Εὐήμερος Διοῦσίου | Νεμέσει | εὐχήν<sup>730</sup>. Past scholars have generally considered this Eumeros to be a gladiator, as usually happens for dedicants with simple names not attributable to slave origins<sup>731</sup>.

The position of this relief was extremely well visible to the spectators, and we can presume that Nemesis, along with Dionysus, was a divine authority in the context of the theatre's activities. Another relief of Nemesis<sup>732</sup> has been found near the southern entrance: The goddess is finely carved in a frontal posture, looking to her right (fig. 17). She seems to raise her garment to spit on her chest, while the left hand seems to hold a *cubitum*. This relief has been traditionally dated to the Hellenistic period, but Bernard and Salviat thought it belonged to the Roman period. Therefore, the presence of the *cubitum* would confirm a Roman chronology.

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<sup>730</sup> Cat., 10. 21; *IG XII*, 8, 371.

<sup>731</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 207, n. 105; Bernard-Salviat 1962, p. 600; Hicks-Bent 1887, p. 417, n. 19; Aristodemou 2015, pp. 76-78.

<sup>732</sup> Cat., 10. 24. See Holtzmann 1994, p. 150, n. 90, pl. 53b.



Fig. 17. Relief of Nemesis from the theatre of Thasos. From Hornum 1993, pl. 18.

Another relief<sup>733</sup> discovered close to same area definitely confirms that the people of Thasos used to make dedications to Nemesis in that side of the *skene*, even if we cannot archaeologically pinpoint a room, or even a corner dedicated to her cult. It is a relief of local marble dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., in good condition of preservation, today conserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (fig. 18). This relief presents two distinct fields that probably correspond to two *ex-voto* made in different moments<sup>734</sup>. On the right side is the bigger field, with the representation of two identical Nemeseis bending their heads to the left, to spit on their chests, while holding a *cubitum* and the rich garment with their left hand. These Nemeseis appear to be totally identical, far from the balanced and complementary Nemeseis of Smyrna. On the other side, a single Nemesis is sculpted, with a totally different iconography: She appears in short chiton (normally associated with goddesses of hunt and movement, like Diana and the Erynies)<sup>735</sup>,

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<sup>733</sup> Cat., 10. 26. See Holtzmann 1994, p. 149, n. 89, pl. 53a. Holtzmann affirms with no doubt that this relief is “un carreau provenant du bâtiment de scène du théâtre”.

<sup>734</sup> See Holtzmann 1994, *l. c.* above.

<sup>735</sup> *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, nn. 269-273 (F. Rausa).

winged, with a *cubitum* and standing on a wheel. Moreover, she is associated with Aequitas, because she is holding the balance<sup>736</sup>. As Holtzmann pointed out, this latter Nemesis should be a later *ex-voto* made in the remaining free space of the marble block, while the double Nemesis should be considered the first (and older) dedication. This reuse of the relief in two different moments testifies to the interest of the Thasian people in offering dedications to Nemesis in the theatre, recognized as a place where she was particularly present.

The discovery of these pieces of evidence near the South corner of the *proscenium* suggests that people probably recognized that specific location as reserved for Nemesis' cult. Looking at the reconstruction of the theatre's architecture, one may notice that the three rooms of the *postscenium* were very close to one another, not interconnected, and accessible only by a single entrance from the *skene*-building<sup>737</sup>. On the other hand, at the South corner of the building, between *skene* and *parodos*, there is a closed room that could have fostered a little shrine of the goddess<sup>738</sup>.

While the different attributes related to Nemesis can symbolize a different meaning conveyed by the goddess herself, the coexistence of single and double Nemesis in the same place should speak to the origins and the traditions of the dedicant, more or less influenced by the Smyranean cult. Thasos, indeed, was located in an important place of passage and trade between East and West.

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<sup>736</sup> Muñoz interpreted this figure as Bios, as he also did for the relief from Cairo analysed below, where a cuirassed deity trampling a prostrate figure is characterized by the balance and wheel. See Muñoz 1906, p. 213. Cfr. Perdrizet 1912, p. 264.

<sup>737</sup> See the theatre map in Grandjean-Salviat 2012.

<sup>738</sup> A similar case is found at the theatre of Hierapolis. See below, pp. 217 ff.



Fig. 18. Relief of Nemesis from the theatre of Thasos. From Hornum 1993, pl. 22.

Another relief of Nemesis<sup>739</sup> (fig. 19) has been found close to the area of the theatre: It is a 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. little slab with a Nemesis in a long chiton and in a frontal position, who leans her right hand on a *cista* placed on an altar. We would not be able to recognize the identity of the goddess without the fragmentary inscription at her feet: Νεμέσ[ει]/[-εσιν]. This relief is not elegant and finely carved, but the presence of an altar next to the goddess testifies to the existence on Thasos of a proper cult of Nemesis with a place where ritual sacrifice could be made.

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<sup>739</sup> Cat., 10. 23. See Holtzmann 1994, p. 148, n. 88, pl. 52b.



Fig. 19. Relief of Nemesis with *cista* and altar from the nearness of the theatre. Fig. from Mendel 1914.

Some of the dedications likely attest the great importance of Nemesis among the people involved in activities related to the theatre. One of them attests two names possibly representing two gladiators: Κέρδων Μέγ[ωνος] | ο καί Σισ[υφ]ος Νε|μέσει ἀπαλλα|γείς ε[.....]ς | ευχήν<sup>740</sup>. The name Kerdon would recall the victory in the arena, while Sisyphos recalls the audacity and intelligence of the hero son of Aeolus and Aenarete, and the first king of Corinth. Another dedication confirms this peculiar trend: Ἐγλεκτος καὶ | Πινυτή Νεμέσεσιν Εὐχὴν<sup>741</sup>. This piece of evidence also confirms the spread of the cult of the double Nemesis testified by the aforementioned relief, and a couple of identical statues discovered in the *agora* of the city (reused in a Palaeochristian wall in the South of the square) and dated to the Hadrianic period<sup>742</sup>. These two statues, acephalous but both in good state of conservation, are winged, with a long *chiton*, and holding a cubit-rule in their left hands (the right arm is completely lost). As identical copies, they do not show the complementary relationship typical of the Nemeseis of Smyrna. They certainly attest to a real worship of Nemesis on the island, but their place of discovery suggests the possible erection of an independent temple (or at least an altar or a

<sup>740</sup> Cat., 10. 20; *IG XII*, 372; see Hornum 1993, p. 208, n. 106.

<sup>741</sup> Cat., 10. 22; *IG XII*, 8, 373; cfr. Bernard-Salviat 1962, p. 603.

<sup>742</sup> Cat., 10. 25. See Rolley-Salviat 1963, p. 572, n. 2; Devambezi 1942-1943 p. 217, fig. 7; Grandjean-Salviat 2012, p. 316, fig. 218. Cfr. Holtzmann 1994, p. 148, n. 72. In the theatre we also note a relief of a single Nemesis but with the so-called Smyranean iconography. See Bernard-Salviat 1962, pp. 596-599.

little shrine) possibly in connection with the imperial cult, that was represented by a temple located in the south side of the square. Some inscriptions indicate the existence of a temple of Augustus and Rome<sup>743</sup> and the *Sebastoi*<sup>744</sup>, while a great statue of Hadrian<sup>745</sup> has been found during the excavations in the area of the *Odeion* and the “Cour aux cent Dalles”<sup>746</sup>.

The finds attesting to the presence of Nemesis on Thasos display an unusual variety of iconography and a different conception of the goddess (double or single), and the iconography she acquires in connection with Aequitas and Nike are also notable. The finds on Thasos also witness a significant presence of gladiators among Nemesis’ worshippers: The goddess seems closely connected with the context of Roman games on the island, as her juxtaposition in the theatre with Ares and Dionysus seem to confirm.

### **Chersonesos Taurica**

Two altars have been found in the theatre of Chersonesos on the Cimmerian Bosphorus. They both present a dedication to Nemesis and were discovered in the East side of the *skene*. The first<sup>747</sup> reads: *D(eae) NEMES[i c]O|NSERVATRICI | T(itus) FL(avius) CELSI|NVS [bf] CO(n)S(ularis) | LEG(ionis) XI CL(audiae) [p]|RO SALVTE | SVA ET FILIORVM <i> | VOT(um) POS(uit)*. A certain Titus Flavius Celsinus, a *beneficiarius consularis* of the *Legio Claudia XI*, made a vow to Nemesis for the well-being of his family. The goddess is called *Conservatrix*, with

<sup>743</sup> *IGRR I*, 833. See Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, p. 155-156.

<sup>744</sup> See Dunant-Polloux 1957, pp. 185. See *IG XII*, 8, 380.

<sup>745</sup> Today conserved in the Archaeological Museum of the island. See Grandjean-Salviat 2012, p. 317, fig. 222.

<sup>746</sup> See Rolley-Salviat 1963, pp. 548-578. At the South entrance of the *agora* a temple of Livia was located, with a small colonnaded court (see Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, p. 173). The base of a statue was found in the North side of this court; the donor was a priestess of Livia (see Evangelidis 2008, p. 135). Livia was closely related to Nemesis in the main sanctuary of Rhamnous (above, pp. 93 ff.), while she was venerated within the civic *forum* of Philippi.

<sup>747</sup> See *An. Ép.* 1967, 127-128, n. 430 (with bibl.); *NEPKh I*, pp. 123 ff. See Aristodemou 2016, p. 192; Hornum 1993, p. 73, 314, n. 280. Above, pp. 124-125.

evident links to the political and military spheres, to which Celsinus belonged<sup>748</sup>. This piece of evidence has been dated to the late Severan period, even though the theatre passed through structural modifications before the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. (fig. 20). The dedication has a fundamentally private character, attesting to a Roman citizen with a political and military career<sup>749</sup> who believed and hoped in the protection of Nemesis. The second altar<sup>750</sup> was dedicated to Nemesis by a private citizen: ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ. Θεῶ Νεμέσει Βασιλείδης Καλοῦ. The find spot of these two altars could attest to the presence of a *sacellum* of Nemesis near the *proscenium*, and perhaps corresponding to the square masonry located Northeast of the *proscenium*. However, the reference to the find spot is vague, and only mentions the East side of the *skene*-building, thus it is not possible to positively identify the specific location of Nemesis' shrine.

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<sup>748</sup> The dedication of Celsinus is the only made by a Roman military officer in the context of the Greek theatre. *Conservatrix* is an epithet attached to Roman Jupiter from the time of Domitian, but related to Nemesis only in this special case. The same person appears as dedicator of Juppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator at Charax. On this inscription, *An. Ép.* 1967, *l.c.* above and Latschev 1916 I, n. 675. On the meaning of the epithet *conservatrix* see above, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>749</sup> Between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. the *beneficiarii consulares* were placed in cities in areas close to the Empire's boundaries. Even if they were members of the army, they were called to manage administrative tasks, becoming an institution relatively independent from the provincial governor. See Fuhrmann 2012, pp. 204-207 with further bibliography.

<sup>750</sup> See Aristodemou 2016, p. 192, n. 204; *NEPKh II*, pp. 88-91, n. 126.

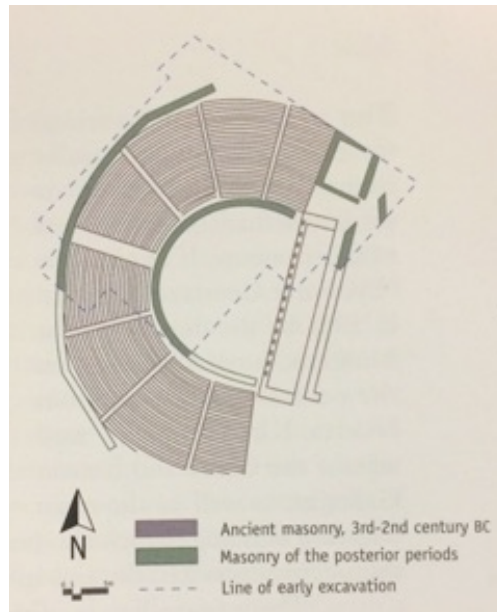


Fig. 20. The theatre of Chersonesos Taurica. From Mack-Carter 2003, p. 77, fig. 8.

The theatre of the city, discovered in 1954 by Dombrovskiy, is not well-preserved today. However, we can recognize its fundamental structures, which are originally Hellenistic, dating to around the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>751</sup>. Leaning on a slope in the Southeast part of the city, it was probably built after the population increased in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., when many people moved to Chersonesos from Herakleia Pontika during a tumultuous period of social conflicts. During the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. the theatre was modified and the number of seats increased, while, with the closure of the *parodoi*, the *orchestra* became an arena for Roman combats (fig. 21)<sup>752</sup>. As in many other places in Asia Minor, reliefs with fighting gladiators confirm the adoption of the Roman customs of entertainment.

Considering the high degree of Romanization of the city and the stable presence of the Roman army and its officers, any *Nemeseum* in the theatre should have had a predominant Roman character. The cult of Nemesis in Chersonesos is thought to be closely related to the Roman *munera*, and established during the permanent residency of the army's authorities. The presence of soldiers and Roman officers

<sup>751</sup> See Sear 2006, p. 324. Cfr. Mack-Carter 2003, pp. 76-77.

<sup>752</sup> See Mack-Carter 2003, *l. c.*



must have played a significant role in the spread of Nemesis' cult, as well as the cult of other gods close to the military sphere, such as Jupiter Dolichenus<sup>753</sup>, Manus and the Thracian deities, all attested in the city.

The cult of Nemesis at Chersonesos is further attested by a carnelian gem<sup>754</sup> carved with a representation of the goddess holding her chiton with her left hand<sup>755</sup> and a bridle with her right<sup>756</sup>. Such gemstones with fine *intaglio* are not uncommon in Roman Chersonesos: Many gemstones with depictions of Asclepius, Tyche, or the deity Abrasax (the Lord of the planet) have been discovered<sup>757</sup>.

## Side

An altar<sup>758</sup> dedicated to Nemesis was identified in the *proscenium* of the theatre of Side in Pamphylia<sup>759</sup>; the fragmentary inscription that has survived is a short and simple dedication to the goddess: [...].ιος | [Σώ?]ζοντο<ς> | τὸν βωμὸ<ν> | Νεμέσι. We cannot recover the identity of the devotee, but the name Sozon could suggest a “positive” epithet, a sort of stage name a gladiator could have likely chosen for having good luck. Therefore, this dedication seems sufficiently simple to have belonged to a person of a lower class who was a participant in the Roman spectacles. Two similar inscriptions of unknown provenience were also found in the city: These are prayers to the goddess, one from a certain Agathangelos (Ἀγαθάγγελος | τῇ κυρία | Νεμέσι | εὐχή)<sup>760</sup> and the other from a certain Primigenis

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<sup>753</sup> The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus enjoyed a special popularity among soldiers. See Speidel 1978. On the relationship between Jupiter Dolichenus and Nemesis, see Kádár 1962, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>754</sup> Cat., 15. 9.

<sup>755</sup> This is very rare: In all the evidence collected the hand used for the *spuere in sinum* is always the right one. See above, p. 41.

<sup>756</sup> See Mack-Carter 2003, p. 151, fig. 10, 42.

<sup>757</sup> See Mack-Carter 2003, *l. c.* above.

<sup>758</sup> Cat., 9. 12. See Hornum 1993, p. 59, n. 260; Bean 1965, n. 138.

<sup>759</sup> The theatre of Side belongs to the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. It is possibly built upon an older building, but we lack archaeological evidence supporting this theory. What we can see is a completely Roman building, with two substructures under the *summa cavea*, and a *podium* 0,82 m. h. all around the *orchestra*. See Sear 2006, p. 377.

<sup>760</sup> Cat., 9. 13. See Hornum 1993, p. 59, n. 261; cfr. Bean 1965, n. 139.

(Νεμέσι | Πριμυγ<ε>|νης | εὐχήν)<sup>761</sup>. We do not know if these two dedicants were gladiators, or if their dedications were originally offered in a *Nemeseum* located close to the *proscenium*. The onomastics seem not to recall members of the civic *élite*, and the epithet *kyria* reminds the Latin dedications to Nemesis with the epithet *regina* meaning “queen of the amphitheatre”, found in the western provinces<sup>762</sup>.

The theatre of Side was located in the city centre, and built in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. (perhaps on an older edifice) first to house the Roman *munera*; the *podium* around the *orchestra*, the archaeological investigation of the building, and some reliefs with fighting gladiators demonstrate the Roman activities<sup>763</sup>. The erection of the building is also the *terminus post quem* for a *Nemeseum* possibly located in proximity to the *skene*. The theatre of Side was transformed into an arena in a later period: A waterproof wall was erected in order to foster naval battles and protect the spectators<sup>764</sup>. What we can still see today presents a clear Roman character, but the foundations of the building appear to belong to the Hellenistic period, even if the theatre was not carved into a slope but built on substructures in the Roman manner<sup>765</sup>. Therefore, the passages in the substructures of the *cavea* assured easy access to the building that was directly connected to the nearby main *agora*<sup>766</sup>. Although political interference in the city’s affairs were not great<sup>767</sup>, the imperial

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<sup>761</sup> Cat., 9. 14. See Hornum 1993, p. 59, n. 262; cfr. Bean 1965, n. 188. This inscription is very simple, and Nemesis is not characterized by a specific epithet, a sign of a devotee with limited economic power and a lower education.

<sup>762</sup> *CIL III*, 14075, 14076, 14358 (Carnuntum, legionary amphitheatre); *An. Ép.* 1977, p. 204, n. 767 (Kaletó); *CIL III*, 4008 (Andautonia).

<sup>763</sup> We know that Side held regular Roman games, even if the local coinage attests to them only from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.; the emperor gave to Side the right of holding panhellenic festivals such as the *Mystikos* (not really known, Burrell considers this festival to have been introduced during the reign of Hadrian. See Burrell 2004, p.182) and the *Pythia* (*Apolloneios Gordianeios Antonineios Isopythios Ekecheirios Iselastikos*) founded during the reign of Gordian III.

<sup>764</sup> See Sear 2006, p. 377.

<sup>765</sup> See Sear, *l. c.* above.

<sup>766</sup> The specification of “main” *agora* is due to the last interpretation of the edifice M (see next page) as a second “minor” *agora*. See Atvur 1984, pp. 19-21.

<sup>767</sup> The city commemorated only eight emperors until 244 A.D. See Grainger 2009, p. 159-160.

influence was clearly present in Pamphylia, since Side aimed to acquire the title of *neokoros*. The evidence attests to a social and political distance between the central power and the Pamphylian societies, but this should not have worked as an inhibitory factor for the spread of the Roman gladiatorial games. Side, as the other cities of Pamphylia (except of Attaleia, which became a Roman colony) was not subject to heavy Roman pressure<sup>768</sup>: Indeed, the province of Lycia-Pamphylia did not require the presence of a garrison nor Roman veterans. However, Side was an important city for the Empire, being a port and the eastern of all cities of the region before the eastern frontiers, that, which from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. were often in trouble<sup>769</sup>.

An oversized statue (1,82 m. h., without head and base)<sup>770</sup> also represents important evidence for Nemesis in Side. It was discovered in the so-called edifice M (in the middle of the three rooms which were at the board of a *quadriporticus*), in an area interpreted as *gymnasium* or *palaestra*, or possibly as a place dedicated to the imperial cult<sup>771</sup>. The goddess, still *in situ*, is represented with a long *chiton*, devoid of wings and with a griffin at her feet. The right hand is bent to spit on her chest. This figure recalls representations of the great Classical deities, with a harmonic and lively style. Some other statues of athletes, emperors, and deities of the *gymnasium* (like Asclepius, Hermes, Apollo, Ares, Hygieia and Nike) were found in the same area<sup>772</sup>.

The local coinage<sup>773</sup> attests to the cult of Nemesis in the Severan period, with representations of a winged goddess, holding a *cornucopia* (in association with Tyche), and accompanied by a griffin, the wheel and the pomegranate, the symbol

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<sup>768</sup> A sign of the little importance of Lycia-Pamphylia for the Empire is the fact that many of the local governors of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. are completely unknown. See Grainger 2009, p. 157.

<sup>769</sup> See Burrell 2004, pp. 18-182.

<sup>770</sup> Cat., 9. 15.

<sup>771</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 23-24.

<sup>772</sup> For this reason, the interpretation of this area as a *gymnasium* seems to be the best one. Hornum considered it to be a place for the imperial cult, while other scholars have argued for a second *agora*. See Hornum 1993, *l. c.*; Inan 1975, pp. 101-102.

<sup>773</sup> Cat., 9. 16.

of the city from which Side derives its name. This specific syncretism with the Tyche of the city and the symbol of the city itself confirms that the cult of Nemesis was concretely present and perhaps also related to the welfare of the community.

### **Stobi**

The best-documented *Nemeseum* in a Greek theatre is that found at Stobi, built when the city was a Roman *municipium*, but likely planned in the Greek way to host both the Greek and the Roman spectacles<sup>774</sup>. The theatre shows characteristics of both Greek and Roman architecture; the proportions of the *skene* and the *cavea*, the shape of the *auditorium* and the *parodoi* are typically Greek; the *podium* around the *orchestra* with niches/refugees and holes for the net-system, the erection of an additional wall as a further form of safety, and the passages under the *cavea*, clearly reflect the heavy Roman influence<sup>775</sup>. The oldest materials found in the building likely belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.: The theatre, indeed, has been dated to the Hadrianic period<sup>776</sup>. A decoration with fighting scenes was found in the building. It seems that the general transformation of the theatre into an arena occurred around the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>777</sup>, probably after an earthquake, which severely

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<sup>774</sup> The city became a *civium oppidum Romanorum* under Augustus (PL., *N. H.*, 4, 34); under the Flavians it became a *municipium* (first signs of this title in issues of 72-73 A.D.), enjoying all the benefits of the *ius italicum*, like the exemption from certain tax obligations, and a sort of autonomy of the community in front of the Roman provincial governor. Some scholars have argued for the upgrading of Stobi to a *municipium* already in the time of Augustus, basing their view on the idea that the Stobians began the works to the local mint in the years 72-73 A.D., to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the city as *municipium* (from 28 B.C.). On this issue, see Josifovski 2001, pp. 27-29, with further bibl.

<sup>775</sup> See Gebhard 1975, pp. 43-63.

<sup>776</sup> The only coin found *in situ* was issued in Perinthus and dated between 100-150 A.D. There are two main interpretations of the chronology of the construction and conversion of the theatre in arena: The first opts for the erection under Hadrian and conversion under the Severans (Saria 1940, p. 12); the second considers as more plausible a construction in the Severan period and the subsequent conversion into arena in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., perhaps after the great earthquake which stroke the city. See Gebhard 1981, p. 13; Dyggve 1958, pp. 146-147, n. 2. Cfr. Wiseman 1973, p. 160.

<sup>777</sup> See Mano-Zissi 1972, p. 124.

damaged various parts of the structure, such as the *skene*<sup>778</sup>. To that reconstruction the *sacellum* of Nemesis should be ascribed, located behind the *skene*, in the central of five rooms<sup>779</sup>: The chamber measured ca. 8 m. × 6 m., with an altar leaning against the back wall<sup>780</sup> (fig. 21).

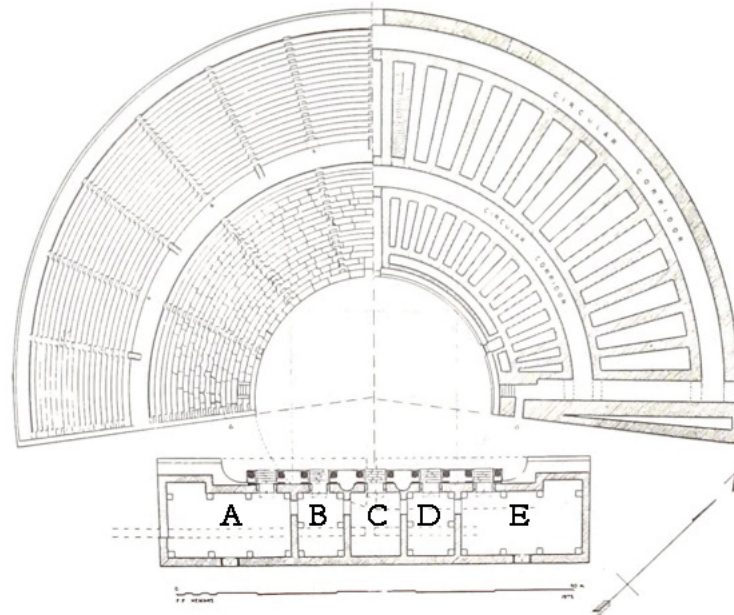


Fig. 21. Theatre of Stobi in the second phase of construction. From Gebhard 1981a, p. 203, fig. 3 (modified by this author).

Many findings, mainly fragments of statues and dedications from Greek and Roman citizens, confirm the presence of a place reserved to the worship of the goddess Nemesis. A hoard of coins found in the middle of the shrine presents issues from the entire 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. (from Valentinian I to Gratian): As Gebhard supposed<sup>781</sup>, it is possible that a citizen, who wanted to protect his personal asset from Vandalic pillages, may have considered the shrine of Nemesis as the safest place to hide his money. Unfortunately this discovery does not help date the construction of the Nemeseum, but certainly testifies its importance for the Stobian people. From the

<sup>778</sup> The city saw the invasions of Herulians and Goths around the years 267-269 A.D. which probably brought several distructions and the need/occasion of rebuild the theatre.

<sup>779</sup> See Saria 1940, pp. 6-34.

<sup>780</sup> See Golvin 1988, p. 338.

<sup>781</sup> See Gebhard 1981, p. 18.

reconstruction given by B. Saria<sup>782</sup>, the central room of the *postscenium*, connected to the *proscenium* and the next chambers, seems the ideal position for an important cult in the theatre. In our view, one may consider that the *sacellum* was accessible to private citizens, independently from the context of the Roman spectacles, and from the back side of the *postscenium* through a passage in the rooms at its sides, indicated on the theatre's plan by the scholar with the letter A and E.

A private dedication on a columnar *aedicula* found in Nemesis' chamber bears the name of a certain T. Mestrius Longus, Nemesis' devotee who vowed κατὰ ἐπιταγήν, "according to the orders"<sup>783</sup>. We usually find this formula in the case of an instruction given by the deity (sometimes in a dream) or by an oracle, or someone in connection with the god<sup>784</sup>. The chronology of this piece of evidence is related to the general chronology of the Nemeseum and the theatre<sup>785</sup>. Longus was certainly a man with Roman origins, probably a member of the local *élite*, as suggested by the *tria nomina*. Unfortunately, it is hard to draw further conclusions about him<sup>786</sup>, since his dedication has a personal character and a private function. Another dedication to Nemesis by a certain Askepiades is short and fragmentary; only the Greek identity is recognizable<sup>787</sup>: [Θεῶ Νεμ]έσει κα| [--- εὖ]χὴν κα| [- ---]

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<sup>782</sup> See Saria 1938, fig. 34.

<sup>783</sup> Cat., 10. 15; *I. Stoborum*, 13. Further references in the catalogue.

<sup>784</sup> We find few cases in the western provinces, with the formula *ex iussu* (Carnuntum and Salona: see Hornum 1993, pp. 154, 180, nn. 4, 45, with further bibl.), or *ex visu* (Chester and Aquileia: See Hornum 1993, p. 170, n. 29; p. 228, n. 138 with further bibl.). Concerning the sphere of dreams, Artemidoros (*Oneirocr.*, 2, 37) attests that Nemesis could have had a good or bad meaning in dreams, depending on the person: Nemesis was a good sign for the person who lives according to the laws, such as philosophers and people who hold back their personal ambitions. On the other hand, she was a negative sign for people breaking the laws, or undertaking important and challenging tasks.

<sup>785</sup> While Saria dated it to the first part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. on a palaeographic basis, Papazoglou opted for the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Wiseman prudently admitted the lack of accurate information. See Wiseman 1972, p. 160 with bibliography.

<sup>786</sup> The possible relation with the family of the Prisci (of which we have significant epigraphical documentation) does not help us identify the dedicant. As Wiseman suggested, Longus was perhaps related to a Mestria Prisca (granddaughter of a priestess of Artemis and the *Sebastoi*), attested in epigraphical evidence. However, we cannot better distinguish their possible relationship: He could have been her father, grandfather or even her nephew. See Wiseman 1972, pp. 160-161.

<sup>787</sup> Cat., 10. 16; see Janakievski 1988, p. 213, n. 109; *SEG* 49: 800.

Ἀσκ[|λητιάδης?]. These pieces of evidence testify that Nemesis' *sacellum* was a place for a private worship and was accessible to all citizens. Therefore, as in many other cities, the theatre of Stobi was used for civic assemblies: Inscriptions carved on the seats of the *cavea* with names of families and tribes confirm this second function of the building<sup>788</sup>. A Latin dedication of a statue of Nemesis by the *Augustales*<sup>789</sup> of the city confers a public relevance to the shrine and, naturally, a connection with the imperial cult (represented by the imperial priests), and the Roman citizens of Stobi. The presence of the emperors is confirmed by a cuirassed statue found in the theatre and likely representing the emperor Hadrian or another member of the family: As is usual for this kind of statue, we can suppose that it was originally placed in one of the decorative niches of the *skene*<sup>790</sup>. Portraits of emperors and members of the imperial family were very common in the decoration of theatres in Greece and Asia Minor – but also of western provinces, as the theatre of Orange testifies<sup>791</sup> –, and we can locate the construction of the *sacella* of Nemesis within this general tendency celebrate the Roman State.

We can gain some information also from the sculptures found *in loco*: A marble head with Nemesis' hairstyle<sup>792</sup> and the fragment of a female torso holding a balance. The representation of Nemesis with a balance is quite common in the Greek theatre-arena, where she is sometimes associated with Aequitas. As we will see, this *conubium* is evidenced also in theatres of Macedonia and Thrace<sup>793</sup>. Naturally, the chronology of the *Nemeseum* – usually concurrent with the structural modifications to the building in its transformation into theatre-arena – is an important element to date the inscriptions and the monuments found *in loco*.

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<sup>788</sup> See Wiseman 1981, p. 135; Gebhard 1981, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>789</sup> Cat., 10. 14. Above, p. 121.

<sup>790</sup> See Gebhard 1981a, pp. 200-201, fig. 2.

<sup>791</sup> See Yrondelle 1980.

<sup>792</sup> Cat., 10. 18. The head presents the characteristic harmonic separation of curled hair in the middle of the front. See above, p. 49.

<sup>793</sup> One representation of Nemesis-Aequitas is the aforementioned relief from the theatre of Thasos (above, p. 193). See below, the theatre of Philippi, pp. 211 ff.

The numismatic evidence from the city<sup>794</sup> shows a different kind of Nemesis, associated with Victoria, which is the main deity represented on the local coinage. The *municipium* of Stobi issued a bronze local coinage from the reign of Vespasian to that of Caracalla. We find a few important issues from the period of Marcus Aurelius which possibly antedate the chronology of the *Nemeseum* and its findings. On those issues, a goddess is represented holding a rod, a palm and with a wheel at her feet: A perfect conflation of the two goddesses and their typical attributes. However, it is difficult to confer a particular meaning onto this combination, because Victoria is a deity frequently represented on Stobian coinage types: She normally appears winged, holding a palm branch and a wreath. We notice a relevant presence of this Victoria-Nemesis on the coinage of the Severan period, with some issues under the reign of Caracalla, Geta and perhaps Septimius Severus (with the bust of Iulia Domna)<sup>795</sup>: The significant increment of issues during the reign of the Severans could correspond to the military campaigns of the emperors, who aimed to win and threatened retaliation.

The assimilation of Nemesis with Victoria seems to be an original Roman feature (with no correlative cases in the Greek cult of Nemesis) and it is not surprising that we find it in a *municipium* with a strategic location between East and West<sup>796</sup>. The city itself had a substantial military presence, as attested by the large number of funerary monuments of soldiers and veterans.

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<sup>794</sup> Cat., 10. 19.

<sup>795</sup> Coins of Caracalla: Josifovski 2001, nn. 514-515, 517-519; Varbanov 2005, n. 3958. Coin of Geta: Moushmov, 6561.

<sup>796</sup> With an iconography basically focused on Nike (sometimes associated with Nemesis), the community likely wanted to declare its support to Vespasian, who won the conflicts and became emperor the same year. The legions of Raetia and Moesia proclaimed Vespasian as emperor, and the cities of those areas possibly supported their decisions; after the winner of the civil conflicts ascended to power, the city of Stobi probably gained the status of *municipium*. See TAC., *Hist.*, 2, 86 on the *Legio XIII* and the *VII Galbiana*, that, disappointed from the victory of Vitellius on Otho, decided to support Vespasian, which gained a huge military power and well-trained soldiers.



## Aphrodisias

An over-sized torso was discovered in the northern bastion of the late wall of the *proscenium* of the theatre of Aphrodisias: It is a female figure, softly wrapped in a long *chiton* that is held in place by a belt under the breast, wearing sandals and with the right leg slightly bent (fig. 22). This piece of evidence has uncertain interpretation and needs further research. The shape and the abundance of drapery with the *himation* richly folded on the front recall the well-known aforementioned<sup>797</sup> Roman copies of the Rhamnousian Nemesis astutely recognized by Giorgos Despini<sup>798</sup>. Especially, one may notice significant similarities in the drapery, the body shape and the pose when compared with the Roman copy conserved in the Archaeological Museum of Athens (fig. 23), even if this latter statue wears closed shoes and not sandals<sup>799</sup>. Erim and Smith<sup>800</sup>, who presented a survey of the numerous sculptures from Aphrodisias' theatre, do not assign any specific identity to this statue, but consider it to belong to the early imperial period. Certainly, its significant size, the refined sandals and the style of the drapery may recall a divine figure, or at least an empress. Indeed, female members of the imperial *domus* have been associated with Nemesis, both in cult and iconography: Livia was celebrated in the Rhamnousian temple of Nemesis<sup>801</sup>, Agrippina was possibly represented as Nemesis in the cameo currently conserved in Stuttgart<sup>802</sup> and Iulia Domna had Nemesis' features on a bronze coin from Alexandria dating to the time of Septimius Severus<sup>803</sup>. Therefore, Despini recognized the possible portrait of Crispina (wife of Commodus) inserted in the body-shape of Nemesis

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<sup>797</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>798</sup> See Despini 1971.

<sup>799</sup> See Despini 1971, pp. 28-29, n. 2, tab. 41-42, 1-2.

<sup>800</sup> See Erim-Smith 1991, pp. 93-94, fig. 31.

<sup>801</sup> See above, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>802</sup> According to Vollenweider, the cameo with Jupiter and Nemesis could refer to Nero and Agrippina. See references above, p. 129.

<sup>803</sup> On the reverse of the coin a female figure who bends the right arm (as if in the act of *spuere in sinum*) and holds a rod similar to a cubit rule, has the typical lateral swelling of Iulia Domna's hair. Around her, two Dioskours could easily be interpreted as Geta and Caracalla. Nevertheless, the Severan dynasty presents a particular connection between the female members of the imperial *domus* (non only empresses but also sisters and mothers of the emperors) and the goddess Nemesis. See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 200 (P. Karanastassis); Dattari 1969, n. 3984, pl. 4.

found in Aptaera (fig. 24)<sup>804</sup>. The imperial cult was largely present in Aphrodisias, where a great architectural complex was dedicated to the cult of the Sebastoi; indeed, the city held imperial festivals and civic parades, which could have passed by or ended in the theatre<sup>805</sup>. The *proscenium*, the *postscenium* and the *cavea* were richly decorated with images of the imperial family and local deities<sup>806</sup>.



Fig. 22. The anonym statue from the theatre of Aphrodisias. From Erim-Smith 1991, fig. 31.

Fig. 23. Athenian copy of the Rhamnousian Nemesis. From Despinis 1971, pl. 41.

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<sup>804</sup> Cat., 6. 1. See above, p. 33. On the other hand, P. Karanastassis does not identify this statue with a certain person. See Karanastassis 2012, p. 436, fig. 4.

<sup>805</sup> The city held the *Aphrodeisia Isolympia* games (known from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.) as well as the *Attalea Gordianeia Capetolia* and *Valeriana Pythia* instituted by Gordian and Valerian. Among these, only the games of Gordian and the *Aphrodeisia Isolympia* reached an international recognition and value. See Stafford 1998, p. 557.

<sup>806</sup> See Erim-Smith 1991, pp. 71 ff.



Fig. 25. Cretan copy of the Rhamnousian Nemesis with possible portrait of the empress Crispina.  
From Despinis 1971, pl. 45.

Apart from the statue, an inscription with a prayer to Nemesis (called the *epekoos*) has been found in the *proscenium*<sup>807</sup>. Unfortunately, the palaeographic analysis of the letters does not help date the inscription, defining the style of writing as commonly used from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. through the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. However, we could exclude a very early date because it would anticipate the adaptation of the theatre in arena, attested in the Antonine period<sup>808</sup>. The inscription

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<sup>807</sup> *Non vidi*. The inscription seems not to have yet been published. However, Reynolds said that the decoration of the niche where the inscription has been found could be dated to the time of Zoilos (time of Augustus), even if the inscription appears to belong to a later date.

<sup>808</sup> For a detailed chronology of the theatre (based on the epigraphical evidence) see Reynolds 1991, pp. 19-28; the inscription *SEG 26: 1220* (139-161 A.D.), carved on a single line on the *pulpitum* of

and the statue found in the proximity of the stage building could suggest the presence of a *Nemeseum*, but this can be only an assumption. In fact, even if the interpretation of the body-shape is correct, we have to consider that Nemesis' model could have been used for many reasons, such as honouring a female member of the local or Roman *élite*<sup>809</sup>.

A well-known case of the body-shape of the Rhamnousian Nemesis used to support a portrait comes from the theatre of Butrint, specifically from its richly-adorned *proscenium*. Statues of Augustus, Agrippa and Livia found *in loco* were inserted into the niches of the stage-building<sup>810</sup>. An oversized (2, 50 m. h.) female statue<sup>811</sup> made of two different pieces combined together (head and body) was discovered there by an Italian research team, and later donated to the government of B. Mussolini. The body of this statue has been recognized by Despinis as a copy of the original Rhamnousian statue of Nemesis<sup>812</sup>.

According to L. M. Ugolini<sup>813</sup>, the chief of the archaeological excavations, the head is made of a fine marble of the islands, while the body is sculpted from a marble of lesser quality. Ugolini names this piece of evidence “the goddess of Butrint”, while other scholars<sup>814</sup> considered it to be a copy of the Apollo of Antium, but with adaptations for a portrait: The shape of the head (smaller in the lower part), the marked chin and the little mouth would suggest the portrait of a person rather than an idealized god. Therefore, it would be quite difficult to combine the god Apollo with the rest of the imperial family members in a coherent decorative

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the theatre, is important evidence of the modification of the theatre in arena. Cfr. MacDonald 1976, p. 20.

<sup>809</sup> Apart from Crispina, the body-shape of Nemesis was used for the portrait of a priestess from Messene, and for the representation of the wife of the emperor Balbinus. See Despinis 1971, pp. 41 ff.; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2n (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>810</sup> See Hansen 2009, pp. 51-53.

<sup>811</sup> Cat., 10. 1.

<sup>812</sup> See *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2c (P. Karanastassis); Despinis 1971, pp. 29-30, pl. 43

<sup>813</sup> See Ugolini 1937, pp. 137-140.

<sup>814</sup> See Papadopoulos 1979, pp. 182-183 with further bibl. Cfr. Despinis 1971, pp. 29-30.

program<sup>815</sup>. On the other hand, this “unknown goddess” could represent one member of the imperial family, such as Iulia, daughter of Augustus. The decoration of the *skene* would have depicted the two couples, the *princeps* and Agrippa with their wives. Moreover, we can find some similarities between the profile of this head and some portraits of Augustus’ daughter, such as the marble head today conserved today in the Altes Museum of Berlin. An interesting interpretation has been given by H. Bumke<sup>816</sup>, who thinks that the head originally combined with the “Rhamnous-inspired” body of Butrint was the head of Livia found close by the body itself.

The theatre of Butrint was built in the Hellenistic period (3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.) and modified soon after the city became a Roman colony, with a *frons scaenae* (of which today we can still see six niches)<sup>817</sup> and the modifications for the Roman *munera*<sup>818</sup>.

The goddess Nemesis was well-known in the city of Aphrodisias, as the stele of the high priest M. Antonius Apella Severinus<sup>819</sup> demonstrates, with a representation of Nemesis accompanied by the dedication where Severinus appears as the owner of a *familia gladiatorum*, which included gladiators and *venatores*: ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ | Ὑπόμνημα φαμιλίας | καὶ κυνηγεσίων Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ἀπελλᾶ Σεουη|ρείνου ἀρχιερέως, υἱοῦ | Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ὑψικλέ|ους ἀρχιερέως. This commemorative

<sup>815</sup> We cannot say if the Romans recognized the body-shape of Nemesis as belonging to her, or to other goddesses, as Aphrodite. During the Roman times she had principally *cubitum*, wheel, the griffin, or the balance of Aequitas. On this topic Despini has also offered convincing argument about the Roman confusion between the bodies of Nemesis and Aphrodite. See Despini 1971, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>816</sup> See Bumke 2008, pp. 122 ff. Cfr. Portale 2013, pp. 224-225.

<sup>817</sup> See Gilkes-Liberati 2003, pp. 96 ff. Ceka 1999, pp. 39-41.

<sup>818</sup> See Gilkes-Liberati 2003, p. 94.

<sup>819</sup> *Cat.*, 2. 1; *LIMC, Suppl. 2009, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2 (P. Karanastassis). See Carter 1999, p. 367, n. 356; Robert 1940, p. 170. The stele was found near the southern gate of the city, while other two stelai (of Zeno Hypsicles and Ti. Claudius Paulinus, high priests as well) have been found at the east side of the area near the stadium, confirming the importance of the building for the imperial cult and the displaying of games. See Hrychuk Kontokosta 2008, pp. 205-206.

marble block serves as a reminder of the duties that an imperial priest undertook, especially the responsibility for financing the Roman *munera*<sup>820</sup>. The decoration of the stele presents a pediment and *acroteria*, and a Nemesis with the wheel in the centre, crowned by two Nikai holding palm branches. This peculiar piece of evidence is not only a confirmation of the display of Roman games in the city, but a fundamental testimony of the close relationship between Nemesis and Imperial cult in the cities of Asia Minor, with the absorption of the goddess in the system of the Roman spectacles, in turn are a production of the Empire.

Gladiatorial combats and hunts were very common spectacles in Aphrodisias: The complete modification of both theatre and stadium during the Antonine period<sup>821</sup> witness the interest of the city in the organization of such spectacles, which remained a common practice well into Late Antiquity (5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.)<sup>822</sup>. Moreover, Aphrodisias is very rich in evidence for gladiators and scenes of combats, carved on

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<sup>820</sup> See Carter 1999, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>821</sup> As far as the stadium is concerned, the architectural analogies with the stadium of Nysa (Caria), Laodicea (Phrygia) and Nicopolis (Greece) – the lack of monumental facade, the *cavea* dug out of the earth, and the presence of two *sphendonai* – suggest a chronology dating back to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. The stadium, therefore, had two hidden tunnels under each *sphendone* where the athletes should have got in the track, and in particular, gladiators and *venatores* too passed through the hidden eastern tunnel, because of the modification of the eastern *sphendone* into a permanent amphitheatre. On the western keystone of these tunnels, scholars recognized the figure of Hermes (to our eyes, barely recognizable on the surviving surface, while we can discern a bull's head, similar to the one on the keystone of the theatre of Philippi) and hypothesized a Heracles for the eastern keystone that today is completely missing: Both important deities for the athletic world. See Welch 1998b on the use of the Aphrodisias stadium.

<sup>822</sup> The decoration of the buildings was also a very important sign of civic life and sport. Apart from the numerous stelai and altars of gladiators found near the stadium and the theatre, two life-size statues of boxers have been discovered near the stage-building of the theatre. They have been dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.; they are two *periodonikes*, winners at the festivals of the ancient *periodos*. The place of discovery is quite unusual because of the boxers are not normally associated with theatres. However, it testifies to the flourishing of the civic festivals in the Late Empire, as the civic coinage confirms; as far as the gladiatorial combats that took place in the theatre, we can imagine a sort of “contamination of locations”: For the spectators of hunts and fights it could not have been very strange to see commemorative statues of boxers. Therefore, the theatre of Aphrodisias, together with the *munera*, continued to foster spectacles of Greek drama. See Roueché 1991, p. 103; Van Voorhis 2004, pp. 248-249.

stele, or drawn in the form of graffiti (these latter dating between the mid 4<sup>th</sup> and the first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.)<sup>823</sup>.

The coinage of the city<sup>824</sup> does not help to clarify the situation of Nemesis' cult: A few coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. present a goddess, considered to be "pantheistic", but in fact with attributes of Tyche and Nemesis: She is winged, wearing a long *chiton* and a *kalathos* on her head, holding a *cornucopia* and a cubit-rule. A wheel is located at her feet in front of her, with the addition of a snake in some issues<sup>825</sup>. Only one coin of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. shows Nemesis holding the bridle and spitting on her chest<sup>826</sup>.

#### **4. 2. 3 Shrines of Nemesis possibly located in the entrances of the ludic buildings.**

### **Philippi**

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<sup>823</sup> There are many Aphrodisian graffiti with a ludic/spectacle subject. See A. Chaniotis 2015. For the stelai and reliefs of gladiators, see Hrychuk Kontokosta 2008, pp. 206-229. For a summary of epigraphical evidence of *munera* in Aphrodisias, see Carter 1999, pp. 367-372.

<sup>824</sup> Cat., 2. 4.

<sup>825</sup> See MacDonald 1992, pp. 97, 98; 202, 113; 130, 188; 94, 88. The combination of Nemesis' attributes with other gods to form a pantheistic deity is a very rare phenomenon that we detect only in the nearby city of Laodiceia in Phrygia, and precisely on the reverse of a coin of the reign of Caracalla. Unfortunately, this unusual representation – found only on coins – cannot help us to define a concrete civic pantheistic cult. The Aphrodisian coinage is prevalently of imperial type, issued under the Severans (with pieces of Iulia Domna and Geta) while a single issue is referred to Gordian III. For the coin of Laodiceia, see *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 195 (P. Karanastassis); *SNG Aulock*, 8418.

<sup>826</sup> So-called quasi-autonomous coinage not datable with certainty but considered by MacDonald as dating back to the Favian period thanks to the type of Boule depicted on the reverse and the mention of the *archiereus* Flavius Muon, magistrate between 69 and 81 A.D. See MacDonald 1992, p. 80, pl. 7; *BMC Caria and Islands*, 54; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 128 (P. Karanastassis).

The western *parodos* of the theatre of Philippi presents important evidence for Nemesis' relation to Roman activities<sup>827</sup>. The entrance's jambs show three marble reliefs<sup>828</sup> of Nemesis, Nike and Mars, accompanied by a dedication (the same dedication is repeated twice with minor variations) financed by a certain Zosimos, priest of Nemesis, who acted on behalf of the *stemma* of the "friends of hunting", likely a group of fans of *venationes*: Μ. Βελλεῖος Ζώσιμ[ος] | ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀνεικήτου Νεμέσε|ως ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνήγων τοῦ στέ[μ]ματος | τὰ ἀφυδρεύ|ματα τῶ|ν θεῶν | ἐκκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐ-ποίησ|εν<sup>829</sup>. The goddess Nemesis appears on one of the three reliefs, standing frontally in a long *chiton*, holding a *cubitus* in her left hand, and a scale in her right (fig. 25), as discussed previously<sup>830</sup>, a symbol traditionally associated with *Dikaiosyne/Aequitas*. A wheel is located at her feet, while a griffin could have been carved at the right side of the goddess, but unfortunately the relief is damaged. The inscription on the top of the figures mentions a Nemesis *aneiktos* ("invincible")<sup>831</sup>. Nike is represented looking left, winged and holding a crown and a palm (fig. 26),

<sup>827</sup> See Rizakis 2017, pp. 186-187; Aristodemou 2015, pp. 74 ff.; Hornum 1993, p. 198, n. 84; Robert 1940, p. 86. Collart 1928, p. 124; Chapouthier 1924, p. 291, fig. 3.

<sup>828</sup> Cat., 10. 9-11.

<sup>829</sup> *SEG* 3: 499, 500 (the same, but more fragmentary dedication). See below, pp. 251 ff. for a more accurate analysis of the dedication with focus on the association represented by the priest Zosimos.

<sup>830</sup> See above, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>831</sup> See *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 76a (P. Karanastassis). A western parallel of this epithet comes from the world of the *munera*, specifically from the amphitheatre of Emerita Augusta in Spain, where Nemesis was worshipped in the entrance of the edifice in association with *Caelestis*: *DEAE INVICTAE | CAELESTI NEMESI M(arcus) AVRELIVS FILI [... | ROMA V(otum) A(animo) L(ibenti) S(olvit) | SACRA V(otum) S(olverunt)*. The epithet *aneiktos/invictus* was attached also to the emperors, especially to Trajan, Caracalla (from 211 A.D. onwards, in the Latin and Greek versions), with a clear military meaning and sometimes associated with deities (e.g. *CIL VII*, 1039) and in the variation *invictissimus* in inscriptions together with his father (*CIL VII*, 167; *CIL XIV*, 4570; *CIL VI*, 1072). It was attached also to Commodus (*CIL XIV*, 3449) and Septimius Severus. A private dedication from Aphrodisias links this title to Domitian. The emperor Gordian III is called ἀνείκτητος in Beroia (240 A.D.; *EKM* 1, Beroia 69). The Christians conferred this title to their god (*EKM* 1, Beroia 444). See Chaniotis 2003, p. 344; Mastino 1981, pp. 39-40, 62-64; Beaujeu 1955, p.66. On the inscription from Spain, see Hornum 1993, p. 273, n. 215. On the association Nemesis-Caelestis, see above, p. 126.



while Mars resembles the figure of a Roman soldier, or a gladiator, wearing a short garment, helmet and ready to fight<sup>832</sup>.



Fig. 25. Relief of Nemesis *aneiktos*. From Aristodemou 2015, p. 75, fig. 4a.



Fig. 26. Relief of Nike. From Aristodemou 2015, p. 75, fig. 4b.

The presence of Nemesis is certainly the most important, as confirmed by the identity of the donor and by the repetition of her image on another relief located on the internal keystone of the arch of the same *parodos*: It is a representation of Nemesis-Aequitas holding a balance and with a wheel at her feet (fig. 27-28). On the external side of the keystone (thought to be older than the internal one) we find a *bucranium*<sup>833</sup>, perhaps a symbol of the sacrifices performed in the building.

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<sup>832</sup> See Collart 1928, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>833</sup> *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 39 (P. Karanastassis). See Hornum 1993, pl. 19; Collart 1937, p. 384, pl., 67, 4; Collart 1928, p. 110-113 fig. 21 (on the symbolism of the *bucranium*); Aristodemou 2015, p. 76, fig. 5a-b.

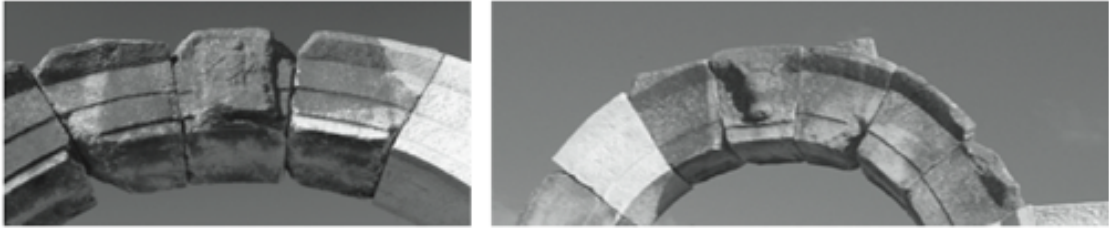


Fig. 27. Keystone of the arch of the *parodos* with the internal side (left) with Nemesis and external side (right) with a *bucranium*. From Aristodemou 2015, p. 76, fig. 5a-b.



Fig. 28. Nemesis-Aequitas of the keystone of the *parodos*' arch. From Collart 1928, p. 110, fig. 21.

The association of Nemesis *aneiktos*, Nike and Mars in the context of the theatre-arena certainly carries the connotation of victory in the games<sup>834</sup>. This idea, however, was combined with the notions of justice and punishment, clearly carried by Nemesis-Aequitas, and perhaps with the concept of a “destiny” assigned to every fighter in the arena<sup>835</sup>. The prominent and individual depiction of Nemesis on the arch’s keystone was probably a memento of the rules and values of the theatre for those entering the building. The *parodos* of the theatre could have been a place

<sup>834</sup> The epithet *aneiktos* was referred to the goddess in sources from the western provinces and often related to the context of *munera*, where Nemesis was combined with Diana. Above, pp. 54, 80.

<sup>835</sup> See below p. 246 a marble slab from Dion with Nemesis-Aequitas (Cat., 10. 2).

for praying to Nemesis, and perhaps for leaving little offerings. The recent discovery of a stoa within the South side of the *postscenium*, with decorations attributable to the worship of Dionysus, lead Karaderos, Koukouli and Chrysanthaki<sup>836</sup> to hypothesize the presence of a place devoted to the worship of the deities of the theatre (Dionysus as god of dramatic plays, and Nemesis as goddess of *munera*). This assumption, however, still needs confirmation.

Philippi was a Roman colony from the time of the battle against the murderers of Julius Caesar. Ten years later, Octavian sent to the city a group of veterans to colonize it<sup>837</sup>. During the Roman Empire, the various social components of Philippi (mostly Roman citizens in the urban centre and Greeks and Thracians in the surrounding fields)<sup>838</sup>, provided the city with a variegated religious tradition that included deities with Thracian, Greek and Roman characters. From the acropolis of Philippi and the theatre we have traces of significant worship of Dionysus<sup>839</sup>, and a *thiasus* of maenads also attests to the veneration of the god<sup>840</sup>. All the reliefs of the *parodos* belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., as confirmed by the palaeographic analysis of the letters. Their dedications should coincide with the modification of the theatre into an arena, and the increase frequency of the Roman spectacles.

The theatre of Philippi, founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., passed through different phases of modification in the Roman period. Firstly, the theatre was used for both dramatic spectacles and *munera*<sup>841</sup>. P. Collart<sup>842</sup>, the first excavator of the theatre, dated the

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<sup>836</sup> Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, p. 278.

<sup>837</sup> STRABO, 7, 331, fr. 41: after the battle against Brutus and Cassius the city was enlarged and expanded. See CASS. DIO, 51, 4, 6 for the Roman settlers at Philippi.

<sup>838</sup> See Collart 1937, pp. 258 ff. See Rizakis 2017.

<sup>839</sup> Various decorative elements of the *postscenium* and *scenae frons* are linked to the cult of Dionysus. See Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, p. 276. See Rizakis 2017, pp. 177 ff. Cfr. Collart 1937, pp. 413 ff.

<sup>840</sup> Collart 1937, p. 417.

<sup>841</sup> Some funerary epitaphs found in Philippi and surroundings attest to the presence of an *archimimus latinus* (Latin chief mime), a *promisthota* (a contractor of theatrical spectacles) and a *choragiarius* (editor of Greek drama spectacles). See Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, *l. c.*, n. 8, 9 with further bibl.

<sup>842</sup> See Collart 1928, pp. 83 ff.

Roman-period structure to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., supporting this chronology with analogous theatres of Asia Minor (theatres of Aspendos, Sagalassos, Perge and Termessos). Recently, scholars <sup>843</sup> have presented the possibility that the construction of the Roman *scenae frons* belonged to the reign of Antoninus Pius, on the basis of similar decoration between the new part of the theatre and the *agora* of the city, decorated during the Antonine period<sup>844</sup>. The modifications in the arena, however, should belong to the Severan period, together with the extension of the last rows of seats to increase the number of spectators<sup>845</sup>.

The archaeological studies on the site confirm the Roman use of the building that was equipped with a high protective parapet for spectators' safety and an underground corridor close to the *proscenium* for an easy passage of wild beasts and gladiators/*venatores*<sup>846</sup>. This hidden passage led into a chamber from which beasts and men could have been directly introduced into the arena with the help of a mechanical system<sup>847</sup>.

The interpretation of these reliefs within the context of the *munera* – and especially of Nemesis related to hunting – is primarily based on the presence of the association of the “friends of hunting” (people who probably worshipped Nemesis as a goddess related to their favourite “hobby”) and it is confirmed by the significant modification of the theatre into an arena in the same period. Moreover, the combination with Ares and Nike fits well in the context of dangerous spectacles.

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<sup>843</sup> See Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, *l. c.*

<sup>844</sup> See Sève-Weber 2012.

<sup>845</sup> See Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, p. 277. Collart considered the enlargement of the theatre concurrent with the construction of the stage building, which he dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. See Collart 1928, pp. 81-103.

<sup>846</sup> See Collart 1928, pp. 105-107. Combats and hunting in the city are confirmed by various kinds of evidence, such as the great mosaic from the bath of the city and the funerary relief of a man who was likely a *venator*, with the representation of the Thracian rider and Nemesis. See Lemerle 1935, pp. 148 ff., n. 42; see also Salac 1023, pp. 86-87, n. 4.

<sup>847</sup> See Karadedos-Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, p. 278.

## Hierapolis

The theatre of Hierapolis presents an interesting case of merging of the Roman Nemesis with local reality and traditions. The building was originally constructed during the reign of Domitian<sup>848</sup> but was heavily modified under the Severans, with a new elegant decoration of the *proscenium*<sup>849</sup> (fig. 29).

Near the northern *parodos* we can still see three representations of Nemesis. Two little figures are inserted in mirrored positions, decorating the door<sup>850</sup>. They appear as diademed with long *chiton*, finely carved within a rich vegetal motif. These two little Nemeseis seem not to have any connection with hunts or battles, even if little animals are also inserted in the vegetal decoration. Yet, they appear as devoid of wings and far from the Nemesis-Aequitas of Philippi. One may consider these two little Nemeseis as a representation of the double goddess of Smyrna, but their identical duality and their small dimensions seem to be responding more to decorative needs<sup>851</sup> or to a reinforcement of the message conveyed by the goddess<sup>852</sup>.

Certainly, these miniatures recall the bigger relief of Nemesis<sup>853</sup> carved in the decoration of the *podium* of the Severan *frons scaenae* close to the door. The general decorative motif of the *podium* is based on the stories of Apollo and Artemis, including the episodes of the punishment of Marsyas and Niobe<sup>854</sup>; one may wonder about a possible voluntary association between the hubristic

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<sup>848</sup> Originally, the theatre of Hierapolis was situated outside of the urban area, but, after the earthquake of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. (in the reign of Nero), it was rebuilt in the centre of the city. The building, indeed, presents the substructures typical of the Roman theatres. See D'Andria-Ritti 1985, p. 90.

<sup>849</sup> A special interest in financing public buildings of the city during the Severan dynasty is probably due to the tutor of Septimius' children, the sophist Antipatros, native of Hierapolis. See De Bernardi Ferrero 1993, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>850</sup> Cat., 2. 70.

<sup>851</sup> D'Andria-Ritti considers the possibility that they represent the Smyranean cult of Nemesis. See D'Andria-Ritti 1985, p. 167.

<sup>852</sup> A similar case of double Nemesis has been traced at Olympia. See below, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>853</sup> Cat., 2. 69. *LIMC, Suppl. 2009, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 1 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>854</sup> See Sear 2006, p. 338; D'andria-Ritti 1985, pp. 71-72.

behaviours of these two characters and the presence of Nemesis in the decoration<sup>855</sup>. The cycle of Artemis is completed by the marble slab representing the goddess Nemesis accompanied by two female figures identified as Dike (or Dikaiosyne) and, perhaps, Elpis. Nemesis is winged, holding the bridle and spitting on her chest<sup>856</sup>; she wears a long chiton in a frontal elegant pose<sup>857</sup>. The relief is finely carved, as the elegant garment and the precise details of the wings confirm<sup>858</sup>. Dike and Elpis appear in a subordinate position in comparison to Nemesis; indeed, while the goddess looks frontally at the visitor, the two goddesses are turned to her. Elpis is veiled, wearing a long chiton and holding an uncertain object<sup>859</sup>; at her left, Dikaiosyne holds a balance.

This marble slab is clearly distinguishable from all the other panels of the frieze in style and function: It closes the narration, but in harmony with the general framework. We can clearly recognize the image of Nemesis as deity “super partes” and far from each story represented in the rest of the decoration. Concerning Dike/Dikaiosyne, we know that she was linked to Nemesis since the Classical period; both of the goddesses were personifications related to the concept of justice.

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<sup>855</sup> The direct association of Nemesis with the tragic chastisement of Niobe is traced in the aforementioned story of Aura by Nonnus of Panopolis, where the goddess mentions her turning into a stone of Niobe (*Dionys.*, 48, 395 ff.).

<sup>856</sup> The Nemesis of the theatre of Philippi holds a balance, in a clear syncretism with Aequitas. As will become clearer later on, also in the votive offering of Dion we find a Nemesis-Dikaiosyne, which could easily recall the theatre.

<sup>857</sup> We rarely find Nemesis on coins of Hierapolis. However, in her numismatic depictions, she is reminiscent of representations of the theatre, with the gesture of *spuere in sinum* and the bridle. Nevertheless, her Hierapolitan coinage extends from the time of Trajan to the reign of Philip II and Valerian, revolving around the period of restoration and dedication of the theatre by the Severans. See Cat., 2. 71.

<sup>858</sup> The attribute of the wings, as explored in chapter 1, should not be considered here as a symbol of Victoria, but as a proper attribute of Nemesis which represents her ability to see and know everything and be everywhere.

<sup>859</sup> This figure could represent also other goddesses related to Nemesis, such as Themis, Dike or another goddess reflecting a local association with Nemesis. The identification of the figure depends on the object held in her left hand, which unfortunately is not well preserved. Nemesis and Elpis are represented together at the sides of an altar today conserved in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, dated to the reign of Hadrian. See D’andria-Ritti 1985, p. 171, n. 11 for further bibl.

Dikaiosyne was the application and the feeling of justice for the righteous man, while Nemesis was the “messenger” and intimate collaborator of Dike<sup>860</sup>. The relationship between Nemesis and Dikaiosyne is confirmed by an inscription on a rectangular sandstone block of the Hadrianic period from Cyprus (precise provenience unknown): τὴν δυνατὴν Νέμεσιν με θεὰν | ιδρύσατο τεύξας ἱερῶ ἐν τεμένει | - τήνδε Δικαιοσύνην, | ἥτις ἤφυν θῆρ| ἰς ἀσεβεῖς, παρὰ δ’ εὐσεβέ <εσ> ἰν | τοῖς τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν εἰδόσιν ἰμὶ | Τύχη. Φίλων Τρύφωνος εὐχή <v><sup>861</sup>. Here, Nemesis is supposed to become Dikaiosyne with the impious people and a favorable Tyche with the pious ones. Therefore, an oracular text reused in the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo attests a Nemesis associated with Dike, whose scale she rocks: ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης πλάστιγγα σαλεύει<sup>862</sup>. On the other hand, Nemesis is possibly related to Elpis on the basis of games, and the hope for victory of participants and spectators. This is confirmed by the aforementioned limestone stamp from Egypt in the form of a disk, where Elpis is paired with Nemesis’ griffin<sup>863</sup>. Next to Elpis, we notice a palm and a crown: Direct symbols of the ludic/athletic context (confirmed also by the legend on the other side: Νεμεσι Νικεα). According to Perdrizet, this piece of evidence could have been used to stamp the two images on little pieces of bread that the participants in spectacles and games could have eaten before competing, praying that the victorious Nemesis be at their side, giving them hope.

Returning to the iconography of the marble slab of Nemesis, a well-designed altar decorated with garlands and bull’s heads is carved next to the goddess. At the top sits a basket for the offerings. This peculiar representation suggests that the goddess is showing the rituals performed in the theatre, a sort of *meta-message* of the building’s reality. This the only piece of evidence where Nemesis is deeply and explicitly related to the theatre’s rituals. We may even go so far as to suppose a civic procession ending with an offering at the altar of the goddess. Even the

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<sup>860</sup> PLATO., *Laws*, 717d, 2-3. See above, p. 57.

<sup>861</sup> *Cat.*, 7. 5; see Mitford 1946, pp. 24-25. Mitford thought that this inscription should be dated earlier than the Hadrianic period. Mavroyannis based his date to the reign of Claudius on a palaeographic basis. Cfr. Mavroyannis 2008, p. 65.

<sup>862</sup> See Ritti 1985, pp. 131 ff.; Hornum 1993, p. 292, n. 244.

<sup>863</sup> See Hornum, p. 43, pl. 5; Lichocka 2004, pp. 77-78; pl. 31, 1-2; Perdrizet 1914, pp. 94 ff.

position next to the North entrance of the building suggests the realization of a concrete ritual praxis: Civic parades likely entered the theatre from the South *parodos* and then made offerings in correspondence to Nemesis' relief on the other side of the building<sup>864</sup>. The north *parodos* led to a closed square room, with two other entrances to allow people to enter and exit the building. However, the south *parodos* does not present an analogous room that directly leads to the external area of the theatre. For this reason, in our view, it is possible that a shrine of Nemesis was located in the closed space behind the North *parodos*, with the small Nemeseis decorating the door to welcome people and remind them of the internal shrine.

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<sup>864</sup> Concerning the mythological decoration of the frieze, we find other references to sacrifices: In the cycle of Artemis there is an entire scene of sacrifice, with the offering of bulls, goats and the fruits of the harvest to the statue of the idol of the Ephesian goddess, which is the subject of the main cult. This rare depiction of active worship could enforce the importance of sacrifices for the theatre and for the community, but it is deeply absorbed in the narrative and not openly linked to the concrete rituals of the theatre. This is also confirmed by the very indefinite character of the people participating in the *pompe* towards the Ephesian Artemis. They do not have any individuality, not representing particular citizens or officers of Hierapolis. At any rate, this representation of the *pompe* is important and rare evidence of the participants in the competitions (such as the trumpet players, the young athletes, the judges) as well as the sacrifice of a bull. We cannot exclude the possibility that a real *pompe* in honour of Artemis was set up, ending in the theatre and representing a ritual to Nemesis. See D'Andria-Ritti 1985, p. 164, 176.



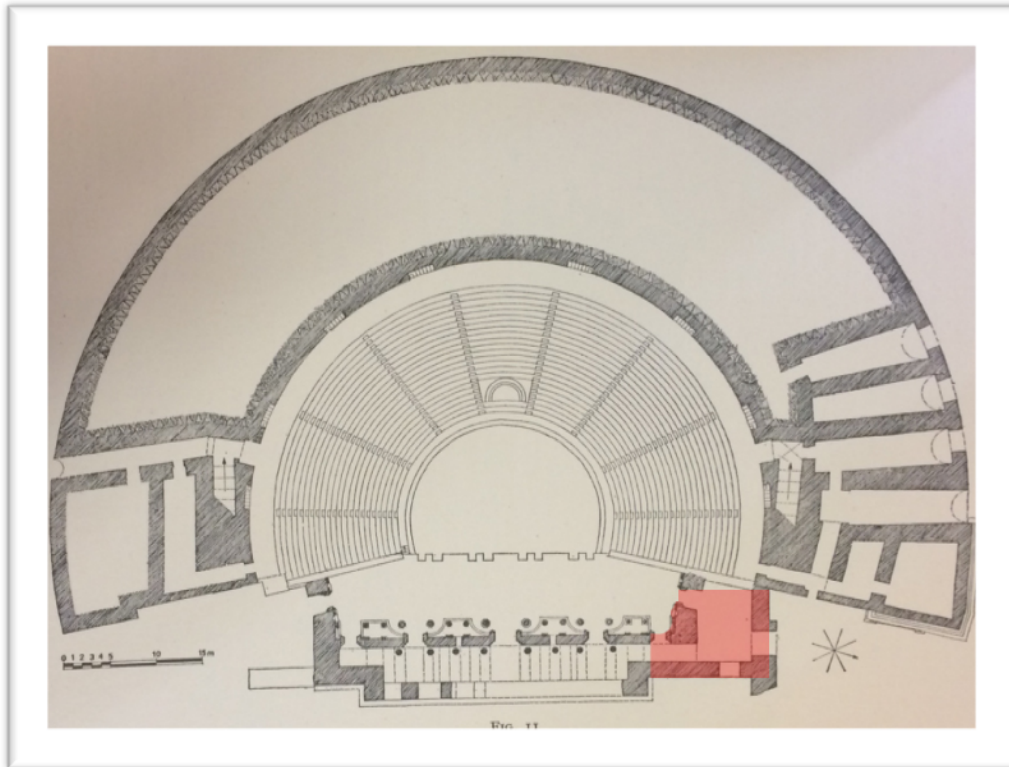


Fig. 29. The theatre of Hierapolis. From D'andria-Ritti 1985, p. 179, fig. 11 (modified by this author).

