

Roman Constructions of *fortuna*

D.Phil. Thesis

Lydia Matthews
Brasenose College

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the Roman idea of *fortuna*, by examining its representation in different media (coins, cults, philosophy, and literature) and the thought worlds which these media inhabited. Drawing chiefly on evidence from the late Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire, I examine the interactions between the meanings of *fortuna* and the contexts in which they occur, showing how *fortuna* was used to construct understandings of broader social processes. Chapter 1 charts how various groups and individuals appropriated the religious character of *fortuna* into discourses of power to promote their interests, from the first archaic cults through to Imperial *fortunae*. By propitiating *fortuna*, the founders and worshippers of these cults attempted to ‘tame’ *fortuna* by representing themselves or the groups to which they belonged as particularly favoured by this deity. Chapter 2 examines how literary authors used *fortuna* to talk about ideas of social status, luck, chance, and fate. How these authors chose to describe *fortuna*, or which powers they chose to ascribe to her, were choices frequently determined by the text’s relationship to the structures of Roman power. Chapter 3 examines the iconography of *fortuna* on Imperial coins, for which I used a statistical methodology to quantify her numismatic representation. This sets our understanding of the interconnections between numismatic iconography and cultural and political history on a firmer basis and allows us to analyse more precisely how *fortuna* was imagined in imperial ideology. I look at the periods in which *fortuna* was most often deployed and when her iconography and legends underwent the greatest changes, discussing the political and cultural contexts that motivated these uses. Chapter 4 addresses philosophical conceptions of *fortuna*. I look at what was peculiarly Roman about how Roman Stoics and Epicureans figured *fortuna* in their physics and ethics, focusing especially on the philosophical and cultural implications of their concern with *fortuna*.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of classical texts follow those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

References to the papyri follow Oates, J.F. et al. (2001), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets, 5th ed.*, American Society of Papyrologists, Oakville.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
Cohen	Cohen, H. (1880-92) (continued by F.B. Feuardent), <i>Description Historique des Monnaies Frappées sous l'Empire Romain</i> , M. Rollin, Paris.
<i>EIO</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica Online</i>
<i>GLP</i>	<i>Greek Literary Papyri</i>
<i>I.Estremo Oriente</i>	De Rossi, F.C. (2004), <i>Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco</i> , R. Habelt, Bonn.
<i>Iscr. di Cos</i>	Segre, M. (1993), <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> , 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, Rome.
<i>Iscr. di Delos</i>	Roussel, P. and Launey, M. (eds.) (1937), <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , H. Champion, Paris.
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>IGLSyr.</i>	Jalabert, L. and Mouterde, R. (1929), <i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie, I. Commagène et Cyrrestique</i> , P. Geuthner, Paris.
<i>IL Alg.</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>I.Mylasa</i>	Blümel, W. (1988), <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa</i> , R. Habelt, Bonn.
<i>Inscr. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	Petzl, G. (1982-1990), <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> , R. Habelt, Bonn.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LTUR</i>	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i>
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>

<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>RIB</i>	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i>
<i>RRC</i>	<i>Roman Republican Coinage</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>
<i>TAM</i>	Kalinka, E. <i>et al.</i> (1901-), <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , A. Hölder, Vienna
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>

Introduction

οὕτως ἡ τύχη καταλιποῦσα Πέρσας καὶ Ἀσσυρίους Μακεδονίαν μὲν ἔλαφρὰ διέπτη καὶ ἀπεσεΐσατο ταχέως Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ δι' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας περιφέρουσα βασιλείας διώδευσε, καὶ Καρχηδονίους στρεφομένη πολλάκις ἐβάστασε: τῷ δὲ Παλατίῳ προσερχομένη καὶ διαβαίνουσα τὸν Θύμβριν ὡς ἔοικεν ἔθηκε τὰς πτέρυγας, ἐξέβη τῶν πεδίων, ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἄπιστον καὶ παλίμβολον σφαῖραν. οὕτως εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς μενοῦσα καὶ τοιαύτη πάρεστιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.¹

Plutarch, in his treatise *de fortuna Romanorum*, explains how τύχη, having left behind various kings and kingdoms arrived in Rome. There she removed those attributes which signified mobility and instability and settled in Rome. Plutarch's discussion of the favour that τύχη showed to Rome drew on a long tradition in the Greek sources which sought to assign the success of Rome to either Rome's ἀρετή or τύχη.² For Plutarch and others in this tradition, Rome's supremacy was a symptom of the relationship that the Romans had with τύχη. However, Plutarch describes how, in coming to Rome, τύχη lost the attributes of fickleness, transforming into the Roman *fortuna*, the steadfast companion of the Romans. This goddess then worked together with the Romans' ἀρετή to accomplish the greatness of Rome.³ Plutarch writes that the Romans in part agreed, for they honoured *fortuna* with many temples.⁴ What Plutarch shows in this treatise is how inextricably linked *fortuna* was with Roman power, especially the powers of kings and emperors.⁵ Plutarch uses his discussion of Roman *fortuna* as a way of talking about Roman imperial power. As I show in this thesis, it is precisely this characteristic of *fortuna*, the inextricable way in which she is integrated into Roman power, which makes her so interesting and

¹ Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 4.

² See for example Polyb. 1.4.1; 1.63.9; Dion. Hal. 1.4.2; 1.5.3; App. *B. Ciu.* proem. 11; Onasander proem 5-6. Oakley 2005 A: 199-203; Arya 2002: 117-121; Swain 1989 A; Kajanto 1981: 529; Walbank 1957: 16-26; 44. For more on this see the discussion in Chapter 2: pp. 112 below.

³ See Swain 1989 A: 508 for the way that, after arriving in Rome, τύχη works with ἀρετή.

⁴ Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 5.

⁵ He mentions the favour that *fortuna* showed to Julius Caesar, Octavian, Numa, Servius, and Romulus. In contrast he sees the heroes of the Republic (the Fabricii, Camilii, Decii, Cincinnati, Fabii Maximi, Scipii, Claudii Marcelli, Marius, Scaevola, and Horatius) as exemplars of ἀρετή.

problematic to study: our sources do not speak about an idea of *fortuna* that is separate to the power of Rome. This thesis will show how the Romans used *fortuna* as a tool by which they interpreted their roles within Rome's vast Empire.

From at least the early third century BC, when we begin to find temples to *fortuna* being vowed by victorious generals, *fortuna* becomes essential to the operations of Roman military power. *fortuna* is figured as the force that ensured the victories and power of Rome's expanding Empire, and was, as such, central to the Roman understanding of Rome and her generals as consistently victorious. Continued victory indicated the moral and practical fitness of Rome's leaders to lead Rome, and of Rome to rule her Empire. As such, representing oneself as being able to control *fortuna* and ensure her favour was important, not only to those men who ruled Rome, but also to the Romans themselves. The favour of *fortuna* was essential to the Romans' idea of themselves as a people defined by the military prowess of their Empire and the power of their world dominion: the *fortuna* that a successful emperor or general brought to bear thus allowed Romans to continue being the kind of Romans they wanted to be.

The effort that the Romans put into 'taming' *fortuna* is suggested by the number of cultic epithets given to her: Kajanto has identified a total of 96, far exceeding the number for other 'divine qualities' such as *uictoria*.⁶ These *fortunae*, to name but a few uses, were applied to discussions of chance, luck, Providence, historical agency, social rank, military victory, and the republican and imperial manifestations of political power. Constructed in these different ways, *fortuna* was used to negotiate the various ways in which authors of texts, participants in cult, and so on experienced their social reality: for example, by participating in the cult of *fortuna equestris* in the second century BC, a worshipper

⁶ For her epithets see Kajanto 1981: 510- 516. For *uictoria*'s see Weinstock *RE* VIII A2: 2533-2534.

defined himself as belonging an emerging social group and, in so doing, helped to confirm the existence of this group; by writing of *fortuna* as a force that authorized Pompey's special command, Cicero reacted to the emergence of, and helped to construct the basis for, the power of individual generals in the late Republic; by minting coins that advertised the role of the imperial *fortunae* in bringing the benefits of imperial rule to the Empire, the imperial mints figured the emperor as the intermediary between Rome and *fortuna*; and, railing against the omnipotent malevolence of *fortuna*, Seneca constructs his own impotence in the face of an imagined force of supreme imperial power. The multivalency of *fortuna* meant that it could be continuously reinterpreted in the light of various social, religious or political changes, making it a key part of the ways that Romans, as members of various social groups, at various points in Rome's history, constructed their different experiences of Roman society and power. As we shall see, the ways in which ideas of *fortuna* were expressed did not simply reflect these experiences: it was not at a remove from the real mechanisms of social or political power, nor was it used to simply encode an understanding of pre-existing social structures.⁷ Rather, the way that Romans interacted with *fortuna* in their political, religious, literary, and philosophical thought worlds was used to shape these realities.

Chapter 1 shows how, from the time of the first archaic cults to those of imperial *fortunae*, various groups and individuals appropriated the religious character of *fortuna* into discourses of power to promote their interests. A study of these cults shows how groups and individuals in search of power or prominence in Rome sought to associate themselves with *fortuna*. By propitiating *fortuna*, the founders and worshippers of various cults of *fortuna* encouraged the idea of a *fortuna* that was consistently favourable: these cults were

⁷ This argument in part follows that set out by Price (1984: 234- 248), who, writing of the importance of the imperial cult to the real mechanisms of Roman power, sees the distinction between the 'dignified' and 'efficient' aspects of the state to be misleading.

used to tie *fortuna* into a relationship with a specific group or individual as a way of ensuring the continuing success she could bestow. Under the Empire *fortuna* became the monopoly of the emperor and his family: it was through the emperor that the inhabitants of the empire acquired the favour of *fortuna* and the luck, salvation, or protection that she gave. Given the importance of *fortuna* to matters of social identity, luck, and victory, the insertion of the emperor into the religious relationship between *fortuna* and her worshippers was one of the ways that genuine religious power accrued to the emperor. In the Republic *fortuna* was used to differentiate the power of individual generals and as a way for them to claim individual glory. However, under the Empire each emperor inherited the right to the Imperial *fortunae*, a fact which was not tied to the charismatic power of his personality, but to the office that he held. These *fortunae* thus helped to create a sense of the continuity of Imperial power, linking each successive emperor to his predecessor. By worshipping the de-personalised Imperial *fortunae*, members of the Empire had a unifying object of veneration, one they could all share in, irrespective of who held the office of emperor. In this way the religious reverence that was due to each individual man who held this rank was transformed into a veneration of him as part of the apparatus of the Empire. This meant that even when the Empire changed hands there could be continuity of worship and continuity of Empire.

Chapter 2 examines how literary authors used *fortuna* to talk about ideas of social status, luck, chance, fate, and so on. How these authors constructed *fortuna* was often an intensely political act. Thus, how literary authors chose to describe *fortuna* or the powers that they ascribed to her was determined by their relationships to the structures of Roman power. The cults of Chapter 1 and the coins of Chapter 3 show *fortuna* to have been so successfully ‘tamed’ that she can be taken to be synonymous with the benefits of Empire. Conversely, authors who offered a literary critique of Empire used *fortuna* as a capricious

force which took as readily as she gave, a force which critics of the Empire might justifiably suggest more accurately represented the reality of the Imperial *fortuna*. Against the ‘official’ interpretation of *fortuna* as tame benefactor of the Empire, there existed alternative narratives which represented *fortuna* as equally capable of bestowing summary justice, exile, misfortune, and death.

Chapter 3 looks at the use of *fortuna* on imperial coins, for which, with the help of Dr. A.J. Ryan, I created a statistical methodology for quantifying the numismatic representation of *fortuna*. Between AD 68 and 235 there are very few years in which coins showing *fortuna* were not minted. By using these statistical tools, I demonstrate that there were periods during which there was a degree of intentionality behind the minting of *fortuna* type coins: certain years can be identified which see great changes in the register of her legends and iconography, or that are, in terms of the number of *fortuna* type mintings, statistical outliers. During these crucial periods *fortuna* was used to express ideas ranging from concern for the health of the emperor to a celebration of his role in the distribution of largesse. This resulted in a range of numismatic meaning for *fortuna* that was at once immensely broad as well as appropriate to very specific circumstances. Looking at the specialized uses to which *fortuna* was put, we can see that in each of these instances *fortuna* was used to describe the emperor’s role in relation to the Empire. *fortuna* was pictured not only as the force that ensured his right to rule by a basic assertion of inheritance or sovereignty, but also as the goddess that oversaw his performance of certain Imperial roles and duties, such as the distribution of the corn dole, victory in warfare, and continuation of the Imperial line.

Chapter 4 addresses philosophical conceptions of *fortuna*, both as a tool used to characterize (and caricature) the thought of opposing schools, and also as a way of

defining the problems of living as a certain type of Roman at a certain point in Rome's history. I look at what was peculiarly Roman about how Roman Stoics and Epicureans figured *fortuna* in their physics and ethics, focusing especially on the philosophical and cultural implications of their concern with *fortuna*. For many of our philosophically literate sources, a belief in the supremacy of *fatum* and *deus* is presented as the defining character of Stoic thought. In contrast, these sources present Epicurean philosophy as positing a belief in the supremacy of *fortuna*. Writers hostile to the Epicurean school represent this philosophy as replacing the moral and predictable forces of god and fate with capricious and amoral *fortuna*, a force over which human *uirtus* is powerless. By constructing their understanding of *fortuna* according to a false estimation of her role in Epicurean philosophy, authors were able to set up *fortuna* as a villainous but world-pervading force. They present *fortuna* as inescapably defining the character of life under the Empire. The Stoic philosophy of Seneca, on the other hand, while understanding *fortuna* to be powerful, seeks to combat the influence that she has on the life of the individual. The close association between the emperors and *fortuna* that developed under the Empire allowed Seneca to associate the power of *fortuna* with that of the emperor. As a way of living successfully as a member of the Roman elite, a group who were now, by their own estimation, powerless to determine the physical circumstances of their existence, Seneca developed a Roman brand of Stoicism that posited as the defining battle of the philosopher's life the struggle against the supremacy of *fortuna*. By showing how *fortuna* was used in these different contexts we can begin to write a history of *fortuna* that describes most (if not all) of the ways that *fortuna* was figured in the various thought worlds of Rome from the late Republic to the second century AD.

The chronological scope of this study is determined by the range of evidence available to us, the majority of which comes from this period. I have included in this study cults that

were founded in earlier periods because, even though these had their origins in the archaic or earlier republican periods, they were still used by literary authors and worshippers in the late Republic and the Empire to interpret the religious character of *fortuna*. However, even though I look at what were, by the late Republic, established cults, I do not assume that the meanings found in the later evidence reflected the archaic meanings of these cults: we should not expect the way a cult was interpreted by the author of a literary text in the first century AD to be the same as how it had been understood in the past. Instead, I look at how these cults were used to talk about ideas of *fortuna* that were contemporary to the authors who describe them. I address how our sources participated in the invention of tradition to obscure any changes these cults might have undergone. For the cults of the imperial *fortunae* some of our evidence (especially the epigraphic) is taken from the third century AD. Dealing with ideas of *fortuna redux* and *fortuna Aug.*, I use these inscriptions to enlighten our understanding of these cults in the preceding years, showing how meanings that were attached to them in the first and second centuries of the Empire still prevailed in later periods.

For the literary study in Chapter 2 and the philosophical study in Chapter 4, I have likewise drawn primarily on sources from between the late Republic and second century AD. Later, the influence of Christianity begins to bring about a paradigm shift in literary constructions of *fortuna*, which constitutes a subject in itself that cannot be treated here. Moreover, as has often been noted, with the exception of Latin jurists, the tendency in the second and third centuries was towards composing literary texts in Greek, further restricting the number of pagan Latin texts available from the period.⁸

⁸ Whitmarsh (2007: 29-30) comments on this problem.

For the numismatic study in Chapter 3, in order to obtain a sample large enough to implement a statistical analysis of *fortuna* on coins, I have had to look at imperial coinage from the beginning of the Principate to the death of Alexander Severus. The time scale of this study is not only required by my quantitative methodology, but also illuminates what we see of the imperial cults in Chapter 1. The broad chronological scope of this chapter reveals that, although we see a large degree of numismatic innovation occurring at certain points, the representation of *fortuna* on coins of the second and third centuries drew on a numismatic tradition of *fortuna* that was developed in the first century AD. In the case of *fortuna*, the coinage of the first three centuries of the Empire should be treated as a whole, with later uses of *fortuna* being influenced by those seen in earlier periods. Thus I show that while innovation does occur in reaction to contemporary events, it happens in such a way that, unless the one had collected all of the relevant evidence (as I have with the coins of *fortuna*), it would be impossible to track these changes (just as it is impossible to use later interpretations of her cults to illuminate our understanding of them in earlier periods).

I do not try to use this diverse evidence to reify any single idea of *fortuna*, or to reconstruct an ‘Ur-*fortuna*’ on which the rest were based. Such approaches suggest that there existed some idea of *fortuna* that was independent of the ways that it was used. The focus of this study is however on what people did with *fortuna*, and how, and to what ends, Romans exercised agency over the construction of its meaning.

This is not to say that the meanings given to *fortuna* in different periods or in different contexts were unrelated to each other. As we shall see, the meanings built up around *fortuna* were connected to one another in such a way that no one meaning stood independent of the others; so Clark has suggested that, in approaching what she calls ‘divine qualities’, ‘we might imagine a spectrum of nuances ranging from the ritual to the

mundane ... once the quality was a god, there was no point at either end of the spectrum at which both divinity and concept were not in play'.⁹ This ambiguity is further advanced by the failure by Romans to distinguish between majuscule and miniscule letters. Feeney notes that, 'thinking about the difference between *Pax* and *pax* is not easy, but it is a good deal easier than thinking about the difference between *PAX* and *PAX*'.¹⁰ The indeterminacy granted by this is lost when editors make decisions regarding capitalization, as Hosius does in his 1905 Teubner edition of Lucan, when he writes *Fortuna* in 1.84, where it is something akin to the force that dictates the course of history, but *fortuna* in 1.124, where Caesar's personal *fortuna* is referred to.¹¹ This distinction is picked up by commentators who preserve this system of capitalization. This allows Roche to include the *fortuna* of 1.84 in the 'theme of causative agents', but deny any of this force to *fortuna* at 1.124.¹² In order to maintain the enigmatic position of *fortuna*, the present work will refer to *fortuna* using miniscule letters.¹³ This practice allows the modern reader to more closely imagine how Romans, in their experiences of *fortuna*, could construct various ideas of *fortuna* depending on the context in which they encountered her.

Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that audiences and authors of literary *fortuna* might have brought to these texts knowledge of *fortuna* in other contexts. For example, it is in the comedies of Plautus that *fortuna* first appears with epithets that suggest her role as an

⁹ Clark 2007: 18.

¹⁰ Feeney 1998: 88. Cf. Clark 2007: 20-21; Stafford 2000: 230-1; Thériault 1996; Fears 1981: 845.

¹¹ His method of capitalization seems by and large followed by Duff's Loeb text (1928).

¹² Roche 2009: 159; 178.

¹³ Clark's solution to this problem has been consistently to refer to 'Divine Qualities' in small capitals, allowing the ambiguity between concept and personification to stand. This seems an elegant resolution, but, for the needs of this study, places too great an emphasis on the religious aspect of the idea. This arises in part because of the modern reader's familiarity with seeing majuscule letters in the epigraphic context, the majority of which, when using the word *fortuna*, imply cultic significance.

object of cult, as well as a literary figure.¹⁴ The allusion in Plaut. *Capt.* 834 to *fortuna respiciens* mirrors the sense of this epithet in a cultic context:

HEGIO: respice.

ERGASILVS: fortuna quod tibi nec facit nec faciet, me iubes...

Here Plautus constructs a goddess who concerns herself, not only with the present (*facit*), but with past and future time (*faciet*). This understanding is in keeping with that seen on a double inscription from the imperial period mentioning both FORTVNA RESPICIENS and FORTVNA PRAESENS, here reflecting an idea of present as well as past time.¹⁵

Likewise, some four hundred years after Plautus, Cassius Dio described the nature of the worship of *fortuna respiciens*:

[ἡ τύχη] ἦν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾶν καὶ ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρῆναί τινα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οἴων οἶος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπεκάλεσαν τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ εὐαφήγητον Ἑλλησι.¹⁶

Thus, the mention of *fortuna respiciens* in Plautus summoned for his audience the ideas of *fortuna* as found in this cult.¹⁷ It is therefore likely that a member of Plautus' audience, the dedicator of the inscription to *fortuna respiciens*, and Cassius Dio would all separately have approached *fortuna* with an idea of her that incorporated both its literary and cultic attributes, and, depending on context, allowed them to 'code-switch' between different meanings for *fortuna*. The setting in which *fortuna* was encountered thus helped to create her meanings: in approaching cults of *fortuna* in order to offer sacrifices or partake in

¹⁴ That *palliata* comedies like those of Plautus were not simply taken over from the Greek originals, or even always based on Greek originals, has been convincingly argued (cf. Goldberg 1978; Stärk 1989; Lefèvre et al. 1991). This means that a certain topicality is allowed for, and that we can therefore see these texts as broadly reflecting, at least being intelligible to the society in which their audiences moved (see Clark 2007: 76ff. for a discussion of this). See also Leigh 2004: 2 ff.

¹⁵ *CIL* 6.181.

¹⁶ Dio 42.26.4. The description given by Dio is sufficient to identify this cult as being to *fortuna respiciens*.

¹⁷ While we need not assume every utterance or character in Plautine comedy to be a reflection of the realities of religious life in the second century BC, it is sensible to assume that these popular plays contained references and ideas which were readily comprehensible to their wide audience. On the question of audience, see most recently Clark 2007: 78-82; Horsfall 2003: 58; and Leigh 2000. For the problem of interpreting religion in Plautus see Clark 2007: 83ff; Hanson 1959, Tolliver 1952; for Plautus' use of *fortuna* in a religious context see Reiss 1951: 156.

rituals the participants constructed religious meanings that diverged from, but did not necessarily interrupt, their experience of *fortuna* in other contexts.¹⁸

Because of the scope of the present study there is no room to address separately the potential influence that Greek ideas of τύχη had on the Roman *fortuna*, and *vice versa*. I have, where relevant, shown points of contact and influence and suggested how these might have affected the Roman construction of *fortuna*. In any case, many studies have shown that, far from simply adopting foreign goddesses, the Romans, in bringing these deities to Rome, adapted the nature and meaning of these gods so as to make them speak to a Roman context.¹⁹ The temptation to write intellectual history through genealogy is strong.²⁰ However, a more useful way to understand how the ideas associated with *fortuna* developed is to look at these ideas in their social context and then see how *fortuna* interacted with them. It is therefore perfectly true that, in certain periods and contexts, ideas of *fortuna* relate very closely to ideas of τύχη; however, we should not imagine that this is because of any process by which Romans, consciously or unconsciously, tried to make their *fortuna* more closely resemble Greek τύχη. Such models of Greek/Roman cultural interchange have been discredited in favour of those that give the Romans far more agency in how they adopted and adapted Greek ideas.²¹ Thus, as we shall see throughout, when ideas of τύχη influenced the Roman understanding of *fortuna*, this did not mean that *fortuna* simply took on the characteristics of the Greek goddess, but rather that these changes reflected larger changes in Roman society as a whole. Her absorption of Greek ideas of τύχη were, like other social forces acting on the way *fortuna* was

¹⁸ For the social embedding of religious meaning see Beard, North, and Price 1998: 42-54.

¹⁹ See for example Beard, North and Price 1998: 61-87; Scheid 2003: 6-8; Orlin 2010: 3-12.

²⁰ See for example the use of the term Fortuna/Τύχη to describe *fortuna* in Roman art and literature from the second century BC onwards: Patch: 1927; Kajanto 1981; Champeaux 1987; Coralini 1996; *LIMC s.v.* 'Tyche/Fortuna'. Kajanto especially argues that the influence of τύχη overwhelms the 'original' Roman *fortuna* (525-532). Contrast Arya 2001: 52-67, who argues against the usefulness of this term.

²¹ See for example Wallace-Hadrill 2008: esp. 111-116 where the author shows that the sanctuary of *fortuna* at Praeneste was not simply an example of 'Hellenisation', but a complex interplay of local, Roman, and Eastern Mediterranean identities.

constructed, a reflection of the way in which *fortuna* was used to define and negotiate social, cultural, political, and religious matters.

Writing a history of *fortuna* therefore entails looking at the ways that, in given periods and contexts, her meanings were forged. As we shall see, the various meanings attached to *fortuna* did not exist independently of the ways *fortuna* was used, but were instead constructed by the way Romans of various periods as members of various social groups (from slave to emperor) employed *fortuna*. It is important to point out that the process whereby these meanings were created was not necessarily top-down. The author of a text, the founder of a cult, or the minter of a coin did not have sole agency in determining how their version of *fortuna* would be interpreted by its audience. Rather, the construction of meanings was likely a collaborative process whereby author and reader both participated in the creation of meaning, just as the founder of a cult and the practices of later worshippers constructed the religious meanings that were attached to a specific *fortuna*. We can therefore use our sources to get at, not just what their authors intended in their use of *fortuna*, but also how their presentations of *fortuna* were read by their audiences, whether members of the literate community, in the case of the literary and philosophical *fortunae*, members of the various social groups involved in the cultivation of the different cults of *fortuna*, or the broad community of the Empire who encountered *fortuna* on the coins that they used. To get at the meanings attached to *fortuna*, this work is therefore concerned with looking at the ways in which *fortuna* is used and at how these uses constructed her meanings, rather than treating the meanings of *fortuna* as though they could exist independent of their uses.

The scholarship on *fortuna* is often preoccupied with whether to classify her as a goddess, a literary construction, a personification, a deified abstraction, a divine quality, or an

imperial benefit.²² It is, however, impossible to write a history of *fortuna* which deals with the issues I have outlined above if one focuses on one aspect of her representation to the exclusion of others. The uses of these different terms to categorise what ‘type’ of thing *fortuna* was are all determined by the different contexts of evidence that the scholars who employ them describe: terms such as personification, deified abstract, divine quality, and so on are most often used to explain *fortuna* as an object of cult or to describe her representation on coins. Being specific to certain contexts of evidence, this terminology cannot do justice to the different ways that *fortuna* is constructed outside of the context in question. Thus, Noreña’s categorization of *fortuna* as an imperial blessing to Sallust’s portrayal of her in the *Bellum Catilinae* is not only an unhelpful way of describing how this author uses *fortuna*, but would also require us to project a way of thinking about *fortuna* specific to the numismatic meanings of *fortuna* in the imperial period onto a literary text written in the late Republic. It is therefore important to emphasize at all times that how Romans thought about *fortuna* changed according to the chronological and evidentiary contexts in which actors approached the idea. The religious solemnity of the rituals associated with her cults would require a very different understanding of *fortuna* to that required by Seneca’s vitriolic condemnation of *fortuna* and her power over the material circumstances of life. I have therefore found the question as to which category of goddess etc. *fortuna* fits to be pointless. Rather, I have looked at the different ways that she was constructed in various contexts.

Such a history of *fortuna* is therefore fundamentally unlike the studies of Lauria, who is chiefly concerned with mapping *fortuna* onto the religious concerns of women, Champeaux who, working the tradition of French-Structuralism, attempts to identify an

²² For some uses of these different terms to ‘categorise’ *fortuna* see Axtell 1907; Lind 1973; Fears 1981 B; Clark 2007; Noreña 2011.

‘Ur *fortuna*’, or Kajanto, who creates a set of categories into which to fit the different meanings of *fortuna*.²³ The works of Lauria and Champeaux are mainly concerned with the cults of *fortuna* and make little attempt to discuss how *fortuna* might have been understood outside of this context. Lauria’s study mainly uses discussions of the early cults of *fortuna* in literary sources from the imperial period to identify these cults as being concerned with the sexual lives of their female worshippers.

Champeaux’s two volumes on the cults of *fortuna* from the Archaic period to the death of Caesar are comprehensive in their collection of the evidence. The aim of her work is, however, fundamentally at odds with the way that *fortuna* is treated in this thesis. Instead of looking at how *fortuna* was used to negotiate social change, Champeaux attempts to isolate the religious characteristics of cults of *fortuna*, and, from this, to reconstruct the ‘original’ identity of the goddess. She eventually identifies *fortuna* as descended from the great Indo-European mother goddess. Studying *fortuna* in this way not only leads Champeaux to elide the differences in the various ways that *fortuna* was understood, but, in seeking to identify a unified, rather than fragmented, understanding of *fortuna*, leads her to read meanings onto some cults that are not entirely supported by the evidence.²⁴

Kajanto’s survey article on *fortuna* gives a more nuanced view of the evidence: he deals with the literary sources on *fortuna* on their own terms and not simply as a way to illuminate cultic practice. However, his study is flawed by his attempt to formulate a set of categories into which to fit the various meanings that he finds. He assigns any negative portrayals of *fortuna* to the category ‘Fortuna/Τύχη’, and sees these as being evidence for the influence of the Greek’s supposedly negative understanding of τύχη on the benevolent character of Roman *fortuna*. Kajanto’s categories suggest that authors and readers of texts

²³ Lauria 1980; Champeaux 1982; 1987; Kajanto 1981.

²⁴ Discussed in more detail in Scheid’s (1986) review.

would have decided on a category of meaning for each occurrence of the word *fortuna*, having, for example, to ignore the idea of *fortuna* meaning a personal tutelary force if the meaning of luck was needed. Furthermore, by creating the category ‘Fortuna/Τύχη’, Kajanto is able to lump together anything that authors say about a conflicted relationship with *fortuna* into one category and put it down to the influence of Greek ideas, ignoring the impact that Roman understandings of *fortuna*, formulated within the author’s social context, might have had on these ideas.

Arya’s doctoral thesis on *fortuna* as a goddess of imperial Rome is more useful, and is concerned with showing some of the many religious and textual associations made for *fortuna*. However, his thesis is often over-reliant on the ambiguous archaeology of imperial *fortunae*, for which his interpretations are often ambitious.²⁵ He privileges this category of evidence over the literary and numismatic sources for *fortuna*, and engages insufficiently with the available Latin texts. In dealing with both the archaeological and literary evidence he treats τύχη as interchangeable with *fortuna*.

This work will therefore look at *fortuna* as a socially embedded idea. It will show how *fortuna* was used to formulate ideas about the identities of individuals, groups, and political leaders and the roles that they played in Roman society. For the leading men of the Republic *fortuna* was used to advertise their individual military and political power, and served as a way of distinguishing them from their rivals. Likewise, different social and political groups used *fortuna* to create a sense of their own distinct identity and to further the interests of members of that group. Under the Empire, the figure of the emperor became a conduit through which members of his Empire accessed *fortuna*. The imperial monopolization of *fortuna* was part of the way in which emperors tried to control any

²⁵ Arya 2002: 93-137. For his interpretation of the archaeology of *fortuna* see for example his reading of her role in Caesar’s reorganisation of the Campus Martius (Arya 2002: 240).

sources of ideological power. *fortuna* in particular was used to entrench the power of the emperor by constructing an understanding of his role in Roman society whereby he ensured the *fortuna* of the Romans. In taking on such an important role, the emperor was figured as central to the ways that different individuals and groups could think about themselves as members of the Empire with access to its *fortuna*. Moreover, this official paradigm in turn provided a target for alternative narratives, allowing us to study the relationship between Roman power and *fortuna* in the round.

Chapter 1

Cults of *fortuna*

The word *fortuna* was constructed in a variety of ways, creating meanings that ranged from material possessions to fate. In this chapter we will examine the religious ‘meanings’ that were created for *fortuna* in the contexts of her various cults. These contexts were of course interconnected: people who read and wrote literary texts on *fortuna* would have brought their literary knowledge of *fortuna* with them when approaching one of her cults. This process also worked in the opposite direction: when reading *fortuna* in the literary, philosophical, artistic, or religious contexts, audiences could bring with them knowledge of *fortuna* in other contexts.²⁶

Extensive studies of the various cults and the theories of the origins of *fortuna* have been undertaken by others.²⁷ The aim here is not to infer new details of cultic practice from the often scanty evidence, but to suggest some of the religious meanings that were attached to cults of *fortuna*. By examining dedications to various *fortunae*, the circumstances of the foundations of her cults, the location of her temples, the myths associated with her, and the nature of her ritual and worship, this chapter will attempt to lay out the elements of the goddess’ worship that defined her religious character. That is not to say that a single, unified, meaning for *fortuna* will be found, and no attempt will be made to incorporate all of the various *fortunae* and their associated cults into a single goddess, to find, as it were,

²⁶ The oldest literary source that references *fortuna* is Naevius, in whose work the word appears twice (*Bell. Poen.* 1.16; 2.24). For a fuller discussion of *fortuna* in Naevius see Champeaux 1987: 88-91. Champeaux mistakenly tries to decide whether Naevius uses *fortuna* as ‘*nom commun, ou, avec une majuscule, de Fortuna, la déesse*’. As will be shown in the following chapter, such attempts in no way enlighten our understanding of *fortuna* (See also Introduction: pp. 9)

²⁷ For the most comprehensive studies see Champeaux 1987; 1982; Kajanto 1981; Lauria 1980.

an ‘Ur’ *fortuna*, for such an attempt is meaningless in a polytheistic setting.²⁸ Past studies have often, especially when treating the archaic cults, exceeded the limits of the available evidence in the interpretations that they offer.²⁹ For our purpose it is most useful to deal only with the most broadly known and popular cults of *fortuna*, which not only would have been those best informing the general Roman idea of *fortuna* in a religious context, but are also the only ones for which we have the most meaningful bodies of evidence.

For these reasons the discussion will be limited to the two most popular cults outside of Rome: *fortuna primigenia* from Praeneste and the dual *fortunae* of Antium; the Roman cults traditionally given archaic foundation dates:³⁰ *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium, *fortuna uirilis*, *fors fortuna*, and *fortuna muliebris*; the cults dated by our sources to the middle and late Republic: *fortuna huiusce diei* (vowed by Lutatius Catulus in 101 BC), *fortuna equestris* (whose temple was dedicated in 173 BC), and the *fortunae* of the three temples on the Quirinal: *fortuna primigenia*, *fortuna publica citerior in colle*, and *fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium* (dating from between the mid-third and early second centuries); and the imperial cults of *fortuna redux*, and *fortuna Augusta/Augusti*.

However, when looking at cults so diverse in the dates of their foundations, it is also prudent to acknowledge that, apart from the odd case where we have surviving epigraphic or archaeological material of an early date, our sources are rarely contemporary with the alleged origins of the cults in question. The descriptions of these cults and their

²⁸ In this I fundamentally differ from Champeaux (1982; 1987), who attempts to identify the original *fortuna* in all of the cults, finally having to conclude that the goddess is nothing less than a manifestation of the great Indo-European mother goddess.

²⁹ Especially guilty are Champeaux (1982;1987) and Lauria (1980). Arya (2002) and Kajanto (1981) are much more conservative, but do not set out her cultic meanings.

³⁰ Numerous cults to *fortuna* were traditionally said to have been founded by Servius Tullius, including: *fors fortuna*, *fortuna ἀποτρόπαιος*, *fortuna brevis* (however, this seems to be a purely literary expression, cf. *LTUR* II: 268, ‘Fortuna Brevis’), *fortuna εὐέλπις*, *fortuna ἴδια*, *fortuna obsequens*, *primigenia*, *respicens*, *uirgo*, and *fortuna uiscata* (Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 10; *Quaest. Rom.* 74). However, for many of these the evidence is too scarce to allow for meaningful discussion, and to avoid mere conjecture I have limited my discussion to those listed above.

foundations mostly come either from the time of the Late Republic and later, when we begin to have extant Latin sources, or when Greek sources, (e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch), in reaction to contact with Roman imperial power, start writing about Roman antiquity, often adapting their interpretations of the Roman material for a Greek audience, or when antiquarians and Christians (each with their own agenda) talk about *fortuna*.³¹ This is not an argument for *not* using these sources, but it does suggest that we should use a greater degree of caution when trying to describe the religious meanings that were attached to *fortuna* especially in the earliest periods.³²

From many other examples in Antiquity it is clear that the meanings attached to cults and festivals often changed according to the changing social contexts of their worshippers.³³ Therefore, any argument for the meanings of a cult which has centuries-long gaps in the evidence is suspect. This is especially true of those in which the alleged origin of the cult in question is clearly mythical, as is the case with those said to be founded by Servius Tullius or Coriolanus. It is equally dangerous to take a passage from an Augustan writer and one from a Christian writer to create a hybrid *fortuna* cult in which changes that might have occurred in the interpretations and rituals attached to the cult across three or more centuries are collapsed together. What our sources can tell us is how these cults were viewed by the contemporary, or near contemporary, sources. This is useful in itself, but we should not take it as evidence for what the cult used to be about. The same process also applies to the use of archaeological evidence: proving there was always a temple on a particular site (e.g. at S. Omobono where we find a temple of *fortuna*) does not prove that in the regal period this cult was understood in the same way as it was in the Augustan

³¹ For the political context of sources such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other Augustan writers see Gabba 1991: 29-59; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 4-9.

³² Rüpke (2007: 39-44) and Beard, North, and Price (1998: 4-18) make a similar point for the study of Roman religion in general

³³ For religious change see Beard, North, and Price 1998: Chapter 2, esp. 73-98.

period.³⁴ Finally we should avoid appealing to the existence of an oral tradition which has ‘preserved’ the true nature of archaic cults, which the literary sources then transmit to us. Copious recent research on the nature of orality shows that it not only manipulates tradition to orientate it towards contemporary concerns, but also that it invariably presents the current tradition as being of great antiquity, irrespective of whether it had actually changed enormously.³⁵ Thus, while attempts will be made to show what evidence there is for the archaic and early republican cults, we should be aware that our sources are useful only in so far as they can tell about the contemporary understandings of these cults.

The sheer number of epithets given to *fortuna* suggests that she was, by nature, religiously multivalent, and able to attach herself in a religious manner to a number of different events, people, and places. Therefore, in what follows, instead of trying to isolate some original religious idea of *fortuna* from which these other *fortunae* developed, we shall investigate how this flexibility in her religious character was allowed for and whether these various cultic meanings of *fortuna* harmonised with one another. Thus, although the individual meanings of her cults and religious epithets cover multiple spheres of human action, there must still be a reason why the choice was made to associate particular actions with *fortuna*. In other words, the association of *fortuna* with luck, victory, divination, and various social groups (all cultic meanings of *fortuna* that we will discuss below) has to be made on the basis of an understanding of *fortuna* that allows her power over these things. Thus, despite multivalence of *fortuna*, she did not serve as a vacant sign, to which her worshippers could attach any meaning. Nor, though, did *fortuna* have a secret heart of religious meaning that was reflected in her different cults. Rather, the ways in which people used *fortuna* determined any possible future interpretations of her character. Thus,

³⁴ As will be shown later, this area of the Forum Boarium was in fact disused for about a century.

³⁵ On this point see for example Wiseman’s (1989) comments in reviewing the scholarship on orality and religion and Thomas 1992: 108-113 on the Greek context.

religious meanings were able to grow up around her in response to the previous understandings of her religious roles. What I aim to show in this chapter is why Romans went to *fortuna* in so many different religious contexts, and what their different motivations for approaching her tells us about *fortuna* and about themselves. This chapter will therefore not only investigate the limits of the possible meanings for *fortuna*, but will also demonstrate how the individual circumstances of each cult (the identities of their founders and worshippers, the reasons for their foundations, the locations of the temples, and the practice of their worshippers) constructed these meanings to create discrete cults.

Cults of *fortuna* outside of Rome

fortuna primigenia Praenestina

The monumental temple complex of *fortuna primigenia* at Praeneste was built towards the end of the second century BC, but this cult predates the foundation of this complex, and dates from the third or fourth century BC.³⁶ As a result of this early date, the Praenestine *fortuna* has often been taken as one of the primary influences on the development of the cults of *fortuna* in the rest of Italy.³⁷ This interest in the archaic cult has meant that the scholarship has focused overwhelmingly on the nature of the early cult and the problems associated with it: the epithet *primigenia*, her role as either mother or daughter of Jupiter, and her association with women and childbirth have all been much debated.³⁸ Moreover,

³⁶ For the date of the cult see Champeaux 1982: 11 (and n. 39 for bibliography); Arya 2002: 62 n. 127; Riemann 1988. For the date of the temple complex see Coarelli 1987 A: 35-84; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 111; Coarelli 2007.

³⁷ Champeaux 1982: 446 ff; Kajanto 1981: 506 ff.

³⁸ See Champeaux 1982: 4-54; 1975; Kajanto 1981: 506-508; Latte 1960:176; Wissowa 1912: 259; Thulin 1906: 37-38. This epithet is not taken from a cult of Τύχη Πρωτογενεία (known from one inscription from Itanos on Crete: *I. Cret.* 3.4.14, and two from Delos: *I. Delos* 2072; 2073) as Kajanto argues, because the epithet *primigenia* predates this cult (see the Ocrevia inscription below). On the Itanian cult of Τύχη Πρωτογενεία see Spyridakis 1969. Champeaux's (1982: 125) hypothesis that it is derived from an epithet of Persephone, Πρωτογόνη (Paus. 1.31.4; 4.1.8), is equally unlikely. Pausanias, writing in the antiquarian tradition in the 2nd century AD, provides the

the discussion of this goddess' character has generally been given over to structuralist interpretations of her as a primordial, Indo-European, mother goddess.³⁹ It is difficult, then, to assess any meanings that this cult might have accrued without first mentioning these issues.

Champeaux has argued that *primigenia* has the sense of first, original, or primordial, rather than, as others have argued, first-born.⁴⁰ However, the epigraphic evidence does not entirely support this, with some inscriptions seeming to identify *fortuna* as the child of Jupiter, while others seem to show Jupiter as the child of *fortuna*. The inscriptions are variously reconstructed: F(ORTVNAE) IO(VIS) P(VERO) P(RIMIGENIAE) (*CIL* 1.3051), FORTVNAE IOVIS PVE[RO] PRIMIGENIAE (*AE* 2007.314), FORTVNAE IOVI[S] PUERO (*CIL* 14.2868), FORTVNAE PRIMIGENIAE IOVI PUERO (*CIL* 10.82), and FORTVNA DIOVO FILEIA PRIMOGENIA (*CIL* 14.2863). *CIL* 14.2863 is known as the Orcevia inscription, and, dating from the third century BC, is the oldest from this sanctuary. If we take this as the model for the later inscriptions, we see FORTVNA DIOVO FILEIA as equivalent to FORTVNA IOVIS FILIA, which had developed by the first century AD into FORTVNA IOVIS PVER (*AE* 2007.314). On this model, these inscriptions, with a range of 400 years, show that *fortuna* was consistently thought of as the daughter of Jupiter. However, in light of the relationship between Jupiter and *fortuna* demonstrated by Cicero's description of a statue from this sanctuary (discussed below), the wording of these inscriptions (save that of the Orcevia) might also be interpreted as

only literary attestation of Κόρη Πρωτογόνη. The only appearance of the epithet Πρωτογόνη in the epigraphic material is a curse table from 3rd century AD Carthage (*IGRR* I 945.4-5): ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν πρωτόγονον τῆς Γῆς Εφονκείσαιβλαβλειςφθειβαλ; this idiosyncratic text does not even reference Κόρη. While *LSJ* s.v. πρωτόγονος A.3 notes that it is an epithet of the gods, it justifies this on the basis of Pausanias and a Late Antique Neoplatonist, Damascius, who thought the epithet was connected with Orpheus. Other uses are attested (e.g. *Anth. Graec.* 4.1.50), but none suggest its use as a divine epithet.

³⁹ Champeaux's study in particular is characterized by this sort of thinking.

⁴⁰ Champeaux 1982: 26-30.

evidence for a cult of Jupiter Puer, or more correctly, Jupiter, *puer of fortuna primigenia*.⁴¹ It would therefore appear that the tradition itself was either confused or divergent with regard to her filiations, with some scholars having suggested that two *fortunae* were worshipped at Praeneste, one the daughter of Jupiter and another the mother,⁴² and others that *fortuna*, the daughter of Jupiter, became, over time, his wife.⁴³

The sense of *fortuna* as the mother of Jupiter fits with the idea of this *fortuna* as a goddess in some way involved with women and their role as mothers. The Orcevia inscription, despite naming *fortuna* as the daughter of Jupiter, gives thanks to her for the safe delivery of a child (NATIONV CRATIA). Coming around two centuries after the date of the Orcevia dedication, Cicero's explanation of the epithet *primigenia* shows that the connection of Praenestine *fortuna* to these aspects of female life was still seen to be important. Cicero writes that *fortuna* is called *primigenia a gignendo comes*.⁴⁴ This interpretation is strengthened when we consider Cicero's description of a statue from the sanctuary of *fortuna primigenia*, explained as an image *iouis pueri, qui lactens cum iunone fortunae in gremio sedens mammam adpetens castissime colitur a matribus*.⁴⁵ This description quite clearly makes *fortuna* a maternal, kourotrophic figure and shows that her realm of influence coincides with the interests of the *matres*, who he says hold it in the highest religious esteem.⁴⁶ Childbearing was therefore, at least during the republican period, one of the areas over which *fortuna primigenia* was thought to have control, and *matres*, as a social group, also seem to have a special relevance to the cult. This suggests that, at least in its early incarnations, the worship and character of *fortuna primigenia* was

⁴¹ For other discussions of these inscriptions see Champeaux 1982: 25; Kajanto 1981: 506; Lauria 1980: 48; Riemann 1987.

⁴² Mommsen *ap.* Dessau 1884: 454; Jordan 1885: 5; 10; Warde-Fowler 1899: 224; Thulin 1905: 256-261; Altheim 1931: 38-42.

⁴³ Wissowa 1912: 259.

⁴⁴ Cic. *De Leg.* 2.28.

⁴⁵ Cic. *De Div.* 2.85.

⁴⁶ For these reasons the veracity of Kajanto's statement that 'the arguments for Fortuna Primigenia as a deity of fertility are inconclusive' is dubious (1981: 506).

partly concerned with women and children.⁴⁷ However, we should not generalize from this one aspect of the cult to create a homogenized meaning for *fortuna primigenia*, as Champeaux does when she goes on to refer to ‘*la mère toute-puissante de ses fidèles*’.⁴⁸

This characterization of *fortuna* pervades other aspects of the cult. The image of the statuary group described by Cicero connects *fortuna* to Jupiter, and likewise an inscription from Praeneste, likely from Augustus’ reign, states: FATA IOVEM SVPERANT... /FATA TRAHVNT VRBES.⁴⁹ The Praenestine *fortuna* presided over an oracle that foretold the future by sortilege. Cicero recounts the origins of this oracle in *De Diu.* 2.85-86: Numerius Suffustius, a Praenestine of noble birth split open a rock and discovered the lots, having been ordered to do so in a dream. A chest was then made to house the lots, and as part of the divinatory process, the lots were shuffled and drawn by the hand of a *puer*. Cicero notes that the place that these lots were found was, in his day, *saepius religiose*, with the kourotrophic statue of *fortuna* being located close by. The very process by which the drawing and reading of the lots took place seems to confirm the maternal position of *fortuna* in relation to Jove and Juno. Inscriptions from the imperial period associate *fortuna primigenia* with Jupiter Arcanus/Arkanus, who seems to have had the role of guarding the chest (*arca*) in which the lots were kept.⁵⁰ The Jupiter who guarded the *sortes* was, by virtue of propinquity, and the proximity of the spot at which the *sortes* were miraculously found to the statue of the kourotrophic *fortuna*, associated with the hypothetical Jupiter Puer. Moreover, the fact that it was a *puer* who had the role of drawing the lots from the chest suggests that, at least from the time of Cicero, this

⁴⁷ This association is not necessarily permanent, and just as other cults of *fortuna* changed according to the needs of the communities they served, so too did that of *fortuna primigenia*. By the imperial period, for example, those making dedications to the goddess were representative of all social groups, with, as Kajanto rightly points out (1981: 506), offerings recorded for slaves, freedmen, senators, and equestrians.

⁴⁸ Champeaux 1982: 52.

⁴⁹ Marucchi 1907: 305.

⁵⁰ *CIL* 14.2852 (AD 136); *ILS* 6253 (AD 243). Riemann 1983: 243-244; Champeaux 1982: 73 n. 322; Lauria 1980: 81. For Jupiter performing a similar role in guarding the Sibylline Books, which were stored in his temple, see Stewart 1998: 31-32.

functionary of the process of divination can be read as signifying, at least in part, the Jupiter who was the *puer fortunae*.⁵¹

The maternal character of *fortuna*, by the end of the Republic at the latest, was tied to her character as a goddess of prophecy. This connection is a result not only of her associations with the functionary deities of the cult, but, as Champeaux points out, a result of the clear relationship between her power over destiny and etymological root *ferre*.⁵² As Champeaux has noted, this formation also allows for *ferre* in the sense of pregnancy and the activity of the earth in bearing crops.⁵³ Much as we will see in the next chapter how the various literary meanings of *fortuna* connected to one another to give *fortuna* its semantic range, this etymological connection allowed for *fortunae* (meaning either events or possessions) to be brought about by the operations of *fortuna*. Through such an accrual of meaning an idea of *fortuna* is created in which she is understood as distributing the events of which a person's destiny is comprised. Therefore *fortuna primigenia* could have been thought of by those worshippers who visited the sanctuary, saw the kourotrophic statuary group, read the dedicatory inscriptions, and consulted her oracle, as not only 'bearing' the events of the future, but also as providing the circumstances (e.g. children, or their successful birth) of this future.

The means by which the oracle at Praeneste revealed this future combined ideas of chance, luck, and fate in a manner characteristic of the expressions of *fortuna* that we will see in

⁵¹ For the role of children in ancient divination see Johnston 2001. For Jupiter Puer as the 'mythical prototype' for the *puer* who drew the lots and for a helpful discussion of the iconography of this relationship see Brendel 1960: 45 (cf. Dressel 1922; Coarelli 1973; Klingshirn 2006: 144-145). Her role as mother of Juno may be reflected in the epithet Palosticaria (*CIL* 1².2439), found in a dedication on an altar. Marucchi (1913: 22-23) has interpreted this epithet in light of the Greek πᾶλος ('lot') and στοιχειῖον ('file, row'). On the basis of this he has argued that the oracle was not simply the drawing of the lots, but also involved the arrangement of individual lots to form an oracle. Juno Palosticaria was, like her other child, Jupiter, involved in the delivery of the oracles.

⁵² Champeaux 1982: 429.

⁵³ See Cic. *De Leg.* 2.67: *quae autem terra fruges ferre et ut mater cibos suppeditare possit*. This meaning of *fortuna* is especially prominent in the origins of the *fors fortuna* cult.

the following chapter. If the random nature of events can be attributed to chance, a force over which *fortuna* is supreme, then *fortuna* can control random events in a way that is purposefully directed, thus giving rise to fate and prophecy. Cicero uses the words *casus* and *temeritas* to describe the practice of divination by lot, and, as we will see in Chapters 2 and 4, these same words are often used to ascribe randomness to the workings of *fortuna*.⁵⁴ However, while the manner of divination might seem to confirm the reading of random chance, the process resulted in a fixed decree of fate. This oracle is a joint effort of the forces of chance and destiny: the random process of drawing the lots and the destiny manifest in their content which becomes irreversible after it has been divined.⁵⁵ Thus, all of these elements of her worship combine to suggest that, even at an early stage, *fortuna primigenia*, like later cults of *fortuna*, might have been associated with ideas of luck.⁵⁶ The Orcevia inscription, for example, in giving thanks for the successful birth of a child, presages and allows for her development into a goddess who bestows success upon any undertaking. This understanding of *fortuna primigenia* is also evident from the number of dedications, dating from the republican and imperial periods, made by slaves, freedmen, and merchants.⁵⁷

The oracle of Praeneste, like the oracle of the Antian *fortunae* discussed below, was tied to the sanctuary. Although the sanctuary was a place of pilgrimage, the city of Praeneste still had a special connection to the cult of *fortuna* there. The fact that she was known not just by the epithet *primigenia*, but also as *Praenestina*, suggests that she was understood as a

⁵⁴ E.g. Cic. *De Div.* 2.85.

⁵⁵ For a similar interpretation see Champeaux 1982: 434.

⁵⁶ It is possible that, as Axtell (1907: 10) would have it, the notion of luck associated with *fortuna primigenia* was a result of the influence of Greek Τύχη. Indeed, if epithets like Palosticaria are Greek in origin then influence from Τύχη would seem inevitable

⁵⁷ E.g. *CIL* 1.1446-1450 and *CIL* 14.2852 for inscriptions ranging in date from republican to Antonine; cf. Bömer 1981: 140-144.

poliadic goddess.⁵⁸ This interpretation is supported by later sources. Lucan, describing Sulla's vengeance on Praeneste during his war against Marius, tells how *uidit Fortuna colonos / Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense recepto / unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis*.⁵⁹ The epitomators of Valerius Maximus record that, in 241 BC, towards the end of the first Punic war, Quintus Lutatius Cerco attempted to consult the Praenestine oracle.⁶⁰ In both versions Cerco is forbidden by the senate from doing so. In Paris' epitome the senate's reasons are given as *auspiciis enim patriis, non alienigenis rempublicam administrari iudicabant oportere*. The Lutatii were originally from the area around Praeneste and an inscription from the first or second century BC, mentioning Q. Lutatius Catulus, has been found in the sanctuary of *fortuna* there.⁶¹ Cerco's desire to consult the Praenestine oracle suggests that he was confident that his connections to the town and its *fortuna* would help to ensure a favourable oracle for him. But his attempt to consult a foreign lot oracle ran contrary to the normal contemporary practice of Roman state religion, in which sortition had a more restricted role and was overseen by Jupiter.⁶² To gain a favourable outcome, Cerco had attempted to replace the role of Jupiter Opitimus Maximus with his local *fortuna*. Both Lucan and Valerius Maximus, although writing well after the introduction of the cult of *fortuna primigenia* to Rome in 194 BC, and at a point after it seems to have become common practice for Romans to visit the sanctuary and make dedications there, see the goddess as specifically concerned with Praeneste and its inhabitants.⁶³ In these sources *fortuna primigenia* is seen as working for the benefit of a specific group, although not to the exclusion of others. This characteristic of her operations

⁵⁸ For these epithets see *CIL* 14.2854; Suet. *Dom.* 15.2.

⁵⁹ Luc. 2.193-195.

⁶⁰ See the epitomes of Val. Max. 1.3.2. On the problems of interpretation associated with these passages see Wardle 2005; Ziolkowski 1987.

⁶¹ Wardle 2005: 383; Fernique 1878: 233-234.

⁶² See Wardle 2005: 383 on the religious inappropriateness of this. See Rosenstein 1995 on the role of sortition in republican political decision making.

⁶³ For the cult of *fortuna primigenia* in Rome see below pp. 58; for republican inscriptions see pp. 26. n. 57 above.

has already been seen in the way that she was read as supporting the interests of *matres*, slaves, and Romans, suggesting that something of the multivalent nature of her operations (luck, fate, chance, etc.) made her worship accessible to various groups and allowed for each of these groups to develop their own religion of *fortuna primigenia*.

The temple complex of *fortuna primigenia* itself plays a role in defining group identity. Dating from the second century BC, and paid for collaboratively by members of the local elite, it represents, not only a massive financial investment in the establishment of Praenestine civic pride, but also the new Hellenistic and Roman identities of this community.⁶⁴ The expense of this complex was justified by the prestige that it gave to the Praenestine *fortuna* and to the families who contributed to its construction. The mixture of Hellenistic and Roman features in the architecture of the temple (e.g. its axial symmetry and the use of *opus incertum*) not only suggests the influence that trading contacts with the Greek world had on this community's identity, but in turn reflects the influence which the worship of *τύχη* and Isis had on the cult of *fortuna primigenia*.⁶⁵ The syncretism of *fortuna* with Isis was probably influenced by the contact that the wealthy *negotiatores* of Praeneste had with cults of Isis and *τύχη* on Delos. There we find dedications, dating from 115/114 BC, to Ἴσιδι Τύχηι Πρωτογενεῖαι, showing how ideas of *τύχη*, Isis, and *fortuna primigenia* influenced one another.⁶⁶ These men brought back with them to Praeneste the idea of a goddess, Ἴσιτύχη, a syncretised version of the *fortuna* of their home town, as well as wealth which they were then able to use to construct the temple complex.⁶⁷ With knowledge of *τύχη* as a poliadic deity in the Greek east, this link could easily also be made for *fortuna* at Praeneste. Thus, by celebrating a *fortuna* in a way that suggested her identity

⁶⁴ For the mixture of Hellenic and Roman elements see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 111-116.

⁶⁵ Agnoli 2002: 25-26.

⁶⁶ *I. Delos* 2072; 2073.

⁶⁷ Agnoli 2002: 25; Spyridakis 1969: 47. The dedication of a statue of Isityche is recorded in an inscription from the second century AD: *ILS* 3687.

as an Italian, and specifically Praenestine, goddess and her connections to Isis and τύχη, the elite of Praeneste were able to celebrate and advertise their trading connections to the Greek world, the source of their wealth.

Over time, the nature of the worship of *fortuna primigenia* accrued new characteristics, but it also maintained some of the earliest: the Orcevia inscription connects her with women, and especially with luck in childbirth, a characteristic which is still evident towards the end of the Republic in Cicero's description of the kourotrophic cult statue. Instead of sudden changes to the worship of *fortuna primigenia*, we see that, over time, the worshippers of this cult added new interpretations of the character of *fortuna*. Slaves, freedmen, *matronae*, wealthy merchants, and Roman generals could all renegotiate the character of *fortuna primigenia* to suit their needs.

The *fortunae* of Antium

The other large cult site of *fortuna* outside of Rome was at Antium. The *fortunae* of Antium formed a female pair, known variously as the FORTVNAE ANTIATES and *Antiatinae*.⁶⁸ Their representations on two coin issues of Q. Rustius from 19 BC describe them as FORTVNAE and FORTVNAE ANTIAT. (Figure 1) and provide our earliest evidence for these *fortunae*.⁶⁹ On each coin the *fortunae* are differentiated by dress and hairstyle. One, which Sutherland describes as *fortuna uictrix*, wears a rounded helmet and a *chiton* that leaves one breast exposed, and holds either a *patera* or the handle of a sword. The other, identified as *fortuna felix*, wears a diadem, and has her hair knotted and braided.⁷⁰ The contrast evoked by these *fortunae*, the Amazon and the matron, can be seen

⁶⁸ *CIL* 10.6555; Suet. *Cal.* 57.3.

⁶⁹ *RIC* Aug. 321; 322. When quoting coins from *RIC* I will state the emperor in whose reign it is minted and then the coin number. I have used the second edition of *RIC* volume 1, but for all the others I have used the first edition.

⁷⁰ *RIC* I² pp. 64.

in a statuary group from the first century BC found in the sanctuary of *fortuna* at Praeneste (Figure 2). It has been convincingly argued that this statuary group in fact represents the cult images of the *Antiatinae*.⁷¹ Here too a contrast is apparent between the female figure on the left, who is portrayed, like the *fortuna* on *RIC* Augustus: 322 (Figure 1), with her right breast exposed, in the style of an Amazon, and that on the right, who appears fully draped by her *chiton*. As we shall see, a sense of duality is common to many of the early cults of *fortuna*. The ready transposition of this characteristic to Praeneste, at least by the early imperial period (with the statuary group in Figure 2), perhaps in response to the popularity of the Antian cult with Julio-Claudian emperors, shows that even in cults that had not traditionally emphasised this feature, it could be assimilated so that Statius (perhaps with this representation in mind) could talk of the *Praenestinae ... sorores*.⁷²



Figure 1: Coin of 19 BC showing the legend FORTVNAE ANTIAT. and the two *fortunae* of Antium on the obverse and the *ara fortunae reducis* on the reverse (*RIC* Augustus: 322).

⁷¹ Brendel 1960: based on the similarities between these statues and the images on the coins above, and despite the location in which this pair was found. See Champeaux 1982: 152-154; Lauria 1980: 28-29.

⁷² *Stat. Sil.* 1.3.80.



Figure 2: Statuary group from Praeneste showing the *fortunae* of Antium.

However, the distinguishing epithets of *uictrix* and *felix* given to these *fortunae* in the scholarship creates a meaning not apparent in the ancient sources, where they are referred to only by their toponym or as *sorores*.⁷³ The literary evidence for this cult suggests a more nuanced pairing, whereby both *fortunae* possess poliadic and oracular attributes, but in which one is more concerned with safeguarding the city from physical threats, while the other ensures its sustained continuance by advancing its fertility (whether human or agrarian).⁷⁴ Horace's ode to *fortuna* subtly reflects this duality.⁷⁵ Although the poet addresses the goddesses as one (1: *o diua*), perhaps on the prompting of Greek precedents,⁷⁶ he sets up a series of contrasts: the land, and its agricultural significance (5-6: *te pauper ambit sollicita prece / ruris colonus*), is contrasted with the sea and its foreign,

⁷³ For this false distinction see *RIC I*² pp. 64 (cf. Champeaux 1982: 156).

⁷⁴ Champeaux (1982: 169 ff.) sees these *fortunae* as part of a tradition of reduplication and male/female divine pairs and triads in Roman and Etruscan religion, much like that of Liber and Libera, Ceres and Cerus, or Tellus and Tellumo. While this sort of conjecture is interesting in as much as it informs us as to religious precedent for this sort of cult, it is important to remember that our sources for the *fortunae* of Antium are scant.

⁷⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.

⁷⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: 386) point to Pind. *Ol.* 12 and two Hellenistic hymns, *PMG* 1019 and *GLP* 99.

martial connotations (6-9: *te dominam aequoris / quicumque Bithyna lacessit / Carpathium pelagus carina / te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae*), she is seen, conversely, as a goddess that might preserve the youth of Rome, while at the same time bringing victory in foreign wars.⁷⁷

This characterization of the *fortunae*, which is in evidence from the early imperial period, continues in the later sources. The *Antiatinae*, in Horace's ode, were called on to protect the new emperor and his peace, they then go on to become the protectors of Augustus on all his journeys, both peaceful and bellicose, setting the stage for the development of the imperial cult of *fortuna redux*. Moreover, these *fortunae* were then associated on coins with Augustus and this new Augustan cult (see Figure 1). In the imperial period these Julio-Claudian connections to the *fortunae* multiplied: Augustus is reported by Appian to have borrowed money from the cult during the Perusine war, with these *fortunae* helping him in his struggle against Sextus Pompeius.⁷⁸ As part of this developing relationship between the emperor and the Antian cult, the town was used as the birthplace of emperors and their children. Caligula is said to have been born there, as was Nero.⁷⁹ When a daughter was born to Poppaea and Nero at Antium, Tacitus makes special reference to the city as being the place of her father's birth. Tacitus records that the senate made a pilgrimage to Antium to celebrate the birth of the child, and that in Rome golden images of the two Antian *fortunae* were set up on the throne of Jupiter in the temple on the Capitol, recalling at once the role of the *dii nutritores* and the Carmentes who oversaw the fates of children at birth, and who, like the *fortunae* of Antium, were associated with prophecy.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.29-32; 40. I leave aside discussion of the occasion of Horace's composition (for which see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: 387), who date the poem to 35-26 BC). The poem seems to set the stage for the foundation of the altar and cult of *fortuna redux*, possibly in response to a programme of Julius Caesar's (Weinstock 1971: 117 ff; Arya 2002: 273).

⁷⁸ App. *BC* 5.3.24.

⁷⁹ Caligula: Suet. *Cal.* 8. 2. Nero: Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.

⁸⁰ *ibid.* Cf. Champeaux 1982: 165; Lauria 1980: 21.

He further describes games at Antium, held in honour of the Claudian and Domitian *gentes*, that were similar to those at Bovillae in commemoration of the Julii.

The importance of Antium as a birthplace of two Julio-Claudian emperors is clearly associated with the cult of the *fortunae* there. Moreover, just as the generative aspects of *fortuna primigenia* allowed for the power of her oracle, so too at Antium are the ideas of birth and fate connected. Like the oracle at Praeneste, the oracle of this cult was tied to the specific cult site and acted as a guardian and provider of luck for the city and those who consulted its oracle.⁸¹ This meant that those Julio-Claudians born at Antium could claim the protection of these *fortunae*: Caligula, born at Antium, comes under the protection of the goddesses of that place and their oracle. This emperor was warned by the oracle of these *fortunae* to beware of a man named Cassius.⁸² While the oracle failed to save his life (he mistakenly put to death Cassius Longinus rather than Cassius Chaerea), what matters is that, as a native of Antium, he chose to consult this oracle, or, at the very least, it was thought appropriate to represent him as doing so. The episode thus clearly demonstrates the perceived bond between the *fortunae* of Antium and the Julio-Claudian emperors.

In this cult we can therefore see evidence for meanings involving not only the poliadic role of the *fortunae*, the physical protection of the city and its citizens, protection that they later extended to Rome and her emperors, but also the protection of those born there, connecting the *fortunae* to childbirth. These meanings are reflected in the duality evident in representations of the two *fortunae*: the more warlike Amazon goddess who protects the fates of Antium and its inhabitants against external threats, and the more modestly maternal *fortuna* who advances the growth of the city and its population. In the imperial

⁸¹ For the workings of the Antian oracle see Macrobius' (albeit very late) description at *Sat.* 1.23.13, from which it would seem that the process of divination was based on the movements of the statues of the two *fortunae*. Champeaux 1982: 158-164; Lauria 1980: 4-11; Brendel 1960. For such oracles, see Luc. *De Dea Syr.* 36; Diod. 17.50.6-7 and the useful discussion in Lightfoot 2003: 464-465.

⁸² Suet. *Cal.* 57.3.

period the Julio-Claudian emperors seem to have appropriated the character of this cult for themselves. By their use of Antium as an unofficial home-town (akin to Bovillae for the Julii) and their use of the oracle there, the poliadic character of these *fortunae* could be advertised as extending their protection over the imperial family.⁸³ Because the evidence for this cult begins only in the imperial period we cannot be certain to what extent this Julio-Claudian involvement altered ideas surrounding the early history of this cult and understanding of its origins. We cannot therefore know what motivated the Julio-Claudians' choice of this cult rather than any other cult to *fortuna* (or indeed any other god). However, what we can observe in the imperial period is a gradual process whereby a tradition of Julio-Claudian association with the *fortunae* of Antium was invented. Nero's celebration of Antium in connection with the birth of his daughter is the accumulation of imperial associations reaching back to Augustus.

***fortuna* in Rome**

The tradition of *fortuna* at Rome seems at least as long as that in Latium, and as we shall see the cults share many similarities. However, one difference is immediately evident: the absence of an oracular tradition in the case of the Roman cults. This may in part be due to Roman attitudes towards divination: although they accept the authorizing role played by divination, they often seem dubious about its prophetic function. This distrust extended particularly to prophecy performed by individuals and seems in part to be a function of pre-imperial Roman political ideology, with its suspicion of power (whether political or religious) concentrated in any one person or function.⁸⁴ Thus, as John North has noted, there is a tendency for these sorts of divinatory activities to be undertaken by groups or by

⁸³ See (e.g.) Tact. *Ann.* 15.23.

⁸⁴ See for example the record of the Prefect of Egypt (perhaps Q. Aemilius Saturninus) outlawing divination and magic (*P.CtYBR* inv. 299 qua, 29th August AD 199). For the Roman attitude to divination in general see Potter 1994; North 2000: 54-56; 1990; Wiseman 1994: esp. 61-66.

officers whose position changes on a regular basis.⁸⁵ The Senate's refusal in 241 BC to grant Quintus Lutatius Cerco permission to consult the oracle of *fortuna primigenia* at Praeneste can be understood in this context.⁸⁶ The senate, hearing of Cerco's plan to consult the Praenestine oracle, forbade him from doing so, threatening punishment if he disobeyed. The senate's reasoning was that *auspiciis ... patriis, non alienigenis rem publicam administrari ... oportere*.⁸⁷ This hostility can best be understood in light of two factors: the residual hostility between Rome and Praeneste left over from the time of the Latin War; and by the political struggle between Cerco, whose brother had negotiated the peace of 241 with Carthage, and who seemingly supported the treaty, and his apparently more bellicose consular colleague, A. Manilius Torquatus, who might have had the support not only of the populace, but perhaps also of the senate.⁸⁸ A Praenestine oracle was therefore easily seen not only as *alienus*, but also as *hostis*. Moreover, by personally consulting the oracle on behalf of the people, Cerco would have overstepped his magistracy, and usurped power from the Senate.⁸⁹

As part of this tendency towards the sharing of power, the Romans seem happiest in their public religion with divination that follows the pattern of a natural manifestation which is then interpreted, rather than types of oracles which are, in the nature of their responses, more definite: they prefer, in Cicero's terms, artificial over natural divination.⁹⁰ Such forms of divination depend on the idea that the gods make their will manifest in ordering the flights of birds and other phenomena; as to whether this is thought to happen because their divine will permeates the world from the moment of creation, or whether they are

⁸⁵ North 1990: 70.

⁸⁶ Epit. Val. Max. 1.3.2.

⁸⁷ Paris' epitome.

⁸⁸ For Cerco's support of his brother's end to the war see Ziolkowski 1992: 42; 1987.

⁸⁹ See pp. 27 above. Wardle 2005.

⁹⁰ Cic. *De Diu.* 1.34 (Wardle 2006: 195-197). *Iis igitur adsentior, qui duo genera diuinationum esse dixerunt, unum, quod particeps esset artis, alterum, quod arte careret.*

directly involved in each fissure in the liver being examined, is a question of philosophy that still leaves the onus of interpretation in the hands of the presiding officials.⁹¹ As one of the indications of Tiberius' paranoia, Suetonius mentions that he forbade the secret consultation of *haruspices*, and, in an attempt to suppress nearby oracles, confiscated the *arca* that held the *sortes* from the temple at Praeneste.⁹² A prodigy occurred, and having been taken to Rome, the *sortes* were found to have vanished. Tiberius' reaction, *territus*, is a symptom of a common Roman attitude to such oracles. Indeed, even when the Praenestine goddess was given a cult at Rome in 194 BC, the oracle was not brought along.⁹³

Answers as to whether these *fortunae*, having come to Rome from other areas, lost their oracular properties, or developed there without these, seem to rely more on scholarly imagination rather than evidence.⁹⁴ Without any reliable or contemporary evidence for the origins of many of the Roman cults it is more useful to put these questions aside and to understand the meanings that these Roman *fortunae* gathered around them in the religious thought worlds of the Roman Republic and Empire.

***fortuna* of the Forum Boarium**

Perhaps the oldest of these Roman *fortunae* is the one whose temple stood beside the temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium and the remains of which have been found in the area of S. Omobono. The dating of this temple to the archaic period is problematic.

⁹¹ Cic. *De Div.* 1.118.

⁹² Suet. *Tib.* 63.

⁹³ It is also important to remember the degree to which oracles were thought to be attached to specific places and are associated with the features of those places. Thus the oracle at Praeneste is associated with the cave there and therefore cannot simply be brought to Rome. Champeaux (1987: 15) has convincingly argued that Plutarch (*Fort. Rom.* 10; *Quaest. Rom.* 74) is in error about a cult of *fortuna primigenia* founded by Servius on the Capitol.

⁹⁴ For the theory of a Latian origin, see Latte (1960: 176), Sabine, see Champeaux (1982: 451), Etruscan, Kajanto (1980: 507-509) and Otto (1910: 14), Roman, Simon (1990: 59-71).

The topography of this site has been much discussed, and, until the excavations have been completed, Coarelli's argument that the archaic temple was destroyed around 500 BC, and that the republican phase began only around one hundred years later with the dedication of M. Furius Camillus, remains the most convincing.⁹⁵ Although there had been a temple on this site in the archaic period, given the serious problems of continuity between the successive temple buildings, it is not possible to prove that it had any connection with either the cult of Mater Matuta or *fortuna*. According to Coarelli's interpretation of the archaeology, Camillus did not simply restore temples that were already in existence, but built a new temple on this site that had been disused for over a century.

Our first literary evidence for these temples comes from the Augustan period. Livy, describing the vow given by Camillus before he set off against Veii, writes: *aedemque Matutae Matris reffectam dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam*.⁹⁶ About a decade later Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes that Servius founded a temple to *fortuna* in the Forum Boarium.⁹⁷ A little later Ovid, in his *Fasti*, attributes the temples of both divinities to Servius. The relationship of this otherwise mysterious cult to that of Mater Matuta, and the goddess' relationship with Servius Tullius help us to glean some idea of its function in the religions of *fortuna* during the early imperial period.

The proximity of the temples of *fortuna* and Mater Matuta was such that they were understood as a single topographical unit.⁹⁸ Moreover, the two temples shared the same day of dedication, 11 June, the *Matralia*.⁹⁹ We have little description of the rituals that

⁹⁵ Coarelli 1988: 205-234. The bibliography on the archaeology of this site is enormous, and subject to great debate. The most recent studies are: Cifani 2008: 165-173; Adornato 2003; *LTUR* II: 281-285; ; Ziolkowski 1992; Colonna 1991; Sommella Mura 1990; Pisani Sartorio 1989; Ioppolo 1989 A; Ioppolo 1989 B; Virgili 1989.

⁹⁶ Liv. 5.19.6

⁹⁷ Dion. Hal. 4.27.7.

⁹⁸ Liv. 24.47.15; 25.7.6; 33.27.3.

⁹⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 6.569, on which see Littlewood 2002. We should not conclude from the fact that the oldest calendars mention only the *Matralia* on this day that the cult of *fortuna* was a later import. These documents

occurred in connection with *fortuna* on this day, but those of the *Matralia* were clearly connected with ideas of fertility as well as social order, themes which are repeated in other cults of *fortuna*. The festival of the *Matralia* involved the ritual exclusion of slaves by the symbolic beating and driving out of a slave-girl. The women involved in its celebration were expected to bake a *testuacium*, a form of cake baked in an earthen dish, and to say prayers for their sisters' children.¹⁰⁰ These rites seem to have been associated with the affirmation of the position of the *matronae*, both social and sexual: their role in food production, procreation, and child-care.¹⁰¹ Likewise, the name of the goddess, Mater Matuta, designates her as maternal.¹⁰² Moreover, the celebration of the *Matralia* was the prerogative of *matronae uniuirae*, with similar taboos attached to the cults of *pudicitia* and *fortuna muliebris*.¹⁰³

Conversely, *matronae*, i.e. women who were already married, were not allowed to touch the statue housed in the adjoining temple of *fortuna*.¹⁰⁴ This suggestion of a dualistic relationship between the two cults is strengthened by a passage from Arnobius who, writing in the early fourth century AD and describing the decline in traditional pagan worship, especially those rites concerned with marriage, asks whether *puellarum togulas fortunam defertis ad uirginalem?*¹⁰⁵ Thus, while the worship of Mater Matuta was, at least in part, concerned with the rights and powers of *matronae*, the cult of *fortuna* seems to have revolved around the social and sexual status of younger, unmarried women.¹⁰⁶ Arnobius' question suggests a rite of passage of some sort, involving the sacrifice of the

record only one feast for each day even if more than one occurs. For an 'inter-textual' reading of the rituals of this cult see Smith 2000.

¹⁰⁰ Varro *Ling.* 5.22.106; Ov. *Fast.* 6.551-558; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 16; Plut. *Camil.* 5.2.

¹⁰¹ Baudy 1997.

¹⁰² Champeaux 1983: 311.

¹⁰³ Tert. *Mono.* 17.4; Fest. 282 L.

¹⁰⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 6.621.

¹⁰⁵ Arnob. *Ad. Nat.* 2.67. I follow Champeaux in holding that Arnobius here refers to the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium. *Contra* Boëls-Janssen 1993: 359.

¹⁰⁶ For the balancing of the feminine concerns of the cult of Mater Matuta see Smith 2000.

garments that marked out the girls as children, and perhaps, as we can hypothesise from comparable Greek evidence attesting a similar practice of dedications to Artemis, a rite that was involved in the transition into married or adult life.¹⁰⁷ Although Arnobius wrote long after this cult had fallen into decline, the nature of his question suggests that this *fortuna* was understood to define the status of the group that worshipped at her temple: *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium therefore not only safeguarded the transition from one group to another, but stood as a signifier of this transitory status. As the goddess that oversaw this transition, the worship of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium spoke to the idea of *fortuna* as a force that ensured the smooth course of future events. In the case of here worshippers these events included the anticipation of a future adult/married life and the children, gifts of *fortuna*, that come with marriage. These meanings are themselves tied to those of *fortuna* as a force of luck, overseeing and offering protection during the perilous and liminal time of transition from one group to another.¹⁰⁸

These elements of the cult are further emphasised by the form of the temple's cult statue which is described by sources from the imperial period as either an image of Servius or of *fortuna*.¹⁰⁹ The confusion as to the statue's identity seems to arise from the fact that its face was concealed by a veil.¹¹⁰ The majority of our sources seem to believe that the statue was of Servius: for example Ovid tells us that *Seruius est hoc constat*, although he hints that others might be less certain.¹¹¹ Given that all the sources talk of this statue as the temple's cult image, it is clear that it could equally be interpreted as a statue of *fortuna*, albeit covered over, making its identity a matter of debate. While the Augustan sources adhere to the tradition of this statue as being an image of Servius, by the late first century BC, when

¹⁰⁷ Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 218, for a discussion of this ritual see Champeaux 1982: 288-291.

¹⁰⁸ For the need for protection and ritual at such times see (e.g.) Van Gennep 1908/1960.

¹⁰⁹ Servius: Ov. *Fast.* 6.571; Dion. Hal. 4.40.7; Val. Max. 1.8.11; *fortuna*: Plin. *NH* 8.74.

¹¹⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 6.570. Cf. Plin. *NH* 8.194; Nonius 278. For a discussion of the garment used to conceal its face see Champeaux 1982: 277-279; Lauria 1980: 183-185.

¹¹¹ Ov. *Fast.* 6.570-571.

Pliny published his *Historia Naturalis*, he tells us that the veils covering the statue had been removed or destroyed and he identifies it as *fortuna*.¹¹² The removal of the veils might have allowed Pliny to see the statue beneath, something which the earlier sources had not been able to do. Pliny's identification of the statue as *fortuna* allowed him to relate new traditions of the cult. As a statue of a female goddess, her veiled head recalled for Pliny the aspect of a Roman bride, concealed in her *flammeum*. The nexus of associations between *fortuna*, brides, and Servius was allowed for by the tradition of *fortuna* as Servius' divine consort that had developed earlier.

Ovid claims that the statue of Servius was covered over either by *fortuna* because of her shame at having taken Servius, a mortal man, as her consort; by the people in their grief at Servius' murder; or because a miraculous voice ordered that the face of the king be covered so that it not be exposed to the sight of his murderous daughter, with the goddess' own voice declaring from her temple that if the coverings were to be removed *haec positi prima pudoris erit*.¹¹³ The first explanation is of particular interest as it serves to explain the close bond that existed between *fortuna* and Servius: accounting for the confusion over the statue's identity, and allowing for the concern of *fortuna* for Servius suggested in the other explanations. This explanation presents a role for *fortuna* that involves her not only in the creation of divine kingship, but also in the sexual life of Roman women. Ovid explains:

*dum dea furtiuos timide profitetur amores,
caelestemque homini concubuisse pudet
(arsit enim magno correpta cupidine regis,
caecaque in hoc uno non fuit illa uiro),
nocte domum parua solita est intrare fenestra,
unde Fenestellae nomina porta tenet.
nunc pudet, et uoltus uelamine celat amatos,*

¹¹² Plin. *NH* 8.197.

¹¹³ Ov. *Fast.* 573-620.

*oraeque sunt multa regia tecta toga.*¹¹⁴

fortuna, as the consort of the king, veils herself in the manner befitting a bride or modest *matrona*.¹¹⁵ In this role, mirrored by that of her worshippers, she at once defines the king's status as one chosen by *fortuna* and also defines the social and sexual roles of her worshippers.

Plutarch also notes that Servius was reputed to have taken *fortuna* as his consort. He describes Servius' cultivation of the various cults of *fortuna* in the following terms:

αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀνῆπτε καὶ ἀνεδεῖτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐκείνης· ὥστε καὶ συνεῖναι δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν τύχην διὰ τινος θυρίδος καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὃ νῦν Φενέστελλαν πύλην καλοῦσιν.¹¹⁶

This link is confirmed by the manner in which other writers describe Servius and his reign as in some way favoured by *fortuna*, with Servius described by Plutarch as εὐτυχέστατος.¹¹⁷ In many of these cases *fortuna* is seen not only as raising Servius from his servile status (her role in effecting changes of social status is already familiar to us from other sources), but acts as a guarantor for the sovereignty of his entire kingship.¹¹⁸ For example, according to Valerius Maximus *fortuna* not only displayed her power by giving Rome a servile king, Servius Tullius, but gave him a long reign and ensured that he lived long enough to perform certain rights associated with kingship, the administration of *lustra* and the holding of triumphs.¹¹⁹ The elevation of Servius by *fortuna* speaks to her control over material circumstance and also to her role as a giver of luck.

¹¹⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 573-580.

¹¹⁵ For veiling as signal of nuptial and/or matronal status see Hilton and Matthews 2008.

¹¹⁶ Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 10; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 36. Ov. *Fast.* 573-580. For a clear discussion of the archaeology and context of these passages see Wiseman 1998: 25-34

¹¹⁷ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 36; cf. Liv. 1.39.4; 46.5; Val. Max. 3.4.3; Dion. Hal. 4.27.7.

¹¹⁸ *fortuna* as protector of royal sovereignty: Champeaux 1982: 327.

¹¹⁹ Val. Max. 3.4.3.

Moreover, the emphasis in our imperial sources on Servius as a favourite of *fortuna* also mirrors the way in which republican generals such as Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, and finally Augustus were portrayed as favourites of *fortuna*, with the relationship between Servius and *fortuna* serving as mythical archetype. The favour that our imperial sources describe as given to Servius by *fortuna* should be read in light of the developing relationship between the emperor and *fortuna*. As we shall see, just as the emperor's relationship to *fortuna* (exemplified in the cults of *fortuna redux* and *fortuna Aug.* discussed below) meant that he was able to distribute the benefits of Empire and of his rule to Rome, so too, according to Livy, was it by the favour of *fortuna* that *diuturnius Serui regnum esset constituique ciuitatis mores possent*.¹²⁰ It is by virtue of Servius' relationship with *fortuna* that the Romans enjoyed these benefits. This regal cult of *fortuna* is understood in light of the imperial cults of *fortuna* and Servius' divine kingship is fashioned in the image of Augustus' divinely sanctioned rule.¹²¹

The *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium is a king-maker and the guarantor of royal sovereignty. Her cult, when understood as paired with that of Mater Matuta, is also involved in safeguarding the transition from non-productive childhood to wifehood and motherhood, and the changes in social status involved with these roles. Thus, this *fortuna* also ensures the continuation of the Roman city, a role figured in myth by her sexual association with the king. The bond that existed between Servius and *fortuna* in turn recalls the relationship of the emperor with *fortuna*. By extending her protection over the king/emperor, she gives her favour to the entire populace, of whom he is the representative. Although the archaeological evidence for this cult extends back to the beginning of the fourth century, the literary commentaries on its religious associations begin in the Augustan period. We

¹²⁰ Liv. 1.46.5. See Chapter 2 pp. 126.

