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Domitian and Minerva at Rome:
Iconography and Divine Sanction in the Eternal City

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Abstract

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By Kira K. Jones

Domitian's fondness for the Roman goddess Minerva has long been recognized; she dominated court-sanctioned literature, coinage, monuments, and festivals to such an extent that she became inseparable from Domitian's tenure as emperor. Modern scholarship has often dismissed this as one in a long line of symptoms linked to his descent into tyranny, an assumption that is rooted in the politically charged and defamatory literature published after his assassination. Minerva has rarely been separated from her Greek cousin Athena, and so becomes the transgressive foreign emblem of Domitian's heavy handed moral reforms through her status as a virgin goddess, or his battle lust through her position as a goddess of war. These approaches fail to consider the many unique Roman elements of Minerva's cult and their multivalent use under Domitian. This study examines Domitian's Minerva in light of her prominent role in Roman history, mythology, and religion and resituates his use of her as a calculated choice meant to connect him to that same legacy. Evaluating Minerva across various media, from her birth as an Etruscan goddess (Menrva) through the Flavian period, establishes that while she did retain several commonalities with Athena she also kept certain Italic elements, such as her healing cult (Minerva Medica), connection with prophecy, and powers over weather. Above all else she becomes associated with the welfare of the state and the power of empire through the palladium, a sacred icon from Troy which was said to take an active role in protecting Rome. Domitian's approach was two-pronged: first, through gender-fused portraits and then physical proximity, he sought to create an inextricable connection between himself and Minerva. Second, he flooded metropolitan Rome with images and references to her role in every aspect of Roman life and thus, through her divine patronage, legitimized himself as a worthy emperor. Examining Domitian's Minerva across media and considering her Italic qualities reveals a goddess that was not only much more central to Roman religion and history than previously thought, but a comprehensive propaganda campaign that would ultimately be extraordinarily successful.

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Contents

Introduction

Rome was a city built on traditions: the stories, rituals, and monuments that underpinned Roman society were a tapestry that was constantly being added to, restored, and reinvented. Roman religion was a particularly strong thread that ran through everything. The various cults, gods, traditions, and rituals that made up what we might call the Roman relationship with the divine was inextricable from the politics, philosophies, vocations, and routines that made up everyday life.

Romans saw themselves as part of a divinely ordained empire whose success depended on the will of the gods; in tracing their ancestry back to Troy, it was Jupiter himself who declared that the Trojan refugees would found a new Ilium on Latian shores. If one hoped to make a mark on Roman history, the gods had to play a part in it. As such, the world of myth and divine iconography was ripe for exploitation and smart emperors, like Domitian, were quick to capitalize on it and equate themselves in the public eye with divinities that suited their needs.[1]

As early as the Republican period, prominent Romans were connecting themselves to gods and heroes through ancestors and patronage. Pompey claimed ancestry to Poseidon and Mark Antony to Hercules; as they grew in power Pompey claimed Minerva as a patron and Mark Antony was hailed as a new Dionysos in the East.[2] Most famously, Julius Caesar claimed relation to Venus through Aeneas, the supposed progenitor of the Julii, and used this genealogy to justify his bid for sole power in Rome.[3]

Caesar may not have been the first to delve headlong into divine ancestry, and he certainly was not the last. Octavian, later Augustus, declared Caesar himself a god after a comet

[1] Brodd 2011, Lobur 2008.
[2] Hekster 2015, Pollini 2012, Galinksy 2005, Zanker 1990.

shot over the sky at his funeral and thus increased his familial pantheon by one. He also promoted the story of Romulus and Remus, who not only founded the city of Rome but were fathered by Mars. They were descended from the Alban Kings, a line founded by Ascanius, who was the son of Aeneas; thus, Augustus was able to add Mars and the deified Romulus to his family tree as well. It was not long before his divine genealogy was a prominent part of his imperial propaganda, setting a precedent for the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the long line of emperors who would come afterwards.[4] With Caesar's death and apotheosis, deceased and deified emperors became part of the fabric by which Rome identified itself.[5] As the emperors grew more and more powerful, divinity was often assumed, if not outrightly stated. Emperors would be lauded as Jupiter, empresses as Juno, representing their heavenly counterparts and alluding to the power that they had over the Roman world. Yet, despite this power, there were unwritten rules that had to be followed.

It was general practice to encourage such allusions but not to require them; above all, one must remember that he/she was not a god.[6] Once the imperial cult had been established it was the emperor's genius that was propitiated, the numen or power behind the throne, rather than the emperor himself. Those who were seen to overstep these bounds, such as Caligula, often met with untimely deaths. Others towed the line by having uncharacteristically strong affinities for particular deities, as Augustus did for Apollo. Such relationships between god and emperor invariably marked the memory of Rome's history, becoming inextricably intertwined with the emperor's legacy.

Domitian was one such emperor, whose inflexibility and heavy-handed administration

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[3] Badian 2009.
[4] Zanker 1990, Hekster 2015, Galinsky 2005.
[5] Blevins 2013.
[6] Beard et al 2002: 206-10.

earned him no end of ill will among the Roman aristocracy and, as a result, assassination in 96. Despite this and the subsequent attempts to obliterate any good he had done from the record, he had managed to rule for fifteen years (longer than his father and brother combined), rebuild a good portion of the city, leave the treasury in good shape, and lay the foundations for the very successful dynasties that followed.

Domitianic studies have fared better, especially in the wake of recent interest in Flavian Rome. Jones' monograph remains standard with Carradice (1983) and Darwall-Smith (1996) as fairly comprehensive studies on numismatics and architecture, respectively. Anthologies on Flavian Rome in general, such as Boyle (2003) and Zissos (2016), are likewise invaluable for their breadth and contextualization. Regarding Domitian and Minerva specifically, what scholarship has been done tends to fall under very specific categories. Those that deal with Domitian's psychology and personality, such as Southern (1997) and Waters (1964), often focus on Domitian's reputation as an unhinged tyrant and see his relationship with Minerva as evidence of his obsessive nature. Others such as Moraweicki (1997) and D'Ambra (1993), who restrict their study to specific objects and monuments, are less biased in regard to his personality but necessarily limited in terms of scope.

This study adds to the current literature in two ways. First, it privileges Minerva's Italic heritage over her similarities with Athena and establishes a history of Minerva from the earliest days of Rome through the Domitianic period. While not dismissing Greek precedents, it recognizes that Minerva's Roman reality was how Domitian and other Romans understood her. Thus, any conclusions as to her Domitianic function must account first for the cultural and visual narrative in Rome.

Second, it considers the cultural and visual narrative to encompass all forms of artistic,

religious, and political expression. As Lobur eloquently states, "the picture of Roman history grows richer and more nuanced with the discovery of more points of intersection, for it is they that make the whole greater than the sum of its parts...[otherwise] one is confronted with a collection of statements, images, symbols, etc., without knowing how or why they work, and one is then reduced to oversimplifying their purpose."[7] While there is value in highly specialized studies, one must also recognize that the various modes and methods of idea dissemination in Rome were in constant communication with each other. Just as Statius engages with history of place and monumental architecture while praising Domitian and recording the appearance of the (now lost) *Equus Domitiani*, what he tells us is only a fraction of the statements, images, and symbols with which the contemporary Roman would have understood the statue.[8] Archaeology and primary sources provide information concerning ephemeral objects and events, such as ritual, festivals, and mythology, while material culture informs us about iconography, attributes, and evolution over time. All of these contribute to who Minerva was in Rome, whether as a major deity, a mytho-historical connection to the legendary past, a political statement, or a personal guardian. In considering all of these facets as a cohesive whole, it then becomes possible to get a clearer picture of the scope and impact of Domitian's Minerva propaganda.

Once Domitian decided to do something, he did so without hesitation. This can be seen in the massive ruins of his palace on the Palatine, the Capitoline Games which persisted long after his death and required two state of the art, permanent venues that became staples in Roman entertainment (the Stadium and Odeum of Domitian), or the hardline approach he took towards religious tradition.[9] One of these decisions involved his divine patron. While he deified his family and built appropriate temples for them, and followed the tradition of being equated to

[7] Lobur 2008: 209-10.
[8] Stat. *Silv*. 1.1; See here, pp. 158-9, and Houseman 2017.

Jupiter, neither of these would be the divinity that he most related to.[10]

As soon as he became emperor and gained control of the imperial mint and other such venues for official imagery, Domitian began to associate himself with Minerva.[11] One might not wonder at this, as Minerva's popularity has endured nearly uninterrupted since antiquity; yet, no previous emperor had chosen her as a primary divine patron. Empresses had on occasion been portrayed in her guise, both Pompey and Caesar had vied over her patronage, and she had been frequently referenced in Roman cultural narrative as the palladium.[12] Yet, the gender boundary between emperors and non-familial female deities had remained firm. For a man who was not only critically aware of public image but devoted to religious correctness, what caused him to make such a revolutionary choice in divine patron?

Schürmann's monograph (1985) has remained the most comprehensive study of Minerva in Rome and is notable for the sheer scope of material which he covers. He presents the temples we have archaeological or literary references to, their cults, and includes a long treatise on the function and iconography of the palladium. However, Schürmann also places a great deal of importance on the identification of cult statues, which while useful in some respects does tend to skew his iconographic analysis when dealing with objects such as Domitian's lararium coin.

Furthermore, he is dismissive of Minerva's Italic heritage and equates nearly all of the Roman innovations with Greek precedents, such as Minerva Medica with Athena Hygeia, or the Capitoline Triad and palladium with Athena Polias. While there are similarities, ignoring local traditions is perilous at best and obscures much of Minerva's socio-religious history in Rome. Scholarship since had largely followed in Schürmann's footsteps, with Graf's article being a

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[9] See here, pp. 160-184, and Appendix 4. See also Boyle 2003, Jones 1992.
[10] Blevins 2013, Suess 2011, Wood 2010, Tuck in Zissos 2001,
[11] See Appendix 4.
[12] Hekster 2015.

prime example. Notable examples to the contrary are those which look at Minerva in smaller, specifically Roman settings, as with Bodel (2008) and Spence (2001).

Much of Menrva's iconography and mythology was adopted from Greek traders and colonists in Southern Italy, but Etruscologists have convincingly proved that the Etruscans saw Athena as analogous to their goddess, Menrva, who was likely aniconic in early Etruscan civilization. As the Greeks already had an image canon established, they decided to portray her as such but to do so in a way that left options for interpretation open. Thus, we see what looks like Athena in stories that are purely Etruscan, carrying attributes that are Italic rather than Greek, and being propitiated in rituals that have their roots in Latium rather than Greece.[13] While the Romans were fascinated with Greek art and culture their own history was equally if not more important, and they not only valorized it but had plenty of opportunities to engage with material remnants firsthand.

The Capitoline Temple was one such example. Although it was restored numerous times, it was always done so according to the original plan. It was first built under an Etruscan king, Tarquinius Priscus, and both the cult statue and acroterial quadriga were made by an Etruscan artist, Vulca of Veii.[14] Pliny the Elder tells us that Vulca also made a statue of Hercules fictilis which was still well known in Rome at the time of his writing.[15]

The Etruscans were famous for their terracotta statues, and Pliny hints at the respect which late first century Romans held for them when he notes that "even now statues of this sort exist in various places; in fact, there are many pediments of temples in Rome and municipal cities, wonderful for their carving and art and durability, more venerable than gold, certainly

[13] Bonfante 1977; Carpino 2017; de Grummond 2006, 1982; de Grummond et al 2011, 2006; Richardson 1976; Shipley 2016, Simon 2013.
[14] Pliny *NH* 35.45.
[15] Pliny *NH* 35.45; see also Martial *Ep*. 14.178.

more blameless."[16] Elsewhere he mentions the statue of Hercules in the Forum Boarium said to have been consecrated by Evander, a statue of Janus dedicated by Numa, a colossal Tuscan Apollo in the library at the Temple of Augustus, and "...Tuscan statues dispersed throughout the world that were most certainly made in Etruria."[17] Horace confirms the appeal of these statues to Roman collectors, indicating that there would have been many examples of Etruscan iconography on view in Rome.[18]

So-called copies of original Greek statues, replete with innovations and differentiated from Etruscan by Quintillian, are now recognized as a sign of Roman ingenuity rather than dependence on the Greek cultural model.[19] This same view applies to Roman religion, the bones of which were traced back by the Romans themselves to early Italic heroes like Romulus and Numa. If the Romans themselves didn't see their cults as holdovers from Greece, then why should we?

Part 1 addresses this question by examining both Menrva and Minerva in their respective contexts from the archaic period through until 81 CE. Philological, art historical, and archaeological methodology will all be applied in the material discussed. While various academic fields have evolved to study specific aspects of the ancient world in detail, the Romans recognized no such boundaries concerning their lives. One must examine all of the evidence, both material and literary, in order to gain a clear picture of the trends and innovations at work in Rome. Thus, the first chapter is broken down thematically into iconography, attributes, sacred sites, and literature, all of which proceed from Etruscan to Roman. As Etruscan religion is fundamentally different from Roman and any arguments must be made from the material record,

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[16] Pliny *NH* 35.46 (*durant etiam nunc plerisque in locis talia simulacra; fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte suique firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora*).
[17] Pliny *NH* 34.16 (*signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa quin in Etruria factitata sint, non est dubium*). He asks of the Tuscan Apollo (34.18) whether it was more remarkable because of the metal or the workmanship.

some liberties have been taken. Thus, mythological representations are employed in the examination of literature to establish an Etruscan mythical canon, and the Roman literature incorporate not only the literary record, but coin representations to integrate the literary trends with securely dated iconographic trends.

The sites are likewise listed from Etruscan through to Roman, but while the Etruscan sites are few and occur in various places outside of Rome proper, the later Roman sites are many but restricted to the city. The goal of this section, apart from examining trends in ritual practice and cults, is to provide a basis of comparison for Domitian's extensive religious program. He restricted his program to Rome, however, and so the city sanctuaries are the ones that he would have been contending with. Specific attention is given to votives and ritual context; as Domitian was the first emperor to truly embrace Minerva and incorporate her so thoroughly into the imperial program, the traditions of the general public are what establishes her pre-Flavian character.

Iconography and attributes gather together a representative selection of Etruscan iconography from the archaic through to Hellenistic periods and the generally recognized "types" of Minerva/Athena statues that were popular in Rome. From this, trends in pose, clothing, and accessories can be examined. The attributes themselves are discussed in depth as they are the main vehicle by which Minerva is recognized in art and described in literature yet vary over time. The thunderbolt, a distinctly Etruscan attribute, and the palladium, intimately connected with Roman identity and history, both receive their own sections.

The second part builds on the first by taking a similar thematic approach centered around specific aspects of Minerva which Domitian emphasized, and discussing how he did so. Minerva

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[18] Hor. *Ep*. 2.2.180 (*gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla...sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere*).
[19] Quintillian *Ora*. 12.10.1. Prusac 2016; Hallett 2011; Hemmingway 2002; Ridgway 1984.

Fautrix takes up her role as a helper of heroes and delves into both the mythological heroes she aided and how Domitian sought to fit himself into a similar mode. Minerva Flavia, in contrast, studies the many innovations that Domitian employed in order to express how closely he and Minerva were working together. Public Piety tackles this question from another angle, dealing with the public monuments and events with which he convinced the Roman people of his respect for tradition and elaborated further on Minerva's role in his principate. Finally, Promachos to Polias covers the transition from military imagery between 82 and 85 to civic imagery from 86 onwards, in which the public iconography of both Minerva and Domitian changed to better reflect new imperial priorities.

Domitian's relationship with Minerva was unprecedented, both in idea and execution; the effectiveness of her constant association with him can be seen in the abrupt discontinuation of all Domitianic Minerva iconography immediately following his death. While Minerva might not have undergone the same condemnation of memory which he did, she had become so entangled in the Domitianic era of Rome that her new iconography was unable to be repurposed. In bringing together Minerva's Italic heritage with her new Domitianic face, the research contained herein not only places Minerva back into Italy as a native goddess whose Latian roots ran as deeply as Rome's own history but elucidates the bold and sometimes subtle ways in which Domitian played upon that history to create his own Flavian iterations of Minerva.

Part One: Minerva in Pre-Flavian Italy

Introduction

Minerva was the Roman goddess of fine arts, intelligence, state, and strategy. She figures in myth as the patroness of heroes such as Hercules, and in religion alongside Jupiter and Juno as a member of Rome's most prominent cult, the Capitoline triad. She was present at the mythical founding of Rome when her cult statue, the palladium, was brought to Rome from her temple in Troy and her cult site on the Aventine hill in Rome was one of the oldest in the city. Yet, despite all of this not much is known about her uniquely Roman characteristics. She is most often overshadowed by her Greek cousin Athena, with whom she syncretically shares a common mythology and iconography, and as a result modern scholarship has historically dismissed her as a Greek import.[1]

Minerva's very name signals her Italic origins, being a Latin adaptation of the Etruscan Menrva (Menerva, Merva, or Mera in some variants). Some have suggested an Indo-European derivation from the root "men-", signaling activities of the mind, noting that it is probably of an Etruscan origin.[2] Varro further assumes a Sabine connection.[3]

Minerva was from the beginning a Latian goddess, as the majority of her (henceforth referred to as Menrva in Etruscan contexts) cult centers were in Southern Etruria, the area which would eventually become Latium and the city of Rome. Part one seeks to establish her history as an Italic deity, distinct from Athena, who stood on her own as a member of the Roman pantheon.

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[1] See, for example, Brill's New Pauly (*s.v.* "Minerva" by C. Phillips and A. Ley) which ascribes her Italic association with lightning bolts to Athena's Homeric connections to Zeus and her place in the Capitoline Triad to Athena Polias. The assumption of a colonial narrative in which local traditions were overcome by those of Greek traders and colonists presupposes that the Italic population was somehow lacking and unable to adapt Greek conventions to new purposes.

[2] Colonna, "Athena/Menerva" in LIMC 2 1984:1050-74.

[3] Varro *Ling.* 5.74. "*Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis.*" This is part of a larger conversation in which Varro discusses the ethnographic origins of the gods.

The myriad sanctuaries, votive deposits, and local histories that comprise her pre-Roman days are gathered here and examined in concert with Roman literature, sacred sites, and iconography from the early Republic through until the Flavian period to determine her Italic characteristics, what was carried down into the Roman period, and how Minerva was perceived in the early Roman empire.

1.1: Iconography and Types

When speaking of iconography and attributes, one assumes a certain canon of objects or images with meanings that are specific to the character in question, both contributing to and deriving from their identity. In this way attributes are roughly analogous to the structuralist notion of mythemes, the shared building blocks of myth that can be assembled and reassembled to create different narratives. Images of Menrva/Minerva can be considered in the same way: each item she carries links to a story in her mythography and informs the viewer's experience of both the image and its environment.

Certain combinations of visual mythemes, such as clothing, objects, or even body position, could also become standardized. Minerva was never without a long dress, almost always carried one or more of her armaments, and frequently bore the aegis; other attributes, such as olive branches or owls, were also associated with her but utilized less often. This section gathers together Minerva's most common attributes, in both Etruscan and Roman contexts, as well as the most common standardized statue types that were repeatedly used in Rome.

It should be stated at the outset that this discussion of types is not meant to be an exhaustive study, nor does it seek to identify each type with a specific cult, artist, or meaning. Many of these objects are without a secure provenance or thought to come from a vaguely

defined geographical area; within those parameters they could have been cult statues, monumental dedications, or house decorations. Furthermore, derivation from an earlier Greek prototype (as with the Athena and Marsyas group, Cat. 65) should not be seen as a detraction from a piece's Roman appeal. These standard types were like repeated chords in a song and formed a very real part of Rome's visual landscape. Thus, consideration of them as opposed to an exhaustive catalog of every Minerva statue found in Rome stands to better elucidate the types that were most popular and had the biggest impact on the visual landscape, thus forming a baseline for consideration of Domitian's iconographic innovations in Part 2.

Etruscan Iconography

Menrva was an immensely popular goddess in early Italy; she was not only the most frequent female divinity to appear in Etruscan art but between the late 7th-mid 5th c. BCE in Vulci, Chiusi, and Tarquinia she one of the most frequent figures of either gender, apart from Hercle.[4] A survey of votive bronze statuettes by E. Richardson has revealed that Menrva was appearing in bronze with this iconography as early as the mid-Archaic period.[5]

A bronze representation, currently in Berlin, was found in the area around Florence and measures 11.5 cm. tall. Despite the blocky execution Menrva is clearly identifiable by her helmet and the promachos pose (moving forward with raised spear and shield, both missing here).[6] The top of her crest is missing but enough remains to show that she is wearing a helmet with fixed cheekpieces, a conical shape to support the trailing crest, and a neck guard. Except for a kore

[4] Shipley 2016: 237.
[5] Richardson 1983: 346-7.
[6] Berlin, inv. 7095, h. 0.155 m.; Müller 1921:49, pl. 4 fig. 2; Berlin Führer 1924:28; Lamb 1929:109 n. 3; Giglioli 1935:122 fig. 1; Riis 1941:138; Richardson 1944/5:109 fig. 11; Niemeyer 1960:89; Richardson 1964:104-105, pl. 26; Richardson 1976:128 fig. 11; Richardson 1983:346.

statue, Richardson has noted that this is the only archaic Etruscan bronze that wears a peplos, as opposed to the usual chiton and himation.

The late archaic Etruscan votive bronze Menrvas are arranged into four stylistic groups. The first of these, which Richardson names Ionic Series A, are characterized by an Attic-style helmet and a variation on the archaic Ionian himation. The best exemplar of this type, a figure currently in Modena, is late archaic. It is characterized by a vigorous pose, striding forward with bent knees, extended arms, and a wildly-flying three-pointed himation.[7] She wears an attic helmet with hinged cheekpieces and a support for the crest, alongside a partial nose guard. The surviving cheekpiece is extended horizontally and the gorgoneion is centered between her breasts but off-centered on the aegis itself, both of which act with the three-point himation to emphasize rapid movement. She is obviously a goddess in action, and quite dissimilar from the more static Promachos Menrvas seen elsewhere.

Late archaic series B features the severe style and finds counterparts in the Late Archaic severe warrior groups. The Menrva of this series can either be short and stocky or exhibit an elongated mannerism, as in an example from Fermo, currently in Florence.[8] She wears an Attic helmet with raised cheek pieces and a crest rising directly from the crown, with a short-sleeved dress cinched at the waist or hips and bare ankles. The aegis is often scaled and either symmetrical on front and back or scalloped in such a manner as to just cover the breasts and buttocks. The Fermo statuette's aegis is bordered by incised triangles and hatch marks and hugs the curve of her back from the next to the joining of her legs and buttocks. The front has two

[7] Modena, Galleria Estense, h. 0.22m. Reinach 1897 vol. II 1:285 fig. 1; Hausenstein 1922:pl. 22; Ducati 1927 vol. 1:257, vol. II:pl. 101, fig. 270; Giglioli 1935:pl. 124. fig. 2; Arias 1949:231-4, pl. 8-9; Pallottino/Jucker 1955:146-7 no 85, fig. 85; Hanfmann 1956:pl 24; Niemeyer 1960:89; Busch, Edelmann, Zschietzschmann 1969: xli, 114; Prima Italia 1981:141-3, no. 93, Richardson 1976:346-7, fig. 822-3.

[8] Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 70793, h. 0.238 m. Milani 1912 vol. I:138, vol II:pl. 28; Neugebaur 1922:98, no. 6; Giglioli 1935:pl. 125, fig. 3; Riis 1941 (1):130 n. 4; Richardson 1944/5:14, fig. 16; Richardson 1962:196 pl. 27, fig. 108-9; Niemeyer 1960:89, no. 2; Santangelo 1960:133; Richardson 1976:348.

curved flaps drawn together and fastened with a sphere, in the same manner as a gorgoneion would, and is like the general style of aegis used on the Athena Parthenos and later Roman statues.

Late archaic series C, the so-called provincial group, features the same basic outfit as series B but rather than elongated mannerism is often elongated to the point of abstraction. The finest example is currently in the Villa Giulia.[9] She is once again advancing with raised shield and spear, but her proportions are so twisted and elongated as to make her almost more two dimensional than three. From a frontal view she rigidly vertical, her straight advancing leg on axis with the razor-thin crest of her helmet. Both of her arms are at right angles to the body and the gorgoneion, here the face of a young man, is centered between her geometric breasts. Viewed from the side, the focus shifts from verticality to the wide planes of her crest and skirt; her torso is thinned as much as possible, becoming a mere support for her profile and gorgoneion. While not as successful as Ionic Series A, the undulating proportions to contribute to a sense of movement.

Richardson cites one example for series D, Umbrian geometric, which is highly abstracted with barely any modeling. The figure from Hamburg is so simplistic that it barely resembles a complete figure.[10] Its head is square, and the helmet crest attaches directly to the skull; her arms are club-like and her dress extends down to the ankles, with a slight indentation between the legs to indicate fabric. Her eyes, breasts, and naval are indicated by incised circles while her toes, fingers, and mouth are incised lines.

[9] Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 24551, h. 0.325 m. Goldscheider 1941:pl. 76; von Vacano 1955:pl. 83; Santangelo 1960:133 upper left; Vighi/Minissi 1955:pl. 47; Colonna 1970:42, no. 58, pl. 17-8, gruppo “Fossato di Vico,” Maestro A; Richardson 1976:352, fig. 841-2.
[10] Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1917.353, h. 0.074m. Richardson 1976:354, fig. 852.

While the votive bronzes studied by Richardson all follow the promachos type, the terracotta statuettes also feature a seated Menrva. Votive terracottas from Veii and Cerveteri both show an enthroned Minerva; the Veii example incorporates leonine feet for the throne and includes her aegis and shield (now missing).[11] There are few, if any decorative bronzes from the archaic period but the terracotta statue group of Menrva and Hercle from the Portonaccio Sanctuary may have been an architectural element or separate, monumental votive dedication.[12]

Apart from narrative representations, which are discussed here as evidence of a mythological tradition, the one purely Etruscan instance of Menrva's iconography is when she appears winged. As A. Carpino proves, the winged Menrva appears on mirrors between the mid-5th and early 3rd c. BCE, first in private domestic settings and, eventually, funerary.[13] While winged divinities are common in Etruscan and archaic Greek representations, with the wings a sign of supernatural powers or divinity, we do not generally see examples of Minerva or Athena with wings.[14]

Carpino notes that the winged Menrva appears in five basic categories. The first, birth, involves both her own and the birth of others, such as Epiur. The second, combat, is quite popular in representations of the gigantomachy. She also appears in a protective capacity, when she assists or comforts heroes or young women, scenes of fate or destiny in connection with her oracular abilities, and scenes of motion, where she is shown in rapid movement. All these categories recall instances of her cult in Etruria and indicate a specific, local engagement with

[11] For further discussion on these votives, see below under Veii (pp. 83-6) and Cerveteri (pp. 81-3).
[12] Richardson 1983: 346-354. See also pp. 44-5 for Menrva and Hercle.
[13] Carpino 2017. I am grateful to Alexandra Carpino for discussing her work with me and sending me an early copy of her article, so I could include her findings here.
[14] There are notable exceptions during the Domitianic period; see pp. 152-3.

the Etruscan population that depended more on Italic experiences with the cult rather than Greek importation.

Roman Iconography

When we get to Rome, the artistic representations of Minerva follow a slightly different trajectory. Many of the basic Minerva "types" are considered to be replicas of Greek masterpieces, although whether this is due to the Roman penchant for importing art and then creating new Roman versions of it or an after effect of scholarly bias towards Greek sculpture is unclear. After Roman expansion into Greece began in the late 4th c. BCE, demand for imported and Greek-style wares increased drastically. Some works were copied directly, as with the Piraeus Athena, by use of molds that were taken from the original and then shipped to workshops elsewhere.[15] Others were subtly altered according to either aesthetic or structural need, as with the Louvre's Athena Mattei (Cat. 67), composed of elements from various earlier works, or converted into ideological bodies for Roman portraits. The presence of all of these variations within the same chronological and geographical space speaks to a vibrant art market in which innovation was not only driven by the demands of the material, but the creativity and needs of artists and patrons.[16]

Minerva's basic iconography in Rome was largely similar to her Etruscan and Greek predecessors. Her favored weapons are shield and spear, and she often wears a helmet along with the aegis. She wears either a chiton and himation or a peplos, with some variation in style, and

[15] A set of molds from this statue were found in a sculptural workshop at Baiae; see p. 235, cat. 49.
[16] Ridgway's 1984 monograph on Greek originals and the role of civic and religious concerns in their duplication is valuable here, as well as Hemingway's 2002 article on Roman taste. See also Geominy 1999 and Marvin 2008.

ties her hair back under her helmet in either a plait down her back or a bun. Beyond these generalities, the actual execution, pose, and style of attributes can vary significantly.

Of the surviving Minerva statues from Italy which seem to be based on famous Greek originals, except for the Athena Parthenos, for which we have a good amount of corroborating evidence, these attributions are largely based on style, speculation, and the assumption of Greek artistic influence. As the Romans were fond of obtaining replicas of famous works of art for their homes and public spaces, the prevalence of such statues in Italy is not surprising. Many of these statues are without provenance, as they have been in museum or palace collections for centuries; they may have been cult statues, monumental dedications, or simply decorative. Assuming, however, that these "Roman copies" are indeed based on Greek originals and that these originals were a recognized component of Rome's visual landscape, it is worthwhile to review the most well-known of these copies for comparison with Flavian models in part two.

The Athena Rospigliosi is thought to be based on a 4th c. BCE original by Timotheos (Cat. 63).[17] The statue's most distinguishing feature is the himation, which covers her left arm and hand along with half of her aegis but is quite short and reveals the goddess' lower leg. The similarity between her mantle and that of a Greek orator has been noted elsewhere.[18] She wears a Corinthian helm pushed back on her head. This type has at least nine replicas; the version in the Uffizi, which is the best preserved and pictured here in the catalog, has Minerva gazing upwards and holding a spear in her right hand while the left rests on her hip. A small owl peers out from under the hem of her himation on the right. The wide-eyed, fluffy face of the tiny owl at her feet is clearly meant to be endearing and slightly humorous, which sets it apart from other

[17] Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi (Matz-Duhn Nr. 621). LIMC 1984 2.1:1986, Athena/Minerva 155.
[18] Borbein 1970:37.

representations where the owl is simply an attribute held in her hand or emblazoned on her shield or helmet. This owl is a companion, mimicking Minerva's actions with its own upturned gaze.

The Vescovalli-Arezzo type is quite similar, with the same upwards gaze and bent, concealed left arm (Cat. 64).[19] Her Corinthian helmet rests on the top of her head while her long plait of hair falls down her back towards her right shoulder. Her chiton is clearly visible underneath her mantle and reaches all the way to the ground. Her mantle, meanwhile, is bunched up in an almond shape around her waist and covers the bottom edge of the aegis. The bottom hem of the mantle reaches to her knees, where it ends in a straight line. Her weight is placed on the right leg with the left bent left and back; the right arm would have held her spear. The Greek original is thought to be by Praxiteles.[20]

The Pallas of Velletri, of which the best replica is to be found in the Louvre, is a colossal construction of Parian marble.[21] (Cat. 49) It was found in a Roman villa outside of Velletri in 1797 and corresponds exactly with plaster casts in Baiae which are thought to be from the original. Based on similarities between the Velletri's head and the bust of Pericles by Kresilias, these first century Roman copies are thought to replicate a work by him. Minerva stands with her weight on her left leg and her right set back, gazing slightly downwards. Her chiton reaches to the top of her sandaled feet and is tied at the waist with a thin zone. Unlike the previous examples this Minerva has her arms bared, as her mantle is gathered under her belt in thick folds, with the trailing ends left to drape down in a triangular shape. Although the snakes on her aegis

[19] The general description of the type here is based on a synthesis of surviving replicas; while the example pictured in the catalog is headless, other examples confirm the Corinthian helmet.
[20] Athena Vescovalli-Arezzo (Newton Hall), 2nd c. CE. Fitzwilliam, inv. GR.1.2006. 1.625m. h, 0.64m w, 0.35m d. This is a smaller replica, perhaps meant for a private setting. LIMC 1984 2.1: 1086, Athena/Minerva 156.
[21] Pallas of Velletri, 1st c. CE. Louvre, inv. MA 464. 3.05m. h. LIMC 1984:1085, Athena/Minerva 146.

are restorations, along with one of her arms and the top of her helmet, the aegis is clearly more of a large collar with a central gorgoneion than a full breastplate.

The Athena Cherchel-Ostia is also in the Louvre and is thought to copy a 4th c. BCE original (Cat. 57).[22] While she was originally considered to be holding the box with Erichthonius in it and thus to have been associated with the Athenian Hephaestaeon, this theory has fallen out of favor since the style is too late for Alkamenes. This version was found in Crete and shows the goddess standing in a simple peplos that is either unbelted or belted underneath the apoptygma. Her weight is on her left leg, which is accented by deep vertical folds in the cloth, while her left is set back and to the side, pulling the fabric more taught. Her aegis reaches just below her breasts but is pulled to the left, perhaps by whatever object she is holding. She wears a Corinthian helmet and gazes down to the left, either at the object or her aegis. Reproductions of this type are mostly Imperial and tend to be life-size.

The Dresden-Bologna type was reconstructed by Fürtwangler in 1891 and thought to be representative of Phidias' Athena Lemnia (Cat. 66).[23] Although this proposition has since fallen out of favor, the two identical bodies from the Chigi collection which were used to reconstruct this type seem to indicate that it was based on a popular original. This Minerva wears a peplos characterized by heavy vertical folds and a trailing hem down her right leg. She places her weight on the right and places her left slightly outwards, although the movement is mostly obscured by the heavy folds. The aegis is worn as a diagonal sash, with the gorgoneion off centered under her left breast and a series of snakes lining the bottom edge. The zone covers both her peplos and aegis. As Fürtwangler reconstructed it, this type does not wear a helmet but rather

[22] Athena Cherchel-Ostia, Imperial Roman. Louvre, Inv. MA 847. 1.5m H. LIMC 1984 2.1:1085-6, Athena/Minerva 148.
[23] Dresden Athena, Staatliche Museum, inv. H49, G1060. ex. Chigi collection. LIMC 1984 2.1:1084, Athena/Minerva 141.

wears her hair short and tied with a thick ribbon. Her features are severely classical, and she looks down and to the right. The right arm was held down and close to the body, possibly with a spear, while the left was raised and held outwards.

The Athena Parthenos type is perhaps the most recognizable and copied (Cat. 53).[24] Modelled on Phidias' original in the Parthenon, this type wears a peplos tied at the waist with a bow. Her aegis is large and bulky, covered in snakes and reaching to just below her breast line. The gorgoneion is centrally placed and acts as a clasp for the two sides of the aegis. The Parthenos helmet type is quite unique. It is an attic helmet with two griffins on either side flanking a central sphynx, which supports the crest. The ear flaps are raised in some reproductions, such as the Varvakeion. Although her hair is mostly covered by her helmet, two plaits fall on each shoulder and rest on the front of the aegis. Her right hand holds a small Victory and her left supports her shield and a large snake. Pausanias reports that her left hand held a spear as well, and that the shield lay at her feet.[25]

The Athena Hope-Albani-Farnese type takes a few cues from the Parthenos, namely in the ornamented attic helmet and Venus locks down the side of her neck (apart from the replica with a Corinthian helmet, which has the hair tied back into a plait. Cat. 60). Unlike the Parthenos she wears a chiton and himation, with strong vertical folds accenting her straight right leg and draping folds following the line of her bent left leg. The aegis is similar to the Parthenos in that it just covers her breasts and uses the gorgoneion as a clasp, but the snakes only decorate the outer edge. The raised left hand held her spear and the right was probably held down and close to the body. This type is thought to replicate a 5th c. BCE original by Pyrrhus, a follower of the Phidian school. Although the Hope, Farnese, and Albani versions are not identical, there is enough

[24] Athena Parthenos, 5th c. BCE, Athens, Acropolis. Chryselephantine statue by Phidias for the Parthenon.
[25] Paus. 1.24.

similarity in the drapery, pose, and execution to suggest that they have the same predecessor. Taken together, there are over fifteen copies known in various states of preservation.[26]

The Ince Blundell Athena appears to be an amalgamation of the Parthenos and Velletri types (Cat. 48).[27] Her body is quite clearly derived from the Parthenos, as her peplos closely follows Phidias' cinched waist, knot, and style of drapery. Her head is closer to the Velletri type, however, in the Corinthian style helmet and centrally parted hair. The aegis is also more similar to the Velletri, in that it functions more as a wide collar with a snake fringe and gorgoneion pendant rather than the thick breastplate of the Parthenos. Her left hand, which likely held a spear or shield, is held down and close to the body. Her right reached forward and holds an object; today a restored owl, but perhaps something else in antiquity.

The Athena Mattei in the Louvre matches some of the Ince Blundell's casualness, but is much less like the Parthenos archetype (Cat. 67).[28] The discovery of a remarkably similar bronze in Piraeus in 1959 has led some scholars to believe that this version must have been created from the Piraeus original, and thus made before the bronze was moved and buried in the first century BCE.[29] However, if this bronze was indeed famous there would have been nothing stopping the Romans from working off of another copy; the bronze itself may have even been a copy of a hitherto unknown Athena elsewhere.

Both the marble and the bronze versions wear a heavy peplos with the zone under the apoptygma; the fold drapes diagonally down towards her left on the front and is gathered around

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[26] Farnese: from the Albani collection, 1-14 CE, currently in Naples (Inv. 6024) but excavated near Rome. 2.24m. h. Albani: Villa Albani, Inv. 1012, 2nd c. CE, possibly from Hadrian's Villa. 1.96m H. Hope: LACMA, Inv. 51.18.12, 2nd c. CE. Excavated in Ostia, Tor Boacciana. 2.18m. H. LIMC 1984 2.1:1085, Athena-Minerva 148.

[27] Ince Blundell Athena, Augustan or Hadrianic. Possibly excavated in Ostia, but currently in the Liverpool Museum, inv. 59.148.8. 1.67m. H. LIMC 1984 2.1:1084, Athena-Minerva 145.

[28] Athena Mattei, late 2nd c. BCE or 2nd c. CE. Currently in the Louvre (MA 530) but displayed in Palazzo Mattei as early as 1626 so likely from Rome. 2.30m. H.

[29] Bronze Athena, c. 360-340 BCE, possibly by Euphranor or Cephisodotus. Piraeus Archaeological Museum; excavated in Piraeus but potentially brought there from Delos in antiquity. 2.35m. H.

her shoulders on the back, revealing the zone underneath. Her aegis is thin and follows the diagonal established by the peplos; snakes line the lower edge and the gorgoneion rests off-center just below and to the left of her left breast. They both wear Corinthian helmets pushed back over the forehead and have their hair pulled back into a plait falling down the back of the neck and rest their weight on the right leg. The arms are different, however, owing to the limitations of material. While the bronze stretches her right arm outwards and appears to have held something, the marble version foregoes the required support for such a gesture and instead rests that hand upon her hip. The left arm hangs down and would have held a spear or shield in the bronze; while the marble version has the palm facing upwards, this is an incorrect modern restoration.

The Athena and Marsyas group replicates a 5th c. original by Myron and is as distinctive in its simplicity as the Parthenos is in its opulence (Cat. 65). Athena stands to the left, with her weight on her right leg and her left stretched slightly back and out. She wears a simple peplos belted at the waist with a thick band, and no aegis. Her right arm rests along her side and the left reaches out towards Marsyas, the satyr who makes up the rest of the composition. Athena is said to have created the aulos, a single reed pipe, but cast it away in disgust when she heard the sound and saw her reflection while playing it. Marsyas adored the instrument however and took it up soon after. The moment depicted here is when Athena has just discarded the instrument and Marsyas has spied it. Athena looks back, either at Marsyas or at the aulos, her gaze following the diagonals set up by her left leg and arm. She wears her hair short and sports a Corinthian helmet pushed up over her forehead. A pentelic copy of Marsyas is known from the Alban villa, along

with one from the Esquiline. A later Hadrianic head of Athena (also pentelic) is also known, and an Athena in Frankfurt.[30]

The Athena Medici was first copied in the Flavian period but continues through the 3rd century with acrolithic versions popular in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods (Cat. 61).[31] The type appears to have been widely popular; at least two were found in Roman villas. Most of over-life sized replicas are Italian, while Greeks favored statuettes and occasionally votives. Copies were also known in Asia Minor and Roman Africa. For this reason, it is thought to have been a copy of a very famous original work; perhaps Phidias' Athena Lemnia, Athena Promachos, or the Platean Athena Areia.

She is stationary, with her weight on her left leg and right relaxed. She wears a chiton, himation, and peplos and leans slightly to the right. Her peplos is open on the right side, exposing her chiton and the contours of her relaxed leg, which is framed by the apoptygma. Her himation is tossed over the left shoulder and falls down her back. Like many of the other types this too is cinched at the waist by a thin zone. The aegis is short, like the Velletri and Campagna, and features incised scales and attachment points for snakes along the edge. The gorgoneion was centrally located. The Carpegna head, which is normally associated with this type, is notable for its large, heavy features and severe lines (Cat. 61). She wears an Attic helmet with holes for metal attachments, and her hair falls down her back from underneath the helmet, bound by ribbons.

While this survey is by no means exhaustive, it does show the variety in Etruscan and especially Roman artistic interpretations of Minerva. Archaic period bronze votives tended to

[30] For the Lancellotti Athena, which was used to recreate the Vatican group: Massimo Lancellotti collection, Palazzo Lancellotti, Rome. Excavated in the Villa Peretti on the Esquiline, 1823. Hadrianic. Pentelic marble, 144cm. H.
[31] Also known as the Athena Ingres. 1-2nd c. CE, Louvre (MA 3070). Acquired in Rome, 2.6m. H. For the head, see the Athena Carpegna in the Palazzo Massimo (inv. 55051), LIMC 1984 2.1:1084, Athena/Minerva 144b.

focus on activeness, shown through variations on a striding promachos pose: either the drapery was modelled to show movement or the figure itself was so abstract as to suggest an unnatural, almost supernatural fluidity of form. Terracotta votives could also use this pose, or they could be seated.

With Rome comes monumental marble statues, which combine both Greek inspiration and Roman ingenuity. Some statues were precise copies, while others were combinations of various types or entirely new. There was significant variation in how Minerva was dressed, specifically in the tying of her zone or the arrangement of her himation. Her aegis was in flux as well and could be long, short, slanted, or even absent. Spears and shields do not often survive but can be assumed in most cases; helmets are usually Corinthian or Italo-Corinthian but can be Attic as well. In short, although these various types wax and wane in popularity over the course of Roman history their differences in dress, pose, and attribute were likely due as much to the whims of a patron or artist as to a specific cult.

1.2: Attributes

Minerva is often referred to as the armed goddess, and intimately associated with the weapons and armor which she bears. At her birth she sprang forth from Jupiter's head fully armed and she was rarely seen without at the very least her helmet. Her spear, shield, and aegis are common but not required. Within these broad strokes, however, there exists some variation in the type and treatment of her standardized attributes which will be examined here. The first section, arms and armor, explores helmet and shield types while the second treats different types of garments and the cut and style of her aegis. The fourth section deals with thunderbolts, an attribute that originates in Etruria and continues, albeit less often, in Rome, while the fifth touches on her incarnation as the palladium.

Arms and Armor

Minerva wears two basic types of helmets in the Etruscan and Roman periods: Attic and Corinthian.[32] The Attic helmet was especially popular in early Italy and was the helmet of choice for Etruscan figures of Menrva. It is characterized by an open face, hinged cheek guards, a short crest, and often a visor across the brow. Etruscan representations often wore the cheek guards raised, but this tendency did not extend into Roman representations. The back of the helmet extended to the base of the skull.

Corinthian helmets were a later invention which became associated with hoplite warfare and were the helmet of choice in Archaic and early Classical Greece. They are best known for their complete coverage of the face; cutouts for the eyes and a slit down the front allowed for oxygen and a small range of vision. By the Classical period it was common to see representations of heroes and leaders, such as Pericles, wearing it pushed up and perched on their head.[33] Once it crossed to Italy it was transformed into the Italo-Corinthian helmet, which embraced this form of representation by shrinking the face cover until it sat on the forehead like a visor. The cutouts for eyes and mouth remained as decoration, while the truncated face cover not only improved vision by leaving the face open but extending out over the forehead and blocking the sun.

Variations on both the Attic and Corinthian models were in use by the Romans throughout the Republican and Imperial periods, and both appear with Minerva. The Italo/Corinthian types are by far the most popular and are found in the bulk of her

[32] For discussions on the various types of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman arms and armor see Phang 2016 vol.2:712-14; Sumner 2009:49, 158, 184; Anglim 2006:45-48.
[33] See the oft-copied "Bust of Pericles" from c. 430 BCE (Roman copy in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican, inv. 269). On heroic portraits see Hallett 2011, Dillon 2006.

representations. The Athena Parthenos helmet, a modified Attic with figural triple crests, was also popular as the Parthenos itself was frequently copied in Rome.[34] The regular Attic helmet, though less common in the Roman period, seems to have been deliberately archaizing. It becomes canon in Palladium representations due to the helmet's popularity on early Italic Menrva figurines.[35]

Unlike the helmets, her weaponry was standardized and largely imported from the Hellenic tradition. She carried a long, ashen spear which she either held upright when standing, over her shoulder while attacking, or propped up in the crook of her arm. She never uses a Roman *scutum* or *pelta*, but rather is always seen with a round shield, or *clipeus* (Greek: aspis). This can either be on her left arm or resting against her leg. Other attributes which she may or may not carry include owls, olive branches, Victory figurines, and paterae.[36]

Garment and Aegis

Amongst the categorized Minerva types discussed here, the peplos is the most common type of garment.[37] The Parthenos and Ince Blundell follow each other closely in the manner of cinching, while the Dresden has a simpler knot over the aegis and peplos and the Myron foregoes a knot in favor of a thicker zone. The Mattei is cinched underneath the apoptygma, while the Cherchel may or may not be belted at all. The consensus seems to favor tying the entire peplos at the waist and having strong vertical folds on the weight-bearing leg, with either a straight edge or a trailing hem along the vertical lines. The peplos typically reaches to the top of the foot.

[34] The middle crest was a sphinx, while the ones on either side were gryphons. The Varvakeion Athena has the cheek guards raised.
[35] Schürmann 1985:17-47.
[36] LIMC 1984 2.1:1074-1110, Athena/Minerva.
[37] See Appendix 3 for a stylistic chart.