The Greek character of the iconography (with no Roman features of a Nemesis-Diana) and the reference to the real rituals of the theatre could suggest a dominant position of Nemesis as “the goddess of the theatre” even independently of ludic occasions. Nevertheless, the seats of the theatre testify to the use of the building for assemblies, and generally for the organization of local public events<sup>865</sup>.

The local framework in which Nemesis appeared, with the addition of the representation of the Severan family in the decorative program of the building, allow us to consider that the rituals fulfilled at her altar concerned all of the various celebrations: *Munera*, drama and civic parades<sup>866</sup>. The entire city would have

<sup>865</sup> See Ritti 2006, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>866</sup> The main festival was the *Apolloneia Pythia* of Hellenistic origin, while the *Aktia*, the *Olympia* and the ἀγῶνες τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ were established during the Roman times. See Ritti 2017, *l. c.*; Burrell 2004, p. 137 with bibl. Symbols of the games were often representing the city on the *homonoia*-coinage; naturally, this was a sign of the high significance the games hold in the city. On this issue, see Ritti 2006, p. 30. Cfr. Ritti 2017, pp. 173 ff.

participated and venerated Nemesis, who appears as the protector of the theatre, with no special reference to a peculiar category of people. It is possible that combats, hunts and even acrobatic exercises<sup>867</sup> took place also in the North side of the *agora*, which was the only flat area with high terraces for spectators<sup>868</sup>. The city showed interest in Roman games beginning in the Augustan period, but with the achievement of the *neokoria*<sup>869</sup> and the consequent amplification of the imperial cult, we should expect also an enhancement of the spectacles, both in frequency and in importance. From the epigraphic and artistic evidence, we can distinguish many

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<sup>867</sup> We have clear evidence of the incursion of *taukathapses* among the members of a *familia gladiatorum* from Hierapolis. See Ritti 2017, p. 183; Ritti-Yilmaz 1998, p. 448, 458.

<sup>868</sup> The decoration of the buildings of the *agora* first convinced Ritti (Ritt-Yilmaz 1998, pp. 511-513, 537) that the *agora* was used as place for spectacles. As Rossignani-Sacchi explained, reliefs with *zoomachies* or even a gladiator with shield and weapon depicted in the *propyleon* of the square would testify to the ludic vocation of the place. Ritti, however, reconsidered this issue in her last work, where she admitted that the decoration of the public buildings with scenes of huntings or fights cannot serve as absolute evidence for spectacles having been set up in those buildings. On the other hand, that kind of decoration could have been chosen by the cities parallel to the relevance the Roman games acquired in the community's life. See Rossignani-Sacchi 2011, pp. 243-246; Ritti 2017, pp. 173, 181, 185.

Archaeologists have still not identified the position of the ancient stadium, but thanks to the epigraphical evidence we are certain of its presence (W. Judeich, *Inschriften*, in C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich, and F. Winter (eds.), *Altertümer von Hierapolis. Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft, vol. 4*, Berlin 1898, pp. 67-202.), ll. 1-4: [ἡ] τὸ πρὶν ἐν στα[δίῳ κε]λαδούμενος, ἔλαβα λήθην | κτείνας ἀντίπαλον μεστὸν πικρίας ἀλογίστ[ου]. οὐνομά μοι Στέφανος, δέκατον στεφθεῖ[ς] ἐν ἀγῶνι | θνήσκω). Most notable, however, is the fact that gladiatorial combats and *venationes* were organized, and both recorded in inscriptions, even if the details of their organization remain a mystery.

<sup>869</sup> Hierapolis received the title of *neokoros* probably under the reign of Elagabalus. This title did not imply that the city became one of the main Greek cities of Asia Minor (such as Smyrna and Ephesus). Indeed, the Hierapolitan temple of the *Sebasteoi* did not gain provincial relevance but only a local character. See Burrell 2004, pp. 135-136, with further bibl.

figures involved in the Roman festivals<sup>870</sup>, such as gladiators, hunters, and naturally, as the high priests of the Imperial cult<sup>871</sup>.

## Olympia

Two half-size marble statues of Nemesis<sup>872</sup> dating to the imperial period (2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.) have been found at the entrance to the hidden tunnel of the stadium of Olympia, the so-called Κρυπτή. According to Pausanias<sup>873</sup>, this entrance was reserved for the athletes and the judges of the games. These little statues (today conserved at the Museum of the Archaeological site of Olympia) represent two identical Nemeseis, each one holding a rudder, leaning against a small wheel at the feet of the goddesses; their right arm stretches down in the direction of the rudder. The style of their garment (long and heavy, with a stressed archaic style) reveals the Roman chronology: The bottom-sleeves attest to an inspiration from a Classical motif, while the single curl falling on the right shoulder appears as an elegant variation of the Rhamnousian iconography<sup>874</sup>. The artistic quality of these statues is quite low, as the dynamic of the garment's folds and the surviving fragments of hair confirm. These Nemeseis were probably the work of Greek craftsmanship, which adopted the Roman interpretation of the deity<sup>875</sup> (with the wheel as attribute) together with the Greek long *peplos*. The presence of a rudder associates Nemesis to Tyche, a goddess deeply related to the context of athletic games.

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<sup>870</sup> A funerary inscription of a *therotrophos* found in the village of Karahayit (near Hierapolis) testifies to the existence in the city of a stable system of spectacles. *Alt.v. Hierapolis, Anh I 2*: [Μ]ειδείω ἀνδρὶ | θηροτρόφῳ μν[εῖ]ας χάριν ἧδ' ἀν[έ]θηκεν· χεῖρε | λέγει παροδίτες. See Ritti-Yilmaz 1998. Cfr. Ritti 2017, pp. 181-183; Ritti 2006, pp. 85-88; Ritti 1985, p. 98.

<sup>871</sup> See Ritti-Yilmaz 1998, pp. 447 ff. for the games offered by the high priest of the imperial cult C. Arrius Apuleius Aurelianus, owner of a *familia gladiatorum* with gladiators, *venatores* and *taurokathaptai*.

<sup>872</sup> *Cat.*, 1. 17; see Hornum 1993, p. 49.

<sup>873</sup> On the tunnel, see PAUS., 6, 20, 8.

<sup>874</sup> On their iconography, see Treu, 1894, pp. 237-238; Broneer 1935, p. 67; Schweitzer 1931, p. 199, who considered the Nemeseis-Tychai at Olympia to be classicizing statues. Cfr. Despini 1971, p. 5.

<sup>875</sup> Treu 1894., *l. c.*

These Nemeseis-Tychai do not make the typical gesture of *spuere in sinum* that usually characterizes the representations of Nemesis, and even more the syncretistic ones. On the other hand, the double form of the goddess, certainly referring to the Smyrnean model<sup>876</sup>, could also reflect the syncretism of Nemesis and Tyche, as a reinforcement of the message that this goddess overwhelms the corrupt athletes and benefits those who respect justice and rules.

The focus of the scholarly discussion on these specific statues has concerned the larger framework to which they belonged, and the degree of Roman influence at the sanctuary. The stadium of Olympia is a very rare case in Greece and Asia Minor of a Greek building devoid of any signs of structural modification for the Roman *munera*<sup>877</sup>. The absence of a safety system, or a closure of the *sphendone* is even more surprising because of the large Roman interventions visible all over the sanctuary of Zeus, beginning with Augustus<sup>878</sup>. The Metroon was dedicated to Augustus, and images of the emperors were located within it<sup>879</sup>, and there is also the colossal statue of Augustus-Zeus<sup>880</sup>. Kantirea suggested that the temple of the Mother Goddess was converted to a *templum Divorum Augustorum* in the reign of Domitian<sup>881</sup>, and the *pronaos* of the temple of Zeus likely became place for housing imperial symbols<sup>882</sup>. However, Olympia never included festivals of imperial

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<sup>876</sup> As already noted above, the two Nemeseis of Smyrna were always represented in different and complementary ways, while in this case the two Nemeseis-Tychai are totally identical. See above, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>877</sup> This detail is a surprise, because the Romans largely modified the Olympian sanctuary, rededicating temples and statues. About the stadium, see PAUS., 6, 20, 8.

<sup>878</sup> Olympia was considered to be the place where the values expressed by the games originally begun; for instance, it is not a coincidence if Dionysius of Halikarnassos, when describing the Greek use of competing naked and the types of chariot races, thought of and described the Olympian case. See DION. HAL., 7, 72, 3. Cfr. Spawforth 2012, pp. 165-166.

<sup>879</sup> PAUS., 5, 20, 9.

<sup>880</sup> See Hitzl 1991, p. 38, 101-105; Kantinea 2007, pp. 148-149; Lo Monaco 2009, pp. 223 ff.; Camia 2016, p. 8. See also Alcock 1993, p. 190, where the political importance of Olympia among all the *poleis* that held pan-Hellenic festivals is clearly pointed out. See also PAUS., 5, 12, 6.

<sup>881</sup> See Kantirea 2007, p. 152; Hitzl 1991, p. 105.

<sup>882</sup> PAUS., 5, 12, 6-8; cfr. Hitzl 1991, pp. 30, 120.

character, like the *Aktia*, *Kaisareia* or *Sebasteia/Sebasta*, commonly celebrated all over the Greek and Hellenized cities<sup>883</sup>.

These two Nemeseis-Tychai in the tunnel were conveying a clear message to the Greek athletes, who, upon entering in the stadium, certainly did not fail to see them, with the admonishment not to violate the Olympic rules. This kind of message was inserted in a wider admonition traditionally communicated by the bronze statues of Zanes (*Zάν* = *Ζεύς*), located exactly between the Metroon and the stadium, along the way to the tunnel and leading to the Nemeseis-Tychai. These sculptures were financed with the penalties inflicted on the athletes accused to have violated the rules<sup>884</sup>. Pausanias described them, asserting that the tradition of using the income from the fines to realize pieces of art began in the year 388 B.C. (PAUS., 5, 21, 2-3). The act of bribing appears to have been the main and most common violation. In fact, only two athletes were punished for other reasons, such as escaping the competition and being late for the beginning of the games<sup>885</sup>. The meaning of the statues of Zanes is clearly expressed by the inscriptions of their bases: Every Zan was accompanied by an elegiac dedication/explanation, reminding everyone of the importance of respecting the sacred rules<sup>886</sup>, with the name of the athlete (and his

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<sup>883</sup> These festivals arose vertiginously from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. (with the endorsement of the philhellenic emperors), with a higher visibility on coinage starting from the reign of Commodus onwards, when we observe a significant increase of issues related to festivals with Roman characteristics. This increase was due to the granting of higher-level festivals to many Greek cities by the emperors who were passing through the eastern provinces during their military campaigns. However, the Roman festivals were commonly organized already under Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty. On this argument, see Klose 2005, pp. 127-133.

<sup>884</sup> Part of the tradition defines Zeus as distributor of destinies and penalties. See above, pp. 20 ff. the case of Capaneus under the walls of Thebes, punished by Zeus, who is called *nemeter* (“distributor”). Zeus was considered also as *alaistor* and *palaimnaios* in the *De Mundo* of the Pseudo Aristotle and in the *Compendium to the Greek theology* of Cornutus (Comp., 9-14), where the god is associated to the Moires, Anankes, Adrasteia and Nemesis: All considered as personifications of similar forces.

<sup>885</sup> See PAUS., 5, 21, 13-14; 18.

<sup>886</sup> One of the inscriptions, indeed, had a clear didactic aim to teach the correct behaviour and values that can be summarized in honestly reaching the victory, using only one’s own abilities instead of bribery (5, 21, 4): ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὡς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ὠκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔστιν εὐρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας τῆς Ἡλείων καὶ ἀθληταῖς παρανομοῦσιν

city) disqualified and economically fined<sup>887</sup>. This practice conferred a sense of public embarrassment employed as a deterrent against the temptation of cheating on the competitions. The social dimension of this punishment is confirmed by the use of swearing loyalty to the Olympic rules before the terrifying statue of Zeus Horkios in the Bouleuterion<sup>888</sup>. It seems that this ritual was a fundamental condition for the validity of the games: In fact, not only the athletes, but also their relatives, trainers and even those who were appointed to judge the quality of the horses involved in the competitions had to publicly declare their honesty<sup>889</sup>.

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εἶναι δέος: πέμπτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕκτῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος γνώμη τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς ἔπαινον Ἥλειων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῶν πυκτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὑπολοίπῳ διδασκαλίαν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδένα ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπικῇ νίκῃ διδόναι χρήματα; “The first of the inscriptions is intended to make plain that an Olympic victory is to be won, not by money, but by swiftness of foot and strength of body. The inscription on the second image declares that the image stands to the glory of the deity, through the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to law-breaking athletes. The purport of the inscription on the fifth image is praise of the Eleans, especially for their fining the boxers; that of the sixth and last is that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give bribes to obtain an Olympic victory”.

<sup>887</sup> As K. Buraselis recently clarified, the penalties were probably payed by the city of the athlete, which was intimately connected with him, sharing also the public shame. This is confirmed by Pausanias, who says that the Rhodians paid for their boxer who violated the rules (5, 21, 8): λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὡς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ Ῥόδιοι χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ. The strict connection between cities and athletes is supported and emphasized by the great importance the athletes had in Greek society. Naturally, the punishment decided by the *Ellanodikai* led to serious political consequences. From the short passage mentioned above, we note the use of the term ἀδικίας, referred to the violation of the rules. Nemesis-Tyche and Zeus are considered, indeed, close to Dike.

<sup>888</sup> PAUS., 5, 24, 9. It is interesting that Pausanias described this statue of Zeus as able to scare the “unjust people”, underlining again the deep roots of justice in the games: ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὅποσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἐκκληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται: ἐπὶ κλησις μὲν Ὀρκίος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ.

<sup>889</sup> PAUS., 5, 24, 10-11. According to Pausanias, this ritual had very ancient origins, with characteristics that go back to the Homeric cycle. Lucian records the ritual of the athletes praying to Zeus before participating in the drawing of lots forming the couple of competitors in the *pancratium* fights (*Hermotimos*, 40).

The topographic location of the Nemeseis-Tychai makes them serve as a sort of repetition and resonance of the meaning<sup>890</sup> already expressed by the Zanes. This connection seems to be more of a Greek solution to the introduction of a Greek goddess “imported” from Rome, than a Roman imposition. The combination with the Zanes and the exclusive Greek use of the building suggest a full Greek athletic and cultural environment, even if the location of the Nemeseis-Tychai at the corridor appears to be a Roman “ingredient”. Both Nemesis-Tychai and the Zanes were teaching a model of behaviour valid inside and outside the athletic world: The Zanes were punitive, while the Nemeseis-Tychai served as admonitions not to violate the rules. One may see this warning message of the goddesses as reflecting the threat of *ultio* on the basis of *pax Romana*<sup>891</sup>.

One may recall Pausanias’ words when describing the reasons for inflicting the fines on the athletes: ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες<sup>892</sup>. What clearly emerges is that the violation of the rules corresponded to an act of hubris towards the games. Considering the central role of games and athletes not only for the Elian society, but also for every Greek polis, we can comprehend that the hubris against the rules of the games was thought to extend to the whole of Greek society in its deepest essence<sup>893</sup>. The hubris has to be understood as violation of the civic rules, in a sort of boasting behaviour with institutional and public

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<sup>890</sup> Moreover, Pausanias attests that two boxers from Arsinoite (Egypt) financed the dedication of two Zanes statues positioned respectively at the left and the right of the entrance of the stadium (PAUS., 5, 21, 15).

<sup>891</sup> The judgment of the Athenian athlete Kallippos, recently discussed by Buraselis, is a case in point of the political implication of the punishment of the athletes and their cities. The international image of the cities accused of bribery was a first and fundamental concern. Athens, indeed, insistently defended the athlete Kallippos, who had been accused of having paid his antagonist; the city withdrew its athletes from the Olympian games for many years, until the oracle of Delphi intervened to force Athens to pay its debt to Olympia. PAUS., 5, 21, 5-6. See Buraselis 2017, pp. 135 ff. with bibl.

<sup>892</sup> PAUS., 5, 21, 2.

<sup>893</sup> The verb *hybrizo* (as well as the semantic sphere of *phthonos* and *nemesis*) is used to express crimes against the city, as confirmed by other findings of the Roman times: For instance, it was common to state on one’s own epitaph not to have committed any act of hubris against the city, e.g. *IScM II*, 188, 10: καὶ πόλιν οὐχ ὑβρίσας.

consequences<sup>894</sup>. As the boasting behaviour is “officialised” with public resonance, the act of Nemesis should defend the institutions and the community. From this perspective we would see the association with Tyche for the preservation of the city<sup>895</sup>. If the reverence of the Romans for Olympia kept them from reforming the festival in a Roman way, the Roman Nemesis assumed a very important role in that it associated Greek and Roman religious views and principles of correct behaviour.

## Nicaea

The last case of Nemesis’ presence in the area of the *parodoi* concerns the city of Nicaea in Bithynia. The earliest evidence found in the theatre dates the building to the Hadrianic period<sup>896</sup>. Having been used as a quarry for the civic buildings in later times, and as a church by the Christians during the Middle Ages, the theatre is today in a poor state of conservation. Certainly, having been constructed in the Roman period and displaying clearly western architecture features<sup>897</sup>, the building presents signs of gladiatorial combats and *venationes*, which were directly

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<sup>894</sup> A letter from King Eumenes II and Attalos to the priest Attis (block of white marble today lost – 163 B.C.) attests that the act of hubris was related also to the violation of the sanctuary’s rules by the priests: ὀρθῶς οὖν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν διίστασθαι καὶ ὄφελος μὲν ἢ θεὸς ἐπιστραφεῖσα τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἱερέων ὑβρισμένων | καὶ ὑ[βριζομ]ένων στερεῖσθαι τὸν ταῦτα | πο[ήσαντα ὄν] μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ: “You [Attis] were absolutely right in taking a stance against him [Aioiorix, brother of Attis]. Would that the goddess had paid attention to her priests, who have been insulted and are being insulted, and had deprived the one who did these things of what he longs for most”. King Eumenes agrees with Attis in his taking a stance against his brother, who took the *anathemata* of the goddess, insulting the goddesses’ priest – ἱερέων ὑβρισμένων καὶ ὑ[βριζομ]ένων – and clearly violating the rules of the temple. See Strubbe 2005, *letters*, nn. 1-5.

<sup>895</sup> On Nemesis as goddess of the city, as Tyche was, see Hornum 1993, pp. 41-42.

<sup>896</sup> This specific piece of evidence is the base of a statue of Nemesis, donated by the *collegium* of *Nemesiastai* to Lucius Venuleius Apronianus, *proconsul* of Asia. This inscription is analyzed below, pp. 264 ff.

In a letter to Trajan, Pliny declares that the theatre was still not completed while a great sum of money had already been spent. So, it seems probable that only under Hadrian the theatre was completely finished. Adak supports this theory (Adak 2016, p. 2), while Sear opted for a Trajanic date (Sear 2006, p. 358).

<sup>897</sup> Since the city of Nicaea was developed on a flat area, the building needed the substructures typical of the Roman theatres.



connected to the imperial cult and to the office of *archiereus*<sup>898</sup>. During his excavations in 1985, B. Yalman<sup>899</sup> found two small niches carved in the wall of the eastern *parodos*, at the height of ca 3 m. (fig. 30), where two little statues were inserted (fig. 31)<sup>900</sup>. These niches (0, 31 m. h.; 0,11 m. w; 0, 75 m. d.) were surmounted by an arch and a wider rectangular area, which encloses the space to create a kind of little shrine. Unfortunately, the statues have not survived, but the dedication below confirms that two Nemeseis were located there<sup>901</sup>. The inscription, carved on a separate marble block from that of the niches, is a dedication to the Good Fortune by a certain Aelianus Asklepiodotos, sundial expert<sup>902</sup>: ἀγαθῆι τύχη | θεὰς τὰς Νεμέσεις | Αἰλιανὸς Ἀσκληπιόδοτος | γνωμονικός ἀνέθηκε.

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<sup>898</sup> The organization and funding of *munera* was a common duty for the high priests of many Asian cities, so, even if the lack of evidence does not confirm this practice, it is probable that it was diffused also at Nicaea. See Adak 2016, pp. 12-13. Cfr. Carter 1999, pp. 225 ff.; Price 1984, pp. 113 ff. Moreover, a shrine of the imperial cult was located behind the *cavea* of the Hellenistic building during the Augustan age. See Mert 2002, p. 190, fig. 7-8.

<sup>899</sup> See Yalman 1986, p. 236. Cfr. Adak 2016, p. 3.

<sup>900</sup> Cat., 3. 8.

<sup>901</sup> *SEG* 36: 1153.

<sup>902</sup> Adak recently read γνωμονικός, while Yalman (*SEG* 36: 1153) recorded γνωμονηκός.



Fig. 30. Eastern *parodos* of the theatre of Nicaea. From <https://www.romeartlover.it/Nicea3.html>

This piece of evidence is particularly important in the panorama of Nemesis' cult. In fact, it is the only sign of a double Nemesis at Nicaea, while all the numismatic<sup>903</sup> and literary sources attest only the single goddess. The position of the dedication at the entrance of the eastern *parodos* confirms the importance of this specific location for Nemesis' worship during the Roman times. The simple but detailed architecture of this dedication, with the two goddesses inscribed into an arch, suggests that the donor wanted to reproduce a shrine, or the entrance itself of the theatre as a place reserved to the goddess<sup>904</sup>.

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<sup>903</sup> The coinage of Nicaea shows a significant interest of the city in the cult of Nemesis, with a constant presence of the goddess from the reign of Antoninus Pius to the Severans and the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c., with the last coin of the reign of Valerianus Senior.

<sup>904</sup> One may consider that the corridor of the theatre/stadium was particularly related to the cult of the double Nemesis. We see a double goddess in Nicaea, Olympia and Hierapolis, but in all these cases the Nemeseis have the same symmetrical and balanced position, which suggests more a decorative vocation.

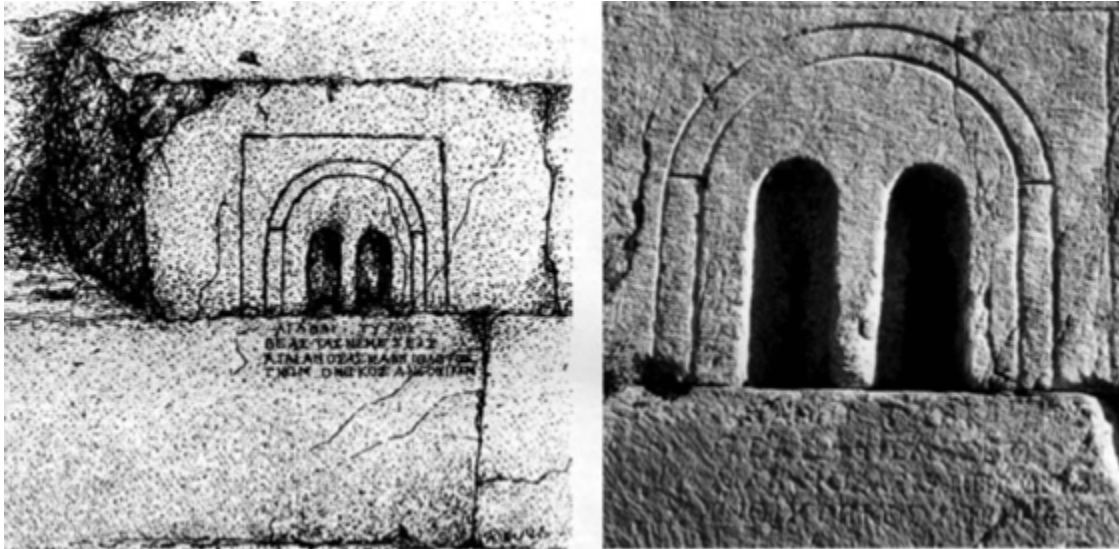


Fig. 31. Dedication to Nemeseis and relief on the wall of the eastern *parodos* of the theatre.

From Adak 2016, p. 30, fig. 3.

Aelianus Asklepiodotos has been identified as a citizen of the time of Hadrian: He likely was a Nicaean native, with a Roman name (Aelianus, a sort of *cognomen*/additional name) but probably without Roman citizenship. The dedication shows a private character<sup>905</sup>, but one may find a connection with the context of the games in the fact that Aelianus Asklepiodotos was a sun-dial specialist. Perhaps, he had constructed a sun-dial in the theatre for the correct performance of the games, to ensure that the games were carried out in a punctual way.

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<sup>905</sup> Nemesis is invoked with other deities for the sake of Nicaea. See DIO CHRYS., *Or.*, 39, 22, 8, 8-9: “I pray to Dionysos the progenitor of this city (Nicaea), to Heracles its founder, to Zeus Guardian of Cities, to Athena, to Aphrodite Fosterer of Friendship, to Harmony and Nemesis, and all the other gods, that from this day forth they may implant in this city a yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought; and, on the other hand, that they may cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that this city may be numbered among the most prosperous and the noblest for all time to come”. We do not know if there was a shrine to Nemesis in the city, but it would be quite unusual to pray to a goddess not belonging to the local *pantheon*.

#### 4. 2. 4 Theatres where the location of the *sacellum* of Nemesis is unknown.

##### Ilium

A column with a dedication to Nemesis<sup>906</sup> has been found in the great theatre of Ilium in Troas. The inscription reads: Λούκιος | Σατρεῖος | Νεμέσι εὐ|χὴν εὐηκ|ῶ<sup>907</sup>. A certain Lucius Satreius addressed a request/prayer to a Nemesis named *euekoos*, as we usually note in short dedications. This inscription is dated in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. on the basis of the missing *praenomen* of the dedicant<sup>908</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not have any kind of specific evidence about him. The name Lucius Satrius presents a frequent Roman *praenomen* (Lucius) and a rare Roman *cognomen* (Satreius)<sup>909</sup>, but not a *gentilicium*. Therefore, it is very doubtful that this man possessed the Roman citizenship. Moreover, we do not have information to consider Satreius as a participant in the Roman games, but, more prudently, a citizen of Ilium who privately prayed to Nemesis in the theatre. A single piece of evidence lacking a precise findspot cannot help us to know how Nemesis was introduced into the *pantheon* of the city and whether she had a shrine in the theatre.

Concerning the organization of the *munera*, we know that gladiatorial combats took place in the city during the Roman Empire; the funerary stele of the gladiator Milarus, who died in his thirteenth fight, is our best piece of evidence on combats<sup>910</sup>. Nevertheless, the theatre itself presents the typical signs of the protection system: a 1,30 m high *podium* at the basis of the first row of seats<sup>911</sup>. The first construction of the theatre has been dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but some Roman restorations and alterations – particularly to the *scaenae frons*, with a façade

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<sup>906</sup> See Cat., 2. 84; see Hornum 1993, p. 312, n. 277.

<sup>907</sup> Hornum considers the origin of this piece of evidence as uncertain because of the early date of its discovery. However, the fact that this kind of dedication is found in the theatre allows us to posit the theatre as its possible origin. See Hornum 1993, p. 60.

<sup>908</sup> G. Alföldy 1969, p. 27, 287. The *cognomen* Satreios is a *unicum* in the city of Ilium, but we have attestation of Satrius and Satrianus in Italy, especially in South Gaul and North Italy.

<sup>909</sup> The name Satreius appears also in Roman Pontus in Asia Minor (*ISM III*, 72, 9). Cfr. *LGPN V*, s.v. Σάτριος.

<sup>910</sup> It belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. See *SEG 49*: 1755; Golden 2009, p. 77.

<sup>911</sup> See Dörpfeld 1902 p. 234; Collart 1928, p. 117.

characterised by *aediculae* and columns – were realized during the imperial period<sup>912</sup>. These modifications occurred in the Iulio-Claudian period, when the city gained the special favour of the emperors<sup>913</sup>, who aimed to link the imperial family with the legendary city, recognized as motherland of Rome and the *gens Iulia* by the imperial mythology and propaganda<sup>914</sup>. This special privilege allows the Ilians to call the members of the Iulio-Claudian family *συγγενεῖς* and dedicate various monuments to the imperial *domus*<sup>915</sup>. The chronology of this peculiar piece of evidence belongs to the Severan period, when Ilium was still a place of “pilgrimage” for the emperors, as Caracalla and Macrinus confirm<sup>916</sup>. Naturally, both Greek drama and Roman spectacles were housed in the theatre, which was the case in the majority of the Greek cities. However, the dedication of Satrius cannot

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<sup>912</sup> The direct and privileged connection between the theatre and the main temple of Athena Ilias (also place for rituals concerning the *koinon* whose Ilium was at the centre) has already been noted by the scholars, who considered this theatre a kind of stairway-theatre (Rose 1991, p. 74, n. 17; Rose 2002, p. 33, fig. 1 for a plan of the city which includes both acropolis and theatre). However, the orientation of the theatre and the temple does not coincide, as in the cases of Pessinous and Stratonicea abovementioned. Therefore, the distance between the temple on the acropolis and the theatron-*cavea* seems too far for a theatre with the function of connecting and leading to the temple. In any case, we do not know if the temple of Athena Ilias also hosted the imperial cult during the Roman Empire, a fact that could confer a great importance to the theatre-arena.

<sup>913</sup> See Rose 1991, pp. 72-73.

<sup>914</sup> The origin of Rome from Ilium/Troy was a fundamental part of the imperial propaganda, and many members of the Iulio-Claudian family visited the city to enforce the connection with Rome. Augustus, focused his propaganda on the return to traditional values, and the connection with ancestral places and myths (even the decorative program of his *Forum* emphasized the Trojan past of Rome, linking it with the future imperial family. On this issue, see Zanker 1992, pp. 201 ff.). Apart from Augustus, Gaius Caesar, Agrippa and Germanicus visited the city (as also Alexander the Great and Iulius Caesar did before them). See Vermeule 1995, pp. 470 ff.; Nicolaus of Damascus (*Vita Caes.*, 20) and Suetonius (*Iul.*, 79, 3) attest also the will of Caesar to transfer the centre of the administration at Ilium: If this information seems hardly plausible, the idea underlines the importance to build a myth around these two cities. On this specific argument see Erskine 2001, pp. 15 ff.; 225 ff.; Nicolet 1988, p. 206. Magie 1950, vol. 1, p. 82 defined Ilium as the first eastern city to create an individual connection with Rome. Cfr. Vermeule 1995, p. 468 on the Roman fiscal dispensation officially confirmed in front of the Senate by Nero who stressed the ancestral link between the city and Rome (53 A.D.; TAC., *Ann.*, 12, 58, 1; SVET., *Nero*, 7, 2).

<sup>915</sup> See *I. Ilion*, 82, 86, 87, 89, 91; cfr. Rose 2002, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>916</sup> See Halfmann 1986, pp. 223-230; Rose 2002, pp. 43-44.

assist in supposing an exact place of Nemesis' shrine in the theatre, or even a place where people could leave their offerings to the goddess.

### Perge

A dedication to Nemesis was discovered in the theatre of Perge: Νεμέ[σε]ι | ἐπη[κόφ] | εὐχί[ν] | Τ. Μουσσην... | Φλάουι[ος] ΜΑΤΕ | ΝΟΜΙΔΟΣ<sup>917</sup>. The dedicant is a certain Titus Moussen Flavius, probably a member of the local *élite*<sup>918</sup>. Like many other buildings of the city, the theatre of Perge is a Roman construction dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., although some variations of the arena (such as the marble protections in form of herms and the parapet) were built after the mid of the century<sup>919</sup>; this piece of evidence should belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. Perge was one of the main cities of Pamphylia, enlarged and widely developed during the Roman times<sup>920</sup>. So, it seems quite natural to find traces of Nemesis in the theatre, a place of combat and hunting, even though it seems quite improbable that the dedicator was related to the *munera*<sup>921</sup>. The interest of Perge in Nemesis' cult is probably related to the imperial cult – deeply rooted in the city – and the Roman interpretation of the goddess; indeed, other evidence confirms her worship in the city: Apart from the aforementioned Nemesis-Enodia<sup>922</sup> (goddess of the passages, with a probable influence in the funerary sphere, in connection with Hecate-Enodia), traces of Nemesis have been found in the local baths and at the wall of the city gates. In the former case, two oversized statues with dedications were

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<sup>917</sup> Cat., 9. 6; *I. Perge*, 247.

<sup>918</sup> Even if the dedication seems quite simple (with the common epithet *epekoos* for Nemesis) the presence of the *tria nomina* would probably reduce the possibilities to identify the dedicant with a gladiator. However, it was not rare for even Roman citizens to act as gladiators. On this issue, see Buraselis 2017, pp. 352-353; Leppin 2011, pp. 660-668.

<sup>919</sup> See Sear 2006, pp. 372-373 with bibl.; Özgür 1989, p. 38.

<sup>920</sup> Perge was the main city of Pamphilia, and during the Roman times it saw major developments, such as the construction of the baths, the theatre, the stadium and the *agora*. Even the onomastic studies define the role of Perge as a city of the Pamphilian province during the Roman Empire.

<sup>921</sup> The theatre, however, presents one of the finest decorations of the Roman times, with a figurative cycle dedicated to Dionysus. See Özgür 1989.

<sup>922</sup> Above, pp. 162 ff.

discovered in the southern baths of the city<sup>923</sup>. These statues represent a Nemesis in a long *chiton* and a *himation* covering her head; one of them is holding the cubit-rule, the other is accompanied by a griffin. They are both ritually spitting on their chests. The dedicants of the statues are a certain Claudius Peison and Publius Aelius Plancianus Antonius: Both seem to be members of the local *élite* who took care of their public image. The local baths, indeed, were a perfect public place where influential citizens could have advertised their personal power and attachment to the Roman authorities (as aforesaid, deeply linked to Nemesis) to the people “who matter” in the city. In the latter case, a 1, 86 m. h. statue of Nemesis-Aphrodite<sup>924</sup> has been found at the walls of the city gates: It is finely carved, and represents a female goddess in a long *chiton* which falls on the left shoulder, with a snake-shaped bracelet on her right forearm: definitely a typical Aphrodite, but with a griffin at her feet, defining without any doubt the presence of Nemesis. This peculiar piece of evidence is dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., when Plancia Magna and her family improved and decorated the walls of Perge with a significant number of statues. The place of discovery, far from buildings with ludic functions, and the syncretism with Aphrodite,<sup>925</sup> seem to witness a cult of Nemesis fully absorbed into the local *pantheon* and with unusual characteristics, not closely related to Roman spectacles or Greek athletics.

### **Salamis (Cyprus)**

A fragmentary dedication to Nemesis was found in the theatre of Salamis, with the dedicant likely involved in the world of the spectacles. The inscription, heavily restored, reads: [Νεμ]έσει Σουλπίκιος [Παγκλής Ούηρανιανός?...]<sup>926</sup>. If the

<sup>923</sup> Cat., 9. 7-8; *I. Perge*, 166, 175, pl. 43, 45.

<sup>924</sup> See Karanastassis 1986, p. 253; Mansel 1975, p. 62, fig. 19. Cat., 9. 9.

<sup>925</sup> The syncretism between Nemesis and Aphrodite is traced also elsewhere in the Greek world, e. g. in Paphos, where two little statues have been found (see *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 150 a-b; Lichocka 1978, pp. 205 ff.) and in Sagalassus (Pisidia), where a statue of diademed Nemesis with griffin and one naked shoulder in the manner of Aphrodite has been discovered near the Nymphaeum of the north side of the upper agora, Cat., 13. 22; *LIMC, Suppl. 2009, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 7 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>926</sup> Cat., 7. 1; I., *Salamine XIII*, 55. See Mitford-Nicolaou 1974, 104, pl.16.

restoration is correct, the dedicant could be identified with one of the financiers of the local theatre and amphitheatre, who lived in the Flavian period<sup>927</sup>. In this case, this inscription would be one of the most ancient attestations of Nemesis in the theatre, since the majority of evidence belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. The theatre of Salamis – one of the biggest of the ancient world – was built in the Roman period, in the Augustan age: After having been damaged by the Jewish revolt, it has been restored by Hadrian and later the orchestra was turned into a ‘kolymbethra’ to house naval battles<sup>928</sup>. Salamis presents a heavy Roman character after its absorption into the Province of Cilicia<sup>929</sup>. The presence of the central power is visible in many urban interventions, such as the theatre, the *gymnasium*, and of course the amphitheatre<sup>930</sup>. Considering that the gladiatorial games were housed in a building specifically dedicated to them, we can suppose that the dedication of this member of the local *élite* was not related to the context of the Roman games. Unfortunately, we lack archaeological or literary evidence for a *sacellum* of Nemesis inside the theatre, while this specific piece of evidence suggests a worship not only related to the games but to the entire community<sup>931</sup>.

## Miletus

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<sup>927</sup> See Mitford – Nicolaou 1974, nn. 101-105. Kantirea recently suggested a modest background for the dedicant: The scholar believes that Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus was a freedman of a certain Sulpicius, probably during the reign of Galba. She finds a confirmation in the name of his daughter, Sergia Phila, not attested with the *gentilicium* of her father in epigraphic evidence (See Mitford – Nicolaou 1974, n. 109). See Kantirea 2019, pp. 571 ff. Another attestation of the cult of Nemesis in Salamis came from the *gymnasium* of the city, where a statue of the goddess has been found. See Cat., 7. 2.

<sup>928</sup> On these datations, see Sear 2006, p. 383.

<sup>929</sup> For more references to the history of Cyprus in the Roman period, see Hill 1940, pp. 227 ss.

<sup>930</sup> The presence of two amphitheatres in Cyprus (one at Paphos and the other at Salamis) is certainly extraordinary. Although none of them has been properly excavated, some inscriptions, mosaics, and other various sources attest their existence. The amphitheatre of Salamis should have been built between the *gymnasium* and the Roman theatre. Generally, we find traces of gladiatorial activity also in other cities of the island, such as Kourion, where beautiful mosaics depict scenes of fighting. See Wright 1992, pp. 297 ff. Cfr. Karagheorghis 1982, pp. 180-181; Karagheorghis 1970, pp. 180 ss.

<sup>931</sup> We note here that the theatre of Corinth housed the Roman games although the city had an amphitheatre from the time of Caesar. On this question see Welch 1998a, pp. 117 ff.



An altar with a representation of Nemesis similar to Diana was discovered in the theatre of Miletus (fig. 32)<sup>932</sup>. The goddess is the central and only subject carved in the front side of the altar: She has a running pose, tending a bow with her left arm<sup>933</sup>. She is accompanied by a finely carved frame of pinecones and grapes<sup>934</sup> and two *bucrania*. On the opposite side we can read only few letters of a dedication: -ξ Νεμέσι εὐχί[v]. It is not easy to identify the dedicant, even if scholars have supposed the word Θραξ before the -ξ preceding the name of the goddess<sup>935</sup>. This Nemesis is clearly represented in Roman iconography, wearing a cuirass, very similar to examples of her from western amphitheatres, and one representation on a marble relief from Patras, where she appears to be very close to gladiators and hunters<sup>936</sup>.

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<sup>932</sup> Cat., 2. 33. *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 170 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>933</sup> A similar design is found on a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. marble relief from Rome, today conserved in Berlin, where a Nemesis-Panthea is represented in a position that hints at movement, wearing a short chiton and holding in her left hand a bow. Other attributes are the wheel, the apple, Athena's Gorgoneion and Tyche's rudder. An inscription at her feet (*CIL VI, 1, 842*) presents her as Diana. See *LIMC Suppl. 2009, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 9 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>934</sup> Pinecones and grapes could inspire the concepts of abundance and prosperity that people reach following the values taught by Nemesis. The grape, in particular, is a peculiar feature of a statuary group from Perge, analysed in the appendix one at the end of this chapter.

<sup>935</sup> *I. Milet.*, 1309. This inscription reminds us of the dedication of the gladiator Stephanus, who defined himself as *retarius*. See Hornum 1993, p. 289, n. 241; Cfr. Robert 1940, p. 187.

<sup>936</sup> A stele from Patras presents a rare (in the Greek context) depiction of running Nemesis with short chiton, trampling a prostrate figure, typical of the western representations. The goddess appears with the same body-shape of the Nemesis of Miletus, with a leg folded in the action of running. See below, pp. 252 ff.; Papapostolou 1989, 368 ff.; Hornum 1993, p. 44; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 167 (P. Karanastassis). Concerning the western amphitheatres, one may recall the Nemesis of Tarraco, which is very similar to the two previous cases, for the garment and the running pose. She was located in a very particular position, between the arena and the internal rooms of the building, in a place where gladiators and *venatores* could pause when entering into the arena. Concerning the Nemesis of Tarraco, see Wittenberg 2014, pp. 30-31, fig. 11 and Beltrán Lloris 1999, pp. 76 ff.

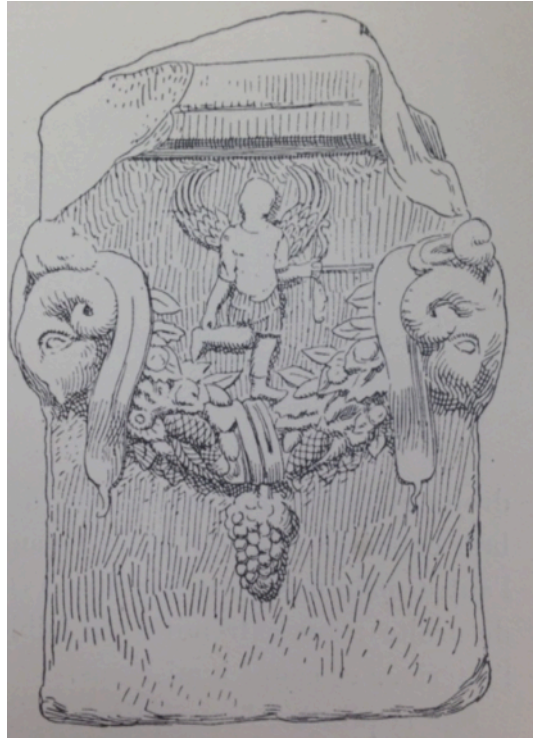


Fig. 32. Altar from Miletus, fig. From Schweitzer 1931, p. 209, fig. 10.

From Miletus we have also another kind of Nemesis named “supervisor of the athletes in the stadium”, and related to Phoebus and Serapis. The oracle of Dydimus advised a young boy who wants to excel in the *taurodidaxia*: Ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐθέσπισεν· | Φοῖβον καὶ θεὸν ὄμμα Σαράπιδος ἀρρήτιοιο | καὶ Νέμεσιν σταδίοισιν ἐπίσκοπον ἀθλητῶν | λισσόμενος βουλαῖσι τεαῖς ἐπαρηγόνας ἔξεις<sup>937</sup>. The oracle said that the athlete who wants to be successful should pray to Phoebus, the fast eye of the unutterable Serapis, and Nemesis, who supervises and protects the athletes who perform in the stadium. The marble slab bearing this inscription was discovered at the entrance of the city’s market (where a temple of Serapis is supposed to be)<sup>938</sup> and is dated to the reign of Hadrian (on palaeographic basis). The peculiar connotation of Nemesis as ἐπίσκοπος ἀθλητῶν is a fundamental testimony of the relationship between the goddess, the Greek and Roman games

<sup>937</sup> Cat., 2. 33; *I. Milet.*, I 7, 205a.

<sup>938</sup> A 3<sup>rd</sup> c. restoration made the building a public Serapeion. See Alvar 2018, p. 245 with further bibl.

and the imperial cult in Miletus<sup>939</sup>. It seems that she was supervising the Greek athletes as well as gladiators and *venatores*: All of them were performing in the stadium of Miletus and called themselves “athletes”<sup>940</sup>. The term στάδιον was often cited in the dative plural form, meaning the games in the arena<sup>941</sup>. Moreover, although the association with Phoebus<sup>942</sup> and Serapis<sup>943</sup> seems to mask imperial influence, in fact, both these gods were closely related to the emperors.

#### 4. 2. 5 Other finds possibly related to the context of spectacles.

##### **Pessinous**

A short dedication to Nemesis on a white marble stele was found in Pessinous in Galatia, in a farm located close to the theatre: [----] / πο|υ θεᾱ | Νεμέ|σι εὐ|χίη<sup>944</sup>. Next to the inscription a relief of Nemesis between two inscribed columns was carved. The proximity of the farm to the theatre has suggested a link to the ludic context, and perhaps the marble block was taken from the theatre and reused by private citizens. The theatre of the city presents strong Roman features likely related to the imperial cult; indeed, the building itself was a stairway structure

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<sup>939</sup> M. Hornum, however, did not accept this inscription as evidence for the independent role of the goddess in the Greek agons, recalling that the stadium was also a place for combats and hunting. This was rejected by Chaniotis 2010a, p. 544, who considers Hornum’s idea of Nemesis as too extreme and Roman-oriented.

<sup>940</sup> The Roman gladiators often adopted the Greek traditional athletic vocabulary, defining themselves as ἀθλήται and πυγμάχοι. See Golden 2009 (Greek sport and social status), p. 77.

<sup>941</sup> See Robert 1940 for inscriptions with the term θέατρον and στάδιον.

<sup>942</sup> On the close relationship between Phoebus and the emperors, see Piccioni 2016, pp. 427 ff. (Octavian-Augustus); Miller 2009; Beaujeu 1955, pp. 184ff. (Hadrian), 299-300 (Antoninus Pius).

<sup>943</sup> Serapis, imported into Rome from Egypt, was as multi-faceted a god as Nemesis. His syncretism with other divinities, as well as the various shades of his powers, made him a very important deity even among the Jewish and Christian people. This god found a special connection with Nemesis (probably because of a sort of shared monotheistic tendency), and the emperor. See the carnelian intaglio with Serapis and the griffin of Nemesis, above pp. 74-75. On the monotheistic interpretations of Nemesis, see Schweitzer 1931, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>944</sup> Cat., 8. 3; *I. Pessinous*, 25; *SEG 47*: 1699.

(Tiberian period)<sup>945</sup>, dominated on the top by a temple of the imperial cult<sup>946</sup>. The identification of that temple with a *Sebasteion*<sup>947</sup> and the signs of Roman ludic activity<sup>948</sup> support the idea that Pessinous was a centre with an important imperial presence<sup>949</sup>. This peculiar connection between theatre and *Sebasteion* is visible also

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<sup>945</sup> The building was restored during the Severan period. See Sear 2006, pp. 363-364.

<sup>946</sup> This theatre presents some peculiar and rare elements for a typical Roman building of Asia Minor, that lead to questions about the functions of the building itself. It was at the same time a building capable of hosting spectacles and large gatherings of people, and served as the main access to the temple on the top of it, with which it had been built and to which it was intimately connected. Moreover, the building is not semi-circular in shape, but rather horseshoe-shaped, comparable to other theatres, older or contemporaneous to it (the theatre of Thorikos in Attica; the theatre of Morgantina and Syracuse). Verlinde found a good number of stairway-theatres in Syria that could have been a model for the theatre of Pessinous, that, in turn, he considered to be a model for some eastern theatres from the Augustan age onwards. There are similarities also with the theatre of Pompey (with the *cavea* as stairway/access to the temple of Venus Victrix) and the theatre of Gabii. The idea of a western influence could confirm even more the identification of the temple on the top as a *Sebasteion*. On this argument see Verlinde 2015, pp. 209-227; Strubbe 2006, pp. 113 ff.; Waelkens 1986, pp.60 ff.; for the stairway-theatres see Hanson 1959 (theatre of Gabii pp. 39-31; theatre of Pompey, pp. 43 ff.) with many other cases.

<sup>947</sup> On the discussion about the identification of the deity venerated in the temple, see Waelkens 1986, pp. 67 ff. who sees the temple as a *Sebasteion* and not as a temple of Cybele, which has to be older than the theatre-temple. In fact, as Strabo attests, the sanctuary of Cybele had been rebuilt and enlarged at the time of the Attalids of Pergamum (STRABO, 12, 5, 3 = c 567).

<sup>948</sup> This particular theatre, indeed, presents a *podium* (1, 35 m. h.) that separates the spectators from the *orchestra*. See Strubbe 2006, pp. 109-110. Cfr. Verlinde 2010, pp. 128 ff. Pessinous had gladiatorial fights from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., when the imperial priest M. Lollius financed a banquet with twenty-five pairs of gladiators fighting in Ancyra and ten pairs in Pessinous. See Strubbe 2005, p. 278, n. T26: on the left North anta of the temple of Augustus and Rome at Ankyra, l. 58-62: [Γά(?)]λλιος· δημοθουίαν ἔδωκ[εν] | ἐν Π]εσσινοῦντι, | μονομάχων [ζεύγη] | κε' και ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ι', | ἥλ[ιπεν] | τὰ δύο ἔθνη ὄλω τῶ | ἐνιαυτῶ, ἄγα[λμα] | ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ἀνέθηκεν; “[Ga-? or M. Lo]llios: He gave a public banquet in Pessinous, gladiatorial games of twenty-five pairs (of gladiators in Ankyra) and of ten (pairs) in Pessinous, he donated olive oil to both tribes for the whole year and he dedicated a divine statue in Pessinous”. Concerning the statue dedicated, Price underlines how the term ἄγαλμα means a statue of the emperor. See Strubbe 2006, p. 109 and Price 1984, pp. 176-179. On the Roman games as intimately and exclusively connected to the imperial cult, see Price 1984, p. 89 with bibl.; Verlinde 2010, p. 128, n. 137 with bibl.

<sup>949</sup> Mitchell thinks Pessinous had a provincial (and not municipal) imperial temple. However, the city never appears as *neokoros* in the evidence. See Mitchell 1993, pp. 103-104, n. 30, p. 116 and

in the city of Stratonicea<sup>950</sup>, where the stairway theatre leads to the temple on the top of the theatron/*cavea*.

Another inscription attests to the worship of Nemesis in the city, but without any signs of a connection with the theatre. A small *naiskos* stele of white marble, broken at the top, bears a dedication from a certain Metrodoros, where Nemesis is simply named *thea*: Μητρό|δωρος | Μητ<ρ>οδώ|ρου θεᾶ | Νεμέσι | εὐχίη<sup>951</sup>. Devreker and Verreth dated this evidence to the early imperial period on a palaeographic basis: If they are correct, this inscription could be among the earliest evidence for Nemesis in the Roman East.

Nemesis is attested on the coinage of Pessinous beginning with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, with a slight increase of issues under the Severans, as generally recorded regarding all the Roman East. The figure of the goddess inscribed into a small *aedicula* represented on an issue of the time of Marcus Aurelius<sup>952</sup>, could testify the presence of an actual shrine to Nemesis in the city, of which, however, there is no archaeological trace.

### **Aphrodisias**

A votive offering was recently found during the 2004 excavations in the area of Aphrodisias' walls<sup>953</sup>. The chronology of this inscription seems to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

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Devreker-Thoen-Vermeulen 1995, p. 129. Strubbe 2006, pp. 115-116 with bibl., who disagrees with this idea.

<sup>950</sup> See Verlinde 2010, p. 129, fig. 23; Mert 2002, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>951</sup> Cat., 8. 4; *I. Pessinous*, 26. See Devreker-Verreth 2001, p. 58. They support this idea with the meaning of the name Metrodoros (“gift of the mother goddess”, “given by the mother goddess”), that, even if a common name in Greek onomastics, never appeared in Pessinous before this inscription. They also suggested to associate this Nemesis to Cybele, the main goddess of the city: This assumption, however, seems not very well-founded and would need to be supported by further evidence. On the other hand, the combination of Nemesis and Cybele is very rare.

<sup>952</sup> *RPC IV*, 4104; *SNG Aulock*, 2591 = Devreker 178, n. 51, pl. 256.

<sup>953</sup> Cat., 2. 3. Hrychuk Kontokosta also affirms that all the stelai of gladiators were found far from the theatre, where they probably were reused. See Hrychuk Kontokosta 2008, p. 191.

A.D.<sup>954</sup> The first reading of the inscription was Σαρπεδών | Ολια ἐ|πηκόω | εὐχὴν | *vacat* | Ἑρμος | εὐχὴν, with a rare patronimic addressed to Apollo (called Olia), which, as Chaniotis remarked, could distinguish the cultural level of the dedicants as medium-high<sup>955</sup>. The scholar, however, offered another interpretation apparently more suitable to Nemesis: He read Θαιᾶ ἐφ | εὐχὴν instead of Ολια ἐ|πηκόω. In this way, Sarpedon addressed a dedication to “the goddess who listens to those who vow to her”, and Hermos added a personal vow; Hermos likely was a second devotee, perhaps not rich enough to afford the expenses of a new private dedication. These two names, as already observed by Hrychuk Kontokosta, could be the stage-names of two participants in the games, and especially two fighters<sup>956</sup>, which probably wanted to thank the gods (Nemesis?) and celebrate their victory. Even if this interpretation is more appropriate for two gladiators (or hunters), it does not explicitly imply the presence of Nemesis (not explicitly mentioned), which we could easily substitute with other female deities, such as Tyche or Nike; *epekoos*, indeed, was a very common epithet assigned to many gods. The truth is that there are no direct signs of Nemesis at all<sup>957</sup>, so a conservative point of view would certainly be more cautious and justified. However, the interpretations given to the text are so interesting and different from each other that it is worth quoting them.

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<sup>954</sup> *SEG 56*: 1191.

<sup>955</sup> The epithet Olia is a very rare epithet assigned to Apollo that links him to medicine and health. See *SEG 56*: 1191.

<sup>956</sup> Sarpedon was the name of the hero of Troy, half-god son of Zeus and Laodamia, while Hermos was the name of an ancient Lydian river known by Homer and Hesiod and today called Gediz. The use of “scenic” names by gladiators and *venatores* was a Roman phenomenon that we do not find in the Greek athletic sphere. In this latter, indeed, Greek athletes, not taking part in spectacle but in athletic competitions, represented themselves and their city during the festivals, not using pseudonyms and stage-names. At any rate, the victory palm and the crown carved on the relief help to identify the devotees as two participants in Roman games.

<sup>957</sup> Chaniotis reading: Σαρπεδών | Θαιᾶ ἐφ | εὐχὴν | *vacat* | Ἑρμος | εὐχὴν. *SEG 56*: 1191 with comments. See also Chaniotis 2010, pp. 241-243, who seems completely sure about the identification of the goddess with Nemesis.

## Halikarnassos

The dedication of the *retiarius* Stephanos to Nemesis<sup>958</sup> is probably among the most commonly known and studied inscriptions related to the goddess in the Greek East. It is also a dedication where the dedicant clearly defined himself as a gladiator: Στέφανο<ς> ῥητιάρης | ν(ικῶν) ἡ' στε(φάνων) ε' πρώτος | πάλος εὐχαριστῶν | κυρίαῖς Νεμέσει|σιν εὐχὴν ἔπεν|δυτοπαλλίων | ζεῦγος καὶ ἐνώι|δια καὶ χοῖρον ταῖς | θεαῖς εὐχαριστήριον. | ΙΟΗΛΑ δὲ καὶ τῷ ΦΟΙΝΙ| [. ]ωνην καὶ θυσίας<sup>959</sup>. The text of this dedication is much longer than the common short vows usually found, and Stephanos was probably a famous gladiator with a good disposable income. As in other cases, this dedicant thanked the goddess for the victory received with a rich offering; in this specific inscription Nemesis is considered in her double form (with a duplication of the offerings)<sup>960</sup>: As carefully recorded, Stephanos offered a double vest, a pair of earrings and a pig; except for the animal, he offered attributes intimately linked to the goddesses. Offerings to Nemesis are rarely recorded. Some reliefs show an altar near the goddess, with the representation of what appears to be a burning fire, perhaps with incense<sup>961</sup>.

Like the majority of the eastern cities, Halikarnassos did not have an amphitheatre but rather a modified theatre-arena. The Hellenistic theatre of the city (4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.)<sup>962</sup>, was carved out from the rock in the Greek manner, but passed through the

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<sup>958</sup> Cat., 2. 9. See Hornum 1993, p. 289, n. 241; cfr. Robert 1940, p. 187. On gladiatorial combats at Halikarnassos, see the various reliefs of fighters found *in situ*, and among them also the famous relief of two women fighting, today at the British Museum.

<sup>959</sup> *I. Halikarnassos*, 78. *CIG*, 2663.

<sup>960</sup> Outside Smyrna the double Nemesis rarely appears in relation to the ludic context.

<sup>961</sup> See the relief of the theatre of Hierapolis (see D'andria 2003, pp. 147 ff.), and the aforementioned reliefs of the amphitheatre of Virunum (above, p. 63).

<sup>962</sup> The chronology of this theatre is not certain. Pedersen & Isager maintain a cautious position on this, reminding us, however, that the mid 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. was a period of urbanistic and architectural innovation for the cities of Asia Minor. Halikarnassos saw a special *floruit* under the government of Maussollos, who rebuilt the city about 370-360 B.C. The spectacles set up for his death confirm the need for a theatre building in that period. The statue of Phanostratos (writer of tragedies) dedicated by the city of Halikarnassos on the Acropolis of Athens, is dated at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and could be considered a valid *terminus ante quem* for the existence of a theatre. See Pedersen & Isager, pp. 306-307.

structural modifications typical of the Roman times, first identifiable by the presence of two rows of cuttings around the *orchestra*<sup>963</sup> and the tunnel into the *theatron* that in the Roman times was used as a second entrance. As was common in Asia Minor in the Roman times, the city fostered Roman festivals, hoping to gain connections and privileges from imperial authorities<sup>964</sup>.

Another inscription<sup>965</sup> could witness the veneration of Nemesis by a fighter; a certain Iason, son of Nikanor, dedicated to the two Nemeseis: Ἰάσων Νικάν[ο]ρος τὰς Νεμέσι[ς ἀ]γέθη|κεν. Regarding the onomastics, we cannot tell if his name could be considered as the stage-name of a gladiator, but, since Iason was the name of a famous hero, we cannot exclude this possibility<sup>966</sup>. Robert considered this inscription to have originally belonged to the *Nemeseum* of Halikarnassos, of which, however, we have no archaeological traces<sup>967</sup>.

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<sup>963</sup> Alpözen identifies these cuttings as a necessary part of the balaustrades. See Alpözen 1990, pp. 94-95. On the theatre of Halikarnassos and its modifications during the centuries see Pedersen & Isager 2015, p. 317.

<sup>964</sup> On this issue, see Poulsen 2011. *CIC.*, *Verr.*, 2, 1 19, 49 (Verres taking beautiful statues from Chios, Erythrae and Halikarnassos), *Q Fr.*, 1, 1, 25 (Quintus restoring the ruined Halikarnassos and other abandoned cities) and *TAC.*, *Ann.*, 4, 55 (request of Halikarnassos to dedicate a temple to Tiberius); the literary sources seem to ignore the Halikarnassos of the imperial period. However, a decree of Cos from the times of Claudius attests to the organization of *Kaisarea* in Halikarnassos, linking the Carian city to the cult of the emperor. Moreover, the double Nemesis of the aforementioned inscription of the *retiarus* Stephanos could be a goddess related to the imperial cult, and may have been considered apart from the main local gods (Nemesis, for example, never appears on the surviving city coinage, while we have discrete evidence for Athena, Apollo, Homonoia, Nike and Zeus on the reverse of Roman bronze coinage). On the inscription from Cos, see Poulsen 2011, p. 427, n. 15 with bibl.

<sup>965</sup> *Cat.*, 2. 10; *CIG*, 2662c: Inscription carved on the architrave of a building.

<sup>966</sup> *Cat.*, 6. 3. Robert does not explicitly speak about a gladiator, but considers the probable existence of a *Nemeseum* in the theatre-arena; see Robert 1940, p. 183. See also Carlsen 2014, p. 442 ff. for old and new findings of gladiators in the city. In order to define the success of gladiatorial combats into the city, we can take note of the unique evidence for female combatants that has been found there (relief with the depiction of two female figures, called Amazon and Achillia, fighting). See Köhne-Ewigleben-Jackson 2000, p. 127.

<sup>967</sup> Carter considered also a memorial of the games offered by a certain Publius Vadius Asiaticus as coming from the *Nemeseum* of the city, but there is no sign of it. See Carter 1999, p. 377, n. 410; cfr. Robert 1940, p. 187.



### Lappa (Kato Poros) / Crete

A dedication to Nemesis has been recently found at Kato Poros (Lappa, Crete)<sup>968</sup> and is conserved today in the Archaeological Museum of Retymno. It is a small limestone altar dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., reading: Ἀντώνιος - Ροῦφος | ΘΕᾶ ΝΕΜΕΣΒΙ | Εὐχὴν ἀνέθη|κεν<sup>969</sup>. It is not easy to interpret this specific inscription because of the lack of evidence for the dedicant, the context of discovery and the “kind” of Nemesis venerated, who is not characterized by a specific epithet (only *thea*). The editor of the inscription supposed a ludic context, but we do not have any signs of it, neither in the place of discovery nor in the onomastics of the dedicant<sup>970</sup>.

### Prusa

An inscription from Prusa (now lost) attests to the existence of gladiatorial fights: θεᾶ Νεμέσει τὸ α [- | Οἰαεριανὸς Πολύγνωτος ἐθ[- | καὶ μονομαχ[-<sup>971</sup>. Valerianus Polygnotos, the dedicant, seems to be a gladiator, as Robert also suggested, adding the term μονομάχης in the text<sup>972</sup>. His name, indeed, seems to belong to a free status, as the derivative *praenomen* (with the ending *-anus*) would attest. Moreover, the mix of Latin and Greek language in the onomastics would be ambiguous for a member of the local *élite*. If a gladiator, or a participant in the Roman games with other functions, he probably prayed to Nemesis for success in combat or for the good outcome of the spectacles. Concerning the Roman *munera* in Prusa, while we do not have signs of structural interventions on the ludic buildings, the epigraphic

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<sup>968</sup> *SEG* 2009: 1059; *EBGR* 2012 [2009], n. 169. See Tzifopoulos 2009, pp. 527-529;

<sup>969</sup> The insertion of a B in the goddess' name is a *unicum*. It should be the result of a mistake of the writer, and a confusion between two similar letters, E and B, in the dative form of the name.

<sup>970</sup> Rufus is a *cognomen* found commonly in Italy, Spain and Dalmatia. The names Antonius and Rufus are otherwise attested on Crete but not in combination. See Tzifopoulos 2009, *l. c.*; Alföldi 1969, p. 283.

<sup>971</sup> *Cat.*, 3. 12; *I. Prusa*, 45.

<sup>972</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 133.

evidence attests to a city interested in combats, hunts and *taurokathapsia*, with the sponsorship of the Imperial cult<sup>973</sup>.

### Stratonicea

Four inscriptions from Stratonicea testify to the cult of Nemesis in the city during the Roman times<sup>974</sup>. One of them links Nemesis to Hecate and Zeus in the context of gladiatorial games<sup>975</sup>: [Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀρ|τεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ιδ|ώρο]υ πενταετηρικὸς | ἀ[γὼν καὶ ?] | μον[?]ομαχία ἤχθη· θερινῆς | [οἱ στ]ρατηγοὶ Δί, Ἐκά[τη], Νεμέσι, ὁμονο|[ής]αν|τες. This dedication made by the *strategoí* of the summer season attests without a doubt to the connection between Nemesis and the Roman games in the city. It is possible that a *sacellum* of Nemesis was located in the theatre-arena, but we do not have archaeological evidence for it<sup>976</sup>.

### Dion

A relief of Nemesis-Aequitas discovered in the sanctuary of Dion can be seen today at the site's Archaeological Museum<sup>977</sup>. It is a pink marble stele (0,50 m high), with the representation of the goddess inside an *aedicula* (fig. 33). This female figure wears a long *chiton*, a diadem on her head, while holding a wheel in her left hand and a balance in her right<sup>978</sup>. The rough lines of the picture recall the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., as does the palaeographic style of the dedication at the bottom: Ζώπυρος Νέμε|σιν ἀνέθηκεν. The name Zopyros is variously attested in Macedonia, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. to the Roman times, but without special characteristics and honours<sup>979</sup>.

<sup>973</sup> See Carter 1999, pp. 331-332, nn. 168-173.

<sup>974</sup> See above, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>975</sup> Cat., 2. 19; *SEG* 49: 2489.

<sup>976</sup> For a summary of epigraphic evidence on the Roman games, see Carter 1999, pp. 374-376.

<sup>977</sup> Cat., 10. 2; see Pingiatoglou 2015, p. 167.

<sup>978</sup> This relief has still not been described in a publication.

<sup>979</sup> See *LGPN IV*, p. 147. A Zopyros, son of Valerius, appears in a list of ephebes of Edessa (180 A.D., *SEG* 24: 531). A Zopyros Gorgias is mentioned in Mieza (3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., *SEG* 24: 524 – cfr. *SEG* 49: 744) and a Zopyros father of Lysistrate appears in Pella (4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., *SEG* 38: 651).

The overall poor quality and the small dimensions of this peculiar piece of evidence would suggest that this Zopyros was a common Greek citizen, or even a participant in the Roman spectacles.



Fig. 33. Marble slab from Dion. Photo of the author.

We do not have any attestation of a shrine to Nemesis in Dion, but the details of this *aedicula* seem to refer to a real structure dedicated to the goddess: The columns, indeed, present a Doric capital on the top and a finely designed base, which give a realistic touch to the picture.

The Roman *munera* are not clearly attested in Dion, but their presence would not have been an extraordinary event<sup>980</sup>; indeed, a little Roman theatre<sup>981</sup> was built in

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<sup>980</sup> The tomb of a merchant of wild animals from Smyrna has been found in Dion (*SEG* 52: 600bis). See Chaniotis 2016, p. 53.

the southern area of the city outside the walls, probably during the reign of Hadrian<sup>982</sup>. Dion was a Roman colony from the time of Julius Caesar, and boasted a significant population of Roman veterans as well as Roman cults and customs<sup>983</sup>. The Hellenistic theatre was certainly not destined for dangerous spectacles: In fact, the building does not present any signs of architectural adaptations for the *munera*. It seems to have been abandoned in the Roman period, after the construction of the smaller theatre<sup>984</sup>.

Although the exact provenience of this relief is unknown, it is not unlikely that this Nemesis-Aequitas was involved in the theatre's ludic sphere, as we already found this syncretistic goddess in other theatre-arenas, such as the one at Philippi<sup>985</sup>. This is not the only evidence of Nemesis in the sanctuary of Zeus, as we have a statue's fragment recognizable with a female figure crushing a head under her feet, as Nemesis usually does in the Roman iconography<sup>986</sup>.

### **Gortyn**

A little stele with the representation of Nemesis was found in Gortyn on Crete<sup>987</sup>. It shows a female figure in a long *chiton*, crushing a prostrate male figure under her feet, and accompanied by a snake on her right and a griffin on her left, which seems to trample the head of the person lying under Nemesis. This little relief has been associated with the amphitheatre of Gortyn by Smith in the Catalogue of sculptures of the Greek and Roman department of the British Museum, where it is currently kept<sup>988</sup>. If not to the amphitheatre, this piece of evidence should be linked to the

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<sup>981</sup> See Palaiokrassa 1985, pp. 55-57.

<sup>982</sup> See Pandermalis 1999, p. 76.

<sup>983</sup> The society of Dion resembles that of Philippi, with the Roman citizens in the urban spaces, and the Greek population living in the countryside around. See Chaniotis 2016, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>984</sup> On the theatre, see Karadedos 1985.

<sup>985</sup> See above, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>986</sup> Cat., 10. 3; *LIMC Suppl. 2009, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 4 (P. Karanastassis); above, pp. 81-87 ff.

<sup>987</sup> Cat., 6. 2. See Montali 2006, pp. 194-197. Cfr. Wittenberg 2014, pp. 52-53.