¹²¹ For Livy's use of Servius as archetype for Augustus see Petersen 1961. Littlewood's (2002) examination of Ovid's account of the feast days of *fortuna* and Mater Matuta (*Fast.* 6.473-648) deals at length with the way that the poet used Servius as an Augustan prototype.

should therefore understand that these meanings, like those of the cult of the *fortunae* of Antium, were changed by their contact with imperial power. The interpretation of this *fortuna* as associated with Servius was useful to the developing ideology of the relationship between *fortuna* and the emperor, with Servius used as a prototype for the emperor, a mythical good king who was favoured by *fortuna*.

fortuna uirililis

The emphasis placed on female concerns in the cult of *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium appears to have been balanced by *fortuna uirililis*.¹²² We know very little about this cult, which is only attested in the *Fasti Praenestini* (c. AD 8) and a few literary sources, all of which are Augustan or later.¹²³ *fortuna uirililis* shared a feast day with Venus Verticordia (1 April), and Ovid associates the worship of the two goddesses.¹²⁴ By the Augustan period at the latest, these two cults were read as a sort of dualistic pair, much like that of Mater Matuta and the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium.¹²⁵ Interestingly, Verrius Flaccus' Praenestine calendar does not mention the cult of Venus on this day:

FREQVENTER MVLIERES SVPPPLICANT FORTVNAE VIRILI HVMILORES
ETIAM IN BALNEIS QVOD IN IIS EA PARTE CORPORIS VTIQVE VIRI
NVDANTVR, QVA FEMINARVM GRATIA DESIDERATVR.¹²⁶

However, the omission of Venus may perhaps be attributed to the fact that Flaccus, a native of Praeneste, on a calendar set up in his hometown, would want to emphasise the

¹²² Plutarch lists this cult as founded by Servius. However, the bathing ritual of this cult seems a more recent invention, since public baths only appeared in Rome in the second century BC.

¹²³ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.126, *Ov. Fast.* 4.145 ff.; *Plut. de Fort Rom.* 10; *Quaest. Rom.* 74. Champeaux (1982: 375-378) reads this cult as being primarily concerned with men, the counterpart of the gynocentric *fortuna muliebris*, and paired with *fortuna barbata*, much as the former corresponded with *fortuna uirgo*.

¹²⁴ *Ov. Fast.* 4.145 ff.

¹²⁵ For evidence of this in later periods see for example *Macrob. Sat.* 1.12.15; *Lydus Mens.* 4.65.

¹²⁶ Degraffi (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.126), Floratos (1960) and Boëls-Janssen (1993: 324) have shown that Mommsen's conjecture as to the missing text of the *Fasti Praenestini* (...SVPPPLICANT [HONESTIORES VENERI VERTICORDIAE] FORTVNAE...) is not convincing.

role of *fortuna*, who had strong connections to Praeneste and was particularly important for the civic identity of the Praenestine elite, at the expense of Venus.¹²⁷

According to sources from the Augustan era and later, the cult of Venus Verticordia was founded in 114 BC as a corrective to the unchaste behaviour of the women of Rome while the men were away at war, and this cult continued to be associated with the promotion of female chastity.¹²⁸ The cult of *fortuna*, on the other hand, appears to have promoted female sexuality. In opening his account of the Veneralia, the shared festival day of the two goddesses, Ovid distinguishes between those *matres ... nurusque* who wear the dress of respectable women and those women *quis uittae longaue uestis abest*.¹²⁹ In doing so he sets up a dichotomy between the two groups which is confirmed by other accounts: so while Venus' celebrations involved the cultivation of *mores et bona fama* as well as *pudicitia*, manifested in the ritual washing of the statue of Venus Verticordia by the *matres ... nurusque*, those of *fortuna uirilil* take place in the men's baths or when men were present at the communal baths.¹³⁰ Here women designated as *humiliores* strip naked so that *uitium nudi corporis omne uidet*, and because *IN IIS EA PARTE CORPORIS VTIQVE VIRI NVDANTVR, QVA FEMINARVM GRATIA DESIDERATVR*.¹³¹

While both rituals involved bathing, but those of *fortuna uirilil* hardly seem to promote the aims of Venus's cult, which are given by Valerius Maximus as *mulieremque mens a libidine ad pudicitiam conuerteretur*.¹³² The rites of Venus purify the respectable women,

¹²⁷ Boëls-Janssen 1993: 325.

¹²⁸ When in 114 BC three Vestals were tried for breaking their vows of chastity, the senate decreed the temple to Venus Verticordia (Ov. *Fast.* 4.157- 160; Val. Max. 8.15.12; Plin. *HN* 7.120; Orosius 5.15.21-22; Obsequens 37).

¹²⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 4.133-134.

¹³⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 4.156-157. Much later John the Lydian also says that worshippers of this cult cultivated *ὁμονομίας καὶ βίου σώφρονος* (*Mens.* 4.65). For whether this ritual took place in the men's baths or in the communal baths in the presence of men see Fantham 1998:120, drawing on Ward 1992.

¹³¹ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.126; Ov. *Fast.* 4.145-150. For Ovid's use of Verrius Flaccus' *Fasti* see Herbert-Brown 1994: 26; Feeney 2007: 184-189.

¹³² Val. Max. 8.15.12.

while those of *fortuna*, involving men, either by their presence, or by virtue of the location, are sexually directed.¹³³ Ovid interprets the bathing ritual undertaken by the worshippers of this *fortuna* as one that helps to beautify them. As a reward for performing this ritual *fortuna* hides the blemishes on the bodies of her worshippers from the eyes of men, and, as is suggested by the description which immediately follows of Venus' nuptial rites, helps to make them attractive to prospective husbands. However, Ovid's description of women that partake in this ritual as neither young brides nor mothers excludes them from the ranks of respectable women, as does the description of them as not wearing the traditional dress of chaste women. The suggestion seems to be that, in Ovid's time, the women performing this ritual were prostitutes, a group which, as Fantham points out, 'were never far from Ovid's thoughts'.¹³⁴ As such, this ritual may be read as having two aligned functions: the first ensures the future fertility of the worshippers by helping them to attract the attentions of prospective suitors or clients, the second offers them luck in the business of prostitution, again by helping them to attract the attention of men.

The little evidence that we have for this cult suggests that, rather than being concerned only with masculine '*classes d'âge*', as Champeaux has suggested,¹³⁵ *fortuna uirilis* had meanings that involved the role of men in the lives of women, and that her worship was, like that of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium, restricted in terms of social and sexual status. Ovid's interest in the social and sexual status of the worshippers of *fortuna uirilis* and Venus Verticordia can be read as a reaction to the contemporary Augustan concern with the marriage, chastity, and child-bearing of Rome's elite women. His understanding of the role played by *fortuna uirilis* in the lives of *humiliores* is constructed against the

¹³³ For the use of water in such rites see Edlund-Berry 2006: 170-173. For more on this see Champeaux 1982: 386-390; for a more simplistic reading see Lauria 1980: 225.

¹³⁴ Fantham 1998: 120. For the *fortuna uirilis* as a goddess of whores see McGinn 1998: 25; Kraemer 1992: 57-58; Pomeroy 1975: 208-209.

¹³⁵ Champeaux 1982: 375.

background of the Augustan concern with the sexual behaviour and responsibilities of elite women. The Julian laws on marriage, adultery, and child-bearing all distinguished women and their legal obligations in terms of the social/sexual groups to which they belonged. Thus, while Venus Verticordia protected the social role of respectable married women in harmony with the contemporary efforts of the Augustan state, *fortuna uirilis* is shown by Ovid as promoting the interests of a more humble class of women. Ovid's descriptions of the cults of Venus Verticordia and *fortuna uirilis* conflate the worship of these two cults, making the distinction between sexually available *humiliores* and 'chaste' *matronae* problematic.¹³⁶ His description of this cult of *fortuna* is thus formulated in response to the officially sanctioned idea of the proper exercise of female sexuality. Participation in the rituals of this cult helped to define these women as belonging to a legitimate social group. With *fortuna uirilis* acting as a group *fortuna* that defined their social role and circumstances, this goddess further protects the interests of her worshippers by offering them luck and the hope of a change in their circumstances, either by helping them to win husbands, or by helping them to increase their livelihoods. These aspects of the goddess' power are tied to the control exerted by *fortuna* over physical circumstance, made explicit in this case by her concern for the physical bodies of her worshippers.

fors fortuna

Another reputedly early cult, that of *fors fortuna*, also displays many of these traits. According to numerous imperial sources the original foundation of the cult was attributed to either Servius Tullius or to Ancus Marcius, and Servius was said to have built two temples to her.¹³⁷ Although no remains of temples to this goddess have been found,

¹³⁶ Kraemer 1992: 60-61.

¹³⁷ Liv. 10.46.14; Ov. *Fast.* 6.781-784; Varro *Ling.* 6.3.17; Dion. Hal. 4.27.7; Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 5. As with many of these cults, the identity of the founder is unverifiable. Arya (2001: 155 n. 479) suggests that 'the

originally there appear to have been two sites of temples to *fors fortuna*, at the first and sixth miles of the Via Campana, both dedicated on 24 June.¹³⁸ Livy tells us that in 293 BC Sp. Carvilius Maximus built a temple to *fors fortuna* which was *prope aedem eius deae ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam*.¹³⁹ Based on the evidence of a late republican dedication to *fors fortuna*, found between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Via Campana, that mentions two men who bear the *nomen* Carvilius, it seems that Carvilius' temple was near to the earlier one at the sixth milestone.¹⁴⁰ Tacitus tells us that in AD 17 Tiberius dedicated a temple to *fors fortuna* in the *horti Caesaris*.¹⁴¹ There has been much debate as to the number and positioning of the temples to *fors fortuna*. The exact particulars do not concern us here, as it is clear that we can identify at least three separate occasions of temples to *fors fortuna* being dedicated: i) the initial dedication of two temples, one at the first mile and one at the sixth mile of the Via Campana, ii) the dedication of Carvilius in 293 BC, probably near to the initial temple at the sixth mile, and iii) one by Tiberius in AD 17, in the *horti Caesaris*, part of which gardens might have extended to the first mile of the Via Campana.¹⁴²

These cults seem to have been closely associated with the countryside. Columella, writing in the first century AD but drawing on earlier sources, associates her worship with farmers who celebrate the bounty of their harvest and the money made from it, and her feast day is mentioned in the *Menologica Rustica* which deals exclusively with agricultural matters.¹⁴³

This, added to the fact that temples of *fors fortuna* were outside the city walls, suggests

true importance ... is that the Romans themselves believed that [they] had been founded by Servius'. However, suggestions of antiquity are one of the ways that cults are given greater religious authority, a fact which may help to explain the numerous cults said to have been founded by Servius.

¹³⁸ These are recorded by the Fasti Esquilini (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.88), the Fasti Magistrorum (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.92), and the Fasti Amiternini (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.187).

¹³⁹ Liv. 10.46.14, on which see Oakley (2005 B: 453).

¹⁴⁰ *CIL* 6.36771. Ziolkowski 1992: 38-39.

¹⁴¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.

¹⁴² Savage 1940: 30 ff.; Champeaux 1980: 202; Palmer 1981; *LTUR Suburbium* II: 270-272; contra Richardson 1992: 154-155, who sees the temples at the first mile as belonging to Carvilius.

¹⁴³ Colum. *Re Rust.* 10.317; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.288.

that, at an early stage, she was a goddess concerned with agrarian matters, probably fertility.¹⁴⁴ The epithet *fors*, and the resulting reduplication of the etymological connections to *ferre*, reinforces this idea.¹⁴⁵ *fors fortuna* is thus understood as a goddess that ensures agricultural fertility. In this role she was relied on to overcome the uncertainty surrounding the success of a harvest, as well as the profits that came from the sale of the harvested crops. Thus she was associated with chance and luck in the face of uncertainty, a characteristic emphasised in the epithet *fors*. These religious meanings all revolve around the idea of *fortuna* both as a goddess who oversees the distribution of material things and as the force that determines the course of the future, allowing for the future realization of potential.

fors fortuna is therefore of special importance to those who work the fields. However she is also associated with plebeians and slaves. This association is evident in the imperial period when Ovid notes that she was worshipped by plebs and slaves, and it seems to have endured until the fourth century when Donatus, commenting on Terence's *Phormio*, writes: *nam fors fortuna est, cuius diem festum colunt, qui sine arte aliqua uiuunt*.¹⁴⁶ Epigraphic evidence confirms her connections with unskilled workers from the late Republic: the dedicatory inscription to *fors fortuna* (discussed above) found between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Via Campana, was set-up by members of the *collegia aerariorum*, many of whom have been identified as freedmen and slaves.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, deposits of votive figures wearing the *pileus*, found near the Porta Portuensis in the vicinity of the temple at the first mile of the Via Campana, have been interpreted as

¹⁴⁴ Pace Billington 1996.

¹⁴⁵ See Lazarus 1985 on the etymology of *fors fortuna*, indicating a 'Goddess who brings'.

¹⁴⁶ Ov. *Fast.* 6.782-4. Donatus on Ter. *Phorm.* 841.

¹⁴⁷ *CIL* 6.167-169. See Bömer: 1981: 148-150.

dedications to *fors fortuna*.¹⁴⁸ These dedications, dated to after the sixth century BC, perhaps confirming an early foundation for the original temple at this site, were presumably given by freedmen in celebration of their manumission, an event for which *fors fortuna* was given the credit. This aspect of her cult likewise spoke to ideas of luck and chance, a characteristic which would have been especially relevant to slaves and other members of those social groups for whom uncertainty was a pronounced feature of their existence. With the circumstances of their lives and social status at the whim of their owners and those further up the social hierarchy, the cultivation of a goddess who offered not only the potential for a change of circumstance, but who was also thought to have control over the vicissitudes of chance, was especially necessary. Moreover, the fact that the worship of *fors fortuna* seems to have been especially relevant to these groups suggests that this goddess, as was the case with many other cults of *fortuna*, came to be understood as protecting and promoting the interests of a particular group. Ovid's account of this cult suggests that, at least by the beginning of the imperial period, *fors fortuna* was understood to be attached to these specific social groups. He relates the favour shown by the plebs and slaves to *fors fortuna* to the idea that this cult was founded by Servius: the plebs worship her *quia qui posuit de plebe fuisse / fertur, et ex humili sceptrum tulisse loco*, and the cult is favoured by slaves because Servius' mother was a slave.¹⁴⁹ For both of these groups, *fors fortuna* offered hope of social elevation, like that experienced by Servius. For the plebs especially, Servius served as a uniting figure for their political and social interests.¹⁵⁰

The foundation of the temple at the sixth mile by Sp. Carvilius Maximus in 293 BC confirms this connection between *fors fortuna* and the lower social orders. The Carvili were a plebeian *gens*, and Maximus was the first member of this family to hold the

¹⁴⁸ Hülsen 1889: 290; Champeaux 1980: 235; Bömer 1981: 149 *contra* Helbig 1888: 229-232, who thought the figures were dedicated to Dea Dia.

¹⁴⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 6.781-4.

¹⁵⁰ Richard 1987.

consulship.¹⁵¹ His dedication of a temple to *fors fortuna* in commemoration of his victory over the Samnites and Etruscans was therefore an expression of the traditional association between this goddess and the plebs, as well as a celebration of the victory won by Carvilius with the help of the tutelary goddess of his social group.¹⁵² This foundation to *fortuna* is the first which expressly associates *fortuna* with ideas of military victory. It forms the basis of a tradition that associates *fors fortuna* and victory, still visible centuries later in Tiberius' dedication, which commemorated the victory of Germanicus over the Germans and the return of the standards lost with Varus.¹⁵³ Fears suggests that it was around the time of the Samnite wars that Hellenistic ideas of victory entered into Roman religious parlance.¹⁵⁴ However, as suggested above, it is not necessary to see in Carvilius' dedication a genealogical link with Greek ideas of τύχη.¹⁵⁵ Only two years before Carvilius' foundation, Jupiter first gained the title 'Victor' with Fabius Maximus' dedication following the victory at Sentinum, and in 294 the first temple in Rome to *uictoria* was dedicated.¹⁵⁶ Carvilius' foundation is therefore located at the precise historical juncture at which we begin to see the religious basis for victory beginning to be advertised in Roman cults. That the Romans begin to develop a religious idea of victory at this point is unsurprising, and not necessarily a sign that they had adopted a Hellenistic 'theology of victory'. Rather, that they begin to erect temples to gods that helped to ensure their military prowess and in celebration of victories that they had won is a symptom of the fact that the Romans had recently become a (successful) expansionist military power. These ideas gain increasingly popularity after this point, as in the next fifty years Rome went from being a local power to one that was able to successfully take on the might of

¹⁵¹ Elvers 2003.

¹⁵² Liv. 10.46.14.

¹⁵³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.41. For the significance of this temple's location see pp. 77 below.

¹⁵⁴ Fears 1981 A.

¹⁵⁵ See Introduction: pp. 11.

¹⁵⁶ Liv. 10.29.14; 10.33.9.

Carthage and win.¹⁵⁷ There is no particular need to posit a Greek precedent to explain why Roman religion in this period began to reflect the seismic shifts in Roman society, and that *fortuna* and *virtus* should figure strongly is somewhat expected.

As a plebeian, Carvilius' choice of *fors fortuna* becomes even more resonant. By choosing to honour the goddess whose worship helped to define the plebs as a social group, Carvilius was able to connect himself to this goddess and the victory that she gave on both a personal and political level. Carvilius' dedication can therefore be seen to advertise a divine sanction for his military power, and, by extension, his political power. The concept of *fortuna* as a grantor of military victory thus allowed *fortuna* to become tied to a specific victorious general, and shows the development of the idea of *fortuna* as favouring certain individuals over others. This aspect of her religious character developed in the later Republic and Empire into the worship of personal *fortunae*. Tiberius' foundation in AD 17 connects these elements of the cult's meaning. This temple, built in the *horti Caesaris*, not only celebrated the German victory, but also celebrated his connection to Caesar and the *fortuna Caesaris*. These gardens were used by Caesar as the setting for public banquets held after his Spanish triumph, various public donatives, and finally formed part of his gift to the people in his will. As discussed below, Caesar used these gardens as a way of connecting his *fortuna* to the idea of the plebeian *fors fortuna*.¹⁵⁸ By setting his temple here, Tiberius called upon the memory of Caesar's popular and victorious *fortuna*, linking himself to it as a way of demonstrating his own dynastic right to the imperial *fortuna* which, like the *fortuna Caesaris*, allowed for imperial victories and largesse. By celebrating Germanicus' victory in this way and in a location that spoke to the idea of popularity with the plebs, Tiberius was able to claim the victory as his own. As the

¹⁵⁷ This development is succinctly explained by Price and Thonemann (2010: 193-199).

¹⁵⁸ See pp. 77 below.

guarantor of victory in the Republic and Empire, *fortuna* was crucial to the emperor's role in bringing about military success, a role which was itself central to the importance of the emperor in the Roman Empire. The *fortuna* that had allowed for the victory over the Germans was by this point the monopoly of the emperor and had to be shown to be working for and through him rather than Tiberius' popular rival Germanicus. By placing this temple to *fors fortuna* in the *horti Caesaris*, Tiberius intended to subvert Germanicus' victory, *fortuna*, and his popularity with the plebs for himself.

An understanding of *fortuna* as guarantor of individual, civic, and agricultural success and luck, fertility, fate, and sovereignty allowed victory to become another of the ways in which she assured these things. It was a small step for a deity who ensured such success to become a goddess of more general luck. This view of *fors fortuna* as a bringer of luck and success is reflected in the earliest literary mentions of the goddess with this epithet. There are six mentions of *fors fortuna* in the comedies of Terence and Plautus, of which five have positive connotations and one is neutral.¹⁵⁹ In most of these cases *fors fortuna* indicates an unexpected stroke of benign luck that intervenes at a critical point in the narrative. The idea of good luck that arrives unexpectedly and without discernable human cause is easily relatable to ideas of chance, which, as we will show in the following chapter, the term *fors fortuna* often signifies in literature.¹⁶⁰ Meanings of luck were renegotiated in terms of a military context from 293 BC onwards. In this role, the cult of *fors fortuna*, which was the group *fortuna* of plebs, freedmen, and slaves, took on a greater political importance since it was connected to the political personality of the plebeian consul Carvilius and was associated with Caesar's benefactions to the plebs.

¹⁵⁹ Positive: Plaut. *Bac.* 916; Ter. *Hec.* 386; *Phorm.* 841; *Eun.* 134; 567. Neutral: Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 287. See Lauria 1980: 130.

¹⁶⁰ For this aspect see (e.g.) Cic. *De Diu.* 2.18.

fortuna muliebris

The cult of *fortuna muliebris* likewise tied together ideas of fertility and military prowess, albeit in a different way from that of *fors fortuna*. The foundation legend of this cult involved the successful intervention of the delegation of women who convinced Coriolanus to spare Rome. As such, scholars often date its foundation to the fifth century BC, or claim that it in fact predated the period, with the story of Coriolanus being connected with it later because it lay along his route.¹⁶¹ However, we have no evidence for this cult from before the Augustan period, and many of the sources that treat it seem to have drawn on the work of the first century BC historian Valerius Antias.¹⁶² Therefore, even if the cult's association with Coriolanus was a later amendment, an antiquarian attempt at a learned aetiology, we cannot know at which period this association was made, or even if the decision to associate the cult with the Coriolanus story was a way of justifying a change in the meaning of this cult.¹⁶³ The most that we can do is show how our imperial sources interpreted this cult in the light of its mythical past.

The basic outline of the story runs thus: when hearing of Coriolanus' approach to Rome from Antium, the women of the city climbed to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter to supplicate on the city's behalf. Valeria, inspired by heaven, assembled the women and together they pleaded their case to the wife (named Volumnia in the majority of the sources, or Vergilia in Plutarch) and mother (likewise either Veturia or Volumnia) of Coriolanus. The women then marched along Via Latina to Coriolanus' camp. Coriolanus, shamed by his mother's reprimands, abandoned the war on Rome and retreated with his

¹⁶¹ Clarke 2007: 42 n. 40; Cornell 2003: 76; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 382-386; Champeaux 1982: 372; Ogilvie 1965: 336. It should be noted, however, that since Coriolanus is an almost entirely legendary figure, we can only discuss how the sources of this cult understood it through the legend of Coriolanus, rather than to imagine that there was a relationship between it and any 'historical' Coriolanus.

¹⁶² Liv. 2.40.12; Dion. Hal. 8.55.2-5.; Val. Max. 1.8.4; 5.2.1a; Plut. *Cor.* 33-38; *Fort. Rom.* 5; Fest. 1.18; Tert. *De Mon.* 17.4. On Valerius Antias see Kierdorf 2010.

¹⁶³ For attempts to do so see Boëls-Janssen 1993: 373-388; Champeaux 1982: 335-374.

army to Antium. The senate, to commend the women's public spirit, erected the temple and its cult statue at their request, marking the point where Coriolanus turned back. The women also contributed money themselves and set up a second image of the goddess.

A number of elements in this story bear comparison with the cult at Antium. Most notable are the references to that city in terms of Coriolanus' movements, and the dualistic pairings: Valeria, whose name implies courage and fortitude, and who emerges as an almost military figure in the story; and the figures of Coriolanus' wife and mother whose names suggest either 'old woman' (Veturia), 'young virgin' (Vergilia), or associate them with the goddess Volumna (Volumnia), a kourotrophic goddess of child-rearing.¹⁶⁴ Gag  has argued that the names of the important female characters contrasted vigorous virginity and motherhood, and that this duality was a feature of the cult whose meaning was concerned with the sexual roles of different female age groups.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, confusion over the names of the mother and wife, and the close linking of the two figures in Plutarch's account,¹⁶⁶ means that they form a maternal/matronal group that stands against the figure of Valeria, much as the two *fortunae* of Antium were contrasted with each other. The dedication of two cult statues to *fortuna muliebris*, one given by the grateful senate, and the other by the matrons, fits with this cult having been influenced by that of Antium at some point in its development.¹⁶⁷ However, this association might equally serve as evidence for the influence of Valerius Antias. As a member of the Valerii Antiates, an Antian branch of the Valerian *gens*, Antias would likely have associated *fortuna muliebris*

¹⁶⁴ For discussions of the implications of these names see Clark 2007: 42-43; Bo ls-Janssen 1993:373-382; Mustakallio 1990: 127; Champeaux 1982: 351; Lauria 1980: 211-212.

¹⁶⁵ Gag  1963: 109.

¹⁶⁶ In Plutarch, Coriolanus marries according to his mother's wishes, continues living in her house, and his wife and children remain there. Furthermore, when the delegation of women arrived, his mother is found with her grandchildren in her lap and Coriolanus' wife sitting beside her: Lauria 1980: 212.

¹⁶⁷ Champeaux 1982: 341-346. The theme of duality is continued in the number of feast days celebrated in honour of this *fortuna* (6th July and 1st December), the two dedicatory rites, and the two divine utterances said to have been uttered by the statue the *matronae* dedicated (Val. Max. 1.8.4; Dion. Hal. 8.56.2-3).

with his local cult of *fortuna*, and may also have been responsible for introducing the name Valeria into the legend.¹⁶⁸

Yet, unlike the Antian *fortuna*, *fortuna muliebris* was still thought of as a single deity, albeit with both poliadic and generative powers. She, like many other *fortuna*, guarded the social and religious organization of Rome. The location of the shrine of the Via Latina meant that it held a position of guardianship over the suburban pomerium, and it protected Rome from invaders just as it had done in the legend of Coriolanus. The function of this position may have contributed to its association with the appropriate legend of Coriolanus. The nature of the threat posed by Coriolanus is interesting in this case, because, although he marches on Rome from outside, thus appearing as an external enemy, he is of course Roman, and thus poses an internal threat, not only by virtue of the sacrilege he commits in attacking the city, but also by his prior ill-treatment of the plebs. The figure of Coriolanus therefore not only poses a military threat, but also a threat to the internal, social and political stability of Rome. According to its foundation legend, this particular cult therefore serves to redress Coriolanus' sacrilegious actions, and reasserts the social order, a function evident in the descriptions given by Dionysius and Valerius Maximus of prodigies that occurred in this temple. Both authors describe how the statue dedicated by the *matronae* twice spoke out, saying, according to Dionysius, “Ὅσιϕ πόλεως νόμῳ γυναῖκες γαμεταὶ δεδώκατέ με”.¹⁶⁹ The cult of *fortuna muliebris* is thus read by these Augustan sources as providing divine protection for the city and its institutions. This protection is afforded by the meanings for *fortuna* that conceive of her as a poliadic goddess, the giver of military luck, and as the group *fortuna* of the women in the delegation to Coriolanus.

¹⁶⁸ For Antias' introduction of members of the Valerian *gens* into the early history of Rome see Kierdorf 2010. See also the way that Verrius Flaccus privileges *fortuna*, a goddess closely associated with Praeneste, on pp. 43 above.

¹⁶⁹ Dion. Hal. 8.56.2; Val. Max. 1.8.4: *rite me, matronae, dedistis riteque dedicastis*.

As the *fortuna* of this group, *fortuna muliebris* not only defends the socio-political order, but also maintains the socio-sexual order of Rome, tying into the Augustan concern regarding the reproductive and social rights of elite women. Dionysius' concern with this cult is highlighted by his apology following the long digression in which he explained its origin, and suggests that this cult was of some contemporary interest to the Augustan programmes of religious and moral renewal.¹⁷⁰ This interest is indicated by an inscription found near the fourth mile of the Via Latina, near the spot at which the literary sources locate this temple, which reads: LIVIA [D]RVSI F(ILIA) VX{S}OR [CAESARIS AVGVSTI] ... / IMPP(ERATORES) C[AES]S(ARES) SEVERVS ET ANTO[NINVS AVGG(VSTI) ET GETA NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR] / ET [IVLIA] AVG(VSTAE) MATER AVG[G(VSTORUM)] ... RESTITVERVNT].¹⁷¹ The inscription records a restoration by Livia and one by Severus, his sons, and Julia Domna. The Severan inscription seems to have been placed below the original Augustan inscription.¹⁷² This suggests that the Augustan interest in this cult extended to organising its restoration, an act for which Livia, the first matron of Rome, was appropriately credited. In the same way, when the temple was restored again under the Severans, Julia Domna was associated with this. Moreover the foundation myth of this cult and its rituals shows that the political/poliadic and sexual aspects of this cult's role were linked: Dionysius records the taboos attached to its worship, telling how no women who had been married twice should crown this statue or touch it, and that the honouring and worshipping of it should be done ταῖς νεογάμοις.¹⁷³ Livia, the second founder of this cult, was not, as the tradition seemed to require, an *uniuira*. However, she was often figured as such in the contemporary sources

¹⁷⁰ Dion. Hal. 8.56.4. Flory 1984: 318.

¹⁷¹ *CIL* 6.883; Val. Max. 1.8.4.

¹⁷² Gorrie 2004: 69.

¹⁷³ Dion. Hal. 8.56.4. It is doubtful that widows were entirely excluded from worship as Cornell (2003: 76) suggests, but rather that it was restricted to *uniuirae* whether their husbands were alive or dead. For similar restrictions regarding the cults of *pudicitia* see Clark 2007: 43; Champeaux 1982: 355-358.

and seems to have been responsible for the restoration of other cults that stressed the role of *uniuirae* and female sexual purity.¹⁷⁴ Both the Augustan concern with female chastity and the prohibitions associated with the cult of *fortuna muliebris* linked the religious and sexual lives of women to the security of the state and with military victory. While other shrines to *fortuna* are explicitly associated with more military victories, certain passages in our sources suggest that the shrine of *fortuna muliebris* can be read as a type of *tropaeum*, marking the place where the enemy turned to flee. Plutarch has Coriolanus say: οἶον εἴργασαι μ' ὃ μῆτερ ... νενίκηκας ... εὐτυχῆ μὲν τῆ πατρίδι νίκην, ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλέθριον ἄπειμι γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνης ἠττημένος.¹⁷⁵ Clearly, the action on the part of the women was viewed as a legitimate military victory, and Coriolanus suffered the appropriately serious consequences as a result of his 'defeat'.

The general religious meanings of this cult can therefore be said to include the role of *fortuna* as a guarantor of victory, a meaning associated with her function as a poliadic deity, guarding the boundaries of the city from both external attacks and internal threats to its stability. As the epithet *muliebris* hints, this cult also involved the protection of the social and sexual status of the Roman matrons, itself seen as instrumental in the defence and continuation of the city. The intersection of these two realms of influence, the socio-sexual status of women and the political/military welfare of Rome, suggests the influence of contemporary Augustan thinking that linked sexual morality with the welfare of the state.¹⁷⁶ Female sexual chastity, when functioning properly, protected the state from the threats of civil war and internal aggression such as was displayed by Coriolanus and seen

¹⁷⁴ See Purcell 1986. For literary references to Livia's sexual purity see Flory 1984: 321. On Livia and cults of *pudicitia* see Palmer 1974.

¹⁷⁵ Plut. *Cor.* 36.4.

¹⁷⁶ For Livy's interpretation of female sexuality in the context of the Augustan emphasis on female sexual continence see Joshel 1992. We can think in this case also of myths surrounding the Sabine women's intervention in the battle between their Roman husbands and Sabine fathers and brothers. This myth bears striking resemblances to that of Coriolanus and suggests a structured duality between women and their socio-sexual roles and the masculine arena of warfare.

in the civil wars of the first century BC. For *fortuna* to perform both of these roles also required an understanding of *fortuna* as luck and as a granter of sovereignty. The social sovereignty of the women is ensured by how the cult defined their social identity: emphasising the importance of their sexual and religious lives to the preservation of the state. For them to achieve this they required the support of their group *fortuna*, given to them as the luck needed for victory.

***fortunae tres aedes: primigenia, publica citerior in colle, publica
populi Romani Quiritium***

Building on meanings such as those seen in Carvilius' foundation to *fors fortuna*, new ideas of *fortuna* developed during the Punic wars. These new *fortunae* were exemplified by P. Sempronius Tuditanus' vow to *fortuna primigenia* before the battle at Croton in 204, and the dedication of a temple to this goddess on the Quirinal in 194 by Q. Marcius Ralla.¹⁷⁷ This temple to *fortuna primigenia* is one of three dedicated to *fortuna* on the Quirinal which Vitruvius lists.¹⁷⁸ These temples may be identified as: Tuditanus' temple of *fortuna primigenia*, defined as *in colle*, and dedicated on 13 November;¹⁷⁹ the temple of *fortuna publica citerior in colle*, dedicated on 5 April;¹⁸⁰ and the temple of *fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium*, dedicated on 25 May.¹⁸¹

A great deal of confusion exists in connection with these temples. Based on an error in the Fasti Venusini which lists the 25 May as the *dies natalis* of the temple FORTVN(AE) PRIM(IGENIAE) IN COL(LE), Mommsen identified the temple of *fortuna primigenia*

¹⁷⁷ Liv. 29.36.8; 34.53.5-6.

¹⁷⁸ Vitr. 3.2.2.

¹⁷⁹ Liv. 34.53.5; *Fasti Fratrum Arualium* and *Antiates*.

¹⁸⁰ *Fasti Antiates* and *Praenestini*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.375.

¹⁸¹ Ov. *Fast.* 5.729; *Fasti Antiates, Caeretani, Esquilini, Magistrorum Vici*. For the different interpretations of these foundations see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.461; 437; 530; Champeaux 1987: 4-35; Richardson 1992: 158; *LTUR* II: 285-287 'Fortunae Tres, Aedes'. I follow Carter 1900 and Ziolkowski 1992: 40-45, whose arguments follow the sources most closely, and are by far the most coherent.

with the *aedes fortunae publicae populi Romani Quiritium*, also located *in colle*. This error has led some scholars to add on *primigenia* to the title *publicae populi Romani Quiritium*, and to create a fictitious *fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium primigenia*.¹⁸² However, this hybrid *fortuna* is unknown to our ancient sources and seems to be a fantasy of modern scholarship. Instead, therefore, we should recognise that there were two temples to two forms of *fortuna publica*, and one to *fortuna primigenia*. This way of arranging the cults allows us to do away with Champeaux's suggestion that the Praenestine *fortuna* somehow became the *fortuna* of the Roman people.¹⁸³ It likewise becomes unnecessary to see Tuditanus' vow as the earliest example of this *fortuna populi Romani*. Instead, it seems likely that the temple of *fortuna primigenia* was simply one in what was to become a complex of three temples to various *fortunae*.¹⁸⁴

The foundation of the temple of *fortuna primigenia* in Rome should therefore not be taken to mean that this foreign, Praenestine goddess became, as Champeaux would have us think, the great protecting mother of the *populus romanus* but simply as another manifestation of her deepening association with the idea of victory, already evident from Carvilius' foundation to *fors fortuna*.¹⁸⁵ At a time of great danger to the state, the period of the Punic Wars saw a proliferation of new, foreign gods introduced to Rome, many of which had temples vowed to them before or after decisive battles. Thus Venus Erycina, who had a cult vowed to her by Fabius Maximus after the defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217, was, like *fortuna primigenia*, a poliadic goddess of fertility, who was imported to Rome as a goddess of victory.¹⁸⁶ Tuditanus' particular choice of the Praenestine goddess may in

¹⁸² E.g. Champeaux 1987: 17.

¹⁸³ Champeaux 1987: 17-35.

¹⁸⁴ Pace Billington 1996: 131. For a possible date see Ziolkowski 1992: 41.

¹⁸⁵ Compare Champeaux 1987: 29.

¹⁸⁶ Holleman 1989; Zucca 1989; Fears 1981 B: 854. While we should not read the introduction to Rome of *fortuna primigenia* as an instance of *euocatio*, it bears many similarities to the example of Juno Regina who

part be explained by the heroic resistance offered by the Praenestini at the siege of Casilinum about ten years before, and the eventual recapture of the town from the Carthaginians the following year. More important, though, was the fact that *fortuna* had already proved helpful in battling Carthaginians.¹⁸⁷ Less than 40 years previously C. Lutatius Cerco had tried to seek the help of the oracle of *fortuna primigenia* in Praeneste in an attempt to secure an end to the first Punic War.¹⁸⁸

fortuna in general, and that of Praeneste in particular, was closely associated with ideas of victory over Carthage. Tuditanus' vow of a temple to the Praenestine *fortuna* is an attempt to win for the Romans the luck that *fortuna primigenia* had bestowed upon the Praenestine forces earlier in the war, and against Carthage previously. The luck that *fortuna primigenia* brought was more than her felicitous control of future circumstances, but also referred to the operations of luck in the past. As such, in the context of war against Carthage, *fortuna primigenia* had accumulated 'Glückskraft' which the Romans were able to use by adopting this goddess as their own.¹⁸⁹ Thus, even though this 'Glückskraft' properly belonged to Praeneste, the Romans were able to appropriate it by annexing their *fortuna*, the source and repository of this luck.

The origins of the other two temples to *fortuna* on the Quirinal are more obscure, with nothing definite being known about the circumstances of the foundation of the temple of *fortuna publica citerior*. More enlightening conjectures have been made regarding the temple of *fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium*. According to Ziolkowski it was founded by the consul of 241, C. Lutatius Cerco (who had asked to be allowed to visit the

was, like *fortuna primigenia*, also the tutelary goddess of her native city, Veii (cf. Orlin 2002: 4). See Develin 1978 for how the experience of the Punic wars influenced Roman religious institutions.

¹⁸⁷ For more on the influence of this τύχη on the Roman religion of *fortuna* see Champeaux 1987: 76-77.

¹⁸⁸ See the discussion of this above (pp. 27). Pind. *Ol.* 12 names τύχη as one of the deities that watches over Himera and keeps it safe, helping the Sicilians defeat the Carthaginians there in 480 BC.

¹⁸⁹ For *fortuna* and 'Glückskraft' see Chapter 2: pp. 126.

oracle at Praeneste), but Coarelli has persuasively argued for a foundation by P. Sempronius Sophus, consul in 268.¹⁹⁰ Both theories, however, offer examples of the growing association of *fortuna* with victory, and in turn with the protection of Rome and its people from a foreign enemy: Cerco's dedication would have been made in the context of the new peace with Carthage that had been negotiated by his brother C. Lutatius Catulus, consul of the previous year; likewise, Sophus had triumphed over the Picentes in the year of his consulship.

fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium becomes known on coins and inscriptions as either *fortuna publica*, or, more commonly, *fortuna populi Romani*, with little difference seeming to exist between the two forms of expression.¹⁹¹ The idea of a *fortuna* of the Roman people bears obvious resemblance to the Greek τύχη πόλεως, the tutelary goddess of a given city, which also acts a personification of that city and its fate.¹⁹² Like the Greek τύχη πόλεως, *fortuna populi Romani* is seen most often on coins. However, unlike τύχη πόλεως, on these coins she seldom, if ever, wears a mural crown. While the τύχαι of foreign cities often wear these symbols of their tutelary relationship to their city,¹⁹³ the fact that *fortuna populi Romani* is not thus depicted suggests that this goddess performed a somewhat different role in the religious life of the city than the Greek τύχαι did. The

¹⁹⁰ For these theories, see Ziolkowski (1992: 42-43) and Coarelli (*LTUR* II: 286 'Fortunae Tres, Aedes'). The later speculation is based on a mistake made by Livy when the historian accidentally credits Sempronius Sophus with Sempronius Tuditanus' vow of the temple of *fortuna primigenia* (Liv. 34.53.5). Coarelli believes this mistake was caused by the fact that Sophus had already dedicated a temple to *fortuna* nearby. This in part explains the confusion of the Fasti Venusini, in that its authors might, like Livy, also have equated the two Sempronian foundations. Ziolkowski's hypothesis of a foundation by Cerco relies on Paris' epitome of Valerius Maximus. This account, he claims, suggests a complementary relationship between the *auspiciis ... alienigenis* of *fortuna primigenia* at Praeneste which Cerco would consult, and the *auspiciis patriis*, which reflect a possible foundation of a cult of *fortuna publica* by Cerco.

¹⁹¹ This legend first appears on coins in 49 BC (*RRC* 440.1), and is popular under the empire, especially on the coinage of Nerva (e.g. *RIC* Nerva 5; 29; 17; 62; 85). For the rarer epigraphic attestations see both the imperial (*RIB* 1684) and republican (*CIL* 9.1543) examples.

¹⁹² For τύχη πόλεως as the personified incarnation of cities see Brouke 1994; Matheson 1994; Stansbury-O'Donnel 1994; *LIMC* s.v. 'Tyche'; Spyridakis 1969, etc.

¹⁹³ This trend is noticeable both in the coinage of the cities of Asia Minor (cf. *SNG* Copenhagen 340; France 1077, etc.), but also in the Roman representations of conquered cities (see for example the τύχαι of the captured cities on Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (Simon 1981: Tafel 4)).

fortuna populi Romani seems less a personification of the physical city with its walls and fortifications, and more like the accumulation of the individual *fortunae* of the Roman people, their history, and, as we shall see in Chapter 2, their ‘Glückskraft’.

In much the same way as the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium was figured by sources of the imperial period as the protector of the city via the protection and advancement of the interests of Servius, the *fortuna populi Romani* protects and advances the interests of the city, but in a more republican fashion. So, while Ovid and Valerius Maximus most often show the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium as Servius’ partner, ensuring the success of his reign, occasionally, in authors like Livy, when the evils of monarchy are about to be expounded, the cult of *fortuna populi Romani* is imagined back into the pre-republican past and this goddess is credited with preserving the length of Servius’ reign and allowing him to establish the *ciuitatis mores*.¹⁹⁴ Thus, by the first century AD at the very latest, the *fortuna populi Romani* is understood as performing similar functions to the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium. However, while the latter is thought to operate in the regal context, the *fortuna populi Romani* is seen as emblematic of the republican system of government, its laws and institutions. Moreover, just as the oldest Roman *fortuna* seems to ensure the continuation of the city by guaranteeing its sovereignty by the continuation of the royal line and the fertility of the Roman people, so too does *fortuna populi Romani* ensure the sovereignty of the Roman state by ensuring its military successes and its constitutional forms.¹⁹⁵ This newer *fortuna* of the Roman people and their state reflects the new prioritization of victory (and the *uirtus* that serves as the basis for this) and the constitutional forms of the *res publica* rather than those of monarchy. It does this, like the

¹⁹⁴ For *fortuna* as a companion to Servius who protects his power see (e.g.) Val. Max. 3.4.3 and Ov. *Fast.* 6.569 ff. *fortuna populi Romani* and Servius: Liv. 1.46.5.

¹⁹⁵ See (e.g.) Liv. 7.34.6; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 45.

other *fortunae* that act as donors of victory, by granting luck to the group that comes under its protection.¹⁹⁶

These three temples to *fortuna* can all be seen to share meanings that involve military victory, also associating this victory and *fortuna* with the person of their founders. The cults of *fortuna publica*, like many other cults of *fortuna*, have a poliadic meaning. Just as the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium protected the city by protecting the sovereignty and person of the king, so the *fortuna publica populi Romani* involves the protection of the city, its people and the constitution of its government. In this role it takes on meanings of fate and luck, or ‘Glückskraft’, being not only the collective fate of the city and the people in it, but also the luck that protects its interests, especially in the military sphere. These cults, which are concerned with *fortunae* that are especially favourable to Rome and its people, helped to create the notion that there was an identifiable *populus Romanus* and that this group had a special relationship with *fortuna*. This was especially important at a time when the Romans had expanded from being a local power in Latium to controlling and incorporating the whole Italian peninsula, and then to large parts of the Mediterranean basin, within a comparatively short space of time. The idea of the Romans as a people with a specific group *fortuna* that gave them special aid in military affairs helped to create a Roman identity that could be privileged over competing local or group identities: the *fortuna populi romani* could incorporate other *fortuna* that were specific to particular groups. By participating in these cults, worshippers could help to maintain this relationship between Rome and the *fortunae* that ensured Rome’s victories.

fortuna equestris

¹⁹⁶ For further discussion of this see Chapter 2, pp. 127.

fortuna equestris, vowed a temple by Fulvius Flaccus, censor of 174/3, and *fortuna huiusce diei*, to whom Lutatius Catulus dedicated a temple, also had a tutelary position regarding certain groups (or events). The idea of a specific *fortuna* as being especially concerned with the welfare of one group recalls the functions of the other *fortunae* and their roles in safe-guarding the interests of specific individuals, cities, and social and sexual groups.¹⁹⁷

Flaccus' vow in 180 BC was occasioned by the actions of the Roman cavalry which led to the defeat of the Celtiberian forces, prompting him to promise a temple to *fortuna equestris* and games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁹⁸ The association of *fortuna* with military victory was, by 180, *de rigueur*.¹⁹⁹ What is especially clear in the way that Flaccus' foundation is recalled by the sources is the degree to which *fortuna* was utilized to further personal political goals (a trend which becomes increasingly prevalent towards the end of the Republic).²⁰⁰ The short time between the temple being vowed in 180, its approval by the senate in 179, and its dedication in 173 suggests that Flaccus used the full force of his political influence to push through its construction.²⁰¹ Moreover, Livy writes that to ensure *ne ullum Romae amplius aut magnificentius templum esset*, he stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia (at Croton), a major cult centre of Magna Graeca, of its marble roof tiles and secretly shipped them to Rome to adorn his temple to *fortuna*, no doubt alienating the Romans' allies in the Italian League in the process.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Compare the worship of *fortuna muliebris* and the social restrictions regarding the rites of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium. As we have seen, each *fortuna* appears to be concerned with the activities of a specific group, such as *matronae*, unmarried women, or slaves.

¹⁹⁸ Liv. 40.40.10, 42.3.1, 42.10.5; Val. Max. 1.1.20.

¹⁹⁹ See (e.g.) the dedication to *fortuna* of war booty by Marcus Furius Crassipes (praetor of 187): *CIL* 1².48.

²⁰⁰ For Flaccus' fall see Val. Max. 1.1.20. Cf. Liv. 42.3.1-11.

²⁰¹ Lauria 1980: 256.

²⁰² Liv. 42.3.1-11. Cf. Val. Max. 1.1.20. For Valerius Maximus' confusion regarding the location of this temple (1.8. ext. 18.) see Mueller 2002: 35. Pouille (2004) argues that when Flaccus removed the tiles from this temple he had no intention of committing sacrilege, but rather offered an *interpretatio Romana* of the cult at Croton in order to supplant memories of Hannibal attached to the shrine and because the cult of Juno

The senate's reaction to the theft suggests that, while the temple was intended to reflect the military achievements of its founder, this symbol of his success could be used by hostile parties as grounds for a political attack.²⁰³ Flaccus, in his role as censor in 174/3, a period which coincided with the dedication of the temple, had been responsible for the expulsion of members from the senate, including his own brother, Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis (praetor of 176), and L. Cornelius Scipio (the son of the elder Scipio Africanus). The expulsion of such prominent members speaks to sharp disagreement amongst the members of the senate.²⁰⁴ Indeed, according to Livy, it is the fact that Flaccus was censor at the time that made his actions all the more outrageous: the senate connects their disapproval of his actions as censor to their disapproval of this theft (which was all the more offensive as it was carried out against their allies).²⁰⁵ That the senate's attack on Flaccus for his desecration of Juno's temple was politically as well as religiously motivated is suggested by Livy's account of how, although the senate decided to send the roof tiles back to the temple of Juno, the contractors reported back that, as there was no one who was capable of replacing them on the roof, the tiles had been left in the precinct of the temple.²⁰⁶

Flaccus used the dedication to *fortuna equestris* as a symbol of the victory that he oversaw, and also of his political power. By binding the idea of military victory to his political persona with the help of the religious language of *fortuna*, he made it clear that both aspects of his power were divinely ordained. In this use of *fortuna* we see how, by the time

Lacinia was associated with horses. While the idea of a connection between these two cults is attractive, and the use of a new temple to *fortuna* to signify the vanquishing of the memory of Hannibal is in keeping with the idea of *fortuna* as a goddess associated with victory, Poulle's hypothesis relies too much on unprovable speculation, and does not fully account for the accusations of sacrilege levelled at Flaccus. For the tenuous association between Hercules Custos and *fortuna equestris* see Poulle 2007.

²⁰³ Liv. 42.3.5-11 describes the senate's reaction. Valerius Maximus even ties Flaccus's death to this temple: he is driven to suicide as punishment for his impious adornment of it (1.1.20).

²⁰⁴ Liv 41.27. 1-3. For conflict during this period amongst the *nobiles* see Briscoe 1964; for the political conflict that surrounded Flaccus in particular see Salinas de Frías 1989.

²⁰⁵ Liv. 42.3.4.

²⁰⁶ Liv. 42.3.10-11. See Scullard 1973: 194.

of the late Republic, *fortuna* became a useful way for the dynasts of the period to declare their political power as divinely sanctioned by *fortuna*, with her gift of victory signifying the favour of the gods. Flaccus, by co-opting *fortuna* as the ally of his political cause, is able to claim a monopoly on the victory that she gives, and he is also able to assert the approval of the gods that this victory signifies. By founding their criticism of Flaccus' behaviour on political as well as religious grounds, the senate was able to attack both of these bases for Flaccus' power.

The epithet *equestris* ostensibly commemorated the role played by the Roman cavalry in the victory of 180. However, not only did the name *equestris* celebrate the actions of the cavalry, but also the equestrians as a social group. There is debate as to the exact military role played by the *equites Romani*: some scholars suggest a decline in their military importance already by 200 BC, with their replacement by Italian auxiliary and foreign mercenary cavalry, due to the Roman cavalry proving to be increasingly ineffective; others argue that the citizen cavalry was in operation until at least the early first century BC.²⁰⁷ Whatever the case may be, the *ordo equester* was already, by the time of the founding of the temple to *fortuna equestris*, growing in social and political importance as certain political and military roles were increasingly reserved for them, and they began to be distinguished according to a property qualification.²⁰⁸ *fortuna equestris* therefore not only celebrated this newly emerging social group, but in some sense can be seen as a statement regarding its gradual differentiation from other groups – the equestrians, in becoming a real order, gained their own *fortuna* and this helped to create the idea of an equestrian

²⁰⁷ Hill 1952: 26, *contra* McCall 2002: 100-113.

²⁰⁸ See McCall 2002: 2 ff. (with bibliography) and Lintott 1997, who sees Liv. 24.11.7 as suggesting that the equestrians were distinguished by a property qualification as early as the Second Punic War (*contra* Hill 1952: 18-19). Champeaux (1987: 143-147) similarly holds that the evolution of the equestrian order was mirrored in the evolution of the cult of *fortuna equestris*. However, both she and Lauria (1980: 259) believe, based on Livy's descriptions that emphasise the cavalry's role, that the cult's initial foundation celebrated the exploits of the cavalry and not the social group.

group.²⁰⁹ Although the cult may have been founded chiefly as a way of claiming religious authority for Flaccus' military and political power, by the first century AD this meaning seems to have been overtaken by the identification of this goddess with the equestrian order, serving as an example of how the meanings attached to cults of *fortuna* were adapted to the contemporary needs of their worshippers.

This meaning of *fortuna equestris* is evident by AD 22, the year when, as Tacitus recalls, a dedication was vowed to her by the *equites Romani* for Livia's recovery from an illness.²¹⁰ Tacitus notes that the temple could not be located in Rome, and so the delegation had to travel to Antium to find a temple to *fortuna equestris*. Taken at face value, this would suggest a decline in the cult's importance at Rome, and so this oddity has been explained away either by suggesting that the temple, perhaps originally located on the Campus Martius, was lost in the fire that destroyed Pompey's *scaena* in AD 21, or that it was built over in the Augustan period.²¹¹ Neither explanation holds much weight: a temple burnt down in AD 21 would hardly have been forgotten by AD 22, while the suggestion that it was built over suggests it was indeed unimportant. However, it was known to Vitruvius in the early part of Augustus' reign, and it would be odd for a temple closely associated with the equestrian order to go into decline precisely when Augustus was formalizing this order's position in Roman society.²¹² Another possibility is that Tacitus' account should not be taken at face value. The object of the equestrians' mission was a vow for the recovery of Livia, both mother of Rome and mother to the next generation of imperial rulers, and the place to which they ended up going was Antium, which through the

²⁰⁹ Champeaux sees in this delimited *fortuna* a return to what she calls '[les] Fortunes des classes d'âge' (1987: 147), a role which she ascribes most specifically to the archaic *fortunae*.

²¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3.71.

²¹¹ Destroyed by fire: Richardson 1992: 155. Built over: *LTUR* II: 268-269 .

²¹² Vitr. 3.3.2. Lintott 1997.

fortunae Antiates was associated with the birth of new members of the dynasty.²¹³ When the *equites* headed to Antium, they were therefore offering a vow in a place and for a person who together embodied the imperial order's ability to regenerate itself successfully and ensure the stability of the Empire through smooth succession – in short, to master *fortuna* – and, moreover, by doing so in the context of worshipping *fortuna equestris*, they reaffirmed their own position in that order.

What the episode of the equestrian dedication demonstrated was that the *equites* associated their social group with the cult of *fortuna equestris* and had come to associate it with the promotion of their interests. Rowe has shown how in the early imperial period the status of *eques* was negotiated by a variety of 'overlapping categories and definitions': pedigree, status symbols, public ceremonies, and so on.²¹⁴ Cultivation of the cult of *fortuna equestris* therefore served as one more way in which an *eques* of the first century AD could demonstrate his equestrian rank. By making a dedication to *fortuna equestris* the equestrians were not only able to affirm their social position in the Empire, but to assert their relationship with the family who ruled it. Thus *fortuna equestris* was, by the imperial period, chiefly understood as a group *fortuna*, and was used by the group whose interests it oversaw as a way of communicating with imperial power. *fortuna equestris* seems to have been understood by the equestrians of AD 22 as an intermediary between their group and the emperor. What the equestrians looked for from their *fortuna* was not only luck, needed for Livia's recovery, but also a way of creating and communicating a role for themselves as a social group in the contemporary political and religious structure of the Empire.

In its early involvement with the development of the *equites* as a social group, we see this *fortuna* take on a meaning whereby she provides religious validity to statements about

²¹³ See above pp. 32.

²¹⁴ Rowe 2002: 73.

social or military authority. This meaning, in combination with that of *fortuna* as a goddess that ensures military victory, meant that *fortuna equestris* came to promote the military and thus social prestige of the equestrian order and of individuals who belonged to it. In the dedication of AD 22 we see another meaning of *fortuna* emerge, one that will be even more evident in the cults of *fortuna redux* and *Augusti*. Here *fortuna* comes to be an intermediary between the populace and the imperial power, one that also protects this power and thus the social order itself.

fortuna huiusce diei

Q. Lutatius Catulus' temple to *fortuna huiusce diei* was, like that of *fortuna equestris*, vowed in return for military victory.²¹⁵ Plutarch recounts how, at the battle of Vercellae in 101 BC, Marius and Catulus both vowed honours to the gods in return for victory, with Catulus promising καθιερώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης.²¹⁶ This cult of *fortuna*, like that of *fortuna equestris*, was not only a general celebration of the victory given by *fortuna*, but associated the personality of its founder with this idea of divine victory. Q. Lutatius Catulus was a member of the *gens Lutatia*, a family that seems to have long fostered a connection with *fortuna* and the idea of her as grantor of military success: Lutatius Catulus' foundation recalled Lutatius Cerco's interest in the cult of *fortuna primigenia* 140 years earlier, and might also have brought to mind his possible foundation of the cult of *fortuna publica populi Romani*.²¹⁷ Moreover, Catulus' temple was located

²¹⁵ The Fasti Allifani attest to a temple to this *fortuna* on the Campus Martius (*CIL* 9.2319). From Varro's description of Catulus' temple (*Rust.* 3.5.12), it seems likely that we can identify temple B of the Area Sacra di Largo Aregntina as this temple of 101 BC (cf. Coarelli 1997: 275-292; *LTUR* II: 269-270; Richardson 1992: 156; Champeaux 1987: 156). There might have already been at this time a temple to *fortuna huiusce diei* on the Palatine, but this is uncertain, and in any case has little bearing on the argument. For arguments against the existence of an earlier temple, founded by Aemilius Paullus, see Champeaux 1987: 154-63 and *LTUR* II: 269-270.

²¹⁶ Plut. *Mar.* 26.3.

²¹⁷ An inscription on a large base from Praeneste dating to the early imperial period, suggests that the connection might have continued (*CIL* 14.2929).

directly next to another temple, the identity of which is uncertain, founded by a member of the *gens Lutatia*: identified either as a temple to Juno Curitis, founded by Q. Lutatius Cerco in 241, or a temple to Juturna, founded by Q. Lutatius Catulus (the consul of 242).²¹⁸

Catulus could therefore call on *fortuna* and her long association with his family and military victory in his quarrel with Marius over the victory honours.²¹⁹ In the same campaign that Catulus made his vow to *fortuna*, Marius also vowed a temple to *honos* and *uirtus*.²²⁰ Both temples were closely tied to the personality of their founders, with the temple to *honos* and *uirtus*, in conjunction with Marius' house, forming a complex known as the *monumenta Mariana*, and being described by Cicero as the *monumentum Marii*, and the temple of *fortuna huiusce diei* being known as the *aedes Catuli*.²²¹ Marius' choice of *honos et uirtus* displayed what McDonnell has termed 'an ideological counterbalance' to Catulus' veneration of *fortuna*.²²² Moreover, while Marius' celebration of *uirtus* is in keeping with his non-aristocratic background and his status as a new man, Catulus' recalled the long, and by this point noble, tradition of his family.²²³

The idea of Catulus being favoured by *fortuna* entered into the literary tradition that dealt with this period of Roman history. The sources, drawing on a historical tradition hostile to Marius, emphasise the connection between Catulus and *fortuna*.²²⁴ Plutarch implies that it was Catulus who had the greatest share of the victory, because, ἀπὸ τύχης, the enemy had

²¹⁸ Coarelli 2007: 279-280.

²¹⁹ For the competing claims of Marius and Catulus see McDonnell 2006: 280-290; Clark 2007: 126-131.

²²⁰ Richardson 1978; *LTUR* III: 33-35, 'Honos et Virtus, Aedes Mariana'.

²²¹ *Monumentum Mari*: Richardson 1978: 242 ff; Cic. *de diu.* 1.59; Val. Max. 1.7.5; Vit. 3.2.5. *Aedes Catuli*: Varro *Rust.* 3.5.12.

²²² McDonnell 2006: 281.

²²³ For Marius as a new man see McDonnell 2006: 265-271; see also the discussion of *uirtus* and *fortuna* in Chapter 2: pp. 142. Although the Lutatii had begun as a plebeian *gens*, they had been raised to the nobility in the third century.

²²⁴ For the competing accounts of the Marians and the supporters of Catulus in this period see McDonnell 2006: 271-3; Clark 2007:127-8.

chosen to engage his men rather than Marius.²²⁵ Plutarch's description of this action by *fortuna* on Catulus' behalf serves to directly contradict his account of Marius exclamation of ἐμὴ ἢ νίκη after his vow.²²⁶ Both the later imperial tradition of this period (which drew on the contemporary accounts of Rutilius Rufus, Sulla and Catulus) as well as the close association of Catulus' family and his name (the *aedes Catuli*) with his temple of *fortuna*, all served to define Catulus' political persona, and differentiate it from that of Marius.²²⁷ The meanings of *fortuna huiusce diei* were therefore not only luck in battle, presenting *fortuna* as a giver of victory and political sovereignty, but also helped to construct a political identity for Catulus. *fortuna* was used to emphasise the aristocratic tradition of Catulus' family, emphasising their sustained connection to the divine powers of *fortuna* as a goddess of victory, and showing him as enjoying divine favour, a characteristic which was used by contemporary sources as a contrast to the gods' abandonment of Marius.²²⁸

The connection of this *fortuna* with the idea of victory is emphasised by the fact that the day of the temple's dedication was the same as the day of the vow.²²⁹ The day alluded to in the cult's epithet is therefore the day of the temple's foundation. However, as is made clear by Cicero's explanation of this epithet as signifying that *fortuna ... ualet in omnis dies*, this was not the only meaning for *fortuna* that this cult was thought to signify.²³⁰ Cicero's explanation demonstrates the degree to which *fortuna* was thought to extend her protection over many specific events and instances. Even though the Romans seemed to have, in the form of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium or *fortuna populi Romani*, a general, all-encompassing *fortuna*, individual *fortunae* were still thought to offer special protection to

²²⁵ Plut. *Mar.* 26.3.

²²⁶ Plut. *Mar.* 26.2.

²²⁷ For the sources see McDonnell 2006: 271; Clark 2007: 128.

²²⁸ See (e.g.) Plut. *Mar.* 26.3: γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου πρᾶγμα νεμεσητὸν παθεῖν τὸν Μάριον οἱ περὶ Σύλλαν ἱστοροῦσι. For the tradition of Marius' relationship to the gods see McDonnell 2006: 267-271.

²²⁹ 30th July: *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.47; 179; 488.

²³⁰ Cic. *De Leg.* 2.28. Coarelli has suggested that this temple was the site for the distribution of the *frumentum publicum* (1997: 289), and while this is as an attractive hypothesis given the connection between *fortuna* and the *annona* (discussed in Chapter 3), the evidence offered by Coarelli seems insufficient.

specific groups or people. For example, while all Romans enjoyed the protection of the *fortuna populi Romani*, they could also, as members of certain social groups, be under the tutelage of *fors fortuna*, *fortuna equestris*, and so on. The worship of different *fortunae* offered Romans, as members of various social groups, ways to express various aspects of their different social and religious experiences. Thus Catulus' vow, when viewed alongside dedications to the *fortunae* of specific *loci*, *gentes*, or persons shows how *fortunae* were understood to be as numerous as a society needed them to be.²³¹

These multiplying *fortunae* of individuals and instances recall not only the 'Glückskraft' that attaches to them (for example the day of Catulus' cult accrued 'Glückskraft' because of his victory on 30th July) but they also, in their tutelary roles, suggest the idea of *genius*.²³² Thus, many inscriptions from the imperial period are dedicated FORTVNAE ... ET GENIO LOCI, with thanks often being offered for some kindness, or stroke of luck from the *genius loci* and *fortuna*.²³³ *fortuna huiusce diei* extended her protection and luck to a specific day just as the *fortuna et genius loci* did to a specific place. Kajanto has objected that 'it is often difficult to make a clear distinction between *fortuna* as good luck and *fortuna* as an equivalent of *genius*'.²³⁴ Indeed, the relationship of these multiple *fortunae* and *genii* is a reflection of the manner in which *fortuna* as a generalized power of beneficence can be seen to act with regard to specific circumstances or groups.²³⁵ The division of *fortuna* between the general and the specific creates multiple *fortunae* which

²³¹ For dedications to FORTVNA LOCI: *CIL* 3.10399;6.216; 12.4183; FORTVNA GENTIS: *CIL* 6.187; *AE* 1926: 41; FORTVNA HOMINIS: *CIL* 6.186; 36753; 204.

²³² For a discussion of 'Glückskraft' and *genius* in relation to *fortuna* see Chapter 2: pp. 117; 126.

²³³ A representative example is *CIL* 3.4289 (AD 269): GENIO LOCI / ET FORTVNAE / [C]ONSERVATRI/CI PRO SALVTE / D(OMINI) N(OSTRI) CLAVDIVS / AVR(ELIVS) SVPERINVS / PRAEF(ECTVS) LEG(IONIS) I ADI(VTRICIS) / A(GENS) V(ICES) L(EGATI) EX VOTO / POSVIT D(OMINO) N(OSTRO) I(NVICTO?) / CLAVDIO AVG(VSTO) [ET] / PATERNO [CO(N)S(VLIBVS)]. See also *AE* 1909: 3; 20; *CIL* 3.1018; 4558, mostly dating to the second and third centuries AD.

²³⁴ Kajanto 1981: 524.

²³⁵ Champeaux (1987: 147) sees in the connection between *fortuna* and *genius* a revival of the old tradition of *fortunae* of age and social class, attached to the protection of a particular human group, and as we have seen, the tendency for *fortuna* worship to be attached to specific groups does allow for this specialization in the personality of the goddess.

are then easily equated with the *genii* that attend these same things. So by the third century AD the GENIVS LOCI and FORTVNA CONSERVATRIX of *CIL* 3.4289 together aid in the well-being of Claudius Aurelius Superinus, but they are not one and the same.²³⁶

Catulus' *fortuna huiusce diei* associated victory with a specific person, and especially with a specific date and event. This meaning was allowed for by virtue of the multivalency of *fortuna* which meant that, just as each person or place could have its own *genius*, so could each thing have its own *fortuna*, a specific force of luck or fate attached to dates, places, individuals, and groups, or even individual aspects of a person's social and religious identity.

The Imperial Cult and Personal *fortunae*

Not only could each group have a *fortuna* or *genius* of their own, but so too could each member of that group. Moreover, while the two forces (*genius* and *fortuna*) are not exactly analogous, we see an increased religious interest in the *genii* of specific individuals at the same time as interest in personal *fortunae* intensifies.²³⁷ Precedents such as the swearing of a vow by the τύχη of Caesar,²³⁸ and the offering of libations to the *genius* of Augustus, instituted after his return to Rome in 30 BC, developed into the worship of the emperor's *genius* in private, household settings.²³⁹ Likewise, the public worship of the *lares Aug.* as compital tutelary deities was instituted around the time of Augustus' reorganisation of the Roman *uici* in 7 BC, and the worship of the *genius Aug.* seems to have been taken up, in at

²³⁶ See pp. 72 n. 233 above. Likewise, *genius loci* and *fortuna* may be listed on inscriptions alongside other gods as not attached to the instance or place (see for example *AE* 1973: 417; *AE* 1903: 242).

²³⁷ See also Chapter 2: pp. 118 for whether this has precedent in Greek uses of τύχη and δαίμων.

²³⁸ Dio 44.6.1. For the interpretation of this as an institution of a public vow to the τύχη of Caesar see Weinstock 1971: 212.

²³⁹ For evidence for this see Fishwick 1991: 375-388 (Dio 51.19.7. cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.637; Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.31-35). Fishwick argues that, on the basis of passages such as these, the worship of the emperor's *genius* became part of domestic cult. Lott points out that there is no evidence that the *genius Augusti* was worshipped at compital shrines in Rome; the *lares Augusti* did however receive public worship at these shrines (1995: 121-126).

least one case, as part of this worship.²⁴⁰ Overwhelmingly, these cults were administered by *magistri*, who were generally freedmen, and *ministri* who were slaves, suggesting that, at least in Rome, the worship of the *genius Aug.* was restricted to these groups.²⁴¹

As I will show in Chapter 2, the literary sources, especially those of the imperial period, indicate a clear connection between the ideas of a personal *fortuna*, *genius*, τύχη or δαίμων, and the development of the worship of these in relation to individual men reflects this relationship. Fishwick and Fears both dismiss the worship of a personal *fortuna* of the reigning emperor as part of the worship involved in the cult of the emperor's 'virtues', or the 'blessings' that these brought about.²⁴² However, the idea of *fortuna* as either a 'blessing' or a 'virtue' is easily refuted. *fortuna* was not simply understood as something that the emperor brought about for the benefit of the Empire; rather, it was by virtue of his relationship with *fortuna* that the emperor ensured victory, the stable continuation of the Empire, and the other benefits which imperial ideology chose to associate with his rule.²⁴³ *fortuna* was not simply one of these benefits. Nor can we count *fortuna* as an imperial 'virtue', since *fortuna* and *felicitas*, as will be shown in Chapter 2, are more often figured as the result of 'virtue'. Instead, as we shall see, the imperial *fortunae* combine multiple meanings, being a tutelary companion of the emperor and of his reign, a *genius* or *numen*-like manifestation of his fate, reign and/or personality, and the goddess that oversees the functions of imperial power, allowing him to transfer to his Empire the benefits of his rule.

²⁴⁰ An inscription dated to the period of Augustus' reorganization that is dedicated LARIBVS AVGVSTIS G[ENIIS CAESARV]M (*ILS* 3613). Other first century examples (e.g. *ILS* 3617; 3618) confirm the restoration: see Fraschetti 1990: 204-276; Littlewood 2006: 31-4. Lott (1995: 113-144; 2004: 101-117) gives the clearest discussion of the issue of the worship of an imperial *genius* in the compital cults. He concludes that it was not undertaken in all areas, but only in some, where it was the result of a local innovation that became more popular over time.

²⁴¹ On the status of the functionaries of these cults see Gradel 2002: 118-130. Nor, it should be pointed out, was the worship of the *genius Aug.* included in the state cult.

²⁴² Fishwick 1991: 455-474; Fears 1981 B.

²⁴³ The subject is treated in greater depth in Chapter 3.

As such, the worship of the personal *fortunae* of certain individuals, and in particular the *fortuna Aug.*, was important to the role of the emperor in bringing about victory for Rome. Good luck in warfare (whether named as *fortuna*, or as the force that she guarantees, *felicitas*) is, along with certain virtues, considered a necessary pre-condition of enduring *uictoria*. Thus, generals like Scipio were given triumphs, according to republican sources, on account of their *uirtus* and *felicitas*, and the *fortuna* of men like Marius and Pompey entered into the popular tradition.²⁴⁴ Sulla famously claimed that he had more affinity with *fortuna* than war, attributing his martial successes to her.²⁴⁵ He was also able to link his victorious personality to *fortuna* through his defeat of Marius at Praeneste, the home of *fortuna primigenia*, which was celebrated by the *Ludi Victoriae Sullae* in Rome.²⁴⁶ The relationship of these republican dynasts to *fortuna* was described in various ways: sometimes they had personal *fortunae* that attended them, sometimes, as we saw in the development of the republican cults, they nurtured a relationship with the *fortuna* of a specific cult, all the while being favoured by a more general *fortuna*.

In the case of Caesar, a personal *fortuna* can be seen to gain as much power in the popular imagination as the favour of a more general *fortuna*. The personal *fortuna* of Caesar, probably in response to Pompey's own self-presentation as a favourite of the goddess and the promotion of such a relationship with her in the build-up to the civil war, assumed an ever more important role.²⁴⁷ The tale of Caesar and his *fortuna* in the storm-tossed fishing

²⁴⁴ For the *felicitas* of Scipio see: Cic. *Fin.* 4.22, for the *fortuna* of Marius and Pompey see: Sall. *Iug.* 63.1; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 47.

²⁴⁵ Plut. *Sulla* 6.4-5. For a discussion of the relationship of Sulla and other republican dynasts to *fortuna* see Champeaux 1987: 216-293.

²⁴⁶ Vell. Pat. 2.27.6. See Arya 2001: 184; Meyboom 1995: 216; Pollitt 1992: 107; Champeaux 1987: 225-227.

²⁴⁷ This is not place to discuss whether Caesar had faith in a sense of his own *fortuna*. In practice, the question is irrelevant. What matters is that the idea of Caesar's *fortuna* became famous through the promotion of it by him, his supporters, and his successors. For discussions of Caesar's promotion of *fortuna* in connection to himself, see esp. Champeaux 1987: 259-290; Weinstock 1971: 112-127; Bömer 1966; Brutscher 1958 B; Friedrich 1954; Ericsson 1944; Warde-Fowler 1903 A. For a summary of the divinity of Caesar during his lifetime see Wardle 2009: 105-107 and Gradel 2002: 54-72.

boat, and the frequent contemporary references to a personal *fortuna* in relation to Caesar, present a vision of *fortuna* which is much closer to tutelary *genius* and embodiment of personal destiny than that celebrated simply in connection to military success.²⁴⁸ That is not to say that the meaning of *fortuna* as a guarantor of victory ceased to be important. Rather, this more personally individuated *fortuna* combined with the *fortuna* of victory to create a goddess that tied victory to a single individual more closely than ever before. This meaning for these personal *fortunae* is visible in the way that the personal *fortuna* of Caesar was advertised in favour of more corporate *fortunae*. The republicans had minted the coin in Figure 3 in 49 BC (probably one of the last issues before war broke out), showing *fortuna populi Romani* on the obverse and images associated with victory (a palm branch tied with a fillet, a wreath, and a winged caduceus) on the reverse to assert their hopes for a victory against Caesar. Similarly, Caesar advertised his *fortuna* in relation to *uictoria*: the coinage of P. Sepullius Macer from 44 BC (Figure 4) celebrated the victory of Caesar with a coin showing a winged bust of *uictoria* on the obverse and *fortuna* on the reverse, carrying a cornucopia and a rudder.



Figure 3: Coin of 49 BC showing *fortuna populi Romani* on the obverse and a palm branch tied with a fillet, a wreath, and a winged caduceus on the reverse (*RRC* 440.1).

²⁴⁸ For the tale of Caesar in the fishing boat Plut. *Caes.* 38.5; *Fort. Rom.* 6; *Reg. et Imp. Apophth. Caes.* 9; App. *BC* 2.57.236; Luc. 5.510 ff; see Chapter 2: pp. 116. Weinstock 1971: 121-126. There is an abundance of contemporary Latin evidence for the idea of a personal *fortuna* of Caesar (e.g. Cic. *Lig.* 38; *Deiot.* 19; 21), and we should therefore not necessarily assume, as some have done, that it is either a retrospective imperial invention or an unnaturalized Greek import (cf. Brutscher 1958 A and B; Bömer 1966).

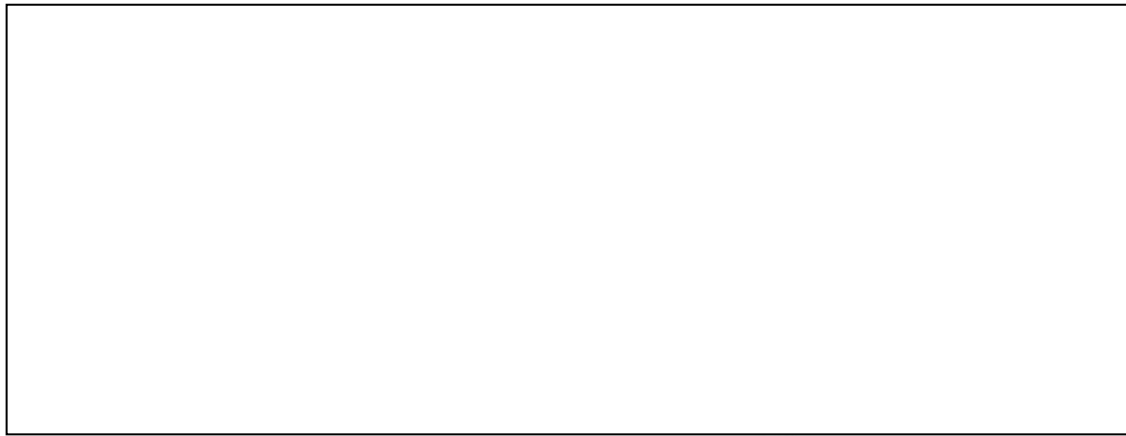


Figure 4: Coin of 44 BC showing a winged bust of *uictoria* on the obverse and *fortuna* holding a rudder and cornucopia on the reverse (RRC 480.25).

The role played by the *fortuna Caesaris* in protecting him and his power harkened back to the *fortuna* that guarded Servius Tullius and guaranteed his sovereignty. Indeed, by the imperial period, as we see from Plutarch's and Lucan's accounts of Caesar in the fishing boat, Caesar's *fortuna*, through him, in a divine fashion, controlled the very elements. Control of the weather was, in traditional epic, normally reserved for the gods, and thus Caesar, like Servius, was elevated, in the telling of this tale, to a role of divine leadership.²⁴⁹ In his own lifetime Caesar also appears to have used the idea of his *fortuna* to bind his supporters more closely to him. Caesar's *horti trans Tiberim* seem to have been associated, even before this time, with *fortuna* – the temples to *fors fortuna* at the first milestone of the Via Campana quite likely fell within the boundaries of Caesar's *horti*.²⁵⁰ Caesar, in using these gardens as the location for the public banquets held after his Spanish triumph, the setting for various public donatives, and by making them part of his gift to the people in his will, associated himself and his *fortuna* with a *fortuna* special to the plebs.²⁵¹ Plutarch shows how *fors fortuna* and the *fortuna Caesaris* are later conflated when he says

²⁴⁹ See pp. 76 above. For the theme of divine kingship and the control of nature see Matthews 2008:159-160 (see also Weinstock 1971: 121-123).

²⁵⁰ Richardson 1992: 155; Clark 2007: 235.

²⁵¹ D'Arms 1998: 40-43. The idea of Caesar's gardens being on the Quirinal and of their association with a temple of *fortuna publica* is much more tenuous (Clark 2007: 236-237; Arya 2002: 208-209), and Dio 42.26.3 should not be taken as proof that this temple (and therefore, presumably, the other two making up this complex) were located in Caesar's *horti* (pace Talamo 1998: 115).

that the Romans built the temple of *fortuna* here in the gardens of Caesar because Caesar had become great εὐτυχία.²⁵²

The *fortuna* which assured Caesar's right to rule became, after his death, if anything, more important. The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, writing not long after Caesar's death, tells how Caesar's partisans relied greatly on *fortunae uictoris Caesaris*, making the *fortuna Caesaris* a force which aided his subjects in times of difficulty.²⁵³ Moreover, when Caesar's successors competed to claim this *fortuna* they did so not only to legitimate themselves through the memory of Caesar, but also to claim this divine sanction for their supremacy. The coin in Figure 4, minted for Caesar in 44 BC, bearing, on the reverse, the image of *fortuna* carrying a rudder (a symbol of nautical significance, but also of her role as pilot of fate, and perhaps of Caesar's governance) and cornucopia, and, on the obverse, an image of her gift, *uictoria*, is recalled in the coinage of Antony from 41 that carries the image of this same *fortuna* with the same attributes, but with the legend PIETAS COS. and a stork, an attribute of *pietas* (Figure 5).²⁵⁴ This issue of Antony's, in its iconographical similarity and by the profession of piety in the legend, can be read as an attempt to place Antony in a position of inheritance regarding the *fortuna Caesaris*, offering a polemical challenge to Octavian's position. As Caesar's heir, Octavian's claim was of course easier to make, and on his coins from the following year we see *fortuna* again on the reverse standing with a rudder and cornucopia, but with the young triumvir's head on the obverse

²⁵² Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 5. Here Plutarch confuses the genitive of *fors* with the adjective *fortis*, thus making her ισχυρά, ἀριστευτική and ἀνδρεία.

²⁵³ *B. Alex.* 43.1.

²⁵⁴ Weinstock (1971: 124; cf. Edwards 1990: 533) argues that this first image of *fortuna* with a rudder represents Caesar's personal *fortuna*, recalling the tale of Caesar's successful crossing in a fishing boat. He argues that the rudder as an iconographical attribute of *fortuna* was a Caesarian invention. However, that the rudder had been a common iconographical feature of τύχη is attested by coinage dating from 212-83 BC, in Syracuse and Tripolis (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Tyche': 121-122; Arya 2002 77-78). Aside from the example from Sicily, the coin of P. Sepullius Macer is the earliest Western example of *fortuna* with a rudder and it becomes from this point on one of her most common iconographical features. Without overstating the case as Weinstock has done, it is still possible to see in Caesar's portrayal of *fortuna*, if not an innovation, then at least a significant redirection of iconographical emphasis. For further discussion of her iconographical attributes see the later chapter on numismatic evidence.

with the simple legend DIVI IVLI F. (Figure 6). The right to appropriate the personal *fortuna* of Caesar served to justify his right to political sovereignty.²⁵⁵ This is not to say that the *fortuna Caesaris* became, in its own right, the object of worship; however, it certainly played a role in the developing cult of *diuus Julius*, even during his lifetime.²⁵⁶



Figure 5: Coin of 41 BC showing a bust of Antony on the obverse and the legend PIETAS COS. and *fortuna* holding a rudder and cornucopia, with a stork at her feet on the reverse (RRC 516.3).



Figure 6: Coin of 40 BC showing a bust of Octavian with the legend DIVI IVLI F. on the obverse and *fortuna* holding a rudder and cornucopia on the reverse (RRC 525.1).

The general emphasis on personal *fortunae* during the Late Republic and the special attention paid to the *fortuna* of Caesar provided some of the basis for a fuller development of a ruler cult under the Empire. In addition, the association of *fortuna* and victory

²⁵⁵ That a personal *fortuna* can grant political mastery is also evident in the passage from Plutarch's *Antony* discussed in the following chapter (Plut. *Ant.* 33.2-3), where it is clear that Octavian will win out over Antony since his τύχη retreats in the face of Octavian's.

²⁵⁶ For the deification of the living Caesar see (e.g.) Wardle 2009: 105-107; Gradel 2002: 54-72; Weinstock 1971: esp. 112-127.

continued to be emphasised. Not only did the inheritance of Caesar's *fortuna* give Octavian victory in battle (thus Florus 2.17.10), and hence the right to rule, but tales that mingled the *fortunae* of Caesar and Octavian began to emerge.

Octavian's victory at Actium was celebrated with the foundation of Nicopolis in Epirus and the construction of a monument there, into the walls of which were built the beaks of the captured ships. Some of these beaks were also sent to Rome to decorate the temple of *Diuus Julius* in the forum.²⁵⁷ As the *fortuna* of Caesar had helped him obtain *uictoria*, so too did a similar force help Octavian to achieve *víkē* at Actium.²⁵⁸ We see this advertised in the contemporary context by the monument at Nicopolis. Octavian's victory monument was adorned, along with the naval spoils, by a bronze statuary group (possibly cast from one or two of the rams of the captured warship) celebrating *Εὔτυχος* and *Νίκων*.²⁵⁹ Plutarch and Suetonius relate how Octavian, whilst inspecting his ships on the night before the battle, chanced upon a man and his ass. The man introduced himself as *Εὔτυχος* and his ass as *Νίκων*.²⁶⁰ This tale showed the victory at Actium to be a result of the *εὐτυχία* that Octavian enjoyed, perhaps as a result of the special relationship that he had with *fortuna*, a relationship that mirrored that of Caesar and *fortuna*. How he celebrated this good-luck also emphasised the parallel with Caesar. His dedication of the emblems of his victory to Caesar served, both as a sign of succession, and demonstrated, through the foregrounding of military victory, Octavian's political sovereignty. Just as we have heard how the *genius Augusti* (or *tuum numen*, as it is called in Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.16) received honours, and how provincials swore by the *καίσαρος τύχη* (in much the same way that the senate had voted that vows should be taken by the *τύχη* of Caesar), so we can see the

²⁵⁷ Dio 51.19.2. For a study of Octavian's Actian monument see Zachos 2003; Murray and Petsas 1989.

²⁵⁸ For the importance of victory in the imperial cult see (e.g.) Price 1984: 157-159.

²⁵⁹ Zachos 2003: 81; Arya 2002: 220; Murray and Petsas 1989: 93.