The second most popular type of garment combination is the chiton and himation. While it is present in six types, it shows much more variety in the arrangement and concentration of the himation. The Rospigliosi, Vescovali, and Campana all have the left arm covered by a himation and resting on the hip, although the Rospigliosi opts for clean diagonal folds rather than a bunched band of fabric at the waist. Like the Vescovali and Campana, the Velletri has a thick band of fabric at the waist but keeps both arms uncovered. The Giustiniani is draped heavily across the waist and thrown over the shoulder but keeps the arm uncovered. The Hope-Albani-Farnese, however, has her himation thrown over her right shoulder under the aegis, with strong vertical lines down the weight-bearing leg and clean diagonals accenting the other. The chiton usually reaches to the floor and is much thinner and more densely pleated.

While Minerva's aegis is not always present, it is one of her most recognizable attributes.[38] It is often conceived of as a scaly hide with snakes on the border and Medusa's head in the middle; she wears it over her torso. A bib style is most prevalent on early representations, including Etruscan mirrors. The bib aegis is short, ends at the breast line or just above, and often has a round neck. Texture is indicated with scales or, in some cases, circles that are presumably meant to indicate scales. If a gorgoneion is present it floats centrally, just below the collarbone.

Shawl aegises become more popular in the classical period, following the Athena Parthenos, and have two distinct sides (rounded at the bottom) which are held together in the middle by the gorgoneion. They have a distinct border and extend to or just below the breast line. Unlike the bib variety, these nearly always have scales.

The two outlying styles are longer aegises that resemble ponchos, and ones that are worn slanted. The former are holdovers from archaic figurines and drape loosely over the torso and

[38] See Appendix 3.a for a chart detailing Etruscan aegis varieties, and 3.b for Roman.

upper arms, down to the waist. Slanted aegises are more akin to hides, roughly finished with snakes incorporated into the trailing edges. They are often belted and worn over one shoulder, the trailing edge coving the opposite hip.

The Roman aegis is either slanted, short, or long in the manner of a breastplate, with numerous variations within. Those that follow the Parthenos archetype tend to fall into the shawl category and cover the upper chest and breasts, with the gorgoneion acting as a clasp between two distinct sides. This arrangement creates a V-neck, which is echoed in the Ince Blundell. The latter is much shorter, however.[39] The second category resembles a bib and is evidenced by the Velletri, Medici, and Campagna. The bottom edge covers the collarbones but ends either just above or on the breasts, and the gorgoneion is centralized. Snakes may or may not be present on the lower border.

The slanted style has three subsets; simple, scalloped, or curved. The simple slant is often a thin band with an offset gorgoneion and a strong diagonal orientation; lower right, as in the Dresden or Mattei, or lower left, as in a potential Athena Lemnia in the Montemartini. The band may take the shape of a triangle, with the wider end over the hip, but it can also be of uniform thickness. The scalloped slant is present in the Rospigliosi and Giustiniani, both of which slant down and right with scalloped lower edges. The gorgoneion can either be centralized or offset; both are roughly centralized and oriented vertically. The curved slant type is used in the Cherchel and Vescovali; the latter has a thick band at the collar and a heavily carved line of snakes following the curve of the himation on the lower edge, while the Cherchel is either curved by

[39] An anomaly in the V-neck category is a statue of Minerva in the Palazzo Massimo (Cat. 47, discussed later under Minerva Capta). This aegis is arranged almost as a pair of straps held together in the front by the gorgoneion, along with a thin diagonal section of hide pulled to the right underneath.

design, or simply because it is being pulled to the side. The inclusion of scales does not seem to be restricted to any type, as it is both present and absent in all categories.

Thunderbolt

Apart from archaeological evidence, much of what is known concerning Etruscan religious practices come from the accounts of Roman authors. These writings can explain several iconographic differences between Menrva and Athena that might otherwise be put down to iconographic misunderstandings on the part of the Etruscan artists. One such difference is her ability to wield lightning, which is clearly shown on several Etruscan mirrors but does not form a significant part of her Greek imagery.[40] One mirror in Berlin shows the goddess rushing left with an owl-emblazoned shield in her left hand and a lightning bolt in her right (Cat. 81).[41] She wears a sleeved chiton but does not appear to have an aegis (if she does it is unarticulated); nor does she have a helmet, but instead wears ringlets across her forehead and an ornate earring. Her outstretched wings fill the background, along with a small flower to the lower left which is perhaps meant, with the ground-line, to indicate that she is terrestrial. G. Zimmer has stated that the presence of the lightning bolt (which he refers to as Zeus') means she is rushing to the

[40] The notable exception to this is Athena Alkidemos, who became popular in the Hellenistic period. She was both a cult statue in Pella and a frequent presence on the coins of Hellenistic rulers. She is shown striding, with an aegis-shield raised and balanced on top of one arm while the other wields a thunderbolt (or, in the case of Ptolemy I, a spear). Alexander's fondness for Troy and the Iliad led to his own adoption of Athena as a patron, albeit in her warlike aspect; that this was recognized in the Roman period is confirmed by a painting by Antiphilus said to be in the Portico of Octavia, showing Alexander, Philip, and Minerva. (Pliny NH 35.114) Stančo has proposed that Athena Alkidemos' popularity with these Hellenistic rulers was an attempt to link themselves to Alexander. What is not clear from the imagery is if the thunderbolt is hers or if, as in Euripides' *Trojan Women*, she borrows it from Zeus (ln. 80-85). See Stančo 2012:45-47 and Brett 1950.

[41] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung, inv. Fr 42 (Misc 3352), 0.166 m. L, 0.229 m. H; CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland 4, Nr. 24; Gerhard, Es III:246; Friederichs, BAB, II 51f; Pfiffig 1975:258; Fischer-Graf, Vulci 3: Nr. 28; G. Colonna in LIMC II 1984:1057, Nr. 84 s.v. Menerva; Simon 1990:172.

gigantomachy, but N. de Grummond rightly points out that the Latin authors have a different explanation.[42] Servius, for example, states that:

> "*...cum Varro divinarum quinto quattuor diis fulmina adsignet, inter quos et Minervae, quaeritur, cur Minerva Iovis fulmen miserit. antiqui Iovis solius putaverunt esse fulmen, nec id unum esse, ut testantur Etrusci libri de fulguratura, in quibus duodecim genera fulminum scripta sunt, ita ut est Iovis Iunonis Minervae, sic quoque aliorum...quare tum non posuit Minervam misisse fulmen suum? ... iaculata in libris Etruscorum lectum est iactus fulminum manubias dici et certa esse numina possidentia fulminum iactus, ut Iovem Vulcanum Minervam.*"
>
> "When Varro in his fifth book on divine matters assigns lightning to four divinities, among them Minerva, it is asked why Minerva hurled the lightning bolt of Jove. The ancients considered lightning to be for Jupiter alone but that was not the only kind, as attested by the Etruscan books on lightning, in which twelve types of lightning are described so that one is of Jove, one of Juno, one of Minerva, and thus for others…why then is Minerva not able to hurl her own lightning? In the Etruscan books lightning bolts are called manubiae and certain divinities are said to possess lightning bolts, such as Jove, Vulcan, and Minerva."[43]

As Servius wrote in the late fourth/early fifth century, he presumably refers to the Greeks when he mentions the "ancients."

Her possession of lightning presupposes a celestial character which, since Italy lacks a Mount Olympus for the pantheon to live on, must be explained in another way. An author who gives evidence for this is Martianus Capella, who includes a section on Etruscan astrology in his fifth century allegorical work "*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercuri."* He explains that, "For the whole sky is said to be divided into sixteen regions…but from the third region it was decided to invite only one god, for Jupiter Secundanus and Jupiter Opulentia and Minerva all had houses in that place."[44] In this section he is discussing who was invited to the marriage of Mercury and

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[42] CSE 4 (G. Zimmer 1995):30; de Grummond 2006:71.
[43] Serv. *Ad. Aen.* 1.42.
[44] Martianus 1.47 (*Sed de tertia regione unum placuit corrogari. Nam Iouis secundani et Iovis opulentis Mineruaeque domus illic sunt constitutae; sed omnes circa ipsum Iovem fuerant in praesenti*).

Philologia and goes on to say that since those three gods were already in the presence of Jupiter they did not need to be formally summoned. Other gods who did not have heavenly abodes, called the *Azoni*, were invited later.

A. Carpino has connected the winged Menrva with, among other things, the speed of lightning.[45] This idea fits well with Minerva's later habit of appearing instantly to help her proteges, as well as her swift retribution when someone wrongs her.[46] The Berlin mirror is therefore an example of Menrva carrying her own lightning bolt; as the spear-wielding warrior goddess, it only makes sense that her *manubia* would also resemble her favorite weapon.

Palladium

Minerva's connection to Rome and her emperors is most clearly seen through her incarnation as the palladium. The story of the palladium begins in Troy, as its theft was one of the penultimate events leading to the fall of the city. It was the sacred cult statue of Athena Ilias and represented a divine pledge of safety to the city; while it was within the walls of Troy, according to Hellenus' prophecy, the city could never be taken. The palladium is not mentioned specifically in the Iliad but is referenced in the scholia and was presumably in other works of the Trojan cycle.

The statue was a *xoanon*, an aniconic object with divine origins.[47] This particular one was said to have fallen from the sky or been sent directly from Zeus; Ovid states that an "*armiferae signum caeleste Minervae"* leapt down into the city and that, although he was excited to see it

[45] Carpino 2017:2.
[46] For more on both, see p. 21 for Ovid's description of her arrival at Troy.
[47] Gaifman 2012.

for himself when he visited Ilium, the actual palladium was in Rome.[48] It was kept in a sacred area within the temple of Athena Ilias (which Ovid was able to see) and, at least in the later tradition, seems to have been associated with the cult image of Athena which Cassandra clung to during the sacking of the city.[49]

Literary sources do not give a precise description of the Palladium's appearance and, as Schürmann has pointed out, artists were working from an accepted canon that probably did not mirror the original but rather reflected what had become accepted shorthand for the nature of the statue.[50] This confusion as to the original nature of the piece and the silence concerning its form in literary sources may be due to the numinous sort of reverence afforded to the statue. Some authors claimed that it was kept in a secret place, away from the public, and that the one on display was in fact a copy. Elsewhere, Odysseus recollects lightning and various other supernatural happenings when he and Diomedes stole it from Troy and carried it back to the Greek camp. In Rome, anyone who was not initiated and viewed it (i.e. not a Vestal Virgin) lost their eyesight. This is all similar to the reverence accorded sacred objects in a mystery cult, such as those at Ephesus, in which we hear more about the *cista mystica* than the actual objects inside it. Hence, whatever its original form the Palladium came to be recognized as an extension of Minerva's power.

Since it was carried out of the city it had to be small enough to move easily, and later artistic depictions follow this logic by showing it at half-life size or smaller. The earliest

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[48] Ov. *Fasti* 6.417-435. "celestial sign/statue of armed Minerva." *Signum* can refer to a sign as in Manilius' *Astronomica* (ln. 312) but can also indicate a statue as in Mart. *Epi*. XIV.170 (*Signum Victoriae aureum*). Both usages are probably intended here.

[49] The palladium was one of a group of statues thought to have agency; that is, to be able to act independently in various supernatural ways. Many of these involve protecting themselves or their sanctuaries, as with the xoanon cared for by the priestess of the Ephebes at Sparta (Paus. 3.16.9), and Artemis Soteira at Pellene (Plut. *Aratus* 32). See Gaifman 2012, Faraone 1992, Blakely 2006:43-44.

[50] Schürmann 1985:19.

depictions are often life size or larger and vary in the precise composition. Schürmann's timeline of the palladium's iconographic development notes that it always carries a raised spear and shield.[51] The earliest representations follow what he calls the Palladium type; a rigid, standing figure with feet close together and raised weapons. Apart from the weaponry, the form is quite similar to a typical kore.

Schürmann further notes that there was a brief experiment with a more active, promachos pose in the archaic period but soon settled down to the archaising kore pose, or palladium type. The palladium form seems to have remained stable afterwards, with any notable changes being directed towards the narrative (how Cassandra is being assaulted, for example) rather than the statue. In a purely narrative context there are only two instances in which the palladium regularly shows up; the rape of Cassandra and the theft by either Diomedes, Odysseus, or both. All of these would have been known in Rome from Etruscan representations as well as those of the South Italian Greek colonies, and presumably featured in early Latin literature as well.

Caesar seems to have been the first to capitalize on the notion that Aeneas brought the palladium to Italy along with his household gods, as his denarius of 47-6 BCE is the first time such a vignette was used in Roman art (Cat. 15). The reverse shows a nude Aeneas advancing left while carrying a veiled Anchises on his left shoulder. Both he and his father are frontal, while the palladium in his outstretched right hand faced left. The obverse carries a portrait of Venus. Aeneas' pose is somewhat like that of Diomedes on an Argive drachma from 370-50 BCE, especially in the treatment of the palladium and outstretched hand (Cat. 46c). The motif itself is clearly recognizable in Augustus' Aeneas-Anchises-Ascanius groups some years later, with one clear difference: he has replaced the outstretched hand with a lowered one, grasping the

[51] Schürmann 1985:31-32.

arm of young Ascanius. This alteration places more emphasis on the dynastic elements of the story, whereupon Aeneas rescues both his progenitor and progeny. If anyone is shown carrying the household gods, it is Anchises (who is suitably veiled). Caesar, on the other hand, does not seem to be as concerned with promoting the notion of dynasty at this point. Rather, he is linking himself genealogically to Aeneas through the obverse portrait of Venus, the supposed divine ancestress of the Julian gens, and thence to the palladium.

This was presumably at odds with the older story of Diomedes and Odysseus stealing it from Troy, which was known in Rome at least through the early first century. Ovid suggests all three heroes as a possibility in his *Fasti*, concluding that while the culprit is uncertain the statue itself was certainly in Rome.[52] A 1st century glass paste relief gem from the Townsley collection also attests the story's persistence, showing Diomedes vaulting over an altar with the palladium grasped in his hand (Cat. 80b).[53] By the early second century the Aeneas version may have become more prevalent, as Pausanias disputes Phalera's claim to the palladium by saying that it was manifestly brought to Rome by Aeneas.[54]

More than anything else, the Romans associated the palladium with the safety of the city. Just as it had protected Troy from the Greeks, it was seen to protect Rome from harm as well. Cicero refers to it as a "pledge of safety for us and the empire," and elsewhere goes on at length concerning how he rescued his own Minerva statue from his house before it was repossessed, since he would not allow the "guardian of the city" to be defiled.[55] Vitruvius describes Minerva as one of the gods who is most concerned with the protection of the city, and the placing of the

[52] Ov. *Fasti* 4.433.
[53] Intaglio with Diomedes stealing the palladium, 1st c. CE. Oval brown glass paste relief gem. 1.7cm long, 1.4cm wide (inv. 1814,0704.2697, British Museum).
[54] Paus. 2.23.5.
[55] Cic. *Scauro*. 48.

palladium in Vesta's shrine with other objects and rituals essential to the proper functioning of the state underscores its role in the safety of Rome (Cat. 74d).[56] Ovid, when relating the story of the palladium in his *Fasti*, does so in the context of Vesta and furthermore has Apollo Smintheus instruct the Ilians to "*aetheriam servate deam, servabitis urbem: imperium secum transferet illa loci*."[57] *Aetheriam...deam* references the supernatural descent of the *xoanon*, which is then immediately connected with the fate of the city. When Apollo instructs Ilus to "save the celestial goddess and thus save the city, for she brings with her the seat of empire" he not only foreshadows Troy's fall after the palladium is stolen, but the divine sanction of its new home in Rome.

Augustus himself veered away from palladium imagery and does not seem to have been overly concerned with Minerva.[58] Galba is the next emperor who made the most use of it, as he managed to release four coin types featuring the palladium during his short tenure as emperor. The first of these, a sestertius, shows a laurate Galba wearing an aegis on the obverse. The reverse has Roma seated facing left on a pile of arms with an upright spear in her left hand and the palladium in her right, which is stretched out towards Galba on the other side. The palladium is recognizable as a small, rigidly frontal female with raised shield, spear, and helmet.[59]

The second coin is another sestertius with Galba facing right on the obverse, although this time he is draped and wears the *corona civica*. The reverse shows a winged Victory striding left and holding a palm in her left hand. Her outstretched right hand holds the palladium out

[56] Vitruvius 7.1.
[57] Ov. *Fasti* 6.417-460. "Protect the ethereal deity, [and] you shall protect the city: she will bring with her the seat of power."
[58] He was known to be shown wearing the aegis on certain occasions, as discussed here in the introduction, but some have argued that the aegis was at this point more associated with Jupiter and therefore the emperor than Minerva.
[59] Sestertius, copper alloy, 68 CE. RIC1 484, p. 255.

towards the emperor.[60] The third is an as issued in 68 with Galba laureate and facing right. Here it is Vesta, rather than Roma, who is enthroned and offering out the palladium.[61]

The fourth, and perhaps most blatant coin, features a laurate Galba with aegis facing right on the obverse. The reverse shows him again, seated in a curule chair and dressed in military garb. He holds a *parazonium* in the crook of his left arm and extends his right to receive the palladium from a standing female figure who also holds a cornucopia. Except for this fourth coin, whose personification has yet to be convincingly identified, all these reverses emphasize the transition of power to Galba and his new responsibility as emperor. If the palladium is understood to be a guarantor of safety for Rome, then the first coin effectively shows Roma entrusting her own well-being to the new emperor. The third coin, showing Vesta, is somewhat similar in that she herself was the guardian of the sibylline prophecies, the sacred fire, and the palladium itself. The Victory could perhaps allude to Galba's use of military force to gain his new position of power, which would tie in with the fourth coin where he receives it in military dress, much like a victorious general might receive a Victory from Roma. In this case, his military prowess has literally paved the way for him to become emperor and be entrusted with the wellbeing of Rome.

Otho and Vitellius both shunned palladium imagery in their coinage, but the iconography was revived by Vespasian in 71 CE with the release of a VICTORIA AVGVSTI sestertius (Cat. 23).[62] The obverse has a bust of Vespasian, laureate and facing right, with the aegis upon his breast. The reverse features him again, standing on the right in full military dress and leaning on a spear. He holds out his right hand to a Victory approaching from the left, who offers him the

[60] Sestertius, 68 CE. RE1 106, p. 326; RIC1 350, p 249.
[61] Sestertius, 68 CE, RE1 106 p. 326; RIC1 350, p. 249.
[62] Sestertius, 71 CE, RIC2.1 132, p. 68; RE2 786, p. 191.

palladium. Notably, their hands and the palladium are in the exact center of the coin, below the joining of VICTORIA and AVGVSTI. While much of his military coinage was centered on Judea, the message behind this reverse was presumably the same as Galba's; the military might, and victory of Vespasian had secured the safety of Rome.

Titus followed Vespasian's example by releasing a palladium coin early on in his reign, although it was substantially different from those of his father and Galba. The obverse features Titus head, laureate and bearded, but without aegis. The reverse has replaced Victory with Roma who, in full military dress with her foot on a globe, offers the palladium. Titus approaches from the right on horseback, dressed in a palladium and holding a scepter. His appearance is highly reminiscent of an *equus* statue and may have been more commemorative of his Judean victory, since a decade had passed, and he could not capitalize on the immediacy of the event as Vespasian had done. It clearly places him in a military sphere, however, and communicates Rome's acceptance of him as a worthy guardian.[63]

Although there are no definitively known remains of the palladium in Rome, a fragmentary marble head from the Palatine has gained the moniker "*palladium palatinum*" (Cat. 69). The head is deliberately archaizing, with deeply cut almond eyes and stylized hair. The left side also preserves a clearly defined helmet, confirming her identification as a Minerva. Scholars have variously dated this piece to the 6th c. BCE, assuming it is an original Greek work, although it could just as easily fall into the category of deliberately archaizing sculpture.[64] Its identification as a palladium, rather than simply an archaizing statue of Minerva, presumably

[63] The three other palladium coins released by Vespasian and Titus all relate to Domitian, whether through his portrait on the obverse or a connection to his *princeps iuventutis* title. These will be discussed in part two.
[64] See Touchette 2015:294 for the dating, although she refers to it as an Athena Promachos.

comes from the Constantinian inscription referencing a *palladium palatinum* which gave the nearby church of S. Maria in Pallara its name.[65]

While the archaic style and small size does lend itself to a palladium identification, it is clear from the literary sources that the Romans knew the divine nature of the original. *Xoanons* were never made from marble, and it is doubtful that a marble statue would be revered as one.[66] However, is said to have brought either the actual palladium or a reproduction of it to a temple of Vesta on the Palatine Hill; this, combined with the Constantinian inscription, have led to the popular identification of the marble fragment as part of the actual palladium.[67] It does fit very well with the archaizing trend in Augustan art; a bas relief in the Louvre, dating from c. 30 BCE, depicts just such a scene with a winged Victory and an archaic male warrior contemplating the palladium on top of a column.[68] I would propose, therefore, that this head was not part of the actual palladium but at most a copy, made during the Augustan period and kept on the Palatine as part of an archaizing trend in art and a representation of Rome's divine protection.[69]

In conclusion, the palladium was clearly adopted by Rome from the Trojan cycle in conjunction with growing awareness and promotion of Trojan ancestry in the mid-late first century BCE. While its story was known in Italy much earlier, its presence in Rome was presented as reality by the assertion that either Aeneas or Diomedes brought it with him from Troy. It was a concrete symbol of the gods' protection of Rome, which was to be protected at all costs. While Cicero was the first to clearly articulate himself as a protector of Rome through his

[65] De Rossi, *Bull. Di Archaeol. Crist.* 1867: 15; CIL X 6440.
[66] Gaifman 2012.
[67] Paribeni 1964:193-198.
[68] Bas Relief, Louvre, c. 30 BCE. H: 42cm, W: 42cm. Marble. (Louvre: inv. MR853). Ex. Albani collection.
[69] See Anguissola 2007 for a discussion on the civic and religious implications of copying art.

protection of the palladium, Caesar and later emperors adopted the palladium into their iconography as a metaphor for ensuring the prosperity and wellbeing of Rome under their rule.

1.3: Minerva in the Cultural Narrative

As one of the most frequently represented gods, Menrva was a part of the cultural narrative in Italy well before Rome adopted her; furthermore, references to Minerva occur in the earliest surviving Latin literature and continue nearly uninterrupted through the imperial period. While she predictably appears in mythological works, notably in Homeric retellings, there are also numerous references to her role in Greece, her cultic functions, specifically Roman incarnations, and generic religious references, in addition to proverbs and vows which make use of her name. As with the attributes and types discussed above, each reference or depiction consists of smaller referential blocks that come together in a syntagmatic linking of ideas and ultimately create a narrative that is recognizable to those familiar with what those blocks mean in the cultural language. A sweeping study of these references in literature and narrative art allows one to trace Minerva's popularity and development over time as well as specific instances in which she is likely to be involved or invoked, thus illuminating her position in the overarching cultural narrative.

The material presented here is divided between Etruscan and Roman. While the Etruscans left no literary record, many of their myths have been able to be pieced together through the visual record.[70] Engraved mirrors offer some of the best examples and are used here in the same manner as textual references. The Roman material begins with the earliest preserved

[70] For Etruscan mythology, see Shipley 2016; de Grummond 2006; Richardson 1976.

Latin literature and incorporates both fragments and full works, as well as contemporary coinage featuring Minerva. While performances, orations, and documents had a limited primary audience, coins functioned as widely distributed carriers of compact narratives and visual mythemes. They utilize the same basic language as textual references and are thus included as part of the cultural narrative analysis.

Etruscan

The mythology that we have from Etruria concerning Menrva is primarily transmitted through visual means and appears to be a mixture of Hellenic and Italic. Much like the Hellenic method of divine presentation, the Etruscans seem to have latched onto certain myths and imported them into the local repertoire. One of the most popular is the Judgment of Paris, an episode from the Trojan cycle where the shepherd Paris (also known as Alexander, and a Trojan prince) was chosen to judge who amongst three goddesses – Hera, Aphrodite, and Athena – was the fairest. Despite the promises of Athena and Hera he chose Aphrodite, who gave him the famously beautiful Helen as a bride and thus launched the Trojan War. This myth finds an especially appropriate receptacle in mirrors, where it is frequently represented. The Etruscans were not content to simply replicate the Greek version of the story, however, and often added their own twists to the picture.

The most common method of doing this was to label the figures with Etruscanized names; Alexander changes to Elcsntre, Athena to Menrva, Aphrodite to Turan, and Hera to Uni. Other depictions, such as the painted terracotta panels from the Boccanera tomb, are content to represent the goddesses in belted peploi, pointed Etruscan shoes, and veils.[71] There are no labels,

[71] "Boccanera plaques," Cerveteri, c. 560-550 BCE. 0.98m. h, 0.56m. w, painted terracotta. London, British Museum (inv. 1889,0410.1-5). Montelius, Oscar "La Civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des

but the characters are clearly recognizable by their organization and iconography. In the far-left Paris stands with a branch, perhaps signaling his rural occupation, and makes a gesture of conversation towards Hermes in front of him. Hermes wears his petasos (traveler's cap) and sports a herald's scepter. Behind him, the three women can be identified as Athena with spear, Hera, and Aphrodite with coquettishly bared legs. It is interesting to note here that the only clue to Athena's martial nature is the spear she carries; without that she would appear just as feminine as the other goddesses. The four women behind them, facing in the opposite direction, have been identified as Helen (far right) preparing for her wedding along with her three attendants.

Still other representations can have more radical changes, such as a mirror in Indiana where Turan is seated on a chair, holding a scepter and mirror, while an almost motherly Uni adjusts her diadem.[72] (Cat. 82) Menrva stands next in line with a flower bud or fruit of some sort, while a young Elcsntre peers over her shoulder. A fifth figure, labeled Althaia, stands directly behind Turan with a leafy branch. She is not attested in any of the Greek versions of the myth, and though her name is Hellenic (namely the goat that suckled the infant Zeus), her presence here is a mystery at best and must reflect an Etruscan variation in the tale.

One myth which is native to Etruria involves Menrva and a group of infants. A late fourth century B.C.E. mirror from Bolsena[73] shows Menrva with aegis and shield standing just left of center and either pulling an infant out of an amphora or placing one inside. Turms (Hermes)

métaux" Stockholm: Imprimerie Royale, 1895-1910:342; Roncalli, Francesco. "Le Lastre dipinte da Cerveteri" Firenze: Sansoni, c 1965:280, pl. 12-15; Pallotino, Massimo. "Etruscan Painting" trans. M.E. Stanley and Stuart Gilbert, Geneva: Skira, 1952:25-28; Reich, John. "Italy before Rome." Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon, 1979: pls. on pages 84-85; Sprenger, Maja and Gilda Bartoloni. "The Etruscans: their history, art, and architecture." trans. Robert Erich Wolf. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1983:pl. 74.

[72] Indiana University Art Museum, inv. 74.23, 0.178 m. W, 0.275 m. H; CSE, USA I: n. 4, p. 18-20, 76-80; Art Journal 34 (1974): 62; Bonfante 1977: 149-168; E. Simon in LIMC I:579, n. 1, s.v. Althaia; Thes. L.E.I. pp. 53, 125, 156, 240, 349, 357.

[73] British Museum, inv. 1868,0606.1, 0.275m. h, diameter 0.185; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum: Greek, Roman & Etruscan*, British Museum Publishing. London, 1899:618; L. Bonfante, *Reading the Past: Etruscan*. British Museum. London, 1990:31-2 and fig. 15

stands to the left with a second infant, while a woman labeled as Amatutunia holds a third. A nude youth called Laran is also present, along with Turan. The scene is framed above by Dawn and her quadriga, and below by Hercle kneeling on a raft of amphorae. The children seem to be related and are called Mariś Isminthians, Mariś Husrnana, and Mariś Halna. The story appears again on another late 4th century B.C.E. mirror, this time from Chiusi.[74] Turan and Menrva are once again present with an infant (Mariś Husrnana) and a large amphora. A nude youth with a spear (Leinth) holds Mariś Halna, while his pendant on the right is unnamed. Mariś Isminthians is absent, although whether this is due to a variation in the myth or his presence inside the amphora is unclear.

This story of Menrva and three infants finds no direct parallel in Greek mythology but is somewhat similar to the story of Athena and Erichthonius. Hephaestus, overcome with lust for Athena, pursues her and ejaculates upon her leg. She wipes it off in disgust and casts the soiled fabric to the earth, where Gaia takes it in and bears the child Erichthonius. Sources vary on whether Erichthonius is guarded by snakes or part-serpentine himself, but regardless Athena takes up the newly generated infant and hides him in a chest which she brings to the three daughters of Kekrops, king of Athens. Despite her warning not to open the chest the girls are unable to restrain themselves and, driven mad by what they find inside, throw themselves off the top of the acropolis. Athena then retrieves the child and raises him herself.[75]

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[74] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung, Fr. 47 (Misc 2947), 0.136 m. W, 0.280 m. H; Gerhardt, ES II p. 166; Friederichs, BAB, II p. 53, Mansuelli, StEtr 1948:49, 91f; Q.F. Maule, H.R. W. Smith 1959, *Votive Religion at Caere*. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 4, p. 1, 110ff; H. Wagenvoort 1951, *De Oorspruing der Ludi Saeculares*, Mededelingen der K. Nederlanse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde p. 14,4, 19ff; Pfiffig 1975, p. 282; E. Simon in LIMC II 1984: Nr. 165 s.v. Athena/Menerva; CSE Bundesrepublic Deutschland 2:26.

[75] Euripides *Ion*, Katast 13, Ovid *Met*. 2.531-565.

The similarity here comes mainly in the placing (or removal) of an infant in a container. There is, unfortunately, no indication of the parentage of the Mariś children or why they were being hidden in an amphora. It is possible that Menrva took up guardianship over them, as she did with Erichthonius, or perhaps Turan since she is present in both depictions. The Chiusi mirror shows Menrva with bared breast, an attitude in which Athena would never be seen, indicating that she intends to nurse at least one if not all of the children.

The act of nursing as performed by a female goddess is also seen in a series of mirrors where Hercle nurses from the breast of Uni and is at that point made immortal. A particularly fine example of this from Volterra, c. 325 B.C.E., shows a fully grown and bearded Hercle bent over to nurse from a seated Uni in the presence of numerous unidentified gods and goddesses (Cat. 90).[76] Tinia (Jove) stands behind his wife and indicates his consent by pointing to an inscription that describes the scene.

N. de Grummond has suggested that the infants are in fact newborn spirits which will be guarded and nurtured by Turan and Menrva, perhaps as a mythological precedent for initiation of male infants.[77] An initiation myth, as well as a general concern with infants, would fit well with archaeological evidence from sites such as Punta della Vipera where such a rite has been proposed, as well as other mirrors like one currently in Paris, c. 475-450 B.C.E., showing Menrva leading a young woman (Cat. 84).[78] Although Menrva has short hair, wings, and a diadem rather than a helmet, she is recognizable by her aegis.

Menrva is also seen caring for the infant Epiur, the main character in yet another distinctively Etruscan myth that seems to be centered around the city of Vulci.[79] In a mirror

[76] Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Firenze, c. 325 BCE.
[77] De Grummond 2006:74-5.
[78] See here, pp. 60-69 for initiation rites at Punta della Vipera.
[79] de Grummond 2006:61.

currently in Berlin she holds a small, portly infant in the presence of Turan and a youthful Hercle (Cat. 91). Menrva is once again wearing a diadem rather than her helmet, and a richly bordered himation along with her customary aegis. Hercle's youthfulness in both this and the other mirrors in which he appears with Epiur are perhaps indicative of an adventure early on in his career, albeit after he defeats the Nemean Lion. Elsewhere, in a mirror in Berlin Menrva is fully armored and accompanied by her owl, while Hercle (still youthful) is engaged in carrying an Epiur that is considerably older (Cat. 92).[80] While the discrepancies in Epiur's relative maturity between the two mirrors could simply be a matter of artistic choice, it could also signal an ongoing interaction between Menrva, Hercle, and the young Epiur.

Whatever the connection between these three examples, the relationship between Menrva and Hercle is undeniable. Hercle was an extraordinarily popular subject in Etruria and Menrva often appears with him in his adventures, guiding his actions or consulting with other figures in the scene. One such example is the late 6th c. BCE. terracotta statue group from the sanctuary at Sant'Omobono in Rome.[81] Menrva wears an attic helmet with lowered cheek-pieces and a tall, partially preserved crest. Much of her body is missing but the hem of her peplos and part of her right foot can be seen, along with a thick section along her collarbone that may be the upper edge of her aegis. Her surviving hand is poised to hold an object, likely a spear. Hercle is missing his head but easily identifiable by the lion-skin wrapped around his torso. He stands close by and slightly in front of her, although their close proximity makes it clear that they are to be perceived as acting together.

[80] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung, c. 425-400 BCE.
[81] Van Vacano 1955: fig. 26; Gjerstad 1960:456, figs. 283-284; Santangelo 1960:83; Somella Mura 1977:99-128, fig. 26-28, 37, 44-45. Referred to here as "Menrva" rather than "Minerva" to reflect the early time period.

Other representations hint at a much more personal relationship between the goddess and her protégé. A late 4th century B.C.E. mirror currently in Morlanwelz shows a nude, youthful Hercle affectionately embracing Menrva in the presence of two female deities, Eris and Thethis (Cat. 85).[82] Menrva bears her aegis, spear, customary helmet, delicately plucking at the hem of her chiton as she and Hercle move forward. Their body language is mirrored, clearly suggesting closeness beyond the usual benign guidance which she provides to her heroes. While one of Athena's most defining characteristics is her virginity, Menrva is under no such restrictions. In fact, her association with children and reproductive health may predispose her to engaging in a physical relationship. Regardless, this type of this level of intimacy between Menrva and Hercle has no precedent in Hellenic tradition and is clearly Etruscan.

Roman Authors: Transition from Etruria

Republic: Phase 1 (mid 3rd c. BCE - early 2nd c. BCE) and 2 (2nd c. BCE - 80 BCE)

The middle Republican period of Roman history was dominated by war; it saw both the First and Second Punic Wars, as well as conflicts with the Samnites, Illyrians, and Gauls. Despite conflicts with the Greek world, Latin literature was heavily indebted to Hellenic predecessors and the earliest formal works follow the style of Greek epic, first as translations and then as altered works.[83] Just as the first phase of Latin literature was dominated by Latin adaptations of Greek works, Minerva's appearances in the 3rd century BCE are largely restricted to mythological roles. She reprises her role as Ulysses' helper in Livius Andronicus' *Odyssey* and was possibly present in his hymn for the Battle of Metataurus in 207 BCE, which he

[82] Bronze mirror, c. 325-300 BCE. Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont, inv. B206.
[83] See Conte 1999 and Kenney/Clausen 2008 for a history of trends in Latin literature.

dedicated at the Aventine temple of Minerva.[84] Shortly thereafter Athena Ilias makes an appearance in Naevius.[85]

Plautus' *palliata comoedia* largely take place in Athens and so include her as the city goddess; notable examples include a mention of the peplos procession and a donation to be made to a sorceress during the festival of Minerva.[86] She was presumably incorporated into Ennius' *Epicharmus* as part of his account of the gods, his *Euhemerus* (theological doctrine), the *Annales*, in which he detailed Roman history from Troy to Cato, and his adaptation of the *Oresteia* as the mediator in Orestes' trial at Athens. Additionally, Martianus informs us that she was incorporated into his list of twelve Roman gods, making this the earliest Roman religious reference in Latin literature.[87] Finally, she receives a brief mention from Caecilius Statius when her name is invoked in a vow ("by Zeus and Athena") and a slightly larger role in Pavucius' Trojan cycle, where she instructs Agamemnon to give Achilles' armor to Ulysses.[88] Thus, we see a focus on mythological roles in the epic works where Minerva follow's Athena's example, her use as a geographical and cultural marker in the *palliata comoedia*, and presumed inclusion in literary accounts of Roman religion and history such as the *Epicharmus* and *Annales*.

While her literary debut was delayed, Minerva starts appearing on Republican coins as early as 280 BCE and appears on 16 distinct types through 42 BCE.[89] The majority are some variation of Minerva's head with an Italo-Corinthian helmet, such as type A, which faces left and runs from 280-276 BCE on litra, semis, and triens issues (Cat.1). Type B, in which the same

[84] Livy 27.37.7, Festus 446-48L.
[85] The palladium is thought to have been featured in the *Equos Troianus*. "Naevius, *Tragedies*" in *Remains of Old Latin.* 1936:117.15 (Loeb edition).
[86] Pl. *Mer*. 1.1.67 (*ut spectavisset peplum*); Pl. *Mil*. 3.1.34-5 (*nam équidem haud sum natus annos praeter quinquaginta et quattuor, clare oculis video, pernix sum manibus, pedibus mobilis*).
[87] Martianus Capella 1.42.
[88] *Amorem iudicium*.
[89] RRC; Schürmann 1985.

head faces right, is by far the most popular and appears on litrae, denarii, quinarii, triens, and dupondii from 269-46 BCE (Cat. 2). Type C is a short-lived issue, limited to 269 BCE, and a variation on B in which the same head is paired with a star (Cat. 3). Type D, issued from 269-266, features type A on one side and type B on the other (Cat. 4). Type E was produced from 230-226 and features the paired busts, but with the addition of a club behind each one (Cat. 5). The club is likely meant to underline some association with Hercules, although what that association is remains uncertain.

225 BCE brings a new variation in which Minerva is facing outwards and wears a triple-crested helmet, although the figural additions which might link her with the Parthenos archetype are missing (Cat. 6). Type G is another new type that only runs for a single year, from 112-111 BCE (Cat. 7). The obverse is quite similar to the type B Minerva coins, but features Mars in an Corinthian helmet instead of her. Minerva appears on the reverse, along with Jupiter and Juno in the typical Capitoline Triad arrangement. Jupiter dominates the middle of the coin, contraposto and nude except for a cloak. He cradles a lightning bolt in the crook of his left arm and holds a staff or sceptre topped with a half-moon and a circle in his right. Juno stands to the right, holding her own sceptre and looking up at him, while Minerva stands to his left and crowns him with a wreath. Something resembling a tree, or a sheaf of wheat is between them, and she holds her own sceptre on the left. Below the ground line, a bird (likely an eagle) bisects the ROMA inscription. As in the literature, early depictions are generic and modelled on Greek prototypes. Type G is novel in that it showcases the Capitoline Triad, a purely Roman vignette, but does not run for more than a year.

The second phase of literature consists of authors in the 2nd and late 1st centuries BCE. At this point Rome was wrapping up its conflict with Carthage in the Third Punic War, and more

conflicts with Hellenistic kingdoms and various peoples on the edge of Roman territory led to a consolidation of power amongst the military elite. We see the rise and fall of both Marius and Sulla, as well as the Social, Mithridatic, and Servile Wars before Pompey and Cicero come on the scene in the late 70s/early 60s BCE. As Rome becomes more powerful the general distribution of Minerva references still favors mythology and Greece, but there are also more indications of Minerva at Rome, as well as general religious matters. The first of these, Terence, mentions her birth from Jupiter's head in the context of his *palliata comoedia*.[90] Accius reveals that the Trojan horse was dedicated to *Minerva armipotenti*, and she presumably appeared in other Greek adaptations of his.[91] Lucretius is not as concerned with mythology as his predecessors, but he does reference the story of a crow being shunned by Minerva in an effort to demonstrate why the habits of crows in the area were due to environmental factors rather than etiology.[92]

In the realm of coins, Type H sees a return to the left-facing head wearing an Italo-Corinthian helmet, although by its issue in 100 BCE an aegis had been added (Cat. 8). A variant in which she faces right was issued in 87 and 42 BCE. 90 BCE brings six different designs, all of which are variants of Minerva in a quadriga (labelled here I1-I6, Cat. 9-14) The first has Minerva in a right facing quadriga holding a spear in her left hand and the reins in her right. The second elaborates with a left facing quadriga, a Victory, and a trophy held in Minerva's left arm, leaving her right to handle the reins and spear. The third type is similar but reversed, in that the Victory is still present but the quadriga faces right and the attributes have flipped sides. The fourth quadriga coin is the same in all respects, except for the Victory, which has been removed.

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[90] Ter. *Haut.*1036-7 (*non, si ex capite sis meo natus, item ut aiunt Minervam esse ex Iove...*).
[91] Serv. ad *Aen.* II.17 (*Accius in Deiphobo inscriptum dicit [equum]*: *Minervae donum armipotenti abuentes Danai dicant).*
[92] The crow story is picked up later by Ovid in his Metamorphoses (*Met.* 2.531-62).

Quadriga type five has this image on both sides of the coin; one side is a left facing quadriga reins and spear on the right and trophy on the left, while the other is right facing with reins and spear on the left and trophy on the right. The sixth and final version copies the second side of type five but opts for a different obverse.

Late Republic: Cicero

The peak of Latin literature has historically been associated with the authors of the Late Republic and Augustan periods, starting with Cicero and ending with Ovid.[93] These authors strike a balance between Greek models and Latin reality, creating works that are both worthy heirs to the traditions of the past as well as being spectacular works of Roman ingenuity on their own merit. Cicero's extensive writings in particular are the first to paint a picture of a fervent, personal devotion to Minerva. She appears nineteen times in his works: fifteen times as Minerva, twice as Pallas, and twice as the Palladium. These references reveal both a personal relationship and intellectual interest in the goddess that underpins many of his treatises and letters.

Athens and the Athena Parthenos are a frequent subject, perhaps due to his own education in Athens. In his speech against Verres he mentions allegations in a separate trial of thefts from the temple of Minerva in Athens, which he claims have relevance with Verres' own crimes in Sicily.[94] Phidias and the Parthenos are used in his *Brutus* to illustrate the desire for artistic skill, even in the face of practical need.[95] Unsurprisingly, she appears frequently in the *De*

[93] Previously called "Golden Age Latin" as a reference to Augustus' *aurea aetas*, current scholarship prefers to utilize more neutral language such as Late Republican and Augustan. See Kenney Clausen 1982.
[94] Cic. *Ver*. 2.1.45 (*Athenis audistis ex aede Minervae grande auri pondus ablatum; dictum hoc est in Cn. Dolabellae iudicio; dictum? etiam aestimatum. Huius consilii non modo participem C. Verrem, sed principem fuisse reperietis*.)
[95] Cic. *Brut*. LXXIII.256-8 (*Credo; sed Atheniensium quoque plus interfuit firma tecta in domiciliis habere quam Minervae signum ex ebore pulcherrimum; tamen ego me Phidiam esse mallem quam vel optimum fabrum tignarium*.)

Natura Deorum. In addition to remarking on her characteristic grey eyes and helmet, he also posits five different 'types' of Minervas in an effort to reconcile various major cults. The first was the mother of Apollo by the specific Vulcan who was a son of the sky, and the second was born of the Nile and worshipped by the Egyptians of Sais.[96]

The third Minerva was born from Jupiter, while the fourth was born from Jupiter and Coryphe, a daughter of Oceanus. He states that she is worshipped as Kora by the Arcadians and invented the quadriga. Finally, the fifth Minerva is Pallas, who killed her father after an attempted rape, and is often shown with winged ankles.

Cicero also uses her name as a metonym for intelligence, as in "*ideo quia nihil dicet invita Minerva*," or "Should it be in opposition to one's own innate intellect."[97] In the *De Oratore* he uses a metaphorical statue of Minerva to stand in for a flawless argument, saying that "In such works, if any shall have so completely grasped this art so as to be able to produce a Phidian statue of Minerva, certainly he not have difficulty in grasping the lesser details, as the very same master did on the shield."[98] Thus it is not any argument or Minerva statue that the student should be striving for, but one worthy to stand by the renowned Athena Parthenos. This statement is likely in the same vein as the one above, where Cicero stated that he would rather be Phidias (in his case an orator) than a craftsman, and is certainly related to the passage in the

[96] Cicero was not the first to equate Minerva with the goddess of Sais; Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus had already associated Athena with Neith in Sais, with the latter claiming that Athena had built the city. Plutarch speaks of a temple to Athena/Isis, which may have had similarities to Minerva Medica if it was related to the medical school at Sais which featured female students and teachers specializing in gynecology and obstetrics. Diod. 5.57, Hdt. 2.171, Plat. Tim. 21, Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.§ 9.* See also Clausen 2012.

[97] Cic. *Off*. 1.31 (*Ex quo magis emergit, quale sit decorum illud, ideo quia nihil decet invita Minerva, ut aiunt, id est adversante et repugnante natura*).

[98] Cic. *Ora*. 2.XVII.73 (*In his operibus si quis illam artem comprehenderit, ut tanquam Phidias Minervae signum efficere possit, non sane, quemadmodum ut in clipeo idem artifex minora illa opera facere discat, laborabit*).

Paradoxica Stoicorum where he admits that this work will not be placed "*in arce*" with "*Minerva illa Phidiae*," but could certainly be seen as coming from the same workshop.[99]

Conversely, her name can be combined with "*pingui*" to indicate dull or thick wits, as in *De amicitia* when he says "*agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt Minerva*."[100] While "*pingui*" can be used in an agricultural sense to denote richness and fertility, when describing mental capacity (substituted as Minerva, in this case), it almost certainly means slow and dull. Finally, Cicero uses what appears to have been a proverb in the *Academica* involving a pig trying to teach Minerva, although he is quick to point out that trying to teach Minerva anything is a foolish endeavor.[101]

Concerning his personal relationship with the goddess, Cicero portrays himself as her protege and a sort of oratorical Phidias, the intellectual version of the mythical heroes she watched over. He refers to her as "*semper adiutrix*" to his council and a witness, "*testis...exstitisti*" to his work. While *adiutrix* likely means 'helper' in this case, it could also mean adjutant in a military sense, or a political official.[102] Thus, he references both her military and intellectual capacities.

Cicero evidences practical concerns for Minerva's welfare as well. In a letter to Caelius Rufus his main concerns about Rome involve rowdy meetings and a disagreeable Quinquatria.[103] Elsewhere, in his speech against Verres, he reminds his audience about his role in the festival for

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[99] Thus, his work (allegorically associated with artistic masters) is not quite Phidian enough to be displayed in the Parthenon with Athena Parthenos but is similar enough to be by Phidias' workshop and thus associated with the Parthenos statue.

[100] Cic. *Amic*. V.19. "Let us therefore proceed, as they say, with our slow wittedness (*pingui Minerva*)."