<sup>988</sup> See A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of sculpture in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum I*, 1892.

theatre, where it was found<sup>989</sup>. The possible presence of Nemesis in theatres and amphitheatres of the same city should not surprise, since both buildings could have been used for the Roman games in different periods and occasions; the theatre is dated from the reign of M. Aurelius, while the amphitheatre from the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., located under the church of the Agioi Deki<sup>990</sup>. The amphitheatre of Gortyn was discovered by G. Montali, who recognized some parts of the building today in the basement of some modern houses.

The relief could of course be related to the amphitheatre, a known location for Roman games<sup>991</sup>, but we cannot exclude a relationship with the theatre, even in its civic and dramatic functions<sup>992</sup>. The seat of the *proconsul* of Crete and Cyrenaica was probably a place with a high level of Romanization (including the worship of Nemesis as goddess of the Roman *munera* and representative of the Roman power), but the poor information on the building does not permit us to make assumptions about the presence or the location of a *sacellum* of Nemesis.

## Patras

A marble relief<sup>993</sup> (fig. 14) with the representation of Nemesis shed light on the role of the goddess in the Roman colony, confirming her probable connection with the

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<sup>989</sup> See *LIMC Suppl.*, 2009, 1, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 154 (P. Karanastassis).

<sup>990</sup> See Montali 2006, *l. c.*

<sup>991</sup> Various traces of Roman games have been found in Gortyn. See Robert 1940, pp. 119-123.

<sup>992</sup> See Montali 2006, p. 294, fig. 432. G. Montali follows M. Hornum excluding any connection between Nemesis and the Greek activities of the theatre/stadium. However, *I. Milet.*, I, 7, 205a attests to the worship of Phoebus, Serapis and Nemesis by the Greek athletes, as the inscription carved on a ring of hematite from Egypt (unknown provenience) witnesses the worship of Nemesis and the Charites by person who wants to be successful on the stage. Moreover, the two Nemeseis-Tychai of Olympia's tunnel are the proof that the goddess was occasionally merged into a purely Greek context, as that of drama and sport. See Montali 2006, p. 196; Chaniotis 2010a, pp. 535 ff. on the ring from Egypt; Lichocka 2004, pp. 147-148, n. II A 6.

<sup>993</sup> *Cat.*, 1. 18. The marble slab is quite big (1,65 m. h.). Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Patras. See Papapostolou 1989, pp. 368 ff.

world of the *munera* in the local context. The stele belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. (Trajan/Hadrian times, chronology based on palaeographic analysis) and was later used as material for construction in a wall located in the North cemetery of the city, where it was also discovered.



Fig. 14. Relief of Nemesis in the Archaeological Museum of Patras. Photos of the author.

The representation of Nemesis on the stele follows the typical Roman style, with the goddess trampling on a prone figure: A very rare iconographical combination in the Greek soil. Nemesis appears in the so-called Erynies style, wearing a short garment and cuirass and clearly moving aside in a running pose; her legs have not survived but we can conjecture a dynamic movement, with the left leg bent and the right crushing the lying figure<sup>994</sup>. At the feet of the goddess a wheel is carved, while

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<sup>994</sup> The running iconography recalls that of some Egyptian coins and a couple of decorations related to the ludic context: One altar from the theatre of Miletus (Cat., 2. 33) and one fresco from the amphitheatre of Tarraco. These three pieces of evidence of Roman character are unique in the Greek eastern Empire and were closely linked to the ludic sphere of the theatre-arena. For the altar of Miletus see below, pp. 238-241 and *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 170 (P. Karanastassis); Schweitzer 1931, p. 209, fig. 10 and below, pp. 228-229; for the fresco of Tarraco, see Hornum 1993, pp. 60, 65,

a griffin is represented sitting on a wall on the background<sup>995</sup>: The animal lays its forepaw on a small wheel, which seems to be an identical reproduction of the bigger wheel at Nemesis' feet<sup>996</sup>.

The presence of Nemesis at Patras has been testified by Pausanias, who clearly attests to the existence of a temple dedicated to her in the city, located “not far from the theatre”, and next to the shrine of Aphrodite: τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Νεμέσεως ναὸς καὶ ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης: μεγέθει μεγάλα λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα<sup>997</sup>. What Pausanias called a “theatron”, however, could easily have been an amphitheatre or even a stadium, where Roman games were usually displayed<sup>998</sup>. Considering this piece of evidence and the significant Roman influence at Patras, it seems natural to combine the cult of Nemesis with her Roman adaptation in the ludic context. Nevertheless, gladiatorial combats and *venationes* are well documented in the city, which was an important Roman colony: Various funerary stelai with scenes of fights confirm the popularity of the *munera*<sup>999</sup>. According to Papapostolou<sup>1000</sup>, even the proximity of the temple of Nemesis and that of

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n. 251; *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 278 (F. Rausa); Volkmann 1928, p. 313, n. 33; Mendel 1914, n. 864.

<sup>995</sup> The perfect wheel on the right of the goddess is completely carved, that means that the legs should have come out of the relief in a very realistic way. Generally, even the orientation of the body (completely turned to the left), as well as the depth of the relief, suggest that this Nemesis has a dynamic pose, maybe with the right leg raised. See Papapostolou 1989, p. 372, n. 64.

<sup>996</sup> We find here a special emphasis on this attribute, repeated twice but on different dimensions: The two wheels indeed are completely identical. The presence on the same monument of Nemesis and the griffin both “equipped” with a wheel is a unique case. The griffin is usually represented close to Nemesis with a forepaw on her proper wheel. This repetition does not weaken the idea that the griffin is the zoomorphic representation of Nemesis, when represented alone, as Papapostolou supposed (see Papapostolou 1989, p. 375). On the contrary, since the two objects appear identical, they seem to enforce the equal relationship between the goddess and the animal.

<sup>997</sup> PAUS., 7, 20, 9.

<sup>998</sup> See Papapostolou 1989, p. 370.

<sup>999</sup> See Papapostolou 1989, pp. 378 ff. (with further bibl.) on stelai of gladiators, little objects as lucernae representing scenes of Roman fights, and the beautiful mosaic with gladiators conserved at the Archaeological Museum of Patras.

<sup>1000</sup> The proximity of the two temples is inexplicable under the perspective of Nemesis as punisher of hubris in love affairs. See Papapostolou 1989, p. 370.

Aphrodite would not be easily explainable without considering Nemesis' cult at Patras as “*une importation romaine*”, a Roman addition to the Greek religious system, or, we could say, a Roman reinterpretation of a Greek cult.

Then, this marble slab could be reasonably considered as a dedication to Nemesis, contemplated in her Roman meaning of deity crushing the hubris at many levels, from the arena to the political field, probably placed into the temple of the goddess, which was located close to the “theatre”, where the *munera* were set up. Indeed, this running Nemesis could be the representative (and perhaps the defender) of a person who organized or financed the Roman spectacles, while, as Papapostolou already pointed out<sup>1001</sup>, we can safely exclude the possibility that this stele was an *ex-voto* of a gladiator: The size and the elegant manufacture suggest a rich member of the local *élite*, not to consider that the great majority of dedications to Nemesis comes from people related to the organization more than the practical realization of the games. Moreover, since the figure crushed by Nemesis is veiled and with a feminine character, it is difficult to identify her with the real enemy in the arena<sup>1002</sup>.

Eventually, we should exclude a funerary meaning of this stele, not being misguided by the place of discovery in the North cemetery. Already Papapostolou rightly expressed many doubts about this interpretation of the slab, considering that in other funerary evidence the griffin and the goddess (together or separately) appear as clearly associated with the owner of the tomb, remembered through a relief or a simple written mention<sup>1003</sup>. According to him, the missing reference to the deceased would be a sign that the stele did not belong to the funerary context. Although, one may be even more convinced by Pausanias description of Nemesis temple “*τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω*”, and by the more verosimile role the goddess played within the field of Roman spectacles at Patras. Moreover, as Papapostolou

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<sup>1001</sup> *L.c.* above.

<sup>1002</sup> When it is a female figure, we normally identify her with the personification of hubris, a feminine concept both in the Greek language and religion. See above, pp. 81 ff. with bibl.

<sup>1003</sup> The scholar particularly referred to a relief from Egypt today conserved at the Archaeological Museum of Bologna, with the representation of a child and a griffin with a wheel next to him. See above, p. 76. See also the funerary monument from Rhodes (Cat., 2. 16) with the representation of many gods among which also Nemesis depicted with butterfly wings and a whip.



underlined, the place of discovery of the stele was very close (about 100 metres) to the building named by Pausanias as “theatron”; it is not difficult to imagine how the marble slab could have been dragged for some metres to be used in the cemetery wall. Certainly, even considering the belonging of this piece of evidence to the *munera* and the “theatron” we can not exclude that in Patras Nemesis could have assumed also a role in the funerary rites, but we can safely say that this specific piece of evidence is not attesting to this.

### Conclusions

What has emerged from this section of the chapter is the great variety of sources of Nemesis more or less directly referencing, or even linked to, the context of the Roman games. On the other hand, we take particular note of the obviously Greek environment of the Nemeseis-Tychai of Olympia<sup>1004</sup>, where the statues of the goddess lead to a stadium lacking any sort of Roman architectural intervention. In addition, it is useful to remember the inscription on a hematite ring from Egypt<sup>1005</sup>, where Nemesis appears, together with the Charites, as a goddess who protected whoever walked on the stage with modesty and a virtuous behaviour. Furthermore, the well-known inscription *I. Milet.*, I 7, 205a from Miletus<sup>1006</sup> confirms the Greek environment of Nemesis’ cult in the ludic context: There, the young athlete who wanted to excel in the *taurodidaxia* was encouraged to pray to Nemesis, Phoebus and Serapis. Nevertheless, the Roman influence in Nemesis’ cult is not insignificant, as the stele from Patras confirms the close relationship between the goddess and the environment of the *munera*, as well as Pausanias, who attests to the topographical proximity of Nemesis’ temple at Patras and the “theatre” of the city. Moreover, dedications from gladiators confirm the special connection between the arena and the goddess<sup>1007</sup>. However, the most striking feature is the architectural disposition of Nemesis’ sanctuaries – or, at least, places distinguished by a statue of the goddess, a

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<sup>1004</sup> Above, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>1005</sup> See Chaniotis 2010a, pp. 535 ff. Above, p. 251.

<sup>1006</sup> Cat., 2. 33; Above, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>1007</sup> See, among the others, the dedications of the *retarius* Stephanos and Iason from Halikarnassos (above, p. 245-246), the dedication of Valerianus Polygnotos from Prusa (above, pp. 246-247).

little niche or some dedications in the theatre's walls – which reflects the western location of Nemesis' *sacella* within the amphitheatre – a disposition that certainly served both public and practical functions.

The presence of the cult of the double Nemesis is widespread in the cities around Smyrna and also in Asia Minor, Greek mainland, and Aegean islands (*e.g.* the cities of Halikarnassos <sup>1008</sup>, Olympia <sup>1009</sup> and Thasos <sup>1010</sup>). Although we notice a fundamental difference between the Smyranean iconography and the reproduction of the double Nemesis “abroad” (with the Smyranean Nemeseis always different but complementary to each other, and the other reproductions being completely identical)<sup>1011</sup>, we cannot deny a Smyranean influence in the cult of the double Nemesis. This religious “contamination” could be a phenomenon characterised and encouraged by the ludic character of the application of Nemesis' cult: The spread of Greek and Roman festivals during the Roman Empire could have been a valid vehicle for the reception of Nemesis in the double form in various cities. Moreover, as abovesaid, the circulation of alliance coinage could have certainly worked as a cultural and religious bridge between cities which participated in political treaties<sup>1012</sup>.

The location of the Greek theatres, close to sanctuaries and urban centres, ensured easy access to people aiming to venerate Nemesis regardless of the spectacles hosted. Moreover, the rooms in the *postscenium* were sometimes directly open to the area outside the theatre and were provided with an independent access: This is the case in Ephesus<sup>1013</sup>, Hierapolis<sup>1014</sup> and Side<sup>1015</sup>. The kind of offerings and their position suggest a direct connection with the urban centre and civic life, as well as a wide interest in the cult of Nemesis on behalf of the citizens.

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<sup>1008</sup> Above, pp. 246 ff.

<sup>1009</sup> Above, *l. c.*

<sup>1010</sup> Above, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>1011</sup> Above, p. 31.

<sup>1012</sup> Above, p. 36.

<sup>1013</sup> See Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912, p. 7.

<sup>1014</sup> See fig. 30, p. 213.

<sup>1015</sup> See Atvur 1984, pp. 19-21. Above, p. 200.

The location of statues, decorative elements, reliefs or dedications in the *parodoi* is a phenomenon more common than what one would expect. The evidence found in the *parodoi* shows particular characteristics related both to the Roman context and the local citizenry. We noticed both the decorative nature of the finds there and signs of an active worship. Certainly, the goddess played an important role for the people passing through the entrances, whether they were citizens, athletes, actors or participants in the Roman games<sup>1016</sup>. On the other hand, the theatre was place for many activities also unrelated to fights and hunts<sup>1017</sup>, and the “surveillance” of Nemesis could have had a wider sphere of action.

The theatre of Hierapolis<sup>1018</sup> is a case where Nemesis’ evidence is inserted into a wider framework of self-promotion, imperial cult and civic festivals: There, Nemesis appears on the decoration of the *proscenium* frieze, in a position close to the northern *parodos*. She is winged, holding the bridle, and clearly linked to the local celebrations occurring in the theatre: Close to her, an altar with a sacrificial fire is represented, indicating the real religious functions of the building. A heavier Roman influence can be observed in the theatre of Philippi, where Nemesis-Aequitas was combined with Mars and Victoria, and where fans of the arena’s activities<sup>1019</sup> linked to Nemesis are attested. New finds from the theatre of Mytilene<sup>1020</sup> revealed a *sacellum* of Nemesis in the South entrance of the building

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<sup>1016</sup> It is tempting to suppose a secondary — but deep — association of this “liminal” Nemesis with the fundamental role of Nemesis as the goddess of the passage between life and death, considering her important chthonian character both in the private funerary monuments and in the main context of the amphitheatre as religious building between the two worlds. (We are thinking particularly of the act of placing a monument dedicated to Hecate outside the main door of the house. Hecate was very close to Nemesis in certain areas of Asia Minor). Of course, Roman amphitheatres were also characterised by death in a variety of violent displays (including animals, prisoners, slaves, gladiators and condemned people).

<sup>1017</sup> See the hematite ring witnessing the authority of Nemesis and the Charites at Paphos for those who walked in the stage, namely actors and theatre-performers. See Chaniotis 2010a, pp. 535 ff. Above, p. 253.

<sup>1018</sup> Above, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>1019</sup> Below, pp. 271 ff.

<sup>1020</sup> See above, pp. 177-178. Forthcoming book of P. Triantafyllidis.

dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., the period of Roman modifications to the Hellenistic building. An altar for libations and various dedications from priests and members of the local *élite* were discovered. The upcoming publication by P. Triantafyllidis of the recent excavations carried out in collaboration with G. Rocca and M. Livadiotti of the University Politecnico of Bari, will hopefully confirm the widespread nature of Nemesis' cult in relation to the theatre's activities.

The best-preserved shrine of Nemesis in a Greek theatre is undoubtedly that of Stobi<sup>1021</sup> where a *sacellum* was located in the central room of the *proscenium*. It is not a coincidence that Stobi was a Roman *municipium* located close to the routes connecting the eastern and western parts of the Empire: A passage for the Roman army and the Empire's officials. The cult of Nemesis at Stobi should have been noticeably "imprinted" by Roman ideas. Important finds of Nemesis were also discovered in the theatre of Thasos<sup>1022</sup>: A relief of the goddess that accompanied a private dedication is particularly remarkable for its special location on the last column of the *skene*. Even Thasos was a place particularly related to Roman power, enjoying a stable and friendly relationship with Rome. There, Nemesis was displayed in various forms, as a single and double goddess and in association with Aequitas.

On the other hand, the statues of Nemeseis-Tychai discovered at the entrance of the stadium of Olympia are a particular example of Nemesis implanted in the Greek environment and with no connection with the Roman games. These Nemeseis-Tychai are apparently merged with the local religious tradition, the athletic activities and a wider system of traditional Greek values. The absence of any archaeological evidence for modification of the structures for hosting the *munera* demonstrates that Nemesis was conceived of as a goddess related to Greek sport and athletes, and to the moral values of correctness and honesty already embodied by the Zanes. However, the Roman chronology in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. of the Nemeseis-Tychai suggests that the goddesses were introduced adapting the Roman interpretation of Nemesis as goddess of the justice of the arena in the Olympian

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<sup>1021</sup> Above, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>1022</sup> See Holtzmann 1994, p. 150, n. 90, pl. 53b. Above, pp. 186 ff.

context, confirming her role as divine supervisor of the right unfolding of the games.

Apart from the case of Mytilene, the *terminus post quem* of all the finds in the theatre-arenas has been set in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., mostly coinciding with modifications to the structure of the buildings and the spread of the Roman festivals. The general chronology of Nemesis' evidence from the Greek cities extends between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., confirming that the main spread of Nemesis' cult in the eastern communities occurred in a period when Rome was largely interested in the propaganda and the occasional military or diplomatic operations in the eastern boundaries. The Parthian campaigns from the reign of Trajan onwards made Asia Minor a very important place of passage for the Roman troops, even though it was never a place of permanent installation of legions. An increase in the number of Roman festivals is also attested in Asia Minor, concurrently with the spread of the imperial cult, from the reign of Commodus onwards<sup>1023</sup>. The interest of the Greek cities in gaining the favour of Rome<sup>1024</sup> was largely reciprocated by the emperors, for cultural or military reasons, when the Greek cities became "stations" for the passage of the Roman army. Moreover, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. onwards the Roman Empire experienced the periodical incursion of foreign belligerent populations; these events probably created a sense of instability in the Empire and the need to support Roman identity, expressed *i.a.* by *munera*, the imperial cult, and the cult of Nemesis. In addition, McClintock<sup>1025</sup> and Fortea Lopez<sup>1026</sup> considered the chronology of the spread of Nemesis' cult from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. as determined by the increasing number of public condemnations in the arena, which began during the reign of Antoninus Pius. These scholars looked at the relationship between Nemesis and the arena as place of bloodshed and the application of the Empire's law. However, this theory cannot be sufficiently supported by evidence for the Roman East, where we have less attestation of death penalties and a secondary role of the

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<sup>1023</sup> See Howgego – Heuchert – Burnett 2007, p. 128.

<sup>1024</sup> There is a wide bibliography on the phenomenon of the rivalry among the Greek cities to host Roman festivals and construct temples dedicated to the imperial cult. See Price 1984; Burrell 2004; Coleman 2008.

<sup>1025</sup> See MacClintock 2015, pp. 298 ff.

<sup>1026</sup> See Fortea López 1994, pp. 201-210. Cfr. Diosono 2019, pp. 92 ff.

theatre-arenas as places for public condemnations of *convicti*. Moreover, military presence is evident in the administration of Greek communities, such as the case of the *beneficiarius consularis* of Chersonesos Taurica worshipping Nemesis. These military officers were integrated in the local authorities, with a considerable increase from the reign of the Severans onwards<sup>1027</sup>. It seems that the cities could spontaneously request even the presence of the army in their territories in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., as a result of the need for safety. A case in point is that of Aphrodisias<sup>1028</sup>, where a *ἐκατόνταρχος κατὰ τόπον*, a *centurio regionarius*, is recorded on the tomb of an Aphrodisian citizen dated to 220 A.D. and discovered during the excavation campaign of 2004 in the Southeast necropolis of the city. The Roman officer appears as the recipient of a fine for potential damages to a grave<sup>1029</sup>. This particular piece of evidence, where the *centurio regionarius* is considered as a permanent resident in the city, capable of guaranteeing the respect of a funerary monument, reveals that Aphrodisias, a free and autonomous city, had a Roman military detachment staying in its territory. As Chaniotis<sup>1030</sup> has already pointed out, it is probable that the army had an extraordinary role of keeping the rural surroundings of Aphrodisias safe, as the *eirenarchs* were already appointed to do<sup>1031</sup>. It is probable that the city itself requested the presence of the soldiers for safety reasons<sup>1032</sup>. A similar case is recorded in the city of Anossenoi (Phrygia), which demanded the presence of a *stationarius* in 213 A.D.<sup>1033</sup> The *stationarii* were a kind of soldiers with police duties, sent by the Empire into places normally not crossed by the army, and where banditry and plundering invasions could have easily created dangerous situations<sup>1034</sup>. In light of these considerations, we can definitely consider the increasing military presence in the eastern communities as an

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<sup>1027</sup> See MacMullen 1963, with further bibliography. Above, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>1028</sup> See Chaniotis 2013.

<sup>1029</sup> See Il. 13-16: βφ καὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἐκατοντάρχῳ (δηνάρια) α ὧν | τὸ τρίτον ἔστω τοῦ ἐκδικήσαντος. “1000 denarii to the centurion at the site, of which one third belongs to the vindicator”.

<sup>1030</sup> See Chaniotis 2013.

<sup>1031</sup> On the *eirenarchs*, officials with surveillance tasks, see above, p. 137.

<sup>1032</sup> The case of Aphrodisias is particularly interesting because the Roman authorities were not easily intervening in the local politics. See Chaniotis 2003, p. 258.

<sup>1033</sup> See Frensd 1956, pp. 46-56. Cfr. Chaniotis 2013, p. 156.

<sup>1034</sup> See Fuhrmann 2012, p. 132; Brelaz 2005, pp. 254-263.

additional factor for spreading Nemesis' cult, considered as a goddess close to the Roman power and representing the imperial order.

What can be asserted concerning Nemesis' success in the Greek communities is that she was perceived as a wider expression of provincial attachment to Roman identity, first represented by the imperial cult and the *munera*. The provincials demonstrated *fides* and *amicitia* to the central power, which included the promotion of Nemesis' cult in public ceremonies. Nemesis appears as closely related to the civic context, as representative of the community's interests and the Roman order. Even her connection with the Greek theatre acquired a wider meaning in comparison with her worship in the western amphitheatres. In fact, the goddess was venerated in small rooms, with *aediculae* and perhaps an altar for libations close to the *proscenium* and the *parodoi*, which were both places deeply related to the demonstration of individual<sup>1035</sup> values and civic pride. Characteristically, one may consider the sixteen documents recording the privileges of Aphrodisias on the wall of the north *parodos* of the theatre<sup>1036</sup>.

Nemesis' presence in the Greek theatres was connected to the urban and civic context as represented in the building itself. She occasionally appeared, there, as a goddess related to Tyche, protectress and defender of the city; as a deity to which public sacrifices were offered, and as supervisor of Greek sports<sup>1037</sup>, drama<sup>1038</sup> and Roman spectacles<sup>1039</sup>. The Roman influence in the local elaboration of Nemesis' cult is not always easily discernible because of the Greek origins of the goddess and the different "weight" of the Roman presence in Asia Minor. The latter was determined also by the great variety of the status of the eastern communities, each of them with particular rights and commitments towards Rome. In general, one may recognise a correspondence between Nemesis' cult places and the structural modifications to the theatres for hosting the Roman spectacles. From this point of view, the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. is the starting point for this phenomenon. On the other

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<sup>1035</sup> See above the case of Iulia Potentilla, p. 185.

<sup>1036</sup> See Chaniotis 2003, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>1037</sup> See *I. Milet.*, I, 7, 205a. Above, p. 238.

<sup>1038</sup> See Chaniotis 2010, pp. 535-550.

<sup>1039</sup> See Wittenberg 2014; Futrell 1997; Hornum 1993; Robert 1940.

hand, we could define Trajan's reign as a fundamental period in the elaboration of Nemesis' figure, with important changes in her iconography, which became closely related to that of the imperial military power.

The social involvement of the Greek communities in the cult of Nemesis and the deep relationship with the arena's context will be further investigated in the next section, which focuses on the sources attesting the presence of religious/entertainment associations formed around Nemesis' cult.



#### 4. 3 People organised around the cult of Nemesis. Forms of religious associations.

Perhaps the most essential way to investigate the cult of a deity – and more importantly the impact of that cult on provincial communities – is to seek to establish the identity of his/her/their adherents. Scholars have already determined the socio-economic variety of Nemesis' venerators, among them slaves, groups of Roman citizens, officers, freedmen, women, young people, gladiators, *venatores* and soldiers<sup>1040</sup>. However, aside from gladiators, it has so far been difficult to confidently identify a social category of worshippers specifically devoted to the goddess in certain areas because of the lack of homogeneity in the evidence, very different in kind and chronology. It has therefore not been possible to definitively establish the categories of the cult of Nemesis and the individuals showing their devotion through the performance of rituals. A different case is that of the collective forms of worship, where we find Nemesis as an object of worship by groups of people with – presumably – a public/legal image or profile connected with their societies.

Private and public associations were common throughout the cities of the eastern and western provinces of the Roman Empire. These associations have been classified in accordance with their purpose and the interests of their members. Scholars<sup>1041</sup> generally distinguish them as religious associations, professional guilds, clubs inspired by entertainment purposes (“fan clubs”), or those created around an individual, as a kind of *clientela*. These kinds of “societies” were largely an urban phenomenon, and involved in them were what the Romans called *plebs media*: Traders, manufacturers, craftsmen, and all those living in the urban context but not being part of the local *élite*<sup>1042</sup>. Many of those people probably had limited

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<sup>1040</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 74.

<sup>1041</sup> See Nigdelis 2010; Nigdelis 2006; Arnaoutoglou 2002; Arnaoutoglou 1998.

<sup>1042</sup> On the *plebs media* and its increasing weight in the Greek communities, see Zuiderhoek 2008, pp. 437 ff.; van Nijf 1997, pp. 22-23, 170 ff. for the *plebs media* as member of the professional associations.

opportunities and means, finding economic and psychological support, or a common identity because of a mutual interest or belief<sup>1043</sup>. As scholars have already pointed out, the popularity of these private societies in the Roman East was directly proportional to the hierarchization of the society and the effort of both the *élite* and the non-*élite* people to enhance their social status and role in the communities<sup>1044</sup>. The private associations were so numerous that the Roman emperors became directly involved in the monitoring of their activities, to prevent them from becoming instruments for social turmoil. The imperial concern about the impact these associations could have in their communities is evident in the well-known epistolary exchange between Trajan and Pliny the Younger. The latter was sent by the emperor to Bithynia-Pontus as his *legatus* to improve the province's economic situation<sup>1045</sup>. In response to Pliny's question about whether he should allow the establishment of a firemen's association at Nicomedia, Trajan admonished his *legatus*, instructing him to give no freedom to professional guilds, as they could become capable of dividing the cities: *civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerunt, hetaeriae eaequae brevi fient*<sup>1046</sup>. In fact, with the term *hetaeriae*, Trajan illustrates the potential dangers these local associations presented: Actions that could lead to riots and undue pressures on local political bodies as well as the Roman authorities<sup>1047</sup>. This kind of prohibition especially concerned the Bithynian

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<sup>1043</sup> See Arnaoutoglou 2002, p. 32; Nigdelis 2010, pp. 20 ff. for the case of Thessalonica.

<sup>1044</sup> A phenomenon that van Nijf called "ordo-making". See van Nijf 1997, p. 119. Cfr. Zuiderhoek 2008, pp. 429 ff.; Zuiderhoek 2007, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>1045</sup> Many factors convinced Trajan to send Pliny to Bithynia-Pontus: One was certainly the rivalry between the cities seeking the favour of the central power. This issue was common to all parts of the eastern Empire, often resulting in profligacy. See *Ep.*, 10, 17a, 3; 10, 17b, 2; 10, 18, 3; 10, 37, 1; 10, 39; see Sherwin-White 1966, pp. 527-528.

<sup>1046</sup> PLIN., *Ep.*, 10, 34. Despite the fact that Pliny proposed to limit the maximum number of firemen to one hundred fifty members, on the grounds that they would not have any other activity other than extinguishing fires, Trajan's reply was strict and expressly stated, forbidding any kind of "associative autonomy". See Arnaoutoglou 2002, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>1047</sup> Again, Trajan expressed total opposition to these associations in *Ep.*, 93, allowing Amisos, *civitas libera et foederata* (*Ep.*, 92) to form an ἔρανος active in helping the poor, but at the same time reasserting his prohibition of that kind of institutions in all the other cities subject to Roman authority: *concessum est erantum habere, possumus quominus habeant non impedire, eo facilius si*

professional guilds under Pliny's jurisdiction, but there was no Empire-wide harmonization of such a prohibition<sup>1048</sup>. The numerous religious associations outside Bithynia, for example, did not suffer from such restrictions. The same could be said for the clubs inspired by entertainment, in which Nemesis played a role. The goddess was the object of worship by various forms of groups, such as συνέδρια<sup>1049</sup>, *collegia*<sup>1050</sup>, συνήθεια<sup>1051</sup>, while other groups throughout the Empire named themselves specifically Νεμεσιασταί or *amici Nemesiaci*. As is usual with Nemesis' cult, overall conclusive evidence is limited because of the scattered nature of the findings in times and places; for this reason, the attempt to define the role and importance of each association within the local context, and the comparison

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*tali collatione non ad turbas et ad illicitos coetus, sed ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam utuntur. In ceteris civitatibus, quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huius modi prohibenda est.* Naturally, it was easier to control people with limited means, than the rich and powerful aristocracy. This is confirmed by an interesting inscription (Lanuvium, mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.) mentioned by Arnaoutoglou, but largely completed by the editor: *QVI[BVS RES TENVIOR EST, COJNVENIRE COLLEGIVM(Q)UE) HABERE LICEAT*. If the conjecture is correct, this inscription attests that only those with limited means were free to gather into a *collegium*. Long before Trajan, Augustus and Iulius Caesar already took restrictive measures towards the creation of new private associations, as Suetonius attests in *Iul.*, 42, 3: *cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit*; *Aug.*, 32, 1: *collegia, praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit*. Dio Chrysostomus considered *hetaireiai* as congregations of people with a negative impact in the society (DIO, *Or.* 50, 23; cfr. PHILON., *Flacc.*, 1, 4). See Gabrielsen 2015, p. 7. On societies/associations causing public problems and riots: DIO, *Or.*, 45, 8; 50, 3; PHILOSTR., *Vit. soph.*, 596; TERTULL., *Apol.*, 38, 1-2; *Acts*, 19; *I. Eph.*, 215 (riot of the local bakers who occupied the theatre of Ephesus). See Zuiderhoek 2008, pp. 440-441; Harland 2003, pp. 101-106, 169-173; MacMullen 1966, p. 177.

<sup>1048</sup> Despite Trajan's orders regarding the associations of Bithynia-Pontus, it seems that the central power did not interfere too strictly in the activities of provincial associations, with special restrictions created on an *ad hoc* basis for peculiar cases (on this idea see Venticinque 2015, pp. 334-335; Nigdelis 2010, p. 22; Arnaoutoglou 2002, p. 36; van Nijf 1997, p. 180). This happened also in the West, with a ten-year ban of unions in Pompeii after actions against the city of Nuceria (TAC., *Ann.*, 14, 17); similar prohibitions were applied in Spain, at the *Municipium Flavium Irnitatum* and the *Colonia Iulia Genetiva* at Urso. See Dmitriev 2005, p. 309 for the western cases and further bibl.; see MacMullen 1966, pp. 169, 173, for measures at Pompeii/Nuceria.

<sup>1049</sup> Συνέδριον of "Nemesian hunters", see Brusin 1960, pp. 219-227, below, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>1050</sup> *Collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum*, *CIL XII*, 22 (Vintium), below, p. 290. On the terms used for such associations see also Buraselis 1995, esp. pp. 172 ff.

<sup>1051</sup> Συνήθεια τῆς Νεμέσεος from Thessalonica, see Nigdelis 2006, pp. 178-183; below, pp. 296 ff.

with other forms of “recognized” groups would be of benefit. Therefore, some recently discovered/recognized findings – like the statue bases from the theatre of Niceaea, which emerged during the excavations of the year 2012<sup>1052</sup>, and a statuette of Nemesis<sup>1053</sup> found in the catalogue of an auction in London – enrich a body of evidence, which at present is too small to be subjected to a detailed study. Previous research<sup>1054</sup>, like H. Pleket (youth *collegia*), P. Nigdelis (inscriptions from Thessalonica), F. Chapoutier (studies on Philippi), G. Aristodemou (studies on the theatre of Philippi), C. Jones (statuette of Nemesis), and many others, described single pieces of evidence, comparing them with similar findings, but without having the cult of Nemesis as the focus of their research. An examination of all the associations of Nemesis’ worshippers – with the goddess in the foreground as a “common denominator” – is still missing.

In the following pages we attempt to create a profile for the kind of associations related to Nemesis, with the ambition of understanding the purposes of these groups, their social composition, the benefits their members achieved, and naturally the role of Nemesis herself in this framework. The world of the theatre-arena is again at the centre of our attention, as some of these groups were interested in spectacular combats and hunts, of which Nemesis should have been the supervisor. An enlargement of the geographical area of research to include western provinces was necessary due to the limited number of findings on Nemesis’ associations and the difficult interpretation of their activities, social participation and roles in the urban context. Indeed, we will examine groups of young people related to Nemesis in Egypt (the *synodos* around Nemesis and Herakles Kallinikos)<sup>1055</sup> and Vintium (*collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum*) in Cisalpine Gaul<sup>1056</sup>. Concerning the social participation, we could define a wide range of members within these associations, as we might expect from groups with a fundamental entertainment purpose. As will

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<sup>1052</sup> See Adak 2016, pp. 16 ff.; see next page.

<sup>1053</sup> See Jones 2001, p. 45; below, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>1054</sup> See Pleket 1969; Adak 2016, pp. 16 ff.; Nigdelis 2010; Jones 2001; Robert 1940, p. 323; Chapoutier 1924, p. 292; Aristodemou 2015, p. 74; Boffo 1996; Lichocka 2004, pp. 68-69; Hornum 1993, p. 185, n. 57; See also Fraser 1964, n. 14.

<sup>1055</sup> See below, pp. 294 ff.

<sup>1056</sup> See below, pp. 290 ff.

be seen below, a Greek priest of Nemesis behaved like the chief of a *stemma* of “friends of hunting”<sup>1057</sup> in the Roman colony of Philippi, where the social and spacial division between Romans and Greek/native people was very clear. At the same time, a person with foreign origins and a very simple mention, seems to be at the centre of the “association of Nemesis” of Thessalonica<sup>1058</sup>: A religious association with the role of a *collegium funeraticium*. These, and many other cases, make up this lively and varied body of evidence.

#### 4. 3. 1 The Νεμεσιασταί of Nicaea.

The discovery in 2012 of a dedicatory inscription<sup>1059</sup> within the theatre of Nicaea is one of the most important and interesting new additions to the research on Nemesis. During excavations in the area of the stage building<sup>1060</sup>, archaeologists found a marble block with an honorific dedication to Lucius Venuleius Montanus Apronianus Octavius Priscus, *proconsul* of Asia in 138 A.D. (*cos. ord.* 123 A.D.)<sup>1061</sup>. This base served as the support for the statue of a nobleman, and it should be dated at the time of his office in the province of Asia. The dedication reads as follows: *vac.* [αγαθ]ῆι τύχη· *vac.* | Λ. Οὐενουλήϊον Λ. υἰὸν Γαλερία Μονταν[ὸν] | Ἀπρωνιανὸν Ὀκτάουιον Πρεῖσκον, Σάλι[ον] | [Κ]όλλεινον, τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τῆς μονήτη[ς], | ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἰππέων Ῥωμαίων, ἔπαρχο[ν] | Ῥώμης ἑορτῆς Λατεῖνον, ταμίαν Θεοῦ Τρα[ῖ]ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ, στρατηγὸν, πρεσβευτὴν λεγ[ιῶ]νος πρώτης Ἰταλικῆς, αὐγυρα, ὕπατον, ἡγεμ[όνα] | Ἀσίας, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ φιλόπατριν κ[αὶ ὀ]μόπολιν Νεμεσιασταὶ ἐκ τῶν δ[ώρων] | *vac.* ἀνέστησαν. *vac.* The recipient of this dedication was an aristocrat from Pisa<sup>1062</sup> who, according to

<sup>1057</sup> See below, pp. 271 ff.

<sup>1058</sup> See below, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>1059</sup> Cat., 3. 9. See Adak 2016, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>1060</sup> See Adak 2016, p. 2.

<sup>1061</sup> See Eck – Pangerl 2013, p. 288 with further references.

<sup>1062</sup> *CIL XI*, 1432; 1525. The *gens* Venuleia is traditionally considered to be a powerful and rich family in Pisa. The father of this Venuleius (L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus) was *consul suffectus* in 92 A.D. and his grandfather (L. Montanus) was likely the *proconsul* of Bithynia-Pontus during the reign of Nero. R. Syme considered a member of this *gens* to be the first *Arvalis* with a senatorial parentage. The family is mentioned in two letters of Pliny the Younger (*Epp.*, 7, 29; 8, 6),

his *cursus honorum* summarized on the marble, represented both the central power and the Roman cult<sup>1063</sup>. He began his career holding the ancient office of *Salius Collinus*<sup>1064</sup>, to reach the higher position of *proconsul* of Asia (ἡγεμὼν Ἀσίας)<sup>1065</sup>. In between, he served in other important roles, such as *triumvir monetalis*, *praefectus Feriae Latinae*, *quaestor*<sup>1066</sup> under Trajan, *praetor* (στρατηγός), ambassador of the legion *Prima Italica* based in Moesia Inferior, *augur* and *consul*. The recipient of such an honour in a public place was normally a representative of the Roman authorities related to the city of the dedication, or more often a member of the local *élite*<sup>1067</sup>. On the other hand, the dedication of a statue representing the governor of the province of Asia within the theatre of a Bithynian city seems to be quite unusual, so that there should have been a specific link between Nicaea and Venuleius, and reciprocal benefits in awarding this honour.

The dedicators of this tribute appear at the end of the inscription under the name of Νεμεσιασταί, “the venerators, the servants of Nemesis”, a sort of Greek equivalent to the western group of *amici Nemesiaci* recorded on an epitaph in the Roman

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in Martial’s epigrams (4, 82) and possibly in Juvenal (1, 4, 107: *Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus*). See Syme 1980, p. 57. Scheid considered the family as native from Pompeii, arguing against the reconstruction given by Syme. See Scheid 1983, pp. 225-228. On the senatorial career of Venuleius, see Adak 1016, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>1063</sup> Published by M. Adak in Adak 2012, pp. 1-32.

<sup>1064</sup> The *Salius Collinus* was a priest devoted to the cult of Quirinus, member of a *collegium* of twelve priests, all of them from the Patrician *élite*.

<sup>1065</sup> The term ἡγεμὼν was sometimes used in dedications and titulature of a *cursus honorum* with various shades of meaning. Generally, ἡγεμὼν could have been substituted or integrated by the term *πρεσβευτής*, in this inscription used with the meaning of *legatus legionis*. We see a *proconsul* of Cilicia, Lycaonia and Hisauria called ἡγέμων in *SEG 18: 557* where the term ἡγεμὼν is used also with the meaning of commander of the *Legio Secunda Augusta*. On this issue, and for many other sources, see Mason 1974, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>1066</sup> The title ταμίης Θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ could be interpreted as referring to the treasury-keeper of the cult of the god Trajan – an interpretation that would connect Venuleius to the imperial cult. Alternatively, the translation of *quaestor* is preferred as it is related more closely to the ascendant *cursus honorum* listed on the marble.

<sup>1067</sup> See van Nijf 1997, p. 74.

*municipium Ebora Liberalitas Iulia* (Lusitania)<sup>1068</sup>. It is indisputable that the dedicators were worshippers of Nemesis. The cult of Nemesis appears related to Nicaea at the time of Dio Chrysostomus, who included the goddess in a prayer for the sake of the city, together with gods considered to be the preservers of the community, such as Heracles κτίστης, Zeus Πολιεύς, Athena, Aphrodite and Homonoia<sup>1069</sup>.

Unfortunately, the inscription of Venuleius' statue does not provide us with information about the age of the members of this association, and the activities they performed. However, some details of the dedication – such as the relationship between the dedicators and the recipient of the honorary statue – allow us to consider the Νεμεσιασταί as fellows of a real and operative association. Firstly, the expression “ἐκ τῶν δώρων” at line 10 specifies the economic transaction that preceded the realization of this honour. It seems that Venuleius, who presumably wished to be honoured by Nicaea, made a donation to the urban association of the Νεμεσιασταί from which they could finance his statue. It is reasonable to assume that Venuleius gave careful consideration in granting to the Νεμεσιασταί a monetary gift, as his name would thus become inextricably linked to them in a public context. The question is: Why was Venuleius interested in being associated with this specific group of people? The simplest answer is the desire by him to be acknowledged in the theatre, a place of maximum visibility, frequented by all the citizenship for ludic and citizenry purposes<sup>1070</sup>. Moreover, the theatre-arena usually fostered the symbols of the imperial cult and authority that Venuleius was representing<sup>1071</sup>. The Νεμεσιασταί, as Nemesis worshippers, probably gathered at the theatre, where a shrine of the goddess was located, or at least a certain place that

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<sup>1068</sup> We do not have much information on this group, but probably it fulfilled the duties of a *collegium funeraticium*. See the funerary inscription of a member of this association, below, p. 292.

<sup>1069</sup> *Or.*, 39, 22, 8, 8-9.

<sup>1070</sup> On the theatre as a place for assembly, where also the *plebs media* and associations had the right to participate, see Zuiderhoek 2008, pp. 425 ff.; van Nijf 1997, pp. 209 ff.

<sup>1071</sup> The theatre of Nicaea had been recently built at the time of the inscription, which seems to be the oldest evidence for the building. Indeed, Pliny reported to Trajan the poor quality of the construction for which Nicaea was incurring great expense (PLIN., *Ep.*, 10, 39). For structural details of the building, see Sear 2006, p. 358.

was reserved to her cult. The aforementioned dedication to the double Nemeseis<sup>1072</sup> found on the wall of the eastern *parodos* attests that the entrance of the theatre was a place where common people could worship the goddess (or goddesses) individually. The dedicator of this short prayer was likely a person specialized either in judgments or in observing and “reading” the sundial (γνωμονηκός)<sup>1073</sup>, who did not make any further reference to collective groups.

Who were the “venerators of Nemesis”? The special relevance of Nemesis in the theatre suggests that they were people related to the activities of the theatre. Indeed, they could have simply been people working at the theatre, such as actors, craftsmen of masks and costumes, or other personnel involved into the arena’s games. However, Venuleius’ decision to reward this peculiar association implies specific motives, purposes and sympathies, perhaps based on the close relationship of Nemesis with the Roman order, cult and entertainment activities. It is unlikely that the Νεμεσιασταί were gladiators or *venatores*: The aforementioned expression ἐκ τῶν δώρων, indeed, implies that only people with legal rights were able to receive a donation, and use the profits in legal transactions<sup>1074</sup>. They can be considered to be people not subject to a *lanista*, as professional fighters of a school of gladiators, or a high priest, as members of a *familia gladiatorum*<sup>1075</sup>. Had the dedications been made by gladiators, the names of their masters would have been included rather than the general term Νεμεσιασταί. Furthermore, there are no traces throughout the Empire of any association of gladiators/*venatores* displaying in

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<sup>1072</sup> *SEG* 36: 1153. See the inscription above, p. 220. The statue base of Venuleius was found ca 20 m. Northwest of this dedication. See Adak 2012, pp. 3-4, 15.

<sup>1073</sup> The term γνωμονηκός concerns the ability to judge and make conclusions. It is also related to the sun-dials in the quality of “technician” able to observe them. In this case it seems that Askelpiodotos was a sun-dial expert, since this particular meaning is related to the noun ὁ γνωμονηκός (*AP.*, 14, 139; *GAL.*, 5, 652; *PROCL.*, *Hyp.*, 5, 54; similarly, Vitruvius attests to the art of making sun-dials, called ἡ γνωμονική: *VITR.*, I, 3) while other meanings appear only in form of attributes (γνωμονικός, ἡ, ὁ: See *X., Mem.*, 4, 2, 10; *PLATO, Phdr.*, 467c; *IAMB., Myst.*, 3, 27). See above, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>1074</sup> See Adak 2016, p. 18.

<sup>1075</sup> Free citizens who decided to become gladiators lost their freedom as soon as they participated in a gladiatorial/hunting school (*ludus*), and signed a contract with a *lanista*. See Carter 1999, pp. 136 ff.; Nigdelis 2006, pp. 240-241.



physical form a particular affection and devotion to Nemesis<sup>1076</sup>. Hence, the inscription indicates the Νεμεσιασταί as a well-organized association, with funds of their own. As an association, they had properties and they received donations, whose profit they could manage for various purposes, such as dedicating an honorific statue. Moreover, they were in close contact with civic authorities, since they erected a statue in the local theatre.

Clearly it suited the Νεμεσιασταί to show their relationship with an important person like Venuleius, and they took care to select specific terms which flattered him and presented him as “one of them”. They recognized him as “their own εὐεργέτης”<sup>1077</sup> – their sponsor/patron – emphasizing Venuleius’ financial support. As Adak points out<sup>1078</sup>, the term ἡγεμών, used in place of *proconsul*, was also used in relation to the emperor and by those aristocrats who sought to emulate him. The Νεμεσιασταί made obvious their view on Venuleius, also conferring to him the epithet ὁμόπολις, claiming another province’s governor – insofar, a foreigner to Nicaea – as their own fellow citizen. It is most probable that Venuleius truly had

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<sup>1076</sup> For associations of gladiators, see the stele of a *summarudis* from Ancyra (Robert 1940, p. 139): κολλήγιον ἔχοντι ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν σουμμαρούδ[ων]; the stele of wool-merchant related to the *collegium* of the “people of the arena” (*CIL XI*, 862 = *ILS*, 7559): *D(is) M(anibus) | Q(uinto) ALFIDIO | Q(uinti) L(iberto) HYLAE | VIVIR(o) FORO SEM|PRONi COLLEG(ii) HARENARIORVM ROMAE NEGOTIANTI LANARIO*; the stele of Kaukasos, gladiator from Stobi, member of a *collegium*, second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. (Nigdelis 2001, pp. 139-145): Αὐρήλιος Σεβήρος σεκουδαρούδης προστάτης τοῦ κολληγίου Καυκάσω τῷ ἐκ τοῦ κολληγίου καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μνείας χάριν. Χαίρεται; the epitaph of the *bestiarius* Maximinus, member of a *collegium* in Thessalonica (Nigdelis 2006, pp. 238-248): *MAXIMINVS [...] CIVES NAT(ione) [...] COLLEGIATVS [LVD]I CENTIN<A>RI, VIXILLARIVS, [BES]TIARIVS [...] MORTVS [THESS]ALONICE MVNERE*.

<sup>1077</sup> The phenomenon of evergetism towards private associations was typical of the Greek cities of Hellenistic and Roman times. The evergetism, indeed, was part and parcel of the hierarchization process of the Greek society, which, from isonomy-based was becoming oligarchy-based on the Roman model. It was the aforementioned phenomenon called “*ordo*-making” by the scholars. Providing properties, donations and support to a certain association, a benefactor received honours, which publicly showed and “confirmed” his social status. Hence, the people somehow smoothly accepted his membership in the social *élite*. On this issue see mostly van Nijf 1997, pp. 73 ff.; Kuhn 2017, pp. 327 ff.; Zuiderhoek 2008, pp. 427 ff. Cfr. Buraselis 2000, p. 94 for the case of the equestrian C. Stertinius Xenophon, honoured as ὁ εὐεργέτας of the homeland in the island of Cos.

<sup>1078</sup> See Adak 2012, p. 18.

the citizenship of Nicaea; in that case, terms like φιλόπατρις and ὁμόπολις would be a statement of facts<sup>1079</sup>. Naturally, the term ὁμόπολις suggests that the Νεμεσιασταί were themselves citizens of Nicaea<sup>1080</sup>.

The Νεμεσιασταί, as Nemesis' worshippers, have been rightly interpreted as fans of the *munera* and frequenters of the theatre-arena, where the goddess was particularly venerated<sup>1081</sup>. This interpretation is supported by the attestations of “friends of hunting” and “friends of the weapons” analysed below. Certainly, the Νεμεσιασταί had a strong interest in forming a close relationship with an influential representative of Roman power like Venuleius, who would have been in a position to endorse and promote the arena's games. However, the full nature of the relationship between the governor of Asia and this Bithynian association is not yet clear. We can only suppose, following Adak, that this bond has roots in the previous history of the *gens* Venuleia, dating back to a time when Venuleius' grandfather was *proconsul* of Bithynia-Pontus under Nero<sup>1082</sup>, and that the family became one of the patrons of this association, donation after donation. Alternatively, we could assume an improvement in the relations between Nicaea and another city of the province of Asia – such as the capital Ephesus – promoted by Venuleius with consequent benefits to the world of the theatre-arena. These hypotheses remain mere speculation until further evidence is found. Adak considered an inscription from Ephesus<sup>1083</sup> (138 A.D.) attesting Venuleius allowing the Ephesians to organize the *munera*, as an evidence of his personal involvement

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<sup>1079</sup> We cannot know if Venuleius obtained the Nicaean citizenship, and, if so, on what grounds. The dedication of the statue near the stage building perhaps expresses the city's affection for this Roman officer. Pliny (*Ep.*, 10, 114, 1) informs us that, according to the *Lex Pompeia de provinciis* (valid in Bithynia-Pontus), every city was free to confer citizenship onto a subject if the latter was not already citizen of another Bithynian city.

<sup>1080</sup> On the basis of this assumption, could we exclude foreigners from the members of this association? Considering the high foreign presence in private associations (see Nigdelis 2010, p. 22, n. 55 regarding Thessalonica's private clubs; below the inscription of the συνήθεια of Nemesis) and the basic entertainment nature of the club of “Nemesis people”, it seems quite unlikely that membership required the citizenship.

<sup>1081</sup> See Adak 2016, pp. 17-18.

<sup>1082</sup> See Adak 2012, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>1083</sup> *I. Eph.*, 21, part 2. See Adak 2016, p. 18, n. 103.

in the promotion of Roman festivals. Precisely, he underlined that the permission given by Venuleius – as governor of the province – occurred on occasion of the celebration of Antoninus Pius’ birthday. Venuleius allowed Ephesus to organize five days of *munera* (literally *θέας*, “spectacles”) and distributions of a certain sum of *denarii*<sup>1084</sup>. In this specific case, however, Venuleius was replying to a request of Ephesus<sup>1085</sup>, while these kinds of permissions were something very common for a Roman *proconsul*. Therefore, one may see more a local philo-Roman initiative rather than a particular promotion of *munera* by the Roman authority. Concerning Nemesis, what we can safely say is that this piece of evidence underlines the deep relationship between her cult and the context of the theatre-arena in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire. The comparison with the dedication from the eastern *parodos* of the building, confirms Nemesis as the main goddess of the theatre, frequented by “her people”, the Νεμεσιασταί. The inscription, therefore, characterizes this group of people as closely interconnected with the Roman political apparatus, as Nemesis also was.

#### 4. 3. 2 The “friends of hunting” of Philippi.

The identification of the Νεμεσιασταί with fans of the Roman spectacles is supported by another well-known attestation of people related to hunt at Philippi. We refer to the three inscriptions<sup>1086</sup> from the western *parodos* of the colony’s theatre, accompanied by reliefs of Nemesis, Nike and Ares today still *in situ*, decorating the jambs of the arched doorway. Precisely, they are three dedications/*ex voto* of Marcus Belleios Zosimos, priest of the Invincible Nemesis, who financed τὰ ἀφυδρεύματα “of the gods” with his own money and in the name of the association

<sup>1084</sup> *I. Eph.*, 21, part 2, ll. 7-12: ψηφισά[μενοι [...] αὐτοῦ γ[εν]εθλίας ἡμέραις καὶ θέας ἡ[μερῶν] πέντε ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ διανομὴν τοῖς πολεΐταις ἐκ τῶν καλουμένων εἰς τὰς θυσίας ἐκάστῳ δηνάριον δίδοναι. “Having voted for organizing five days of spectacles during the birthday of the emperor (αὐτοῦ) and giving to the citizens participating into the sacrifices the sum of 100 *denarii*” (transl. of the author).

<sup>1085</sup> *I. Eph.*, 21, part 1, ll. 27-32: τὸν δὲ ἐκάσ[τ]οτε ἀποδεδειγμένον γρα[μματέα τοῦ | δήμου] | διανέμειν τοῖς πολεΐταις [πᾶσιν εἰς πέντε] ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τ[ῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας καθ’] ἐκάστην ἐκάστῳ δηνάριο[ν ἐν καὶ θέας ἐπὶ] πέντε ἄγειν ἡμέρας.

<sup>1086</sup> *Cat.*, 10. 9-11. See Pilhofer 2000, nn. 142, 143, 144. See also Hellerman 2005, p. 105.

of the “friends of hunting”: ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνήγων τοῦ στέ[μ]ματος | τὰ ἀφιδρεύματα  
τῶν θεῶν | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησεν.

The interpretation of these dedications is not certainly defined yet. Who were these “friends of hunting”? What was their relationship with Nemesis? Why did the priest of Nemesis finance the ἀφιδρεύματα in the name of this association, if we can give it this name? What Zosimos dedicated were three icons of the gods. Ἀφιδρώ, indeed, means “to transfer”, “to relocate” and so “to reproduce”<sup>1087</sup> in case of a cult statue or a temple<sup>1088</sup>. This interpretation implies some changes in the orthography (from ἀφίδρυμα into ἀφείδρυμα<sup>1089</sup>, with the mistake of ἀφιδρεύματα instead of ἀφειδρεύματα); a very common phenomenon among the documentary sources, here further confirmed by the following mistake ἐκκ, a sign of a negligent writing.

On the other hand, the interpretation of ἀφιδρεύματα as water channels<sup>1090</sup> or cisterns<sup>1091</sup> is not really sufficient. Indeed, the possibility that we could find such

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<sup>1087</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 323; Chapoutier 1924, p. 292; Aristodemou 2015, p. 74.

<sup>1088</sup> Meaning of ἀφίδρυμα: DIOD., 15, 49, 1 for the meaning of copy of a sacred icon; DION., 2, 22, 2 and CIC., *Ad Att.*, 13, 29, 1 for the meaning of “temple” or “altar”. According to Malkin, ἀφίδρυμα itself is the object that allows the establishment of a “*succursale*” of a temple, conferring to it the religious meaning. From his point of view, the initial ἀπό would emphasize the idea of “taking away”, confirming the meaning of “reproducing” and “copying” an original object. See Malkin 1991, pp. 78 ff., where the author discusses the meaning of ἀφίδρυμα in a general way, criticising the previous scholars of “overconcretization in trying to specify an exclusive meaning – for example, in defining it as «statue», «temple model», «remains of sacrifice taken from an altar», and so on – instead of emphasizing its abstract or functional, not mutually exclusive, significations”. Cfr. Anguissola 2012, p. 180 with more references to ancient sources and modern literature.

<sup>1089</sup> *I. Priene*, 112, l. 115: τούτων ἀφειδρύματα; *I. Magnesia*, 215, l. 7: Ἀφείδρυμα Διονύσου; *I. Dydimia*, 500, l. 11: ἀφείδρυμα εὖρον -; inscription from Argos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Perseussage von Aigeai in Kilikien, Hermes* 57 (1922), pp. 155-156): θεᾶς ἀφείδρυμα]. For a summary of these cases, see Robert 1965, pp. 121-122, who considers the ἀφίδρυμα a statue of a god.

<sup>1090</sup> Hornum considered ἀφιδρεύματα as “water-tanks”. See Hornum 1993, p. 198, n. 84.

<sup>1091</sup> See Diosono 2019, p. 102.

ἀφουδρεύματα in the theatre of Philippi is quite remote, since the theatre was transformed into arena at the time of the inscription (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.)<sup>1092</sup>.

On the other hand, the expression ἀφουδρεύματα τῶν θεῶν could say something about the entrance to the theatre as a place with a shrine of these gods, which appear as supervisors of the building from the period of its utilization as arena and only for Roman spectacles<sup>1093</sup>. The entrance of the theatre, indeed, would be a proper cult place for Ares, Nike and Nemesis, as patrons of the arena's combats. Concerning the combination of these gods, scholars have generally considered the shared idea of victory in the amphitheatre and the battlefield, of which the arena was a “miniature” reproduction. Nike, Nemesis *aniketos*, and Mars, who – Victor or Ultor – at Philippi certainly recalled the glorious past and the military successes of Rome<sup>1094</sup>. Chapoutier rightly recalled<sup>1095</sup> the relief<sup>1096</sup> from Belgic Gaul, donated by two praetorians, with the representation of Nemesis, Mars, Victoria and the Sol Invictus/emperor, considered as *Dei Patrienses*. Regarding Nemesis, we have

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<sup>1092</sup> Concerning the theatre's building phases, we distinguish three different periods: The first (4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), when the theatre was place for Greek drama; the second (2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.), with the enlargement of the *proscenium* (for the set up of gladiatorial fights), the arrangement of the vaulted *parodoi* and the *orchestra* paved with marble (see Sear 2006, p. 423), as many other theatres in Roman times. The last phase of the theatre (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.), should correspond to the complete transformation of the *orchestra* into an arena. In this latter phase, the building was used mostly for fights and hunts. Zosimos' three *ex-voto* belong to this period (see Collart 1924).

<sup>1093</sup> The gladiatorial combats were organized in the theatre before its transformation into an arena, and probably coexisted with the Greek drama spectacles. A confirmation of the connection between Ares and the theatre-arena is given also by the terminology used by the Greeks to name the gladiatorial combats: Ἄραιος ἄθλα (for example, see the funerary epigram of a *pontarch* from Tomis: δις γὰρ ἐποντάρχησα καὶ Ἄραιος ἄθλα ἐτέλεσα; see Robert 1940, pp. 101-102).

<sup>1094</sup> Philippi was deeply connected to Augustus and Mars because of the battle against Caesar's murderers and the vow Octavian pronounced to Mars Ultor in the aftermath of the fight. Chapoutier does not distinguish between Mars Victor and Mars Ultor, saying: “Mars, qualifié de Victor, peut apparaître sous la figure du «Mars Ultor» d'Auguste, ou porter la palme comme Mars Pacifer”. See Chapoutier 1925, p. 242. After 42 B.C. many veterans settled down in Philippi (CASS. DIO, 51, 4, 6. See Collart 1928, p. 82; Chapoutier 1924, pp. 242-244). Also, the use of the epithet *aneiketos* in reference to Nemesis recalls the fight upon which Augustus based his power.

<sup>1095</sup> See Chapoutier 1925, p. 242.

<sup>1096</sup> See above, p. 110, fig. 9.

already seen shrines located in the theatre's *parodoi*<sup>1097</sup>. In fact, Nemesis dominates the entrance, appearing not only on one of the three ἀφουδρεύματα of the pillars, but also on the arch-key in a prominent position<sup>1098</sup>.

Past scholars generally considered the “friends of hunting” as a group of professional hunters related to spectacles in the theatre-arena<sup>1099</sup>. Hornum<sup>1100</sup> recently agreed with this idea, linking the *venatores* of Philippi to the Roman *Iuvenes* attested by an inscription from Vintium<sup>1101</sup>. However, as Robert underlines, if the club of φιλοκόνηγοι was composed of gladiators and/or hunters, we would find the term φαμίλια rather than στέμμα<sup>1102</sup>. Therefore, the best interpretation seems to be that of fans of the arena hunts (“hunting club”), as the name itself seems to indicate. Chapoutier<sup>1103</sup>, Robert<sup>1104</sup>, and today almost the majority of the

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<sup>1097</sup> See the cases of Nicaea, Hierapolis, Olympia and Mytilene mentioned above, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>1098</sup> Cat., 10. 12. See Aristodemou 2015, p. 76, fig. 5 a: Nemesis-Aequitas holding a balance.

<sup>1099</sup> Chapoutier compares the στέμμα φιλοκονηγῶν with the *familia gladiatorum* (see Chapoutier 1924, pp. 291-292). Collart follows his idea (see Collart 1928, pp. 108-113), as also Roussel, who considered them as professional hunters in the arena (see Roussel 1930, p. 370). *Kynegoi* and *synkynegoi* are the proper terms indicating the arena's hunters. For example, the *kynegoi* of the inscription from Mylasa (*I. Mylasa*, 534: A dedication to Gaius Iulius, ἀρχιερέως) are *venatores*: Γαίου Ἰουλίου, Λέοντος ἥρωος υἱοῦ, Ὑβρέου ἥρωος, ἀρχιερέως διὰ γένους καθιέρωσαν οἱ κυνηγοί (see Bérard 1891, pp. 541-542). In addition, the *synkynegoi* dedicated to Artemis in Astakos (Acarmania), attested by *IG IX, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 435*; all these findings bear local names of free people. See Romaios 1918, pp. 120-121. Moreover: θηριομάχοι, οἱ καὶ κυνηγοί ὀνομάζονται are mentioned by Basilus in the letter to J. Zonara (*Synod. Chartag.*, 130; cfr. Bérard 1891, *l. c.*). For other evidence about *kynegoi*, see Roussel 1930, p. 369 (Tomis: τὸ κυνηγῶν [κο]ιν[όν]) and Robert 1946, pp. 112-150; especially, p. 144 for the use of κυνηγός in the *gymnasium*'s context: Σωτᾶς κυνηγὸς ἐργάτης τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. papyrus from Egypt).

<sup>1100</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 70-71.

<sup>1101</sup> See below the inscription *CIL XII, 22 (collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum)*.

<sup>1102</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 323. Concerning the urban associations, the term *stemma* is quite rare, but it seems to define a kind of stable group organized on a permanent basis. See also <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAPi/viewing.php?view=resultassoc&id=1769&hi=Philippi>.

<sup>1103</sup> See Chapoutier 1925, p. 243. The scholar underlines the importance of the Roman influence on this association, as a custom brought to the city by the Roman veterans of Augustus.

<sup>1104</sup> A decoration's fragment showing Artemis Bendis confirms the importance of the *venationes* in the theatre context. See Sear 2006, p. 423. An inscription from the seats of Aphrodisias stadium could attest to the participation of the φιλοκόνηγοι as spectators of hunts and fights. However, the

scholars agree on this point. The combination of these three specific gods suggests that Zosimos, as priest of Nemesis, was more interested in the theatre's context than he was in outdoor like hunting in the forest. Unfortunately, however, we lack any further information about the association and its rules (access to the club, age of the members, internal rules of behaviour, interest in funerary activity, etc.)<sup>1105</sup>.

Past scholars<sup>1106</sup> incorrectly used the term “*amateur*” to define the φιλοκύνηγος. *Amateur*, indeed, is the person who practices an activity at a non-professional level, for fun and, we could say, without the relevant monetary scope. So, as *amateurs* of hunting, these φιλοκύνηγοι would have practiced (and not simply watched) hunting inside or outside the arena or the *gymnasium*. In our opinion, the possibility that they were normal citizens hunting for love of the practice, as *amateurs* – we would say today “for sport” – inside the arena is quite difficult, since it would have been a dangerous and costly activity. Certainly, we have to consider a certain flexibility of the inscription's language: We know some cases where φιλοκύνηγος means undoubtedly *venator*, as a tomb from the Thracian Chersonesos<sup>1107</sup> and one from Miletus<sup>1108</sup> attest.

Concerning the reasons for which Zosimos made a donation to the *stemma*, it is possible that he himself was the priest of the association<sup>1109</sup> and that he may have had to finance those dedications. The fact that he dedicated the reliefs ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνήγων τοῦ στέμματος (“on the behalf of the group”, or “for the sake of the group”)<sup>1110</sup>, even leads us to believe that Zosimos held a chief position in the

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text of the inscription is fragmentary and the autopsy is required. Roueché is dubious about the reference to the “fans of the hunts”. See Roueché 1993, p. 85, n. 45.

<sup>1105</sup> Other private (religious and professional) associations are well attested in Philippi. See Hellerman 2005, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>1106</sup> See Bairami – Katsioti 2008, p. 593.

<sup>1107</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 90: Χρυσέρως φιλοκύνηγος ἐπολιησα ἑμαυτῷ τὸ ἐνσόριον καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις.

<sup>1108</sup> See Robert 1940, p. 194: Ἀντέρως φιλοκύνηγε ἥρωος χρηστὲ χῆρε. Ἐμνήσθη σου Ἀμμιάς. The definition of the deceased person as *heros* is particularly appropriate for a participant in the games.

<sup>1109</sup> See Nigdelis 2006, pp. 179-180.

<sup>1110</sup> Ὑπὲρ followed by a noun in genitive case is used to express protection (“for the sake of someone/something”) or the act of representing someone/something (“on the behalf/in the name of

*stemma*. This idea is supported by the aforementioned attestation of *Nemesiastai* in Nicaea: The fact that a group of people characterized for being Nemesis' worshippers was gathered in a legal association with important political connections and probable main activities in the theatre-arena confers to Zosimos, as priest of Nemesis, a good chance of being a prominent member of the association he represented in those dedications.

In this case, the expression ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων would stress the fact that he financed the ἀφυδρεύματα with his own money, instead of using the association's funds, as allowed by his leading position. However, this can remain only a hypothesis since we do not know if the representative of the association had to be a priest of Nemesis. Consequently, the nature of the link between the priest and the association of φιλοκύνηγοι is still not certainly defined; the only safe conclusion would be to interpret the φιλοκύνηγοι as Nemesis' venerators. In fact, the only information we can obtain from this piece of evidence is the presence of "lovers of hunting" in Philippi, who dedicated – through the priest of Nemesis – three reliefs of Nike, Ares and Nemesis in the theatre's *parodos*, where the latter goddess was especially worshipped and powerful. Accordingly, it is logical to imagine the *philokynegoi* passing by the entrance and perhaps addressing a prayer to Nemesis and the other gods of the theatre for the victory of their favourite team.

#### 4. 3. 3 The "friends of weapons".

Similar to the "friends of hunting" club was the association – if it can be defined as such – of the "friends of weapons" traced back to the province of Asia and recorded on a small statue of unknown provenience<sup>1111</sup>. This peculiar group of people was the recipient of a 0, 17 m. h. statuette of Nemesis (fig. 34), donated by a certain

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someone/something"). In this case, the translation "in the name of the *stemma*" (preferred by scholars) implies the possibility that the priest of Nemesis occupies a position inside the *stemma* itself, when the translation "for the sake of the *stemma*" allows the priest to be an outsider.

<sup>1111</sup> Cat., 2. 85. See *LIMC Suppl.*, 9, 1, s. v. *Nemesis*, n. 3 (P. Karanastassis). For the description of the object and the first interpretation of the female figure as the Muse Ourania, see Jones 2001, p. 45, with further bibl.



Metrodoros, as is clearly written on the back side of the figure: Μη|τρό|δω|ρος | φιλό|πλοις δῶ|ρον. This object was sold at an auction in London to an American private collection in the year 2000<sup>1112</sup>. The statue shows a veiled and diademed female figure, with a stick in her left hand and raising her right hand to the neck. According to Jones<sup>1113</sup>, a hole in the right hand would attest to the insertion of an object today lost, but it is difficult to imagine one of Nemesis' typical attributes, like the wheel or the bridle, held in that position. So, if Jones is right, we should suppose a kind of attribute not traditionally related to the goddess. However, the position of the hand seems not to allow the addition of an attribute (like the wheel of Nemesis, the balance of Dike/Aequitas or the whip). Instead, she could have raised her chiton in the typical gesture of spitting on herself. Certainly, she holds a *cubitum* in her left hand, the attribute Nemesis uses to measure people's behaviour.



Fig. 34. Statuette of Nemesis. From Jones 2001, pl. 10.

Jones recognized in this female figure the Nemesis of Smyrna (generally without wings), considering that Metrodoros possibly donated to the *philoploi* association a

<sup>1112</sup> See *Charles Ede Ltd, General Catalogue 169*, July 2000, n. 11.