²⁶⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 96.2; Plut. *Ant.* 65.3.

fortuna of the emperor assuming a place of reverence in the religious landscape of Rome as one part of the increasing sense of the ruler's divinity.²⁶¹

These personal *fortunae* of the late Republic were interpreted by both contemporary and later audiences as being essential to victory. The *fortunae* that favoured men like Marius and Sulla, and especially Caesar and Pompey, were not advertised as primarily attached to certain social groups (although we may see an appeal to the plebs in Caesar's use of the geography of *fors fortuna*); rather, these *fortunae* were principally associated with single individuals, and with their supporting social and political groups only as a consequence of these groups' relationships to that individual. This development of the religious and political meanings of *fortuna* was in part a reflection of the changing political system. Once individuals began to assume greater amounts of military power, and, more importantly, to compete with each other on the basis of this power, then a force that guaranteed victory to one man had to be differentiated on a personal level from that which gave success to his opponent.²⁶² This was not to say that the luck and success that a general's personal *fortuna* gave to him was not extended to his followers: they could be thought of as having a share in his luck and the benefactions that he brought through the medium of his *fortuna*. In other words, a general's *fortuna* became one of the ways that he communicated the benefits of his leadership to his troops and allies, and as such his *fortuna* came to signify those aspects of his power. For men fighting on behalf of a general with a powerful personal *fortuna*, this suggested that they might be protected from the worst consequences of battle. In this context, personal *fortuna* displayed a meaning not dissimilar to those seen in the other *fortuna* cults that defined and protected social or

²⁶¹ See Chapter 2: pp. 118 for the way that the idea of the emperor's *fortuna* and *genius* influenced the worship of his τύχη and δαίμων in the Greek speaking Empire.

²⁶² This is not to say that *fortuna* was the only divine figure to be used in this way, but, as we have seen, she was an important element of this religious manifestation of the power struggles of the late Republic. For a discussion of other such deities being used in this way see Clark 2007: 205 ff.

sexual groups. In the context of these times the meaning of personal *fortuna* as a force that gave military luck and victory meant that it carried an additional meaning of a power that granted and protected the political sovereignty of the individual to whom it was attached. The fact that these men were then seen to be in possession or under the protection of a divine tutelary force meant that they were themselves then associated with the divine. Personal *fortuna* therefore comes to be one of the elements that facilitated the development of the idea of the *imperator* or emperor as divine even during his lifetime. This process brings together two elements that account for the divinity of the emperor: not only does *fortuna* provide him with divine aid, but it is through the power of the imperial *fortuna* that he, in divine fashion, provides victory, and other benefits to the Empire.

fortuna redux

Two new types of *fortuna* were specifically promulgated in the early years of the Principate: *fortuna redux* and *fortuna Augusta/Augusti*. The latter *fortuna* is recognisable as something akin to the earlier *fortuna Caesaris*. However, it appears that *fortuna redux* was the object of public cult before *fortuna Aug.* Although there had been a series of dedications and associations that would have allowed for the institution of an imperial *fortuna* in the period directly following Actium, we should see in the somewhat delayed development of *fortuna Aug.* at Rome an expression of the general early-Augustan caution regarding overt manifestations of divine association and the implications of emperor worship.²⁶³ To claim an imperial *fortuna* of one's own was, on balance, very different from a claim to the inheritance of the *fortuna* of a *diius* like Caesar. The worship of *fortuna redux* therefore allowed for the state to make more indirect claims about Augustus'

²⁶³ Pollini (1990: 334-363) has shown that in the period after 27 BC the public advertisement of Augustus' assimilation with the divine ceased, becoming appropriate only in the private sphere.

association with the divine, allowing the worship of the *fortuna Aug.* to develop outside of Rome and outside of the officially sanctioned state cult.

Some scholars have located the beginning of the cult of *fortuna redux* at the time of Caesar's offering of a sacrifice to *fortuna* before departing from Rome in 49, which they allege presaged the foundation of a temple to *fortuna*.²⁶⁴ Weinstock sees a strong maritime association for this hypothetical cult: the supposed allusions to it in Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.7, and in the iconographic importance of the rudder of *fortuna* (which he wrongly asserts to be an invention of Caesar's), linking the foundation of this cult to the story of Caesar in the fishing boat.²⁶⁵ This hypothesis is attractive, but unverifiable, with the evidence offered being merely a reflection of the growing importance of personal *fortunae* during the Late Republic.

The earliest indisputable evidence for the cult of *fortuna redux* is Augustan. Augustus had been absent from Rome since September of 22 BC. In his absence there had been turmoil in Rome: the people had twice refused to elect more than one consul.²⁶⁶ C. Sentius Saturninus alone was consul in the first half of 19 BC. C. Egnatius Rufus, having risen from *aedile* to *praetor* by championing the causes of the plebs, attempted to have himself elected to the consulship.²⁶⁷ Saturninus blocked his candidature, but then faced a popular uprising. The uprising was put down and Rufus was executed for a conspiracy against Augustus. Dio records that in an attempt to quell the unrest the senate sent a delegation to Augustus.²⁶⁸ Q. Lucretius Vespillo was appointed to the empty consulship, either at the

²⁶⁴ For the sacrifice see Dio 41.39.2. For the scholarship on this episode: De Caprariis 2005: 143-144 who takes part of her argument from Weinstock 1971: 116-119. However, one is inclined to believe that, had the cult of *fortuna redux* been a Caesarean invention, both the sources and Augustus would have made more of the connection.

²⁶⁵ For the rudder as an attribute of *fortuna* see Chapter 3: pp. 186.

²⁶⁶ Dio. 54.6.1-3; 10.1-2.

²⁶⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.91.1-4.

²⁶⁸ On this see Birley 2000 A.

time of the delegation to Augustus mentioned by Dio, or at the time of the senatorial delegation that was sent to meet Augustus in Campania (recorded in the *Res Gestae*).²⁶⁹ The political turmoil that marked Augustus' absence had made it clear to the senate that they now relied on Augustus to govern Rome effectively and that Augustus was truly necessary for the peaceful continuation of the state. Indeed, Dio recalls that the senate gave him an array of new powers at this point, and asked him to set everything straight and to make whatever laws he wished.²⁷⁰ As part of the celebration the senate consecrated the altar of *fortuna redux* on the 12th of October at the Porta Capena, near the temple of *honor* and *uirtus*.²⁷¹

The Porta Capena was itself associated with travel, as it was outside this gate that proconsuls travelling to and from the provinces were formally greeted.²⁷² While the epithet *redux* is most often interpreted as something akin to 'home-bringer', the force that brings the emperor home from his journeys abroad,²⁷³ the use of σωτήριος in the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* suggests a less restricted meaning. While the etymology of the epithet *redux* is connected with *reducere*, it is significant that the term first appears with an active sense in 19 BC with the foundation of this cult.²⁷⁴ Two and a half centuries after the cult's original foundation Dio gives ἐπαναγωγός as the calque of *redux*.²⁷⁵ This, in combination with the use of σωτήριος in the *Res Gestae*, reflects something of the complexity of the meaning of *redux*, i.e. 'bringing back' as well as 'safety, deliverance'. Later still, in the sixth century, John the Lydian's translation of *fortuna redux* as τύχη ἐπανασωστική

²⁶⁹ On the time of Vespillo's appointment see Ridley 2003: 180-182 and Cooley 2009: 153-154 *contra* Birley 2000 A: 719-721 and Rich 1990: 186-187.

²⁷⁰ Dio. 54.10.6.

²⁷¹ *RG* 11; Dio. 54.10.3. The altar was dedicated on 15 December.

²⁷² There was also a sanctuary of the god *Rediculus* in the area. For the significance of the area see Coarelli 2007: 214.

²⁷³ Cooley 2009: 151.

²⁷⁴ For a fuller discussion see Kajanto 1988: 36-37.

²⁷⁵ Dio. 54.10.3.

attempts to combine these meanings of the Latin.²⁷⁶ So for example, Curtius, writing in the mid first century AD, described the semi-divine Alexander as *redux*. Alexander is called *redux* immediately after Curtius had also called him *macedoniae columen ac sidus diuturnum* and described how the Greeks had begged him to have regard for his own *salus* and that of his men, and to return home from the East.²⁷⁷ Indeed, it is apparent from these translations that a similar range of meanings was understood for this epithet from the first to the sixth century AD.

The impression in the scholarly literature of a goddess solely concerned with ‘home-coming’ may, in part, be blamed on the possible obfuscation of the events surrounding the foundation of this cult in the *Res Gestae*.²⁷⁸ In this text, the consecration of the altar of *fortuna redux* is recorded as having taken place *consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinucio*. The text records the consecration of the altar before it records the deputation (which it says included the consul Q. Lucretius Vespillo) that was sent to meet Augustus in Campania. Dio, however, gives a different chronology: he says that the consecration of the altar occurred after Augustus had met with a delegation that was sent to ask him to resolve the political turmoil in Rome, and that later he evaded a delegation that was sent to welcome him into the city.²⁷⁹ It would seem that the text of the *Res Gestae* either overlooks the earlier delegation which Dio claims resulted in the voting of the altar of *fortuna redux* and records only a delegation sent to welcome Augustus, or it conflates the two delegations

²⁷⁶ Lyd. *Mens.* 4.132: τῆ τύχῃ τῆ ἐπανασωστικῇ διὰ τοὺς νικηθέντας Γότθους. This sense of salvation is conveyed in an inscription from the column of the Goths in Constantinople (late third or early fourth century): *CIL* 3.733: FORTVNAE / REDVCI OB / DEVICTOS GOTHOS.

²⁷⁷ Curt. 9.6.9. Curtius’ description of Alexander as *redux* forms part of a longer attempt in the later books of his work (made most explicit in Book 10, esp. 10.9.1-7) to associate Alexander with the Roman emperors. It is therefore possible to read this instance of the epithet as reflecting a more properly imperial usage.

²⁷⁸ Even if the hypothesis offered by Greg Rowe on 6 June 2011 at the Oxford Epigraphy Workshop in a talk entitled *A Commemoration of Commemorations: the Res Gestae in the Context of Augustan Epigraphy* is correct and the *Res Gestae* should be understood as an epigraphic reproduction of senatorial honours to Augustus, this does not discount the idea that the compilers of the text would have used the facts to create a narrative that was favourable to Augustus.

²⁷⁹ Dio 54.10.1-4.

that Dio mentions.²⁸⁰ If we take the chronology offered in the *Res Gestae*, then the altar and the delegation must both be understood as expressions of joy at Augustus' homecoming made by a peaceful and well ordered senate.²⁸¹ However, if Dio is right and the consecration of the altar occurred after the first delegation then we should understand the altar as being a celebration for the way that, in returning to Rome, Augustus had dealt with the electoral chaos, putting an end to the instability that Rome had been experiencing.

The Greek version of this inscription, using σωτήριος in place of *redux*, suggests that we read this not only as a cult of joyful homecoming, but as expression of the way that the people, and now the senate, acknowledged the fact that Augustus (and perhaps the *fortuna* that accompanied him) was Rome's saviour, the preserver of the new and unstable peace. The provincial versions of the *Res Gestae*, whether inscribed in Greek or Latin, all seem to be associated with sanctuaries of emperor worship.²⁸² The Greek version from Ancyra was inscribed on the temple of *Roma* and *Augustus*. In this context, any suggestion of divine or soterial associations for Augustus would have been emphasised in a way that they could not have been at Rome.

Too strict a focus on homecoming also obscures the association of this cult with victory. While in the East in 20 BC, Augustus had secured the return of the Parthian standards. Dio outlines the different celebrations planned for their return and the various honours to bestowed upon the victorious (albeit only diplomatically) Augustus upon his return.²⁸³ When describing the reasons for the founding of the cult of *fortuna redux* Dio chiefly

²⁸⁰ Debate on these two versions of events has centred around the constitutionality of Vespillo's appointment to the consulship: whether Vespillo was already consul when he partook in the delegation mentioned in the *Res Gestae*. Ridley 2003: 180-182 and Cooley 2009: 153-154 *contra* Birley 2000 A: 719-721 and Rich 1990: 186-187

²⁸¹ Debate on these two versions of events has centred around the constitutionality of Vespillo's appointment to the consulship

²⁸² Cooley 2009: 7-18.

²⁸³ Dio. 54.8.3. See Rich 1998.

emphasises Augustus' quelling of the political upheaval, but he also says that this cult was voted (along with many other honours) because of other things that Augustus had accomplished while he was away.²⁸⁴ One of these other accomplishments was almost certainly the return of the Parthian standards. The location of the altar of *fortuna redux* near the temple of *honos et uirtus* reinforces this connection with victory. We have already seen how the joint cult of *honos et uirtus* had been associated with victory by Marius.²⁸⁵ These gods, and their temples outside the Porta Capena, had likewise been used by Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus in the third century to celebrate their victories and triumphs.²⁸⁶ Although by this time Augustus was consistently refusing offers of triumphs, Rich has shown how he continued to participate in ceremonies associated with triumph.²⁸⁷ The Augustan altar of *fortuna redux* can thus be read in the light of the triumphal monuments around it as a substitute for a Parthian triumph. Domitian's temple to *fortuna redux*, built after his return to Rome in AD 93 following his campaigns in Germany, restates this connection between *fortuna redux* and victory.²⁸⁸ Martial associates this temple with the triumphal monuments that surrounded it: *stat sacer et domitis gentibus arcus ouat / hic gemini currus numerant elephanta frequentem, / ... /haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis; hos aditus urbem Martis habere decet.*²⁸⁹ But Augustus' monument was not only linked with triumph, but also with the peace that ideally follows it. When Augustus re-entered Rome in 13 BC after victories in Spain and Gaul, the senate again voted that the *ara pacis Augusta* be voted [PRO] REDIT[V].²⁹⁰ This altar took as its model the earlier altar of *fortuna redux*: like the *ara fortunae reducis*, it celebrated the

²⁸⁴ Dio. 54.10.3.

²⁸⁵ See pp. 70 above.

²⁸⁶ Clark 2007: 66-8; Ziolkowski 1992: 58-59; Torelli 1982: 29. Torelli conflates the Porta Capena with the Porta Triumphalis.

²⁸⁷ Rich 1998: 72.

²⁸⁸ Mart. 8.65.

²⁸⁹ Mart. 8.65.6-12. See Beard 2007: 98-101 on this poem and the location of the Porta Triumphalis.

²⁹⁰ RG 12. Dio (54.25.3) tells us that the senate also voted him various honours which he refused.

victorious return of the emperor and it lay outside of the city on the route by which Augustus had re-entered the city.²⁹¹ Torelli has pointed out that the account in the *Res Gestae* links the altar of *fortuna redux* with the *ara pacis*, cumulating with the closing of the temple of Janus Quirinus.²⁹² The triumphal meaning of the *ara fortunae reducis* is thus transformed into one of peace, the result of victory, both states that are credited to the soterial person and presence of the emperor.

The force of *redux* is thus one of safe return, peace, and victory, and also of more general salvation. However, although many inscriptions mentioning *fortuna redux* (often framed according to the conventional *pro salute* formula) are in some way connected with travel and home coming, these meanings are often subordinated to the soterial and tutelary functions of the goddess.²⁹³ Indeed, these aspects of the cult seem to become more pronounced in the second and third centuries. A dedication in AD 233 by a local *ordo* from Sicca in Africa Proconsularis ostensibly celebrates the return to Rome of the emperor after campaigning against the Sassanians.²⁹⁴

FORTVNAE REDVCI AVG(VSTAE) IMP(ERATORIS) CAES(ARIS) M(ARCI)
AVRELII SEVERI ALEXANDRI ... ET IVLIAE MAMMAEAE A[V]G(VSTAE)
[MATRI]S AVG(VSTI) ... ET SENATVS ET PATRIAE TOTIVSQVE DOMVS
DIVINAE.

However, the senate, the emperor's mother, the *patria*, and the imperial household presumably did not all depart and return with the emperor. Rather, the inscription seems to celebrate the safe continuation of the entire apparatus of government, despite this state having been seemingly endangered by the travels of the emperor. At times the connection with travel disappears altogether. An inscription, from early second century Britannia, set

²⁹¹ See Rich 1998: 74-75.

²⁹² *RG* 11-13. Torelli 1982: 27-8. For the triumphal associations see also Cooley 2009: 151-6.

²⁹³ Kajanto (1988) has tabulated the epigraphic evidence for *fortuna redux* and has shown that it is not exclusively connected to a wish for the happy return of the emperor.

²⁹⁴ *CIL* 8.1624, cf. Kajanto 1988: 43.

up to *fortuna redux*, Aesculapius, and *salus* by the freedmen and slaves of an imperial legate shows how *fortuna redux*, along with the other, more medicinal deities, had saved the dedicators' master from an illness.²⁹⁵ *fortuna redux* had not only been a saviour to the man, but also restored him to the point that he had been at before he became unwell.²⁹⁶

While inscriptions like this last one demonstrate that the association of *fortuna redux* is not solely with the emperor, a great many inscriptions to this goddess are dedicated FORTVNAE REDVCI AVG. and show the goddess as an expression of imperial power. So, the Arval Brethren sacrificed to *fortuna redux* on Vespasian's *aduentus* in AD 70, and Vespasian promoted this cult as part of the celebrations of his victory and the peace that it brought, connecting his rule to that of Augustus.²⁹⁷ Likewise Domitian seems to have used *fortuna redux* not only to celebrate his return from Germany in 93, but to advertise the victories won there.²⁹⁸ In both these cases the use of *fortuna* draws on the precedent of previous emperors, notably Augustus, and so serves to legitimate the current emperor in terms of dynastic and ideological succession. Thus, drawing on the Augustan model of the cult, *fortuna redux* functioned not only as a way of advertising the military victories which validated imperial power, but also as a means of suggesting the peace which the emperor brought to Rome through these victories. In this way the cult functioned as a signifier of two of the most important aspects of the emperor's role: ensuring victories against foreign enemies, and ensuring the internal stability of the empire through the maintenance of *pax*.

²⁹⁵ *RIB* I 445, cf. Kajanto 1988: 45.

²⁹⁶ This idea of *fortuna redux* as a restorer is clearest in inscriptions such as *CIL* 3.789 from Dacia (probably dating to the late fourth century) where she is thanked OB RES/TITVTIO/NEM BALI/NEI.

²⁹⁷ For the offerings of the *fratres aruales* see Henzen 1874: 86; 214; 122. For Vespasian's use of *fortuna redux* see Rausa 1997. For the ways that Vespasian celebrated his return see De Angeli 1999. See the discussion of Vespasian's use of *fortuna redux* in Chapter 3.

²⁹⁸ Domitian's temple to *fortuna redux* has been the subject of some controversy, with Coarelli (1988: 275) and De Carpariis (2005: 133) arguing on the basis of an inscription mentioning an AEDITVVS FORTVNAE REDVCIS from the time of Tiberius (*CIL* 6.8705) that the Flavian date for the temple's foundation is erroneous, and suggesting a much earlier one instead. Whether Domitian's temple was built after this is uncertain, but Mart. 8.65 clearly associates Domitian's return with a temple of *fortuna redux*.

In confirmation of the way that *fortuna redux* was thought of as deeply connected to the emperor and the structures of the Empire, dedications to FORTVNAE REDVCI AVG. were often set up in straightforward celebration of the emperor and his reign, often by a local *ordo*, or member of such, as an expression of loyalty.²⁹⁹ However, some are dedicated by private individuals *pro salute* of other private persons. An inscription from Thibilis in North Africa (second half of the second century) was dedicated by a freedman of Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus: FORTVNAE RE/DVCI AVG(VSTAE) / SACR(VM) / PRO SALVTE AN/TISTIOR(VM) ADVENTI / ET BVRRI ET LI/BER{I}O{S}R(VM) EORVM.³⁰⁰ Here *fortuna redux Aug.* is cultivated in association with something that is not immediately connected to the emperor. This suggests that *fortuna redux Aug.* was interpreted not only as an imperial deity, who guarded things directly relevant to this political sphere, but that she also, on a less grand scale, extended this protection, through the person of the emperor, to his subjects.³⁰¹ The dedication by Antistius' freedman is paired with another by him that tells of this relationship. This inscription, mirroring the words of the dedication to *fortuna redux*, reads: VICTOR(IAE) AVG(VSTAE) SACR(VM) / PRO SALVTE ANTIS/TIOR(VM) ADVENTI ET / BVRRI ET LIBERO(RVM) / EORVM.³⁰² Antistius campaigned with Lucius Verus in the Parthian war of 162-164, and, as such, the *uictoria Aug.* of the dedication is likely that won in 164. This victory provided for the safety and return of Antistius, allowing for the connection between *fortuna* and *uictoria*. Verus, as emperor and campaigning with Antistius, could be

²⁹⁹ For dedications to *fortuna redux Aug.* in the early third century see for example *CIL* 8.6303; 6944; *AE* 1916:15.

³⁰⁰ *IL Alg.* 2.4631 A and B. For a discussion of this inscription and the epigraphic context see Cagnat 1905: 48-9. For a discussion of Antistius' career see Bertrand 1976.

³⁰¹ Likewise, private dedications to *fortuna redux* frequently include mentions of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This further suggests that although this cult was concerned with the integrity of the Roman state as a whole, it was able to address the concerns of individuals. See (e.g.) *CIL* 3.3158A; 13.5474; 5475; 5476. The connection may in part be due to the fact that it is on the altar of Capitoline Jupiter that a general sacrificed at his departure and vowed to sacrifice for the victory; it is here that he then sacrificed as *triumphator* should he return successfully.

³⁰² *IL Alg.* 2.4651 A and B.

looked to as providing *uictoria Aug.* as well as overseeing the salvation provided by *fortuna redux Aug.*

Thus, the emperor was thought to dispense this *fortuna* to his subjects: Epictetus tells of how the people of Nicopolis were accustomed to pray νῆ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἐλεύθεροί ἐσμεν.³⁰³ Likewise Suetonius recounts how Augustus, encountering an Alexandrian ship while sailing by the gulf of Puteoli, was hailed by those on board who said that *per illum se uiuere, per illum nauigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.*³⁰⁴ Here the words of the Egyptian sailors recall the ritual acclamation that the living emperor (worshipped as a god) received in Alexandria. Wardle points out that the sailors had probably prayed to Augustus ἐπιβατήριος for a safe voyage in the *Sebasteion* at Alexandria before setting out.³⁰⁵ As a cultic epithet, ἐπιβατήριος recalls something of *redux* in the imperial cult of *fortuna*, implying the protection of travellers (especially seafarers) and the good fortune of felicitous arrival.³⁰⁶ The *fortuna redux Aug.* is, as we shall see, akin to the *fortuna Aug.*, which, like the *fortuna Caesaris* (for example in *Bell. Alex.* 43.1) extended its protection, through the person of the emperor, to his subjects.

Despite the diversity of uses attested by the epigraphic evidence for this imperial *fortuna* it is possible to see that some broader meanings emerge. *fortuna redux*, through its association with travel, has the primary meaning of home-bringer: she is the goddess who returns travellers, especially the emperor, safely. The cult also has the subsidiary meaning of *fortuna redux* as saviour and restorer, evident from dedications that credit this goddess with the salvation of men from sickness, and the restoration of the institutions of

³⁰³ Epict. *Diss.* 4.1.14.

³⁰⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 98.2. The incident as an acclamation: Clark 2007: 272.

³⁰⁵ Rocca-Serra 1974: 675; Fishwick 1984; 1987; 1991: 532; Wardle forthcoming in *Classical Quarterly*.

³⁰⁶ Fishwick 1984: 132-133; Levy 1982/1983.

government, and, even more prosaically, the restoration of bath complexes.³⁰⁷ These three meanings, saviour, restorer, home-bringer, are all conceptually similar; they are all concerned with moving from a state of danger into one of safety. The association of *fortuna redux* with the emperor, not only in terms of its foundation but also in the epigraphic practice that commonly associates this goddess with *fortuna Aug.* means that it is through the mediation of the imperial power that the gifts of this goddess are extended to the people of the Empire.

In this function the imperial *fortunae* also served to unite the individual members and areas of Rome's territories into an empire, led by an emperor. We can see the importance of this unifying role in the number of dedications to *fortuna redux* found in the provinces as compared to the number from Italy. Kajanto has collected the epigraphic references to *fortuna redux*.³⁰⁸ We can calculate that from the 328 inscriptions from the provinces that mention *fortuna*, c. 16% are dedications to *fortuna redux*. However, of those from Italy, only c. 4% mention this goddess. Many of these, especially those from the African provinces, are set up by members of the local elite and give the epithet *Aug.* in addition to *redux*. For these men, dedicating to the imperial *fortunae* was one of the ways of communicating their loyalty to the distant emperor and of proclaiming their stake in, and membership of, the Empire.

fortuna Aug.

In the majority of cases it is impossible to tell whether this *fortuna* is thought of as *Augusti* or *Augusta* as the abbreviated forms *Aug.* or *Augg.* are used. This work will use *Aug.* or *Augg.* to refer to this *fortuna* since it reflects the general lack of distinction in the source

³⁰⁷ See above *CIL* 3.789: OB RES/TITVTIO/NEM BALI/NEI.

³⁰⁸ Kajanto 1988. Kajanto apparently omitted some inscriptions from his count (for example *ILS* 3172). See pp. 211 below.

material between the genitive or adjectival ending. Some scholars have attempted to see a significant distinction between the two forms of epithet.³⁰⁹ Others are more cautious, and suggest that the adjectival form simply conveys a slightly looser relation than does the genitive form.³¹⁰ The fact that the minters of coins and the dedicators of inscriptions did not see fit to note whether they were referencing the *fortuna Augusti* or *Augusta* suggests that the latter opinion is correct. Indeed, this indeterminacy might itself have proved useful. While the specific use of the epithet *Augusti*, might in the early period, at least in Italy, have seemed too suggestive of an imperial cult, *Augusta* and *Aug.*, suggesting a looser relationship to Augustus or simply leaving the question open, could be used to associate the deity in question with Augustus.

The first known shrine at Rome to a *fortuna* bearing the epithet *Aug.* dates to about AD 12.³¹¹ This is found on a dedication made by two *magistri*, both freedmen, of the Vicus Sandaliarius to STATAE FORTVNAE AVG. In this case, the *fortuna Aug.* takes over the role of Stata Mater, a popular recipient of Augustan compital worship.³¹² Stata Mater was responsible for protecting the neighbourhoods of Rome from fire, and was particularly popular with the lower social classes who had the most to fear from fire. The dedication from the Vicus Sandaliarius gives this role of protecting the poor of Rome from fire over to the *fortuna Aug.* However, as was typical with other aspects of the imperial cult, *fortuna Aug.* was recognised earliest by members of the local elites outside the city of Rome. In 3 BC a temple to *fortuna Aug.* was dedicated in the forum of Pompeii by M. Tullius, who, by the evidence of his titles and posts as *duumvir*, *quinquennalis*, *tribunus militum a*

³⁰⁹ See esp. Gradel 2002: 103-106 and Grant 1953: 167.

³¹⁰ Fears 1981 B: 887; Wallace-Hadrill 1981:309; Fishwick 2005: 230-231.

³¹¹ See *CIL* 6.761 for evidence of a shrine of *fortuna stata Aug.* For a brief discussion of this inscription see Lott 1995: 281.

³¹² Lott 2004: 167-177.

populo, and augur, was one of the town's foremost citizens.³¹³ This dedication was a Pompeian interpretation of the increasing importance played by the imperial *fortunae* in Rome: Tullius' temple followed close on Augustus' reorganisation of the *uici* in 7 BC and the incorporation of the worship of the *lares Augusti* and *genius Augusti* into the compital cults at Rome. Moreover, 7 BC had also seen the foundation in Rome of the cult of *concordia Aug.*, the first cult which assumed this imperial titulature as its cultic epithet. This increasing recognition of the emperor's divinity was attached to the idea of an imperial *fortuna*: the day of the foundation of the cult of *fortuna redux* was celebrated as the Augustalia, the first Roman festival ever to be named after a historical person.³¹⁴

The vigorous promotion of *fortuna Aug.* on coins from the time of Galba, who was the first to mint coins with this legend, will be discussed in Chapter 3, and it is enough to note that the religious history leading up to this makes the numismatic legend FORTVNA AVG. something more than the 'deified abstraction', advertising imperial 'blessings' and 'virtues', suggested by various scholars.³¹⁵ The epigraphic evidence suggests that, especially from the middle of the second century onwards, *fortuna Aug.* was very much a part of public worship, if not on a state level, then certainly on the part of the people. Thus, from this time onwards, the majority of inscriptions set up to this goddess, with the dedicatory formula *pro salute*, were erected for a member of the imperial household, if not

³¹³ *CIL* 10.820. Zanker (1998: 82) wrongly dates its first construction to one of Augustus' returns from his journeys, either to the East in 19 BC, or to the West in 13 BC, imagining this temple as a Pompeian counterpart to the Roman altar of *fortuna redux*. Hänlein-Schäfer (1985: 107) is a little more conservative, judging it to be mid-Augustan, with AD 3 as a *terminus ante quem*. Based on the evidence of *CIL* 10.824, Cooley (2006: 251) and Lott (1995: 159) date this cult to 3 BC. For a discussion of this temple see Lott 1995: 159 ff. It is also striking that the founder of this temple shares the name Tullius with Servius Tullius. A fact which may have helped to motivate his dedication to *fortuna*.

³¹⁴ *RG* 11; Dio. 54.10.3; Degrassi 13.2.519. Scheid 2007: 46. See Feeney 2007: 185-189 for the significance of this on the Roman calendar.

³¹⁵ See Introduction: pp. 12. For the idea of *fortuna* as abstraction, personification, or blessing, see: Axtell 1907; Mattingly 1937: 104; Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 310; Fears 1981 B: 832. The idea that deities such as *fortuna* were no more than this has been tackled by Clark (2007: 11-17). Price (1984: 11-15) suggests that the purpose of such 'explanations' is to ease the modern scholar's discomfort with a religious system that they find foreign and strange rather than to actually explain the phenomenon on its own terms. *Pace* Kajanto (1981: 517), who claims Vespasian was the first to use FORT. AVG. on his coins.

the emperor himself, as expressions of private, group, or municipal loyalty.³¹⁶ The idea of the *fortuna Aug.* (as well as that of *fortuna redux*) that is seen in these epigraphic and numismatic sources is of a *fortuna* that attends an emperor and his reign: a dedication to *fortuna Aug.* is equivalent to a dedication to these. That is not to say that these inscriptions offer evidence for the worship of the personal *fortuna* of any individual emperor. Rather, the idea of *fortuna Aug.*, like the golden statue in *SHA Seu. 23.5*,³¹⁷ is attached to the office of the emperor, not necessarily his person. The *fortuna Caesaris*, in becoming the *fortuna Aug.*, had changed into something less personal, and more concerned with the role of the emperor in the government of the empire.

Thus, although *fortuna Aug.* had a meaning similar to that of personal *fortuna* in that it was a *fortuna* attached to an individual, it was more commonly understood as a *fortuna* belonging to reigning *Augusti*, and was thus more attached to the office than the individual personality. Just as Octavian and Antony competed for a claim to the *fortuna Caesaris*, thereby making this *fortuna* something more than a strictly personal *fortuna*, so too again is the *fortuna Aug.* inheritable, a feature shown in the transfer, upon the death of the old emperor, of the golden statue of *fortuna* from his bedroom to that of the new emperor. As such, a *fortuna* that was attached to the emperor, and that could be inherited by his successors, helped to construct the idea of the rank of emperor. That this *fortuna Aug.* was the divine companion of the emperor's reign meant that it was the natural recipient of religious devotion to that reign. In other words, dedications to the *fortuna Aug.* were religious statements asserting the loyalty of the dedicators to the imperial system generally and to the emperor specifically. As with dedications to *fortuna redux*, religious veneration of the *fortuna Aug.* was one of the ways in which individuals and groups could identify

³¹⁶ See (e.g.) *CIL* 8.26471, *RIB* I 1778 (2nd century AD), *CIL* 8.25935 (3rd century AD).

³¹⁷ See also Suet. *Galba* 4.3. Cf. the discussion of this Chapter 2: pp. 123 and Chapter 3: 184.

themselves as belonging to a broader Empire. Members of the Empire were united by the reverence that they offered to the unifying figure of the emperor and his *fortuna*: they could all recognise the emperor as the single ruler of the far-flung Empire to which they belonged, and, by venerating his *fortuna*, could proclaim their membership of this group.

Conclusion

These various religions of *fortuna* differed depending on the circumstances of the foundation of their cults, the exact nature of the rituals associated with their worship, the social and/or sexual identities of their worshippers, and so on. The adaptability of *fortuna* cults – the way that the worship of *fortuna* was relevant to many different types of situation and social phenomena – shows the degree to which the Romans were concerned with propitiating *fortuna* in all aspects of their society. The constant adaption of *fortuna* to suit contemporary religious needs means that it is not only dangerous to reify the meanings of these cults by reading later evidence back into their earlier histories, but also that they are of great interest for social historians because they speak to the contemporary social concerns of their worshippers.

The meaning of luck is common to all the cults discussed in this chapter. It may, as in the cults of *fortuna primigenia* and *fors fortuna*, be understood by its worshippers as offering a successful outcome to an event such as a harvest or the birth of a child; or it may, as was the case with Servius and the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium, or the cult of *fortuna uirilis* and the *humiliores*, be interpreted as bringing about a change in their circumstances, bettering their earnings or advancing them from one social group to another. This luck that *fortuna* gave was often understood as offering protection to her worshippers at times of transition or danger: thus the *fortunae* of Antium warned those under their protection of

future dangers that they faced, and the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium protected girls making the transition to adulthood.

This protection could be extended to a specific person (like Servius Tullius), a group of people (such as the *ordo equestris*), or a place (such as Rome, Praeneste, or Antium). In these roles *fortuna* was understood as a poliadic goddess, a grantor of regnal, political, or social sovereignty and identity, and as the holder of the ‘Glückskraft’ of these people and places. These understandings of the religious nature of *fortuna* tied into the idea of her as a goddess of victory, an aspect of her various cults that became increasingly important as the Romans articulated in their worship a ideas of military success. By propitiating the *fortunae* of these cults, their worshippers and founders encouraged the idea of a *fortuna* that was consistently favourable: cults of *fortuna* were used to tie her into a relationship with a specific group (Romans, plebs) or an individual (Carvilius, Caesar) as a way of ensuring the continuance of the success that she brought. Thus, as a goddess of different people and events, *fortuna* could also be attached to important individual victories and the commanders who engineered them. So, *fortuna huiusce diei* is advertised by Lutatius Catulus as giving him the greatest portion of the victory that he shared with Marius, and as such is used as a tool of political self-definition, used by Catulus to assert political supremacy.

In connection with these political and military meanings, the religions of personal *fortunae* gained greater prominence. The increased importance of personal *fortunae* in the later republican period is a reflection of the way that the majority of military and political power was increasingly held by one individual at a time: the individualization of *fortuna* is an expression of the individualization of power. In the anachronistic way that our late republican/imperial sources understood the foundations and meanings of these early cults,

these sources read emerging contemporary ideas of *fortuna* back onto the distant past. Thus, even the earlier cults of *fortuna* were often described in the sources as having special connections to certain individuals (for example, Servius Tullius in the case of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium, or Coriolanus in the case of *fortuna muliebris*). However, the relationship between founder and *fortuna*, even in the various victory-giving *fortunae* of the Republic, was not exclusive. While these *fortunae* especially favoured some men over others, they were not specific only to these individuals: the favour of *fortuna equestris* could, despite its connection to Fulvius Flaccus, be called on by members of the equestrian order in the imperial period without their needing to make any reference to the cult's founder.

Unlike these *fortunae*, the *fortuna Caesaris* and the imperial *fortunae* could not be appropriated by others and were tied to the emperor and his office. Indeed in the early Augustan period, when Augustus permitted *triumphatores* to restore/dedicate buildings none of them was in any way associated with *fortuna* or *victoria* which were now, as triumphs were soon to become, the monopoly of the imperial family.³¹⁸ That is not to say that private individuals could not petition the imperial *fortunae* or call on their favour or help, but rather that any attempt to do so was mediated by the emperor – just as any new temples to *fortuna* had to be founded by the emperor or dedicated to an imperial *fortuna*. Unlike the earlier cults of *fortuna*, in which access to the goddess was not necessarily mediated through the founder of the cult, in the imperial cults it was only through the emperor that the inhabitants of the empire acquired the favour of *fortuna* and the luck, salvation, or protection that she gave. Given the importance of *fortuna* to matters of social identity, luck, and victory, the insertion of the emperor into the middle of the religious relationship between *fortuna* and her worshippers was one of the ways that real religious

³¹⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 29.5. See Beard 2007: 297-305.

power accrued to the emperor. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the imperial *fortunae* came to be one of the ways that the role of the emperor in relation to the empire was articulated. Just as Romans communicated with *fortuna* through the emperor, so, conversely, *fortuna* was used to communicate loyalty or devotion to the emperor and his household.

The imperial *fortunae* thus signified the divinity of the emperor and provided the inhabitants of the empire with a way to worship and propitiate him while still alive. Although the imperial *fortunae* had developed out of the personal *fortunae* of the late Republic, the imperial *fortunae* were not attached to the individual personalities of the emperors in the same way that the earlier *fortunae* had been. While in the Republic *fortuna* was used to differentiate the power of individual generals and as a way for them to claim individual glory, under the Empire each emperor inherited the right to the imperial *fortunae*, a fact which was not tied to the charismatic power of his personality, but to the office that he held. These *fortunae* thus helped to create a sense of the continuity of imperial power, linking each successive emperor to his predecessor. By worshipping the de-personalised imperial *fortunae*, members of the Empire had a unifying object of veneration, one that they could all share in, irrespective of who held the office of emperor. In this way the religious reverence that was due to each individual man who held this rank was transformed into a veneration of him as part of the apparatus of the Empire. This meant that even when the Empire changed hands there could be continuity of worship and continuity of Empire.

Chapter 2

fortuna in the Literary Sources

We have seen how *fortuna* was used in religious contexts to articulate the various political and social identities of the worshippers and founders of different cults, and to suggest that *fortuna* was particularly favourable to certain groups and individuals. The official nature of most of these cults meant that, on the whole, the *fortunae* that were worshipped in them were presented as beneficent and the relationships that they described were not open to any caprice on her behalf. In the literary evidence we see a more fragmented understanding of *fortuna* emerging. Each individual source interpreted *fortuna* according to the rhetorical needs of the context in which he was writing and according to his own literary agenda. These agendas often run contrary to the official ideologies of *fortuna* presented in cults and on coins. Indeed, if only the evidence of coins and inscriptions were available to us we would have no idea that *fortuna* could be portrayed negatively – these understandings of her are entirely restricted to the literary and philosophical sources.

While we cannot know precisely what a Roman thought when they saw the word *fortuna* in a literary text, we can analyse how *fortuna* was used and infer from that its semantic economy. Two key questions present themselves: what ideas did our sources associate with *fortuna*, and what do these associations tell us about how they understood *fortuna*? Ideally, such a study should include as many literatures of *fortuna* as possible, drawn from a range of genres. This allows us to test how the meanings and associations that our sources made for *fortuna* changed depending on the context of the discussion, and to track the semantic evolution of *fortuna*. We can then begin to write a history of the literary ideas

of *fortuna*, describing how *fortuna* was constructed in the literary ‘thought-worlds’ of Romans from the time of the late Republic to the second century AD.

The *fortuna* entry in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* runs to a massive twenty pages; while this is very useful for tracking individual uses of this word over time, it gives us little idea of the range of meanings employed by any given author, and how the usage of *fortuna* in a given work may relate to intra-textual elements or to the broader context of a given text. In order to articulate the significance and meanings of *fortuna* in the literatures of Rome it is necessary to examine each occurrence of the word in detail, paying attention to the way that the source in question constructed *fortuna* throughout the work and in relation to the context of the narrative. Since it is beyond this work’s scope to do so for every extant text and author, the texts consulted most extensively in this chapter have been selected with two considerations in mind. The first is the frequency with which the author used *fortuna*. I have compared how many times the authors’ various works used *fortuna* and have identified a number of works in which *fortuna* is used particularly often.³¹⁹ This selection is based on the premise that sources who referenced *fortuna* repeatedly either employed a wide range of meanings for the word, or that their repeated references to *fortuna* suggests a significant concern with at least one aspect of the word’s meaning. Thus the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (in which *fortuna* is used 70 times) is of greater relevance to this study than Petronius’ *Satyricon* (in which the word appears only 6 times). Moreover, the attention that Apuleius gives to *fortuna* is in direct contrast to the Λούκιος ἢ Ὀνοῦς of Pseudo-Lucian, which mentions τύχη only once.

³¹⁹ While these are the initial texts from which evidence will be drawn, frequently, where relevant, other sources are used to further enlighten the image of *fortuna* offered to us. In the works forming the basis of this study *fortuna* occurs 39 times in Caes. *BG*; *BC*: 32; Sall. *Cat*: 16; *Iug*: 21; Cic. *Leg. Man.*: 13; *De Diu.*: 25; *De Nat. Deo.*: 12; Nep. *Vir. Ill.*: 47; Verg. *Aen*: 67; Liv.: 518; Ov. *Trist.*: 40; *Ep. ex Pont.*: 36; Val. Max.: 94; Lucan: 145; Sen. *Ep. Mor.*: 166; Curt.: 129; Flor.: 32; Apul. *Met.*: 70.

Secondly our selection has been made with reference to the literary genre to which the work belonged. This allows us to see how *fortuna* was used differently according to different generic conventions, and thus whether some meanings of *fortuna* were genre specific. I will show how, according to the narratological needs of the texts, authors privileged certain constructions and characterizations of *fortuna* over others. For example, nowhere in Caesar's accounts of the civil war, and only once in his commentary on the Gallic wars, does the author explicitly construct *fortuna* as a personal, tutelary force.³²⁰ As will be shown, this is surprising, not only in light of how sources subsequently treated at length the subject of Caesar's personal *fortuna*, but also because of the contemporary development of religions of personal *fortuna* in Rome.³²¹ Indeed, while Caesar often uses *fortuna* to mean a force that brings luck in warfare, it is never because she favours him above others. By largely neglecting to construct *fortuna* in this way, Caesar foregrounds the role of his qualities of *consilium*, and *uirtus*, leading the reader to a practical interpretation of his military skill, rather than a religious reading of his success.³²² In part, this foregrounding of the practical over the numinous is in keeping with the genre of these texts as *commentarii*. While *commentarii* were not required to be straightforward and devoid of anything but factual material, this was certainly reported by Cicero as Brutus' understanding of Caesar's texts: he called them *nudi*, divested of all rhetorical ornament, supplying only the raw historical facts for those who might wish to compose a fuller history.³²³ By adopting this rhetorical pose, Caesar was able to avoid making any claims as to his personal *fortuna* that could potentially be interpreted as hubristic. He could instead simply detail his successes and the human qualities that contributed to them, allowing

³²⁰ Caes. *BG* 4.26.

³²¹ See the treatment of this in Chapter 1.

³²² For discussions of the qualities privileged by Caesar see Chapter 2 of Grillo's (2011) forthcoming treatment of Caesar's *BC*, where he comments on the different constructions of *uirtus* in the *BC* and *BG*; Riggsby 2006: 83 ff.; Goldsworthy 1998; Cancik 1986.

³²³ Cic. *Brut.* 262. See Eden 1962; Rüpke 1992; Raaflaub 2009 179-180; Vasaly 2009: 250-251 for discussions of Caesar's writings as *commentarii*.

these to be interpreted by later writers in light of the developing religion of his *fortuna*. By privileging the roles of moral and practical qualities, Caesar allows for these to be interpreted by others as the basis for his *fortuna*.

Although, as with Chapters 1 and 3 some of the evidence that I draw on comes from the third century AD and later, the chief works considered here range in date from the middle of the first century BC to the second half of the second century AD: Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* and *Bellum Ciuile*, Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia*, *De Diuinatione* and *De Natura Deorum*, Cornelius Nepos' extant biographical works, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Livy, Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Valerius Maximus, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Florus' *Epitome*, and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Although each author differs at least slightly in his use of *fortuna*, through textual comparison it is possible to observe a number of general meanings that emerge. Moreover, the chronological range of these sources allows us to observe any possible changes to the literary constructions of *fortuna*.

A number of scholars have attempted to assemble literary profiles of *fortuna*. Canter's 1922 study tried to understand the uses of *fortuna* as it appeared in Latin poetry, but mostly focussed on the word in so far as it reflected her nature as a goddess, and gave little indication as to how this might aid either an understanding of *fortuna* an object of worship, or the reasons as to the word's employment in a particular context. Erkell, in his 1952 study of the terms *fortuna*, *augustus* and *felicitas*, was primarily interested in tracking her literary relationship to *τύχη* and in distinguishing between the sources that demonstrated a 'belief' in the goddess *fortuna* and those that used the word to signify luck or chance. Scheinberg Kristol, when discussing *fortuna* in the *Aeneid*, developed a more useful

scheme whereby a distinction was made between *fortuna* as an active force of chance, and as a situation resulting from chance.³²⁴ Within Scheinberg Kristol's categories *fortuna* was then divided according to whether it was good, bad, or uncertain. One of the most comprehensive of these examinations of her meanings is to be found in Iiro Kajanto's survey article in *ANRW*.³²⁵ Here the author separates the occurrences of *fortuna* into 'passive' meanings and four general 'active' meanings: chance, luck, personal *fortuna*, and Fortuna/Τύχη, a combination of the eponymous Hellenistic and Roman goddesses.

Inevitably, as Kajanto admits, these categories tend to bleed into one another. So complex is the task of determining the meanings of *fortuna* that not even Kajanto's most basic categorization of 'active' and 'passive' senses of the word is unproblematic. Livy, to take just one example, in a speech given by Alorcus to the inhabitants of Saguntum persuading them to accept the terms offered by Hannibal, placed these words in the mouth of the Spaniard: *haec uictor hostis imperat; haec quamquam sunt grauius atque acerba, fortuna uestra uobis suadet*.³²⁶ *fortuna uestra* can be taken to fit a variety of Kajanto's categories, either 'passive', as state or circumstances, or 'active', as personal *fortuna*, their attendant *genius*, or force of luck. Here *fortuna* fits both senses quite comfortably, and it would be wrong to suggest that readers would have had to decide between 'active' and 'passive' meanings. Instead, we can imagine that Livy's literate audience, approaching this passage with the intra-textual knowledge that the phrase *fortuna uestra* was often used in Livy's speeches as a way of referring to other corporate *fortunae* such as that of the *populus Romanus*, and yet constructing the meaning of circumstances from the context of Alorcus' speech, might have drawn on both meanings rather than choosing one.³²⁷ Indeed, that certain literatures might have emphasised one meaning over the others does not necessitate

³²⁴ 1990: 174-176.

³²⁵ Kajanto 1981: 521-532.

³²⁶ Liv. 21.13.8. See Kajanto 1957: 63-98 for more of this scholar's approach to *fortuna* in Livy.

³²⁷ *fortuna uestra* as referring to *fortuna populi romani* in Livy's speeches: Oakley 1997: 627.

that their authors or audiences would have had to ignore all other ranges of signification for *fortuna*, only that they might have privileged one reading over the many that were possible, constructing a meaning appropriate to its textual context and their reading of the work. The positivist approach, such as Kajanto's and that of the *TLL*, seeks to observe semantic change and categories of meanings without understanding them as social processes. In these studies *fortuna* is simply observed to have different meanings, but ultimately there is a belief that these can all be incorporated within the totalizing semantic grid of the 'lexicon' which has a place for every nuance. Moreover, this approach means that it is change or semantic slippage which is thought to be in need of explanation. If we understand the construction of the meanings of *fortuna* as a continuous process that was effected by broader social and literary usages, then the instability and overlapping that can be observed in the meanings of *fortuna* should not strike us as odd.

A further problem is created by the undue prominence that the scholarly literature gives to certain meanings, while others are not dealt with at all. The association of Roman *fortuna* with Greek τύχη results in the category of Fortuna/Τύχη, a force characterized by adjectives such as *caduca*, *dubia*, *fallax*, *imbecilla*, *leuis*, *mutabilis*, *perfida*, *saeva*, *uersabilis*, etc.³²⁸ This is originally found in Patch's work on *fortuna*, in which he concludes that 'the literary Fortuna was a goddess of pure caprice', and Kajanto likewise interprets this aspect as being of great importance in literature.³²⁹ Patch's assessment in particular is formulated in response to how *fortuna* is used in medieval literature, and reads Roman *fortuna* in light of these later developments. However, if we consider the general characterization of *fortuna* by looking at her literary epithets, a far more balanced construction of *fortuna* emerges. Of the epithets of *fortuna* listed in the *TLL*, 79 may be

³²⁸ Fortuna/Τύχη; Kajanto 1981: 531.

³²⁹ Patch 1927: 144. Kajanto 1981: 521-532.

interpreted as broadly positive, 107 as negative, and 83 as neutral.³³⁰ Although the negative characteristics still outweigh the positive, and despite the fact that such a count pays no attention to the broader use of *fortuna* in these texts, it suggests a more nuanced picture than that offered by scholars who insist that *fortuna* in literature is understood almost entirely negatively. Not only does such an analysis rely on an understanding of *fortuna* as an ‘active’ force, again resorting to categorisation, but it conflates the textual functions of *fortuna* and the characterization of her actions and their outcomes. We can better comprehend the meanings constructed for *fortuna* if, rather than affording primary importance to the reception of her operations, it is first understood how she was thought of as operating: what actions, events and outcomes *fortuna* was most readily associated with, and how, conceptually, these associations were allowed for.

In what follows I shall therefore suggest that, rather than viewing these meanings as separate categories, an approach proposing that both ancient author and reader would have decided on a category of meaning for each occurrence of the word *fortuna*, we should understand *fortuna* as having a range of meanings, each reliant on the others for its sense and allowing for the creation of further meanings. In other words, no one meaning of *fortuna* stood alone and separate from the others, or could be accessed by an author or his audience without drawing on knowledge of the other literatures of *fortuna*. This would then allow both reader and writer to refer to certain aspects of meaning without ignoring others, giving the word a breadth of meaning that other attempts to impose categories must deny it. This chapter therefore does not present a new set of categories, but rather examines the reasons for and consequences of the choices that authors made in ascribing meanings to *fortuna*. I will therefore look at the different functions of *fortuna* in the texts

³³⁰ *TLL* VI. 1185.77-1188.44. I have interpreted epithets such as *adiutrix*; *constans*; *dulcis*; *felix*; *optabilis*, etc. as being broadly positive, epithets such as *acerba*, *crudelis*; *dubia*; *furibunda*; *lubrica*, etc. as broadly negative, and *altera*; *communes*; *intemptata*; *iudex*, *neutra*, etc. as neutral.

when certain meanings are emphasised; how these meanings were problematized in relation to each other, and in relation to other literary structures or actors; if these meanings developed and changed; and what this can tell us about the way that literary *fortunae* were constructed.

By the time our evidence begins, the process of negotiating the meanings of *fortuna* had already been ongoing for some time. Our late republican sources construct *fortuna* with reference to a range of meanings comparable to those we see in Apuleius, one of our later sources. In the imperial period, however, we see a greater emphasis on the role of the personal *fortunae* of generals and kings, perhaps as a result of the attention given to these *fortunae* towards the end of the Republic. From this emerges the imperial idea of a *fortuna* attached to rank. Almost all of our sources construct *fortuna* in the various ways outlined below, and only rarely does an author neglect to employ the full range of available meanings. Taking into account these developments, it would appear that, while each author might accent his construction of *fortuna* in different ways according to his literary agenda and the requirements of his narrative, a similar range of meaning was available to the readers and writers of the late Republic as to those of the Antonine Empire. Kajanto says of the literary uses of *fortuna*, ‘there is very little chronological development ... ideas and attitudes found in the republican period were common throughout the Empire’.³³¹ This collapses the distinction between the range of meanings employed in the various periods, which seems stable, with the way that our sources employed these constructions of *fortuna*, which, as we shall see, was not always identical under Republic and Empire: in many cases, the way that authors constructed and characterized *fortuna* was motivated by their relationship with Roman power.

³³¹ Kajanto 1981: 533

As circumstances

In every one of our sources *fortuna* is used to refer to material circumstances. At times this meaning is emphasised to such an extent that these may be simply translated as ‘riches’, as is the case in Foster’s Loeb translation of Livy 10.17.5.³³² However, often, despite the connotations of wealth or possessions, translators decline to use these seemingly uncomplicated translations, preferring instead the more nebulous term ‘fortune’. So Rolfe’s Loeb translation of a passage in Nepos’ *Atticus* (*ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate quam gratia fortunaque creuisset – multas enim hereditates nulla alia re quam bonitate consecutus est*) reads ‘up to that advanced age (he) increased in dignity, as well as in importance and fortune – for he acquired many inheritances through no other cause than his good qualities’.³³³ As Horsfall points out, in summing up the state of *Atticus*’ life at a certain point in time, Nepos uses three qualities (*dignitas, gratia, fortuna*) to refer to power over the physical world.³³⁴ Thus, the force of ‘fortune’ in Rolfe’s translation conveys some of the nuance of *fortuna*, which in this instance describes not only the idea of wealth, but also the social importance attendant on it.

The meaning of *fortuna* as a conflation of elements of social and material circumstances is apparent at Verg. *Aen.* 7.243 when Ilioneus, engaging in *captatio beneuolentiae*, says that Aeneas offers to Latinus *fortunae parua prioris / munera, reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas*. While the *fortuna* that Aeneas offers up consists of a golden bowl, *sceptrumque sacerque tiaras/ ... uestes*, clearly items of material wealth, he also ties each of these to their former positions of honour in Troy. The gold was used by Anchises to pour libations at the altars of Troy, the sceptre and diadem was the dress of Priam when he handed down

³³² Liv. 10.17.5: *omnes Samnitium urbes fortunaeque in urbibus relictas uestrae sunt.*

³³³ Nep. *Att.* 21.1.

³³⁴ Horsfall 1989: 107-108.

laws to the people, and the robes had been the work of Trojan hands. These *fortunae parua prioris munera* are not then simply the remainders of their wealth, the objects themselves, but also the remainder of their former status, and, as Horsfall suggests, ‘represent continuity of cult and power’.³³⁵ This *fortuna* cannot only be taken to mean their former wealth as represented by the gifts, but also their former social status in Troy. The individual gifts, testimonies of their *fortuna prior*, are constructed as making up a broader *fortuna* with the force of ‘circumstances’, in which individual *fortunae* are understood as accumulating into a larger single *fortuna*. In the case of *Aen.* 7.243 these two constructions of the meaning of *fortuna* are so close as to become almost indistinguishable.

Etymologically the word *fortuna* is an adjective formation of *fors*, which itself comes from *ferre* (to bring or carry away),³³⁶ and many sources show that the force of circumstance that brought such things could also be termed *fortuna*.³³⁷ These *fortunae* are already familiar from the religious meanings created for certain cults of *fortuna*. Cults like that of the Praenestine *fortuna primigenia* and the Roman *fors fortuna* were both thought of as giving individual *fortunae*: children, a successful harvest, the profit from this, etc. Moreover, cults of *fortunae* were also thought of as involved in the broader *fortunae* of their worshippers’ social status, helping them to move from servile to free, or confirming them as belonging to various sexual or social groups.³³⁸ Both the literary and the cultic understandings of *fortuna* show her as intimately involved with the material and social circumstances of life. She has ultimate control over how men experience the world – whether they experience it a wealthy man or as a poor man, as free man or slave.

³³⁵ Horsfall 2000: 185. Cf. similar list of gifts at *Aen.* 1.647. For a similar use of *fortuna prior* see *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 227.

³³⁶ Ayra 2002: 40; Champeaux 1982: vii; Kajanto 1981: 76; Canter 1922:64

³³⁷ See for example *Val. Max.* 3.4.4; 6.9.ext.4; 7.1.1; *Cic. de Orat.* 2.45-46; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 1.5.68; *Nep. Alc.* 2.1; *Att.* 3.3; *Liv.* 30.1.5. etc.

³³⁸ See Chapter 1.

As we shall see in the course of this chapter, in this all-powerful role, *fortuna* is associated with other forces that have absolute control over the circumstances of life: fate, Providence, and the emperor. Seneca, in a letter to Lucilius, encouraging him to seek moral virtue rather than material riches, imagines that *fortuna* holds games at which she distributes prizes to the crowd. The gifts that she showers down are *honores*, *divitiae*, and *gratia*, and the audience scrambles to grab hold of them.³³⁹ The description of *fortuna* in this passage is based on the euergetical role that the emperor normally performed, and which we see advertised on coins (in Chapter 3) which associate imperial largesse with *fortuna*. Suetonius describes games given by Nero at which he, like *fortuna* in the passage from Seneca, organised that *sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies*.³⁴⁰ Nero gave out corn, gold, slaves, and even islands. The gifts of *fortuna*, however, seem to have more mixed implications for the social or political status of the receiver: they result in the forming of *infida societas*, they can be harmful to those who catch them, etc. For Seneca the role that *fortuna* has in distributing the material circumstances of life is analogous to the control that the emperor exerts over the life of his subjects.

As luck

fortuna is often used by our sources to talk about ideas of *occasio*, *necessitas*, or *opportunitas* (depending on whether *fortuna* is to be read a good or bad luck).³⁴¹ The characterization of these moments as creations of *fortuna* as well as *fortunae* in themselves is apparent in most of the sources. Caesar, in his account of the civil war, describing how the Caesarean forces commanded by Fabius were caught at a disadvantage by the troops of

³³⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 74.7. These gifts recall the *dignitas*, *gratia*, and *fortuna* that Nepos gave to Atticus in the passage above.

³⁴⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 11.2.

³⁴¹ For *opportunitas* see Cic. *Phil.* 13.7; Liv. 35.6.9. For *necessitas* see Liv. 33.47.10; Luc. 5.522 (Matthews (2004:98) in her commentary interprets *fortuna* here as ‘the abstract divinity’ (as we can see from the examples above a reading of necessity is perhaps more apt). This idea of *fortuna* as *necessitas* and its relationship to *tempus* is discussed below.

Petreius and Afranius after the collapse of a bridge, describes *fortuna* as causing *necessaria res* for his men and giving *opportunitas* to the other side.³⁴² Here *fortuna* both embodies and provides a moment of good or bad luck. In each case *fortuna* is responsible for either the narrowing or expansion of possible choices: *fortuna* is controlling the circumstances in which Caesar's men find themselves and determining the range of action open to them.

As such, *fortuna* is often figured as a single force whose operations, although experienced as either good or bad luck, work in the same way in bringing these about. Livy presents Hanno as saying in a speech attempting to persuade the Carthaginians to sue for peace after their victory at Cannae:

*quam uaria uictoria priore Punico bello fuerit plerique qui meminerimus supersumus. numquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae uisae sunt quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt: lutatio et Postumio consulibus deuicti ad Aegates insulas sumus. quod si, id quod di omen auertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid uariauerit, tum pacem speratis cum uincemur, quam nunc cum uincimus dat nemo?*³⁴³

fortuna is described as having brought success to the endeavours of the Punic forces in the period up to 242, but likewise it was *fortuna* that brought about their defeat in the battle of the Aegates Islands.³⁴⁴ Hanno argues that, just as *fortuna* had brought them both good and bad luck in the past, so too might the good luck enjoyed by the Carthaginians at Cannae be followed by bad luck. Here Livy sets up *fortuna* as a zero-sum game: the side which, by luck, wins an unlikely victory does so at the expense of their enemy who meets an unlikely (and unlucky) defeat. According to this zero-sum construction of *fortuna*, the use of *fortuna* to denote luck announces at once its implied audience: good luck for the Romans is certainly bad luck for the Carthaginians, and *vice versa*.

³⁴² Caes. *BC* 1.40. See for also Corn. Nep. *Milt.* 3.3. and Sall. *Iug.* 56.4. (on which Koestermann (1971: 222) and Watkiss (1971: 226)).

³⁴³ Liv. 23.13.3-5.

³⁴⁴ On *fortuna* and the battle of the Aegates Islands see Chapter 1: pp. 35.

This close connection between the operations of *fortuna* and the object of these operations means that *fortuna* as luck is often perceived to reflect a qualitative truth about the characters in question. Thus, even the use of the term *fortuna* can, in these circumstances, be loaded: what some perceive as evidence of the operations of *fortuna*, others consider proof of military excellence and bravery. So, Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted that the rise of Rome was variously attributed by the Greeks not to εὐσέβεια, δικαιοσύνη or any other form of ἀρετή on behalf of the Romans, but rather to τύχη, a view which he hopes to combat by recounting μυριάς ... ἀρετάς.³⁴⁵ According to Dionysius' understanding, for Greeks to attribute the rise of Rome to τύχη is to denigrate the moral qualities of the Romans, and relies on an understanding of τύχη as essentially amoral. Conversely, when Florus describes the dangers and labours that beset Rome from the time of its foundation, he writes that they were so many and so great that *ad constituendum eius imperium contendisse uirtus et fortuna uideantur*.³⁴⁶ For Florus *uirtus* and *fortuna* are thought of as working together to ensure Rome's excellence – instead of the antagonistic relationship imagined by Dionysius, Florus understands *uirtus* and *fortuna* going hand in hand.³⁴⁷ Florus' pairing of *uirtus* and *fortuna*, unlike the Greek understanding of their opposition, constructs Roman success and the *fortuna* that gave it as justified and righteous. Both Florus and Dionysius seek to eulogize the rise of Rome, but the ways that they do shows up the difference in between the Roman understanding of *fortuna* and the Greek idea of τύχη. For Dionysius, being particularly blessed by τύχη is not diagnostic of ἀρετή and no relationship is imagined to exist between these two qualities. However, for Florus and (as

³⁴⁵ Dion. Hal. 1.4.2; 1.5.3. See also Oakley 2005 A: 199-203.

³⁴⁶ Flor. 1.1.2.

³⁴⁷ See pp. 115 below.

we shall see later) his source Livy, *uirtus* prompts *fortuna*; indeed, enduring *fortuna* is indicative of constant *uirtus*.³⁴⁸

The use of *felicitas* as a synonym for *fortuna* is important in this regard.³⁴⁹ By describing someone as a beneficiary of *fortuna* or *felicitas*, our sources foreground the actors on whom luck is bestowed and cast them in a positive light. As such, *fortuna* and *felicitas* are often used as evidence of personal excellence (for which they are the rewards). Cicero, in his speech of 66 BC arguing in favour of Pompey's supreme command, listed *felicitas*, along with *scientia rei militaris*, *uirtus*, and *auctoritas*, as essential qualities for a successful general.³⁵⁰ Pompey, he argued, had all of these qualities. *fortuna* and *felicitas* are used interchangeably in this speech and both are constructed as evidence of the *potestas deorum*, with *fortuna* described as *diuinitus adiuncta*.³⁵¹ The use of *felicitas* and the construction of *fortuna* as a form of divine favour allows Cicero to depict the good luck enjoyed by Pompey as more stable and lasting than (for example) that of Hanno and the Carthaginians in the Livy passage discussed above.³⁵² Moreover, by linking this luck to the other elements of Pompey's military success, Cicero suggests to his audience that his *felicitas* and *fortuna* will endure as long as his *scientia rei militaris*, *uirtus*, and *auctoritas* do. Cicero is therefore able to state that, although he does not fully consider *in illius*

³⁴⁸ See pp. 145 below. Oakley 2005 A: 199-203.

³⁴⁹ It is beyond the scope of this work to investigate *felicitas* except insofar as it relates to *fortuna* and is synonymous with good luck, or the success arising from such. That this was a feasible meaning of both *felicitas* and *fortuna* is explicitly stated in Servius' commentary on *Aen.* 3.16. *quotienscumque fortunam solam dicimus, felicitatem intellegi: unde et fortunatos tantum felices, et infortunatos solos infelices uocamus*. Augustine disagrees, seeing *fortuna* and *felicitas* as distinct: *an aliud est felicitas, aliud fortuna? Quia fortuna potest esse et mala; felicitas autem si mala fuerit, felicitas non erit* (*De ciu. D.* 4.18.4). However, in this passage Augustine is at pains to suggest the evil character of *fortuna*, and his dissociation of *fortuna* from *felicitas* is a function of this (See Conclusion: pp. 292 below). Naturally, the semantic range of *felicitas* is not co-terminous with that of *fortuna*, but there was certainly a degree of cognitive overlap.

³⁵⁰ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 28. Context: Clark 2007: 244-246.

³⁵¹ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 47-48. For *felicitas* as evidence of divine blessing see Erkell 1952: 50ff (following Erkell's view are Kajanto 1957: 72 ff; Fears 1977: 91; and Wistrand 1987); for *felicitas* as magical force see Wagenvoort 1954; 1947; Levi 1938).

³⁵² Cf. Gell. *NA* 3.7.19.

potestate fortunam, he is optimistic about the continuance of Pompey's luck.³⁵³ He uses Pompey's moral, military, and political qualities as a way of tying *fortuna* to Pompey and as a way of making this *fortuna* comprehensible and predictable. Attached to his personal qualities, *fortuna* is united to Pompey in a very particularized way and in a manner that suggests the idea of a personal *fortuna* (discussed below).

fortuna, along with Pompey's *uirtus*, and knowledge of military affairs, guaranteed his military success, and thereby justified his special command. As such *fortuna* is constructed as a sign of moral worth: as long as Pompey has *uirtus* he will also have *fortuna*. Winning battles thereby becomes a way of showing that he is worthy of a special command, that Rome's Empire is safe in his hands. Cicero's construction of *fortuna* in relation to Pompey serves as a statement of real, not simply rhetorical, power: Cicero uses the idea of *fortuna* as a way of successfully arguing for real political and military power to be given to Pompey. He bases this argument on an understanding, on behalf of his audience, of *fortuna* as a 'real' force that determines political and military realities.³⁵⁴ Statements about the *fortuna* of generals, emperors, and Empires thus serve, not only as descriptions or validations of the power that they hold, but collaborate in creating this power for them. As was shown in Chapter 1, the link between *fortuna* and military victory is frequent in cult from beginning of the third century BC onwards.³⁵⁵ Towards the end of that century we see M. Claudius Marcellus vowing a temple to *honos* and *uirtus* – divine moral qualities that had helped ensure his victory at the battle of Clastidium.³⁵⁶ Later, when Q. Lutatius

³⁵³ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 47.

³⁵⁴ In this I take issue with scholars like Kajanto who argue for the purely rhetorical nature of *fortuna*, claiming that authors such as Seneca and Ovid 'can scarcely have taken Fortuna seriously' and that their *fortuna* signify little more than 'rhetorical elaboration of some simple basic ideas' (1981: 532-533).

³⁵⁵ Chapter 1: pp. 50.

³⁵⁶ Ziolkowski 1992: 58-9; Liv. 27.25.7-9; Val. Max. 1.1.8; Cic. *de Nat. Deo.* 2.61.

Catulus laid claim to *fortuna huiusce diei*, Marius was able to counter Catulus' claim to the victory by claiming the moral qualities that would have ensured it: *honos* and *uirtus*.³⁵⁷

By choosing to place *fortuna* at the heart of the nexus of power (something that the earlier Greek sources by and large don't do), those Roman sources who favour the maintenance of this power are required to understand her operations as predictable and as linked to the other virtues of leaders (in a way that the Greek sources explicitly reject). Thus, an important axis of the interpretation of Roman *fortuna* is the source's attitude to Roman power (or to those men who hold power in Rome): an author's understanding of *fortuna* either as something which can be controlled by virtue and skill, or as giving her gifts to the undeserving is linked to his relationship to Rome and its leaders.

As luck that favours particular individuals

The favour shown by *fortuna* to Pompey is closely related to the way in which the sources, especially when treating narratives of the rise of Rome, or of the late Republic and the dynasts of that period, showed *fortuna* and her luck as especially concentrated in a single individual or group. Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar are all described as being, at some point in their careers, darlings of *fortuna*.³⁵⁸ As we have seen, during the Republic, men like Q. Lutatius Catulus, Fulvius Flaccus, and Sp. Carvilius Maximus advertised their relationships with *fortuna* by founding various cults to her.³⁵⁹ From amongst these competing claimants, Caesar is overwhelmingly represented as enjoying a special relationship with *fortuna*. Florus draws on this tradition when he describes the luck that *fortuna* brought to Caesar during the Civil War: he writes that after the fall of *Uarrone*

³⁵⁷ See Chapter 1: pp. 70.

³⁵⁸ The scholarship is extensive: see (e.g.) Sumi 2002; Kajanto 1981; Levi 1980; Avery 1967; Gilbert 1973; Weinstock 1971: 123ff; Bömer 1966; Friedrich 1954; Baldson 1951; Ericsson 1944; Warde-Fowler 1903.

³⁵⁹ See Chapter 1.

*Gades, fretum, Oceanus, omnia felicitatem Caesaris sequebantur.*³⁶⁰ This *felicitas* is figured as a signal of the favour of *fortuna* and Florus even constructs the difficulties suffered by Antony and Curio as proof of the way that *fortuna* promoted the interests of Caesar: *fortuna* engineered adversity so as to *industria prospera eius aduersis radiarentur.*³⁶¹ A similar characterization of *fortuna* in relation to Caesar can be found in Lucan, whom Florus used as a source for his account of the civil war.³⁶² Attempting to cross to Italy in a small fishing boat, Caesar and his fisherman pilot are beset by a storm.³⁶³ This storm is interpreted by Caesar not as *fortuna* presenting an obstacle (although he doesn't reach his destination), but as *fortuna* offering assistance. Caesar tells the fisherman that *quaerit pelagi caelique tumult / quod praestet fortuna mihi.*³⁶⁴ Florus and Lucan thus incorporate an idea of unreliable *fortuna* into the narrative of *fortuna* as the champion of Caesar.

Although the cults of *fortuna* promote an understanding of *fortuna* as stable in her favour, in the literary sources this relationship is often undermined. Lucan's depictions of Caesar's faith in *fortuna* and her favour of Pompey are balanced by her ultimate betrayal of these men. Her desertion of Pompey is described as occurring due to her being *lassata triumphis/... tuis*, and is thus constructed as the reversal of the *felicitas* and *fortuna* given to him by Cicero.³⁶⁵ Moreover, despite Caesar's faith in his special relationship with *fortuna*, she orchestrates the conspiracy of Brutus.³⁶⁶ As such, Lucan undercuts the narrative that constructed the power of Pompey, Caesar, and the emperors as founded on

³⁶⁰ Flor. 2.13.29.

³⁶¹ Flor. 2.13.30-31.

³⁶² Emberger 2006.

³⁶³ Luc. 5.504-677. See Chapter 1: pp. 76.

³⁶⁴ Luc. 5.591-593.

³⁶⁵ Luc. 2.726-728. Lucan's use of Cicero (esp. for Pompey): Narducci 1982; Holliday 1969; Malcovati 1953. He uses the verb *desciscere* to describe this separation of *fortuna* from Pompey, which Fantham (1992: 220) notes is drawn from the vocabulary of politics and implies that *fortuna*, like the people of Brindisium, has seceded from *fides* with Pompey.

³⁶⁶ Luc. 5.206. See further below pp. 140.

the favour of *fortuna*. Descriptions of the instability of her favour regarding these men serves to undermine their claims to military and political power. While for Lucan the instability of *fortuna* is used to reflect negatively on Caesar, for Florus, just as Rome *tot in laboribus periculisque iactatus est, ut ad constituendum eius imperium contendisse uirtus et fortuna uideatur*, so too does this same characteristic serve only to bring even greater glory to Caesar's victories.³⁶⁷

As personal *fortuna*

In many cases the sources describe these relationships with *fortuna* in such a way that it becomes apparent that *fortuna* signifies an intrinsic force akin to *genius* or δαίμων (in Greek sources) rather than an extrinsic force that gives luck and success.³⁶⁸ At the beginning of the second century AD, Plutarch, drawing on stories from the propaganda war between Antony and Octavian, uses the two terms interchangeably.³⁶⁹ In Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, a diviner warns Antony that τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτην οὕσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀμαυροῦσθαι, and cautions him to stay far away from the young Octavian, for, he says, σός ... δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται.³⁷⁰ A similar construction can be found in Plutarch's preceding account of this incident found in his work *περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης*. Here the Egyptian warns Antony that ἡ τύχη σου καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐστὶ μεγάλη, κολακεύει δὲ τὴν τούτου· ἐὰν μὴ μακρὰν ἦς, οἰχήσεται μεταβάσα

³⁶⁷ Flor. 1.1. See pp. 115 above.

³⁶⁸ As an introduction to δαίμων see Brenk 1986. On *genius*, Maharam 2004; Kunckel 1974; Nock 1947: 109; Rose 1923.

³⁶⁹ Pelling 1988: 207; Carter 1970: 184. Pelling points out that Plutarch associates phrases with Antony's δαίμων that are apposite to Antony himself: it is γαῦρος and ὑψηλός, growing humble and ἀγεννέστερος in the face of Octavian's δαίμων. For Plutarch's use of δαίμων and τύχη see Brenk 1973: 9ff.

³⁷⁰ Plut. *Ant.* 33.2-3. From as early as the fourth century BC the Greek sources evince a similarity in meaning between δαίμων and τύχη. For example in a speech written by Lysias against Agoratus, the speaker tells his audience that the men that survived Agoratus' inept command, were only saved on account of ἡ...τύχη καὶ ὁ δαίμων (63). For more on this see Dodds 1951: 42 n.80.

πρὸς αὐτόν.³⁷¹ In these examples both τύχη and δαίμων clearly refer to a personal force of destiny that in some way directs either the actions of men or their outcomes.

To understand how the idea of personal *fortuna* was constructed it will therefore be useful to understand the concepts of δαίμων and *genius*. When speaking in terms of a personal force, there seems to be little difference between the two ideas. We see this in the way that, in the Greek speaking parts of the Empire, the number of dedications made to the δαίμων or τύχη of the ruler or emperor increases significantly under Roman rule: this seems to suggest that, rather than these terms always having been understood as equivalents to *genius* or *fortuna*, the two ideas were connected as a result of contact with Rome.³⁷²

Knowledge of the Roman idea of *genius* and *fortuna* seems to have influenced the Greek practice of venerating an emperor's δαίμων or τύχη. Thus, just as Greeks might swear by,

³⁷¹ Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 7. Telling is the idea expressed here that Antony's τύχη might desert him and go over to Octavian, perhaps suggesting a construction of τύχη as fate.

³⁷² Indications to the contrary are rare, isolated, and often appear in exceptional contexts. **τύχη**. The emperor's τύχη commonly appears in imperial era papyri, the earliest examples being *BGU* 4.1141.10 (13 BC? Alexandria) and *P.Lond.* 2.354.14-15 (ca. 7-4 BC). By contrast, there are only two Hellenistic examples: **i)** *P.Lond.* 7.2045.4-5 (mid-3rd c. BC): ὁμνύω τὴν σὴν τύχην καὶ τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα ψευδῶς ἀπὴγ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἔμμαι. It is not even the king whose τύχη is invoked, but that of the deputy of one of his court officials. **ii)** *BGU* 8.1764.8-9, a report from a *strategos* to his superior (mid-1st c. BC): διὰ τὴν τύχην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου βασιλέως [καὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ] πρόνοιαν. This appears to be the only genuine attestation in the papyri. Weinstock 1971:127 argues for Hellenistic precedent on the basis of four examples, of which three are suspect. **i)** *CIG* 2693b: the 1843 edition gave the text as ὁ δῆμος Τύχηι Ἐπιφανεῖ βασιλέως, but Adolf Wilhelm had already shown in 1898 that ὁ δῆμος Τύχηι Ἐπιφανεῖ and βασιλέως are separate inscriptions from different eras (respectively, *I.Mylasa* 339 [imperial] and *I.Mylasa* 9 [4th c. BC]): Hornblower 1982: 252-3 n. 241. **ii)** Strabo 12.3.31 relates to the Anatolian-Iranian cult of Μῆν Φαρνάκου, which was so greatly venerated by the Pontic kings that it was included in their royal oath: τύχην βασιλέως καὶ Μῆνα Φαρνάκου. This example, along with **iii)** *I.Estremo Oriente* 213.4-6 (Susa, ante 8 BC?), mentioning the τύχη of Tiridates and the δαίμων of the Phraates IV (r. 38 BC – 2 BC), as well as the two texts discussed below mentioning Antiochus of Commagene's δαίμων, are probably not indicative of Greek thought. All three cases are thought to reflect Greek attempts at approximating the Zoroastrian notion of a Fravaši, the guardian spirit of an individual first mentioned in the Avesta (see M. Boyce in *EIO* s.v. and the bibliography collected by Canali de Rossi for *I.Estremo Oriente* 213). **iv)** *I.Smyrna* 573.61 (shortly after 246 BC, Smyrna), relating to Seleucus II, is the only legitimate example; for some thoughts on the reasons for this interesting innovation, see Meyers 2006: 345. A further example missed by Weinstock is *TAM* II 1183 (Phaselis, ca. 367-53 BC), but for arguments against the restorations required for this interpretation (which would in any case relate to the Persian Great King) see Hornblower 1982: 153 n. 127. **δαίμων**. The Hellenistic references in inscriptions to the δαίμων of a king may be evidence instead of syncretism with Zoroastrian ideas, as outlined above: *I.Estremo Oriente* 213.4-5 (Susa, ante 8 BC?); *IGLSyr.* I.1.IB.84-8 (Nemrut Dağı, ante 31 BC) and *IGLSyr.* I.47.III.4-5 (Arsameia, ca. 64-38 BC). Hellenistic papyri yield nine relevant examples: *BGU* 6.1257.10 (c. 270-58 BC); *P.Cair. Zen.* 3.59462.9 (post 246 BC); *P.Col.* 3.18.3 (c. 257 BC); *P.Col.* 4.66.23 (c. 256-5 BC); *P.Lond.* 7.2045.4-5 (mid-3rd c. BC); *P.Mich.* 1.107.20-1 (mid-3rd c. BC); *P.Tebt.* 3.1.701.338 (ca. 235-131 BC); *P.Tebt.* 3.1.765.10 (153 BC); *PSI* 4.361.6 (251/0 BC). This is more than comparable uses of τύχη, but still pales in comparison to the number of imperial era attestations.

offer praise to, and sacrifice to the δαίμων or τύχη of the emperor, so too did Romans give libations to the emperor's *genius*, and worshipped it in the compital cults.³⁷³ The epithets associated with *fortuna* and *genius* in inscriptions suggest that under the Empire *fortuna* and *genius* were constructed as complementary: dedications were often made *fortunae et genio*. In these, either *fortuna* and *genius* appear alongside a name of a *gens* or a place (e.g. *fortuna et genius macelli*), or, more rarely, the term *fortuna geni* is used (e.g. *fortuna geni coloniae*).³⁷⁴

Clearly, a proper understanding of personal *fortuna* presupposes an appreciation of how Romans understood an individual's *genius*. In Festus' epitome of Verrius Flaccus' work on the meaning of words he relates Aufustus' definition, dating from the Augustan period, that *genius ... est deorum filius, et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur. Et propterea genius meus nominatur, quia me genuit*.³⁷⁵ Five general characteristics emerge from various descriptions of *genius*: that it was considered to be divine, that it was understood as the generative force of a person, (implicitly) that each person has one, that it remained with a person from birth until death, and that it served a tutelary function.³⁷⁶

Although every person was considered to have a personal *fortuna* just as they had a *genius* or a *iuno*, our sources pay specific attention to the personal *fortunae* of certain men, giving these *fortunae* greater power than others.³⁷⁷ In the late Republic and under the Empire, this

³⁷³ See Chapter 1: pp. 73. The Roman worship of the *genius* or *fortuna* of the emperor has traditionally been thought to have been influenced by Greek practice (see e.g. Tarn 1928; Taylor 1927: esp. n. 24.). But as we have shown, although the Greeks certainly did have an idea of the king's δαίμων or τύχη, it was under Rome that these ideas gained greatest currency.

³⁷⁴ Eg. *CIL* 13.7610; *AE* 1935:51. For other examples of the similarity of *genius* and *fortuna* see Arya 2002: 283ff.; Fishwick 1991: 465.

³⁷⁵ Paul. Fest. 84.3. L. Cf. Wagenvoort 1951 on this passage. See also later definitions in Censorinus (*De Dei Nat.* 3.1-5) and Augustine (*De ciu. D.* 7.13). See Weinstock (1971: 205-217) on the *genius Caesaris*.

³⁷⁶ Even slaves were considered to possess a *genius* (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 43).

³⁷⁷ For people of various status having personal *fortunae* see e.g. Luc 3.169; 10.3; Ov. *Trist.* 3.8.36; 5.5.47; Apul. *Met.* 8.24 (attempting to interpret this *fortuna* Van Mal-Maeder (2001: 239) suggests either the meaning of personal destiny or property and riches); 2.15. See also Apul. *Met.* 8.20 where an old man supplicates *per fortunas uestrosques genios*. On this passage Hijmans *et al.* (1985: 174) note that 'the plural

is especially true for the *fortunae* of generals and kings. We see such a use of *fortuna* in Lucan's account of the *fortuna* that attends Pompey in death: *nunc est pro numine summo / hoc tumulo fortuna iacens*.³⁷⁸ Various scholars have attempted to reconcile how *fortuna* could be said to lie in Pompey's tomb, arguing that it is unlikely that *fortuna* was considered to have died along with Pompey.³⁷⁹ For Lucan, Caesar is the man favoured by *fortuna*, and it would therefore pervert the narrative arc were luck here to return to Pompey (whom she has by this point certainly deserted).³⁸⁰ This is less problematic if we consider the *fortuna* of this passage to mean Pompey's personal *fortuna*, the force that accompanies him, like Censorinus' definition of *genius*, *ad extremum uitae diem*.³⁸¹ The opening lines of the subsequent book, which immediately follow this description, strengthen this reading. But, writes Lucan, *non in Pharia manes iacere fauilla*: having ascended to heaven as *manes*, it returns to earth to lodge itself as *scelerum uindex in sancto pectore Bruti*.³⁸² These actions on behalf of Pompey's *fortuna* may, in part, account for the way that elsewhere in the work *fortuna* ordains Caesar's assassination expressly as a form of vengeance.³⁸³ Likewise in Florus, the *inuicta fortuna ultoris* (Octavian) *et qui uindicabatur* (Caesar) wins the battle of Philippi on behalf of generals who are absent. In this case *manes* is not mentioned; instead, it is the *fortuna* of Caesar that continues his cause long after his death.³⁸⁴ Understood thus, personal *fortunae* do not die with the men to whom they were attached; instead, their *fortunae* continue to struggle on their behalves. These

refers to the *fortuna* of each of the addressees individually, as *genios* refers to each one's individual *genius*'. Cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 43 for the *genius* of a slave. For example, the monument erected in Praeneste by Verrius Flaccus, a freedman, seems to allude to his personal *fortuna* in addition to *fortuna primigenia* (cf. Arya 2002: 316; Coarelli 1987: 455-469).

³⁷⁸ Luc. 8.861.

³⁷⁹ Makowski 1975 (for this problem, see his bibliography: n. 1).

³⁸⁰ This is true, even if, as Mayer would have it, Lucan is here referencing the occasional conceit of the most outstanding qualities that men show are at times said to die with them. Mayer 1981: 189.

³⁸¹ For this definition of *genius* see Censor. *De Die. Nat.* 3.5. Censorinus wrote in the mid-third century, but used Varro as a source.

³⁸² Luc. 9.17. For this passage see Wick 2004: 16-17. For the relationship of *genius*, *tutela*, and hence *fortuna* with *manes*, Rose 1923: 58.