[101] Cic. *Aca*. I.V.19. "*...nam etsi non sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepte quisquis Minervam docet*." "Even if it is not a pig [teaching] Minerva, as they say, nevertheless anyone who teaches Minerva is doing a stupid thing." See also Theocritus 5.23 for a similar proverb.

[102] Cic. *Dom*. LVII.144. "*...et te, custos urbis, Minerva, quae semper adiutrix consiliorum meorum, testis laborum exstitisti*." "...and you, guardian of the city, Minerva, who has always appeared as helper to my council, witness of my work."

[103] Cic. *Fam*. II.12 (*Sollicitus equidem eram de rebus urbanis. ita tumultuosae contiones, ita molestae Quinquatrus adferebantur*).

the Capitoline Triad, the "earliest to be called Roman," for which he was to guard the sacred edifices and look after the city's protection.[104] Presumably he was not personally responsible for the welfare of Rome, but rather for ensuring that the gods who did protect the city (Capitoline Triad) were honored properly.

The most telling facet of their relationship, however, is that Minerva seems to have been included in Cicero's roster of household gods in the form of a small statue. As John Bodel has pointed out, her inclusion and subsequent move to the Capitoline takes on an Aeneas-like narrative that posits Cicero himself as the champion.[105] In 58 BCE Cicero went into exile from Rome and his house on the Palatine was confiscated and subsequently demolished. Cicero casts this destruction as a new Ilioupersis, an attack against his household gods and by extension, the state itself. He claims that he would not allow the "guardian of the city" to be violated by corrupt persons, even though his own property was destroyed, and that he brought her safely to the Capitolium.[106]

This guardian of the city is undoubtedly the small statue of Minerva which he dedicated "To Minerva, Protector of Rome" in the Capitoline temple.[107] This same statue was later blown over during a storm but, he happily reports, was restored by Senatorial decree the very same day, which happened to be during the Quinquatria and was presumably with the goddess' blessing.[108] Cicero wastes no time in casting himself as a hero for rescuing this statuette from his soon-to-be-demolished house, a vignette which crops up elsewhere in his writing. In the *Pro Milone*, written

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[104] Cic. *Ver*. XIV.36-7 (*... mihi ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani appellati sunt, cum dignitate maxima et religione Iovi Iunoni Minervaeque esse faciundos, mihi sacrarum aedium procurationem, mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam*).
[105] Bodel 2008: 252-5.
[106] Cic. Leg. 2.42 (*...nos, qui illam custodem urbis omnibus ereptis nostris rebus ac perditis violari ab impiis passi non sumus eamque ex nostra domo in ipsius patris domum detulimus...*).
[107] Plut. Cic. 31.6.
[108] Cic. Fam. 12.25.1 (*non invita Minerva; etenim eo ipso die senatus decrevit ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur*.).

some years before his exile, he mocks Sextus Clodius with a portfolio of laws which he supposedly snatched from his house and "carried safely, like a palladium, from the weapons and dangers of the night."[109]

In the *Pro Scaurus*, however, he recalls the story of Metellus, Pontifex Maximus at that time and Scaurus' relative, who rescued the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta despite his own safety. Since the Palladium was forbidden to anyone but purified women he lost his sight (similar to Tiresias, who was blinded for seeing Athena bathe) but was subsequently honored for protecting the city.[110] This story is woven in with reminders of the family's generosity to the Capitoline Triad, thus integrating piety to the Palladium and the Triad with Scaurus and the safety of the city. By his argument any action against Scaurus would be an action against the forces protecting Rome itself.

Both of these examples were written before Cicero's exile in 58. As Bodel has noted, by setting up the connection between the Palladium and the salvation of Rome Cicero was able to connect his own statuette to the Palladium narrative, thereby taking up the mantle of civic and religious hero. While the Palladium's theft by Diogenes and Ulysses was certainly known in Rome, the parallel story of Aeneas' rescue was just becoming popular, thanks to Julius Caesar. While Cicero did not have the lineage of the Julians and could not claim to be an authentic heir to the Palladium narrative, he nonetheless adopted it and shaped it to his own uses. He was the protege of Minerva, taught in her own city of Athens and guided by her in all of his actions. He was the one who had overseen the festival on the Capitoline Hill and was, moreover, a successor

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[109] Cic. *Mil*. XII.33 (*Exhibe, quaeso, Sexte Clodi, exhibe librarium illud legum vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo et ex mediis armis turbaque nocturna tamquam Palladium sustulisse, ut praeclarum videlicet munus atque instrumentum tribunatus ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum gereret, deferre posses*…).
[110] Cic. *Scaur*. 2 (*Capitolium illud templis tribus inlustratum, paternis atque etiam huius amplissimis donis ornati aditus Iovis Optimi Maximi, Iunonis Reginae, Minervae M. Scaurum apud vos memoria huius munificentiae et liberalitatis publicae ab omni avaritiae aut cupiditatis suspitione defendunt*...).

to Phidias in creating (oratorical) likenesses of her. Caesar himself eschews the Palladium narrative in his writing and hardly mentions Minerva, except to note that the Gallic equivalent was concerned with invention as well. Thus, while we see Cicero taking a strong interest in her, perhaps due to his fondness for Athens and desire to be seen as a national hero, she was not so overwhelmingly popular as to be a mandatory inclusion in every work.

With her overwhelming presence in Cicero's writings one might expect her to dominate elsewhere as well, but Minerva is surprisingly absent from coins in the late Republican period. It is not until Caesar that she once again makes an appearance, once as the palladium with Aeneas and once as a sort of Minerva Victrix (Cat. 15-16).[111] She stands left with a trophy over her right shoulder and a Corinthian helmet; her right arm bears a shield with a frontal gorgoneion and a snake rests at her feet. The position of snake and shield are reminiscent of the Parthenos, but if that was meant to be the prototype it is clear Caesar's artist has taken considerable liberties. This coin references Caesar's own victories and would have been recognized by contemporary Romans as a coopting of Pompey's divine patron. Pompey's son resurrected Republican type A briefly between 38 and 36 BCE, but the coin may have been minted in Sicily rather than Rome and he otherwise preferred Poseidon.[112]

Augustan Writers

Moving into the Augustan period, Minerva continues to be popular. Horace follows Cicero in referring to a lack of intelligence as a subpar Minerva, although he uses "*crassa*

[111] RSC12, discussed under "palladium" above, pp. 27-33; Cohen 7.
[112] See Hekster 2015 for a general discussion of Romans and divine patrons and ancestors; also see here, p.105 for Pompey's dedication.

Minerva," to denote dull wits.[113] His mythological references are restricted to the Trojan cycle, namely the Trojan horse and a speech by Juno in which she claims that Ilium was given to her and Minerva to destroy as a result of cheating the gods.[114] He also emphasizes her chastity and connection with weaving, wisdom, and fair speech.[115] Tibullus includes a vignette of a weaving woman in "service to Minerva," again underscoring her connection with textile arts.[116]

Vitruvius predictably stays away from mythological references but does mention a number of notable Athena temples in Greece and Asia Minor. He also includes her with the forceful male gods in his famous section on the building orders, recommending that the Doric order be used for her as well as Mars and Hercules due to their respective might. Likewise, since the Capitoline Triad was responsible for protection of the city their temple should be placed in the highest part of the city, with the best view of the surrounding countryside.[117]

Propertius features the standard appearances of the Trojan horse and Cassandra's rape during the sack of the city but is the first to truly branch out into other myths. He mentions Tiresias, that Minerva was worshipped in Ithaca, and combines Minerva with weaving in the same metonymic fashion that Cicero did with oratory. Penelope, he says, worked nightly with "deceptive Minerva," using 'Minerva' as a metonym for loom and referring to the burial shroud

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[113] Hor. *Sat*. 2.4 (*nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva*). "This is no discourse of mine, but that which the peasant Ofellus taught, wise though unschooled and with common wit."

[114] Hor. *Od*. 3.3.18-24 (*...ex quo destituit deos mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi castaeque damnatum Minervae cum populo et duce fraudulento*.) The impiety stems from the failure of Laomedon to pay Poseidon and Apollo fairly for building the walls of Troy.

[115] Hor. *Od*. 3.12.5-6 (*...tibi telas operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule, Liparaei nitor Hebri*); Hor. *Ars*. 385 (*Tu nihil invita dices faciesve1 Minerva; id tibi iudicium est, ea mens*).

[116] Tib. 2.63-66 (*hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque, fusus et apposito pollice versat opus; atque aliqua assidue textrix operata Minervae cantat, et a pulso tela sonat latere*). Tib. 1.26 includes an odd caveat, when Priapus assures Tibullus that he can pursue his young male object of adoration without fear of reprisal from gods that he might swear upon (*perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos*).

[117]Vitr. 1.2.5 (*Minervae et Marti et Herculi aedes doricae fient; his enim diis propter virtutem sine deliciis aedificia constitui decet*.) and 1.7.1 (*Aedibus vero sacris, quorum deorum maxime in tutela civitas videtur esse, et Iovi et Iunoni et Minervae, in excelsissimo loco unde moenium maxima pars conspiciatur, areae distribuantur*).

that she would weave during the day and unravel every night.[118] Nor does he shy away from using Minerva in the context of his love elegies: once he asks if a woman has offended her by insulting her eyes (*Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos*), and elsewhere compares Cynthia to Minerva, albeit in a Greek context (*aut ceu Munychias Pallas spatiatur ad aras, Gorgonis anguiferae pectus operta comis*).[119] He also emphasizes her role in fair speech and the chaste arts (weaving) and seems to merge her with Vesta. In the *Elegies* he mentions flooding Pallas' altar with tears and dousing the fires; previous lines indicate this is the sacred fire in the temple of Vesta. [120] Whether he was referring to Pallas' chastity and his distress over a lost love, or because Vesta was too interconnected with state affairs to be a proper comparison here is unclear.

Minerva appears several times in Virgil's *Aeneid*, largely as a figure in the Trojan war. Her cult in Troy is present just prior to the sacking of the city, when the Trojan women sacrifice to her, as well as during when Cassandra seeks sanctuary at her statue.[121] We also hear of the Trojan horse, how she stood atop the towers with Juno, attacking Troy, and the theft of the Palladium by Ulysses.[122] Virgil does not restrict himself to Homeric myths, however, as we also come across references to Arachne and the contest for Athens, the latter of which can be placed in context by the Acropolis and the presentation of the peplos.[123]

Specifically Roman references are somewhat fewer: a temple to Athena "mighty in arms" in Latium makes an appearance in the *Aeneid*, perhaps as a parallel between Troy and Italy.

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[118] Prop. 2.2.9a.3-6 (*Penelope poterat bis denos salva per annos vivere, tam multis femina digna procis; coniugium falsa poterat differre Minerva, nocturno solvens texta diurna dolo*). Another example is 4.4.5, this time using Minerva for a specific weave (*Eurypylisve placet Coae textura Minervae*).
[119] Prop. 2.28.12; 2.2.7-8. Munychias either refers to a particular hill in Piraeus or a town in Attica with a temple of Athena Skiras (Paus. 1.1.4).
[120] Prop. 4.4.44-5 (*Pallados exstinctos si quis mirabitur ignes, ignoscat: lacrimis spargitur ara meis*).
[121] Aen. 2.404; 1.479-82.
[122] Aen. 2.13-20; 2.615-6; 2.162-194.
[123] Vir. Georgica 4.246ff; Appendix Vergiliana Ciris LCL64 444-5.

Minerva is also mentioned twice in connection with Augustus' circle; once as a teacher of Maecenas, and once as one of the gods fighting against the Egyptian gods at Actium.[124] Augustus himself has little to say about Minerva, save for including his restoration of the Aventine temple in his *Res Gestae.*

In contrast, Livy has far more Roman references than Greek. What few Greek references he does include are usually involved in a campaign narrative, such as the Aetolian Chalcioikos temple or Perseus' hecatomb sacrifice to Minerva Alcidemos, defender of the people, in Macedonia.[125] Although he does not include any overt references to mythology, he mentions three separate occasions on which people specifically travelled to sacrifice to Athena Ilias, and informs us that the Palladium was the only thing that stood intact in the ruins of her temple.[126] His Roman anecdotes involve her role as part of the Capitoline Triad and he mentions the dedication of a silver thunderbolt, as well as the lectisternium festival where she shared a couch with Neptune and the Triad's connection with protection and service to the state.[127] Livy is also our main source for the *clavus annales* ceremony, in which a nail was hammered into Minerva's Capitoline cella to mark the passage of time.[128]

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[124] Maecenatem 17-18; Aen. 8.695-9.

[125] Liv. 35.36 9 (*Aetoli circa Chalcioecon—Mineruae aereum est templum—congregati caeduntur*); 42.40 (*Ipse centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon).* See here, Athena Alkidemos, p. 29 n 40.

[126] Liv. 37.3 (*...inde Ilium escendit, sacrificioque Mineruae*); 37.37 (*inde Ilium processit, castrisque in campo qui est subiectus moenibus positis, in urbem arcemque cum escendisset, sacrificavit Mineruae praesidi arcis, et Iliensibus in omni rerum verborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferentibus, et Romanis laetis origine sua); 35.43 (Ilium a mari escendit ut Mineruae sacrificaret*). The Palladium reference comes from St. Augustine, City of God, III.vii.

[127] 7.22.17-18; 7.22.9-10; 6.29.9.

[128] Liv. 22.17-18 *(Decemvirorum monitu decretum est Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur*), 22.9-10 (*alterum Neptuno ac Minervae*), 7.3.5-8 (*Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui praetor maximus sit idibus Septembribus clavum pangat; fixa fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis optimi maximi, qua parte Minervae templum est. Eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem quia numerus Minervae inventum sit*).

Augustan Poets: Ovid

The last writer of the Augustan period, Ovid, is largely mythological but includes quite a few historical and religious references, especially in his later works like the *Tristia* or *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Ovid is best known for the Metamorphoses, a 15-book collection of transformation stories written in dactylic hexameter. Minerva appears frequently but, in concert with the collection's theme, always in a mythological setting. She is a main character in quite a few major sections: first, in Book II, we hear from a crow who explains that she was rescued by Minerva in a fashion similar to Daphne; she prayed for rescue from sexual assault and was turned into the bird she is now. When she told on the daughters of Cecrops, however, Minerva grew angry and banished her, choosing the owl (another cursed girl) as her bird instead.[129] Soon after we return to Minerva in the story of Mercury and Herse.[130] As Tissol has noted, Ovid switches the focus from Mercury, whose amatory pursuit of Herse was originally the focus of the story, to Minerva, who becomes enraged with Aglauros for betraying her.[131] We later learn that Minerva pays a visit to Invidia, where she beseeches the dreaded goddess to torment Aglauros. Rather than simply telling a story of love and transformation, as one familiar with his earlier love elegies might expect, Ovid instead turns the tale of Mercury and Herse into something darker, that reflects on both the benefits of chastity and the necessity of integrity. Minerva, a virgin goddess and patron of both wisdom and civil behavior, steps in to guide the story in this new direction.

Book IV includes Perseus, who tells us that Medusa, in a break from former canon in which she did not have a specific backstory, becomes a priestess of Athena who was raped by Poseidon and cursed to become a gorgon. Her head is eventually cut off by Perseus, who

[129] Ov. *Met.* 2.590-595.
[130] Ov. *Met.* 2.708-832.
[131] Tissol 2014:161-164.

sacrifices a heifer to Minerva and presents the trophy to wear upon her aegis.[132] In Book V we catch up with Minerva on her way back from Perseus' defeat of Medusa; she has heard that Pegasus created a new spring for the Muses and wishes to see it.[133] The Muses greet her as one of their own, noting that she could very well have been a Muse herself had she not been one of the Olympians. This is presumably in reference to her patronage of music, literature, and the arts; by this point in Roman literature poets and orators are beseeching her for inspiration as well as the Muses. Book VI brings the story of Arachne, yet another example of Minerva (by now one in a long line of vengeful gods which Ovid has spoken of) punishing a mortal for hubris.[134] The cautionary tale of Arachne also serves as our first purely Roman myth from Ovid; there is no Greek precedent. She is also present with Cadmus and advises him to sow the dragon's teeth and is mentioned briefly when Medea arrives in Athens. In contrast to other mythological exploits, Minerva's involvement in Trojan affairs is comparatively brief. She is mentioned in a recounting of the lesser Ajax's feud with Minerva at sea after desecrating her temple, and a speech by Ulysses in which he talks about stealing the Palladium.[135] Her primary involvement in the Metamorphosis is two-fold, then; primarily as a catalyst for divine punishment, and secondarily as a character in the stories which Ovid tells.

Ovid's great religious work, the *Fasti,* is not only one of the best sources of ritual connected to the Roman calendar but also a wealth of information on Minerva's cults and festivals within the city. She is primarily involved with the sections on the *quinquatria* and *lesser quinquatria,* her festivals in March, but appears elsewhere as well. In the section on Anna Perenna it is revealed that Mars once sought Minerva's affections, as they were both gods of war,

[132] Ov. *Met.* 4.753-803.
[133] Ov. *Met.* 5.250-293.
[134] Ov. *Met.* 6.1-145. Arachne is treated in full here on p. 123.
[135] Ov. *Met.* 14.445-482; 13.123-381.

and went to Anna for help. She disguised herself as Minerva in bridal clothing and did not reveal her identity until she was in the bridal chamber.[136] Connections are drawn between Mars and Minerva earlier in the book as well, when Ovid entreats Mars to put away his weapons as Minerva does, and enjoy the liberal arts.[137] Mars later replies that he has been asked to engage in peaceful pursuits and does so gladly, "lest Minerva think that she alone can do so." [138] The exchange is couched in military terminology, with terms such as "*nova castra*" used to imply that he is merely exchanging battlefields for a different test of skill.[139] Mars proves himself here a more capable military man than the unfortunate Achilles, whom Ovid chides in the *Ars Amatoria* for following the wrong art of Minerva on Scyros.[140]

Once we reach the end of March and Minerva's festival, Ovid recounts both the participants and proceedings of the *quinquatria* and it is here that we get some idea of the sheer number of professions that fall under her purview.[141] Ovid's Minerva is "*mille dea est operum*," a goddess of a thousand works, and he exhorts children in school to pay heed to her, for "he who pays good heed to Minerva will be learned."[142] Others who should worship her include carpenters, painters, sculptors, cobblers, weavers, launderers, doctors, teachers, and, naturally, poets. He ends the passage with a supplication (*si, merior, studiis adsit amica meis*) and embarks upon an explanation for the *aedes* of Minerva Capta.[143] This later paragraph is also concluded with a supplication, although it is for the emperor as opposed to Ovid himself. Here, he invokes

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[136] Ov. *Fasti* 3.675-96.
[137] Ov. *Fasti* 3.5-8 (*ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervae: num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat? Palladis exemplo ponendae tempora sume cuspidis: invenies et quod inermis agas*).
[138] Ov. *Fasti* 3.173-6 (*nunc primum studiis pacis, deus utilis armis, advocor et gressus in nova castra fero, nec piget incepti; iuvat hac quoque parte morari, hoc solam ne se posse Minerva putet*).
[139] "Whomever shall entreat Pallas well, shall be learned."
[140] *Ars* 691-3 (*Quid facis, Aeacide? Non sunt tua munera lanae; tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas. Quid tibi cum calathis? Clipeo manus apta ferendo est*).
[141] Ov. *Fasti* 3.809-848.
[142] *…qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit.*
[143] *Fasti* 3. 835-48. See here, "Minerva Capta" on p. 89 for discussion of the passage.

Minerva to "*pro ducibus nostris aegida semper habe*," or to "always protect our leaders with your aegis." This is in contrast to his description of the aegis in the *Ars Amatoria*, where he mentions the gorgon eyes flashing with fire; as it is included in the Minerva Capta explanation, perhaps he is intimating that in bringing this particular Minerva into the city from Falerii she now gives her protection to Roman leaders.[144]

The lesser quinquatria comes in June with Book VI, which Ovid sets up with a pseudo-proem.[145] He informs us that he is ordered, *iubeor,* to describe the festival and asks *flava Minerva* (whom he had, earlier, already established as the patron of his poems) to "*...ades o coeptis...meis,*" or to favor his imminent labor. Rather than launching into the task on his own, however, he inverts expectations by instead asking the goddess a series of etiological questions. The audience is encouraged to believe his veracity, as Minerva answers herself after she puts aside her spear, "*sic posita...cuspide.*"[146] We are assured of his authorship, however, as he states that he wishes he could quote Minerva directly (but presumably cannot).[147] Minerva provides an explanation for the costumed flute-players who take part in the rite, while also reminding Ovid that she invented the flute, thus establishing the *collegium* of flautists and ensuring their devotion to her. Elsewhere recounts the story of Metellus and the palladium, how it had come to be in Ilium, and its final resting place in the temple of Vesta.[148]

Ovid shortest work, *Ibis* and the Ovidian *Nux* both contain references to Minerva as well. The *Nux*, written in imitation of Ovid's style and from the point of view of an abused tree, is predictably arboreal and concerned with olives, when it mentions her at all. The *Ibis* was written

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[144] *Ars* 499-506.
[145] Ov. *Fasti* 649-710.
[146] Usually translated as "set aside her spear" although *cuspis* can also mean a pointed tip or stinger and may have been intended as a coy reference to a spindle, and thus her dual nature as a deity of both war and weaving.
[147] *...possim utinam doctae verba referre deae.*
[148] *Fasti* 6.417-460.

after his exile to Tomis, along the Black Sea, and is a recounting of curses launched as invective against the unnamed "Ibis." Here we learn of Bistonian Minerva and a slaughtered group of Trojan refugees who had fled to Magna Graeca; the cult statue closed its eyes after witnessing the carnage.[149]

The *Tristia*, also written in exile, is a collection of elegiac poetry in which he addresses his journey to Tomis, his final days in Rome, his own personal history, and a general recounting of sorrows. Here, Minerva is not a poetic Muse but a protector who looks after proteges at sea. Ovid references the Argo, which was built under her care, and notes that she often saved Ulysses from the wrath of Neptune.[150] Her guardianship of his maritime travels is most apparent when he invokes her during his trip and notes that the *tutela*, protective figurehead, of his ship was in fact her and that he was protected by the power of Pallas.[151] The ship then gains some degree of autonomy, personally shepherding Ovid through the perils of the sea.

In a similar vein of protection he metonymically identifies her with the oil that revives a dying fire (*ut vigil infusa Pallade flamma solet*), signaling her protection of him as well as the rejuvenating effects of comfort from an old friend.[152] He refers to his own work as parthenogenic, like Minerva herself, calling them his children and family.[153] In doing so he indirectly sets up Minerva as a family member herself, since she guides his work, although claiming them as parthenogenic dispels any notion of impropriety. This theme is a continuation from his biography in Book IV, where he notes that he was born during the *quinquatria* and thus

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[149] Ov. *Ibis* 379-380.
[150] *Tristia* 2.9-10 (*eripuit patruo saepe Minerva suo*); 3.7-10 (*nam rate, quae cura pugnacis facta Minervae per non temptatas prima cucurrit aquas*).
[151] I.X.1-12 (*Est mihi sitque, precor, flavae tutela Minervae, navis et a picta casside nomen habet. sive opus est velis, minimam bene currit ad auram, sive opus est remo, remige carpit iter...perque tot eventus et iniquis concita ventis aequora Palladio numine tuta fuit*).
[152] *Tristia* 5.4.
[153] *Tristia* 3.14.13 (*Palladis exemplo de me sine matre creata carmina sunt; stirps haec progeniesque mea est).*

under her influence.[154] He was not averse to changing his tone, however, as we see in the *Epistulae ex Pontis,* a collection of letters written during exile. The focus of these letters is to appeal to people still in Rome in hopes of ending his exile, and so are predictably glum; here Minerva does not protect him, and the women of Tomis are so dreadfully uncivilized that they do not even know how to weave.[155]

When addressing her, Ovid often uses titles describing her fierce nature. Thus, names such as *dea bellica, belli virago,* and *bellica Pallas* show up frequently. Other adjectives can include *invicta and impavidae,* unconquered, and *armifera,* weapon-bearing. He is also fond of *flava,* golden-haired, and intimations of her intelligence, such as *doctae deae*. Her protective role is best described using *fautrix,* a woman who protects; although the word is only used once in Ovid's extant works, the sentiment is a common one.[156] She is mentioned in the context of no less than five heroes, not including Ovid himself, and connected with both Achilles and Erichthonius. As elsewhere she is used metonymically for olives and olive oil.

Julio-Claudian

Minerva's popularity continues with the later Julio-Claudian authors, making brief appearances in Phaedrus' *Fables* and Manilius' work on astrology. Phaedrus associates her with practicality, reminding us that while the other gods chose plants that were symbolic or ornamental, her olive tree is eminently useful. She is also connected again with fair speech and poetry and mentioned as being involved with the construction of the Argo.[157] Manilius pairs her with the ram constellation, which for him embodies leadership ability and a general association

[154] *Tristia* IV.10.
[155] *ex Ponto* I.4.39-40; 8.9-12.
[156] "*ecce viri fautrix...Pallas*," behold Pallas, protectress of heroes. Ov. *Met*. III.101, when she assists Cadmus.
[157] Fab. 3.17; 4.7.8-9.

with the head. He emphasizes the importance of the ram's fleece, noting its connection with weaving and thus Minerva.[158]

Seneca the Elder mentions her four times. The first is in a discussion of artistic inspiration and the form of the gods, where he uses her to demonstrate that artists depict the gods in a way that is consistent with their preconceptions and not with whatever the gods actually look like. The second is a story on the cleverness of the Athenians when Antony visited and symbolically agreed to marry their Athena.[159] The others are a discourse on Parrhasius of Athens, who tortured a slave in order to have a life model for his painting of Prometheus which he then dedicated on the Acropolis, and Metellus, the famed Roman who lost his sight in order to save the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta. Notably, the first is focused on how Parrhasius put the entire city in danger by profaning the temple with such a creation, while the Metellus narrative, which is usually centered around his service to the state, is instead concerned with how he unjustly lost his sight.[160]

Although not strictly Roman, Quintus Curtius reveals several connections between Minerva and Alexander in his discourse on the legendary Macedonian. He meticulously records a number of sacrifices which Alexander made to Minerva, specifically Minerva Victoria, as well as the games which he held in honor of Asclepius and Minerva.[161] Alexander's love of Homer and the Iliad likely helped to cultivate an affinity with Minerva, who was after all the deity of Troy and advised Achilles, Ulysses, and Diomedes over the course of the epic cycle.

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[158] Manilius Astronomica 439-456, 124-139.
[159] Sen. *Con*. 10.5 (*nec stetit ante oculos eius Minerva, dignus tamen illa arte animus et concepit deos et exhibuit*); Sen. *Suas*. 525M (*Dixerunt despondere ipsos in matrimonium illi Minervam suam et rogaverunt ut duceret; Antonius ait ducturum, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta*).
[160] Sen. *Con*. 10.5, 4.2 (*Metellus pontifex, cum arderet Vestae templum, dum Palladium rapit oculos perdidit*).
[161] History of Alexander 3.7.4-5, 3.12.27-29. 4.13.15-17, 8.2.32-3, 8.11.24-25.

Moving on to the Neronian period, Seneca the Younger again focuses on mythological characterizations in his plays. Minerva is mentioned in the context of Athens in his *Phaedra*, and as the companion of Hercules and builder of the Argo elsewhere. Like Ovid, he also expounds upon the feud between her and Ajax the Younger, where she is noted as using her father's thunderbolt and storm clouds to strike down his ship.[162] In a more generic sense, he avers that she is worshipped by young and old alike and associated with weaving.

Petronius does not mention weaving but does connect her with shops (*tabernas*) and has one of his characters threaten to call down her wrath. Additionally, he tells us that she, along with Romulus and Venus, sided with Caesar against Pompey.[163] While Pompey had tried to associate himself with Minerva, Petronius' comment here may be reflecting Aeneas' possession of the Palladium or Caesar's own attempts to steal Minerva's patronage away from his rival.[164] Lucan does not mention Pompey but he does discuss the Palladium, citing it as the "Trojan Minerva" and a pledge of security, which only Vestals are permitted to look upon.[165] His other references to Minerva are more generically mythological, such as her birth from Jupiter's head and her connection with Lake Tritonia in Libya.[166]

Columella and Frontinus are even more generic, which is perhaps to be expected as their writing centers around agricultural techniques and strategy, respectively. Frontinus recounts a certain battle where the Athenians hastened to attack Sparta directly after a festival of Minerva, when they were least expected, and another where the Spartans took advantage of the Tegean festival of Minerva to sneak into the city disguised as grain traders and sack it.[167] Columella, for

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[162] Agamemnom 528-556.
[163] Loeb edition p. 320 (Caesar), Poems 76 P.L.M. B.XXXII (shops).
[164] This is discussed further in the section on Pompey's dedication, p. 105.
[165] Luc. I.597-8 (*Vestalemque chorum ducit vittata sacerdos, Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam*).
[166] IX.348-52
[167] Strategems 4.13, 3.8.

his part, mentions Phidias' Athena but otherwise associates her with olives. He does, however, employ the *pingui Minerva* metonym.[168]

Our last author of the pre-Domitianic period, Pliny the Elder, eschews mythological references as well but reports extensively on artworks, traditions, and places associated with Minerva. A large number are Greek, such as the statue of Athens in the round on Paphos or Phidias' Athena Parthenos, but even more can be placed in a Roman context. For convenience I have divided these into artworks, buildings, and observations.

The artworks and buildings which he mentions are either famous due to their creator, their placement, or some inherent virtuosity. In Greece he mentions Scopas' Cnidian Athena, the temple of Athena at Elis, and an Egyptian breastplate kept in the temple of Athena at Lindos in Rhodes. The sculpture of Minerva in Sicyon, by Dopoenus and Scyllus, was allegedly struck by lightning. He also mentions a Delphic bronze tablet involving her but says that it was kept on the Palatine.[169]

Pliny records seven individual artworks and one architectural dedication within Rome, two of which were associated with Pompey.[170] He mentions Pompey's 'dedication' and records the inscription, as well as the fact that Pompey included a gold statue of Minerva (along with ones of Mars and Apollo) in his triumph. Euphranor's statue of Minerva was placed below the Capitol and was referred to as the Catuliana after Quintus Lutatius Catulus, who dedicated it around 78 BCE. Pliny also mentions three paintings: the first, a Minerva whose eyes followed viewers around the room, was by Famulus and kept in the Domus Aurea. Antiphilus' painting of

[168] Ag. 1.preface.33
[169] Scopas: XXXVI.22.16-17; Elis: XXXVI.LV.179; Lindos: XIX.CCLXIV.12; Sicyon: XXXVI.IV; bronze tablet: VII.LVIII.210.
[170] Pompey's shrine: VII 97-8; triumph: XXXVII.VI.14; Euphranor: XXXIV.77-9; Famulus: XXXV.120; Antiphilus: XXXV.114; Nicomachus: XXXV.108; bowl: XXXIII.LV.157.

Philip with Athena was kept in the Porticus Octavia, and Nicomachus' famous Rape of Persephone was kept in Minerva's cella on the Capitoline, above the shrine of Iuventus. Finally, he makes note of a two-ounce silver bowl by Pytheas, which had Odysseus and Diomedes with the Palladium depicted on the bottom and fetched 10,000 denarii.

The observations concerning Minerva center around etiologies and the natural world. He notes that a single lick from a female goat can make an olive tree barren, for which reason they should never be sacrificed to Minerva, and that crows are rarely seen between the rising of Arcturus and the arrival of swallows in Minerva's sanctuaries.[171] In a similar vein he reports that Minerva is said to have discovered a plant called "*philanthropos*" which was able to cure pigs if dug up without iron tools, stuck to clothes, and could cure headaches if worn as a wreath.[172] Likewise, she prescribed "parthenium" to Pericles in a dream, who then used it to cure a slave who had fallen off a roof.[173]

Minerva receives even less attention on coins in the imperial period, having only one issue in which she is the focus before the Flavian period. Tiberius includes her as a decoration on a hexastyle temple of Concordia in 34-37 CE, but she is merely a roof decoration along with the rest of the Capitoline triad.[174] Claudius introduces the helmeted and draped Minerva striding right, with her spear raised in the right hand and her shield ready in the left (Cat. 19). She wears a tall, crested helmet and a scaled aegis that covers most of her chest. Her feet are pointed, as in

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[171] Andron, as transmitted by Apollonios Paradoxographos (Wonderful Tales, 8) notes that crows are not sighted around the Acropolis. Amelesagoras, Athenian writer of the Atthis, further explains that the crow was banned from the Acropolis on account of it tattling on the daughters of Kekrops. (quoted in Antigonos of Karystos, *Rerum naturalium scriptores*, ch. 12). See BNJ 292F1 and 330F1.

[172] *Medetur et subus effossa sine ferro addita in colluviem dicere oportere: haec est herba argemon quam Minerva repperit subus remedium quae de illa gustaverint.* (Plin. NH. XXIV.176). This is possibly related to *Agrimonia*, a genus of plant in the rose family. The seeds stick to clothing and some members of the genus are thought to have curative properties.

[173] Also called *sideritis*, *astercum*, *urceolaris*, and *perdicium*.

[174] RIC1 67, p. 98.

the archaic promachos types, which follows Claudius' overall archaizing tendency. She is once again somewhat tangential in Nero's congiaria coins, where a statue of her holding a spear and owl stands on a column by his podium (Cat. 21-22).[175] This same statue is used on congiaria coins under Vespasian/Titus, indicating that it represents a specific statue in Rome that was familiar enough to serve as a geographical marker (Cat. 27). Minerva does not appear directly on any of Nero's other coins, but she does seem to be alluded to in some of the smaller denominations of coins, such as a quadrans which includes a helmet on a column, a shield with a gorgoneion, and a spear; likewise, a separate one in which an owl with outstretched wings faces a rectangular altar decorated with wreaths.[176]

Apart from Galba's palladium issues, Vespasian was the first since Caesar to show a concerted interest in Minerva on his coinage. He reissues the Republican type B Minerva on a quadrans from 77-78 CE (later reissued by Titus in 80-81 CE) and details her cult statue on his Capitoline Temple coin.[177] While it does not seem to be the same Minerva statue from the congiaria coins, a 71 CE issue featuring Pax burning a pile of arms does include a statue of Minerva on a column in the background (Cat. 25).[178]

The most telling coin, however, was released by Titus in honor of his father's death and divinization (Cat. 24).[179] The denarius, dating between 80-81 CE, shows a laureate head of Vespasian on the obverse. The reverse is comprised of a finely articulated quadriga and tensa. The four horses proceed slowly towards the left, and the dash rail supports another quadriga statuette flanked by Victories bearing palms and wreaths. The sides of the tensa are decorated

[175] These coins will be discussed along with Domitian's lararium coin in Part Two. For type, see RIC100var, 153, 157, 158, 160, 162, and 503, collectively dating from 63-68 CE.
[176] BMCRE1 286 p 256; 288 p 257.
[177] RIC2 1020; RIC2.1 254 p 213; Cohen 488, 76 CE.
[178] Cohen 336, BMCRE 553.
[179] RIC2 Titus 361, BMCRE 119-22 Titus.

with a series of garlands and Minervas advancing left while brandishing spears. Tensa were ornamented carts used to carry images of the gods in processions; they could also be used for divinized emperors. If this coin reflects part of the events of Vespasian's funeral and apotheosis, it would have interesting ramifications for a Flavian predisposition towards Minerva. Either way, the increased attention she receives on Flavian coins certainly indicates a connection between the first two Flavian emperors and Domitian's own interest in the goddess.

Minerva's importance in Latin literature reaches a peak with those writing under Domitian, who will be examined in part two. It is clear from the preceding pages however that she was present in Rome as an important goddess from the earliest days of literature and was used in some form by nearly all of the surviving authors. While she is strongly connected with weaving and oratory she is also a patroness of inventors, shops, artists, and heroes. She was also a fierce supporter of those whom she protected as *fautrix*, indicated both by her mythological exploits and her intervention in the lives of her worshippers, as with Ovid's account of his voyage to Tomis.

Her attributes consistently include helmet and arms, in concert with references to her might and ferocity, as well as olives, owls (along with the shunned crow), chastity, weaving, cleverness, and the aegis. Moreover, the story of Arachne, mentioned here in Virgil and Ovid, has no known Greek parallel and seems to have been a purely Roman invention. Notably, it includes her skill at weaving as well as her role as a defender of civilization (here, morality). In coinage she begins as a generic head, not terribly different from other Mediterranean coins with her face on them, but soon expands to more daring compositions. Her inclusion in coins featuring the Capitoline Triad was assured and, although she is absent from the majority of early imperial coinage, she appears again under Claudius and Nero.

Most importantly, she had a clearly defined role as a protector of Rome, especially in her Palladium/Trojan Minerva incarnation, which was used by Cicero and others to cultivate their own image as a servant to the state as well as Galba, Vespasian, and Titus on their coinage. Although this may have begun with Naevius and Livius Andronicus as a byproduct of the Trojan cycle, by the mid-late Republican period it had transferred to Capitoline Minerva and the rest of the Triad. This sentiment is echoed by Cicero, Vitruvius, Ovid, Seneca the Elder, and Livy, and would continue to grow in importance under Domitian.

1.4: Sanctuaries, Votives, and Rituals

A large part of Minerva's enduring popularity was due to her role in traditional religious practices. This section gathers together evidence on confirmed religious sites and large votive deposits in both Etruria and the city of Rome, with the goal of tracing Minerva's development as an Italic goddess (apart from the Greek tradition) from the archaic period through until 80CE.[180] While Roman authors themselves often elided Minerva with Athena, there is strong evidence that a substantial amount of Italic influence made its way into her Roman religious practices.[181] As such, the focus of this section is on Italic and Roman sites; sanctuaries dedicated to Athena in the south Italian Greek colonies have been omitted.[182]

The evidence gathered for both Etruscan and Roman sites includes literary references, architectural finds, small finds, and inscriptions. The literary references are entirely Roman

[180] The Etruscan material is sparse, as temples are identified on the basis of small finds rather than architectural inscriptions, and so the sites presented here were chosen based on their strong likelihood of having a ritual connection to Menrva, either through archaeological evidence or literary accounts in the Roman period. As Domitian's Minerva propaganda was largely restricted to the city of Rome, the Roman temples included follow suit and are either within the city walls or immediately outside.
[181] See Carpino 2017 on Menrva's Etruscan characteristics; Rome's Minerva Medica is one example of Italic influence.
[182] With the exception of Stabi, in the Bay of Naples, as its Phrygian connections warrant discussion.

however and, especially concerning Ovid and Livy on Etruria, must be viewed as a product of a later culture that may be speculating on historical reality. Architectural finds are rare but documented here when available and include site plans.

Etruscan religion is vastly different from Roman religion, and thus entails a different methodology in studying it.[183] While we have a wealth of literary accounts of Roman religion in practice, Etruscan religion has been limited to pictorial and material evidence and is furthermore fundamentally different in practice and philosophy from Roman. As such, and in the interest of obtaining a truer picture of the Italic Menrva, material and archaeological evidence is prioritized over literary.

The small finds are, especially for Etruria, crucial because they indicate a personal and often sustained relationship with a deity at that site which reflects non-elite practice rather than large monuments meant to glorify the dedicator. Furthermore, they can provide information on mass production of votive objects in the area, speculate as to the wealth of the patrons based on quality and material, and specific cultic functions. Terracotta votives which depict a certain deity and appear in large numbers, as at Punta della Vipera, are often used to identify the main deity worshipped at a site, while anatomical ex voti are generally connected with a healing function.[184] Inscriptions are especially useful in establishing a ritual presence, and often appear as votive dedications.

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[183] Standard texts on Etruscan religion and religious practice include Colonna 1985; de Grummond and Simon 2006; Turfa 2012; and Bell and Carpino 2016.

[184] As Glinister (2006) notes, the presence of anatomical ex voti does not in and of itself guarantee a healing cult; other factors, such as springs, also need to be present. For a catalog of votives see the ongoing series *Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia*; also see Turfa 1994, "Anatomical votives and Italian medical traditions" in *Murlo and the Etruscans*, ed. R. De Puma and J. Small. Madison: 224-40; F. Coarelli et al. 1973: *Roma medio repubblicana: aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III A.C.* Rome; Comella 1981: "Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana. Contributo alla storia dell'artgianato antico," *MEFRA* 93:717-803.

The Etruscan material is divided into three categories, based on the location of the temple or votive deposit. Rural sanctuaries were located near population centers but not a part of them; Punta della Vipera was 1.5km away from the nearest town but served a wide area. Conversely, urban sanctuaries were incorporated into the fabric of a town, as with the temple at Falerii. Ambiguous sites like Terracina have an oral or literary connection with Menrva but no archaeological evidence.

The Roman material begins with the Capitoline temple, as it is one of Rome's oldest and was thought to be established under the Tarquins and follows the deep porch and elaborate decoration common in Etruscan temples. While Minerva undoubtedly had numerous temples and shrines throughout the city, few are named and fewer have archaeological data. Those with the least, such as Pompey's dedication, are examined last while other named sites are arranged individually.

Rural Etruscan Sites: *Punta della Vipera*

Approximately two kilometers north of the Etruscan city of Punicum, modern Santa Marinella, lays the site of Punta della Vipera.[185] The area is remote and consists primarily of the sanctuary of Menrva, although its position between the sea and the Via Appia, in addition to the busy urban centers at Caere and Tarquinia, no doubt made it popular. It is in a relatively open area which has been inhabited since at least the 7th century B.C.E, when numerous *oppida* and other rural sanctuaries were scattered throughout the twenty square kilometer area between the Mignone River, the coast, and the southeastern slopes of the Tolfa mountains. As the Mignone marked the territorial boundary between the nearby Etruscan cities of Caere and Tarquinia, these

[185] See Cat. 102 for site plan.

settlements soon began to consolidate and build fortifications. The Castellina *oppidium*, approximately 1.5 kilometers to the north of Punta della Vipera, was the closest and probably one of the main patrons of the sanctuary at this time.

A casual discovery of architectural terracotta in 1955 led to a series of excavations by Mario Torelli between 1964 and 1972.[186] These excavations revealed a sacred area with three distinct phases of construction, from the 6th century B.C.E. to its eventual demise in the 1st century B.C.E. A rough chronology of the site has been made possible by parallel stratigraphic elements and architectural terracotta findings.[187]

The first architectural phase of the sanctuary begins with its official founding between 540 and 520 BCE and continues through to the 4th century B.C.E., as indicated by architectural terracotta and ceramics from the fill layers in this stratum.[188] The sacred precinct was bounded on three sides by a temenos wall, parts of which have been identified in the north, east, and west. The northern stretch of wall rested on a foundation of irregular sandstone, while the east and west were predominantly made up of dry sandstone blocks on a low, cut-away foundation. There is evidence that the position of these walls changed over time, however, which would have led to a change in the demarcation of the temple precinct. For example, the east and west walls have two sections that are twelve degrees further north than the originals, probably in connection with the Via Aurelia which passed nearby.[189]

The temple itself is situated in the northwest corner, facing southwest. At nearly 8 meters wide by 8 meters long the cella was almost completely square, with a deep pronaos (3.80 meters)

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[186] Tomassucci 2005.
[187] A thorough study of the architectural terracotta elements has been done by Stopponi 1979.
[188] A small selection of votive objects dating to the 7th c. BCE has been found, indicating cultic activity in the region before a permanent structure was erected. The sanctuary was probably either open-air or made of perishable materials, such as wood (Tomassucci 2005).
[189] Comella 2001:125.

and either two or four limestone columns preserving traces of plaster. This plan was in place during the first phase of the temple, making it the oldest example of a square cella currently known.

In 384 BCE. the area was sacked by Dionysus of Syracuse, which necessitated a major renovation. The temple kept its single-cella layout but was refitted with a complete series of terracotta decorations, the latest of which are dated to the middle of the third century BCE. The temenos area also underwent renovations, receiving two new structures and a stone altar. The structures, located behind the temple itself and constructed rather hastily out of limestone and unordered sandstone blocks, were both paved with *opus signinum*. One, adjacent to the temple, was rectangular and covered, with two ports providing access. The second, trapezoidal and with no signs of a roof, was accessible from outside on the northern end.

The altar was situated almost directly in front of the temple and consisted of a scaglia base surmounted by a cornice and nenfro cushion. Its interior was a monolithic block with two opposing cavities, one on top of the other, connected by a small channel. The bottom cavity was in direct contact with the subsoil and allowed for the passage of libations. While this configuration is uncommon for an altar (the most common being without interior cavities) it is not unheard of and has parallels in places such as Veii and Bolsena.[190] It is, however, a distinctive characteristic of chthonic cults.

Around 264 BCE., when the surrounding Etruscan settlements were rounded up and moved to the new Roman colony of Castrum Novum, the sanctuary started to experience a slow decline in popularity and upkeep. By the 1st century B.C.E. it was apparently no longer in use, as an imperial Roman villa encroaching on the *temenos* wall made use of the columns and other

[190] Pfiffig 1975; Colonna 1985, 1987.

materials in its own construction. Some of these materials, such as the columns, are still *in situ* in the villa.

Despite the lack of an inscribed dedication on the temple itself, archaeologists have concluded that it was dedicated to Menrva based on votive inscriptions. Three inscribed ceramic fragments were found that not only bear dedications to Menrva but span the life of the sanctuary. Both earliest, a piece of a bucchero vase dating from the last quarter of the 6th century BCE., and the latest, a fragment from an amphora handle, show the restored inscription of [men]ervas. Likewise, a late-Faliscan vase foot from the end of the 4th through the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. reads mene[rvas].[191] Additionally, a large number of the statuettes which were found are likenesses of the goddess.

Unfortunately, none of the statuettes were complete, but are well-preserved enough to give a fair idea of what they would have looked like. The first of these fragments dates to the 3rd century BCE. and is of the torso only, with a diagonal break just below the bust.[192] The upper part of each arm is preserved, but the head is unfortunately missing. Although worn the shape of the aegis is clearly visible. She wears a high-belted chiton and has her right arm extended down her side with the other on her hip, both covered in a himation. The pose is very similar to the Tanagra-type figurines common in the area at this time and differs here only in the addition of aegis and presumably helmet, to denote Menrva's identity. This pose can also be seen in the Menrva from Gravisca who wears a similarly cross-belted aegis with relaxed right arm and flexed left.

[191] Comella 2001:133.
[192] Inv. V67/268; Comella 2001:59, 65; Stopponi 1979: E1I, Tav. XIX.