<sup>1113</sup> See Jones 2001, p. 45.

couple of similar statuettes<sup>1114</sup> of which only one survived. The idea of a double Nemesis should not surprise us, since we have signs of the Smyranean Nemeseis very far from Smyrna and Asia Minor, as far as Egypt<sup>1115</sup> and Spain<sup>1116</sup>. However, we find iconographical parallels with examples of single Nemesis. In fact, as Adak<sup>1117</sup> has already noted, the oversized Nemesis of Perge's baths<sup>1118</sup> is the closest parallel to this statuette and can confirm the identity of the goddess. Concerning Metrodoros, we do not know the nature of his relationship with the association he benefited; if he was a φίλοπλος himself or he made a donation as an outsider benefactor. What we can safely say about the *philoploi* is that they worshipped Nemesis, as they were recipients of this gift. In our view, what is more difficult to define is the role of Nemesis for this group of people and the nature of the association: How it was organized and what was its weight in the community. Other findings confirm that the *philoploi* were members of real associations, spread throughout many cities of Asia Minor, such as Ephesus<sup>1119</sup>, Hierapolis, and Termessos. Concerning the last two cities, two 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. funerary inscriptions attest the *philoploi*<sup>1120</sup>. In the case of Hierapolis a citizen invokes them as “guardians” of his tomb: Ἡ σορὸς | και ἡ καμ|άρα Μάρ(κου) Αὐρη(λίου) | Ἀμμιανοῦ Μενανδριανοῦ, ἐν ἧ̄ κηδευθήσετε αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀμμιανὸς και ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | [[-----]] και τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, [...] | καταλείπω δὲ και τοῖς προγεγραμμένο<ι>ς τῆς ἐργασίας λινωτῶν στε|φανωτικο<ῦ> ὀνόματι Χ—Α, ὃ δοθήσε|ται μηνὶ ὀγδόου

<sup>1114</sup> See Jones 2001, p. 47.

<sup>1115</sup> Funerary inscription from Alexandria: See Hornum 1993, p. 181, n. 48 (see also above the stele of Arsinoe, p. 143), p. 182, n. 58; Lichocka 2004, p. 148, n. 2 B 1; Lichocka 2004, p. 149, n. 2 B 3 (see the last two inscriptions below, n. 102). Relief with two Nemeseis crowned by two Nikai from Upper Egypt: See Hornum 1993, p. 184, n. 55.

<sup>1116</sup> *CIL III*, 12732: Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη· θεαῖς Νεμέσεσιν Συμρναίαις σεβασμιωτάταις Ἰούλ. Σιλουανιὸς Μελανίων ἐπιτρ. Σεβ. εὐχὴν. See Hornum 1993, p. 271.

<sup>1117</sup> See Adak 2016, pp. 6-7.

<sup>1118</sup> See Cat., 9. 7-8.

<sup>1119</sup> *I. Eph.*, 3070.

<sup>1120</sup> See *TAM III*, 1, 400 (Termessos), where the φίλοπλοι financed the tomb of Diogenes: οἱ φίλοπλοι τὴν σωματοθήκην | Διογένει Θεοδώρου και τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ | Αὐρη(λίου). Διογένει μόνους. See Robert 1946, pp. 148-149; Roueché 1993, p. 80. Can we consider the φίλοπλοία of the city as a *collegium funeraticium*, meaning an association based on funerary purposes? On the *collegia funeraticia*, see van Nijf 1997, pp. 32-69; Kloppenborg 1996, pp. 20 ff.

δεκάτη ἀπιόντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δώσουν τῇ ὀρισμένη ἡμέρᾳ τὸ καταλιφθὲν στεφανωτικόν, τοῦτο διπλο[ῦν ἀ]ποδώσου[ν] τοῖς φιλόπλοις<sup>1121</sup>. A certain Ammianus Menandrianus addressed to the *philoploi* some detailed instructions about the management of his funerary monument and the celebrations related to his memorial. Specifically, he gave in legacy two hundred fifty *denarii* to the association of the linen-makers for financing the yearly coronation of his tomb; as he clarifies, this will happen on annual basis, on the tenth day after eight months from the beginning of the year<sup>1122</sup>. The *philoploi* were called to guarantee the right fulfilment of Ammianus' requests: In case that the linen-makers did not follow his instructions, they would have been forced to pay twice the sum they received to the *philoploi*. The practice of asking an association (of any nature) to guard and protect the tomb from maltreatment was a well-known and widespread practice during the Roman times. Generally, the deceased used to donate a sum of money or a property to an association/institution, asking it to protect his own tomb from occupation by other people's ashes or from the misappropriation of its materials. The deceased often required also a periodical celebration, as banquets or rituals at the funerary monument. The fear for the fate of one's eternal house was so strong that sometimes the associations entitled for its preservation were more than one. A similar case to the one of the *philoploi* of Hierapolis is the tomb of Pompeius Euprosdektos from Ephesus<sup>1123</sup>, where the deceased made a donation to the local association of craftsmen, required to preserve and honour the tomb; however, the club of the grain-measurer was called as a guarantor of the craftsmen's right of the fulfilment of the donation terms.

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<sup>1121</sup> “The sarcophagus and the chamber belong to Marcus Aurelius Ammianus Menandrianus; in the sarcophagus Ammianus himself, his wife [[-----]] and their children will be buried. [...] I leave also 250 *denarii* to the currently in charge officers of the linen-makers' association, a sum of money for the coronation, so that every person will receive one *denarius*, that will be remitted in the tenth day, from the end of the eighth month; if they will not use the money given for the coronation in the decided day, shall they pay the double to the «friends of weapons»” (transl. of the author). The coronation mentioned here is the celebration of the crowing of the tomb, which was to be held on annual basis. See Ritti 2016, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>1122</sup> A date that should correspond to the birthday of the deceased.

<sup>1123</sup> *IK* 17, 1, 3216; van Nijf 1997, p. 60.

The linen-makers were a professional association, which left traces in many cities of Asia Minor<sup>1124</sup> Egypt<sup>1125</sup> and western provinces of the Empire<sup>1126</sup>. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the deceased was a member of this association, though we cannot determine his personal role and contribution to it. On the basis of onomastics, we can guess that he probably acquired the *civitas Romana* under the reign of Marcus Aurelius or after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, when the emperor conceded to all the people the acquisition of his *gentilicium*, making them citizens of the Empire<sup>1127</sup>.

Ammianus probably selected two “societies”, in which he was well-known and respected, hoping for the fulfilment of his requests<sup>1128</sup>. Moreover, he concurrently may have been a member of the linen-makers’ league and a *philoplos*<sup>1129</sup>; in this case, one may think of considering the *philoploi* as a non-professional group, excluding categories like weapon-makers, weapon-merchants, and professional soldiers. Indeed, it would have been quite unusual that the same person was involved in two different professional leagues. Nevertheless, the function and position of the *philoploi* in the inscription is noteworthy. While the association of the flax-producers of Halikarnassos seems to have been more related to funerary activities (in fact it is called in first place by the deceased), the fact that the *philoploi* association was appointed to receive a greater sum of money in case of

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<sup>1124</sup> Ephesus: *IK* 16, 2446; *IK* 17. 2, 3803D; Robert, *Hellenica XI-XII (SEG 36: 1053)*. Saittai, stadium seats to the linen-workers: See van Nijf 1997, p. 20, n. 81 with further bibl., 233. Salamis (Cyprus): See Mitford-Nicolau 1974, pp. 28-29, n. 13. See also DIO CHRYS., *Or.*, 34, 21-3.

<sup>1125</sup> See Buraselis 1995: The social role of those employed in linen manufacture be they rural Egyptians or citizens of Alexandria, was described as being a special and very important one.

<sup>1126</sup> See below (n. 1130) the *linteones* of Aquileia.

<sup>1127</sup> See Buraselis 2007, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>1128</sup> Similarly, Pempeius Euprosdektos should have been a member of the Ephesian *prometrai*, while the craftsmen’s association should have had a fundamentally funerary character to be appointed in first instance for the preservation of the tomb. See van Nijf 1997, *l. c.* above.

<sup>1129</sup> The phenomenon of being a member of more than one association was quite common in the Roman East, if we consider that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus confirmed the prohibition of concurrently participating in two club as decreed? by their predecessor Antoninus Pius. See *Dig.*, 47, 22, 1, 2. Cfr. Nigdelis 2006, p. 153, n. 166: The author comments on the case of a boy’s funerary stele financed by two private associations. His father was a member of both associations.

violation of the deceased's will, seems to suggest that the *philoploi* of Hierapolis were a private club with a higher social position.

This is confirmed by an inscription from the *agora* of Ephesus<sup>1130</sup> where the *philoploi* were able to award public honours to their benefactors. This is also the case of an interesting dedication to M. Aurelius Daphnos (the name of the recipient has been convincingly restored by the editors), dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.: [Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Δάφνον] | [ὑὸν γραμματέως, ἔγγονον γραμμα]||[τέ]ων, ἀ[πόγ]ονον [πρ]ώ[τ]ων [γρ]αμμα[τ]έων, | προέγγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον μόνων | γραμματέων τοῦ δήμου, πολλάκις | ἀγωνοθέτην, γραμματέα δήμου | μόνον, εἰρήναρχον, ἀγορανόμον, | στρατηγὸν πρῶτον, | ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τρίς, | φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι | ἡμερῶν δεκατριῶν ζυγοῖς ἀποτόμοις τριακονταεννέα, ἀποσφάξαν|τα δὲ καὶ Λιβυκὰ ζῶα, εὐτυχήσαντα δὲ | καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ | πρώτῃ προόδῳ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον | ἅμα τῇ πορφύρᾳ· | οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι | τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην | προνοησαμένου τῆς τεμιῆς Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Ῥηγείνου φιλοσεβάστου. The dedicators are the φίλοπλοι φιλοβήδιοι: “weapons’ lovers” and followers of the Vedii, a very rich and influential local house<sup>1131</sup>, also owner of a *familia gladiatorum*<sup>1132</sup>.

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<sup>1130</sup> *I. Eph.*, 3070: “Marcus Aurelius Daphnos, son of a *grammateus*, nephew of a *grammateus*, descendent of first *grammateis*, grandnephew and descendant of the single *grammateis* of the city, many times *agonothetes*, single *grammateus* of the city, *eirenarch*, *agoranomos*, first *strategos*, *asiarch* of the Ephesian temples thrice, who offered to the homeland 39 couples of gladiators fighting to death for 13 days, who killed Libyan animals, who was favoured by the *Sebastoi*, who wore the golden crown and the purple robe at the front of the procession, is honoured by the *philovedii philoploi* here present, as their own benefactor. Aurelius Reginus, friend of the Caesars, provided the honour”. The recipient of the honours was a member of the local aristocracy connected with the emperor Marcus Aurelius. In his *cursus honorum* many important offices (both local and provincial) stand out: He was *agonothetes* and *grammateus* (titles related to the local community) and *eirenarch*, an office of vigilance/maintenance of control strictly related to the provincial governor. Moreover, he was *strategos* of the city. The last information about the purple dress and the golden crown gives even more emphasis to his public image and the relevance of his titles. On the *chrysophoria*, see Kuhn 2017, p. 320; Kuhn 2014, pp. 51 ff.; van Nijf 1997, p. 218. On this inscription see also Carter 2004, pp. 52-53, Robert 1940, p. 195.

<sup>1131</sup> One member of this family was the first Ephesian citizen to enter into the Roman Senate. This Vedii financed the bath/*gymnasium* and *bouleuterion* of the city. See Kalinowski 2002; Zuiderhoek 2007, p. 197; Coleman 2008, p. 35.

In the middle of the inscription the reason for the dedication is clarified. When Daphnos was *asiarch* of the temples of Ephesus<sup>1133</sup>, he financed games for thirteen days with thirty-nine pairs of gladiators (ζυγοῖς ἀποτόμοις)<sup>1134</sup>, and “Libyan animals” (elephants?)<sup>1135</sup>, which were killed in the arena. The duty of organizing Roman games was typical of the imperial priests, and it was even more important for the provincial priests, as the *asiarch* was<sup>1136</sup>. In this piece of evidence, the

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<sup>1132</sup> We read the inscription φαμίλια μονομάχων on the circular tomb of the Vedii. See Robert 1940, p. 197.

<sup>1133</sup> An office corresponding to the high priest of the imperial cult.

<sup>1134</sup> Couples of gladiators who fight until death (ἀποτέμνω = “to amputate”, “to cut until the end”, “to behead”). This expression denotes a particularly dangerous kind of combat, always ending with the death of one fighter. See Artemidorus, *Oneir.*, 5, 58. A similar case is that of fights τοῖς ὀξεσίω σιδήροις, “with sharp weapons”, an expression found in an inscription from Thyatira (*CIG*, 4393; *TAM V*, 2, 950; see Robert 1940, p. 218; Carter 2004, pp. 49-50). This kind of bloody fight was quite rare because it extremely onerous for the editor of the games, who was losing a great number of fighters, and the corresponding monetary value. For this reason, these games needed the permission (*indulgentia*) of the emperor to be organized. On this subject, see Robert 1940, pp. 259-261; Carter 1999, p. 240; Carter 2004, pp 45-46 with further bibl.

<sup>1135</sup> Λιβυκὰ ζῶα = elephants? The African elephant was smaller than the Asian one and more useful in war. With *Libycae ferae*, Symmachus meant many different kinds of animals and not only elephants (*SYMM.*, *Ep.*, 2, 46). We believe the same about Plutarchus’ assertion on Sulla, who was expected to offer κυνηγέσια λαμπρὰ καὶ Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἀγῶνας, meaning a fight/hunt with various animals from Libya (*PLUT.*, *Sulla*, 5, 1). Moreover, Seneca testifies that Sulla offered a *venatio* with a hundred lions, not mentioning elephants (*De brev. vit.*, 13, 6). See Ville 1981, p. 89; Scullard 1974, pp. 250-252.

<sup>1136</sup> The *asiarch* was a priest of the imperial cult with provincial authority. He was also called high priest and one of his main duties was to finance Roman spectacles. For this reason, the *asiarch* was a rich man of the local aristocracy who could afford the expenses related to the *munera*, which took place on annual basis. In *I. Eph.*, 627 we notice an *archiereus* of Asia in Ephesus, who offered *venationes* for five days (the inscription does not speak also of gladiatorial combats; see Robert 1940, p. 195) and in *I. Smyrna*, 637 an *asiarch* who financed games with sharp weapons (τοῖς ὀξεσίω) for five days (see Robert 1948, pp. 81-82; cfr. Carter 2004, pp. 53-54). These high priests were owners of a *familiae gladiatorum* that they were “buying” at the beginning of their offices from the former high priest to “sell” it again at the end of the year, according to the *Lex Italicensis* of 177-180 A.D. (*ILS*, S163, ll. 59-61). On this subject see Carter 1999, pp. 218 ff. We have evidence of *asiarchs* with a *familia gladiatorum* in Ephesus (*I. Eph.*, 1621: Φαμίλια μονομάχων Τιβ. Ίουλίου Ῥηγεῖνου ἀσιάρχου; *I. Eph.*, 1171: Μονομάχοι Λουκίου Αὐφιδίου Εὐφήμου ἀσιάρχου). Cfr. Robert 1940, p.

games connect the patron and the “lovers of the weapons”, which act as a real association, communicating their gratitude to the *asiarch* but also their influential connections. At the end of the inscription, Aelius Reginus<sup>1137</sup>, the dedicator, is proudly shown as φιλοσέβαστος, a term that confirms the importance of the imperial cult in the city and for the people involved in this dedication: The honorand, the financier and the commissioning body of the award (the *philoploi philovedii*). Moreover, one may wonder if this Aelius Reginus was himself a *philoplos* who financed the honour in the name of the association of which he was a member. This piece of evidence undoubtedly highlights the faculty of the *philoploi philovedii* association to make an official dedication and manage the relative expenditures<sup>1138</sup>.

In conclusion, we can consider the *philoploi* as admirers/customers/fans of gladiatorial fights, as also the *philokynegoi* were followers of the arena’s hunts<sup>1139</sup>. As Carter asserted, the *philoploi* could have been “young men who also practiced gladiatorial combat techniques like their Roman counterparts”, considering this practice as an “extension” of the Greek *gymnasium*, the place for learning and practicing fight *par excellence*<sup>1140</sup>. In fact, youth and Nemesis seem to have been connected, as we will better shown later with examples concerning a *collegium*

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197. See Carter 2004, pp. 41-68. See Galen’s description of his service as doctor of the gladiatorial troupe who belonged to the *familia* of an *archiereus* (*Comp. med.* 3, 2 / XIII 599-600 Kühn). In addition, an interesting letter of Hadrian to the city of Aphrodisias reveals how economically onerous the priesthood of the imperial cult was: The emperor, indeed, ordered an investigation to find out if the people who declared themselves economically incapable of holding the priesthood’s expenditures spoke the truth or were trying to escape the office. See Reynolds 2000, pp. 5-20; cfr. Carter 2004, p. 58.

<sup>1137</sup> The *cognomen* Reginus has been recorded for Tiberius Iulius Reginus, *agonothetes* in Ephesus (*I. Eph.*, 1604; 1130) and other important people from Klaros and Didyma.

<sup>1138</sup> As already for the φιλοκυνηγοί, we have to consider always a certain freedom of language. Indeed, the term φιλόπλος has been found referred to a gladiator on a tomb from Bergoulai (North Bosphorus). This is a quite rare case and testifies to a well-known standard practice of self-definition among gladiators. See Robert 1940, p. 92.

<sup>1139</sup> Keil considers the *philoploi philovedii* as a group of professional fighters of the Vedii, but this idea clashes with the impossibility of people without legal rights to dedicate a public honour. See Keil, *Ephesos*, III, n. 70; Robert, p. 196, n. 202.

<sup>1140</sup> See Carter 1999, p. 138.

from Cisalpine Gaul and a *synodos* from Fayum<sup>1141</sup>. However, in this specific case we do not have information about the age of the *philoploi* and whether they were practicing activities with weapons. Considering that the attention was received by a family as important as the Vedii, the *philoploi* should have formed a quite significant group of Ephesian Nemesis' worshippers. The Vedii, owners of a *familia gladiatorum*, were probably seeking followers and supporters among the arena's fighting clubs of Ephesus<sup>1142</sup>. Marcus Aurelius Daphnos, the honorand of the inscription, should have financed the local games, receiving the official gratitude of the arena's fans. The nature of his personal relationship with the *philoploi philovedii* seems to be deeper, since they present him on the dedication as "their own benefactor" (τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην). Lastly, the possible membership of Aelius Reginus in the *philoploi philovedii* club would imply the interest of important Ephesian citizens in being connected with private "societies" based in the theatre-arena and Roman activities, and ready to publicly award their benefactors.

#### 4. 3. 4 The Nemesian hunters of Aquileia.

In trying to establish activities and interests of the associations of Nemesis' venerators, we should not exclude the evidence provided by a mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

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<sup>1141</sup> See below, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>1142</sup> See also *I. Eph.*, 2226, epitaph where the deceased person invoked the φιλοπλία Φιλοβηδίων and the φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ μακέλλου as guardians of his tomb: αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστὶν Αὐρ(ηλίου) Νείκωνος ἀρτοκόπου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίας) Ἐπικρατείας· [...] δώσει τῇ φιλοπλία Φιλοβηδίων | μ(υ)ρ(ίας) ῥωμανητᾶς καὶ τῇ φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ μακέλου τὰς αὐτὰς | μ(υ)ρ(ίας) ῥωμανηστᾶς? ζῶσιν. "this tomb belongs to Aurelius Neikonos, baker, and his wife Aurelia Epikrateia; No one shall damage this tomb, if not only the officers in charge. If someone wants to take the body, or to cut the letters, will give to the φιλοπλία of the φιλοβηδίοι ten thousand Roman *denarii*, and the same amount of money to the φιλοπλία of the sacred market. Anybody who would damage the monument will pay to these two associations a fine of ten thousand of drachmas". From this peculiar piece of evidence, we see that the φιλοπλία was a group of people linked to a family or a public institution; concerning this peculiar inscription, the φίλοπλοι of the sacred market had a high social position since the same amount of money was destined by the deceased person to them and the φίλοπλοι φιλοβήδιοι. One may think that the φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ μακέλου gathered in the sacred market places (such as squares and porticos) to which φιλοπλία belonged; similarly, the φιλοπλία Φιλοβηδίων (or φίλοπλοι φιλοβήδιοι) could have been hosted for celebrations, internal assemblies and meals by the Vedii family. On the φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ μακέλου, see Cameron 1931, pp. 149-150. Cfr. Robert 1940, pp. 27, 196.



inscription from Aquileia<sup>1143</sup>, a Roman *municipium* in the North of the Italian Peninsula, East of the Alps. This piece of evidence is a dedication to the Ephesian Artemis by a notable of the city. Reused afterwards as building material in a 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. house, it has been an object of discussion since its first publication by G. Brusin in the year 1960. The inscription reads: [(vac.) Ἀγαθῆ τύχη] | [Τῆ κυρία καὶ πατρίω θεᾷ Ἀρτ[έμιδι], | εἰς δόξαν [καὶ] [τ]ιμὴν τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἀκυλεισιῶν πόλεως καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν περὶ τὴν θεὰν Νεμεσιακῶν | (vac.) κυναγετῶν. (vac.) | Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Μάγνος Ἐφέσιος | καὶ βουλευτῆς τῆς Ἀκυλεισιῶν πόλεως, τοῦ συνεδρίου πατρῶν, τὰς στοὰς | τοῦ ναοῦ λίθω ποικίλῳ σκουτλώσας | καὶ ζωγραφήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων ἐκόσμησα καὶ ἀφειέρωσα. | Καθιερώθη τὸ ἔργον ἰδ(οῖς) Αὐγούστ(αις) | Μαξίμ[ω] καὶ Γλαβρίωνε ὑπάτοις. | *Tib. Claud(ius) Magnus (vac.) | dom(o) Ephesius dec(urio) col(oniae) Aquileiensium*] | *TIB(erius) CLAVD(ius) MAGNVS | DOMO EPHESIVS, DEC(urio) CO(l(oniae) AQVIL(eiensium))*]RVNDO [--] AT : PAT? [---]+ [---] - - - -<sup>1144</sup>. A συνέδριον of “Nemesian hunters” appears as one of the honoured subjects of the dedication that presents a bilingual text (although the Latin part is almost completely lost). Tiberius Claudius Magnus, the dedicator of the inscription was likely a native from Ephesus and a member of the local aristocracy with Roman citizenship<sup>1145</sup>: The Roman *tria nomina* and his role of βουλευτής (*decurio* in the fragmentary Latin text) would confirm this. Aquileia, indeed, was a city at the boundaries between the eastern and the western areas of the Empire, connecting the Italian peninsula, the Danubian area and northern Europe’s regions; this is confirmed by the mushrooming of various

<sup>1143</sup> See Brusin 1960, pp. 219-227.

<sup>1144</sup> “To the Good Fortune. To Artemis, Lady of the homeland, in honour and value of the shining Aquileia and the association of the Nemesian hunters around the goddess (Artemis). I, Tiberius Caius Magnus from Ephesus, councillor of the city of Aquileia, benefactor of the association, have decorated and dedicated the porticos of the temple by my own expense, having covered it with coloured marbles and painted it” (transl. of the author). *An. Ἐπ.* 1961, 213. The mention of the two consuls L. Valerius Maximus II and M. Acilius Glabrio allows us to date the inscription at 256 A.D. (see A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'impero romano*, Rome 1952, p. 70).

<sup>1145</sup> It is difficult to find the genealogy of the dedicator on the basis of the evidence of Ephesus. See Boffo 1996, p. 150, with further references.

professional leagues related to production and commerce<sup>1146</sup> and by the mixed character of the local population<sup>1147</sup>.

The addressing of the dedication to the goddess Artemis, and the reference to the shining city of Aquileia and the association of hunters as entities at the same level of importance sounded quite unbalanced (with too much relevance to the συνέδριον) to Brusin, who added to the sixth line of the inscription the word θρησκευίαν (not carved but painted in red after the term κυναγετῶν), connecting it with θεᾶν, and reading: τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν περὶ τὴν θεᾶν Νεμεσιακῶν (*vac.*) κυναγετῶν θρησκευίαν<sup>1148</sup>. However, we know that the process of carving a text on marble consisted of different stages, including the simple painting of the letters before their being permanently engraved. Boffo<sup>1149</sup> rightly thought that some changes to the original text probably happened during this process, which took a considerable amount of time, allowing modifications *in itinere*; in fact, the engraver left two spaces at line 6 before and after the term κυναγετῶν, while the sentence

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<sup>1146</sup> Trading played a fundamental role in Aquileia's prosperity. The mention of Aquileian professional leagues (*linteones, negotiatores, purpurarii* and *fabrii*) in the local cemeteries confirms the influence of the market activities in the local social development. See Roncaglia 2018, p. 104, with further references. On some of the corporations in Aquileia, see *CIL V*, 8307, 8308: *FERONIENSES AQVATORES*, people in charge of the city's hydraulic system, worshippers of the goddess Feronia; *CIL V*, 908: *COLLEGIVM FABRVM*; *I. Aquil.*, 131, 688: *COLLEGIVM FABRVM ET CENTONARIORVM*, the *centonarii*, associated with *fabri* and *dendrophoroi*, were the urban firemen; *CIL V*, 801: *GENTILES ARTORIANI LOTORES*, workers with tissues; *CIL V*, 784: *COLLEGIVM VETERANORVM*; *CIL V*, 884: *GENTILES VETERANI*; *I. Aquil.*, 213: *CVLTORES GENII AQVILEIAE*; *I. Aquil.*, 676: *COLLEGIVM SAC(rum) MART(is)*, that was a *collegium funeraticium*; *CIL V*, 1703: *SODALICIVM FLORIENSIVM*; *I. Aquil.*, 482-483: *SODALIS AVGVSTALIS*. On corporations at Aquileia, see Brusin 1929, pp. 48-55.

<sup>1147</sup> See Brusin 1953-54, coll. 55-70.

<sup>1148</sup> *I. Aquil.*, 182, l. 6 of the inscription presents two empty spaces before and after κυναγετῶν (who strangely appears alone in the entire line), corresponding to some letters painted in red but not carved in the marble. In his edition, Brusin did not consider the palaeographic differences between the painted and the carved letters, later noticed by Boffo, who also noted that Brusin did not record in his edition the first painted part of the line, where she read the letter ω. See Boffo 1996, pp. 140-141. Brusin considers the term κυναγετῶν to have been inserted later by a different hand. See Brusin 1960, p. 220.

<sup>1149</sup> See Boffo 1996, *l. c.*

τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν περὶ τὴν θεὰν Νεμεσιακῶν (*vac.*) κυναγετῶν. (*vac.*) already had an acceptable meaning. Regarding the significant emphasis given to the association of the Nemesian hunters, that Brusin considered somehow “wrong” and “unbalanced”, we should keep in mind that in the eyes (and interests) of the dedicator, who is *πάτρων* of the συνέδριον<sup>1150</sup>, this association had a primary importance, as well as the demonstration of his personal involvement in acts of evergetism towards it. This inscription is a unique piece of evidence in the whole Empire, attesting to the existence of hunters explicitly characterized as being Nemesis’ worshippers. We do not know if this συνέδριον had Ephesian origins or was a genuinely Aquileian association<sup>1151</sup>. However, the cult of Nemesis is well attested in the western city, and a *Nemeseum* was probably located in the local amphitheatre. The Aquileian findings (mostly dedications to Nemesis and one fragmentary relief) attest to worship from the Early (*I. Aquil.*, 325) to the Late Empire (*I. Aquil.*, 321)<sup>1152</sup>. As for the other cases mentioned above, the interpretation of *κυναγέται* as *venatores* is to be excluded, since they should have been people who were able to manage donations and were free to publicly appear as *κυναγέται*, and not behind the name of a master. These Nemesian hunters are described as “around the goddess” (περὶ τὴν θεὰν), which seems to be the Ephesian Artemis. In fact, as the principal recipient of the dedication, she should have been worshipped also by the συνέδριον of Nemesian hunters. In addition, the connection of Nemesis with Diana was widely known in the western provinces of the Empire;

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<sup>1150</sup> Tib. Claudius Magnus was probably an affluent member of the hunters’ association, being called *πάτρων* of the συνέδριον, *i.e.* “external benefactor”. See Brusin 1960, p. 221, who translated *patron* with *patronus*. On *πάτρων/patronus*, see Kuhn 2017, p. 330, who states that the use of *patron* instead of Greek synonyms is used to express a special relationship between benefactor and recipient.

<sup>1151</sup> As seen above (p. 182), a statuette of Nemesis-Tyche found in the theatre of Ephesus attests to the local cult of Nemesis. On the other hand, Xenophon of Ephesus affirms that hunters participated in the local parade in honour of Artemis (*Ephesiaka* 2, 4). However, we do not have any attestation of local hunters’ bodies/associations.

<sup>1152</sup> Apart from inscriptions, two reliefs adorn the lateral sides of an altar dedicated to Nemesis (*NEMESI EX VISO*), representing the wings of the goddess, her wheel and a group of three cubit-rules. See *I. Aquil.*, 321. Brusin rightly suggests the existence of a Nemesis shrine, as indicated by the inscription *I. Aquil.*, 323 (*N(emesi) AV[g(ustae)] | AVR(elius) LEO NTIV[ s] | SALVIS | [A]QVILEI[ensibus] - -*), in which the name of Nemesis is abbreviated in a simple N, as the inscription was originally located within a shrine of Nemesis. See Brusin 1960, p. 223.

the two deities were correlated on the grounds of their relationship with the arena<sup>1153</sup>. The worship of these two goddesses is the only activity we can safely attribute to this συνέδριον, whose members could have shared – at least in the first stage of the foundation – Ephesian origins or a special interest in the cult of Ephesus.

What Tib. Claudius Magnus did in favour of this association is clearly stated in the second part of the inscription (lines 7-12). He covered with marble and painted the porticos (στοάς) of a temple that was likely the place where the Nemesian hunters used to gather. This building – called specifically ναός – could have been a temple or a sanctuary dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, since the association was said to be “around the goddess”; in this case, the cults of Artemis and Nemesis would have coexisted in the same shrine, even if with different level of importance. Despite the lack of evidence for a temple of Artemis in Aquileia, the interpretation of the term ναός as a simple room, or building, seems insufficient<sup>1154</sup>. Moreover, the inscription itself is good evidence for the existence of such a temple<sup>1155</sup>, while the cult of the Ephesian Artemis<sup>1156</sup> is archaeologically attested in Aquileia by a statue of the goddess. In our view, as for the cases mentioned above, the presence of a member

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<sup>1153</sup> Even the date of the inscription is related to Artemis-Diana, since ἰδοῖς Ἀργούσταις (13<sup>th</sup> day of August) was an important day for the Diana of the Aventinus (see Boffo 1996, p. 149 with further bibl.). A dedication to Nemesis as *Augusta sacrum* is accompanied by scenes of hunting in Aquileia (*I. Aquil.*, 325, Early Empire). Regarding Nemesis-Diana, see Solinus, *Memorabilia*, 66, 9 (*Phidiaca Diana*); Commodianus, *Instructiones* 1, 19, *Nemesiaci vani*, referred to Diana worshippers (see below in the chapter). See the altar from Miletus’ theatre with a running Nemesis with a short chiton, holding a bow (Cat., 2. 33; Mendel 1914, n. 864; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 170 (P. Karanastassis), Hornum 1993, *l. c.*), above, pp. 239 ff.; cfr. Hornum 1993, pp. 7, 64-64, 70-71. See above, pp. 53, 64, 176 for more evidence of Nemesis-Diana. On the other hand, we do not have any kind of assimilation or association between Nemesis and the Ephesian Artemis in the Greek East.

<sup>1154</sup> Brusin, as later Pleket, rightly interpreted *naos* for a temple of the Ephesian goddess, while more recently Boffo considered the term to mean “room”. According to her, this restored and decorated room could have been a place of banquets and assembly. This interpretation, however, seems to misinterpret the term *naos*, while the specific expression “around the goddess Artemis” related to the Nemesian hunters seems to imply a religious context.

<sup>1155</sup> The marble slab is particularly thin, fitted to be hanged on the wall of the sanctuary itself. On this idea, see Brusin 1960, p. 220.

<sup>1156</sup> See Brusin 1960, pl. 17, fig. 2.

of the Aquileian (and perhaps Ephesian) *élite* who proudly invested money in the embellishment of the revenues of a local association, calling himself *πάτριων* of the *συνέδριον*, testifies to the deep relationship between the benefactor and the association itself (which, on the other hand, earns visibility and good reputation).

The singularity of this piece of evidence and the scarcity of information about the games of the local arena do not allow us to safely consider the Nemesian hunters as fans of the *venationes*. Boffo<sup>1157</sup> interpreted them as professional fighters in the arena<sup>1158</sup>, while Pleket<sup>1159</sup> considered them to be real hunters, who used to hunt in the city's surroundings and formed this association. In both cases, we should consider the relationship between Artemis and Nemesis as basis upon which to structure any hypothesis. Perhaps, these “hunters of Nemesis” did have a connection with the local amphitheatre – as gladiators, fans, or workers in the spectacles – concurrently participating in the local cult of Artemis. In addition, Pleket<sup>1160</sup> went beyond the single case of Aquileia, opening his argument to the male citizens' education in the Roman Empire and the role of hunting for youth. Nevertheless, the hunt was part and parcel with the masculine and patriarchal societies of the Greek cities. With athletic competitions, the *chasse* should have been a “binding agent” of the civic social order: The young boy, after his service in the *gymnasium* and the corresponding rites of passage, was ready to be an active member of his community<sup>1161</sup>.

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<sup>1157</sup> See Boffo 1996, p. 148; Brusin 1960, pp. 226-227 does not interpret the Nemesian hunters, denoting the impossibility to choose between *venatores* and *confectores ferarum*. Cfr. Chuvin 2009, p. 215.

<sup>1158</sup> Regarding the imperial festivals, Aquileia hosted the Roman *munera* but did not achieve the splendour of the games organized by the main cities of the North Italian Peninsula, such as Mediolanum and Verona. See Roncaglia 2018, p. 113.

<sup>1159</sup> See Pleket 1969, p. 285. On this concept see also Hornum 1993, p. 71.

<sup>1160</sup> See Pleket 1969, *l. c.*

<sup>1161</sup> Plato exhaustively described the social value of hunting. For example, he writes about the Spartan tradition of the *kryptoi*, young men with the task of acquiring a deep knowledge of the city's surroundings; he mentions the Athenian *agronomoi*, stressing their balanced education based on both physical and intellectual activities. Indeed, he considers hunting the synthesis of the fundamental meaning of life, being a natural, complete, and perfectly composed practice. Hunting, then, entails

#### 4. 3. 5 Youth and Nemesis. Comparison of three pieces of evidence from the eastern and western provinces of the Empire.

A group of *iuvenes* devoted to Nemesis is recorded on a funerary inscription<sup>1162</sup> from Vintium in Gallia Narbonensis: *P(ublio) AELIO PAMPH[ILO] | CALPVRNIA PAM[PHILE] PATRI | MERENTISSIMO | POSVIT AD QVOD OPVS | COLLIGN(ium) IVVENVM | NEMESIORVM INPENDIVM DEDI[T]*. Calpurnia is daughter of the deceased and dedicator of the epitaph, while the financer of this epitaph is the *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum*<sup>1163</sup>. We know that Augustus supported the creation of new *collegia* and the reinstatement of ancient institutions, such as the *iuventus Romana*<sup>1164</sup>. We do know also that the *collegia* were usually organizing religious activities, participating in civic celebrations, and offering to the gods to whom they were devoted<sup>1165</sup>. Members of the *collegia* used to gather for common meals, where they celebrated new associates or honoured past fellows<sup>1166</sup>. The participation of the *collegia* in the political life is not clear yet, nor is the activity of mutual support through economic aid, which forms the basis of many private associations. The evidence from Vintium, however, represents a rare case of economic support to the family of the deceased by a religious association devoted to Nemesis; for this reason, it is worth mentioning in this research as a western counterpart to the Greek findings, which helps to define the nature of Nemesis' congregations, so scarcely documented. In addition, the inscription represents the only attestation of a body of young people united in the name of Nemesis. The existence of such a *collegium* could enforce the relationship between Nemesis and

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the basis of the appropriate behaviour and the accepted social rules. The philosopher theorises also the kind of correct and ideal *chasse*, that was pursuing the animal dealing directly with him, by foot, riding a horse and with (or without) the help of dogs. See PLATO, *Laws*, 1, 633b-c.; 7, 823b. Schnapp's account on Greek vases with hunting scenes is particularly interesting. See Schnapp 1997, pp. 34-41.

<sup>1162</sup> *CIL XII*, 22.

<sup>1163</sup> From the name of the deceased (Publius Aelius Pamphilus) we can set the *terminus post quem* of the inscription in the reign of Hadrian.

<sup>1164</sup> This was part of his propaganda of return to the old Roman values and traditions. See Pleket 1969, p. 286.

<sup>1165</sup> See van Nijf 1997, pp. 137 ff., 191 ff.

<sup>1166</sup> See Laes-Strubbe 2014, pp. 129-131.

hunt, since the latter was part of the training program of young people in both the western and eastern provinces of the Empire<sup>1167</sup>.

We do not have much information about *iuvenes* in Rome and Italy, but we know that they were generally members of the aristocracy, though sometimes also sons of freedmen were able to join the educational programs of the wealthy Roman *iuventus*<sup>1168</sup>. Modern scholars<sup>1169</sup> have already discussed the kind and purposes of the training, exploring also whether it had a more militaristic or athletic character. It seems that the Roman youth was involved more in athletic exercises than military education during the imperial period<sup>1170</sup>. Moreover, unlike the Greek ἔφηβοι and νέοι, the *iuvenes* did not receive an intellectual education, their activities being mostly physical.

The Roman *iuvenes* had a particular relationship with the arena, since during the *Iuvenalia* they practiced some martial disciplines in the amphitheatre<sup>1171</sup>. According to Von Premerstein, the *iuvenes* were *amateurs* of hunt, practicing sorts of *venationes* in the arena<sup>1172</sup>. In fact, some inscriptions confirm their fighting activity, even attesting to the existence of a *summarudis* of the *iuvenes*<sup>1173</sup>. Moreover, a

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<sup>1167</sup> See Kleijwegt 1994 for the role of hunting in the *collegia iuventutis*; he recalls the Christian sources, attesting the link between *iuvenes* and hunting (TERT., *De. An.*, 58, 5; CIPRIAN., *Ad Don.*, 7: The *iuvenes* were hunting not for profit reasons, but as athletic practice).

<sup>1168</sup> Naturally we mean the well-to-do freedmen, able to afford the expenses of the training program. Publius Aelius Pamphilus was probably one of those. See Laes-Strubbe 2014, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>1169</sup> See Kleijwegt 1994, p. 82; see also D'amore 2009, pp. 156-159 on the Greek ἔφηβοι of the *gymnasium* defending the city (in the Hellenistic period) and the military training in the *gymnasia* of Asia Minor. Cfr. Laes-Strubbe 2014, p. 111, who thinks the ἔφηβοι did not receive a real military education.

<sup>1170</sup> The opposite happened during the Republican period, where the young boys' purpose was to become future soldiers. Naturally, the transformation of youths' education followed – and reflected – the building of the Roman state, and the establishment of its social pillars, such as the creation of the Roman army. See Pleket 1969, pp. 288 ff.

<sup>1171</sup> See Pleket 1969, pp. 282 ff.; Laes-Strubbe 2014, pp. 127 ff. with further bibl.

<sup>1172</sup> See Von Premerstein 1894. Cfr. Pleket 1969, *l.c.*

<sup>1173</sup> *An. Ép.* 1935 (a group of *iuvenes* honours their *summarudis*, who is also an *Augustalis*); *EAOR II*, 36 (*summaruda iuvenum*). See Carter 1999, pp. 137-138.

well-known epitaph<sup>1174</sup> from Spolegium attests a *Sexvir Augustalis* with the role of a *pinnirapus iuvenum*, a specific trainer in the discipline of *pinni-rapere* (“to take the feather”): A fight with the goal of taking the feather hung from the helmet of the opponent. Naturally, it was a kind of combat different from the bloody gladiatorial fights, and similar to athletic exercises.

We do not know for certain whether real hunting was part of the programs of the *collegia iuvenum*, or of the aforementioned *collegium* from Vintium. In fact, we do not even know if all the *collegia iuvenum* of the Empire followed a unified educational program. Pleket is convinced that the *iuvenes* of Vintium practiced hunting, not in the arena as beginners of *venationes*, nor in form of spectacle during the festival of youth, but in the surroundings of the city and with Nemesis-Diana as their “tutor” goddess. If we hypothetically consider the aforesaid Nemesian hunters of Aquileia as a group of *iuvenes*, we could have at least one piece of evidence connecting the hunting activity with the Roman youth. This is what Pleket suggested, but it is impossible to assign an age-limit to the association of Aquileia, as well as to the “lovers of hunting” of Philippi. Moreover, even the age of the *iuvenes* was already a topic of discussion among the intellectuals of antiquity<sup>1175</sup>. Indeed, Publius Aelius Pamphilus should have been a man of almost thirty or forty years old when he died, since he had a daughter mourning for his death. This detail

<sup>1174</sup> CIL XI, 7852: *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) COMINIENO FOR/TUNATIANO VIVIRO / AVG(ustali) PINN(irapo) IUVENVM / VETVRIA {A}Epi<c=K>(h)ARIS / CO(n)IVGI KAR(issimo) ET FILI(i) TRES / FORTVNATVS MARCIANVS / ET AG{g}RIPPINVS PATRI / KARIS(s)I/MO*. See Pleket 1969, p. 283 with further references.

<sup>1175</sup> For example, Censorinus attests that Varro considered a man of 40 years old to be a *iuvenis* (CENS., *De die natali*, 14): *in tertio gradu qui erant usque quinque et quadraginta annos, iuvenes appellatos eo quod rem publicam in re militari possent iuvare*. Similarly, Horace presented Augustus as *iuvenis* when he was more than 35 years old (*Carm.*, 1, 2, 41-44, dated at 27 or 23 B.C.): *sive mutata iuvenem figura | ales in terris imitaris almae | filius Maiaae, patiens vocari | Caesaris ultor*. The poet associated Augustus with Mercury, a god symbolizing youth and peace (Homer defined Mercury as a young boy: *Il.*, 24, 347-348; *Od.*, 10, 277-279). On the chronology of the poem 1, 2 see Gallavotti 1949, pp. 222-223; Nisbet-Hubbard 1970, pp. 17-19; Hutchinson 2002, p. 522. All these scholars agree on the date of 27 B.C., while Fraenkel 1993, p. 342 and Mazzarino 1966, p. 624 dated the poem at 23 B.C. Recently Braccesi 2019, p. 53 opted for the year 29 B.C. Cfr. Laes-Strubbe 2014, pp. 124 ff.; Kleijwegt 1994, pp. 84 ff. On the assimilation of Octavian Augustus to Mercury, see Braccesi, 2019, pp. 51-60.



leads us to believe that the *collegium iuvenum Nemesiorum* may have conferred upon its members a life-long fellowship, and ultimately financed funerary expenses, in the custom of regular organized associations. Indeed, it seems that a man could have always been considered a member of the *collegium* that he joined in youth<sup>1176</sup>. If this hypothesis is true, it means that even if we consider the people of the abovementioned associations as *iuvenes* (or ἔφηβοι), we cannot determine a certain limit of age. From this point of view, also the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>1177</sup> epitaph of a young man from Ebora (Portugal) financed by the *Amici Nemesiaci* does not help set an age-limit for the devotees of Nemesis<sup>1178</sup>. The inscription, carved on a grey local marble slab, reads: *T(itus) CALLEVS | MARCIANVS | AN(norum) XX H(ic) S(itus) E(st) S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis) | CAS(sia) MARCELLA | SOB(rino) PIN(nirapo) F(aciendum) C(uravit) | ITEM AMICI | NEMESIACI | EX LAPIDES S(estertios) N(ummos) II | NEMESIACI*<sup>1179</sup>. The interpretation of the fifth line as *SOB(rino) PIN(nirapo)* given by the *CIL* would suggest that the deceased belonged to the world of youth associations<sup>1180</sup>, of which he could have been a *pinnirapus* (fencing teacher)<sup>1181</sup>, and died at the age of twenty. Ebora, indeed, had an amphitheatre where the *Iuvenalia* were usually set up<sup>1182</sup>. However, as trainer, Marcianus could have been a member of a youth association regardless of his age. Moreover, a different interpretation of *SOB(rino) PIN* as *SOBRINA*<sup>1183</sup>, adding a *cognomen*<sup>1184</sup> to the name of the woman dedicating the funerary stele, adds some doubt to the interpretation of the deceased as a young member of a youth association.

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<sup>1176</sup> See Pleket 1969, p. 289.

<sup>1177</sup> *CIL II*, 5191 dated it at the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. on palaeographic base. Cfr. *EAOR VII*, 86.

<sup>1178</sup> See Hornum 1993, pp. 70, 245. The name of the deceased belongs presumably to a person with Roman citizenship (confirmed by the *tria nomina*), who could have been a Roman *iuvenis*; however, on these grounds, we cannot consider the *Amici Nemesiaci* members of an association of *iuvenes*.

<sup>1179</sup> *CIL II*, 5191.

<sup>1180</sup> Interpretation recently supported by Gómez-Pantojía and Diosono. See *EAOR VII*, pp. 85-86. Cfr. Diosono 2019, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>1181</sup> See *EAOR VII*, l. c. with past studies and further bibliography.

<sup>1182</sup> *CIL II*<sup>2</sup>/5 789, l. 11-12: *LVDOS IV(v)ENVM IN THEATRO DEDIT*. *EAOR VII*, p. 87.

<sup>1183</sup> See Hornum 1993, p. 245, n. 163 with further references.

<sup>1184</sup> It is not unlike that, as the deceased had *tria nomina*, so the woman dedicating his funerary stele, perhaps to be considered as his wife, had the same social status and rights.

Finally, a marble slab<sup>1185</sup> found in the *municipium* of Carsulae (Umbria) possibly confirms the relationship between Nemesis and the *iuvenes* in the western areas of the Empire, especially *Regio VI* of Italy. The fourteen fragments forming the slab were found in 1955 close to the amphitheater but were only recently published by E. Roscini<sup>1186</sup>. The inscription is a dedication to the goddess Nemesis made by a member of the local *élite*: *NEMESI SACRVM. | T(itus) CALVISIVS T(iti) F(ilius) CL[u(stumina tribu)] VERVS | VOTVM SOLV[it] | L(ocus) D(atus) D(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)]*. It seems that Titus Calvisius Verus, or an ancestor with the same name, had a bright political career in Carsulae, as witnessed by another inscription<sup>1187</sup> from Carsulae: He was *patronus* of the *municipium*, *augur*, *sevir Augustalis*, *procurator* of the local *collegium iuvenum*, and *quattuorvir*. If the subject of this last inscription is the same person worshipping Nemesis, we would have possible evidence of a relationship in Carsulae between the goddess and the *collegium iuvenum* through the *ex voto* of its president. As Roscini pointed out<sup>1188</sup>, it is possible that T. Clavisius Verus accomplished a vow to the goddess financing Roman spectacles to celebrate an important step in his career, or, as *procurator* of the youth *collegium*, in relation to the local *Iuvenalia*.

Youth associations and Nemesis should have been related also in Egypt, where archaeologists found an inscribed statue base of Nemesis<sup>1189</sup> of ambiguous date (8 B.C. or 36 A.D.<sup>1190</sup>). The statue was dedicated to a *synodos* of Heracles and Nemesis. More precisely, we read on the marble: Ὁρόντης Ἐπιχάρου | συν{συν}αγογὸς {συναγογὸς} | καὶ προσ<τά>της συν|όδου Ἡρακλέου Καλλινίκου καὶ Νεμέσεως | τῷ κοινῷ Μαρε<ώ>του | Νέμεσιν ἀνέθηκεν<sup>1191</sup>. The associations

<sup>1185</sup> *An. Ép.* 2012, 463. Inscription dated between 131 and 200 A.D.

<sup>1186</sup> See Roscini 2012-2013, pp. 435-440.

<sup>1187</sup> *CIL XI*, 4579. Inscription dated between 151 and 230 A.D.

<sup>1188</sup> See Roscini 2012-2013, p. 438.

<sup>1189</sup> *SEG 24*: 357.

<sup>1190</sup> The precise provenience of this piece of evidence is unknown and the datation is between 22 B.C. and 8 B.C. or 36 A.D. Lichocka 2004, p.146, n. II A 1.

<sup>1191</sup> See Lichocka 2004, pp. 68-69; Hornum 1993, p. 185, n. 57; see also Fraser 1964, n. 14.

attested here are two: The *synodos* of the Nemesis and Heracles Kallinikos<sup>1192</sup>, and the *koinon* of Mareotes. Unfortunately, we do not have any information on the latter. It was presumably a local *koinon* organized in the proximities of the lake Mareotes<sup>1193</sup>. We can make some hypothesis on the former association. Chaniotis considered this *synodos* to be an athletic club<sup>1194</sup>, since both Nemesis and Heracles were gods related to the context of sport and education. Indeed, they were both close to the *gymnasium*, and especially Heracles<sup>1195</sup>. The educational context of this inscription is suggested also by the term συναγωγός related to the dedicator of the statue Orontes, director and προστάτης (*patronus*) of the association<sup>1196</sup>. Regarding Nemesis in the *gymnasium*, a pre-Roman (3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.) inscription from the *gymnasium* of Miletus<sup>1197</sup> reports a dedication to Nemesis by the two sons of a *gymnasiarch*. Berti<sup>1198</sup> even considered the Rhamnousian Nemesis as a protectress, with Hermes, of the ephebes and soldiers of the city, that was a military citadel. Moreover, Nemesis appears within the Greek *gymnasia* at Side<sup>1199</sup> (Pamphylia) and Salamis<sup>1200</sup> (Cyprus) in the Roman times.

Nemesis and Heracles shared a common cult in Egypt, as a 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. papyrus

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<sup>1192</sup> This epithet recalls the semantic sphere of beauty, easily associable to youth's associations. See Lawler 1948, pp. 254-267. Herakles Kallinikos is recorded also in Mylas (*I. Mylas*, n. 343) with an apotropaic meaning.

<sup>1193</sup> See Blue 2011.

<sup>1194</sup> See Chaniotis 1990, p. 132, n. 32.

<sup>1195</sup> See D'Amore 2009, pp. 166-167. Heracles was especially worshipped by the *iuventus* also in the western part of the Empire, as explained by Laes-Strubbe 2014, pp. 129-130.

<sup>1196</sup> See Kloppenborg 1996, p. 26 on the title of προστάτης common in Egypt.

<sup>1197</sup> The chronology is based on palaeographic analysis and genealogy of the dedicator. *I. Milet.*, 9, 364: [Ἔδρας? | τ]άσδε ἀνέ[θεντ]ο [θε]ῶι Νεμέσε[ι] το[ῦ ἀμώ]μου [τοῖς π|ά]λαι Ἐργίνου παῖδες [...] φίλοι, [αἱ καὶ σῆ]ς, Ἀγίνου, καὶ σῆς, Δημόσθενες, ἀρχῆς [μνη]μα ἔ[α]ται εὐάνδρῳι τῶιδε ἐπὶ γυμνασίῳι. See Hornum 1993, p. 296; cfr. D'Amore 2009, p. 167.

<sup>1198</sup> See Berti 2017, pp. 303-304.

<sup>1199</sup> See above, p. 197. See *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 177 (P. Karanastassis); Inan 1975, p. 101-102, pl. 47, 1-3.

<sup>1200</sup> A statue of Nemesis (goddess winged and accompanied by a griffin, 1, 70 m h.) found in the *gymnasium*, precisely in the *palaestra* eastern stoa. See *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 145 (P. Karanastassis); Karageorghi 1964, p. 12, n. 4, pl. 12.

attests, showing the existence of an altar of Heracles and the Nemeseis<sup>1201</sup>. Analogously, the goddess' griffin appears on the decorative program of a seat of Heracles on a monument dated long before the establishment of the Roman province of Egypt<sup>1202</sup>. The interpretation of Heracles and Nemesis as common deities of a *syllogos* with athletic-educational character is quite clear; together they symbolise the achievement of good results by following the rules and undergoing personal sacrifices. They harmoniously synthesize the possibilities of being rewarded for personal merits and punished for breaking the rules or showing arrogant behaviour.

This association of – more or less – athletic character that was related to the *gymnasium* (which, at any rate, remains the best place for training before the athletic competitions) would have included young boys (ἔφηβοι and νέοι) as its members. Since this piece of evidence is dated to the Augustan-Tiberian periods, we could imagine that this *syllogos* practiced and promoted mostly forms of Greek education/sport and not Roman activities. This idea is supported by the weak presence of Roman *munera* in Egypt<sup>1203</sup>. Lastly, the nature of the relationship between the *syllogos* of Nemesis and Heracles Kallinikos and the *koinon* of Mareotes remains unknown.

#### **4. 3. 6 The συνήθεια of Thessalonica.**

One final piece of evidence sheds light on the social organisation of these associations. An inscription recently found in the *agora* of Thessalonica attests the presence of a συνήθεια of Nemesis in the city<sup>1204</sup>. The text on the marble slab has been edited as follows: [ἡ] συνήθεια τῆς Νεμέσεος | τῶν περὶ · Τερμινάρην · Κοεῖντῶ | Φαβίῳ · Ἀγαθώπωδι · μνήμης χά[ρην]. This is the epitaph of Quintus

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<sup>1201</sup> See Lichočka 2004, p. 149, n. 2 B 3: βωμοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Νεμέ[σεων] θεῶν μεγίστων. The papyrus is dated precisely between 62-50 B.C.

<sup>1202</sup> A griffin with its forepaw on the wheel of Nemesis is represented in the decorative motive of Heracles' seat. See Lichočka 2004, pl. 5, 1-2.

<sup>1203</sup> See Lichočka 2004, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>1204</sup> Cat., 10. 29. See Nigdelis 2006, pp. 178-183 with the description of this inscription. See Nigdelis 2010, pp. 13-47 for a collection of the private associations in Thessalonica.

Fabius Agathopous, (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.), dedicated by the “association of Nemesis”, directed by a man simply called Terminaris. The information about the people joining this association is very restricted. Indeed, we cannot say much concerning the activities and the nature of the club of Nemesis in Thessalonica: Whether the payment of the funerary expenses was foreseen in the “statutes” of the association or if this piece of evidence reflects a special case; if it was extended to all the fellows or only to some of them, such as the most influential ones. Therefore, the activities and the organisation of this *συνήθεια* are completely unknown, but, at least, it seems to have an organized and permanent structure. We can suppose that it was a group of combat/hunting fans, or people somehow associated to imperial cult or athletic competitions – as both of them were deeply related to the theatre-arena<sup>1205</sup> – with an interest in the funerary activity of the association. On the other hand, onomastics help discern the social participation in this association. The name of Quintus Fabius Agathopous, the subject of this epitaph, could allude to a freedman of the *gens Fabia*<sup>1206</sup> or a descendant of a family, which acquired the Roman citizenship through the grant of a Fabius. Naturally, he was probably a member of this association, which provided the funeral expenditure for him. Similarly, the name of the club’s chief, a certain Τερμινάρης, suggests a person with modest origins. This name, not attested elsewhere, recalls especially a family of Italian origins (Terminalis would be the Latin correspondent of the Greek name), or a person involved in a certain activity in Roman games (the term *terminus* may be

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<sup>1205</sup> Nemesis was a well-known and worshipped goddess in Thessalonica, as attested by some funerary findings. The Roman games were equally practiced in the city, as the Christian evidence clearly testifies. See Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *The Passion of S. Demetrius*, S. Nestor’s story; cfr. H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972.

<sup>1206</sup> Since freedmen used to keep a personal characteristic of their former life in their new name, Agathopous could have been an ex-slave (or his descendant) with a special involvement in jobs related to feet, like producing or selling shoes. The name Agathopous is recorded in another funerary monument from Thessalonica, where the *συνήθεια φιλοπαικτόρων* appears as the financier of the tomb (οἱ περὶ Ἀ(οῦ)κίου) · Ρου|στεικεῖλιον Ἀγα|θόποδαν συν|νηθείς φιλ[ο]παι|κτόρων · Τ(ίτω) · Εἰο|υλίω Προφήτη | τῷ κὲ Σεκούνδῳ). Again, an Agathopous with *tria nomina* was discovered along the Via Sacra of Aquileia: Gaius Iulius Agathopous was *patronus* of the city, a title that the city (*municipium*) probably conferred to him during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. (his name suggests that this freedman became a proper citizen under the *gens Iulia*). See Nigdelis 2010, pp. 192 ff. (Thessalonica); Brusin 1947, p. 80 (Aquileia).

related with the care of the wounded or dead gladiators), but no other information is provided<sup>1207</sup>. Thessalonica was one of the main centres for communication and trade all over the Mediterranean Sea and the western areas of the Empire thanks to the Via Egnatia and the important port. Many Italian emigrants, freedmen and veterans are recorded there during the Empire. Foreigners were often members of private urban associations, where they could find an economic (in case of professional associations, *collegia funeraticia*) and legal support<sup>1208</sup>.

The presence of freedmen in the urban associations is a common phenomenon, and it should have been especially usual in the Nemesis' *entourage*. The goddess, indeed, was traditionally recognised as a deity close to people from different walks of life, including the lowest social layers. Good evidence is given by the dedication of statue of Nemesis to the *municipium* of Stobi and the emperor by the *Augustales* of the city, probably freedmen with local origins and Roman citizenship<sup>1209</sup>.

We do not know if the members of this association paid a fee or were used to devote some monetary contributions on regular basis. Certainly, they were interested in the funerary activity attested by this piece of evidence. Indeed, many other *συνήθεται* have been found in Thessalonica, and the great majority of them attests a funerary activity<sup>1210</sup>. Nevertheless, Nemesis was a goddess with a well-known chthonian character that would have easily supported and legitimized funerary purposes.

## Conclusions

The constitution of associations of fans of combats and hunts worshipping Nemesis and identifying themselves as “venerators of Nemesis” is further evidence of the popular nature of the games and their relation to Nemesis. Regarding this context,

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<sup>1207</sup> See Nigdelis 2006, p. 182.

<sup>1208</sup> On the usual participation of foreigners in the private associations, see Gabrielsen – Thomsen 2015, pp. 11 ff.; van Nijf 1997, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>1209</sup> Cat., 10. 14. On the *Augustales*, see Buraselis 2017, pp. 261-262; Laird 2015.

<sup>1210</sup> Among others, the *synetheia* of Poseidon (see Nigdelis 2006, pp. 163 ff.); of the crown-makers (see Nigdelis 2006, pp. 189 ff.); of the “friends of the games” (see Nigdelis 2006, pp. 192 ff.); of Artemis Akraia (see Nigdelis 2006, pp. 152 ff.), etc.

the present research underlined the whole group of associations which appear to worship Nemesis. The evidence is not great in quantity, and it is scattered throughout the Empire, yet we can confirm that in the eastern provinces the arena was the principal place of reunion for the “venerators of Nemesis”. Concerning the *venationes*, the assimilation with Artemis/Diana could have offered to Nemesis the devotion of professional hunters and *amateurs* inside and outside the context of the spectacle. The idea of the hunt as part of an educational program is very attractive, but also difficult to prove. However, the presence of Nemesis in the *gymnasia*, places of education *par excellence*, encourages us to follow such a way of thinking.

In some cases, it has been possible to establish the functions of these religious associations, which were mainly focused on the care of funerary expenses (*collegia funeraticia*), with a probable organization of common meals, as was customary for the *collegia* of the Roman times: This was particularly evident in finds from Thessalonica, Aquileia, and Eborac. We could establish a certain relation with the arena’s entertainment for the cities of Philippi<sup>1211</sup> and Nicaea<sup>1212</sup>. The association of the *philiplooi*<sup>1213</sup>, who were the dedicators of a statuette of Nemesis, likely belonged to an Ionian city, perhaps Ephesus or Smyrna, as proposed by Jones<sup>1214</sup>. His hypothesis, however, is based only on the fact that they were important cities with a strong organization of Roman games and a developed cult of Nemesis (the latter mostly in Smyrna).

Therefore, what clearly emerges from this evidence is the social relevance and variety of what (and who) we find associated with the goddess. Even if not directly connected to Nemesis in our findings, the *philiplooi* of Hierapolis and Ephesus appear as a well-respected body, in the first case even more socially relevant than the linen-makers’ association. Therefore, the Ephesian *philiplooi* stressed their connection with an influential person like the *asiarch* Marcus Aurelius Daphnos. Similarly, the Nicaean *Nemesiastai* were able to address an honorary dedication to an important authority like the Roman *proconsul* of Asia – who was also the

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<sup>1211</sup> Above, pp. 271 ff.

<sup>1212</sup> Above, pp. 265 ff.

<sup>1213</sup> Above, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>1214</sup> See Jones 2001, p. 277.

financer of the *munera* of Ephesus –, proudly showing their relationship with him. Therefore, from this specific piece of evidence, the Roman presence and influence clearly stand out, confirming Hornum’s principal statement about the close relationship between Nemesis, the cult of the emperor and the promotion of the imperial power through the popularity of gladiatorial spectacles. Nevertheless, the imperial cult is well recognizable in some of the sources analysed, such as the aforementioned dedication to M. Aurelius Daphnos (*asiarch*) and the inscription of the body of the “friends of hunts” from Philippi, where the gods honoured were all connected to the imperial power.

The evidence from Thessalonica suggest that a *synetheia* of Nemesis seems to have included people from all walks of life, such as Greek freedmen and Italian pilgrims/immigrants, denoting a wide interest in (and accessibility to) Nemesis’ worship and collegial activities taking place in the urban context. As fans of the Roman games, the members of the *synetheia* could have easily been young people, fond of sports and spectacles. A link between Nemesis and youth *collegia* clearly emerged from the research, with important epigraphic evidence from Egypt<sup>1215</sup> and the western provinces of Cisalpine Gaul<sup>1216</sup> and Lusitania<sup>1217</sup>, and the Italian peninsula<sup>1218</sup>. While the finds examined here have been the topic of various scholarly discussions, they have never before been combined with such a critical view on the phenomenon of youth associations, which we have interpreted as educative and recreative clubs. It was not easy to define the role of Nemesis for the young *iuvenes* and *ephebes*, but her connection with Heracles Kallinikos attested in Egypt suggests a sort of protective role of the goddess towards adolescents and perhaps initiation rituals. Regarding rituals of passage, one may recall the Orphic hymn to Nemesis (Appendix) where the goddess is considered to be linked to the sphere of initiation: Ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ’, ἀγνή, μύσταις ἐπιτάροθος αἰεΐ. The presence of Nemesis in youth institutions confirms the deep relationship between the values Nemesis embodied and Greek and Roman education.

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<sup>1215</sup> Above, pp. 294 ff.

<sup>1216</sup> Above, pp. 290 ff.

<sup>1217</sup> Above, pp. 292 ff.

<sup>1218</sup> Above, p. 294.



These religious associations represent a fascinating case study, where a religious cult was “adapted” and inserted into the life of a community under various forms. In fact, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between religious and professional associations, being both devoted to a special deity<sup>1219</sup>. For example, even in the case of Caracalla’s repression of the *syssitia* in Alexandria<sup>1220</sup> – intended as craftsmen’s associations with the custom of organizing banquets – it is not easy to discern what kind of social group and activities implied the term *syssitia* itself, which one may simply connect to the consumption of public or private meals. However, the religious aspect was somehow present, sometimes represented by the authority of a priest<sup>1221</sup>, and combined with the professional one. Therefore, many work associations of the imperial period were called “sacred”, as also a group of four inscription from Egypt (Deir el-Bahari) of the Late Empire (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.) denotes the deep interdependence and exchange between the cultic and professional spheres within the association themselves. These inscriptions were painted on the wall’s sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep, mentioning the celebration of cultic activities, with sacrifices and banquets, organized by the association of the blacksmiths of Hermonthis<sup>1222</sup>. Certainly, the collective form of devotion connected a god/goddess to a specific context with a special vocation, rules and an official or legal profile. Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidence to describe the kinds of activities and the policies of the Nemesis’ associations with certainty, but at least three epitaphs mentioned here attest the involvement of the club in the funerary expenses of its members.

That associations of Nemesis lasted well into Late Antiquity, and continued to enjoy both social and political appeal with considerable geographical diffusion, is attested by the writings of their detractors. For example, *Nemesiacis vanis* is the title given by Commodianus to his nineteenth *Instructio*, where he disapproves of the people associated in the name of Nemesis-Diana, considering them to be

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<sup>1219</sup> See Nongbri 2013 for the modern birth of the concept of religion. According to him, it is only during the Fifteen century that the people created a concept of religion, separating it for what they considered as secular.

<sup>1220</sup> See Buraselis 1995.

<sup>1221</sup> See Buraselis 1995, p. 179.

<sup>1222</sup> See Buraselis 1995, p. 180.

followers of pagan traditions<sup>1223</sup>. Later, in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. A.D., the emperor Theodosius took measures against the *collegiati* of Nemesis in his *Codex* (14, 8, 2), when the Roman Empire was officially a Christian entity. Moreover, despite the general decline of the arena's activities, gladiatorial fights and hunts were still active in many theatres of Asia Minor in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c., and the longevity of Nemesis' associations – such as the Νεμεσιασταί, the φιλοκύνηγοι, the φίλοπλοι, etc. could still be connected with their activities.

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<sup>1223</sup> COMMOD., *Instructiones*, 1, 19. The definition of the *Nemesiaci* as Diana worshippers confirms once again the assimilation between the two goddesses, as well as its large diffusion.

## CHAPTER 5 NEW PERSPECTIVES ON NEMESIS

The structure and topics selected in this thesis reflect the many and varied aspects that Nemesis acquired over many centuries. One might compare the goddess to a palimpsest upon which new cultures and generations were able to inscribe their interpretations, without entirely erasing the previous ones. We began with the Homeric sense of *nemesis*, conceived as the indignation deriving from those behaviours that did not conform with social conventions<sup>1224</sup> (chapter 1. 1. 1). Hesiod, in roughly the same period, described Nemesis as the daughter of Nyx<sup>1225</sup>, and a sibling to Pain, Aging, and other sad aspects of life. Thus, the essence of Nemesis emerges as a pre-Olympian force from which no mortal can hide. Indeed, the abandonment of mortals by Nemesis and Aidos, as described in *Works and Days*,<sup>1226</sup> appears to be a reflection of Hesiod's perception of his own contemporary society. Later, the Attic tragedies witness the phase of elaboration of the concept of *nemesis* into the idea of a divine personification of the punishment of unjust or arrogant attitudes. In fact, we note a close relationship between Nemesis and Zeus, as supreme forces dominating human life (e.g., the episode of Capaneus climbing the walls of Thebes)<sup>1227</sup> and the consideration of Nemesis as a pre-Olympian entity in *Prometheus Bound*<sup>1228</sup>, a tragedy where even the father of the gods is seen as an imperfect and fallible deity.

The conception of Nemesis as a real divine entity with a temple and a "story" came about at Rhamnous in the Classical period. There, the punishment of boastful behaviours was added to the goddess' tasks, with special regard to the Persian arrogance towards the Greeks (chapter 1. 2)<sup>1229</sup>. The cult of Rhamnous then became

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<sup>1224</sup> See *Il.*, 13, 117-122; 3, 410-412; 14, 333-336. See Bonanno 2014; Robertson 1964. Above, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>1225</sup> See *Theog.*, 223.

<sup>1226</sup> See *Works*, 195-201. See Bonanno 2016. Above, p. 20.

<sup>1227</sup> AESCH., *Sept.*, 437-445. Above, pp. 20-21.

<sup>1228</sup> AESCH., *Prom.*, 936. Above, pp. 22-25.

<sup>1229</sup> Above, pp. 31 ff.

a sort of Hellenic and Athenian hymn to civilization, moderation and harmony, in marked contrast to barbaric attitudes.

This brings us to the central theme of this thesis, which is the elucidation of Nemesis' various roles and presence in the Greek East during the Roman Empire, focusing on the provincial integration of her figure after the Roman "reinterpretation" of her cult. To achieve this goal, it has been necessary to determine the main characters of Nemesis' cult before and after the Roman expansion in the Greek world and the integration of the Attic concept in the Roman religious framework. This was the subject of the first two chapters, dedicated to the Greek sources and the iconography of the goddess during the centuries, from the solemn cult statue of Rhamnous to the Roman interpretation of Nemesis' profile with the association of various attributes and communicative attitudes.