³⁸³ Luc. 10. 524-529; 10.339; 5.206. See pp. 140 below.

³⁸⁴ Flor. 2.17.10.

fortunae make Caesar and Pompey something more than mere mortals: even in their absence, and after their deaths they are able to bring about the defeat of an enemy and give victory to their supporters. This understanding of the power of the personal *fortunae* of generals to win wars on their behalf, even when the general himself is absent, is important to the development of the increasing individualization of military power in the late Republic and early Empire. In this context, when emperors had men fighting under their command in distant provinces, it became important that the victories won there were considered to have been won under the auspices of the emperor.³⁸⁵ The idea that the *fortunae* of Caesar or Octavian could win a battle for their troops therefore served as a way of giving them the final credit for victories won in their absence.³⁸⁶

The personal *fortunae* of these men seem therefore to operate on a supernatural, divine level. When, in Plutarch's *Antony*, the Egyptian diviner warned Antony that his τύχη was dimmed by that of Octavian and that his δαίμων feared that of Caesar's heir, Plutarch describes these forces as being, on some level, mutually aware of one another, and therefore as existing on a level of reality intelligible only to those who, like the μαντικός, have the knowledge to access and interpret it.³⁸⁷ Plutarch's numinous understanding of τύχη is prefigured by Lucan's characterization of Caesar's *fortuna* as doing battle on his behalf against other such forces. The poet tells us that when Caesar arrived in Egypt: *pugnauit fortuna ducis fatumque nocentis / Aegypti... / ... eriperet mundo Memphiticus ensis / uictoris uicti que caput... / Magne, tui socerum rapuere a sanguine manes*.³⁸⁸ Both the *fatum* of Egypt and the *manes* of Pompey can be understood as approximations of personal or group-*fortunae*, and Caesar's *fortuna* interacts with them in such a way as to

³⁸⁵ Cf. Beard 2007: 297-299.

³⁸⁶ Although defeats were still considered to be the responsibilities of individual commanders: see Wardle 2011.

³⁸⁷ Plut. *Ant.* 33.2-3.

³⁸⁸ Luc. 10.3-7.

influence the events on the human level.³⁸⁹ As such, personal *fortuna* is one of the ways that the literary sources suggest the divinity of men like Caesar. Like Aufustius' idea of *genius*, so too is the personal *fortuna* of certain men divine. The descriptions of these *fortuna* in imperial sources like Plutarch, Lucan, and Florus should all be understood in light of the worship of the *fortuna* or *τύχη* of the living emperor that was prevalent (at least on a private level) across Italy and the provinces.³⁹⁰

As attendant on a specific rank

However, when our Latin sources write of the *fortunae* of emperors they do not reference the emperor's personal *fortuna*, but seem to talk instead of a *fortuna* that was attached to his rank.³⁹¹ These two constructions are closely related, and the literary roles of *fortunae* as attendant on specific ranks developed out of the attention given to the powerful personal *fortunae* of leaders like Caesar. Curtius, writing of the confusion following Alexander's death, gives what we can see as a specifically Roman view of a *fortuna* that was attached to rank. He relates how, after Alexander's death, the soldiers wished to know *in quem Alexandri fortuna esset transitura*.³⁹² We can compare Curtius' Roman interpretation of this to the Greek explanation given by Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus (probably using the same or similar early Hellenistic sources as Curtius), instead of talking of a personal *τύχη*, discusses the same idea in terms of the transmigration of souls and Pythagorean re-incarnation.³⁹³ Diodorus gives the same basic story in a slightly different and condensed

³⁸⁹ That *fatum Aegypti* is an entity much like the *fortuna rei publicae* or *populi romani* is evinced by the occasional substitution of *fatum rei publicae* (cf. Cic. *Pro Sest.* 50; *Pro Balb.* 58; Pseud. Quint. *Decl. Min.* 260.30). As already suggested, Pompey's *manes* is closely related to his *fortuna*.

³⁹⁰ See Chapter 1: pp. 73 ff.

³⁹¹ The *fortuna ultoris* that Florus (2.17.10) describes as winning victory for Octavian at Philippi is the *fortuna* of a triumvir, not an emperor.

³⁹² Curt. 10.6.1.

³⁹³ Diod. Sic. 18.1. Both Diodorus and Curtius are thought to be drawing on Cleitarchus: Goukowsky 1976: ix-xxxi; Hamilton 1977, Atkinson 2009: 19-28. Traditionally, Cleitarchus has been dated to the last decades of the 4th century BC (Prandi 1997: 66-71), however a recently published papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 71.4808) now suggests that a mid-third century date is possible.

form at 17.117.4, but presumably repeats it here in order to show off his learning at the beginning of a new book. We can therefore be fairly certain that this is Diodorus' own interpretation just as the idea of the role of *fortuna* is Curtius'. An episode that Diodorus, a Greek writing in late republican/early Augustan Rome, takes as an opportunity to describe the Pythagorean idea of the soul, Curtius uses as a opportunity to talk about the *fortuna* that attends Alexander's rank as king. Occurring in book 10 of Curtius' history, this use of *fortuna* is part of the systematic way that Curtius, in this book, likens Alexander to the Roman emperor.³⁹⁴ He therefore attributes to Alexander a very imperial *fortuna*. Indeed, describing the care given to Alexander's corpse, which declared his divinity by its incorruptibility, Curtius describes how the Egyptian embalmers placed on Alexander's head *fortunae eius insignia*.³⁹⁵ In these passages the *fortuna* of Alexander is viewed as inheritable, and it is visually represented with a crown. Importantly, Curtius most often uses this construction of *fortuna* in the wake of Alexander's death, and by it suggests something of Alexander's divinity. The way that Curtius writes of *fortuna* as concomitant with Alexander's position as king recalls the role played by *fortuna* in various cults: the Augustan interpretation of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium made this *fortuna* the guarantor of royal-sovereignty, and the cult of *fortuna Aug.* in Pompeii entailed the worship of the reigning emperor.

At the turn of the fourth century the *Historia Augusta* made the relationship between the rank of emperors and *fortuna* explicit.³⁹⁶ According to this source, there stood in the bedrooms of certain emperors a gold statue of *fortuna*.³⁹⁷ The author records that when Antoninus Pius realized that he was to die, he not only *Marco Antonio rem publicam et*

³⁹⁴ Curt. 10.9.1-6, with Atkinson 2009: 203-13 for commentary.

³⁹⁵ Curt. 10.10.13.

³⁹⁶ For the date of the *Historia Augusta* see Johne 2005. Although the date of composition is very late, it seems that the author drew on earlier sources, such as Marius Maximus, for the emperors from Trajan to Elagabalus.

³⁹⁷ SHA *Ant. Pius* 12.5; *Marc.* 7.2; *Sept. Seu.* 23.5.

filiam praesentibus praefectis commendauit, but also fortunam ... auream, quae in cubiculo principum poni solebat, transferri ad eum iussit. Likewise Septimius Severus is said to have:

fortunam deinde regiam, quae comitari principes et in cubiculis poni solebat, geminare statuerat, ut sacratissimum simulacrum utrique relinqueret filiorum; sed cum uideret se perurgueri sub hora mortis, iussisse fertur ut alternis diebus apud filios imperatores in cubiculis fortuna poneretur.

The transference of the statue of *fortuna* is used here as a signifier of the transference of the power to rule the empire, embodying the rank of emperor. That it is not only the emperor's personal *fortuna* is shown by the fact that it is moved prior to his death, at the same time that he relinquished control of the state.³⁹⁸ The author thereby constructs this *fortuna* as being more attached to the rank and power of the emperor than to any one individual who held the office.³⁹⁹

Lucan gives us an idea of how this relationship between this *fortuna* of rank and the individual who held that rank was understood. After describing Pompey's beheading in Egypt, he tells of how it was once at the bidding of Pompey's head that there was never peace, but only war, and that it was his head that influenced *leges Campumque et rostra*. Then, at the height of his power, *fortuna Romana* took Pompey's face as her own.⁴⁰⁰ Lucan's recital of Pompey's power over the military and political institutions of Rome suggests that his connection to *fortuna Romana* was founded on this supremacy.⁴⁰¹ In other words, Lucan constructs *fortuna Romana* as taking Pompey's face because he was, at that point, the head of various Roman political and military institutions.⁴⁰² Just as Curtius had

³⁹⁸ *pace* Fishwick 1991: 466. In this I agree with Strack (1931:174).

³⁹⁹ As we shall see in Chapter 3, certain emperors chose to associate themselves especially closely with ideas of *fortuna*.

⁴⁰⁰ Luc. 8.686.

⁴⁰¹ Mayer (1981: 164) interprets this as meaning that 'Pompey was the visible incarnation of Rome's *fortuna*'.

⁴⁰² See Ash 1997: 196-200 for the association of real and metaphorical heads.

transposed the imperial idea of the *fortuna Aug.* onto the narrative of Alexander's succession, so too does Lucan project an imperial *fortuna* into a republican context. Lucan's description of *fortuna Romana* taking the face of Pompey follows Ovid's description of Augustus as the face of Rome.⁴⁰³ At this point Ovid also speaks of Augustus' divinity, describing how he prays and speaks to Augustus' *numen*.⁴⁰⁴ Augustus' role as the 'face' of Rome is therefore constructed as being part of his divine power. The relationship between political leadership and *fortuna* speaks to the way that literate Romans of the first century AD understood the interconnectedness of the emperor's person, his divine *fortuna*, and the state. The nature of this relationship meant the emperor's *fortuna*, like the emperor himself, was never a strictly private entity: like the rank of emperor, it could be passed on to his successor, and it was an object of worship for the subjects of his Empire.⁴⁰⁵

As group *fortuna*

fortunae of individuals and those of groups are mostly described in similar ways and as performing similar functions. There had been a cult of the corporate *fortuna* of the Roman people since the third century BC (*fortuna publica populi romani quiritorium*) and the most common group *fortuna* to appear in our sources is that of the Roman people or state, the *fortuna populi romani*, *fortuna rei publicae*, *fortuna urbis*, *fortuna imperii*, etc.⁴⁰⁶ Like personal *fortunae*, these group *fortunae* are constructed as guardians: they advance the interests of the Romans and they both determine and embody the fate of Rome and its people, acting as metonymic devices for the group and city as a whole. This literary role

⁴⁰³ Ov. *Ep. ex Pont.* 2.8.20. Mayer 1981: 164.

⁴⁰⁴ Ov. *Ep. ex Pont.* 2.8.10; 38. For the worship of the *numen Augusti* during Augustus' lifetime see Fishwick 2007.

⁴⁰⁵ For the extent to which the freedmen, slaves, and members of the imperial household had a share in the cult of the emperor's *genius* see Weinstock 1971: 205ff, esp. 215.

⁴⁰⁶ See Chapter 1: pp. 53. *fortuna publica* and *fortuna ciuitatis* are rarer, but seem to refer to similar forces and processes. For *fortuna populi romani* in Livy see Kajanto 1957: 64-66.

mirrors the religious role of the cults of *fortunae publicae*: protecting the Roman people and state. In part the *fortuna populi romani*, etc. can be understood as a representation of the accumulated luck of the Romans (or what Erkell calls ‘Glückskraft’).⁴⁰⁷ The luck that the Roman people had accumulated over years of successful wars was contained in their group *fortuna* which then ensured their luck in future wars. *fortuna* is explicitly constructed in this way by Livy when he has the representatives of the Greek cities explain why they will not side with Perseus against Rome: the defeats of Philip V and Antiochus III, they said, proved the greatness of the *fortuna imperii*, suggesting that this precedent made it more likely that the Romans would defeat the Greeks in the future.⁴⁰⁸

Thus our literary sources often show the *fortuna* of Rome as protecting the city either by directly intervening on its behalf or by affecting the behaviour of those who might be capable either of doing it harm or of saving it. Livy describes how, when the Volsci and Aequi were given the opportunity to capture Rome, they did not because the *di praesides* and *fortuna urbis* had placed in them the spirit of plunderers rather than of soldiers, and they were deterred by the sight of the city’s walls.⁴⁰⁹ Likewise in Sallust, when the Allobroges were weighing the benefits of joining Catiline’s cause, the *fortuna rei publicae* caused them to decide against Catiline and to reveal the plot.⁴¹⁰ Elsewhere, *fortuna populi romani* organises events, rather than attitudes, according to her will. According to Livy it was due to the actions of *fortuna populi romani* that Servius’ younger daughter Tullia was not at first united in marriage with Lucius Tarquinius. By preventing *duo uiolenta ingenia*

⁴⁰⁷ Erkell 1952: 174-182. ‘Glückskraft’ relies on his idea of the relationship between *fortuna* and *omen principii*. The term *omen principii* is taken from Ov. *Fast.* 1. 178, where Janus tells the narrator that ‘omens are usually associated with beginnings’ (for examples of such *omina* see Green 2004: 93). Omens of this type are explained in Cic. *De Div.* 1.102-3 (for a discussion of this passage see Wardle 2006: 351-356).

⁴⁰⁸ Liv. 42.44.4.

⁴⁰⁹ Liv. 3.7.1-2.

⁴¹⁰ Sall. *Cat.* 41.3. McGushin (1977: 215) oddly asserts that here *fortuna* simply means luck. Vretska (1976: 458) sees it as an active force that intervenes on the behalf of the Republic. Sallust’s use of *fortuna rei publicae* recalls Cicero’s claim that only the *fortuna populi romani* prevented Catiline from massacring senators in the Senate house (*Catil.* 1.15).

matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna populi romani ensured that *diuturnius Serui regnum esset constituique ciuitatis mores possent*.⁴¹¹ Likewise, Cicero, arguing for Pompey's special command, tells his audience that it was *fortuna populi romani* that brought Pompey at the right time to the right place in order that he might check Mithridates' advance.⁴¹² In these examples the sources see the corporate *fortuna* of the Romans as aiding the state during war or in times of crisis.⁴¹³ In the cults of *fortuna publica* and the literary uses of corporate Roman *fortunae* we see how Romans (from the foundation of these cults in the third century, until at least the early imperial period) interpreted the role of *fortuna* in warfare as knowable and, more often than not, inevitably favourable towards the Romans. In these cases, rather than it being a matter of random chance that the Volsci and Aequi did not attack the city or that the Gauls sided with the Senate over Catiline, our sources interpret these as being a result of Rome's tutelary *fortuna*. Their religious observation of her cults ensured the strength of this tutelary force, and their continued virtue and victory.

As we shall see in Chapter 3, when *fortuna populi romani* appears on coins it is often meant to convey republican overtones. Likewise, when this *fortuna* is referenced in the literary sources we should understand it as being connected to the idea of a republican constitution. As we saw in the previous chapter, by the Augustan period, the narrative of the relationship between Servius and *fortuna* was bound up with the religion of the *fortuna* of the Forum Boarium and not with the republican cult of *fortuna populi romani*. However, by employing the *fortuna populi romani* and by crediting her with allowing Servius' establishment of the *ciuitatis mores*, Livy emphasises Servius' role in developing the Roman constitution. He thereby gives Servius' reign an almost republican aspect in

⁴¹¹ Liv. 1.46.5. Ogilvie (1965: 188) terms this intervention by *fortuna* 'deliberate' and 'almost benevolent'.

⁴¹² Cic. *Leg. Man.* 45. Often *fortuna populi romani* is, like *felicitas*, seen as working together with *uirtus* (eg. Liv. 35.6.9).

⁴¹³ For this common theme see for example Tac. *Hist.* 3.46.

contrast to the subsequent evil tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus.⁴¹⁴ Likewise, according to Sallust, it was by the aid of *fortuna rei publicae* that the Gauls betrayed Catiline because it was the institutions of this form of government that he threatened.⁴¹⁵

However, as we saw in Chapter 1, above as the *fortunae* of specific individuals and of the emperor gained greater prominence, their *fortunae* begin to merge with Rome's corporate *fortuna*. Livy recounts how Aemilius Paullus, having triumphed over Perseus at the end of the Second Macedonian War, lost both his sons, one shortly before his triumph and one directly afterwards. In a speech following these events, Paullus recalled how, after the surrender of the Macedonian cities, his *fortuna* seemed too great and he became suspicious of it. Therefore, said Paullus, he prayed that the reversals which *fortuna* brought with the turn of her wheel would fall on his *domus* rather than on the *res publica*, and hoped that *defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate, for hanc cladem domus meae uestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur*.⁴¹⁶ According to Livy, the overwhelming success of the *fortuna publica* in battle, rather than serving as an omen of future luck for Paullus or Rome, made Aemilius Paullus fear a change for the worse. By a series of metonymies Livy uses *fortuna publica* to signify the Republic and Paullus and his private *fortuna* as a representative of this broader *fortuna publica*: as the leading man of Rome, the *fortuna* of Aemilius Paullus becomes a replacement for the *fortuna* of the Republic.⁴¹⁷ Livy emphasises the historical importance of Paullus by identifying his *fortuna* with that of Rome and he understands this relationship in light of the link between the personal *fortunae* of individual men and a Roman *fortuna* developed at the end of the Republic.

⁴¹⁴ Livy's characterization of Servius: Ogilvie 1965: 157.

⁴¹⁵ Ogilvie 1965: 406, following Kajanto 1957.

⁴¹⁶ Liv. 45.41.1-12. For other accounts of Paullus and *fortuna* see esp. Val. Max. 5.10. 2; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 22. 9; 27. 1-6; 35.2-36.9. See also Swain's (1989 B: 323-327) discussion of τύχη and Paullus in Plutarch.

⁴¹⁷ This idea of linking of the *fortuna publica* and the *fortuna priuata* is contrary to Swain's (1989 B: 326) interpretation in which they are sharply distinguished.

As such, Livy constructs the leaders of Rome as being responsible for the wellbeing of the collective Roman *fortuna*. By their victories, won through the force of their *fortunae*, they advance the Roman cause, and their *fortunae* likewise act as a buffer for the *fortuna publica*, protecting it from harm. With the collective Roman *fortuna* constructed in this way, the leading man of Rome is given the chief role in assuring the health of the Rome's *fortuna* and the wellbeing of the Empire. The emperor's relationship with *fortuna* is accordingly important because of the way that it protects and supports the broader *fortuna* claimed by the Romans.

As chance

Meanings of random chance occur most commonly in philosophical discussions (discussed more extensively in Chapter 4), in *excursus* in which historians set out their philosophies of history, or when our sources comment on the operations of chance in warfare. When such meanings are required, *fors* and *casus* are often used alongside *fortuna* to emphasize ideas of randomness and chance.⁴¹⁸ This construction of *fortuna* is evident as early as Plautus and Terence: in Terence's *Eunuchus* the courtesan Thais recounts that it was *forte fortuna* that her friend was present when her sister was being sold as a slave.⁴¹⁹ Commenting on this passage, Barsby separates *fors* and *fortuna*, translating *forte fortuna* as 'by chance and good luck'.⁴²⁰ This interpretation, while acknowledging the force of *fors fortuna* as referring to both chance and luck, seeks to disassociate the operations of *fortuna*

⁴¹⁸ To show the separation of *fortuna* from *fors*, scholars (e.g. Kajanto 1981: 522 and Canter 1922: 65) quote Nonius who says that *fortuna et fors hoc distant; fore est casus temporalis, fortuna dea est ipsa* (Non. 425 M). However, this passage is not strong evidence for a clear separation between the two forces: here *fortuna* is the goddess that presides over interactions of the temporal and material. Compare this with (e.g.) Ammianus' description of *fortuna* as *moderatrix casuum* (15.5.1). De Jonge (1948: 67-68) points out that in Ammianus's work '*casus* often means: accident, occurrence, but various times the word is found to be used in such a way that it may be conceived of as vicissitudes subject to Fortune'.

⁴¹⁹ Ter. *Eun.* 134. An identical use of *forte fortuna* is seen in Plaut. *Bac.* 916. For other examples of *fortuna* controlling lucky or unlucky chance see Liv. 2.12.7; Val. Max. 8.11.ext.7.

⁴²⁰ Barsby 1999: 111.

and *fors*, and ignores the frequency with which *forte fortuna* is used elsewhere, and as late as Apuleius, as a set phrase referring to a stroke of lucky chance.⁴²¹

In the context of philosophical discussions words like *fors*, *casus*, etc. seem to be used interchangeably with *fortuna*. In *De Divinatione*, Cicero argues against divination by attacking the Stoic definition of it (adopted by Quintus) as ‘knowledge of things that happen by chance’. He notes that what we mean by *fors*, *fortuna*, *casus*, or *euentus*, is nothing other than that *nisi cum sic aliquid cecidit, sic euenit, ut uel aliter cadere atque euenire potuerit*.⁴²² He then asks how it is possible to foresee and predict an event that happens *temere* because of *caeco casu* or *uolubilitate fortunae*, and he demonstrates the apparent impossibility of this with examples of forecasts based on established causation proving to be incorrect (for example the farmer who is disappointed after seeing a tree in bloom and therefore expecting it to bear fruit). Cicero here uses *fortuna* to mean a force of unknowable chance, one that makes divination impossible. While, in the passages above, Cicero seems to use *fortuna* interchangeably with *fors*, *casus*, *euentus*, etc., it becomes apparent in his summation of this part of his argument that he uses the term *fortuna* to refer to all these other nuances of chance and accident, incorporating them under the heading of *fortuna*. *fortuna* is portrayed as controlling events that happen *casu* and *fortuito*, and by this same reasoning the possibility of the existence of *fortuna* is said to rely on the existence of *res fortuitae*.⁴²³

When our historiographical sources set out their philosophies of history, *fors* is often juxtaposed with *fortuna*, or affairs are often described as occurring *forte*, to emphasise the

⁴²¹ See Apul. *Met.* 10.5.

⁴²² Cic. *De Diu.* 2.15.

⁴²³ Cic. *De Diu.* 2.18-19. See especially his summation *si enim scit, certe illud eueniet; sin certe eueniet, nulla fortuna est; est autem fortuna; rerum igitur fortuitarum nulla praesensio est*. In the context of Cicero’s rebuttal of the Stoic arguments for divination his use of *fortuna* is especially loaded. See Chapter 4.

more random or capricious aspects of her operations.⁴²⁴ So, in the opening of the *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Sallust writes that men complain of the nature of humankind in that they believe it to be ruled *forte*, but then counters this with the assertion that when men live their lives according to *uirtus*, then *fortuna* has no power over them.⁴²⁵ By prefacing his discussion with *forte*, Sallust constructs *fortuna*, the instigator of events, as organising these events without discrimination. In this case, *forte* means not so much ‘according to the dictates of chance’, as ‘according to the dictates of *fortuna*’, a force which seems to act arbitrarily.

Common to both Sallust’s and Cicero’s constructions of *fortuna* is the separation of *fortuna* from ideas of rational causation. For Sallust this means that *fortuna* is seemingly random and fickle and does not base its actions upon a consideration of morality or worth. For Cicero, because things that happened *forte fortuna* have no cause and give no sign prior to their advent, they cannot be predicted in the same way as the movements of the stars or the progress of a disease. This construction of *fortuna* as distinct from rational causation is seen in historiographical works when authors juxtapose ideas of historical causation (which they claim to disclose) with the operations of chance. Just as Polybius, despite his promise to show the rational causes for the events that he describes, still constructs τύχη as the author of certain events, so too does Tacitus write his history *ut non modo casus euentusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur*.⁴²⁶ Tacitus’ use of *casus*, *euentus* and *fortuitus* emphasises individual chance events, but excludes the possibility that these could act as important movers of history,

⁴²⁴ See also Luc. 2.7-13; Tac. *Hist.* 1.4; *Ann.* 6.22.

⁴²⁵ See below pp. 144. Chapter 4 discusses the philosophical implications of this juxtaposition.

⁴²⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 1.4 (on which Spooner 1891: 109). Damon (2003: 101) notes that Tacitus, in his construction of this opposition, follows the tradition of Polybian history as opposed to the annalistic tradition, which simply recorded the occurrence of events without recourse to their causes. On Polybius’ use of τύχη see (e.g.) Walbank 1957: 16-26; Roveri 1956; esp. Warde Fowler 1903 B: 446. For *fortuna* in these sorts of expositions see the works of Tacitus’ literary models, Lucan and Sallust, who juxtaposed *fortuna* with fate and the necessity of causation see the discussion in Chapter 4.

emphasising instead the importance of the underlying causes. By choosing not to use *fortuna* in this passage, Tacitus allows for the occurrence of chance events, but removes any possibility that there exists a rational force that controls them. The actions of men, rather than *fortuna*, are thereby given the primary role in the shaping of history.

Livy similarly downplays the importance of *fortuna* as an historical force in his account of Hannibal's attempts at brokering peace with Scipio towards the end of the Second Punic War. Hannibal, in his speech to Scipio, repeatedly calls on Scipio to remember the changes that *fortuna* brings.⁴²⁷ Scipio, in his reply, reflects on the *uis fortunae*. He determines that *fortuna* is so powerful because *omnia quaecumque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus*.⁴²⁸ According to Scipio, because of the number of variables acting on men's actions, the processes of these actions are exposed to *casus*. The effects that these *casus* will have are understood to be determined by *fortuna*. However the initial action, if not its outcome, is still under the control of the individual: while *fortuna* determined that Hannibal was defeated, it was Hannibal himself who initiated war, who did not surrender, and who is therefore liable.⁴²⁹ The construction of *fortuna* in Scipio's speech thereby functions as a reply to that in Hannibal's. Hannibal had used *fortuna* to reflect on the instability of luck, and to blame his defeat on the fickleness of *fortuna*, thereby suggesting with an understanding of this uncertainty, Scipio should take the peace now offered. Conversely, the *fortuna* of Scipio's speech is used to contrast Hannibal's purposeful invasion of Italy with the purposeless operations of chance that affect the outcomes of action at every juncture. In doing so, Scipio shows Hannibal that it is him, not *fortuna*, that is responsible for his current situation.

⁴²⁷ Liv. 30.30.9-23.

⁴²⁸ Liv. 30.31.6.

⁴²⁹ For a similar expression of the power of *fortuna* because of the role of *casus* see Curt. 6.1.9; Ov. *Ex Pont.* 2.6.23; Verg. *Aen.* 1.240.

Livy's construction of *fortuna* as chance, like Tacitus' emphasis on the reasons and causes of history rather than *casus euentusque rerum*, and like Sallust's assertion of the primacy of *uirtus*, makes human will, rather than chance, the driving force of history. Constructing *fortuna* in this way allows our sources, especially when they are working in a less annalistic tradition of history, to set out the causal sequence of history. In addition to this, by emphasising the role of human agency over that of *fortuna*, this construction allows for the possibility of resistance to *fortuna* and it permits the historian to apportion blame to those who do not achieve this. Removing the dominance of *fortuna* over history allows men to offer successful opposition to historical events and processes, if only they bring to bear the strength of their will. In so doing, Sallust makes space for the talents of the *noui homines* and Tacitus allows for the possibility of resistance to the Principate.⁴³⁰ Just as talking about *fortuna* as consistently working for the benefit of Rome in the guise of *fortuna populi romani* had made *fortuna* more manageable and trustworthy, so these sources reject the historical importance of *fortuna* meaning random chance as a way of opening up *fortuna* to human influence.

As an agent of change

Livy's construction of *fortuna* in Scipio's speech suggests an understanding of *fortuna* as effecting change at certain junctures: events are, by virtue of the passing of time, exposed to *casus* which, by its nature, effects a change from the previous *status quo*. This suggests *fortuna* as an agent of change, a role expressed by some of the more common epithets of *fortuna* which describe her as *mutabilis*, *uaria*, *uersabilis*, etc.⁴³¹ This understanding of

⁴³⁰ Sallust and *noui homines*: pp. 144 below.

⁴³¹ See for example Curt. 5.8.15. where *fortuna* is *uersabilis* not only because she wavers in the favour she shows to Darius, but also because she affects *uices*.

fortuna and the chaotic change she brings is one of the principal themes of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

Whereas Sallust and Tacitus speak of the insignificance of the power of *fortuna* as random chance, Apuleius spends much of the *Metamorphoses* talking about Lucius' powerlessness in the face of *fortuna* as a force that drives change according to the rules of chance. In the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius writes that this work offers the reader a tale of *figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursus mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris*.⁴³² Lucius names *fortuna* as the instigator of the change of form most central to the novel's plot (it is she who transformed him into an ass), and throughout *fortuna* is constructed as having control over what belongs to the physical world of appearances: she blinds men to the truth of character, and makes evil men seem good.⁴³³ Schlam suggests that the *fortunae* of the prologue are meant to suggest *metamorphoses*, and that the changes 'prove to be not only of form, but of fortune, of the condition and circumstances of life'.⁴³⁴ Throughout the novel, *fortuna* torments Lucius, pursuing him through ever changing sufferings.⁴³⁵

It is only when Isis transforms Lucius from an ass back to man that he is removed from the power of *fortuna*, and is elevated from a bestially-physical state.⁴³⁶ Apuleius shows *fortuna* as able to effect changes in those things which are most linked to the physical, but Isis guards him from this by her ability to restrain *stellarum noxios meatus*.⁴³⁷ Isis not only stops *fortuna* from causing further harm to Lucius, but also, by holding back the stars

⁴³² Apul. *Met.* 1.1.

⁴³³ Apul. *Met.* 8.2-3. This seems to echo Sallust's comment that *fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex uero celebrat obscuratque* (*Cat.* 8.1).

⁴³⁴ Schlam 1992: 59. Harrison and Winterbottom (2001: 11) concur.

⁴³⁵ See e.g. Apul. *Met.* 3.9; 4.2; 7.2; 7.3; 7.16; 7.17; 7.20; 7.25; 8.24; 9.1; 11.12.

⁴³⁶ Apul. *Met.* 11.2; 11.12; 11.14-15.

⁴³⁷ Apul. *Met.* 11. 25. For *fortuna* as having a role in controlling human destiny via the courses of the stars see for example Manil. 1.509; 2.135; 3.527-529. Occasionally in Manilius' text the heavens are thought to 'give *fortuna*' (2.831; 905).

(which not only determine fate astrologically, but also measure the passing of time), places Lucius outside her realm of influence, the phenomenological world in which changes occur and time passes. In the cult of Isis, Lucius finds a way to control *fortuna*: through Isis he discovers a *fortuna* who is not blind or random, but one who sees.⁴³⁸ Isis, as a sighted and benevolent *fortuna*, recalls the composite Isis-τύχη of whom there was a statue in the sanctuary of *fortuna* at Praeneste, and who, as Isis-*fortuna*, appeared commonly on wall paintings and statues from Pompeii.⁴³⁹ Isis incorporates *fortuna* and transforms her into Isis-*fortuna*.

Although Apuleius' work is modelled on the Λούκιος ἢ Ὅνοος of Pseudo-Lucian, the Greek text mentions τύχη only once, and does not develop τύχη as an antagonist as the Latin work does. In adapting this tale Apuleius makes *fortuna* the central antagonist, giving her a role that Schlam sees as reminiscent of Poseidon in the *Odyssey* or Juno in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁴⁰ In this transformation he constructs *fortuna* as being of central importance to the Latin text. Prior to his transformation, Lucius' experience of life as a private citizen of the Empire is dominated by a capricious and malevolent *fortuna*, a force that is beyond his comprehension or control. By syncretising *fortuna* with Isis, however, Apuleius offers a way of containing and comprehending this. As I will show in Chapter 3, emperors of the second century AD commonly portrayed themselves as controlling and mediating *fortuna* for the benefit of the Empire. For Apuleius, however, Isis has replaced the emperor in this role: by her brightness she illuminates the other gods (amongst whom the divine emperor must be included);⁴⁴¹ it is through her power that Lucius is saved from *asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae* – a role that might equally be performed by the imperial

⁴³⁸ Apul. *Met.* 11.15 (see Griffiths 1975: 240-256).

⁴³⁹ See for example Tran Tam Tinh 1964: Pl. VII.1; XII.2; XIV.1; XVII.1 XXII.1.

⁴⁴⁰ Schlam 1992: 61.

⁴⁴¹ Apul. *Met.* 11.15. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 3.29; 7.7. for the divinity of the emperor.

fortuna redux.⁴⁴² While the official cults of the imperial *fortunae* showed *fortuna* as tamed by her relationship with the emperor, for Apuleius this need is fulfilled by the cult of Isis.

As fate and Providence

Often our sources talk about *fortuna* as synonymous with fate and the force of Providence that controls this. However, in categorizing *fortuna*, some scholars attempt to distinguish clearly between the roles of *fatum* and *fortuna*, claiming *fatum* as an unchanging and inevitable force and *fortuna* as a mutable and transient one.⁴⁴³ While it is true that there are many instances in which Latin authors draw a strong distinction between fate and *fortuna*, for example in exegetical passages such as Sallust's prologue to the *Bellum Iugurthinum* and Lucan's introduction to Book 2, even in these the distinction is not strictly maintained.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, even in the context of cult, the distinction between ideas of *fortuna* and fate is blurred since the oracles of *fortuna* give out statements of fate. The semantic drift between *fortuna* and fate occurs because, unlike modern scholars, our ancient sources seldom approach *fortuna* with a set of definitions in mind. Rather, Stoics like Seneca may show *fortuna* as fundamentally opposed to *fatum* and *deus* as a way of explaining ways of successful living under the Principate (an idea discussed in detail in Chapter 4),⁴⁴⁵ while Ovid conflates *fortuna*, *fatum* as a way of describing the ineluctability of his fate as an exile.

Ovid, writing from exile, complains that:

*sic ego fortunae telis confixus iniquis
pectore concipio nil nisi triste meo.*

⁴⁴² Apul. *Met.* 11.15.

⁴⁴³ See (e.g.) Scheinberg Kristol 1990:183.

⁴⁴⁴ See pp. 131 above and the discussion in Chapter 4. See for example Luc. 2.726-728; 5.301-302; 2.132; etc. The exact relationship between *fatum* and *fortuna* in Lucan has been discussed at length, and so I pass over it here; see (e.g.) Helzle 1991; Ahl 1974; Dick 1967; Friedrich 1938.

⁴⁴⁵ See e.g. *SVF* 2.281.972; Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 99.22.

*iam mihi fata liquet coeptos seruantia cursus
per sibi consuetas semper itura uias
obseruare deos ne quid mihi cedat amice
uerbaque fortunae uix puto posse dari.*⁴⁴⁶

Here the poet, by listing *fortuna* along with the set course of the fates and the will of the gods, constructs *fortuna* as inescapably fixing his destiny. *fata*, *dei*, and *fortuna* all have the same consistently malign character, and they all ensure that Ovid's destiny of suffering is inescapable. Ovid's construction of *fortuna* in terms of inexorable fate ordained by the gods is part of a broader criticism of the power and role of *fortuna* in determining the circumstances of his exile. While Ovid's pre-exile poetry mentions *fortuna* only 47 times, the word appears 76 times in his *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*.⁴⁴⁷ In these poems, even when *fortuna* is used to denote good luck, rather than fate, this is only done to emphasize its instability and to stress its dislocation from *uirtus*.⁴⁴⁸ By laying the responsibility of his exile at the feet of *fortuna*, Ovid avoids taking personal responsibility for his *error*. Moreover, while it was Augustus that ordained Ovid's fate, he instead accuses *fortuna* and the gods. He is therefore able to formulate his criticisms of the emperor as criticisms of *fortuna* and possibly undermine the inescapable nature of this *fortuna* by his poetic appeal. By creating a narrative of powerlessness in the face of this fated *fortuna*, the poet conversely constructs an idea of imperial omnipotence in which the power that the emperor holds over the individual destinies and circumstances of his subjects maps onto the power of the fates, the gods, and *fortuna*.

In Ovid's narrative of *fortuna* she was understood as directing the course of his life; in historical narratives, when used with meanings of fate and/or Providence, *fortuna* is shown to work on a grander scale, directing the course of history. Florus describes how, after the

⁴⁴⁶ Ov. *Ep. ex Pont.* 2.7.17-20.

⁴⁴⁷ Before exile: *Am.*: 4; *Ars.*: 2; *Fasti.*: 11; *Hero.*: 5; *Met.*: 25. In exile: *Ibis.*: 3; Ov. *Trist.*: 40; *Ep. ex Pont.*: 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Kajanto sees Ovid's insistence on the independence of *uirtus* and *fortuna* as symptomatic of the 'very Roman idea of the superiority of the human spirit to *fortuna*', but, as I show, this construction is not consistent in all of the sources.

battle of Munda, *fortuna* kept Sextus Pompeius safe, preserving him for other battles after Caesar's time.⁴⁴⁹ For Florus, *fortuna* preserves Sextus so that he may be defeated by Octavian, the adopted son of his father's conqueror. By describing *fortuna* in this way, Florus portrays the ascendancy of the Julians over the Pompeians as an immutable fact of destiny, and makes something that was, without the benefit of hindsight, a matter of coincidence, seem inevitable – *fortuna* had decreed Octavian's future power already in Caesar's defeat of Pompey. Florus understanding of *fortuna* is perhaps taken from that seen in Livy, his main source. Thus, we see a similar dynamic in Livy's description of how, during the second Punic war and at the beginning of the first Macedonian war, when Philip allied himself with Carthage, a kind of balance was struck when *fortuna*, by the new alliance with the Aetolian League, seemed to promise to the Romans *imperium orientis*.⁴⁵⁰ With the formulation *imperium orientis* Livy not only shows *fortuna* as balancing the more westerly power of Carthage by giving Rome eastern allies, but also suggests that, by doing so, *fortuna* organised the future eastern expansion of the Roman empire.

Livy, Florus, and Ovid all identify the power of *fortuna* as fate with the power of Rome, her Empire, and emperor, but to different ends. The ways in which these authors use *fortuna* are all contingent on a particular period of Roman history (the imperial). The negative construction of Ovid's *fortunae* had been a symptom of his relationship to, and part of his programme of communication with, imperial power. The positive interpretations offered by Livy and Florus, showed that even in the distant past, the course of history had been building towards the inevitable rise of Rome's Empire. By giving the name *fortuna* to this force of destiny, Livy and Florus are able to suggest that *fortuna*, far

⁴⁴⁹ Flor. 2.13.87. See likewise Florus (2.9.8) where *fortuna* saves Marius from Sulla so that they may do battle at a later point.

⁴⁵⁰ Liv. 26.37.4-5.

from being unreliable and operating in terms of randomness or lucky chance, had been consistently working for the superiority of Rome and power of the emperor.

As a force of divine justice

Connected to the understanding of *fortuna* as fate or Providence is the portrayal of *fortuna* as an enforcer of divine justice. Valerius Maximus tells of how, when Cassius sacked Rhodes, he stole all of the statues of the gods from the island. The only one that he left the Rhodians was a statue of the sun: *fortuna* caused him to say *solem a se relinquere*.⁴⁵¹ *fortuna* then later punished his *insolentia* and *tumor* by obliging him *effigiem solis, quam tantummodo supplicibus cesserat, sed ipsum solem re uera relinquere cogeret*. *fortuna* is here presented as an agent of divine justice who punishes Cassius for his sacrilegious theft and insolence towards the gods. This construction of *fortuna* is suggestive of the relationship that developed in the early imperial period between *fortuna* and Nemesis (who likewise punishes ὕβρις).⁴⁵² Valerius Maximus' story of Cassius's comeuppance at the hands of *fortuna* is preceded by a similar tale of Brutus' *parricidium*, a crime for which he is in part punished by the fates and Apollo. Valerius relates *fortuna* not only to the omen given by Cassius but also to the omen that Brutus gave of his own death, and the author thus requires us to read both *exempla* as accounts of punishment meted out by *fortuna* for the crime against Caesar.⁴⁵³ Valerius, writing under Tiberius, was working in a tradition which understood Caesar as a favourite of *fortuna*. The Julio-Claudian's promotion of the idea of Caesar and his special relationship with *fortuna* is seen under Tiberius in the

⁴⁵¹ Val. Max. 1.5.8.

⁴⁵² See for example Ov. *Trist.* 5.8.7-10. There is, to my knowledge, no study of the relationship between these two goddesses. Arya (2002: 85-87; 97; 333-336), Simon (1995: 128-130) and Lichočka (1997: 31-32) all briefly deal with the shared iconography of *fortuna* and Nemesis, but do not treat the literary construction of their relationship and Hornum's (1993) work on Nemesis does not attempt to deal with this.

⁴⁵³ Val. Max. 1.5.7-8; cf. 9.11.ext.1. for *fortuna* again punishing impiety.

foundation to *fors fortuna* in the *horti Caesaris*.⁴⁵⁴ In this tradition, *fortuna* is a natural choice of avenger.

This relationship between justice, Caesar, and *fortuna* is more complex in Lucan. In the *Pharsalia* Lucan describes how *fortuna*, as the champion of Caesar, protected him from the punishment of the gods that should have followed his sacrilegious felling of a sacred grove: because of the protection that *fortuna* offers to Caesar, the gods are incapable of censuring him.⁴⁵⁵ However, in book 10 Lucan describes the deaths of Arsinoë, Ptolemy, and Caesar as punishment, orchestrated by *fortuna*, for the murder of Pompey.⁴⁵⁶ For Lucan, it is *fortuna* that organises that the blood of Caesar drench the senate as *poenaeque ciuilis belli, uindicta senatus*, and it is the fates that ensure that Brutus is present for this deed. Lucan's portrayal of *fortuna* as punishing Caesar is surprising because, as her favourite, it was Caesar's guilt which *fortuna* previously concealed: the *fortuna* that cosseted Caesar is at odds with that which assures moral order by punishing him. Lucan, theorizing as to the reason for the interruption of the Delphic oracle's prophecy about the course of the civil war, suggests that Apollo cuts it short *uindicis an gladii facinus poenasque furorum / regnaque ad ultores iterum redeuntia Brutos, / ut peragat fortuna*.⁴⁵⁷ Caesar's murder is here described as something desirable to *fortuna* because he is guilty of tyrannical ambitions. Elsewhere, though, Lucan shows Caesar as interpreting *fortuna* as supporting his quest for kingship: Caesar claims that he shares with *fortuna* alone his secret desire to be king, implying that, by favouring him, *fortuna* approves of this.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ See Chapter 1: pp. 51.

⁴⁵⁵ Luc. 3.448. *Contra* Hunink (1992:184-185) who sees this as a 'bitter attack of the poet on the malignant force governing the course of things, *fortuna*, and on the gods'. However, the implication of this passage is that, while the gods wish to punish the guilty, *fortuna* is still able to protect them. See further pp. 150 below.

⁴⁵⁶ Luc. 10.524-529; 10.339. *fortuna* again takes on the role of Pompey's avenger when she has Caesar side with Cleopatra against her brother (Flor. 2.13.55).

⁴⁵⁷ Luc. 5.206-209.

⁴⁵⁸ Luc. 5.668. For other, less likely, interpretations of this passage see Matthews 2004: 244.

Valerius Maximus, for whom *fortuna* is a force which punishes the conspirators, and Lucan, for whom *fortuna* is the avenger of Pompey's murder and who punishes Caesar for his crimes, both construct *fortuna* as an enforcer of divine justice, but to different ends. According to Valerius' interpretation, by punishing Caesar's murders, *fortuna* justifies the power of Caesar and of his Julio-Claudian successors. Divine justice is thereby co-opted to the imperial cause. For Lucan however, it was Caesar's faith in his own *fortuna* had led him to harbour tyrannical ambitions, and had led him to commit typically tyrannical crimes. Lucan thereby associates Caesar's *fortuna* – the forerunner of the Julio-Claudian, imperial *fortuna* – with tyranny and sets up the imperial system as opposed to the cause of divine justice. In the end, though, he shows how the *fortuna* that legitimates such tyrannical power is undermined: *fortuna* turns on Caesar, punishing Caesar's ambition for such power. By choosing *fortuna* as both Caesar's punisher and protector Lucan uses the multivalence of the word to offer a complex critique of the imperial system: he conflates the meanings of *fortuna* as the tutelary companion of Caesar's power and as a force aligned with the justice of the gods. In cult (see Chapter 1) and on coins (see Chapter 3), *fortuna* was advertised as a mainstay of imperial power, she was used as a tool to define the roles of the emperor, to legitimate his succession, etc. Lucan's claim that *fortuna* not only supported the impiety of those in power, but was also liable to desert them, attacked the heart of the imperial relationship with *fortuna* and challenged the moral justification of the emperor's power that was signified by the favour of *fortuna*.

The relationship of *fortuna* with human qualities and endeavour

As we have seen, certain human virtues and actions are often juxtaposed with *fortuna*, and, as such, part of her meaning is constructed in relation to these. Any appreciation of the

literary construction of *fortuna* should therefore include an understanding of how she is understood in relation to these human qualities.

uirtus and fortuna

Perhaps the most common theme is the relationship between *uirtus* and *fortuna*. McDonnell, in discussing the Roman concept of *uirtus*, sees this pairing as expressing a basic concern: the connection between human responsibility and extra-human powers in the determination of events. However, he believes that when the two are seen to be independent this arises from a belief in fickle and malevolent Hellenistic ‘Fortuna/Τύχη’.⁴⁵⁹ Unfortunately, although his argument that the ἀρετή/τύχη juxtaposition was originally Greek is sound, McDonnell appears too willing to then trace most *fortuna/uirtus* combinations to Greek sources. This results not only in undue emphasis being placed on τύχη as opposed to *fortuna*, but also in a more philosophical and abstract sense of *uirtus* than most of the Latin evidence suggests. When the sources in question talk of *uirtus*, their construction of its meaning is dictated by the context in which they write: when Seneca talks of *uirtus* being unaffected by *fortuna*, he means something akin to moral ἀρετή,⁴⁶⁰ but when Caesar describes how his men, although deserted by *fortuna* and in the absence of their leader, were equal to the Gauls in *uirtus* and placed their hope of safety in this *uirtus*, he undoubtedly means not only moral excellence, but also military valour.⁴⁶¹

When the sources speak of *uirtus* and *fortuna* as antagonistic forces they often highlight the understanding of *uirtus* as a moral quality. Stoic thinking in particular asserts the

⁴⁵⁹ McDonnell 2006:85; 86, his ‘Fortuna/Τύχη’ is apparently based on Kajanto’s formulation. For the role of *uirtus* in historiography see Balmaceda 2005.

⁴⁶⁰ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁶¹ Caes. *BG* 5.34.2.

independence of *uirtus* from *fortuna*, understanding *fortuna* as a force that bestows external circumstances, things neither morally good nor bad (akin to the material *fortunae* discussed above). By exercising *uirtus* and reason the Stoic philosopher comes to value only these qualities which, because they do not depend on external circumstances, cannot be affected by the operations of *fortuna*.⁴⁶² Sallust, although not adhering to a definite form of Stoic philosophy, evinces the degree to which sentiments of this sort pervaded certain aspects of the Roman literary thought world when he opens the *Bellum Iugurthinum* with the assertion that *dux atque imperator uitae mortalium animus est*, and that when *animus* follows the path of *uirtus* it has no need of *fortuna*, since this can neither give nor take away *probitatem, industriam aliasque artis bonas*.⁴⁶³

According to the Stoics therefore, moral *uirtus* is more powerful than *fortuna*. Lucan however, undercuts this Stoic understanding of the supremacy of *uirtus* in his portrayal of Cato the Younger. In the literary tradition, Cato was used as a Stoic exemplar and his *uirtus* was commonly contrasted with *fortuna*.⁴⁶⁴ Lucan compares the *uirtus* of Cato with the trust that certain characters (especially Caesar and to a lesser extent Pompey) place in *fortuna*. That is not to say that Lucan's work shows this as an uncomplicated relationship whereby *fortuna* is powerless over *uirtus* (as Brutus' statement to Cato that *fortuna* will never be able to dislodge his *uirtus* might be taken to mean).⁴⁶⁵ Indeed, despite Cato's insistence that virtue will see him through the trials that *fortuna* sends in the deserts of North Africa, it is in fact *fortuna* that saves him by sending the Psylli to heal his

⁴⁶² See Chapter 4.

⁴⁶³ On this passage see Comber and Balcameda 2009: 188-189; Tiffou 1977: 349. For the idea that certain authors adopted Stoic philosophies in their treatment of history see Chapter 4.

⁴⁶⁴ Cato's *uirtus*: Cic. *Sest.* 60; *Fin.* 4.44; *Phil.* 13.30; *Vell.* 2.35.2; *Val. Max.* 2.10.8; *Sen. Tranqu. An.* 16.1.

⁴⁶⁵ *Luc.* 2.242-5. Brutus suggests just a few lines later that this *uirtus* might be spent in vain (263), and by doing so suggests that war will make even Cato guilty. For *fortuna* stymieing Cato's *uirtus* see Long's discussion of 'moral luck' in Lucan (2007: esp. 185-187). Cf. Dreyling 1999:112-113.

soldiers.⁴⁶⁶ Long points out that, because of the context of civil war in which Cato's *uirtus* operates, his actions can never be truly virtuous as they must always benefit either Caesar or Pompey. Both supporting and resisting Caesar's rise would back a potential tyrant, at least while Pompey led the resistance, and withdrawal from such a crisis was also damning.⁴⁶⁷ For Lucan, Cato's *uirtus* is therefore an essentially republican quality which is of no use in a proto-imperial context dominated by *fortuna*.

The Stoic *uirtus* that stands independent of *fortuna* is given as a way of escaping the power that *fortuna* holds over the lives of men. In portraying the ascendancy of *animus* and *ingenium* over *fortuna* Sallust constructs a more meritocratic concept of *uirtus* which can be adapted to the needs of the new men (so prominent in his works).⁴⁶⁸ As will be shown in Chapter 4, Seneca asserts the primacy of *uirtus* as a way of reclaiming power from *fortuna*: *fortuna* is rendered powerless when met with *uirtus* and agency is thereby returned to the individual. Seneca's insistence on the triumph of *uirtus* over *fortuna* is part of his strategy for successful living under the Empire, when the philosopher no longer has ultimate control of the physical circumstances of his existence, with this power instead residing with the emperor. However, for Lucan, the Republic's descent into civil war signals the defeat of *uirtus* by *fortuna*, and for him there is therefore no way, as there is for Seneca, of living a successfully moral existence in this context. For both authors, learning how to overcome *fortuna*, or accepting its dominance, is an intensely political act.

⁴⁶⁶ Luc. 9.890-3. Wick (2004: 379) suggests that the *uirtus* of Cato and his men has worn out *fortuna* to such a point that she surrenders. However, this does not change the fact that Cato's virtue is only allowed for by *fortuna*.

⁴⁶⁷ Long 2007: 184.

⁴⁶⁸ Sallust and the *noui homines*: Crawford 2006: 784. Earl (1961: 11) thinks that for Sallust *uirtus* is public and active: 'the functioning of the *ingenium* to achieve *egregia facinora* and thus to win *gloria* through *bonae artes*'. This concept is related to the aristocratic ideal of *uirtus* as the winning of *gloria* by *egregia facinora* in the service of the *res publica*. 'This aristocratic concept, however, is extrovert and exclusive, whereas Sallust's concept is introvert in that it looks above all to *ingenium*, and inclusive of all men of whatever class of society'.

When *uirtus* is used to indicate the role of human enterprise, serving as a catch-all word for bravery, moral excellence, mental acuity, and responsible planning, rather than narrowly in reference to philosophical ideas of moral excellence, its relationship to *fortuna* is altered. In this context, while *uirtus* is often contrasted with *fortuna*, the two are also seen as working together. The idea that they collaborate to effect success is found in phrases such as *fortis fortuna adiuvat*, or *fortuna ... uirtutem est secuta*, that typically posit valour or daring as a catalyst for the operations of luck.⁴⁶⁹ When Cicero speaks of Pompey's *felicitas* and *fortuna* he does so with reference to *uirtus*. Great commands, he writes, were given to men like Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, and Marius on account of their *uirtus* and *fortuna*.⁴⁷⁰ And in the late second century AD, Gellius explicitly names *fortuna* as a reward given to Quintus Caedicius (military tribune of Sicily in 258 BC) by the gods in return for the *uirtus* that he showed in saving the Roman army from destruction through the self-sacrifice of his troops.⁴⁷¹

Livy frequently balances the importance of *uirtus* and *fortuna* when summing up their roles as predictors of success in warfare. For Livy, the first predictor is the human factor: *militum copia et uirtus, (et) ingenia imperatorum*; second, and perhaps more powerful, is *fortuna*, which he says has great power in all human affairs, but especially in those of war.⁴⁷² Constructing *fortuna* in this way allows Livy to compare the *fortunae* of Roman generals with the *fortuna* of Alexander, and to dismiss the idea that Alexander might have exceeded the Romans in either soldiering or *fortuna*. The *fortuna* of this passage must be

⁴⁶⁹ Ter. *Phor.* 203; Verg. *Aen.* 10.284; Liv. 4.37.6 (Ogilvie 1965:592 calls this a 'moralization' typical of Livy's beginnings of new episodes); 8.29.5; 34.37.4; Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.11.

⁴⁷⁰ Cic. *Leg. Man.* 47; 49.

⁴⁷¹ Gell. *NA* 3.7.19.

⁴⁷² Liv. 9.17.3. For the role of extra-human forces as opposed to the role of human endeavour in Livy see Kajanto 1957 (esp. 64-97). Parallels: Oakley 2005 B: 234-235. See Caes. *BG.* 6.30.2; 6.35.2; *BC.* 3.68.1; 3.10.6. for precedents as to the efficacy of *fortuna* in warfare (this is not the case in Caesar's writing; at other times he places more faith in the *uirtus* of his troops, and sees this as a force that is able to create victory even without *fortuna*: *BG.* 5.34.2; *BC.* 3.73.4). These three factors: troops, leadership, and *fortuna* appear also in Tac. *Hist.* 2.82.3, and the *uirtus* of the soldiers and *fortuna* are mentioned in Cic. *Pro Marc.* 6.

read not just as good luck in warfare, but with reference to the personal *fortuna* of the various generals. Livy's argument is explicitly about meeting the objection (which in itself is quintessentially Roman) that Alexander's personal *fortuna* would have been far more powerful than those of anyone from Rome at that time. The tactic of his argument is therefore to throw doubt on the potency of Alexander's *fortuna* and to emphasize how Rome was in possession of greater *fortuna* and *uirtus*. Livy's estimation of the importance of *fortuna* draws on a specifically Roman understanding of the role played by the *fortunae* of individual generals (and, in his Augustan context, of the imperial *fortunae*) in creating victory for Rome. Livy's assessment of the importance of *fortuna* in warfare is not unique to him, but draws on a tradition evident in Nepos's *Thrasylbulus*, where the author likewise juxtaposes *fortuna* with the skill of *imperatores*, and gives *fortuna* the largest share of the victory, more than that given to either the soldiers or the commander.⁴⁷³ In constructing *fortuna* in this way, Nepos and Livy, like Cicero in his description of the *fortuna* and *felicitas* of Pompey, collaborate in creating an idea of victory that is understood as relying on the aid of *fortuna* more than on human skill or the physical force that men can bring to bear. As such, victory is portrayed as being reliant on a general's ability to summon the support of *fortuna* – often through his skill and *uirtus*. For Livy, the generals of Rome had greater access to this divine force of victory than Alexander, and, as such, they would have proved victorious over him. In both Livy and Cicero this *fortuna* is shown as attached to individual generals whose access to *fortuna* brings about Roman victory.⁴⁷⁴ Men like Cicero's Pompey, or Livy's undefeated generals of the Republic, had access to *fortuna* that was not available to others. As we have seen in the previous chapter, under the Empire, this access to *fortuna* became the privilege of the emperor, and, just as the generals of the Republic had channelled the favour of *fortuna* into Roman victory, now it was through the

⁴⁷³ Nep. *Thras.* 1.4.

⁴⁷⁴ Liv. 9.18.9-18.

person and office of the emperor that the benefits and victories given by *fortuna* were distributed to the Empire. By giving primacy to *fortuna*, Livy helps to construct the importance of this imperial function, while diminishing the role played by the more private endeavour of individual commanders and their troops.

In part, both the understandings of *fortuna* (as concomitant with *uirtus*, and as subordinate to it) deconstruct the power of *fortuna*. By claiming that *uirtus* is superior to *fortuna* our sources create the conceptual space for the effectiveness of individual action; by claiming that *fortuna* is affiliated with *uirtus*, our sources portray *fortuna* as controllable through the proper exercise of *uirtus*.

As effecting changes of character

Despite the protestations of the Stoics that *fortuna* has no power over *uirtus* or qualities such as *animus*, and the common construction of the *animus* of good men as incorruptible in the face of her rage, there are still a number of occasions when *fortuna* is described as effecting these qualities.⁴⁷⁵ Some of the clearest statements as to the effect that *fortuna* has on the character of a people or an individual concern the perceived decline in the Roman spirit following the fall of Carthage. Sallust writes:

*Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica creuit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes ui subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saeuire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit.*⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ The Stoic idea of the independence of *animus* from *fortuna*: Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 82.5. *animus* as immune to *fortuna*: Sall. *Iug.* 2.3; Cic. *de Off.* 1.66; Ov. *Ep. Ex Pont.* 2.3.49-53.

⁴⁷⁶ Sall. *Cat.* 10.1. In light of the construction of *fortuna* elsewhere in Sallust's works as subservient to *uirtus*, scholars have attempted to explain away the passage above as 'rhetorical cliché', claiming that Sallust's 'true understanding' of *fortuna* is one in which it is subservient to *uirtus* (Kajanto 1981:536; Tiffou 1977: 351-2). This is a misleading attempt to impose upon Sallust an all too cohesive view of her role, and ignores the differing constructions of *fortuna* in different contexts. Cf. Tact. *Ann.* 4.1.1. where *repente turbare fortuna coepit*, which McGushin (1977:88-89) likewise interprets as a kind of *deus ex machina* that intervenes in the affairs of Rome. Martin and Woodman (1989: 79) see this as a direct allusion to Sallust, noting that while in Sallust the reign of *fortuna* was allowed for by the removal of the fear of an external Punic threat, here the reign of *fortuna* gives rise to *pauor internus*.

As McGushin points out, while in contexts of action *uirtus* and *fortuna* are fused, the more reduced the role of *uirtus* the more important *fortuna* becomes. So here, once action has been set aside, *fortuna* is allowed free rein.⁴⁷⁷ *fortuna*, removed from the context of active expressions of *uirtus*, prompts a change from qualities of the mind such as *fides*, *probitas* and other *artes bonae*, to traits like *auaritia*, *superbia*, *crudelitas*, and impiety. This is a common lament, also found in Lucan, who bemoans how, after conquering the world, the riches that *fortuna* brought to the Romans helped dethrone their *mores*.⁴⁷⁸ In both passages *fortuna* gains power after a state of war has been replaced with the inactivity, luxury, and wealth that attends victorious peace. The emergence of men like Sallust's Catiline and Lucan's Caesar and Pompey is constructed as being the result of traditional Roman *mores* and *uirtus* being neglected in favour of *fortuna*.

This dynamic is not restricted to Romans. Livy, working in a tradition that ascribed Alexander's vices to *fortuna*, claims that because of his *noua fortuna* and the *nouum ingenium* which accompanied it, Alexander, having adopted Persian *mores*, would have arrived in Italy *Dareo magis similis quam Alexandro* and would therefore not have overcome the Romans.⁴⁷⁹ Later in this tradition, Curtius writes that it is the *noua fortuna* that Alexander acquired after his conquest of Darius that suggests *peregrinos ritus*, and perverts his *animus*, giving rise to *rabies* where *ira* would have sufficed.⁴⁸⁰ In these accounts, just as in the descriptions of Roman degeneration following the defeat of Carthage, it is the victory over a wealthy and seemingly degenerate foreign enemy that causes *fortuna* to gain the upper hand. In part, the role of *fortuna* in these examples

⁴⁷⁷ McGushin 1977:88-89. cf. the similar sentiment at Sall. *Cat.* 20.14.

⁴⁷⁸ Luc. 1.160. For a discussion of this theme see Levick 1982 A.

⁴⁷⁹ Liv. 9.18.1-4. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.21 (= Callisthenes *FGrHist.* 124 T 19a-b) on Theophrastus' attitude to Alexander's τύχη. For a discussion of this theme see Oakley 2005 B: 223 and Morello 2002. *Pace* Oakley (2005 B: 221) who interprets this *noua fortuna* as 'new position'.

⁴⁸⁰ Curt. 4.6.29.

references ideas of *fortuna* as an agent of *translatio imperii*.⁴⁸¹ Here *fortuna* is understood to both grant and signify imperial power and can therefore affect changes in who holds such power: just as, once Darius has been defeated, Alexander took over his position and the *animus* that accompanied it, so too the defeat of Carthage left a conceptual *lacuna* which Rome filled. Indeed, Curtius suggests that not even Darius was always the despot that he appeared to be. Rather, his *ingenium* is described as having been *mite ac tractabile* until it was perverted by *fortuna*, but this happens only once, having been changed by *licentia regni*, he surrenders himself to *fortuna*.⁴⁸²

In all these cases *fortuna* is constructed as first bringing about a change in material circumstances which in turn effects a change in intellectual or moral ones.⁴⁸³ Lucan and Sallust characterize this change occurring in the Roman *animus* through a process whereby once men have learnt to value the gifts of *fortuna* too highly, the value which they place on them gives *fortuna* increased domination, and she is then able *miscere omnia*.⁴⁸⁴ These authors give this inappropriate valuation of the worth of *fortuna* as the cause for the decline in the republican virtues that made Rome great. For Lucan especially, this is the process that brought about the civil war that ended the Republic. Just as the perversion of Alexander's *animus* by an imperial *fortuna* would have led to his defeat by Rome, transferring Alexander's Empire to Rome, so too does Lucan suggest that it is by her perversion of Caesar that the Republic is destroyed.

Curtius and Lucan both describe the rise of her power over Caesar and Alexander in similar terms. They both portray the danger of such degradation of character as increasing when *fortuna* becomes a man's only point of moral reference, when he knowingly

⁴⁸¹ See also Flor. 2.13.61; Curt. 4.14.19-21; Liv. 9.17.3-5; 18.1-4; Just. *Epit.* 30.4.16.

⁴⁸² Curt. 3.2.17-18. Atkinson (1980: 111) finds this to be 'the commonplace of the corruptive power of success to describe the contradictions in Alexander's character'.

⁴⁸³ For this process in a city other than Rome see for example Liv. 23.2.1.

⁴⁸⁴ Above, pp. 147.

surrenders control of himself to *fortuna*. So, according to Curtius, Alexander's change of character came about because *fortuna* had first caused him to have confidence *uni sibi* rather than in other factors that might bring him victory such as the customs and *uirtus* of his men.⁴⁸⁵ Likewise, according to Lucan, Caesar, when committing himself to the injustice of civil war by crossing the Rubicon, states that *hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo; te, fortuna, sequor* and he later chooses *fortuna* as his only companion.⁴⁸⁶ Lucan constructs Caesar's faith in *fortuna* as leading him to commit not only the sin of war against his own country, but to commit actions that are more explicitly opposed to the gods (such as the felling of a sacred grove), noting that because of the protection offered by *fortuna* the gods are incapable of censuring him.⁴⁸⁷ Both Caesar and Alexander are used as examples of the negative effects of reckless ambition and self-conviction caused by *fortuna*.

We saw above that the concomitance of *fortuna* and *uirtus* helped to construct an understanding of Rome's imperial power as permanent, predictable, and moral. Conversely, an understanding of *fortuna* as perverting *animus* and *uirtus* undermines this. By claiming that Empires and kings rely on *fortuna* as opposed to *uirtus* our sources construct *fortuna* as amoral, and show that such empires and kingdoms must naturally fall. This understanding can be used to suggest that Rome's enemies (whether real or, as in the case of Alexander, imagined) are amoral, and thus destined to be defeated; or it can be used to critique the moral state of Roman politics, warning that Rome is morally weakened by the ascendancy of *fortuna*.

⁴⁸⁵ For other examples of this see Livy's portrayal of Minucius' faith in *fortuna*: Liv. 22.27.1-4,8; 22.29.1. For the contrast between the planning and caution of Fabius and the rashness of Minucius, Flaminius and Varro see Kajanto 1957: 84; 92-93.

⁴⁸⁶ Luc. 1.225-226; 5.510 (Barratt 1979: 162; Matthews 2004: 80-82). Caesar's choice of *fortuna* as his companion is contrasted with Lentulus' assertion that the senators will have *imperiumque comes* (Luc. 5.27).

⁴⁸⁷ Luc. 3.448. See pp. 140 above.

Conclusion

Our sources do not construct the meanings of *fortuna* in terms of a distinct set of categories. Rather, various meanings of *fortuna* are constructed according to the immediate rhetorical and moralizing needs of the sources. As these needs change, so too does the characterization of *fortuna*.

Imperial literatures of *fortuna* differ from those of the Republic in particular ways: certain meanings, although not new, are more common, and more space is given to increasingly elaborate and negative characterizations of *fortuna* and her actions. References to the personal *fortunae* of prominent men (especially Caesar and Augustus), and to those that favour certain individuals are more common in, although not unique to, imperial literature. Likewise, the idea of a *fortuna* that was attached to a specific political rank developed in the imperial period. The increased attention given to these *fortunae* corresponds to the newly prominent role of imperial *fortunae* in the context of imperial cults and numismatics.⁴⁸⁸ These changes in the representation of *fortuna* in the literary, religious, and material contexts, at once created and reflected the evolving relationship between *fortuna* and the structures of imperial power.

The increasingly negative characterization of *fortuna* in the literatures of this period served to comment on the author's relationship with or perceptions of this power. We have seen how, for example, Ovid's negative characterization of *fortuna* allowed him to comment on his powerlessness in the face of Augustus' wrath, expressing anxiety regarding the place of the individual in relation to the seemingly inescapable force of imperial power. Likewise, Seneca's *fortuna* is the ultimate arbiter of imperial favour, wealth, and all external indifferents, a force beyond human control. A result of this understanding of *fortuna* is that

⁴⁸⁸ The construction of *fortuna* in these contexts is discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 respectively.

authors, whether intentionally or not, reaffirm the emperor's absolute power, and thus incorporate their narratives of *fortuna* into an imperial ideological programme which understood the emperor to have absolute agency in human affairs, despite the manifest limitations of this in reality.

What emerges is that an author's use of *fortuna* is often an intensely political act. In their constructions of *fortuna*, our sources of the Late Republic and Empire not only help to assemble the rhetoric of Roman power, but also collaborate in producing the reality of this power. These authors are therefore concerned with whether *fortuna* is controllable or not. By opening *fortuna* up to being controlled by *uirtus* or skill, authors can suggest the permanence of Roman power. Moreover, they show that the continued success of Rome proves the military and moral fitness of Rome, and her rulers. Thus, authors can also use those *fortunae* most closely associated with the power of the emperor (e.g. personal *fortunae* and *fortunae* that attend specific individuals) to comment on the morally degrading nature of imperial power. While these *fortunae* are shown to aid the actions of men like Caesar or Alexander, their relationships with *fortuna* are morally corrupting, and contribute to the eventual downfall of their power. Lucan and Curtius, in their uses of these *fortunae*, offer a commentary on the problems perceived to be associated with the proto-imperial power wielded by Caesar and Alexander. The construction of *fortuna* as unstable or amoral thus attacks the idea of Roman power as stable or beneficent. *fortuna* is understood to be the mainstay of Roman power. Authors therefore construct their understanding of *fortuna* in terms of how they feel about this power.

Chapter 3

fortuna on Coins: 31 BC – AD 235

The previous chapter has shown how *fortuna* was used by a relatively small literate audience to construct understandings of the social and political realities in which the authors and readers of these texts lived. This chapter showed that an important axis of the literary interpretation of *fortuna* is the attitude of the sources to Roman power and Roman power-holders: when they identify with these structures then *fortuna* is shown as controllable, moral, and beneficent, but when they are critical of them then they highlight the instability, randomness, and amorality of *fortuna*. The evidence discussed in this chapter, the numismatic representations of *fortuna* in the imperial period, is not merely produced by authors who were favourable towards Rome and those who ruled it, but was created by the imperial system as a way of commenting on itself.

Much of the scholarly literature that touches on the use of *fortuna* on coins dwells on the problem of the classification of such deities, with scholars lingering over the application of the terms virtue,⁴⁸⁹ personification,⁴⁹⁰ deified, or personified abstraction,⁴⁹¹ and so on. As we have seen, such debate is not only misguided, but also means that scholars, having relegated *fortuna* to one of these categories, neglect to consider her in their studies of divine qualities in imperial coinage.⁴⁹² Manders simply lists *fortuna* coins among those she believes are used to propagate the idea *saeculum aureum* and the material benefits that accompany this state;⁴⁹³ Noreña, classifying *fortuna* as a ‘personification’, does not include her in his study of imperial virtues, and later simply names her as an ‘imperial

⁴⁸⁹ See (e.g.) Fears 1981 B; Mattingly 1937; Charlesworth 1937.

⁴⁹⁰ See (e.g.) Gnechi 1905.

⁴⁹¹ See (e.g.) Axtell 1907; Alföldi 1956: 64; Lind 1973.

⁴⁹² See Introduction: pp. 12.

⁴⁹³ Manders 2008: 125 ff.

benefit’;⁴⁹⁴ while Hedlund, concerned as he is with coins of a more martial bent, only mentions the role of *fortuna* in denoting the ‘fruits of peace’ and offering hope and assurance in times troubled by internal warfare.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, studies such as these fail to acknowledge that her role as ‘personification’, ‘virtue’, or representative figure for the gifts that she brings, is not static, and that images of *fortuna* do not have the same significance in all periods or on all coins.⁴⁹⁶ To properly identify the functions of *fortuna*, we first need to ask what the benefit would have been of associating an emperor, his family, or his reign with *fortuna*, or indeed with any other divine quality.

I will not be dealing with the fraught question of the emperor’s involvement in choosing or vetting coin types, as it has little impact on how we should interpret the messages displayed on coins. Whether or not the emperor chose the types, or if, as Barbara Levick suggests, the types were chosen to appeal to the emperor, the result was the same.⁴⁹⁷ People still associated the emperor with the coins that showed his image and believed him to be promoting the themes they saw displayed there. This is illustrated by the tale of Julian’s visit to Antioch where the people of the city rose against him, stating as one of their grievances ‘that the bull which was impressed upon his coin was a symbol of his having desolated the world. For the emperor, being excessively superstitious, was continually sacrificing bulls on the altars of his idols; and had ordered the impression of a bull and altar to be made on his coin’.⁴⁹⁸ This demonstrates not only that people paid attention to reverse types, but also that they held the emperor responsible for what they

⁴⁹⁴ Noreña 2001: 155; Noreña 2011: 136-140.

⁴⁹⁵ Hedlund 2008: 80-81. For exceptions to this trend, see Alonso-Núñez 1986; Lenzi 1910; Lichocka 1997; De Ranieri 2001.

⁴⁹⁶ For the general role of Divine Qualities on coins see eg. Koehler 1886; Gnecci 1905; Charlesworth 1937; Nock 1947; Toynbee 1956; Shotter 1979; Hölscher 1980; Wallace-Hadrill 1981A; Clark 2007: 137-161.

⁴⁹⁷ Levick 1982 B.

⁴⁹⁸ *Soc. Hist. Ecc.* 3.17.

saw there and that they believed this to be a statement about the nature of his reign.⁴⁹⁹ The coinage the Empire produced therefore had to be ‘in line’ with imperial ideology.⁵⁰⁰ However, we may hazard that, at least in certain circumstances, even if the emperor was not personally responsible for approving each type, he may still have taken an interest in the general themes promoted on the coins that bore his image. Therefore, when we speak of *fortuna* being used ‘by’ an emperor on his coinage, we need not interpret this as supposing the direct involvement of the emperor. Rather, we should suppose that it was most often the mint officials, men sensitive to the political climate and the ideology of the regime under which they worked, that decided how best to represent the emperor and his rule. Passages like the description in Suetonius of Augustus, having been told of the greatness of his horoscope, striking coins with a Capricorn depicted on it, suggest a certain level of direct involvement by the emperor could occur.⁵⁰¹ Moreover, we should not imagine that the iconography found on coins attracted so little of the emperor’s attention, or was at too great a remove from that seen in other artistic media where the emperor’s involvement, often through patronage, is more obvious.⁵⁰²

In terms of the benefits accrued through the numismatic uses of divine qualities, Fears has noted that it was a characteristic of the imperial system of ‘virtues’ that each ‘virtue’ became bound up in the character of a given individual, most often the emperor, and that these virtues were then used to proclaim the superhuman attainments of this individual and the blessings which he brought to the world.⁵⁰³ We see this in the favour shown on their coinage by certain emperors for certain divine qualities (note, for example, Pescennius Niger’s use of *iustitia*, discussed below), and by the only sporadic popularity of the legend

⁴⁹⁹ *contra* Crawford 1983.

⁵⁰⁰ For a useful summary of the debate see Howgego 1995: 70ff.

⁵⁰¹ Suet. *Aug.* 94.

⁵⁰² For the role of the patron in the production of monumental art see Conlin 1997: 38-44; cf. Zanker 1988: esp. 98. For the role of imperial patronage in literary art see (e.g.) Griffin 1984: 201 ff.

⁵⁰³ Fears 1981: 875.

FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI in favour of FORTVNA AVG. As we saw in Chapters 1 and 2, the epithet *Aug.* attached to *fortuna* constructed a *fortuna* that was no longer personal in the way that that of a private citizen might have been, but nor was it communal, as the *fortuna populi Romani* had been, but rather served the whole Roman people through the person of the emperor. Advertising the imperial *fortunae* thus became a way for the emperor to proclaim the successes (future, past, or present) of his rule, and to bind the populace more closely to him through the benefaction offered to them, through him, by this *fortuna*.⁵⁰⁴ Knowledge of the times at which *fortuna* was used most often, the images that were used, and the legends with which these images were combined, will enlighten our understanding of the role of *fortuna* on coins, showing how the goddess was used as a tool to assert the imperial ideology, and how this created and reflected an understanding of the nature of *fortuna*.

To do this properly, due caution is needed in handling the numismatic evidence. The coinage of the first three centuries of the Roman Empire represents a vast body of data which cannot, as is too often the case, be approached in a piecemeal fashion. It is all too tempting to take a coin of Caligula on which his sisters are represented as *fortuna*, *securitas*, and *concordia* (Figure 11) as being representative of how *fortuna* was generally depicted, when in fact this is the only occasion (at least from between Augustus and Severus Alexander) when any of the women of the imperial family are so explicitly depicted as *fortuna*.⁵⁰⁵ It is therefore important not to read this single type, as Rufus Fears does, as being ‘a dramatic statement of the assimilation of members of the imperial family into the virtues’.⁵⁰⁶ Were Caligula’s mint to have produced numerous variations on this

⁵⁰⁴ See the dedications to the imperial *fortuna* discussed in Chapter 1: pp. 82 ff. For the importance of the emperor to the benefits of Empire see Noreña 2011: 106-111.

⁵⁰⁵ *RIC* Caligula: 33.

⁵⁰⁶ Fears 1981: 893. Criticisms of this sort have become more common in recent years, see esp. Noreña 2001: 147; Noreña 2011: 21-24.

type, or were this coin to have initiated a trend in the depiction of *fortuna* or the emperor's sisters, then perhaps we could agree with Fears. Had Caligula's representation of his sisters been, like Trajan's Column, nearly 40 metres tall, then, perhaps, it would be legitimate to consider it separately to other depictions of *fortuna*, *securitas*, or *concordia*. Being a single type amongst many, its importance shrinks.⁵⁰⁷ While if a coin was rare it would have been less likely to be seen or noticed by a great many people, it is unlikely that this would be true when the coin and its variations were produced in great numbers and over a longer period of time.⁵⁰⁸ Moreover, irrespective of whether the populace took heed of the message that the emperor put out, the point of interest is that the state felt the need to publicize it in the first place. This has the further implication of pointing out as important those messages which were repeatedly publicized, rather than individual instances of experimentation. Thus, in order to distinguish the relative importance of types and the representations on them, an attempt should be made to distinguish between those coins which were already rare in Rome and those which were seen more often.

Recent studies have served to highlight the importance of a quantitative approach in dealing with numismatic evidence. Most notable are Carlos Noreña's studies of coin hoards to determine the relationship between the proliferation of coin types advertising the emperor's generosity and actual instances of imperial largesse.⁵⁰⁹ Recently, Erika Manders has used quantitative analysis of types appearing in *RIC* to determine patterns in how third century emperors presented themselves.⁵¹⁰ Noreña's 2011 study measures the relative

⁵⁰⁷ That is not to say that the images on coins had no impact on or relevance to their intended audiences, and we should not give too much credence to those who claim that the populace was unaware and unable to interpret the messages on their coinage. Cf. Jones 1956; Crawford 1983. That the people who used coins were able to interpret the images and legends on them is suggested by the coin found at the base of the mast of a Roman ship (known as the Blackfriars ship). Fittingly, the coin bears an image of *fortuna* holding a rudder, suggesting that it was specifically selected (cf. Carlson 2007: 318).

⁵⁰⁸ While it is true that rare coins might have occasioned more notice due to their novelty value, their impact could not, for this same reason, have been very broad.

⁵⁰⁹ Noreña 2011; 2001.

⁵¹⁰ Noreña 2001; Manders 2008.

frequency of coin types in published hoards, accounting for about 180 000 coins, and is undoubtedly the most extensive attempt to measure the relative frequency with which specific types were minted.⁵¹¹ However, Noreña is perhaps too hasty in dismissing the usefulness of collections such as *RIC* by contrast with studies such as his own.⁵¹² Of course, the number of specimens of a given coin in major collections is an unreliable indicator of the coin's actual frequency and the number of coins included is subject to the survival of those coins.⁵¹³ However, if one disregards the attempts in volumes such as *RIC* to quantify the rarity of a given type, and one instead examines the actual number of *RIC* types, a correlation emerges between the number of coin types promulgating a certain theme and the actual number of coins on which that theme appears.

Manders has used this method of quantification to study coins representing what she terms 'divine association', and finds that the number of coin types in *RIC* that promote this idea correlates to the number of coins that do so in representative hoards (See Figures 1 and 2).⁵¹⁴ Manders has measured the proportions of *RIC* coin types (looking at the *denarii* listed in *RIC*) propagating 'divine association' per emperor opposed to proportions of actual coin numbers (*denarii* found in the Reka-Devnia, Cunetio, Normanby, Venera, Neftenbach, and Çanakkale hoards) propagating divine association per emperor. These correlations are not exact, but they do map general trends in type production, and are therefore especially useful in tracking changes in the types minted over a period of many years. *RIC* types are therefore, like the coins in Noreña's hoard studies, a useful sample of the coins in circulation.

⁵¹¹ Methodology: Noreña 2011: 28-36.

⁵¹² Noreña 2001:148.

⁵¹³ Cf. Volk 1987:141; Carradice 1998: 97.

⁵¹⁴ Manders 2008: 27ff, esp. Fig. 3 and 4.

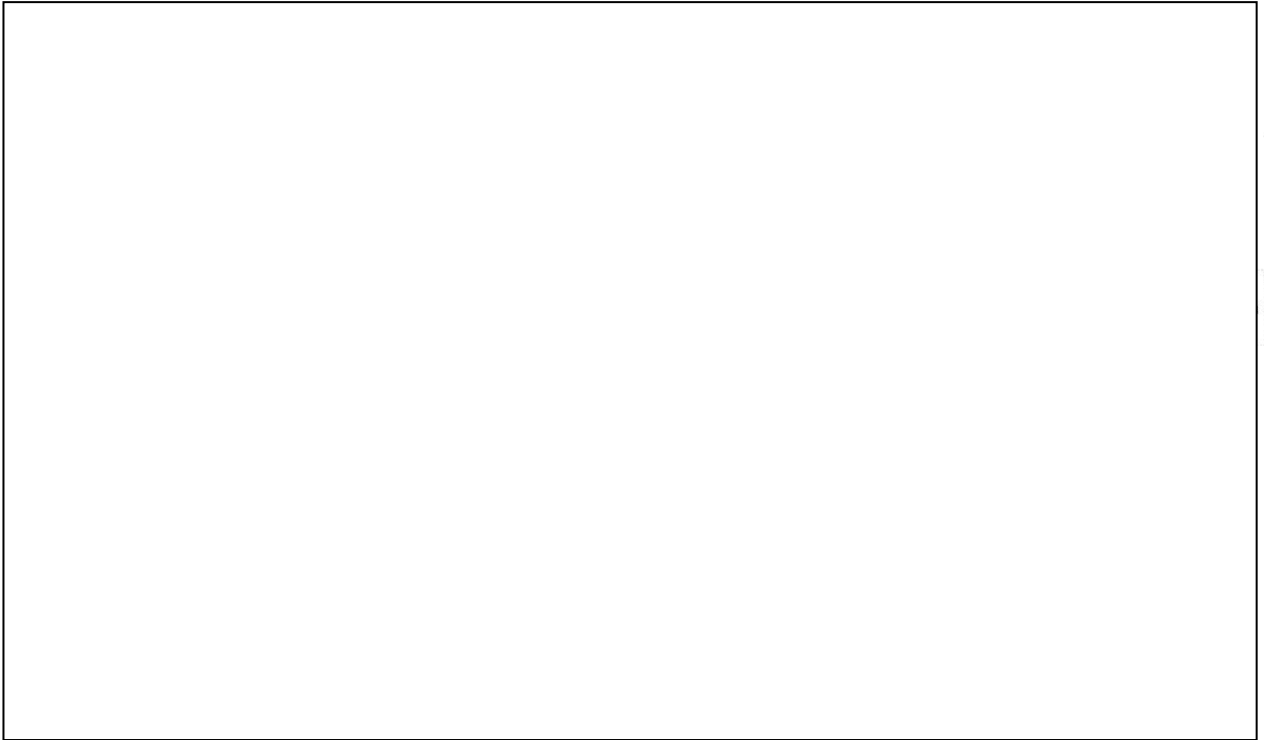


Figure 1: Proportion of coin types opposed to proportion of coin numbers found in the Reka-Devnia and Cunetio hoards

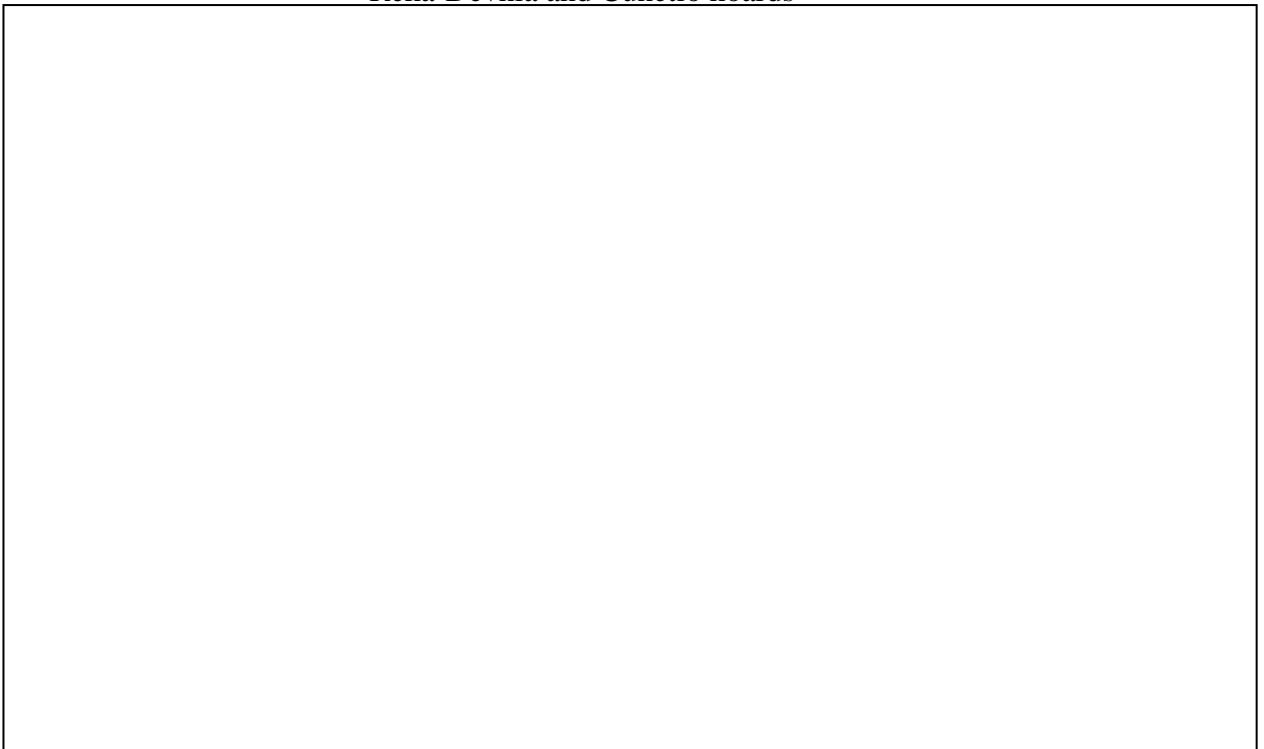


Figure 2: Proportion of coin types opposed to proportion of coin numbers found in the Normanby, Cunetio, Venera, Neftenbach, and Çanakkale hoards

These quantitative approaches have been very successful in analysing trends in how a number of divine qualities were represented. In these cases, each figure is taken to

represent a discrete part of the system of communication and publicization of the imperial message, or of the actions taken by the state. A similar approach can be taken when dealing with only one figure, such as *fortuna*. So, instead of addressing trends in which many gods are depicted, the differences in the representation of one of them may be used. Therefore, instead of simply investigating when *fortuna* types are produced and the reasons for their production, we shall instead look at what the significance was of the various ways in which she was represented. In this chapter, following Manders, I will be using the number of *RIC* coin types to gauge the general frequency of types associated with *fortuna*.⁵¹⁵

Looking at the total number of coins listed in *RIC* from the beginning of the Principate in 31 BC to the end of Alexander Severus' reign in AD 235, I have identified 875 coin-types that reference *fortuna* in their images or legends (see Appendix 1). Not all of these coins are unambiguous in their portrayal of *fortuna*: some show figures that are combinations of *fortuna* and another deity, or legends that reference *fortuna* in combination with iconography that recalls a different goddess. This complexity was produced by the gradual development and refinement of a semantic system for coins during the imperial period.⁵¹⁶ Though an initial feature of imperial coinage was its relative simplicity when compared to the convoluted variations found on republican money, Hedlund has shown that a consequence of this was the use of divine qualities which increasingly represented more 'sloganesque abbreviated statements'.⁵¹⁷ This resulting simplicity of language, a kind of numismatic shorthand, in turn meant that increasingly complex ideas could then be expressed.⁵¹⁸ This was most easily achieved by combining elements typical of the

⁵¹⁵ Henceforth, *RIC* coin types will be referred to as coin types. It is beyond this chapter's scope to include an analysis of the number of *fortuna* mintings associated with the various mints.