The second fragmentary statuette is in two unmatched pieces which preserve the bust and a partial lower left leg.[193] Here Menrva also wears the aegis and high-belted chiton, but her flexed left arm is resting on a pillar, which presumably supported her shield as well. The second fragment shows her left leg crossed over her right in a manner that leads one to believe that this figure is replicating the Esquiline Menrva, which is in a much better state of preservation. Both are headless, although the Punta della Vipera torso fragment indicates that the head would have been made separately and inserted by means of a cone.[194]

The third statuette is the best preserved of the three, although it is broken diagonally through the bust and lower legs.[195] Here Menrva is once again standing with high-belted chiton and aegis. Her left arm still rests on her hip, but her hand is wrapped in her himation, with the rest of the arm left bare. Her right hand, which is unfortunately all that remains of the right arm, is here placed on her abdomen.

The rest of the statuettes are preserved only as heads, although each varies in quality and has a slightly different representation of the goddess. Three, dating from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.E., show her wearing a Corinthian style helmet with lowered cheekpieces. The first of these is almost identical to that from Gravisca (mentioned above) and has no tilt.[196] The second is extremely worn but exhibits a distinct lean to the right.[197] The third, however, incorporates a *lophos* and has a slight leftwards tilt.[198]

The fourth head, dating from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.E., is much larger than the rest of the examples and of very high quality and preservation, exhibiting a degree of craftsmanship not

[193] Inv. V67/310, V67/321; Comella 2001:65; Stopponi 1979: E11a, b.
[194] Comella 2001:65.
[195] Inv. V67/281; Comella 2001:66; Stopponi 1979: E1III, Tav. XXa.
[196] Stopponi 1979: E1fr1, Tav XXI; Santuari 1985:152, 8.1 B6, p 66-7.
[197] Stopponi 1979: E1fr2, p 67.
[198] Inv. B1-2.1; Stopponi 1979 E1fr3; Colonna 1985:152, 8.1 B8 p. 67.

seen in the other heads. Two bands of hair are clearly delineated and sprout in a centrally-parted arrangement from under the brim of her Corinthian helmet. Her facial features are quite visible, and her head is in line with the S-curve so common in Greek sculptures of this period.

The last head is perhaps the oddest of the group and preserves only a vague outline, with no facial features or fine details.[199] It replicates the helmet of the Athena Parthenos, with the central crest and flanking elements that are so characteristic of her. The head itself finds similarities in examples from Tarso and Smyrna. The fact that this statuette fragment replicates a well-known Greek example is perhaps not unexpected, as Punta della Vipera was close to the sea and the port of Caere and undoubtedly received foreign visitors.[200]

The other offerings at Punta della Vipera do not bear Menrva's name or image but indicate both healing and mantic functions. First among these is the large cache of anatomical ex-voti, terracotta models of human body parts that are generally assumed to be involved in a supplicant's request for divine healing. These have been found throughout the sanctuary but were most concentrated along the inner half of the western wall of the temenos. While anatomical ex-voti are common dedications in Etrurian votive deposits of this time, most exhibit a large variety of types and replicas. Many of the ex-voti in Punta della Vipera seem geared towards fertility, with many infants in diapers, female and male genitalia, and uteri. There are also a significant number of non-reproductive organs however, such as ears, masks, and intestines, suggesting a cult that is geared towards both general healing and reproductive concerns.

Perhaps the most interesting offerings at Punta della Vipera are the two lead objects found in a well adjacent to the eastern wall of the temple. The first of these is an elongated

[199] Inv. V67/133; Comella 2001:67; Colonna 1985:152, 8.1 B5.
[200] Another example of this is an Apollo statue that was dedicated at the sanctuary and perhaps connected with the prophetic element of Menrva's cult here, rather than the goddess herself. (Comella 2001:139).

rectangle from the end of the 4th century B.C.E, 2.7 cm. high and 0.1 cm. thick, made of two adjoining fragments that are 6.9 and 6.6 cm. wide, respectively.[201] The writing is Etruscan and while the preserved text both short and poor, there doesn't seem to be any mention of a deity. [202] It is generally accepted that this is in fact a prophetic object, or *sors* (*sortes* in the plural), that either records a prophecy or is used in the casting of one. Similar *sortes,* also rectangular, have been found at sanctuaries in Praeneste, Ostia, and Bahareno.

The second lead object is a circular, slightly concave disk with a hole in the center that is also inscribed on both sides and identified as a *sors*. At 4.1 cm in diameter and 0.5-0.6 cm. thick it is smaller than the lead rectangle and dates to the 5th century B.C.E. Other circular *sors* are known, such as the 7th century B.C.E. disc from Cumae, and though some are perforated like this example others are not, while still others are round or globular pierced pebbles. A. Comella has proposed that Livy's mention of "*Caere sortes extenuates*" and "*Falerii…sortes adtenuas unamque sua sponte exidisse...* " could refer to the use of a wire or ring in a pierced *sors* such as this, which would explain the wear around the apical regions.[203] Regardless of whether this example sported a ring, however, using it to connect Punta della Vipera with cleromantic practices would make the sanctuary (along with Cumae) one of the oldest in Italy. [204]

The terracotta heads found along with the other votives seem to exhibit Dionysiac qualities, in particular three male heads with ivy leaves and corymbs. Comella suggests that this might involve some sort of rite of passage, although the precise nature of the rite is unclear. She goes on to mention connections with such a rite in a Menrva shrine east of Lavinium and posits

[201] Torelli 1966, Comella 2001, La Regina 1968.
[202] For a complete linguistic analysis see Massimo Pallatino 1966.
[203] XXI.LXII; XXII.1.
[204] Comella 2001:135. Lead, often with cryptic inscriptions in Etruscan, Oscan, Latin, or Greek, was a common material for oracular lots. See Klingshirn 2006:137-161.

that the young male warrior statues at Punta della Vipera could signal a transition into manhood.[205] Her association with Dionysus (or Fufluns, as he was known to the Etruscans) is at any rate confirmed by three mirrors. The first is a late fourth century B.C.E. mirror currently in the Dayton Art Institute but which bears stylistic similarities with work from Praeneste (Cat. 88).[206] It shows Menrva on the left with spear, shield, helmet, aegis, and owl. She gazes at a partially nude young man on the right who holds a thyrsus and is in the process of being crowned with a wreath by a nude young woman. The thyrsus indicates that the scene is without a doubt Dionysian, but whether the youth is a young man participating in a rite, as with the terracotta heads found at Punta della Vipera, or Fufluns himself with his bride is uncertain.

The second mirror is from the late fifth century and features an elaborate composition. Artumnes stands at the left with the wrapped body of a girl child named Esia, while Fufluns stands in the center back and gestures her forward with one hand while holding a kantharos with the other (Cat. 86). A winged Menrva stands to the right and seems to ward her away with upraised hands. De Grummond has noted that the wrapped body is a symbol in Etruscan art for the transport of the soul, and that the head rising from the ground at Artumnes' feet is often a symbol of a prophecy being spoken.[207]

The third mirror, already discussed above in the context of Menrva and children, has less to do with Fufluns directly but certainly shows Menrva in the act of guiding a young woman (Cat. 84). The border of the scene and the area under the ground line is filled with lush ivy, which could indicate a Dionysiac scene or simply somewhere outdoors with lots of vegetation. Menrva, winged and without armor, is nonetheless identifiable by her aegis and gorgoneion. She

[205] Comella 2001:140-2.
[206] Dayton Art Institute, inv. 70.34, 0.33m. H; CSE U.S.A. I:20, 36-7.
[207] Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Lembrechts 1978:71; De Grummond 2006: 103.

wears a sumptuously folded chiton and himation along with a diadem and holds a flower in her right hand. She moves towards the left but looks back at her charge, a well-dressed young woman whom she grasps by the wrist in a typical gesture of escort. This would fit well with a rite of passage in which Menrva is charged with guiding young men and women to safety on the other side of whatever liminal boundary they must cross.

The character and status of the worshippers here can be seen in the votives, and changes over the lifetime of the sanctuary. Beginning with the fourth century BCE, Punta della Vipera was an important religious center patronized by wealthy landowners.[208] The fact that many of the anatomical ex voti are of high quality indicates that there was not only a skilled artisan available to produce them, but that a significant number of people had the resources to afford such votives. The female terracotta heads seem to agree with this, as they sport ornaments (tiaras, earrings) that show a high social status and are analogous with grave goods found at Cerveteri. The statuettes from this period are also large and well-made, indicating the importance of the site and the relative wealth of its patrons.

In the third century and afterwards, the relative quality of the material becomes consistent with that of other Romanized colonies and settlements.[209] With the founding of Castrum Novum in the 3rd/2nd centuries BCE. the population became homogenized and the votive offerings reflect that. The quality of these offerings drops and begins to reflect more of a concern for health, judging from the number of anatomical offerings, and the livelihood that follows along with it. Fish hooks and loom weights become popular dedication, along with net weights. The conditions

[208] Comella 2001:145.
[209] Comella 2001:138-9, 145-8.

of the excavations for this period are not entirely reliable, however, so a degree of caution must be used when consulting numerical data concerning these votives.[210]

As mentioned previously, the votives from this period show a quality and type that is uniform with other Roman settlements and colonies. The matrices of the terracottas, which were Caeretian in the 4th century BCE., can also be Tarquinian in the second and third centuries.[211] Furthermore, the heads follow standard Roman types with veiled heads and Roman hairstyles. The variety of matrix styles has led to the suggestion that there was a workshop in the area that looked towards larger economic centers like Caere and Tarquinia for guidance. Workshops that engage in mass production of votives indicate a steady stream of customers, which in turn indicates that those customers were visiting the sanctuary where objects of uniform consistency are found. This Romanization trend continues into the latest phase of the sanctuary, when the material is almost completely Roman and likely imported from large-scale workshops within Rome itself; dedicants would have either brought the votives with them from Rome, attesting to the importance of the sanctuary, or bought them locally from a seller who had imported them, indicating either the economical superiority of Roman ware or the lack of any closer workshops.[212]

Etruscan Votive Deposits

Cerveteri

Caere (Cerveteri) was one of the largest and most important urban centers in southern Etruria. It was connected to maritime trade routes via Pyrgi, its nearby port, and is known to have

[210] Comella 2001:146.
[211] Comella 2001:147.
[212] Comella 2001:145-148.

had lucrative relations with Carthage in particular. As a prosperous city-center, Caere also had numerous sacred precincts. The Vignaccia area has yielded a significant number of votive objects, including enough architectural material to indicate that there was a temple somewhere in the vicinity at some point.[213] The figures exhibit a range of stylistic markers indicating various chronological phases from the fifth to second centuries B.C.E., with most belonging to the late third or early fourth. Although the deity of the site cannot be firmly identified, the votives indicate that it was likely a female with fertility, kourotrophic, and healing associations. There is also a strong Southern Italian/Sicilian influence in the style of the votives and the chthonic and kourotrophic tendencies, indicating that the deity should be sought amongst the local pantheon rather than the Greek colonies.[214]

Eight figures of Menrva are readily identifiable and tend to follow established iconography: she wears a helmet with a high crest and lateral attachments like that of Athena Parthenos.[215] Six carry an oval shield, one a round shield, and one goes without. In what is perhaps a local twist, the crest continues down the back of the figurine. Half of them include a gorgoneion on her aegis, while the rest are bare. Most of the figurines are seated and can include one or more owls, either incorporated as finials on the chair or perched on the back of it. Most bear a shield on the left arm and one holds a patera on the right. Of the seated figurines, perhaps the most intriguing is IIB16c, where Menrva (clearly identifiable by her aegis, helmet, and owls) is seated on a couch of *kline*, with a spherical object in her left hand. Apart from her helmet she is without armor but wears an elaborate necklace and rests her feet on a low stool. There were

[213] H. Nagy (2016) has identified the deposit as an obliteration deposit, citing the votives and architectural fragments as items that were buried after a temple was deconsecrated.
[214] Nagy 1988:45-6.
[215] MFA Boston inv. 88-361 and 88-362, Hearst Museum of Anthropology inv. 8-2463 and 8-2431. Nagy 2008.

also four examples of Hercle found in the deposit who, as stated earlier, had a distinct association with Menrva.

Menrva was not the only goddess amongst the votives, however, which has led to some confusion as to the identification of the patron deity of the site. While the kourotrophic, healing, chthonic, and fertility aspects of this cult have parallels in other securely identified Menrva sanctuaries (such as Punta della Vipera or Veii), they are not restricted to her and have been seen with other goddesses as well. The nine figures of Artumnes (Artemis/Diana) also found in the deposit could be equally good candidates. H. Nagy has suggested Thesan, closest to Mater Matuta in Roman times.[216]

Urban Etruscan Sanctuaries:

Veii

Veii, located seventeen kilometers northwest of Rome, has a long and storied history with the Eternal City.[217] According to Dionysos of Halicarnassus the two cities began fighting under Romulus and waged a total of fourteen wars.[218] Since Veii was the closest major Etruscan city to Rome it is perhaps not surprising that relations were tense. Despite this the Tarquins, Rome's sixth century ruling dynasty, commissioned a sculptor named Vulca from Veii's renowned artisans to model both the cult statue and the acroterial quadriga for the new temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.[219] Tensions increased in the fifth century and the city was eventually taken after a ten-year siege in 396 B.C.E. Although the main deity of the city was Juno Regina, there were several other sanctuaries as well. The most researched and best

[216] Nagy 1988: 46; de Grummond 2001.
[217] See Cat. 100 for site plan.
[218] Dion. Hal. 2.55, 3.41.
[219] Livy 1.56.1.

preserved of these is the Portonaccio sanctuary which, according to votive inscriptions, was dedicated to Menrva.[220]

The Portonaccio sanctuary lies on a plateau outside the city with surviving sections of the trapezoidal temenos wall on the north and west sides. The temple itself, located in the western section of the sacred area, was in poor condition when excavated due to a collapsed quarry that ran underneath the site. As a result, only a few tufa block courses, the front wall of the cella, and sections of the walls on the north and south sides are original. Its current state dates from a two-phased reconstruction at the end of the 6th century B.C.E., although votive inscriptions attest to an earlier cult. It faced towards the southeast and was Tuscan in style, with a square tufa foundation (18.50m x 18.5m), low podium with frontal steps, and a deep pronaos with two Tuscan columns between antae.

A pool, also located in the western section, was made with tufa blocks contemporary to the temple and water-proofed with clay. It is almost perfectly preserved. Remains of a tunnel in the north carrying water from the nearby mountains to the Portonaccio sanctuary served to fill the pool and was contemporary with the building of the temple.

About thirty meters east of the temple proper is a paved area with an altar, bothros, and two porticoes. The porticoes are dated to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. and made of large tufa blocks. They were evidently associated with votive offerings, as large stashes of vases and a cache of inscriptions were discovered within. The altar itself was approached by two steps and encircled by gutters for rainwater.[221] Furthermore, an articulated column of four stone blocks was situated between the altar and porticoes, serving as a bothros with libations being poured down its hollow center.

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[220] Haynes 2000:204-5.
[221] Boitani et al 1975:232-4.

The Portonaccio sanctuary has proven a virtual treasure trove of terracotta statuary and revetments. The interior of the cella was decorated by terracotta plaques featuring mythological scenes in the first half of the fifth century B.C.E, while over-life-sized figures of Apollo, Herakles, and the Keryneian Hind were worked for placement on the longitudinal roof beam. An independent group, dated to 500 B.C.E. or later based on its Attic style, features Menrva herself standing beside Hercle. It was likely a votive dedication and situated somewhere in the eastern end of the precinct, near the altar.[222]

The importance of the sanctuary within central Italia is attested by the archaic vase inscriptions, with dedicators not just from Veii but Vulci, Cerveteri and Ischia di Castro.[223] The earliest votives date from the 7th century B.C.E. but, as stated earlier, the heyday of the sanctuary comes with the two reconstructions in the 6th century. Improvements continued into the 5th century B.C.E. with the addition of the interior mythological terracotta plaques. A jug votive dedicated to Menrva from one Tulumnes in the 4th century B.C.E. indicates the continuance of the cult, which was still functioning when the city fell in 396 B.C.E. At this point Menrva's cult may have been expanded to the Macchia Grande area northeast. Here archaeologists have found a series of six altars dedicated to Apollo, Victoria, Jupiter Libertas, Dis Deabus, and Minerva herself, dating to after the destruction of the Etruscan stronghold.[224]

As at Punta della Vipera, Menrva's cult here was associated with chthonic, healing, and oracular functions. The bothros, here at Veii as elsewhere, was clearly meant for communication with an underworld deity as the libations would descend into the earth rather than up into the air, like burned offerings. The pool also has parallels with Menrva cults elsewhere, although Haynes

[222] Haynes 2000: 209-10.
[223] Haynes 2000: 205.
[224] Bouma 1996 vol. 3:111.

has rightly pointed out that salutary waters were also associated with Apollo and Hercle.[225] There is also evidence that Turan and Artumnes may have had connections with the Portonaccio sanctuary, although most of the surviving votive material was intended for Menrva.

A separate votive deposit in Veii near the Porta Caere region, found in a small, poorly preserved structure that seems to have had some sacred function in the 2nd century B.C.E., may also have related to the Menrva cult at Portonaccio.[226] The deposit contained architectural terracottas, 27 terracotta heads, vessels of various sorts, and numerous anatomical ex voti. There were also a series of terracotta statuettes in the cistern deposit, including two seated Menrvas.

The first and most intact shows Menrva holding a patera, in a high-belted chiton with a himation wrapped around her left arm and leg. She is seated on a high throne with leonine feet and incised decorations on the back and arms. Her shield would probably have been in the lower left section, which is missing, but her aegis is intact and secures her identity. Her helmet is notable not just for the high crest, but the stylized wings sprouting from the sides. This may be a reference to the winged Menrva which appears on Etruscan mirrors or, judging by the caduceus incised on the back of the throne, a byproduct of the synchronization of her and Turms (Hermes).[227] It has also been suggested that since the caduceus can have medicinal and healing connotations this may be a representation of Menrva in her healing aspect. The type is replicated in two fragments from a second statue, found in same cistern but in the strata below, which shows a round shield and a Menrva head with the same winged helmet. Regardless, the overall composition is like the enthroned Menrvas from Vignaccia at Cerveteri, discussed below.

[225] Haynes 2000:206-7.
[226] Notizie degli scavi 1973:248-9.
[227] Torelli Pohl 1973:248, fig. 127.

Fiesole

The town of Fiesole (Etruscan Viesul, later Roman Faesulae) is located about five miles to the northeast of Florence in Tuscany. It was a member of the Etruscan federation that was conquered by the Romans in 283 B.C.E. It was also the location of a school of augury that was respected and used long after the Roman conquest. There is no literary tradition of a cult to Menrva here, but a bronze votive owl found at an important sanctuary may indicate her presence.[228]

The first phase of the sanctuary is in a suburb in the northern area of the settlement and close to the city walls, situated in a deep saddle that was probably in line with a passageway for the community before the walls were built. There are some modest structural traces from this phase preserved along with archaic votives that indicate its function as a cult site, but the first large-scale building phase began in the 4th-early 3rd century B.C.E.

This temple was purely Etruscan in style and has part of the elevation intact, which is currently reconstructed in Rome's Villa Giulia Museum. It was built on a steep, rocky slope with an artificial podium approximately 3.30 m. high and accessed by a staircase flanked by two podiums. Upon ascending this stair the visitor would find the temple, between two frontal columns on Tuscan-style bases.[229]

The temple was prostyle in antis and rectangular (17.20 m x 13.45 m), with stone walls forming a central cella that was decorated with red stucco. Two alae extended into the porch area, terminating in antae, and had side doors in line with the stylobate. Apart from the red

[228] Haynes 2000: 252; De Marco 1981.
[229] De Marco, M. 1981. *Comune di Fiesole, Museo Archeologico, Scavi: Guida*. Fiesole; S. Steingräber, *Città e necropolis dell'Etruria*. Rome, p. 45-52.

stucco on the interior, the decorative scheme of this building is largely unknown; acanthus antefixes and a warrior figure, thought to be from the frieze or antepagmentum, have been found but little else. The altar was aligned with the temple at the foot of the stairs, although it was to be incorporated into the foundation during the Roman rebuilding phase.

The southern side of the temple played host to a series of rooms that, while very close, did not connect with the building and were likely for visitors to the sanctuary. A votive deposit was found here, including anatomical voti such as bronze feet, legs, heads, and statuettes. There was also the small bronze owl which has suggested that a dedication, if not a cult, to Menrva was present here. Unfortunately, none of them had dedicatory inscriptions, making a firm identification of the cult deity at this site difficult.

At some point during a major renovation program initiated under Sulla the area was covered over. Cato the Younger would later rebuild it in the 1st century BCE. along with the surrounding areas after an extensive fire. This phase was relocated to a higher elevation and shows larger dimensions, although the original plan was followed. Two bases with molded cornices were added in front of the stairs which were likely part of the new altar.[230]

Falerii

The city of Falerii was the largest settlement of the Faliscans, a group of people who allied themselves with the Etrurians despite having a language that was more like Latin than Etruscan.[231] It lies approximately 50km north of Rome, just west of the Via Flaminia, and is now called Civita Castellana. Falerii was involved in numerous conflicts against Rome from the late

[230] De Grummond and Simon 2009:163-4; Boitani 1975: 32; Colonna 1985: 93-4.
[231] Brolli and Tabolli. 2013. "The Faliscans and the Etruscans," The *Etruscan World*, ed. J.M. Turfa. Routledge:259-280; Comella 1986; Colonna 1985:110-113.

5th c. BCE until 241 B.C.E., when it was overcome, and the inhabitants forcibly evacuated from the old city (Falerii veteres) and resettled in a new Roman colony (Falerii novi).

Although Menrva is mentioned on two separate inscriptions from Falerii, the best evidence we have of her cult here comes from none other than Ovid. In the *Fasti* he states that "*an quia perdomitis ad nos captive Faliscis venit;* [did she get her name] because she came to in the capture of Falerii? The ancient accounts tell us this."[232] He is referring here to the temple of Minerva Capta and suggesting that the sanctuary may have gotten its name from the *evocatio* of Minerva by the Romans when they destroyed Falerii in 241 BCE.

The inscriptions from Falerii itself are vague and, while they indicate worship of Menrva in the area, they do not give any geographical indication of where her local temple might be. The first of these is a dedication from one Lars Cotena, made in the third century B.C.E. sometime after the foundation of the new Roman colony of Falerii Novi in 241 BCE (as suggested by the joint Latin and Faliscan components of his name). The inscription, which reads "*Menerva sacru La(rs) Cotena La(rtis) f(ilius) pretod de zenatuo sententiad vootum dedet, cuando datum rected cuncaptum*," states that Lars Cotena fulfilled a vow to Menrva '*de zenatuo sententiad*,' implying a political office.[233] Dumézil has rightly pointed out, however, that Cotena did not include the reason for his vow and that there is no indication here that she was a city goddess.[234] The language is Faliscan, however, which I would argue implies (along with the location) some connection with the local audience that would not exclude a Faliscan cult of Menrva, even if it does not prove one.

[232] Ov. *Fas*. 3.843-4.
[233] CIL XI 3081 = I^2 365.
[234] Dumézil 1970:305.

The second inscription deals with a Capitoline Triad rather than a singular cult but is nonetheless interesting for its mention of Menrva. Note here, however that the inscription gives her as Minerva; this is possibly due to the use of Latin rather than Faliscan and reflects the dual nature of Falerii Novi after its foundation. It is a bronze plaque, dated to the second century BCE and inscribed on both sides, which could possibly be linked to the remains of a Capitolium in Falerii.[235] It reads "*Iovei Iunonei Minervai Falesce, quei in Sardinia sunt, donum dederunt, magistreis L. Latrius K.F.C. Salv[e]na Voltai F. coiraveront*." The reverse, which is also inscribed, notes that the dedication is from a group of professional cooks recently returned from Sardinia. The implication here is that there is a formalized Capitoline Triad in Falerii Novi to which the cooks fulfill their vow of dedication, which would underline Falerii's new Roman status by forming a symbolic connection with the Capitoline Temple in Rome. If one did not already exist it would likely have been built after the colony was refounded, however, and would probably not coincide with the Menrva cult which Ovid claims they "captured."

Stabi

The cult of Athena at Stabi and the surrounding areas belongs more properly to the Greek colonies than to Etruria, but it is perhaps worth mentioning due to its future as a major Roman habitation and its proximity to Rome and Latium. It was most active in the 4th century B.C.E. and is remarkable for its iconography, featuring Athena with a Phrygian helmet. This sort of helmet is so-called due to its high, forward-leaning apex and its resemblance to the hats typical of the Phrygian and Thracian peoples.[236] Athena appears in this guise in Stabi on what is either a figure

[235] 7483 CIL.I^2 364.

[236] This type of helmet would later appear on Republican era coins in representations of Roma. See Crawford 1975 for a thorough discussion.

or an antefix, along with Hercules (in two instances) emerging from a bunch of acanthus leaves. They are both made of local clay and are evidently copies from the Doric Temple in Pompeii during its Hellenistic phase.[237]

The Athena is chronologically contemporary with other Campanian antefixes made during the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.E, and the type itself has been documented in the area around Naples. Miniero has linked the birth of this iconography to a period of strife for the local population, noting that it develops when Rome had just begun expanding after the Latin wars and the *Lega Nucerina* (a confederation of Campanian settlements including Pompeii, Herculaneum, Sorrento and Stabi, among others), and suggests that it may be alluding to Athena Ilias (Trojan Athena) in order to cement the Campanian claim to that region of Italy as well as provide an ideological common ground for the members of the league.

Whether the chief deity of this temple was Athena or not is still uncertain. Two black-slipped cups were found with an "A" graffito added after firing, but that alone is poor evidence to go on and could refer to anything from Athena to the maker of the cup. A statue of her on a pedestal, with Phrygian helmet and shield, was also found in the votive cache but was, apart from an Artemis with her quiver and hunting dog, the only recognizable female deity. Minero has suggested that a figure previously identified as a male warrior with exaggerated pectoral muscles might also be an Athena, although this is again speculation as the aegis and other identifying attributes are missing from the object. The cult does seem to have had fertility connotations however, as well as an aquatic aspect.

[237] Miniero 2002.

Unlocated or Ambiguous Sites

There are quite a few sites known from classical literature or popular legend that remain undiscovered or have erroneous identifications. One such is the temple on the acropolis of Terracina (Colle S. Francesco). Terracina is located 35 miles southwest of Rome along the Via Appia, where the Volscian hills meet the coast and the Pontine marshes. It was a member of the Etruscan league in the 7th century B.C.E. but was conquered by Rome in 329 B.C.E. Bucchero vases found at the temple in question may date the site to the archaic period, although the structures seem to be much later. Dal Maso and Vighi claim that it is (or was, at some point) known locally as a temple of Menrva, although Lugli prefers a dedication to Apollo Anxur and Coarelli believes Jupiter is a more likely choice.[238] Unfortunately all that remains of the building is a platform of ashlar blocks, albeit quite impressive and spectacularly sited. This is almost certainly a temple to Jupiter Anxur.

A second site, ancient Orvinium, comes to us from Varro via Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionysius states that, "…Orvinium [is] about 40 stades from Mefula, a city as famous and large as any in that region, for the foundations of its walls are still to be seen and some tombs of venerable antiquity, as well as the circuits of burying-places extending over lofty mounts; and there is also an ancient temple of Minerva built on the summit."[239] We know that it was not far from the Apenine Mountains in the territory of Rieti, but despite its apparent fame and extensive ruins it has yet to be securely identified. Since Varro himself was from Rieti this cult may be why he ascribes a Sabine origin to Minerva's name.[240]

[238] Dal Maso and Vighi 1975:254; Lugli 1926:99-100; Coarelli 1987:133, 122f.
[239] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* I.14.3. Trans. Earnest Cary.
[240] Varro L.L. V.158; Wissowa 1912:253 n.2.

1.5: Transition to Rome

Lavinium

Lavinium, now Practica di Mare, is perhaps most famous for its role in the Aeneid. According to legend it was founded by Aeneas upon his arrival in Italy and named after his second wife, Lavinia.[241] The site was in use as early as the 7th c. BCE, although it does not seem to have been firmly associated with Aeneas until the late 4th c. BCE when an old burial mound was restored as his heroon.[242]

The Sanctuary of Minerva is on a plateau in the northeastern area of the site. Although the podium is nonextant, archaeologists have found portions of a temenos wall and a large pit of architectural and votive terracottas. The architectural terracottas, and thus the temple, have been dated to around 500 BCE; everything was buried during the 3rd c. BCE. Amongst the votives were a number of large, life-size figures dating from the early 5th-3rd c. BCE. The prevalence of swaddled infants, family groups, mothers holding children, and toys have led scholars to believe that like Punta della Vipera, Minerva had a kourotrophic role here. There was also a selection of isolated heads, anatomical ex voti, bucchero and Italo-Corinthian pottery, and a small selection of tanagra figures.

The site's dedication to Minerva is secured by five statues of Minerva dating from various periods. The largest of these, likely the cult statue, was positioned at the top of the pit and suffered plow damage (Cat.74e).[243] Her iconography is virtually unparalleled elsewhere, although there have been comparisons with the Athena Rospigliosi.[244] At 1.96m tall she is an

[241] Galinsky 1969:141-90, Castagnoli 1972; Momigliano 1989:59-61, 69-70; Enea nel Lazio 1981:187-271; Dury-Moyaers 1981:153-58.
[242] Beard et al 12.
[243] Minerva of Lavinium, c. 500 BCE, Museo Archeologico Lavinium Pomezi (inv. P 77.38), 1.96m H with base (base: 0.26m H), Castagnoli 1979, Enea nel Lazio 1981:190-93.
[244] Enea nel Lazio 1981:191.

imposing figure, with chiton, aegis, and an open-faced Thracian helmet.[245] Her aegis coordinates with a snake belt and scaled waistcoat. The aegis itself is simple, with a central gorgoneion and a trimmed, rounded edge just below the breast. The waistcoat is held in place by a belt of snakes and with scalloped snake edges encircling her hips. The scales here are indicated by incision over a series of parallel grooves matching those on the chiton; while the snake belt is thicker and modeled separately, the scaled waistcoat seems to have been part of the main figure.

Her attributes include a three-headed snake wrapped around her left arm, a small round shield with snakes, quadrupeds, birds, and a crescent moon design, a triton at her side, and a small handheld object in her right hand which has been lost. Traces of polychromy indicate that the hair, helmet, lophos, shield, and necklace were yellow, the aegis and triton body were red, the snakes blue, and the chiton white. The triton figure has been taken as a nod to Minerva's "tritonia" epithet, which Virgil mentions as being part of her worship here.[246] Athena Tritonia was worshipped as Athena Alalkomene in Boiotia, although the later Roman tradition held that Lake Triton was in Libya.[247] Similarities between this triton and those on the Parthenon have led to a dating around 500 BCE.

The other four statues are smaller; the first, preserved only from the waist down, is the most similar to the cult statue.[248] She wears a chiton as well, has similar shoes, and carries a round shield with a crescent moon motif and a snaky border. This one, however, has a goose in place of the triton. While geese are normally more associated with Venus or Hera, this may be another reference to Minerva's kourotrophic qualities.[249] The third statue is altogether

[245] Holloway 1996:139.
[246] Vir. *Aen*. XI.483.
[247] On Boeotia, see Ael. *VH*. 12.57, Strabo Geo. 9.2.36, Paus. 9.33.5-7; for Libya, see Eurip. *Ion*. 872, Apollod. 1.3. §6.
[248] Minerva with Goose, Inv. P 77.18, 0.835m maximum H. Enea nel Lazio 1981:191-3.
[249] Enea nel Lazio 1981:193.

underwhelming, with vastly irregular proportions and an aegis that covers her entire body from neck to ankles.[250] The last two, later in date, both carry a large round shield at the side (one on the left, the other on the right) and bear more traditional aegises.[251] The first wears it pulled to the side and over her left arm, and the second (whose left arm is underneath her himation) sports a short, irregularly bordered aegis that ends right at the breast line.

While the sanctuary was in use during the Republican period, it was dismantled in the mid-3rd c. BCE to make way for a series of terraces and porticoes associated with villas. Lavinium and Aeneas' heroon would continue to be important under Augustus and later emperors who sought to create a connection with the legendary founder, but the Minerva temple does not seem to have been reused.[252]

Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Capitoline Hill

Minerva's place in the religious landscape of Rome is perhaps most famously as a member of the Capitoline Triad.[253] The Capitolium was unquestionably the center of Roman state religion. It marked the end of triumphal processions and the repository for war spoils dedicated by victorious generals; it was the starting point for the *Ludi Romani/Ludi Magni* processions, the place where consuls and praetors offered sacrifice and vows on their first day of office or when they were departing the city for the provinces or military ventures.[254]

The original collection of Sibylline prophecies was stored here until it was destroyed in the fire of 83 BCE It was also the repository for treaties between Rome and foreign powers,

[250] Frontal Minerva, Inv. P 77.43, 0.955m H (Enea nel Lazio 1981:194-5).
[251] Minerva with shield, second half of the 3rd c. BCE, Inv. P77.96, 0.465m H (Enea nel Lazio 1981:194-5); Tanagra-type Minerva, late 4th c. BCE, Inv. P. 77.231m 0.16m H (Enea nel Lazio 1981:195-6).
[252] See Galinsky 1969 for Lavinium under Augustus.
[253] Beard et al 2002:59-60, 124, 195-6, 218-19; Orlin 2002, Rives 2006; Barton 1982; Scheid 2005; Perry 2012:175-200.
[254] Ov. *Pont*. 4.4; Livy 12.63.7-9, 45.39.12.

inscribed on bronze tablets and hung on or near the temple.[255] As such, the Capitolium and its Triad was intimately connected with the welfare of state ventures and proceedings. Although Jupiter dominated the cult, Juno and Minerva were considered an essential part and included in Capitoline Triads outside of Rome, as well as Triad-centered rites within the city such as the *epulum*, or banquet, on the ides of September. The proceedings of the Arval Brotherhood also offers a guide for sacrificing to the Triad, recommending that Juno and Minerva receive female cows.[256] Cicero states something similar, when he states that white female animals should be offered to the two goddesses.[257]

The temple was first vowed by Tarquinius Priscus in his war against the Sabines. Priscus began the work of clearing out the site, erecting retaining walls, and leveling the peak of the hill, but true construction would not be started until Tarquinius Superbus. Superbus used a tenth of the spoils from his conquest of Suessa Pometia to fund the temple and began building in earnest between 525 BCE and 509 BCE. It was dedicated on the 13th of September, 509 BCE by consul Horatius Pulvillus and thus became one of the first major religious buildings of the Roman Republic.

It faced southeast towards the Velabrum and was only slightly longer than wide. The platform was a grid made of cappellaccio stone, following the line of the temple walls and columns and approximately 53.5m x 62.25m. The triple-chambered cella was slightly larger in the middle (likely 40 x 96 Roman feet along the wall axis), with the two flanking cellae of equal size to the lateral colonnades. It was approached via a series of staircases up a tall podium and rigidly frontal; while there were columns along the side and front, there were none at back.[258]

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[255] Suet. *Vesp*. 8, Plb. 3.26.
[256] Palmer 1974:70.
[257] Cic. *Laws* 2.19.
[258] Perry 2012; Orlin 1997.

The Capitoline Temple would continue to be enhanced through the Republican and Imperial periods. In 296/5 bronze thresholds were added and the terracotta quadriga on the roof was replaced, perhaps with a bronze one.[259] Gilded shields were placed on the pediments in 193 BCE and the columns were whitened with stucco, in 179 BCE. Mosaic pavement was added after the Third Punic War and the ceiling coffers were gilded in 142 BCE.[260] It was destroyed by a fire in 83 BCE and rebuilt by Sulla and Q. Lutatius Catullus, the latter of whom dedicated it upon completion. This second version of the temple was built on the same foundations with no changes, except in the costliness of material.[261]

Augustus would later restore it but it would not be until the sacking of the Capitoline Hill by Vitellius' supporters in 69 CE that a full reconstruction would once more be required.[262] Vespasian undertook this project and once again kept to the same architectural plan, but increased the height and changed the column order from Doric to Corinthian.[263] The last restoration, started by Titus and completed by Domitian in the first decade of his reign, was undoubtedly the most magnificent.[264] The fire of 80 CE necessitated another reconstruction, which gave Domitian the opportunity to replace the columns with Pentelic marble, plate the doors with gold, and gild the roof tiles with bronze, the latter of which reportedly cost 12,000 talents alone.[265] The specific pedimental decorations do not survive, but a Renaissance drawing of a now-destroyed relief suggests the Capitoline Triad enthroned above an eagle, with solar and

[259] Plin. *HN* 28.16, 35.157.
[260] Pliny *HN* 36.185, 33.57.
[261] Dionysos 4.61.4.
[262] Aug. *RG* 20.
[263] LTUR:223.
[264] Numismatic evidence (BMCRE II Dom. 251) suggests a dedication in 82CE, while Jerome (*a. Abr.* 2015) claims 89 CE.
[265] Plutarch *Poplic.* 15.3-4, Eutropius 7.23.5, Chron. 146, Zosimus 5.38.5, Procopius *BellVand* 1.5.4, Suetonius *Dom.* 5.

lunar bigae on either side.[266] Apart from the eagle's association with Jupiter, it was also frequently used in apotheosis iconography as the vehicle which carried newly divinized emperors to godhood.[267] Constructed as it was under Domitian, who had divinized a number of relatives, the pedimental sculpture may have invoked an association between the *divi* and the historically and politically charged Capitoline Triad.[268]

Minerva's shrine was located to the right of Jupiter and contained a cult statue and an individual hearth altar.[269] Apart from being seated and wearing a helmet the exact form of her cult statue is unknown but was presumably replaced along with the others during Sulla's restoration. In addition to the general Capitoline rites, Minerva was also the focus of the *clavus annalis* ritual, where the *praetor maximus* hammered a nail into the wall of her cella every year on the Ides of September in order to mark the passing of time.[270] She does not count time as one of her spheres of influence, but the practice may have been influenced by her role in prophecy, transitions between youth and adulthood, or her overarching role as a goddess of civility and logic.[271]

Her cella contained several dedications, such as a painting of the Rape of Persephone by Nicomadius and a separate one of Victory capturing a quadriga *in sublime,* both dedicated by Munatius Plancus, which hung above the shrine of Iuventas. There was also a silver thunderbolt dedicated before the first Punic War by then-decemviri Sacris Faciundis.[272] Catulus is likewise

[266] LTUR:223, *PBSR* 4 1907: 230, 240-44.
[267] For example, Titus on the Arch of Titus or a sardonyx cameo of Divus Claudius in the BnF, inv. 265.
[268] Blevins 2013: 146-170.
[269] According to Varro (*ap. Serv. ad Aen.* 3.134) each divinity had their own.
[270] Livy 7.5.5.
[271] See here under Punta della Vipera and Cultural Narratives.
[272] Pliny *HN* 35.108. Munatius Plancus served under both Caesar and Marc Antony before siding with Octavian. The shrine of Iuventus was one of two which refused to be moved during the construction of the temple; rather, it was incorporated into the new structure. Jupiter and Juno also received thunderbolts, gold and silver respectively, as reported by Livy (22.1.17-18).

said to have dedicated a statue of Minerva by Euphranor somewhere on the Capitolium, although it may have been outside rather than in the cella.[273]

Haüber has noted how appropriate it is for Iuventas to be located within Minerva's cella, considering her role as a kourotrophic goddess.[274] Pliny informs us that young Roman males (*iuvenes*) made an offering to her when they assumed the *toga virilis*, likely in this shrine before she received her own temple in the Circus Maximus in 193 BCE.[275] Littlewood has also linked Iuventas with warfare, in that she had presided over the male transition to adulthood and being eligible for service in the Roman army since Servius Tullius.[276] Focusing on Iuventas' eventual Hellenization and identification with Hebe as the wife of Hercules and daughter of Juno, Littlewood suggests that the offerings to her, Juno, and Hercules in 218 BCE after the Romans were defeated at the Trebia river. She posits that these offerings were emblematic of a deeply rooted connection between Hercules, a great warrior who achieved apotheosis, his wife as the embodiment of Rome's newest soldiers, and Juno in her aspect as Lavinium's warlike Juno Sospita. While this may be true, Iuventas' connection with new recruits to the Roman military makes her connection with Minerva even more appropriate.

As they passed on from childhood, Iuventas was effectively passing them on to Minerva's care as both a kourotrophic goddess who protected those transitioning between youth and adulthood, as well as the goddess of the strategy and technique of war. One need only look at her mentoring of such heroes as Perseus, Achilles, and Hercules himself to understand why such a relationship would be desirable. Furthermore, if one views the triad as being emblematic of a

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[273] Pliny *HN* 34.77.
[274] For rites of passage in the Roman world, see P.M. Tiersma, "Rites of passage: Legal Ritual in Roman Law and Anthropological Analogues," *The Journal of Legal History* 9.1 (1988): 2-25; V. Dasen, "Roman birth rites of passage revisited," *JRA* 22.1 (2009): 199-214; P. Garwood, "Rites of Passage" in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. T. Insoll. Oxford (2011): 261-284.
[275] *HN* 29.57.
[276] Littlewood 2006: 22-23; Dion. 4.15.5.

Roman family then placing the two daughters of Jupiter in the same cella would be logical. While Minerva and Iuventas do not seem to share cultic activities outside of the Capitoline temple, their connection may have been underscored with the revival of the *Lusus Troiae* under Caesar, Augustus' *collegia iuvenum*, and Minerva's own connection with Athena Ilias.[277]

Aedes Minerva, Aventine Hill

Minerva's oldest securely identified temple in Rome was located on the Aventine hill, near the temple of Diana.[278] The exact year in which it was founded is unknown, but it was well established by the Second Punic War. Ziolkowski has suggested that the temple was vowed by one of the consuls in 263 or 262 and paid for with spoils from the conquest of Syracuse.[279] He arrives at this conclusion by noting that during the First Punic War there was a large issue of Minerva-head coins at Cosa to pay the navy stationed there, and that these coins differed from previous issues by showing her with a Corinthian, rather than Attic, helmet. He considers the Corinthian-helmeted Minerva to be a "Greek type" and posits that the Aventine cult statue must have been this type as well, since the earlier major cult image of Minerva in Rome (Capitoline Triad) would not have been "Greek." However, there were many Greek images of Athena with both types of helmets and it is perhaps too simplistic to assume that Corinthian helmets automatically indicate an association with Greece while Attic helmets are more Italic. We hear from Festus that it was declared by the people of Rome as a meeting area and dedicatory space for the *"scribis histrionibusque,"* or writers and actors.[280] It has not been excavated but the

[277] Suet. Divus Iulius 39, Cassius Dio 43.23.6; Dio 52.26.1-2.
[278] LTUR "Minerva, Aedes (1)": 254.
[279] Ziolkowski 1992:110-111.
[280] *Itaque cum Livius Andronicus bello Punico secundo scribsisset carmen, quod a virginibus est cantatum, quia prosperium respublica populi Romani geri coepti est, publice adtributa est ei in Aventino aedis Minervae, in qua liceret scribis histrionibusque consistere ac dona ponere*. Festus 446-448L.

architectural layout is known from the Marble Plan, which shows a single-celled peripteral temple structure labeled simply "MINERBAE" (Cat. 98).[281] The temple stood on a large podium and is shown with a single peripteral row of columns stretching 13 along the side, 8 along the back, and 6 along the front, with approximate dimensions of 22m wide by 45m long.[282] The front left column is shown cutting a corner and would have been not only unsightly but highly irregular for a major building; as such, Schürmann has suggested an 8 x 13 arrangement as in the nearby Temple of Diana, or others such as Mars Ultor and the Dioscurii.[283] The temenos area seems to have been much larger in the front, as the marble plan shows structures backing right up to the sides of the temple and very little space at the rear. The front features a large open space and a frontal stair; although there is no sign of an altar, there certainly would have been room for one.

While it is generally associated with craftsmanship and the fine arts, the literature offers scant clues as to the specific function of the Aventine temple. We hear from Ovid, the Fasti Antiates Maiores, and both the Fasti Esquilini and Amiternini that it was founded on June 19th, but Festus and the Fasti Praenestini claim the 19th of March, which was also the Quinquatria festival in Minerva's honor.[284] It undoubtedly had some role in the festival proceedings, along with other sanctuaries in the city. It was the depository for Livius Andronicus' hymn concerning the Battle of the Metataurus and the designated meeting place for actors, poets, and writers, along with (presumably) the *collegium poetarum*.[285] Augustus takes credit for building the

[281] Fragment 22b, Slab VII-15.
[282] LTUR:254.
[283] Schürmann 1985: 9.
[284] Ovid *Fast.* 6.725-28; Festus 306L; *InscrIt* 13.2.17.
[285] Livy 27.37.7; LTUR 254.

temple in 16 BCE, along with a number of other structures on the Aventine, but as it was clearly in use for centuries beforehand it must be assumed that he instead rebuilt it.[286]

The cult statue itself is equally mysterious, although considering the nature of the Aventine cult it can be safely assumed that it was not a Promachos or other overtly martial Minerva type. Schürmann has attempted to identify it with a statue of Minerva holding a lance in her left hand and an owl in the right, which appears on the *congiaria* coin issues of Nero, Titus, and Nerva, as well as a denarius issued by Domitian in 85 CE (Cat. 21, 22, 27). [287] Apart from the Domitianic coin, which I do not believe depicts an actual temple and so is discussed in part two, the three *congiaria* coins all clearly depict the same statue. Schürmann considers it to be a cult statue of one of the more important Minerva temples. The Aventine was the oldest and most prestigious (apart from the Capitoline triad, which is ruled out because of the absence of Jupiter and Juno) and had the advantage of an open space out front for crowds, which would have been necessary considering the large platform which the emperors are shown seated upon. He briefly considered the Chalcidicum adjacent to the Curia, but ultimately ruled it out as there is no guarantee that there was a statue there as well as its dissimilarity to the architecture shown on the Domitianic coin.[288]

While the *congiaria* may well have been held on the Aventine, Schürmann's argument depends on the identification of the Minerva-with-owl statue as a cult statue inside an actual temple, rather than a solitary statue. He himself points out the unusualness of an emperor sacrificing to a cult statue inside a named temple, as most representations simply show the

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[286] "*...aedes Minervae...in Aventino...feci*." *Res Gestae*:19.
[287] Schürmann 1985:63-69. The coins specified are Cohen 68 (Nero), BMCRE II 629 (Titus, under Vespasian), BMCRE III 87 (Nerva), and BMCRE II 296 (Domitian).
[288] Schürmann considers the Domitianic coin to represent an actual temple, rather than the *lararium* which most scholars identify it as. He further argues that the Chalcidicum was on the porch of the Curia, while the building on the coin is clearly a complete temple.

emperor at an altar with, at most, a nondescript temple in the background. Coins which show specific temples often have the cult statues represented through the open cella doors, but they are tiny compared to the overall architecture. The *congiaria* coins show no signs of the statue being located inside a building; rather, Minerva towers over the background architecture on Nero's coin and is a solitary figure on the others. The statue almost certainly denotes a specific location for the ceremony but most likely not a specific temple. Thus, while the Aventine cult statue may have been this owl type, any argument for it is conjecture at best.