The comparison with many sources from different areas of the Roman Empire was a necessary part of this investigation due to the scarcity of evidence for Nemesis and its particularly scattered nature. Consequently, we have taken into account finds from the western provinces that assist in defining certain aspects of the goddess' cult and image. This comparison was particularly fruitful regarding the iconographic research (chapter 2), the spread of private associations worshipping Nemesis (chapter 4. 3), and the locations of her shrines within ludic buildings (chapter 4. 2).

As is clearly visible in the various iconographic presentations of Nemesis, the goddess easily assumed the features of different deities, such as Tyche, Nike or Aequitas/Dikaiosyne, and Diana (chapter 2). This special "adaptability" has been largely considered to be one of the most typical of Nemesis' characteristics, as well as an obstacle to the comprehension of the purest nature of the goddess. Therefore, Nemesis appears in close connection with Tyche, conceived as a goddess of destiny and, later, as the protector of cities. This specific association is confirmed by the strong relationship between Nemesis and the chthonian Erinyes/Furies, first seen in the Attic tragedies. While Nemesis' adjustability assured that her cult became widespread allover the Empire, according to the needs of each province and community, the iconographic and conceptual adaptability may mislead us in regard

to the “traditional” beliefs about the goddess, who is seen as belonging to a category of “minor” gods.

The political use of Nemesis in the Empire, from the perspective of both Rome as imperial centre and the provinces, was the subject of the third chapter. From the study of different sources witnessing and “repeating” the Roman propaganda, or simply flattering the imperial family, it was possible to define the role of Nemesis in the first years of the Empire as a goddess related to one of the emperor’s main goals: The maintenance of peace after war campaigns, either of internal or external character<sup>1230</sup>. In this context, the parallel with Mars Ultor and the concept of *ultio* helped to define how Nemesis was perceived by the central power. Even if the direct evidence connecting Nemesis and Mars Ultor is scanty, we could argue that these two gods were somehow related to each other since the time of Augustus. Therefore, the reign of the *princeps* seems to be the keystone of the development of the concepts of *nemesis* and *ultio* applied to the Empire’s politics and with an important reference to the eastern frontiers: An issue properly represented and connected with Mars Ultor, which appears as a god who is complementary to Nemesis<sup>1231</sup>. Lastly, the episode of the death of Pompey and the consequent foundation of the *Nemeseum* of Alexandria by Iulius Caesar seems to be too significant an event not to be taken into account by Caesar’s adoptive son in the development of his personal image as the winner of the civil wars and righteous *princeps* of Rome (chapter 3. 2).

The study of the inscription discovered at the temple of Rhamnous<sup>1232</sup>, and likely placed on the external wall of the temple’s entrance, is a key point for understanding Augustus’ views towards the Greeks. Dedicated to the “goddess Livia”, the inscription witnesses the association of the empress, elevated to the status of *dea*, with Nemesis, already during the reign of the *princeps* (chapter 3. 1). It is a well-known fact that the eastern communities had a tradition of divinizing

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<sup>1230</sup> See *R. G.*, 1, 1; *APP., B.C.*, 2, 13, 90. Above, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>1231</sup> See Boschung 2014, p. 132.

<sup>1232</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242. See Schmalz 2009, p. 103; Lozano 2004, pp. 177 ff.; Petrakos 1999, n. 156. More references above, pp. 93 ff.

people conceived as benefactors, whether of local or Roman origin<sup>1233</sup>. Augustus himself was venerated as a god on the Acropolis of Athens together with the goddess Rome. As witnessed by provincial coinage, Livia was named *thea* in the eastern provinces already during the reign of Tiberius, and before her official deification at Rome in 41 A.D. It is then possible that the dedication of the Rhamnousian temple to the *thea* Livia might date as early as the Augustan age; appearing as a provincial initiative, it would have truly corresponded to Augustus' desire to absorb and use the image and charisma of the Rhamnousian *virgo* in his personal politics and propaganda, based on the idea of *ultio* and ecumenical peace. The imperial peace was indeed closely related to Nemesis on a well-known series of *aurei* and *denarii* issued by the imperial mints of Rome and Lugdunum, with a Nemesis holding a *caduceus* or a branch, both symbols of *pax* (chapter 3. 3)<sup>1234</sup>. The examination of this coinage illuminates the strategic use of the Nemesis-Pax image and concept after periods of internal struggles such as civil conflicts or rebellions, as the war preceding Vespasian's reign, or the turmoil that occurred in Alexandria under Trajan.

One of the most interesting aspects of Nemesis that has emerged from this research is that related to the Underworld (chapter 4. 1). A special emphasis has been given to the funerary context, which has not previously been the subject of investigation apart from the analysis of individual finds. Nemesis' similarity with – even closeness to – Moira and the funerary context is witnessed by the literary and epigraphic tradition<sup>1235</sup>, and the project of collecting, analysing and comparing all the finds related to funerary monuments and beliefs addressed a significant lacuna in modern scholarship on Nemesis. Taken as a whole, these finds reveal that the Greek inhabitants of the Roman Empire considered Nemesis to be an unescapable chthonian force supervising over life and death. This aspect was illuminated through the analysis of the funerary monuments where Nemesis is mentioned or represented on reliefs. The goddess clearly appears as the protector of the tomb

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<sup>1233</sup> A well-known example is that of Cn. Pompeius Theophanes of Mytilene, worshipped as Zeus. See Buraselis 2000, pp. 56-57.

<sup>1234</sup> *BMC Emp. I*, 6, 7, 26, 27, 39-41, 51-53, 58, 59, 61, 68, 69, 108; *BMC Emp. II*, 97; *BMC Emp. III*, 697, 698; 1548-1551, 1615, 1616. See *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 239 (F. Rausa).

<sup>1235</sup> See above, pp. 58, 159.

against any possible vandalism. A case in point is the collection of Phrygian epitaphs which bear repeated formulas defining Nemesis as a great goddess among the dead: ἔστι γὰρ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεσις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τύνβοις, followed by the exhortation not to damage the tomb<sup>1236</sup>. The goddess was called to guard the tombs, but also to guide the souls in the Hades. On one epitaph from Odessus<sup>1237</sup> Nemesis is even ideally associated to Moira, and called “envious”, as she is the goddess who determined the death of the deceased. Similarly, Nemesis is paired with Moira in an epitaph from Hadrianopolis<sup>1238</sup> where the latter appears as the force determining the death, and the former as the “driver” of the soul beneath the earth. Even though the majority of evidence belongs to the Roman period, there are a few traces in literature and epigraphy which attest to a conception of Nemesis as a goddess caring for the dead already in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., and perhaps it could be argued that she retained this role throughout the centuries. In fact, Sophocles’ *Electra* witnesses a particular connection between the goddess and the punishment of the murderers of people unjustly killed<sup>1239</sup>, such as the king Agamemnon. Certainly, a common idea of justice emerges from the various “applications” of Nemesis in the funerary sphere<sup>1240</sup>. Even if not closely related to the funerary ambit, an inscription from Cyprus<sup>1241</sup> where Nemesis is said to become Dikaiosyne with the impious people and Tyche with the pious ones somehow confirms this idea of judgment in her deepest essence. One may today say that providence was the opposite of Nemesis, in one of her many aspects. While Nemesis was the goddess who punished the incorrect behaviours violating the order of the world, providence (Occasio/Kairos)<sup>1242</sup> was the force rewarding those who respected the rules of destiny and the cosmic order. Indeed, further studies could better explore the chthonian nature of Nemesis, visible on the Greek tombs as well as in the arena’s activities, and with roots extending back to the time of the Greek tragedians.

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<sup>1236</sup> *CIG*, 3857m (Bennisoa); *MAMA X*, 12 (Appia). Above, pp. 149-150.

<sup>1237</sup> *IG Bulg.*, 5, 5057. Above, p. 157.

<sup>1238</sup> Above, pp. 158-159.

<sup>1239</sup> *Electr.*, 793-796.

<sup>1240</sup> See above, pp. 145 ff. *TAM V*, 1, 591 (Maionia); p. 150, *IG IV*, 444 (Phlissia); p. 151, *TAM VIII*, 18 (Iulia).

<sup>1241</sup> See Mitford 1946, pp. 24-25. Above, pp. 153-154.

<sup>1242</sup> See above, p. 58.

Another particularly interesting interpretation of Nemesis appeared in connection with Aequitas in the context of the theatre-arena (chapter 4. 2). Aequitas was an important personification worshipped in the Roman period together with the widely venerated, so-called imperial virtues, which represented the essence of the imperial propaganda. More precisely, the concept of *aequitas* was traditionally related to the sphere of law<sup>1243</sup> beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., when it was invoked in order to legitimize the measures of a *Senatus consultum*<sup>1244</sup>. Nemesis completely absorbed the notion of *aequitas* into her profile, as is clearly shown by her representations with the scales of Dike/Iustitia, which were a typical attribute of Aequitas. The association of this symbol with Nemesis seems to respond to the need of ascribing her to the sphere of Rome's political justice, the maintenance of order and submission to the Empire's rules. This *conubium* closely linked Nemesis to the Roman State, which was the supreme authority and political guarantor of the respect of the Roman laws. Even if the scales were an attribute common to Dike/Iustitia and Aequitas, and later to Nemesis-Aequitas, the idea embodied by the latter syncretistic deity implied the unavoidable application of justice, and the threat of it, guaranteed by a system of laws: Something that represented the genuine self-portrait of Roman rule<sup>1245</sup>. We observed that this peculiar Roman conception of Nemesis was also found in the Greek provincial communities during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., which considered her to be the embodiment of the Roman State. Traces of Nemesis-Aequitas in the Greek theatre-arena environment were found in the theatres of Philippi<sup>1246</sup> and Thasos<sup>1247</sup>. It is also likely that a relief with the syncretistic goddess discovered in Dion<sup>1248</sup> is to be related to the Roman theatre of the sanctuary. On the other hand, we did not find a pre-Roman association of Nemesis with the idea of law, as this seems to be a completely Roman "ingredient" in the worship of the goddess. The profile of the Rhamnousian goddess of the Classical period (as described in chapter 1. 2) seems to support this theory. In fact,

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<sup>1243</sup> See New Pauly I, 236-237.

<sup>1244</sup> LIV., 39, 19, 6.

<sup>1245</sup> On the concept of *aequitas* as imperial virtue, see Buraselis 2007, pp. 65-86.

<sup>1246</sup> Above, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>1247</sup> Above, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>1248</sup> Above, pp. 246 ff.



the cult of the Attic goddess was linked to the punishment of arrogant attitudes, with special reference to the boastful behaviour of the Persians at Marathon and to the mythical chastisement of the Trojans, who dared to break the Homeric social rules. Paired with Themis, the Rhamnousian Nemesis was a goddess of cosmic harmony, and from this concept derived the application of her punishment in all categories of life, from politics to love affairs. The connection with justice was already evident in the Classical period, but we could demonstrate that the goddess was not considered to be the deity embodying the *demos* of Rhamnous or Athens and protecting the *polis*. On the other hand, even if Rome already had many important gods to represent the city and the Empire (e.g. the Capitoline triad), Nemesis became the incarnation of the State's rules and laws; her function was to protect the Empire by inflicting the right retaliations against its enemies. From this point of view, she was adored in amphitheatres, theatres and stadiums, which were considered to be miniature representations of the Roman community. Her cult shows different characteristics, according to the local traditions of the cities worshipping her: This is visible in her iconography, in the associations with other deities and in the different functions of her shrines, considered to be places of personal dedications and prayers<sup>1249</sup> but also where sacrifices could take place, and which could be the destination of public parades<sup>1250</sup>.

The wide diffusion of Nemesis in the theatre-arena of the Greek cities is a phenomenon not easily explicable. In fact, it cannot be associated with the permanent presence of legions and military activities and entertainment, as it occurred at the Danubian and Britannian frontiers<sup>1251</sup>. Greece and Asia Minor were relatively calm areas of the Empire, where we can separate the spread of Roman festivals with spectacular combats and hunts from the direct influence of military actions. Therefore, the gladiatorial fights were a kind of entertainment that completely won over the Greek and Hellenized public, as witnessed by the large amount of evidence for local people of free status becoming gladiators. Moreover, the significant and costly modifications to theatres and stadiums to make them

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<sup>1249</sup> See for example the dedications in the theatre of Nicaea (pp. 228 ff.), Thasos (pp. 186 ff.), Ilium (pp. 232 ff.), Chersonesos Taurica (pp. 194 ff.), Stobi (pp. 200 ff.).

<sup>1250</sup> See the relief in the theatre of Hierapolis, above, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>1251</sup> See Wittenberg 2014.

suitable for hosting fights and hunts is further proof of the significant impact of the *munera* in the Greek/Hellenized East<sup>1252</sup>. The combination of Nemesis with the arena's spectacles and her inclusion in the local celebrations demonstrate the love of the provincials for the Roman *munera* and their acceptance of festivals related to the imperial cult<sup>1253</sup>.

An aim of this project has been to provide a full panorama of the scattered evidence of Nemesis in Greece and Asia Minor, including communities of the eastern frontiers as well as the Greek cities between western and eastern areas of the Empire. Research on Nemesis was, until now, focused on the western finds, and mostly those related to the world of the *munera*. Indeed, scholars have also contributed to the study of the Archaic Greek *nemesis*, with investigations into the Homeric and Hesiodic works. Yet a comparative analysis of all finds concerning Nemesis in the Greek edifices of mixed purpose was still needed, particularly because of the scarcity of the archaeological information. Thus, our research in the fourth chapter focused on *where* Nemesis was installed in the theatre-arenas and stadiums, and in what ways, and with what kind of social participation from the urban society. What began to emerge were analogies with the western amphitheatres, especially concerning the physical position of Nemesis' shrines, with a particular inclination toward worship by both participants in the spectacles and citizens.

The central part of chapter four, focused on the societies that centered around Nemesis, relied principally on the archaeological data (statues, reliefs, decorative elements of buildings and dedications to the goddess) discovered in the Greek ludic buildings. This is designed to complement the research of previous studies on western amphitheatres, where the cult of Nemesis is more widely attested and investigated<sup>1254</sup>. We found that, similar to the western buildings (where Nemesis' shrines were discovered next to the arena and in the corridors), the *proscenium* and the *parodoi* of theatres and stadium entrances were places dedicated to the goddess'

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<sup>1252</sup> On the wide and successful spread of the Roman *munera* in the Greek communities see the fundamental studies of Robert 1940 and Carter 1999.

<sup>1253</sup> On this issue see Price 1984, esp. pp. 101 ff.; Carter 1999.

<sup>1254</sup> See Wittenberg 2014; Fortea López 1994; Hornum 1993; Beltran LLoris 1985.

worship, or at least where she claimed a special authority. Concerning the shrine close to the *proscenium*, a particular presence of Nemesis is evidenced by private dedications, reliefs and statues, in a very similar way to the western amphitheatres, where it is sometimes possible to detect a little *sacellum* for her next to the arena. One may notice that the Greek *proscenium* of the Roman period was firstly devoted to the manifestations of Roman power, with the erection of statues of the imperial family and local aristocrats interested in self-promotion<sup>1255</sup>.

This research has also shed light upon the folkloristic character of Nemesis, and her various applications in the everyday life which still survive today in Greece; for example, the spitting upon one's own chest, or upon another person in order to protect him or her from the evil eye. Nemesis, indeed, was undoubtedly connected to the Roman sense of magical actions and superstition. Indeed, much could be learned from an anthropological study of the vestiges of Nemesis that have managed to survive in some Mediterranean communities even until the present day. This research, we hope, has created a solid foundation for future investigations into the weight and shades of Roman Nemesis in the Greek cosmos.

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<sup>1255</sup> See above the case of Venuleius Apronianus “promoted” in the theatre of Nicaea, pp. 265 ff.



## APPENDIX

### 1. Hymn of Mesomedes to Nemesis

Ὑμνος εἰς Νέμεσιν  
Μεσομήδης ὁ Κρής

Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα βίου ῥοπά,  
κυανῶπι θεά, θύγατερ Δίκας,  
ἅ κοῦφα φρυάγματα θνατῶν,  
ἐπέχεις ἀδάμαντι χαλινῶ,  
ἔχθουσα δ' ὕβριν ὀλοᾶν βροτῶν,  
μέλανα φθόνον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνεις.  
ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἄστατον ἀστιβῆ  
χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα,  
λήθουσα δὲ παρ πόδα βαίνεις,  
γαυρούμενον αὐχένα κλίνεις.  
ὑπὸ πῆχυν ἀεὶ βίοτον μετρεῖς,  
νεύεις δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ὄφρῦν ἀεὶ  
ζυγὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦσα.  
ἴλαθι μάκαιρα δικασπόλε  
Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα βίου ῥοπά.  
Νέμεσιν θεὸν ᾄδομεν ἄφθιτον,  
Νίκην τανυσίπτερον ὀμβρίμαν  
νημερτέα καὶ πάρεδρον Δίκας,  
ἅ τὰν μεγαλανορίαν βροτῶν  
νεμεσῶσα φέρεις κατὰ Ταρτάρου.

Hymn to Nemesis  
Mesomedes of Crete

Winged Nemesis, turner of the scales of life,  
blue-eyed goddess, daughter of justice,  
who with your unbending bridle,  
dominate the vain arrogance of men and,  
loathing man's fatal vanity,  
obliterate black envy;  
beneath your wheel, unstable and leaving no imprint,  
the fate of men is tossed;  
you measure life with your hand,  
and with frowning brows, hold the yolk.  
Hail, blessed immortal goddess,  
winged Nemesis, turning the scales of life,  
imperishable and holy goddess Nemesis;  
Victory of unfurled wings, powerful, infallible,  
who shares the altar with justice and,  
furious at human pride,  
casts man into the abyss of Tartarus.

Transl. from Hornum 1993, pp. 115-116 (after D. Yeld, *Mesomedes Hymn to Nemesis*, in *Musique de la Grèce antique*, Saint-Michel de Provence 1978).

## 2. The Orphic Hymn to Nemesis.

ΞΑ΄ Ὀρφικός Ὕμνος ΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΣ

Ὡ Νέμεσι, κλήζω σε, Θεὰ βασίλεια μεγίστη,  
πανδερκής, ἔσορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων·  
αἰδίη, πολύσεμνε, μόνη χαίρουσα δικαίοις,  
ἀλλάσσουσα λόγον πολυποίκιλον, ἄστατον αἰεῖ,  
ἦν πάντες δεδίασι βροτοὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες·  
σοὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ γνώμη πάντων μέλει, οὐδέ σε λήθει  
ψυχὴ ὑπερφρονέουσα λόγων ἀδιακρίτῳ ὀρμῇ.  
Πάντ' ἔσορῶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις  
ἐν σοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δίκαι θνητῶν, πανυπέρτατε δαῖμον.  
Ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή, μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεῖ  
δὸς δ' ἀγαθὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, παύουσα πανεχθεῖ

γνώμας οὐχ ὀσίας, πανυπέρφρονας, ἀλλοπροσάλλας.

61<sup>th</sup> Orphic hymn to Nemesis

Nemesis, I call upon you, goddess and greatest queen,  
whose all-seeing eye looks upon the lives of man's many races.  
Eternal and revered, you alone rejoice in the just,  
and you change and vary and shift you word.  
All who bear the yoke of mortality fear you,  
for you care about the thoughts of all, and the soul  
that vaunts foolishly and without discretion does not escape you.  
You see all, you hear all, and all you arbitrate,  
O sublime deity in whom resides justice for men.  
Come, blessed and pure one, ever helpful to initiates,  
and grant nobility of mind, putting an end to loathsome,

unholy thoughts, such as are fickle and haughty.

Transl. of A. Athanassakis, *The Orphic Hymns*, Missoula 1977.



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HELLENIC REPUBLIC  
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**School of Philosophy**  
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**Nemesis in the Greco-Roman East**

PhD THESIS

Vol. II  
CATALOGUE OF EVIDENCE

Silvia Bettinelli



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## CATALOGUE OF EVIDENCE

**Provinces of interest:**

Province of Achaia, Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Crete and Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Galatia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Macedonia, Moesia Inferior, Palestine, Pisidia, Syria, Thrace.

Islands of: Andros, Cyprus, Crete, Delos, Imbros, Rhodes, Samos.

**Types of evidence:** inscriptions, statuary, reliefs, coinage.

**Chronology range:** 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. - 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.







The Roman Empire in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A. D. Pict. from Ancient World Mapping Center (<http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/roman-empire/>)





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## INTRODUCTION TO THE CATALOGUE

This catalogue has been designed as a resource for the reader of this study and, more generally, for anyone interested in the cult of Nemesis. In what follows, we present the different types of evidence associated with the worship of Nemesis, including inscriptions, reliefs (with or without inscriptions), statues and numismatic evidence. The combination of different types of evidence creates a useful tool for the researcher who seeks to understand the importance of the cult of Nemesis. In addition, this catalogue comprises all the provinces of the Roman Empire with Greek cultural heritage, with the exclusion of Egypt, which has already been examined in a collection by Barbara Lichocka, included in the monograph *Némésis en l'Égypte romaine*. The evidence has been classified on a geographical basis and in the following order: Province, region (when needed) and cities (e. g. Province of Asia > Caria > Hierapolis). The provinces of the Roman Empire have been presented here as they were in the time of the Severans.

Evidence from the city of Rhamnous, where Nemesis was considered to be the principal divinity, has been intentionally excluded by this catalogue because of its general character, which does not offer any useful information on the cult of Nemesis, but presents the goddess mostly in a conventional way, without any reference to the cult.

The necessity of this catalogue became obvious in the early phases of the dissertation process, as we had to study different types of evidence in order to form a complete picture of the cult of Nemesis in the Greco-Roman East. The main *corpora* – and sources of information for the present catalogue – are *LIMC (VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis)*, which summarizes all the known material on Nemesis with an iconographic interest, and the second Appendix in M. Hornum's *Nemesis, the Roman State and the games*, Leiden 1993, in which the author collected all the inscriptions related to Nemesis that were known at that time. Hornum also provided a detailed bibliography for each inscription described.

The collection of the numismatic sources (always classified according to the area in which the coin was issued) is presented in chronological order following the sequence of the emperors, with a special case represented by the so-called local “quasi-autonomous” coinage: A kind of denomination not presenting the profile of the living emperor/empress on the obverse, but

usually displaying the image of a local god, or the personification of the Boule or the Demos of the city in which the coin was issued. Even in these cases we tried to organize these coins on a chronological basis, often facilitated by the mention on the reverse of the magistrates who were in charge of the issues. With the exception of a few examples of silver and gold *cistophori* and *stateres*, the coinage of Nemesis collected here is characterized mainly by bronze denominations. A description of the obverse and the reverse of each coin is provided, often accompanied with a picture. Each entry includes abbreviated references to bibliographical resources, which are included here:

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Masson	O. Masson, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> , Paris 1961
MacDonald	D. MacDonald, <i>The coinage of Aphrodisias</i> , London 1992
Metcalf	E. Metcalf, <i>The silver coinage of Cappadocia</i> , New York 1996
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NCP	F. Imhoof-Blumer, P. Gardner, <i>Numismatic commentary on Pausanias</i> , London 1887
Pick	B. Pick, <i>Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, vol. I</i> , Berlin 1898
Pick and Regling	B. Pick, K. Regling, <i>Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, vol. 2, Odessos und Tomis</i> , Berlin 1910
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RIC	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
RPC	<i>The Roman provincial coinage.</i>
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Schonert-Geiss	E. Schonert-Geiss, <i>Die Munzprägung von Byzantion, vol. 2</i> , Berlin-Amsterdam 1972
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SNG	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum
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## 1. PROVINCE OF ACHAIA

**Andros, Argos, Asopos, Athens, Corinth, Delos, Epidauros, Olympia, Patras, Phliasia, Piraeus**

### 1. 1 Andros, inscription

**Object:** marble tabula with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Found above the door of the church of Panagia Kumulou.

**Date:** unknown.

**Description:** inscription mentioning Nemesis associated with Adrasteia.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII, 5, 730*; M. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State and the games*, Leiden 1993, p. 192, n. 69 (from now on: M. Hornum, *Nemesis*).

Νέμεσις  
καὶ  
Ἀδράστεια

### 1. 2 Andros, inscription

**Object:** cylindrical base.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.




**Date:** unknown.

**Description:** inscription mentioning Nemesis and probably referring to an object or a monument related to her.


**Bibliography:** *SEG 34: 889*; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 192, n. 70

Νεμεσέως

### 1. 3 Argos, coinage

<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 9656</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΕΥCΕΒΗ[C?], laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r.</p>	<p>A[ΠΓΕΙΩΝ?] (perhaps tooled), female figure (Nemesis or Aphrodite?) looking l., plucking chiton, holding bridle (?); a dolphin to the l.</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze dupondius</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 79</i> (P. Karanastassis); Flament – Marchetti, p. 31; <i>NCP</i>, p. 42</p>	<p>ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤ[ΙΛΛΑ], draped bust of Fulvia Plautilla, r.</p>	<p>ΑΡΓΕ ΙΩΝ, Nemesis on a base, looking r., holding a wheel on her l. hand and raising her r. hand. to her neck, perhaps for the gesture of <i>spuere in sinum</i></p>	
<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze dupondius</p> <p>Flament – Marchetti, p. 32</p>	<p>ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤ[ΙΛΛΑ], draped bust of Fulvia Plautilla, r.</p>	<p>ΑΡΓΕ ΙΩΝ, Nemesis on a base, looking l., holding a wheel on her r. hand</p>	

## 1. 4 Asopos, coinage

<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>BMC Pelop., 1; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 80 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒΑ, bust of Plautilla, r.</p>	<p>ΑΣΩΠΙΕ ΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis looking l., veiled, r. hand raised to her face; a wheel to her r.</p>	
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## 1. 5 Athens, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a small altar.

**Provenience/location:** Keramikos.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis *epeekoos*.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 193, n. 73.

Νεμέσε[ι]  
θεῶ̅ ἐπηκ[ό]-  
ωι εὐχῆν  
[ἀν]έθηκ[εν]

## 1. 6 Athens, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** theatre of Dionysus.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by the chief of an unknown sanctuary of the goddess.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 40*: 205; *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 4747; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 193, n. 71.

### *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 4747*

[τῆ]ι Νεμέσει vac.

[ . ]ι[ . ]λ . . ς Σα-

. . . εως Βη-

[σ]α[ι]εὺς ὁ προ-

[στ]άτης τοῦ

ιεροῦ

### 1. 7 Athens, inscription

**Object:** inscribed seat.

**Provenience/location:** theatre of Dionysus.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** seat of the priest of Ourania Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 5070; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 193, n. 72.

ιερέως

Οὐρανίας

Νεμέσεως

### 1. 8 Athens, inscription

**Object:** fragment of Pentelic marble joined with another fragment (B. D. Meritt, *The inscriptions, Hesperia* 3 (1934), p. 77, n. 77).

**Provenience/location:** foundation of a late Roman house east of the Tholos of the Athenian *agora*.

**Date:** ca 240 A.D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Aurelius Hadrianus, who restored the altar at his own expense.

**Bibliography:** E. Raubitscheck, *Greek inscriptions, Hesperia* 12 (1943), p. 88.

### 1. 9 Athens, statuary

**Object:** marble head.

**Provenience/location:** found in the Athenian *agora*. Today it is preserved at the Museum of the Athenian *agora*.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** head of Nemesis, with diadem and curly hair divided in the front.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2h (P. Karanastassis); G. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου*, Athens 1971, pl. 58, 1-2.

### 1. 10 Athens, relief

**Object:** marble stele with relief.

**Provenience/location:** discovered in the area of Ambelokipi.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** female figure in long chiton and himation, with *polos* on her head, holding in her right a *phiale* and a rudder in her left hand. A griffin is represented at her feet, with the forepaw on the head of an ox, represented upside-down.

**Bibliography:** M. E. Micheli, *Nemesi di una Nemese*, in G. M. Fachechi (ed.), *Lost and found. Storie di "ritrovamenti"*, Rome 2018, pp. 66 ff.; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 183 (P. Karanastassis).



Pict. from Micheli 2018, p. 67.

### 1. 11 Corinth, inscription

**Object:** inscription carved on a marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** East *agora*.

**Date:** first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. The name of the dedicant suggests the reign of Marcus Aurelius as *terminus post quem*.

**Description:** dedication to *Nemesis Augusta* from a deputy to a century's centurion of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix*. Latin language.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 194, n. 74; L. R. Dean, *Latin inscriptions from Corinth*, *AJA* 26 (1922), pp. 457-458.

NEMESI AVGVSTAE  
SACRVM  
AVRELIVS NESTOR OPTIO  
LEG(ionis) IIII FL(aviae) FEL(icis) EX VOTO

### 1. 12 Corinth, statuary

**Object:** fragmentary statue of Tyche-Nemesis.

**Provenience/location:** found in the western end of the Northwest stoa. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Corinth.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** lower half of a female figure with a long chiton and a fragment of a wheel to her feet.

**Bibliography:** C. M. Edwards, *Tyche at Corinth, Hesperia* 59 (1990), pp. 529 ff.

### 1. 13 Delos, inscription

**Object:** marble base.

**Provenience/location:** temple of Serapis.

**Date:** 110/109 B.C.

**Description:** inscription mentioning the dedication of the temple and the cult statue of Isis-Nemesis by the priest of Serapis Sosion, son of Eumenes.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p 195, n. 77.

Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος, ἱε-  
ρεὺς ὄν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη-  
ναίων καὶ ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Νικομή-  
δου ἀνέθηκεν τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ-  
μα Ἴσιδος Νεμέσεως, ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ  
τῆς νήσου Διονυσίου τοῦ Νίκωνος  
Παλληγνέως.



### 1. 14 Delos, inscription

**Object:** fragment of a column.

**Provenience/location:** unspecified.

**Date:** first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

**Description:** dedication by the same priest Sosion to Isis-Nemesis on behalf of the Demos of Athens and the Roman Senate.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 196, n. 78

ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σαράπιδος  
Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων  
καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων,  
Ἰσιδι Νεμέσει.

### 1. 15 Delos, inscription

**Object:** Quadrangular base of a statue.

**Provenience/location:** unspecified.

**Date:** first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

**Description:** dedication by the priest Sosion to Isis-Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 195, n. 76; A. Hauvette-Besnault, *Fouilles de Délos*, *BCH* 6 (1882), pp. 337-338, n. 40.

Σωσίων Εὐμένους Οἰναῖος ἱερέων Ἰσιδι  
Νεμέσει

### 1. 16 Epidauros, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a marble block.

**Provenience/location:** Asklepieion.

**Date:** 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

**Description:** simple dedication to Nemesis-Tyche. No other information available.

**Bibliography:** IG IV<sup>2</sup>,1 311; W. Peek, *Inchriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, vol. 60*, Berlin 1969, n. 134.

Τύχας,  
[Νεμ]έσεος.

### 1. 17 Olympia, statuary

**Object:** statues of Nemeseis-Tychai.

**Provenience/location:** at the entrance of the tunnel of Olympia's stadium. Today they are preserved the Archaeological Museum of Olympia.

**Date:** mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** the Nemeseis-Tychai appear with a long chiton and a wheel at their feet. They seem to hold a *cubitum* in their left hand.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 49, 54, 56, 61, 65; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 180a-b (P. Karanastassis); G. Treu, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia*, Berlin 1894, pp. 237-238.

### 1. 18 Patras, relief

**Object:** marble stele with relief.

**Provenience/location:** in the cemetery of Patras, but perhaps related to the gladiatorial sphere. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Patras.

**Date:** reign of Trajan or Hadrian.

**Description:** relief representing an acephalous winged Nemesis standing on a female figure with *hymation*. N. is represented frontally, looking at her left, cuirassed and in a running pose. On N.'s left, a griffin is carved on a pilaster, with its forepath on a wheel. Next to N.'s right foot a second wheel is represented. The two wheels appear identical to each other.

**Bibliography:** I. A. Papapostolou, *Monuments de combats gladiateurs à Patras*, *BCH 113* (1989), pp. 368 ff.; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 44; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 167 (P. Karanastassis).



Photos of the author.

### 1. 19 Phliasia, inscription

**Object:** marble block.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times

**Description:** epitaph of Aristomenes. Nemesis is described as a revengeful and ominous goddess.

**Bibliography:** *IG IV*, 444.

[— — — —] τις Ι[— —]  
καὶ ὅτι ἂν ποιῆς τῷ[ιδε],

εἰς σεαυτὸν τρεπέ[σθω]·  
 ταῦτά σοι εὐχόμεθ[α].  
 εἰ δέ τι ἐκόν, ἐξαμ[οιβήν]  
 οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐπαράσα[σθαι]·  
 δίκη δὲ ἐπικρέματα[ί σοι]  
 τιμωρὸς ἀπελθόντ[ι περ]  
 ἀπειθῆς Νεμέσε[ως].  
 {vacat 0,07}  
 [— — — — — — — —]  
 Ἀριστομ[ε]ν[— —]  
 ἀεὶ κα<ι> <π>ανταχοῦ  
 μέ[ν]ο[ς θ]υμῶ ἢ κα[ρδία(?)]

### 1. 20 Piraeus, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** epitaph of Apollonios from Synnada. The ending formula describes Nemesis as a goddess “extremely rapid”.

**Bibliography:** *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 10385; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 201, n. 88; P. Perdrizet, *Némésis*, *BCH* 38 (1914), p. 91.

Συνναδεὺς θεράπων  
 Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνθάδε  
 Μόσχου — λειτῆ ὑ-  
 πὸ στήλῃ κέκλιμαι  
 ὠκύμορος — ἦν πα-  
 ρίοις εὐφημος ἀεὶ, ξέ-  
 νε, μηδ' ἐπὶ λύμη —  
 χεῖρα βάλοις· φθι-  
 μένων ὠκυτάτη  
 Νέμεσις —.

### 1. 21 Piraeus, inscription and relief

**Object:** votive stele.

**Provenience/location:** unknown provenience. Today it is preserved at the Louvre Museum.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis is represented frontally, winged and diademed. She has a four-rays wheel at her right and a snake at her left; she is depicted trampling on a prostrate male figure.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 201, n. 89; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 162 (P. Karanastassis); P. Perdrizet, *Némésis*, *BCH* 36 (1912), p. 252.

εἰμὶ μὲν, ὡς ἔσορᾶς, Νέμεσις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 εὐπτερος, ἀθανάτα, κύκλον ἔχουσα πόλου·  
 πωτῶμαι δ' ἀνά κοσμὸν ἀεὶ πολυγηθεῖ θυμῷ  
 δερκομένα θνατῶν φύλον ἀεὶ γενεῶν.  
 ἀλλὰ με σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ τεύξ<α> σοφὸς Ἀρτεμίδωρος  
 στήσεν ἐπ' εὐχολαῖς λαινέοισι τύποις.

### 1. 22 Attica, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

**Description:** funerary monument with an invocation to Nemesis probably related to the revenge for a person unjustly killed.

**Bibliography:** *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 13115.

— ον τόδε γαῖα καλύ[πτει]  
 [— — Ν]έμεσις [σ]φαγέα.  
 [— — θ]ανόντων ζῶσα  
 λέ[λειπται]  
 [— — ἧθ]εσι χρησαμεν —

## 2. PROVINCE OF ASIA

### Caria, Ionia, Lydia, Mysia, Phrygia, Troas

**Caria: Aphrodisias, Ceramus, Cos, Halikarnassos, Imbros, Mylasa, Panamara, Rhodes, Samos, Stratonicea, Trapezopolis.**

#### 2. 1 Aphrodisias, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble stele with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** reign of Commodus.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** Nemesis appear flanked by two winged Nikai carrying palm branches. At the left foot of Nemesis a wheel is preserved. H. Kontokosta notices a shield decorating the *tympanum* on her head, in reference of a shrine or a temple. This monument could have been part of a *Nemeseum* or *Neikonemeseum* of Aphrodisias, as suggested by L. Robert).

**b. inscription:** memorial for the *familia* of the high-priest Marcus Antonius Apellas.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC Suppl. 2009, s.v. Nemesis*, add. 2 (P. Karanastassis); A. Hrychuk Kontokosta, *Gladiatorial reliefs and elite funerary monuments, Aphrodisias papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments*, C. Ratté, R. R. R. Smith (eds.), Porthmouth 2008, p. 203; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 285, n. 235; L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, p. 170; Cfr. L. Robert, *Hellenica, Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, vol. 13, Paris 1965, pp. 154-155.

ἀγαθῆ τύχ[η]  
Ἵπόμνημα φαμλίας  
καὶ κυνηγεσίων Μ. Ἀν-  
τωνίου Ἀπελλᾶ Σεουη-  
ρεῖνου ἀρχιερέως, υἱοῦ  
Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ὑψικλέ-  
ους ἀρχιερέως.

#### 2. 2 Aphrodisias, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a cornice block.

**Provenience/location:** theatre of Aphrodisias.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** Nemesis is defined *epekoos* “the one who listen”. Text not published yet.

**Bibliography:** J. M. Reynolds, *Epigraphic evidence for the construction of the theatre: 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. to mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.*, in R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The theatre, a sculptor’s workshop, philosophers, and coin-types*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement*, Ann Arbor, 1991, p. 21; A. Hrychuk Kontokosta, *Gladiatorial reliefs and elite funerary monuments*, *Aphrodisias papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments*, Porthmouth 2008, p. 194.

### 2. 3 Aphrodisias, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble slab with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the city wall.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** it presents a pair of specular ears, a branch between them and a crown.

**b. inscription:** the second part (“Ερμος εὐχήν) seems to have been added afterwards.

**Bibliography** *SEG 56:* 1191; A. Hrychuk Kontokosta, *Gladiatorial reliefs and elite funerary monuments*, in C. Ratté, R. R. R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments*, Porthmouth 2008, p. 228; BE 2007, n. 458.

**BE reading:**

Σαρπεδών  
Ολια ἐ-  
πηκόω  
εὐχήν

*vacat*

Ἔρμος  
εὐχήν


**Chaniotis (SEG) reading:**

Σαρπεδών  
 Θαιᾶ ἐφ'  
 εὐχίην




*vacat*

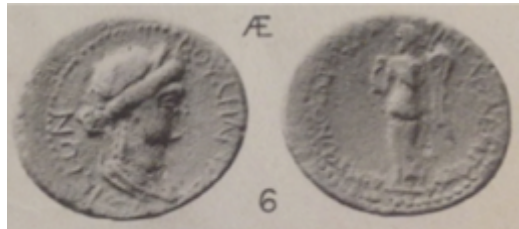
Ἑρμος  
 εὐχίην

**2. 4 Aphrodisias, coinage**


<p>Geta (prabably 200-202 A.D.)          bronze assarion          D. MacDonald, p. 94, 88</p>	<p>ΠΡΟΣΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΣΚΑΙ,          bare-headed bust of Geta,          cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ,          Pantheistic goddess standing          to front, head l., wearing  <i>kalathos</i>, holding  <i>cornucopiae</i> and cubit-rule.          Wheel at feet</p>	
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<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze assarion</p> <p>Ti. Cl. Zenon magistrate, late 209-211 A.D.</p> <p>D. MacDonald, p. 97, 98</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, bust of Julia Domna r.</p>	<p>ΤΙ Κ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΡΧ ΙΝΕΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ, in field: ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ, Pantheistic goddess standing to front, head l., wearing <i>kalathos</i>, holding <i>cornucopiae</i> and bridle. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus, 209-211 A.D.</p> <p>Bronze assarion</p> <p>D. MacDonald, p. 202, 113</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ, bust of Julia Domna</p>	<p>ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ, Pantheistic goddess standing to front, head l., wearing <i>kalathos</i>, holding cubit-rule. Snake and wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze assarion</p> <p>D. MacDonald, p. 130, 188</p>	<p>Α Κ ΜΑΝ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ (first N is reversed), bust laureate of Gordian III wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ, Pantheistic goddess standing to front, head l., wearing <i>kalathos</i>, holdin <i>cornucopiae</i> and cubit-rule. Snake and wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage</p> <p>Bronze half-assarion (?)</p> <p>Flavius Muon, magistrate in 69-81 A.D.</p> <p><i>BMC Caria and Islands</i>, 34, 54, Aphrodisias (Pict. 6, 6); <i>LIMC VI I</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 128 (P. Karanastassis); MacDonald, p. 80, pl. 7</p>	<p>ΒΟΥΛΗ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ, bust of Boulè wearing stephane, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΦΛ Α ΜΥΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩ, winged Nemesis standing l., in her typical gesture of <i>spuere</i> with the r. arm raised, l. arm hanging down and holding bridle</p>	
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## 2. 5 Ceramus, coinage

<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 2718 (temporary) Babelon, 2298</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Τ ΑΙΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ[Ο]C, laureate-headed bust of Antoninus Pius wearing paludamentum, r.</p>	<p>ΚΕΡΑΜΗΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ (sic), two Nemeseis standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>; the r. one holding bridle(?)</p>	
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## 2. 6 Cos, inscription

**Object:** opisthographic slab of white marble, broken at the top.

**Provenience/location:** found inside a coffee house, used as hotplate in the village of Chalyvatzitika. Primary provenience unknown.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c B.C.

**Description:** *diapraphe* for the sale of the priesthood of Adrasteia and Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII*, 4, 1:325; M. Segre, *Iscrizioni. di Cos*, 1993 Rome, ED 62; R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig 1899, p. 26, n. 9.

[— — —]μένωι Α[— — —]#  
 ΠΑΙ#7[— — — —]  
 [— — —]Λ[.]ΣΙΑΜ ἱερεῖα τὰ νομιζόμεν[α]  
 [.]ΑΙ//ΚΛΕ[.]Ε#7[.]ΟΝ τοὶ μὲν τὰν χειμεριν[ὰν]  
 ἄρχοντες Γεραστίου · κζ´ · τοὶ δὲ τὰν θε[ρι]-  
 νὰν ἄρχον[τ]ες [τ]ᾶ[ι] κδ´, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ χρή-  
 ζων, ἐπεὶ κα δήληται, ὧν ὁσιόν ἐστιν θύεν  
 ταῖς θεαῖς· θυόνται δὲ καὶ τοὶ ἐργολαβεῦν-  
 τες τὸ ἱερὸν ἢ δαμόσιον ἔργον καθ´ ἕκασ-  
 τον ἐνια[υτὸν] ἄ[π]α[ξ], ὅσσοι μὲν κα ἐργολα-  
 βήσωντ[ι] ἔργον ἔ[σ]τε (δρ.) ,α ἀπὸ (δρ.) ι´, τοὶ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ [(δρ.) ,α] ἔ[σ]τε (δρ.) ,ε ἀπὸ (δρ.) κ´, τοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ ,ε ἀπὸ (δρ.) ν´,  
 καὶ τοὶ [ἀρχιτέκτ]ονες μὴ πρότερον αὐ-  
 τοῖς τὰς [δέλτους δ]ιδόνται, αἱ κα μὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς  
 αὐτο[ῖ]ς [ἐμφαν]ίση τὰν θυσίαν ἐπιτε-  
 [τ]ελέσθα[ι, ἢ ὀφε]ιλόνται ἐπιτίμιον ἱε-  
 ρὰς Ἀδραστείας καὶ Νεμέσεως (δρ.) ,θ·  
 θυόντ[ωι] δὲ [κα]ὶ τοὶ ἀπο[δε]ικνύμενοι πάν-  
 τες ὑπὸ τ[ῶ]ν τρ[α]πεζειτᾶν ἢ ἄλλως πως  
 καθίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰν τραπεζᾶν  
 ἕκαστος ἱερεῖον vac. [(δρ.)] ν´, τὰ τε γέρη διδότη[ω]  
 κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἢ ἀποτινόνται  
 τῶ[ι] ἱερεῖ (δρ.) ν´ καὶ ἄ πρᾶξις ἔστω αὐτῶι  
 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκας.  
 [ἀ δὲ ἱερωσύ]να πωληθήτω ΤΟ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — τὰς ἱερ]ωσύνας· διαγρα[ψάντω τοὶ]

[μὲν ταμίαι τοῖς] προστάταις εἰς [τὴν θυσίαν]  
 [(δρ.) .´ — — —] τὸ ποτικατάβλη[μα ἀποδώσει]  
 [ὁ πριάμενος τὰ]ν ἱερωσύναν ἅμα τᾶς ἄλλα[ς]  
 [τειμᾶς· ἐπρία]το Κλεόνεικος  
 [Εὐκ]άρπου (δρ.) θω´  
*vacat*

## 2. 7 Cos, inscription

**Object:** rectangular slab of white marble, broken at the top.

**Provenience/location:** unspecified.

**Date:** 100-50 B.C.

**Description:** *diagraphē* for the sale of the priesthood of Adrasteia and Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII*, 4, 1: 325; *SEG* 55: 931 bis.; M. Segre, *Iscrizioni. di Cos*, 1993 Rome, ED 62.

### face a, front.1

[— — — — —] ΜΕΝΩΙΑ[— —] ἐπάρχ[οντες ἐπὶ τὰν]  
 [ἐκκ]λ[η]σίαν ἱερεῖα τὰ νομιζόμεν[α]  
 [.]ΑΙΚΛΕ[.]Ε.ΙΟΝ, τοὶ μὲν τὰν χειμεριν[ὰν]  
 ἄρχοντες Γεραστίου· κζ´· τοὶ δὲ τὰν θεριν-  
 νὰν ἄρχον[τ]ες [τ]ᾶ[ι] κδ´. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ χρήι-  
 ζων ἐπεὶ κα [λῆ]ι. καὶ ἰσχίον(?) ὅσιόν ἐστιν θύεν  
 ταῖς θεαῖς. θυόντων δὲ καὶ τοὶ ἐργολαβεῦν-  
 τες τὸ ἱερὸν ἢ δαμόσιον ἔργον καθ´ ἕκασ-  
 τον ἐνια[υτὸν ἅπ]αξ, ὅσσοι μὲν κα ἐργολα-  
 βήσωντ[ι ἔργον] ἀπ<ὸ> (δρ.) , α´, ἀπὸ (δρ.) ι´, τοὶ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ , ε´ [— — — ἀπὸ (δρ.)] κ´, τοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ , ε´ ἀπὸ (δρ.) ν´.  
 καὶ τοὶ [ἀρχιτέκτ]ονες μὴ πρότερον αὐ-  
 τοῖς τὰς [δέλτους δ]ιδόντων, αἱ κα μὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς  
 [α]ὐτο[ῖ]ς [ἐμφαν]ίση τὰν θυσίαν ἐπιτε-  
 [τ]ελέσθαι, ἢ ὀφε[ιλόντων] ἐπιτίμιον ἱε-

ρὰς Ἀδραστείας καὶ Νεμέσεως (δρ.) ρ´? {<sup>27</sup>ᾳ´?}<sup>27</sup>.  
 θυόντ[ωι] δὲ [καὶ τ]οὶ ἀπο[δει]κνύμενοι πάν-  
 τες ὑπὸ τ[ρα]πεζεῖταιν ἢ ἄλλως πως  
 καθίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰν τράπεζαν  
 ἔκ[α]στος ἱερεῖον [. . κ]αὶ τὰ {γε} γέρη διδότη  
 κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἢ ἀποτινόντων  
 τῶ[ι] ἱερεῖ (δρ.) ν´, καὶ ἅ πρᾶξις ἔστω αὐτῶι  
 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκας.

### face b, back.1

[ἀ δὲ ἱερωσύ]να πωληθήτω ΤΟ[— — — — —]  
 [πράσει τᾶς ἱερ]ωσύνας διαγρα[ψάντω]  
 [τοὶ ταμίαι τοῖ]ς προστάταις εἰς [τὰν θυ]-  
 [σίαν (δρ.) .´ καὶ] τὸ ποτικατάβλη[μα ποιησεῖται]  
 [ὁ πριάμενος τὰ]ν ἱερωσύναν ἅμα τᾶς ἄλλ[ας]  
 [δαπάνας. ἐπρία]το Κλεόνεικος  
 [Εὐκ]άρπου (δρ.) μ(υριάδας) α´ , θω´.

## 2. 8 Cos, inscription

**Object:** rectangular altar of white marble.

**Provenience/location:** unspecified.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

**Description:** epitaph of Pistos, daughter of Glaukos, of Sidon (II), and remains of two other inscriptions (I, III).

**Bibliography:** D. Bosnakis, *Ανέκδοτες επιγραφές της Κω. Επιτύμβια μνημεία και ὄροι*, Athens 2008, 108.

### Left side

[— — — — — ]  
 [— — — — ]ΟΥ ]

[N]εμέσεως.

**Right side**

Πιστῶς  
τᾶς Γλα[ύ]-  
κου Σιδω-  
νί[α]ς.

**2. 9 Halikarnassos, inscription**

**Object:** unspecified.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication of a gladiator to the goddesses Nemeseis.

**Bibliography:** *CIG II*, 2663; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 289, n. 241; cfr. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 179.

***CIG* text**

Στέφανο[ς] ῥητιάρις [ἀ]υῆς[ση]τ[ο]ς, πρ[ῶ]τος πάλος, εὐχαριστῶν κυρίαῖς Νεμέσεσιν εὐχὴν ἐπενδυτοπαλλίων  
ζεῦγος καὶ ἐν[ώ]δια, καὶ χοῖρον τ[α]ῖς [θε]αῖς εὐχαριστήριον. [ἐπ]ί[θ]η[μα] δὲ καὶ τῷ [χ]οίρω ζῶνην καὶ θυς[άνους]

**L. Robert reading**

Στέφανος ῥητιάρις  
ΛΗΣΤΕΣ πρῶτος  
πάλος εὐχαριστῶν  
κυρίαῖς Νεμέσε-  
σιν εὐχὴν ἐπεν-  
δυτοπαλλίων  
ζεῦγος καὶ ἐνώ-  
δια καὶ χοῖρον ταῖς  
θεαῖς εὐχαριστήριον.  
ΙΟΗΛΛ δὲ καὶ τῷ ΦΟΙΝΙ

. ωνην καὶ θυσίας.

## 2. 10 Halikarnassos, inscription

**Object:** unspecified.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to the goddesses Nemeseis by Iason Nikanor, possibly a gladiator.

**Bibliography:** CIG 2662.c; cfr. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 180.

Ἰάσων Νικάν[ο]-  
ρος τὰς Νεμέ-  
σει[ς ἀ]γέθη-  
κεν.

## 2. 11 Imbros, inscription

**Object:** marble epistyle.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication by two persons, one of them the priest of Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** IG XII 8, 79.

ἐπι με[λ]ουμ[ένων τοῦ ἱερέ]ως τῆς Νεμέσεω[ς]  
Νέστορος τοῦ Ἱερων[ύ]μου Μαραθωνίο[υ]  
καὶ Εὐτύχου τοῦ Γλ[αύκω]νος Κηττίου.

## 2. 12 Mylasa, inscription

**Object:** fragment of an architrave with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the house of Mèhmet.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:** Artemisia, priestess of Nemesis dedicated a monument and a statue to Nemesis and the Demos.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 47; G. Mendel, *Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines, vol. I*, Constantinople 1914, p. 585; E. Hicks, *Inscriptions from Thyatira, Classical Review* 3 (1889), pp. 136-138.

Ἀρτεμισία Παμφίλου, ἱέρηα Νεμέσως, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Μενίππου τοῦ Μέλανος, ἱερέως Πειθοῦς, ἀνέθηκεν τό τε βῆμα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῶι Νεμέσει καὶ τῶι δήμῳι.

## 2. 13 Panamara, inscription

**Object:** marble base.

**Provenience/location:** sanctuary of Zeus.

**Date:** end of 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication to the double Nemesis made by Tiberius Claudius Lainas, a prominent member of the community of Panamara.

**Bibliography:** *SEG* 4: 277; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 299, n. 254; cfr. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 3; H. Volkmann, *Studien von Nemesis-kult*, *ARW* 26 (1928), pp. 73-74.

Θεαῖς μεγίσταις Νεμέ-  
 σεσι Τι. Κλ. Τι. υἱὸς Κυ.  
 Λαίνας, φιλόκαισαρ καὶ  
 φιλόπατρις, υἱὸς τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἀρ[χ]ιερεὺς  
 καὶ στεφανηφόρος τὸ  
 δ' καὶ ἱερεὺς γ' ἐν Κομ[υ]-  
 ρίοις καὶ ἐν Ἡραίοις πρῶτος καὶ  
 μόνος καὶ γυμνασίαρ-  
 χος ἐνιαύσειος μετὰ  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλ. Σαβεινια-  
 νοῦ Παιωνίου χαρισ-  
 τήριον.



## 2. 14 Rhodes, inscription

**Object:** marble altar with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the house of Mèhmet, that is supposed by Mendel to be connected with the theatre.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:** altar dedicated toAdrasteia and Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** Kontorini 1983, *Rhodiaka I, Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1983, pp. 63-64; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 207, n. 104;

Ἀδραστείας  
καὶ Νεμέσιος

## 2. 15 Rhodes, inscription

**Object:** marble altar with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found Lachanià, in the area of Lindos.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:** Antigonos dedicated to Nemesis following an “order” received in a dream.

**Bibliography:** Kontorini 1983, *Rhodiaka I, Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1983, pp. 63-64; D. Morelli, *I culti in Rodi, St. classici e orientali* 8 (1959), p. 165.

Ἀντίγο-  
νος  
Νέμεσι  
κάτ' ὄνει-  
ρον.

## 2. 16 Rhodes, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble slab with inscription and relief with funerary character.

**Provenience/location:** found near Trianta (Rhodes), close to Ialysos. Later brought to Alexandria.

**Date:** 200-150 B.C.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** representation of gods, including Nemesis with butterfly wings and whip.

**b. inscription:** epitaph of Hieronymus of Rhodes, Peripatetic philosopher, made by a certain Damatrios.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 51*: 1018; F. Hiller von Gaertringen and C. Robert, *Relief von dem Grabmal eines Rhodischen Schulmeisters*, *Hermes* 37 (1902), pp. 121-146; E. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs, vol. II*, Mainz am Rhein 1979, n. 2085.

(above the relief)

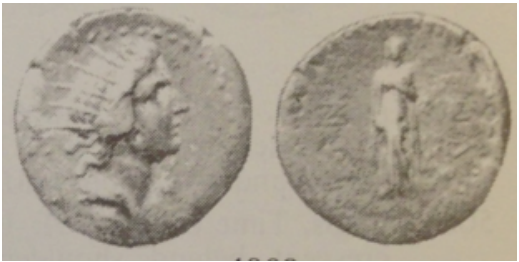
Ἱερωνύμου


τοῦ Σιμυλίνου Τλώϊου.

(below the relief)


Δαμάτριος ἐποίησε.



## 2. 17 Rhodes, coinage



<p>Quasi autonomous coinage 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 493, 4998; <i>BMC 18</i>, 268, 402- 403</p>	<p>Head of Helios radiate, r.</p>	<p>ΡΟΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, l. hand bent on the breast</p>	
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<p>Quasi autonomous coinage 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC 18</i>, 267, 399-40; Hunter, 92; Imhoof – Blumer <i>Nomisma VIII</i>, 30; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 153 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Head of Helios radiate, r.</p>	<p>ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΔΙΑΡΑΧΜΟΝ, Nemesis (?) standing front between two <i>thymiateria</i>, and beneath a canopy supported on either side by flying Nike</p>	
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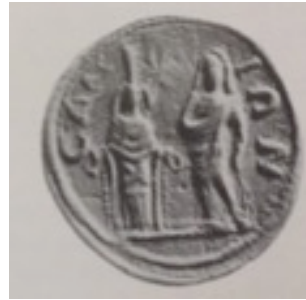
## 2. 18 Samos, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 162, 1757; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 374, 241; <i>RPC IV</i>, 1055 (temporary)</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΚΤΙΝΑ CEBACTH, bust of Faustina, draped, r.</p>	<p>CAMIΩΝ, Nemesis standing looking r., wearing a long <i>chiton</i>, her r. arm bent to her breast</p>	
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<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia, 242</i></p>	<p>M.AYP.KOM.ANTΩN EINOC, bust of Commodus, bearded, laur., cuir., and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>CAMIΩN, cult statue of Samian Hera standing facing, wears <i>modius</i>, round which serpent twines, and long robes; <i>patera</i> in each hand from which a fillet hangs; on her l. Nemesis standing facing, wears long <i>chiton</i> with <i>peplos</i> wrapped around her, and veil; r. arm bent touches her breast</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 2313; BMC Ionia, 289; SNG Hunt. Mus. I 1794; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 149 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>CAMIΩN, cultus statue of Samian Hera standing facing, wears <i>modius</i>, round which serpent twines, and long robes; <i>patera</i> in each hand from which a fillet hangs; on her l. Nemesis standing facing, wears long <i>chiton</i> with <i>peplos</i> wrapped round her, and veil; r. arm bent touches her breast</p>	

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC VII, 1, 579</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate, cuirassed and draped bust, r.</p>	<p>CΑΜΙΩΝ, profile of a veiled Nemesis looking r.</p>	
<p>Trajan Decius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX, 670</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r.</p>	<p>CΑΜΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, veiled, wearing long <i>chiton</i>, r. hand on chest; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Trajan Decius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia, 359</i></p>	<p>ΕΡΕΝ.ΕΤΡΟΥΚΙΑΑ Α. ΣΕΒ., bust of Etruscilla, r., wearing stephane and draped; crescent behind bust</p>	<p>CΑΜΙΩΝ, cultus-statue of Samian Hera standing front. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Valerianus Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΠΟ. ΑΙ. ΟΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC, dr. and cuir., bust r.</p>	<p>CΑΜΙΩΝ, veiled and diademed (?) Nemesis standing facing, wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Sear 431, 4456; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2328; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 148 (P. Karanastassis)</p>			
<p>Valerianus Senior Bronze <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 371; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 149 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΠΟ. ΛΙ. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC, dr. and cuir., bust r.</p>	<p>CAMIΩN, veiled Nemesis standing facing, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gallienus Bronze <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 380</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ ΠΟ ΛΙΚ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC, laureate, dr. and cuir., bust l.</p>	<p>CAMIΩN, Nemesis standing facing, wearing long <i>chiton</i> and <i>peplos</i> as veil; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gallienus Bronze <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 373-375; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 149 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ ΠΟ ΛΙΚΙΝ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC laureate, dr. and cuir., bust, r.</p>	<p>CAMIΩN, cultus-statue of Samian Hera standing facing, on her l. Nemesis standing facing, wearing long <i>chiton</i> and <i>peplos</i> as veil  BMC Ionia 375:</p>	

		CAMIΩN, similar, but serpent coiled round <i>modius</i> of Hera, and wheel beside Nemesis	
Gallienus Bronze <i>SGN Hunt. Mus. I</i> , 1843; <i>SNG Copen.</i> , 1807	AVT K ΠIO ΛIK ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝOC laureate bust with <i>paludamentum</i> , l.	CAMIΩN, Nemesis standing facing, long <i>chiton</i> and veil; wheel at feet	

## 2. 19 Stratonicea, relief and inscription

**Object:** small stele with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** representation of a horse-rider identified with Zeus Panamaros, holding a *phiale* and looking frontally. The rider appears between two torches and under the left paw of the horse a wheel is carved.

**b. inscription:** the *stratego*i of the summer season dedicate to Zeus, Hecate and Nemesis on the occasion of the quinquennial competition and gladiatorial games.

**Bibliography:** *I. Strat.*, 1005; I. Delemen, *Anatolian Rider Gods. A study on stone finds from the Regions of Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria in the late Roman period*, Bonn 1999, p. 73; cfr. *SEG 49*: 2489; L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 167; A. Lamounier, *Inscription de Carie*, *BCH 58* (1934), p. 301, pict. 4.

**Robert reading**

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀρ-  
 τεμι]δώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμ[ιδ-  
 ώρου]υ πενταετηρικὸς ἀ[γῶν καὶ ?]  
 μον?]ομαχία ἤχθη· θερινῆς  
 [οἱ στ]ρατηγοὶ Δίι, Ἐκά-  
 [τη], Νεμέσι, ὁμονο-  
 [ής]αν-  
 τες

l. 4: μονομαχία can be substituted by ταυρομαχία.

**2. 20 Stratonicea, inscription**

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by *strategoï* of the winter season of Stratonicea.

**Bibliography:** *I Strat.*, 1006; G. Cousin, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, *BCH 15* (1891), pp. 423-424, n. 4; A. Laumonier, *Recherches sur la chronologie des prêtres de Panamara*, *BCH 61* (1937), p. 247, n. 41; A. Laumonier, *Complément aux recherches sur la chronologie des prêtres de Panamara*, *BCH 62* (1938), p. 167, n. 1.

[οἱ σ]τρατηγοὶ οἱ ἄρ-  
 [ξ]αντες τὴν χει-  
 μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ ἀρ-  
 χιερέως Μέντορο-  
 ς τοῦ Ἀπελλοῦ, Ἀντί-  
 οχος Σωκράτους  
 Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἀπολλώνιος



Διοφάντου τοῦ Ξά-  
 νθου Κ(ωρα)ζ(εύς), Ἱεροκλή-  
 ς Ζήνωνος Κω(ραιεύς),  
 καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώ-  
 ρας στρατηγὸς  
 Μενέδημος Ἀπε-  
 λλοῦ Ἱε(ροκωμήτης), ὁμονοήσ-  
 [αντ]ες Νεμέσει.

## 2. 21 Stratonicea, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by *strategoí* of the winter period of Stratonicea.

**Bibliography:** I. *Strat.*, 1317; E. Varmlioğlu, *Inschriften von Stratonikea in Karien*, EA 12 (1988), p. 90, n. 17;

ἐπὶ Διομήδου[ς]  
 τοῦ Διομήδου-  
 ς τοῦ Ἱεροκλέος  
 χιμερινῆ {ν}ς {<sup>2</sup>χιμερινῆς}<sup>2</sup>  
 στρ<α>τηγοὶ ἐ-  
 πὶ μὲν τῆς χώ-  
 ρας Λεωνίδης  
 Λεωνίδου Κο(λιοργεύς),  
 κατὰ πόλιν δὲ  
 Ἱεροκλῆς Θε-  
 ομνήστου Λο(βολδεύς),  
 Καλλικράτης  
 Χρυσίπ<π>ου Ἱα(σεύς?),  
 Μενέδημος  
 Λέοντος τοῦ

Μενεδήμου Κω(ραιεύς)  
 ὁμονοήσαντες  
 Νεμέσει· νεωκόροι  
 Στέφανος ΟΝΣ[—]  
 [—]ο[—]

## 2. 22 Stratonicea, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.


**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication of *charisterion* to Zeus Strateios and Nemesis by *strategoï* of the winter period.

**Bibliography:** *I. Strat.*, 1318; E. Varinlioğlu, *Inschriften von Stratonikea in Karien*, EA 12 (1988), p. 91, n. 18.

στρατηγοὶ οἱ  
 ἄρξαντες τὴν χει-  
 μερινὴν τὴν ἐπὶ  
 στεφανηφόρου Ἀρι-  
 στολάου· Ἰάσων Νέ-  
 ωνος Λο(βολδεὺς) καθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) Ἀριστέο[υ]  
 Κω(ραιεύς), Διονύσιος Φα-  
 νίου Κω(ραιεύς), Πολύαρ-  
 χος Ἐρμοκράτου Λο(βολδεὺς)  
 καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας  
 στρατηγὸς Λέ-  
 ων Δημοσθένου  
 Κω(ραιεύς) ὁμονοήσαν-  
 τες Διὶ Στρατείῳ  
 καὶ Νεμέσει χα-  
 ριστήριον· νεω-  
 ποιὸς Μουσαῖος.

## 2. 23 Trapezopolis, coinage

<p>Generic date, imperial times</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Po. Ai. (or Poli?) Adrastos</p> <p><i>BMC Caria and Islands</i>, 5; <i>LIMC VI, I</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 129 (P. Karanastassis); <i>RPC IV</i>, 941 (temporary)</p>	<p>ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, bust of men wearing a cap, r.; crescent behind shoulders</p>	<p>ΔΙΑ ΠΟ ΑΙ ΑΔΡΑΣΤΡΟΥ, winged Nemesis looking l., bending the r. arm to her neck, l. arm hanging down and holding bridle</p>	
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**Ionia: Ephesus, Erythrae, Miletus, Phocaea, Teos, Smyrna****2. 24 Ephesus, inscription****Object:** unspecified.**Provenience/location:** found in the western entrance of the stadium.**Date:** perhaps reign of Nero.**Description:** dedication to the Ephesian Artemis and the emperor, mentioning a Neikonemeseion.**Bibliography:** *I. Ephesos*, 411; *RE, Suppl. XII*, col. 1638; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 288, n. 240.

[Ἀρτέμι]δι Ἐφεσί[αι] .... [[Νέρωνι]] Καίσαρ[ι Σεβαστῶι] [[Γερμανικῶι]]  
 [Γ. Στερ]τίνιος Ὀρπηξ σὺν Στερτιν[ίαι Μαρείναι τῆι ἐα]υ[τ]οῦ θυγατρὶ, ἱερῆι Ἀρ[τέμιδος] ----- τὸν τοῖ-  
 χον τὸν κατακερρίζοντ[α] κ[α]ὶ ἐ[.....]ον καὶ τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἰε [-----  
 .... περιπ[ά]τωι κ[α]ὶ Νεικονεμεσ[εῖωι] .....] ἔργων αὐτῶν τόπον [-----  
 ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων ἐντὸς διετίας καθιέρω[σεν] .....τὴν δὲ ἐφε]ξῆς τρίτην σελίδα ὁ ἐ[.....

**2. 25 Ephesus, inscription****Object:** marble block.**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre, built into a later wall near the entrance the northern *parodos*.**Date:** reign of Gordian III.**Description:** public dedication mentioning the restoration of the *pronaos* of the Nemeseum.**Bibliography:** *I. Ephesos*, 2042; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 278, n. 239; cfr. I. A. Papapostolou, *Monuments de combats gladiateurs à Patras, BCH 113* (1989), p. 368, n. 51.

ἀγαθῆι τύχ[η]  
 ἢ πόλις ἐπεσκ[ευ-]  
 ασεν τὸ πρόν[α-]  
 ον τοῦ Νεμεσ[εῖου]  
 ἐκ προσόδων [Ἰουλί-]  
 ας Ποτεντίλλ[ης]

γραμματεῦον[τος]  
 Μ. Ἀρουνκηῖο[υ]  
 Οὐηδίου Μιθριδ[άτου]

### **Papapostolou reading**

ἡ πόλις ἐπεσκ[ευ-]  
 ασεν τὸ πρόσκην[τι]  
 ον τοῦ Νεμεζ[ίου]

## **2. 26 Ephesus, inscription**

**Object:** marble altar with a dedication to Nemesis.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to the Nemeseis by a certain Asklepiakos. It is probably connected with the *Neikonemeseum* or *Nemeseum* of the inscriptions above (nn. 20, 21).

**Bibliography:** *I. Ephesos*, 3331.

Ἀσκληπιακός  
 Νεμέσεσιν  
 εὐχήν

## **2. 27 Ephesus, statuary**

**Object:** statue of Nemesis-Tyche.

**Provenience/location:** found near the theatre's stage building. Today preserved at the Kunsthistorische Museum of Wien (inv. I 931).

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** Nemesis-Tyche wears a long *chiton*. A griffin appears at her right and a cista/globe near her left foot. She holds a *cornucopia* and a *cubitum*.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 181 (P. Karanastassis); M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 41, pl. 17; B. Schweitzer, *Dea Nemesis Regina, Jdl 46* (1931), p. 208; W. Oberleitner, *Funde aus Ephesos and Samothrake. Katalog der Antikensammlung II*, Wien 1978, pp. 109-110, n. 46.

## 2. 28 Ephesus, statuary

**Object:** two marble statuettes.

**Proveniencelocation:** exact provenience unknown. Today preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Selcuk.



**Date:**

**Description:** two identical Nemeseis stand frontally, wearing a long *chiton*, and holding the same attributes: A cubit-rule in their left hand. They both spit on their chest, while a griffin appears at their feet, in specular position.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 138 (P. Karanastassis); R. Fleischer, *Eine neue Darstellung der doppelten Nemesis von Smyrna*, in M. B. de Boer, T. A. Edridge (eds.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, vol 1*, Leiden 1978, pp. 392-396.