⁵¹⁶ For the development of other visual systems of meaning see (e.g.) Zanker 1988: 239 ff.

⁵¹⁷ Much of this argument rests on Hölscher (esp. 1987: 53ff.).

⁵¹⁸ Zanker 1988: 102, 118.

representation of two different figures to create a new composite one. We see this on three types put out under Antoninus Pius on which a figure representing both *fortuna* and *salus* is shown seated holding a rudder on a globe and *patera* out of which she feeds a snake which is wound round an altar.⁵¹⁹ Thus, in the same space that it would take to represent either *salus* or *fortuna*, the moneyer is able to refer not only to each of them, but also to a new composite concept that combines them both. Composites could likewise be created out of combinations of legend and image. Thus, two coin types of Antoninus Pius display a conventional image of *fortuna* holding a cornucopia and a rudder, but with the legend PAX.⁵²⁰ These complexities are allowed for by the fact that, by Antoninus' time, the numismatic iconography of *fortuna* was repeated enough and therefore sufficiently familiar to allow for variations.⁵²¹ For this reason I have included in my study any coins which reference *fortuna* in their legends or show combinations of the characteristic attributes of *fortuna*: the cornucopia, the rudder, the globe, the wheel, or the ship's prow.⁵²² I have grouped the coin types according to image-types (i.e. the attributes with which the goddess is shown, her pose, and the figures, if any, that accompany her), and legend-types, decided by the accompanying legend, described in Appendices 2 and 3 respectively. The chronological range of these coins allows us to track the semantic evolution of *fortuna*, showing how her numismatic signifiers were established, and how these signs were combined with increasing complexity, allowing for *fortuna* to be deployed in increasingly nuanced ways.

In the past, quantitative approaches to treating the numismatic evidence have been relatively elementary. Both Noreña and Manders simply looked at the coin types that

⁵¹⁹ See (e.g.) *RIC* Antoninus Pius: 751, 763, 799.

⁵²⁰ *RIC* Antoninus Pius: 1201, 1202.

⁵²¹ On the importance of repetition in imagery see Hölscher 1984:16; Zanker 1988: 123.

⁵²² Iconography of *fortuna*: Furio 1910; Kajanto 1981: 518-521; Champeaux 1982, 1988; Coralini 1996; Lichocka 1997; *LIMC* s.v. 'Tyche/Fortuna'; Arya 2002: 68ff.

interested them as percentages of the total number of types. While this sort of analysis might be useful for simply pointing out reigns in which the proportion of *fortuna* types was unusually high compared to other types, it is not a very subtle tool, and can lead us into error. Figure 3 illustrates this. Here we see that the reigns of Nerva, Didius Julianus, and Geta stand out as being particularly high in the number of *fortuna* types minted in proportion to other coin types. An emperor such as Geta's brother Caracalla does not seem to merit any particular interest, having a very low proportion of *fortuna* types. Here the problems associated with using such rudimentary quantitative tools become rapidly evident. There are 17 *fortuna* types from the time that Geta was co-emperor that bear his image, and 14 from Caracalla's reign, the overwhelming majority of which can be dated to 211, the year in which Geta and Caracalla ruled jointly. The difference in number between their actual *fortuna* mintings is thus not exceptional. What gives Geta such a high percentage, and Caracalla such a low one, is that while Geta was murdered at the end of 211, having only been made co-emperor with his brother in March of that year, Caracalla continued as emperor until 217. The coins minted for Caracalla in 211 thus appear proportionally far less significant, while those of Geta assume undue significance. Quantitative analysis of this kind therefore cannot show us that there was something about the year 211 that greatly affected the number of *fortuna* types minted. To get at this sort of detail, and avoid making the sort of false assumptions that the data in Figure 3 might encourage, more sophisticated methods are required.

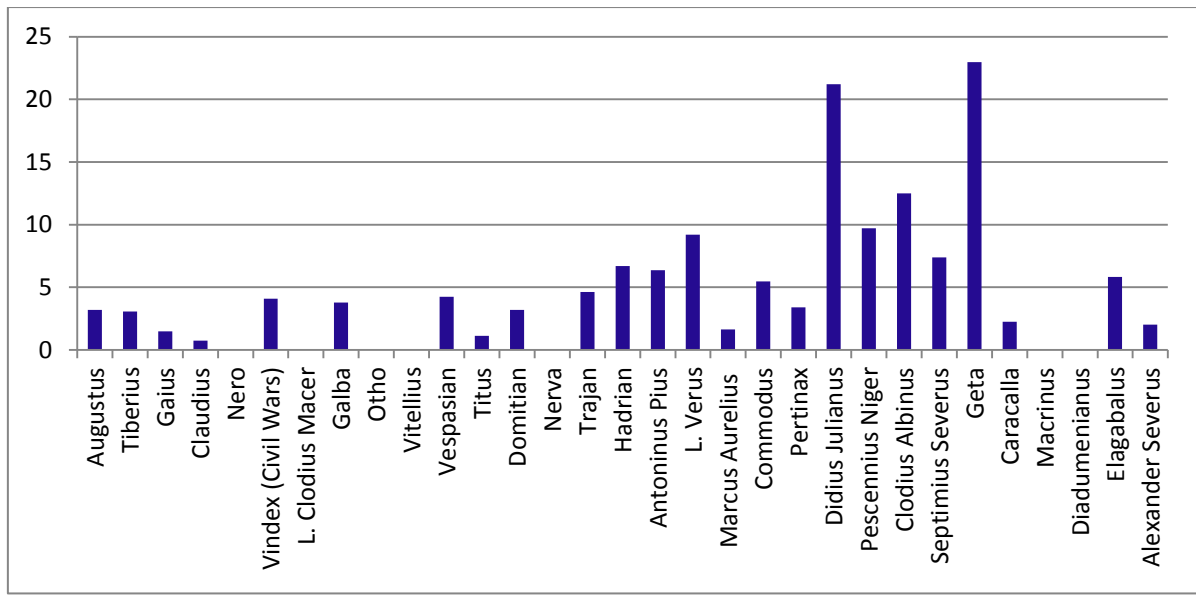


Figure 3: Percentage of *fortuna* types per emperor.

Establishing intentionality is critical when assessing such a large body of data. It would be pointless to investigate the representation of *fortuna* on coins only to discover that her image or name appears only as a result of the fact that, according to Roman numismatic convention, coins required images and legends, and that her presence on the coinage at any given time is down to random whims, rather than conscious decisions: this is something that the graph in Figure 3 cannot tell us. Establishing a measure of intentionality is important, not only because it suggests to the historian which areas or periods may be most useful to their investigation, but also because it allows us to say interesting things *about* intentionality. If the minting of *fortuna* coins were random, we would expect to see *fortuna* coins randomly distributed over our time period of 266 years. We are able to test whether this is the case by comparing the distribution of *fortuna* types in each year with the distribution expected in a homogenous Poisson Process.⁵²³ Thus, by asking if the minting

⁵²³ $P[(N(t + \tau) - N(t)) = k] = \frac{e^{-\lambda\tau} (\lambda\tau)^k}{k!} \quad k = 0, 1, \dots,$

If we imagine using this equation to measure the probability distribution of (e.g.) heart attacks, then N = the number of events, or heart attacks, t = a particular period of time, (e.g. 20 seconds), so $N(t)$ = the number of heart attacks in that 20 seconds. For the purposes of our study t will not be important. τ = another point in time, e.g. 5 seconds. If $N(t)$ = the number of heart attacks up to 20 seconds, then $N(t + \tau)$ = the number that occur in 25 seconds. In our study τ is one year. Thus, if $N(t)$ = the number of events that have occurred until time t , then $N(t + \tau)$ = the number of heart attacks since the process started until 25 seconds later. $N(t + \tau) - N(t)$ = the number of events which have occurred in the 5 second period between t and τ , which is k . P is the

of coins is a Poisson process we will be able to see whether their distribution corresponds with that expected by chance or if we can see deliberateness in the numismatic uses of *fortuna*.

A Poisson Process is defined as following a random probability distribution. To check whether *fortuna* coins are a Poisson Process we are required to model the distribution of events (in our case, the minting of a *fortuna* coin) as though they were independent of one another and, in the case of the homogenous variation of this process, as though the chance of an event occurring at any particular time (here governed by the parameter λ) were constant. Thus, by modelling our data as a homogenous Poisson Process we are already making two randomizing assumptions (i.e. assumptions that skew our interpretation of the data towards a distribution that follows chance rather than design). 1) that the events are independent of one another (which our knowledge of the way in which patterns of representation are established and then continued suggests is not the case); 2) that λ is constant (even though our knowledge of Roman numismatics again suggests that the chance of a *fortuna* coin being minted is affected by certain events as well as whether other *fortuna* coins have recently been minted).

The graph in Figure 4 compares the distribution of *fortuna* types to a Poisson distribution. The x axis of this graph is the number of 'events' (*fortuna* type mintings) that we see in a unit of time (in this case one year), while the y axis shows the number of years in which that number of events occurs.

probability of there being k number of events. λ is the mean number of events over the period of time per unit interval, i.e. how many heart attacks per 5 seconds, or in our study the number of *fortuna* type mintings in a given year. This defines the distribution and it allows one to give a probability to every possible number of events in a given time interval.

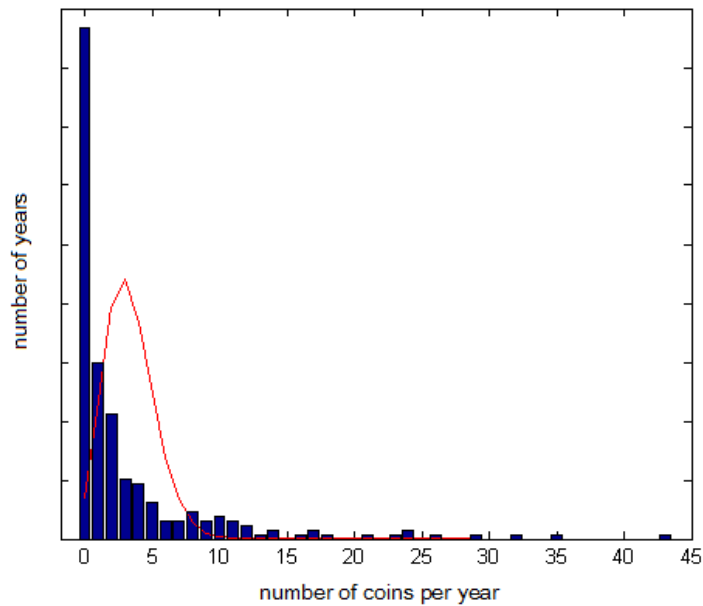


Figure 4: Homogenous Poisson Process modelled against mintings of *fortuna* coins.

The blue bars record the actual distribution of *fortuna* mintings, while the red line shows a Poisson distribution. We can compare these two distributions to check whether the distribution of *fortuna* coins in any given year is due to chance. If it resembled the homogenous Poisson Process, then it would suggest a degree of randomness in the selection of *fortuna*, that the number of *fortuna* type mintings in a given period was not governed by any specific external influence, and that the probability of *fortuna* types in any year is not dependent on *fortuna* types minted in any other year. But, as we can see, these two distributions do not correlate. Most noticeable are outliers of two types. Firstly, there are too many years in which no *fortuna* type coins were minted. Secondly, the Poisson Process suggests that there should be no years in which ten or more *fortuna* type coins are minted, since at around 10 on the x axis the line illustrating the process drops to 0 on the y axis. However, we can see that in one year over 40 were minted. The value of the Poisson Process is precisely in allowing ancient historians to identify such outliers. While expert knowledge might suggest that years in which 40 *fortuna* type coins occur are worthy of attention, this statistical methodology allows us to say with certainty that, in fact, only 10 or more *fortuna* mintings in a year marks it out as anomalous. The few years

that boast *fortuna* mintings in the 30s and 40s are so striking that, without a proper methodological basis, the years in which the relatively small number of 10 or 11 occur might otherwise have escaped notice.

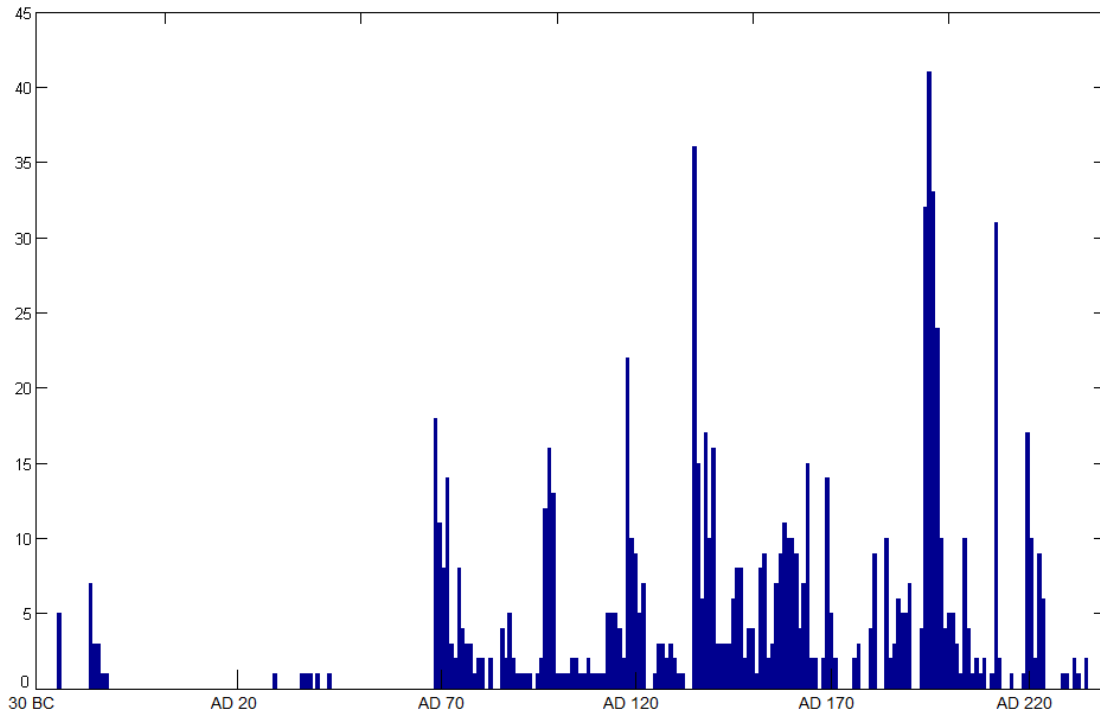


Figure 5: *fortuna* types per date.

We can now hypothesise as to why the distribution of these coins does not appear to be determined solely by chance. The high number of years in which we have zero coins minted can be accounted for if we look at the number of *fortuna* type mintings arranged by date (as seen in Figure 5). It is clear that the vast majority of the zero values are due to the lag in *fortuna* type production before Galba: relatively few *fortuna* types were minted before his reign, but after it there are very few years in which *fortuna* types are not produced. Having explained the zero outlier we can assume that the outliers in the opposite direction, the extremely large numbers of mintings in some years, can be attributed to historical events and imperial directives.

We can therefore discount those years before AD 68, and thus estimate the λ value in a Poisson Process based only on coins minted from Galba onwards. Then, in estimating λ , we exclude any year in which more than 10 types were minted (based on the assumption, discussed above, that there was a historical reason for minting that many *fortuna* type coins). By trimming the data in this way, we give the Poisson Process as good a chance as possible of working, and thus of explaining the data. The red line in Figure 6 illustrates this trimmed Poisson Process. Here we see that, although the two processes do not match one another exactly, they do match much more closely than before: the line illustrating the Poisson process has shifted to the left, moving more in line with the actual number of mintings, so that, with the first zero spike discounted, the first spike in the Poisson process can be seen to be in line with our spike indicting years in which 1 *fortuna* coin was minted. The downward curve of the distribution is now also more in line with our reducing number of years in which x number of events occurred. This suggests that, at some points at least, an element of chance is present in the minting of *fortuna* types, but it cannot fully explain the complex fluctuations in the *fortuna* mintings that are actually observed.

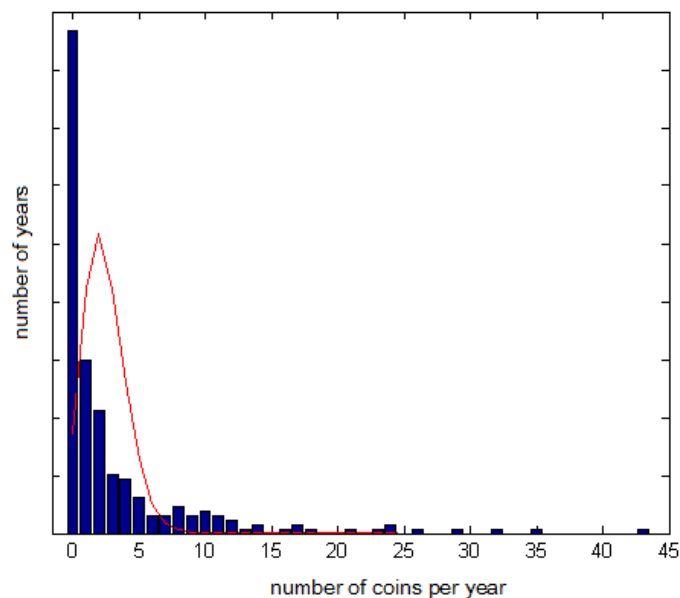


Figure 6: Homogenous Poisson Process trimmed of outliers modelled against mintings of *fortuna* coins.

Comparing the actual distribution of *fortuna* mintings with the distribution of mintings suggested by the Poisson Process has therefore raised a number of important questions for studying *fortuna* on imperial coins. The first of these is the issue of the change in the occurrence of *fortuna* types after Galba. The second question concerns the years that are outliers because of the high number of *fortuna* types which occur in them, which a comparison with the Poisson Process has helped us identify as any year in which ten or more *fortuna* types were minted. These years may be identified, with the help of the visualization in Figure 7, as the years 68-69; 71; 96-98; 117-118; 134-135; 137-139; 157-159; 163; 168; 183; 193-197; 203; 211; 219-220.

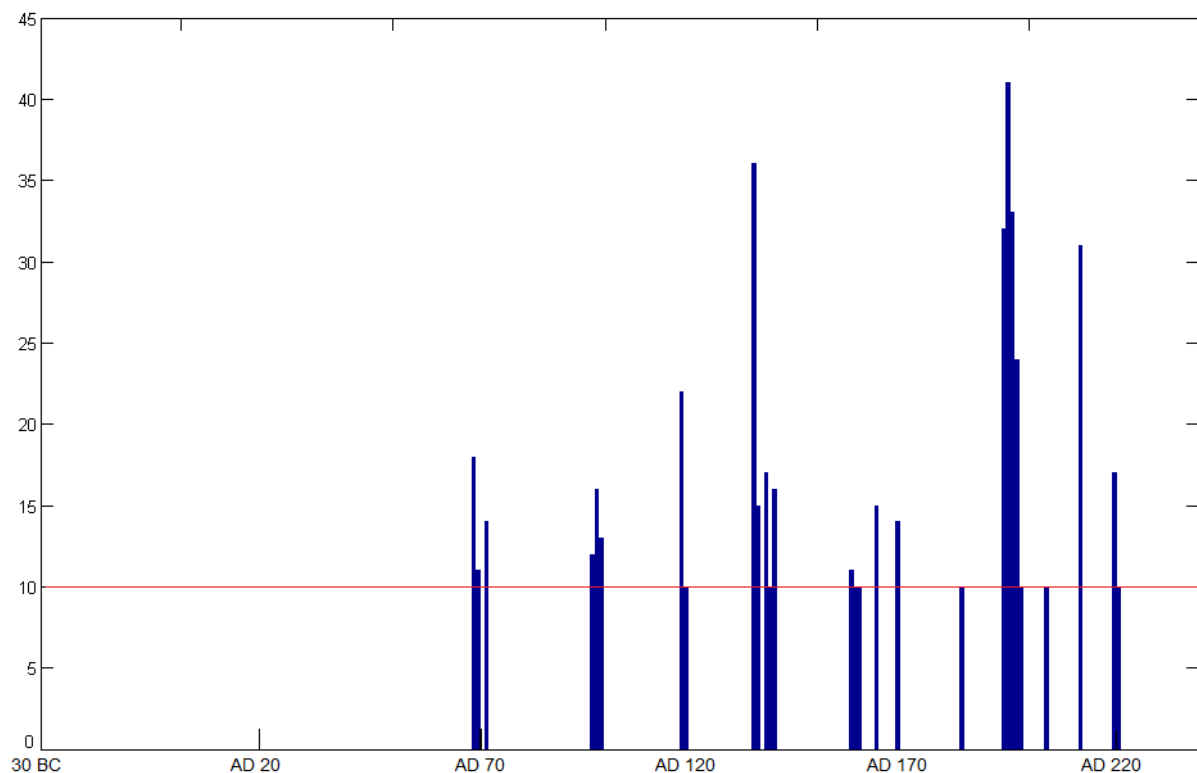


Figure 7: Outlier *fortuna* Types per Date.

I will deal first with the issue of the zero year outliers and the change in *fortuna* type representation that occurs after Galba. In the years 68 and 69 a total of 20 *fortuna* type coins were minted for Galba. This alone, not counting the coins minted by his partisan Vindex in Gaul or his eventual successor Vespasian in 69, is enough to mark out these two

years as outliers. Galba's use of *fortuna* was influential not only in the number of *fortuna* types that he mints, but also in the *fortuna* image-types and *fortuna* legend-types that he employed. Figures 8- and 9 below show the influence that the types and legends introduced by a given minter or emperor had on future mintings of *fortuna* types by recording the degree to which the types that he introduced were continued by those that follow him.⁵²⁴

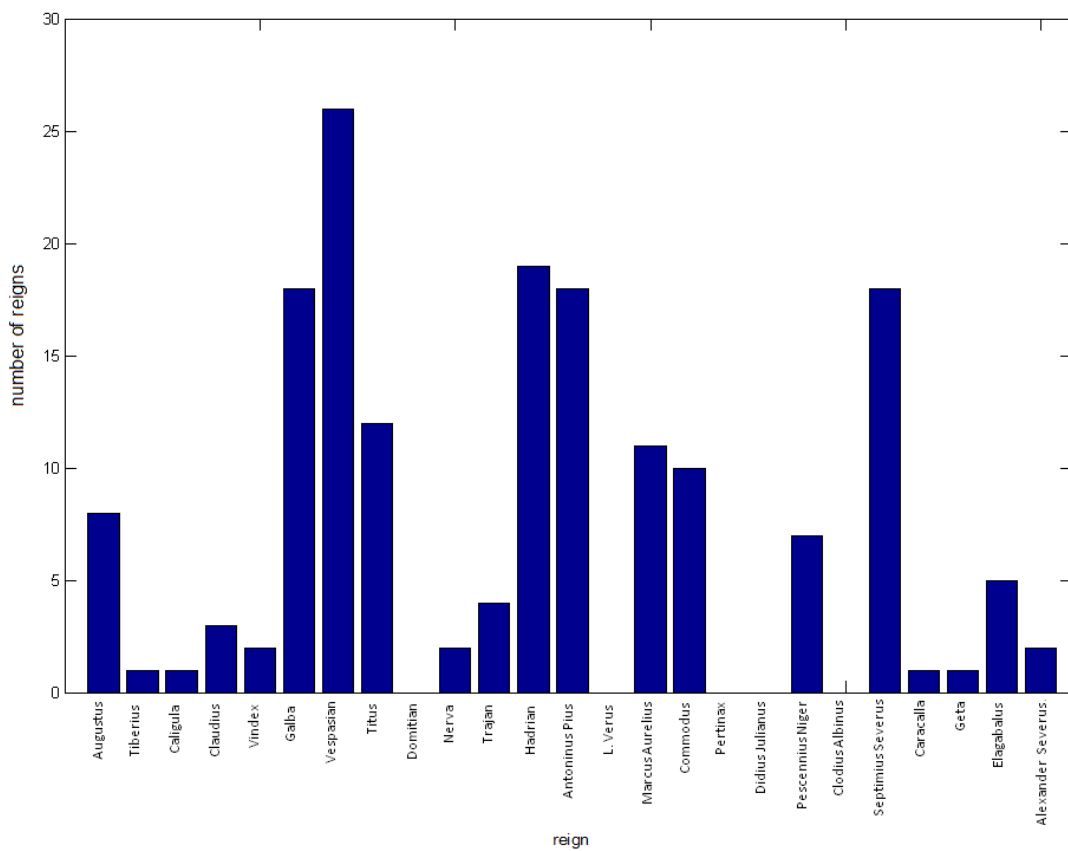


Figure 8: Continuity of *fortuna* image-types per reign.

⁵²⁴ In this case an emperor will only have a value if he introduced a type. If he alone used that type then his value will be 1.

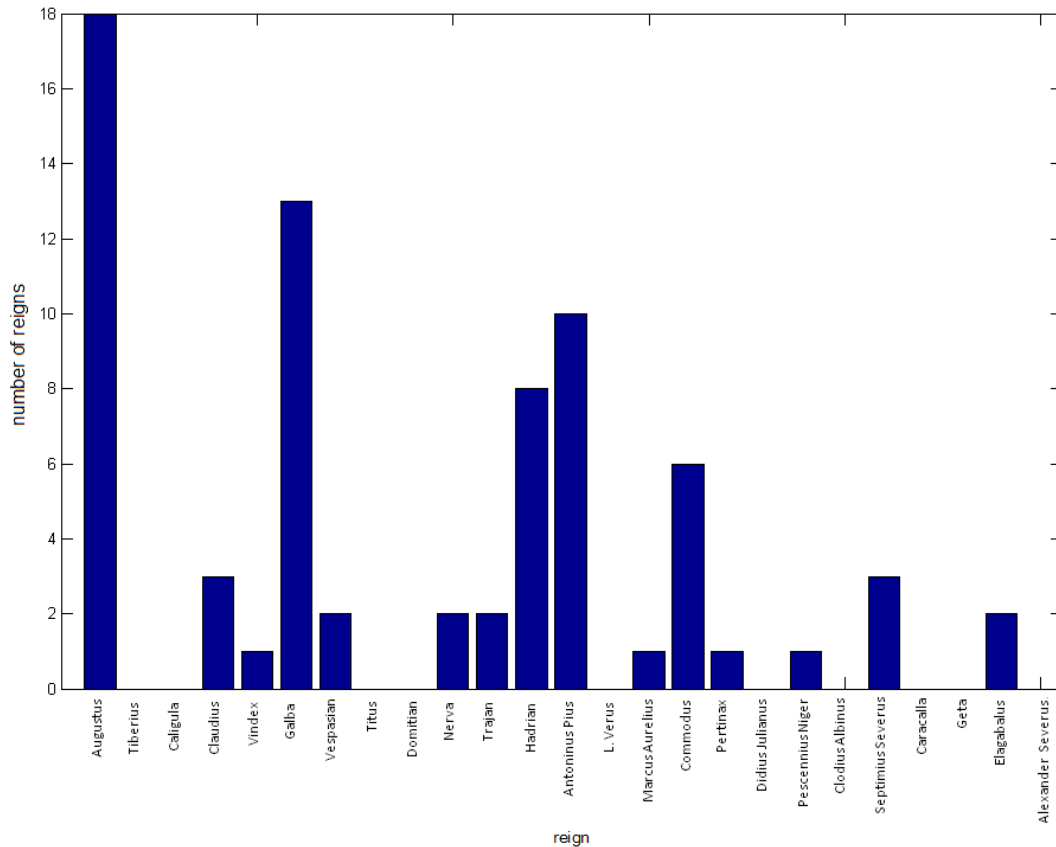


Figure 9: Continuity of *fortuna* legend-types per reign.⁵²⁵

The *fortuna* coins of Galba’s reign illustrate an important theme: the interplay of continuity and innovation in the iconography of *fortuna*. Galba’s coins were extremely successful: no legend-types, save those introduced by Augustus, are continued more than his, his image-types were among the 5 most referenced in the greatest numbers of reigns, and he is the first emperor to use a *fortuna* image-type that showed consistent continuity across many reigns. Galba and his partisans are the first, in the imperial period, to mint coins that simply depict *fortuna*, standing, holding her two most important and common attributes, a cornucopia and a rudder (Figure 10, image-type 11). This is not to say that he invented this iconography for *fortuna*: towards the end of the Republic coins had been minted for Caesar which showed *fortuna* with these attributes and coins had been minted under Caligula showing *fortuna* holding a rudder and a cornucopia (Figure 11). However, while Caligula’s

⁵²⁵ Legend-type 4 will be omitted in all graphs as this type describes legends that appear on coins showing *fortuna* but that are comprised of imperial titles only, and hence cannot be truly considered a *fortuna* legend-type.

coin had shown a complex set of images, very specific to his own reign and family, Galba's boasted an image and legend (FORTVNA AVG) that in its simplicity was able to speak to a variety of rulers and circumstances. Indeed, while Galba's legend FORTVNA AVG, is second in popularity only to Augustus' FORTVNA REDVX, his image-type 11 can be understood as being even more influential when we consider that the immense continuity of Vespasian's *fortuna* image-types, seen in Figure 8 above, is accounted for largely by one type (image-type 16), showing *fortuna* standing holding a cornucopia and rudder, which, in this case, rests on a globe. This type appears to be a variation of Galba's type 11, and is minted by Vespasian only after he has minted several coins showing Galba's image-type 11. The simplicity of both these image-types was appealing because they referenced *fortuna* without any characteristics or attributes that referenced the specific circumstances of the time of minting. These image-types were therefore available to later periods, and could, with the addition of distinguishing legends, be adapted to speak to contemporary concerns. Moreover, showing the most distinctive iconographic attributes of *fortuna*, these types referenced the goddess in an unmistakable way, suitable to any time when a clear reference to *fortuna* was needed.



Figure 10: A coin of Galba's showing *fortuna* standing, holding a rudder and cornucopia, image-type 11 (RIC Galba: 127).

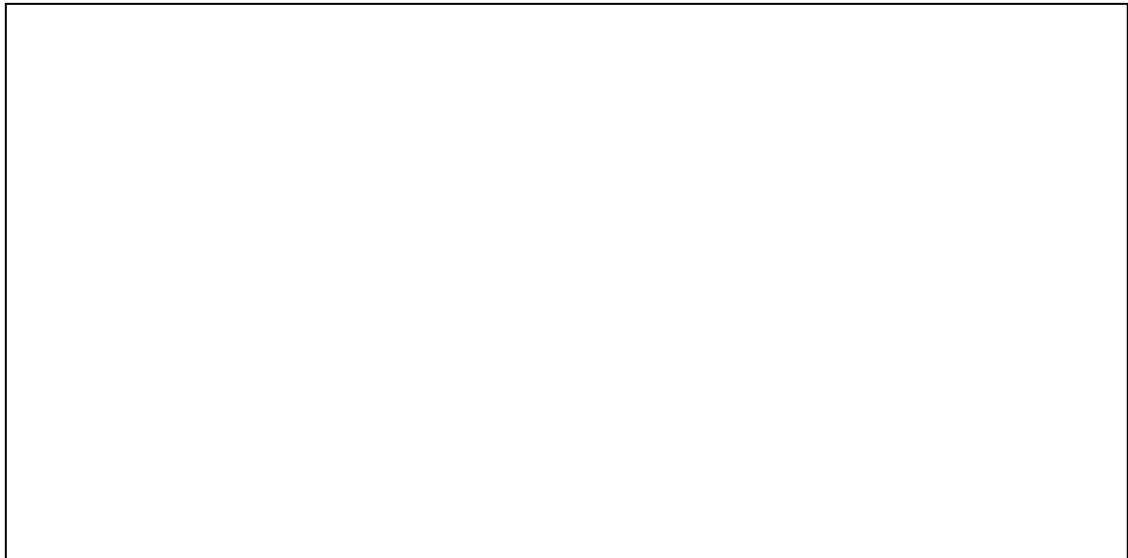


Figure 11: A coin of Caligula showing Julia Livilla as *fortuna* holding a rudder and cornucopia with Agrippina jnr. as *securitas* and Drusilla as *concordia*, image-type 6 (*RIC* Caligula: 33)

Not all *fortuna* image-types or legend-types had the same degree of continuity. Figures 12 and 13 show (where the x axis shows the image or legend arranged by type in chronological order, and the y axis shows the number of reigns in which it is used) that the majority of image and legend-types were confined to one reign.

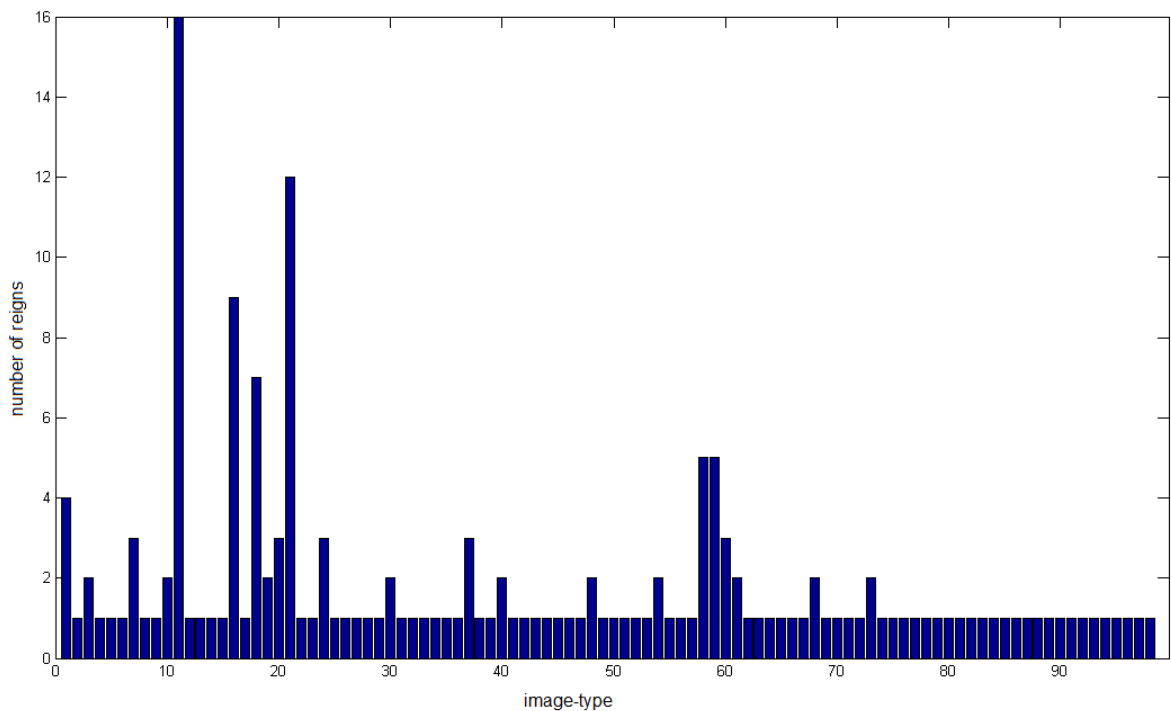


Figure 12: Image-type continuity

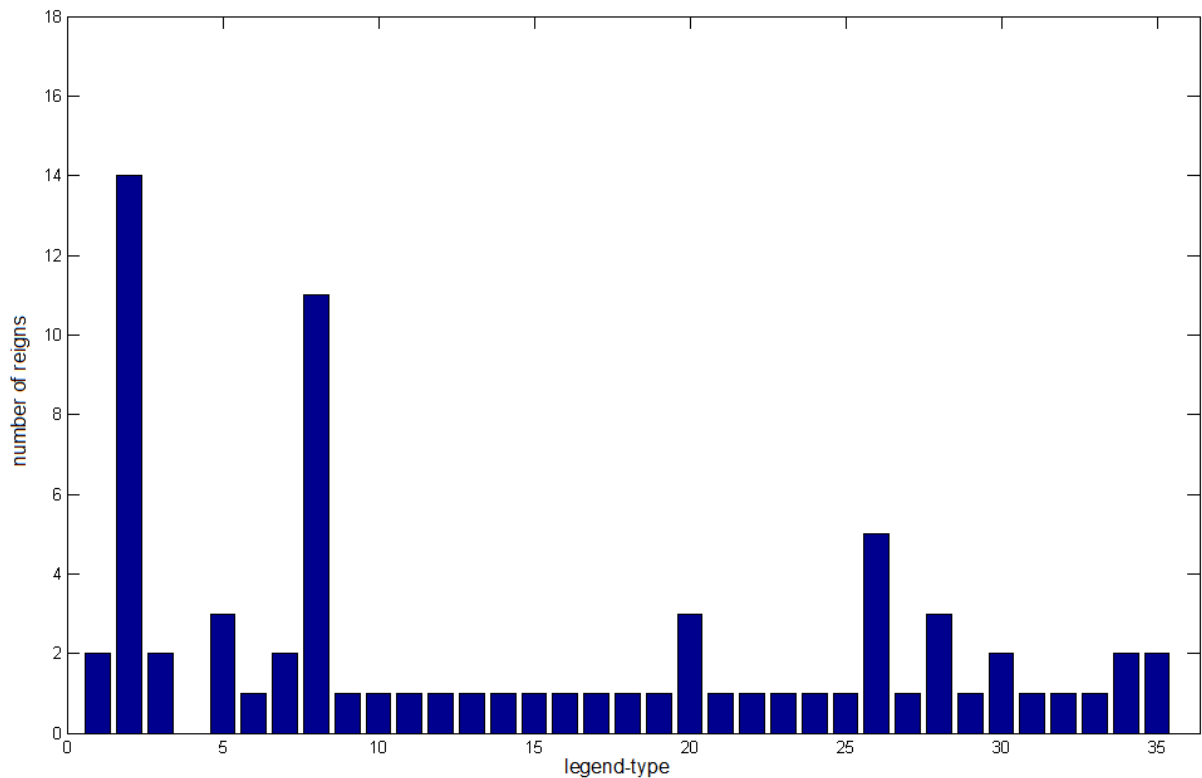


Figure 13: Legend-type continuity⁵²⁶

While we may expect that those image and legend-types that are introduced towards the end of our period of study should have less continuity than the earlier varieties (by virtue of there being less time available in which they may be utilized under later emperors), it is still possible to see that certain legends and images, especially those that appear early in our study’s timeline, are utilized in the greatest number of reigns. We can track these patterns of innovation and continuation. Figure 14 shows the image-types in chronological order, with the reign mapped on the y axis and the image-type on the x axis. We see clearly that image-types introduced by Galba and Vespasian in particular show high levels on continuity, shown by the high number of reigns in which mintings of image-types 11, 16, and 18 and legend-type 8 are seen. That is not to say that innovation ceases after Vespasian. Instead, as Figures 14 and 8 show, Domitian, Lucius Verus, Pertinax, Didius Julianus, and Clodius Albinus are the only rulers not to mint new *fortuna* image-types.

⁵²⁶ A value has not been reflected for legend-type 4. This legend-type only has imperial titles, and as such is not included as a *fortuna* legend-type.

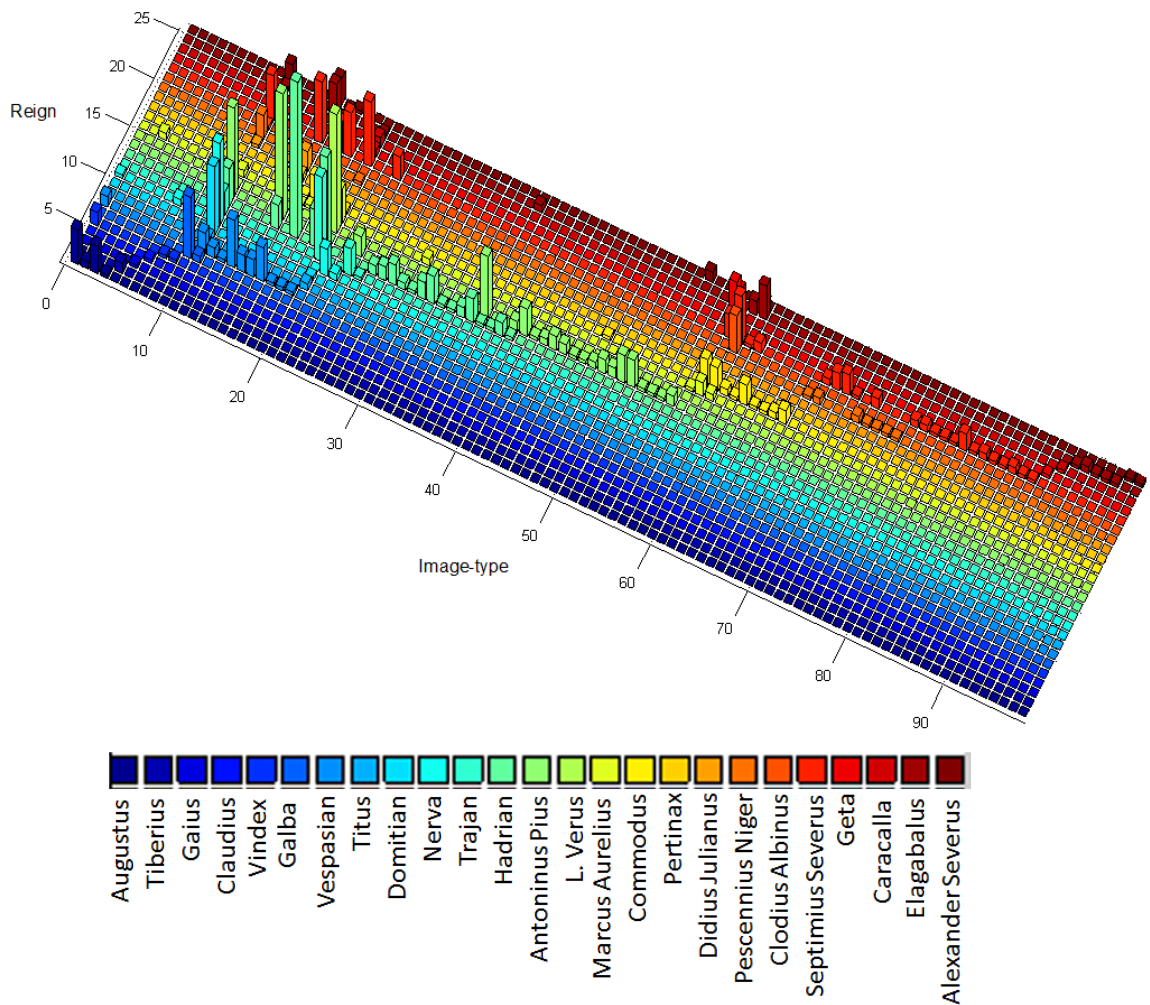


Figure 14: Image-type vs. Reign

We can model this problem of innovation vs. continuity with another statistical tool that measures probability, the so-called ‘coupon collector’s problem’. Imagine a competition run by a local supermarket in which you must collect 100 different coupons to win a prize. You receive a random coupon each time you buy something at the shop. Naturally, you would collect the first few coupons very quickly, since each time you went to the shop the probability of getting a new coupon would be greater than that of getting one you already had. However, as more coupons are collected, the chance of receiving duplicates increases: in our hypothetical example, it would take on average 100 trials to collect the last coupon if you already had the other 99.

We can imagine each *fortuna* image and legend-type as a coupon, and so test if the introduction of new types fits this model. To do this we need to make several assumptions: 1) that there is a finite number of coupons, i.e. that there is a finite number of legend or image-types for *fortuna* on coins; 2) that there is an equal chance of getting any coupon; 3) that assumptions 1) and 2) do not change over time. A number of problems arise when we model *fortuna* coins in this way. Without knowing the exact number of possible *fortuna* image or legend-types, we cannot exactly work out the likely distribution of the number of new types or legends collected per year. However, and this will hold even if the probability of collecting each token is slightly different (which we know to be so because there are external, non-random factors governing the decisions as to which *fortuna* types to use), one would still expect that, early on, one would collect a great number of tokens per any unit time, and that this would decrease over time.

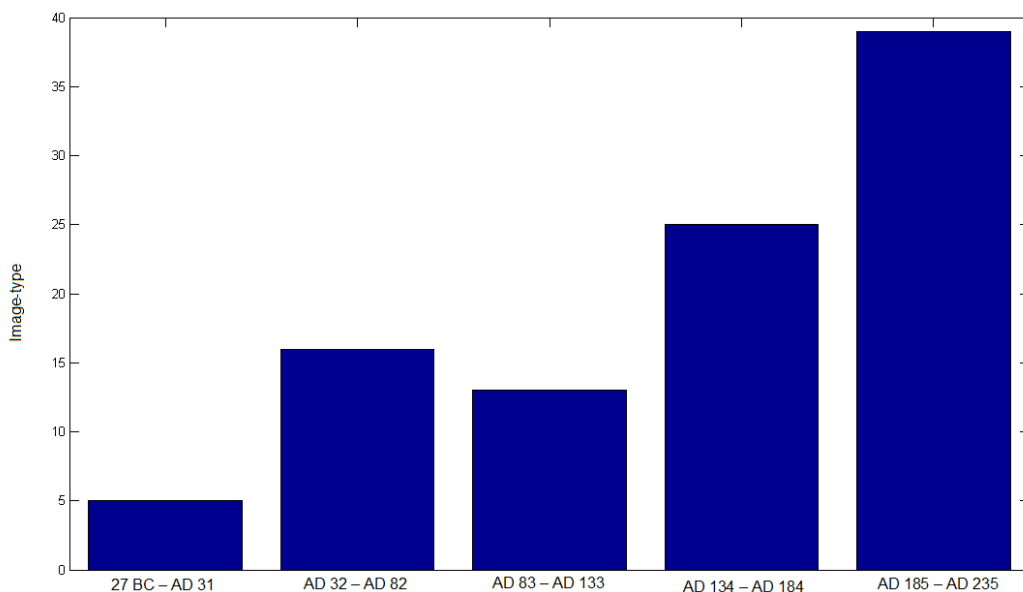


Figure 15: New *fortuna* image-types per 50 year period.

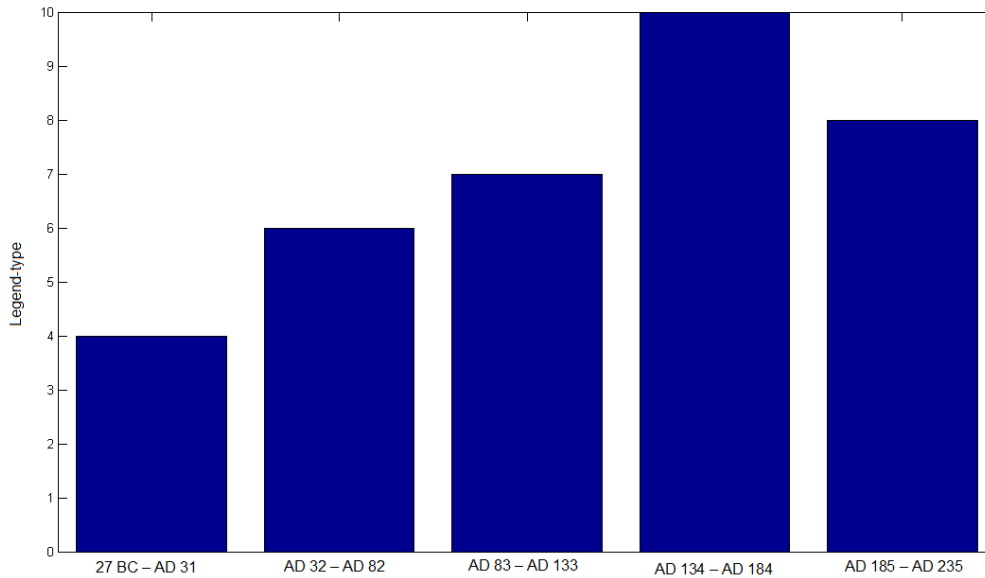


Figure 16: New *fortuna* legend-types per 50 year period.

Figures 15 and 16 show, respectively, the number of new image and new legend-types introduced in a 50 year period. They clearly indicate that the distribution of new *fortuna* types does not follow that found in the classic ‘coupon collector’s problem’. For this we would expect the bar for 27 BC – AD 31 to be extremely high, that from AD 32 – 82 considerably lower, and so on, following a geometric distribution. Instead, both graphs mostly show a gradual increase. Secondly, even if the total possible number of coupons (i.e. possible *fortuna* image or legend-types) were almost impossibly large, we would expect a more or less flat graph, but the massive rise shows that this cannot be the case.

Figure 17 arranges *fortuna* image-types in chronological order of first appearance along a timeline from 27 BC – AD 235. Significantly, we notice ‘bulges’ in the production of new types. This ‘bulging’ in the process of innovation is highlighted in Figure 17 by the pink line. Not only do we see bulges, but we also see that, roughly at the beginning of each bulge, a line of continuity develops. If we look at Figure 18, which shows the accumulation over time of the 98 image-types (tracked by the red line) and 35 legend-types (shown in blue), with types being shown on the y axis and the date on the x axis, we can inspect these bulges more thoroughly, and see that further such bulges become evident.

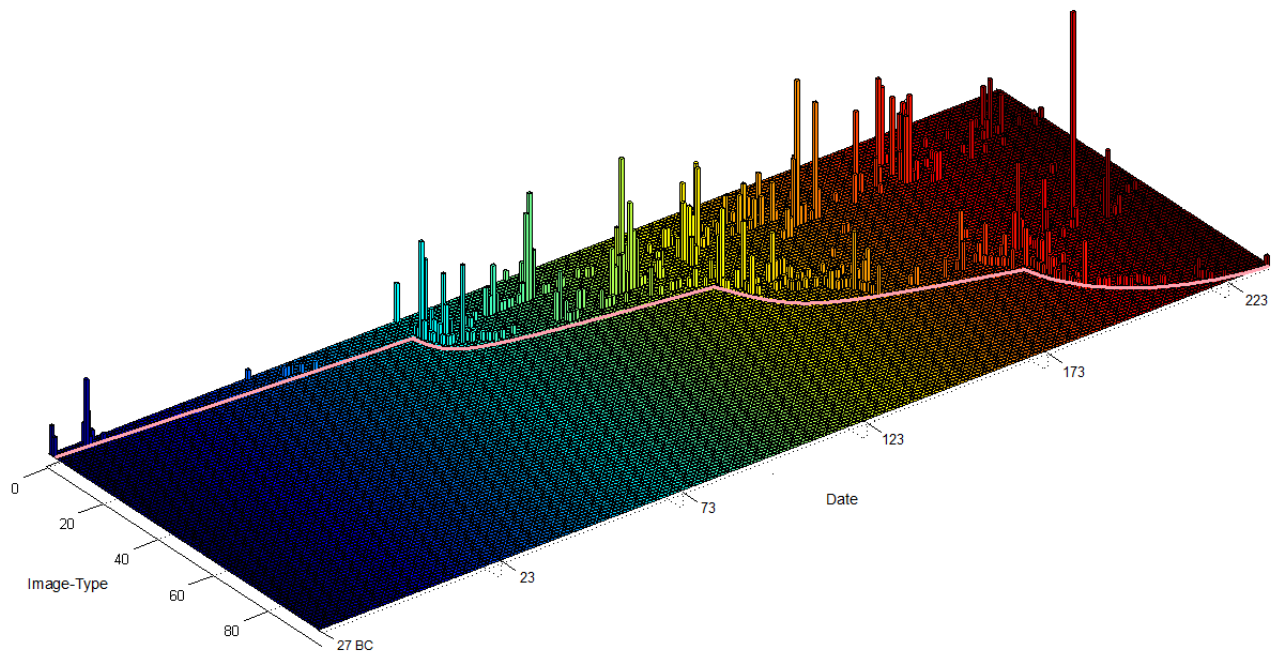


Figure 17: *fortuna* image-type vs. date

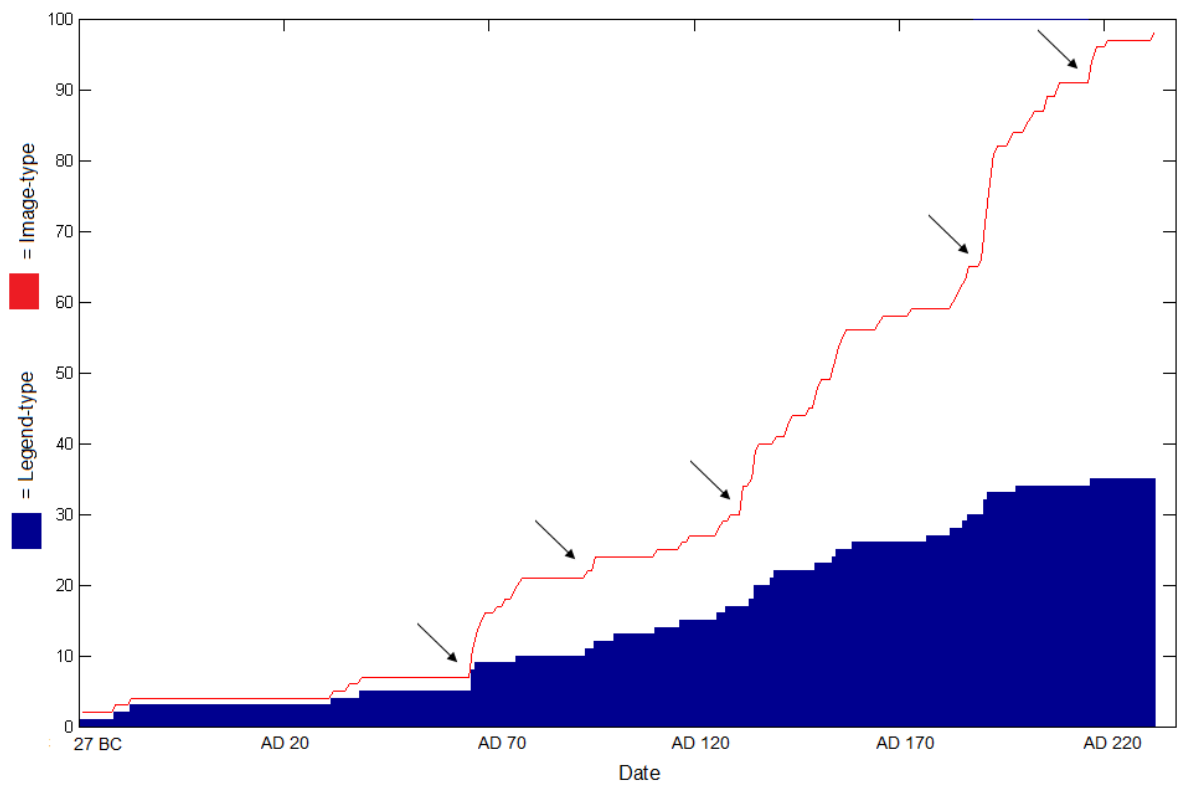


Figure 18: Cumulative image and legend-types.

These ‘surges’ in innovation occur around the years AD 68, 96, 134, 193, and 218. Except for the surge beginning in 134, all of these periods are marked by revolution and/or a change in the ruling dynasty. By contrast, the surge that begins around 134 coincides with

Hadrian's return to Rome in that year, the celebration of his *vicennalia*, and his adoptions of Lucius Aelius and Antoninus Pius. The greatest innovations in *fortuna* types can therefore be seen to come when the Empire changes hands in a violent way. This apparently prompted a break in the old patterns of representing *fortuna* and the invention of new ones. As we shall see below, the innovations of 134 were concerned with representations of *fortuna*, *spes*, *salus*. These reverse types seem to imply a different, less turbulent renewal for the Empire: revitalization instead of revolution.

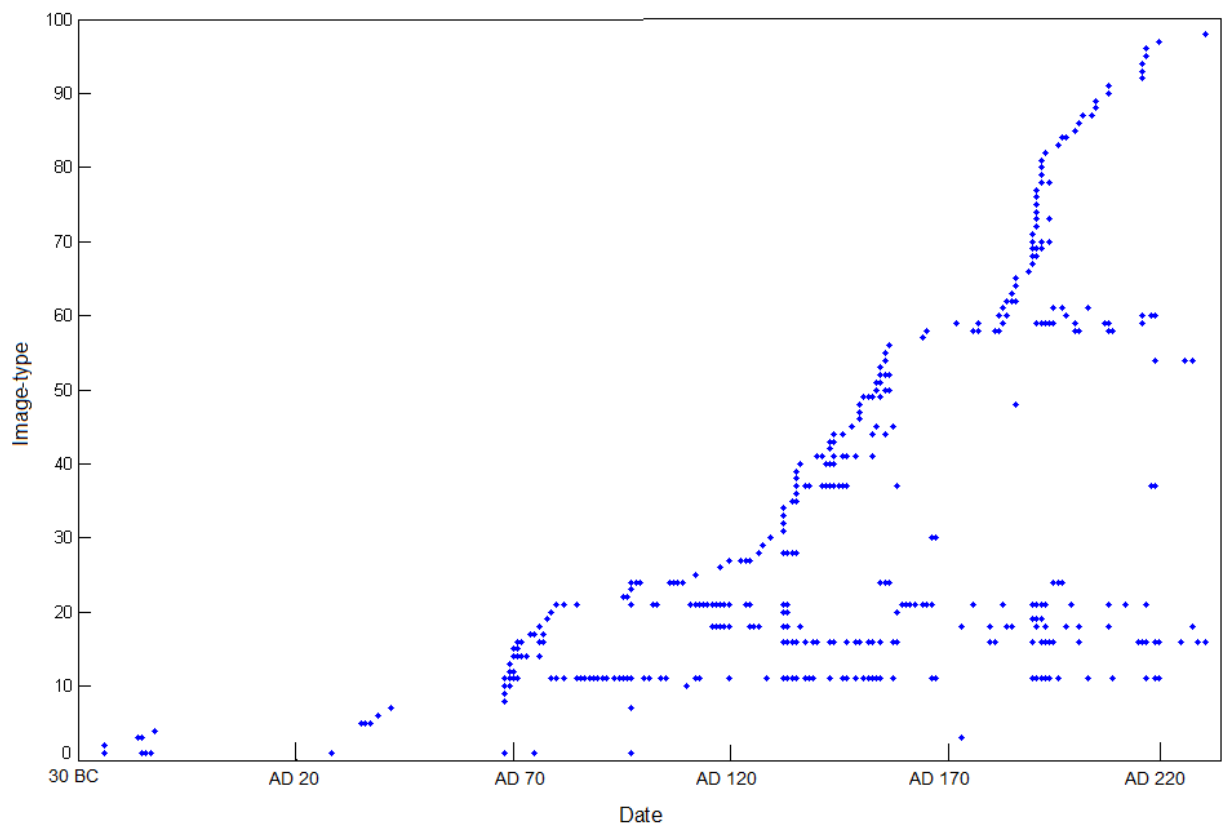


Figure 19: Cumulative image-types showing individual coins.

Figure 19 maps not only the accumulation of new types, but also of *fortuna* coins that continue old image-types. This suggests that, rather than having one coupon-set (made up of 98 or more individual coupons corresponding with a legend register and a visual register) which the minters of *fortuna* type coins were trying to exhaust, new coupon-sets were being introduced during the innovative surges identified above. In other words, if this

graph reflected only one coupon-set we would see a sharp rise in the beginning and then a levelling off. However, we see this pattern occurring a number of times. This is consistent with there being a process whereby a coupon set is introduced, then exhausted, and then a new coupon set is introduced. This is supported by the fact that we also see a pattern whereby the types introduced early on in the periods of innovation, in other words those nearest to the base of the spikes, are repeated, showing lines of continuity that stretch out from these innovative coin types. That is not to say that the minting of *fortuna* types can be strictly divided into 'periods'. Although new sets of types are introduced periodically, some of the types are almost continuously popular irrespective of other innovations that take place. As we can see in Figure 19, some of the types introduced in the second half of the first century are used throughout the period of our study. This shows the usefulness of looking at the evidence across such a wide chronological span.

What Figure 19 shows is that at various times, usually following periods of violent revolution, certain parts of the visual and, to a lesser degree, legend register of *fortuna* underwent a radical change. The graphs above illustrate this amply, but what is not visible is the qualitative issue of how the innovative changes to the numismatic types of *fortuna* then inspired the further development of this new register. We have seen, for example, how the innovation of Galba in the representation of *fortuna* and her legends was then picked up by Vespasian who issued, not only coins of Galba's image-types, but more complicated variants on these. Galba's image-type 11 (Figure 10) is continued by Vespasian, but he adds various complicating elements: as noted above, image-type 16 adds a globe beneath the rudder, but he also adds a branch in image-type 14 (Figure 20), and an altar in 17 (Figure 21). In the majority of cases these changes were picked up by successors of the new regime. However, as we shall see in the competing imagery of Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus, and as is apparent from the case of Vespasian's adoption of Galba's

themes, at times of civil war the victorious party often appropriated the innovations of the losers, incorporating and overwhelming their claims to *fortuna* by adopting them as his own.

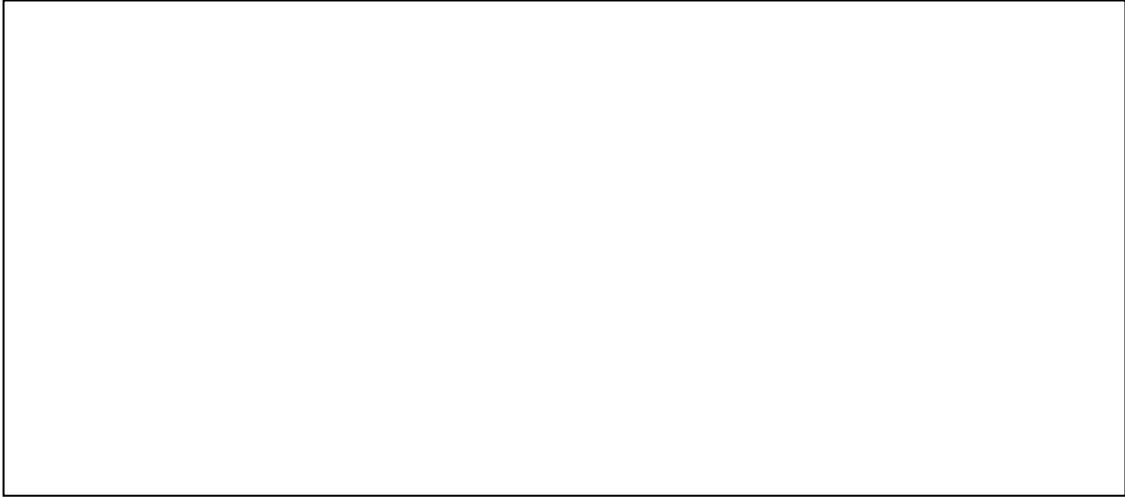


Figure 20: Coin of Vespasian with image-type 14 (*RIC Vespasian: 732*)

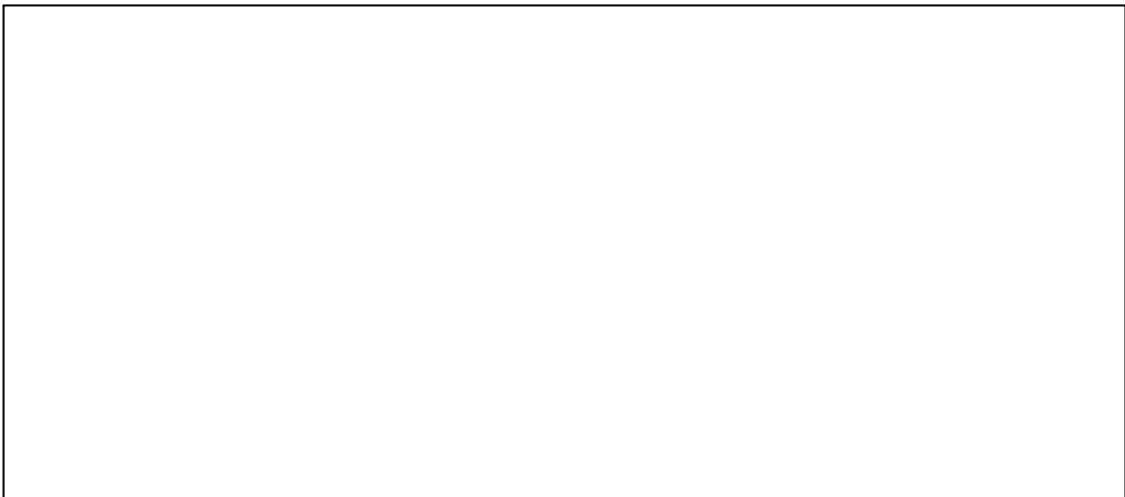


Figure 21: Coin of Vespasian with image-type 17 (*RIC Vespasian: 123*).

It will be useful first to track the general trends in *fortuna* type production. Above, with the help of the Poisson Process, we identified a number of years that were statistical outliers because of the high number of *fortuna* types minted. Working through these years in chronological order we shall pinpoint the defining events of these years, and so see whether there is a pattern to be recognised in the high production of a particular *fortuna* type. The events of 68-69 have already been identified regarding our discussions of

Galba's innovations as well as regarding the first surge of innovation in *fortuna* image-types.

The Years 68, 69, and 71

The years 68 and 69 saw *fortuna* type mintings under three different authorities, summarized in Figures 22- and 23 below. In Gaul, Vindex minted image-type 6 for Galba. These showed *fortuna* standing holding wreath and cornucopia with the legend FORTVNA FLORENTE POPVLI ROMANI (legend-type 6). He also minted coins with the legend AVGVSTVS, restored types of Augustus, which showed a Capricorn holding a rudder placed on a globe between its front legs and with a cornucopia on its back (image-types 1 and 9, but 9 lacks the cornucopia). Galba minted only two image-types. One is the continuously popular image-type 11 (discussed above) which shows *fortuna* standing holding a rudder and cornucopia. The other is image-type 10, showing a figure with the attributes of *fortuna* sacrificing at altar with *patera*, holding rudder, and with one foot resting on a globe. This type appears with the legend SALVS GENERIS HVMANI (legend-type 7), while image-type 11 appears with the legend FORTVNA AVG. (legend-type 8). 69 sees the first mintings under Vespasian of *fortuna* types, some of which show Galba's image-type 11, and others Vespasian's new image and legend-types.

Coins of the Vindex and Galba from 68 and 69			
Vindex		Galba	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend
1	1	10	7
9	-	11	8
8	6		

Figure 22

Coins of Vespasian from 69 – 71													
69-70		69-71		69-79		70		70-71		70-72		71	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
11	9	11	9	13	8	12	9	11	8	12	9	11	2
12	9					14	2			15	2	14	2
												15	2
												16	2

Figure 23

The use of the terms POPVLI ROMANI and GENERIS HVMANI in legend-types 6 and 7, with their emphasis on the collective well-being, seemingly asserts the interests of the people over those of the emperor. The combination of image-type 8, showing a wreath, signifying victory, with a legend that champions the blossoming *fortuna* of the Roman people, associates military victory and *fortuna* (as we know, instrumental in bringing about such victory) with a new age of *fortuna* for the citizens of the Empire. The mixture of *salus* and *fortuna* seen on Galba's coins likewise associates *fortuna* with the wellbeing of the Empire. Here *fortuna* is associated not with military victory, but with the virtue of *pietas*, evident in the fact that *fortuna/salus* is shown sacrificing at an altar. The nexus of victory, *pietas*, and *fortuna* suggests the theological basis for *uictoria* and *fortuna*. When accompanied by legends promoting the well-being of the people, this shows *fortuna* being used to assert the right to rule as based on divine sanction, military prowess, and the will of the citizenry. This construction of *fortuna* is also familiar from late republican coinage.⁵²⁷

Figure 24 shows a coin, minted for the republican faction in 49 BC, which displays the legend FORT[VNA] P[OPVLI] R[OMANI] on the obverse and images of victory (including a wreath) on the reverse.⁵²⁸ Here, as with the coins minted for Galba, the people's *fortuna* is used to assert their moral and military powers, and those of the senate.

⁵²⁷ See Chapter 1.

⁵²⁸ Also discussed as Figure 3 in Chapter 1.

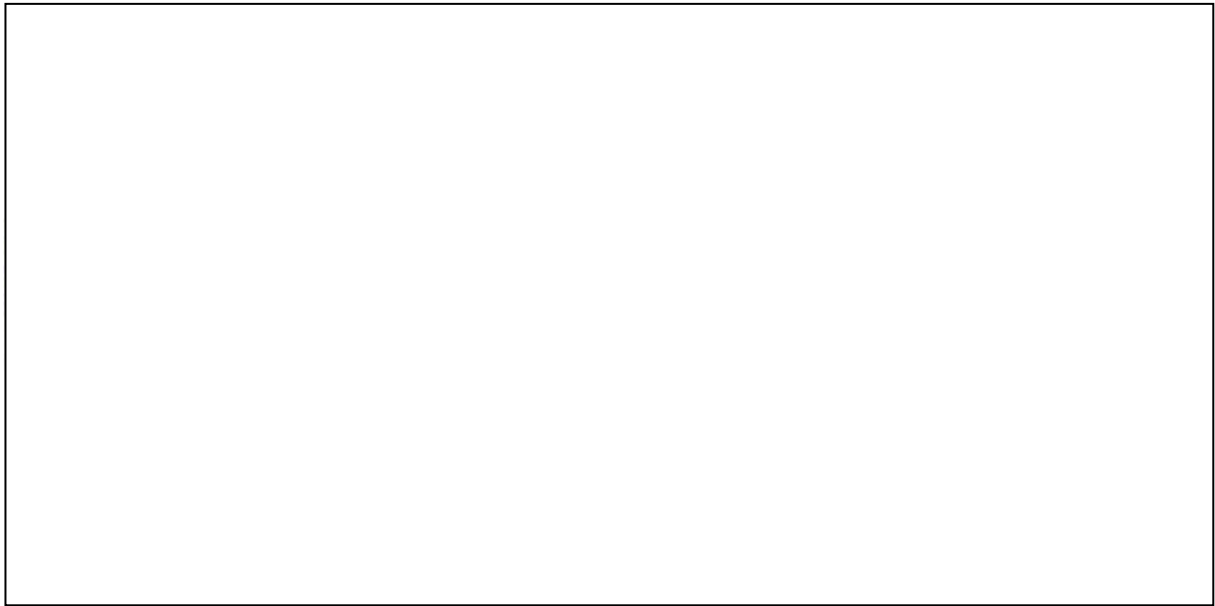


Figure 24: Diademed head of Fortuna Populi Romani on obverse, palm branch tied with fillet, winged caduceus, and wreath on reverse (RRC 440.1)

However, Galba's use of the legend FORTVNA AVG. is noticeably less republican in its sentiment. Paired with image-type 11, which merely shows *fortuna* with her most common iconographic attributes, this legend directly references the worship of the imperial *fortuna*. This *fortuna*, associated with the person of the emperor, was likewise a republican development, and particularly important as an aspect of Julius Caesar's political persona.⁵²⁹ In promoting the *fortuna Caesaris*, coins were minted that associated the image of *fortuna* with Caesar. An example of such a coin is seen in Figure 25: here we see the direct numismatic predecessor of Galba's image-type 11.⁵³⁰ It is telling, then, that Galba's coins, in their imagery, recall Caesar's *fortuna*, and in their legends bring to mind the imperial *fortuna Aug.* Moreover, just as we saw competition to inherit the *fortuna Caesaris*, the *fortuna Aug.* is open to being inherited.⁵³¹ The fact of Galba's inheritance of the *fortuna Aug.* meant not only that he was now the legitimate emperor, with the *fortuna* that accompanied this office and gave divine sanction to his reign, but it also served to tie him to his Julio-Claudian predecessors. Galba's advertisement of *fortuna Aug.* was an

⁵²⁹ See Chapter 1 pp. 73 ff.

⁵³⁰ Also discussed as Figure 4 in Chapter 1: pp. 77.

⁵³¹ See Chapter 1: pp. 79.

attempt, like his claim of patronage by Livia, to show legitimate descent from the Augustan line.⁵³² Augustus had been the first to claim public worship for *fortuna Aug.*, and had also, as we saw in Chapter 1, especially promoted the idea of his personal *fortuna*. Galba did likewise. The tale told in Suetonius' life of Galba of the special reverence he paid to *fortuna* speaks to the development of a mythology around Galba's own personal *fortuna*, which, on his assumption of power, could be transformed into the *fortuna Aug.*⁵³³ *fortuna* had supposedly appeared to Galba in a dream: standing at the door to his house, she had said that unless he let her in she would be taken up by some passerby. The following day, upon waking, he found a bronze statue of *fortuna* at his door, which he then offered a shrine within his house and there made regular offerings. Galba's tale of the favour given to him by *fortuna* not only recalls those stories of Caesar in the fishing boat and Octavian before Actium, but also presages the household statues of *fortuna* from the Antonine and Severan periods that were used as signifiers of the right to rule the Empire, being transferred from the bedroom of the dying emperor to that of his heir.⁵³⁴ Galba's use of the legend FORTVNA AVG. therefore serves to indicate that he had assumed, not only the titles of an *imperator*, but also the religious accoutrements that validated his position, ensuring the success of his reign and the flourishing of the Empire under him. This is achieved by an iconographic appeal to the memory of the *fortunae* of Caesar and the Augustan household. For Galba, *fortuna* is used to link himself to Augustus in the public imagination and he does this by making his *fortuna* resemble that of Augustus.

⁵³² See Suet. *Galba* 5.

⁵³³ Suet. *Galba* 4.

⁵³⁴ *HA Ant. Pius* 12.5; *Marc.* 7.2; *Seu.* 23.5.

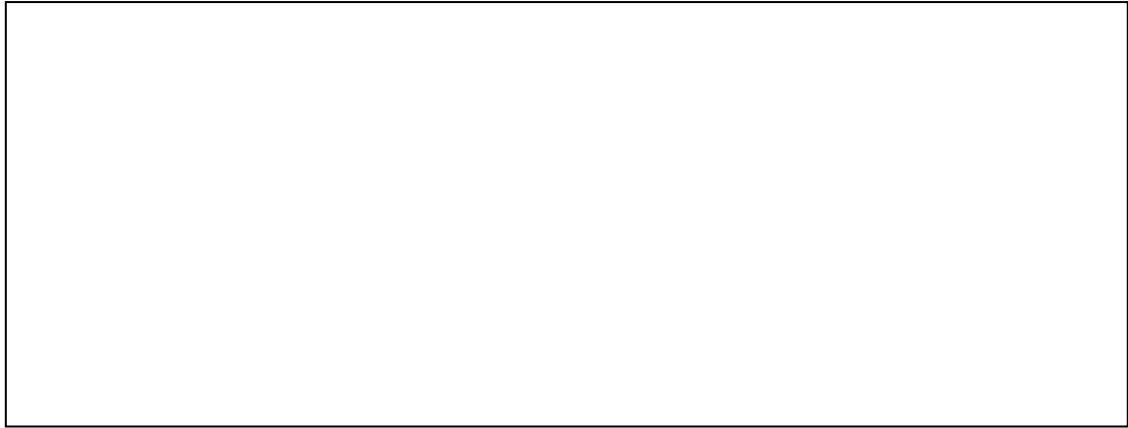


Figure 25: winged bust of Victoria on obverse, *fortuna* standing holding rudder and cornucopia on reverse (RRC 480.25)

The Augustan restitutions seen in coins of image-type 1 (Figure 26 below) and 9 add further weight to this interpretation of the use of *fortuna* on coins of this period. The Capricorn had appeared on Augustus' coinage as early as 27 BC. Suetonius explains how Agrippa and Augustus together visited Theogenes, the astrologer, who, upon reading Augustus' horoscope, jumped up from his seat and began worshipping him.⁵³⁵ Suetonius relates how Augustus, now confident in the greatness of his destiny, published his horoscope and struck a silver coin, with the image of a Capricorn, the sign under which he was born.⁵³⁶ Suetonius is undoubtedly referring to coins such as that in Figure 26. However, it is clear from other sources that Augustus was not born under Capricorn, and even Suetonius himself states that his birthday fell on 23 September.⁵³⁷ Barton has convincingly argued that, given the polyvalent nature of ancient astrology, Capricorn, while not Augustus' birth sign, nevertheless played a large enough role in Augustus' horoscope as a whole (taking into account factors such as the position of the moon at his birth, as well as the sign of his conception) for it to be chosen as the emblematic sign of his

⁵³⁵ For this incident as evidence for Octavian's divinity see Wardle forthcoming in *Classical Quarterly*.

⁵³⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 94.

⁵³⁷ cf. Suet. *Aug.* 5; Manil. 4.547; Verg. *Georg.* 1.32. It has been suggested (Hölscher 1965: 71-73) that the Capricorn denotes the sign under which Augustus was conceived, but as Dwyer (1973: 60) rightly points out, this would have been a 'rather complicated method of arriving at one's birth sign'. Dwyer instead argues that Capricorn was chosen because of its significance to the cult of Isis and its allusion to the Horus-Seth myth.

entire chart.⁵³⁸ This theory accounts for the fact that Manilius, although claiming that Augustus was born under Libra, writes that *contra Capricornus in ipsum convertit visus quid enim mirabitur ille maius, in Augusti felix cum fulserit ortum.*⁵³⁹ Capricorn was also considered, at least in the later Empire, to be the birth-sign of the sun and the New Year, and is thus symbolic of renewal, a theme apposite to the Augustan programme.⁵⁴⁰ It is clear therefore, that Capricorn was read as a reference to Augustus' destiny, and thus as a symbol for his *fortuna*. It is therefore unsurprising that Capricorn takes on the attributes of *fortuna* on his coinage.

The rudder of *fortuna* is especially important given this interpretation of Capricorn, as the rudder was taken as symbolic of the fact that, as Dio Chrysostom explains, τύχη directs the life of men like a sailor would a ship.⁵⁴¹ This is reflected in Latin literature as early as Terence and Lucretius who describe *fortuna* as *gubernans* and *gubernatrix*.⁵⁴² *fortuna* is therefore, like the a person's horoscope, a force which determines the course of their lives. However, Augustus' sign, like his *fortuna*, is also providential and imperial, aspects which are signified by the cornucopia and the globe. The original issues of these coins signified that the fate of the Empire was under the benevolent control and protection of Augustus' astrological destiny and his *fortuna*. The reign of Augustus is thus shown as a time blessed both by the stars and by *fortuna*, a pre-ordained golden age.⁵⁴³ By minting these restored coins with the legend AVGVSTVS, the Galban faction was able to demonstrate their reverence of Divus Augustus and thus create a connection between their faction and the founder of the line against which they were revolting, demonstrating loyalty to the

⁵³⁸ Barton 1995. I have not raised the question here of whether any of these were astrologically connected to the *sors* or *athla* of *fortuna*.

⁵³⁹ Man. *Astr.* 4.547-52 (Libra), 1.507-9 (Capricorn).

⁵⁴⁰ Jul. *Or.* 4.156a; Macr. *Somn.* 2.7.11.

⁵⁴¹ Representative examples may be found in Dio Chrys. 63.7; 64.5; 64.7. See also Plut, *De Fort. Rom.* 318 A; Fronto. p. 150.21 Van den Hout.

⁵⁴² Ter. *Eun.* 1046; Lucr. 5.107.

⁵⁴³ For the idea of the return of a golden age under Augustus see Galinsky 1998: 90 ff. Zanker 1988: 167 ff.; Wallace-Hadrill 1982.

Augustan ideal even while attempting to overthrow Nero. It is also possible to interpret the use of Capricorn/*fortuna* on the coinage of 68 as a reference to the renewal offered by Galba to both in terms of the leadership of the state and of the *fortuna* of the emperor and the Empire. Moreover, Galba, through the use of this type, lays claim to the destiny that guided Augustus' Principate.