Another possible cult statue that has been suggested is the colossal seated goddess currently in the Palazzo Massimo, which was found at the foot of the Aventine hill.[289] This massive statue made of luna marble, basalt, and various types of alabaster, shows a cloaked and veiled goddess seated on a throne (now missing) and wearing a small aegis. Her face has been replaced with a plaster cast of the Athena Carpegna. Both the face and the aegis have led scholars to identify this statue as a Minerva. While the seated Minerva type is rare in Rome, it does have a Roman parallel in the Capitoline triad and some older terracotta votives. The absence of weaponry and armor, along with the more matronly garb, has been argued to make her more suitable as a patroness of the arts. However, as Cellini has rightly pointed out, the aegis was fabricated in the 1930s, along with the face, shortly after it was excavated. Photos taken at the time show the statue without arms, face, or aegis. Furthermore, while the Capitoline triad type is seated she also wears a helmet. Therefore, the Palazzo Massimo goddess was specifically restored to be a Minerva. Cellini posits that this statue is instead much more suited to mother goddess types and was likely a cult statue in the temple of Magna Mater on the Aventine.[290]

[289] Palazzo Massimo, Sala Minerva, inv. 124495. 2.5m. h, first half of the first century CE. Palazzo Massimo 2013:42-3 (Guiseppina Alessandra Cellini).
[290] Palazzo Massimo 2013:43.

Minerva Capta, Caelian Hill

That there was a shrine to Minerva on the Caelian hill is beyond doubt. Ovid names it as the shrine of Minerva Capta, and Varro mentions it in connection with the procession of the Argei.[291] These two sources make it possible to narrow down the location to the northern part of the Caelian hill, likely near the church of SS. Quattro Coronati.[292] It has not been excavated or connected with any fragments of the marble plan, so the actual architecture is unclear. Ovid's use of *parvum delubrum* to describe it, however, and the absence of an *aedes* identification in Varro indicate that it was most likely a small shrine which was, nevertheless, of enough importance to warrant inclusion in both works as well as various *Fasti.* A dedicatory inscription found in the *hortis Theophilis* may also relate to the shrine, although "Capta" is not mentioned specifically.[293]

The cult statue is equally mysterious, although there have been some proposals which merit consideration. The first is that the Arcus ad Isis on the Haterii relief in the Vatican Museums refers to the one in the Campus Martius, rather than at the Porticus Divorum as argued elsewhere.[294] The Minerva figure in the central arch would then be the Minerva Capta cult statue. This Minerva is oriented frontally, with a spear resting in her right hand and a shield in her left. Owls decorate the spandrels above her but would not be directly associated with the Capta shrine in this case. Haüber identifies this Minerva with Minerva Medica, as discussed above.

The second proposal is that a Minerva statue found nearby on Via Celimontana No. 25 in 1923 is the cult image from the Minerva Capta shrine (Cat. 47).[295] The statue is 1.30m tall and

[291] Ov. *Fasti* III.835; Varro V.47.
[292] O. Gilbert. *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum.* Volume 2. Leipzig:1883, pp. 33-34.
[293] MINER(uae) DONVM (dat) CONLEGI(um cor) NICIN(num). CIL VI.524.
[294] Relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, Rome, Vatican 9997. Schürmann 1985:10, Jordan-Hülsen I.3, 226f. For further discussion here see below, Minerva Chalcidica and Minerva Medica.
[295] Courtyard of the Palazzo Barnabei, Via Celimontana No. 25, 1923. Currently in Palazzo Massimo, Galleria IV, Inv. 106165. LIMC 1984 2.1:1087, n. 168 (F. Canciani); Schürmann 1985:10 ss., tav. 2a. 149. Palazzo Massimo 2013:149. (Chiara Ciampi). For the type, see Vlassopoulou 2005:193 ss.

made almost entirely of alabaster, with the head and arms added separately in marble (now lost). The exotic materials would have been appropriate for a venerated shrine and call to mind the polychrome enthroned "Minerva" from Palazzo Massimo.[296] Her aegis, pulled to the side and secured around the neck with thin straps, has no known parallels. Traces of paint around the apoptygma indicate a star and rosette pattern to her peplos, giving some clue to the statue's former polychromy. The overall pose is an exercise in contrast, with the strict verticality of the drapery broken only by her flexed right knee and the slant of the aegis. A spear and shield seem her most likely attributes, although if she was bearing a shield there is no evidence of it being attached at any point to her torso. This, in addition to the shape of the aegis, differentiates it from the Minerva on the Haterii relief. The uniqueness of the alabaster statue would be appropriately exotic for a "captured" cult and, when combined with the provenance, make it the current best candidate for Minerva Capta.

Unlike the Aventine temple, there are no records as to the specific cultic function of this shrine. Ovid includes it in his section on Minerva in the *Fasti* but it seems to have been ancient even in his time, as he can offer no clear explanation as to its origin.[297] He first suggests a play on the Latin word for head, *caput,* first by referencing her ingenuity (*capitale vocamus ingenium sollers: ingeniosa dea est*) and then her fully-armed birth from Jove's head. He then suggests a connection with the subjugation of Falerii in 241 BCE, either through her cult being "captured" and moved to Rome or through a law that anyone receiving stolen items from that place should suffer capital punishment (*capitalis poenas*). The linguistic propositions seem unlikely and he offers up an "ancient inscription" (*littera prisca*) as support for the Falerii theory, although the mere presence of the other ideas cast doubt on the authority of this presumed inscription.

[296] Schürmann 1985:10-11.
[297] Ovid *Fasti* 3.835-848.

Regardless, the Falerii theory has received the most support from scholars.[298] As discussed above, no major temple in Falerii has been unearthed that could be firmly connected with a Minerva cult. However, numerous inscriptions in the area, some written in Faliscan, attest to a local affinity for her and do not preclude the existence of some sort of temple.

Minerva Medica, Regio V

Minerva Medica was a cult devoted to Minerva's healing powers, known in Rome since Republican times and in Italy long before that.[299] According to both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*, the temple of Minerva Medica was located on the Esquiline in Regio V.[300] Unfortunately, these references in the regionary catalogues only prove that the temple was known in the 4th century and do not provide any clues as to when it was founded. They are also the only direct literary references to a temple of Minerva Medica in the city. A passage in Cicero, in which he mentions her as providing healing without physical medication, certainly corroborates the cult's existence in the late Republican period but does not necessarily refer to this specific temple or prove that there was indeed a temple to Minerva Medica in Rome at that time.[301]

In fact, another inscription set up to record vows to the healing gods of the city which provides a much better reference is an imperial inscription set up by Gn. Vergilius Epaphroditus, a *magister odararius* at or near Minerva Medica, which proves that there was a temple in the city by the 1st century.[302] A republican period lamp dedicated to Minerva and found in a votive stash

[298] Torelli (1984:52-53) has previously cast doubt on the Falerii theory, arguing the ambiguity of the *littera prisca* and Ovid's own Faliscan bias.
[299] The cult in Rome was not the only instance of Minerva Medica: other cults where Minerva is combined with healing include Sul-Minerva at Bath and Minerva Medica at Carmentae.
[300] Regio V Esquiliae: 11-12, *Minervam medicam* (Notitia). Regio V Exquiliae: 11, *Minerbam medicam* (Curiosum).
[301] Cic. *Div.* 2.123. "*Sine medico medicinam dabit Minerva*."
[302] CIL VI 10133. "*Gn. Vergilius Epaphroditus, magister odararius a Minerva Medica*."

of objects related to healing cults (anatomical ex voti, children, etc.) has also been deduced to prove the cult's presence in the city, at least by the Republican period.[303] However, Minerva's absence from Livy's list of gods propitiated for healing by C. Servilius in 180 BCE may indicate her cult's arrival in the late Republican period.[304] Alternatively, her cult may have been kept in a small shrine rather than a large temple, and thus not considered powerful enough to warrant inclusion.

With this in mind, four locations have been proposed for the temple. The first, which has since been widely disregarded, was the round structure at Via Giovanni Giolitti and Via Pietro Micca. Pirro Ligorio first suggested this location while under the impression that the Athena Giustiniani statue had been found here.[305] The structure has since been identified as a nymphaeum. The second option is in the area of the New Via Carlo Botta, Via Merulana, and Via Angelo Poliziano. Marroni placed the votive deposit here but, as Haüber notes, she was not aware that the current Via Carlo Botta follows a different route from the Old Via Carlo Botta which was in place when the excavations were being conducted.[306] Haüber's revised location for the votive deposit, as well as a Rospigliosi-type Athena statue, is the New Via Carlo Botta and the Via Sette Sale, which is the site which most current scholars agree upon. The fourth site, also proposed by Haüber, is on the roof terrace of a republican substructure on the Via Pasquale Villari.

While Haüber concedes that the votive deposit does seem to center around healing cults and that there may have been worship of Minerva Medica in this area, she identifies the site in

[303] CIL VI 30980. "[Me]*niirva dono di*[idet]." Roma, Antiquarium Comunale, inv. AntCom 2648. There was also a terracotta head of Minerva with Corinthian helmet (AntCom 2585).
[304] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* XL.37.2-3.
[305] Haüber 2014:110, n 583.
[306] Marroni 2010:262-7, Haüber 2013:110-113.

question as a temple primarily for Fortuna Virgo. Noting the literary evidence above, as well as the tendency for healing cults dealing with water to originate from sacred springs with nymph cults, she proposes that the shrine was originally dedicated to the *Querquetulanae Virae*, possibly as early as the archaic period, and that Minerva was incorporated into the shrine at a later period and picked up the Medica epithet then. The shrine gradually transitioned to Fortuna Virgo and became a place for feminine rites of passage, specifically centered around marriage and childbirth, as evidenced by the bride figurines and infants in the votive deposit. A nearby porticus with piscina would have provided an area for ritual cleansing and banquets. In addition to kourotrophic rites and feminine health, both goddesses (along with the nymphs and Isis, whose presence is also attested here) are concerned with prophecy and general healing. [307]

Minerva and Fortuna were not an uncommon pairing in Etruscan shrines, as evidenced by the cult of Minerva-Nortina at Bisenzio or even the kourotrophic votives present at Punta della Vipera.[308] While Athena Hygeia was certainly present as a healing cult in Greece, the insistence of salutary elements in Menrva's Italic sanctuaries does lend Minerva Medica a rather Italic flavor and, considering her prominence as a Latin/Sabine goddess it would not have been inconceivable to find her associated with the deities at this site earlier than the mid-Republican lamp dedication would suggest.

Haüber dates her second proposed site to the late Republican/early first century. The substructure on the Via Pasquale Villari was in the gardens of Maecenas. The structure lies within both the Servian wall and Regio V and the structure itself can be found on maps by Falda and Nolli, as well as in Vasi's vedute, and may be partially preserved in the *Convento delle Suore del Buon e Perpetuo Soccarso*. Two statues of Minerva dating from the Augustan-Imperial

[307] Haüber 2013:110-123.
[308] See above, Punta della Vipera.

periods were found nearby, in addition to a fragmentary Augustan marble krater showing scenes of sacrifice at altars of Apollo and Minerva.[309] The substructures were lavishly decorated with bronze and precious stones set into the wall, and the site itself could well have been in use through to the fourth century.

Haüber attributes her presumed temple of Minerva Medica to Maecenas himself, citing his love for precious stones, the Augustan marble krater, and a line from the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* in which Maecenas is said to be the special pupil of both Minerva and Apollo.[310] The temple could have been in response to Augustus' illness of 23 BCE, or a recovery by Maecenas himself. She also locates the *Arcus ad Isis* nearby, in which case Minerva's presence in the central passage of the arch on the Haterii relief as well as her presence with Isis on Cassiano dal Pozzo's drawing of a coffered stucco ceiling from the area would provide further proof and, perhaps, an idea of what the cult statue looked like.[311]

The Haterii relief and the Minerva from dal Pozzo's drawing are quite similar, although not identical. The Minerva on the relief is easily identified by the helmet, shield, and spear she bears, as well as the owls in the spandrels of the arch above her. She appears to have a short aegis on her chest, heavily worn, a belted peplos, and stands stationary with right leg slightly bent. The Pozzo Minerva likewise wears a helmet (Corinthian) and carries spear and shield. Her head is slightly inclined towards the figure of Isis seated before her and she appears to be placing her weight on her left leg, though not quite as dramatically as the Haterii Minerva. She wears a

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[309] Headless torso resembling the Ince-type Athena, found in 1885 on the Via Buonarroti/A. Poliziano. (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 100); Marble Krater from Via Buonarroti/A. Poliziano (Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 72258, 72259, 72257, 72260, and five further fragments which were formerly in the E.P. Warren collection).

[310] *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1.17-18. "*Pallade cum docta Phoebus donaverat artes: tu decus et laudes huius et huius eras…*"

[311] Marble relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv 9997); Drawing from the 'Paper Museum' of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Currently in Windsor Castle, Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (inv. RL 11398, Haüber: 33, fig. 7; 792-8).

belted peplos as well but there is no sign of an aegis.[312] Apart from the aegis, the most notable difference between the two is that dal Pozzo's Minerva is slightly more stationary and holds her spear further down the shaft. Since the Minerva in the relief takes up the entire archway, leaving hardly any room for the spear, the sculptor may have decided to move the hand upwards so that the spear itself would be more vertical and fit better within the space available.

Haüber has also suggested that a colossal statue of Minerva in the Capitoline Museum may in fact be the cult statue represented in these two depictions.[313] The massive statue, made entirely of pentelic marble, is in remarkably good condition. She too is stationary, although she rests her weight on the opposite (right) leg. The right arm extends downwards as in the dal Pozzo drawing, and although the hand is currently oriented in such a fashion as to push the spear outwards it is a modern restoration and does not necessarily reflect the original. She wears a short aegis and a belted peplos with holes for metal insertions along the waist. Her shield is small and ovoid and held slightly out from her body, although not in front. Her helmet is in the Corinthian style and impressively plumed, accentuating the hair swept back and away from her face as well as the restored curls cascading over both of her shoulders.

While the findspot for this statue is not precisely known, it was unquestionably found within the city.[314] Likewise, its size, quality, and material make it an unlikely candidate for anything other than a cult statue. While we should perhaps not overlook differences in stance and gesture, the overall similarities between these three representations make it clear that they represent the same general type of Minerva, if not the same statue. Haüber also posits that this

[312] This is not entirely unknown in Minerva's iconography, but it may simply be due to the condition of the ceiling when Cassiano dal Pozzo was drawing it.
[313] Haüber 2013:792-8; Statue of Athena/Minerva, 2nd c. BCE, Pentelic marble, 3.29m H, Musei Capitolini Palazzo Nuovo inv. S37. Found in Rome under Pope Paul III Farnese (1534-1549), likely in the Campidoglio.
[314] Haüber (2013:797-8) has traced the artist of an etching released of this statue in 1594 to a Io. Baptistae de Cavaleriis, who may have owned a vineyard around the Sette Sale near the mid-republican substructure. If so, it would greatly strengthen the connection between this statue and the proposed sanctuary.

Minerva sanctuary may have come to represent a Minerva Troiana/*custos urbis* under Domitian. This idea, along with Domitianic construction in the area and connections to Isis, will be treated in part two.

Miscellaneous Shrines and Temples

In addition to the major temples mentioned above, there were a number of smaller sites throughout the city. Many, such as many new foundations or restorations by Domitian, survive only through indirect reference. Others, such as Pompey's dedication, lack much material evidence but are more attested in the literature.

The Capitolium Vetus was a *sacellum* on the Quirinal dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Varro places it at the end of the *Clivus Proximus a Flora susus versus Capitolium Vetus*, which Ashby identifies as running between the Porta Quirinalis and the Alta Semita.[315] Varro also states that it had a *sacellum* to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva which was older than the Capitoline Temple. This relationship to Flora is also mentioned by Martial in his *Epigrams*, where he states in a letter to Paulus that "Rustic Flora oversees ancient Jove."[316] In a different letter to Maximus, he makes a distinction between old and new Capitol.[317] Specific details as to the nature of the cult or building are unfortunately lacking.

The *delubrum Minervae* was dedicated by Pompey in the late first century BCE. The precise location, architecture, and cultic significance are all unknown, but the dedicatory inscription is preserved through Pliny.[318] The reasons for this dedication are debated, however, Palmer makes a convincing argument regarding Pompey's desire to emulate Alexander the

[315] Ling. 5.158. LTUR "Capitolium Vetus", p 70.
[316] Mart. *Epi*. 5.22.4.
[317] Mart. *Epi*. 7.73.4.
[318] *NH* 7.97-8.

Great's devotion to Athena with his own dedications and vows.[319] Pliny makes mention of a gold statue of Minerva which was carried in Pompey's triumphal procession for his victory over Mithridates and rechristened Cilician Soloi, with its temple to Athena and connections to Alexander, 'Pompeiopolis' after his conquest of the area.[320] Most scholars agree that the vow to establish his own Minerva sanctuary in Rome was made during his war with Mithridates, paralleling Alexander's devotion to Athena during his eastern march, and that his double triumph in 61 BCE would have been a perfect opportunity to carry it out. However, Palmer has also pointed out that Pompeiopolis was connected to his monumental victory over the pirates and may also have been a candidate.[321]

Palmer goes on to suggest that the *delubrum Minervae* was positioned in the northeastern section of the Campus Martius, on the western side of the Pincian hill. He notes that a Claudian inscription refers to the area as *Vicus Minervae* and that there is evidence of Pompey's garden being situated in the area, along with a triumphal monument that was connected with his double triumph.[322] Others have debated the location of Pompey's gardens, suggesting instead that his gardens should be located closer to his theatre or elsewhere in the city.[323] The *Vicus* itself was in Regio VII, likely around the Porta Pinciana where the inscription was found. There is no evidence as to why the area was associated with Minerva, although a temple or shrine seems a likely candidate. Schürmann does not discuss the location of Pompey's dedication, but rejects the identification of his shrine with that of Minerva Chalcidica.[324]

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[319] Palmer 1990:2-10.
[320] *NH* 37.12.
[321] Palmer 1990:6.
[322] Palmer 1990:9-11; CIL VI 766=ILS 3309. *Statae Matri/Aug(ustae) sacrum/ mag(istri) (reg)ione VII vico Minervi, / anni L, / Ap. Arrenus/ C Cornelius Eutychus/ Sex. Plotius Quartio/ C Vibius Phylades/ dedicata est/ (ante diem) XVII k(alends) Sep(tembres)/ lustratione.*
[323] See Haüber 2014:785-6 for a discussion on identification of the gardens.
[324] Schürmann 1985:16.

Another *aedes Minervae* is mentioned only in the late antique *Notitia a Urbis Romae*, which places it in Regio I. It was associated in some manner with the temples of Mars and Tempestas, and Schürmann further refines this to the ancient *Vallis Camenarum* northeast of the Via Appia, between the Flavian Amphitheatre and the Aurelian wall. Colonna has proposed that the so-called "Temple of Diana" beneath S. Giovanni a Porta Latina may in fact be the Regio I Minerva *aedes,* Minerva and the Muses in particular, in part due to pozzolana votive deposits containing a series of under-lifesize terracotta statues that were found while digging at the Porta Latina. The figures, mostly identified as muses but including one headless, enthroned Minerva, are currently displayed in the British Museum (Cat. 68).[325]

As discussed above for the Aventine cult, seated Minervas are rare but not unheard-of. This particular one wears a belted peplos with himation across her lap, and a diagonal aegis bordered by snakes. Her left leg is positioned slightly forward, and her right arm may have held a spear, as there is no indication of contact with the arm of the throne. The throne itself is rather plain, except for a lion head on the end of each arm and clawed feet. Firing holes on both sides and the back would likely have been disguised or covered. The British Museum prefers to date the statue group to the second half of the first century, however, noting that the "campana" plaques found with it would be more suited to a villa than a late-Republican sanctuary.[326] Unfortunately the *Notitia* is not more precise as to the shrine's nature, although the use of *aedem* for Mars, Minerva, and Tempestatis might indicate some sort of comparability.[327]

[325] Terracotta figure of Athena seated on a throne, c. 50-100 CE. 91.44cm. Found in Rome, near the Porta Latina, around 1767. (British Museum, inv. 1805,0703,284; on display in G70/dc5). See above, Aventine temple, for a discussion of enthroned Minervas.
[326] As stated in the British Museum's online catalog entry for this object, under curatorial comments.
[327] LTUR, "Minerva, Aedes", p 255; Schürmann 1985:16. The *Notitia* (Regio I: 21-23) records it as *aedem Martis et Minervae et Tempestatis*, but both Minerva and Tempestates are missing from this section of the *Curiosum.*

1.6: Becoming the Roman Minerva

Ovid's "goddess of a thousand works" may have had a thousand faces as well, but as this analysis has shown her Italic roots ran deep and were not divorced from her Roman context, nor were they overwhelmed by Greek influence. Her basic attributes remained the same over time, although small variations such as the shape of the aegis or type of helmet were common. The Etruscans first used Athena's standard iconography to portray their own Menrva, likely formless and aniconic in the earliest stages, but who nonetheless had her own distinct cult, duties, and personality. The Romans were likewise not averse to utilizing Greek iconography or making identical copies of popular works, but they too liked to introduce variation according to the needs of display, patron, or material. This innovation led to a huge variety of different Menrvas/Minervas in the visual landscape, each with subtly different references and connotations.

The cultural narrative paints Menrva as part of the Greek tradition, through representations of scenes from the Iliad or Hercle's labors, but also incorporates Etruscan narratives and characteristics such as the birth of the Maris children, Epiur, her relationship with Hercle, and possession of wings and her own lightning bolt. This continues in the earliest Latin literature, minus the Etruscan references. By the mid-Republican era Minerva was becoming more and more independent from Athena, with her increased appearances in literature and on coins indicating a surge in popularity amongst the elite. Cicero was the first to adopt her as a patron, painting himself not only as a chosen disciple but as a hero of state when he reframes his eviction as a personal Ilioupersis. Later authors continued to associate her with weaving, crafts, and arts of the mind, so much so that her name was used metonymically when discussing talent (or lack thereof) in these areas.

Menrva/Minerva was especially popular in the Latian area surrounding Rome, with evidence of worship appearing in both rural and metropolitan contexts. Activity at Etruscan temples continued into the Republican period, long after Roman dominance was established. Some cults, like that at Punta della Vipera, faded with time while others were coopted into Roman traditions or, like Falerii's Menrva, simply moved and reinstituted in Rome. Most of these sanctuaries or votive deposits relate to healing or mantic practices, and Punta della Vipera further indicates Menrva's kourotrophic role in the Etruscan pantheon.

Minerva was present in Rome from the very beginning and was considered to be one of the oldest divine residents of the city. She was crucial to the wellbeing of the city, through the palladium and her position in the Capitoline Triad, and was the recognized divine patron of the arts, crafts, and literary *collegia* at the Aventine temple. Certain Roman cults can be shown to have stronger Italic than Greek roots, as in Minerva Medica; Greek parallels are more easily found in male gods such as Asclepios. While Athens did have a shrine to Athena Hygieia, shared with Hygieia herself, it was not a widespread phenomenon.[328] One must assume a local syncretization, whereas in the case of Menrva healing seems to have been a feature of her cult from the beginning. This is not to say that Athena was complete divorced from Minerva; separating Greek customs from Roman is difficult, and perhaps futile as it was the combination that made Rome what it was. Authors such as Cicero identified with Athena, largely because of the intellectual culture in Athens, but could in the same work identify with purely Roman anecdotes, as with the numerous retellings of Metellus' sacrifice in saving the palladium from the burning temple of Vesta.

[328] See Parker 2006:413 n 102, who suggests that Athena Hygeia was responsible for the general health of Athenians and not specific healing. He also notes a statue to Athena Paionia in the precinct of Dionysus Melpomenos, and a shared altar at Oropos.

Minerva's physical and ideological link to Rome's mythohistorical past, along with her involvement in both statecraft and the arts, presented a rich tradition for Domitian to expand upon. Her antiquity and Romanness were by this point unquestioned, and her lack of relation to the Julio-Claudians made her an ideal candidate for tapping into Rome's foundation myths while still retaining the independence of the Flavian dynasty.[329] Part two will discuss how he expanded upon Minerva's rich Italic history to legitimate himself as emperor.

[329] As discussed in the introduction, the Julio-Claudians traced their family tree back to both Mars and Venus, thereby claiming a blood connection to Aeneas and Romulus.

Part Two: Domitian's Minerva

Introduction

On September 13, 81CE, Titus Flavius Vespasianus died suddenly of fever and left his younger brother Domitian as presumptive heir. Regardless of any personal thought Domitian had put into it, the fact of the matter was that Domitian's sudden rise to the principate was unexpected and he was without a planned image campaign. He had over a decade's worth of Flavian propaganda at his disposal but, as his choice of Minerva for divine patron made clear, he was not interested in simply continuing the status quo as another face in the Flavian dynasty.

In short, Domitian needed to figure out quickly how to represent himself and his goals to the Roman people, and so the first three years of his reign were filled with experiments in self-representation with religious and dynastic themes. He was desperate to gain military clout, as he had no real connection to the Judea campaign that Vespasian and Titus had capitalized on, but also recognized the value of family connections. Thus, we see a concerted effort to establish a Flavian pantheon in the early years when he not only deifies his brother Titus, but his deceased infant son and later his niece, and builds them all a temple on the grounds of the house where he was born. He also maintains the *Divi Filius* title on his early coins, underlining his connection with these newly divine Flavians.

The following text details Minerva's rise and tenure as the primary deity of Domitian's principate, from 81-96 CE. Whether he worshipped her as a youth or chose her as a divine patron once Vespasian became emperor, it was clear by the time he became emperor himself that he started publicizing their relationship immediately. She was to be the face of his reign and the power behind the throne, for which she received an unprecedented amount of new iconography,

temples, and imperial attention. Part Two is divided into thematic sections based largely on characteristics or epithets of Minerva that received special attention, with the exception of a general timeline and review of the events immediately prior to Titus' death and Domitian's unexpectedly early accession to the principate.

Minerva Romana

As Vespasian and Titus had done before him, Domitian initially set out to associate himself with the palladium, and thus protection of the empire. The palladium was the cult image brought from Troy and responsible for the protection of Rome, both at the city and imperial level. Beginning with Galba and continuing with Vespasian and Titus, it had been used as a shorthand for their responsibilities as emperor; upon being confirmed by the Senate they were shown on coins being presented with the palladium by Roma or a similar figure, indicating that she was entrusting them with her safety. Silius Italicus, a consul, orator, and epic poet writing at the time of Domitian, states directly that the palladium was responsible for driving away the Goths in such a way that none ever made it home, a show of divine force that must have been appealing to the martially minded Romans.[1] Domitian was associated once with the palladium before he took power, on a coin celebrating his status as *princeps iuventutis* under Vespasian (Cat. 37). The denarius in question shows his second portrait type laureate and facing right on the obverse, while the reverse features Vesta enthroned and holding the palladium in her right hand. The palladium was not specifically associated with his position as *princeps iuventutis*, however; other reverses associated with the title include representations of Spes, cornucopias and poppies, and one in which Domitian rides a horse while holding a sceptre and raising his right hand.

[1] Sil. *Pun*. 13.79-81 (*haec ausos Celtas irrumpere moenia Romae corripuit leto neque tot de milibus unum ingentis populi patrias dimisit ad aras*).

Like Vespasian and Titus, he issued a coin linking himself with the palladium shortly after he was proclaimed emperor (Cat. 36). Unlike them, however, he is not shown in military dress or receiving it from a deity associated with the city; rather, he stands togate by himself with the small statuette in his right hand. Perhaps because of his desire for a more overarching association with Minerva, Domitian soon shied away from copious depictions of himself with the palladium. One other representation that has survived is a remarkable silver mirror from northern Iran, signed by Euporos (Cat. 93). Domitian's bust is laureate, draped, and facing right, his hair styled in the distinctive manner of his third and last portrait type. Notably, the palladium appears at his breast; Minerva stands with raised shield and spear, attic helmet, truncated at the hips by a fold of fabric.

Displaying the palladium in this manner is extremely anomalous, as it is either tucked into a fold of his drapery or mounted on his chest. Both are far too irreverent for an ancient icon which was responsible for the fate of Rome: only select priestesses could even see it within the temple of Vesta, and Domitian would certainly not have been carrying it around. What this odd arrangement does bear some resemblance to is the aegis on imperial coin busts. Rather than showing the entire aegis, it was common practice to have a side view of the gorgoneion perched on the emperor's collarbone, exactly where the palladium is situated in this mirror. Domitian did sport the aegis on his coin busts but only briefly; he was also said to have had a cuirass wrought that resembled an aegis. If the palladium was intended to be part of an aegis here, it would make for an intriguing allegory concerning Domitian's role in the empire.

The aegis had been incorporated into the iconography of Roman emperors from the late Augustan and early Tiberian period, although those representations were restricted to glyptic

portraits.[2] Claudius, who also released the archaic-type Minerva coin reverse, used it much more frequently.[3] Nero was the first to wear the aegis in his coin portraits (as on Cat. 22) and continued Claudius' trend of wearing it in glyptic representations. While these previous emperors donned the aegis as a sign of their divinely sanctioned power and, presumably, their symbolic connection with Jupiter, Domitian's aegis on this mirror was not only divinely sanctioned but offered the protection of Rome's most precious icon. While this motif does not seem to have taken root in Italy, Domitian does wear a standard aegis on his coin portraits between 84 and 85.

The mirror also relates to a series of cuirassed statues dating to the Flavian period, in which the palladium is featured as a central element of the decorative scheme. Stemmer lists five as possibly Flavian, four of which follow the standardized motif depicted on an example in the Vatican (Cat. 74b).[4] The palladium is frontal and placed centrally, standing on a plinth just above the navel; winged female figures dance on either side of it. A gorgoneion with centrally parted, wavy hair and knotted snakes beneath the chin is set centrally just below the neck.

The motif is replicated in an earlier, Julio-Claudian cuirassed statue from Vaison-la-Romaine, France (Cat. 74c).[5] As the palladium and winged dancer vignette is largely similar to the Flavian examples but the gorgoneion has deeply articulated hair with drill-worked curls, I would suggest that the examples which Stemmer has dated as Flavian were produced under Vespasian and Titus as a continuation of earlier palladium iconography. As discussed earlier they

[2] For example, the Strozzi-Blacas Cameo (British Museum, inv. 3577, late Augustan/early Tiberian, 1.8 x 9.3cm).
[3] Such as a Claudian cameo in Dresden (Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. V 1, 13.0 x 10.0 cm H).
[4] Stemmer 1978:34, 79-82. The four statues using this motif are in Rome (Vatican Gall. Stat. 248, Flavian, 1.89m. h without plinth), Berlin (Antikensammlung inv. SK 343, late 1st c. CE, 2.02m. h with head), Naples (Museo Archeologico inv. #6072, 2.08m. h with plinth), and Boston (MFA Inv. 99.346, late 1st c. CE, 1.118m. h). The fifth is also a frontal palladium on a plinth but holding the shield frontally instead of to the side and without any surrounding dancers (Merida, inv. 1.138, 1.62m. h).
[5] The statue is currently displayed with a (possibly recarved) portrait that is not original to the piece. (Musée Municipal de Vaison, inv. 990.54.002, late 1st c. CE, 1.99m. h). Stemmer 1978:77.

both utilized the palladium in multiple reverses on their early coinage whereas Domitian himself only minted the one as princeps iuventutis.

While Titus and Vespasian may have been content with using Minerva in their palladium imagery, Domitian had much more ambitious plans for her. In 83, having taken full control of the imperial mint, Domitian released an extraordinary series of four reverses on both gold and silver coins.[6] These reverses, referred to here as the standard Minerva reverses, are remarkable not only for their artistic quality but for the consistency with which they were minted; after the first issue in 83, they were released continuously until Domitian's assassination in 96. While the first reverse depicted the palladium and would thus have been familiar, the other three featured completely new iconography that was specific to Domitian's vision.

Establishing his own connection with Minerva was important, but equally so was the need to show how many facets of Roman life Minerva was involved with. She was already recognized as a patroness of literary pursuits and craftsmanship. The four reverses attempt to convince the Roman people that she was in fact responsible for the four main pillars of imperial prosperity: safety through military might; trade; civic, craft, and literary pursuits; and Domitian's principate itself.

The first of these was largely traditional and speaks to Rome's military might. It shows Minerva striding right, brandishing a spear in her right hand and a shield in the left (Cat. 31). She wears a helmet with full crest, a long peplos, with her aegis streaming behind her. This pose was used for both Etruscan bronzes of Minerva and Greek images of the Promachos type as early as 500 BCE.[7] The striding Minerva reverse was first used by the emperor Claudius in the mid first

[6] The gold and silver coins presumably offered the best canvas for artistic detail; because of his coinage reform, Domitianic coins are some of the best preserved and most detailed. Minerva appeared on smaller denominations as well, but not as one of these standard reverses.
[7] See above, pp. 12-13.

century CE in conjunction with his overall archaizing program (Cat. 19).[8] The Ephesus mint issued an altered denarius in 76CE (Titus on the obverse) with an owl at her feet; later, when Titus issued the *Divus Claudius* restoration coins the owl was removed.[9] Notably, Titus includes the "REST" abbreviation in his title on the reverse, as one would when commemorating the restoration of a temple.[10] The intent here is clear: Titus is "restoring" this coin type to the Roman people which, in this case, not only expresses his piety to Roman history and *Divus Claudius* in particular, but creates a dynastic link between the two of them.[11]

Domitian's issue does not include any reference to Claudius but is in some ways more faithful to the original than Titus'. First, the drapery is highly refined and accentuates both legs. Claudius' reverse has a clear division between her legs, marked by strong vertical folds, and a sheath of body-hugging drapery that makes her exact stance clear. Titus' revival obscures the forward leg in thick drapery and only accentuates the bend of the rear leg, relying on direction more than anything else to indicate her stance. Domitian also restores the trailing snakes of Minerva's aegis, although the aegis itself is in the shortened pectoral form popular under the Flavians.

Domitian's preference for Claudius' style over Titus' effectively creates a stronger link between himself and Claudius. In "restoring" the coin issue Titus sets himself up as a dynastic heir to Claudius, carrying on his work. The coin is still clearly connected to Claudius, as it is his portrait and title that graces the obverse, but the reverse legend makes Titus' role in the process clear. If Domitian had done the same, or reissued Titus' restoration coin, he would have been

[8] See above, pp. 67-8
[9] Ephesus issue: RPC2 1456/1, RIC2.1 1482, p.170, RE2 484, p.101. Divus Claudius: Cohen 105 [IMP T VESP AVG REST S-C].
[10] Blevins 2013: 166-173.
[11] For a discussion on the roles of memory and divine emperors in Rome, see Galinsky 2016 and 2014, Galinsky and Lapatin 2015, and Blevins 2013.

two steps removed from Claudius and the coin would not have had as much meaning. By omitting Claudius' name altogether but relying on iconographic memory he implies that he is in fact closer to Claudius than Titus was; not merely restoring what Claudius already did but following in his footsteps.

Minerva's pose here is clearly aggressive, and often seen in art when she is actively fighting. She was not averse to engaging in battle if her chosen heroes needed aid, and her role as goddess of strategy ensured that Rome's legions and generals would honor her as well as Mars. Domitian furthered this association by forming a new legion in 82 dubbed the *I Flavia Minervia*, which would remain in Germania after his successful campaign. Coins and tombstones attest to the legion's survival long after Domitian's demise. Their standard was either a statue of Minerva or a ram, both of which are attested in late antique coins connected with the legion. Gallienus issued a coin dedicated to "LEG I MIN" which features a modified version of the Athena Parthenos on the reverse. Athena wears an Italo-Corinthian helmet and turns to the right, holding out a small Victory in her right hand. Her shield rests against her left leg and she holds her spear in the crook of her arm.[12]

Carausius' coin of c. 287 CE also commemorates the legion but features a ram instead (Cat. 46b).[13] The ram itself is unremarkable, striding to the right on a simple ground line; however, it is similar to a standard pictured in scene 48 of Trajan's column, where a ram with lowered head also faces right on top of a column-shaped standard. The scene itself shows a massing of soldiers with a number of different standards and emblems present; given the specificity of the column's carving and the legion's survival after Domitian, it is likely that *I Flavia Minervia* was present and is depicted here.

[12] 260-261CE, Milan. RIC V-1 (J) Milan 322; Goebl 0988. See Bohec 2000 for a discussion of the legion's later history.
[13] RIC V-2, London 56 var (rev legend).

While he may not have needed a new legion, Domitian's choice of name and deployment are both significant. The campaign against the Chatti was his first chance at the military success which he needed to legitimize himself as an emperor. The image of himself riding out at the head of his own legion to subdue a revolt was surely too much to resist for the boy who had seen both his father and brother celebrate their own triumphs, but never been granted a military command himself. Both Vespasian and Titus based their legitimacy of rule on military might: it was the Roman army which brought Vespasian to power, and the victory at Judea which funded his civic projects and cast him as a defender of the Roman state. Judean imagery continued throughout both his and Titus' reign, and was prominent on both the posthumous Arch of Titus and the Templum Gentis Flaviae. While Titus had been able to fall into such rhetoric easily, by virtue of having been at his father's side in all these ventures from the very beginning, Domitian was not so lucky.

The link between military glory and Roman virtue was well established by the end of the first century. Augustus had framed his war against Antony in terms of restoring Roman virtues, and cleverly linked his victories to maintenance of the Pax Romana. Early first century authors such as Livy were also quick to work military victory into the national narrative, with Livy going so far as to have a newly divinized Romulus appear to instruct the Romans that their purpose in the universe was to conquer other nations.[14]

As established already, Minerva was considered an essential component to the safety of the state. Considering Vespasian and Titus' early efforts at building a connection between Minerva and the Flavian dynasty, vis a vis the palladium imagery and congiaria coin issues mentioned earlier, there was already a relationship between her and both the safety and prosperity of the Roman people. The Type 1 promachos reverse, along with the short-lived

[14] Liv. 1.16.7.

aureus bust issue, indicate that Domitian is working with Minerva and fulfilling both Romulus' directive to conquer and Augustus' directive to conquer in the name of the Pax Romana. In conquering the Chatti with his own Minerva legion Domitian built on Vespasian and Titus' early effort and essentially doubled it; not only was he entrusted with the palladium and thus the safety of the empire, he was a direct agent of Minerva herself.[15] The archaizing quality of Minerva's pose would have also appealed to Domitian's sense of tradition, and recalled the archaistic images of her created under Augustus.

At its most basic interpretation, the Type 2 reverse features Minerva with shield, spear, helmet, and aegis, striding left on a ship with an owl at her feet (Cat. 32). Minerva herself is in a familiar pose; she is identical to the Type 1 reverse discussed above. The owl is also a familiar iconographical element, as Minerva's favorite bird, and functioned as a stand-in for her on smaller denominations.

The ship's prow has traditionally been interpreted as a rostrum, either connected with the rostra in the Forum Romanum or a dedicatory rostral column, such as the one which Octavian incorporated in an early sestertius (Cat. 17). The decidedly martial positioning of Minerva, with her weapons raised and ready, has served to support the notion of a naval victory or some reference to the Flavian fleets when interpreting its meaning. The Roman navy was a crucial part of many Flavian military endeavors and was honored accordingly. Naval units received titles under Vespasian in return for their support during 69 CE, and the Classis Britannica was crucial to Agricola's efforts in subduing Britannica. Furthermore, it was sailors from the Roman navy who were responsible for rigging the awning in the Colosseum, and Domitian gave the navy a pay raise in 81 proportionate to rank. They did not have any notable victories when this reverse

[15] For Domitian's palladium imagery see Cat. 36 and 93.

was first issued, however, and Domitian was generally more concerned with his land-based legions.

The idea of a military commemoration further disintegrates when one examines the prow itself. Rostral columns are decorated with the prows of captured warships; these have a specific shape, which is replicated in Octavian's coin but not here. They always have a ram at the bottom, and often an inward facing prora at the top. The Type 2 coin features the rectangular ram shape at the top, with an elongated, outwards facing volute. This sort of prora is rarely, if ever, seen on military vessels; rather, it is a distinctive characteristic of the *navis oneraris*, the Roman merchant ship.[16]

Lucian describes one of these ships in his *Navigium*, a merchant vessel named the "Isis".[17] He notes its massive size and, most importantly, its "lofty stern with its gradual curve, and gilded beak." These ships were imposing, with large square sails and complex rigging, made to survive the journey from Egypt and the Levant to Rome. Since they did not need to rely on rowers for speed and maneuverability, the hull was deep to maximize storage. Lucian reports that the Isis was 180 feet long and 44 feet deep; some could hold up to 70 metric tons of grain.

The importance of grain to the Roman empire is unquestionable, and so it is not surprising that these merchant ships appear prominently in naval contexts: the House of the Ship in Pompeii was named for an incredibly detailed graffito of the *Europa*, and they are seen multiple times in mosaics at Ostia (Cat. 94, 95). Nero also gave them pride of place in his sestertius commemorating the Ostian port; while there are numerous military ships, the three ships in the center are all merchant vessels (Cat 20). All these depictions incorporate the outward facing prora and deck extension on the stern. Hence, what we have on the Type 2 reverse is a

[16] See Schmidts 2017 especially, but also Pitassi (2012, 2011, 2009) and Mason 2003 for more on the Roman navy.
[17] Luc. *Nav*. 5.

promachos Minerva standing on the stern of a merchant ship, accompanied by her owl. The precise meaning of this grouping is elusive but becomes clearer when looking at replicas outside of Rome.

Outside of this coin, the only place where we have a surviving replica of the Type 2 reverse is on a series of coins from Caesarea Maritima, in Judea (Cat 35). Caesarea had a long history with the Flavians and sought to foster the same relationship with Domitian as it had had with Vespasian and Titus. Located in the southern part of the Levantine coast, it began as a port settlement of the Greeks and later both King Herod and the Roman army. It was exactly halfway between Alexandria and Rome, and its naturally deep harbor made it the logical wintering port for merchants seeking to get a head start when the sailing season opened again. Josephus records massive amounts of grain passing through the city in the late first century, and it was on both the maritime trade route between Egypt and Rome as well as the overland trade routes through the Levant.

Caesarea reached its height of importance under the Flavians. It was here that Vespasian and Titus stationed their troops during the siege on Judea and was one of the first to proclaim him emperor, a mere three days after Alexandria. Shortly after he arrived in Rome Vespasian rewarded them by awarding them colonia status. Under Titus they were granted immunity to land taxes, and under Domitian they were granted the right to mint their own coins. In an effort to court favor with Domitian, one of the first coins they minted featured the Type 2 Minerva.

She is clearly shown on the reverse, lifted almost exactly from the official Rome issues, and is combined with a war trophy which she either erects or leaves behind. The choice of this particular Minerva is interesting; the coin is obviously a statement of their place within Domitian's Rome, yet they opted to use one of Domitian's new Minervas rather than an

established type, or a figure like Annona (reflecting the grain trade) or Roma. Furthermore, there does not seem to have been a temple to Minerva in the city. So, while it is certain that this reverse had a very specific meaning meant to link Caesarea with Domitian and Rome, it must be sought elsewhere in the city.

The main temple in Caesarea was that of Tyche, who had been rebranded under Vespasian/Nero as Tyche Amazone, an incarnation with a stronger connection to Rome (as opposed to Greece).[18] Roma was typically armored and wore a tunic with one breast bared, after the fashion of amazons. Rebranding Tyche as such immediately called to mind Caesarea's connection with the heart of the empire. Apart from these aspects she was typically shown with a ship's rudder and was considered a protector of maritime trade and shipping. Tyche was also syncretized with Isis here, as is evident from the *Isisdis Navigium* celebrated every year at the opening of the sailing season.

The *Isisdis Navigium* was not restricted to Caesarea but was a pan-Roman festival; the best account of it survives in Book IX of Apuleius' Metamorphoses. Apuleius includes a declaration of loyalty to the emperor and empire, as well as a prayer of wellbeing for the citizens, senators, and Roman state. Both of these clearly connect the festival with not only maritime trade, but the prosperity and safety of the Roman empire at large, serving to reaffirm the connection between the city celebrating it (in this case Caesarea) and the empire. These same areas are in the purview of Minerva, specifically the palladian Minerva, which is the figure represented on the ship here. If one posits the addition of Minerva to Caesarea's Tyche-Isis duo, their role as a vital part of Rome's welfare becomes clear.

Isis herself was particularly associated with the Flavians. When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria he was credited with a series of miracles courtesy of Serapis,

[18] See Clausen 2012 for Isis under Domitian, and Patrich 2011:79.

Isis' consort, as well as a flooding of the Nile. Vespasian and Titus were said to have spent the night in Isis' temple in Rome before their double triumph, indicating that they at least partially credited her for victory in Judea. Her prominence in Caesarea supports her role in the Judean victory, as they almost certainly frequented the Tyche-Isis temple while they were based there. Domitian himself was saved from certain death by escaping the Capitoline hill dressed as a priest of Isis. The Flavians actively fostered Isaic worship in Italy by building a large complex dedicated to Isis and Serapis, and Domitian continued to support notable temples in Egypt during his reign.[19]

Isis was also a maritime goddess however, not only due to her role in the flooding of the Nile but also to her position at Alexandria as Isis Pelagia, or Isis of the Sea, and Isis Pharia (Isis of the Pharos Lighthouse). She is shown there standing on the prow of a ship holding a billowing sail and was likely worshipped in a similar incarnation at Ostia. As noted earlier, she also presided over the sailing season and was thus intimately connected with maritime trade.