## 2. 29 Ephesus, coinage


<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance between Ephesus and Smyrna P. Anthipatros Ruso, <i>procos</i> 92/3 or 93/4</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1695; <i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1079; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 405</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, bust of Domitian r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΡΟΥΣΩΝΟΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ ΖΜΥΡ, cult statue of Artemis Ephesia between two Nemeseis, standing r. and l., holding bridle and cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance between Ephesus and Smyrna P. Anthipatros Ruso, <i>Procos</i> 92/3 or 93/4</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1081</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, bust of Domitian, r.</p>	<p>ΑΝΘΥ ΡΟΥΣΩΝΟΣ (above) ΖΜΥΡ (below) ΕΦΕ, two Nemeseis standing r., facing the cult statue of Artemis</p>	

<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus and Smyrna. Caesennius Paetus <i>procos</i> (between A.D. 91 and 95)</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1085; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 407</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, laureate head of Domitian, r., with drapery and <i>aegis</i> on l. shoulder</p>	<p>(ΕΠΙ) ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΝΝΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΙΑ, (above) ΖΜΥΡ (below) ΕΦΕΣΙ, cult statue of Artemis (with supports) between two Nemeseis</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus and Smyrna. Caesennius Paetus <i>procos</i> (between AD 91 and 95)</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1086</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, laureate head of Domitian, r., with drapery and <i>aegis</i> on l. shoulder</p>	<p>(ΕΠΙ) ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΝΝΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΙΑ, (above) ΖΜΥΡ (below) ΕΦΕ, cult statue of Artemid (with supports) between two Nemeseis</p>	




<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus and Smyrna. Caesennius Paetus <i>procos</i> (between AD 91 and 95)</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1090; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 409</p>	<p>The same above:  ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ  ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ  ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, laureate head of Domitian, r., with drapery on l. shoulder</p>	<p>(ΕΠΙ) ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΝ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΙΑ,  (above) ΖΜΥΡ (below) ΕΦΕ, two Nemeseis standing face to face</p>	
<p>Domitian (Domitia Sebaste)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus and Smyrna Caesennius Paetus <i>procos</i> (between AD 91 and 95)</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1699; <i>RPC II</i>, 1092 – 1092, 15</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒ.ΑΣΤΗ, bust of Domitia, r.</p>	<p>ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΝ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ ΖΜΥΡ, two Nemeseis, face to face, holding bridle and <i>cubitus</i></p>	

<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Ephesus and Smyrna alliance. <i>Anthypatos and Paitos?</i></p> <p>Sear, 85, 908; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 411; <i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1092</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ, bust of Domitia draped, r.</p>	<p>ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΤΩΝ, two Nemeseis standing facing each other, holding bridle and cubit-rule; in field ΕΦΕ / ΖΜΥΡ</p>	
<p>Domitian (Domitia Sebaste)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus and Smyrna Caesennius Paetus <i>procos</i> (between AD 91 and 95)</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1093</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ, bust of Domitia draped, r.</p>	<p>ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΤΩΝ, in field ΕΦΕ / ΖΜΥΡ, female figure (Nemesis?) in short <i>chiton</i>, holding sceptre and <i>patera</i></p>	

<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coin between Ephesus Smyrna and Pergamum</p> <p>Sear 131, 1410; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 403</p>	<p>ΤΙ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate, draped and with cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΖΜΥΡ. ΠΕΡΓ. ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝ, Cult statue of the Ephesian Artemis facing between sanding figures of Nemesis right and Asclepius l.</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 1121; <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 393</p>	<p>ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r.</p>	<p>ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle</p>	

## 2. 30 Erythrae, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>NCP, pl. 15, 8; Lichočka, p. 44, n. 110: “images de Némésis et Héraclès ensemble dans un temple se voient sur des monnaies d’Erythrée du temps de Septime Sévère”</p>		<p>Nemesis standing on the r., looking l., beside the <i>simulacrum</i> of Heracles in temple</p>	
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## 2. 31 Miletus, inscription

**Object:** marble base.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (on the basis of palaeography).

**Description:** the name of Nemesis is restored by the editors. Nemesis is described as “*paredros* of Dike”. The dedicant, presumably a winner in games, could have dedicated a statue to Nemesis as a goddess related to the idea of justice.

**Bibliography:** *I. Milet.*, 9, 365; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 297, n. 250.

Τῆσδε θεᾶς τόδε ἄγαλ[μα ἀνέθηκε]  
 νίκης εὐσεβέως ψῆ[φον ἐνεγκάμενος]  
 ἢ δὲ Δίκης πάρεδρος [Νέμεσις]  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐσθλὸν [----]

## 2. 32 Miletus, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** found in the Market Gate, perhaps originally from the old Serapeion.

**Date:** reign of Hadrian (on the basis of palaeography).

**Description:** Appheion asked the favor of Apollo in some acrobatic and bull performances. The oracle replies to pray Serapis, Phoebus and Nemesis who “supervises the stadium of athletes”.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 295, n. 248.

Ξανδρεύς

Ἀπρέϊων ἐρωτᾷ ὁ καὶ Ἥρωνᾶς Ἀλε-

*vacat*

Ἐπεὶ πάντοτε οἱ τε πατριοὶ θεοὶ αὐτοῦ  
 Παρίστανται καὶ σὺ αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ ἀπάγι  
 ἔργῳ, διὰ τοῦτο δεῖται σου, δέσποτα,  
 εἰ ἐνδόξως ὡς πάντοτε ἀπαλλάξει ἐν  
 τε τοῖς ἀκρωνύχοις καὶ τῇ ταυροδιδα-  
 ξία καὶ εἰ ἐνδόξως ὑπηρετήσῃ.

Ὁ Διδυμεὺς ἐθέσπισεν·  
 Φοῖβον καὶ θεὸν ὄμμα Σαράπιδος ἀρρήτοιο  
 καὶ Νέμεσιν σταδίοισιν ἐπίσκοπον ἀθλητῶν  
 λισσόμενος βουλαῖσι τεαῖς ἐπαρηγόνας ἕξεις.

## 2. 33 Miletus, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** Nemesis appears as a Diana, winged, with a cuirass and a bow. Around the goddess a rich vegetal decoration is carved.

**b. inscription:** fragmentary dedication to Nemesis at the opposite side.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1, s. v. Nemesis*, n. 170 (P. Karanastassis); M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 60, 65, n. 251; H. Volkmann, *Studien von Nemesiskult*, *ARW* 26 (1928), p. 313, n. 33; B. Schweitzer, *Dea Nemesis Regina*, *JdI* 46 (1931), p. 209, pict. 10; G. Mendel, *Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, voll. 2-3, Constantinopole 1914, n. 864.

...ξ Νεμέσι εὐχή[v]



From Schweitzer 1931, p. 209, pict. 10.

## 2. 34 Miletus, inscription

**Object:** marble block.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Aginous and Demosthenes.

**Bibliography:** *SEG* 4: 425; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 296, n. 249; W. Peek, *Milesische Versinschriften*, *ZPE* 7 (1971), pp. 193-226.


[ἔδρασ?] τ|άσδε ἀνέ[θεντ]ο [θε]ῶι Νεμέσε[ι] το[ῦ ἀμώ]μο  
[τοῖς π|ά]λαι Ἐργίνου παῖδες [ἀρηι]φίλοι,

[ἦ καὶ σῆ]]ς, Ἀγίνου, καὶ σῆς, Δημόσθενες, ἀρχῆς  
[μνή|σ]εται εὐάνδρῳι τῶιδε ἐπὶ γυμνασίῳι.

### 2. 35 Teos, coinage

<p>Imperial times Bronze <i>BMC Ionia, 54</i></p>	<p><i>Cista mystica</i> on which lies a Bacchic mask l. Behind, a <i>thyrsos</i></p>	<p>THIΩN, female griffin with pointed wings, with fore-paw on <i>kantharos</i></p>	
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### 2. 36 Phocaea, coinage

<p>Pseudo-autonomous coinage <i>SNG Copen., 1050</i></p>	<p>ΦΩΚΕΑ, bust of a turreted Tyche, r.</p>	<p>Winged griffin, r., with the l. forepaw path on a wheel</p>	
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### 2. 37 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** fragment of a broken marble.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Found in a garden wall of a 19<sup>th</sup> century house.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D

**Description:** inscription mentioning the *agonothetes* of the goddesses Nemeseis.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 308, n. 270; G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Bonn 1987, n. 650.

MA [.....]  
 Τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην  
 τῶν μεγάλων θε-  
 ῶν Νεμέσεων, ἐπι-  
 τελέσαντα τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα ἀξίως τῆς  
 πατρίδος καὶ τῶν  
 θεῶν

## 2. 38 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a stone block.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** list of celebrations and games in many cities of Asia Minor, including the Nemeseia.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 313, n. 278; P. Frisch, *Nemeseia und Barbilleia in Smyrna*, *ZPE* 15 (1974), p. 162; cfr. A. Tataki, *Nemesis, Nemeseis and the gladiatorial games at Smyrna*, *Mnemosyne* 62 (2009), pp. 639-648.

.....] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἐφέσεια, ἐν [...] Νεμέσεια καὶ Βαρβίλλεια ἀγ[ε]-  
 νείων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ  
 καὶ πάλι τὰ ἐξῆς, καὶ ἐν Περγά-  
 μῳ Βαρβίλλεια, Τράλλεις κοι-  
 νὸν Ἀσίας, Μαγνησίαν Λευ-  
 κοφρύνει, ἐν Ῥόδῳ Ἄλεια.



l. 1: Frisch suggests to complete with Σμ[ύρνη]

## 2. 39 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** mention of a *strategos epi ton oplon* and *neokoros* of the great Nemeseis.

**Bibliography:** *CIG II*, 3193; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 304, n. 263; G. Petzel, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Bonn 1987, n. 641.

[Μητρ]ὸς θεῶν [Σ]ιτυληνῆς ἀνέστησεν Φλ. Πα-  
 τερνιανόν, πατέρα Τ. Φλ. Ὀνησίμου Πατερ-  
 νιανοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρος, καὶ Τ. Φλ. Ὀνήσιμον  
 Πατερνιανόν, στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ νεωκόρ[ον]  
 τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν Νεμέσεων, ἵππαρχον, γραμμ[α]-  
 τοφύλακα, πρύτανιν, πρῶτον ἀγορανόμον, ταμίαν  
 τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς φιλοτείμως ἐκ-  
 τελέσαντα, ἀλ(λ)ὰ καὶ εἰς {εις} ἔργων κατασκευὰς καὶ  
 [π]ρεσβειῶ[ν .....]ΙΩΝΦ[.....]  
 καὶ ἑαυτὴν ΣΥ[..... ἀνέ]στησα.

## 2. 40 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** dedicatory inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the *Nemeseum*.

**Date:** 211/212 A.D.

**Description:** the philosopher Papinius makes contributions to the *Nemeseum*.

**Bibliography:** *CIG*, 3163; *IGRR IV*, 1403; *I. Smyrna*, 725.

ὑπὲρ διαμονῆς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου·  
 Παπίνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐγκατοχήσας τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι  
 παρὰ ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν, εὐξάμενος αὐξῆσαι τὸ Νεμέσειον,  
 τὸν παρατεθέντ<a> οἶκον ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν ἀνιέρωσεν, ὡς  
 εἶναι ἐν ἱερῷ τῶν κυρίων Νεμέσεων τὸ ὅλον.  
 ὁ τόπος συνεχωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου,  
 Γεντι{νι}ανῶ {Γεντιανῶ} καὶ Βάσσω ὑπάτοις, πρὸ νωνῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.

## 2. 41 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** dedication to the Nemeseis.

**Provenience/location:** found in the agora of Smyrna.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication to the Nemeseis by the *neokoros* of the emperors.

**Bibliography:** J. Keil, *Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna, Ist. Forsch. 17* (1950), p. 57, n. 8; *I. Smyrna*, 740.

[— θεαῖς] Νεμέσεσ[ιν —]

[— νεωκόρος] τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις —]

## 2. 42 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** found in the agora of Smyrna.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication to the Nemeseis by Valerius Longinus, religious official of the goddesses.

**Bibliography:** J. Keil, *Die Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna, Ist. Forsch. 17* (1950), pp. 56-57, n. 7; *I. Smyrna*, 741.

Οὐαλέριος  
 Λονγεῖνος  
 σημεαφό-  
 ρος θεαῖς

Νεμέ-  
σεσιν  
εὐχίην

## 2. 43 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** dedication to Dionysos Breseus.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Dionysos Breseus of statues of the Nemeseis by Meliton.

**Bibliography:** *CIG*, 3161; *I. Smyrna*, 759.

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι·  
τὰς Νεμέ-  
σεις Μελί-  
των ἀνέ-  
θηκε θε-  
ῶ Βρησεῖ  
Διονύσῳ.

## 2. 44 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** inscription on a marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 124 A.D.

**Description:** inscription mentioning a certain Claudius Bassus, *agonothetes* of the Nemeseis.

**Bibliography:** *I. Smyrna*, 697; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 308, n. 271.

[—]. ΠΙΑΣ  
δὲ τὸ δ'?, [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐ]άρεστος τὸ ζ',  
ἐφ' οὗ στρατηγούντος ὑπέσχοντο

οἶδε· Κλ(αύδιος) Βάσσοσ ἀγωνοθέτης  
 Νεμέσεων στρώσειν τὴν βασι-  
 λικὴν· Φοῦσκος ἔργον ποιήσειν  
 <μυ>(ριάδων) ζ´· Χερσίφρων ἀσιάρχης τοὺς  
 κήπους εἰς τὸν φοινεικῶνα·  
 Λούκιος Πομπήϊος εἰς τὸν φοι-  
 νεικῶνα <μυ>(ριάδας) ε´· Λούκιος Βησσεῖνος  
 τὴν βασιλικὴν στρώσειν τ<ὴν>  
 πρὸς τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ χαλ-  
 κᾶς τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν· ☩  
 Σμάραγδος πρύτανις ναὸν Τύχης  
 κατασκευάσειν ἐν τῷ φοινεικῶ-  
 .....

## 2. 45 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** honorary/dedicatory inscription to the Nemeseis.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Publius Cornelius Epiktetos, also known as Akakios, made by his father Publius Cornelius Zosimos.

**Bibliography:** *I. Smyrna*, 649; *SEG 27: 773*; E. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs, vol I*, Mainz am Rheim 1977, n. 237.

θεῶν Ν[ε]-  
 μέσεων.  
 [Πό(πλιος) Κορ(νήλιος) Ζώσιμο[ς]  
 Πό(πλιον) Κορ(νήλιον) Ἐπίκτητον  
 τὸν υἱόν,  
 τὸν καὶ Ἀκάκιν.

## 2. 46 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** dedicatory inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown, probably from the agora.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedicatory inscription to the double Nemesis, all the gods and the emperor. This inscription is related to the temple of the two Nemeseis in the agora.

**Bibliography:** I. *Smyrna*, 628; L. Robert, *Ann. Collège de France*, 60<sup>e</sup> année, 1960, p. 331.

[Ἡ λαμπροτάτ]η καὶ [πρώτη πόλεων τ]ῆς Ἀσί[ας καὶ δις νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις] θεαῖς Νε[μέσεσι - - - καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πά]σαις κα[ὶ  
 Αὐτοκράτορι] Καίσι[αρι - - -]

## 2. 47 Smyrna, inscription

**Object:** private dedication to Nemesis.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication by a private citizen called Hermas.




**Bibliography:** *CIG*, 3164; I. *Smyrna*, 742.




Νεμέσει


Ἑρμᾶς

εὐχὴν.



## 2. 48 Smyrna, coinage



<p>Tiberius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Magistrate Ti. Cl. Ieronymos Strategos Ti. Cl. Sosandros</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 124; <i>SGN Hunt. Mus. I</i> 1470-1472 and Klose III B b; Klose III 67, 1 (rev. R 64, pl. 3); Klose III 90, 1; Klose III 98, 1.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ, winged Nemesis standing r., holding bridle (or a branch?) in l. hand, and with r. hand bent at elbow, plucking the neck of her <i>chiton</i></p>	<p>CTPA.TI. ΚΛΑΥCΩCANΔΡΟΥ Z(al contrario) MYP, River god recumbent, holding reed, and resting l. elbow on reversed vase, from which a stream flows</p>	
<p>Tiberius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 125, 126</p>	<p>//</p>	<p>// similar figure</p>	
<p>Tiberius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 127</p>	<p>//, similar, but Nemesis has curled wings</p>	<p>CTPAT I ΚΛΑ CΩCANΔΡΟΥ ZMYP, // similar figure</p>	




<p>Nero</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2172; Klose, pl. 3, V 23-30; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 134 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Nemesis looking r., bridle in her l., and typical gesture with her l. hand</p>	<p>Similar to the above</p>	
<p>Nero and Agrippina</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Aulus Gessius Filopatris</p> <p>Sear 60, 646; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 287</p>	<p>ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗΝ, laureate bust of Nero facing the bust of Agrippina r.</p>	<p>ΣΤΡΑ ΓΕΣΣΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ, Nemesis-Pax standing r., holding <i>caduceus</i>, snake at feet</p> <p>ZMY in field r.</p>	
<p>Nero and Agrippina</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Aulus Gessius Filopatris</p> <p><i>SGN Hunt. Mus.</i> I 1461; Klose XXXIII A a</p>	<p>ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗΝ, laureate bust of Nero facing the bust of Agrippin, r.</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΓΕΣΣΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ, Nemesis-Pax, standing right holding <i>caduceus</i>, snake at feet</p> <p>ZMY in field r.</p>	


<p>Vespasianus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 87, 926; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 315</p>	<p>ΟΥΕΠΙΑCΙΑΝΟC ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟC, bare-headed, and draped bust r., wearing <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ZMYRNAIΩN, Nemesis standing r., holding bridle</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>84 A.D., Anthypatos Fronteinus strategos Gereinos (priest of Zeus?)</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 133; <i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1012</p>	<p>ΑΝΘΥΠΙΑΤΩ ΦΡΟΝΤΕΙΝ ΩCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΓΕΡΗΙΝΟC, Zeus Akraios seated l., <i>himation</i> shoulder; he holds in r. Nike and rests with l. on sceptre</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ CΤΕ ΜΥΡΤΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟC ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, two Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Demostratos and strategos Seios</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 1024; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 146; the same issue of <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1490-1491 quoting Klose IV H b, 88-94</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΔΗΜΟC ΤΡΑΤΟV, Nemesis standing r., right arm at elbow, and plucking <i>chiton</i> at her neck; in her l. bridle</p>	<p>Z ΜΥΡ CΤΡΑ CΗΙΟC, Nike advancing r., carrying trophy over shoulder</p>	







<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis, n. 188b (P. Karanastassis); Klose pl. 29, R 11</i></p>	<p>ust of Domitian, r.</p>	<p>Nemesis-Pax standing l., with branch in l.? and doing her typical gesture with her r. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia, 309</i></p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΑΥΓΟΥ[CTA], bust of Domitia r., draped</p>	<p>ZMYP NAIΩN, Nemesis standing l., r. hand raised to her neck, l. hand holding bridle</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC II, 1, 102; Klose XL 2-3</i></p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΑΥΓΟΥ[CTA], bust of Domitia r., draped</p>	<p>ZMYP NAIΩN, Nemesis standing r., r. hand raised to her neck, l. hand holding bridle</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚ, head of Domitian, r., laureate</p>	<p>ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙCΕΝ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ ΣΜΥΡ, two Nemeseis face to face l. and</p>	



<p>L. Caesennius Paetus, Procos.</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 409, 410, 412, 413 same type</p>		<p>r., holding respectively bridle and cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>L. Caesennius Paetus, Procos.</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 412, 413</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΣ ΒΑΧΤΗ, bust of Domitia, r., draped</p>	<p>ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙCΕΝ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ ΣΜΥΡ, two Nemeseis face to face l. and r., holding respectively bridle and cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Vespasian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC II</i>, 1, 103; Klose XLII 11</p>	<p>ΟΥΕΣΠΑCΙΑΝΟC ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟC, bare head (or bust) of the younger Vespasian, r.</p>	<p>ZΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing r., r. arm bent to the neck</p>	
<p>Trajan</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Tamias C.Cl Bion</p> <p>Klose p. 147, V A a; <i>RPC III</i>, 1, 1966; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 15</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC, dr. bust of the Roman Senate r.</p>	<p>ZΜVP ΓΑ.ΚΑ.ΒΙΩΝΟC.ΤΑΜΙΟΥ, two Nemeseis face to face, each with bent arm, the one with bridle, the other with cubit-rule</p>	



<p>Hadrian</p> <p>Gold cistophorus</p> <p>Metcalf, nn. 32, 33; Herzfelder 11, pl. 2, 4; <i>RPC III, I</i>, 1361</p>	<p>HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P, bust of hadrian bare, r.</p>	<p>COS III, Two Nemeseis draped, standing face to face. Each raised the r., one holds bridle in l., the other hold cubit-rule.</p>	
<p>Hadrian</p> <p>Gold cistophorus</p> <p><i>RPC III</i>, 1357; Metcalf, n. 28</p>	<p>HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P, head of Hadrian, r.</p>	<p>COS - III (in field), SMVR, tetrastyle temple on <i>podium</i> of three steps, within which two Nemeseis face one another</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Pergamum</p> <p>Sear 131, 1410; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 403</p>	<p>TI. KAICAP ANTΩNEINOC, laureate, draped and with cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p> <p>RPC IV 119: T AIA KAICAP ANTΩNEINOC</p>	<p>ZMYP. ΠΕΡΓ. ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝ, cult statue of the Ephesian Artemis facing between sanding figures of Nemesis l. and Asclepios r.</p> <p><i>PRC IV</i> 1119: ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, in centre, cult statue of</p>	

<p>Possibly the same type of <i>RPC IV</i>, 1119</p>		<p>Artemis of Ephesus standing, facing, wearing <i>kalathos</i>, having supports; to l., Asclepius standing, r., holding serpent-staff; to r., Nemesis standing, l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius  Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Miletus  Sear 131, 1414; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2108</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΤΙ. ΑΙ. ΑΔ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate head of Ant. Pius, r.</p>	<p>ΜΕΙΛΗCΙΩΝ CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Naked Apollo Didymeus standing and holding stag and bow; two Nemeseis standing each other. The two Nemeseis in long <i>chiton</i> spit on their chest and one probably hold a bridle (?)</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius  Bronze Stephanephoros Rufina, daughter of Fuscus  Klose XLVII E a</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΤΙ. ΑΙΛΙΟC. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate bust of the emperor</p>	<p>CΤΡ ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΗC ΦΟΥCΚΟΥ ΘΥ CΜΥΡ, two Nemeseis facing one another with <i>cubitum</i> and bridle</p>	



<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Theudianos strategos, after 147 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 292; Klose XIII A b 7</p>	<p>CMVPNA AΔPIANH, turreted bust of Amazon Smyrna, r.</p>	<p>ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ, griffin standing, r., placing fore-paw on wheel</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Theudianos strategos, after 147 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 264- 265; Klose XIII A b 3 (pl. 12 R3)</p>	<p>CMVPNA AΔPIANH, turreted bust of Amazon Smyrna, l.</p>	<p>ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ, griffin standing, r., placing fore-paw on wheel</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Theudianos strategos, after 147 A.D.</p> <p>Sear 148, 1594; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 346; <i>RPC IV</i>, 3087; Klose XLIX A a</p>	<p>ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ., head r., bare</p>	<p>ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟC CΣΤΡΑΤΗ. ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ CΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙC, Alexander the Great resting on a shield beneath a plane tree; before him, the two Nemeseis facing one another and holding bridle and <i>cubitum</i></p>	




<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Theudianos strategos, after 147 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 239</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, head left, bare</p>	<p>ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙΣ, Alexander sleeping against shield under plane-tree, l.; behind, two Nemeseis standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding cubit, the other holding bridle.</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LXXIX D a; <i>RPC IV</i>, 286 See also Klose LXXIX E a4 (pl. 58, V6-R4)</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ, laur. head of Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣΙ ΣΜΥΡ ΛΑΟ, in centre, Zeus of Laodicea standing, facing, holding eagle and long sceptre; between the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding <i>cubitum</i>, the other the bridle</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ, laur head of Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣΙ ΣΜΥΡ ΛΑΟ, Zeus of Laodicea between the two Nemeseis with bridle and <i>cubitum</i></p>	


<p>Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LXXIX E a</p>			
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LXXIX E a 3; <i>RPC IV</i>, 285; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 514</p>	<p>AY K M AV ANTΩNINOC, laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟC CΟΦΙCΤΗC ΤΑΙC ΠΑΤΡΙCΙ CΜVΡ ΛΑΟ(Δ), to l., Zeus of Laodicea standing, r., holding (long transverse sceptre and) eagle; to r., the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding cubit, the other holding bridle</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 2943</p>	<p>ΑV ΚΑΙ ΜΑ ΑVΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass, l.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟC CΟΦΙCΤΗC ΤΑΙC ΠΑΤΡΙ CΜVΡ ΛΑΟ, in centre, Zeus of Laodicea standing, facing, holding eagle and long sceptre; between the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding <i>cubitum</i>, the other the bridle</p>	



<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Cl. Proclus Sophistus.</p> <p>Klose L B a</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ/ΕΙΝΑ, bust of Faustina</p>	<p>ΣΤΡΑ ΚΛ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΜΥ, two Nemeseis face to face, holding bridle and cubit rule respectively</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Theudianos c. 147 A.D.</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1513-1514; Klose L A b; RPC IV, 244; BMC Ionia, 349</i></p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina, r.</p>	<p>ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ, griffin with left fore-paw on wheel</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p>RPC IV, 291; Klose LXXX C a; <i>BMC Ionia, 516</i></p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina, l.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟC ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗC ΤΑΙC ΠΑΤΡΙCΙ ΣΜΥΡ ΛΑΟΔ, Zeus of Laodicea between the two Nemeseis with bridle and <i>cubitum</i></p>	





<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Laodicea Attalos Sophistes, 169-175 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 290; BMC Ionia, 515</i></p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ CEBACTH, bust of Faustina, l.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣΙ ΣΜΥΡ ΛΑΟΔ, Zeus Laodikeos standing on the l. and facing r., holding eagle and sceptre; before him on r., two Nemeses standing facing each other, each drawing drapery from shoulder and holding cubit- rule</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos P. Ael. Arizelus</p> <p>Sear 175, 1896; <i>BMC Ionia, 353</i>; Klose LII A a. The same type in <i>SNG Copen., 1370</i></p>	<p>ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ CEBACTH, bust of Lucilla, r.</p>	<p>CTP. ΑΡΙΖΗΛΟΥ CMYPΝΑΙΩΝ. Two Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing fold of drapery from breast. The one on l. holds bridle, the other on r. cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Athens Strategos Ael. Herakleides, 182-184 A.D.</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ, bust of the emperor, r.</p>	<p>CMYP. ΑΘΗΝΑΙ. ΟΜΟ. CTP. ΑΙ., ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ / ΔΟΥ, winged Nemesis standing r. holding bridle and facing Athena, standing l. holding <i>patera</i></p>	


<p>Sear 184, 1981; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2246; Klose LXXXI F a <i>RPC IV</i>, 300 (<i>BMC Ionia</i>, 481-483)</p>			
<p>Commodus Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Athens Ai. Herakleides strategos, 182-184 A.D. <i>RPC IV</i>, 297; Klose LXXXI E a, pl. 59 (V10 R 14)</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ, laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>CTP ΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ CMVP ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΟΜΟ, to l., the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding cubit, the other holding bridle; to r., Athena standing, l.</p>	
<p>Commodus Bronze Strategos P. Aelius Arizelos, c. 175-177 A.D. <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 359; <i>RPC IV</i>, 258; Klose LIII A c, pl. 42 (R3) = Kraft, p. 189, pl. 90.2</p>	<p>Α. ΑΥΡ. ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, bust of young Commodus r., bare, wearing <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass</p>	<p>CTP. ΠΟ. ΑΙΑ, ΑΡΙΖΗΛΙΟΥ. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, two Nemeseis in usual attitude standing in biga drawn by griffins, l.</p>	


<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos P. Aelius Arizelos, c. 175-177 A.D.</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1534; <i>RPC IV</i>, 257; Klose LIII A b</p> <p>The same type in SNG Copen., 1375</p>	<p>Α. ΑΥΡ. ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, bust of young Commodus, bare, wearing paludamentum and cuirass, r.</p>	<p>CTP. ΠΟ. ΑΙΑ, ΑΡΙΖΗΛΙΟΥ. CMYPNAIΩN, two Nemeseis face to face, one with bridle the other with cubit-rule. One has the griffin with a paw on the wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Commodus (reign of Marcus Aurelius)</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Nicomedia Strategos M. Sellios, 177- 180 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 292 (temporary); Klose LXXXI C a</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Α. ΑΥΡ. ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ, bust of young Commodus, bare, wearing cuirass, r.</p>	<p>ΟΜΟ ΣΜΥΡ ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ Μ.- ΚΕΛΛΙΟΥ, to l., Demeter standing, r., holding two ears of corn and long torch; to r., the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing, facing each other, each plucking <i>chiton</i>, one holding cubit, the other holding bridle</p>	

<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Athens</p> <p>Klose LXXXI L a (Rs 4); <i>SNG Hunt. Mus.</i> I 1539</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ, bust of the emperor, r.</p>	<p>ΟΜΟ ΣΜΥΡ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΤΡΑ ΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ, winged Nemesis of Smyrna, holding bridle standing r., towards helmeted Athena, holding <i>patera</i>, standing l.</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Nicomedia</p> <p>Strategos M. Sellius, 178-180 A.D.</p> <p><i>RPC I</i>, 307; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 499-500; Klose LXXXII A b</p>	<p>ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΧΤΗ, bust of Crispina r., dr.</p>	<p>ΣΤΡ Μ ΣΕΛΛΙΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΜ ΜΥΡ ΟΜΟ, two Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing fold of drapery from breast. The one on l. holds bridle, the other on r. cubit- rule; at the feet of the latter a wheel</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Cl. Aristophanes</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 364</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΟΚ Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑ, bust of Septimius Severus, r., laur., wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΚΛ ΑΡΙΣΤ ΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule; at the feet of the latter griffin, seated l., with a fore-paw on a wheel</p>	


<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Cl. Aristophanes</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 365; Klose L A b</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Α. ΣΕΠ. ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ. Π</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΚΑ ΑΡΙC ΤΟΦΑΝΟΥC ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other <i>patera</i>; at the feet of the latter griffin, seated l., with a fore- paw on a wheel</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Claudius Stratonikos.</p> <p><i>SNG Copen.</i>, 1376</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Α. ΣΕ. ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ. Π, bust laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ ΚΑ. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Cybele turred, enthroned, holding on his r. hand the two Nemeseis, each with r. arm bent and plucking <i>chiton</i> at neck; the l. one holding bridle, the other a cubit-rule. Cybele's l. arm is resting on <i>tympanum</i>. At her feet a lion</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Cl. Aristophanes, 193-195 A.D.</p> <p>Sear 224, 237; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 284, 372; The same type in</p>	<p>ΙΟΥ. ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ. Κ. ΑΡΙCΤΟΦΑΝ. ΣΜΥΡΝΑ, two Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a bridle.</p>	




<p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1567;</i> Klose LVIII b (p. 273)</p>			
<p>Septimius Severus  Bronze Strategos Ael. Apollonius  <i>BMC Ionia, 383</i> The same type in <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1572</i> Klose LVIII H b</p>	<p>IOVΛΙΑ CEBACTH, bust of Iulia Domna draped, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ CΤΡ ΑΙΑ ΑΠ Λ ΩΝΙΟ ΟΛ V CMYPΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a bridle.</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus  Bronze Strategos M. Aur. Geminus  <i>BMC Ionia, 384;</i> Klose LVIII Ga</p>	<p>IOVΛΙΑ CEBACTH, bust of Iulia Domna draped, r.</p>	<p>ECTPMAV P. Γ ΕΜΙΝΟV ZMVPΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the right holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a bridle</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus  Bronze  <i>BMC Ionia, 393;</i> Klose LVIII K a</p>	<p>IOVΛΙΑ CEBACTH, bust of Iulia Domna draped, r.</p>	<p>ΓΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ CMVP ΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the right holds a cubit- rule with a wheel at her feet. The other holds a bridle</p>	


<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Cl. Stratoneicus, 209-211 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LVIII D a</p>	<p>CEBACTH IOVAIA ΔΟΜΝΑ, bust of J. Domna draped</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ ΣΜΥ / ΠΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit-rule, the other holds a bridle</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Klose LIX M a</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, Bust of Caracalla bearded and laur., cuir. and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΓΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ CΜVP ΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit- rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a bridle</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Pergamum Strategos M. Aur. Geminus 212-213 A.D.</p> <p>FitzW. 161, 8339; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 506; Klose LXXXIII D a</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Caracalla bearded and laureate</p>	<p>CΜVPΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΓΕΜΙΝΟΥ, Asclepius standing r., with snake- entwined staff between two Nemeseis, facing, each plucking <i>chiton</i> at breast with r. hand. The one has <i>cubitum</i>, the other bridle</p>	


<p>The same of <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1581</p>			
<p>Caracalla Bronze  Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Pergamum Strategos M. Aur. Geminus 212-213 A.D.  Klose LXXXIII G b, LXXXIII H e</p>	<p>AVT. K. M. AVP ANTΩNEINOC, bust of Caracalla bearded and laureate</p>	<p>CMVPΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΓΕΜΙΝΟΥ, Asclepios standing r., with snake-entwined staff between two Nemeseis, facing, each plucking <i>chiton</i> at breast with r. hand. The one has <i>cubitum</i>, the other <i>bridle</i></p>	
<p>Geta Bronze Strategos Cl. Rufinus Sophistes, ca. 198-202.  <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 422-425; <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1577-1578 quoting Klose LXI A a</p>	<p>Α ΣΕΠ ΓΕ ΤΑC ΚΑΙCΑΡ, bust of Geta, cuirassed and with <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ CΤΡΑ ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΥ CMVPΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a <i>bridle</i></p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze</p>	<p>A. K. M. AVP. CEO V ΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡΟC, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>CMVPΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from</p>	






<p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 428; Klose LXV E a</p>		<p>breast. The one on the r. holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at feet. The other holds a bridle</p>	
<p>Maximinus Thraex  Bronze  Klose LXIX A a</p>	<p>ΠΙΟΥΗΡ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ, draped bust of Maximus</p>	<p>CMVPΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Nemeseis standing face to face, each drawing out of drapery from breast. The one on the right holds a cubit-rule with a wheel at her feet. The other holds a bridle</p>	
<p>Gordian III  Bronze Strategos C. Iul. Menekles 239-241 A.D.  <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1613-14; Klose LXX F a; <i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 306</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡ Γ ΝΕ ΕΠ ΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΥC, two Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule; at the feet of the latter, a wheel</p>	



<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Claudius Rufinus sophistas and strategos</p> <p>Klose LXX G b; <i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 309</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. - ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙΣΤΡ ΚΛ ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΥ ΣΟΦ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, two Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule and <i>phiale</i>. Griffin at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos M. Aur. Tertius, Asiarches 242-4</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1617; Klose LXX H a</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate cuirassed bust r., with <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>CMYΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩ ΕΠΙ ΤΕΡΤΙΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ, Alexander sleeping beneath plane-tree, head resting on shield, his sword and helmet beside him. Behind the two Nemeseis standing face to face</p>	
<p>Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Aph. Epiktetos (244-249)</p> <p>Sear 374, 3902; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2231; Klose LXXII A a</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΙΟΥ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟC, laur., dr, and cuir. bust r.</p>	<p>CMYΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩ ΕΠΙ. C. ΑΦ. ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ (beneath), the vision of Alexander – the King, asleep, reclining left under a plane-tree at foot of which, <i>bucranium</i>; in background, two Nemeseis standing face to face, holding bridle and cubit-rule. Beside Alexander lies his shield, spear and greave</p>	




<p>Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Aph. Epiktetos (244-249)</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 296, 452</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΙΟΥ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ, laur., dr, and cuir. bust, r.</p>	<p>CMVPΝΑΙΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩ. ΕΠΙ. C. Α. Τ. ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ (beneath), the vision of Alexander – the King, asleep, reclining l. under a plane-tree at foot of which, <i>bucranium</i>; in background, two Nemeseis standing face to face, holding bridle and cubit-rule. Beside Alexander lies his shield, spear and greave.</p>	
<p>Valerianus Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos M. Aur. Philetos Hippikos, 235-260 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LXXIV, A c</p>	<p>ΑΚ. ΠΟ. ΛΙΚΙ. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ., dr. and cuir., bust, r.</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡΝΕΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Ε/Σ ΦΙΛΗΤΟΥ ΠΙ, two Nemeseis face to face, hand raised, one with bridle, the other with cubit- rule; wheel on ground</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Cl. Proklos Sophistes (161-169) <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1515- 1517; Klose XIV 6, 3; XIV 7, 6; XIV 8, 2</p>	<p>ΖΕΥΣ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ, laureate head of Zeus Akraios, r.</p>	<p>ΣΤΡΑ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ, two Nemeseis face to face, holding bridle and cubit-rule respectively</p>	

<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Athens Strategos Herakleides</p> <p>Sear 488, 4857; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 479; <i>RPC IV</i>, 282</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, dr. bust of the Roman Senate, r.</p>	<p>CTP. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΟΜΟ. ΑΘΗ., CMYPNAI / ΩΝ, winged Nemesis with her hand raised to her breast, holding a bridle in the l., wheel at feet; facing Athena holding <i>patera</i> and shield</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 10827 Str. Herakleides</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful draped bust of the Roman Senate</p>	<p>CTP. ΗΡΑΚΛ[ ] ΑΘΗ CMVP, winged Athena- Nemesis standing, l., holding <i>patera</i> and cubit; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Herakleides</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 221</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate</p>	<p>CTP ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ. CMYPNAΙΩΝ, two Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule</p>	

<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Herakleides</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 275; Klose XV A b</i></p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate</p>	<p>CTP ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ. CMYPNAIΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing, r., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle; to r. at feet, wheel</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage</p> <p>Bronze Kl. Stratoneikianos strategos</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 278; Klose XV B a, pl. 13 (R7-R8-R9)</i></p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, draped bust of the Senate (youthful), r.</p>	<p>CTP CTPATONEΙΚΙΑΝΟΥ CMVPNAI(ΩΝ), winged Nemesis standing, r., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage 214 (third neokorate) and later</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1590-91; Klose XXI A a</i></p>	<p>IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ, draped Senate, r.</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, two Nemeseis, one with bridle and the other with <i>cubitum</i></p>	


<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Athen Strategos Ael. Herakleides 182-185 A. D.</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1538;</i> Klose LXXVIII A d</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, draped bust of Senate, r.</p>	<p>ΣΤΡ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΟΜΟ ΑΘΗ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, Nemesis winged symbol of Smyrna, holding bridle and standing r., towards helmeted Athena, holding <i>patera</i> and shield, standing l.</p>	
<p>Pseudo-autonomous coinage time of Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC VII, 1, 316</i></p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, draped bust of Senate, r.</p>	<p>CMVP Γ ΝΕ - ΕΠΙ - ΠΟΛΛΙ  ΑΝΟΝ, two Nemeseis face to face, the one on the l. with the bridle, the other with the <i>cubitum</i>. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Pseudo-autonomous coinage time of Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Aph. Epiktetos 244-249 A.D.</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1635;</i> Klose XIX B a</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, draped bust of the Senate, r.</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡ Γ ΝΕ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ, two Nemeseis face to face, one with bridle the other with <i>cubitum</i> and a wheel</p>	

<p>Pseudo autonomous coinage Time of the Severans</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 324; Klose XXI 4; XXI 9; XXI 10; the same in <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 227</p>	<p>IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, draped bust of the Senate, r.</p>	<p>CMVPN-AI-Ω-N Γ NE  ΩΚΟΡΩΝ, two Nemeseis face to face, the one on the l. with the bridle, the other with the <i>cubitus</i> and the wheel</p>	
<p>Pseudo autonomous coinage Time from Gordian to Valerian (from 238 to 269 A.D.)</p> <p>Bronze Strategos Pollianus, 238-240 A.D.</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 241; the same in <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1623 quoting Klose XVIII A a</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKΛΗΤOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate, r.</p>	<p>CMVP Γ NEI EΠ ΠΩΛΛΙΑΝOV, two Nemeseis face to face, each with the arm raised and bent, the one holds bridle the other cubit-rule; at the feet of the latter, a wheel</p>	

<p>Semi-autonomous coins time of Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze Strategos C. Iul. Menekles, 239-241 AD.</p> <p>Klose XVIII 9, 10. Paris 2613; the same in <i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 319</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡ Γ ΝΕ - ΕΠ - ΜΕΝΕΚ  ΛΕΟΥΣ , two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing facing each other, one standing r., holding bridle, the other standing l., holding cubit-rule, wheel at foot</p>	
<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Copen.</i>, 1267, 1270</p>	<p>CMYPNA, Amazon with bipennis on shoulders, r.</p>	<p>CMYPNAIΩN, griffin with the l. paw on the wheel, looking r.</p>	
<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SGN Copen.</i>, 1267, 1271</p>	<p>CMYPNA, Tyche turred, r.</p>	<p>CMYPNAIΩN, griffin with the left paw on the wheel, looking r.</p>	





<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Ionia</i>, 158; <i>SGN Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1546 quoting Klose VII A a (and Klose VII 1,1 = rev. R 1, pl. 9)</p>	<p>CMVPNA, bust of Amazon Smyrna l., turreted, with bipennis over r. shoulder</p>	<p>CMVPNAIΩN, Nemesis, winged, standing l., r. arm bent to her breast, she holds in l. cubit-rule; at feet wheel</p>	
<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 321; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 179-189; the same at the <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 1276, 1283, 1284</p>	<p>ZEYC AKPAIOC, head of Zeus Akraios r.</p> <p>n.184: CMVPNA AΔPIANH, head of Smyrna Ariadne l.</p>	<p>CMVPNAIΩN, griffin r., l. fore-paw on wheel</p> <p>n.184: ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟ ANEΘΗΚΕ</p>	
<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 330 e 332; <i>BMC Ionia</i>, 186-188; Klose VII A e 16, pl. 9-10 (V1, R14), Klose VII A e 17, pl. 10 (R15), Klose VII A e 18, pl. 10 (R16)</p>	<p>CMVPNA, turreted bust of Amazon Smyrna, r., carrying double axe over shoulder</p>	<p>CMVPNAIΩN, griffin standing, r., placing fore-paw on wheel</p>	

<p>Semi-autonomous coins</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Copen.</i>, 1294</p>	<p>ZEVC AKPAIOC, Zeus bust, r.</p>	<p>CMVPNAIΩN, Nemesis standing looking l., with the r. arm for the <i>spuere in sinum</i>. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos Ael. Herakleides, 182-185 A.D.</p> <p>Klose LXXVIII A a, LXXXI E a</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate, r.</p>	<p>CMYP. AΘHNAI. OMO. CTP. AI., HPAKAEI / ΔOV, winged Nemesis standing r. holding bridle and facing Athena, standing l. holding <i>patera / phiale</i></p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Smyrna and Sparta</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 283; Klose LXXVIII A e</p>	<p>IEPA CVNKAHTOC, youthful bust of the Roman Senate, r.</p>	<p>CTP HPAKAEI CMYPNAIΩN ΛAKE OMO, Heros Lakedaimonios/Ares standing l., looking r., holding a spear and a branch. Behind him a winged Nemesis with <i>cubitum</i>, plucking <i>chiton</i>, and wheel at feet</p>	

## Mysia: Cizycus

## 2. 49 Cizycus, coinage

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Commodus</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Cizycus and Smyrna</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 1252; <i>RPC IV</i>, 747; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 135 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>KOPH ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ, corn- wreathed and draped bust of Kore Soteira (head assimilated to portrait of Faustina II) wearing necklace, r.</p>	<p>ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ ΣΝΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑ ΝΑΙΒ ΚΥΙΝΤΟΥ, Kore with two Nemeseis; the one on the l. has the wheel in her l. arm(?), the cubit-rule in her r. The one on the r. has bridle in her l. and balance on her r.</p> <p>RPC: Demeter in the middle</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Imperial times</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Copen.</i>, 1945</p>	<p>ΚΥΖΙΚΟΣ, the founder Cizycus, r.</p>	<p>ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΟΚ., winged goddess (Tyche- Nemesis?) standing, looking r., wearing Corinthian helmet, holding in r. hand rudder; at feet a wheel</p>	

**Lydia: Katakekaumene, Magnesia ad Syphilum, Maionia, Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyateira, Tripolis**

## 2. 50 Katakekaumene, inscription and relief

**Object:** marble stele, with inscription and relief.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today preserved at the Museum of Bergama.

**Date:** ca. 200 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** three standing persons are carved in the relief. Those at the right and at the left raise their right arm in adoration.

**b. inscription:** confession of Eumenes, condemned to death, with invocation to the Nemeseis.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 38*: 1236; H. Malay, *New confession-inscriptions in the Manisa and Bergama museums*, *EA 12* (1988), pp. 150-151.

Ἐπὶ προήγγελαν οἱ θε-  
οὶ οἱ Περκηγῶν Ζεὺς Ὀρεί-  
της εἰς τὸ ἄλσος μὴ βόσχ-  
την κτήνη ἠπειθοῦσιν, ἐκό-  
λασαν Εὐμένην β' τὸν υἱὸν  
κὲ κατέθηκεν ἰσοθάνατον·  
Ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ Τύχη ἐλπίδαν  
ἔδωκε· Μεγάλαι Νεμέσις  
ἐν Πέρκῳ.

## 2. 51 Katakekaumene, inscription

**Object:** white marble stele (1, 03 m. h.; 0, 51 m. w.; 0,06 m. th.).

**Provenience/location:** found in Kula (near Katakekaumene). Today preserved at the Archaeological Museum at Manisa (inv. 5414).

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.


**Description:** confession text dedicated to Men Axiotenos by a woman named Syntyche.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 37*: 1001; A. Chaniotis, *Drei kleinasiatische Inschriften zur griechischen Religion*, *EA 15* (1990), pp. 127-131; G. Petzl, H. Malay, *A new confession-inscription from the Katakekaumene*, *GRBS 28* (1987), pp. 460, ff.

II. 15-25:

περι<σ>υρούσης τε αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ ἠρωτῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς παρθένου, ἵνα σειγῆσι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἐνεμέσησε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξεφάντευσεν οὐδὲ ὕψωσε τὸν θεὸν ἢ Συντύχη· διότι ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τέκνου Ἡρακλείδου ἐτῶν ἰγ' νέμεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ στήσαι, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐπόησεν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ. v Συντύχη Ἀπολλωνίου θυγάτηρ καὶ Μελτίνης ἢ προγεγραφοῦσα τὴν νέμεσιν.

## 2. 52 Magnesia ad Syphilum, coinage

<p>Vaerianus Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Magnesia ad Sipylum and Smyrna</p> <p>Sear 432, 4463; <i>BMC Lydia</i>, 98</p>	<p>ΠΟ. ΛΙΚ. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ., dr. and cuir., bust r.</p>	<p>CTP. AVP. ΛΟΓΓΕΙΝΟΣ B. Μ ΑΓΝΗ / ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ, CMVP. ΟΜΟ, two Nemeseis face to face, hand raised, one with bridle, the other with cubit-rule; wheel on ground between them; on r. Cybele turred in long <i>chiton</i> and standing l. between two lions, holding <i>patera</i> and drums</p>	
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## 2. 53 Maionia, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 26/27 A.D.

**Description:** funerary monument of Ammia and her nephew Hermogenes. The double Nemesis is considered as protector of the tomb and deterrent against any damage to it.

**Bibliography:** Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn 1999, p. 260, n. 43, 1.

Ἔτους ρ´ καὶ ια´, μηνὸς Δίου  
 ζ´ ἀπιόντος. Ἑρμῆος  
 Διοδώρου καὶ Ἀφίας ἢ γυ-  
 νῆ αὐτοῦ ἐτείμησαν Ἀμ-  
 μίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα  
 καὶ Ἑρμογένην τὸν ἑαυ-  
 τῶν υἱὸν ἐτείμησαν, Ἑρμι-  
 ππος, Ἀνδρόνικος, Ἀμμίας,  
 Μελτίνη, Ἑρμῆς τὸν ἑαυ-  
 τῶν ἀδελφὸν ἐτίμησαν.  
 Χαίροις, πᾶς πάροδε, τὰς  
 Νεμέσις σοι, μή τίς μοι  
 τὴν στήλην ἀδι-  
 κήσεις.


## 2. 54 Philadelphia, coinage

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Caracalla or later</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Philadelphia and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Lydia</i>, 118</p>	<p>ΔΗΜΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚ, youthful bust of Demos, r., bound with diadem</p>	<p>ΣΜΥΡΓΝΕ Ω ΟΜΟ, Homonoia, turreted, seated l., holding on extended l. two small figures of the Nemeseis of Smyrna, and on l. arm a <i>conucopia</i></p>	
<p>Gordian Pius</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Philadelphia and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Lydia</i>, 119</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>ΦΛ. ΦΙΛΑ. ΝΕΩΚ. CMVP Γ. Ν ΕΩ ΚΟΡ ΕΠΙ, ΑΥΡ. ΜΑΡ. ΚΟΥ. ΑΡΧ. Α, in field: Β and ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, Artemis huntress, in short <i>chiton</i>, drawing arrow from quiver at her shoulder with r., and holding bow in l., standing to front, head r., between the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, face to face, in usual attitude</p>	


## 2. 55 Sardis, coinage

<p>Domitian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Strategos T. Fl. Metrodoros</p> <p>Sear, 86, 917; <i>BMC Lydia</i>, 129; <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1969-70 (quoting <i>RPC II</i>, 465, 20/21); <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 60 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΣΑΤΗ, bust of Domitia, with queue and stephane, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ. (Τ) Φ(Λ). ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟ Β. ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ, Boulè veiled standing r. and holding sceptre. Facing Nemesis standing l. holding cubit- rule</p>	
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## 2. 56 Thyateira, coinage




<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 2877</p>	<p>ΑΥ(?) ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗ ΚΟ[, laureate-headed bust of Commodus (short beard) wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΙΑΝΟΥ ΘΥΑΤΙΦΗΝΩΝ, Tyche standing, l., wearing <i>kalathos</i>, holding rudder and <i>cornucopia</i>; to l., column surmounted by wheel</p>	
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<p>Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Thyateira and Smyrna</p> <p>Sear 376, 3915; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3238</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΙΟΥ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ, laur. draped, and cuir. bust of the emperor, r.</p>	<p>ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝ / ΟΙΑ Κ. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, , Σ. Α. Ο. ΑΡΧΙΜΗ / ΔΟΥΣ, naked Apollo Tyrimnaios, holding branch and double-axe, standing l. between two Nemeseis standing face to face</p>	
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## 2. 57 Tripolis, coinage

<p>Quasi autonomous coinage III c. A.D. /200-268 A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 2019; <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 726; <i>SNG Righetti</i>, 1112; <i>Waddingt.</i>, 2664</p>	<p>Head of bearded Asclepius, r., serpent-entwined staff before head</p>	<p>ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing l., holding bridle and drawing out the neck of her r. hand</p>	
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<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Uncertain period</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 1641; LS, 39, 5</p>	<p>ΤΡΙΠΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Draped bust of Hermes, r.; to r., <i>caduceus</i></p>	<p>ΤΡΙΠΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing, l., plucking chiton, holding bridle</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage 193-268 A.D.</p> <p><i>BMC Lydia</i>, 20- 21; Waddingt., 2661</p>	<p>Helmeted head of Athena, r., <i>aegis</i> on chest</p>	<p>ΤΡΙΠΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis, standing l., holding bridle in lowered left hand and drawing out the neck of her robe with r.</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time from Septimius to Gallien</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Lydia</i>, 18; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 125 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 726; <i>SNG Righetti</i>, 1112; Mionnet, 565; Waddingt., 2664</p>	<p>Bust of Asclepius, r.; in front, serpent-staff</p>	<p>ΤΡΙΠΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing front, looking l., in long <i>chiton</i>, r. arm bent and plucking <i>chiton</i> at neck, l. holding bridle</p>	


Phrygia: Akmoneia, Amorium, Antiocheia, Appia, Bennisoa, Cibyra, Dionysopolis, Dorylaeum, Hierapolis, Hydrela, Iulia, Kadoi, Nacolea, Peltai, Sebaste, Sinaus, Synnada, Tabae, Temenothyrai, Tralles.

## 2. 58 Akmoneia, coinage


<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Flavius Priscus Neoterus Asiarch</p> <p><i>SN</i>, 1883, p. 391, n. 50</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Λ. ΣΕΠ. ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡ. – ΑΥΓ., laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΦΛ. ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΝ ΝΕ (ώτερου?) ΓΡ. ΥΟΥ. ΑΣΙΑΡΧ. – ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩ – N., the emperor riding a horse on the r., holding a whip in his r. hand, and before him flies an eagle apparently grasping a thunderbolt. On the mountain are two female figures in the attitude of Nemesis; At its base is a recumbent youth, naked to the waist, who is probably meant for the local river-god</p>	
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## 2. 59 Amorium, coinage

<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Katsari – Lightfoot, p. 45, nn. J1-J3</p>		<p>Two winged Nemesis facing one another, holding palm branch and <i>situla</i>.</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Katsari – Lightfoot, p. 45, nn. N25-N26</p>	<p>ΔΗΜΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, unbearded head of Demos, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing facing, head l., r. hand to mouth, holding corn-ears in lowered l. hand, wheel at feet to l.</p>	
<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 119</i> (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΓΕΤΑC ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC, laureate bust of Geta, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis with bridle in her l., and doing her typical gesture with the r.; wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 57; SNG Aulock, 3419</i></p>	<p>ΓΕΤΑΚ ΑΥΓΟΥΚΤΟΚ, laureate bust of Geta r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ, wingless Nemesis looking l., spitting, and holding on her l. the bridle. A wheel at her feet</p>	
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## 2. 60 Antiocheia, coinage

<p>Lucius Verus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Caria, 41-42; LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis, n. 127 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Λ ΒΗΡΟΣ, head of Lucius Verus, laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing frontal, looking r., in her r. the cubit-rule, doing the <i>spuere in sinum</i> with her l.</p>	
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## 2. 61 Appia, inscription

**Object:** funerary monument.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> A.D. (?)

**Description:** funerary monument with reference to Nemesis as protectress of tombs.

**Bibliography:** *MAMA X*, 12.

[— — — ]

C[— — —]

νυνφιδίους εἰς θαλά[μους γα]-  
μετή·

ὦ ξένε μὴ ψάυσης στάλλαν  
χερὶ μη δ' ἐπὶ νεκραῖς ταῖσι κα-  
σιγνήταις χεῖρα [κακ]ήν ἐπιθῆς·  
ἔστι καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις νέμε-  
σις μέγα ἐστ' ἐπὶ τύνβοις,  
μὴ ψάυσης [τύνβ]ο[ν] ἀλλ' ἀνα-  
γνοὺς πάριθι.

## 2. 62 Bennisoa, inscription

**Object:** funerary stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.



**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication for a deceased child by the parents with reference to Nemesis as protectress of tombs.

**Bibliography:** *CIG*, 3857m; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 286, n. 237; Buckler-Clader-Cox, *Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley*, *JRS* 18 (1928), p. 32.

Ἄεναον τόδε σῆμα πατήρ εἶδρυσεν θυγατρί,  
ἀθανάτην τειμήν, μνημόσυνον δακρύων.  
μήτηρ δὲ ἡ βαρυπενθάς ἐπὶ τέκνου ταχυμοίρου  
ἐμαυτὴν ζῶσα συγκατέθηκα τάφῳ,  
εἵνεκον ἱστοργῆς δάκρυσι μυρομένα.  
χαίροις, αἰσθλὲ ὀδεῖτα· σοφῶ νοὶ μάνυε τειμάν  
Πλούτωνος βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,  
ὧ χωρὶς μακάρων πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.  
ἔστι γὰρ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέ-  
μεσις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τύνβοις· μ[ῆ β]λάψης τύνβον, ἀλλὰ ἀναγνοὺς πάριθι.  
Τειμέας καὶ Νανα γονεῖς

## 2. 63 Cibyra, coinage

<p>Quasi autonomous coinage 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 503, 5074; <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 33</p>	<p>BOVAH, laur. and veiled bust of Boulè, r.</p>	<p>KAIC. KIBYPATΩN, winged Nemeseis standing l., drawing out fold of drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	
<p>Quasi autonomous coinage 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 122 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3726, 3896</p>	<p>BOVAH, laur. and veiled bust of Boulè, r.</p>	<p>KAIC. KIBYPATΩN, winged Nemeseis standing l., drawing out fold of drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	

## 2. 64 Dionysopolis, coinage

<p>Quasi autonomous coinage Time of the Severans</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 10; Aulock <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 27, 82</p>	<p>IEPAB OVΛH, bust of Boule, r., veiled, head bound with tenia: border of dots</p>	<p>ΔIONV CO ΠOΛEΙ TΩN, The two Nemesesis of Smyrna standing face to face, each wearing <i>polos</i> (?) and plucking <i>chiton</i> from her breast; the one to r. holding bridle, the other the cubit-rule; at the feet of the latter, a wheel</p>	
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## 2. 65 Dorylaeum, inscription

**Object:** marble block.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** tomb of a certain Nana. Mention of Nemesis with apotropaic meaning.


**Bibliography:** *MAMA V*, KB 3.




[σωφροσ(?)]ύνης Α  
.C . . . . κάλλο-  
υς τάφος ἐνθά-  
δε κεῖται Νανα  
μουνογένους  
ἐ[κ]καιδεχέτου-  
ς πρῶτα λόχου-  
σαμέ[νη] . . . Γ .  
ΡΑ . Ε . . . . . -  
μῶς προλιποῦσ-



α γονεῖς Γάϊον τ[ε]  
καὶ Εἴσιδα καὶ τέ-  
κνον ὀρφανὸν ΑΙ-  
. . ΜΟΝ, ἢ γόνυ θ[ε]-  
μένη [τά]δ' ἔφρα[ζ]-  
εν· "[β]άσκανε [τ]ί ν-  
έμεσ[ιν π]ο[λ]λήν φ-  
θόνε; πῶς μ' ἀποπ-  
[έμ]πεις τῷ ταλαν-  
[. .] . . . . . C .  
[. . σ]υνκλείεις [ε]-  
[ἰς Τά]ρταρα γ[αίης];"

## 2. 66 Dorylaeum, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 226, 2410; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3560; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 85 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ,  bust of Julia Domna, r.</p>	<p>ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ, Nemesis  standing, head l., drawing out  fold of drapery from breast  and holding bridle. Wheel at  side</p>	
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<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 245, 2588; <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 8</p>	<p>AVT. K. MAP. AVPHA. ANTΩNINOC, laureate head, r.</p>	<p>ΔΟΠΛΑΕΩΝ., Nemesis standing l. drawing out drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	
<p>Diadumenianus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear, 285, 3004; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3562; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 85 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>M. ANT. ΔΙΑΔΟVMENIANOC K., bare-headed cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>ΔΟΡVΛΑΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., r. hand raised to breast, holding cubit-rule in the l.; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 15; <i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 758 quoting <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 22, 279-282</p>	<p>M ANT. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AV, radiate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>ΔΟΡVΛΑΕΩΝ, Nemesis with the r. arm raised and bent, while the other, lowered, holds cubit-rule; whee at feet</p>	

## 2. 67 Hierapolis, inscription

**Object:** fragment of a marble *cippus*.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Re-used in the church of St. Philip.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis is described as goddess who controls the balance of Dike for the mortals.

**Bibliography:** T. Ritti, *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche I. Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche*, 1985, p. 130-131; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 292, n. 243.

### I. 1

Ἡ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκης πλάστιγγα σαλεύει

## 2. 68 Hierapolis, inscription

**Object:** marble block.

**Provenience/location:** used in the construction of the temple of Apollo.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis is described as goddess who controls the balance of Dike for the mortals.

**Bibliography:** G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Χρησμοί δι Ἀπολλο Κारेios e Ἀπολλο Κlarios a Hierapolis in Frigia, ASAA 41/42 (1963/64)*, p. 353 ff.; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 292, n. 244.

[α]ὐτός σοι τελέσει καιρῷ θεὸς ὅσσα μεριμνᾷς.  
 βουλαῖς ταῖς ἀγαθαῖσι Τύχη πρέσβειρα παρέσται.  
 γειαρότης, ὡς φασι, δέχου κόλποισιν ἔχιθνα.  
 δείματα δεινὰ φοβοῦ, σκέπτου δὲ πρὶν ἢ σέ τι  
 δρᾶσαι.  
 εὐάντητον ἔχων Νέμεσιν, ἔργοις ἐπιθάρσει.  
 ζωῆς εἰσι χρόνοι· τί μάτην, ἄνθρωπε, μεριμν[ᾷς].  
 ἢ Νέμεσις θνητοῖσι Δίκη<ς> πλάστιγγα σαλεύει[ι].

## 2. 69 Hierapolis, relief

**Object:** marble slab with relief.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre of Hierapolis, at the southern *parodos*. Still *in situ*.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: the Severan period, on the basis of the theatre's dedicating inscription.

**Description:** Nemesis appears frontally, holding the bridle and spitting on her chest. At her left an altar with a box is carved. Next to her Dike or Dikaiosyne and Themis or Elpis are represented.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC Suppl. 209, s.v. Nemesis*, add. 1 (P. Karanastassis); F. D'andria, *Hierapolis di Phrygia, Pamukkale. Guida archeologica*, Istanbul 2003, p. 147 ff.; cfr. G. Montali, *Il teatro romano di Gortina*, Padova 2006, p. 197; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, pl. 21.

## 2. 70 Hierapolis, relief

**Object:** marble decoration.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre of Hierapolis, around the door of the southern *parodos*. Still *in situ*.


**Date:** *terminus post quem*: the Severan period, on the basis of the theatre's dedicating inscription.



**Description:** Nemesis is a decorative element of the southern entrance of the building, and appears performing her typical gesture of *spuere in sinum*, holding a balance and with a diadem.




**Bibliography:** F. D'andria, *Hierapolis di Phrygia, Pamukkale. Guida archeologica*, Istanbul 2003.


## 2. 71 Hierapolis, coinage

Caracalla Bronze BMC Phrygia, 62	ΛΑΙΡΒΕΝΟΣ, Apollo Lairbenos, r., radiate, shoulders draped	ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis holding balance in r. and cubit-rule in l.; wheel at feet	
Philip II as Caesar Bronze	Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ, bust of Philip bareheaded, r.	ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis holding balance in r. and cubit-rule in l.; wheel at feet	


<p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3661; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 72 (P. Karanastassis)</p>			
<p>Valerianus Senior Bronze Alliance coinage between Hierapolis and Smyrna  <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 190</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. Π. ΛΙΚ. ΟΥ ΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΥ, Bust of Valerianus, r., laur., cuir., and <i>aegis</i>, from which two snakes rise</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛ[ΕΙΤΩΝ] ΚΖ[ΜΥΡΝΕΩΝΝΕΩΚΟΡ ΩΝ] ΟΜΟΝΥΑ, Sarapis wearing <i>modius</i> and long <i>chiton</i>, with <i>himation</i>, with sceptre over shoulder, facing winged Nemesis who stands l., wearing a <i>kalathos</i>; between the figures, lighted altar and wheel</p>	
<p>Valerianus Senior Bronze Alliance coinage between Hierapolis and Smyrna  <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 191</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΕ. ΠΟΥ. ΛΙΚ. ΟΥ ΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΥ, Bust of Valerianus, r., laur., cuir., and <i>aegis</i>, from which two snakes rise</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛ[ΕΙΤΩΝ] ΚΖ[ΜΥΡΝΕΩΝΝΕΩΚΟΡ ΩΝ] ΟΜΟΝΥΑ, similar, but altar and wheel distinct</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Trajan or later, of Severus and Caracalla?  Bronze</p>	<p>Bust of Athena r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet and <i>aegis</i></p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemeseis standing l., drawing out fold of drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	

<p>Sear 504, 5087; <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 13; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 86 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3620, 8377</p>			
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Trajan or later, of Severus and Caracalla?  Bronze  <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 16</p>	<p>Bust of Asclepios r., with serpent staff at breast. Border of dots</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemeseis standing l., drawing out fold of drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Trajan or later, of Severus and Caracalla?  Bronze  <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 18</p>	<p>Bust of Apollo Archegetes or Lairbenos, r., radiate, shoulders draped</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing l., drawing out fold of drapery from her breast and holding bridle</p>	

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Trajan or later, of Severus and Caracalla?</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 19</p>	<p>Bust of Selene or Hekate r., rising from crescent</p>	<p>IEPATIOAEITΩN, Nemesis Nemesis standing l., winged as above</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Time of Trajan or later, of Severus and Caracalla?</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3625; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 121 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Bust of Apollo Lairbenos</p>	<p>Nemesis winged, Nemesis standing l., with bridle in the l. and doing her typical gesture with the r.</p>	
<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 1952; See <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 415</p>	<p>Laureate and draped bust of Asclepios r.; in front serpent staff</p>	<p>IEPATIOAEITΩN, winged Nemesis l. holding bridle</p>	

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 1955; SNG Aulock, 3620, 8377</i></p>	<p>Bust of Athena with Corithian helmet and aegis, r.</p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontal, looking l., holding bridle</p>	
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## 2. 72 Hydrela, coinage

<p>Hadrian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC III, 1, 2365; Aulock Instanb. Mitt. 25, 313-315; SNG Tübingen, 4059</i></p>	<p>ΥΔΡΗΛΕΙΤΩΝ, bust of Athena with crested helmet, r.</p>	<p>ΑΠΕΛΛΑC ANΕΘΗΚΕ, winged Nemesis standing l., raising her r. arm in the <i>spuere in sinum</i>, holding the bridle in her l.</p>	
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## 2. 73 Iulia, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** late Roman imperial times (?).

**Description:** funerary epitaph of Alexandros. Nemesis is described as protectress of the tomb.

**Bibliography:** *TAM VIII*, 18; M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür*, Mainz am Rhein 1986, 669; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 294, n. 247.





[Εὐη]θής τις ἀνήρ Ἀλέ[ξα]-  
 [ν]δρος ἐνθάδε κεῖ[ται]  
 [— ζ]ῆσεν <έν> εὐτυχία [καὶ  
 ἐς ὕψο]ς ἔβαιν' ἄρε[τάων]  
 ἦλθε] δὲ μοῖρα πικρά [καὶ  
 [ἀφήρ]πασεν αἴφνωσ νῦν  
 [πότμ]ον ἄφευκτον [ιδόνθ',  
 ὃ κοι]νός ἐστιν ἀνά[γκη]  
 ἔστι θεός ] Νέμ εσ ις [πρός  
 Τὰ δίκ]αια βλέπε.

Ζήνων

καὶ Ἀππας καὶ Τ α τεις Ἀλ[εξάν]-  
 δρω τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ  
 μνημεῖον ἐποίησ[αν]  
 μνήμης χάριν. χ[αῖρε(?)].