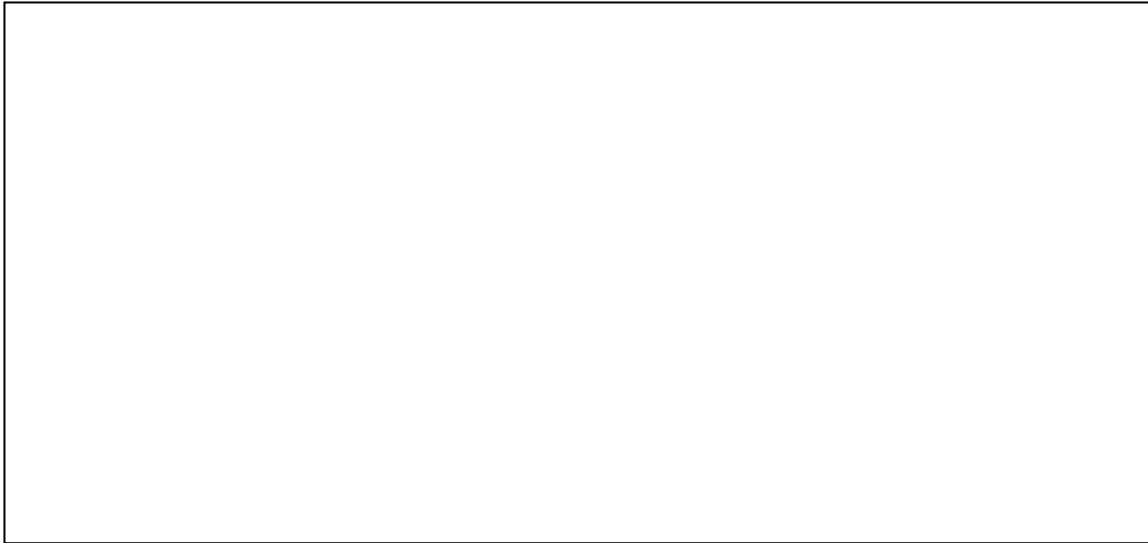


Figure 26: Coin of Augustus from circa 18-16 BC, showing image-type 1 and legend-type 1 (*RIC* Augustus: 547a)

fortuna is therefore used by the Galban factions in 68 and 69 to assert two quite different sorts of message. The first, with its appeal to the republican sentiments implicit in legends that refer to the *fortuna populi Romani*, distances Galba from the mismanaged rule of Nero. The second shows him to be the rightful heir to the Julio-Claudian Principate. Both, though, through their promises of victory (the wreath), piety (the liturgical imagery), well-being (the legend SALVS), and prosperity (the legend FLORENS), promise a future filled with the gifts of *fortuna*.

As noted above, the types used by Vespasian between 69 and 71 show some continuity with Galba's. In these years Vespasian not only reused Galba's image-type 11 and his legend-type 8, but also introduced new elements to the standard imperial numismatic

iconography of *fortuna*: the ship's prow, which *fortuna* either stands and holds (image-type 12, seen in Figure 27) or stands upon (image-type 13); and the globe (image-type 16). In addition, during these years he mints *fortuna* types that show her with the attributes of other deities, namely the branch (image-type 14, see Figure 20 above) and the caduceus (image-type 15). Traditionally, the branch is most recognizable as common symbol of *pax*, Minerva, *felicitas*, or any other figure when peace is being suggested.⁵⁴⁴ The caduceus, an attribute of Mercury, is found in the hands of many figures on imperial coinage, including many divine qualities and emperors. It is not identified overwhelmingly with any one figure, other than Mercury, but it is most suggestive of *felicitas*,⁵⁴⁵ *pax*,⁵⁴⁶ *fides*,⁵⁴⁷ and the associated ideas of stability and prosperity.

These image-types are variously combined with legend-types 2 (FORTVNA REDVX), 8 (FORTVNA AVG) and 9 (COS. ITER. and FORTVNA REDVX). Legend-type 2 was introduced by Augustus, first appearing on coins in 20/19 BC (see Figure 28) in celebration of the dedication of the altar of *fortuna redux*. Legend-type 9 amends the phrase COS. ITER. (*consul iterum*) to FORTVNA REDVX, referring to the fact that Vespasian was to take up his second consulship in 70. Both types 2 and 9 refer to the Augustan model of *fortuna redux*.⁵⁴⁸ Just as the altar and the coins of Augustus celebrating *fortuna redux* commemorated Augustus' return from the East and the salvation of Rome from the political turmoil that had erupted in his absence, so too did the coins of 69-71 celebrate the return of peace and the emperor. Late in 69 Vespasianic forces captured Rome, defeating Vitellius' troops and leaving Vespasian as sole *imperator*, bringing an end to the civil war. Parallels between the return of Vespasian from the East in October of AD

⁵⁴⁴ Fears 1981:878

⁵⁴⁵ Wissowa 1912: 267 n. 3; Fears 1981: 879.

⁵⁴⁶ Weinstock 1960: 45.

⁵⁴⁷ Stevenson 1931: 149.

⁵⁴⁸ For Vespasian's use of the Augustan model see Rausa 1997. For the ways that Vespasian celebrated his *adventus* with reference to Augustus see De Angeli 1999.

70 and the return of Augustus in 19 BC were therefore both easy and advantageous for Vespasian to draw. Indeed, just as the altar of *fortuna redux* had been dedicated on Augustus' account, so too did the Arval Brethren sacrifice OB DIEM [QVO VRBEM INGRESSVS EST IMPERATOR C]AESAR VESPASIANVS AVG(VSTVS) ... FORTVNAE REDVC[I VACCAM].⁵⁴⁹ These coins and celebrations not only commemorated Vespasian's return to Rome, but also the new peace that he brought.



Figure 27: coin of Vespasian showing image-type 12 and legend-type 9 (*RIC* Vespasian: 31 (showing variation in obverse legend))



Figure 28: reverse of coin of Augustus showing image-type 3 and legend-type 2 (*RIC* Augustus: 54a)

As we would expect, the legend FORTVNA REDVX is associated with travel, here represented by a prow. Moreover, the ship's prow seems a natural companion to the rudder

⁵⁴⁹ *CIL* 6.2052. See the discussion in Chapter 1.

of *fortuna* because of their shared maritime associations. Given that the rudder is symbolic of the way that *fortuna* directs the life of men like a sailor would a ship, the metaphor of human fate as a ship which *fortuna* guides with her rudder is easily extended to the common metaphor of the ‘ship of state’.⁵⁵⁰ The combined force of the rudder, prow, and FORTVNA REDVX legend-types thus associates the return of Vespasian by ship from Egypt and the delivery of Rome from civil war with the fact that the Roman state now had a steady hand at its helm.

Further evidence for the promotion of the idea that Vespasian’s return to Rome and his assumption of a second consulship marked an end to the civil wars can be seen on those coins that show *fortuna* holding a caduceus or branch. These symbols of peace and general well-being appear in conjunction with legend-types 2 and 9. Here, then, we see *fortuna redux*, the facts of Vespasian’s return to Rome, his return to the consulship, and the new peace brought together by iconography and legends in such a way that figures *pax* as being a consequence of *fortuna redux* acting through Vespasian. These *fortuna* type mintings in 69-71 coincide with coins of Vespasian that advertise a more straightforward assertion of *pax*, seen in Figure 29 below. Here the two standard iconographical attributes of *pax*, the caduceus and the branch, are the same as those that appear on Vespasian’s coins displaying image-types 12 and 13. Moreover, the legend COS. ITER. in Figure 29 clearly associates the return of Vespasian as consul with the return of peace.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Cic. *Pro Ses.* 20.45-46; Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.

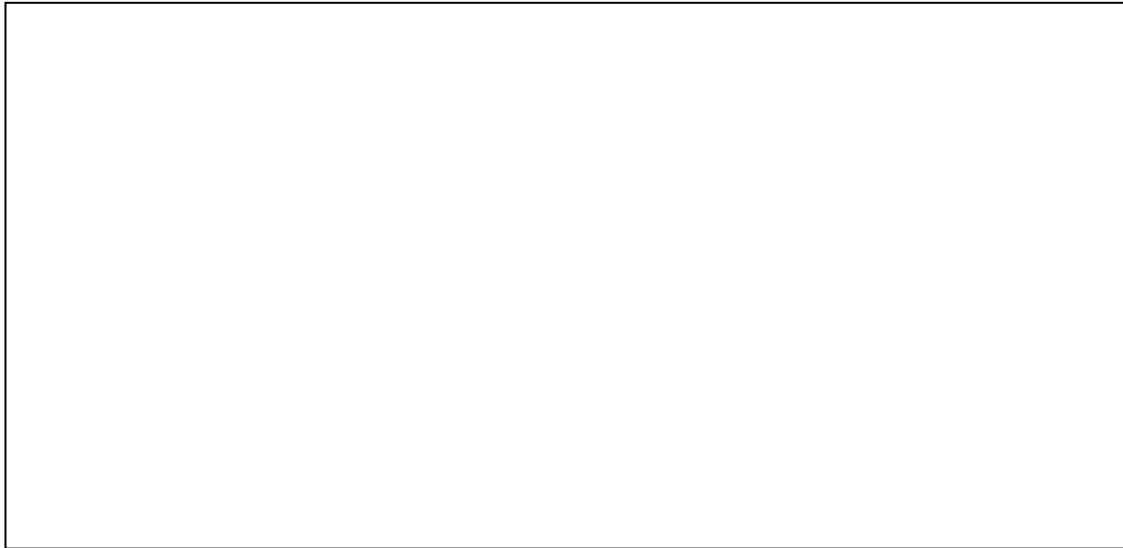


Figure 29: Coin of Vespasian showing *pax* holding a caduceus and branch (*RIC* Vespasian: 10)

Once Galba had advertised the legend FORTVNA AVG, it was used almost as a matter of course by the emperors that followed, as we can see from the graph in Figure 13. This imperial *fortuna* which had developed out of what had been, in the late Republic, personal *fortunae*, would become an integral part of the imperial office.⁵⁵¹ Indeed, once Galba had shown that this *fortuna* was more than simply a personal or Julio-Claudian *fortuna*, but was instead the emperor's *fortuna*, *fortuna Aug.* became a divine qualification of any succession, and any emperor that followed also then had to lay claim to it. When the legend FORTVNA AVG. appears on Vespasian's coinage of 69-71 it does so in conjunction with image-types 11 and 13: *fortuna* stands, sometimes on a prow, holding a rudder and a cornucopia. Image-type 11 is a simple assertion of Vespasian's accession, and symbolizes his claim to the imperial *fortuna*. Image-type 13, however, placing *fortuna* on a prow, associates the *fortuna Aug.*, as it did on those coins with the legend FORTVNA REDVX, not only with the skilled governance of the Empire but also with maritime travel. Just as the *fortuna Caesaris* performed miracles on the boat at sea, stilling the waves and the wind, so too does Vespasian, by the force of his *fortuna*, perform miracles while in

⁵⁵¹ See Chapter 1: pp. 73 ff; Chapter 2: pp. 122.

Egypt. Thus, Tacitus describes how Vespasian cured the crippled and the blind, and that he was able to do so because *divino ministerio principem electum* and *Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incredibile*.⁵⁵² Legend-type 8 advertises this powerful *fortuna*, and by placing his imperial *fortuna* on the prow of a ship, Vespasian is able to recall the circumstances of Caesar's miraculous *fortuna* and relate the two.

Going beyond the identification of 68, 69, and 71 as outliers in the production of *fortuna* coins, we have now identified several issues which were to emerge in the rest of the period under study as key themes for the iconography of *fortuna* on coins. Firstly, Galba's appropriation and refashioning of the past, in particular through his use of republican forms of *fortuna*, sets a precedent next followed by Nerva. More generally, though, we see how, in the periods that follow, iconographic memory and reference to the past becomes an important factor in decisions as to how *fortuna* should be deployed. Ideas of the past were used by various contenders for imperial power to create an idea of their rule as different to that of their predecessors and also as a way of establishing the legitimacy of their rule by advertising continuity with other aspects of the past. By using legends-types 2, 8, and 9 during this crucial period at the beginning of his reign, Vespasian uses *fortuna* to set out an Augustan vision for his rule. He is thus able to simultaneously distance himself from Augustus' later heirs, while promising, through the power and medium of imperial *fortunae*, a return to peace, stability and good governance such as was seen at the end of the last civil war. Secondly, the way that *fortuna* is depicted in this period also serves as a good example of how a numismatic language, especially the language of the iconography of *fortuna*, was created. We can see, for example in the success of the image and legend-types of Galba and Vespasian as compared with the failure of Caligula's depiction of *fortuna* to achieve any degree of later popularity, how successful ways of advertising

⁵⁵² Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.

fortuna emerged. By establishing a simple set of legends and iconography, whose use was not limited to any specific historical context, Galba and Vespasian were then able to combine these in multiple ways, making each specifically applicable to a different set of circumstances. So for example, the republican sentiments of some of Galba's legend-types offer oblique criticisms of the Neronian Principate. However, his types that proclaim FORTVNA AVG. show that he was modelling himself as the successor to the Augustan imperial heritage. Galba is thus able to use *fortuna* both as a symbol of revolution and of stability. Vespasian, in proclaiming the peace that his accession brings and in asserting his right to the imperial title, mixes iconographic illustrations of this peace and his stable governance of the Empire, seen in the image-types used at this time, with legend and image-types that advertise the imperial *fortunae*. Finally, it is apparent how the new language of *fortuna* had the flexibility both to express elite political ideals like FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI, and the more monarchic FORTVNA AVG. Thus, we can see how an analysis of the numismatic language of *fortuna* reveals something of the imperial thinking about the intended audience of these coins and speaks to the nature of the evolving political discourse of the Roman Empire.

The Years 96-98

Domitian was assassinated in September of 96, and whether or not his successor Nerva was part of the conspiracy, the sexagenarian senator was nevertheless chosen as his successor.⁵⁵³ As Griffin points out, the situation of 96 must have evoked for those present the memory of 68-69: a childless, aged patrician again replaced an heirless and 'extravagant young aesthete'.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, Nerva encouraged such a comparison when he chose L. Verginius Rufus (the man who had defeated Vindex in 68) as his colleague for the

⁵⁵³ Grainger 2002: 4ff.

⁵⁵⁴ Griffin 2000: 84-85.

first consulship he would hold as emperor. Like Galba, Nerva's situation was initially precarious, since, while the senate were doubtless pleased to have an emperor chosen by them, the armies were less so, and the Praetorians were openly hostile.⁵⁵⁵ This group initially showed their allegiance in their desire to bestow on Domitian the title *divus*, and their possible involvement in the plot to replace Nerva with C. Calpurnius Crassus. In October of the following year the Praetorians again rose, this time under the leadership of Casperius Aelianus, and demanded the executions of those that had been involved in the assassination of Domitian, an act of rebellion for which Nerva was then compelled to thank them.⁵⁵⁶ Like Galba, Nerva used the adoption of an heir as part of a solution to these problems. In the adoption of Trajan in 97, Nerva found an heir that was powerful and/or popular enough in the right quarters to quell opposition.⁵⁵⁷ These general similarities make it unsurprising that the short reign of Nerva is likewise distinguished by the high number of *fortuna* coins minted.

Coins of 96-98							
Nerva						Trajan	
96		97		98 ⁵⁵⁸		98	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
11	8	11	8	7	5	7	5
22	11	22	11	11	-	11	-
				23	12	24	-
				1	12		

Figure 30

Nerva's *fortuna* coins are of 5 image-types, summarized in Figure 30 above. Image-type 11 had been consistently popular since its introduction by Galba in 68. Image-type 7 was first minted by Claudius (seen in Figure 33), recalling a type of Augustus, and shows a figure (whose identity is unclear, but is commonly identified as *fortuna*) holding a

⁵⁵⁵ For the reactions of the senate and the armies see Suet. *Dom.* 23.

⁵⁵⁶ Dio 68.3.3-4. For discussion see Griffin 2000: 90-96; Shotter 1983.

⁵⁵⁷ For the argument that Trajan's adoption was a result of the support of the Rhine legions see Syme 1958: 13-14.

⁵⁵⁸ Nerva's Augustan restitutions cannot be securely dated, and have, for the sake of convenience, been listed under the year 98.

cornucopia and crowning the emperor inside a temple. Image-type 22, shows *fortuna* seated holding a sceptre and ears of corn (seen in Figure 31). Image-type 23 shows a rudder super-imposed on a globe (Figure 34 below). Finally, image-type 1 shows the Augustan amalgam of *fortuna* and Capricorn. Of these, image-types 11 and 22 are by far the most popular, while 1, 7 and 23 had between them only six mintings in this period. This extreme variation in the popularity of these types is explained by the fact that these rarer types are all part of Nerva's series of restored coins of Divus Augustus, and as such may be thought of as separate elements in a distinct type of reference to *fortuna*.

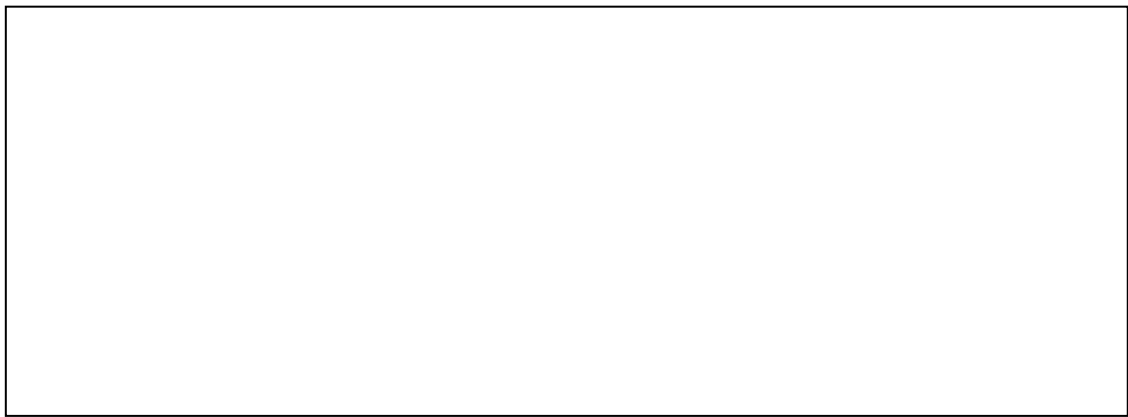


Figure 31: Coin of Nerva with image-type 22 (*RIC* Nerva: 5)

Nerva's coinage combines these image-types with legends that proclaim FORTVNA AVG. (legend-type 8), FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI (11), REST. (12), and COM. ASI. (5). Legend-type 8 had been used by every emperor since Galba, and is by now expected to appear. Type 11, although recalling the legend of Vindex's FLORENTE FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI coins, had not been used in this simple form since the Republic and, as noted, already in the late Republic this legend was used by the Pompeian faction to express an anti-Caesarean, pro-republican, sentiment.⁵⁵⁹ Types 12 and 5 are found only on Nerva's restored coins, and the legend REST(ITVIT) is itself a proclamation of the fact that these coins were meant to recall those of an earlier time. The legend COM(MVNIS) ASI(AE) is

⁵⁵⁹ See the discussion of Figure 24 above.

paired with image-type 7, which shows the words ROM. ET AVG. inscribed on the temple depicted.

On the coins of Nerva's reign the legend FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI is only found in conjunction with image-type 22, where *fortuna* holds a sceptre and ears of corn, while the use of the legend FORTVNA AVG. is restricted to coins which show image-type 11, the now familiar image of *fortuna* holding a rudder and cornucopia. Coins of these sorts are minted in almost every issue from Nerva's first issue in September 96, becoming two distinct and programmatic *fortuna* types.⁵⁶⁰ The frequent and concurrent use of these seemingly contradictory types partly recalls the period of 68 when the mint under Galba advertised the imperial *fortuna*, as well as the flourishing of the *fortuna populi Romani*. Nerva's use of FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI was, like its use in 68, an attempt to advertise a less authoritarian, more republican way of ruling. This sentiment was therefore of greatest relevance to the senate. Nerva's strongest support came from this body, who unlike the people, the army, or the Praetorian guard, rejoiced in the demise of Domitian.⁵⁶¹ Moreover, Nerva had not, like Galba, been elevated by the troops, and, owing his position to the senate, he drew his *auctoritas* from this group and from his role as the leader of this body.⁵⁶² The use of a legend that had last been used by the senate when they were battling Caesar served to advertise Nerva's intentions regarding this body – a promise to be, like Augustus, *primus inter pares* and not, like Domitian, *dominus et deus*.

Conversely, the image-type that appears on these coins is more an appeal to popular sentiment than a promise to respect senatorial authority. The sceptre that *fortuna* holds in image-type 22, although most notably a feature of Jupiter, commonly appears on coins in the hands of emperors and signifies imperial power. The fact that *fortuna* also holds ears of

⁵⁶⁰ For the dates of Nerva's issue see Shotter 1983: 217 and *RIC* 2: pp. 222.

⁵⁶¹ See (e.g.) Suet. *Dom.* 23; Dio 68.1.1.

⁵⁶² Shotter 1983 and Shotter 1978.

corn not only alludes to the customary largesse dispensed in 96 (celebrated by coins such as *RIC* Nerva: 56, that carry the legend *CONGIAR. P. R.*), but also to Nerva's involvement in the care of the corn supply, something which was advertised in 96 with coins that showed ears of corn, Ceres, *annona*, *abundantia*, and the maritime paraphernalia of the corn trade.⁵⁶³ The steady supply of corn to Rome, dependant on the vagaries of weather and the sea, was ensured by *fortuna*, who, especially as the imperial *fortuna redux*, protected travellers and their cargos.⁵⁶⁴ The emperor, like *fortuna*, distributed the material benefits of the corn trade, and, through his relationship with *fortuna*, guaranteed that it reached Rome safely. That the advertisement of the corn supply was meant as a direct appeal to the plebs can be seen in coins such as that in Figure 32, which boasts the legend *PLEBEI VRBANAЕ FRVMENTO CONSTITVTO*.⁵⁶⁵ Thus, the combination on Nerva's coins of the legend *FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI* and the image of *fortuna* holding ears of corn and a sceptre is an advertisement of the benefits of Nerva's reign that is aimed at two different groups, the plebs and the senate. Nerva uses these two constructions of *fortuna* as part of a broader attempt to shore up support on two sides.⁵⁶⁶

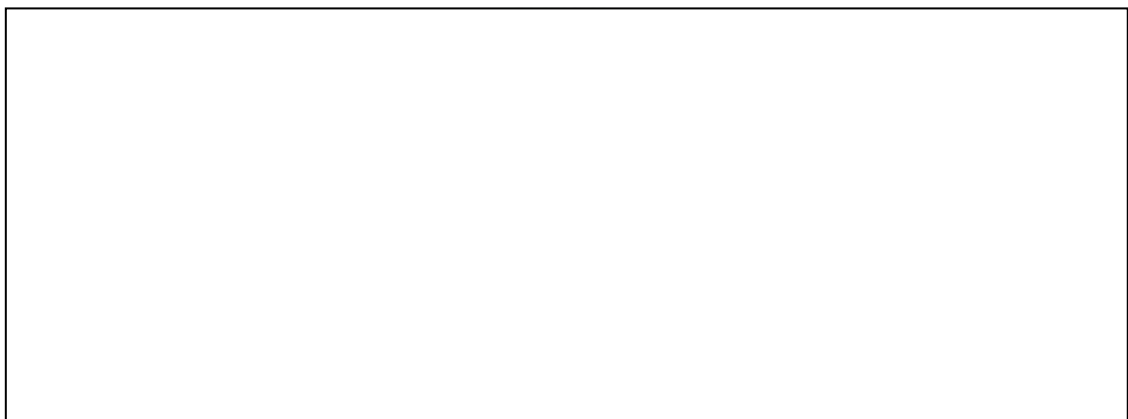


Figure 32: A coin of Nerva showing a modius containing ears of corn and a poppy (*RIC* Nerva: 89)

⁵⁶³ See (e.g.) *RIC* Nerva: 52.

⁵⁶⁴ See Chapter 1: pp. 91 (esp. Suet. *Aug.* 98.2).

⁵⁶⁵ For whether this coin signified a reorganisation of the official workings of the *annona* see Rickman 1980: 213-217.

⁵⁶⁶ From coins that advertised, for example, the removal of abuses of the Jewish tax, the *cursus publicus*, and the grain supply we can see that Nerva's coinage was intended to draw attention to specific imperial policies.

That issues of these coins coincided so greatly with coins that displayed the familiar combination of FORTVNA AVG. and image-type 11 from Galba's reign is further evidence of the complex way that *fortuna* was utilized in this period. On a superficial level, the promotion of the imperial *fortuna* would seem to be at odds with a *fortuna* which is used to proclaim republican ideals. More importantly though, these two *fortuna* can be seen, not as contradictory, but as a complementary pair: two *fortunae* which, by their different associations, advertised the compromise between *libertas* and *principatus* that Tacitus described as characteristic of Nerva's reign.⁵⁶⁷ While Tacitus' assessment is evidently panegyric, Nerva, in the style of his governance, clearly made an effort to at least appear to combine the best elements of both systems.⁵⁶⁸ Martial, taking up the imperial message, calls Nerva *dux* and *princeps*, titles used by Augustus as regards his relationship with the senate, and even claims that the most intractable of the old republicans, men like Cato would, if alive today, be *Caesarianus*.⁵⁶⁹

The model for such a style of government was, not surprisingly, Augustus. Nerva's issues made this connection visually explicit, when Augustan restitutions were minted with the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS, showing an image of Augustus on the obverse that bore a striking resemblance to Nerva's own portrait types. Shotter sees in the pairing of the programmatic FORTVNA AVG. and FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI types an 'intertwining of the people's fortune with that of the *princeps* [which] suggests the cult of *Roma et Augustus*'.⁵⁷⁰ This point is illustrated clearly on coins that bear image-type 7.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁷ Tac. Agr. 3.1.

⁵⁶⁸ See Shotter 1978:251 ff. The numismatic evidence supports this in coins such as *RIC* Nerva: 90, which proclaims PROVIDENTIA SENATVS and shows Nerva standing holding a globe, facing a senator who is also standing.

⁵⁶⁹ Martial 11.4 (*dux, princeps*), 11.5 (*Caesarianus*). For Nerva's politics in Martial see Kay's (1985: 57-71) commentary on 11. 2-5.

⁵⁷⁰ Shotter 1983: 222.

⁵⁷¹ While no Augustan coin is known of this exact type, there are coins minted under him showing the temple and its inscription without the figures inside (*RIC* Augustus: 505). The first to place the place *fortuna* and the emperor inside the temple is Claudius.

While the figure that crowns the emperor inside the temple of *Roma et Augustus* is not incontrovertibly identified as *fortuna*, with some scholars naming her as such, but others preferring to identify her as Roma, the fact that she carries the distinctive cornucopia, while not offering a definite identification, is certainly suggestive of the numismatic iconography of *fortuna*.⁵⁷² This coin, although celebrating the accession of Nerva by the fact that he is crowned by *fortuna*, makes clear by its legend, REST. AVG., that he intends to follow the Augustan model of both power and imperial divinity. So, despite the fact that *fortuna* seems here to offer a divine sanction to the regime, the viewer is reminded that it is to both Roma and the emperor that *fortuna* offers her blessing.⁵⁷³

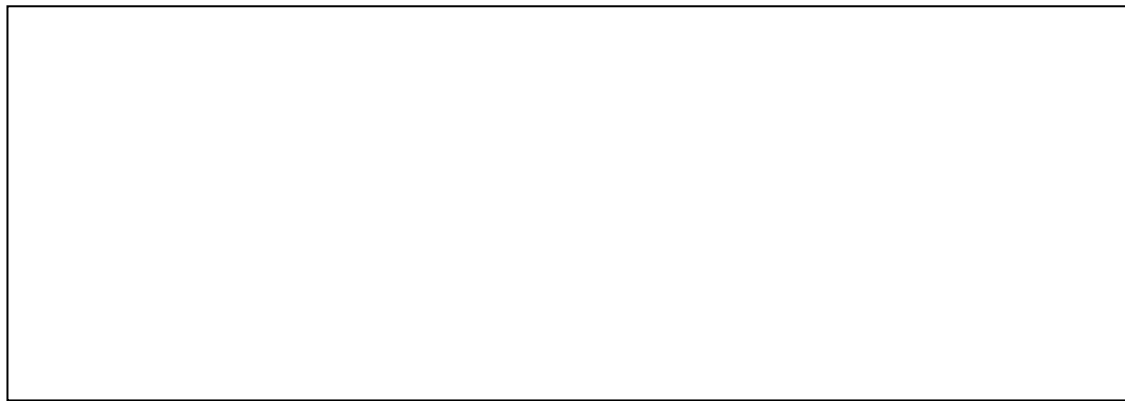


Figure 33: Coin of Claudius with image-type 7 (*RIC* Claudius: 120)

Nerva also mints restored coins of image-type 1, an Augustan type also used by Vindex and Vespasian, which shows a Capricorn, holding a rudder set on a globe, and with a cornucopia on its back. The legend on these coins is not the simple AVGVSTVS that we saw under Vindex, but the new legend REST. This idea of ‘restoration’ is familiar from how we saw Vindex use image-type 1. In 68 the Capricorn/*fortuna* was used to signify renewal, and this meaning was made even more potent under Nerva by the use of the

⁵⁷² For this figure as *fortuna* see Mannsperger 1974: 991, cf. *RIC*, Vol. 2: pp. 231, for it as Roma see Stevenson *et al.* 1889: COM. ASI. ROM. ET AVG.

⁵⁷³ It is relevant then that Claudius should also have minted coins of this restored type. He, like Nerva, also came to power after the assassination of an emperor who was commonly interpreted as being insistent on his own divinity during his lifetime.

legend REST(ITVIT). This chimes with the messages found on other Nervan coin types that boast legends such as ROMA RENASCENS.⁵⁷⁴

For the restored coins of image-type 23 below (Figure 34), no Augustan precedent can be found. These coins do, however, recall coins minted under Tiberius, which are identical, save in the small detail that next to the large globe is placed another smaller one (See Figure 35). Although it is possible that this type was an invention not of Augustus, but of Tiberius, coins minted by Caesar in 42 BC, such as that seen in Figure 36, use similar imagery, and suggest that there was a tradition of such types. The apex, a sign of Caesar's pontifical power, is juxtaposed with symbols of *fortuna*, probably referring to the increasingly popular *fortuna Caesaris*, soon to become the *fortuna Aug.* It is possible that coins of this sort were minted under Augustus, and that the Tiberian coin was itself an Augustan restitution. The precision of these allusions suggests that there must have been some 'image bank' or 'die library' at the mint so that these designs could be reused decades or centuries later. Whatever the case may be, the coins minted by Nerva and Tiberius use the rudder and the globe, not only to advertise *fortuna* in connection with the emperor, but to do so using attributes that describe the power of *fortuna* to rule. The rudder signifies her control of destiny, as well as implying maritime dominion. The globe, which on these coins is depicted large, thus drawing more attention than usual, makes it clear that the rudder of *fortuna* steers the fate, not only of individuals, but of the entire *orbis terrarum*. The dominion over land and sea of the emperor, who is the custodian of the Empire's *fortuna* and who is associated by these coins with these roles of *fortuna*, is thus advertised. The minting of coins with obverses showing Divus Augustus display Nerva's claim not only to the crucial connection between himself and the first *princeps*, but also to

⁵⁷⁴ See (e.g.) *RIC* Nerva: 67.

the idea that he (by virtue of his reign being under the care of the imperial *fortuna*) take on the role of a beneficent *fortuna* in his governance of the fates of the Empire.

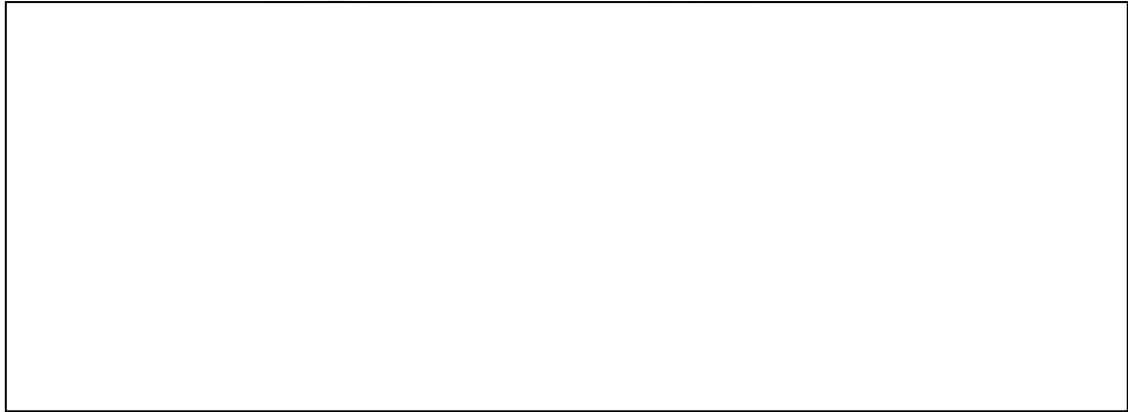


Figure 34: Coin of Nerva with image-type 23 (*RIC* Nerva: 131)



Figure 35: Coin of Tiberius showing image-type 5 (*RIC* Tiberius: 52)

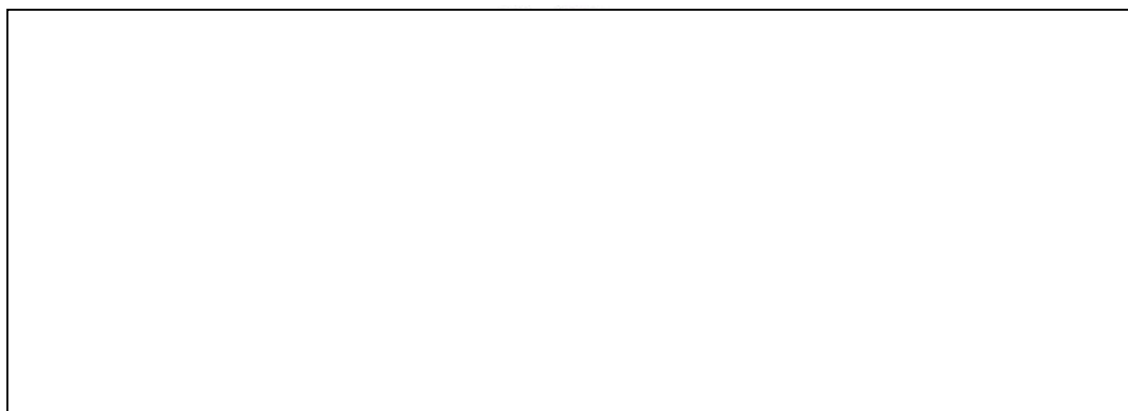


Figure 36: Coin of Caesar, showing a rudder, a globe, a cornucopia, a caduceus, and an apex (*RRC* 494.39)

Of the three coins minted by Trajan that can be dated to around the period directly following Nerva's death in 98, only one displays an innovative image-type. It shows *fortuna* standing holding a cornucopia and a rudder over the prow of a ship (image-type 24,

Figure 37 below). This image-type clearly recalls Vespasian's image-type 13 which was commonly paired with the legend FORTVNA REDVX. Although the legend of Trajan's coins of image-type 24 from 98/99 only lists his imperial titles, the inclusion of the prow (suggesting travel), the precedence of Vespasian's coins, and the fact that Trajan was away from Rome at the time (only returning in 99), suggest that an association with *fortuna redux* was intended. This would have been appropriate for expressing the hope that Trajan would return safely to Rome and govern the state as *fortuna* pilots a ship. Apart from this reference to his return as emperor, the other *fortuna* types minted by Trajan in this year are continuations of types and legends used by Nerva and convey similar messages.

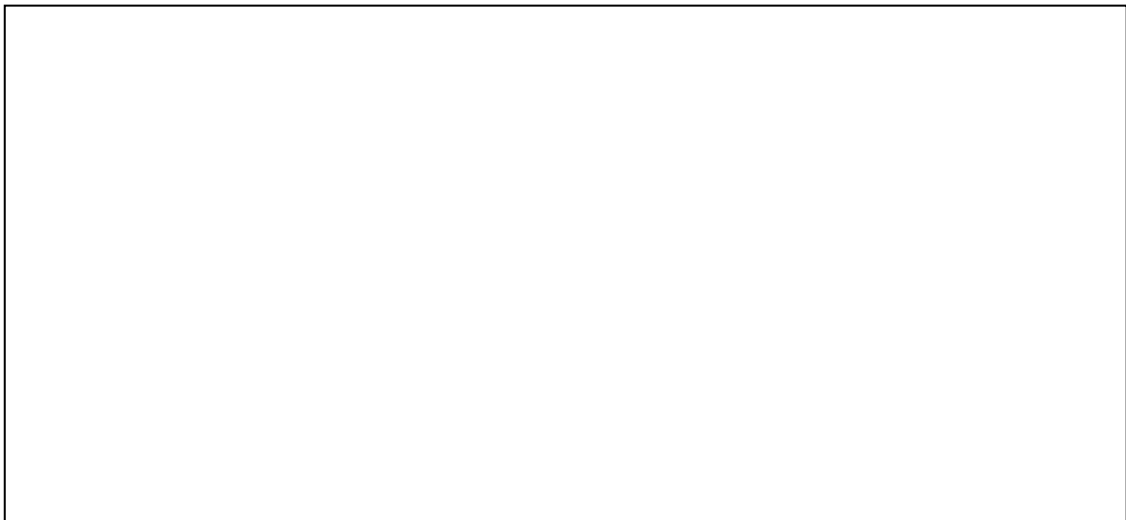


Figure 37: Coin of Trajan showing image-type 24 (*RIC* Trajan: 4)

In this period, *fortuna* was used to refer to the republican ideals advocated by the senate, and also to suggest the inheritance of imperial power and the application of that power as regards the emperor's responsibilities to the citizens of the Empire. Nerva employed *fortuna* in an attempt to reconcile the various, divided factions at Rome to his fragile new regime. Importantly, he also used *fortuna* to refer to the professed political ideals of his regime, a blending of the principles of republican liberty with the Principate. To do so,

references were made to the *fortuna* of Augustus, a *fortuna* that allowed for the renewal of Rome, and combined the *fortuna* of the state with that of the emperor.

The Years 117 and 118

22 *fortuna* coins were minted in 117 under Trajan and Hadrian, and 10 were minted in the following year under Hadrian, making these years statistical outliers. Only two image-types were used. Image-type 21 (Figure 38) shows *fortuna* seated holding a rudder and a cornucopia. Image-type 18 shows the same *fortuna* as the previous image-type, only now the rudder balances on a globe. As Figure 12 shows, these are amongst the more popular image-types. Image-type 18 was first minted by Vespasian in 76, then again by Hadrian in 117, and subsequently achieved a degree of popularity. Titus first minted image-type 21 in 80, and it was subsequently used in ten later reigns. In 117 and 118 these image-types only appear in conjunction with the legend FORTVNA REDVX (legend-type 2).

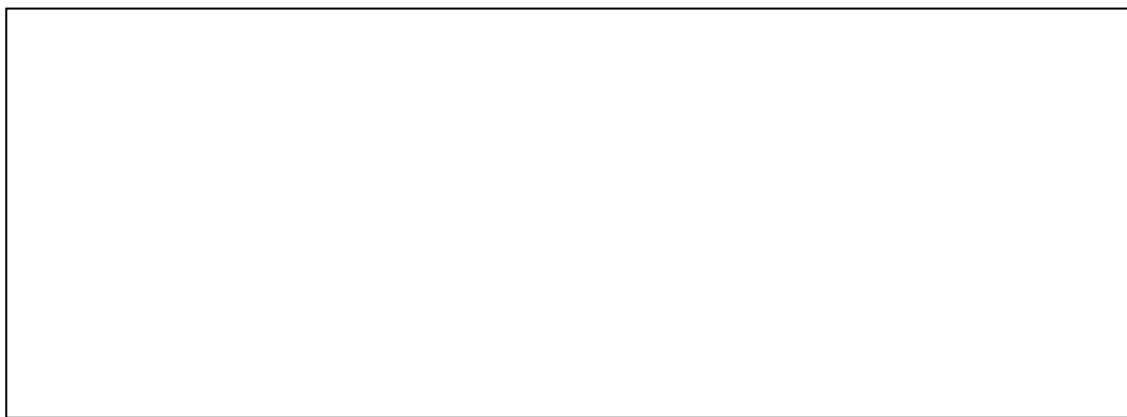


Figure 38: Coin of Trajan showing image-type 21, and legend-type 2 (*RIC* Trajan: 315)

A number of *fortuna* coins with this combination of image and legend were minted between 114 and 117, the time of Trajan's Parthian war and absence from Rome. The fact the emperor was away from Rome engaged in a dangerous pursuit explains the use of legend-type 2. As we have seen, *fortuna redux*, particularly in her numismatic iconography, is concerned with the emperor's return to Rome. This concern, because of the

cult's relationship with ideas of this *fortuna* as a restorer and agent of salvation for the state and its mechanisms, is heightened when the emperor's absence involves conflict or uncertainty as regards the integrity of the Empire. The surge in mintings of this type in 117 was probably prompted by news that, by early that year, Trajan's health had become so bad that he abandoned an intended march into Mesopotamia and set about returning to Rome. The mint officials were likely aware of this, and Bennett has argued that the fact of Trajan's illness must have been widely known and is visible from a bust of the emperor dating from this time that shows him suffering its ill effects.⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, *fortuna redux* was especially relevant because the emperor had failed to produce or nominate an heir, leaving the question of the succession unsettled.⁵⁷⁶ The political situation of AD 117, like that of 19 BC, was extremely unstable.

When Trajan died later that year, Hadrian's adoption, according to the rumours of the time, had to be orchestrated by Plotina.⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, that 117 and 118 saw outpourings of FORTVNA REDVX legend-types under Hadrian, enough to put at least 117 well above our threshold of relevance (i.e. 10), speaks to a degree of anxiety regarding the transition of power. Not only had Hadrian (officially) only been adopted by Trajan on his death-bed, but at the time of his acclamation he was away from Rome in the East, Trajan having given him command of Syria. He also faced opposition, and was warned of plots at Rome by Attianus, the Praetorian prefect, who then ordered the executions of four men of consular rank and cautioned Hadrian about several others.⁵⁷⁸ Hadrian faced opposition not only from Rome, but as the author of the *Historia Augusta* writes: *deficientibus his nationibus*

⁵⁷⁵ Bennet 2001: 201; Budde 1965.

⁵⁷⁶ Griffin 2000: 128.

⁵⁷⁷ Dio 69.1, cf. SHA *Had.* 4.10; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 13.13. Hadrian was supposedly adopted by Trajan shortly before his death, but it was rumoured that his accession was a result of Plotina's machinations. Bennett sees this tradition as being a result of senatorial hostility towards Hadrian, while Birley (2000 B: 134) is more sceptical and agrees that the adoption might have been a fiction.

⁵⁷⁸ Notably, Baebius Macer, Laberius Maximus and Crassus Frugi: SHA *Had.* 5.5-9.

*quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacessebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant.*⁵⁷⁹ Birley notes that with the death of Trajan ‘the Empire was in a state of disarray not seen since the Year of the Four Emperors’; the popularity of the legend FORTVNA REDVX in both periods, seen clearly in the coins of Vespasian from 69-71 discussed above, speaks to the accuracy of this comparison.⁵⁸⁰ Hadrian’s *fortuna* types, from the first two years of his reign, anticipate and celebrate not only his eventual return to Rome in July 118, but also the hope of a successful and uneventful transition of power.⁵⁸¹ Whether these types were minted at the direction of the emperor, or, as seems more likely, at the discretion of the mint officials, who saw that it was appropriate at this juncture to advertise the certainty of a smooth succession, is irrelevant. Clearly, whoever authorized the minting of these coins understood that it was appropriate to mint coins that advertised FORTVNA REDVX as a way of suggesting that, during this period of transition and crisis, Rome and the emperor were under the tutelage of this goddess. Moreover, Hadrian’s association with one of the imperial *fortunae* proclaimed the legitimacy of the succession.

The appearance of *fortuna* on the coins of these years shows little innovation, with both the legend and image-types used being already well established. Instead we see how the use of a certain type of *fortuna* had become appropriate to a certain set of circumstances and their attendant anxieties. The legend FORTVNA REDVX is used when emperors are away from Rome and when that absence is perceived as endangering the Empire’s peace and stability.

⁵⁷⁹ SHA *Had.* 5.1.

⁵⁸⁰ Birley 1997: 77.

⁵⁸¹ The seated pose of *fortuna* on the coinage of 117 and 118 may, in part, help to clarify this message. Although scholars most often dismiss the significance of the difference between standing and seated poses of *fortuna* (see especially Kajanto 1981: 519 and Lichočka 1997: 73), the idea of the attachment of *fortuna* to Rome is expressed by Plutarch in terms that echo the change from depictions of *fortuna* standing to *fortuna* seated. Plutarch’s τύχη, having crossed the Tiber, takes off her wings and her sandals and puts aside her globe that Plutarch interprets as a signifier of her originally untrustworthy nature (*De Fort. Rom.* 4), becoming more fixed in place and sedentary (discussed in Introduction: pp. 1).

The minting of coins with this legend served to express the general anxiety of the time, but also aimed to assuage this by placing Rome under the tutelage of *fortuna redux*. This appeal to an imperial *fortuna* connected the people of Rome with their absent emperor.

The Years 134-139

In every year between AD 134 and 139, save 136, at least 10 *fortuna* types were produced, with well over 30 being minted in 134. Following a tour of the Eastern provinces, the last 5 years of Hadrian's reign began with his return to Rome (probably *c.* 134), an event marked by a *vota publica* and celebrated on that year's coins.⁵⁸² At the same time the rebellion in Judea, led by Shim'on Bar Kochba, had reached a critical point and C. Julius Severus was summoned from Britain to take over the command of the campaign against the rebels. 135 saw Bar Kochba's death, and by early the following year the rebel's stronghold of Bethar had been taken. Severus was given triumphal honours for his suppression of the rebellion and Hadrian received a second imperial acclamation. 135 and 136 were also notable for less bellicose reasons. Around the day of the Parilia in *c.* 135, the temple of Venus (given the epithet Felix) and Roma was dedicated.⁵⁸³ This foundation marked the first instance of the worship of Roma within the city. August of the following year marked the beginning of Hadrian's twentieth year as emperor, the beginning of the *vicennalia*, and also saw the adoption of an heir, L. Aelius Commodus. By 137 the celebrations of the *vicennalia* were in full swing and Hadrian made Aelius consul for the second time, also bestowing on him *imperium* and tribunician power. These events were commemorated by more public vows and by the distribution of *liberalitas*, all celebrated on the coins of these years. The choice

⁵⁸² The exact date of Hadrian's return is unknown, but he was certainly in Rome by May 134 (Birley 1997: 279). Mattingly 1950: 158.

⁵⁸³ See Mols 2003: 461; Richardson 1992: 409; *LTUR* V: 121 'Venus et Roma, aedes'; Boatwright 1987: 130-132. Cf. *RIC* Hadrian: 280. The Parilia, celebrated annually on 21st April, was listed in the calendars as the foundation day of Rome (*AE* 1960, 00209; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 12).

of Aelius as an heir was not universally popular and in 137 a coup was attempted.⁵⁸⁴ Although it was suppressed and the conspirators executed, Hadrian, who was suffering from ill-health, was again faced with finding an heir after Aelius died unexpectedly at the end of 137. He chose Antoninus as his successor, who in turn was to adopt Aelius' son (Lucius Verus), as well as M. Annius Verus (the future emperor Marcus Aurelius). Hadrian had thus secured two tiers of succession. When Hadrian died in July 138, Antoninus' first hurdle was to persuade the senate to deify his processor. The senate's enmity towards Hadrian caused them initially to refuse him divine honours.⁵⁸⁵ Only after the consecration of Hadrian had been assured in early 139, an act which earned Antoninus the epithet Pius, did he accept the honorific *pater patriae* and mint coins that use this title.⁵⁸⁶



Figure 39: Coin of Hadrian showing L. Aelius on the obverse and image-type 38 on reverse (*RIC* Hadrian: 431)

As with much of Hadrian's coinage, those coins belonging to 134-138 are difficult to assign to particular years.⁵⁸⁷ Some can be more securely dated, for example those from 137

⁵⁸⁴ It was led by C. Pedanius Fuscus, the grandson of one of Hadrian's foremost supporters, cf. *SHA Had.* 15.8; 23.2; 23.8; 25.8; *Dio* 69.17.2.

⁵⁸⁵ *Dio* 69.23.2; 70.1.1; *SHA Had.* 27.1.

⁵⁸⁶ For the history of this period see *Dio* 69.133 ff.; *SHA Had.* 23; *Ant. Pius.* 4-5 ; *Vic. Epit. de Caes.* 14-15. See Birley 2000 B: 146 ff.

⁵⁸⁷ For the problems associated with dating Hadrian's later coins see esp. *RIC*, Vol. 2: pp. 314-337; Mattingly 1925; Hill 1971. Of the *fortuna* coins that date from this period, Mattingly originally identified some that he dated either from just before the death of Hadrian, or in the six months following. According to Mattingly these coins and have portraits of Hadrian on their obverse, but are posthumous coins issued by Antoninus. *fortuna* coins of this hypothesized issue from c. 138 would all show image-type 18 (*fortuna*

celebrating the adoption of Aelius in the previous year; the obverse bears his portrait, while the reverses show image-types 36 and 38 (*fortuna* holding a flower, an attribute of *spes*, in addition to her usual iconographic attributes: see Figure 39 above) and 39 (*fortuna* standing with *spes* who holds a flower and plucks at her skirt). Coins showing image-type 35 (which again show *fortuna* with *spes*) and the legend FORTVNA SPES (legend-type 18) can probably also be dated to this period, as can those that have Hadrian's portrait on the obverse and show image-type 36, accompanied by the legend SPES POPVLI ROMANI (legend-type 19).⁵⁸⁸ Antoninus' coins from 139 show either image-type 11; image-type 16, *fortuna* standing holding a cornucopia and a rudder resting on a globe, which is accompanied by the legend FORTVNA AVG. (legend-type 8); or image-type 37, which shows *fortuna* standing holding a rudder which rests on a globe, feeding a snake wound round an altar. The mintings of these more securely datable types are summarized in Figure 40 below.

Apart from additional issues of some of the coins for which specific years can be identified, the following image-types were minted between 134 and 138. 20 depicts *fortuna* with a cornucopia and a *patera*. 21 depicts *fortuna* seated holding a rudder and a cornucopia. 28 shows *fortuna* holding a caduceus and a cornucopia, with a wheel at her feet. 40 depicts *fortuna* seated holding a rudder on a globe and feeding a snake wound round an altar. 31 shows *fortuna* standing, clasping the hand of the emperor. 32 and 34 show a similar image to 31, but here the emperor holds a scroll in his hand (See Figure 37). 33 is again the same as 31, but here the emperor holds a globe. As seen in Figure 36

seated holding a cornucopia, and a rudder on a globe) and legend-type 2 (FORTVNA REDVX). For various arguments regarding the dates of these coins see *RIC*, Vol. 2: pp. 316-319; Mattingly 1925; Hill 1971: 54-55. However, the idea of a large posthumous coinage for Hadrian has been discounted on the evidence of hoards (Mattingly 1960: 135). It seems more likely that these coins date from the period after 134, and here they have been discussed as such. Likewise, those coins of Asian mints that Mattingly identifies as posthumous issues have been dated to about 128-132.

⁵⁸⁸ If no legend-type is named, then the legend describes only imperial titles.

below, these types appear variously in conjunction with legends-types 8 (FORTVNA AVG); 2 (FORTVNA REDVX); 16 (FELICITAS AVG); 20 (SALVS AVG). These types can be grouped into early, middle, and late types, corresponding approximately to three periods of 134-135, 136-137, 137-138.

Coins of Uncertain Date						Dateable Coins			
134-135 (1)		136-137 (2)		137-138 (3)		137		139	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
11	8	11	8	40	20	36	-	11	-
16	8	16	8	37	20	38	-	16	8
18	2	28	16			39	-	37	-
20	8	40	20						
21	2	37	20						
28	16	36	19						
31	2	35	18						
32	2								
33	2								
34	2								

Figure 40: Image and Legend-types occurring between 137 and 139

The most popular of the *fortuna* legends for this period, comprising over 50% of the legend-types, is FORTVNA REDVX. As discussed above, this was used when the emperor was away from Rome and the state was thought to be endangered. The majority of coins carrying this legend may therefore have been minted in celebration of Hadrian's return from the East in 134. It is likely that Hadrian had been in Judea in 133, returning to Rome only when Severus took over the command.⁵⁸⁹ The minting of FORTVNA REDVX coins is therefore appropriate to 134 and a celebration of the emperor's safe return from war.⁵⁹⁰ We know that Hadrian's return was marked by such celebrations and was commemorated by a *vota publica*.⁵⁹¹ Image-types 31, 32, 33, and 34 (see, for example, Figure 41), are all accompanied by the legend FORTVNA REDVX and can be dated to

⁵⁸⁹ The war is referred to as the *expeditio Iudaica* (e.g. *CIL* 6.1523). *expeditio* is only used when an emperor personally took part in a campaign: Rosenberger 1992, esp. 96.

⁵⁹⁰ Eck 1999 has suggested that the revolt in Judea was far more serious than many have assumed, involving army units from all over the Empire, an idea which is supported by the level of celebration that accompanied Hadrian's return.

⁵⁹¹ Cohen 1480. Mattingly 1950: 158.

this first part of the period between 134 and 138. The scenes shown on these image-types, where the emperor clasps the hand of a female deity, are typical also of Hadrian's 'adventus' types (see Figure 42), where Roma welcomes Hadrian to Rome. In image-types 31, 32, 33, and 34, *fortuna* has taken the place of Roma, a substitution which serves to highlight the degree to which the imperial *fortuna redux* was thought to extend its protective powers over the whole city. The idea that the emperor's return was beneficial to Rome is conveyed not only by restorative and salvational aspects of *fortuna redux*, but also by the minting of similar types that show Hadrian, having arrived in Rome, clasping the hand of *felicitas*, with the legend FELICITAS AVG. (see Figure 43).

These three goddesses (*fortuna*, *felicitas*, and Roma), the only ones shown with Hadrian in this pose, recall not only the *adventus* of the emperor, but also the new temple to Venus Felix and Roma, whose pairing speaks to the continued association of *fortuna* and *felicitas* with Venus. As early as Sulla, *felicitas* and *fortuna* had been seen as especially connected with Venus. Sulla had advertised the gift of *felicitas* given to him by Venus and *fortuna*,⁵⁹² and, well before Hadrian's dedication in 135, Sulla may have already established a cult to Venus Felix in Rome, as well as a joint cult of *fausta felicitas* and Venus Victrix.⁵⁹³ The promotion of Sulla's connection with Venus and *fortuna* alongside his *felicitas* was achieved by such means as the renaming of Pompeii as Colonia Cornelia Veneria by Sulla's veterans, and by the construction there of a massive temple dedicated to Venus Pompeiana. This served not only to figure Venus as the patron goddess of the town, competing with Apollo for this honour, but also, through promoting the myth of Sulla as

⁵⁹² Promotion of Sulla as *felix* and as enjoying the favour of *fortuna*: Plut. *Sulla* 6; 35.4; use of the epithet Ἐπαφρόδιτος and devotion to Venus: Plut. *Sulla* 34.2-3 (with Castagnetti 1996). For discussions of the connections between *felicitas*, Venus, and *fortuna* see Balsdon 1951, who mistakenly dissociates these elements of Sulla's persona: Arya 2002: 180-189, who offers a useful summary of Sulla's use of these three; Champeaux 1982: 181-197.

⁵⁹³ *LTUR* V: 116 'Venus Felix, aedes'; III: 242-243 '*fausta felicitas*'.

felix, to more closely associate Venus and *fortuna*.⁵⁹⁴ Thus, the cult statue of this Sullan Venus, as one of the goddesses that guaranteed his military success, was depicted with the attributes of *fortuna* and *felicitas*: a rudder, and a branch.⁵⁹⁵ The Sullan precedent of amalgamating *fortuna*, *felicitas*, and Venus was of continuing relevance for the Julio-Claudians. Caesar's co-option of Venus, now bearing the epithet *genetrix*, as a grantor of victory, was, like the *fortuna Caesaris*, part of his divinely ordained success.⁵⁹⁶ Venus' role as ancestress of the Roman people, and especially of the Julians, meant that she, like *fortuna* and Roma, took on a tutelary role – ensuring victory for the Romans in military affairs, and the continuing felicity of the city, a role confirmed by the pairing of Venus Genetrix with *fortuna redux* on an inscription from Praeneste.⁵⁹⁷

Hadrian's foundation to Venus and Roma is celebrated in the issues of this period, with coins that give the legends VENERIS FELICIS and ROMA FELIX;⁵⁹⁸ and the date of foundation, the Parilia, is commemorated on coins that celebrate ROMVLVS CONDITOR. This date is appropriate to the dedication of temples to these two goddess, not only because they are both associated with the birth of the city, but also because, as Dio recorded, under Caesar, on the same day, annual games were instituted in celebration of the news of Caesar's victory over Pompey.⁵⁹⁹ The precedent for this date secures the connection of Venus Felix and Roma to military victory and *fortuna*. This is further emphasised by use of *fortuna*, Roma, and *felicitas* on coins that show these three goddess all in the same pose with Hadrian (compare Figures 41, 42, and 43 below). These coins, while celebrating Hadrian's return to Rome, also recall his foundation to Venus and Roma.

⁵⁹⁴ Zanker 1998: 64-65; Arya 2002: 187.

⁵⁹⁵ For the cult statue of Venus Pompeiana, identified in a first century CE wall painting on the façade of a shop on the Via dell'Abbondanza (VI.IX.6/7), see Arya 2002: 188; Lichocka 1997: 145; Meyboom 1995: 354 n. 49.

⁵⁹⁶ See Dio 43.43.3; App. *BC*. 2.76; 2.104.; 3.28.

⁵⁹⁷ *ILS* 3172: VENERI FORTVN[AE] / GENETRICI R[EDVCI]. For Venus as the protector of the Romans see Virg. *Aen.* 1.223-296, and her role on the Mars Ultor relief (with Arya 2002: 284 ff.).

⁵⁹⁸ *RIC* Hadrian: 280, 264.

⁵⁹⁹ Dio 42.3. Venus Genetrix as used in the promotion of the Caesarean cause: Rives 1994.

The use of *fortuna* was appropriate to this context firstly because of the history of Venus' association with *fortuna*, and secondly because the cult of Roma, while new to Rome at the time of Hadrian, had already in the east been associated with the worship of the imperial τύχη.⁶⁰⁰ These images-types, foregrounding the role of the emperor by depicting him clasping the hand of the three goddesses, reinforced the central role of the imperial *fortuna* in the continuation of Rome, a force which, like Venus Felix and Roma, ensured Roman *felicitas*.

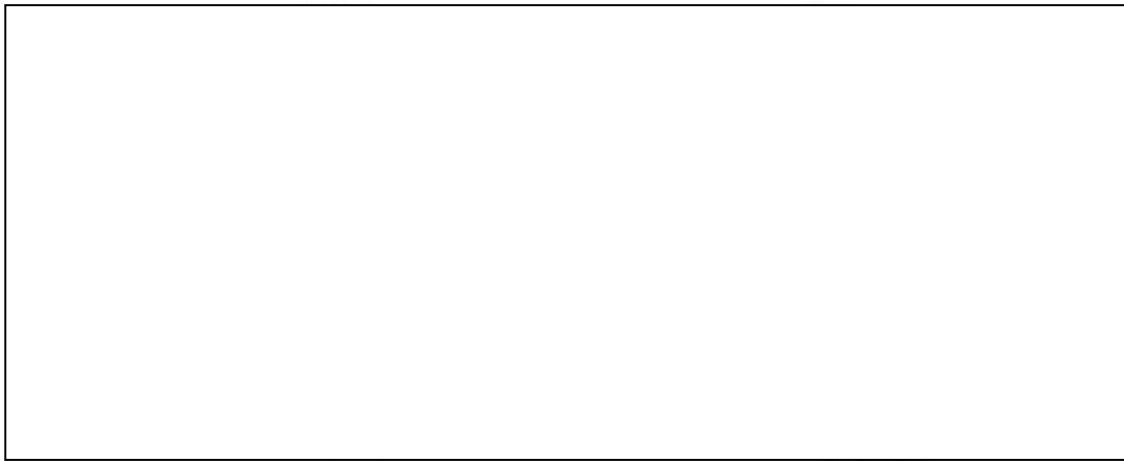


Figure 41: Coin of Hadrian showing Image-Type 31 and Legend-Type 2 (*RIC* Hadrian: 243)



Figure 42: Coin of Hadrian showing Roma clasping the hand of Hadrian with the legend ADVENTVS AVG. (*RIC* Hadrian: 225)

⁶⁰⁰ Mellor 1975. See (e.g.) *IGR* 4.522, and also the discussion of Figure 27 above, and of imperial *fortunae* in Chapter 1.

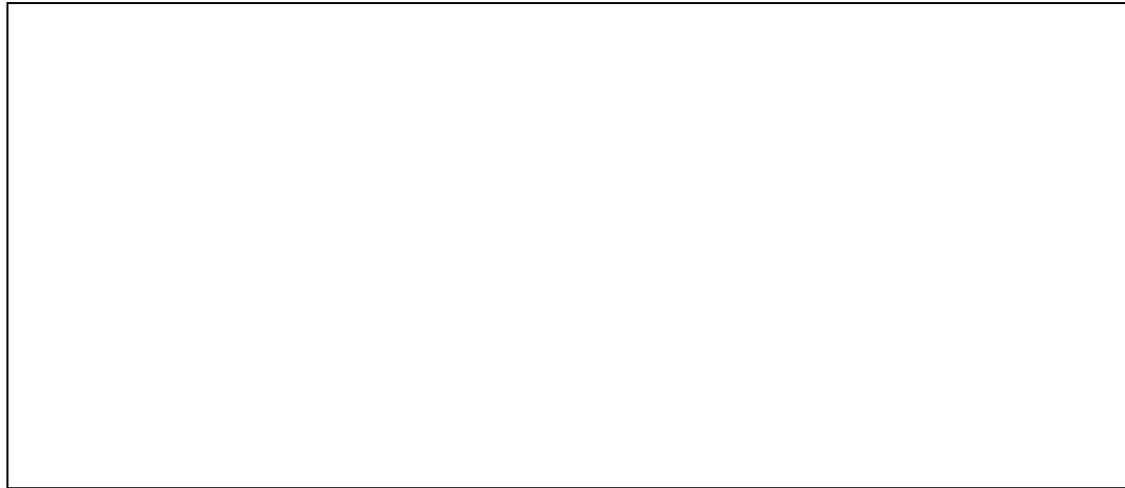


Figure 43: Coin of Hadrian showing *felicitas* clasping the hand of Hadrian with the legend FELICITAS AVG (*RIC* Hadrian: 237)

felicitas is also referenced during this period on coins which again show the legend FELICITAS AVG., but have image-type 28, a figure with the combined attributes of *fortuna* and *felicitas* (see Figure 44). The caduceus is a symbol of *felicitas*, but the cornucopia and the wheel are iconographic references to *fortuna redux*. The wheel of *fortuna* first appears on coins at this time, but is important to the iconography of *fortuna redux* well before this.⁶⁰¹ The initial significance of the wheel might have been negative, and, like the globe, in literature might have been used to signify the vicissitudes of chance or the understanding of *fortuna* that associated her with the avenging powers of Nemesis.⁶⁰² However, with the institution of the cult of *fortuna redux* and its partial concern with travel, the wheel of *fortuna* came to be especially associated with this incarnation of the goddess. Moreover, the wheel was an obvious symbol for any travel that

⁶⁰¹ The wheel and *fortuna redux* in imperial art: *LIMC* s.v. 'Tyche/Fortuna'; Lichocka 1997: 183ff; 215; 232ff.; 240.

⁶⁰² For the complex history of the *rota fortunae* and the relationship of *fortuna* with Nemesis see esp. *LIMC* s.v. 'Nemesis'; Lichocka:1997 31-32; Hornum 1998: 131-138; Arya 2002: 84-88. For the wheel as signifying the randomness of chance see (e.g.) Kajanto 1981: n. 35. The appearance of the *rota fortunae* in literature is rare, although Tac. *Dial.* 23 suggests that it was more common as a rhetorical trope. The *TLL* lists only a few occurrences: Cic. *Pis.* 22; Tac. *Dial.* 23; Amm. Marc. 26.8.13; 31.1.1; *Anth. Lat.* 723.16; *Otto Sprichw.* pp. 142. It is often thought to signify the assumption by *fortuna* of some of the functions once associated with Nemesis, e.g. warranted punishment (see Chapter 1 and Erkell 1952: 72). While the turn of this wheel might signify change of *fortuna*, it is certainly not random. Rather, it signifies the just retribution that *fortuna*, in a providential role, brings to those who have deserved it, and the balancing/changing force of *fortuna* advancing the course of time (e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 22; Amm. Marc. 26.8.13).

occurred on land (as opposed to the more maritime rudder), and was used in this context on coins of Trajan celebrating the Via Traiana.⁶⁰³ These coins, by the use of the legend FELICITAS AVG., recalled not only the iconography of *fortuna redux*, but also the personal *fortuna* of the emperor which was one of the ways in which the *felicitas* of his people was assured. As such, these coins served as further reinforcement of the connection between the return of Hadrian's imperial *fortuna* and a state of *felicitas* for Rome.⁶⁰⁴



Figure 44: Coin of Hadrian with Image-Type 28 and Legend-Type 16 (*RIC* Hadrian: 749)

The legend FORTVNA AVG. appears in combination with image-types showing the usual rudder, globe, and cornucopia combinations on coins with both early and middle portraits types, but one of the early mintings that has this legend also shows *fortuna* holding a *patera* (image-type 20). The *patera* is found on coins as an attribute of any and all deities, and serves as iconographical shorthand for the sacrifices or religious services undertaken in their honour: indicating both honours paid to them, or even a cult of that divinity. The *patera* had already been seen on the coins of Galba that carried the legend SALVS GENERIS HVMANI, and there functioned as a signifier of the piety and well-being that Galba's rule brought about. Image-type 20 first appeared under Vespasian in 79 where it

⁶⁰³ *RIC* Trajan: 638.

⁶⁰⁴ A comparable example may be found on coins such as *RIC* Hadrian: 209, which has the legend FELICITAS AVG., but shows a galley rowing or sailing. These coins likewise associate travel (and possibly the return) of the emperor with the arrival of FELICITAS, and moreover do so with the nautical imagery commonly associated with *fortuna*.

was accompanied by the legend FIDES FORTVNA. Since Vespasian took his *dies imperii* as being 1st July 69, the year 79 marked the tenth year of Vespasian's reign, and, as such, was probably celebrated by the *vota decennialia*.⁶⁰⁵ We know that public vows had been made to the *fortunae/genius* of emperors as early as Caesar, and that these vows involved sacrifices.⁶⁰⁶ Moreover, apart from being celebrated by the dedication of the altar of *fortuna redux*, the return of Augustus from the east seems to have been marked by public vows and by the initiation of the celebratory *Augustalia*, at which the Vestals and other state priests offered sacrifices.⁶⁰⁷ Vows and sacrifices to the emperor and for the continuance of his reign are thus seen to be commonly associated with the imperial *fortunae*. The coins, probably minted for Hadrian's return in 134, which show image-type 20 with FORTVNA AVG., are seen to continue this pattern of association. We know that vows, similar to those that celebrated the return of Augustus in 19 BC, were taken in celebration of Hadrian's return, and the use of this image-type suggests that they might have included sacrifices or vows to an imperial *fortuna*.⁶⁰⁸

Public vows and sacrifices were again made in 136 and 137 in celebration of Hadrian's *vicennialia*, and probably included vows to mark the adoption and bestowal of imperial powers on Aelius. Apart from more mintings of coin types that had been seen in 134 and 135 celebrating FORTVNA AVG. and the state of *felicitas* that it brought, several *fortuna* types were minted which were specifically concerned with Aelius' adoption. These coins, often showing Aelius' portrait on the obverse and image-types 36, 38, 39, and 35 on the reverse, emphasized *fortuna* in conjunction with *spes* (see Figure 39), and even combined these two deities in the legend FORTVNA SPES. The hope in question, offered by the adoption, was of a continuance of the blessings and guidance of *fortuna* that Rome had so

⁶⁰⁵ *vota decennialia*: Daly 1950; Mattingly 1950: 156; 158; and Fears 1981 C: 98ff.

⁶⁰⁶ Dio. 44.6. 1. See Chapter 1: pp. 73.

⁶⁰⁷ Dio 54.10; *CIL* 3.774; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2.519.

⁶⁰⁸ Mattingly 1950: 158; 184-185.

far enjoyed under Hadrian. This message is reinforced by the combination of the *fortuna/spes* figure with the legend SPES POPVLI ROMANI, which automatically recalls *fortuna populi Romani*. This legend, with its republican overtones, may to some extent be part of an attempt, on behalf of the mint officials or the broader imperial administration, to promote Hadrian's choice of heir to the senate, despite opposition from some quarters. This specifically recalls the use of the legend FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI under Galba and Nerva, and seems to have served a similar function as it did under Nerva, when this goddess was used as an appeal to republican sentiment.

Dio writes that shortly after his return in 134, Hadrian became ill, a factor which doubtless motivated his appointment of an heir.⁶⁰⁹ The conspiracy of Fuscus and the death of Aelius in 137 must have contributed to the appearance that the state was ailing along with the emperor. The minting of types with the legend SALVS AVG., and imagery that is suggestive of both *salus* and *fortuna*, is appropriate to a time when the health and stability of the state need to be asserted. Hadrian had minted similar coins in 119-121, showing a combination of the iconography of *fortuna* and *salus* (image-type 26) and the legends SALVS PVBLICA and SALVS AVG.⁶¹⁰ These coins, along with various others from the same time celebrating SECVRITAS AVG. and CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM, suggested the salvation of the emperor and Empire from the upheavals and conspiracies following Hadrian's ascension.⁶¹¹ The combination of *salus* and *fortuna* thus seems to gain a special importance in response to conspiracies against the emperor.⁶¹² The attributes of *fortuna* shown in these image-types (rudder and globe) are those which indicate her role as pilot of the ship of state and director of fate. The emperor's safety is thus shown to be a matter

⁶⁰⁹ Dio 69.17.

⁶¹⁰ Cohen 1349.

⁶¹¹ Mattingly 1925: 212-213. Compare SECVRITAS AVG. (Cohen 1397) and CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM (*RIC* Hadrian: 581).

⁶¹² See also Nero's *salus* types (*RIC* Nero: 60) struck after the Pisonian conspiracy.

fated by the will of *fortuna*, as is his governance of the Empire. These coins serve therefore not only an expression of anxiety regarding the emperor's health, the plots following Aelius' adoption, and his death in 137, but also celebrate the resolution of these problems in the adoption of Antoninus. Just as legends advertising CONCORDIA were minted after the conspiracies of 118, coins were minted at the beginning of 138 showing portraits of Antoninus, announcing his new tribunician and consular powers, with the legend CONCORDIA.⁶¹³ The new heir is shown to have the favour and guidance of the imperial *fortuna*, a fact that meant that the state, if not Hadrian himself, was healthy. Antoninus reiterates this message on his own coinage in 139, and then again at other points in his reign, by minting coins of image-type 34 (see Figure 45). In doing so he not only asserts his connection to Hadrian, but also claims that the imperial *fortuna* has passed to him, assuring the health of the state under his leadership.



Figure 45: Coin of Antoninus Pius showing image-type 34 (*RIC* Antoninus Pius: 167)

Antoninus uses *fortuna* on his coins of 139 to assert his connection to the imperial *fortuna*. His *fortuna* types from this year are therefore ones that had already appeared frequently under Hadrian, and are combined with either a simple claim to the inheritance in the legend FORTVNA AVG., or with an advertisement of his new title, PIVS. This title seems

⁶¹³ *RIC* Hadrian: 453.

to have been won as a result of his struggle over the consecration of Hadrian. It is fitting, therefore, that it should appear prominently on the reverse of coins that celebrate the *fortuna* that partly assured the emperor's divinity.

The overwhelming variety of associations made for *fortuna* during this period means that no single set of circumstances can be identified as prompting the use of *fortuna*. Rather, the return of Hadrian to Rome, the celebration of his *vicennalia*, the adoption of his heirs, and the timely discovery of a conspiracy are all celebrated with different manifestations of *fortuna*. This not only shows the degree of complexity attained in the numismatic language of *fortuna*, making such exact references possible, but also shows how depictions of *fortuna* had become an integral part of the way in which statements were made about the role of the emperor. *fortuna*, because of the way that she both guaranteed and embodied the religious, dynastic, political, and military sovereignty of the emperor had become the essential tool for commenting on the emperor's role in those spheres.

The Years 157-159

The first twenty years of Antoninus's reign had been largely peaceful, but the final decade saw a number of revolts in the provinces and the brief renewal of war with Parthia and Dacia.⁶¹⁴ 157-159 is also distinguished by the number of *fortuna* mintings for more peaceful reasons. 157 marked the beginning of Antoninus' *vicennalia*, celebrations of which continued into the following year.⁶¹⁵ As with Hadrian's *vicennalia*, the occasion

⁶¹⁴ Hüttl 1936: 277-323, Eck 2002.

⁶¹⁵ Mattingly argues that 157 was also marked by Antoninus' return to Rome after a tour of Egypt and Syria. He bases this on Bryant (1895: 73ff; 81), who in turn had drawn his theory from the brief account of Antoninus' reign offered by the sixth century chronicler John Malalas (*Chron.* 11.26). The chronology is doubtful and is not picked up by any later scholarship (e.g. Birley 2000 B: 149; Hüttl 1936: 236). Moreover, the absence of the legend FORTVNA REDVX from Antoninus' coins would seem to confirm the assertion in *SHA Pius* 7.11 that *nec ullas expeditiones obit*.

was marked by public vows and imperial largesse.⁶¹⁶ Most of the coins occurring in these years can be dated with certainty; however, because of the difficulty in dating Antoninus' coinage after his fourth consulship in 145, the exact date of some bearing only the title COS IIII has had to be estimated. These coins properly belong to 145-161, and have been included in the count of the years 157-159 because of their similarity in legend and image-type to coins that can be securely dated to this period.⁶¹⁷ Included in the count for 158 is an example of those coins showing the elder, deified Faustina. Although no strict dating criteria can be found for these coins, since they date from her deification c. 141 until Antoninus' death, they seem to have been produced at regular intervals.⁶¹⁸ Of these coins, Mattingly has dated those bearing the legend AVGVSTA, rather than AETERNITAS, to Antoninus' latter years, with a number certainly fitting into 157-9.⁶¹⁹

Other than legends just listing imperial titles, only two legend-types occur in these years: legend-type 24, FORTVNA OBSEQVENS (sometimes spelled OPSEQVENS) and legend-type 25, AVGVSTA. The latter is associated with the coins of the deified Faustina, occurring in conjunction with two image-types, 49 and 44, which both show *fortuna* standing holding a *patera* and a rudder, which in 49 rests on a globe. FORTVNA OBSEQVENS, an invention of Antoninus', seems specific to 157-159. It occurs in conjunction with the much used image-types 11 and 16, popular since their introduction by Galba and Vespasian, which show the most standard iconography of *fortuna*, the cornucopia and the rudder (which rests on a globe on type 16). It was also combined with an image-type of Trajan's, in which *fortuna* stands holding a cornucopia and a rudder over a prow (image-type 24). However, a number of new image-types are introduced that are used only in conjunction with this legend: image-type 50, in which *fortuna* stands holding

⁶¹⁶ *RIC* Antoninus Pius: 283, 291.

⁶¹⁷ *RIC*, Vol. 3: pp. 8.

⁶¹⁸ *RIC*, Vol 3: pp. 15-16; Mattingly 1948.

⁶¹⁹ Mattingly 1948: 147.

a cornucopia, a rudder and a *patera* over a prow (See Figure 46); 52, with *fortuna* standing holding *patera*, a rudder set on a globe, and cornucopia; and 56, showing the same image, but without the globe.

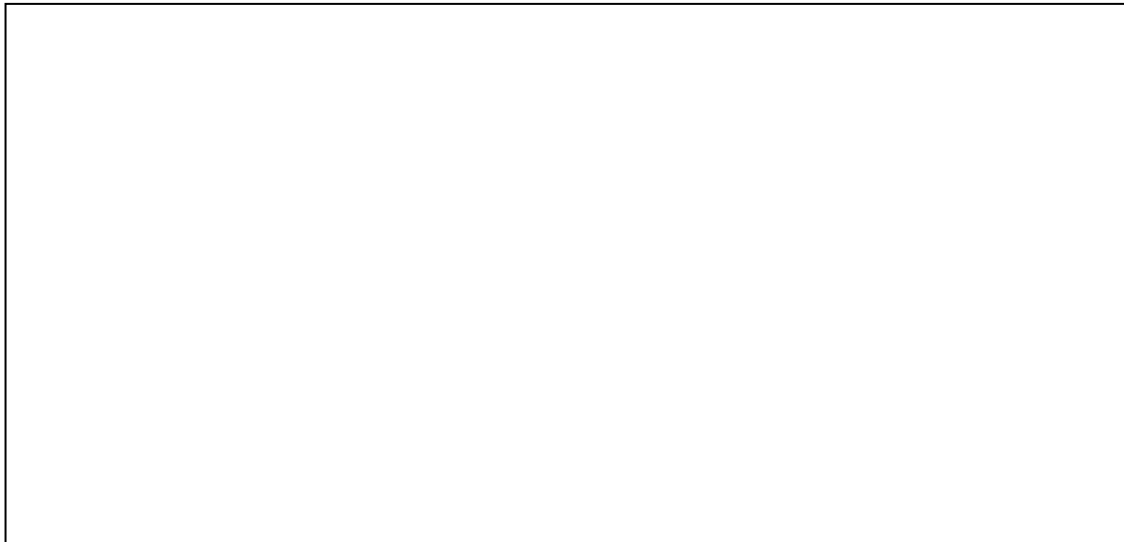


Figure 46: Coin of Antoninus showing image-type 50 and legend-type 24 (*RIC* Antoninus Pius: 1015)



Figure 47: Coin of Antoninus showing image-type 55 (*RIC* Antoninus Pius: 942)

Four new image-types appear in 157-159 which are not associated with any legend-type, but which allude to *fortuna* in combination with either *spes* or *annona*. Image-types 51, showing *fortuna* standing, plucking at her skirt and holding rudder, and 53, where she stands holding a flower and a rudder, combine the iconographic attributes of *spes* with

those of *fortuna*. The reverses of coins of these types all carry portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus's obvious choice for successor.⁶²⁰ Likewise, the iconography of *fortuna* is combined with that of *annona* in image-types 45 and 55, which show the goddess standing holding a *modius*, and a rudder (which is placed on a globe in image-type 45), with a prow at her feet (see Figure 47). When *annona* holds a rudder, or stands over the prow of a ship, not only is she being assimilated to *fortuna*, but attention is also being drawn to the transmarine nature of the corn trade. The association of *fortuna* with the rudder, especially when placed on a globe, is, however, strong enough by this point that these coins must be considered as suggestive of both *fortuna* and *annona*.

Coins of 157-157	
Image	Legend
11	24
16	24
24	24
50	24
52	24
49	25
44	25
51	-
53	-
54	-
55	-
56	24

Figure 48

The emphasis on *spes* and *annona* is appropriate in the context of the *vicennalia*. Hadrian had already used the combination of *fortuna* and *spes* to advertise his choice of L. Aelius as his heir at the *vicennalia* in 136/7, and Antoninus here follows this pattern with coins displaying the portrait of Marcus Aurelius. Marcus had been associated with *spes* since c. 145, the time of his second consulship, an office which that year he shared with Antoninus,

⁶²⁰ For Antoninus' choice of his elder adoptive son over Lucius Verus, despite Hadrian's wishes, see Birley 2000 B:156; Birley 1966: 141 ff.

and which marked him out as Antoninus' likeliest successor.⁶²¹ The combination of *spes* with *fortuna* in c. 157, Antoninus's seventy-second year, not only illustrated the hope that Marcus would take over the rule of the Empire, but also demonstrated that his ascension was blessed by *fortuna*, demonstrating divine sanction for Marcus' (surely imminent) rule.

The combination of the iconographic characteristics of *fortuna* with those of *annona* is suitable to the largesse that accompanied these anniversary celebrations. The modius of *annona* refers in a straightforward way to the distribution of grain, but the presence of the rudder, prow and globe of *fortuna* suggests that this goddess shared some role in the imperial generosity. The association of *fortuna* with maritime travel, and especially the protection offered by the imperial *fortuna* in this context,⁶²² pictures *fortuna* as protecting Rome's grain supply. Moreover, it is not only by the protection of *fortuna* that the corn arrives safely in Rome, but *fortuna* is at times characterized as the distributor of such benefactions to the people.⁶²³ The simultaneous depiction of the emperor, *annona*, and *fortuna* reinforces the idea that the imperial *fortuna* extended its beneficence to his subjects, with the provision of corn and imperial largesse being facilitated by *fortuna* through the emperor.

As noted, coins with obverses of Faustina the elder had been minted since her consecration in 141. Although consecration of female members of the imperial *domus* had been practised, if somewhat sparingly, under the Julio-Claudians, since Trajan it had become routine. Nevertheless, the elder Faustina was the first imperial woman since Caligula's

⁶²¹ Birley 1966: 108.

⁶²² E.g. Suet. *Aug.* 98. See also the tale of Caesar's crossing in the storm-tossed fishing boat: Chapter 1: pp. 75 and Chapter 2: pp. 116.

⁶²³ In *Ep.* 74.7, Seneca asks Lucilius to imagine games held by *fortuna* where she distributes goods to the people. While this example is not contemporary, the idea of the role of *fortuna* as a provider of gifts is signified by her cornucopia.

sister Julia Livilla to be associated on coins with *fortuna*.⁶²⁴ Faustina is associated with numerous goddesses, chiefly Juno, Ceres, Venus, Vesta, *providentia*, *pietas*, and *concordia*.⁶²⁵ Most of these goddesses seem to represent divine matronal ideals, whether by virtue of their position within the pantheon (for example Juno as the divine wife of Jupiter) or in that they embody those qualities which make for a happy and productive union (such as *concordia* between husband and wife, or the chaste and domestic qualities of Vesta). The association of Faustina with *fortuna* is therefore likely to similarly serve as a comment on the matronal virtues of Antoninus' deified wife. In this, the relationship between Antoninus, *fortuna*, and the divine Faustina, recalls that of Servius Tullius with the first Roman cult of *fortuna*.⁶²⁶ In the imperial period, Servius' relationship with his divine consort *fortuna* was thought to have ensured the success and sovereignty of his reign. Likewise, Antoninus' deified wife cares for the well-being of Rome, as is demonstrated by types that show *providentia* or other tutelary gods. The use of reverse types of goddesses such as *providentia* and *pietas* not only draws attention to the new cult of Faustina, but also associates *diva* Faustina with the gods' care for Rome, given in return for Roman *pietas*. The favour that *fortuna* gives to Rome is likewise a result of the piety of the Empire and its people, a part of their contract with the gods, the *providentia deorum*, made manifest in Rome's continued success. The fact that image-types 49 and 44 both show *fortuna* holding a *patera* makes this association with piety especially clear.