While Minerva's identification with Isis is usually attributed to their shared role of war goddess, Minerva herself also had links to the sea. Ovid considered her as his protector in the journey to Tomis, even noting that the figurehead on his ship was her in armor.[20] One of her epithets, Tritonia, was especially popular in the Flavian period. It is used frequently by Valerius Flaccus and Statius, both in oceanic contexts as well as elsewhere, and by other silver age authors in more generic circumstances. The epithet arises from her association with Lake Tritonis, a salt water lake in Libya. According to Herodotus and Pseudo-Apollodorus Athena/Minerva was either born there, to Poseidon and Tritonis, or raised there with Poseidon's

[19] For more on Vespasian and Serapis, including pharaonic aspects of his declaration as emperor in Alexandria, see C. Vittozzi, "The Flavians: Pharaonic Kingship between Egypt and Rome," Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis, ed. L. Bricault and M. Versluys. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 180.1. Brill 2011: 237-59; T. Luke, "A Healing Touch for Empire: Vespasian's Wonders in Domitianic Rome," Greece & Rome 2nd series, 57.1, 2010:77-106.
[20] See part one above, pp. 62-3.

daughter Pallas.[21] After accidentally killing Pallas, she constructed a wooden effigy of her friend which would later be installed in Troy as the palladium.

Mythologically she was responsible for the construction of the Argo, the famed ship which Jason and his Argonauts sailed to Colchis in. A Campana relief which may date from the Flavian period shows this scene, in which Minerva herself takes an active part in the construction of the boat (Cat 96). Valerius Flaccus also has her taking an active role in the construction, referring to the Argo as the "ship of Pallas" and mentioning multiple times that she built it and taught Argus how to repair it. Furthermore, he gives her credit for steering the ship through storms and teaching "the way of the sea" to certain individuals.[22]

Outside of mythology, Statius mentions a cult of Pallas of the Shore (*Palladi litoreae*) on Scyros, and says that wine was scattered from a certain ship's starboard in libation to Tyrrhene Minerva (likely Punta della Campanella, a promontory in Campania with a temple of Minerva said to be built by Odysseus and inhabited by Sirens – Statius elsewhere links Minerva with sailing when he mentions that placating her here calms the seas).[23] She was furthermore paired with Neptune in the lectisternium festival and appears on a Domitianic copper alloy medallion with a prow and kneeling captive resting by the side of her throne (Cat 29).[24]

With Minerva established as a worthy maritime counterpart for Isis in addition to a military counterpart, the Type 2 Minerva becomes a bit clearer. Caesarea clearly felt confident in their association with this Minerva, and Minerva-Isis cults were increasingly popular under Domitian. The temple at Beneventum was dedicated to Minerva-Isis under Domitian and

[21] Apollod. i. 3. § 6; comp. Herod. iv. 150, 179.
[22] V. Fl. I.476-483.
[23] Stat. *Ach.* 283.
[24] Livy 22.10.

benefited from the spoils of his military campaigns.[25] There is also compelling evidence that the temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline was incorporated into an Isis-Fortuna complex which was heavily restored by Domitian.[26] While Athena had already been associated with navigation and sailing, the iconography and references to Minerva as a maritime deity are greatest under Domitian and fall naturally into syncretization with Isis. Considering Domitian's favoritism of Minerva and the prevalence of Isis-Minerva cults, it is possible that Minerva became associated with the protection of ships and trade which was Isis' purview. Caesarea could thus logically connect themselves with Domitian's Minerva while simultaneously reminding him of their role in his family's rise to power through the Judea trophy, as well as the grain trade which kept Rome fed and prosperous.

Thus, the Type 2 Minerva is a reflection on both Domitian and Minerva's care for the empire. Her promachos appearance underscores her role in the safety and defense of the empire, while the merchant ship she stands on clarifies that she watches over the grain trade. Her new connection with maritime trading is reflective of her synchronization with Isis, which was increasingly popular under Domitian, and was further underscored by Caesarea Maritima's use of the Type 2 reverse in their own panegyric coins.

The third type had appeared on bronze sestertii coins as early as 81 but was incorporated into the standard silver coinage in 83 along with the other four types (Cat. 33). This Minerva still bears her spear and helmet but is without aegis and much less aggressive than the previous two. She wears a himation over two other garments rather than her usual belted peplos. Her pose is also more relaxed, as she is clearly stationary with her left hand resting on her hip. The absence

[25] See Clausen 2012 for the fusion of Isis and Minerva at Domitianic Beneventum.
[26] Haüber 2014:110-123.

of her aggressive, warlike demeanor sets her apart from the first two reverses and likely references Minerva's long-held position as a patron of the fine and literary arts.

Type 3 follows the example of other stationary Minerva types, like the Louvre's Athena Mattei and Newton Halls's Athena Vescovali-Arezzo, which retain their spears but rest a hand on the hip rather than hold a shield, patera, or Victory (Cat. 67, 64). In the case of the Athena Mattei it has been proposed that the hand on the hip was a choice mandated by the medium, as it was almost certainly copied from the bronze Athena of Piraeus.[27] However, whereas the bronze can have an outstretched arm with no supports the marble version would require a strut. The Vescovali-Arezzo Athena has a similar pose but wears her himation in such a way that it wraps around her waist and covers the left arm.

The closest parallel to Type 3 comes not in the form of a statue, but rather a cameo. Made of agate, it is in remarkably good condition and datable to the Domitianic period because of its similarity to Type 3 (Cat. 77). The pose is exact, with the left hand on her hip and the right holding a spear. Her head is also turned to the right, and while the face of the helmet is lost it was almost certainly Italo-Corinthian. Her face is idealized and shows no signs of portrait assimilation.

This cameo is not an exact replica, however. The most obvious difference is that this one wears an aegis, similar to that on other Domitianic Minervas such as the Cancelleria B, as well as a peplos rather than chiton and himation, with trailing drapery on the left arm rather than the right, holding the spear. As a result, the lower drapery lines are also different, as the coin features three distinct layers beginning just under the knee, while the cameo has at most two in favor of broad vertical folds accentuating the legs and contrasting with the more delicate vertical pleats on her apoptygma, also absent from the coin. The difference in clothing does not necessarily

[27] Waywell 1971: 373-382.

mean that the cameo is not based on the same model as the coin, assuming that there was a relevant type or cult statue which the coin type referenced. This type was introduced under Domitian and was intimately associated with him, as evidenced by type's disappearance after Domitian's assassination; it was apparently unable to be repurposed.

As explored in part one, Minerva had a strong connection with poetry and literature which Domitian would have been aware of. Suetonius makes a point of noting that Domitian had been a talented poet in his youth and often recited it in public, although he quickly claims that Domitian later neglected and held contempt for it.[28] That Domitian was ever contemptful of the literary arts is highly unlikely, as he supported notable writers such as Martial and Statius, and included poetry competitions at the Alban Games. Martial even makes reference to a votary of "Palatine Minerva" whom he hopes will accept his books, perhaps indicating that there was a library in the palace complex.[29]

As in pre-Flavian literature, when not directly involved in a myth or connected with Domitian, Minerva continued to be most often identified as a patron of the arts or an artist herself. Two out of the four references Quintilian makes to her involve her teaching or supervising the arts, and both Martial and Statius make reference to Minerva as a sculptor.[30] She is associated specifically with Roman epigram and oratory through the phrases "*Romanae sale...Minervae*" and "*tetricae Minervae*," respectively, referencing the wit of epigram through "salt of Roman Minerva" and the gravity of oratory by "severe Minerva."[31] This preoccupation

[28] Suet. *Dom*. 2.
[29] Mart. *Epi*. V.5. The library has traditionally been placed to the west of the Cenatio Iovis. See R. Meneghini, 2010. "Le biblioteche pubbliche di Roma nell' alto impero," in *Neronia VIII. Bibliothequs, livres et culture ecrite dans l'empire romain de Cesar a Hadrien. Actes du VIIIe Colloque international de la SIEN (Paris, 2-4 octobre 2008).* ed. Y. Perrin. Collection Latomus 327. Brussels, p. 32-4.
[30] Statius in his description of Domitian's equine statue and Martial when describing a portrait of Julia Titi (VI.13); both inquire as to whether Minerva fashioned the likenesses herself.
[31] Mart. *Epi*. IV.23, X.20(19).

with literature and the mind extended to education as well; Juvenal records a teacher's holiday taking place during the festival of Minerva.[32]

Minerva's role in the arts is clear, but she also played an important part in the crafts and construction industry, for both women and men. As with her Greek cousin Athena Ergane, she oversaw pursuits that required skill and artistry. Her contest with Arachne, which first appears in Ovid and is thus largely Roman, revolves around both her superior skill and her punishment of hubris. Arachne, the protagonist of the story, is a highly skilled weaver but boasts too much about her ability. Minerva challenges her to a contest and both women set about weaving a story; Minerva the birth of the gods, and Arachne the many affairs of Jupiter. While Arachne's technique is very nearly a match for Minerva's the subject matter is highly offensive, and so Minerva turns her into a spider.[33]

This story is monumentalized on the frieze in Domitian's Forum Transitorium (Cat. 72, Appendix 2). The culmination of Arachne's story, her transformation into a spider, is depicted in a single vignette in which she cowers in front of Minerva, who prepares to strike her with a distaff or *fusus* (spindle). Their interaction is framed by a large square loom, on scale with Arachne but small enough so that Minerva can loom menacingly before it. This scene is framed by other instances of looms and weaving. One, at the far-right side of the extant frieze, incorporates Minerva seated on a rock with her shield resting beside her. The female figures directly in front of and behind her reach out, drawing attention to Minerva and marking her as the focus of the scene. Lined up to the left are seven more female figures, interspersed amongst rocks and a tree, as well as a spring god. One of the women nearest him holds a hydria. D'Ambra does not offer an explanation for the scene, but if one interprets the nine generic females as

[32] Juv. 10.116-7.
[33] D'Ambra 1993:47-56.

muses then the scene becomes quite similar to Ovid's tale in the *Metamorphoses*.[34] Minerva visits them on Mt. Helikon to see the new spring which Pegasus unearthed. Once there, the Muses regale her with stories that lead her to reminisce about Arachne. The spring god and hydria clearly reference a water source, which the women are utilizing, and the rocky landscape surrounding them fits with a mountainous environment. The tree in the middle is an olive tree, relating to Minerva, but also signaling an outdoor environment.

In the same scene Ovid has the Muses hail Minerva as an equal in artistic ability, stating that if she had not been called to greater matters she could have been one of their own. By choosing this scene Domitian not only depicts two separate scenes from a Roman story of Minerva but touches on her patronage of both weavers and all of the fine arts that the Muses represent.

Minerva's involvement in skilled production was not restricted to weaving and the arts, or even to female crafts. She was also actively involved with carpentry, as shown by two sculptural dedications from Rome. The first, a marble altar dedicated to Minerva and dated to the Augustan period, is carved with both carpentry tools and religious paraphernalia.[35] That the connection between Minerva and carpenters was still alive in the late first century is evidenced by a Flavian-era relief in Centrale Montemartini (Cat 71). The relief, found in 1938 on the slopes of the Capitoline Hill near the Forum Holitorium, depicts a busy carpenter's workshop. D'Ambra has posited that it decorated a collegium or shrine, not least because the collegium of the Fabri Tignarii had been involved with the construction and upkeep of the roof of the Capitoline Temple and thus granted space on the slopes of the Capitoline Hill.[36]

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[34] D'Ambra 1993:123-125; Ov. *Met.* 5.250-282.
[35] Augustan marble altar dedicated to Minerva, likely by the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*. 92cm h, 55cm w at base, 54cm d. Found in S. Giorgio in Velabro and currently in the Capitoline Museums, Rome, inv. 1909.
[36] D'Ambra 1989: 267.

The carpenters' frieze picks up where the Argo relief left off, by moving Minerva from the realm of mythological helper to an actual participant in everyday life. The shop is largely dominated by busy workmen; the figures on the far right are engaged in finishing a decorative table while the three figures in the middle work with various tools, one of which may be a lathe.[37] To the left stands a male figure, perhaps a foreman, with Minerva in front of him. Unlike in the Argo relief Minerva is not actively building anything; she is, however, gesturing imperatively towards the workshop and appears to be guiding production in the same manner as the male figure behind her. Various tools of the trade, such as a frame saw, crosscut saw, compass, and framing square, hang on the wall behind them.

Weaving, carpentry, literary pursuits, and sculpture are thus well attested as being within Minerva's domain in Flavian Rome. However, there were undoubtedly many more areas of specialty which honored her as their primary deity. By not incorporating attributes specific to any of them, such as a distaff or plane saw, the Type 3 reverse manages to be generic enough to appeal to everyone while still differentiating itself from the other three reverses.

The fourth and final type of the standard reverses was perhaps intended as a replacement for the gold aureus discussed earlier and appeared first on coins issued by Domitian under Titus (Cat. 34). Here Minerva is once again stationary but rather than holding a sceptre, she holds out a thunderbolt. Like the aureus she faces left, while Domitian on the obverse faces right. The thunderbolt is most often seen in Rome as an attribute of Jupiter and represents his divine right to rule the cosmos.[38] When presented to a Roman emperor, as with Trajan on a later arch at Benevento, it communicates Jupiter's granting of imperium, divine right to rule, to the

[37] Ulrich 2007: 39.
[38] For Athena Alkidemos, who also carries a thunderbolt but does so aggressively, see here p. 29 n. 40.

emperor.[39] The fact that it is Minerva who grants imperium to Domitian instead of Jupiter is particularly telling here.

Minerva herself was known to wield the thunderbolt: Virgil mentions her striking down a fleet of ships in the Aeneid, and she was one of three deities in the Etruscan pantheon to be granted such power.[40] Certain of her incarnations, such as Minerva Panthea, could also be depicted with the lightning bolt. A fine example of this is an intaglio in Paris in which Minerva is combined with Isis (Cat. 80). Minerva is stationary and faces right, wearing a peplos with a long zone. Her aegis is short as in the Domitianic coins but does not stream behind her. She stands in front of a column, perhaps associated with Securitas, and offers the thunderbolt with her left hand while holding a cornucopia with her right. The association with Isis is made clear by the feathers adorning her attic helmet and the bearded serpent at her feet, the latter of which they were both associated with. The association with Isis (discussed above for Type 2) and the shape of the aegis might make this a Domitianic intaglio; regardless, it is clear that the lightning bolt is her attribute and not something borrowed from Jupiter. The column, lightning bolt, and cornucopia combine to present a message of security, divinely ordained power, and prosperity, all things that Domitian sought to communicate in his Minerva issues. Thus, it is not outside the realm of possibility that Minerva is granting Domitian her own divine power rather than standing in for Jupiter. As such, this coin would be a fitting successor to the 83 aureus and strongly reinforces the notion that Domitian's actions were divinely sanctioned by Minerva herself.

In short, what we have with the four standard reverses is a succinct message that was released consistently, multiple times a year, from 83 until Domitian's assassination in 96. By the time of his death they would have comprised an overwhelming part of the imperial coinage in

[39] Trajan likely coopted the motif from Type 4 but replaced Minerva with Jupiter; on the arch Jupiter presents him the lightning bolt while Minerva and the other gods attend.
[40] See above, pp. 29-30

circulation, and their superior fineness meant that they were more likely to be preserved and hoarded. The message is a simple one: Minerva oversees every aspect of Roman life, and as Domitian's partner sanctions him to do so as well. Type 1 recalls both Titus and Claudius, as well as Rome's military might, which had recently been deployed (fittingly, as the I Flavia Minervia) to secure the borders and enable the Pax Romana to continue. Type 2 extends Minerva's protection to the maritime trade networks while also referencing Isis and Fortuna, and through them Judea. Type 3 pays homage to her long-standing role as patron of skilled labor as well as the numerous collegia in Rome. Finally, Type 4 brings all these areas under Domitian's purview as Minerva hands her power to him, entrusting him to look after the empire in her name.

Minerva Flavia

Domitian's experiments in self-representation were myriad, but the most striking are those in which he experiments with ways to express his connection with Minerva. One of the first coins he issues is an aureus with dual portraits - his on one side, and hers on the other. 83 sees the release of a very limited gold coin featuring a laureate bust of Domitian on the obverse and a helmeted bust of Minerva on the reverse (Cat 28).[41] Minerva is recognizable by her helmet and aegis and holds either a sceptre or spear.

The use of a bust, rather than a full-sized figure, is also notable in that it had not been utilized in Roman coinage since the Republican period. Domitian was sparing in his use of it as well; apart from this aureus and another released in 84CE, a bronze quadrans from 84-85CE and a copper alloy semis from 88-89CE are the only examples (Cat. 40). The quadrans, discussed elsewhere, is practically identical to a bronze triens from 189-180 BCE, suggesting that

[41] BMCRE Dom 33.

Domitian was purposefully echoing Republican-era Minerva iconography.[42] The semis, however, could almost be seen as a reissue of the 83 aureus bust (Cat. 28).[43] Rather than the simple helmeted head, this bust brings back the aegis and is thus more of a complete representation. Unlike the aureus it is Minerva who takes Domitian's place on the obverse, although she is still surrounded by his titles. The reverse is bare save for an S-C with an olive branch sprouting between the letters.

The importance of this bust, evident from its reuse and persistent association with Domitian's titles, can perhaps be explained by other changes in his coinage. Concurrently with the release of the 83 aureus Domitian decided to phase out his use of the DIVI F title on gold and silver coins, divorcing himself from his former role as son and brother of the Flavian *divi*. Instead, he fills the coins with his own titles and achievements. As the years passed and he gained more and more honors, they continued to spill over onto the reverses until every image was framed by his titles. What we are left with is an emperor who was determined to present himself as standing on his own merit: having divine ancestors suited him in the earliest phases of his reign as the empire was still transitioning from Titus. Once this grace period had passed however he began to emphasize his actions, at least on coinage, as an entity separate from the earlier Flavians.

The aureus is a perfect example of this transition. Minerva and Domitian are clearly meant to be seen as a pair, working in concert. Domitian faces right with his titles circling from right to left; they continue on the reverse around a left-facing Minerva and run left to right. The extension of Domitian's titles onto the reverse essentially acts as a separate portrait frame, with Minerva as a stand-in for Domitian himself. Furthermore, the titles which circle Minerva are all

[42] Bronze triens, Rome. 189-180 BCE. ANS 1998.85.10.
[43] Bronze quadrans, Rome, 84-85. ANS 1991.9.148, RIC 2.1 Dom 241.

civic positions which relate to running the city, rather than the personal name and *pontifex maximus* title which frames his own bust. Domitian's name, minus *DIVI F*, and his pontifex maximus designation mark him as the chief priest of state religion and the one designated to communicate with the gods on behalf of the empire. Thus, he is the natural choice for Minerva's counterpart. As a goddess who protects cities and who was already a key part of Rome's spiritual history, Minerva's support promises that he will be a wise administrator, while the absence of *divi filius* indicates that it will be on his own merit rather than that of his family.

Domitian had begun to break away from the Flavian *gens* as soon as he became emperor. His portrait types follow a fairly strict timeline and are clearly delineated.[44] His first type appears on coins from 72-75 CE, marking his position as Caesar under Vespasian. As the focus is on his familial status he closely resembles Titus and Vespasian, with a square chin, broad face, and hooked nose in addition to a full, slightly receding lower lip. His hair is full, curly, and normally combed over the forehead from right to left with occasional changes in orientation above the right eye. His second type, appearing on coins between 75 and 81 CE, is largely similar but more mature. His hair recedes slightly at the temple and is a bit curlier in the front.

Domitian's third portrait type, which he would continue to use for his entire tenure as emperor, is most notable for its highly styled coiffure and smooth features. He keeps the receding lower lip, large nose, and square face, but shifts the focus towards an idealized constant rather than the heavy, aging Flavian physiognomy used by Vespasian and Titus. As Varner has noted, there is a distinct *imitatio Neronis* at work in Domitian's last portrait type. The similarities in coiffure are closer to Nero's stylized fashion than anything Titus or Vespasian did, and would

[44] Domitian's portrait typology is discussed further in Wegner, Daltrop, and Hausmann 1966:30-42, 97-108; Bergmann and Zanker 1981:349-70; Fittschen-Zanker I:35-37, nos. 31-33; and Varner 2004:112-113.

support his continuation of Neronian projects such as the rebuilding at Delphi or the reinstitution of the Neronia, renamed the Capitoline Games.[45]

It is perhaps not unusual that Domitian would think to take his move towards idealism one step further; the aureus is the first securely dated example of Domitian fusing his own distinctive third portrait type with Minerva and sends the message that as Domitian ascends towards idealism, Minerva descends into realism to meet him. As a result, 82-84 CE is marked with visual experiments that place Minerva on a sliding scale between Domitian and her former idealized norm. Rather than the classically idealized profile traditionally used we see one that verges more on the Flavian. When comparing the two sides, it is apparent that the two have very similar features. Both have a noticeable indentation at the root of the nose, although Minerva's is less pronounced. Both have a slight smile, which their lips curving at almost the same angle, along with upturned chins and identically sloping submaxillary triangle. Minerva's move away from the ideal is even more apparent when compared with a later Domitianic Minerva coin bust from 84; here the eyes are smaller and wedge-shaped, the chin is rounded, and her mouth is expressionless, curving at a more severe angle than the earlier aureus (Cat. 30). While her features still slightly resemble his, the fusion is much less drastic than in the 83 aureus.

A more emphatic version of the Flavian-styled Minerva can be seen on a pair of cameos from the Bibliothèque Nationale, which I argue were made between 82 and 84 due to the short lifespan of the coin portrait, and perhaps a fragmentary recarved head currently in Budapest.[46] The most blatant of these, an agate cameo about 13.5 cm tall and 8cm wide, shows a Minerva with decidedly masculine features (Cat. 75).[47] She wears an attic helmet with olive leaves; her hair curls over the visor, is tucked behind the ear, and falls onto her shoulder and back. The short

[45] Varner 2017:244-248.
[46] For the Budapest head, see Appendix 1.
[47] BnF camee.128 (Chabouillet.122, reg.C.1984)

aegis is clasped in the center by a gorgoneion and closely resembles those of the 82 aureus, the Athena Parthenos, and the Cancelleria Relief Minerva. Like the aureus Minerva she has a slight indent at the root of the nose leading to a rounded forehead and a similar crescent configuration between the nose, mouth, and upturned chin. The submaxillary triangle slopes downwards and her eye, while smaller, is more of an almond shape than her idealized counterpart. When taken in profile, this cameo also shows the most similarity to Domitian's Capitoline bust.

The second example, a sardonyx cameo measuring 8.8cm tall and 7cm wide, shows Minerva with a simple, unadorned Italo-Corinthian helmet and peplos. (Cat 76) She does not wear an aegis and her ear is covered by hair; the tightly curling lock which falls over her shoulder is quite like that of the Cancelleria Minerva. This particular cameo is more idealized than the last, with sharper lines in the profile and a more neutral expression. but not quite as far along as the 84 coin bust. Like the first cameo however, this Minerva still exhibits a crescent configuration between the nose and mouth, an upturned chin and sloped submaxillary triangle, almond-shaped eye, and an indentation at the root of the nose.

Both of these cameos can be compared to a third which, while likely late first century if not Domitianic, exhibits none of the characteristics which one might expect from a fused portrait (Cat 78) .[48] The eye is almond shaped but there is no crescent configuration to the nose, mouth, and chin; the indentation at the root of the nose is hardly visible and neither tip nor bridge deviates from a straight line. It does bear a strong iconographic similarity to the first cameo, however; the aegis is nearly identical, with the same style of gorgoneion, radiating scale pattern, and rope-like border. Both have the ear uncovered and a small curling lock placed in front, with waves of hair cascading down the back; where the third cameo differs is in the ornate Italo-Corinthian helmet and the coiffure; the two long locks of wavy hair do not cover the aegis, and

[48] BnF camee.22 (Chabouillet.32).

while hair is visible underneath the rim of the helmet along her forehead, it does not creep over as in the other two examples.

The question of identity is complicated in that traditionally, standardized portrait types are so closely associated with their subject that they assume identity; if a portrait has Domitian's portrait features, it must be him. Earlier theomorphic portraits have not posed as much of a problem as they tended to link mortals and divinities of the same gender; furthermore, the portraits were often extremely close to the type standard. Divine assimilation could be implied through attributes or posture. As Varner has shown, Nero frequently associated himself with various male deities and began to push the boundaries of individuality, but still kept the gender boundaries firm.[49] So, for example, an altar dedicated to Sol and Luna in Florence shows Sol with round face and distinctive hairstyle of Nero's fourth portrait style. This is a progression from earlier, standardized representations such as we see in the Tivoli general or Claudius as Jupiter, where the heads are recognizably human portraits, but the bodies are a sort of ideological frame that supports them. The emperor is in the guise of Jupiter, but it is just that - a costume. In both cases the head, as the seat of Roman identity, is a fully realized portrait. The Sol altar pushes the boundary between mortal and divine by fusing the portrait features into something that is neither a wholly idealized divinity nor a standard type four Nero. The division between the two is purposefully blurred and we are left with a representation of Sol that is distinctively Neronian.

Domitian takes Nero's innovation one step further by applying it to a goddess. Minerva had been appropriated by the imperial family before, but always by women. One notable example is a sardonyx cameo from the British Museum featuring two imperial women in the guise of goddesses (Cat. 79). Minerva occupies the foremost band, her skin in white and her

[49] Varner 2017.

helmet, hair, and aegis in brown. Juno, occupying the last band before the background, is in a slightly darker cream. Two other examples, both depicting the same unknown Julio-Claudian woman, are housed in the Bibliothèque nationale.[50] All of these representations continue the trend of using portrait features on a prop body, inviting allegory but not, unlike Nero's Sol imagery, assimilation. Furthermore, both the cameos and Neronian Sol examples leave the gender barrier intact. What, then, is Domitian trying to communicate by creating a sliding scale of likeness between himself and Minerva?

To answer this, we need to step outside the realm of imperial religious propaganda and into portraiture. The one place we do see similar fusions in dynastic or marital iconography, such as depictions of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger. A cistophoric tetradrachm from Ephesus shows them side by side on the obverse, portraits clearly mirroring each other (Cat. 18).[51] Another example is a cameo of Livia holding a small bust of Divus Augustus, where again their portraits are quite similar (Cat. .[52] The presence of two people in each example confirms that we are looking at individuals with separate identities, but their features invite us to consider the closeness of their relationship. Here we have dynasties and marriages where their identities are literally changing to incorporate the other in a new level of closeness and support.

If we look at Domitian's cameos and aureus as an extension of dynastic and marriage portraiture, we can interpret them as a visual representation of the closeness of Domitian with Minerva. Unlike in the earlier Roman empire, where she might have worked in favor of someone but apart from them, here Minerva is working in concert with Domitian, closely enough so that she leaves aside her aloof idealized divinity for one that actively incorporates him and her role in

[50] BnF camée.19 and 21. The cameos are both of high quality and, based on the aegis, could be Neronian.
[51] Jugate busts of Claudius and Agrippina Minor, cistophoric tetradrachm, Ephesus, 50-51 CE. (RIC I.119).
[52] Livia with a bust of Divus Augustus, sardonyx, c. 14 CE. 9cm. H. Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. IX A 95).

Flavian Rome. In the language of dynastic and marriage portraiture the variation in likeness is no longer a problem as we are not expecting to see Domitian himself, and thus a standardized type, but rather a Minerva who is working so closely with the new emperor that she actually begins to resemble him. She was, in short, a thoroughly Domitianic Minerva.

Unfortunately, Domitian moves away from assimilation imagery soon after; Minerva starts becoming more idealized in the 84 aureus and by 85 there are no further coin issues where she has non-idealized features. The abrupt change in iconographic direction is puzzling; either he simply changed his mind or was forced to abandon his first plan due to an unexpectedly negative reaction. The first option is unlikely, as Domitian tended towards stability in his public image. He kept the same portrait type for his entire reign, issued the same four Minerva reverses from their debut in 83 until his death, and kept virtually all of his titles once given; one need only look at later coins to see that wrapping his title around both sides was preferable to leaving out one of his honors. Since he felt strongly enough about theomorphic imagery to push the envelope in regard to Minerva, it is extremely unlikely that he did so on a whim.

Thus, one must assume that he was met with a negative reaction. It is possible that rumors began circling that he was claiming relation to Minerva or even his own divinity. Despite the practice of apotheosis, proclaiming oneself a god while alive was highly transgressive. All of Suetonius' "bad emperors" are charged with delusions of divinity at some point; Caligula is said to have ordered Greek masterpieces to be decapitated and repaired with his own features, demanded to be worshipped alongside Castor and Pollux, and to have had a golden cult image of himself made which was dressed identically to himself every day.[53]

Domitian was also accused of propagating his own divinity, but quite differently from Caligula. Whereas Suetonius goes out of his way to make it clear that Caligula wanted to be

[53] Suet. *Caligula* 22.

treated as a living god, Domitian's transgressions are framed as excessive pridefulness rather than heresy, and a direct inversion of his initial modesty.[54] There are only three instances where Domitian oversteps his bounds in this respect: first during the Capitoline games, second upon recalling Domitia, and third when dictating how letters should be addressed.[55]

The first instance involves regalia used during the games. Domitian is said to have dressed in a Hellenic style, with purple robe and buskins, and worn a wreath with busts of the Capitoline Triad. The priests of Capitoline Jupiter and the Divine Flavians, however, wore modified wreaths; theirs included a bust of Domitian.[56] The implication is clearly that he thought himself worthy of being included in the Triad and, furthermore, was exacerbating this behavior by dressing in Greek rather than Roman fashion.[57] The fact that he does not include his own bust on both wreaths, however, speaks to a differentiation in status. It seems likely that he thought of himself as occupying a middle ground between the Triad and the two priests, especially as one of them was the man responsible for overseeing the cults of Domitian's own brother, mother, father, and son.

The second instance, in which he is said to have referred to recalling Domitia from exile as a "return to [his] divine bed" is again hubristic, and perhaps an attempt to put a humorous spin on an otherwise delicate situation. Whether she was exiled for, as Suetonius alleges, sleeping with an actor or for something entirely different is uncertain. What is certain is that her exile was very short and Domitian, in uncharacteristically commuting her sentence, was extremely fond of

[54] Suet. *Dom*. 2.
[55] Cassius Dio also mentions the *dominus et deus* title (67.5.7).
[56] Suet. *Dom*. 4.
[57] See below, p. 176, for a discussion of Roman opinions on Greek games and morality.

her. There is no more mention of him claiming divinity in connection with sexual activity and, at any rate, the quip pales in comparison to Caligula's proposition to the moon goddess herself.[58]

The third and final instance, which has received the most traction in scholarship, is the accusation that he demanded to be addressed as "*dominus et deus*" in official letters.[59] Claiming to be both master and god has gone a long way towards establishing Domitian as a hubristic autocrat but, outside of Suetonius, there is no indication that it actually happened. None of the surviving inscriptions with Domitian's name bear the "*dominus et deus*" moniker, nor do any of the coins; for an emperor who was so obsessed with titles, one would expect to see it appear across media. While we do see him being addressed as a god in Flavian literature, such formulae are clearly panegyric and were used for previous emperors as well, without incident.[60] Furthermore, Domitian was famed for his adherence to tradition and the rule of law, making it even more unlikely that he would step so far outside the bounds of propriety by declaring himself a god.[61]

The second option, that Domitian was seen as claiming relation to Minerva, has some basis in the literature. Philostratus remarks that Domitian thought himself her son but is the only one to do so; unlike the *dominus et deus* moniker this claim has found little traction in modern scholarship.[62] The primary problem is that Minerva was a virgin goddess; she, along with Diana, were so famous for their chastity that "chaste goddess" could be substituted for either of their names in Roman literature. Minerva did have wards, but she was either unrelated by blood or, in

[58] Suet. *Dom*. 13, *Caligula* 22.
[59] Suet. *Dom*. 13.
[60] See Rees 2007:136-148 and Rees 2012 for a discussion of panegyric in the larger field of Latin rhetoric.
[61] See section 2.4, pp. 160-184.
[62] Philostratus 7.24; see also Jones 2011; Southern 1997:121; Girard 1981.

the case of Erechthonius, mother by association rather than physical act.[63] We also have no record of a miraculous visitation by Minerva to Vespasian, which one would expect to be a frequent occurrence in Flavian propaganda. Philostratus' accusation, written over a century after Domitian's death, may be an attempt to explain the fused portraits long after their original use was forgotten. The fact that Suetonius, known for his love of gossip, makes no mention of a familial relationship between Domitian and Minerva indicates that it was not a viewpoint that was widely circulated.

Regardless of the reason, Domitian quickly abandoned his plan and began portraying his relationship with Minerva in terms of physical rather than physiognomical closeness. The most notable example of this is Cancelleria Relief A, a multi-panel frieze showing Domitian's *dona militaria*, likely upon his *reditus* in 93 (Cat. 70).[64] The frieze is paired with one showing Vespasian's return to Rome, creating a neat parallel between Vespasian's first entrance into the city as emperor and Domitian's continuance of the Flavian legacy, and would have decorated an arch or monumental gateway.[65] After Domitian's assassination his visage was recarved into that of Nerva, and at some point, the frieze was removed altogether and left near the tomb, in what seems to have been a stonemason's shop.

Domitian refused a triumph when he returned from Sarmatia in 93 but did elect to make a dedication to Jupiter Capitolinus, thus underlining his pietas in a public fashion, something that became crucially important to him after 86.[66] Domitian stands just to the left of center, dressed in a simple tunic and paludamentum. Roma, recognizable by her bared breast, helmet, and short

[63] Erichthonius was born when Hephaestus attempted to rape Athena but prematurely ejaculated on her leg; the semen, which Athena wiped off with a piece of cloth and cast to the ground, was taken by Gaia and gestated into the later king of Athens (Apollod. 3.14.6).
[64] Ghedini 1986: 292-7.
[65] Relief A is replicated in a frieze relief from Anacapri in the Museo della Torre, which likely originated somewhere near Naples. The Anacapri relief is poorly preserved and of worse quality than the Cancelleria but copies the Domitian-Minerva composition exactly, indicating its importance. See Magi 1954-5.
[66] See section 2.4, pp. 160-284.

dress, grasps his left elbow and urges him on while the Genius of the Senate and Genius of the People cheer behind her. Mars and Minerva also lead him on, with Mars gesturing him forward and Minerva urging him on with her shield, while a single wing indicates that Victory would have been present as well. The rest of the composition is filled by a procession of lictors.

Despite the number of figures present, the implied lines and scale of Domitian and Minerva make it clear that they are meant to be seen as a pair. Roma's bent arm follows the folds of his paludamentum through Domitian's outstretched right arm and into Minerva's right bicep, her arm bent to adjust her helmet. Following the line of her arm and fingers leads one to her eyes, focused directly on Domitian's, where the strong verticality of his neck returns the viewer's eye to his shoulder, which in turn dissolves back into Minerva's outstretched arm and back to her eyes. The space between them, broken only by a spear shaft, is the only space between two figures which is largely empty.

Roma's gaze is directed forwards, towards the Capitoline, but Minerva is solely concerned with Domitian. She wears a short aegis, typical of the Flavian period, and reaches out with her shield arm to quite literally take Domitian under her protection. In contrast to both Mars and Roma she wears an Italo-Corinthian helmet, notable here as it allows one to see that she is just putting it on. While Corinthian helmets covered the face, the Italo-Corinthian helmet was made to resemble a Corinthian helmet that was pushed back over the forehead.[67] This allowed Roman generals a greater range of vision while allowing them to wear the historically charged Corinthian helmet type. Minerva's gesture, in which she pushes down on the back with her knuckles, is clearly meant to secure it on her head. The helmet itself may have been ceremonial regalia for her, reflecting the ceremonial shields and spears of the accompanying procession.

[67] The ram's head which decorates the cheek guard references her astrological association with the animal. It could also reference the *I Flavia Minervia*, Domitian's legion, who bore it on their standard.

Both the gesture and the sentiment inspiring it are reminiscent of the care Minerva exhibits for her heroes. Hercules remarks in the *Thebiad* that Minerva's hand and aegis were often there to aid him during his labors, and notes that she would have been by his side even in "trackless Tartarus" if she had been allowed, even going so far as to say that she gave him a father and immortality.[68] Although it is unlikely that Hercules was meant to represent Domitian in Statius' case, there is some ground for comparison. Hekster has noted that Domitian toyed with Herculean iconography and, as stated previously, there had been an attempt under Vespasian to establish ancestral ties to the wandering hero.[69] Domitian may have been playing off Minerva's role in Hercules' apotheosis, hinting that she was guiding him to the Capitoline as she did Hercules to Olympus. That he saw himself at the very least as an intermediary between the Triad and Roman public is confirmed by the crowns he and the priesthood wore for the Capitoline Games; his had busts of the Triad, but the priests' crowns included his bust as well.[70]

The Cancelleria relief is a spectacular rendition of Domitian's partnership with Minerva, but it is one of many that show up throughout his principate. While he held the Capitoline games in Rome, the festivities celebrating Minerva's festival were held at his villa in the Alban Hills.[71] Each year during the *Quinquatria*, the Roman festival honoring Minerva, he hosted a poetry and oratory competition complete with elaborate games and hunts. In holding the events outside of Rome at his own villa, he was not only able to have free reign over what occurred where, but the focus would invariably be on him and his lavish patronage of Minerva.

The Alban games were not simply a show of wealth, however; they were a religious affair as well. To that effect, Domitian also instituted a new collegium of priests to oversee the

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[68] Statius *Theb*. 7.500-519.
[69] Hekster 2005:1-2.
[70] See section 2.4, pp. 160-184.
[71] Suet. *Dom*. 4.4, Dio. Cass. 67.1.2.

festival. The Alban hills themselves had a special place in Roman history, as the seat of the Alban Kings and Rome's earliest rulers. In short, Domitian sacrificed the accessibility he would have had in the city in favor of a more personal connection. It was his land, his money, and his appointed priests that made Minerva's annual games possible.

The relentless pairing of Domitian and Minerva seems to have had its desired effect, as their relationship is conveyed frequently in Flavian literature. Minerva can be addressed as someone who specifically consorts with Domitian, as Martial demonstrates in his *Epigrams*. He entreats "*o nostri...conscia virgo Tonatis",* our Thunderer's confidante, for advice on a sum of money which Domitian had promised but not yet given, an action which makes sense later when he says to Domitian that "*res agit illa tuos"*, [Minerva] manages your affairs.[72] Martial is also setting up a distinction between his own genre, epigrams, and loftier poets of old. He contrasts his own verse, "sic ego: sic breviter posita mihi Gorgone Pallas" with Ovid's similar verse in the Fasti, "sic ego. Sic posita Tritonia cuspide dixit."[73] Whereas Ovid asks Minerva to explain the origins of ritual in the lesser *quinquatria*, but does not quote her directly, Martial presumes to ask her if he is ever going to get paid and she not only responds directly (*putas*) but insults him (*stulte*).[74]

Furthermore, Ovid presents Minerva as putting aside her spear, something she always carries, while Martial waits for Minerva to put aside her gorgon, something which she wears but only wields in battle. Martial could be referencing a statuette like the one on Domitian's monumental equine statue in the Forum Romanum, which holds out a severed head of Medusa. Martial is also increasing the ridiculousness of the moment by noting that Minerva has to put

[72] Mart. *Spect*. VI.10; IX.3.
[73] Ov. *Fasti* 6.655; Mart. *Spect*. VI.10.
[74] Many thanks to Mitchell Pentzer for confirming my suspicions, helping to unpack the references, and bringing to my attention Martial's fondness for subverting Augustan authors.

away her gorgoneion, the supernatural weapon that induces a panic so intense that it can stall even the bravest warriors, to tell him that he is an idiot. The implication here is that Minerva is not only involved in matters weighty enough to require use of her greatest weapon, but that Martial disturbs her with trivial matters (unlike Ovid, who disturbs her with important matters of religious history).

Elsewhere Martial addresses Minerva as *Pallas Caesariana*, [Domitian's] Pallas, furthering the notion that Minerva is somehow a conduit to Domitian's good graces.[75] Other Flavian era authors continued the trend; in his description of Domitian's equine statue Statius proclaims that not only did the small figure of Minerva choose to rest in Domitian's hand, but that there was no happier place for her.[76] Quintilian joins in as well, naming Minerva as Domitian's *familiare numen* or patron divinity.[77]

While he may have had to scale back his initial iconographic plan, Domitian's overall program was a resounding success. Art, literature, and public events all reinforced the idea that Minerva, the same goddess who had guided heroes, protected the empire, and embodied intelligence and strategy, was unquestionably by his side. Domitian took a chance in aligning himself so closely with a non-related female deity, but it was one that would forever cement their relationship in history. For Domitian, his status as a divinely sanctioned emperor who had the same support as mythological heroes was apparent everywhere, as was Minerva's new role as a Flavian goddess.

[75] Mart. *Spect.* VIII.1.
[76] Statius *Silv*. 1.1.
[77] Quintilian 10.1.92.

Minerva Fautrix

While Minerva was an important religious figure in Roman history, she was also a crucial character in many of Rome's most popular myths. She was, in particular, known as a 'helper of heroes,' the divinity who was most often and actively involved in the exploits of the heroes she looked after. Whether it was her cool head that prevailed, as when she prevented Achilles from dueling Agamemnon, or acting as a catalyst for the start of an adventure, as with Telemachus in the Odyssey, her intellect and martial prowess was always a boon to those she supported.[78]

A winged Minerva coin released from 95-96 serves to remind the Roman people of Minerva's propensity for defending her chosen heroes, especially considering mounting dissatisfaction with Domitian's rule (Cat. 45). Carpino notes that wings are appropriate for an Etruscan weather goddess, especially one with command of lightning. The wings, combined with the wind-whipped garments and diagonal motion, signal speed akin to the flash of a lightning bolt which she might herself throw. Moreover, Carpino stresses Menrva's role as a divinità-atto, a divinity defined by action, who was not afraid to get her hands dirty.[79] Ovid continues the association when he mentions a lightning-fast epiphanic appearance on two notable occasions: once when the palladium shot from the sky into Ilium, and once when Minerva appeared to Cadmus and told him how to sow the dragon teeth.[80]

Domitian's resurrection of the winged Menrva is significant. It is an iconographic choice that is purely Italic and operates on numerous levels. On the surface, a winged Minerva is reminiscent of Roman Victory figures. As he was engaged in battles both personal and public, having thwarted numerous conspiracies by this point, a Minerva Victrix would put a Domitianic spin on the traditional Roman Victory while reminding everyone that Minerva was on his side.

[78] Hom. *Il*. 1.209-228; Hom. *Od*. 1.95-101.
[79] Carpino 2017.
[80] Ov. *Fasti*. 6.417-436; Ov. *Met*. 3.95-114.

If one is familiar with Etruscan history, as the well-educated Roman would have been, then the winged Minerva gains a second level of meaning. Domitian reminds them that despite the Greek style games, dress, and venues, he has a direct connection to Rome's most ancient and venerated past. By 96 he had spent the better part of fifteen years convincing the Roman world that he was intimately connected with Minerva; resurrecting her winged form put the empire on notice that even if they did not like his policies, he was the arbiter of traditional religious mores and rituals, and the one sanctioned by the gods to keep everyone else in line.[81]

Minerva was also known for giving gifts to heroes that helped them on their journey; usually a powerful weapon or piece of armor. The first hero she supported, Perseus, received a shield and instructions to use it to slay Medusa, whose head she later claimed from him and placed upon her aegis. Jason received the Argo, a ship she built herself which he used to sail to Colchis and retrieve both Medea and the golden fleece.[82] In short, her role in hero myths can be summed up as one who grants a powerful item that is necessary for completion of a quest, one who acts as a companion and advisor, or a combination of the two.

Domitian's established partnership with Minerva predisposed him to the role of a hero, especially one who used both intellect and might to subdue enemies and bring peace to the country. Court poets such as Martial and Statius often flattered Domitian by comparing him to gods or great heroes of the past, such as Hercules, averring that he was either equal to or greater than them. Hercules in particular appears favorably in Flavian literature, as in Statius' *Thebiad*

[81] Domitian may have been aware of the winged Menrva's penchant for carrying lightning spears; while his winged Minerva carries a regular spear, the connotation would have been ironic when lightning started striking his monuments in the months leading up to his death (Suet. *Dom*. 15).
[82] Apollod. 2.37-46; Hyg. *Fab*. 14, Apollod. 1.110.

when Hercules and Minerva meet on opposite sides of the battlefield. Notably, Hercules remembers Minerva's steadfast companionship and refuses to fight her.[83]

Domitian does seem to have favored Hercules to some extent, having built or rebuilt a significant number of temples. Martial notes that there was a statue of Hercules with Domitian's face in a temple on the Latian Way, and Domitian is known to have had a statue of Hercules in the Aula Regia.[84] There was also an effort to insert Hercules into the Flavian family tree, although Vespasian is said to have quashed any further progress.[85]

If he was to be a hero, then Domitian would need divine gifts, which Martial documents in one of his epigrams.[86] Martial frames the references in an epigram celebrating the construction of the Templum Divi Flavii, on the grounds of the house in which Domitian was born.[87] Accordingly, he sets up an analogy in which the house protects Domitian in the same way that the cave on Crete protected Jupiter when he was a baby. However, unlike the kouretes which protected Jupiter, the father of the gods himself protected Domitian: "…*te protexit superum pater et tibi, Caesar, pro iaculo et parma fulmen et aegis erat*." Notably, Martial indicates that the lightning bolt and aegis (*fulmen et aegis)* stood in for the spear and shield (*iaculo et parma*) which the kouretes danced with to mask Jupiter's cries.

Superficially, the passage could be read as Jupiter protecting Domitian with his own attributes in the same way as the kouretes protected him. However, allusions to Minerva within the passage reveal a much more targeted reading. The former house is compared with both Rhodes and Crete as the birthplace of a god; while Crete gave rise to Jupiter, Pindar tells us that

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[83] Stat. *Theb*. 8.497-519.
[84] Mart. *Epi*. IX.64,65; Tuck 2016: 111.
[85] Suet. *Vesp.* 12.
[86] Mart. *Epi*. IX.20.
[87] Suet. *Dom*. 1.

Rhodes was where Minerva sprang forth from Jupiter's head.[88] In all accounts of her birth Minerva springs forth fully armed with spear and shield; she later receives the aegis from Jupiter and is either granted her own lightning bolt (as in Etruria) or granted Jupiter's.[89] Here, Domitian skips that part and instead of spear and shield is offered the aegis and lightning bolt directly. Thus, Domitian is not only looked after by the gods but receives the same treatment which Minerva did after her birth. The association with Minerva is furthered in that marble and gold, noted in the first line of the epigram as covering the new temple, are referenced two epigrams later in connection with the Alban Games in Epigram 9.23.