## 2. 74 Laodicea, coinage

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage          Time of Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 107</p>	<p>ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ,          bust of the Demos,          bearded, r.</p>	<p>ΠΚΛ. ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ          ANEΘΗΚΕΝ, Nemesis          standing frontal, looking l.,          r. hand raised to her neck          and plucking her <i>chiton</i>          from breast, with l. she          holds bridle</p>	
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<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 275</i></p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΜΑΡ. ΑΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, head of Marcus Aurelius r., laur.</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, Zeus Laodikeus in long <i>chiton</i> and <i>himation</i>, holding eagle and resting on sceptre, between the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, each one in long <i>chiton</i> and in their typical gesture of <i>spuere in sinum</i></p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 276</i></p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, head of Marcus Aurelius r., laur.</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, similar type but Nemesis behind Zeus holds cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 220</i></p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛ ΔΟΜΝ ΣΕΒ, bust of Septimius Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΛΕΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing, head l., drawing out fold of drapery from breast with r. and holding bridle with l. lowered. Wheel at feet</p>	


<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3854; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 118 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΑ ΔΟΜΝΗ Σ(ΕΒ), bust of Iulia Domna r.</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ (year 88 = 211/212 A.D.), winged Nemesis looking r., holding <i>cubitus</i> in her l. and balance in her r. A wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 250; <i>LIMC VI 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 87 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΕΙΟΒΑΙΑ ΜΑΙΚΑ CEB, draped bust of Iulia Maesa</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Nemesis standing, head l., drawing out fold of drapery from breast and holding bridle in lowered l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna</p> <p>Sear 254, 2593; <i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 282; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 88 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΕ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Caracalla bearded and laur., cuir. and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ / in field ΤΟ / ΠΗ (=year 88 of the Hadrianic Era of Laodicea), Zeus Laodikeus, holding eagle and sceptre, standing r. facing Nemesis standing l., drapery from her breast and holding cubit-rule</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΕ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ,</p>	

<p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 283</i></p>	<p>Caracalla bearded and laur., cuir. and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>OMONOIA / in field TO / ΠΗ (=year 88 of the Hadrianic Era of Laodicea), similar type, but wheel at feet of Nemesis</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 284</i></p>	<p>A .... KAIMAV PA ANTΩNEINOC, bust of Caracalla bearded and laur., cuir. and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Σ.[ΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ?], OMONOIA, City goddesses of Laodicea and Smyrna, turred, standing face to face. Laodicea r., long <i>chiton</i> and <i>peplos</i>, sceptre over shoulder, and statuette of Zeus Laodikeus; Smyrna l., as Amazon, short <i>chiton</i>, holding double axe over shoulder, and statuette of Nemesis on r.; between the two figures an altar</p>	


<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 8418; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 195 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate bust of Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ, Nemesis on a base with garland, as Panthea: winged, with <i>kalathos</i>, <i>cornucopia</i> and <i>patera</i> in which a snake drinks (?) a statue of Athena with shield and rod. At feet a seated griffin on an <i>aedicula</i> and statue</p>	
<p>Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 256</p>	<p>Μ. ΩΤΑΚΙΑΣΕΒΗΡΑC, bust of Octacilia Severa, r.</p>	<p>ΛΕΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., in long <i>chiton</i>, <i>peplos</i>, and veil, with r. plucking <i>chiton</i> from her breast, and with l. holding cubit-rule; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Philip the Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Archiereus Tuscianus</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia</i>, 254</p>	<p>ΩΤΑ.ΣΕΥ ΗΡΑ. ΣΕΒΑC, bust of Octacilia Severa, r., with crescent behind</p>	<p>ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC ΤΟΥCΚΙΑΝΟΥ. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ. ΝΕΩΚΟ, Zeus Laodikeus (?) and Nemesis (?) Standing face to face, with r. hand joined; Zeus wears long <i>chiton</i> and <i>himation</i>; Nemesis wears long <i>chiton</i>, <i>peplos</i>, and veil, and holds in lowered l.</p>	

		bridle (?); at feet uncertain object (wheel?)	
Philip the Arab Bronze <i>BMC Phrygia, 257</i>	ΩΤΑ. СЕВΗΡΑС. СЕВ., bust of Octacilia Severa r.	ΛΕΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, winged Nemesis-Dikaiosyne, standing to front, head l., holding in r. balance, in l. cubit-rule; wheel at feet	
Philip II Bronze Alliance coinage between Laodicea and Smyrna  Sear 393, 4116; <i>BMC Phrygia,</i> 286-289	Μ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ., bare-headed dr. and cuir. bust, r.	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, Zeus Laodikeus, holding eagle and sceptre, facing Nemesis on the l., holding cubit-rule, wheel at her side	


## 2. 75 Kadoi, coinage

<p>Gordian II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>Aurelius Kleopatos</i>, Archontas for the second time (B) under Gordian II and Tranquillina.</p> <p><i>RPC VII</i>, 1, 215; <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 255</p>	<p>ΦΟΥ CAB          TPANKVIAΛINA, bust with stephane and draped, r., three-quarters forward</p>	<p>ΚΑΔΟΗΝ-ΩΝ-ΕΠΙ ΑΥΡ ΚΛΕΟΠΙΑ ΤΟΡΟΣ  Β ΑΡΧΟ, two Nemeseis standing frontally. The one on the left holds a stick in her l., bridle on her r. and a wheel at her feet; The other holds the bridle on her l. and spits on her breast with the r.</p>	
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## 2. 76 Nacolea, coinage

<p>Trajan</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC III</i>, 1, 2663; Aulock, <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 25, 669-670.</p>	<p>ΑΥ Ν ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC          ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕ, radiate head of Trajan, r.</p>	<p>ΝΑΚΟΛΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., spitting on her chest and holding in the l. hand the bridle</p>	
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## 2. 77 Peltai, coinage

<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Uncertain chronology, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 2155; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 3908; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 120 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΒΟΥΛΗ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ, Bust of Boulè, r.</p>	<p>ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, N. with bridle in the l. and doing <i>spuere in sinum</i> with the r.</p>	
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## 2. 78 Sebaste, inscription

**Object:** marble stele with votive inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in a private possession. Today preserved at the Museum of Usak.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: 212 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** representation of a leg.


**b. inscription:** votive dedication of Aurelius Attalos to the Mother Leto, the double Nemesis and the Nymphes, after an illness.

**Bibliography:** *MAMA IX*, 70; M. Riel, *Hosios kai Dikaios. Seconde partie: analyse, EA 19* (1993), p. 95; Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Licthe der griechischen Inschriften*, Bonn 1999, p. 240, n. 40.


Αὐρ. Ἄτταλος ἐγ μεγάλης  
νόσου σωθεὶς εὐχαριστ-  
ῶ Μητρὶ Λητῶ καὶ  
Νεμέσεσι προκα-  
θημέναις καὶ ἰ-  
εραῖς Νύμφαις




## 2. 79 Synaus, coinage


<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Times from the Flavians to the Antonines</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 7-9; Sear 507, 5117</i></p>	<p>ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, dr. bust of the Roman Senate, r.</p>	<p>ΣΥΝΑΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemeseis face to face each one drawing out fold of drapery from her breast; each Nemesis wears, over the <i>chiton</i>, a <i>peplos</i> round her lower limbs</p>	
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## 2. 80 Synnada, coinage


<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage time from Claudius to Gallienus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 19</i></p>	<p>ΔΗΜΟΣ, bust of young Demos lareate and shoulders draped, r.</p>	<p>ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ, Nemesis wearing <i>kalathos</i>, holding bridle and <i>cubitum</i>. Wheel at feet</p>	
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<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage time from Claudius to Gallienus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Phrygia, 21</i></p>	<p>ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ, bust of the goddess Roma, r., turred and with shoulders draped</p>	<p>ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ, Nemesis wearing <i>kalathos</i>, standing l., holding bridle in her r. and in the l. a cubit-rule. Wheel at feet</p>	
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### 2. 81 Tabae, coinage (uncertain)


<p>Quasi-autonomous coinage Uncertain if time of Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 2437; BMC Caria and Islands, 45</i></p>	<p>TABHNΩN, laur. bust of Zeus, r.</p>	<p>TABHNΩN, Nemesis, standing l., in usual attitude, holding bridle</p>	
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### 2. 82 Themenothyrai, coinage

<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 4006; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 57 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p> <p><i>supervised and approved by the emperor.</i></p>	<p>Π. CEΠ ΓΕΤΑC, Geta bareheaded, looking r.</p>	<p>CYMMAXOC THMONOΘYPEYΣI, Nemesis with <i>polos</i> and balance and bridle</p>	
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## 2. 83 Tralles, coinage

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Tralles and Smyrna</p> <p>Grammateus G. Ioulius Eykarpou?</p> <p>Sear 357, 3715; <i>BMC Caria and Islands</i>, 206</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate and cuir. bust in <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΕΠΙ ΓΡ. Γ. ΙΟΥ. ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΟΥ, ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ / CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Ο/ΜΟΝΟΙΑ, Zeus Larasios, holding Nike and sceptre, enthroned l. and with <i>himation</i> over lower limbs, facing the two Nemeseis of Smyrna standing to front, heads r. before him, one plucking her <i>chiton</i> at her neck and</p>	
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		holding cubit-rule, the other holding balance and bridle	
Gordian III Bronze <i>RPC VII, 1, 495</i>	AVT. K. M. ANT. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, draped and laureate bust r.	ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ, winged Nemesis l., balance in the r., <i>cubitum</i> (a rod?) in the l. hand	

**Troas: Iium****2. 84 Iium, inscription****Object:** column (0, 25 m. h.).**Provenience/location:** found in the Great Theatre.**Date:** Roman imperial times.**Description:** dedication to Nemesis *euekoos* by a certain Lucius Satrius.**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 312, n. 277; P. Collart, *Le théâtre de Philippes*, BCH 52 (1928), p. 117.

Λούκιος  
Σατρεῖος  
Νεμέσι εὐ-  
χὴν εὐηκῶ

## 2. 85 Unknown Provenience, statue with inscription

**Object:** statuette 0, 17 m. h.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. statue:** Nemesis wears a long *chiton* and *himation*, holding a cubit-rule in her left and raising her right arm to her neck.

**b. inscription:** donation of the statue of Nemesis to the association of the *philoploi* by a certain Metrodoros.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC Suppl. 2009, s.v. Nemesis*, add. 3 (P. Karanastassis); C. P. Jones, *A statuette of Nemesis*, *EA 33* (2001), pp. 45-48.



Μη-  
τρό-  
δω-  
ρος  
φιλό-  
πλοις δῶ-  
ρον.

Pict. from Jones 2001, pl. 10.


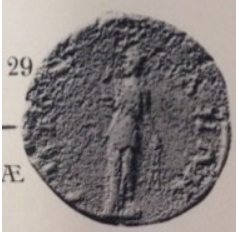

## 3. PROVINCE OF BITHYNIA ET PONTUS




Abunothieicos, Amastris, Claudiopolis, Germanicopolis, Hadrianopolis, Neocaisareia, Nicaea, Pompeiopolis, Prusa, Sinope, Tium, Trapezus

## 3. 1 Abunothieicos, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 5366</i></p>	<p>ΛΟΥΚΙΑΛΛΑ  CΕΒΑΧΤΗ, draped  bust of Lucilla, r.</p>	<p>ΙΩΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ,  Nemesis(?) standing, l.,  holding <i>patera</i> and  <i>cubitum</i>; at her feet, wheel</p>	
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## 3. 2 Amastris, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze Waddingt., 103</p>	<p>ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝ, bearded and laureate bust, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis winged, diademed, r., in her l. maybe a sceptre, in her r. a bridle</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze Waddingt., 125</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ ΝΕΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis l., r. arm raised and l. arm, lowered, holding bridle</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze Waddingt., 126; <i>RPC IV</i>, 5428</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis winged, r., r. hand holding bridle, l. holding a cubit-rule (?). At feet a griffin with fore-paw on a wheel</p>	

<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze Waddingt., 128</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΝΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis winged, r., r. sceptre, l. balance. At feet a griffin with fore-paw on a wheel</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze Waddingt., 128</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΝΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ, bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis- Aequitas standing l., with balance and <i>cornucopia</i>; at feet a wheel and a snake</p>	
<p>Caracalla Bronze Waddingt., 162</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, laur. bust of Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, winged Nemesis with a rod and bridle. At her feet a griffin with fore-paw on a wheel</p>	

3. 3 Claudiopolis, coinage



<p>Hadrian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>SNG Aulock, 296; <i>RPC III</i>, 1, 1107; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 53 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΔΡ, laureate head of Hadrian, r.</p>	<p>ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ[ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ], Nemesis (?) with balance and cubit-rule. Wheel and griffin</p>	
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### 3. 4 Germanicopolis, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Paphl.</i>, 3</p>	<p>ΑΚΑΙΑΣΕ ΣΕΩΒΗΡΟΣ Α, head of Septimius Severus laureate.</p>	<p>ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, Nemesis wearing <i>chiton</i>, in r., short staff; in l. bridle. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Waddingt. 162, 13</p>	<p>ΑΚΑΙΑΣΕΠ ΣΕΩΒΗΡΟΣ, laur. bust of Septimius Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, winged Nemesis l., rod in her r., bridle in her l. Wheel at feet</p>	

Septimius Severus Bronze Waddingt. 163, 22	ΑΚΑΙΑΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ, laur. bust of Septimius Severus, r.	ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, winged Nemesis l., rod in her r., bridle in her l. Wheel at feet	
Septimius Severus Bronze Waddingt. 163, 21	ΑΚΑΙΑΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ, laur. bust of Septimius Severus, r.	ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, Nemesis with <i>kalathos</i> , balance in her r., <i>cornucopia</i> in her l. Wheel at feet	
Septimius Severus Bronze Bricault-Delrieux, p. 28, n. GG39		ΑΡΧ ΠΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚ ΟΠΟ ΕΣΤΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΤ ΣΕΙ, winged Nemesis, cubit-rule on the r., a bridle on her l. Wheel at feet	
Septimius Severus Bronze Bricault-Delrieux, p. 28, n. GG40		ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΤ ΣΕΙ, winged Nemesis, cubit-rule on the r., a bridle on her l. Wheel at feet	

### 3. 5 Hadrianopolis, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** found in a private garden from the surroundings of Hadrianopolis.


**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.



**Description:** epitaph mentioning Nemesis as a goddess who brings the righteous souls in Hades.

**Bibliography:** E. Lafli, E. Christof, *Hadrianopolis I, Inschriften aus Paphlagonia*, Oxford 2012, n. 29; W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman province of Galatia*, *JRS* 16 (1926), pp. 201-215.


ὁ ποτὲ ζωὸς ἔων Ζηγὸς λα σ.ιϛ  
 πατρῆς τεῖμην ἱερῆδὸν ἀλλὰ ἐ Μοῖρα  
 ἀπάξας ἐκόμισσεν ὑπὸ χθόνα τούνεκα πᾶσιν  
 ἐσθλοῖσιν Νέμεσις τις ἐφίπταται ἐς Αἰδαίον  
*vacat*  
 χαίροις παροδεῖτα

### 3. 6 Hadrianopolis, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 10532</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ          CEBACTH, draped          bust of Faustina Minor,          r.</p>	<p>ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ,          winged Nemesis standing, l.,          plucking <i>chiton</i>, (holding          bridle? or cubit-rule?); to l.          griffin seated, l.</p>	
<p>Commodus</p>	<p>] ΚΟΜΟΔΟC, radiate          head of Commodus, r.</p>	<p>ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ,          winged Nemesis standing, l.,</p>	

<p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 10571</p>		<p>plucking <i>chiton</i>; to l. griffin seated, l., head, r.</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 10570</p>	<p>] AYP KOMOΔOC, laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΑΔΡΙΑΝ[ΟΠΟΛΕΙ]ΤΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing, l., plucking <i>chiton</i>; to l. griffin seated, l., head, r.</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Thrace</i>, 40; <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 582, 583, 585, 586; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 102 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΚΜΑΝ ΤΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣΑΥΓ, bust of Gordian III, r., laureate, wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>Α ΔΡΙΑΝΟ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis looking l., in the r. <i>cubitum</i> (or balance?) in the l. <i>cubitum</i> or bridle; wheel at feet</p>	

### 3. 7 Neocaisareia, coinage

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 111</p>	<p>AV. KM. ANT. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, bust of Gordian III, r.</p>	<p>ΚΟΙ ΠΟΝΤ ΜΗ ΝΕΟΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑC, ΒΝ ΕΤ ΡΟΗ (178=241/242 A.D.), bust of Nemesis, veiled and turred</p>	
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### 3. 8 Nicaea, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble slab with inscription and relief.

**Provenience/location:** from the eastern *parodos* of the theatre.

**Date:** perhaps reign of Hadrian.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** two niches are inscribed into an arch and a wider frame. The niches were designated for hosting two small statues of Nemesis.

**b. inscription:** dedication to the double Nemesis by Aelianus Asklepiodotos, sun-dial expert.

**Bibliography:** *SEG* 36: 1153; B. Yalman, *Iznic Tiyatro Kazisi 1985*, *KST* 8 (1986), pp. 236; M. Adak, *Nemesis in der Bithynischen Metropole Nikaia und ein proconsul der Provinz Asia*, in *Vir Doctus Anatolicus, Studies in memory of Sencer Şahin*, B. Takmer, E. N. Akdoğan Arca, N. Gokalp Özdil (eds.), Istanbul 2016, p. 3.

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι.

θεὰς τὰς Νεμέσεις

Αἰλιανὸς Ἀσκληπιόδοτος

γνωμονηκὸς ἀνέθηκε.

### 3. 9 Nicaea, inscription

**Object:** marble base of a statue.

**Provenience/location:** found near the stage building of the theatre.


**Date:** 138 A.D.



**Description:** dedication to the *proconsul* of Asia L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus Octavius Priscus by the association of the Νεμεσιασταί.

**Bibliography:** M. Adak, *Nemesis in der Bithynischen Metropole Nikaia und ein proconsul der Provinz Asia*, in B. Takmer, E. N. Akdoğu Arca, N. Gokalp Özdil (eds.), *Vir Doctus Anatolicus, Studies in memory of Sencer Şahin*, Istanbul 2016, pp. 16 ff.

Λ. Οὐενουλήϊ Λ. υἰὸν Γαλερίᾳ Μονταν[ὸν]  
 Ἀπρωνιανὸν Ὀκτάουιον Πρεῖσκον, σάλι [ον ]  
 [Κ]όλλεινον, τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τῆς μονήτης,  
 ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἰπέων Ῥωμαίων, ἑπαρχο[ν]  
 Ῥώμης ἑεορτῆς Λατεῖνον, ταμίαν Θεοῦ Τρα[ῖ]-  
 ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ, στρατηγόν, πρεσβευτὴν λεγ[ιῶ]-  
 νος πρώτης Ἰταλικῆς, αὐγυρα, ὑπατον, ἡγεμόνα  
 Ἀσίας, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ φιλόπατριν κ[αὶ ὁ]-  
 μόπολιν Νεμεσιασταί ἐκ τῶν δ[ώρων]  
*vac.* ἀνέστησαν *vac.*




### 3. 10 Nicaea, coinage


<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 5894</p>	<p>AVT KAICAP  ANTΩNINOC (As shaped  as Λs), bare head of  Antoninus Pius, r.</p>	<p>NEIKAIEΩN (A may be  shaped as Λ), Nemesis  standing, facing, head, l.,  plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding  cubit-rule; wheel at feet</p>	
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<p>Antoninus Pius Bronze <i>RPC IV, 5900</i></p>	<p>AVT<math>\omicron</math> KAICAP ANT[<math>\Omega</math>NEINoc], laureate head of Antoninus Pius with traces of drapery, r.</p>	<p>NEIKAIE<math>\Omega</math>N, griffin seated, r., placing fore- paw on wheel</p>	
<p>Antoninus Pius Bronze <i>SNG Aulock, 7021; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 82 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>Laureate head of Ant. Pius, r.</p>	<p>NEIKAIE<math>\Omega</math>N, Nemesis standing l., spitting into drapery at her bosom, holding bridle, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Caracalla Bronze <i>BMC Bithynia, 75; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 82 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>ANT<math>\Omega</math>NINOC AVTOVCTOC, laureate head of Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>NIKAEI<math>\Omega</math>N, Nemesis standing l. in short <i>chiton</i>, rising r. arm and holding in the l. cubit-rule; at feet wheel</p>	


<p>Geta Bronze Waddingt., 514</p>	<p>L CEPTI GETAC KAI, bare head, r.</p>	<p>NEIKAIEΩN, Nemesis standing l., holding whip, resting l. hand on wheel at side</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze <i>SNG Aulock, 615; LIMC VI, 1,</i> <i>s.v. Nemesis, n. 82 (P.</i> <i>Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>M [AYP SEYBH ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ], bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>NIKAEIΩN, Nemesis standing front, looking l., with bridle in her l. and doing her typical gesture with her r.; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Maximinus Thraex Bronze <i>SNG Aulock, 641; LIMC VI, 1,</i> <i>s.v. Nemesis, n. 82 (P.</i> <i>Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>Γ ΙΟΥ ΟΥΗ ΜΑΞΙΜΟC K, bust of Maximinus, r.</p>	<p>NIKAEIΩN, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and branch</p>	



<p>Trajan Decius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 695; RPC IX, 273; Sear 400, 4169</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΤΡ. ΔΕΚΙΟC ΑΥΓ. CΕ., laur., dr. and cuir. bust of Trajan Decius, r.</p>	<p>ΝΙΚΑΕΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., r. hand raised to shoulder, holding bridle in the l., wheel at side</p>	
<p>Trajan Decius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX, 272; BMC Bithynia, 134</i></p>	<p>ΕΡΕΝΝΙ.ΕΤΡΟΥCΚΙΑΛΛΑ. CΕΒ., bust of Etruscilla draped, r.</p>	<p>ΝΙΚΑΕΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., wearing <i>chiton</i> and <i>peplos</i>, r. arm bent and raised, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Trebonianus Gallus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 7060; Sear 415, 4314; BMC Bithynia, 138</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Γ. ΒΕΙΒ. ΓΑΛΛΟC ΑΥ., rad., dr. and cuir., bust of Trebonianus, r.</p>	<p>ΝΙΚΑΕΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., r. hand raised, holding cubit-rule in l. Wheel at her side</p>	

<p>Valerianus Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 7069; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 82 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>ΠΟΥ ΛΙ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ SEB., laureate head of Valerian, r.</p>	<p>ΝΙΚΑΕΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., with bridle and wheel at feet</p>	
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### 3. 11 Pompeiopolis, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius / Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>Waddingt. 7; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 84 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ ΛΟΥΚΙΑΛΛΑ, bust of Lucilla, r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤ. ΠΑΦ. ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ, Nemesis standing, with <i>stephane</i>, rod in her l.</p>	
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### 3. 12 Prusa, inscription

**Object:** architrave.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.



**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Valerianus Polygnotos.

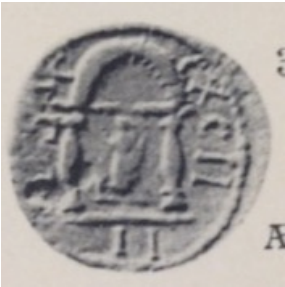


**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 301, n. 257; L. Robert, *Les gladiaterus dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 82.


**L. Robert reading:**



Θεᾶ Νεμέσει τὸ α[.....  
 Οὐαλεριανὸς Πολύγνωτος ἐθ[.....  
 καὶ μονομαχ[.....

**3. 13 Sinope, coinage**




<p>Domitian (under Vespasian)          Bronze  <i>RPC II, 1, 717</i></p>	<p>DOMITIANVS          CAESAR AVGVSTI          FIL, laureate bust of          Domitian r.</p>	<p>C I F AN CXX (year 120 =          74-75 A.D.), Nemesis          standing, l., holding up          dress and with transverse          sceptre. At feet a wheel</p>	
<p>Trajan          Bronze          Waddingt., 105; <i>RPC III, 1, 1217</i></p>	<p>AVG. GER. DAC.,          bust laur., r.</p>	<p>CXLIX (retrograde) (104/5          A.D.), dressed with stola?          (veiled?), r. arm raised to          her breast, l. with little rod;          wheel at feet</p>	




<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Waddingt., 126</p>	<p>IOVLIA DOMNA AVG., bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>C. I. F. SINOP. ANN. CCLIII (year 253 of the colonial Era of Sinope = 208/9) A.D., Nemesis l., under a distyle arcade; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear, 222, 2348; Waddingt., 127</p>	<p>IVLIA PIA AVG., bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>C.I.F.S.ANN. CCLIX., (year 259 of the colonial Era of Sinope = 214/215 A.D.), Nemesis standing front, looking l., drawing out fold of drapery from breast and holding cubit- rule. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 300, 3154; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 6876; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 152 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>PAVLLA AVG., draped bust of Iulia Paula, r.</p>	<p>C. I. F. S. AN. CCLXIII (264 of the Era of Sinope = A.D. 219/220), distyle arched shrine, containing Nemesis standing l.</p>	

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Waddingt., 149</p>	<p>MAMAEA AVG. draped bust of Iulia Mamaea</p>	<p>C I F S A CCXCIII, Nemesis under a distyle arcade, wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Maximinus Thraex</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 335, 3494; Waddingt., 150</p>	<p>IMP. MAXIMINVS AVG, laureate and draped bust, r.</p>	<p>C. R. I. F. S. AN. CCCV. (year 305 of the Era of Sinope = 235/6 A.D.), Distyle shrine, containing Nemesis standing r., holding cubit-rule, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 367, 3818; Waddingt., 159</p>	<p>TRANQVILLINA AVG., draped bust of Tranquillina, r.</p>	<p>C. I. F. S., distyle arched shrine, containing figure of Nemesis</p>	
<p>Philip II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Waddingt., 161</p>	<p>IVL. PHILIPPVS CAES., bust of Philip II, r.</p>	<p>C. I. F. S. AN. CCC ex. XIV (retrograde), Nemesis under a distyle arch; a rod in one arm. Wheel at feet</p>	




<p>Trajan Decius Bronze Sear 400, 4165; <i>BMC Pontus</i>, 62; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 152 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>IMP TRAIAN. DECIVS AVG., laur., dr, and cuir. bust, r.</p>	<p>C.R.I.F.S.AN. CCCXIX (year 319 of the Era of Sinope = 249/50 A.D.), distyle arched shrine with Nemesis standing facing, holding <i>cubitum</i>. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Trajan Decius Bronze Waddingt., 162</p>	<p>IMP TRAIAN. DECIVS AVG., laur., dr, and cuir. bust, r.</p>	<p>C.R.I.F.S.AN. CCCXIX (year 319 of the Era of Sinope = 249/50 A.D.), Nemesis under a distyle arch with <i>cubitum</i> and wheel</p>	




3. 14 Tium, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Bithynia</i>, 10; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 81b (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ, bust of Men, r., wearing a cap; crescent behind shoulders</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΜΕCΙC, Nemesis standing l., wearing <i>chiton</i> and <i>peplos</i>; r. arm bent holding fold of drapery; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 938; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 81a (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of the emperor laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., r. arm raised and plucking a fold of drapery, l. arm holding bridle (?)</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 957; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 55 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ, bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>Δ. ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding bridle in l. arm, r. arm bent to her neck</p>	



<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 963; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 81b (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>ANTΩNINOC AVTOVCTOC, bust of laureate Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>TIANΩN, Nemesis standing l., r. arm bent to her neck, with cubit-rule and a wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 980; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 81c (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>Bust of Iulia Paula, l.</p>	<p>TIANΩN, Nemesis standing l. with r. arm bent to her neck; with cubit-rule and wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 1010, 1011; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 55 (P. Karanastassis)</i></p>	<p>M ANT ΓOΔIANOC AYΓ. crowned bust of Gordian, r.</p>	<p>TIANΩN, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit- rule in l. arm. Wheel at feet</p>	



<p>Gordian III Bronze <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 1007, 1008; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 55 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΥΓ., crowned bust of Gordian III</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis with <i>cornucopia</i> and wheel. Next to her, an altar and a tree</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 1020; Sear 367, 3826; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v.</i> <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 55c (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΚΑΒΕΙΝΙΑ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ, draped bust, r.</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing l. arm holding <i>cornucopia</i>, r. arm resting on wheel set on altar</p>	
<p>Philip I The Arab Bronze <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 1023; Sear 374, 3891</p>	<p>ΑΥ. Κ. ΜΑ. Ι. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟC Α., Laur., dr, and cuir. bust r.</p>	<p>ΤΕΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing facing, head l., holding cubit-rule in l. arm, r. arm bent. Wheel at feet</p>	 <p>1023</p>

<p>Trajan Decius Bronze <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 1027, 1028; <i>RPC IX</i>, 366; <i>LIMC VI 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 55d (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ ΔΕΚΙΟC ΑΥ., bust of Trajan Decius laureate, l., with spear and shield</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis with <i>cornucopia</i> and wheel. Next to her an altar and a tree</p>	
<p>Hostilianus (Caesar) Bronze <i>RPC IX</i>, 369; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 4129</p>	<p>Γ ΟΥ ΟC ΜΕC ΚΥΙΝΤΟΝ, bareheaded, draped and cuirassed bust of Hostilian, r.</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit-rule; to l., wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Volusian (reign of Gallus) Bronze <i>RPC IX</i>, 370</p>	<p>Γ ΒΙΒ [ΒΕΛ?] ΒΟΛΟΥCΚΙΑΝΟC, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian, l.</p>	<p>ΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit-rule; wheel at feet</p>	


3. 15 Trapezus, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 63</i> (P. Karanastassis); Svoronos 7, p. 374, n. 179</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΚΕ ΜΑ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ, bust of laureate Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., a balance in her r. and <i>cu-bitum</i> in her l. A griffin at her feet</p>	
<p>Philipp II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Waddingt., 57</p>	<p>ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, Philip riding a horse, r.</p>	<p>ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤ. ΕΤ, Nemesis standing l., r. arm bent, griffin at feet</p>	

## 4. PROVINCE OF CAPPADOCIA

## Caesarea


## 4. 1 Caesarea, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinge between Smyrna and Caesarea in Cappadocia</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 6490; Sydenham, 624; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 126 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, laureate bust of Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΝΕΩΝ ΚΟΜ ΟΜΟΝΟ ΕΤ ΙΔ (year 14 = 205/6 A.D.), Nemesis looking l., near <i>Berg Airgaios</i>, <i>cubitum</i> in her l. and doing her typical gesture with the r.</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sydenham, 624b</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC, laureate bust of Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟC ΕΤ ΙΔ (year 14 = 205/6 A.D.), Smyrna standing l. and with the wheel at feet</p>	

## 5. PROVINCE OF CILICIA

**Aegeae, Carallia, Hamaxia, Irenopolis, Kemer, Korykion, Olba, Philadelphia in Cilicia – Imsiören, Sagalassus, Tarsos**

## 5. 1 Aegea, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 332, 3473; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 5458; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 59 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>MAMEA CEBA, draped bust, r.</p>	<p>ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ Ε. Μ. Π. Θ., Nemesis standing l., r. hand raised to shoulder, holding cubit-rule in l., wheel at feet. In field, ET-O / C (= year 270 of the Caesarean Era = 223/4 A.D.)</p>	
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## 5. 2 Carallia, inscription

**Object:** architrave block with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

**Description:** dedication of the building of the architrave to the emperors M. Aurelius and Commodus.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 37*: 1211; K. Hagel – S. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften*, Wien 1998, p. 100, GKa10 (*ETAM 22*, 1998); J. Nollé, *Pamphyllische Studien, Chiron 17* (1987), pp. 240 ff.

Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρσιν Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ Σεβαστῶ καὶ Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ - ? - Γερ]μανικοῖς Νενα Πολέμωνος ἀρχιτέρεια καὶ γ[υμνασιαρχ- - ? - ] Νε-  
μεσιν (?) καὶ ἀνεθηκεν τῇ Καραλλιωτῶν πό[λει -?]

### 5. 3 Hamaxia, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** fragmentary oracular text. Mention of Nemesis in the context of retribution.

**Bibliography:** *BE* 1983, 97; *SEG* 32: 1313; G. E. Bean, T. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, Wien 1970, p. 80, n. 53 (*ETAM* 3, 1970); K. Hagel – S. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften*, Wien 1998, p. 111, n 29 (*ETAM* 22, 1998).

[---- ] λυπηροτόκο[v-----]  
 [---- ὀλιγοψύχ]ει θαρρῶν punto in alto [-----]  
 [---- αὔξ]η τ' ἔσται κ[αι-----]  
 [---- ι]ζ' Σεράπεως  
 [----- π]είπτωσιν δύο καὶ τρε[ῖς-----]  
 [---- νεαρ]οῦ Ζεὺς Κτήσιός ἐσ[τιν-----]  
 [---- ἀν]τίπαλον κολάσει, καὶ ὑπο[χείριον----]  
 [--- εὐφροσ]ύνην ἔργοις ἀνθ' ὧν σὺ[-----]  
 [-----] Νεμέσεως  
 [----- πέσ]η χεῖρος καὶ τέσσαρ' [-----]  
 [----- δ]αίμων καὶ εἰς ὄρθ[ὸν ----]  
 [----- κ]αὶ μηκέ<τι> τρ[ῦχε ----]  
 ----- ΑΙΠΕΥ -----

### 5. 4 Idyros, relief and inscription

**Object:** inscribed *aedicula*.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unspecified.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: 212 A.D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Aurelius Kotilius.



**Bibliography:** G. H. R. Horsley, *The Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Burdur archaeological museum*, p. 88, n. 120.



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### 5. 5 Irenopolis, coinage

<p>Domitian Bronze <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 2291; RPC II, 1765; SNG Levante, 1602</i></p>	<p>ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, laureate head r.</p>	<p>Winged Nemesis-Pax standing on base, r., holding <i>caduceus</i>; at feet, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Trajan Bronze</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ, laureate head, r.</p>	<p>ΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΖΜ (= year 47 = 98 A.D.), winged Nemeseis-Pax standing r. holding <i>caduceus</i> downwards</p>	

<p><i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I</i>, 2293; <i>SNG France</i>, 2251-2; <i>SNG Levante</i>, 1604</p>			
<p>Caracalla Bronze <i>SNG Levante</i>, 1615</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CE, Draped bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>ΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΤΙΩΝ ΑΞΡ (year 161 = 212/213 A.D.), veiled bust of Eirene-Nemesis r.; cubit-rule on shoulder</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze <i>SNG Levante</i>, 1619; Karch 106; Ziegler Kilikien, 1344</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ CEΥ ALEXANDROC, laureate, draped, cuirassed bust r, countermark of a male head r.</p>	<p>ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΥC BPO (year 172 = 223/224), Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding cubit-rule, wheel at foot l.</p>	

### 5. 6 Korykion, inscription

**Object:** unspecified.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.


**Description:** dedication to the double Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions from Western Cilicia*, *JHS* 12 (1891), p. 256 f., n. 28; K. Hagel and S. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften*, Wien, 1998, p. 118, n. 1 B3 (*ETAM* 22, 1998).



Τῶν Νεμέσεων  
 Δημήτριος  
 Ζηνοφάνους  
 Διογένης ὁ καὶ  
 Κολλος Αππα  
 ὁ υἱος  
 τῆς πόλεως β'  
 Ἰάσων Ζηνο-  
 φάνους β'

### 5. 7 Olba, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (after 164)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Levante</i>, 660</p>	<p>ΛΟΥΚΙΑΛ ΣΕΒΑΧΤΗ,  draped bust of Lucilla, r.</p>	<p>ΟΛΒΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit-rule; wheel at feet</p>	
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### 5. 8 Philadelphia in Cilicia – Imsiören, inscription

**Object:** rock carving.

**Provenience/location:** cliff face, in a cleft.


**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** the *oikonomos* Nineis dedicated a statue of Nemesis to Zeus Phanaseus.

**Bibliography:** G. E. Bean, T. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, Wien 1970, p. 218, n. 249 (*ETAM* 3, 1970); M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 294, n. 246.

Δι Φα-  
 νασει ἀπ-  
 ευξάμε-  
 νος ἀπέδω-  
 κεν τὴν εὐ-  
 χὴν καὶ Νέμε-  
 σιν ἀνέστησεν  
 Νιν[εῖ]ς (?) οἰκο-  
 νομῶν

### 5. 9 Tarsos, coinage

<p>Maximinus Thraex</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Probable alliance coinage between Athens, Smyrna and Tarsos</p> <p><i>BMC Cilicia</i>, 220; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s. v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 97 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Γ ΙΟΥ ΟΥΗ          ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣ, and in field Π Π, bust of Maximinus, r., laureate, wearing <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass</p>	<p>ΤΑΡΣΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟ in field, above: ΑΜ Κ ΓΒ, In the middle Tyche with <i>cornucopia</i>, <i>kalathos</i> and a rudder. Athena is on the l. wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; Nemesis on the r.; a griffin with r. forepaw on a wheel</p>	
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## 6. PROVINCE OF CRETE AND CYRENAICA

### Aptera, Gortyn, Kato Poros

#### 6. 1 Aptera, statuary

**Object:** marble statue.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** statue-portrait of a noble woman with the body-shape of the Rhamnousian Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** G. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου*, Athens 1971, p. 30, pl. 45; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 2f (P. Karanastassis).

#### 6. 2 Gortyn, relief

**Object:** lower part of a marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** possible provenience from the local theatre.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D, on the basis of the construction of the second theatre (reign of Marcus Aurelius) and amphitheatre (soon after Marcus Aurelius).

**Description:** Nemesis stands on a naked prostrate figure; a griffin and a snake appear at her feet.

**Bibliography:** G. Montali, *Il teatro di Gortina*, Padova 2006, pp. 194-197; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, 33-34, 49, 60, 65; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 154 (P. Karanastassis); *LIMC Suppl. 2009, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 154 (P. Karanastassis).

#### 6. 3 Kato Poros- Argroupolis / Rethymno, inscription

**Object:** limestone altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Antonius Rufus.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 59: 1059*; *EBGR 2012 [2009]*, n. 169; Y. Tsifopoulos, *Two unpublished inscriptions from the Rethymno prefecture*, in *Estudios de epigrafía griega*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife 2009, pp. 527-529.

Ἀντώνιος - Ροῦφος  
ΘΕᾶ ΝΕΜΕΣΒΙ  
Εὐχὴν ἀνέθη-  
κεν

## 7. PROVINCE OF CYPRUS

## Paphos, Salamis, unknown provenience

## 7. 1 Salamis, inscription

**Object:** fragment of a circular marble drum.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** late Flavian period (in basis of paleography and in relation to the construction of the theatre).

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus, who is considered as the builder of the theatre and the amphitheatre of Salamis.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 180, n. 46; T. B. Mitford, I. K. Nicolaou, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*, Nicosia 1974, n. 104, pl.16.

[Νεμ]έσει Σουλπίκιος [Παγκλιῆς Οὐηρανιανὸς?...]

## 7. 2 Salamis, statuary

**Object:** marble statue (1,70 m. h.).

**Provenience/location:** found in the east stoa of the *palaestra/gymnasium*.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** a winged Nemesis wears a long *chiton* with *peplos*. The right arm is bent to her neck, while the left arm holds a *cubitum*. A griffin with wheel is represented at her feet. The style of the goddess' garment has been compared with a 5<sup>th</sup> c B.C. model.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 145 (P. Karanastassis); V. Karageorghi, *Sculptures from Salamis*, Nicosia 1964, p. 12, n. 4, pl. 12.

## 7. 3 Salamis, statuary

**Object:** marble torso of a statue.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre of Salamis, under the late structure of the *proscenium*.

**Date:** Flavian o Hadrian's times.

**Description:** the torso presents a cuirass decorated with various characters, interpreted as Virtus, Oceanus, Tellus, Caelus and, perhaps, Nemesis and Pax.

**Bibliography:** V. Karageorghis, *Sculptures from Salamis*, Nicosia 1964, p. 40, n. 48.

#### 7. 4 Paphos, statuary

**Object:** two marble statuettes.

**Provenience/location:** found in a late Roman house.

**Date:** late Roman imperial times.

**Description:** the two statuettes have been identified as Aphrodite and Nemesis or as a double Nemesis. They both wear a veil and a long *chiton*. One of the garments is decorated with stars. Both these figures raise their right arm to their chest, performing a gesture identifiable as Nemesis' *spuere in sinum*.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 150a-b (P. Karanastassis); B. Lichocka, *Une groupe syncrétiste de Nea Paphos, EtTrav 10* (1978), pp. 206 ff.

#### 7. 5 Unknown provenience, inscription

**Object:** small sandstone statue base (0, 18 m. h.; 0, 46 m. w.; 0, 11 m. d.).

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Museum of Lefkosia.


**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication of a statue of Nemesis-Dikaiosyne to the sanctuary of Nemesis by Philon, son of Tryphon. Nemesis appears as associated with Diakaiosyne and Tyche, in accordance and reaction to people's behaviours.

**Bibliography:** T. B. Mitford, *Religious documents from Roman Cyprus, JHS 66* (1946), pp. 24-25; T. Mavroyiannis, *Το «ιερόν της Νεμέσεως» στην Κύπρο, η Νέμεσις του Ραμνούντος και ο Κίμων, Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες 106* (2008), p. 65.

Τὴν δυνατὴν Νέμεσιν με θεᾶν  
 ἰδρύσατο τεύξας ἱερῶ ἐν τεμένει  
 - τήνδε Δικαιοσύνην,  
 ἧτις ἦφον θήρ  
 ἰς ἀσεβεῖς, παρὰ δ' εὐσεβέ <εσ> ἰν  
 τοῖς τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν εἰδόσειν ἰμὶ  
 Τύχη. Φίλων Τρύφωνος εὐχή <v>




## 7. 6 Unknown provenience, coinage

<p>Time of King Timochares (385 B.C.)</p> <p>Silver stater</p> <p>Masson, p. 121 ff.; <i>BMC Cyprus</i>, 45</p>	<p>ΒΑΣΙΛΗΦΟΣ (in syllabic alphabet <i>pa-si- le-wo-se</i>), a god (probably Zeus) sits in throne, holding a sceptre in his l. arm</p>	<p>Representation of a female statue, identified as Aphrodite or Nemesis of Rhamnous. She is standing front, offering incense on a <i>thymiaterion</i>, and holding a branch in the l. hand</p> <p>BMC: <i>peplos</i> fastened on her r. shoulder with griffin's head <i>fibula</i></p>	
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## 8. PROVINCE OF GALATIA

## Ancyra, Iconium, Pessinous, Tavium

## 8. 1 Ancyra, coinage

<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 6232</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚοΜΜοΔοC, laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΑΝΚΥΡΑC, Nemesis standing, l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit-rule; to r. at her feet, wheel</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Lightfoot, 17</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΠΤ ΣΕΟΒΕΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΑΥΤΟV, laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ[Ε]ΩC ΑΝΚΥΡΑC, Nemesis standing and looking l., with her r. hand raised and holding a <i>cubitum</i> in her l. A wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 249, 2636</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΟVCT., bust of Caracalla, l.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ. ΑΝΚΥΡΑC, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit-rule and bridle, wheel at side</p>	



<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Arslan, p. 9, n. 20</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ, head of Caracalla laureate, l.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ. ΑΝΚΥΡΑΚ, Nemesis standing left, holding balance on her r. and <i>cornucopia</i> on her l.</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 98 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 6152; Arslan, p. 31, n. 7</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑ, bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>ΑΝΚΥΡΑΚ, Nemesis with <i>cubitus</i> in her l. and balance in her r. A wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG France III</i>, 2475</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, bust of Iulia, r.</p>	<p>[ΜΗ]ΤΡΟΠΟΛ ΑΝΚΥΡΑΣ, Nemesis looking l., with bridle in her l., r. raised to her neck; a wheel at her feet</p>	

## 8. 2 Iconium, inscription

**Object:** stone with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** end of Trajan's reign/beginning of Hadrian's reign.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Quintus Ebureus Maximus, governor of Galatia (and Pisidia and Paphlagonia).

**Bibliography:** *SEG 4*: 413; Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia*, *JRS 16* (1926), p. 214-215; B. E. McLean, *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum*, London 2002, K25; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 294, n. 245.

Κοῖντος Ἐ-  
βουρηγῶς Μ-  
ἀξιμος  
Νεμέσει ἐ-  
πηκόω

### 8. 3 Pessinous, relief and inscription

**Object:** white marble slab with inscription and relief.

**Provenience/location:** found opposite to the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** Nemesis appears dressed with a mantle. Next to her a five-rays wheel is carved.

**b. inscription:** dedication to the goddess Nemesis not defined by any attribute.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 47*: 1699; J. H. M. Strubbe, *The inscriptions of Pessinous*, Bonn 2005, pp. 44-45; J. Devreker, H. Verreth, *New inscriptions from Pessinous and elsewhere (VI)*, *EA 33* (2001), p. 57; J. Devreker, *Nouveaux monuments et inscriptions de Pessinonte (V)*, *EA 28* (1997), pp. 97-98.

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χί-  
ν

#### 8. 4 Pessinous, inscription

**Object:** small *naiskos* of white marble.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.


**Date:** Roman imperial times.



**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Metrodoros. The base of the *naiskos* is decorated with a vegetal motif.



**Bibliography:** *SEG 51*: 1742; J. H. M. Strubbe, *The inscriptions of Pessinous*, Bonn 2005, p. 45; J. Devreker, H. Verreth, *New inscriptions from Pessinous and elsewhere (VI)*, *EA* 33 (2001), 58.

Μητρό-  
δωρος  
Μητ<ρ>οδώ-  
ρου θεᾶ  
Νεμέσι  
εὐχίην.



#### 8. 5 Pessinous, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 154, 1660; <i>BMC Galatia</i>, 20, 11; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 178 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>A.K. M. A. ANTΩNEINOC, bust of the emperor, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit-rule and bridle</p>	 <p>1660</p>
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<p>Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus Bronze <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 6223; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 61 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Α Κ Λ ΟΥ CEBACTOC, Lucius Verus bareheaded, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTI[ΩΝ], Nemesis standing with cubit-rule in r. and bridle in l. hand</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 5739; <i>BMC Galatia</i>, 21</p>	<p>Α Κ Λ ΟΥ CEBACTOC (As shaped as Λs), bare head of Lucius Verus, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, Nemesis standing, l., holding cubit-rule in r. and bridle in l.</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 10058</p>	<p>Α Κ Λ ΟΥ CEBACTOC, bare head of Lucius Verus, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, Nemesis standing, r., holding bridle in r. and cubit-rule in l. hand</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 4104; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 2591 = Devreker 178, n. 51</p>	<p>Α Κ Μ Α ANTΩNEINOC, bareheaded Marcus Aurelius, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, shrine with two columns enclosing statue of Nemesis standing, l., holding cubit-rule in r. and bridle in l. hand</p>	

<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>SNG Aulock, 6228; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 99 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ, bust of Caracalla, l.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, Nemesis with wheel at her l. and and a <i>patera</i> in her r. hand</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>SNG Aulock, 6233; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 99b (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΟVCTOC, bust of Caracalla laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOYNTIΩΝ, Nemesis looking l., with <i>cubitum</i> in her r. and the l. arm lowered on a wheel on the ground</p>	
<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>SNG Aulock, 8726; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 99c (P. Karanastassis); <i>BMC Galatia</i>, 30</p>	<p>ΓΕΤΑC ΑΥΓΟVCT, bust of Geta r., bearded, laur., <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass</p>	<p>ΠΕCCINOΩNTIΩΝ, Nemesis in <i>chiton</i>, r. hand raised, holding <i>cubitum</i>; in l. hand bridle. Wheel at feet</p>	

## 8. 6 Tavium, coinage




<p>Septimius Severus Bronze <i>SNG France III, 2658</i></p>	<p>AVT K Λ CEITIM CEOVHPOC, radiate bust of Septimius Severus, r.</p>	<p>TAOVIANΩN, Nemesis looking l., with bridle and raising the r. arm to her neck</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus Bronze <i>SNG France III, 2668</i></p>	<p>IOVΛIA CEBACTH, bust of Iulia, r.</p>	<p>TAOVIANΩN, Nemesis looking l., with bridle and raising the r. arm to her neck</p>	

## 9. PROVINCE OF LYCIA ET PAMPHYLIA

Aspendos, Attalia, Balboursa, Gagai, Perge, Rhodiapolis, Side

## 9. 1 Aspendos, coinage



<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 3558</p>	<p>] [K]AI [M?] AY[, laureate head of Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>ΑΠΙΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., resting l. hand on hip, holding cubit-rule over seated griffin</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 8642; <i>GM</i>, p. 155, N. 461</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΑΙΑ ΑΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟC, laureate head of Commodus, r.</p>	<p>ΑΠΙΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit-rule over griffin with wheel.</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΑ ΜΑΜΕΑC, bust of Iulia Mamea, r.</p>	<p>ΑΠΙΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing looking left, holding cubit-rule in r. and bridle in l. Griffin and wheel at feet</p>	

<p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 89a</i> (P. Karanastassis); Svoronos 6, p. 196, n. 178</p>			
<p>Volusian Bronze <i>RPC IX, 1033</i></p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΕ Γ ΟΥΙΑ ΟΥΕΛ ΟΥΟΛΟΥCCANON, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian, r.</p>	<p>ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit- rule; at her feet, griffin placing forepaw on wheel</p>	
<p>Valerian Senior Bronze Sear 433, 4471; <i>BMC Pamph.</i>, 99; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n.</i> 89a (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΠΟΥ. ΑΙ. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC ΕΥ. CΕΒ., dr. and cuir., bust r.</p>	<p>ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis l., holding cubit-rule, griffin at her feet</p>	
<p>Valerian Senior Bronze (as above) <i>SNG Hunt. Mus. I, 2085</i></p>	<p>ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΠΟΥ. ΑΙ. ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC ΕΥ. CΕΒ., dr. and cuir., bust r.</p>	<p>ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis l., holding cubit-rule, griffin at her feet with a wheel</p>	




<p>Gallien</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 453, 4674; <i>BMC Pamph.</i>, 209, 103</p>	<p>ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ          ΚΑΛΩΝΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ.,          diademed bust r.</p>	<p>ΑΠΙΕΝΔΙΩΝ, Nemesis          standing l., holding cubit-          rule, griffin at her feet</p>	
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## 9. 2 Attalia, coinage

<p>Antoninus Pius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 3, 11608 (temporary)</p>	<p>ΚΑΙΣΑΡ          ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ,          Laureate head r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ,          Nemesis standing l., holding          bridle and cubit-rule; to l.,          griffin standing l., head r.</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 3, 4079; Sear 188, 2019;  <i>BMC Pamph.</i>, 20; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1,  <i>s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 123 (P.          Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Λ. ΑΙΛ.          ΑΥΡ. ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ,          bust of Commodus          laureate wearing  <i>paludamentum</i> and          cuirass, r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ, winged          Nemesis standing l., holding          wheel in r. and cubit-rule in          l., griffin at feet</p>	

<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV, 3, 11021 (temporary)</i></p>	<p>[AVT? K]AI Λ AV KOMM ANTΩNEINO[c?], laureate head of Commodus (short bust) with traces of drapery, r.</p>	<p>ATTAAEΩN, winged Nemesis standing, l., holding cubit-rule (?) and bridle (?); to l., griffin seated, l., resting paw on wheel</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 123 b (P. Karanastassis); SNG Aulock, 4623</i></p>	<p>AVT. KAI Λ CEΠ CEOVHPOC ΠEPTINAΞ CE, laureate bust of Septimius Severus r.</p>	<p>ATTAAEΩN, winged Nemesis l., <i>cubitum</i> in her l., in her r. a shell (?) a griffin with wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Trajan Decius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX, 1038</i></p>	<p>AY K ΓA ME KY TPA ΔEKION EYC, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r.</p>	<p>ATTAAEΩN, winged Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle and cubit-rule; to r. at her feet, griffin placing forepaw on wheel</p>	

<p>Trebonianus Gallus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IV</i>, 1050, <i>IX</i>, 1090; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 4629; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 123b (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΕ Γ ΟΥΙΒ ΤΡΕΒΩ ΓΑΛΛΟΝ, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Gallus, r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle and cubit-rule; at l., griffin placing forepaw on wheel (not a snake?)</p>	
<p>Volusian as Augustus (reign of Trebonianus Gallus)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX</i>, 1093</p>	<p>Α Κ Γ ΟΥ ΑΦ ΓΑΛ ΟΥΟΛΚΑΝΟΝ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian, r.; below, globe</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ, winged Nemesis standing l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle and cubit-rule; at l., wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Valerian Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 4632; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 123c (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΟΥ ΛΙ ΟΒΑ, bust of Valerianus r.</p>	<p>ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ, winged Nemesis looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in her l., wheel in her r.</p>	

### 9. 3 Balboursa, inscription

**Object:** lintel block.

**Provenience/location:** found in the temple of Nemesis.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: 161 A.D.

**Description:** dedication of temple of Nemesis and related statues by the public slave Onesimos.

**Bibliography:** J. J. Coulton, N. P. Milner, A. T. Reyes, *Balboursa surveys, Anatolian studies* 38 (1988), p. 130.

Τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπόταις Ὀνήσιμος δημόσιος  
κατασκεύασεν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Νεμέσεως  
σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν.

#### 9. 4 Gagai, coinage

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 368, 3846; <i>BMC Lycia</i>, 59, 2; <i>LIMC VI, I</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 90 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>CABEINIA TPANKVΛΛINA CE., diad. and draped bust, r.</p>	<p>ΓΑΓΑΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing facing, head r., r. hand on her breast, holding cubit-rule in l. hand; wheel on ground behind, griffin before</p>	
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#### 9. 5 Perge, inscription

**Object:** funerary monument.

**Provenience/location:** found in the West necropolis.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** epitaph of Eutyichianos, priest of Nemesis Enodia, and his family.

**Bibliography:** *I. Perge*, 366.

Εὐτυχιανὸς Μάγνου Φιλίππου Τηλέφου ἱερεὺς Νεμέσεως ἐνοδίας κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ οἶκημα σωματοθήκης ψαλιδωτὸν καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ Εὐτυχία καὶ θυγατρὶ Εὐτυχιανῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνοις καὶ οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ διατάξονται· ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε ἔσται ὑπεύθυνος ἰς τὸ ἱερότατον ταμεῖον (δηγ.) βφ´

### 9. 6 Perge, inscription

**Object:** inscribed block.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by T. Moussen Flavius.

**Bibliography:** *I. Perge*, 247.

Νεμέ[σε]ι  
ἐπη[κόω]  
ἐὐχί[ν]  
Τ. Μουσσην...  
Φλάουι[ος] ΜΑΤΕ  
ΝΟΜΙΔΟΣ

### 9. 7 Perge, statue and inscription

**Object:** statue of Nemesis with inscription on the base.

**Provenience/location:** found in the *apodyterium* of the South bath.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. statue:** Nemesis wears a long *chiton* and sandals, holds probably a *cubitum* in her left hand and raises her right arm to spit on her chest. She is diademed and accompanied by a griffin at her feet, with a paw on the wheel.

**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by Poplius Aelius Plancianus Antonius.

**Bibliography:** *I. Perge*, 175., pl. 45; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 300, n. 256.

Π. Αἴλιος Πλανκιανὸς Ἀν-  
τώνιος ἀφιέρωσεν

### 9. 8 Perge, statue and inscription

**Object:** statue of Nemesis with inscription on the base.

**Provenience/location:** found in the South bath.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. statue:** the goddess is wearing a long *chiton* with a *himation* which covers her head. The curly hair is separated in the middle of the front and on them a diadem. With the right she raises her mantel while the right hand, bent on the right takes the *cubitum*. She wears sandals.

**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Claudius Peison.

**Bibliography:** I. *Perge*, 166., pl. 43; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 300, n. 255; M. E. Özgür, *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya*, Istanbul 1987, n. 24.

Κλαύδιος Πείσων ἀνέθηκεν

### 9. 9 Perge, statuary

**Object:** statue of Nemesis.

**Provenience/location:** found at the walls of the city gates.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis stands frontally wearing a long *chiton*, one chest is naked. A griffin appears at her feet.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 59; *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 175 (P. Karanastassis); P. Karanastassis, *Untersuchungen zu der kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland*, *AM 101* (1986), p. 253; A. M. Mansel, *Bericht über Ausgrabungen Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1957-1972*, *AA 90* (1975), p. 64, pict. 19.

### 9. 10 Rhodiapolis, inscription

**Object:** marble slab with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the eastern wall of the Heröon.


**Date:** between 124 and 153 A. D. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:** dedication of two temples, one of Tyche and the other of Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *IGR III*, 739; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 302, n. 259;

Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος δηνάρια μύρια δισχέιλια, Ῥοδιαπόλει τῶν δὲ τῆ πόλει μετὰ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ φιλοτειμίαν δύο ναοὺς Τύχης καὶ Νεμέσεος, τῆ δὲ Κορυθαλλέων πόλει.

### 9. 11 Rhodiapolis, coinage

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 299; Waddingt., 3177</p>	<p>CABEINIAN TPANKVΛΛEINAN CE; draped bust r., wearing <i>stephane</i>, set on crescent</p>	<p>ΡΟΔΙΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ; Nemesis standing l., holding cubit-rule and holding out fold of drapery with r. hand; before, to l., griffin seated l.</p>	
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### 9. 12 Side, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** found in the stage building of the theatre.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by from the son of Sozon.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 302, n. 260; G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri*, Ankara 1965, p. 40, n. 138.

[.....] ιος  
[Σώ?]ζοντο<ς>  
τὸν βωμὸ<ν>  
Νεμέσι

### 9. 13 Side, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial time.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Agathagelos.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 59, n. 261; G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri*, Ankara 1965, p. 40, n. 139.

Ἀγαθάγγελος  
τῇ κυρίᾳ  
Νεμέσι  
εὐχή

### 9. 14 Side, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** vow to the goddess Nemesis by a certain Primigenis.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 303, n. 262; G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri*, Ankara 1965, n. 188.

Νεμέσι  
Πριμιγ<έ>-  
νης  
εὐχήν



## 9. 15 Side, statuary

**Object:** marble statue.



**Provenience/location:** found in the building M, in the central of three rooms, which were at the board of a quadriporticus. Still *in situ*.


**Date:** probably Antonine period.

**Description:** achephalous statue of Nemesis (1,82 m. high without base). The goddess appears wearing a long *chiton* and *himation*. A griffin is represented next to her, with the forepaw on a wheel.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, pp. 23-24; *LIMC VI, I*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 177 (P. Karanastassis); J. Inan, *Roman Sculpture in Side*, Ankara 1975, pp. 101-102, pl. 47, 1-3.

## 9. 16 Side, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus Bronze <i>SNG France III</i>, 836</p>	<p>IOYΛΙΑ MAMEA, bust of Iulia, r.</p>	<p>CIΔHTΩN, winged Nemesis r., holding a <i>cornucopia</i> and with a griffin at her feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze Mionnet, 219</p>	<p>AV K M CEV ALEXANDPOC, laureate, draped &amp; cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>CIΔHTΩN, winged Nemesis standing facing, head l., holding bundle of spears (?), griffin at foot to l., pomegranate at foot to r.</p>	

<p>Gallien</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Alliance coinage between Side and Attalia</p> <p>Sear 446, 4599; <i>SNG Aulock</i>, 8549; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 124 (P. Karanastassis); the same in <i>SNG France III</i>, 928-929</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΠΟ. ΛΙ. ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC CE., laureate, dr. and cuir., bust, r.</p>	<p>CIΔHTΩN ATTALEΩN, OMONOIA, Athena resting on a spear, facing a winged Nemesis on the l., wheel at feet. They sacrifice over an altar between them</p>	
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## 10. PROVINCE OF MACEDONIA

Butrint, Dion, Edessa, Heraclea Lyncestis, Maroneia, Philippi, Stobi, Thasos, Thessalonica

## 10. 1 Butrint, statuary

**Object:** statue of Nemesis.**Provenience/location:** found in the *frons scaenae* of the theatre. Today it is preserved at the Roman National Museum.**Date:** reign of Hadrian.**Description:** female figure wearing a long *chiton*, *himation* and sandals. The head seems to be an original Greek piece of Prassitelian style made of marble of Greek islands; the body is a Roman copy, resembling the statues of carefully collected and described by G. Despinis.**Bibliography:** *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 2c (P. Karanastassis); G. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου*, Athens 1971, pp. 29-30.

## 10. 2 Dion, relief and inscription

**Object:** relief with inscription.**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Dion.**Date:** Late Roman times (in basis of the style).**Description:****a. relief:** Nemesis-Aequitas, stands frontally, wearing a long *chiton*, holding a balance and an eight-rays wheel. The goddess is inscribed in a small *aedicula*, with a *tympanum* over her head and two columns at the sides.**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Zopyros.**Bibliography:** S. Pingiatoglou, *Διον, το ιερό της Δήμητρος*, Thessalonica 2015, p. 167.Ζωπυρος Νέμε-  
σιν ανέθηκεν



Photo of the author.

### 10. 3 Dion, statuary

**Object:** marble statuette.

**Provenience/location:** sanctuary of Demeter. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Dion.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** a winged Nemesis wears a long *chiton* and sandals; she is trampling a prostrate figure, with a wheel and a balance carved at her feet.

**Bibliography:** S. Pingiatoglou, *Διον, το ιερό της Δήμητρος*, Thessalonica 2015, p. 167.

#### 10. 4 Edessa, inscription

**Object:** marble slab with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the cemetery.

**Date:** 253-254 A.D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Aurelia Zosime.

**Bibliography:** A. Chrysostomou, *Αρχαία Έδεσσα. Τα νεκροταφεία*, Bolos 2013, p. 230.

Αὐρ(ηλία) Ζωσίμη, δόξαν  
καὶ τῆ κρ(ατίστη) βου<λ>ῆ, ἔδω-  
ρήσατο τῆ Δραστείῳ {Αδραστείῳ}  
θεῶ Νεμέσι παιδίσκην  
ὀνόματι Ἐπίκτησιν  
ύφελομένη τὴν  
χρῆσιν αὐτῆς τὸν τῆς  
ζωῆς χρόνον  
ἐν τῷ αὐ-  
ῆτε<ι>

#### 10. 5 Heraclea Lyncestis, statuary

**Object:** marble head.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** head of a female figure identifiable as Nemesis for the hair style and the diadem. The face is slightly reclined to the right.

**Bibliography:** T. Janakievski, *Antique theaters and monuments with theatrical problematical in the Republic of Macedonia. Theatres antiques et monuments avec thematique theatral dans republique de Macedoine*, Bitola 1998, p. 115.

**10. 6 Heraclea Lyncestis, statuary**

**Object:** marble statue.

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** female life-size marble statue recognizable as the body of the Nemesis' head above. The figure wears a long *chiton*; the right hand is bent to the neck, in a probable gesture of *spuere in sinum*.

**Bibliography:** T. Janakievski, *Antique theaters and monuments with theatrical problematical in the Republic of Macedonia. Theatres antiques et monuments avec thematique theatral dans republique de Macedoine*, Bitola 1998, p. 116; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 172 (P. Karanastassis).

**10. 7 Heraclea Lyncestis, statuary**

**Object:** marble statue with inscription on the base.

**Provenience/location:** found near the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**

**a. statue:** marble life-size statue, probably of Nemesis; she wears a long *chiton*; the right arm is bent to the neck in a probable gesture of *spuere in sinum*.

**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by Iulia Tertilla for the good fortune of the city.

**Bibliography:** *IG X, 2, 2 n. 56*; *SEG 49: 710*; T. Janakievski, *Antique theaters and monuments with theatrical problematical in the Republic of Macedonia. Theatres antiques et monuments avec thematique theatral dans republique de Macedoine*, Bitola 1998, p. 112-113.

Τύχη πόλεως

Νέμεσι

θεᾶ

Ἰούλια

Τερτύλλα

**10. 8 Maroneia, inscription**

**Object:** left part of a marble base with molding at the top and bottom.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis-Nike (?).

**Bibliography:** *I. Aeg. Thrace*, 374.

ΠΡΕΙΣΙ[— — —]

ΙΟΥΙ[— — — —]

ΝΕΜΕΣ[— — —]

ΕΣΤΗ[— — — —]

*vacat*

Πρεῖσις[ος Γα]-

ίου [Νεικο]-

νέμεσ[ιν άν]-

έστη[σεν].

## 10. 9 Philippi, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble stele with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the western *parodos* of the theatre. Still *in situ*.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., when the theatre was converted in arena.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** female figure identified as Nike, looking left, holding a palm branch in her left hand and a crown in her right hand.

**b. inscription:** dedication by Marcus Bellius Zosimus, high-priest of the Nemesis *aneiketos*, on behalf of the association of the “friends of hunting”.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 3*: 499; G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015*, pp. 80-81; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 198, n. 84; L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 23; P. Collart, *Le théâtre de Philippes*, *BCH 52* (1928), p. 124; F. Chapoutier, *Nemesis et Nike*, *BCH 48* (1924), p. 291, pict. 3.

Μ. Βελλεῖος Ζώσιμ[ος]

ἱερεὺς τῆς ἀνεικήτου Νεμέσε-

ως ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνήγων τοῦ στέ[μ]-

ματος

τὰ ἀφυδρεύ-  
 ματα τῶ-  
 ν θεῶν  
 ἐκ τῶν ἰ-  
 διων ἐ-ποίησ-  
 εν.

### 10. 10 Philippi, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble stele with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the western *parodos* of the theatre. Still *in situ*.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., when the theatre was converted in arena.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** female figure identified as Nemesis-Aequitas. She appears frontally holding a balance in her right hand and a *cubitum* in her left hand.

**b. inscription:** dedication by Marcus Bellius Zosimus, high-priest of the Nemesis *aneiketos*.

**Bibliography:** *SEG* 3: 500; G. Aristodemou, G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015*, pp. 80-81; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 198, n. 85; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 76 (P. Karanastassis); L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, n. 23; P. Collart, *Le théâtre de Philippes*, *BCH* 52 (1928), p. 109 ff.; F. Chapoutier, *Nemesis et Nike*, *BCH* 48 (1924), p. 293, pict. 4;

[M. B]ελλ[εῖος  
 Ζώ]σιμος  
 ἱε[ρεὺς  
 τ]ῆς ἀνεικῆτου Νε[μέσ]-  
 εος





From Aristodemou 2015, p. 75, pict. 4b.

### 10. 11 Philippi, relief with inscription

**Object:** marble stele with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the western *parodos* of the theatre. Still *in situ*.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., when the theatre was converted in arena.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** male figure identified as Ares. He stands frontally, holding a spear and a shield in his left arm. The right arm holds an unidentified object.

**b. inscription:** dedication of the icons by Marcus Bellius Zosimus, high-priest of the Nemesis *aneiktos*, on the behalf of the association of the “friends of hunting”. Carved on the top of the relief.

**Bibliography:** SEG 3: 501; G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman*

*provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015, pp. 80-81; M. Hornum, Nemesis, p. 199, n. 86; L. Robert, Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec, Paris 1940, n. 24; P. Collart, Le théâtre de Philippes, BCH 52 (1928), p. 109 ff.; F. Chapoutier, Un troisième bas-relief du théâtre de Philippes, BCH 49 (1925), pp. 239 ff.*

[Μ. Βελλεῖος... ] λῆνος Ζώσιμος  
 [ιερεὺς Νεμέσεω]ς τῆς θεοῦ ἀνεική-  
 [του ὑπὲρ φιλ]οκονήγων τοῦ στέμ-  
 Ματος  
 ]Μα  
 ]ΚΕΜ  
 ]ΝΟΥ  
 ]ΣΕΠΑ  
 ]ΟΝΕΕ  
 ]εὐχὴν ?

]Λ  
 ...ἐκ τῶν ιδί]ων τὰ  
 [ἀφουδρεύμα-  
 [τα... ] ΣΑ

## 10. 12 Philippi, relief

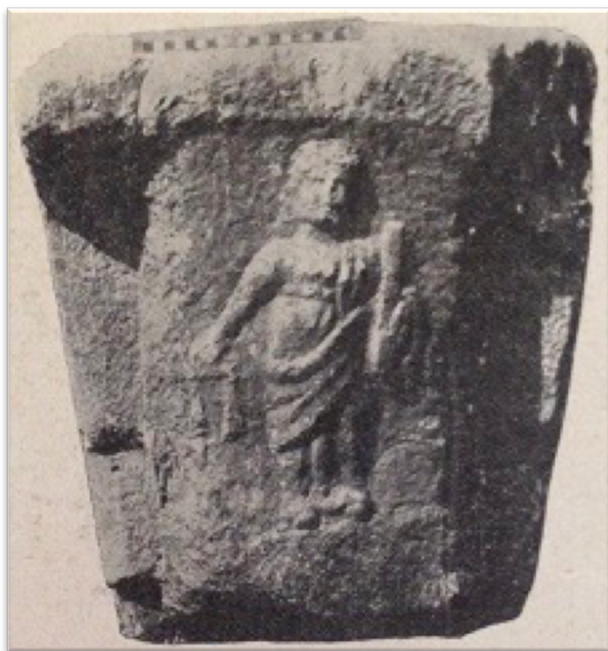
**Object:** marble slab with relief.

**Provenience/location:** found in the western *parodos* of the theatre. Still *in situ*.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., when the theatre was converted in arena.