Of coins datable to this period, the overwhelming majority carry the legend FORTVNA OBSEQVENS. Apart from the usual iconography of rudder and globe, *fortuna* is also shown with a ship's prow and a *patera*. The *patera* indicates religious observance paid to

⁶²⁴ See pp. 172 above.

⁶²⁵ *RIC*, Vol 3: pp. 15-16. For the frequency of coins of *diva* Faustina see Mattingly 1948: 148, who notes that the Réka-Dévnia hoard contains about 4,000 which were posthumous issues of Faustina and 7,734 of Antoninus (see Mouchmov 1934).

⁶²⁶ See Chapter 1: pp. 40.

the cult of *fortuna obsequens*. There had been a cult in Rome to this goddess since republican times, the foundation of which Plutarch attributed to Servius Tullius, but which was possibly connected to the cult of Venus Obsequens, founded in 295 BC.⁶²⁷ We know that the cult was still known in 136 from the inscription on the Capitoline Base naming the VICVS FORTVNAE OBSEQVENTIS.⁶²⁸ It is likely that the *patera* denoted public observances of this cult, or perhaps its restoration by Antoninus.

The occasion of these honours for *fortuna* is unclear, but the precedent of the use of image-type 24 under Trajan, the only emperor until Antoninus to issue coins of this image-type, offers us some clues. Coins of this type were minted first at the beginning of Trajan's reign c. 98. The use of a ship's prow in the iconography of this type is suggestive of travel much in the manner of coins with the legend FORTVNA REDVX, and seems to celebrate his return to Rome in that year.⁶²⁹ Trajan again issued coins of this type at around the time of the end of the Dacian wars.⁶³⁰ While these coins must, in part, have celebrated the return of Trajan to Rome after the conclusion of this war, they can also be taken more generally as alluding to the safe return of the legions. The association of *fortuna*, not only with travel, but with military victory makes this association all the more likely. Although sources for the years between 157 and 159 are scarce and at times unclear, it seems that in this period legions were again sent to settle a conflict in Dacia.⁶³¹ The coinage of the time shows

⁶²⁷The cult of *fortuna obsequens* (CIL 6.975.1.26; 191; Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 10; cf. *LTUR* II: 'Fortuna Obsequens, Aedes') was primarily conceived of as beneficent. Thus two of the characters in Plautus' *Asinaria*, when comparing *salus* and *fortuna obsequens*, say of them: *ecastor ambae sunt bonae and sciam ubi boni quid dederint* (717-718). This cult might have also shown its nature by its relationship to the cult of Venus Obsequens, whose foundation was intended to encourage *obsequium* (one of the *domesticae bonae* listed in funerary inscriptions) amongst *matronae*, funds for the temple being raised from fines against adulteresses. The epithet also suggests a favourable *fortuna*. For the relationship between Venus and *fortuna* see the discussion of Hadrian's construction of the temple to Roma and Venus above.

⁶²⁸ CIL 6.975.

⁶²⁹ For this use of image-type 24 see the discussion of AD 98 above.

⁶³⁰ For example *RIC* Trajan: 500. Although these coins, on the evidence of the titulature, can only be dated to 103-111, the prevalence of *pax* types, and types showing defeated Dacians (*RIC* Trajan: 503, 499, 507) minted at around the same time as our *fortuna* types suggest that the Dacian wars had been concluded.

⁶³¹ For the dating of the Dacian conflict see Rémy (2005: 240ff) and Bryant (1895: 84ff.) who both, on the basis of CIL 6.1523 and other career inscriptions, date the conflict to this period.

various reverse types advertising victory, and the provincial administration of Dacia seems to have been reorganised within the following decade.⁶³² The conflict was clearly styled as a military victory, and the commander of the campaign, M. Staius Priscus, was rewarded with a consulship in 159. The use of image-type 24 under Antoninus at the time of the Dacian conflict therefore recalls the victorious outcome of the Trajan's war with Dacia, and the safe and victorious return of the legions. The use of the legend FORTVNA OBSEQVENS suggests, not only that offerings were made to this cult in thanksgiving, but also the cultic epithet suggests a generally favourable and beneficent *fortuna*, granting victory and protection.

The numismatic iconography of *fortuna* in 157-9 is full of references to the past, notably in the use of Trajan's image-types to allude to victories in Dacia and the use of *fortuna/spes* to recall the Hadrianic programme of 136/7. However, the way that *fortuna* is figured shows that when a contemporary iconographic program was used to recall those of the past, it was not only because similar circumstances called for similar ideological responses. Thus, while the coins celebrating Marcus Aurelius as Antoninus' successor directly reference Hadrian's election of L. Aelius, Antoninus' use of Trajan's image-types do not simply recall his success in Dacia, but, by combining it with FORTVNA OBSEQVENS, adds a new dimension of meaning to this imagery. Moreover, the way in which these coins are referenced, with such precision in the iconographic congruence, makes it clear that there was a purposeful consultation and reproduction of previous issues. This process shows how *fortuna* was used to create a memory of the past, which then added to the meanings already associated with her. Although the focus was generally on the past in this period, the association of Faustina with *fortuna* points to a developing trend

⁶³² For advertisements of victory see *RIC* Antoninus Pius: 255, 266, 268. For the reorganization of Dacia see Piso 1993: 94-209.

(one which became especially popular under the Severans) of associating women of the imperial household with *fortuna*. This explicitly includes the emperor's female kin in the imperial *fortunae*, implicating the whole imperial household, rather than just the emperor, in the mechanisms that ensure the continuation and success of Rome's Empire.

The Years 163 and 168

The minting of about 15 and 14 *fortuna* types in 163 and 168 respectively is explained by the now well-established pattern whereby coins with the legend FORTVNA REDVX were minted when the emperor was away from Rome and either he or the state was somehow considered to be imperilled. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had succeeded Antoninus in 161, and, although Marcus clearly held the greater share of the imperial *auctoritas*, Verus was still, in strict terms, considered to be his co-emperor and was granted both the name and the powers of the Augusti.⁶³³ Shortly after their accession, the Eastern boundary of the Empire was threatened when the Parthians invaded Armenia, raided Syria, and massacred a Roman legion.⁶³⁴ These troubles were not easily resolved, and early in 162 Lucius began the journey east to personally take command of the war against the Parthians, reaching Antioch later in that year, probably in winter 162/3.⁶³⁵ Only in late 163 did Verus make some headway against the Parthians, and only at the end of the year did he take the title Armeniacus and receive a second acclamation as *imperator*.⁶³⁶ By 166 the two emperors celebrated their triumph over Parthia, both having taken the titles Medicus

⁶³³ SHA *Marc.* 7.5. Respective roles of Marcus and Verus: Birley 2000 B: 156-157; 1966: 152 ff. Coins from their joint accession advertise CORCORDIA AVGVSTORVM (e.g. *RIC* Marcus Aurelius: 1-11).

⁶³⁴ Dio 71.2; SHA *Marc.* 8. Legion's identity: Birley 1966: 161.

⁶³⁵ Birley 1966: 168 n.1.

⁶³⁶ Fronto *Ad Verum Imp.* 2.1. See Birley 2000 B: 64; Millar 1993: 112. Marcus and Verus were both acclaimed for the second time in 163, but Marcus only accepted the title Armeniacus in 164 (Fronto *Ad Verum Imp.* 2.1.5-6).

and Parthicus Maximus, and each having received their fourth imperial acclamations.⁶³⁷

At the same time that Rome had been fighting Parthia in the East, it had also seen trouble in the North and along the Danube, which, in 168, led to the start of the Marcomannic War.⁶³⁸ Although plague was ravaging Rome at the time, early in 168 Marcus and Verus left Rome and travelled north to Aquileia, whence they crossed into Pannonia to take control of the war. The plague seems to have worsened the position of the Romans, probably resulting in the loss of the Praetorian prefect Furius Victorinus and a great part of the army,⁶³⁹ and before the emperors could return to Rome, in the winter of 168/9, Verus died. Marcus returned to Rome, only returning to the Danube the following winter.

All *fortuna* type coins from 163 and 168 show the legend FORTVNA REDVX, and the overwhelming majority show image-type 21. This image-type had been in use since the reign of Titus, and simply shows *fortuna* seated holding a rudder and cornucopia. All the coins dating from 163 show this image-type, as do most from 168. The few coins from 163 that do not show image-type 21 have image-type 58 instead, a variant of image-type 21 where a wheel is placed beneath the seated figure of *fortuna*. The wheel was not yet a well established numismatic attribute of *fortuna*, having previously only been used on Hadrian's coins.⁶⁴⁰ However, as noted, it is a fitting accoutrement of *fortuna redux*, especially when concerning overland travel, appearing on the coins of 168, when the emperors were travelling over land to and from the provinces on the Danube.

⁶³⁷ Birley 2000 B: 164. Use of these titles: see (e.g.) *CIL* 16.123.

⁶³⁸ *SHA Marc.* 12.13ff. See Birley 2000 B: 165ff.; 1966: 211ff; Masatoshi 1988; Barta 1971.

⁶³⁹ *SHA Marc.* 14.5; Eutrop. 8.12.

⁶⁴⁰ A marked increase in the popularity of the wheel as an attribute of *fortuna* on coins can be seen from this period onwards.

The association of *fortuna redux* with the emperor's absence from Rome, especially when involved in wars and other dangerous undertakings, has been discussed. Notable here is that the legend appears most frequently in the period before Verus is known to have begun to turn the tide against the Parthians. FORTVNA REDVX occurs 15 times in 163 on coins minted before Verus received the titles IMP II and ARMENIACVS, but only 5 times in the following four years. Like 163, the year 168 is also marked by uncertainty and likewise sees a statistically significant output of coins with the legend FORTVNA REDVX. This pattern in the minting of coins with the legend FORTVNA REDVX confirms the use of this legend-type as associated with periods when the structures of the Empire and its leaders were seen to be threatened, and when the peace and survival of the Empire was uncertain.

The Year 183

Following his accession in 180, an attempt was made on Commodus' life in late 182 soon after his return to Rome following the end of the second Macromannic war. His sister Lucilla, who apparently orchestrated this first conspiracy, was exiled and her collaborators executed. This did not eradicate organized opposition to the new emperor, and shortly afterwards, following what has been termed a 'second stage of the conspiracy', the Praetorian prefect, Paternus, was executed along with other leading men.⁶⁴¹ The year following this conspiracy was marked by an uprising in Britain, which was quelled in 184 and resulted in Commodus taking the title Britannicus, and according to Dio there was also fighting against the Dacians at the time, in which Clodius Albinus and Pescennius Niger

⁶⁴¹ Hekster 2002: 53; Kaiser-Raiß 1980; Birley 2000 B: 186-187.

won fame.⁶⁴² These conflicts probably accounted for Commodus being acclaimed *imperator* for the fifth and sixth times in c. 183, the same year he assumed the title Pius.⁶⁴³

Although the minting of *fortuna* types in 183 reaches the statistically significant level of 10, we see no innovative or distinctive legend or image-types. All the coins from this year carry only imperial titles, and show only image-types 18 or 16. These depict, respectively, *fortuna* seated and standing, holding a rudder on a globe, and a cornucopia. Vespasian had introduced both types, and they had been popular ever since. As such, we can only comment on the frequency with which the standard imagery of *fortuna* was utilized in the context of the conspiracies of 182 and the wars in Britain and on the Dacian frontier.

The *fortuna* types of 183 can probably be most closely associated with the imperial *fortunae* (*redux* or *Aug.*). Image-type 18 had been hitherto exclusively shown with the legend FORTVNA REDVX, while image-type 16 is most commonly shown with either this legend or FORTVNA AVG.⁶⁴⁴ The advertisement of these imperial *fortunae* is especially relevant to 183. Not only does the *fortuna* of the emperor help to ensure victory, but also validates him in the role of emperor, which was especially important given the previous year's conspiracies. The frequency with which *fortuna* types were minted in 183 attests to how *fortuna* was seen as safe-guarding the emperor's rule and ensuring Rome's military might.

The Years 193-197

The years 193-197 all see large mintings of *fortuna* types, with 41 types being minted in 194 alone. The period begins with the assassination of Commodus on 31 December 192

⁶⁴² Dio 73.8. Whether the war in Britain had in fact began under Marcus (Simpson 1980) does not influence the fact that it must have seen its conclusion under Commodus, and is described by Dio as the greatest struggle of his reign.

⁶⁴³ Kaiser-Raiß 1980: 25-27; Birley 2000 B: 187-188; Hekster 2002: 55-64.

⁶⁴⁴ Image-type 16 also appears under Antoninus with legend-types 3 and 24.

and Pertinax's ascension the following day. Whether or not Pertinax was involved in the conspiracy, he made a show of reluctance before the senate, who nevertheless voted him full powers, including the title *pater patriae*, normally bestowed only some time into a new emperor's reign.⁶⁴⁵ Pertinax took pains to show concern for the dignity of the senate, an attitude which presumably served to contrast him with Commodus: taking the title *princeps senatus*, refusing the titles of Augusta or Caesar for members of his family, and refusing to inscribe his name on imperial property, which he insisted belonged to the state.⁶⁴⁶ Despite what we must take to be the support of the senate, Pertinax was murdered in March 193 by the Praetorians, who had been trying to overthrow him as long from the start. Whether what followed is rightly described as an auction, it seems that Didius Julianus seized power primarily by bribing the Praetorians.⁶⁴⁷ Moreover, he secured their favour by a promise to restore the memory of Commodus and his unwillingness to avenge the death of Pertinax.⁶⁴⁸ On hearing of Pertinax's death, Septimius Severus in Pannonia and Pescennius Niger in Syria were both separately proclaimed as emperor by their troops, with Severus naming Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain, as Caesar. Severus, styling himself as Pertinax's avenger, and incorporating the latter's name into his nomenclature, marched on Rome. Upon his arrival, the murderers of Pertinax were surrendered to him for execution and the senate followed suit by sentencing Didius Julianus to death and deifying Pertinax. Severus disbanded the Praetorians, replacing the guard with men from his own troops, and placated the senate by proposing a decree whereby no senator could be put to death by the emperor without that body's consent. A lavish funeral was organised for Pertinax, which, as Birley points out, added credence to his 'claimed intention of modelling his administration on that of Pertinax – and that of Pertinax's own exemplar,

⁶⁴⁵ Birley 1988: 87ff.

⁶⁴⁶ Dio 74.3; 5; 7; SHA *Pert.* 6.7-9; Herod. 2.4.7

⁶⁴⁷ Hekster 2008: 13; Birley 1988: 95; Campbell 2000: 2 describe it as such, but worthwhile objections are raised in Appelbaum 2007.

⁶⁴⁸ Dio 74.11.6; SHA *Did. Iul.* 1.6.

Marcus Aurelius'.⁶⁴⁹ While Severus had the support of Rome, Niger had the backing of the whole of the East as well as Egypt.

Despite the support enjoyed by Niger, he was defeated in spring 194 by Severan forces, having lost a series of battles in the run-up to his eventual defeat which resulted in imperial acclamations for Severus.⁶⁵⁰ He was to win further acclamations in the following year in campaigns in Mesopotamia against the various groups there that had supported Niger, adding Adiabenicus and Arabicus to his titulature. At around this time Severus declared himself to be Marcus Aurelius' son, further securing this dynastic tie with the Antonines by giving his elder son Bassianus, the future emperor Caracalla, the name M. Aurelius Antoninus.⁶⁵¹ These actions not only served to strengthen Severus' claim, but also helped to establish the future dynastic succession, a fact made clear when Caracalla was, at this point, made Caesar.⁶⁵² This dynastic vision endangered the position of the other Caesar, Severus' erstwhile ally, Clodius Albinus. Although Albinus was still in Britain he was seen as a threat to the future of the new dynasty, and Albinus responded by proclaiming himself Augustus, which led to him being declared *hostis*.⁶⁵³ Severus' war against Albinus was only concluded in early 197, and was followed by punitive confiscations of property and the executions of many senators who had supported Albinus. At this point, Dio records, he also bestowed divine honours on Commodus.⁶⁵⁴ Severus

⁶⁴⁹ Birley 1988: 105.

⁶⁵⁰ Severus also received the title *pater patriae* in 194.

⁶⁵¹ Dio 76.7; cf. Dio 75.3.1, where Severus dreams of Marcus' wife Faustina preparing the nuptial chamber for him and Julia on the eve of their wedding. His wife Julia had also been granted the title *mater castrorum* (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 563), which had likewise been the title of Faustina (*RIC* Marcus Aurelius: 1659) and Commodus' wife Crispina (*BMCRE* 766).

⁶⁵² Soprni 1980.

⁶⁵³ Herod. 3.5.1; 3.6.8.

⁶⁵⁴ Dio 76.7.

spent the rest of 197 campaigning in the east, this time against the Parthians, taking Ctesiphon in October.⁶⁵⁵

The last time that the Empire had seen civil war had been the year of the four emperors, when *fortuna* first began to appear regularly on imperial coinage. As for Galba and Vespasian in 69, so in 193-197 coins were minted for all the various claimants of 193-197 that used *fortuna* to advertise their positions. Figures 49-50 summarize the image and legend-types used for each imperial contender. Legends advertising FORTVNA REDVX are overwhelmingly popular, and, of the five emperors, three of them (Pertinax, Didius Julianus, and Clodius Albinus) only use image-types that had been popular before and which show *fortuna* with traditional combinations of what were, by this point, her most standard attributes: cornucopia, rudder, globe, and wheel.⁶⁵⁶ In the cases of Julianus and Pertinax, *fortuna* was used to indicate their rightful inheritance of the imperial *fortuna*. The tenor of the rest of Julianus' coinage confirms this: it is marked by references to CONCORDIA MILITVM, the basis of Julianus' power, and figures him as RECTOR ORBIS.⁶⁵⁷ *fortuna* was, therefore, like the support of the Praetorian guard, constructed as one of the factors that ensured Julianus' position as ruler of the world.

⁶⁵⁵ SHA *Sept. Sev.* 16.1.

⁶⁵⁶ Image-types 11, 16, 18, and 59.

⁶⁵⁷ *RIC* Didius Julianus: 1 and 3 respectively.

Pertinax		Didius Julianus ⁶⁵⁸				Pescennius Niger		Clodius Albinus			
Jan 193- March 193		March 193- May(?) 193		May(?) 193- June 193		June 193-194		194-195		195-Feb 197	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
16	31	11	-	16	-	11	2	59	2	11	8
		16	-			21	2	18	4	18	2
						67	32				
						68	2				
						72	2				
						73	2				
						74	2				
						75	2				
						76	2				

Figure 49

Septimius Severus ⁶⁵⁹																	
193		193-196		194		194-195		195-196		196		196-197		197		197-198	
Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.	Im.	Leg.
11	2	11	2	11	2	11	8	11	2	11	33	11	2	16	-	16	-
19	2	18	2	19	2	19	2	16	-	16	2	16	-			59	8
21	2	21	2	21	2	21	2	21	2	18	2	19	2				
68	2	78	2	69	2	68	2	59	2	82	-	21	2				
69	2	79	2	77	2	69	2	82	-			59	2				
70	2	80	2			70	2					59	4				
71	2					73	2					70	2				
						81	2					78	2				

Figure 50

However, Pertinax's use of DIS CVSTODIBVS in conjunction with image-type 16 suggests something more than a simple assertion of his right to rule. Mattingly argues that the legend refers to the imperial *fortuna*, specifically the golden statue of *fortuna* that stood in an emperor's bedroom, and that it might be taken to suggest that, when Pertinax 'placed this *fortuna* under divine protection, he may actually have placed the statue in a temple'.⁶⁶⁰ This seems doubtful, not only because Severus' subsequent removal of the statue to his private quarters would have seemed impious after such a dedication, but because we might

⁶⁵⁸ Mattingly considers a coin of Didia Clara (Julianus' daughter) which the legend FORTVNA FELIX to be an ancient forgery.

⁶⁵⁹ Those coins, mainly types of Julia Domna, whose range is so great that it seems unlikely that they fit into the fairly narrow period in question, have not been listed here.

⁶⁶⁰ *RIC*, Vol. 4.1: pp. 4.

expect a more explicit reference to such a cult or temple to appear either on the coins or in the literature.⁶⁶¹ The legend should instead be taken as referring to the *dii custodes*. The epithet *custos* was commonly given to Jupiter on imperial coinage until Hadrian, and Tacitus tells us that Domitian gave credit for his survival of Vitellius' attack on Rome to Jupiter Custos, building a temple to him and erecting in it a statue of himself in the god's lap.⁶⁶² The epigraphic evidence confirms the association of the *dii custodes* not only with Jupiter but also with the *genius* of a place or group.⁶⁶³ This idea of the *dii custodes* as tutelary gods which oversaw the fates of individuals and groups allowed for *fortuna* to be easily assimilated into their number. Pertinax, in minting a coin with this legend, far from advertising that the imperial *fortuna* had been dedicated a public temple, is showing that this *fortuna*, as a guardian deity, offered its protection to Rome and its emperor. By implication, it alludes not only to the divine sanction that *fortuna* bestows, but also to the wider sanction of the other gods, including Jupiter, for Pertinax's emperorship.

While Julianus and Pertinax used familiar image-types to signify their inheritance of the imperial *fortuna*, Severus and Niger in 193-194 utilized, not only this well-known iconography, but added various other attributes to her iconographic repertoire. Both used image-types which showed *fortuna* holding a branch, and combined these with FORTVNA REDVX (Figure 51).⁶⁶⁴ Niger additionally showed her holding a branch in combination with a wreath (image-type 76); a caduceus (72); scales (74); a *patera* and wreath (75). All these types which innovated in their combinations of attributes were accompanied by FORTVNA REDVX. Niger also used ROMA AETERNA, but combined it with a more traditional depiction of *fortuna* (image-type 67).

⁶⁶¹ For this statue in Severus' private quarters see SHA *Sept. Sev.* 23.5.

⁶⁶² Tac. *Hist.* 3.74. IVPPITER CVSTOS: *RIC* Nero: 53.

⁶⁶³ CIL 6.376; 7.705; *RIB* 1.1687.

⁶⁶⁴ The branch is seen in image-types 68 and 73.



Figure 51: Coin of Pescennius Niger showing image-type 68 (*RIC* Pescennius Niger: 23).

Before Niger's defeat in 194, Severus also shows *fortuna*, in addition to her usual attributes, holding a palm (image-type 19, see Figure 52 below), a sceptre (69 and 77), sacrificing at an altar, with a *patera* in hand, with (image-type 71) or without (image-type 70) a modius on her head, and with a poppy and ears of corn (81). Again, as with Niger's coinage, these novel types occur only in combination with FORTVNA REDVX, but he does mint some coins in this period with FORTVNA AVG. and image-type 11, showing *fortuna* with a cornucopia and a rudder. At the same time, coins were minted for Clodius Albinus with this legend. Although Albinus' *fortuna* types show both FORTVNA AVG. and FORTVNA REDVX, his use of image-types is conservative, and, even after his break with Severus in 195, he only uses those image-types that Severus also used and which show *fortuna* with her most common attributes.

To understand how the competing sides appropriated the image of *fortuna* in these struggles for power, it is simplest to first illustrate what *fortuna* signified in each individual's case, and then to compare how these can be read in contrast to the uses of *fortuna* by their rivals. The types minted for Severus in 193-195 emphasize peace and victory. The palm and the branch in turn allude to his bloodless victory over Julianus and

the idea that peace was to follow. In 77 or 78 Vespasian had introduced the type with *fortuna* standing with a cornucopia and a palm, but it had not been used since. Likewise, prior to 193, *fortuna* had only been shown holding a branch on the coinage of Vespasian (from 70) and Antoninus Pius, and of these examples, those from Vespasian's coinage represent a far more significant sample in terms of their number.⁶⁶⁵ Severus' use of image-types recalling those of Vespasian suggests that he sought to highlight the similarities between the circumstances of 69 and 193, casting himself in the same role as the victorious Vespasian.



Figure 52: Coin of Septimius Severus showing image-type 19 (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 384)

The palm that *fortuna* holds not only indicates victory, but is also an attribute of *hilaritas*, and, like other contemporary coins (194/5) minted in the East at Emesa advertising CERES FRVGIFERA, FELICITAS TEMPORVM, BONVS EVENTVS, and BONA SPES, suggests the state of well-being that Severus brought to the Empire through the power of his *fortuna*. Many of these types were apparently adopted from Niger's mint at Antioch, and, as such, were also used to signify that the prosperity and peace that they

⁶⁶⁵ Only one coin-type of this sort is known from Antoninus' reign, so the number of this type minted cannot have been very significant. Conversely, Vespasian minted 14 examples of image-type 14 (showing *fortuna* standing holding a cornucopia, a rudder set on a globe, and branch).

advertised was a result of Severus's victory over Niger. This pattern of representation was continued on those coins, unique to this period and mint, that showed *fortuna* with a poppy and ears of corn. These attributes associated *fortuna* with Ceres and resonated with the themes of a *saeculum aureum*.

Piety, along with *fortuna*, was a prerequisite for victory and the peace that came in its wake, and Severus advertised this religious virtue alongside these ideas. Coins of image-types 70 and 71 showed *fortuna* sacrificing at an altar, *patra* in hand. These might refer to a number of religious activities undertaken around the time of Severus' entry into Rome: Herodian recalls how Severus, upon entering Rome, went directly to the capitol and offered sacrifices first to Jupiter and then to the other gods.⁶⁶⁶ Alternatively, given that these coins show the legend FORTVNA REDVX, it is likeliest that they referred to sacrifices made to this goddess in celebration of Severus' arrival in Rome. They were minted first in 193 and then again at regular intervals that are in chronological alignment with the emperor's absences. The sceptre that *fortuna* holds on coins of this period announced the emperor's imperial power, a frank assertion of his position over that of Niger. Moreover, they showed that Severus had the favour of the imperial *fortunae*, who safeguarded his position, reminding the viewer that his reign was under the guardianship of the *fortuna Aug.* This idea is conveyed most clearly on the few coins from this period with the legend FORTVNA AVG.

As with Severus' coinage, the coins of Niger display a concern with victory and its rewards. The use of types showing *fortuna* holding a branch and a wreath advertises the role *fortuna* was thought to play both in securing Niger's victory and in organizing the subsequent peace. These ideas were further advertised by the minting of those coins, later

⁶⁶⁶ Herod. 2.14.2; cf. SHA *Sev.* 7.1.

used by Severus, that advertised CERES FRVGIFERA, FELICITAS TEMPORVM, etc. Like the branch and palm, the caduceus, which *fortuna* holds on some of Niger's coins, had appeared in her hand on Vespasian's coinage around the time of his ascension.⁶⁶⁷ As already noted, the caduceus, a common attribute of *pax* and *felicitas*, was often associated with peace and prosperity.⁶⁶⁸ Coins which show *fortuna* holding a *patera* and wreath represent the piety that ensures the continued favour of this *fortuna*. *fortuna* appears on Niger's coinage as divine sanction for his rule: she is portrayed holding attributes that serve to expound on the divine role of the emperor, developed from the theology of victory.

Niger's attempt to assimilate his person to the imperial *fortunae* is apparent on coins where *fortuna* holds a set of scales, indicating *iusitia* and *aequitas*. Niger had commonly minted coins with this image-type and with the legend IVSTITIA AVG. (see Figure 53).⁶⁶⁹ The numismatic promotion of *iusitia* is part of Niger's consistent characterisation of himself as *iustus*, and, as soon as he began minting coins in 193, the name Iustus appeared as part of his nomenclature.⁶⁷⁰ *iusitia* seems to have been promoted as the defining characteristic of the emperor and his reign. The amalgam of *fortuna* and *iusitia* thus served to show that *fortuna* was tied to Niger in an especially personal way and gave the emperor's *iusitia* as one of the reasons that *fortuna* favours him.

⁶⁶⁷ For more comments on some general similarities between the themes of Vespasian and Niger see Nony 1982: 907-908.

⁶⁶⁸ See (e.g.) pp. 188 above.

⁶⁶⁹ E.g. *RIC* Pescennius Niger: 46.

⁶⁷⁰ Nony (1982: 908), in his discussion of *iusitia* on Niger's coinage, refers to this name as his cognomen, but it is unclear whether it was originally part of his nomenclature, or whether he assumed it upon being declared emperor.



Figure 53: Coin of Pescennius Niger showing *iusitia* holding scales and a cornucopia (*RIC* Pescennius Niger 45a)

The predominance of FORTVNA REDVX on Niger's coinage is explained by his uncertain and perilous position. Moreover, the fact that Niger spent his whole time as a claimant to the imperial title away from Rome meant that his mint was constantly anticipating a 'return' to Rome. ROMA AETERNA is less common and is found on coins that show *fortuna* seated holding a cornucopia, with a rudder on a globe lying beside her on the ground (image-type 67), as well as coins showing Roma seated holding Victory and a spear, with a shield at her feet.⁶⁷¹ The combination of this legend with types showing the goddess Roma clearly associated it with victory in warfare. Niger's use of this combination therefore implied that a victory for him meant a victory for Rome, making Severus, rather than himself, the enemy of the Roman people. This equivalence of the interests of Rome and those of Niger is reinforced on those coins that combined *fortuna* with this legend. *fortuna* is here the force that protects Rome and that guarantees victory for the Empire through her championing of the emperor. Niger could thus amalgamate his imperial *fortuna* with the *fortuna* of Rome.

⁶⁷¹ *RIC* Pescennius Niger: 69.

Severus and Niger used *fortuna* to promote similar, albeit competing, visions of themselves and their power. Both referred to the coinage of Vespasian, the victor of the last civil wars, in their use of the combined imagery of *pax* and *fortuna*, seeking to associate their respective positions with his. Both were concerned to show that they had access to the imperial *fortunae*, and that these aided them in their wars, first bringing victory, then eventually peace, with all of its benefits. Severus advertised the piety that gave him access to this *fortuna*, whether by his own piety to the gods, or the religious observances due to him and *fortuna redux*. His claim to the imperial title was also advertised by his use of the legend FORTVNA AVG. and image-types which showed *fortuna* holding a sceptre, the symbol of imperial power. By contrast, Niger did this by linking *fortuna* to him on a more personal level. Instead of explicitly claiming to have the tutelary force of the *fortuna Aug.*, Niger associated *fortuna* with *iusitia*, and thus with the guiding ideology of his rule. By so doing, Niger made what was otherwise a *fortuna* primarily attached to the rank of emperor more personal to him and his cause. Through his use of *fortuna*, he showed that his cause corresponded with the greater cause of Rome.



Figure 54: Coin of Septimius Severus showing image-type 78 and legend-type 2 (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 477a)

Apart from two exceptions, Julia Domna's coins (which Mattingly dates to 193-196) largely follow the pattern already established by coins carrying Severus' portraits.⁶⁷² Image-type 80 shows *fortuna* standing holding a cornucopia and ears of corn, and is unique to Julia Domna, while image-type 78 (seen in Figure 54), in which *fortuna* is depicted standing with a cornucopia in each hand, is also seen on her husband's coins. Given the use of Ceres on Severus' coinage, especially in connection with Julia Domna, the ears of corn in type 80 may be taken as a reference to this goddess.⁶⁷³ This image-type, therefore, not only associates *fortuna* with the goddess of grain and agriculture, but associates both goddesses with the emperor's wife, mother of his two sons. This association of *fortuna* and Julia Domna with fertility and fecundity may also explain those coins on which *fortuna* holds two cornucopiae. The birth of twins to Tiberius' son Drusus in AD 19 was celebrated by the minting of coins showing two cornucopiae, each with a child's head emerging from the top in place of the usual fruits (Figure 55). The cornucopiae on Drusus' coins alluded to the imperial family's fecundity just as, in image-type 80, Julia Domna was associated with the fertility of Ceres. Her role as the mother of Severus' two children is celebrated on coins with the legend FECVNDITAS and representations of this goddess with two children, presumably Geta and Caracalla.⁶⁷⁴ In this tradition, the two cornucopiae held by *fortuna* in image-type 78 likewise represent the two sons of Severus and Julia Domna. As we saw in Chapter 1, *fortuna* had been associated with the birth of imperial heirs since the Julio-Claudian period.⁶⁷⁵ This tradition was later continued in 196-211, when coins were minted with the legend FORTVNA FELIX and showing image-types 84, 86, and 87 (Figure 56), all of which had, as their main features, a child and *fortuna* (holding a rudder and cornucopia).⁶⁷⁶ The styling of

⁶⁷² Date: *RIC*, Vol. 4.1: pp. 73-74.

⁶⁷³ E.g. *RIC* Septimius Severus: 616, 848.

⁶⁷⁴ *RIC* Septimius Severus: 839; 844. Coins of Julia Domna also show Hilaritas with two children (*RIC* Septimius Severus 557).

⁶⁷⁵ See Chapter 1: pp. 32 and (e.g.) Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.

Julia Domna as a fertile mother who promotes the *fortuna* of the Severan cause is in keeping with her presentation as MATER AVGG. and MATER CASTRORVM.⁶⁷⁷ In their use of *fortuna* these coins indicated more than simple fertility; they suggested that these children were part of an imperial *fortuna* working for the *felicitas* of the Empire and its destiny. In the short-term, this helped to validate Severus's claim to power over the claims of his rivals, and, in the long term, served to ensure his sons' succession, who were styled as rulers whose sovereignty had already been ordained by *fortuna*.

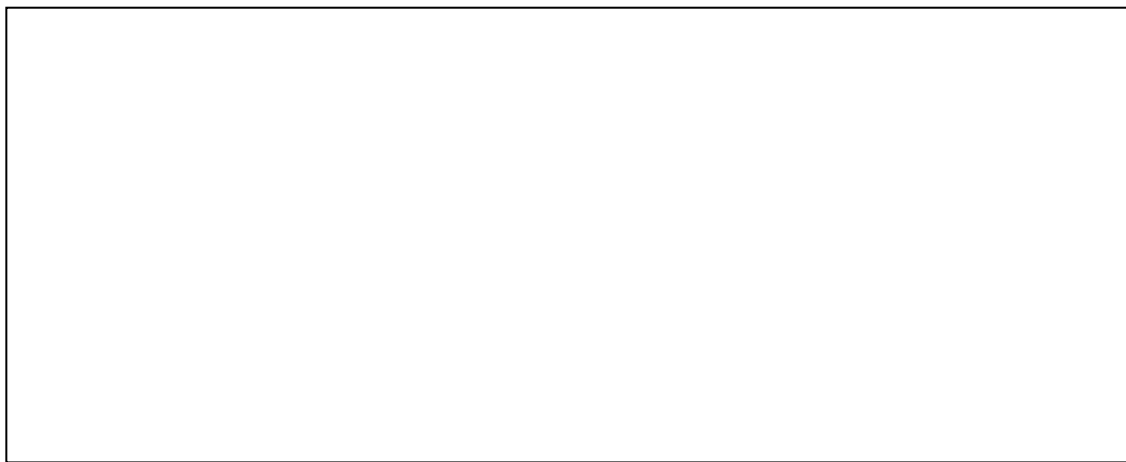


Figure 55: Coin of Drusus Junior showing heads of Drusus' twin children on crossed cornucopiae (*RIC* Tiberius: 42)

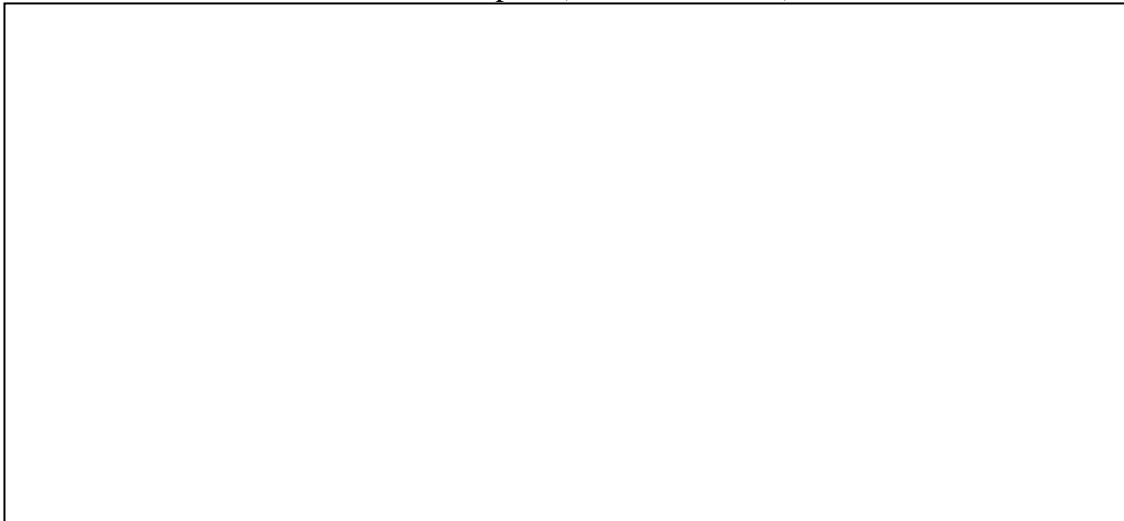


Figure 56: Coin of Julia Domna showing image-type 87 and legend-type 26 (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 554)

⁶⁷⁶ See also those coins bearing SAECVLI FELICITAS and depicting Isis with the infant Horus held at her breast, standing with her foot on a prow, holding a wreath, with a rudder resting against the stern of a ship (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 577). While this imagery is certainly suitable to Isis, it is also suggestive of *fortuna*.

⁶⁷⁷ *RIC* Septimius Severus: 562-3.

The beginning of the association of Severus' sons with *fortuna* can probably be dated to around the time that he named Caracalla as Caesar in place of Albinus. The use of *fortuna* on Albinus' coinage, both on those coins minted under the authority of Severus and after their split in 195, is very conservative. His coinage only shows image-types that present *fortuna* with her characteristic attributes of the rudder, globe, cornucopia, and wheel. The legend FORTVNA REDVX is preponderant, but on occasion, both before his split with Severus in 195 and after he claimed the title Augustus, he uses FORTVNA AVG. This legend first appears after Albinus' second consulship which he shared with Severus in 194. This period, especially following Niger's defeat earlier that year, marked the point at which Severus began to express his dynastic ambitions in earnest. The reference on Albinus' coinage to the *fortuna* that accompanied the rank of Augustus can therefore be read as an attempt to claim for Albinus a position of greater strength in the succession, and Mattingly suggests that 'we may well doubt if the type met with the approval of Severus'.⁶⁷⁸ The use of this legend in this period anticipates his assumption of the title of Augustus in 195 when he again refers to FORTVNA AVG., now directly countering Severus' claim to this *fortuna*.

The representation of *fortuna* on Severus' coinage after 195 moved away from image-types associating her with warfare. Even though still engaged in a civil-war, Severus did not overtly use *fortuna* in a way that suggested that she would guarantee his victory. Rather, *fortuna* is shown either with her characteristic attributes, or with the long palm of *hilaritas* (image-type 19), or with an aspect of religious devotion, sacrificing at an altar (image-type 70). In these years *fortuna* is used either to assert Severus' imperial authority (reflected most clearly in the use of FORTVNA REDVX), to recall the religious

⁶⁷⁸ *RIC*, Vol. 4.1: pp. 41.

observances given to the emperor and the imperial *fortuna*,⁶⁷⁹ or to suggest the joys of peace. This shift from the more martial imagery of the preceding period helped to obscure the fact that the civil war, begun in 193, was still not properly concluded. Resistance to the continuation of this strife is recorded by Dio who tells how, at games celebrating the Saturnalia, the plebs prayed for εὐτυχίαν τῆ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία, and called for an end to the war, a prayer which in its wording is suggestive of language often used to describe *fortuna*.⁶⁸⁰ Severus therefore used *fortuna* in a way that suggested that he, as the rightful claimant to the imperial *fortuna*, would, with her, bring peace to Rome.

This period of civil war saw *fortuna* used to assert the imperial claims of the competing sides. Pertinax's reference to the *dii custodes* placed his reign and Rome under the protection of *fortuna*. He did not promote a version of *fortuna* attached to his personality as a ruler, or one particularly attached to the office of emperor, but instead emphasised the role of the gods that decided the *fortuna* of Rome, modelling himself as their elected.⁶⁸¹ Albinus used FORTVNA AVG. to make his own claim to imperial power. The use of this *fortuna* in 194 was the first evidence of Albinus' split from Severus, demonstrating the centrality of the *fortuna Aug.* to the rank of emperor. Niger and Severus, as part of their competition for the Empire, also used these *fortunae* to assert their positions, but they did so in a way that relies on the idea of the *fortunae* of the emperor as imparting victory, and then subsequently the fruits of peace. Both men employed image-types (taken in all probability from an archive at the mint) last seen under Vespasian, co-opting the precedent of his victorious *fortuna* to their cause. While the personality of Vespasian is referred to on

⁶⁷⁹ Coins with ADVENTVS AVG. FELICISSIMVS (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 73) celebrate his return from the East, an occasion in all likelihood also marked by sacrifices to *fortuna redux*. Severus' departure was marked by *uota publica* on coins that recall the liturgical iconography of image-type 70 (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 96).

⁶⁸⁰ Dio 74.4.2-7, on which see Birley 1988: 120. n.28. Compare the use of εὐτυχία in Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 319 B; 321 B. For σωτήριος as a Greek translation of the epithet *redux* see Chapter 1 pp. 84.

⁶⁸¹ Further demonstrated by his use of the legend PROVIDENTIA DEORVM (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 10).

those coins which suggest victory, both Severus and Niger also tied themselves to *fortuna* in ways that were more pertinent to their own personalities as rulers. Niger's use of *fortuna* in combination with *iusitia* showed *fortuna* as coloured by his own distinguishing attribute. Conversely, Severus used *fortuna* to celebrate the fecundity of the imperial house, and to establish the right of his sons to inherit the purple. By associating his wife and children with *fortuna* Severus was able to show that the whole mechanism of his dynastic ambition had a claim to the imperial *fortunae*, thus strengthening his own claim.

The Year 203

202 was marked by public vows, games, and the distribution of largesse which celebrated Severus' return to Rome following a long visit to the Eastern parts of the Empire, his Parthian victories, and *decennalia*.⁶⁸² By the middle of 203 Severus had again returned to Rome after a tour of Africa. His entrance into Rome is described in the Augustan History as being *veluti ovans*, and an arch celebrating his Parthian triumph was dedicated, suggesting that yet further celebrations marked the return of that year. There was further cause for celebration in 203, as the following year would mark the end of the *saeculum* which was celebrated in the saecular games, preparations for which had begun in 203.⁶⁸³

Coins of 203	
Image	Legend
58	2
59	2
85	2

Figure 57

The use of *fortuna* in 203 largely celebrates the emperor's return, with all the legends referring to FORTVNA REDVX. Of the three image-types used, two (58 and 59) show

⁶⁸² Spielvogel 2006: 109 ff. and Birley 1988: 129 ff.

⁶⁸³ Birley 1988: 156-159.

fortuna with the traditional attributes of *fortuna redux*.⁶⁸⁴ Image-type 85 likewise shows *fortuna* with the wheel, cornucopia, and rudder, but here the emperor, standing before a tripod and holding a *patera*, offers a sacrifice to her (Figure 58). This type recalls other scenes of the emperor sacrificing which are accompanied by legends such as VOTA PVBLICA, VOTA SVSCEPTA DECENNALIA, RESTITVTOR VRBIS, and SACRA SAECVLARIA.⁶⁸⁵ From the context of these legends, it is clear that in 203 sacrifices were made to *fortuna* as part of the celebrations accompanying the emperor's return to Rome, and that they, like other such sacrifices, were probably accompanied by public vows. These sacrifices might very well have taken on a special significance in the context of the new *saeculum*. An inscription from 203 describing the preparations needed for the celebrations of the following year tells how CVLTV ADQ[VE] VENERATIONE IMMOR[TALIVM PRO SECV]RITA[TE] ADQVE AETERNIT[ATE] [IMPERII SA]NCTISSIMO[S LOCO]S AGENDIS HABE[N]DISQVE GRATIA FREQVENTETIS.⁶⁸⁶ As we saw in the previous Chapter, many cults of *fortuna*, including that of *fortuna redux*, were thought of as ensuring the security and continuity of Rome and its institutions. It is therefore not surprising that in the context of the saecular rituals of protection and renewal the cults of *fortuna* should receive sacrifices. 203 saw *fortuna* being used to celebrate not only the emperor's return, but also her role in protecting the state in the next *saeculum*.

⁶⁸⁴ I have not included in this count those coins which cannot be securely dated to 203, and have a possible range of 8 years.

⁶⁸⁵ *RIC* Septimius Severus: 172, 186, 288, 293.

⁶⁸⁶ *CIL* 6.32326.



Figure 58: Reverse of Septimius Severus showing image-type 85 (*RIC* Septimius Severus: 188)

The Year 211

In 211 Severus and his two sons were in Britain, campaigning against tribes from the North. Earlier in the expedition, in 209, Geta had been given the rank of Augustus, a title Caracalla had held since 198. Severus had fallen ill late in 210, and, when he died early in 211, Geta and Caracalla were left as joint rulers. The campaign was concluded and the brothers returned to Rome, where, at the end of 211, Caracalla murdered Geta.⁶⁸⁷

Coins of 211					
Septimius Severus		Caracalla		Geta	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
18	2	21	2	21	2
59	2	58	2	58	2
		90	2	91	2

Figure 59

On the coinage of 211 *fortuna* is shown with her traditional attributes.⁶⁸⁸ The wheel, used only on the types of Caracalla and Geta, and the legend FORTVNA REDVX allude to their journey home from Britain. Only this legend is found on *fortuna* coins from 211, as

⁶⁸⁷ Dio 78.2.1-6; SHA *Cara.* 2.4; Herod. 4.4.3.

⁶⁸⁸ While image-type 91 shows *fortuna* leaning on a column, this should not be considered a true iconographic attribute, but rather a variation of her pose.

we would expect given the great uncertainty and upheaval of that year: the absence of the emperors from Rome, their campaign in Britain, Severus' illness and death, and the growing conflict between the two brothers, whose discord meant that the other bodies of the state, notably the army and the emperor, were at odds.⁶⁸⁹ The number of *fortuna* type coins minted for both Caracalla and Geta in 211, is, in the case of each brother, well over ten. This means that, for Geta and Caracalla individually, the use of *fortuna redux* is statistically significant. This bears on the nature of *fortuna redux* as an imperial cult. Caracalla's portrait first appears on the obverse of coins which have FORTVNA REDVX as their reverse legends in 199/200, once he had been made Augustus.⁶⁹⁰ Likewise, obverses of Geta only appear with this legend after he became Augustus in 209. An inscription from Caria confirms this, showing that Geta's elevation to the rank of Augustus meant that he was then considered to have a joint part in the imperial τύχη.⁶⁹¹ The use of *fortuna* in 211 conformed to the pattern whereby FORTVNA REDVX was used as an expression of anxiety as regards the safety of emperor and the state.

The Years 219 and 220

Caracalla was killed in 217 in a plot orchestrated by his Praetorian prefect Macrinus, who was proclaimed emperor shortly afterwards.⁶⁹² While Caracalla had been a favourite of the soldiers, Macrinus, in trying to lessen the financial burden placed on the state by the army, was less so. Elagabalus, as Varius Avitus Bassianus the young grandson of Julia Domna's sister was later known, easily won the army's support by emphasising his familial

⁶⁸⁹ Dio. 78.1.3; Herod. 4.3.2; SHA *Geta* 6.1.

⁶⁹⁰ *RIC* Caracalla: 37.

⁶⁹¹ *I. Mylasa* 605; cf. *Inscr. di Cos* EV 102bis.

⁶⁹² Dio 79.4-5; SHA *Carac.* 6.6-7.

connections to the Severan emperors and by claiming to be Caracalla's illegitimate son.⁶⁹³ Proclaimed emperor in Syria in 218, and defeating Macrinus shortly afterwards, he returned to Rome the following year. The religious reforms carried out under Elagabalus' reign are notorious;⁶⁹⁴ as high priest of the Syrian god Elagabal he introduced this cult to Rome and placed this god at the top of the Roman pantheon.⁶⁹⁵ His marriage to the Vestal Julia Aquilia in 220 surely served as a further affront to Roman religious sensibilities, and must have contributed to the emperor's growing unpopularity, especially amongst the soldiers.⁶⁹⁶ His murder in 222 by the Praetorians and the elevation of his cousin, Alexander Severus who had been named Caesar in 221, was partly a result of his failure to maintain the support of this group, on whose favour he had originally risen to power.

Coins of 219 and 220 ⁶⁹⁷											
218-220 ⁶⁹⁸		218-222 ⁶⁹⁹		219		219-220		219-222 ⁷⁰⁰		220-222 ⁷⁰¹	
Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend	Image	Legend
16	8	16	2	59	-	21	2	60	34	11	2
		93	2	60	34	96	2	95	2	16	2
		94	2	92	35						

Figure 60

⁶⁹³ Dio 79.31; Herod. 5.3.2-12. The emphasis placed on the issue of the correct form of Elagabalus' official nomenclature by De Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010) seems misguided, as does his curious approach to treating this emperor's coinage (for a wide-ranging critique see Beard 2011).

⁶⁹⁴ Turcan 1985 and Frey 1989.

⁶⁹⁵ Herod. 5.6.5; SHA *Elag.* 1.6; 17.8; Dio 80.11. Thirion 1968: 16. cf. Icks 2008:72-73. Frey (1989: 76-81) favours the earlier date of 219 for the stone's arrival, but this makes little difference to our argument.

⁶⁹⁶ Dio 80.15.4; Herod. 5.7.1; SHA *Elag.* 15.1.

⁶⁹⁷ In order to arrive at more precise dates for Elagabalus' coinage I have, where possible, used the chronology provided in Thirion 1968.

⁶⁹⁸ Dated to 219-220 because the possible minting date of 218-220 makes it likely that they should be included here.

⁶⁹⁹ Dated to 219 or 220 on account of the legend FORTVNA REDVX.

⁷⁰⁰ Dated to our period because of the use the legend FORTVNA REDVX or because the same combination of image and legend-type is also found on coins which are dated to 219.

⁷⁰¹ The use of the legend FORTVNA REDVX suggests that these coins were minted at the beginning of the possible period assigned to them.



Figure 61: Coin of Elagabalus showing image-type 60 and legend-type 34 (*RIC* Elagabalus: 95)

The image and legend-types used in 219-220, summarized in Figure 60, demonstrate that in these years *fortuna* was used to promote a variety of aspects of the emperor's role. The most common legend is FORTVNA REDVX, occurring in combination with image-types that show *fortuna* with various combinations of the attributes that make up her traditional iconography (11, 16, 21, 59, 96, 94).⁷⁰² However, this legend is also shown on those coins which have *fortuna* additionally holding a *patera* (image-type 93), or a wreath (60), or a child standing to either side of her (95). Two of the image-types associated with FORTVNA REDVX also occur in combination with other legends: image-type 16 is shown with the legend FORTVNA AVG., and, as shown in Figure 61, image-type 60 also occurs in combination with the legend LAETITIA PVBLICA. The only other legend used on *fortuna* types in 219 and 220 is ANNONA AVG., found on coins which show *fortuna* standing holding a rudder placed on a globe and ears of corn over a modius (see example in Figure 62).

⁷⁰² The modius or polos that appears on her head in some image-types should not be interpreted as a distinct attribute, but rather is a common feature of the iconography of *fortuna* (especially on statuary): Arya 2002: 76-77.



Figure 62: Coin of Elagabalus showing image-type 92 and legend-type 35 (*RIC* Elagabalus: 59)

Those coins which carry the legend FORTVNA REDVX and image-types showing *fortuna* only with a rudder, globe, cornucopia, or wheel are numismatic celebrations of the emperor's arrival in Rome in 219, serving to announce his rightful role as successor to the Severans. Likewise, much like the assertion that he was the son of Caracalla, those coins showing the legend FORTVNA AVG. which occurred early in his reign were attempts to further his claims of legitimate succession. The use of these imperial *fortunae* follows the now well established pattern whereby *fortuna* was used early in a new emperor's reign to signify and cement his sovereignty. It is significant that Macrinus was the first emperor since the end of the civil wars in 69 not to have used *fortuna* on any of his coinage, making the year 217 a statistical outlier because of the zero value of *fortuna* type mintings.⁷⁰³ By virtue of this contrast with Macrinus, Elagabalus's significant use of *fortuna* in the first years of his reign served to recall the imperial *fortunae* so popular on Antonine and Severan coinage. Looking at Figure 63, showing another view of the same graph we saw in Figure 14, it becomes apparent that, apart from those types which are innovations of Elagabalus, the image-types used by him largely correspond with those used by Septimius

⁷⁰³ Occasionally τύχη is shown on provincial coins from Marcianopolis (e.g. Moushmov 575), but *fortuna* does not occur on any of coins from imperial mints.

Severus and his sons, which were themselves popular under the Antonines, especially Commodus. By showing legends denoting the imperial *fortuna* and by employing historically suggestive image-types, Elagabalus' coins helped to figure Macrinus as an interloper interrupting an unbroken succession from the Antonines.

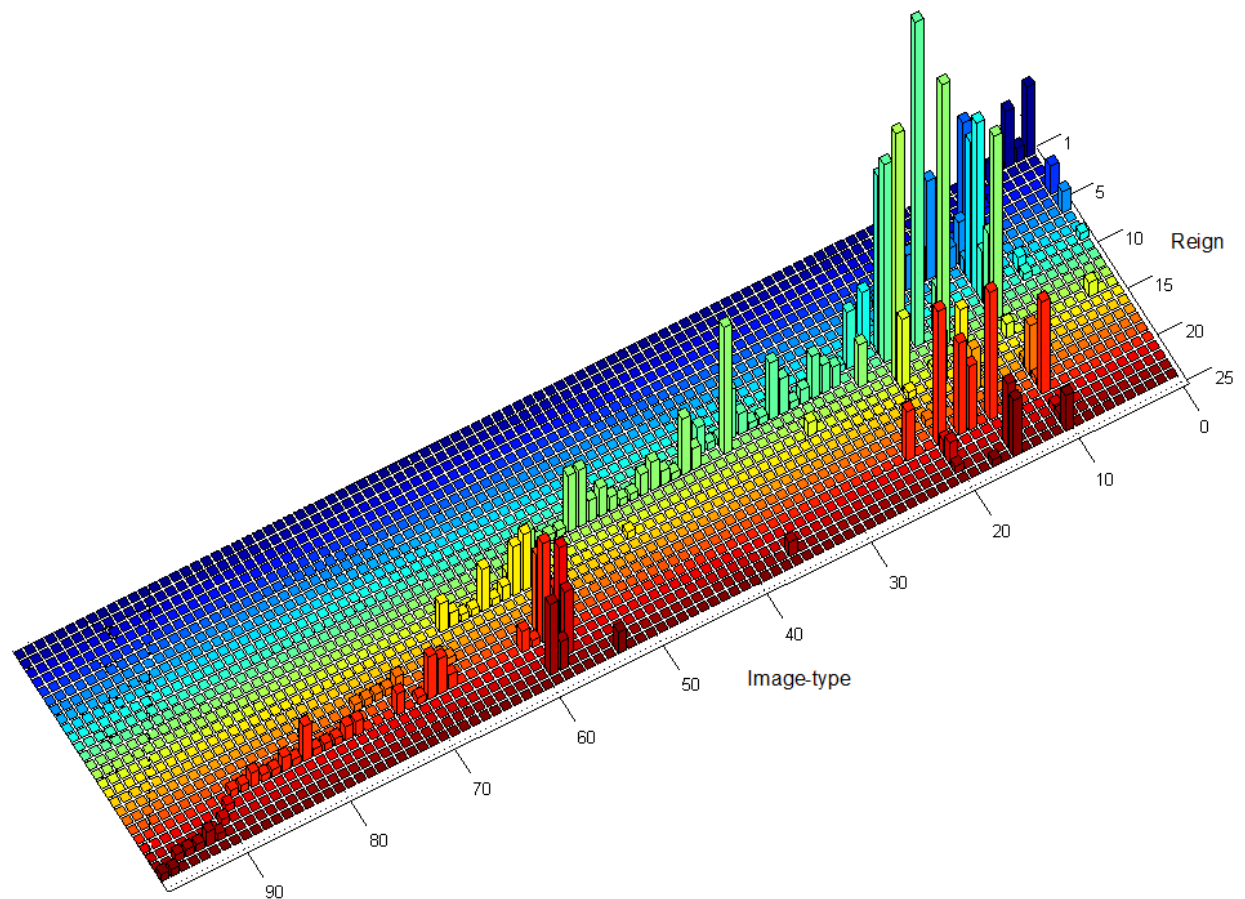


Image 63: Types vs. reign

This process of allusion is not limited to those types which show legends of the imperial cults of *fortuna*, or show her in conjunction only with her traditional attributes. An example of this is seen in Elagabalus' use of image-type 60, where *fortuna* holds a wreath and a rudder on a globe. This image type was first seen on coins of Crispina under Commodus, who combined it with LAETITIA (legend-type 28);⁷⁰⁴ it was used again in 200-202 on Geta's coins under Severus, where it was combined with the legend

⁷⁰⁴ E.g. *RIC* Commodus: 669. The dating of these coins is problematic because of uncertainty about Crispina (Hekster 2002: 72 n. 181).

LAETITIA PVBLICA (34).⁷⁰⁵ In 219, this image-type is used by Elagabalus in combination with the legend LAETITIA PVBLICA, and it is used again in 221-222 with the legend LAETITIA. The use of this type both showed that Elagabalus had inherited a claim to the imperial *fortunae* and recalled its use under Severus, who in 202 had returned to Rome after a long absence in the East, giving games and largesse as part of the celebrations. The year of Elagabalus' arrival in Rome was likewise celebrated with the distribution of largesse, recalled on coins with the legend LIBERALITAS, and suggested by the use ANNONA AVG. and image-types showing *fortuna* with ears of corn and a modius.⁷⁰⁶ Sacrifices were made to *fortuna redux* as image-type 93 suggests, which shows *fortuna* holding a *patera*. These images and legends of *fortuna* recall the events of 202 and the *laetitia publica* that accompanied the emperor's return, and utilize this memory to portray contemporary events under Elagabalus in such a way as to suggest a dynastic succession, from Commodus through to Severus, to which Elagabalus was heir.

The use of FORTVNA REDVX with image-type 95, showing *fortuna* holding a cornucopia with a child standing to either side of her, again recalls the image-types found on Severus' coinage. This image-type is used on coins which carry obverse portraits of Julia Maesa, the grandmother of Elagabalus and his cousin Alexianus, who became Alexander after his adoption by Elagabalus in 221. As discussed above, children had appeared in conjunction with *fortuna* on coins of Julia Maesa's sister, Julia Domna, minted under Severus. These children represented the two heirs, Geta and Caracalla, and advertised the imperial *fortunae* that allowed for the realization of Severus' dynastic ambitions. The children seen with *fortuna* in image-type 95 are thus probably the two grandsons of Julia Maesa. Julia Maesa is therefore equated with her sister: both women

⁷⁰⁵ E.g. *RIC* Geta: 10.

⁷⁰⁶ LIBERALITAS: *RIC* Elagabalus: 9.

had two heirs to the throne amongst their descendents. The association of the two sisters also allowed for the association of the sons of Severus with Elagabalus and Alexianus.

Although Alexianus was only adopted as Elagabalus' heir in 211, the legend FORTVNA REDVX suggests that the coins with this image-type can be dated to 219-220. That the obverse portrait depicts Julia Maesa makes it clear that these coins were advertising the entire dynastic line, which claimed its legitimacy through her, rather than just an individual emperor who was an heir to this inheritance. This use of *fortuna redux* presages that seen in *CIL* 8.1624 (discussed in Chapter 1: pp. 88), where a dedication is made to *fortuna redux* for Julia Mamaea, along with Alexander Severus, the senate, and other elements of the imperial apparatus. *fortuna redux*, the goddess that ensures the security of the imperial system of government, is therefore especially suitable for the coins of the woman who is key to the legitimacy of Elagabalus' claim to the imperial title, and is thus herself also a guardian of the imperial power. Again, allusion to the Severans is used in multiple ways on these coins: by creating a memory of Julia Domna and her sons, the sovereignty of Julia Maesa's grandchildren is asserted; through the use of *fortuna redux* (who is often figured as a restorative goddess) in conjunction with image-type 60, which serves as a mnemonic for the Severans, a return to the past is suggested; all the while, the return of the emperor to Rome is celebrated.

fortuna is used on the coinage of 219 and 220 to celebrate Elagabalus' return to Rome, and also to secure the role of his family, especially his grandmother, in the transmission of imperial power. This was accomplished by the use of *fortuna* to make allusions to past emperors from whom Elagabalus was able to claim inheritance, creating a memory of the past that cast a favourable light upon the present. The emperor was therefore able to claim to have inherited the *fortuna* of Caracalla (and through him the Antonine *fortuna*), and to

show that this *fortuna* allowed for the benefits of *laetitia*, the corn dole, and the security of the imperial structure.

Conclusion

The characterization of *fortuna* on the coinage of the first two and a half centuries of the Empire was used to comment on a great variety of situations: from concern for the health of the emperor, to a celebration of his role in the distribution of largesse. This resulted in a range of numismatic meaning for *fortuna* that was at once immensely broad as well as appropriate to very specific circumstances. Looking at the specialized uses to which *fortuna* was put, we see that, in each of these instances, *fortuna* was used to indicate something of the emperor's role in relation to the Empire. In other words, *fortuna* was pictured both as the force that ensured his right to rule by a basic assertion of inheritance or sovereignty and as the goddess that oversaw his performance of certain imperial roles and duties, such as the distribution of the corn dole, victory in warfare, and continuation of the imperial line.

As associated with any of the imperial roles, *fortuna* is thus an especially 'imperial' goddess, overseeing imperial power. The characterization of *fortuna* that allowed her to be pictured in this way had been forming throughout the history of *fortuna* in Rome (we may think, for example, of her relationships with Servius and Caesar), but developed most fully under the Empire. As we saw when looking at the cults and literatures of *fortuna*, an important aspect of Roman identity was the relationship that individual Romans, and the Romans as a people, enjoyed with *fortuna*. In cult, attempts were made to tie her into stable relationships which ensured that she would continue to give military and political power to these people; as a way of suggesting the permanence of Roman power, the literary sources commonly showed her as attendant on Rome and its generals. Given the

overwhelming importance of *fortuna* to the Romans' sense of themselves as a people who ruled a victorious Empire, the insertion of the emperor into the middle of the relationship between *fortuna* and the Romans meant that Roman identity had to be mediated through him. Constructing *fortuna* in this way meant that the emperor had to be understood as an essential part of the mechanism by which the benefits that *fortuna* brought were transmitted to the Empire. The advertisement of these imperial *fortunae* was thus one of the ways that the beneficial nature of imperial power was announced.

By showing her in this way, *fortuna* type coins present a unanimously positive vision of *fortuna* and the emperor. The negative associations of randomness, caprice, and malice found in some literary sources are completely absent. On coins, *fortuna* was used to address anxieties that were commonly associated with a more conflicted idea of *fortuna* - the uncertainties of sea travel, civil war, and imperial succession. These coins present *fortuna* as 'tamed' into constant beneficence by her association with the emperor: as an imperial goddess she no longer speaks about the dangers of travel or the uncertainty of war, but represents the outcomes of these as predictable and controllable. *fortuna* is thus presented as a quintessentially imperial goddess precisely because she can also embody all the major threats to imperial rule.

The popularity of the various image and legend-types shows the development of this relationship between *fortuna* and the emperor. The most popular legends are FORTVNA REDVX and FORTVNA AVG. (see Figure 13), both of which emphasise the imperial connotations of *fortuna*, figuring the emperor in a salvational role, extending protection to the apparatus of government as well as to the Empire's individual citizens. These two legend-types retain their popularity throughout the period in question. Occasionally, variations on these types are made, such as the combination of COS. ITER. and

FORTVNA REDVX under Vespasian, OPTIMO PRINCIPI and FORTVNA REDVX under Trajan, or the grouping of FORTVNA REDVX and FORTVNA AVG. under Septimius Severus. In each case these are attempts to make the broadly imperial messages of these legends applicable to a specific historical juncture. The same broad pattern also applies to the use of the various image-types. Of the five image-types most popular across a number of reigns (11, 16, 18, 21, 58, 59, see Figure 12), all are combinations of the standard iconography of *fortuna*. Again, however, under nearly every emperor, while more popular types appear, so too do more novel ones. Often these are not picked up by subsequent emperors, and seem, like the combination of the imagery of *iusitia* and *fortuna* under Niger, relevant to a specific period or emperor. However, were the type in question to speak to a set of circumstances that had recurred in such a way as to make a comparison with the past favourable, then these innovative types could achieve some degree of continued popularity.

Looking at these issues of continuity and innovation, we have seen that, in using the images and legends associated with the *fortuna* of another emperor or period, not only is a comparison drawn between the past and the present, but that a memory of the past is created for the benefit of a contemporary audience. In other words, by the minting of Augustan types, Galba was not only likened to Augustus, but also, through the selection of certain types which were considered representative of this Augustan vision, a narrative of the Augustan past was forged. Likewise, the use of image-types showing *fortuna* with the two grandchildren of Julia Maesa (Elagabalus and Alexianus), in recalling the use of similar types celebrating Caracalla and Geta, creates a Severan narrative that overlooks the later conflict between the two brothers, and in doing so proposes a happy and unbroken line of succession stretching from Severus to Alexianus. Because of the way that *fortuna* is understood as being intimately connected to the person of the emperor and intertwined

with his functions in this role, it is the tool *par excellence* for making such statements as regards the imperial past. This role for *fortuna* equally means that she can be used as a tool for the type of self-definition that does not rely so strongly on the past. Because how *fortuna* is figured in relation to the emperor and imperial power, she is used to define new roles and re-imagine older roles the emperor might take on. That we see the greatest surges of innovation in image and legend-types at times when the Empire changes hands violently suggests that *fortuna* was used at these times to help to define new imperial *personae*. A break with the past regime meant a break in the pattern of the numismatic representation of that goddess who was used to contribute to the public definition of what it meant to be emperor.

Chapter 4

Philosophies of *fortuna*

The uses of *fortuna* discussed in the previous chapter were meant to appeal to broad audiences. Moreover, produced by the state, these coins formed part of the official discourse that described the relationship between the Empire, the emperor, and *fortuna*. Like the *fortunae* of the official imperial cults, the *fortunae* that appeared on coins were used to depict this relationship as overwhelming beneficial to those who lived under the Empire. By contrast, this chapter, like the chapter that dealt with literary discussions of *fortuna*, shows how she was used to talk about the relationship between Roman power and those who lived under it, to a smaller, elite audience.

A study of Roman philosophical thought is pertinent to a study of *fortuna* for two main reasons. Firstly, such a study allows us to map out how *fortuna* was conceived in metaphysical terms, that is, how her cosmic role was constructed by some intellectuals, and shows us that the use of *fortuna* in this context was not neutral. Rather, as we shall see, the use of *fortuna* is laden with ethical concerns that make its use, even in a metaphysical discussion, problematic. Secondly, by describing the concerns that writers of ethical works had with *fortuna*, we are able to see how the idea of *fortuna* shaped their philosophical thought, rather than always being shaped by it. While the previous chapter showed how *fortuna* could be used to publicly glorify and validate men and their actions, this chapter shows how *fortuna* was used as a tool to attack rival schools of thought, and could be conceived of as an affliction which needed to be combated with philosophy. Because of the relationship between *fortuna* and the structures of political power, the ways

that philosophers interacted with *fortuna* shows some of the ways in which the literate and philosophical elites imagined policies of successful living under this power.

The Epicureans and *fortuna*

Of the schools of philosophy most popular at Rome, that of the Epicureans is most often presented by their Stoic and Academic rivals as being concerned with ideas of chance, luck, *casus*, *fors* and the operations of *fortuna*.⁷⁰⁷ These ideas are popularly depicted in opposition to Stoic ideas of causation (*fatum* and *necessitas*), in contrast constructing Epicurean cosmology and physics as affording an important place to the role of *fortuna*: in the *De Natura Deorum* for example, the academic Cotta and the Stoic Balbus repeatedly characterize *fortuna* as one of the defining characteristics of Epicurean philosophy.⁷⁰⁸ I will show first how commentators on and critics of this school depicted *fortuna* as central to Epicurean metaphysics, and what elements of Epicurean philosophy they used to do this. I will then show what role, if any, *fortuna* had in the Epicurean cosmology.

Lucan and Tacitus both, in *excursus* outlining their philosophies of history set up Epicurean metaphysics in opposition to Stoic ideas on fate and Providence.⁷⁰⁹ Tacitus wonders whether:

*fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte uoluantur quippe sapientissimos ueterum quique sectam eorum aemulantur diuersos reperies, ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse.*⁷¹⁰

Here *fors* stands opposed to *fatum* and *immutabilis necessitas*, and, while *forte* is equivalent to τὴν or *fortunā*, *fatum* and *necessitas* are synonyms for Μοίρα, εἰμαρμένη,

⁷⁰⁷ For the use of these terms as a way of showing *fortuna* to be a force of random chance see Chapter 2: pp. 129.

⁷⁰⁸ Cic. *De Nat. Deo.* 1.90; 2.43; 2.56; 2.93; 2.153.

⁷⁰⁹ See also the discussion in Chapter 2: pp. 29 ff.

⁷¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 6.22.

and ἀνάγκη, concepts central to Stoicism.⁷¹¹ This juxtaposition suggests to the reader that, for the Epicureans, chance might occupy a conceptual space of equal importance to that of fate in the Stoic school. Lucan's earlier discussion of these two theories of causation is even more expansive. Having discussed the portents of civil war at the end of book 1, the poet questions:

*siue parens rerum cum primum informia regna
materiemque rudem flamma cedente recepit,
finxit in aeternum causas, qua cuncta coerces,
se quoque lege tenens, et saecula iussa ferentem
fatorum immoto diuisit limite mundum:
siue nihil positum est, sed fors incerta uagatur,
fertque refertque uices, et habet mortalia casus.*⁷¹²

Here *fors incerta* and *casus* are juxtaposed with the *causas* that Providence *finxit in aeternum*, the *lex* of causation that binds all things, and the *fata*, defined as having an *inmotus ... limes*.⁷¹³ So, while Stoic philosophy is described in terms of fixity and binding (*finxit, coerces, tenens*, etc), reflecting their theories of fate, Epicurean philosophy seems to escape this necessity through *casus* and *fors* which are, by contrast, unfixed (*nihil positum*), indefinite (*incerta uagatur*), and changeable (*fertque refertque uices*). These sources contrast the Stoic idea of a definite chain of causation setting out the path of future events with an Epicurean version that seems to lack any causation, depending instead on chance and accident.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹ For *forte* as equivalent to τύχη in this passage see Koestermann 1965: 292; Furneaux 1896: 622; Kroymann 1952: 74. See also Plut. *de Stoic. repugn.* 1050 C: ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος ἀναπεπταμένην παρρησίαν αὐτῇ δίδωσιν ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ λόγον θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν πεποιημένη τὴν ἀρίστην; Cic. *de Fat.* 28: *fatum aut necessitas*. For the complex relationship in Stoic thought between fate and necessity see Sharples 1981 (especially n. 51).

⁷¹² Luc. 2.7-13.

⁷¹³ Sklenár (2003: 8) points out that Lucan is not simply mediating between the two philosophical schools, but rather, by undermining each (as he does when he dismantles the stoic idea of *fatum* in book 1, by establishing an antithesis between *casus* and *parens rerum*, and by giving a pessimistic and therefore un-Epicurean view of *fors incerta*) he creates a different, more nihilistic cosmology than either the Stoics or the Epicureans. See also Ahl 1976:233.

⁷¹⁴ For example Cic. *De Nat. Deo.* 2.88: *hi autem dubitant de mundo, ex quo et oriuntur et fiunt omnia, casu ne ipse sit effectus aut necessitate aliqua*. For a summary of atomic properties see Morel 2009.

Much of this understanding of Epicurean metaphysics revolves around their theory of atomic motion and, most especially, the atomic swerve. The Epicureans held that atoms, indivisible bodies from which larger composite bodies were made, fell constantly through the void, pulled down by their own weight. Because they all fell at a constant rate, atoms would not come into contact with each other to create composite bodies until one of them deviated from its path, that is, until it swerved and hit another. Commentators in Antiquity on Epicurean philosophy advanced that, in this system, *fortuna* was responsible for the atomic swerve, and thus for the combination of atoms into compound bodies. Plutarch tells how rival philosophers would not concede to Epicurus ἄτομον παρεγκλῖναι, despite the fact that this would allow, by the intervention of τύχη, the creation of stars and animals (in short, the world).⁷¹⁵ Cicero, perhaps in reaction to such an understanding of the atomic swerve, asks whether the atoms *sortiuntur inter se* in order to decide which should swerve and which not, and describes the resulting collisions as *fortuita*.⁷¹⁶ In both cases the Epicurean swerve is constructed by non-Epicureans as the result of a force of chance or luck.

More problematic, according to these critics of Epicureanism, is the idea that compound bodies that exhibit *ordo*, *ratio*, *consilium*, *constantia*, *ueritas*, *mens*, *ingenium*, etc. may have been formed by a confluence of atoms if determined only by a force such as *fortuna*.⁷¹⁷ These criticisms are most often levelled against the Epicurean explanations of biological or celestial phenomena (cf. Plutarch above).⁷¹⁸ In Cicero's dialogue on the nature of the gods, Cotta, in his criticism of the Epicurean explanation for the resemblance

⁷¹⁵ Plut. *de Sollert. Anim.* 964 C. Though the MSS have καὶ τύχη, τύχη or κατὰ τύχην are likely more correct readings: Long 1977: 70-71; Sandbach 1941: 114.

⁷¹⁶ Cic. *De Fato* 46; *De Nat. Deo.* 2.93; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* 1.20. where he compares this to the assignment of provinces (a process decided by lot). There is a strong Epicurean (and anti-Epicurean) tradition of using metaphors drawn from the political sphere to describe atoms and their activity. See for example Lucretius' use of *foedera* (2.302; 5.57) and *concilia* (1.484). Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, (quoted in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 14.25.9) criticizes Epicurus for positing a godless τῶν ἀτόμων ἡ δημοκρατία.

⁷¹⁷ Cic. *De Nat. Deo.* 2.43; 56; 153.

⁷¹⁸ Long 1977: 71; cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deo.* 2.56; 153; 87; 88; 97.

between gods and men, terms this coincidence *tanta fortuna*, defining it as such because *nihil ... ratione in rerum natura factum esse uultis*.⁷¹⁹ Later Balbus, again attacking the Epicureans, compares the likelihood of the world (and all in it) being the result of chance meetings of atoms, to the likelihood of letters of the alphabet, arranged by being tipped out of a pot onto the ground, spelling out the *Annals* of Ennius: *fortuna*, he doubts, would be able to produce even a single verse.⁷²⁰ *fortuna* is used by the critics of Epicureanism in their attacks on two elements of their metaphysics, the atomic swerve and the formation of complex compound bodies. The first they claim is uncaused, the latter is unlikely.⁷²¹ As we see from the examples above, references to *fortuna* in this context were often heavily sarcastic. Cotta, for example, does not truly believe that it was *tanta fortuna*, *tantus casus*, or *tam felix* that men came to resemble gods, but the mock-seriousness of his tone underlines the supposed folly of the claim.⁷²² Plutarch too is only scornfully serious when he weighs the swerve of an atom (caused by τύχη), a circumstance which he describes using the words like μικρός, φαῦλος, ἐλάχιστος, and μία, against the important consequences: the stars, living creatures and free will.

However, the construction of Epicurean physics offered in these sources is problematic and does not seem to be an accurate representation of the role of *fortuna* in this philosophy. Our best source for Epicurean atomic motion, Lucretius, does not use the word *fortuna* in his explanation of the *clinamen*, but says that the movement of atoms has *aliam ... causam*, a cause other than the blows from other atoms and the force of gravity.⁷²³

However, when Lucretius writes of the way that atoms knock together he describes this as

⁷¹⁹ Cic. *De Nat. Deo*. 1.90.

⁷²⁰ Cic. *De Nat. Deo*. 2.93-94.

⁷²¹ For the causelessness of the swerve see Cic. *De Fato* 18; 22; 46.

⁷²² Cic. *De Nat. Deo*. 1.90.

⁷²³ Lucr. 2.216-293; esp. 285. For Lucretius on atomic motion see Fowler 2002: esp. 301-349. For the language of causes in relation to the causeless *clinamen* see Fowler 2002: 362-362.

happening *forte*, and seems to suggest that the motion that brings this about is itself subject to the force of chance.⁷²⁴

Lucretius tells us that we can observe the existence of the *clinamen* from 1) the existence of *plagae* that lead to the existence of things in nature, and 2) from the existence of free will which breaks the chain of causation.⁷²⁵ In the context of a fully formed world, filled with composite bodies, each formed of a great many atoms, the swerve of a single atom within each body is indiscernible and inconsequential. This is because, as Lucretius tells us, even in compounds, atoms never cease to move; rather, they continue to leap around within the composite as a result of collisions.⁷²⁶ The swerve, on the other hand, consists of motion which is *nec plus quam minimum*, that has no power to influence the larger motion of the body.⁷²⁷ The *clinamen* can therefore only be an effective force in a context in which its slight variation of movement would have an impact, that is, in the void or within the *animus*, which is understood to possess a very fine and mobile atomic structure.⁷²⁸ It is only this swerve in the atoms of the soul which breaks the reductionist chain of causation that requires that each event is a reaction to circumstances already present. The swerve is uncaused, and as such means that actions can be freed from being exclusively the result of the blows of atoms.⁷²⁹

Lucretius suggests that proof of the *clinamen* may be found in free will which we can see is free and not simply the result of *plagae* because, when something is decided, there is an observable lag between decision and action, which is not the case when force from without

⁷²⁴ See for example Lucr. 2.1059; 5.367; 6.672.

⁷²⁵ Lucr. 2.223-224; 2.251-262. The body of scholarship dealing with free will and the swerve is vast, but see esp. Bailey 1928; Furley 1967; Conway 1981; Englert 1987; Sedley 1988; Hankinson 1999; Everson 1999; Bobzien 2000; Fowler 2002.

⁷²⁶ Lucr. 2.100-104. For Lucretius on the motion of atoms within compounds see Fowler 2002:162-182;

⁷²⁷ Lucr. 2.244; cf. Sedley 1976: 25-26; For *minimum* as a technical term see Fowler 2002: 304-305.

⁷²⁸ Epicurus *Ep. Hdt.* 63; Lucr. 3.179-180; 204; 209; 243-4. See Long 1977: 76.

⁷²⁹ See Sharples 1991: 175 on Cic. *De Fato* 22.

causes motion.⁷³⁰ Philodemus, in his treatise *On Signs*, adds another demonstration of the atomic swerve. He says that: οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὸν εἰς τὸ προσδέξασθαι τὰς ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον παρεγκλίσεις τῶν ἀτόμων διὰ τὸ τυχηρὸν καὶ τὸ παρ’ ἡμᾶς.⁷³¹ Here chance and free will together prove the existence of the swerve. Philodemus seems to be arguing that the swerve has externally observable effects, which are the chance events seen occurring in the world.⁷³² While this would be in keeping with the idea that *fors incerta uagatur* (Luc. 1.12), it is difficult to see how this is in agreement with what Lucretius and Epicurus write about the movement of atoms in composite bodies. Fowler, has therefore suggested that either Philodemus is here simply ‘in error’,⁷³³ or that he is referring to chance in the pre-world void, a view with which Long is in agreement, seeing this chance as nothing more than the spontaneous swerve of Lucretius.⁷³⁴ In short, for the Epicureans, and especially for Lucretius, the *clinamen*, although important, has a limited impact outside of the *animus* or void.

What emerges is that the Epicureans, if concerned at all with *fortuna* and related concepts in their physics, did not construct its role in the way reported by Tacitus, Lucan, and their other commentators. Rather, it would appear that when chance or luck did play a role, it was conceived of as something distinct from *fortuna*, a word which was associated with their philosophy most often by their critics.⁷³⁵ In part, this association of Epicurean philosophy and *fortuna* is a result of the conflation, by their critics, of the Epicurean’s aimless and non-teleological view of the physical world with the idea of contingency in nature, that is, interruptions of a causal sequence.⁷³⁶ The terms τύχη or *fortuna* may be

⁷³⁰ Lucr. 2.251-293.

⁷³¹ Philod. *De Sig.* 36.11-17. For possible interpretations of the phrase τὸ παρ’ ἡμᾶς see Bobzien 2000.

⁷³² For this view in the modern scholarship see Bailey 1947: 840; De Lacy 1969; Rist 1972: 52.

⁷³³ 2002: 308.

⁷³⁴ 1977: 86.

⁷³⁵ E.g. Cic. *De Nat. Deo.* 2.93-94; 153.

⁷³⁶ For the separation of these ideas see Long (1977) and his later (2006: 157-177) revision of the subject.

used to describe events that have either an unpurposed result or ones that lack a determinate cause.⁷³⁷ The first describes events whose outcomes, while they are caused by prior events, are not a matter of necessity: that is, that they are unpredictable because they have only random outcomes. The second describes events that are purely spontaneous, and as such are uncaused. The swerve is therefore a manifestation of one sort of *fortuna* or *τύχη*, one that is uncaused and spontaneous, while atomic motion that does not involve swerves is characterized by the other sort of *fortuna*, one that is unpurposed and aimless, but which still possesses antecedent causes. So, for example, Lucretius' use of *fors* in 2.1059 to describe the motion of atoms in formation of composite bodies, is qualified by the terms *multimodis*, *temere*, *incassum*, and *frustra*. Here chance or *fors* does not break the chain of causation in the way that the swerve does, rather it makes the formation of bodies random and purposeless, but still subject to the process of causation. So while their critics use *fortuna* to impute a general causelessness to their philosophy, the Epicureans use the language of chance not to argue against causation, but to contest divine will and any other teleological force.

This probably goes towards explaining why the word *fortuna* is used so rarely by Lucretius, and why, of the mere seven times that it is used, in only one instance are we presented with a meaning that breaks away from meanings that are associated with material wealth, position, or state of being.⁷³⁸ In 5.107, talking of the eventual dissolution of the world into its constituent atomic parts,⁷³⁹ Lucretius asks that *procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans*. If, as we have seen, there is an element of aimless randomness in the coming together of atoms, it seems true that their termination of these bonds should also be

⁷³⁷ Long 1977: 63 n. 2.

⁷³⁸ See 1.106; 2.1167; 3.1085; 5.960; 5.1121; 5.1179 for the uses of *fortuna*.