Although couched in a comparison with Jupiter, Martial is undoubtedly referencing Domitian's official iconography; he wears the aegis on coin portraits from 84-5 and receives the lightning bolt directly from Minerva. The lightning bolt, introduced in 83 on the Type 4 reverse, is less a heroic weapon than a symbol of power or a divine portent. Valerius Flaccus, for example, has her wield it in his *Argonautica* when he says that "with flashing aegis [Minerva] first gave a sign, [and] hurled a lightning bolt."[90] The Argonauts are then inspired and continue on their way. Nevertheless, Minerva does use it to destructive effect as well, as noted in part one.[91] While the lightning bolt is more associated with Jupiter in the Roman tradition Minerva is known to carry it as well and it is significant that the item she uses to wreak havoc in the Aeneid is given to Domitian, signaling both her support of his rule and his new ability to wield the full power of empire against his enemies.

The second gift he receives, the aegis, is much closer to her heart. Minerva's aegis, the scaly wrap festooned with snakes and the gorgoneion, was just as much of a weapon as her

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[88] *Hic steterat veneranda domus quae praestitit orbi, quod Rhodos astrifero, quod pia Creta, polo*. Pind. *Ol.*vii.35.
[89] For her birth, see Apollod. *Lib*. 1.20 or Strabo *Geo.* 9.2.36, who references Pindar.
[90] *Argo*. IV.670-74 (*prima coruscanti signum dedit aegide virgo fulmineam iaculata facem; vixdum ardua cautes cesserat, illa volans tenui per concita saxa luce fugit; rediere viris animique manusque, ut videre viam*).
[91] See above, p. 29.

spear. Valerius Flaccus describes it as a "terrifying aegis...bristling with snakes and terrible with the gorgon's face" and later notes that she uses it to induce panic in enemy ranks.[92] Silius Italicus further notes that "Wherever Pallas turned her breast, a terrible fire blazed far and wide from the gorgoneion...she shook her aegis and all the snakes reared up their fearful bodies."[93]

This, then, is the gift that he receives when Minerva grants him the aegis. The beginning of 84 sees the addition of an aegis to his coin portraits and we know from Martial that he had a breastplate made in the shape of Minerva's aegis and wore it in several campaigns.[94] If it follows the addition of the aegis to his coin portraits, he may have had it commissioned as early as his Chatti triumph. As Martial says, the breastplate is a normal piece of armor until Domitian puts it on, at which point it becomes the very aegis of Minerva.[95] Martial is certainly entitled to poetic license but this transformation entails more than flattery. In wearing an aegis on his coins and during his campaigns Domitian is being granted Minerva's most powerful weapon and, presumably, all of her strategic genius. He is not just a successful general like his father and brother, but the chosen protege of the very goddess of successful warfare.

He was not the first emperor to incorporate aegis imagery on his coins; Augustus had done it occasionally, although he eschewed other Minerva imagery for himself, and it became more popular with Claudius and Nero. The aegis carried overtones of Jupiter, as Zeus and Athena were the ones most likely to carry it in the Iliad. While early Greek mythology uses it as both an apotropaic device and something to inspire fear in battle, in Rome it was largely

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[92] *Argo* VI.171-179, 402-409 (*aegide terrifica...colubris vultuque tremendam Gorgoneo*).
[93] IX 438-480 (*qua pectora flectit Pallas, Gorgoneo late micat ignis ab ore, sibilaque horrificis torquet serpentibus aegis*).
[94] Mart. *Epi.* VII.1, 2.
[95] *Accipe belligerae crudum thoraca Minervae, ipsa Medusaeae quem timet ira comae. dum vacat haec, Caesar, poterit lorica vocari: pectore cum sacro sederit, aegis erit.* "Accept the cruel breastplate of warlike Minerva, which even Medusa's hair itself fears. When unused, Caesar, it may be called a breastplate: but when it rests on your sacred breast, it will be an aegis."

associated with divine favor and protection. It is in this light that we should view the aegis as a singular imperial attribute; a sign of protection for the emperor and, through him, Rome. Whether this comes through Jupiter's goodwill or the protection of the palladium the message is the same. Domitian, or 'Germanicus' as he was now called, had all the military genius of his father and brother and was a worthy choice for emperor.[96]

While it could be read as the aegis of either god, for Domitian, its history with Minerva was clearly much stronger. Martial links it directly with the goddess and furthermore claims that it (the aegis breastplate) only holds power when Domitian himself wears it. In adding this iconography to his coin portraits Domitian is including himself in the list of emperors who bear the aegis as protectors of Rome. The fact that he not only wore an aegis on coins but on the battlefield as well only heightens the metaphor; Domitian is a protector of the empire, under the patronage of Minerva herself.

Despite having only been introduced the previous year Domitian began phasing out the aegis on his gold and silver coin portraits, although it would remain more present than not on bronze issues until 90/91. He continued to play a role in the Dacian wars and presumably kept his aegis breastplate but forgoes its use for his numismatic portraits. It is possible that since he had already celebrated a triumph and claimed his military title he did not feel the need to present himself as such. Alternatively, and more likely, the image of an emperor with an aegis was not the most suitable for the message he was trying to convey. An emperor who was focusing on the city and its people did not need to be wearing the aegis; his title and other coin issues would remind the people of his military prowess, while a simple bust and laureate portrait would do for the new role he wanted to take up in the public eye.

[96] See above on pp. 26-28 for a discussion on the aegis in pre-Domitianic Rome.

Domitian's power over the aegis continued after he stopped wearing it, however, as a symbolic mastery over the powers of pax and terror. His monumental equine statue in the Forum Romanum was erected in 91 CE, facing southeast near the Lacus Curtius. The bronze statue itself was destroyed during the *damnatio* after Domitian's assassination but can be reconstructed based on a lengthy panegyric by Statius and a coin released between 95-96 CE (Cat 46).[97]

The statue, well over lifesize, was not dissimilar from the later equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Domitian sat on a horse, who was calmly placing a hoof on the head of a captive Dacian. He wore a tunica and paludamentum and raised his right hand in a gesture of clementia while the left held a small statuette of Minerva. The statuette is barely visible in the coin, but Statius notes that the "Tritonian maiden...holds out severed Medusa's neck."[98]

Statuettes of Minerva holding out Medusa's head are not terribly common, but it does underscore Domitian's power over the gifts he has received from her. The power of terror comes from the gorgoneion, which Minerva keeps on her aegis. Martial states that Domitian's breastplate, made to resemble an aegis, becomes an actual aegis when he puts it on and elsewhere inquires of Minerva where her aegis is; she replies that "Caesar has it." [99] The combined gestures of gorgoneion and clementia indicate Domitian's ability to both incite terror in his enemies through the aegis and declare peace, through his gesture of clementia and ability to deactivate or remove the power of the aegis. He is thus the arbiter of both war and peace, although Statius is careful to note that he prefers peace.

The presentation of the Equus Domitiani is equally notable in both location and form. Statius situates it in the center of the Forum Romanum, surrounded by buildings and monuments

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[97] *Silv*. 1.1. A base, discovered in 1903, measures 11.8m long by 5.9m wide and has traditionally been identified as the base for Domitian's monument. However, C. Houseman (2017:3-4) has recently called this into question, noting the variance in ground levels and possibility of reuse.

[98] Stat. *Silv*. 1.1. "...*Tritonia virgo…sectae praetendit colla Medusae*."

[99] VII.1, XIV.179.

that provided a tangible connection to Rome's storied past. He frames the surrounding area as personifications, Vespasian rather than the Templum Pacis and Concord herself rather than her temple. The Lacus Curtius even rises to speak to him and welcome him to the Forum. Statius writes the Forum Romanum as a collection of entities that welcome Domitian into their midst and, in doing so, into the rich layers of tradition and physical history that the Forum represented.

The form of an equine statue itself was replete with meaning. For generations the image of a Roman general or statesman astride a horse had been synonymous with heroism and service to the state. The image, which had begun with Alexander, continued through the Republican and Imperial periods. By the time that Domitian was having his built there would have been numerous examples throughout the city, many of them in the Forum Romanum itself. Houseman elaborates on the concept, noting that the forms of the statues took meaning from the surroundings, as indicated by Statius' engaged environment.[100]

Thus, the *Equus Domitiani* brings together both the thunderbolt and aegis. Domitian, as monumental Roman hero, wields their power against the enemies of Rome (symbolized by the defeated Dacian at the horse's feet) and ensures the safety of the empire. While the aegis and thunderbolt were not a dominating force in his imagery, Domitian nonetheless utilized them as another way to connect himself with his patron goddess. He had already proven that Minerva was by his side but with items such as the aegis and Equus Domitiani, he could also claim that he, like the heroes before him, were worthy and deserving of divinely bestowed attributes.

[100] See Houseman 2017 for recent bibliography and a discussion of how the equine statue related to the surrounding monuments.

Public Piety

The Roman concept of *mos maiorum*, roughly translated as 'the way of the ancestors,' underpins much of Roman thought. It dictates that the proper Roman will adhere first of all to the will of the gods, then the welfare of the state, and finally the welfare of blood relatives. As the will of the gods and the welfare of the state go hand in hand public shows of *pietas* were considered just as important a quality in rulers as military might or charity. Domitian was no exception and starting in 85, we see a shift away from overtly militaristic imagery towards iconography that posits him as a religious and moral leader. Moreover, in a series of overt shows of public piety that took the form of both architecture and *ludi*, he consistently reminded the Roman people that he was the guardian of Rome's traditions.

Domitian was forced to take a step back from the lavish expenditures of 82-84 as mounting expenses compelled him to once again devalue the coinage. The fineness of silver was rolled back to the standard of Nero in 64, although as Carradice notes this was still much finer than it had been in 81.[101] Tensions along the Danube were continuing to rise which, when combined with the earlier raise given to the legions and his previous campaign against the Chatti, was likely much more expensive than Domitian had expected. There was also the cost of resettling the Vesuvius refugees, something which may have been paid for by confiscated properties but would nevertheless have carried a hefty bill, and reconstruction of crucial city monuments after the fire of 80. Simply put, although the expenditures were largely in the interest of the public, they were not sustainable.

It was perhaps because of this that Domitian turned his attention to civic and religious matters. He phases out the aegis on his coin portraits and launches a slew of renovations, festivals, and edicts intended to bring people to Rome, restore the city's morality, purge the

[101] Carradice 1983:28.

upper classes of nepotism and hypocrisy, and return Rome's religious traditions to their proper glory. While the standard Minerva issues continued to be released without change and he continued to celebrate his victories in Germania he does slowly begin to shift his Minerva propaganda towards things that were much more visible in the city, rather than elsewhere in Italy or the provinces, while simultaneously leveraging his *pietas* as positive propaganda.

Domitian adopted the post of censor early on in 85 and named himself perpetual censor by the end of the year, a job which carried with it general oversight of religious and moral matters as well as the power to decide who was let into the senatorial ranks. The title and office of censor was somewhat extraordinary not only in its duties, but in its history. It had been instituted in the early days of Rome by Servius Tullius and was a five-year position filled by elected officials. Caesar was the last Republican Roman to be elected; he was awarded the job in perpetuity three years later. Augustus followed suit and was also named censor in perpetuity. Claudius was the next emperor to seek the office and named Vitellius as his colleague, followed by Vespasian with Titus. Both were normal censorships however, and Domitian was the only emperor after Augustus to seek censorship in perpetuity. That he does this at the end of 85, as he turns to more civically minded matters, is indicative of the focus on civic and religious duties that would highlight the rest of his reign.

A new silver coin released in 85 underlines this religious duty in a strikingly private fashion (Cat. 41). Domitian stands left, togate, with his head covered as befits the *pontifex maximus*. He grasps the folds of his toga with his left hand and pours a libation on to an altar from the patera in his right. The altar is small, only reaching to his knees, but elaborately festooned with garlands. The object of his devotion is a small statuette of Minerva positioned at eye-height in a lararium-type shrine.

Schürmann has noted the similarity of this Minerva, who holds an owl in her outstretched right hand and a spear in her right, with the statue pictured on the congiaria coins of Titus and Nero (Cat. 21, 22, 27).[102] He views this shrine as an actual temple, namely the Aventine, wherein Domitian is sacrificing outside but is enlarged so that his relationship with the temple's goddess is emphasized and the nature of his sacrifice made clear. While Titus' congiaria coin does not have a temple structure, he posits that it just was not included.

The fashion in which the shrine is depicted is also clearly at odds with how temples are traditionally depicted on Roman coins. The cult statue may be enlarged, and the doors removed for easier viewing, but the building is still in scale with itself. There are several Domitianic coins showing actual architecture. For example, a series of coins were released in honor of the saecular games in 88 CE which show Domitian engaged in various acts associated with the festival. In one coin he is pouring out a libation on a small altar in a very similar fashion to the lararium coin. He is togate and standing left with the patera held out in his right hand, over the altar and central axis. Rather than Minerva, a pair of musicians stands opposite. The background features a large hexastyle temple, perhaps the Capitoline, with a disk or wreath in the pediment. Although small, it is clearly larger than the figures and meant to be an actual building.[103]

A second coin from the Ludi Saeculari series shows Domitian enthroned on a dais, offering expiation to a man and his son.[104] A four-columned temple is visible just to the left of center in the upper register of the coin. As with the first it is small, but the proportions of the building in relation to the people as well as its position in the background, slightly above the figures, gives the impression of distance. Additionally, the columns do not extend down past the outstretched arms of Domitian and the father.

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[102] Schürmann 1985:63-69.
[103] As, 88. RIC 385a.
[104] Sestertius, 88. RIC 376.

If, as Schürmann suggests, the lararium is meant to be the Aventine temple then one would expect it to be presented in a manner similar to these coins. The columns would not be the same size as Domitian and the pediment so drastically foreshortened; furthermore, the statuette is on a podium mirroring the architecture of the altar, which it communicates with. There are many ways which the coin artist could have portrayed a relation between the cult statue and sacrificing emperor, were this an actual building. Considering the overall quality of the design on this and other Domitianic coins, it is improbable that he would have chosen one so clumsy for such an important vignette.

What this shrine does resemble is the typical lararium shrine that would be found in a Roman household, such as those from Pompeii.[105] Whether a niche in a painted wall or a freestanding structure, the emphasis was on creating architecture to fit around the area where the statuettes were placed. Suetonius informs us that Domitian had a personal shrine to Minerva in his bedroom; since this was the emperor, we can expect it to have been much more elaborate than those in Pompeii and Herculaneum. It would certainly not be out of the question to have a freestanding miniature "temple," which seems to be the case here as there would be no reason for double columns on the oblique angle if it were not.

If this is Domitian's lararium, it is a sharp departure from the large public shows of devotion that had been commemorated before. It is also different from the numerous images of an emperor interacting directly with a divinity, where both are shown at the same scale. The size, positioning, and composition of this scene are all meant to convey the intimacy of Domitian's relationship with Minerva. The strong vertical lines in his toga folds echo the columns, and the central line of the coin bisects Minerva's owl, Domitian's patera, and the

[105] For examples see the House of the Skeleton or House of the Carbonized Furniture in Herculaneum, or the House of the Vetii in Pompei.

foreground corner of the altar. His outstretched right hand is mirrored by hers, both offering something to the other. Furthermore, rather than watching the altar his eyes meet hers.

The private nature of the scene is further underscored by the absence of any titles. Apart from the S-C, which both verifies the worth of the coin and implies that this action carries the blessings of the Senate, the only border is a dotted circle. For an emperor who was obsessed enough with titles to routinely have them continuing from obverse to reverse, their absence here is telling. Whereas he used the gold aureus in 82 to imply her support of his civic titles, here the story is one of partnership and piety. This is not only an emperor who demonstrates his *pietas* in public but practices it in private and enjoys a close relationship with his goddess.

His connection with this particular type may be hinted at in a coin from Caesarea-Cappadocia.[106] Domitian's standard portrait type is on the obverse, but the reverse is occupied by a Minerva with an owl in the right hand and a spear in her left. She wears a peplos and a crested helmet, along with a short Domitianic aegis. That this was at the very least a specific type of Minerva, if not a famous statue, is confirmed by the congiaria issues of both Nero, Titus (under Vespasian), and Nerva.[107]

The *congiarium* was an occasion in which a certain measure of wine, oil, grain, or similar was distributed to the plebian class.[108] While the practice was said to have started under the Tarquins, it was not until Nero that numismatic representations began to show the actual event rather than iconography associated with it. Nero's emphasis on the ritualistic nature of the

[106] Caesarea Syd 124 (93/4 CE), Didrachm.
[107] RIC100var, 153, 157, 158, 160, 162, and 503, collectively dating from 63-68 CE; BMCRE II 629 (Titus under Vespasian); Cohen 38 (Nerva, sestertius, 96 CE).
[108] Quintillian VI.3 §52; see also Spinola 1990.

process, with a defined environment and the presence of gods, reframes the *congiarium* as an imperial virtue and service to the people.[109]

Nero's issues feature him seated on a curule chair on a short dais, togate but bare-headed (Cat. 22). An official stands behind him on the platform while another attendant on the ground distributes largesse to a man holding out the folds of his toga. Four columns are visible in the background and the hint of a pediment. The background is dominated by what is clearly a statue of Minerva; the platform and neatly arranged figures make clear where the ground line ends and Minerva towers above all of them, indicating that she is on a column. She holds a spear in her left hand and an owl in her outstretched right, as in the lararium coin.

A second coin has a similar scene, with Nero again seated on a curule chair on a platform with an official handing largesse to a togate citizen with a small child (Cat. 21). Liberalitas seems to be either on a separate column or the corner of the dais, holding a tessera, and is at the same level as Nero. Minerva once again towers over the assemblage with her spear and owl.[110]

Titus' coin, minted in 72CE under Vespasian, is similar in composition although simpler in detail (Cat. 27). Titus is togate and bare-headed, seated on a curule chair atop a platform facing left. An attendant stands on the ground, frontal but twisted to face a citizen on the left side of the coin. Minerva is once again present in the background, spear in her left hand and owl in her right. A pedestal or short column elevates her above the crowd below.

The differences between Titus' coin and Nero's may indicate a desire on the Flavian's part to begin cultivating a deeper relationship with Minerva. Whereas Nero is always shorter than Minerva, she and Titus are on the same level. His platform does seem to be a bit larger than Nero's but whether this is due to perspective or not is unclear. As on the lararium coin, they

[109] Spinola 1990: 29-32.
[110] RIC I 502, Sestertius, c. 66.

mirror each other's body language. Although Titus is seated he bends his left arm at the elbow, as Minerva does hers, and reaches out with his right, as she reaches out her right hand with the owl. Titus also omits Liberalitas and the temple, guiding focus towards the actual action taking place in the scene and Minerva's supervision of it.

Minerva's presence in an identical pose on a column outside of a temple structure, on four coin issues by three different emperors, clearly indicate that this was an actual statue set up in Rome which would have been recognizable to anyone familiar with the city. Whether this incarnation of her had any specific relation to the congiaria apart from being a geographic marker is unclear but starting with Trajan she does not appear on imperial congiaria coins.

If the congiaria Minerva is not a major cult statue, it stands to reason that she was a dedication set up in a public space. This was not an uncommon practice, as Cicero's dedication of his statuette on the Capitoline and Pliny's numerous mentions of famous Greek statues brought to the city attest.[111] One such type that might match the congiaria Minerva is Phidias' Athena Promachos. Roman period coins from Attica provide the only visual clue to her appearance.[112] The size and position of the large female statue on these representations of the Acropolis match with what is known about Phidias's Promachos. She stands relaxed with her weight resting on one leg, and a spear in the crook of one arm. The other is outstretched with a winged creature; it is not erect enough to be a Nike, and thus is likely an owl. Some of the coins further elaborate with a shield resting against her leg. She also wears a crested helmet, although representations vary on whether it was Attic or Corinthian.[113]

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[111] The Promachos pose is most often associated today with a dynamic striding Athena who raises her shield and prepares to hurl her spear. This pose was especially popular in archaic Greece and remained in use during the Roman period but does not seem to have reflected Phidias' colossal bronze original on the Acropolis. See Cat. 55 and Davison 2013.

[112] Mathiopoulos 1968: 13-17; British Museum 1922.3-17.82, 1902.12-1.3. 2nd-3rd c. CE.

[113] Davidson (2009) suggests an Attic helmet for propaganda and chronological reasons.

Another possibility is a bronze Athena by Phidias dedicated in front of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei by one Aemilius Paullus, which had been brought to Rome by his famous uncle of the same name.[114] This statue has been connected by some scholars with the Athena Hope/Farnese type, which also had one arm outstretched with an attribute and the other holding a spear.[115] Such a statue would have been famous enough to warrant inclusion on a coin, and Fortuna herself may have been an appropriate goddess to have involved in the congiaria. Alternatively, it could be a dedicatory statue of which we have no other record.

Trajan's decision to omit Minerva from his congiaria issues is intriguing. Spinola has suggested that Trajan moved the ceremony, possibly to his new forum and basilica, thus accounting for the change in iconography.[116] However, Domitian's connection with Minerva probably also played a part in the decision. Morelli has suggested that Nerva acted as a mediator between the Flavians and Trajan, a sort of imperial bridge to smooth the transition and prevent the civil strife that occurred after Nero was assassinated.[117] He had already dedicated Domitian's Forum Transitorium, with its overwhelmingly Minerva-centric iconography, and so he could logically associate himself with her apart from Domitian. This move may have also reassured pro-Domitianic factions in Rome that things would not radically change. Trajan, however, had no such sympathy for Domitian. Apart from changing the Type 4 reverse transfer of lightning motif on the arch at Benevento, a town which had significant history with Domitian, he also encouraged defamatory literature.[118] Thus, moving the ceremony to a site which had no

[114] See Davidson 2013:277-296 for most recent bibliography; also Mathioupolos 1968.
[115] Davidson 2013.
[116] Spinola 1990: 43-44.
[117] Morelli 2014:139-141, 321-22.
[118] The arch features Jupiter handing Trajan the lightning bolt, while Minerva and the other gods look on (Torelli 2002). Domitian met Vespasian there after the Judea campaign and Beneventum was known to have an Iseum with considerable Minerva influence (Clausen 2012).

connection to Minerva would have served to both separate him further from Domitian and potentially link the ceremony more closely to himself.

What is clear is that under Nero, Titus, and Nerva, this site and this Minerva were associated with the *congiaria* and the distribution of largesse from the emperor to Roman citizens. She was also a noteworthy statue whose iconography would have been recognizable to the average Roman. In claiming this Minerva for his lararium Domitian was consciously equating himself with the notion of public generosity and care that the congiaria stood for. Titus had begun that equation in his own congiaria coin, but as elsewhere Domitian took it one step further. Where Titus was acting in concert with her in public, Domitian had taken her as his own personal household goddess. Rather than an emperor who only looked after his people on special occasions, he would embody that virtue every day.

One of the most visible acts of pietas was to restore or dedicate temples. The recent devastating fires left Domitian with plenty of opportunities to showcase such acts of charity and he happily did so, becoming one of the most prolific builders in imperial history. He is recorded to have rebuilt or constructed seven temples to Jupiter, eight to Juno, eleven to Hercules, eleven to Apollo, eleven to Castor and Pollux, twelve to the Gens Flavia, and ten to Minerva.[119] Notably, most if not all of the temples to Minerva seem to have been new, making it clear that Domitian wished her to have a greater presence in the city.

Domitian began by restoring the Capitoline Temple, not only because of its connection with Minerva but also its unique position in Roman history and religion.[120] Blevins has noted its connection with the newly constructed Temple of Divus Vespasian and Titus at the foot of the

[119] Darwall-Smith 1996:105.
[120] See above, pp. 95-100.

hill, next to the Temple of the Dei Consenti.[121] In addition to the proximity of the last two structures, which Blevins argues were meant to symbolically include the Flavian *divi* in the ranks of state gods, its position between the Dei Consenti, who were the oldest gods in the Roman pantheon, and the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was one of the oldest temples in Rome and intimately associated with the welfare of the state, included Titus and Vespasian (and by extension their living successor Domitian) among the gods who were responsible for Rome's safety and prosperity.

While Domitian had dropped the DIVI F title from his coinage, he had not forgotten the value of having a divine pantheon of family members at his back. As Blevins has rightly argued, Domitian was determined to create a specifically Flavian pantheon.[122] Apart from Vespasian and Domitilla (either his mother or sister), who had already been divinized, Domitian also honored Titus, Titus' daughter Julia in 90CE, and his own son who had died years before he ever took power. He finished construction of the Temple of Vespasian and Titus near the Capitoline, and also constructed the Porticus Divorum and the Templum Gens Flaviae in the first few years of his reign.

The Templum Gens Flaviae was both more generalized in focus and more laudatory of Domitian than the Porticus Divorum. Blevins postulates that due to its dual function, as both a temple and a funerary monument, it did not fit as well in the established imperial cult narrative and thus did not enjoy a continued relevance.[123] Domitian also built it on the grounds of the house he was born in, geographically linking himself to the Flavian pantheon he was working to establish. While there does not seem to have been any mention of his own divinity (disregarding

[121] Blevins 2013: 165. See also Zissos 2016:109-147 for recent bibliography and image making and dynasty in Flavian Rome.
[122] Blevins 2013: 172-193.
[123] Blevins 2013: 188-193.

panegyric references by court poets which were not necessarily reflected in actuality), linking his own birthplace with a temple for divinities that he both sired and was born from effectively reinforced the narrative that he would eventually join their ranks.

The Porticus Divorum was specifically designed for Divus Vespasian and Divus Titus and was on the grounds of the old Villa Publica where Vespasian and Titus had waited to begin their storied double triumph. As with the Arch of Titus, the Judean victory was painted as a key component of their apotheosis. Stationing such a monument on the triumphal route would have been a powerful reminder of the benefits of military duty in service to the state as well as the role that Isis and Serapis had played in the Judean victory, Vespasian's recognition as emperor in Alexandria, and Domitian's escape from the Capitoline.

The complex was also associated with Minerva through the Minerva Chalcidica temple, which the Forma Urbis Romae situates in the Campus Martius between the Porticus Divorum and the Iseum and Serapeum (Cat. 97). The Chalcidicum could have been a reconstruction of Pompey's dedication but was more likely a new construction, as noted by the Chronographer. The name 'Chalcidica' is itself misleading, as there is no obvious meaning behind it. Some have suggested that it refers to the structure's position outside of the Porticus Divorum and connection via a set of stairs, which would make it part of an entrance way. Others have posited a connection with Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta, or that the statue itself came from Chalkis. [124]Mattingly has linked it to an undated Domitianic coin featuring a round temple (Cat 38).[125] The coin structure has four columns with either Corinthian or composite capitals, arranged on either side of a Minerva statue on a flat base in the center. She actively rushes to the right, with spear and shield in her left hand and her right raised. The architrave is triple-profiled and

[124] See above, p. 57.
[125] Schürmann 1985; Mattingly 1923.

decorated with alternating rosettes and palmettes. The columns are similar to other coins featuring temples, which have the spacing in the middle enlarged to show the cult statue.

While this temple is round and dedicated to Minerva, the marble plan fragment does not have any columns noted. Rather, the structure is round with four radiating flights of stairs, narrowing inwards. The center is occupied by a rectangular base on a circular platform. As noted in the LTUR, the stairs are similar to those used in certain Pompeian fountains with water cascading down stepped features.[126] If the Chalcidicum was a fountain, it would have likely been supplied by the nearby terminus of the Aqua Virgo.

A more likely coin to connect with the Chalcidicum is a sestertius medallion released in 85 CE (Cat. 29). The coin features Minerva on a throne with footstool on the reverse, holding a Victory in her right hand and a scepter in the crook of her left arm, which rests on her shield. The shield is decorated with two buildings resembling temples and four standing figures in the foreground. Either the shield, her seat, or both are supported by a captive figure kneeling on a prow. The reverse is without inscription, but the obverse incorporates the DIVI F title, which Domitian had begun phasing out three years earlier in 82 CE. That he chose to bring it back for this particular coin indicates some connection with the *Divi Flavii*. The arrangement of the prow, throne, and footstool would have required a rectangular platform, as indicated in the marble plan. The two temples on the shield could reference the temples of Divus Vespasian and Divus Titus in the Porticus Divorum, directly behind the statue, with the four figures as the current Flavian pantheon (Vespasian, Domitilla, Titus, and Domitian's son).[127]

Alternatively, the figures on the shield could be Vespasian and Titus with Isis and Serapis, and the two temples the Porticus Divorum and Iseum-Serapeum complex. This would

[126] LTUR Minerva Chalcidica:256.
[127] Vespasian had been deified under Titus, and Domitilla, Titus, and Domitian's young son shortly after 82. See Wood 2010 and Suess 2011.

create a visual connection between the four deities with temples in the area directly behind Minerva, enhancing the ideological connection that was already present. The prow and kneeling captive would then reference Judea, the triumph for which started in that very location, and the Type 2 reverse, already connected with both Isis and the army base in Caesarea Maritima. The Victory in her hand could also reference both the Judean victory and the area's history as a staging ground for triumphal processions.

Minerva's involvement with military matters continues at a second site, referred to by the Chronographer as the *Templum Castrorum et Minervae*. Martial references it once as "*penetralia nostrae Pallados*" in an epigram concerning a Cynic begging in front of the temple of Divus Augustus on the Palatine and the shrine or recess of 'our Pallas,' indicating that the Cynic is either begging at both sites or that the two are close together.[128] That the latter is indeed the case is confirmed by directions on military diplomata issued under Domitian after 89CE. The instructions, reading "*in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam,*" indicate that they should be posted on the wall by the temple of Divus Augustus near the Minervam.[129] The temple was damaged in a fire before 79 CE and evidently repaired by Domitian, who added a shrine to Minerva. It is possible that the loculi between the column bases on the back of the temple of Castor could have been remodeled as a small sacellum, although a poorly preserved fragment of a statue that might have been Minerva is the only physical evidence supporting a shrine in this area.[130]

Notably, Domitian was the only emperor to ever relocate the site of military diplomata.[131] While they had normally been posted on the Capitoline, the diplomata make clear that between

[128] Mart. *Epi*. 4.53.1-2.
[129] CIL III pp. 859, 861, Suppl. P. 2035.
[130]NSc 1901: 114, fig 73. The fragment was found near the Lacus Iuternae.
[131] Darwall-Smith 1996:126.

90 and 100CE at the latest they were moved to this location. The association with Minerva is logical, as he had already named a legion after her and wore her aegis as a breastplate, but the reason for this particular site over others is unclear.

Domitian's renovations were not all connected with Minerva's *virago* side, as can be seen in his renovations of the temple of Minerva Medica/Isis/Fortuna on the Oppian hill.[132] As Haüber has noted, Domitian appears to have made considerable upgrades to the site and connected it with temples to Isis and Fortuna. She posits that the late-Republican substructure on the Via P. Villari was built by Maecenas in his *horti*, with a temple to Minerva on top. Furthermore, Neronian-Flavian stucco found in the substructures of the Regio III Isis and Serapis sanctuary clearly show Minerva interacting with a seated Isis-Fortuna.[133] As discussed previously, all three goddesses had kourotrophic roles in addition to maritime connections and were syncretized elsewhere as well. Their connection here would have appealed to him for the same reasons the Chalcidicum did: by restoring temples to Isis and Fortuna along with Minerva, he was able to partake in the Judean triumph upon which his family's rise to power had depended upon and underscore his own position as heir to and caretaker of the Flavian dynasty.

Domitian continued to bolster his reputation as an emperor concerned with religious tradition by restoring important religious centers outside of Rome as well, a move that would tie into his propagation of Minerva's less martial aspects after 85. It was in 84 that he was recognized for having restored the temple of Apollo at Delphi at his own expense. While Delphi was not the only important Apolline oracle, it was one of the oldest.[134] As Scott has noted, both

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[132] For the site's pre-Republican history see above, pp. 101-110.

[133] The stucco has not survived but Cassiano dal Pozzo commissioned drawings at the time of excavation, which are now housed in his Paper Museum. Haüber 1998: 101 n 63, fig. 2-3.

[134] Apolline oracles in Asia Minor had gained importance in the Hellenistic era, with sites such as Klaros and Didyma becoming more and more monumental. Didyma continued to be enhanced through the Roman period. For discussion on Domitian's restoration of important non-Roman temples see Scott 2014:211-13 and Takács 1995.

Titus and Domitian took an interest in Delphi.[135] Titus was the first emperor since Claudius to be the city's archon and Domitian followed. A large inscription found near the Temple of Apollo states that "Domitian Augustus Germanicus...son of the divine Vespasian, Pontifex Maximus...restored the temple of Apollo at his own expense."[136] It would have been on the eastern architrave or on the ground nearby and was at least partially composed of stone plaques from older dedications elsewhere in the sanctuary. The consensus is that he was repairing damage from a hostile raid in 84 BCE, although others have suggested damage from an earthquake in 77CE.[137]

Domitian's concern with Delphi could be due to a number of factors. As Scott as proposed, both Titus and Domitian were likely concerned with recent disasters and sought to bolster ancient customs and traditions in order to placate the gods and prevent future disasters.[138] It is conceivable that they may have sent an envoy to Delphi to seek the advice of the oracle, although no response is recorded.

The oracular history of Delphi also provides some clues. It was the center of the Greek world for centuries before Domitian arrived on the scene and had played host to everyone from mythological characters like Orestes and Hercules to great historical figures such as Alexander. It was the place a community went when seeking approval for a new colony, advice on how to lift a curse, and support in military conflicts. Domitian could have had augurs divine all of this for him in Rome, but the history and celebrity power of Delphi must have appealed to him. In the end, it was a fitting counterpart to his restoration of the Capitoline and his new construction projects as well. Despite the disasters that had befallen Rome in the previous years he was

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[135] Scott 2014:211-13.
[136] IMP CAESAR DIVI VESPASIANI F DOMITIANVS - AVG GERMANICVS PONT MAXIM TRIB POTEST III PP IMP VII COS X DES XII - TEMPLVM APOLLONIS SVA INPENSA REFECIT.
[137] Scott 2014:212.
[138] Scott 2014:212.

prepared to restore the most important ancient customs and religion at Rome (via the Capitoline temple) and abroad (at Delphi), even (and perhaps especially) if it meant doing it at his own expense. With religious and moral balance in the empire restored, he could then move on to ensuring it endured for future generations.

Domitian's involvement did not stop with restoring the temple. He was also involved with the Dodekais procession every year and consulted on the scheduling of the Pythian Games, to which he replied that is was "...naturally right and pious to keep to the appointed time of the Pythian contest...and not to tamper with any part of the ancestral customs."[139] His concern for ancestral customs may have influenced his decision to restore more and more responsibility to the Greeks for Delphi's upkeep, as two of the main imperial offices (games master and imperial overseer) were increasingly filled by locals during his reign. Furthermore, although he may not have paid for the construction himself his patronage influenced a resurgence of construction surrounding the Pythian venues as the gymnasium secured a new bathhouse, library, dining room, and colonnade for the covered track.[140] Similar renovations were undertaken at Olympia where he finished Nero's restoration of the Leonidaion, reworking both the gardens and interior frescoes.[141]

Domitian's patronage of Delphi and Olympia heralded his resurrection of Nero's Greek games in Rome. While Nero had attempted to establish Rome as a permanent stop on the Greek athletic circuit, his unpopularity and insistence on naming the games after himself made them unsustainable. Domitian reinstituted them in 86 as a quadrennial festival dedicated to the Capitoline gods, thus setting them up as a parallel to the games at Olympia. They were the first games of their kind that achieved any kind of permanency in Rome and would be the last athletic

[139] McCrum/Woodhead 1966: no. 463 c-e.
[140] Scott 2014:213.
[141] Sinn 2014:182-3.

competition instituted until the 3rd c. CE.[142] Their success was partly due to a permanent outpost of the Greek athletic guild in Rome and partly strong support at the imperial level, although that was by no means universal. As Mann has shown, nudity and the possibility of elite Romans running off to become Greek athletes was seen by some as a threat to traditional Roman *mores*; Pliny the Younger records a certain Iunius Mauricus voting to abolish the Greek games at Vienna, while also asserting that the Rome games should be abolished as well.[143] This aversion to Greek athletics rears its head in Suetonius' account as well, when he makes a special effort to note that Domitian was dressed in the Greek fashion; the insult is perhaps made worse by Domitian's inclusion of himself in the overtly-Roman Capitoline Triad crowns that the accompanying priests wore.[144]

The games were never seriously threatened, however; to the contrary, they were remarkably popular. Like most of the other games on the Greek circuit they had a tripartite arrangement, split between gymnastic, equestrian, and artistic events. The first consisted of boxing, wrestling, a pankration and pentathalon, four male foot races and an all-female race. Domitian built a state of the art stadium to host them, the outline of which can be seen in the Piazza Navona today. The equestrian events were held in the Circus Maximus.

The musical third of the Capitolia consisted of both Greek and Latin poetry and prose, along with citharode performances. It was likely based on the Pythian games which Domitian was involved with at Delphi and was based out of the Odeum, another new structure built especially for the games. There were both adult and adolescent categories; as in the athletic events, winners received an oak wreath.

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[142] Mann 2014: 167.
[143] *Ibid*. 169; Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.
[144] Suet. *Dom*. 4.

Statius confirms the adult category with his unfortunate loss in 90CE, while the funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus attests to the remarkable facility of young Roman students (Cat. 73). Having died at the tender age of eleven, his parents commissioned an altar with his entire prize-winning poem transcribed on the surface. The poem, which was apparently improvised on the spot, imagines Jupiter's conversation with Helios after Phaethon had crashed his chariot. While the altar makes no mention of Minerva or other specifics of the game it does include a Latin epitaph and two funerary epigrams in Greek, which gives some indication of the education other competitors would have had.

In addition to the Capitoline games, Domitian also instituted a yearly contest in Minerva's honor at his villa in the Alban Hills. The Alban games were by far one of Domitian's most lavish gifts to Minerva, and not only celebrated her *Quinquatria* in a stunningly public matter but provided another venue for him to support the development of the arts. The games were held every year in March at his villa in the Alban Hills and attracted competitors from all over the Mediterranean world. The villa itself was located within a day's ride from Rome and nestled in the hills above modern Lago Albano, looking over the volcanic lake on one side and across the plains to the sea on the other. The area was replete with historical significance, as it was the rumored site of Alba Longa and thus connected to the early kings of Rome but had long been the home of villas for the elite.

What we know about the *Quinquatria* prior to Domitian comes largely from Ovid, who details the festival in the *Fasti*.[145] While Varro insists that the festival only lasted one day, Ovid opts for five.[146] The first day was evidently bloodless and prohibited combat, but the remaining four involved gladiatorial fights. Ovid also mentions the various crafts which Minerva oversaw,

[145] *Fasti* 3.809-834.
[146] Varro de Ling. Lat. 6.14.

perhaps indicating that practitioners also played a role in the festivities. Celebrations likely continued to take place in metropolitan Rome, but in moving the imperially sponsored events to his villa Domitian gained more control over the proceedings and was able to present them as an act of personal piety rather than a municipal celebration.

Domitian undertook a good deal of construction while preparing for the games, first building a new primary wing of the villa on a series of terraces. The villa holds strong similarities with the Palatine palace, as it is organized around three courtyards and was likely designed by Rabirius. The complex also included baths, a long cryptoporticus that acted as a monumental access point from the Appian Way, and a theatre (Cat. 99). The theatre was built partially into the hillside and incorporated extraordinary stucco relief panels in the auditorium hallway. These stuccos, which are partially preserved, stylistically resemble fourth style frescoes and feature themes related to drama and the arts.

All these structures meant that there was ample room for various events featured at the Alban games. The rural countryside and extensive gardens would have been ideal for staging hunts, and the theatre itself could have housed the gladiatorial matches, all of which was overseen by a new priesthood which Domitian formed to organize the festivities.[147] While evidence as to the specific contents of the *munera* and hunts is scarce, the literary competitions are well attested. Similar to the Capitolia they consisted of both Greek and Latin poetry and oration, although an Alban victory carried with it a cash prize.[148] As with the Capitoline games, the rhetoric contests may have been open to adolescents here as well, as indicated by a series of lead tesserae bearing Minerva's portrait with the legend ALBAN[I] beneath it on one side and

[147] Suet. *Dom*. 4.
[148] Statius also received a villa, which Domitian later provided with its own water source; however, this may have been for other services.

IVVEN[ES] AVG[USTALES] on the other.[149] A connection between Domitian's earlier position as *princeps iuventutis* is possible, if speculative; likewise with Iuventus' shrine in Minerva's cella on the Capitoline. It is more likely that, as at the Capitoline games, a junior competition category was standard.

None other than Statius himself was victor in the 90 CE games, where he competed with a poem lauding Domitian's recent victories in Germania and Dacia.[150] He mentions the gold that he won on two separate occasions, both of which underline the partnership of Domitian and Minerva. In the first instance, he notes that "*regina bellorum virago, Caesareo redimivit auro.*"[151] While often translated as "virgin queen of battles," *virago* itself carries a much weightier meaning.

In choosing to use *virago* rather than the standard *virgo* Statius is emphasizing Minerva's non-feminine qualities, something which can include chastity but is more closely linked with women who fight in battle or who are otherwise fearless. Ennius used the term in reference to a Fury named Paluda, while Virgil used it as an epithet for Iuturna.[152] It is also used in connection with Cassandra, Hippolyta, Polyxena, Atalanta, and a personification of Pride.[153] Combining *bellorum* and *virago* could be seen as repetitive, but the addition of *regina* acts to emphasize Minerva's superiority above the other *viragines* mentioned. Rather than "warrior maid of wars" we end up with "queen of battles, skilled as any man." The term also serves to highlight Minerva's qualifications in choosing Statius as a winner; not only is she an expert in the matter, as he was speaking of Domitian's recent campaigns which she no doubt would have been involved in, but she is self-possessed enough to declare the winner himself.

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[149] Rostovtzeff 1989.
[150] Stat. *Silv*. 4.5.22-4.
[151] Stat. *Silv*. 4.5.22-4.
[152] Tac. *Ann*. VII.220; Vir. *Aen*. XII.468.
[153] Sen. *Ag*. 668; Claudian *Proserpina* II.63; Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 314; Sidonius II.68; Prud. *Psych.* 194.

Furthermore, Minerva not only declares him winner but crowns him with Caesar's gold, an action that recalls Martial's assertion that she directed Domitian's affairs. This is a reversal of Statius' account in 4.2.66-7 when he reminisces about when "*Palladio tua me manus induit auro,*" or "when your [Domitian's] hand bestowed upon me Pallas' gold." Here we have the same gold, but Minerva and Domitian have changed places. We also have *Palladio* in place of *virago,* deemphasizing her more fearsome qualities and perhaps indicating a less aggressive mindset when she is working with Domitian.[154] Palladio by its very nature brings to mind the palladium, which both protected Rome and was a metonym for the emperor's role in protecting the empire and its people. Domitian's hand, which holds the palladium on his early coins, now hands palladian gold (*Palladio…auro*) to Martial.

The other subtext at work is the nature of the gold coins themselves. By the time that Statius won his prize the four standard reverses were already common on aureus issues, not to mention other coins and reverses which bore Minerva's picture. If the prize was given in gold Roman coins it is entirely possible, if not probable, that 'Pallas' gold' was literally gold that featured her. Likewise, all coins minted at the time would have had Domitian's portrait on the obverse and so could be said to be 'Caesar's gold' as well. It is also possible that Domitian paid for the prizes using his own funds, in which case the money would have been in his possession and likeness, and that because the prize was awarded at Minerva's games it was symbolically hers as well. Regardless, the interchangeability of Domitian and Minerva in this case is a clever indication of the correlation between them at the Alban Games.

That correlation was on full view at Domitian's Alban Games. By resituating the *Quinquatria* festival at his own villa Domitian essentially took control of the narrative,

[154] Domitian's immunity to her *virago* nature is also referenced in his monumental equine statue, discussed here on pp. 158-9.

controlling what events took place where. He would not have other traditions to deal with, such as other collegia-sponsored events or a non-curated environment; everything at the villa had been made to his specifications. The end result was that as much as the *Quinquatria* was in honor of Minerva, it was presented by Domitian: a public act of piety that served to ingratiate himself to the Roman people and further cement his connection with Minerva.

Despite the religious overtones of the Alban Games it was the third series of games, the Ludi Saeculares, which held the most religious impact. As indicated by their name they were to be held once every saecula, or century, and were meant to ensure the safety and prosperity of Rome and its citizens with a focus on children, families, and fertility. In line with his strict interpretation of sacred law (and no doubt eager to host them himself) Domitian enacted the festivities in 88 CE, disregarding Claudius' games of 47 CE and instead counting from Augustus' intended date of 22/23BCE, which would match the required 110-year interval.[155] The festivities started with heralds summoning everyone to a once-in-a-lifetime spectacle, consisting of games of every sort and specific sacrifices and hymns to various gods.

While Minerva is not singled out specifically in Zosimus' account of the proceedings, her involvement is indicated by the commemorative coins which Domitian issued in honor of the festival (Cat. 42, 43). As Sobocinski notes, the coins themselves privilege religious ritual and make no mention of the theatrical and athletic games which are known to have occurred.[156] Two of the coins incorporate a *ludio* with shield, tunic, and feathered helmet. They were charged with leading processions, danced, and sang hymns, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[157] The shield is decorated with a figural representation; whereas Augustus' coins had a *sidus Iulium,* Domitian's feature a helmeted female bust. The bust could represent either Roma or Minerva but

[155] Zosimus II.4.3.
[156] Sobocinski 2006.
[157] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.71, 7.72. The idea is proposed by Sobocinski (2006:588) as an alternative to a herald.

seems to wear a Corinthian helmet, which would favor Minerva. The shield would thus distinguish Domitian's *Ludi* from Augustus', while simultaneously reminding Romans of his partnership with Minerva and her subsequent involvement in his activities.

The crowning jewel of Domitian's public *pietas* was undoubtedly the Forum Transitorium.[158] Although Martial mentions it as early as 85/86, the temple was not dedicated until after Domitian's death.[159] It connected the Forum of Julius Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, and the Templum Pacis along what used to be the Argiletum passage from the Subura to the Forum Romanum. It measured approximately 160m by 46m and was slightly irregular due to its position between earlier constructions. The long sides are bounded with decorative colonnades that bracket out into shallow bays, rather than forming a standard portico. A temple to Minerva stood at one end of the forum, opposite a shrine of Janus Quadrifrons which was either in the center or at the far end. Arches, such as the Porticus Absidata and Arcus Aurae, at either end and doorways on the long sides provided access to nearby areas.