**Description:** Nemesis appears frontally, holding a balance in her right hand and a *cubitum* in her left hand. A wheel may have been carved at her feet.

**Bibliography:** G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015*, p. 76, pict. 5a-b; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, Pl. 19; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 39 (P. Karanastassis) n. 39; P. Collart, *Philippes la ville de Macedoine*, Paris 1937, p. 384, pl., 67, 4; P. Collart *Le théâtre de Philippes*, BCH 52 (1928), p. 110, pict. 21.



From Collart 1928, p. 110, pict. 21.

### 10. 13 Philippi, relief

**Object:** funerary stele.

**Provenience/location:** found in the area of the Basilica A.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** funerary relief of a Thracian rider accompanied by Nemesis. The goddess appears on the right side, while the Thracian rider is depicted on the left.

**Bibliography:** G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015*, p. 76; P.

Lemerle, *Inscriptions latines et grecques de Philippes. Inscriptions latines*, BCH 58 (1934), p. 465, n. 3, fig. 6; P. Collart, *Philippes la ville de Macedoine*, Paris 1937, pp. 424-425.

#### 10. 14 Stobi, inscription

**Object:** statue base with inscription.

**Provenience/location:** from the central room of the *skene* building of the theatre, where there a Nemesis shrine was located.

**Date:** late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., as suggested by the epithet *deus* referred to the emperor.

**Description:** dedication of a statue of Nemesis by the *Augustales* of the city.

**Bibliography:** F. Papazoglou, *Dédicaces deo Caesari de Stobi*, ZPE 82 (1990), pp. 213-221; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 244, n. 161.

*DEO CAES(ari) AVG(usto)*  
*P(atri) P(atriae) ET MVNIC(ipio)*  
*STOB(ensium) VLTRICEM*  
*AVGVSTAM*  
*SEX(tus) CORNELIVS*  
*AVDOLEO*  
*ET C(aius) FVLCINIVS*  
*EPICTETVS*  
*ET L(ucius) METTIVS*  
*EPICTETVS*  
*AVGVSTALES*  
*F(ecerunt)*

#### 10. 15 Stobi, inscription

**Object:** sandstone *aedicula*.

**Provenience/location:** from the central room of the *skene* building of the theatre, where there a Nemesis shrine was located.

**Date:** late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** *ex-voto* of Titus Mestrius Longus to the goddess Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *I. Stoborum*, 13; E. Bouley, N. Proeva, *Un secunda rudis président d'un collègue à Stobi en Macedoine Romaine*, in C. Brixhe (ed.), *Poikila epigraphika*, Paris 1997, p.86; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 76, n. 162.

Θεᾶ Νεμέσει κατ' ἐπιταγή[ν]  
Τ(ίτος) Μέστριος. Λόνγος

### 10. 16 Stobi, inscription

**Object:** marble slab.

**Provenience/location:** from the central room of the *skene* building of the theatre, where there a Nemesis shrine was located.

**Date:** late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** vow of Asclepiades to Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 49*: 800; T. Janakievski, *Antique theaters and monuments with theatrical problematical in the Republic of Macedonia. Theatres antiques et monuments avec thematique theatral dans republique de Macedoine*, Bitola 1998, p. 213, n. 109; B. Saria, *Pozorišteu Stobima*, Skopje 1937, p. 54.

[Θεᾶ Νεμ]έσει κα  
[--- εὐ]χὴν κα  
[- ---] Ἀσκ-  
[ληπιάδης?]

### 10. 17 Stobi, statuary

**Object:** marble statue.


**Provenience/location:** from the central room of the *skene* building of the theatre, where there a Nemesis shrine was located.




**Date:** late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.



**Description:** fragmentary statue of Nemesis holding a scale.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 61; J. Wiseman, *Stobi. A guide to excavation*, Belgrade, 1973, p. 72; H. Volkmann, *Studien von Nemesis kult*, *ARW 26* (1928), p. 59.

**10. 18 Stobi, statuary****Object:** marble head.**Provenience/location:** from the central room of the *skene* building of the theatre, where there a Nemesis shrine was located.**Date:** late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.**Description:** piece of head of Nemesis. The goddess presents her typical hairstyle, with curly hair collected behind and separated in the middle of the front.**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 58; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 72 (P. Karanastassis); J. Wiseman, *Stobi. A guide to excavation*, Belgrade 1973, p. 72; B. Saria, *Das Theater von Stobi, AA 53* (1938), pp. 106-115, pict. 22.**10. 19 Stobi coinage**

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 194 (P. Karanastassis); Sallet II, 3</p>	<p>IMMAVAN TONINVS GS, bust of Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>STOBENSIVM GS, Nemesis standing l., winged, with wheel at feet and bridle? In her r. hand</p> <p>GS: according to von Sallet, it means GERMANICVS SARMATICVS (a title of Marcus Aurelius)</p>	
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<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Kuzmanovic, 160-171</p>	<p>IM M AV ANTONIN, radiate head, r.</p>	<p>STOBENSIVM, Nike-Nemesis in long <i>chiton</i>, walking l., holding wreath and short rod in r. hand, palm branch in l., wheel at foot</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius AD 175-177</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Varbanov, 3839; Kuzmanovic, 159.</p>	<p>IM M ANTO-NINVS, radiate head, l.</p>	<p>STOBENSI VM GS, Nike-Nemesis in long <i>chiton</i>, walking l.; holding wreath and short rod in r. hand, palm branch in l., wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Septimius Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 219, 2308; <i>BMC</i> 5, 104, 8</p>	<p>AVGVSTA IVLIA, bust of the empress, r.</p>	<p>MVNICIPI. STOBEN., Nike-Nemesis advancing l. holding wreath and palm, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Josifovski, 514-515, 517-519</p>	<p>A K M AVR ANTONINVS, laureate draped cuirassed bust r., seen from behind</p>	<p>STOB-EN-MVNICIP, Nike-Nemesis advancing r., holding wreath and palm, wheel at her feet.</p>	

<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Varbanov, 3958; Josifovski, 480; Kuzmanovic, 958</p>	<p>IM C M AV ANTONIVW, radiate head, r.</p>	<p>MVNI STOB, Nike- Nemesis advancing l., holding wreath and palm branch, small wheel at foot.</p>	
<p>Geta (as Caesar)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Varbanov, 4119.</p>	<p>SEPT. GETA CAES PONT, bare-headed, draped, cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>MVNICIP STOBENSIVM, Nike- Nemesis advancing l. holding wreath and palm, wheel at feet before</p>	

### 10. 20 Thasos, inscription

**Object:** marble slab.

**Provenience/location:** found in the West gate of the city.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by two persons, thought to be gladiator.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII*, 372; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 208, n. 106; E. L. Hicks, T. Bent, *Inscriptions from Thasos*, *JHS* 8 (1887), p. 417, n. 18.

Κέρδων Μέγ[ωνος]  
ο καί Σισ [υφ] ος Νε-  
μέσει ἀπαλλα-  
γεις ε[.....]ς



εὐχήν

### 10. 21 Thasos, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble anta of the theatre's *proscenium* with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found near the theatre.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** although the relief was intentionally damaged, we can distinguish a goddess in a long garment and, perhaps, a *cubitum*.

**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by a certain Euhemeros.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII 8*, 371; G. G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, pp. 76-78; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 207, n. 105; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis* (P. Karanastassis), n. 4; P. Bernard, F. Salviat, *Inscriptions de Thasos*, *BCH 86* (1962), p. 600; E. L. Hicks, T. Bent, *Inscriptions from Thasos*, *JHS 8* (1887), p. 417, n. 19.

Εὐήμε-  
ρος Διο-  
νυσίου  
Νεμέσει  
εὐχήν

### 10. 22 Thasos, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** found near the theatre.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication to the double Nemesis by two persons identifiable as gladiators.

**Bibliography:** *IG XII, 8*, 373; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, 209, n. 107; P. Bernard, F. Salviat, *Inscriptions de Thasos*, *BCH 86* (1962), p. 603.

Ἐγλεκτος καὶ

Πινυτή  
Νεμέσεσιν  
Εὐχίην

### 10. 23 Thasos, relief and inscription

**Object:** rectangular marble slab with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** found in the area of the theatre.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:**

**a. relief:** Nemesis appears wearing *chiton* and *himation*. Her right arm lies on an altar and a *cista*.

**b. inscription:** fragmentary mention of Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos, corpus des reliefs. Reliefs à theme divin, Études Thasiennes 15*, Paris 1994, p. 148, n. 88, pl. 52b; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, 209, n. 108; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 44 (P. Karanastassis); P. Bernard, F. Salviat, *Inscriptions de Thasos, BCH 86* (1962), p. 597 pict. 17; C. Dunant, J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II. De 196 avant J.C. jusqu' à la fin de l'Antiquité, Études Thasiennes 5*, Paris 1958, p. 162.

Νεμέσ[ει] or Νεμέσ[εσιν]



Pict. from Mendel 1914.

### 10. 24 Thasos, relief

**Object:** marble fragment with relief.

**Provenience/location:** found near the southern entrance of the theatre.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis wears a long *chiton* and a mantel, looking right and performing her typical gesture of *spuere in sinum*. Perhaps she holds a *cubitum*.

**Bibliography:** B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos, corpus des reliefs. Reliefs à theme divin, Études Thasiennes 15*, Paris 1994, p. 150, n. 90, pl. 53b; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, pl. 18; P. Bernard, F. Salviat, *Inscriptions de Thasos, BCH 86* (1962), p. 598, pict. 18.



Pict. from Hornum 1993, pl. 18.

### 10. 25 Thasos, statuary

**Object:** marble statues.

**Provenience/location:** found in the *agora*. Today preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Thasos.

**Date:** Roman imperial times, perhaps reign of Hadrian (G. Aristodemou).

**Description:** acephalous statues, wearing a long *chiton* and *himation*. Both the statues hold a *cubitum* in their left hand.

**Bibliography:** B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos, corpus des reliefs. Reliefs à theme divin, Études Thasiennes 15*, Paris 1994, p. 148, n. 72; G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, p. 79, pict. 8; Y. Grandjean, F. Salviat, *Οδηγός της Θάσου*, Athens 2012, p. 316, pict. 218; P. Devambez, *Sculptures Thasiannes*, *BCH* 66-67 (1942-1943), p. 217, pict. 7; P. Bernard, F. Salviat, *Inscriptions de Thasos*, *BCH* 86 (1962), pp. 596-599.



Pict. of the author.

**10. 26 Thasos, relief**

**Object:** marble block with relief.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** the marble block has two niches, with three female figures carved: all of them are identifiable as Nemesis. The figure carved in the left niche is represented frontally, cuirassed, diademed, with the feet on the wheel and holding a balance in her right arm. The figures in the right niche stand frontally with the cubit-rule in their left arm, and spitting on their chest.

**Bibliography:** G. Aristodemou, *Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered*, in C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cults and votive monuments in the Roman provinces. Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Roman provincial art, Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Constanța, 27<sup>th</sup> of May – 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013, within the framework of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Cluj-Napoca 2015*, p. 76, fig. 7c.; B. Holtzmann, *La sculpture de Thasos, corpus des reliefs. Reliefs à theme divin, Études Thasiennes 15*, Paris 1994, p. 149, n. 89, pl. 53b; *LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis*, n. 4 (P. Karanastassis); Devambez 1942-1943



Pict. from Hornum 1993, pl. 22.

## 10. 27 Thessalonica, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 261-262 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** Nemesis appears standing frontally, wearing a long *chiton*, holding a *cubitum* in her left hand, and raising her right arm to spit on her chest.

**b. inscription:** funerary epitaph for a citizen who seems to belong to the Greek-Roman local aristocracy.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 210, n. 109; F. Papazoglou, *Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie macédoniennes*, *BCH* 87 (1963), pp. 525-526; D. G. Hogart, *Inscriptions from Salonica*, *JHS* 8 (1887), p. 363, n. 5; G. Treu, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia*, Berlin 1894, p. 237.

Λύκιος Κανουλεῖος  
Ζώσιμος αὐτῷ ζῶν

(Nemesis picture)

καὶ κανουλεῖ  
α Ποταμίλα  
τῆ ἀπελευθέ-  
ρα καὶ Εὐερ-  
γετ' ἴση μνή-  
μης  
ἔτους ΓρΣ.

## 10. 28 Thessalonica, relief and inscription

**Object:** small marble plaque with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. (in basis of palaeography).

**Description:**

**a. relief:** winged Nemesis appears holding the wheel and the balance and trampling on a prostrate female figure. A griffin is represented at her feet.

**b. inscription:** Quintus Furius Urbanus dedicated an image (perhaps a statue) of Nemesis to Zeus Hypsistos. Nemesis is defined as “righteous” and seems to be considered equal of Zeus “the highest”.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 210, n. 110. P. Perdrizet, *Némésis*, *BCH* 38 (1914), pp. 89 ff.

Διὺ ὑψίστῳ θεᾶν δικαί-  
αν Νέμεσιν  
Κό. Φ-  
οὔριος Οὐρβα-  
νὸς ἀνέθη-  
κεν εὐχῆ-  
ν.

### 10. 29 Thessalonica, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** found in the agora of Thessalonica. Today it is preserved at the Museum of Byzantine Culture of Thessalonica.

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** epitaph of Quintus Fabius Agathopous dedicated by the “association of Nemesis”.

**Bibliography:** P. M. Nigdelis, *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια*, Thessalonica 2006, pp. 178-183

[ή] συνήθια τῆς Νεμέσεος  
τῶν περὶ · Τερμι-  
νάριον · Κοεῖντῶ  
Φαβίῳ · Ἀγαθόπω-  
δι · μνήμης χά[ριον].



## 11. PROVINCE OF MOESIA INFERIOR

## Callatis, Dionysopolis, Marcianopolis, Odessus, Scupi

## 11. 1 Callatis, statue and inscription

**Object:** base of a statue of Nemesis.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.


**Date:** mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.


**Description:** dedication to the good Fortune by the *archontes* “around” the *pontarch*, *basileus* and *archiereus* Flavius Pharon.

**Bibliography:** *IScM III*, 75; G. Aristodemou, *Nemesis’ cult and the arena spectacles. Evidence from the Black Sea Region*, Oxford 2016, pp. 182-183, pict. 2; G. Bordenache, *Antichità greche e romane del nuovo museo di Mangalia, Dacia IV*, 1960, pp. 506-508, fig. 20 a-c.

ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ὑπὲρ τῆς πό[λε]-  
ως ἄρχοντες οἱ περὶ Φλ(αούτιον) Φάρον  
ποντάρχην κὲ βασιλέα κὲ ἀρχιερ[έα]

## 11. 2 Callatis, coinage

<p>Philip I Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>FitzW. M.,159, 4323; Pick, 355</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ., laureate head of Philip I, r.</p>	<p>ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis l., in front of a wheel; in her r. a staff, in her l. a bridle. Letter E below the r. hand</p>	
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<p>Philip I Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 359</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΑΥΓ., laureate head of Philip I, r.</p>	<p>ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis facing left, in her r. the balance, in her l. the <i>cubitus</i>; a wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 344</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ. ΑΥΓ., laureate head of Gordian III, r.</p>	<p>ΚΑΛΛΑΝΤΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis, in her r. <i>cubitus</i>, in l. bridle</p>	



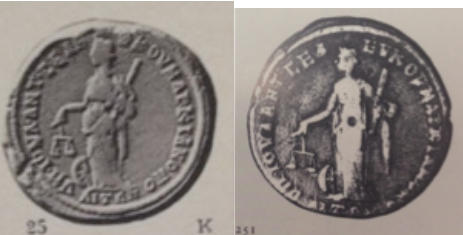
### 11. 3 Dionysopolis, coinage




<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 397</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ. ΑΥΓ., busts of Gordian III and Serapis facing each other, Gordian laureate and with <i>paludamentum</i>, Serapis with <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis-Aequitas standing l., balance in her r., <i>cornucopia</i> in her l.; a wheel at feet</p>	
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<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 398</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ. ΑΥΓ., busts of Gordian III and Serapis facing each other, Gordian laureate and with paludamentum, Serapis with <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis-Aequitas standing l., <i>cubitus</i> in her r., bridle in her l.; a wheel at feet</p>	
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#### 11. 4 Marcianopolis, coinage


<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 675; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v.</i> <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 279 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΙΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ, bust of Caracalla and Iulia Domna, l.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΚΥΝΤΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., a wand in l., a wheel down and a griffin with the forepaw on it</p>	
<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 676; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v.</i> <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 249 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΙΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ, bust of Caracalla and Iulia Domna, l.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΚΥΝΤΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing left, a balance in r., a wand in l.; a wheel down</p>	

<p>Macrinus and Diadumenian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pontianus is the <i>legatus consularis</i></p> <p>Pick, 762; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 250 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC Κ Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate busts of Macrinus and Diadumanianus (as Caesar), face to face</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis-Aequitas with balance and <i>cornucopia</i>; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG München</i>, 314-315; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 64 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝ, bust of Elagabal cuirassed, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΙΟΥΛΑ ΑΝΤ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟ, Nemesis standing l., with balance in the r. and cubit-rule in the l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick, 840, 841; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 251 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Elagabal, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΙΟΥΛΑ ΑΝΤ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟ ΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., balance in her r., wand in her left. Wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Elagabal Bronze Moushmov, 599</p>	<p>Μ ΟΠΕΑΛΛΙΟΧ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Κ, bust of Elagabal, r.</p>	<p>ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding <i>cornucopia</i> and balance, wheel at her feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal Bronze FitzaW., 169, 4377; Pick, 844</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡΗ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Elagabal with cuirass, r.</p>	<p>VII ΙΟΥΑ ΑΝΤ CΕΛΕΥΚΟV ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟ ΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis with balance in r., scepter or <i>cubitum</i> in l.</p>	
<p>Elagabal Bronze I. Antonius Seleucus, <i>legatus</i> <i>SGN Hunt. Mus. I, 999</i></p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Elgabal, r.</p>	<p>VII ΙΟΥΑ ΑΝΤ CΕΛΕΥΚΟV ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟ ΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding balance (?) and staff. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥΗ ΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡΟC, cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΟΓ ΟΥΜ ΤΕΡΕΒΕΝΤΙΝΟΥ [ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝ]ΟΠΟΛΙ, Nemesis standing l., with balance and <i>cubitum</i> (or bridle?). Wheel at feet</p>	

<p>LIMC VI 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 64b (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG München</i>, 358</p>			
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 64d (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG München</i>, 357</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΟΓ ΟΥΜ ΤΕΡΕΒΕΝ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙ, Nemesis standing, looking l. and with a balance in r. hand and a <i>cornucopia</i> in her l. wheel at the feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze <i>SNG EVELP.</i>, 826; <i>SNG Tübingen</i>, 825; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 109 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΤΙΒ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΗΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding balance in r. hand and cubit- rule in l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus Bronze Pick, 1030; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 252 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΗΓ ΟΥΜ ΤΕΡΕΒΕΝΤΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩ, Nemesis standing, looking r., with balance and cubit-rule</p>	

<p>Gordian III Bronze <i>SNG München</i>, 369; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 64b (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡ ΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ, laureate and cuirassed Gordian, r.</p>	<p>ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙ[ΤΩΝ], Nemesis standing, looking l., with <i>cubitum</i> and balance. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 109 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG EVELP.</i>, 834</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡ ΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ, bust of Gordian, r.</p>	<p>ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙ[ΤΩΝ], Nemesis standing, looking l., holding balance in r. hand, cubit-rule in l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze Pick, 1092-1093; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 254 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Μ ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΥΓ, bust of Gordian III, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis with balance and cubit-rule; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ, bust of Gordian III, r.</p>	<p>ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis with balance and cubit-rule, wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Pick, 1110; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 254 (P. Karanastassis)</p>			
<p>Gordian III Bronze Sear 364, 379; Pick, 1181-1183; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 255 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ. CE. ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛ/ΛΕΙΝΑ, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>VII. ΤΕΡΤΥΛΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟ, Λ/ Ε/ Ι/ Τ/ ΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding rod and bridle, wheel at her side</p>	
<p>Philip II Bronze Pick, 1211; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 256 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, busts of Philip II and Serapis facing each other. Serapis wears a <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., wand in r., in l. bridle; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Philip II Bronze Pick, 1212; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 256 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, busts of Philip II and Serapis facing each other. Serapis wears a <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., wand in r., in l. <i>cornucopia</i>; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Philip II</p>	<p>Μ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ,</p>	<p>ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing, looking l.,</p>	



<p><i>SNG München</i>, 378; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 54c (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>busts of Philip II and Serapis facing each other. Serapis wears a <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>holding cubit-rule. Wheel at feet</p>	
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### 11. 5 Odessus, inscription

**Object:** marble slab broken in three parts, with relief.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:**




a. relief: depiction of a Thracian rider.




b. **inscription:** epitaph of Aristocles, died at 18 years old. Nemesis appears as an “envious” goddess.


**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 173, 35; *IGBulg.*, 220. Ed. Kalinka 335, fig. 107.

Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἕλληνας ἥρως χαῖρε.  
 ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γονέων παῖς ὀρφανός, ὃ παροδεῖτα ·  
 λειφθεὶς τὴν φθονερὴν εἶδον ἐγὼ Νέμεσιν ·  
 ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης θαλάμων ἀμύητος, ἄτεκνος ·  
 οὗ κεῖται κατὰ γῆς σῶμα μαραινόμενον  
 (δαίμων, αἰδέσθητι, κακῶν θρήνων ἀκόρητε)  
 ψυχὴ θ' ἠρώων. πένθος ἀποστ<ρ>έφετε.

### 11. 6 Odessus, coinage

<p>Gordian III Bronze Moushmov, 1670</p>	<p>AVT M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ, busts of Gordian III and Serapis facing each other. Serapis wears a <i>kalathos</i></p>	<p>ΟΔΕCCTΩΝ, Nemesis standing l. with balance and cubit-rule. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze Varbanov, 4517</p>	<p>AVT K M ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, busts of Gordian and Serapis facing each other, <i>cornucopia</i> to r.</p>	<p>ΟΔΗCCEΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding cubit- rule and bridle, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze Varbanov, 4518</p>	<p>AVT K M ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΓ, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Gordian r., facing draped bust of Serapis l., <i>cornucopia</i> to r.</p>	<p>ΟΔΗCCEΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding rod and ribbon or bridle, wheel at foot</p>	

<p>Gordian III Bronze Varbanov, 4520</p>	<p>AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Gordian right, facing draped bust of Serapis l., <i>cornucopia</i> to r.</p>	<p>ΟΔΗCCEITΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding balance and cubit-rule (or sceptre). E in r. field</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze Varbanov, 4590</p>	<p>AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΙΑΝΟC CEB ΤΡΑΝΚVΙΛΛΕΙΝΑ, confronted draped busts</p>	<p>ΟΔΕCCEITΩΝ, Nemesis standing l. holding rod and bridle, wheel at foot l.</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze Muschmov, 1965</p>	<p>AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB ΤΡΑΝΚVΛΛΕΙΝΑ, confronted draped busts</p>	<p>ΟΔΗCCEITΩΝ, Nemesis standing l. with balance and sceptre, wheel at foot, E to l.</p>	

<p>Gordian III Bronze Varbanov, 4584</p>	<p>AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVT CE TRANKVΛΛEINA, laureate, draped, cuirassed bust of Gordian r. facing draped bust of Tranquillina l., wearing <i>stephane</i></p>	<p>ΟΔΗCCEITΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding rod and ribbon, wheel at foot. E in l. field</p>	
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### 11. 7 Scupi, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by P. Petilius Mercator, decurion of the colony and *duumvir*.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 243, n. 160.

*NEMESI*

*AVG(ustae) SAC(rum)*

*P(ublius) PETILIVS*

*MERCA-*


*TOR DE(urio)*

*COL(oniae) IIVIR*


## 12. PROVINCE OF PALESTINE

Aelia Capitolina, Anthedon, Caesarea Philippi, Erez, Gaza, Gerasa, Neapolis, Sebaste

## 12. 1 Aelia Capitolina, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Palestine, 65; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 5 (P. L. de Bellefonds)</i></p>	<p>IVLIA DOMNA, busto of Domna, draped, hair in flat coil at back of head</p>	<p>COL AEL C COMMPPF, Nemesis, wearing long <i>chiton</i>, standing l., r. plucking at breast of <i>chiton</i>, left holding cubit-rule? Wheel at feet?</p>	
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## 12. 2 Anthedon, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p><i>BMC Palestine, 4; LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis, n. 6 (P. L. de Bellefonds)</i></p>	<p>A. K. M. A. C. E. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, bust of Severus Alexander laureate, cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i></p>	<p>ΑΝΘΗΔΟΝΟΣ Ε ΤΟΥΣ Ζ, female figure with small wings, short <i>chiton</i>, standing l., r. raised pointing towards face, l. resting on a wheel placed on small <i>cippus</i> (?); in field, l., star</p>	
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### 12. 3 Caesarea Philippi, inscription

**Object:** rock carving.

**Provenience/location:** near one of the sources of the Jordan River.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication of a statue of Nemesis for the safety of the emperor.

**Bibliography:** *CIG III*, 4537; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 226, n. 134

ὑπερ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων.... Οὐαλέριος .... πανός, ιερεὺς θεοῦ Πανός, τὴν κυρίαν Νέμεσιν καὶ τὸν σὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προανατεθείσῃ  
κόγχῃ τελεσιουργηθέντα σηκὸ αὐτῆς...

### 12. 4 Erez, statue with inscription

**Object:** white marble statue (0, 58 m. h.) with inscription on its base.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 210-211 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. statue:** female griffin with the right fore-paw on a six-rays wheel.

**b. inscription:** dedication of the statue by Mercurius, son of Alexandros.

**Bibliography:** J. Leibovitch, *Le griffon d'Erez et le sens mythologique de Némésis, Israel Exploration Journal* 8 (1958), pp. 141-148.

ἔτους ΒΚΦ

Μερκούριος Ἀλεξάνδρου

ἀνέθηκα

ἱερωμένος

### 12. 5 Gaza, inscription

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** *terminus ante quem*: 201 B.C.

**Description:** funerary inscription of a deceased person native of Crete, who died in Gaza. Nemesis is described as a punishing goddess.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 227, n. 136; W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, Berlin 1960, p. 112, n. 162; V. Garulli, *Un sasso, che distingue le mie infinite ossa...*, in *Semicerchio, rivista di poesia comparata*, 54 (2016), pp. 12-3.

ἐξ εὐδαιμοσύνης πῦρ ἄγριον ἤλυθεν ὑμέων,  
 Χαρμάδα, ἔσφηλεν δ' ἐλπίδα τις Νέμεσις.  
 ὄλετο μὲν κοῦρος [συν]ομώνυμος εἴκοσι μούνας  
 δυσμὰς Ἀρκτούρο[υ χειμε]ρίας ἐσιδών,  
 ὄλετο δ' ἑπταέτις θυγατρὸς θυγάτηρ Κλεόδοξα  
 Ἀρχαγάθας, γονέων δ' ἔκλασεν εὐτεκνίην·  
 οἰκτρὸν δὲ Αἰτωλὸς κούρην κώκυσε Μάχαιος,  
 ἀλλὰ πλέον θνητοῖς οὐδὲν ὄδυρομένοις.  
 ἦ μὴν ἀμφοτέρους γε παλαίπλουτοι βασιλῆες  
 Αἰγύπτου χρυσέαις ἠγλάϊσαν χάρισιν·  
 ὥς δὲ πάτραν δμηθεῖσαν Ἀνώπολιν ἐγ δорὸς ἐχθρῶν  
 ὄρθωσας, Κρήτην μαρτυρέουσας ἔχεις.  
 μέμψασθαι δὲ θεοῖς ἀρκεῖ μόνον ἄνδρα γε θνητόν,  
 ὃ παῖ Τασκομένους, γήραος ὥς χαλεποῦ  
 ἦντησας, ψυχῆι δὲ τὰ μυρία πάντα πονήσας  
 ἴκεο τὴν κοινὴν ἀτραπὸν εἰς Αἴδεω.

## 12. 6 Gerasa, inscription

**Object:** block.

**Provenience/location:** found in the temple of Nemesis located on the road North of the city.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.



**Description:** offering of statue of Nemesis and some other objects by Demetrios Apollophanos.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 242, n. 157.

Ἡ Νέμεσις καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ ὁ βω[μὸς]  
 ἐγένετο ἐκ διαθήκης Δημητρίου Ἀπολλοφάνους  
 διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Νικομάχου Αὐσᾶ τοῦ Νικομάχου


καὶ Ἀμῶντου Μάλχα τοῦ Νικο[μάχου]

## 12. 7 Neapolis, coinage

<p>Trebonianus Gallus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Palestine</i>, 156</p>	<p>[ΑΥΤΚΑΙΓΟVI] ΤΡΙΒΓΑΛΛΟCCE BA, bust of Gallus, r., radiate and cuirassed</p>	<p>ΠΟΛ Ε Ω C C, female figure in long <i>chiton</i>, standing l., r. foot on an uncertain object, l. hand on breast, placing the r. hand on the head of a small animal that is placed on a tall column; on l., Nike advancing r., supporting Mount Gerizim</p>	
<p>Trebonianus Gallus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX</i>, 2128</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Γ ΟΥΙ ΤΡΕΒ ΓΑΛΛΟC CΕΒ, radiate and cuirassed bust of Gallus, l., holding trophy and shield</p>	<p>ΦΛ ΝΕΑCΠΟΛΕΩC, al r., Nemesis standing l., foot on uncertain object, placing hand on head of a small animal seated on a tall column; at r., Nike advancing l., supporting mount Gerizim; between them, wheel</p>	




## 12. 8 Sebaste, coinage

<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Palestine</i>, 19; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 11 (P. L. de Bellefonds)</p>	<p>[AVG]VSTA, bust of Aquila Severa, draped, r.</p>	<p>[COL]L SE[P SEBA], Sphinx seated l., with r. forefoot on a wheel; on her back, female figure standing l.?</p>	
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## 13. PROVINCE OF PISIDIA

Amblada, Antiochia in Pisidia, Baris, Comana, Cremna, Etenna, Isinda, Panemotheicos, Pednelissos, Prostanna, Sagalassus, Selge, Termessos, Tymbriada

## 13. 1 Amblada, coinage

<p>Philip II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 22, 165-169; <i>BMC Pisid.</i>, 3; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 193 (P. Karanastassiss); Waddingt., 3561</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΜΙΟΥΛΦΙ ΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ, bust of Philip, wearing radiate crown, <i>paludamentum</i> and cuirass</p>	<p>ΑΜΒΛΑΔΕΩΝ, ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ, Nemesis standing l. and with her l. hand on a wheel and r. arm bent</p>	
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## 13. 2 Antiochia in Pisidia, inscription

**Object:** marble fragment.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unspecified.



**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Valeria Faustina.

**Bibliography:** *I. Antioch. De Pis.*, 31.

[Οὐα[λερία Φα[υστεῖ]-  
[Να Ν]εμέσει Ε[πηκόω]  
[τ]οις ΙΜΗ

## 13. 3 Baris, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Pisid.</i>, 4; Sear 319, 3347</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. ΣΕ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Σ., laureate and cuirassed bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ, Nemesis, r. arm raised to her breast, holding cubit-rule in the l.; griffin at her feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 5012; Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 22, 269 (and nn. 274, 275); <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 174 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Σ., bust of Alexander Severus with laurel wreath, r.</p>	<p>ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing, looking r., wearing long <i>chiton</i>, and a turred (or radiate?) crown, with cubit-rule in her l. and doing her typical gesture with the r. hand. A griffin at her feet. The <i>chiton</i> forms two lateral lobes in the lower part</p>	

## 13. 4 Cremna, inscription

**Object:** rectangular base of a statue.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Burdur Museum.

**Date:** mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:** statue of Nemesis with griffin dedicated by the colony of Cremna.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 37*: 1177; G. H. R. Horsley, S. Mitchell, *The inscriptions of Central Pisidia*, Bonn 2000, n. 35; Mitchell 1995; G. H. R. Horsley, *The inscriptions from the so-called "Library" at Cremna*, *AS 37* (1987) 56-58, n. 3.

Τὴν Νέμεσιν  
ἢ κολωνία  
(vacat)  
δυναδρείας  
πενταετηρικῆς τῶν  
ἀξιολογωτάτων Φλ.  
Ἄουιδ. Φ(α)β. Καπιτωνιανοῦ  
Λουκίου καὶ Ῥοτει. Λογγυλ-  
λιανοῦ Καλλιππου

### 13. 5 Cremna, inscription

**Object:** stele carved on three sides.

**Provenience/location:** originally it was placed beside the basilica of Hadrian (120 A. D. ca.) where the governing *ordo* held its assemblies.



**Date:** mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. A. D.


**Description:** statue of Nemesis with griffin dedicated by the colony of Cremna.

**Bibliography:** G. H. R. Horsley, S. Mitchell, *The inscriptions of Central Pisidia*, Bonn 2000, n.5.




A [δ δ δ δ ι ζ] Νεμέσεως  
[εἰ] δὲ πε[ίπτει μούνος χεῖ]ος καὶ τέσσαρες ἄλλοι  
[νῦ]ν σ[οι πάντα τελεῖ Δαίμω]ν καὶ εἰς ὀρθὸν ὀδηγε[ῖ]  
[πράξεις πᾶν κατὰ νοῦν καὶ μηκέτι] τρῦχε σε[αυτόν.]

### 13. 6 Cremna, coinage




<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock, 5097; Sear 273, 2878</i></p>	<p>P. SEP. GETA FOR. CAES., bare-headed cuirassed bust of Geta, r.</p>	<p>VLTRI COL. CR., Nemesis standing facing, head l., drawing out fold of drapery from breast and holding cubit-rule. Griffin at feet</p>	
<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 22, 1253-1257, 1297-1309, 1311-1312</i></p>	<p>P. SEP. GETA FOR. CAES, bust of Geta bareheaded</p>	<p>VLTRI COL. CR., Nemesis standing facing, head l., drawing out fold of drapery from breast and holding cubit-rule. Griffin at feet</p>	
<p>Philip I The Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 22, 1454, 1455</i></p>	<p>M OTACI SEVERAM AVG., bust of Octacilia with <i>stephane</i></p>	<p>VLTRI COL CR., Nemesis standing l., r. hand raised to shoulder, holding cubit-rule in her l. Griffin at feet</p>	

<p>Hostilian (as Caesar)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX</i>, 971; Sear 413, 4298; <i>BMC Pisid.</i>, 13 Aulock, <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 22, 1497, 1498</p>	<p>IMP. CAES. MESS. QVENTVM. /QVINTVM, bust of Hostilian bareheaded</p>	<p>VLTRI COL. CR., Nemesis standing l., r. hand raised to shoulder, holding cubit-rule (?) in the l. Griffin at feet</p>	
<p>Volusian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 22, 1515; <i>RPC IX</i>, 976</p>	<p>IMP C AF G VOLVSSIANVS AVG., bust of Volusian with laurel wreath, r.</p>	<p>COL. IVL. AVG. F. CRE., Nemesis with r. arm bent and holding a <i>cubitum</i> on the l arm</p>	
<p>Aurelian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Aulock</i>, 5116; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, <i>s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 186 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>IMP CSL DOM AVRELIANO, bust of Aurelian, r.</p>	<p>FORTVNA COL CREMN, Fortuna- Nemesis with <i>kalathos</i>, sceptre in her l. and a bust of emperor, next a griffin; r. foot on a lying figure (a fluvial god?)</p>	

## 13. 7 Etenna, coinage


<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 22, 565-566</p>	<p>Α ΣΕ ΓΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, bust of Geta, r.</p>	<p>ETENNEΩΝ, Nemesis with bridle in her l. and r. arm raised. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb.Mitt. 22, 601-602</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥΗ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ., bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ETENNEΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., <i>cubitum</i> in l., r. arm bent to her neck, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb.Mitt. 22, 617</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΕΑ, bust of Iulia Mamea.</p>	<p>ETENNEΩΝ, <i>cubitum</i> in l., r. arm raised. Wheel at feet</p>	

### 13. 8 Isinda, coinage


<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 19, n. 833-836</p>	<p>ΥΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΙΣΑΝ ΣΕ., bust of Iulia Moesa.</p>	<p>ΙΣΙΝΔΕΩΝ ΕΤ Δ (=4 year), Nemesis frontal looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in l., r. arm bent to her neck</p>	
<p>Volusian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb.Mitt. 19, 924-926; <i>RPC IX</i>, 992</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Γ ΟΥ ΑΦ ΟΥΟΛΣΑΝΟΝ, bust of Volusian, r.</p>	<p>ΙΣΙΝΔΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontal looking l., a cap on her head (?), r. arm bent to her neck, l. arm down. Griffin at her feet</p>	
<p>Maximinus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 19, n. 842-850.</p>	<p>Α Κ Γ Ι ΟΥΗ ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΥ Σ, bust of Maximinus, r.</p>	<p>ΙΣΙΝΔΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing front looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in her l., r. arm bent to her neck</p>	




## 13. 9 Panemotheicos, coinage


<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 19, 1132-1133</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛ. ΚΟΡ. ΠΑΥΛΑ, bust of Elagabal, r.</p>	<p>ΠΑΝΕΜΟΤΕΙΧΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontally, looking l., holding bridle in her l. and r. arm bent to her neck</p>	
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## 13. 20 Pednelissos, coinage

<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, <i>Istanb. Mitt.</i> 19, 1206, 1207; <i>RPC VI</i>, 7707; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 95 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΜΜ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟ Σ, bust of Commodus, r.</p>	<p>ΠΙΕΤΝΗΛΙΣΣΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontally, looking l., bridle in l., r. arm bent to her neck</p>	
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<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock, Istanb. Mitt. 19, 1222-1223</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ Σ ΣΕ, bust of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΠΕΔΝΗΛΙΣΣΕ ΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontally, looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in l., r. arm bent to her neck. Wheel and griffin at feet</p>	
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### 13. 21 Prostanna, coinage

<p>Philip II (as Caesar)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Aulock Istanb. Mitt. 22, 1827; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 96 (P. Karanastassis)</p> <p>See <i>GM</i>, p. 175, n. 503</p>	<p>ΜΑ ΙΟΥ ΣΕΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, Philip II diademed.</p>	<p>ΠΡΟΣΤΑΝΝΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontally, looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in her l. r. arm bent to her neck. Griffin and wheel at feet</p>	
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### 13. 22 Sagalassus, statuary

**Object:** statue of Nemesis (2.10 m. h.).

**Provenience/location:** found in the north side of the upper agora.

**Date:** Late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.


**Description:** statue of Nemesis in Aphrodite typical garment with left naked shoulder. She wears a diadem and holds her himation with her left hand. A griffin stands at her feet, left, with its forepaw on the wheel.

**Bibliography:** *LIMC Suppl. 2009*, s.v. *Nemesis*, add. 7 (P. Karanastassis); M.-H. Gates, *Archaeology in Turkey, AJA* 100 (1996), pp. 311-313, pict. 29.



Pict. From Gates 1996, p. 313.

## 13. 23 Selge, coinage

<p>Hostilian (as Caesar, reign of Trajan Decius)</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC IX</i>, 1118</p>	<p>Γ ΟΥ ΟC Μ ΚΥΙΝΤΟC ΚΑΙ, bareheaded, draped and cuirassed bust of Hostilian, r.</p>	<p>CEΛΓΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing frontal looking l., raising skirt with r. hand; at feet, l., griffin, r., wheel</p>	
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## 13. 24 Termessos, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis Adrasteia by the irenarch Tiberius Claudius Zenodotianus Mollianus.

**Bibliography:** *TAM III*, 912; N. Giannakopoulos, *Preserving the Pax Romana: the peace functionaries in the Roman East*, *Mediterraneo Antico* 6 (2003), pp. 825 ff.; G. F. Hill, *Inscriptions from Lycia and Pisidia copied by Daniell and Fellows*, *JHS* 15 (1895), p. 128.

ὁ δεῖνα]  
 εἰρήναρχος,  
 Νεμέσει  
 Ἀδραστεία.

## 13. 25 Tymbrida, inscription

**Object:** marble slab.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** alphabetic oracle where Nemesis appears in connection with justice.

**Bibliography:** C. Brixhe – R. Hodot, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud*, Nancy 1988, p. 140, n. 46


## II. 1-24

αβγδεζηθικλμνξοπρστυφχψ[ω].  
 απ[ε— — —14— — —].ΘΕΩΣΕ.Ε. μέγα ς.  
 βλέπεΙΣ..ΗΝΘ[—3—]μ ασιν φαιδροῖς τύχη.  
 γε ωργὸς ὤς, ἔ[χιδ]ναν εἰς κόλπους δέχη.  
 δρόμῳ χελώνης πτηνὸς ἠττήθη κόραξ.  
 ἐκάτη πεποιθὼς μᾶλλον εὐθαρσῆς ἴθι.  
 ζητεῖς τὰ κρυπτά· φωσφόρος δ' ἔσ[τα]ι τύχη.  
 ἢ Νέμεσις ἀνθρώποισι τὴν δίκην νέμει.  
 θεὰ σοφὴ βροτοῖσι ἢ πειθῶ, ξένε.  
 ἱερὸν νόμιζε πανταχοῦ σεμνὸν τρόπον.  
 κολοῖὸς ὥσπερ, ἀλλοτρίοις τέρπη πτεροῖς.  
 λόγοισι πίστιν προστίθει· γνώμης κράτει.  
 μεικρὸν ἀναμείνας μείζονος τεύξη χαρᾶς.  
 νυκτὸς κελαινῆς ἐκ μέσης ἔσται φάος.  
 ξένοισι συμβούλοισι χρήσασθαι κακόν.  
 οὔπω πέπειρον ὄμφακα, ἦν θρέψη, λα βέ.  
 πρὶν ἢ τι δρᾶσαι, πρῶτα βουλευού, ξένε.  
 ρεῖθροις ἐναντίοισι μὴ πειρῶ πλ[έ]ειν.  
 σάραπιν αἰτοῦ χρησμόν, ἀψευδῆ θεόν.  
 τάμη θεοῖς ἀρεστά, μηδὲ πυνθάνου.  
 ὑποψία μὲν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φοβοῦ.  
 φίλοις ἀπιστεῖν κρεῖττον οὐκ ὀρθοῖς φίλοις.  
 χαρὰν ἀπροσδόκητον ἔξεις εὐθέως.  
 ψυκῆς καθαρμὸν σώματός τε προσδέχου.  
 [ῶ] πρευμενῆς Σάραπισ, οὔτος εὐτυχεῖ.

## 14. PROVINCE OF SYRIA

## Antiochia, Dura Europos, Gabala, Khirbet el-Sané, Maqam er-Rabb, Palmyra

## 14. 1 Antiochia, coinage

<p>Hadrian</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>RPC III, 1, 3758, 3764; RIC II, 683; BMC Syria, 1353</i></p>	<p>HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS, laureate and cuirassed bust of Hadrian, r.</p>	<p>COS III, female griffin l., with the fore-paw raised. SC</p>	
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## 14. 2 Dura Europos, relief and inscription

**Object:** stele with relief and inscription.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 228/229 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** a veiled Nemesis is represented on the right of the relief, wearing a long garment, and probably holding a cubit-rule. A griffin and wheel appear at her feet. A figure making a sacrifice (the author of the dedication) is represented in front of Nemesis. The Sun appears between the two figures, in the middle of the scene.

**b. inscription:** bilingual inscription in Greek and Palmyrene language. Dedication to Nemesis by Iulius Aurelius Malochas, son of Soudaius of Palmyra.

**Bibliography:** P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff (eds.), *Excavation at Dura Europos, vol. 1*, London-Oxford 1929, pp. 47-48, 65 ff.; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes, Syria 13* (1932), pp. 50 ff.

Θεᾶ Νεμέσι Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Μαλωχᾶς Σουδαίου Πάλμυρηνός ἐυξάμενος ἀνέθη-  
κεν

**The Palmyrene inscription follows with a translation of the Greek text**

#### 14. 3 Gabala, coinage (dubious)

Trajan	ΝΕΡΚΑΙΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΣΕΒ	ΓΑΒΑΛΕ [ΩΝ] Astarte (?)	
Bronze	ΓΕΡ, laur. head of Trajan, r.	seated left, holding corn- ears and poppy, and resting on sceptre. At feet, Sphinx seated l. on base, star above, head	
Sear 99, 1079			

#### 14. 4 Maqam Er-Rabb, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 262 A.D.

**Description:** altar with inscriptions on two sides. Dedication by the priest Drusus. An eight-rays wheel is engraved near the name of Nemesis.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 19*: 884; H. Seyrig, *Némésis et le temple de Maqām Er Rabb, Syria 37* (1960), pp. 262 ff.; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 283, n. 230.

##### Front side

ἔτους γοφ´, μη(νὸς) <Π>ερ(τίου?)·

Καιρὸς

Καλός·

Δροῦσος

εἰερεὺς

εὐχαριστῶν

ἀνέθηκεν

**Back side**

Νέμεσις

**14. 5 Khirbet el-Sané, relief**

**Object:** marble stele.

**Provenience/location:** from the sanctuary of Allath.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis stands frontally, veiled, wearing a long *chiton*, a necklace and spitting on her chest. The right arm lies on a wheel.

**Bibliography:** H. Bru, *Némésis et le culte impérial dans les provinces syrienne*, *Syria* 85 (2008), p. 294 ff.

**14. 6 Balanaea (Baniyas), relief**

**Object:** basalt block with relief.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the museum of Damascus.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** Nemesis wears a long *chiton*, with the right arm bent and the left arm on a wheel.

**Bibliography:** H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, *Syria* 27 (1950) p. 246; *LIMC VI, 1*, s.v. *Nemesis*, n. 2 (P. L. de Bellefond).





Pict. from Seyrig 1950, p. 246.

#### 14. 7 Balanaea (Baniyas), relief and inscription

**Object:** basalt block with relief.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the museum of Damascos, 1674 (3724).

**Date:** 226/227 A.D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** figure in short *chiton*, veiled, which holds with the right hand a wheel with six rays, while the left arm is raised and holding something like a branch. Near the left flank of the figure, we can maybe observe a bow.

**b. inscription:** epitaph of a veteran native of Syria, who had fought against the Parthians with Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

**Bibliography:** H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes, Syria* 27 (1950), p. 247.

Γ. Λούκιος Μάρκελλος  
οὔτρ(ανός) {οὔετρανός}  
λεγι(ώνος) ἀ΄ Παρθικῆς Σεουηρι(ανῆς) τὸν κόσμον ἐκδημήσας,

ἐν δυσὶ πυγμαῖς ἀθλεύσας  
ἦλθον εἰς τὴν πατρί-  
δαν, τόδε τὸ ἡρώϊον οἰ-  
κοδομήσας· ὧδε ἐπαύσα  
τό μου ἡ ψυχὴ, ἔτους σπθ'.



Pict. from Seyrig 1950, p. 247.

#### 14. 8 Palmyra, inscription

**Object:** fragment of a base.

**Provenience/location:** found during the demolition works of the houses built on the sanctuary of Bel.

**Date:** *terminus post quem*: the reign of Domitian (on the basis of the dedicator's name).

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by Flavius Domitianus.

**Bibliography:** H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes, Syria 27* (1950), p. 243.

[?. Φλ]άου[ι]ος Δ[ο]μιτιανός[τὴν] κυρίαν Νέμεσιν ἐξ εἰδί-[ων εὐ]ξάμε[νος ἀ]νέθη[κεν].

#### 14. 9 Palmyra, inscription

**Object:** honorific column.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 64 A.D.

**Description:** bilingual inscription with dedication to Nemesis by the tribe of Mezianes and the city of Palmyra.

**Bibliography:** J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale: Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine, vol. I*, Paris 1972, p. 82-85; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes, Syria 13* (1932), pp. 50 ff.; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 283, n. 232.

#### Greek text

[Θεὰ Νέμεσις, Μεζ[ι]α[νηνῶν τε φυλῆ]  
 [καὶ συ]μπὰς δῆμο[ς Παλμυρηνῶν]  
 [Σαλαμ]αλλαθον Ἰαρ[ειβωλεους τοῦ]  
 [Νουρ]βηλου τοῦ ἐπικαλ[ουμένο]υ Α. Ι.  
 [Παλ]μυρηνὸν φυλῆς τῆς αὐτῆς εὐσεβῆ καὶ  
 [ἀρέ]σαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασι  
 [ἔ]ν τε κτίσμασιν καὶ ἀναθήμασιν  
 ἀναλώμασι τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις τειμῆς  
 ἔνεκεν <Ἔ>το<υ>ς ΕΟΤ μηνὸς Περειτίου

#### 14. 10 Palmyra, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble slab.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown.

**Date:** 153 A.D.

**Description:**

a. relief: representation of Nemesis and other deities.

**b. inscription:**


**Bibliography:** J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale: Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine, vol. I*, Paris 1972, pp. 23-25; M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 284, n. 233.

See Palmyrene text in the references cited above.

## 15. PROVINCE OF THRACE

**Anchialus, Augusta Traiana, Banichan, Byzantium, Chersonesos Taurica (Kingdom of Bosphorus), Deultum, Mesembria, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Nicopolis ad Nestum, Pautalia, Perinthus, Philippopolis, Plotinopolis, Serdica, Tomis, Traianopolis**

## 15. 1 Anchialus, coiange

<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 264, 2784; <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 14</p>	<p>Π. CEΠΤΙ. ΓΕΤΑC Κ., bare-headed, draped and cuirassed, r.</p>	<p>ΑΓΧΙΑΛΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing l., holding balance and rod</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 66a (P. Karanastassis); Münzer – Strack, 667-672, pl. 8, 26</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥ ΣΑΒ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΛΙΝΑ, laureate bust of Gordian and bust of Tranquillina with <i>stephane</i> face to face</p>	<p>Nemesis standing, looking l., holding balance in r., <i>cornucopia</i> in l. Wheel at feet</p>	

## 15. 2 Augusta Traiana, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble slab.

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved in the Museum of Stara Zagora.

**Date:** probable *terminus post quem*: 69 A.D. (on the basis of the dedicator's name).

**Description:**

**a. relief:** representation of Nemesis with wheel.

**b. inscription:** dedication to Nemesis by Titus Flavius Skeletos.

**Bibliography:** G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, vol. 3, Serdica 1964, n. 1601.


### In the anaglyph


Αγαθῆι Τύχηι

### Below the anaglyph

[ἰερ]ωμένου Τ(ίτου) Φ(λαβίου) Σκέλητος κατ  
.....]νης πρώτως καθιερούντων  
.....]ν ἀνέθ[ηκ]αν τὴν θεάν (Ν)έμεσ[ιτ]

### 15. 3 Augusta Traiana, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze <i>RPC IV, 9377</i> (temporary)</p>	<p>ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ CEBACTH, draped bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΥΓΟΥΤΗ(sic) ΤΡΑΙΑΝΗΚ, Nemesis standing, l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding cubit; to l. at her feet, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Marcus Aurelius Bronze <i>RPC IV, 9376</i></p>	<p>ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ CEBACTH, draped bust of Faustina Minor, r.</p>	<p>ΑΥΓΟΥΚΤΗΚ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΗΚ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle</p>	

<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Varbanov, 1057</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CEB, diademed, draped bust, r.</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΟΒΤΗ-Σ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΗC, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance in r. and cubit-rule or sceptre in l. hand</p>	
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#### 15. 4 Banichan, inscription

**Object:** clay cup (0, 055 m. h.; 0,086 m. mouth diam.; 0, 036 m. bottom diam.).

**Provenience/location:** found in a grave.

**Date:** second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

**Description:** clay cup with the name of Nemesis incised between the two handles.

**Bibliography:** *SEG 49*: 874; I. Kulov, *Graves from the Roman period near the village of Banichan, Gotse Delchev district, ArchBulg 1* (1999), p. 67.

Νέμεσι

#### 15. 5 Byzantium, relief and inscription

**Object:** marble stele with *acroteria* (h. 0, 57 m. h.).

**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today it is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Inv.-Nr. 4798).

**Date:** second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A. D.

**Description:**

**a. relief:** representation of the crowns of the priest and priestess of the imperial cult.

**b. inscription:** the initiated to the cult of Dionysos Kallon thanks their benefactors and the priests of the imperial cult. Nemesis appears in relationship with the *hieromnamos*, the magistrate eponymous of the year.


**Bibliography:** *SEG 18*: 284; *I. Byzantion*, 34.

Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος θεᾶς  
Νεμέσεως, ἱεροποιοῦν-  
τος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Διονυσίου

**(anaglyph)**

τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν  
καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς Γάϊον Ἰούλι-  
ον Ἰταλικὸν καὶ Λολίαν  
Κάτυλλαν οἱ μύσται Διο-  
[Νύσου Κά]λλωνος ἐτείμη-  
[σαν]

**15. 6 Byzantium, coinage**

<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Schonert-Geiss, 1671-1675; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 101 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>Bust of Iulia Soemia, r.</p>	<p>BYZANTIΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., and doing her typical gesture and holding bridle; a wheel at feet</p>	
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**15. 7 Chersonesos Taurica, inscription**

**Object:** marble altar (0, 67 m. h.; 0,30 m. w.; 0, 18 m. th.).

**Provenience/location:** found in the theatre, in the eastern section of the *proscenium*.

**Date:** found in a 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. layer, but probably it belongs to an earlier period.

**Description:** vow to Nemesis by a *beneficiarius consularis* of the Legion XI Claudia for the well being of himself and his children.

**Bibliography:** M. Hornum, *Nemesis*, p. 73, p. 314, n. 280.

*D(eae) NEMES[i c] O  
NSERVATRICI*



*T(itus) FL(avius) CELSI*  
*NVS [bf] CO(n)S(ularis)*  
*LEG(ionis) XI CL(audiae) [p]*  
*RO SALVTE*  
*SVA ET FIL*  
*IORVM <i>*  
*VOT(um) POS(uit)*

### 5. 8 Chersonesos Taurica, inscription

**Object:** marble altar.

**Provenience/location:** found in east side of the *proscenium*.

**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** dedication to Nemesis by a private citizen.

**Bibliography:** G. Aristodemou, *Nemesis' cult and the arena spectacles. Evidence from the Black Sea Region*, in M. Manoledakis (ed.), *The Black Sea in the light of new archaeological data and theoretical approaches. Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> international workshop on the Black Sea in antiquity held in Thessaloniki, 18-20 September 2015*, Oxford 2016, p. 192, n. 204; *NEPKh II*, pp. 88-91, n. 126.

ἀγαθῆ Τύ-  
 χη. Θεᾶ Νεμέσει Βασιλείδης Καλοῦ

### 15. 9 Chersonesos Taurica, gem

**Object:** gem.



**Provenience/location:** found in Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich.


**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** figure of Nemesis looking left, holding a bridle in her right arm, and raising her left arm to her neck.


**Bibliography:** *Crimean Chersonesos. City, chora, museum, and environs. National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos*, Institute of Classical Archaeology, Austin 2001.



### 15. 10 Deultum, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Evelp.</i>, 933; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 67 a (P. Karanastassis)</p>		<p>Nemesis stading l., balance in her r., cubit-rule in her l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SGN Hunterian Museum I</i>, 923</p>	<p>IVLIA MAMAEA AVG, bust of I. Mamaea with <i>stephane</i>, r.</p>	<p>COL FL PAC DEVLT., Nemesis-Tyche standing l., holding <i>cornucopia</i> and with r. arm raised. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Maximinus Thraex</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 334, 3491; <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 13</p>	<p>IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG., laureate and draped bust, r.</p>	<p>COL. FL. PAC. DEVLT., Nemesis standing l., holding balance and sceptre, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p><i>SNG Evelp.</i>, 934; <i>LIMC VI, 1, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 67 c (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FELAVG, bust laureate of Gordian, r.</p>	<p>COLFLPA – CDEVLT, Nemesis standing, looking l., wearing a <i>modius</i>, holding a <i>cornucopia</i>. A wheel at feet.</p>	

<p>Philip I The Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 372, 3879; <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 25</p>	<p>IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG., Laur., dr. and cuir. bust, r.</p>	<p>COL. FL. PAC. DEVLT., Nemesis standing l., holding sceptre and bridle, wheel at feet</p>	
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## 15. 11 Mesembria, coinage

<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Karayotov, p. 402</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΤ, bust of the emperor, r.</p>	<p>ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡ/ΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis – Tyche standing l., holding a <i>cubitum</i> in her r. r. and a <i>cornucopia</i> in her l. In front of her feet, a wheel</p>	
<p>Gordian and Tranquillina</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Karayotov, p. 412</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΚΜΑΝΤΓΟΡΔΙΑ ΝΟΣ ΑΥΤ ΣΕΒ  ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛ ΛΙΝΑ, busts of Gordian and Tranquillina face to face</p>	<p>ΜΕΣΑΜΒ/ΡΙ/ΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis-Aequitas l., holding balance in her r. and <i>parazonium</i> in l. Wheel at feet</p>	

<p>Gordian and Tranquillina</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Karayotov, p. 412</p>	<p>ΑΥΤΚΜΑΝΤΓΟΡΔΙΑ ΝΟΣ ΑΥΤ ΣΕΒ  ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛ ΛΙΝΑ, busts of Gordian and Tranquillina face to face</p>	<p>ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙ/ΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis-Aequitas-Tyche l., holding balance in her r. and <i>cornucopia</i> in l. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Philip I The Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SGN Copen.</i>, 664; Karayotov, p. 422; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 103 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ., busts of Philip I and Octacilia face to face</p>	<p>ΜΕCΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., cubit-rule in r., bridle in l.; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Phili I The Arab</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Karayotov, 424</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ., Busts of Philip and Octacilia face to face</p>	<p>ΜΕCΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking r., balance in r., <i>cornucopia</i> in l.</p>	
<p>Philip II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Karayotov, 444</p>	<p>ΜΑΡΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΙΟ/Σ Σ  ΚΑΙΣΑ  Ρ, busts of Philip and Octacilia face to face</p>	<p>ΜΕ/CΑΜΒ/ΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., with cubit-rule and bridle. Wheel at feet</p>	


Philip II Bronze Karayotov, P. 446	ΜΑΡΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟ/Σ Σ  ΚΑΙΣΑ  Ρ, bust of Philip r.	ΜΕ/ΚΑΜΒ/ΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Nemesis with balance in r. and cubit rule in her l. Wheel at feet	
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## 15. 12 Nicopolis ad Istrum, coinage


Commodus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i> , 4349; Butcher 270, n. 8	ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ, laureate head of Commodus, r.	ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΚΤ, Nemesis(?) standing, r., plucking <i>chiton</i> , holding bridle	
Septimius Severus Bronze <i>SNG München</i> , 391; <i>LIMC VI</i> , 1, <i>s.v. Nemesis</i> , n. 65a (P. Karanastassis)	ΑΥΤ Λ ΣΕΠΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ Π, draped bust of Septimius Severus with laurel wreath, r.	ΥΠ ΑΥΡ [ΓΑΛΛ]ΟΥ ΝΙ- ΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΣΤΡΟΝ, Nemesis standing, looking l., raising her r. arm, and holding cubit-rule in l. Wheel at feet	

<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG München</i>, 426; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 110 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ, bust of Caracalla with laurel wreath, r.</p>	<p>Υ ΦΛ ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙ ΠΡΟΣ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., <i>cubitus</i> in the l., balance in the r. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Geta</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 264, 2782; Pick, 1673; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 65 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Π. ΣΕΠ. ΓΕΤΑΚ ΑΥ., laureate and cuirassed bust of Geta, r.</p>	<p>Υ. ΦΛ. ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝ. ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤ. ΠΡΟΣ Ι, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and whip (?), wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Macrinus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 110 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG München</i>, 441</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΣΕΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΣ, bust of Macrinus laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΣΤΑ ΛΟΝΓΙ[ΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ] ΠΡΟΣ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., <i>cubitus</i> in the l., balance in the r. Wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Verbanov, I 4047 (R3)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ, radiate bust of Elagabal, r., slight drapery on far shoulder, from the front</p>	<p>ΥΠ ΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙC,ΤΡ-ΟΝ (the last four letters divided across the lower field), Nemesis standing facing, head l., balance in r. hand, cubit rule in l.</p>	

<p>Gordian III Bronze Sear 351, 3648; <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 79; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 65 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤΩ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ., laureate and cuirassed bust, r.</p>	<p>VII. CAB. ΜΟΔΕΚΤΟV ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΠΡ. ΟC, I / C / T / P / O / N., Nemesis standing facing, head l., r. hand raised to her shoulder, holding sceptre in l.; wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 78</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΜΑΝΤΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, bust of Gordian Pius laureate wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠΣΑΒΜΟΔΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. ΟΤΡΟΝ. ΠΡΟΣΙΣ, tetrastyle temple, within which, statue of goddess Fortuna (or Nemesis?) holding a <i>cornucopia</i></p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze FitzW. II, 4405; Pick, 2072</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥ., bust of Gordian III, r.</p>	<p>ΥΠΣΑΒΜΟΔΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΓΡ Ο ΣΙ ΣΤΡ Ν, Nemesis l., richly clad, adjusting garment at shoulder with r.; in l. hand garment and short wand. To l., below, a wheel</p>	
<p>Gordian III Bronze</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ. ΑΥΤ., bust of Gordian, r.</p>	<p>ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΣ, 2071: Nemesis with <i>kalathos</i>, raising her right,</p>	




<p>Pick, 2071, 2073-2080 = <i>SNG Hunterian Museum I</i>, 991</p>		<p><i>cubitum</i> in her left. A wheel at her feet  2073: Nemesis with balance and <i>cubitum</i>  2074: //  2075: the same but with wheel at feet  2076: the same but with <i>cubitum</i> and bridle. Wheel at feet  2077, -78: //  2079: <i>cubitum</i> and <i>cornucopia</i> and a wheel at feet  2080: the same as above but with <i>kalathos</i></p>	
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## 15. 13 Nicopolis ad Nestum, coinage

<p>Caracalla  Bronze  Sear 234, 2484; <i>BMC Thrace</i>, 2  <i>LIMC VI, I</i>, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 104  (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡΗ.  ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ,  laureate head of  Caracalla, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΑ. ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ  ΠΡ. ΜΕΤΩ., winged  Nemesis standing front,  looking l., holding balance  and rod, wheel at feet</p>	
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## 15. 14 Pautalia, coinage




<p>Commodus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 8905</p>	<p>ΑΥ Μ ΑΥ ΚΟΜΟΔΟC, laureate head of Commodus, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΛΙΠΙΑC ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC, winged Aequitas-Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and cubit- rule; to l. at her feet, wheel</p>	
<p>Commodus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 8904</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ Ρ ΚΟΜΟΔΟC, laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΛΙΠΙΑC ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC, winged Nemesis standing, l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding bridle (or cubit-rule?); wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Commodus Bronze <i>RPC IV</i>, 8900</p>	<p>ΑΥ Μ ΑΡ ΑΥ Ρ ΚΟΜΟΔΟC, laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing cuirass and <i>paludamentum</i>, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΛΙΠΙΑC ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑC, Nemesis standing front, looking l., plucking <i>chiton</i>, holding uncertain object; wheel at feet</p>	



<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Mushmov, pl. 8, 10; 11, 22</p>	<p>ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ Ρ – ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ, bust laureate of Commodus, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣ ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΑΣ, Nemesis-Aequitas with balance and <i>cubitum</i>. Wheel at feet</p>	
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## 15. 15 Perinthus, coinage


<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG EVELP.</i>, 1008; <i>LIMC VI, 1</i>, <i>s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 130 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΤΡΑΝ[ΚΥΛ]ΕΙΝΑ, bust of Tranquillina, r.</p>	<p>ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Nemesis looking l., holding bridle in her l., raising her r. arm towards her neck</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Hunterian Museum I</i>, 866</p>	<p>ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΕΙΝΑ, bust of Tranquillina, r.</p>	<p>ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, winged Nemesis-Aequitas standing front, looking l., holding balance and bridle</p>	

## 15. 16 Philippopolis, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Moushmov, 5146.</p>	<p>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC (or similar), laureate head of Marcus Aurelius, r.</p>	<p>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and short sceptre, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Commodus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Thrace</i>, 49; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 105 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, bust of Elagabal, laureate, r.</p>	<p>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΩΝ, Nemesis with balance in her r., <i>cubitus</i> in her l., at feet a wheel</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Muschmov, 5420</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate head of Elagabal, r.</p>	<p>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l. holding cubit-rule, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG Copen.</i>, 785</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, laureate head, r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΝΕΥΚΟΡΟΥ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and <i>cornucopia</i></p>	

<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Varbanov, 1733; cfr. Moushmov. 5420 (different rev. legend).</p>	<p>AVT K M AVPH ANTWNEINOC, laureate, draped, cuirassed bust of Elagabal r.</p>	<p>MHTROPOLEWC FILIPPOPOLEWC NEWKOROY, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and <i>cornucopiae</i>, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Elagabal</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Moushmov, 5419</p>	<p>AVT K M AVP ANTONEINOC, laureate head of Elagabal, r:</p>	<p>MHTROPOLEWC FILIPPOPOLEWC, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and scepter? (maybe a <i>cubitum</i>), a wheel at feet</p>	

## 15. 17 Plotinopolis, coinage

<p>Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 235, 2489</p>	<p>AVT. K. M. AVP. CE. ANTΩNEINOC, laur. draped bust, l.</p>	<p>ΠΛΩΤΕΙΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and <i>cornucopia</i>, wheel at feet</p>	
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## 15. 18 Serdica, coinage

<p>Septimius Severus / Caracalla</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Ruzicka 84, 293-297, 331, 455-456, 497, taf. 7; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 106 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ, bust of Iulia Domna, r.</p>	<p>ΟΥΛΠΙΑ ΣΕΡΔΙΚΗΣ, Nemesis standing, holding balance and cubit-rule. Wheel at feet</p>	
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### 15. 19 Tomis, statuary

**Object:** marble statuettes.


**Provenience/location:** exact provenience unknown. Today they are preserved in the Museum of Bucarest.


**Date:** Roman imperial times.

**Description:** fragmentary marble statuettes of the two Nemeseis, holding *cubitum* and spitting on their chest.

**ibliography:** G. Bordenache, *Sculture greche e romane del museo nazionale di antichità di Bucarest*, Bucarest 1969, n. 91.

### 15. 20 Tomis, coinage

<p>Alexander Severus</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>SNG München</i>, 502; <i>SNG EVELP.</i>, 875; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v. Nemesis</i>, n. 107 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, laureate head of Alexander Severus, r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΩΣ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., <i>cubitum</i> in the l., balance in the r. Wheel at feet</p>	
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<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick and Regling, 3537 K 27-28</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, CABINIA ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΙΑΙΝΑ, bust of the emperor without cuirass</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΩΣ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., in r. rod, in l. bridle</p>	
<p>Gordian III</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Pick and Regling, 3538 K 27</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ. ΑΥΤ CΕ., ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΕΙΝΑ, bust of the emperor with cuirass</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΩΣ, Nemesis standing front, looking l., in r. rod, in l. bridle</p>	
<p>Philip I Senior</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Sear 382, 3982; Pick &amp; Regling, 3581-3582</p>	<p>ΑΥΤ. Μ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΤ. Μ. ΩΤ, Α CΕΒΗΡΑ / CΕΒ. (beneath), laur., dr, and cuir. bust r.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΩΜΕΩΣ. Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding rod and bridle, wheel at feet</p>	
<p>Philip II</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>Butcher, 66; <i>LIMC VI, I, s.v.</i> <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 69 (P. Karanastassis); <i>SNG Copen.</i>, 307</p>	<p>ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ Bust of Philip and Serapis face to face.</p>	<p>ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΝΤΟΝ ΤΩΜΕΩΝ, Nemesis standing front, looking r., with cubit- rule and <i>cornucopia</i>; wheel at feet</p>	

## 15. 21 Traianopolis, coinage

<p>Marcus Aurelius</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p><i>BMC Thrace</i>, 17; SGN Copen., 815; <i>LIMC VI</i>, 1, s.v. <i>Nemesis</i>, n. 68 (P. Karanastassis)</p>	<p>AVT MAVPH ANT ANTΩNINOC, laureate head, r., cuirass, <i>paludamentum</i>, spear and shield ornamented with Gorgon's head</p>	<p>AVTOVCT HCTPAIANHC, Nemesis standing front, looking l., holding balance and staff; wheel at feet</p>	
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