⁷³⁹ The Epicureans believed that just as the world had come together fortuitously, through the formation of composite bodies, through the same process these bodies would dissolve back into their constituent atoms falling through the void.

a matter not ordained, prescribed, or fated, but left to chance. *fortuna* is hence the pilot of this dissolution. Gigandet sees in *fortuna gubernans*, a reminder that the world will be abolished by the same covenants on which it was created, that both its destruction and its origin is a matter of chance.⁷⁴⁰ Just 30 lines earlier, Lucretius had used this same language of *natura*:

*praeterea solis cursus lunaeque meatus
expediam qua ui flectat natura gubernans;
ne forte haec inter caelum terramque reamur
libera sponte sua cursus lustrare perennis,
morigera ad fruges augendas atque animantis,
neue aliqua diuom uolui ratione putemus.*

The phrase *flectat fortuna gubernans* now appears as an echo of *natura*'s role in piloting and guiding. *Natura*, like *fortuna*, is shown not to operate *diuom ... ratione, libera sponte sua*, or for the fulfilment of any end, and when the poet promises to show *qua ui*, a reader is inclined to think of *fortuna gubernans* as the answer to this, the guiding force of nature's law. *Natura* and *fortuna* can be constructed as broadly equivalent by Lucretius because of the way that the poet hypostasizes *natura*.⁷⁴¹ He makes *natura* a conceptual place-holder that takes over the functions of gods and goddesses like Venus and the forces of the law of nature, like aimless chance.⁷⁴² In this passage Lucretius assigns to *natura* a role that might just as easily have been played by *fortuna*.

So while the critics of Epicureanism may claim that their cosmology depends on *fortuna*, Epicurean philosophers generally avoided associating *fortuna* with the natural laws of chance which governed the behaviour of atoms. It would seem then, that the use of the

⁷⁴⁰ 1996: 223.

⁷⁴¹ For the hypostasis of *natura* see Fowler 2002: 242-244.

⁷⁴² *Natura*'s relationship with Venus in this work is the subject of much scholarly debate (see the works cited in Catto 1988-1989: 97; Fowler 2002: 242), for our purposes it is enough to point out that Lucretius at 1.21 claims that she *naturam sola gubernas*. The repeated use of the language of piloting and guiding makes it clear that all three terms should be read in conjunction, and that Venus and *fortuna* are perhaps functions of *natura*.

term *fortuna* may itself imply criticism. Certainly, their deist critics contrast the Epicurean *fortuna* with Providence and, by this juxtaposition, associate her with a sense of purpose.⁷⁴³ Formulations such as these imply a contradiction in that they assign to *fortuna* a sense of purpose that does not exist in the Epicurean sources, which speak only of accident. Moreover, they imply a substitution of *fortuna* for *deus* or *ratio*.

In part, the frequency with which this criticism was levelled against the Epicureans stemmed from the degree to which the ethics of the competing schools, especially the Stoics, were concerned with *fortuna*. As discussed below, for Seneca, a Stoic writing under the Empire, *fortuna* is man's greatest opponent, and much of his philosophy is geared towards overcoming her power. Opposition to *fortuna* thus looms large in the philosophy of the principle adversaries of Epicureanism. A claim that the Epicureans, in their denial of the gods, set up man's enemy, *fortuna*, in their place and gave over to her the creative and organizational role otherwise reserved for Providence becomes especially apposite. This claim is, in part, made possible by the fact that, while the ethics of the Roman Stoics are concerned with the effects of *fortuna* in the lives of men, much of Lucretius' ethics revolve around the fear of death and the gods. The τετραφάρμακος, or four-fold cure, comprised of the first four of Epicurus' Κύρια Δόξαι, forms the basis of Epicurean ethics. They can be summarized as follows: Don't fear god, don't fear death, what is pleasurable is easy to get, and what is painful is easy to endure. The first two of these are concerned with external elements, and, as Sedley has noted, 'are founded on the lessons of physics, to which [Lucretius'] poem is formally dedicated'.⁷⁴⁴ Our chief Latin source for Epicurean ethics is

⁷⁴³ See (e.g.) Cic. *De Nat. Deo*. 2.93-94; 153.

⁷⁴⁴ Sedley 1998: 163.

therefore chiefly concerned with the first half of the τετραφάρμακος,⁷⁴⁵ and, as such, neglects those ethical points in which *fortuna* might play a role.

It is possible to see from other sources that had Lucretius dealt more fully with the entire τετραφάρμακος, *fortuna* would possibly have played a larger role in his poem. For example in Cicero's *de Finibus*, a proponent of Epicureanism tells us *optime uero Epicurus, quod exiguam dixit fortunam interuenire sapienti maximasque ab eo et grauissimas res consilio ipsius et ratione administrari*, a sentiment that surely relates to the third of Epicurus' cures.⁷⁴⁶ Earlier in the same work, *fortuna* was mentioned in relation to what appeared to be the fourth cure, when it was said that *sapientiamque esse solam, quae nos a libidinum impetu et a formidinum terrore uindicet et ipsius fortunae modice ferre doceat iniurias*.⁷⁴⁷ This concern with *fortuna* is a reflection of an older, ethical concern with τύχη.⁷⁴⁸ In these texts τύχη is a familiar force, one like the *fortuna* that provides the physical circumstances of life, and as such, is of little concern to the wise man who understands the final two tenets of Epicurus' cure. So, while it seems that the Epicureans were at least partly concerned with *fortuna* in their ethics, our chief Latin source on their philosophy is not concerned with this. For philosophy as a remedy to *fortuna* we should therefore look to the Stoics.

The critics of Epicurean philosophy not only used *fortuna* as a way of attacking this school, but, in the case of Lucan especially, used Epicurean thought as a way of constructing their understandings of *fortuna*. Their attacks were largely concentrated on

⁷⁴⁵ Sedley (ibid.) has shown that the first 'cure' is one of the chief themes of the whole poem (see the proem. to books 1 and 2 and 4.48-79. The admonition against fearing death is the overriding message of book 3 (and as he argues, intended to be that of 4 too). The third cure, is less programmatically set out, but can still be seen in the proem to book 2 and in proem to 6. The final tenet, however is missing.

⁷⁴⁶ Cic. *de Fin.* 1.63; cf. Ep. *R.S.* 16.1: βραχέα σοφῶ τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διώκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικῆσει.

⁷⁴⁷ Cic. *de Fin.* 1.46.

⁷⁴⁸ Ep. *R.S.* 16.1; *Sent. Uat.* 17; 47; *Ep. Men.* 131.7; 133-134; fr. 489 Us.

their construction of Epicureanism as replacing the causative, moral forces of God and fate with the amoral, and indeed, according to this construction, immoral rule of *fortuna*. This malign force could therefore take over the role played by the gods and by fate in the metaphysical world presented in these texts, and could shape the course of events according to its own immoral scheme. This, supposedly Epicurean, construction of *fortuna* served as a criticism of Epicureanism, suggesting immorality as the defining fact of their philosophy. In turn, by constructing *fortuna* according to this false estimation of her role in Epicurean metaphysics and ethics, Lucan was able to set up *fortuna* as a villainous, but world-pervading force. For these writers life under the Empire is dominated by immoral *fortuna* who leaves no space for the efficacy of *virtus*. This understanding of *fortuna* entails an understanding of the pointlessness of human action in the face of the caprice of *fortuna* or the emperor. The Stoic philosophy of Seneca, on the other hand, acknowledges the power of *fortuna*, but seeks to combat the influence that it has on the life of the individual.

fortuna in Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*

Unlike the philosophy of the Epicureans, that of the Stoic school was essentially teleological, with everything in the universe existing and occurring by providential design. Indeed the universe (the material principle) was itself thought to be a living being, ensouled and rational, with an active, creative, and rational principle, God extending throughout every part of it.⁷⁴⁹ The action of this principle is equated by the Stoics with *fatum*/εἰμαρμένη: as the only active matter, it is the only principle to which causation may be attributed. Thus, the Stoic fate, an unbreakable chain of causes, is determined by, and

⁷⁴⁹ See *Diog. Laert.* 7.139; 138; *SVF* 2.310. For a useful summary of Stoic physics see White 2003.

equivalent to the will of Providence, and defined as *causa aeterna rerum, cur et ea quae praeterierunt facta sint, et quae instant fiant, et quae sequentur futura sint*.⁷⁵⁰

This might appear to construct a vision of the cosmos in which *fortuna* can play no possible part. Because there can be no interruption of the causal chain, because everything that happens was always going to happen, because everything that is true now has been true for eternity, *fortuna* can at no point introduce change to the path laid out by antecedent causes.⁷⁵¹ That this was thought to be a cosmological system that excluded *fortuna* and other elements of accident is laid out clearly in passages like those of Lucan and Tacitus seen at the beginning of this chapter.⁷⁵² Indeed, there are passages that suggest that there existed in Stoic thought an opposition between *fatum* and *fortuna*. Servius, commenting on Vergil's juxtaposition of *fortuna omnipotens* and *ineluctabile fatum*, says that here Virgil speaks according to the Stoics, for whom *nihil tam contrarium est fato, quam casus*.⁷⁵³

Despite the fact that this universal causality apparently leaves no room for *fortuna*, the word is often used by Stoics, especially Seneca. Indeed, it is used by them far more often than by the Epicureans whose metaphysics depend on chance and randomness. This is the result of the fact that, despite this strict system of causes and necessity envisioned by the Stoics, events can still be seen to occur which are the result of causal features which are impossible for men to perceive.⁷⁵⁴ This does not mean that the causal chain is broken, but simply that the presence or absence of imperceptible causes affected the outcome of processes in such a way that their outcomes appear the result of *fortuna*. Thus the Stoics traditionally defined τύχη as the cause obscure to human reason (λογισμός / λόγος /

⁷⁵⁰ Cic. *de Div.* 1.126. Compare Stob. 1.79 W. For causation and fate see *SVF* 2.917. For ideas of causation in Stoicism see Reesor 1965; Gould 1974; Reesor 1978; Sharples 1981; Frede 2003.

⁷⁵¹ Cic. *de Fat.* 20-21.

⁷⁵² Luc. 2.7-13; Tac. *Ann.* 6.22.

⁷⁵³ *SVF* 2.972.

⁷⁵⁴ White 2003: 140.

διάνοια).⁷⁵⁵ Indeed, in *De Beneficiis* Seneca states that, *natura*, *fatum* and *fortuna* are names of the same God using His power in various ways.⁷⁵⁶

This union of *fortuna*, *natura*, *fatum*, and *deus* relates to the Stoic description of God, who is: a living being, immortal, rational ... admits nothing evil, and takes providential care of the world ... he is the father of everything both in general and in that particular part of him which pervades all things, and which is called many names according to its various powers.⁷⁵⁷ In addition, this divine power is said to reside in the *ratio*, *mens*, and *animus* of universal nature, it is the common nature of all things.⁷⁵⁸ For our purposes it is therefore enough to know that *fatum*, *fortuna*, *mens*, *ratio*, *animus*, and *natura* are all, when functioning correctly, equivalent to *deus* in so far as they are suffused by this benign, active principle. According this understanding, *fortuna* comes to have a teleological dimension, equivalent to fate and metaphysically ceases to have the meanings of chance or luck.⁷⁵⁹

It is significant then, that, in certain texts that expound the ethics of Stoic philosophy, *fortuna* is depicted in an adversarial relationship to man, a role that would seem to contradict that assigned to her in the Stoic cosmology.⁷⁶⁰ Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, in conjunction with his other philosophical works, develops the position of *fortuna* in Stoic thought in an unprecedented way.⁷⁶¹ Seneca creates, through his obsession with *fortuna*, a new ethical antagonist for the Stoic philosopher. These letters set out a programme of

⁷⁵⁵ SVF 2.965; 966; 967; 970;971.

⁷⁵⁶ *Sic hunc naturam uoces, fatum, fortunam: omnia eiusdem dei nomina sunt, uarie utentis sua potestate (De Ben. 4.8.3).*

⁷⁵⁷ Diog. Laert. 7.147.

⁷⁵⁸ Cic. *de Nat. Deo.* 1.39.

⁷⁵⁹ Indeed, one might argue that the different meanings of *fortuna* utilized by the Stoics and Epicureans highlights the differences in their cosmologies. The Epicureans are understood to focus on *fortuna* as aimless accident, while the Stoics exclude this meaning in favour of fate.

⁷⁶⁰ For the eclecticism of much Stoic thought see for example Shaw 1985: 19; MacMullen 1966: 48.

⁷⁶¹ See Asmis (2009: 135-137) on the way that Seneca develops *fortuna* compared with the absence of τύχη from the thinking of Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus.

moral improvement, the aim of which is the advancement of the addressee along the path of wisdom and *uirtus*. Seneca sets up *fortuna* and Lucilius' relationship with her, as being of special importance in this journey of the *proficiens* from being *imperfectus* to becoming *sapiens*.

These letters are useful not only because of the programmatic way in which they deal with *fortuna*, but also because, owing to their length, they set out the fullest philosophical treatment of this subject in Stoic ethics. No Stoic before Seneca elucidates in any way how man might avoid the powers of *fortuna*, but, she is Seneca's greatest adversary and he spends a great deal of time discussing man's battle against her.⁷⁶² The novelty of such attention to *fortuna* in a Stoic text becomes clear when we note the paucity of references to *τύχη* in Von Arnim's collection of the Stoic fragments, where, across three volumes the word is used fewer than 50 times. Seneca, on the other hand, uses the word *fortuna* 168 times in the *Epistulae ad Lucilium* alone. While this work is admittedly longer and more intact than what remains of the Stoics, we are immediately struck by the intensity of Seneca's interest in *fortuna*. Furthermore, Seneca spends a great deal of time creating vivid imagery around *fortuna*, not only to ornament his prose, but each serving a purpose within the context of the ethical lessons to be learnt.⁷⁶³ Part of the reason for this must of course lie in the fact that most of what we know of Stoic thought exists only in epitome or is translated for us in the works of their adversaries, but the fact remains that the writings of Seneca offer the fullest treatment of *fortuna* in the context of the Stoa (or indeed of any

⁷⁶²Sørensen has suggested that in the works of Seneca greatest attention is paid to the contrast of *fatum* and *fortuna*, to the question of why, in a world ruled by Providential fate, good men still suffer because of the actions of *fortuna*. The conclusion that Sørensen reaches, by way of Ferguson's outlandish claim that *fortuna* in Seneca corresponds with Satan in the book of Job (1980), is that the trials that *fortuna* imposes are believed by Seneca to turn the reader into Seneca's 'Stoic hero' who is 'a secularized version of the mythical hero' and even of the 'suffering god' (1984: 199-205). This sort of analysis ignores the essentially pragmatic methods and aims of Seneca, whose work seems not so much focused on, as Sørensen would have it, teaching others to suffer (202), but on how to avoid the suffering caused by *fortuna*.

⁷⁶³ For Seneca's use of imagery as a means of philosophical exposition see Armisen-Marchetti 1989: 252ff. See for example Chapter 2: pp. 110.

philosophical school).⁷⁶⁴ This disparity suggests that *fortuna* was not of as great concern to other Stoics, and that Seneca's concentration on it therefore reveals something other than philosophical doctrine.

One of Seneca's most oft repeated pieces of advice is that Lucilius get to know *fortuna* intimately – that he ponder what evils *fortuna* may bring, so that when she does produce them they come not unexpectedly;⁷⁶⁵ that he be aware of the full scope of her power;⁷⁶⁶ in short, that he reflect on *fortuna*, fully and completely.⁷⁶⁷ Seneca's advice, interpreted best as 'know your enemy', is the key to understanding his advice on how best to defend oneself against the attacks of *fortuna*. To achieve this it is best to first understand Seneca's construction of *fortuna*, the powers that he attributes to her and their place in the metaphysics of the letters.

Seneca, like the earlier Stoics, at times lists *fortuna*, along with *fatum* and *deus*, as one of the names of the power that holds sway over happenings on earth.⁷⁶⁸ He also seems to adhere to the orthodox understanding of *fortuna* as the cause obscure to human reasoning when he counsils Lucilius against chafing at what *fortuna* brings. Those forces, he writes, which seem to be working against him, are in fact *ad conseruationem uniuersi pertinere et ex iis esse, quae cursum mundi officium que consummant*, and admonishes him to be pleased by whatever is pleasing to God.⁷⁶⁹ However he also creates tension between them,

⁷⁶⁴ In light of Brunt (1980) an argument can be made that had τύχη been much personified by earlier Stoics more details relating to this would have survived even in epitome. See White 1979 on the difficulty of reconstructing Stoic ethics from the fragmentary sources.

⁷⁶⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 76.34. Inwood (2007: 182) notes that this passage is taken from 'a trio of letters dealing explicitly with stoic value theory (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 71, 74, 76).' This 'value theory' is set out for the express purpose of showing how it is possible for a wise man to be happy even when facing or suffering extreme bodily torment. Such events are shown in Seneca's writing to fall under the control of *fortuna*, and, as such, we can see much of this value theory as relating to her.

⁷⁶⁶ *Interim hoc tene, hoc morde ... omnem fortunae licentiam in oculis habere, tamquam quidquid potest facere factura sit* (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 78.29).

⁷⁶⁷ *In plenum cogitanda fortuna est* (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 91.8)

⁷⁶⁸ *De Ben.* 4.83.

⁷⁶⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 74.19-20.

setting up the now familiar dichotomy between the Stoic idea *deus/fatum* and the Epicurean rule of *fortuna*.⁷⁷⁰ Philosophy, he claims will teach Lucilius to obey god willingly, but *fortuna* defiantly, to follow god, and endure *casus*. This disparity between, on the one hand, knowing *fortuna* to be the manifest will of god, and, on the other, defying and despising it while still willingly obeying God, may only in part be explained by what Griffin has called ‘Seneca’s pedagogic strategy’.⁷⁷¹ This involves a didactic process whereby Seneca uses Epicureanism as a tool in Lucilius’ conversion (hence the juxtaposition of *deus/fatum* and *fortuna*) and introduces him first to less stern Stoic precepts. The orthodox truth, that events wrought by *fortuna* are in fact ordained by God, is saved until Lucilius has advanced further along the path of wisdom. However, Seneca, well into the later *epistulae*, even when we may assume that Lucilius is advanced enough to understand the true place of *fortuna* in the world, still counsels that Lucilius resist her.⁷⁷² This position is at variance with that of Epictetus, who, teaching a generation after Seneca, even when giving practical advice to his students (in much the same way that Seneca does for Lucilius), does not see the Stoic *proficiens* as being at odds with *fortuna*. On the contrary, he recommends that his pupils meditate morning, noon, and night on the fact that they should surrender everything τῷ δαιμονίῳ, τῇ τύχῃ, ἐκείνους ἐπιτρόπους αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὓς καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς πεποίηκεν, and tells his audience that only cowardly and lazy men complain about God and τύχη.⁷⁷³ These two examples are the only times that Arrian records Epictetus as using τύχη with a meaning akin to that given to *fortuna* by Seneca.

⁷⁷⁰ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 16.4-5.

⁷⁷¹ Griffin 2007.

⁷⁷² For example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 117.25. The last time that *fortuna* is mentioned in the letters is in 120.12, when Seneca tells of the sage who *numquam ... fortunae maledixit, numquam accidentia tristis excepit, ciuem esse se uniuersi et militem credens labores uelut imperatos subiit. Quicquid inciderat, non tamquam malum aspernatus est et in se casu delatum, sed quasi delegatum sibi*. While this might be true of the man perfect in his virtue, neither Seneca nor Lucilius are thought to have reached that state, for the *proficiens* then the advice to resist *fortuna* must hold true.

⁷⁷³ Epict. 4.4.39; 4.1.109.

Whereas Epictetus' τύχη is synonymous with fate and Providence, Seneca's *fortuna* only occasionally has this more orthodox meaning.

While Epictetus counselled surrender to τύχη, much of Seneca's writing describes *fortuna* in terms of war, an enemy against whom men must fight military campaigns.⁷⁷⁴ She fires missiles, she lays siege and she makes slaves of those whom she captures in this war.⁷⁷⁵ However, for all the variety of his imagery, Seneca often constructs *fortuna* with reference to her role in determining the material circumstances of life, *pecunia et corpus et honores*, etc.⁷⁷⁶ However, these circumstances are defined by the Stoics as *indifferentia*, ἀδιάφορα, things neither good nor bad. It is *fortuna* that doles out these indifferents, some of which are advantageous and *commoda* (health, wealth), some unfavourable and *incommoda* (poverty, disease). The foundation of Seneca's therapeutic strategy lies in teaching Lucilius that these indifferents are not 'Goods' or 'Evils', but the raw materials for either. *fortuna*, he says, *materiam dat bonorum ac malorum et initia rerum apud nos in malum bonum ue exiturarum*.⁷⁷⁷ *fortuna* is thus defined by Seneca in terms of the circumstances and materials that she bestows. Thus, it might appear that by this construction of the action of *fortuna* Seneca's *fortuna* is still theologically identical with the Stoic's perfect and benevolent God who ordains *fatum*, the material course of human life. However, despite

⁷⁷⁴ See for example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 93.4. Seneca's use of military imagery has been very usefully catalogued by Armisen-Marchetti (1989:76-79) building on Lavery's work (1980).

⁷⁷⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 45.9; 82.5; 51.8. While Seneca warns that this battle will be cruel he shows that man is at all times capable of defeating *fortuna*, if only he seize upon the appropriate weapons (reason, virtue, etc). That it is at all times possible to defeat *fortuna* is a recurrent idea in the development of Seneca's argument for suicide and will be dealt with towards the end of this section. Seneca's personification of *fortuna* as an ethereal adversary against whom mortals fight in terms made substantial by the mentions of weapons and tactics is unusual, and possibly unique, outside of the epic genre. While at other points in literature the imagery of war is used to describe dealings between men and gods (cf. Ovid. *Rem. Amor.* 2; 4), never do men actually engage them in battle. Armisen-Marchetti sees this imagery of war as being a consequence of the processes of personification used on *fortuna* in Seneca, which is heavily influenced by the literary, philosophical, and religious tradition of personification and 'allegorical portraiture' Armisen-Marchetti 1989: 254-5. See also Asmis 2009: 13-126.

⁷⁷⁶ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 66.23. See Seneca's description of *fortuna* as holding games at which she distributes prizes to the crowd (Chapter 2: pp. 110). The gifts that she showers down are all indifferents.

⁷⁷⁷ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 98.2-5.

the ability of *fortuna* to give both advantageous and disadvantageous indifferents, Seneca's characterization of her is relentlessly negative.

natura is another name for a force that brings gifts to man, however, the gifts of *natura* are constructed very differently to those of *fortuna*. Seneca tells Lucilius that, while the gifts of *fortuna* only lead you to crave further gifts, *naturalia desideria finita sunt*, that the man who follows these gifts is immune to the missiles of *fortuna*, and that while the gifts of *natura* may raise men to the level of the gods, gifts of *fortuna* (*pecunia* etc.) cannot do this, for the gods do not possess such things.⁷⁷⁸ This is because the gift that *natura* gives to man is reason, his innate and distinguishing characteristic.⁷⁷⁹ So while the gifts of *natura* are intrinsic to man and part of the active and divine principle, those of *fortuna* are externals, formed of the inactive principle and thus cannot be part of the 'Good' or Providence. Seneca, by his vilification of *fortuna* in the therapeutic programme that he sets out, reveals a tension in his letters between the orthodox Stoic view of *fortuna* (as is evident in Epictetus' version of Stoic therapy) and an understanding of *fortuna* as malignant force that brings about negative material circumstances.

Stoic therapy largely revolves around the application of man's reason towards recognition of the true Good. This Good is defined by Seneca as being *rerum scientia, uirtus*, that which *ad se impetum animi secundum naturam mouet, sapientia*, and a *liber* and *erectus animus*, and is characterized by self sufficiency, that is, that it takes no portion of its goodness from outside of itself.⁷⁸⁰ Seneca's therapy is therefore geared towards bringing his reader to the realization of this Good and its relationship to the external material world controlled by *fortuna*, and, as such, is concerned throughout with 'curing' the effects of *fortuna* on man's life. These cures may be roughly divided into 1) achieving self

⁷⁷⁸ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 16.8; 45.9; 31.9-10.

⁷⁷⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 41.7-9.

⁷⁸⁰ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 31.6; 114.8; 118.9; 117.1; 124.12; 9.15.

sufficiency; 2) pondering *fortuna* and practising against her; and 3) recognising death as an escape.⁷⁸¹

In order to become self-sufficient and escape the dominion of *fortuna* Seneca's pupil first needs to be able to judge what is a Good and what is merely an indifferent. The way in which he does this is by applying his reason. Reason is, for Seneca, man's defining quality, man is the *rationale animal*.⁷⁸² This means that he is able to choose what is right for him, he is able to decide what it is that will bring him the greatest happiness. Because man, alone amongst the animals, is characterized by his reason, reason becomes his nature. Hence living in accord with nature is for man defined by reason. The idea seems to be that all creatures have as their natural endowments, certain inclinations. These inclinations are the 'starting points for virtue' in that, by following these inclinations, one behaves in accordance with one's nature which is given by God.⁷⁸³ A crucial part of this is the notion of οἰκειώσις, recognising something as being one's own or belonging to one/something.⁷⁸⁴ The first thing that man or indeed any animal must feel is a sense of οἰκειώσις to itself. Upon recognising that he belongs to himself the impulse of self-preservation is born, leading man to seek what belongs to him and reject what is harmful.

It is through the development of this reason, through man's appropriation of it as his own, that he is able to seek out that which is beneficial to him and reject that which is detrimental. The gifts of *fortuna* are detrimental to man not because they are essentially bad, but because the man who has not yet progressed far enough along the path of wisdom and reason may mistake them for Goods. Thus Seneca tells Lucilius that he should regard

⁷⁸¹ The cure of that involves pondering *fortuna* and practising against her constitutes the *praemeditatio futurorum malorum*. See Manning 1976, Armisen-Marchetti, M. 1986; 2006; 2008; Griffin 2007.

⁷⁸² Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 124.23.

⁷⁸³ Stob. *Ecl.* 2.65.8.

⁷⁸⁴ For discussions of Nature and οἰκειώσις see, amongst many others M. Schofield 2003: 243; T. Engberg-Pederson 1986: 149; Engberg-Pederson 1990; T.G. Rosenmeyer 2000: 103. See also Inwood's (2007:322-346) discussion of Seneca's 121st letter.

the gifts of *fortuna* with fear and suspicion, declaring them to be not gifts, but *insidiae*.⁷⁸⁵ They are traps because they lead men to believe in error that things external to themselves, which do not belong to them and over which they have no control, may be Goods. These things, instead of being controlled by man are controlled by *fortuna*, and as such, they place the man who values them under the control of *fortuna*.⁷⁸⁶ The Good, conversely, requires nothing of itself from outside, and neither therefore should man.⁷⁸⁷

The first step that Seneca recommends towards self-sufficiency is that Lucilius cease to crave the gifts of *fortuna*: that he not demand things from *fortuna*, but rather demands of himself that he not desire those things which what she can give.⁷⁸⁸ Having ceased to crave her favour, it is suggested that what prosperity one has be lessened.⁷⁸⁹ Both of these involve despising what others (defined most often as the *turba*) hold dear, things which *extrinsecus splendent*, for these things are often held out to you by another, most often by *fortuna*.⁷⁹⁰ The desire for gifts such as these is contrary to needing nothing from without, for Seneca is clear that the gifts of *fortuna* never belong to the man upon whom she has bestowed them: that which she has given she is also capable of taking away, as she often does, because she is unpredictable and affects reversals.⁷⁹¹

Later in his letters, once Lucilius has made further progress in his Stoic education, Seneca clarifies that these gifts are not in themselves evils, but rather that they are of course indifferents, the raw-materials of happiness or misery.⁷⁹² This is made clear by Seneca's

⁷⁸⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 8.3.

⁷⁸⁶ See for example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 9.15; 8.10.

⁷⁸⁷ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 9.15; 72.8; 74.6; 82.5.

⁷⁸⁸ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 8.3; 15.11 ; 23.6-7; 39.3.

⁷⁸⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 39.3.

⁷⁹⁰ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 39.3; 23.6.

⁷⁹¹ *Quia non est alieni muneris, ne arbitrii quidem alieni est: quod non dedit fortuna non eripit* (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 59.18). For the legalistic imagery of *fortuna* as a creditor and for the gifts of *fortuna* as loans, see Armisen-Marchetti 1989: 120-121. For *fortuna* bringing reversal see for example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 4.7; 9.12; 44.4; 47.10; 71.10.

⁷⁹² Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 72.7-8.

insistence that all virtuous men are equal despite how *fortuna* divides up her gifts, that the good man is made no worse by receiving this gift than by not receiving it.⁷⁹³ Indeed that which is given by chance, may be to the wise pleasant and productive, but it is only so because he is in possession of himself.⁷⁹⁴ This works because the wise man is, through his reason, able to make the experience of having received the gift and the memory of it, his own.⁷⁹⁵ Were a man to regret the loss of one of these gifts and to have that loss make him unhappy it would mean that he relied on things external to himself, and in the process would cease to be in full possession of himself, for the moment that things exterior are valued *fortuna* begins to have power over him and he becomes enslaved.⁷⁹⁶

One of the ways that Seneca suggests Lucilius comes to a true evaluation of *fortuna* as indifferent and external is by pondering *fortuna* and practising against her. Doing this involves pondering what evils *fortuna* may bring, so that they are never unexpected, and so that one may be aware of the full scope of her power.⁷⁹⁷ This act of meditation on the powers and character of *fortuna* forms part of the *praemeditatio futurorum malorum*. Indeed, Musonius Rufus tells us that the purpose of philosophical meditation is that the philosopher may make true assessments of good and evil and that this may lead him to moral behaviour conducive to happiness.⁷⁹⁸ So, Seneca advises meditating on *fortuna* in

⁷⁹³ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 76.34.

⁷⁹⁴ *Omnia quae fortuna intuetur ita fructifera ac iucunda fiunt si qui habet illa se quoque habet nec in rerum suarum potestate est* (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 98.2).

⁷⁹⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 98.11. This call to take joy in memory should not be seen as a concession to the Epicureans on the point of *reuocatio ad contemplandas uoluptates* (cf. Armisen-Marchetti 1986; 2008), but rather it is a mark of approval for the rational powers of man. This is because Seneca is not suggesting that his reader value the memory as something more than another indifferent.

⁷⁹⁶ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 74.1.

⁷⁹⁷ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 78.29.

⁷⁹⁸ Muson. 6.39-41; cf. Armisen-Marchetti 2006: 168.

order that Lucilius replace the faulty representation of her and her gifts with an accurate representation.⁷⁹⁹

Armisen-Marchetti has defined this *praemeditatio* as the process of becoming familiar with imagined future disasters, but has placed certain restrictions on it: that it was part of the meditations which the Stoic engaged every day, mentally, orally or in writing, clarifying that it is a ‘mental technique pertaining to the imagination’.⁸⁰⁰ Seneca’s admonition at various stages to consider the scope of her power: *omnem fortunae licentiam in oculis habere, tamquam quicquid potest facere, factura sit*, fits this definition exactly.⁸⁰¹ The conclusions to which Seneca suggests Lucilius come are the following: that there is nothing of which *fortuna* is not capable; that there is no individual or moment in time which is exempt from her actions; that *fortuna* is not in our control (since it is *fortuna* who controls the outcome of our actions even though the origin of them lies with us); and the loss of her gifts, even the gift of life, is not a true evil.⁸⁰²

However, Seneca does not only suggest contemplation as a way of reducing the power of *fortuna*, but also a more physical version of the *praemeditatio*. He suggests that Lucilius, not only think about the deprivations that *fortuna* might bring, but also that at times he live as though she had already done so. Although this practice does not fit squarely into Armisen-Marchetti’s definition of the *praemeditatio* as a purely imaginative exercise, it

⁷⁹⁹ Contrarily Epictetus seems to recommend the *praemeditatio* as part of a process that will lead to a surrender to *fortuna* (4.4.39).

⁸⁰⁰ For the first definition see Armisen-Marchetti 1986:185, then 2008: 103.

⁸⁰¹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 78.29. For more examples of mediating on *fortuna* see for example 63.15; 91.4-6;8;15; 98.7-8;99.32. This admonition is seemingly contradicted in 13.11 where Seneca suggests that an optimistic mindset is best, for even bad *fortuna* is fickle. However, as Griffin (2007) has shown, statements such as these are always found amongst the earlier letters where Seneca is still using a diluted form of Stoicism, in order that his teachings may be of immediate assistance to Lucilius who is not yet *proficiens* enough to be able to absorb the dogmatic version, a coddling for which Seneca is later apologetic. On the apparent criticism of the *praemeditatio* see also Armisen-Marchetti 1986.

⁸⁰² Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 91.4-15; 14.16 ; 99.9; 99.22; 104.29; 71.37.

must in some way be influenced by it.⁸⁰³ This exercise involves not only cures that entail Lucilius making changes to his daily life that increase his self-sufficiency (living frugally and indulging the body only to the extent that is needful for health), but also cures that mean Lucilius has to take a more drastic role in denying the body that which it craves, and requires its occasional mortification.⁸⁰⁴

In letter 18, Seneca sets out a programme whereby Lucilius should, at times when *fortuna* is kind, like a soldier who trains for war in times of peace, train himself against her future onslaughts. This is one of the few occasions when Seneca recommends doing physical battle with *fortuna*, usually he regards the *animus* as the battleground, and the imagery, of physical labour and the building of fortifications, reinforces this.⁸⁰⁵ This ‘training’ entails, from time to time, living on the scantiest and cheapest food (*aqua et polenta aut frustum hordeacei panis*) and taking pleasure from it.⁸⁰⁶ Although the goal here is the attainment of *uirtus* through recognition of the true Good, the stated aim in each of these cases is to overcome *fortuna* with the attainment of *uirtus* seeming to be a by-product, a happy accident of defeating *fortuna*.⁸⁰⁷ Indeed, once Lucilius has become accustomed to this sort of deprivation and in order to completely remove any semblance of power that *fortuna* might have over him, Seneca encourages Lucilius to be willing to do without even his bread and water, defeating *fortuna* through a willingness to embrace death.⁸⁰⁸

The degree to which *fortuna* is characterized as an enemy against whom men must train, not only their bodies, but also their minds as they were preparing for physical combat,

⁸⁰³ Later Armisen-Marchetti seems to include the practice of frugal living in the definition of the *praemeditatio* (2006: 164), but I would argue that it cannot be thought of as identical because of its physical nature which therefore includes in this ‘physical *praemeditatio*’ just as many present troubles as future troubles.

⁸⁰⁴ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 8.5; 39.3.

⁸⁰⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 80.3; 82.5; 91.4-6.

⁸⁰⁶ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 18.6.

⁸⁰⁷ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 18.6; 7; 8; 11.

⁸⁰⁸ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 110.19.

means that the philosophical ‘Goods’ are constructed as weapons against *fortuna*, rather than ends in themselves. So, the most important *instrumentum* against *fortuna*, and the means by which the philosopher may subdue the *casus* which she brings, is reason: knowledge of the true ‘Good’ (*illi bonum, quod malum sit*) and *ratio* is a means by which man may build a *inexpugnabilis murus, quem fortuna multis machinis lacessitum non transit*, and *sapientia* is the tool by which we may overcome the troubles which *fortuna* brings.⁸⁰⁹

There is of course one performative act of virtue that signals the ultimate defeat of *fortuna*, that is suicide. Ker, in his study of Seneca’s deaths, has pointed out that often in Seneca’s works suicide is characterized as wresting of power from the killing agent, *fortuna*.⁸¹⁰ Contemplation of death forms a principle part of the *praemeditatio futurorum malorum*, and as such is part of the mental defence against *fortuna* who is figured throughout as the force that, except for in the case of suicide, appoints the time and manner of our deaths.⁸¹¹ If death is fully contemplated as Seneca advises, his reader will soon realize that mortality is not governed by any hard and fast law, meaning that he is always prepared for the death of a loved one, which should not therefore come as a shock, nor should any untimeliness of death cause undue grief.⁸¹² Moreover, meditation on mortality serves not only to protect against the pain caused by the death of another, but it teaches man not to fear death.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 74.19; 82.5; 117.25. For further instances in which the defeat of *fortuna* seems the purpose of *uirtus* see 51.8; 71.30; 74.1; 74.6-9; 113.8.

⁸¹⁰ Ker 2009: 253; See also pp. 117, where Ker notes that in Seneca’s works, ‘to live well is partly a matter of being conscious of the shaping hand of the dramaturge, whether Fortune, Nature, or the gods – or even of taking on the dramaturge’s role oneself, especially in the choice of ending’.

⁸¹¹ For contemplation of death a theme in the *praemeditatio futurorum malorum* see for example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 24.15-17; 70.18.

⁸¹² Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 63.15; 24.7; 26.10; 70.5; 70.13.

⁸¹³ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 30.18.

Indeed rather than fearing death, Seneca often counsels suicide, or at least contemplation thereof.⁸¹⁴ While the freedom to choose death is allowed by the early Stoics, they did seem to ask for more reason than Seneca demanded. Suicide belonged to a special case of reasonable action, that is, one dictated by exceptional circumstances.⁸¹⁵ For the early Stoics, suicide is only reasonable, and therefore virtuous, in situations such as these. Among such exceptional circumstances the Stoics list: the saving of one's country by suicide; for the sake of one's friends; because tyrants force one to do or say disgraceful things; protracted disease that prevents the soul from making use of the body; or if the body suffer intolerable pain, mutilation, or incurable disease; poverty; or madness.⁸¹⁶ Life being, like death, an indifferent, it only has value in so far as it facilitates virtuous action. But, as all indifferents are not equally advantageous, some, as we have seen, are preferred; it becomes man's responsibility to weigh the indifferent benefit of life against the cost of whatever disadvantageous indifferents he might suffer. If there is an imbalance in favour of pain or another such hardship, death becomes the rational decision. Although no Stoic text preceding Seneca directly counsels death as an escape from *fortuna*, in some traditions of Zeno's death the philosopher took his own life, and Cleanthes did likewise.⁸¹⁷ This course of action is permissible since life in accord with nature is no longer possible.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹⁴ For the Senecan fixation on suicide see Rist 1969: 231-255 for suicide as Seneca's ultimate act of virtue; Veyne 2003: 113 who sees in Seneca's description of suicide 'veritable delight'; cf. Elsässer 1989. Griffin (1976: 367 ff.) and Evenepoel (2004, who gives a useful overview of the treatment of suicide in the *Epistulae Morales*) take a more balanced view, seeing Seneca's devotion to suicide as less extreme, and as based in reason. The reason for the increased emphasis that Seneca places on suicide must be in part due to its relative importance and acceptability in Roman culture. It would be unwise to read what Miriam Griffin has called the 'severely qualified approval of suicide' (1986: 68) offered by Stoicism as the foundation for the acceptability of suicide amongst certain parts of Roman society. Seneca's use of Stoicism to justify, if not positively encourage suicide, must in part be read as a function of his experience as a Roman aristocrat.

⁸¹⁵ Diog. Laert. 7.109.

⁸¹⁶ Diog. Laert. 7.130; *SVF* 3.768.

⁸¹⁷ Diog. Laert. 7.28; 1.176.

⁸¹⁸ For a useful discussion of the influences of Greek philosophy on Roman suicide see Griffin, 1986A; 1986B.

Seneca for the most part follows this logic, believing that living is not a Good, only living well, a life in accord with reason and virtue. However, Seneca does seem to counsel suicide much more readily than his predecessors, announcing that it is man's privilege to end his life the very moment that he becomes suspicious of *fortuna*, that he need not wait until he is *in necessitate ultima* that *fortuna* brings.⁸¹⁹ Seneca does not seem to require that the benefits be completely overwhelmed by the disadvantages before a man kill himself; rather, suicide becomes, because of his fixation with *fortuna*, a victorious stroke in the war against her. The beneficial value of suicide is therefore increased because of its power to do damage to the might of *fortuna*.

This is achieved for two reasons: firstly suicide, when done in accordance with reason is a wholly virtuous act, and such virtue excludes the power of *fortuna*; secondly, it is also an action that, because of its finality, excludes the possibility of future non-virtuous action and therefore precludes any future power that *fortuna* might have had, thus serving as an assertion of *libertas* from *fortuna*, a programmatic theme of the *epistulae*.⁸²⁰ This is not to say that Seneca's philosophical reasoning for advising suicide was not Stoic,⁸²¹ but rather that his literary characterization of *fortuna* in terms of warfare means that weapons against her are more than ends in themselves. This is especially clear when Seneca talks of the

⁸¹⁹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 70.5. See also *Ep. Mor.* 58.34 where he suggests that suicide is appropriate *paulo ante quam debet faciendum est*, lest in the final stages one is prevented from performing the deed. This passage should perhaps be read together with 70.5, moderating somewhat his endorsement of suicide. For a useful summary of the debate regarding the orthodoxy of Seneca's views on suicide see Evenepoel 2004: 226-230. Evenepoel convincingly argues that, according to Seneca 'self-killing is permitted on rational grounds, indeed the possibility to take one's own life is the cornerstone of human liberty'. However he says of Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 70.5: 'Seneca ... does not say that one may proceed to suicide long before the presence, or in the absence of *necessitas* ... suicide should not be postponed until the situation is no longer under control' (235, contra Rist 1969: 247). This seems contrary to what Seneca describes as a process of weighing the benefits of suicide over those of life.

⁸²⁰ For the idea of *libertas* from *fortuna* see (e.g.) Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 51.9; 65.20; 66.23; 74.22; 110.19. See also Evenepoel 2004: 226 ff; Inwood 2007: 311 n.11.

⁸²¹ See Griffin 1976: 375, who sees Seneca's epistles as presupposing the basic Stoic doctrines rather than explicitly setting out the tenets of orthodox Stoicism.

suicide of Cato the Younger.⁸²² *fortuna* is figured throughout the *epistulae* as opposing Cato, but unable to defeat him,⁸²³ and Cato's death, like his actions in life, are seen as occurring *inuita fortuna*.⁸²⁴ Moreover, Cato's virtue, and by extension his suicide, is explicitly stated as the force by which *fortuna uincitur*, and his death makes him safe from her (and therefore victorious over her) for all time.⁸²⁵

While Seneca's philosophy might be in line with his Stoic predecessors, his literary characterization of *fortuna* sets up a cosmic battle, whereby the Stoic Goods become not ends in themselves but weapons against *fortuna*. Man's ultimate battle, because of this, seems no longer to be the attainment of virtue for its own sake, but the defeat of *fortuna*. It is this literary divergence which demonstrates the way in which a philosopher writing under the Empire might have thought about *fortuna*. Seneca, in his construction of *fortuna*, is not so much a Stoic writing about a Stoic problem, rather he is a Stoic, applying Stoic thinking to the problems of individual powerlessness. As we discussed in Chapter 2, this is especially relevant to those on the peripheries of the imperial power structure, to those who must interpret their own personal agency in terms of the perceived (and constructed) omnipotence of Caesar.⁸²⁶ Asmis has set out at length the ways in which Seneca casts Nero in the role of *fortuna*.⁸²⁷ Seneca's letters, written after 62, in the wake of Burrus' death and after Seneca had fallen out of favour with the emperor, construct *fortuna* as possessing omnipotence similar to that of the emperor. For Seneca, the dominance of *fortuna* is a result of the imperial system, although it is necessarily unique to it.⁸²⁸

⁸²² See Asmis 2009: 132-14 on Seneca's portrayal of Cato in relation to *fortuna*. For more on the *uirtus* of Cato see Chapter 2: pp. 143.

⁸²³ See for example Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 24.7; 71.8; 118.4.

⁸²⁴ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 104.29.

⁸²⁵ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 71.8; 24.7.

⁸²⁶ For Stoicism as a philosophy that was concerned with individual's role in society, and as presenting a way of living successfully under the Empire, see Shaw 1985.

⁸²⁷ Asmis 2009: esp. 127-129.

⁸²⁸ For this problem as a problem also of monarchy see Asmis 2009:121-122.

Conclusion

For many of our philosophically literate sources, a belief in the supremacy of *fatum* and *deus* defines the character of Stoic thought. In contrast, Epicurean philosophy is given the rule of *fortuna* as its defining quality. For these writers the Epicureans are thought to replace the moral and predictable forces of god and fate with capricious and amoral *fortuna*, a force over which human *uirtus* is powerless. For Lucan especially, the arrival of the Empire signalled the replacement of a system in which the virtue of individual men could triumph over *fortuna*, with a system ruled by *fortuna* and men like Caesar, who are defined by their relationships with her.

The close association between the emperors and *fortuna* that developed under the Empire allowed Seneca to associate the power of *fortuna* with that of the emperor. As a way of living successfully as a member of the Roman elite, a group who were now, by their own estimation, powerless to determine the physical circumstances of their existence, Seneca developed a Roman brand of Stoicism that posited as the defining battle of the philosopher's life the struggle against the supremacy of *fortuna*. This Stoicism was therefore different to that of his Greek predecessors or to the Stoicism of Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius because of the function that it performed for Seneca and his audience. While the Hellenistic Stoa used this philosophy as a tool to negotiate ways of living successfully in the setting of the post-Classical πόλις, Seneca's Stoicism was developed as a way of living as a member of the Roman elite under the Empire.⁸²⁹ We should not see Seneca's Stoicism as setting out the philosophical basis for political opposition to the imperial system: the idea that Stoicism motivated elite resistance under the Empire has

⁸²⁹ For Stoicism and post-Classical πολεῖς see Shaw 1985: esp. 223-29.

been convincingly disproved.⁸³⁰ Rather, Seneca uses Stoicism as a way of interrupting the imagined omnipotence of the emperor over the individual. By showing his reader how to overcome the power of the emperor/*fortuna* he presents a system for successful living under the Empire. Seneca presents Stoic philosophy as a way of achieving real personal power in contrast to the mere semblance of power attainable in political life.

⁸³⁰ Shaw 1985: 45-49.

Conclusion

Our sources use *fortuna* to construct their understanding of a variety of social experiences, such as wealth, social position, and their relationship with Roman power. In cult, literature, and philosophy *fortuna* is shown to distribute these things, and on coins the emperor is portrayed as mediating the relationship between *fortuna* and the people of the Empire in his distribution of material benefits (corn, largesse, peace, and so on). In determining how Romans experienced their material reality *fortuna* is also closely associated with ideas of individual and group identity. Cults of *fortuna* are used by individuals as a way of identifying themselves as belonging to certain social or sexual groups. These *fortunae* are also used to forge group identities: the idea of elite *uniuirae* as a group distinct from other women was, in part, created through their participation in the rituals of the cult of *fortuna muliebris*; the equestrians as a social group distinguished themselves from others by their cultivation of *fortuna equestris*; the worship of the imperial *fortunae* allowed members of a large and disparate Empire to connect themselves with the unifying figure of the emperor, helping them to identify themselves as belonging to this Empire and enjoying its benefits. The literary sources in particular pay specific attention to the idea that *fortuna* was especially favourable to Rome and her generals. Whether undermining this idea, or in concentrating on how Rome deserved and maintained this position as the favourite of *fortuna*, our sources are concerned with the idea that the Romans are distinguished from other peoples by their relationship with *fortuna*. *fortunae* like those of the *populi Romani*, *rei publicae*, and *imperii*, whose strength was linked to their moral and practical fitness to command their Empire, served to create a sense of Roman identity that also described ways of imagining various constitutional systems.

The relationship that an individual was imagined to enjoy with *fortuna* was also used as a tool by which to distinguish him from other men even though they might, in theory, have also enjoyed the tutelage of a broader Roman *fortuna*. Republican generals like Carvilius Maximus, Sempronius Tuditanus, Fulvius Flaccus, and Lutatius Catulus founded temples to *fortuna* as a way of advertising their personal victories. The choice of *fortuna* was often motivated by a personal and/or familial connection to the goddess. These temples were used to connect the victories won by these men to their individual, political personalities: Catulus, in his foundation to *fortuna*, used the connections that the *gens Lutatia* had with *fortuna* as part of his competition with Marius. He used *fortuna* as a way of distinguishing himself from Marius, and as a way of claiming greater personal glory. As the power of individual generals became more important so too do we see more importance being attached to the idea of increasingly individuated *fortunae*. Sulla and Pompey were shown as having special relationships with *fortuna*, ones that justified their extraordinary political power, and made them more fit to lead Rome than other men. These relationships with *fortuna* functioned as a signal of divine favour, connecting Pompey in particular with ideas of divinity that were developed more fully in the case of Caesar and the emperors. Cicero, for example, portrays *fortuna* as particularly favouring Pompey in order that, through him, she might further the cause of Rome. Pompey and other powerful generals are thus understood to mediate the benefits that *fortuna* bestows on Rome through the power of their personal relationships with her.

Under the Empire it is the emperor that maintains Rome's relationship with *fortuna*. The cults of *fortuna redux* and *fortuna Aug.* in particular are imagined as ways that the emperor shares the benefits of these imperial *fortunae* with the inhabitants of the Empire. Attached to the office of the emperor rather than his person, they allow for the continuance of this relationship even when one emperor is replaced by another. On coins we see how this idea

of the inheritance of the imperial *fortunae* is used as a way of legitimating the imperial succession, connecting one emperor to another in a chain that is imagined as reaching back, unbroken, to Augustus and, in some cases, Caesar. These *fortunae* therefore help to construct the idea of the office of the emperor and help to define his role in relation to the Empire he ruled. In this regard, he is imagined to be like *fortuna*: the emperor controls the material circumstances and fates of Romans and bestows the material benefits of Empire. Thus, he performs many of the practical functions of a god, but religious veneration of these functions is given to the imperial *fortunae*.

This blending of the imperial power and the power of *fortuna* is used by various literary and philosophical sources to comment on the authors' idea of individual powerlessness within the imperial system, and as a way of critiquing the system as a whole. Critics of the Epicureans suggest that this school gives to *fortuna* the role that the Stoics gave to *deus* and *uirtus*. The Epicureans are accused of replacing the rule of reason and the predictable supremacy of *uirtus* with an unpredictable, fickle force, giving this complete control over human affairs and leaving no space for the efficacy of human merit. For literary authors these characteristics of the power of *fortuna* maps onto the powers of the emperor. Thus, Seneca's experience of imperial power is shown to be negative in the way that he contrasts the superficial omnipotence of *fortuna* with the true and lasting power of *uirtus*. Even in the late Republic we see this dynamic at work: a source's view of *fortuna* reflects its broader relationship with power. A beneficent *fortuna* that is concomitant with *virtus* is used to celebrate powerful men like Pompey, while the idea of a *fortuna* that is opposed to *uirtus* is used by Sallust as a way of distinguishing a degenerate aristocracy from those of the *noui homines* who have *animus* and *ingenium*. The official narrative of the emperor's relationship with *fortuna* (seen especially in the imperial cults of *fortuna redux* and *fortuna Aug.* and the representation of these on coins) showed that *fortuna* was 'tamed' by her

relationship with Rome and its emperor. This bond was shown to be so strong that *fortuna* could be portrayed as synonymous with the benefits of Empire.

The creation of this narrative in which *fortuna* displays steadfast support for Roman power allowed for literary and philosophical criticisms of Empire to be expressed through characterizations of *fortuna* as a capricious force which took as readily as she gave, handing out summary justice, exile, misfortune, and death. The choice of characterizing *fortuna* as a malevolent or benevolent force thus often depended of the relationship that the source had with the structures of political power. These characteristics of *fortuna* were also mapped onto the characters of powerful men who were shown to have been corrupted by their relationships with *fortuna*. This critique allowed these authors to show that, rather than the *fortuna* having been tamed into beneficence by her relationship with the emperor, *fortuna* undermined the very system of rule which she was advertised as supporting, creating tyrants whose Empires were liable to fall.

Such pessimism regarding the role of *fortuna* in human life is characteristic of the way that she was later understood by Christian authors. In these sources, the worship of *fortuna* is used to characterize the false nature of pagan religion: *fortuna* is a false goddess for she brings misfortune, even to those who worship her,⁸³¹ and when the pagans worship *fortuna* they are in fact worshipping a diabolical force.⁸³² These authors, like their pagan predecessors, used *fortuna* as a tool with which to understand the world in which they lived. Moreover, their criticisms of *fortuna* also reflect the ambiguity which these authors felt towards the pagan imperial past: understandably, given the ubiquity and significance of *fortuna* in the ideology of the pre-Christian empire, for these men *fortuna* symbolized not just the evils of pagan worship, but also of the imperial system whose brutal

⁸³¹ Lactant. *Div. inst.* 3.29.9-12; August. *De ciu. D.* 4.18.

⁸³² Lactant. *Div. inst.* 3.29.17; August. *De ciu. D.* 4.19.

suppression of Christian worship had been such a formative experience for the early Church.⁸³³

Such was the importance of *fortuna* in the construction of Roman imperial identity that ultimately its meaning had to be changed in official discourse from ‘luck’ to something approximating ‘certainty’. As an expansionist imperial power, constantly engaged in the risky business of war, the Romans were preoccupied with ideas of luck, chance, and uncertainty. This interest is manifested in the multifarious ways in which they represented *fortuna* and tried to ‘tame’ her for the benefit of their Empire. Other Mediterranean cultures, notably the Greeks, had comparable concepts which also played significant roles in their societies, but as this thesis has gone some way towards showing, the Roman interest in *fortuna* is of a different order to the Greek interest in τύχη in terms of the central place it was allotted in Roman society and in constructions of Roman power.

⁸³³See for example Lactantius’ description of Galerius’ death (*De mort. pers.* 33).

Appendices

Appendix 1

RIC Number	Date	Date (Modified)	Reign	Obverse Portrait	Image-Type	Legend-Type
547 A	27 BC	27 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
547 B	27 BC	27 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
548	27 BC	27 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
488	27-26 BC	27 BC	Augustus	Augustus	2	1
489	27-26 BC	26 BC	Augustus	Augustus	2	1
541	27-19 BC	22 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
55	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
56a	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
56B	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
53a	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
53b	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
54a	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
54b	19-17 BC	19 BC	Augustus	Augustus	3	2
321	19-16 BC	19 BC	Augustus	4 [*]	<i>victoria</i> with shield	3
322	19-16 BC	19 BC	Augustus	4 [†]	3	2
125	18-16 BC	18 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
126	18-16 BC	18 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
127	18-16 BC	17 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
128	18-16 BC	17 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
129	18-16 BC	17 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
130	18-16 BC	16 BC	Augustus	Augustus	1	1
52	34-35	34	Tiberius	Tiberius	5	4
58	35-36	35	Tiberius	Tiberius	5	4
64	36-37	36	Tiberius	Tiberius	5	4
33	38	38	Gaius	Gaius	6	4
120	41-54	41	Claudius	Claudius	7	5
49	68	68	Vindex	Hercules	8	6
81	68	68	Vindex	Augustus	1	1
82	68	68	Vindex	Augustus	1	1

* This coin carries the *fortuna* image-type on the obverse accompanied by the legend FORTVNA (legend-type 3)

† This coin carries a *fortuna* image-type on the obverse and the reverse. The obverse also has the legend FORTVNA ANTIAT while the reverse has legend-type 2.

84	68	68	Vindex	Apollo	1	1
85	68	68	Vindex	Galloping warrior with spear	1	1
97	68	68	Vindex	Augustus	9	4
171	68	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
172	68	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
96	68	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
97	68	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
127	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	11	8
128	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	11	8
146	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
147	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
206	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
205	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
207	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
208	68-69	68	Galba	Galba	10	7
209	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
213	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
211	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
212	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
210	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
214	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
231	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
232	68-69	69	Galba	Galba	10	7
261	69-70	69	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	9
387	69-70	69	Vespasian	Vespasian	12	9
140	69-79	69	Vespasian	Vespasian	13	8
4	69-71	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	9
4	69-71	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	9
276	70	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	12	9
402	70	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
409	70	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
285	70-71	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	8
31	70-72	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	12	9
32	70-72	70	Vespasian	Vespasian	15	2
286	70-71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	8
280	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	11	2
487	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	16	2
11	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	15	2
11	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	15	2
281	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	15	2
299	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	15	2
488	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
422(1)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
422(2)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
422(6)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2

422(7)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
473(1)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
473(3)	71	71	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
607	72	72	Vespasian	Titus	16	2
739	72	72	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
516	72-73	72	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
732	72-73	73	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
532	73	73	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
175	74	74	Vespasian	Titus	17	8
81	74	74	Vespasian	Vespasian	17	8
81	74	74	Vespasian	Vespasian	17	8
82	74	74	Vespasian	Vespasian	17	8
177A	74	74	Vespasian	Titus	17	4
177A	74	74	Vespasian	Titus	17	4
177B	74	74	Vespasian	Titus	17	4
177B	74	74	Vespasian	Titus	17	4
123	75-79	75	Vespasian	Vespasian	17	8
88	75	75	Vespasian	Vespasian	1	4
181	75	75	Vespasian	Titus	1	4
252	75	75	Vespasian	Domitian	1	4
571	76	76	Vespasian	Vespasian	18	2
672	76	76	Vespasian	Titus	16	2
572	76	76	Vespasian	Vespasian	14	2
123	75-79	77	Vespasian	Vespasian	17	8
754A	77-78	77	Vespasian	Vespasian	16	2
754B	77-78	77	Vespasian	Vespasian	16	2
761	77-78	78	Vespasian	Vespasian	19	2
769	79	79	Vespasian	Vespasian	20	10
33	79-80	79	Titus	Titus	11	8
39VAR	80	80	Titus	Domitian	21	8
71	80-81	80	Titus	Domitilla Senior	11	8
pg124*	82	82	Titus	Domitian	21	4
32	82	82	Domitian	Domitian	11	4
264	85	85	Domitian	Domitian	21	8
293	85	85	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
299B	85	85	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
299A	85	85	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
326A	86	86	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
326B	86	86	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
353A	87	87	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
353B	87	87	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
349A	87	87	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
349	87	87	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
333	87	87	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
367	88-89	88	Domitian	Domitian	11	8

384	88-89	88	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
371	88-89	89	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
394	90-91	90	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
392	90-91	91	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
405	92-94	92	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
407	92-94	94	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
417	95	95	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
422	95	95	Domitian	Domitian	11	8
60	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
60	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
4	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
4	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
73	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
73	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
74	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
75	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
61	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
5	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
5	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
62	96	96	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
35	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
28	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
28	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
83	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
83	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
98	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
98	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
16	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
16	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
84	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
99	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	11	8
17	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
17	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
29	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
29	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
85	97	97	Nerva	Nerva	22	11
105	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	11	4
105	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	11	4
42	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	11	4
42	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	11	4
114	98	98	Nerva	Juno	23	4
131	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	23	12
122	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	7	5
123	98	98	Nerva	Nerva	7	5
126	96-98	98	Nerva	Augustus	1	12

723	98	98	Trajan	Trajan	7	5
14var	98-99	98	Trajan	Trajan	11	4
14	98-99	98	Trajan	Trajan	24	4
711	98-117	98	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
4	98-99	99	Trajan	Trajan	24	4
34	100	100	Trajan	Trajan	24	4
440	101-103	101	Trajan	Trajan	11	8
441	101-103	102	Trajan	Trajan	11	8
177	103-111	103	Trajan	Trajan	21	13
178	103-111	103	Trajan	Trajan	21	13
179	103-111	104	Trajan	Trajan	21	13
177Var	104-107	104	Trajan	Trajan	21	13
500VAR	103-111	105	Trajan	Trajan	11	13
500VAR	103-111	106	Trajan	Trajan	11	13
500	103-111	107	Trajan	Trajan	24	13
500	103-111	107	Trajan	Trajan	24	13
501	103-111	108	Trajan	Trajan	24	13
502	103-111	109	Trajan	Trajan	24	13
122	103-111	110	Trajan	Trajan	24	13
148B	103-111	111	Trajan	Trajan	10	7
627	112-114	112	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
629	112-114	112	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
628	112-114	112	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
628	112-114	112	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
68	112-114	112	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
253	112-114	113	Trajan	Trajan	21	14
254	112-114	113	Trajan	Trajan	21	14
253	112-114	113	Trajan	Trajan	21	14
274	112-114	113	Trajan	Trajan	11	13
591	112-117	113	Trajan	Trajan	25	13
652	114-116	114	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
651	114-117	114	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
308	114-117	114	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
315	114-117	114	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
302	114-117	114	Trajan	Trajan	11	4
652	114-116	115	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
653	114-117	115	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
319	114-	115	Trajan	Trajan	21	2

	117					
320	114-117	115	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
321	114-117	116	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
318	114-117	116	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
317	114-117	117	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
316	114-117	117	Trajan	Trajan	21	2
541A	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
541B	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
541C	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
545	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
15VAR	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
15VAR	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
536	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
543	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
543VAR	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
5	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
10	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
10C	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
10C	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
15	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
15	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
18A	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
18B	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
18C	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
211D	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
211G	117	117	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
557	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
551A	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
551AVAR	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
551B	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
41a	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
41c	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
41A	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
41C	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
41A	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
41C	118	118	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
604A	119	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	26	15
604B	119	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	26	15
604C	119	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	26	15
599A	119-121	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
599B	119-121	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
571	119-122	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
578	119-122	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2

85AVAR	119-122	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	4
122B	119-125	119	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
85BVAR	119-122	120	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	4
122VAR	119-122	120	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
707D	119-122	120	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
707F	119-122	120	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
122A	119-122	120	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
707L	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
85A	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
85B	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
85AVAR	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
85BVAR	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
383	119-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	27	4
617	121-122	121	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
110B	124-128	124	Hadrian	Hadrian	27	4
110A	124-128	125	Hadrian	Hadrian	27	4
697	125-128	125	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
698	125-128	125	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
110C	124-128	126	Hadrian	Hadrian	27	4
724	125-128	126	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
723A	125-128	126	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
723D	125-128	127	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
723F	125-128	127	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
647	125-128	128	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
677	125-128	128	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
691	125-128	128	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
530	128-132	129	Hadrian	Hadrian	29	8
531	128-132	129	Hadrian	Hadrian	29	4
477	128-132	130	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	17
473	128-132	131	Hadrian	Hadrian	30	4
245C	131-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
707A	132-134	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
707C	132-134	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
245AA	131-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
707J	132-134	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
242	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
247D	134-	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2

	138					
247I	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
360C	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
360E	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
247AVAR	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
759DVAR	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	8
379B	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
759D	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
810E	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
749A	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
802	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
760D	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
760F	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
760C	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
812A	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
243	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	31	2
243	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	31	2
248C	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	31	2
248A	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	31	2
248D	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	31	2
813C	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
813D	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
813F	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
813FVAR	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
761F	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
761FVAR	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
761C	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
761CVAR	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	32	2
814	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	33	2
762	134-138	134	Hadrian	Hadrian	34	2
371	131-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
247A	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
247F	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	21	2
247DVAR	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
247FVAR	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
247IVAR	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
759FVAR	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	8

341	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
759E	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
244D	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
749D	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
812C	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
245AD	131-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
812D	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
812F	134-138	135	Hadrian	Hadrian	20	8
811	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	8
759F	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
244A	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
749E	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
246C	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	35	18
246F	134-138	136	Hadrian	Hadrian	35	18
379A	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	11	4
810D	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	16	8
749F	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	28	16
275	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	36	19
787A	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	37	20
431	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	38	4
1065A	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1065C	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1065A	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1065C	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1053A	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1053C	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	36	4
1054A	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	39	4
1054C	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	39	4
1066	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	39	4
1066	137	137	Hadrian	L. Aelius	39	4
246A	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	35	18
789	134-138	137	Hadrian	Hadrian	40	20
969A	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
969B	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
969C	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
969D	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
969G	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
969H	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
973	134-	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2

	138					
976A	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
976E	134-138	138	Hadrian	Hadrian	18	2
49AVAR	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
49BVAR	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
533A	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
533B	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
533C	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
546A	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
558	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	8
559	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	8
536	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	8
41	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
49A	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
49B	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
22A	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
22C	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
34	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
551VAR	139	139	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
700AVAR	140-144	140	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
700BVAR	140-144	140	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
669	140-144	140	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
700CVAR	140-144	141	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
700A	140-144	141	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
1202	141-161	141	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	11	21
700B	140-144	142	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
700C	140-144	142	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
1107B	141-161	142	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
636A	140-144	143	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
636C	140-144	143	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
1107C	141-161	143	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
636AVAR	140-144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
636CVAR	140-144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
751	144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	40	4
749	144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
752	144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
754	144	144	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
760	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
834	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
799	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	40	4

799VAR	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	42	4
798	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
810	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
761	145-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	43	4
132	146-161	145	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
1160A	141-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
811	145-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
763	145-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	40	4
762	145-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
784	145-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	20
809	145-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	43	20
1160B	141-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
349AAvar	141-161	146	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	44	22
167	147-148	147	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
167	147-148	147	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
348B	141-161	148	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
602	147-148	148	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
179	148-149	148	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
349ABvar	141-161	148	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	44	22
348A	141-161	149	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
179VAR	148-149	149	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
181	148-149	149	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	37	4
188	149-150	149	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
868	150-151	150	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	45	4
1107A	141-161	151	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
194VAR	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
195VAR	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
205VAR	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
885	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
888	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
893	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
896	151-152	151	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
1057	138-161	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	46	8
194	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
195	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
211	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
205	151-	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4

	152					
195VAR	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	47	4
212	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	48	4
218	151-152	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	48	23
222	152-153	152	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
349AA	141-161	153	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	49	22
232VAR	153-154	153	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
349AB	141-161	154	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	49	22
232	153-154	154	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
240VAR	154-155	154	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
348A	141-161	155	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	41	22
349B	141-161	155	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	49	22
240	154-155	155	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
245VAR	155-156	155	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
245	155-156	155	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
251	155-156	155	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
349Bvar	141-161	155	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	44	22
139	146-161	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	50	24
1328	155-156	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1329A	155-156	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1329B	155-156	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1332	155-156	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
257	156-157	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	24
1338A	156-157	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1338B	156-157	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
964	156-157	156	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	60	28
139VAR	146-161	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
372	141-161	157	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	49	25
1338C	156-157	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1338D	156-157	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	51	4
1339	156-157	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	53	4
277	157-158	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	4
271	157-158	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	24
982A	157-158	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
982B	157-158	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	4
990	157-158	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	24
1001VAR	158-159	157	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24

801	145-161	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24
771var	145-161	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	50	24
983	157-158	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	4
975	157-158	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
996	157-158	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
275	157-158	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	54	4
275VAR	157-158	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	55	4
1015VAR	158-159	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24
1015	158-159	158	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24
372var	141-161	158	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	44	25
771	145-161	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
1023	158-159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24
1023VAR	158-159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	24	24
1001VAR	158-159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	50	24
286A	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
286A	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
286B	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	52	24
286A	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	56	24
286A	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	56	24
286B	159	159	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	56	24
pg.155	145-161	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	45	4
300A	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	3
300B	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	3
300c	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	3
300A	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	3
300B	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	3
300c	160	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	3
310	160-161	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	11	3
1068	160-161	160	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	8
409	141-161	161	Antoninus Pius	Faustina Snr.	37	4
310	160-161	161	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	16	3
322	161	161	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	20	8
323	161	161	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius	20	26
475	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
476	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1320	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1317	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1318	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1319	161-162	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2

1342	162-163	162	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1343	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1344	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1341	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1345	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1346	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1347	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1348	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1349	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1350	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1351	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1352	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1353	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1354	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1355	162-163	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
pg324n.	163-164	163	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1412	164-165	164	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1413	164-165	164	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1414	164-165	165	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1415	164-165	165	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
956	167-168	167	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	4
177	167-168	167	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	57	4
1476	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1477	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
1483	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
582	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
583	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
584	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
585	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
586	168	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
596	168-169	168	Lucius Verus	Lucius Verus	21	2
183	168	168	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
184	168	168	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
185	168	168	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
957	168	168	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	58	2
958	168	168	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	58	2
205	168-169	169	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
962	168-169	169	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
197	168-169	169	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	11	4

976	169-170	169	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	21	2
204	169-170	169	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	30	2
215	169-170	170	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	11	4
220	170-171	170	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	30	2
343	175-176	175	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	59	2
344	175-176	175	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	59	2
345	175-176	176	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	18	2
618	175-176	176	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	3	2
360	175-176	176	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	3	2
683	179	179	Marcus Aurelius	Faustina Jnr.	21	27
661	179	179	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	21	4
662	179	179	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	21	4
402	179	179	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	58	4
409	180	180	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius	58	4
2	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	58	4
6A	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	58	4
6BB	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	58	4
6BD	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	58	4
6BE	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	58	4
295E	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
295F	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
295FVAR	180	180	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
63C	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	18	4
63D	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	18	4
351	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
358	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
372	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
361A	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
361D	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
388	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
395	183	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
414	183-184	183	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
423	183-184	184	Commodus	Commodus	16	4
111D	184-185	184	Commodus	Commodus	58	2
683	180-191	185	Commodus	Crispina	60	28
111E	184-185	185	Commodus	Commodus	58	2
446	184-185	185	Commodus	Commodus	58	2
469	186	186	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
477	186	186	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
131	186	186	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
493	186-187	186	Commodus	Commodus	21	4

149	186-187	186	Commodus	Commodus	59	2
632	186-189	186	Commodus	Commodus	61	28
669	180-191	187	Commodus	Crispina	60	28
533	186-187	187	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
513	187-188	187	Commodus	Commodus	18	2
521	187-188	187	Commodus	Commodus	18	2
516	187-188	187	Commodus	Commodus	18	4
191B	186-189	188	Commodus	Commodus	63	29
166A	187-188	188	Commodus	Commodus	18	4
166B	187-188	188	Commodus	Commodus	18	4
172	188-189	188	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
186	188-189	188	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
524	188-189	189	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
184	188-189	189	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
534	188-189	189	Commodus	Commodus	64	29
541	189	189	Commodus	Commodus	62	26
201	189	189	Commodus	Commodus	48	30
191A	189	189	Commodus	Commodus	65	29
547	189	189	Commodus	Commodus	65	29
609	192	192	Commodus	Commodus	66	4
620	192	192	Commodus	Commodus	66	4
623	192	192	Commodus	Commodus	66	4
235	192	192	Commodus	Commodus	66	4
2	193	193	Pertinax	Pertinax	16	31
15	193	193	Pertinax	Pertinax	16	31
2AVAR	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	11	4
12	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
15	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
2A	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
2B	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
2C	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
6	193	193	Didius Julianus	Didius Julianus	16	4
23	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	21	2
26B	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
26C	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
26D	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
26E	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
27	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
25	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	11	2
26A	193-	193	Pescennius	Pescennius Niger	11	2

	194		Niger			
72	193-194	193	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	67	32
pg.138/1	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
pg.138/3A	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
440	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
440VAR	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
pg.138/2	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
pg.138/4	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	68	2
439	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	69	2
355	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
pg.138/3	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
440VAR	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
pg.138/5	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
437A	193	193	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	71	2
624	193-196	193	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	21	2
626	193-196	193	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	21	2
28B	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	72	2
28A	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	72	2
22	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	68	2
21	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	68	2
29	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	73	2
30	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	74	2
20	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	75	2
24	193-194	194	Pescennius Niger	Pescennius Niger	76	2
5C	194-195	194	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
5B	194-195	194	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
5A	194-195	194	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
3	194-195	194	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	4
6	194-195	194	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	18	8
624A	193-196	194	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	18	2
622	193-196	194	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	11	33
451	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
451A	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
451VAR	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
452	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
448B	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
448A	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2

449	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	69	2
449VAR	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	69	2
449A	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	69	2
450	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	77	2
450A	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	77	2
453	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
453VAR	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
453VAR	194	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
380	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
381	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
379	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
378A	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
378AVAR	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
376B	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
377	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
378	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
378VAR	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
376A	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	8
386	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	68	2
385A	194-195	194	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	73	2
53A	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
53B	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
53C	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
53D	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
53E	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
59	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
59VAR	194-195	195	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	59	2
470	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
623	193-196	195	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	78	2
623A	193-196	195	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	79	2
625	193-196	195	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	80	2
388	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	69	2
382	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
382VAR	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
382A	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
383	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
383A	194-	195	Septimius	Septimius Severus	19	2

	195		Severus			
383B	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
384	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	19	2
387	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	81	2
385	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
385VAR	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
385VAR	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
385VAR	194-195	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
703A	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
703B	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
706A	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
706B	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
706C	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
709A	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
709C	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
709D	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
469	195-196	195	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
64	195-197	196	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	18	2
22	195-197	196	Claudius Albinus	Claudius Albinus	11	8
713	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
714	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
717	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
69	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
71A	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
709AVAR	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	82	4
709CVAR	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	82	4
709DVAR	195-196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	82	4
720A	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
732	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
720B	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
720C	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
720D	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
723AA	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
723AC	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
723AAVAR	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	82	4
723ACVAR	196	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	82	4
478	196-197	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2

479	196-197	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	2
78A	196-197	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
78B	196-197	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
78C	196-197	196	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
77	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	8
477	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
84	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
477A	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	78	2
479AA	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	73	2
479AB	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	73	2
479B	196-197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	70	2
493	197	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
110	197-198	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	8
115A	197-198	197	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
104	197-198	198	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
561	198	198	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	61	28
127	198-200	198	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	8
126A	198-200	198	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	8
552VAR	196-211	199	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	83	26
126A	198-200	199	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	8
126B	198-200	199	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	8
136	198-200	199	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	4
37	199-200	199	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	2
641	196-202	200	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	61	28
875	196-211	200	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	84	26
136	198-200	200	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	4
136VAR	198-200	200	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	4
136VAR	198-200	200	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	24	4
854	196-211	201	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	84	26
350	194-202	201	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
10	200-202	201	Septimius Severus	Geta	60	34
315	202-210	202	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	21	26
264A	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	2
264AA	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	2
264AB	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	2
187	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	2
189B	203	203	Septimius	Septimius Severus	58	4

			Severus			
189A	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	4
264AAVAR	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
264ABVAR	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
264AVAR	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
188	203	203	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	85	2
876	196-211	204	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	86	26
553	196-211	204	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	18	26
320A	202-210	204	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	16	4
194	204	204	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	58	4
554	196-211	205	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	87	26
317	202-210	206	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	61	30
154	206-210	206	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	11	26
554	196-211	207	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	87	26
552	196-211	208	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	88	26
824	202-210	208	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	89	2
836	210-211	210	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
810	211	211	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
246	211	211	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	59	2
247A	211	211	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	18	2
175BVAR	211	211	Geta	Geta	21	2
75VAR	211	211	Geta	Geta	21	2
75	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
76	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
76	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
168A	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
168B	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
175B	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
175BVAR	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
175A	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
173A	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
173AVAR	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
173B	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
173BVAR	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
176	211	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
77	211	211	Geta	Geta	90	2
93A	212	211	Geta	Geta	58	2
479AVAR	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	21	2
479BVAR	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	21	2
479A	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2

479B	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
485A	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
485B	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
488	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
489	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
190A	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
190A	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
190B	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	58	2
189	211	211	Caracalla	Caracalla	91	2
393	211-217	212	Caracalla	Julia Domna	11	2
393A	211-217	215	Caracalla	Julia Domna	21	2
82	218-220	218	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	8
261	219-222	219	Elagabalus	Julia Maesa	60	34
59	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	92	35
18E	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	59	4
18F	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	59	4
19	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	59	4
20	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	59	4
189	218-22	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	93	2
82A	218-220	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	8
93	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
94E	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
94F	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
95B	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
95D	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
96	219	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	60	34
81VAR	218-22	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	94	2
81	218-22	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	93	2
349D	218-22	219	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
348	220-222	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
252	219-222	220	Elagabalus	Julia Maesa	95	2
218VAR	219-220	220	Elagabalus	Julia Paula	21	26
218	219-220	220	Elagabalus	Julia Paula	96	26
349B	220-222	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
83AVAR	220-22	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	11	2
80	218-220	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	8
83	220-22	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
83A	220-22	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
84	220-22	220	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	16	2
141	220-22	221	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	37	20
397	221-222	221	Elagabalus	Aquilia Severa	45	4
229	221-222	222	Elagabalus	Aquilia Severa	60	28

396	221-222	222	Elagabalus	Aquilia Severa	60	28
142	220-22	222	Elagabalus	Elagabalus	37	20
263	222	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	11	4
264	222	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	11	4
264VAR	222	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	11	4
267	222	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	11	4
9	222	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	4
136	222-228	222	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	54	35
268	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	11	4
196A	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	2
196B	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	2
28	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	4
29	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	4
30	223	223	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	97	4
9VAR	228-231	228	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	4
190B	228-231	229	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	54	35
190A	228-231	231	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	54	35
233	231-235	231	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	18	2
232A	231-235	232	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	2
232B	231-235	234	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	16	2
139B	233-235	234	Alexander Severus	Alexander Severus	98	26

Appendix 2

Image-type	Description
1	Capricorn holding globe with rudder attached, cornucopia above
2	Capricorn inside laurel wreath with cornucopia on back
3	Altar of <i>fortuna redux</i>
4	Heads of the <i>fortunae</i> of Antium (helmeted and diademed)
5	Rudder standing vertically before large banded globe, small globe at base of rudder
6	Julia Livilla as <i>fortuna</i> holding rudder and cornucopia with Agrippina Jnr. as <i>securitas</i> and Drusilla as <i>concordia</i>
7	Standing holding cornucopia crowning emperor inside temple
8	Standing holding wreath and cornucopia
9	Capricorn holding globe with rudder attached
10	Standing sacrificing at altar with patera, with one foot on a globe and holding rudder
11	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder
12	Standing holding prow and cornucopia
13	Standing on prow holding rudder and cornucopia
14	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder set on globe and branch
15	Standing holding globe and caduceus
16	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder on globe
17	Standing on altar holding cornucopia and rudder
18	Seated holding rudder on globe and holding cornucopia
19	Standing holding cornucopia and palm
20	Standing holding cornucopia and patera
21	Seated holding rudder and cornucopia
22	Seated holding sceptre and ears of corn
23	Rudder on globe
24	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder over prow
25	Standing holding rudder placed on prow
26	Standing holding patera, with one foot on a globe and holding rudder
27	Emperor standing, holding rudder set on globe and Spear
28	Standing holding caduceus and cornucopia, wheel at her feet
29	Standing with polos on head holding rudder and cornucopia
30	Seated holding sceptre and rudder
31	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder set on globe (rudder and globe do not always appear clearly) clasps hand with emperor
32	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder set on globe (rudder and globe do not always appear clearly) clasps hand with emperor who holds roll
33	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder set on globe (rudder and globe do not always appear clearly) clasps hand with emperor who holds globe
34	Seated holding cornucopia clasps hand of standing emperor who holds roll
35	Standing with Spes (holding flower, plucking at skirt) holding rudder on globe and holding cornucopia
36	Standing holding cornucopia, flower, and on rudder resting on globe
37	Standing with rudder on globe and she feeds (with a patera?) a snake which is wound round an altar

38	Standing holding cornucopia, flower and rudder
39	Standing with Spes (holding flower, plucking at skirt) holding rudder and cornucopia
40	Seated with rudder on globe and she feeds (with a patera?) a snake which is wound round an altar
41	Standing holding globe and rudder
42	Seated with rudder and she feeds (with a patera?) a snake which is wound round an altar
43	Standing holding rudder and she feeds (with a patera?) a snake which is wound round an altar
44	Standing holding rudder and patera
45	Standing holding rudder on globe with prow at feet and resting modius on knee
46	Standing
47	Standing holding rudder and branch
48	Standing holding rudder on globe and corn ears
49	Standing holding rudder set on globe and patera
50	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder and patera over prow
51	Standing raising skirt and holding rudder
52	Standing holding rudder set on globe, patera, and cornucopia
53	Standing holding flower and rudder
54	Standing holding rudder on globe and modius with prow at feet
55	Standing holding rudder and modius with prow at feet
56	Standing holding rudder, patera, and cornucopia
57	Seated (description incomplete)
58	Seated with wheel beneath holding rudder and cornucopia
59	Seated with wheel beneath holding rudder on globe and holding cornucopia
60	Standing holding wreath and rudder set on globe
61	Standing holding wreath and rudder
62	Standing holding double cornucopia and caduceus over prow (Sometimes star in field)
63	Seated holding thunderbolt and sceptre
64	Seated holding cornucopia and horse by bridle, rudder behind
65	Seated holding cornucopia and horse by bridle
66	Standing holding cornucopia and caduceus over prow (sometimes star in field)
67	Seated holding cornucopia, with rudder on globe lying on ground
68	Seated holding cornucopia and branch
69	Standing holding cornucopia and sceptre
70	Standing sacrificing at altar with patera and holding cornucopia
71	Standing with polos/modius on head, holding cornucopia sacrificing with patera over altar
72	Standing holding cornucopia and caduceus
73	Standing holding cornucopia and branch
74	Standing holding scales and cornucopia
75	Seated holding patera and wreath
76	Seated holding wreath and branch
77	Seated holding cornucopia and sceptre
78	Standing holding cornucopia in each hand
79	Seated holding cornucopia and palm
80	Standing holding cornucopia and ears of corn
81	Seated holding poppy, ears of corn and cornucopia

82	Standing holding cornucopia and rudder on globe with wheel at her feet
83	Standing holding caduceus and rudder on globe
84	Seated holding rudder and cornucopia with statue on column behind and child at feet
85	Seated with wheel beneath holding cornucopia and rudder, emperor sacrificing to her with patera over tripod
86	Seated holding rudder and cornucopia with child at feet
87	Seated holding rudder on globe and cornucopia with child beside
88	Standing holding caduceus and rudder
89	Seated holding rudder and cornucopia, emperor standing facing her sacrificing over altar
90	Reclining on wheel and holding cornucopia
91	Standing, leaning on column, holding cornucopia with wheel at her feet
92	Standing holding rudder on globe and ears of corn with modius with corn ears at feet
93	Seated with wheel beneath with polos/modius on head, holding cornucopia and patera
94	Seated with wheel beneath with polos/modius on head, holding cornucopia and rudder
95	Standing holding cornucopia with a child standing to either side of her
96	Seated holding globe and cornucopia
97	Standing holding sceptre and rudder on globe
98	Seated holding cornucopia

Appendix 3

Legend-Type	Legend
1	AVGVSTVS
2	FORTVNA REDVX
3	FORTVNA
4	Imperial titles only ⁸³⁴
5	COM ASI/ ROMA ET AVGVSTVS
6	FORTVNA FLORENTE POPVLI ROMANI
7	SALVS GENERIS HVMANI
8	FORTVNA AVG.
9	COS ITER and FORTVNA REDVX
10	FIDES FORTVNA
11	FORTVNA POPVLI ROMANI
12	REST.
13	OPTIMO PRINCIPI
14	OPTIMO PRINCIPI and FORTVNA REDVX
15	SALVS PVBLICA
16	FELICITAS AVG.
17	FORTVNA EPHESIA
18	FORTVNA SPES
19	SPES POPVLI ROMANI
20	SALVS AVG.
21	PAX
22	AETERNITAS
23	TRANQVILITAS
24	FORTVNA OBSEQVENS
25	AVGVSTA
26	FORTVNA FELIX
27	FORTVNA MVLIEBRIS
28	LAETITIA
29	FORTVNA MANENS
30	LAETITIA AVG.
31	DIS CVSTODIBVS
32	ROMA AETERNA
33	FORTVNA REDVX and AVG.
34	LAETITIA PVBLICA
35	ANNOVA AVG.

⁸³⁴ Although this legend is not truly a *fortuna* legend, it has been included here for quantitative purposes.

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