The temple itself was still largely intact in the 16th century, as shown by various views such as those by Palladio and DuPerac. It was already being used as a quarry by 1425, however, and in 1592 was spoliated to provide marble for St. Peter's Basilica and the Borghese Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore. Paul V took the remaining temple marble for his fountain on the Janiculum and the Arcus Aurae was destroyed at some point in the 17th century. The area was inhabited until 1932, when Mussolini began the process of clearing out houses to excavate the Fori Imperiali. The area has remained preserved since, with the most recent excavations being conducted in 1989.

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[158] See Appendix 2 for architectural data, representations, photographs, excavation history, and relevant bibliography. D'Ambra 1993 remains the most comprehensive study.

[159] It was dedicated by Nerva in 97, hence the modern name "Forum of Nerva."

The temple was Corinthian hexastyle, with two or three columns and antae on either side of the porch. It sat on a large podium with marble revetments (currently under modern housing and unable to be accurately measured) and included a small cella with lateral colonnades and an apse at the end to house the cult statue. Magister Gregorius records a headless Minerva in the pediment as late as the 12th c, which has unfortunately been lost.[160] What we do know of the sculptural program comes from the preserved area of the forum entablature, on the side closest to the Templum Pacis.

The frieze consists largely of pastoral scenery, indicated by vegetation and a river god, along with scenes of weaving. Nearly every stage of textile production, from spinning to finishing, is depicted. What has attracted the most attention is a vignette of Minerva and Arachne, which D'Ambra attributes to an overall moralizing tone in the decoration.[161] Each separate bay contained an attic relief with a frontally facing Minerva, one of which survives.

The forum's location is perhaps the most intriguing element of its construction. Domitian had access to the large area on the other side of the Forum of Augustus, later occupied by Trajan's Forum and the Basilica Ulpia, but chose to locate his forum between that of Augustus and Vespasian instead. This was beneficial for a number of reasons. First, although it required some architectural ingenuity to fit in the irregular space, the area was smaller and thus required less material to construct. If he started construction around 85/6 when Martial first mentions the forum then the cost of marble revetment could have been prohibitive.

Second, in building over the Argiletum Domitian essentially rerouted a large portion of the traffic heading to the Forum Romanum. The Argiletum had been the main thoroughfare from the Subura, Rome's most densely populated area, and the Forum Romanum was not only the

[160] De mirabilibus urbis Romae.
[161] D'Ambra 1993:47-77.

heart of the city's heroic past but its present as well. If he had built in the larger site, he would have had more room but far less impact.

Third, he formed both a symbolic and literal link between Vespasian and Augustus. While the precise location is uncertain there do seem to have been doors between the Forum Transitorium and its neighbors. Augustus' forum emphasized his position in the long line of Roman heroes and kings, with Romulus and Aeneas taking center stage and reaffirming his relation to both. The Temple of Mars Ultor housed the legionary standards which he had recovered, as well as cult statues of Mars, Venus, and Divus Julius Caesar (his own divine ancestors). Vespasian's Templum Pacis, meanwhile, housed the treasures brought back from Judea along with other famous works of art in a public museum. Minerva, as the goddess of both strategic warfare and the arts, was a perfect mediator. Notably, the extant section of the frieze adjoining the Templum Pacis is concerned with craftsmanship, a theme that was explored in the famous works of arts housed in Vespasian's forum.

By embodying the *mos maiorum* principle, Domitian sought to prove himself the perfect Roman. He privileged the gods above everything else, paying strict heed to religious doctrine and demanding that others do so as well. He rebuilt their burned temples and dedicated scores of new ones and hosted the Ludi Saeculares as a festival of primarily religious significance rather than entertainment. Entertainment itself was seen to with the establishment of two new games, one of which catered to the arts and the other to Greek athletics, putting Rome on the competitive track permanently and bringing tourists, athletes, and undoubtedly revenue from all over the Mediterranean. In serving his blood relatives he served both state and gods, building a Flavian pantheon and ensuring that it would endure with both a dedicated priesthood and selection of temples throughout the city. In light of all this, the release of the lararium coin in 85 was more

than a show of Domitian's piety towards Minerva. It was a promise that he would exhibit the same *pietas* in service to the public as he did privately towards her.

From Promachos to Polias

Taken together, the pieces that make up Domitian's relationship with Minerva form a definitive arc.[162] After spending the last few months of 81 adjusting to his new responsibilities, Domitian started 82 determined to show Rome that he was the emperor she needed. Apart from declaring his wife the new Augusta and his deceased family members as *divi*, he quickly moved to bolster his martial experience and established Minerva as his primary goddess. He restored the Capitoline temple, where she and the rest of the triad watched over affairs of state, formed a new legion in her name with which he would subdue Germania, and released an aureus in which their features were assimilated and Minerva (rather than the *divi Flavii*) was positioned as the power behind his throne.

83 brought his longed-for triumph and honorific, as well as the four standard Minerva reverses which would grace the denarii until his death. Now that he was just as much of a victorious general as his father and brother, he could branch out to other types of Minerva which would underline his entire agenda. Type 1 emphasized his regard for tradition and religious history, exhibited by his restoration of the Capitoline and his connection with the palladium as *princeps iuventutus*. Type 2 hearkened back to the Judean victory and complimented the heavily Judean theme of the Templum Gens Flaviae and Arch of Titus, as well as Isis-Fortuna and the maritime trade network. Type 3 dealt with the arts and *collegia* which also worshipped Minerva as their primary patron, and of which he would deal more with from 86 onwards, and Type 4 once again reminded the Roman public that Minerva was the one granting him imperium. 84 saw

[162] For a complete timeline, see Appendix 4.

the last major push towards military iconography with the addition of an aegis to his coin portraits and further activity along the Danube, as well as the restoration of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and an interest in the Pythian games which would bear fruit in the coming years as he instituted the Capitoline Games in Rome.

His military ventures, disaster relief efforts, and restorations would catch up with him in 85 however, forcing him to devalue the silver coinage and cut back on spending. As he switched focus from expensive foreign wars to rebuilding the city and restoring religious and moral standards, he began phasing out the aegis on his gold and silver coin portraits while taking up the office of censor in perpetuity, giving him control over morality enforcement and who could enter the Senate.

The gold aureus issued in 82 and the lararium coin from 85 effectively bookend these four tumultuous years. Both emphasize Domitian's close relationship with Minerva; the aureus through assimilated portrait features and titles, and the sestertius through mirrored body language and eye contact. Whereas Minerva guarantees his civic actions in 82, by 85 no titles are needed to establish her support of him. The private nature of the sestertius reverse belies its very public implications.

86 heralds the Capitoline games, which would establish Rome as a permanent stop in the Greek athletic circuit and occasion the construction of the Odeum and Stadium, both of which were state-of-the-art and would continue to be used frequently long after his death. The Minerva Enthroned coin in late 85 presaged the completion of the Templum Divi Vespasiani in early 87 as well as the Porticus Divorum and temple of Minerva Chalcidica, effectively blending both Minerva, Isis, and the *divi Flavii* into one monument.

With the Ludi Saeculares in 88, Domitian continued to promote a return to religious traditions and morality, again making a show of public *pietas* that would lead to morality laws and strict punishments of crimes in the following years.[163] The celebration of his second triumph in 89 and ovatio in 93 served to mark his continuing military victories, although Minerva's focus remains on Rome instead of its legions.[164] His construction projects proceeded unabated as well, with the Palatine palace in 92 and the construction of the Forum Transitorium between 90 and 96. The shift from Promachos to Polias in 85 was drastic, but comprehensive. Domitian did not cease military activity but it no longer needed to be the focus of his propaganda; rather, his public face was now one that honored the gods, hosted games to honor them, and looked after both the physical infrastructure of the city and its moral fiber.

Conclusion

In the end, not even Minerva's devotion could keep Domitian safe from rising anger amongst the aristocracy. After years of property seizures, strictly enforced morality laws, and increasingly heavy-handed retribution for conspiracies, Domitian was assassinated on the 18th of September 96. Suetonius frames his death in the same manner as Domitian framed his life: one guided by the gods and intimately involving Minerva. He is said to have known the precise date and time of his death but to have feared it nonetheless; as the day approached, the omens grew worse. Lightning struck the Palatine Palace where he lived, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus which he had restored, the Templum Gens Flaviae which he had built, and ostensibly his own bedroom.

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[163] Cornelia, the chief Vestal, was tried and executed by the traditional method in 90 for breaking her vow of chastity; Domitian enacted laws against castration and adultery later that year. 93 sees numerous trials and executions, largely for defamation. The period between 93 and 96 is generally said to be one of "terror," with copious trials, executions, and plots.

[164] Denarius, RIC791/BMC237.

Crucially, however, he is said to have dreamed that Minerva withdrew her protection. Leaving her shrine in the middle of the night, she informed him (as she had heroes in the Iliad whom fate decreed must die) that Jupiter had disarmed her. Rather than abandoning him of her own free will, through some fault or slight, his death is painted as something ordained by Jupiter and fate itself; with such a guarantee it is no wonder that the plot succeeded.[165]

Domitian had spent the entirety of his reign working to solidify his relationship with Minerva in the public eye. He built new temples, instituted new priesthoods, hosted lavish games at his own villa, and consistently portrayed them as either physiognomically similar, as in the first few years, or physically together. He was the new Roman hero that she aided, and the religious champion who would preserve the traditions of Rome and spread her cult throughout the city.

The efficacy of his propaganda can be seen in the years after his assassination, as Minerva drops sharply out of imperial imagery. Nerva rereleased Titus' congiaria coin and dedicated the Forum Transitorium, but we have no mention of the Alban Games continuing and all of the new coin reverses immediately cease. A fragmentary cuirass with Domitian and Minerva had both of their heads effaced, presumably during the *damnatio* frenzy immediately following his death (Cat. 74). Her pre-Flavian associations remained intact but the remarkable innovations which her cult and iconography had seen under Domitian quickly faded from view; she would not see any significant imperial patronage until Marcus Aurelius, over sixty years later. While she was a state god, the goddess of the Flavian period was truly, inextricably, a Domitianic Minerva.

[165] Suet. *Dom.* 15.

Appendix 1: Over Life-Sized Marble Head in Budapest

This marble head has been previously identified as an example of the fused Domitian-Minerva portraits. If so, it would make this the only monumental instance of the series. The head is in very poor condition, however, and cannot be identified securely enough to warrant inclusion in the main text.

Location: Budapest, Fine Arts Museum (inv. 4134)
Provenance: Rome, Via Buonarroti/A. Poliziano, ex. Brancaccio collection
Dimensions: H. 47 cm
Material: Marble

Repairs: Anterior nose with part of the crest, cheeks, piece of right forehead and right eye, area above right ear, behind the left ear, a piece of the back of the head, the lower part of the chin and hair plait were attached with ancient metal pins.

Bibliography: NSc 1885:423; Hekler 1929:126-7, cat. 115; "Aus Palazzo Field Brancaccio in Rom" cf ABr 1051-1053; Trillmich 1976:31 n 102; 7, fig. 1-3; Haüber 1991:316-7 no 6; Haüber 1998:110 n 148, fig 12; Kreikenbom 1992:35, 107-8; Haüber 2014:202, 813; Prusac 2016: Cat. 170. (Photos: K. Jones)

Discussion

The over life-sized marble head from the Brancaccio collection was excavated during the construction of the Via Buonarotti (modern Via A. Poliziano), west of the Via Merulana.[1] The initial excavation reports from 1885 identify it as a colossal head with indications of bronze vitta, although its precise identification was unsure; the report suggests Apollo or Bacchus,

[1] My sincere gratitude is due to Árpád Nagy, the Szépművészeti Múzeum of Budapest, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for granting me access to the marble head and cameos despite complex renovations. Thanks are also due to the Walter Reed Hovey Foundation for their generous funding of this research.

presumably due to its hybrid masculine/feminine features.[2] It was found in fragments which were later pieced back together, with significant restoration to the right side of the face and head, the anterior part of the nose, and part of the rear of the head. It was covered with a uniform brown coating, which apparently made identification difficult.[3]

Since that initial guess of Apollo or Bacchus, scholars have struggled to agree upon an identification for this enigmatic sculpture. While Arnst's theory involving Dynamis of Pontis was quickly disregarded on the basis of volume and ornamentation, Hekler's choice of a generic Julio-Claudian female based on the similarity with Tiberius' gravity has found favor.[4] Trillmich argued that the smoothness of the neck ruled out any long Julio-Claudian plaits of hair and thus moved the date back to the 1st c. BCE; however, Kriekenbom took it one step further by claiming it was a Greek or Roman woman that had been altered in antiquity to be Domitian.

Haüber refuted his final conclusion by stating that there was far too much hair to be Domitian, instead opting for an imperial Julio-Claudian woman such as Livia or Antonia the Younger. She leaned towards Livia based on the central part and the bun at the nape of the neck.[5] Matheson agrees with this and cites similarities with a portrait of Antonia the younger in Copenhagen.[6] While there are some superficial similarities between the Budapest head and the Copenhagen portrait, the brows, shape of the face, and treatment of the hairstyle are all radically different.

Varner revives Kriekenbom's theory and sees it as a fused Domitian-Minerva portrait, which would have originally been acrolithic based on the size. The cuttings at the side would have supported a helmet like the Athena Giustiniani's. If true, this head would have been one of

[2] NSc 1885: 423.
[3] ABr 1051-1053.
[4] Ibid.; Hekler 1929.
[5] Trillmich 1976:31; Kriekenbom 1992:107-8; Haüber 1998:110
[6] Matheson 2000: 72-3; Roman marble portrait of Antonia the younger from Tralles; 1st c. BCE. Ny Carlberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen inv. 743).

the most "visually emphatic expressions of the Domitian-Minerva axis in Rome."[7] Hekster agrees with Varner, while Haüber returns to her previous idea and states that it was a Hellenistic portrait reworked in Roman times, possibly to Livia but certainly a Julio-Claudian female. Prusac merely says that it is a Republican/Julio-Claudian private portrait that was displayed as Domitian, ultimately calling it a "complicated hybrid."[8]

The statue is almost certainly a Hellenistic or early Republican creation, likely acrolithic based on size. The turn and tilt of the head is not unknown in Roman portraits but is a decidedly Hellenistic trait, as can be seen in examples like the head of Diana at Nemi and the colossal head of Fortuna.[9] The hair is centrally parted and carved in low relief waves on the crown of the head, suggesting that it would not have been easily visible. The waves directly emanating from the part are also low, although not so much as the crown, and gain volume as they are drawn in a band over the temples and ears. It was pulled into a bun at the nape of the neck.

The Roman-period reworking seems to have been unfinished, although it is possible that there was an initial recarving and then a later one which was abandoned. The bands of hair along the temples have been brutally excised, leaving deep rectangular furrows. It has been suggested that these may have housed plaster additions, which could explain why small tendril fragments were left along the lower edge and the upper band of hair was untouched.[10] The ears were also excavated and defined; if partly covered by a helmet or diadem the unfinished edges along the crest would not have mattered; however, if not, it is another indication that the recarving was unfinished. The dowel holes behind the left ear and below the bun (and likely behind the right ear as well, although it was not included in the restoration) are too small to have supported

[7] Varner 2008: 187-88.
[8] Hekster 2015: 254-5; Haüber 2014: 202; Prusac 2016: 212.
[9] Marble head of Diana, c. 100 BCE, Ny Carlsburg Glyptotek (Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi), 0.54m h, Parian marble; Marble head of Fortuna, after 100 BCE, Museo Capitolino (Largo Argentina, Rome).
[10] Prusac 2016:212.

marble additions, thus ruling out a longer plait of marble hair; rather, they would have held a metal ornament in place. An obvious candidate would have been some sort of fillet or diadem that rested on top of the hair in the original incarnation.

As mentioned previously, various scholars have attempted to identify this statue with a Julio-Claudian female. Haüber's suggestion of Livia is tempting considering the variety of divinely assimilated portraits we have surviving, however the physiognomy of the recarving does not match up. Livia's forehead is much more vertical, rather that the distinctive slope present here, and her chin is not only more delicate but also more defined. The bun is much too low, although this is clearly a remnant from the original.

While Livia does favor a centrally parted hairstyle in certain portraits, with wavy bands of hair pulled back into a knot at the back of her head, the vast majority have the ears partially covered and her hair is not significantly different from the standard Hellenistic goddess style which the original incarnation had. Assuming there was no catastrophic damage, there would have been no need to completely remove the hair along the temples and brow. Furthermore, if the marble was removed to incorporate a diadem or veil the cuttings should have been in the rear of the frontal hair arrangement rather than the front.

Another possibility is one of the Julio-Claudian women. They continued to have centrally parted hair, but only kept the waves in the area immediately around the part and in the back.[11] Hair along the temples and the side of the face were now styled as corkscrew curls. Since the Hellenistic original would have had the wavy bands of hair, and the cuttings along the front spare the central part and the shallow waves on either side, it is conceivable that plaster could have been used to add these curls and the rear portion of the original hair left as a support. However, again assuming a lack of damage, there would have been enough marble in the original to simply

[11] Kleiner 1992:140.

recarve into curls such as those on the Agrippina Minor from the Uffizi.[12] Furthermore, the physiognomy does not closely resemble any of the known Julio-Claudian women.

As Kriekenbom and Varner have suggested, the best physiognomic match for the Budapest head is Domitian. The long neck, strongly indented nasal root, sloping chin and forehead which define his second portrait type all find parallels in the reworkings of the Budapest head. In a comparison of gem, marble, and coin profiles, the closest parallel is with the Capitoline portrait.[13] (fig. A.1.c) All of the examples have similar chins, and although the Budapest head does not have the characteristically hooked nose and receding lower lip these would have both required extensive reworking which does not seem to have taken place when the statue was left unfinished. There are chisel marks under the lower lip which suggest that such a reworking may have been in progress, along with the nasal root.

With the Budapest head identified as a Domitianic work in progress, it remains to be determined if it was a Minerva statue with Domitianic physiognomy. Domitian's overwhelming inclusion of Minerva in his imperial propaganda has been well documented and at least one large cameo has been accepted as a Domitian-Minerva along with two coin issues and at least one other cameo, as argued earlier.[14] (Cat. 28, 30, 75-6, 78) The coin issues securely date Domitian's Flavian Minerva portraits to between late 82 and 84, when her representations were once again idealized, and their partnership represented through physical rather than physiognomical closeness.

As stated earlier, the deep cuttings on the forehead indicate some variety of attachment or addition. Diadems sit higher on the head and are attached with post holes, none of which are indicated here. Marble attachments would have been far too heavy. Plaster additions are the

[12] Portrait of Agrippina the Younger (formerly identified as Messalina), 50-60 CE. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
[13] Portrait of Domitian, 81-96 CE, Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. Scu 1156 (Via Principe Amedeo, Esquiline, Rome)
[14] See above, "Minerva Flavia"

likeliest option, as they are lightweight and would have sat securely in the cuttings. If a metal helmet was added, the hair would have needed to be reworked to accommodate it; this would explain the central location of the cuttings, rather than cleanly across the bottom or top of the frontal bands of hair.

Varner's suggestion of a Giustiniani-type helmet is possible, but unlikely on several grounds. The helmet itself is a true Corinthian helmet rather than Italo-Corinthian, meaning that the face cover is not truncated. This adds considerable height to the statue but would also have added a lot of weight; in order to sit securely on the head, it would have had to fit over top of the hair above the cuttings. The plaster would have covered this by replacing the hair under the rim of the visor and along the sides, possibly curling up over the edges as well. Moreover, the Giustiniani type's ears are fully obscured by hair, defeating the purpose of carving them out in this case.

The other two options for helmets are Italo-Corinthian, which mimics the Corinthian shape but has a truncated facemask and is thus shorter, and Attic, which fits closely to the head and has an open face with a visor across the brow. (fig. A.1.e-f) Of these, the Italo-Corinthian is the most aesthetically pleasing. The Attic helmet is curved over the ear and would have left it exposed, but the visor ends fairly high up on the forehead. Unless the plaster additions created more hair at the central part as well as the sides, the gap would have been extremely noticeable. The back of the helmet truncates just below the base of the skull, possibly interfering with where the rear hair attachment would have been. As a smaller helmet, however, it would have also been lighter.

The Italo-Corinthian is both longer in the back and projects in the front, leaving much more room for the plaster hair to be styled in and around the edges. The helmet I have tested here

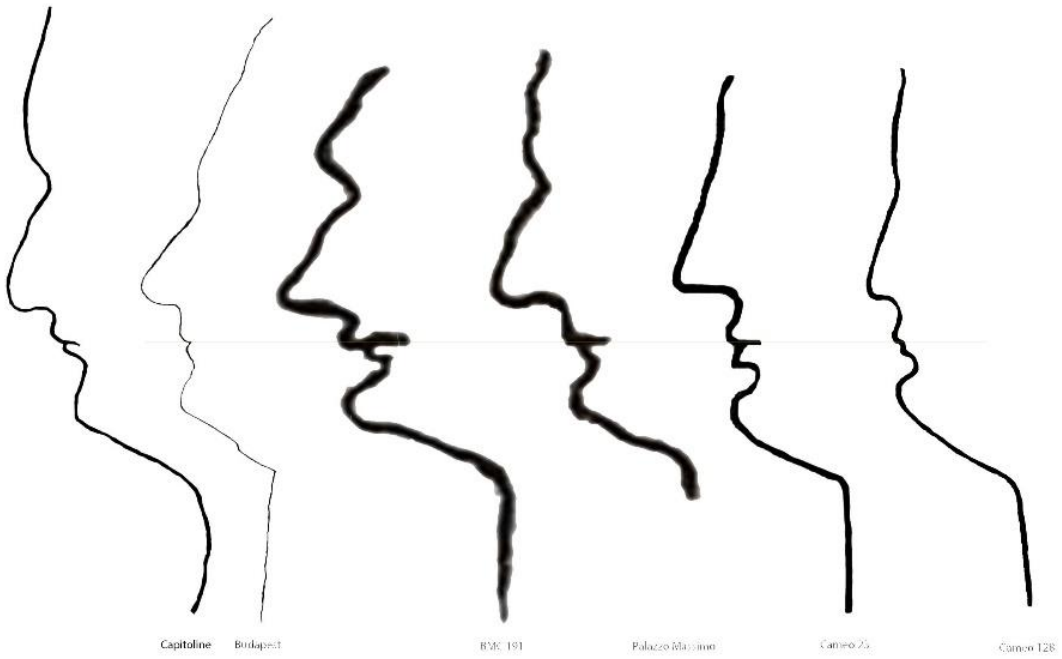
is the one Minerva wears on the Cancelleria relief; it sits high enough to leave the ear exposed, should that be desired, but also allows for the upper half to be covered by hair which would be drawn back under the helmet and hang down in ringlets. The neck guard would have been low enough to obscure additions made at the nape of the neck, while the helmet's overall shape would have allowed it to sit on top of the original hair along the crown.

The Domitian-Minerva portraits fell out of favor quickly, and if this one was already in the process of being recarved from a Hellenistic goddess (or a Julio-Claudian) it may have been too late to salvage it. That Domitian first released these fused portraits on public currency, instead of a more private audience, attests to his faith in the idea. The speed with which he switched back to idealized Minerva images indicates that the reception was not what he hoped for, and so he changed gears to find a more palatable way to get his message across. The idea of an emperor-Minerva portrait was already radical, and by 96 Domitian himself had had his memory condemned and his images obliterated.

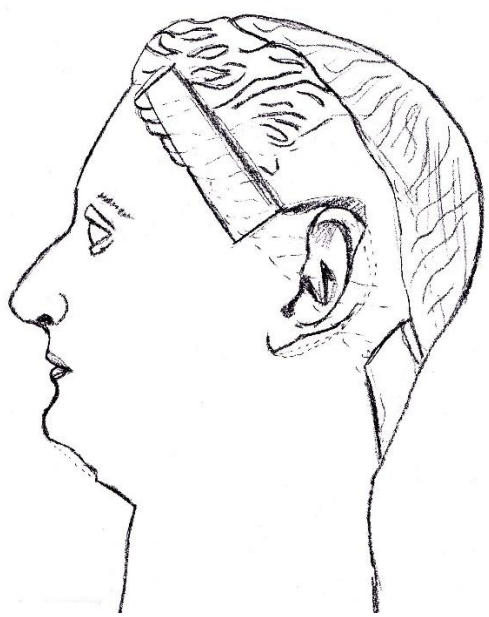
Whether the head originated in Rome or was brought there later, it was certainly displayed at some point before being recarved and potentially afterwards as well. Maecenas may have kept it in his garden, although the various temples in the area (such as his Minerva Medica sanctuary) are also good candidates. Domitian's building activity in the area and the Flavian-era recarving make this an especially attractive possibility; one could posit the Isis-Fortuna-Minerva complex in particular.[15] It is probable that the head was intended to be recarved as a Flavian, and probably a Domitian-Minerva, but changing imperial needs and the already-compromised nature of the piece made a third recarving unsustainable.

[15] See here (p. 131) and Hauber 2014:110-123.

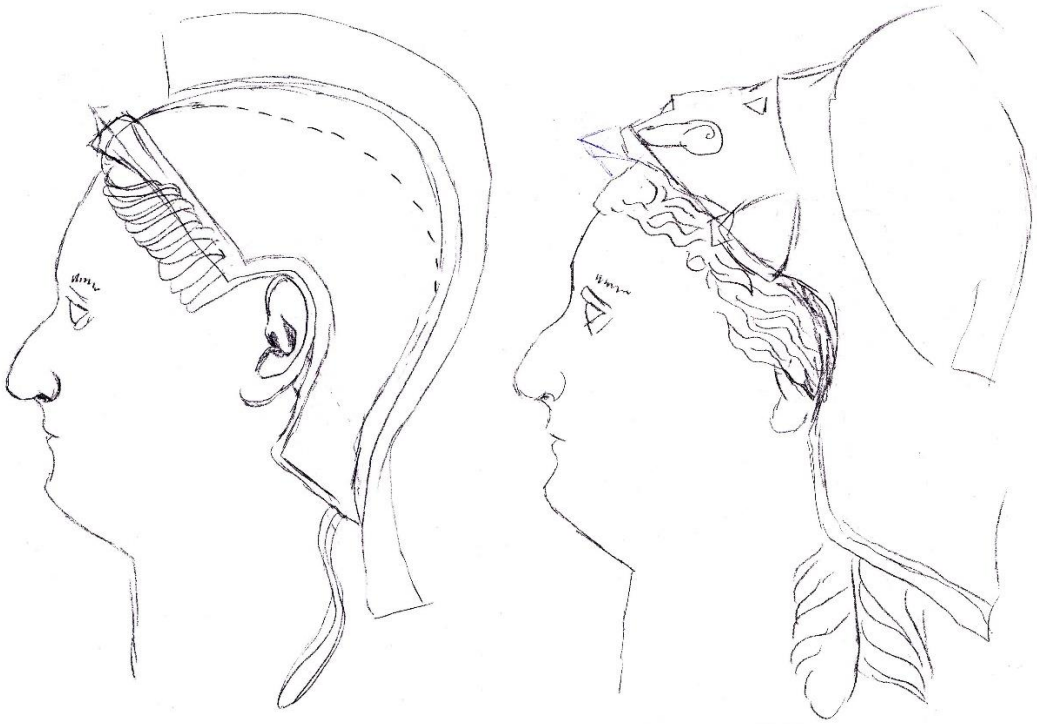
A.1.a-b: Budapest head, front and back. (Photo: K. Jones)



A.1.c: Profile comparison of the Budapest head (second from left) with other securely identified Domitian representations. (Drawing: K. Jones)



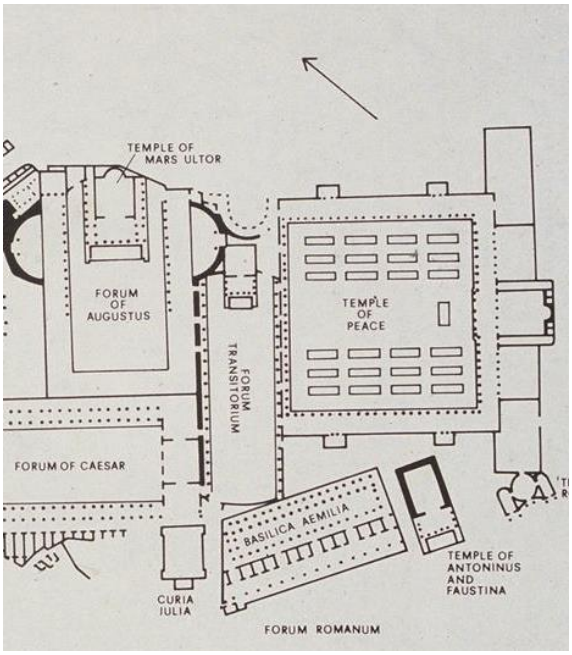
A.1.d: Sketch of the Budapest head with cuttings indicated. (Drawing: K. Jones)



A.1.e-f: Mock-ups of the Budapest head with Attic and Corinthian helmets. (Drawing: K. Jones)

Appendix 2: Forum Transitorium, Fori Imperali, Rome

The Forum Transitorium was Domitian's most monumental expression of public piety towards Minerva, meant to situate himself in the historical fabric of the Imperial Fori and the Forum Romanum. While it is discussed in full in section 2.4, architectural data, excavation history, frieze photographs, and other relevant information is presented here.



Rome: Plan of the Imperial Fori
1st c. B.C.E-2nd c. C.E.
Photo: Artstor, UCSD.13911332

Location

Domitian's new forum connected the Forum of Julius Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, and the Templum Pacis along what used to be the Argiletum passage from the Subura to the Forum Romanum. It measured approximately 160 by 46m and was slightly irregular due to its position between earlier constructions. The long sides are bounded with decorative colonnades that bracket out into shallow bays, rather than forming a standard portico. A temple to Minerva stood at one end of the forum, opposite a shrine of Janus Quadrifrons which was either in the center or at the far end. Arches, such as the Porticus Absidata and Arcus Aurae, at either end and doorways on the long sides provided access to nearby areas.

Excavation

1913
1926-28
1932-1941, Mussolini's via dell'Imperio, surrounding streets and houses cleared
1922-33, Corrado Ricci
1606 (spoliated by Paul V)
1425-1527, quarrying of the stone
1576, remaining statues sold to the Comune
1592, marble from the temple stripped for St. Peter's and the Borghese Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore
17th c., Arcus Aurae destroyed
1882-83, Lanciani studies la Colonnacce
1988-9, C. Morselli, conducted jointly by the Decima Ripartizione of the Comune di Roma and the University of Rome.

Epigraphy
CIL vi.953=31213
CIL vi.0097=33960
FUR 116

Primary Sources
Suet. Dom. 5; Stat. Silv. 4.3.9-10; Cassiod. Chron. 140; Eutrop. 7.23; Vict. Caes. 12.2; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28.6, 36.2; Pol. Silv. 545; Serv. Aen. 7.607; Mart. 1.2.8, 1.117.10

Later Representations
A large portion of the temple is preserved in 16th century views before Paul V disassembled it to use the marble in his fountain on the Janiculum.
DuPerac, Vestigi pl. vi
Palladio, Quattro Libri di Architettura (1570), iv. ch. 8
Mem. L. 3. xi 25
DuP II-105
Toeb. i. 52-53
DAP 2. xv. 367

Extant Architecture
Two columns at the east corner, part of the east wall with cornice, attic, and frieze intact. The podium is occupied by modern houses. Luna marble columns, capitals, revetments, architectural decoration

Columns:
1.75m in front of the wall, mirrored by flat pilasters.
1.08m diameter base
10.18m H with capitals
5.30m intercolumniation
Corinthian, Luna

Architrave: .775m
Frieze: .775m
Cornice: .98m
Attic: 3.13m
Wall: Peperino, Luna marble revetments. 15.84m H

Temple:
Marble-faced Italic on a high podium
16.95-22.95m width at front (estimation)

Corinthian hexastyle, 2-3 columns (phrygian or africano marble?), anta on each side of the porch.
Podium: Marble orthostate revetments, 1 intact on SE flank, 3m wider than the cella.
As per the FUR, cella lined with lateral colonnades and an apse at the end, probably with a cult statue niche.

Sculpture

Headless statue of Minerva in the apex of the pediment, broken statues around site (Magister Gregorius).
Other fragments found here are probably from nearby fori.
Alexander Severus' colossal *divi* statues (likely non-extant)
Frieze, attic relief on Le Colonnacce

Photographs (K. Jones)

Section 1

Section 1,2

Section 2

Section 3,4

Section 4,5

Section 6,7

Section 8

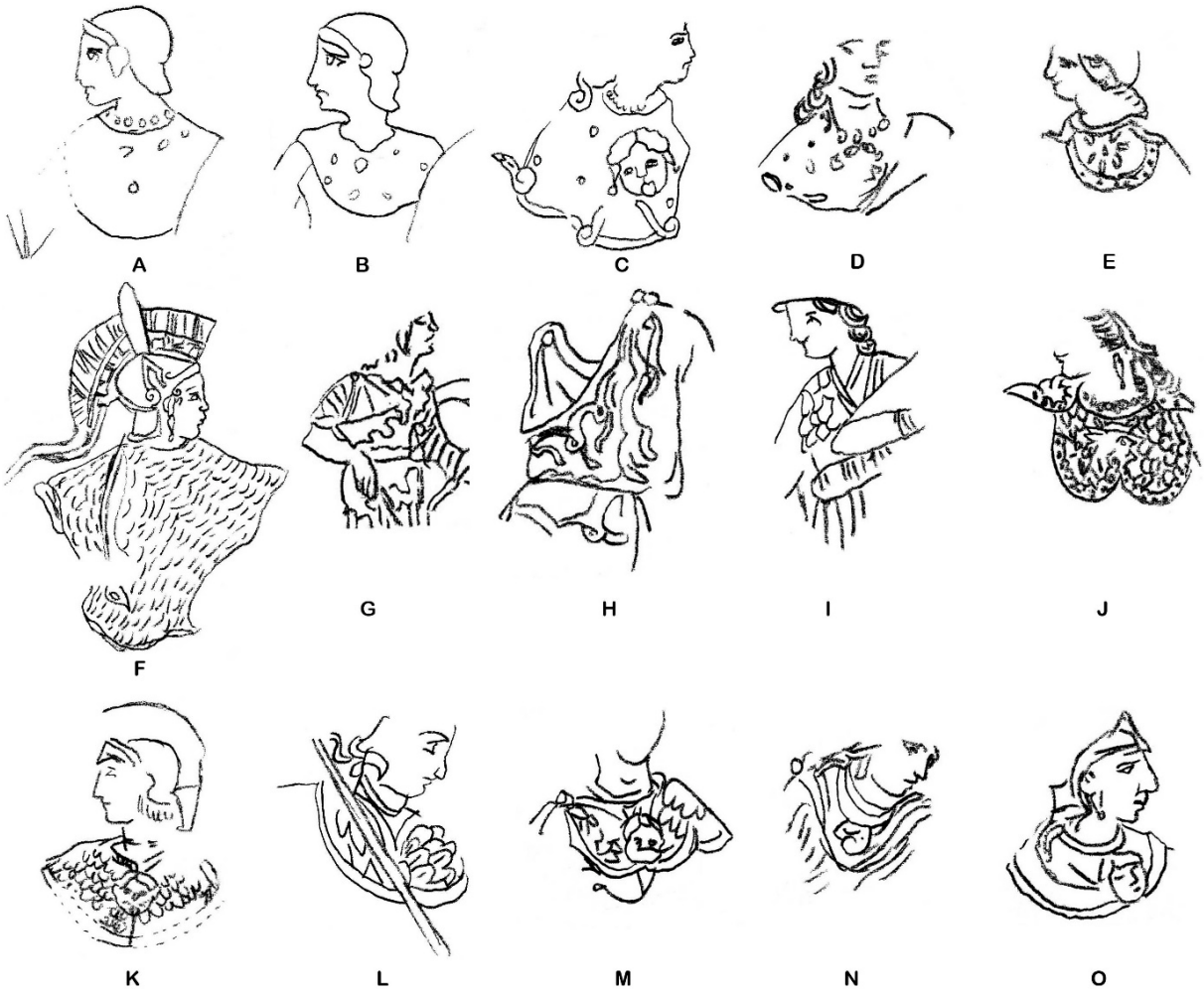
Attic relief and frieze, detail

Appendix 3: Charts and Maps

This appendix is comprised of stylistic charts, illustrations, and maps that are too large or non-specific to include in the catalog. All renderings are by the author.

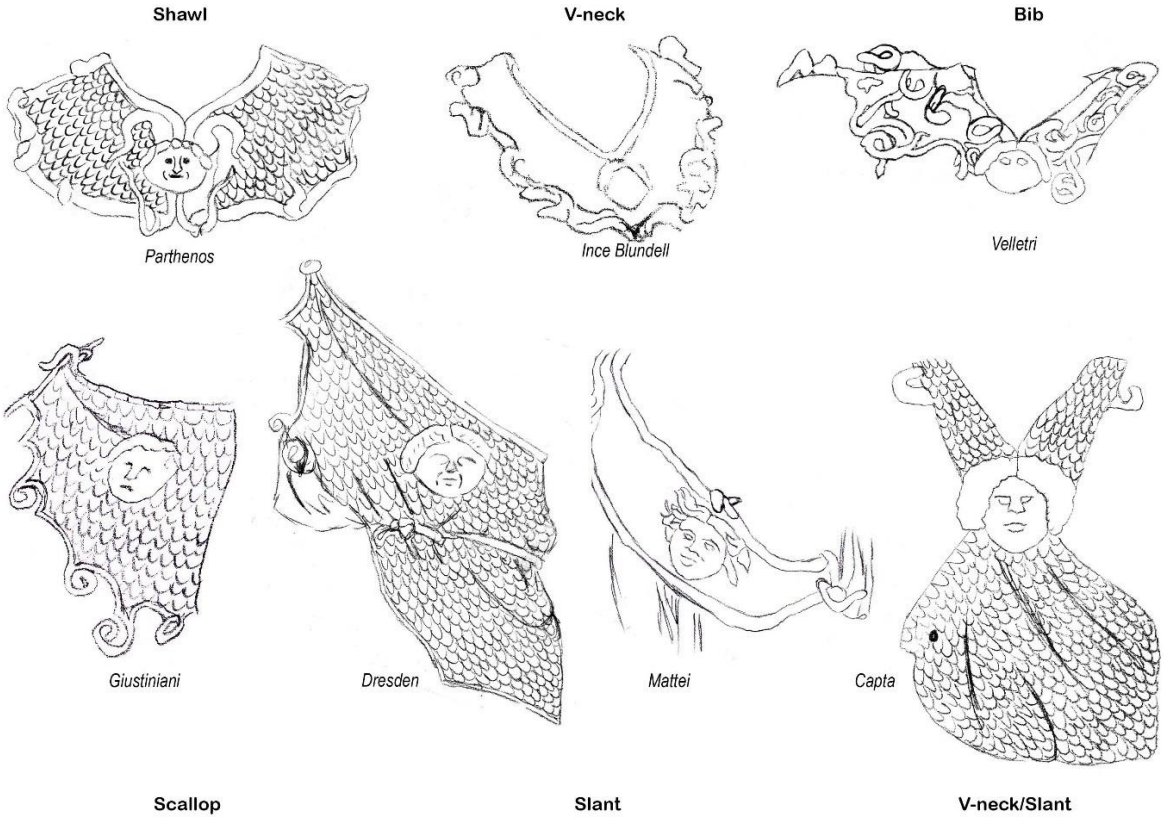
- A.3.a: Aegis designs and types from Etruscan mirrors
- A.3.b: Aegis styles from standard Minerva statue types
- A.3.c: Clothing styles from standard Minerva statue types
- A.3.d: Map of Etruscan and early Roman sites

A.3. a: Aegis designs and types from Etruscan mirrors

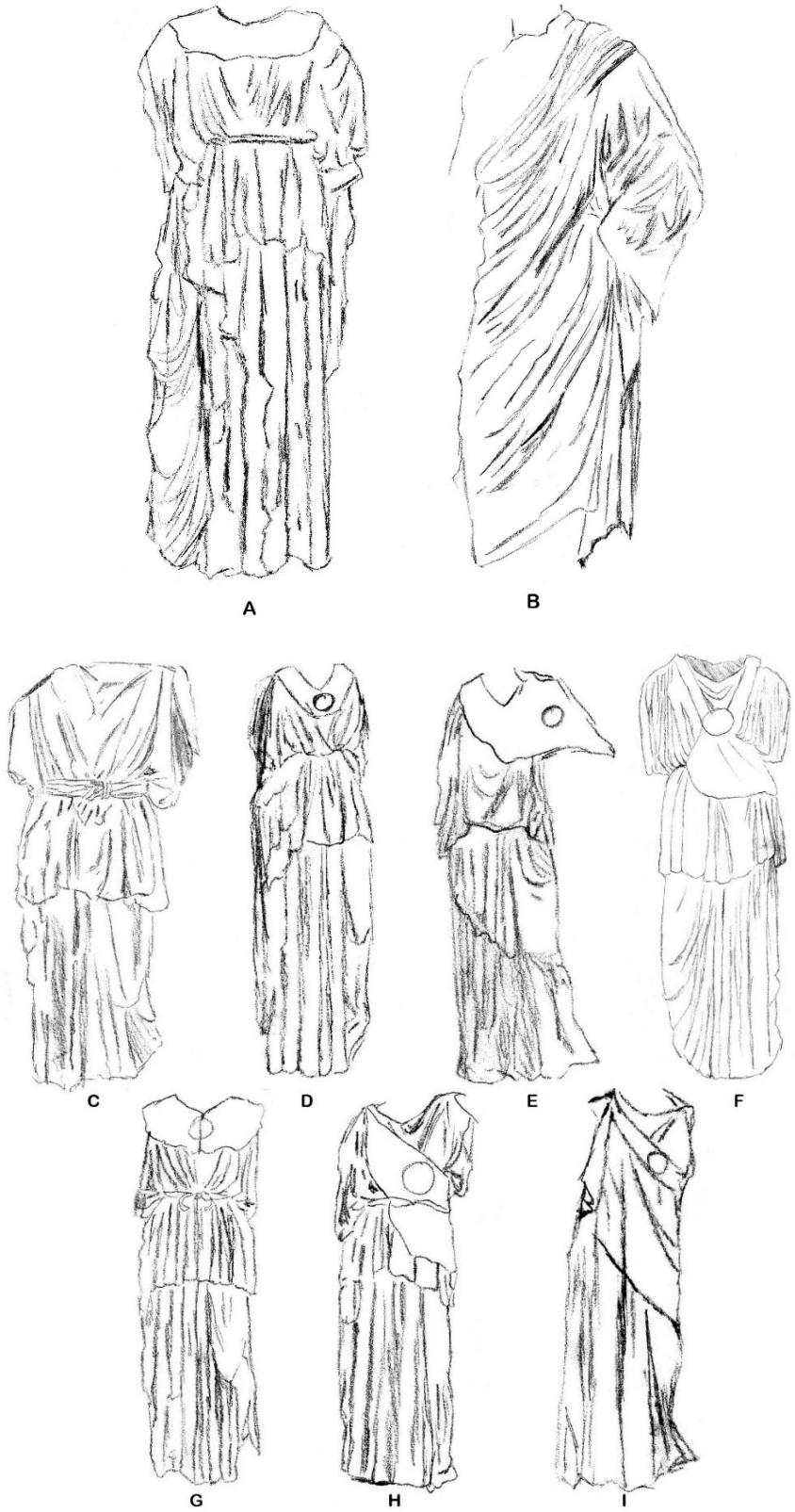


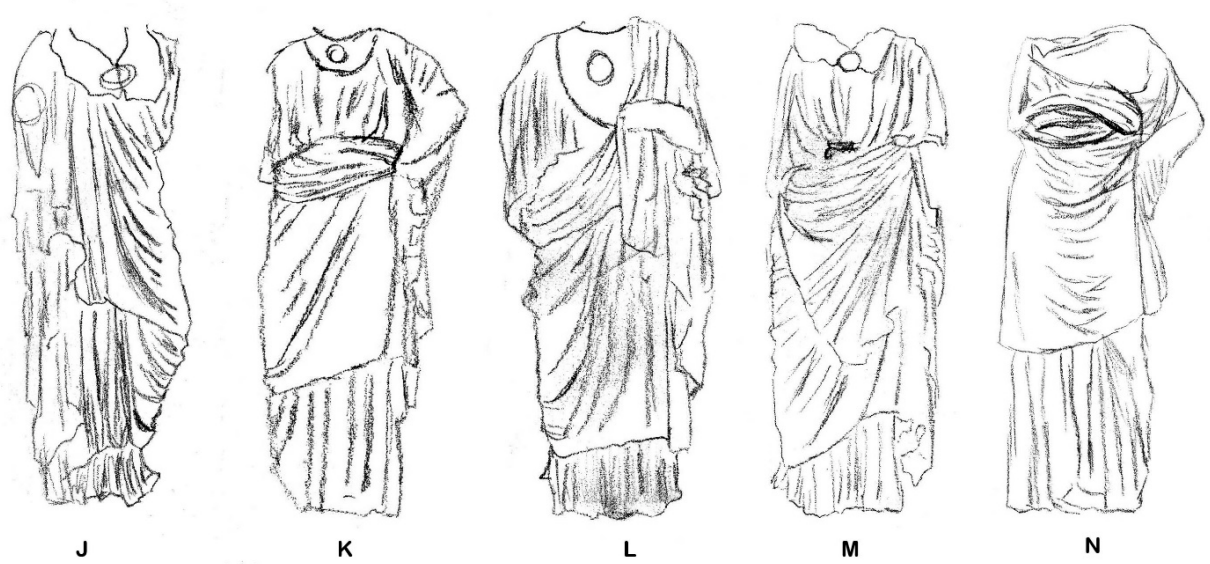
A. Brd4 22a
B. Brd4 23b
C. Brd4 27a
D. Brd4 30a
E. Brd2 5a
F. Brd4 25b
G. Gb1 24d
H. Gb1 27d
I. Brd2 31a
J. Brd2 18a
K. Brd4 14a
L. Brd4 26a
M. Usa1 20a
N. Usa1 4a
O. Brd2 17a

A.3.b: Aegis styles from standard Minerva statue types



A.3.c: Clothing styles from standard Minerva statue types





Chiton, Peplos, Himation

A. Athena Ingres (Cat. 51)
B. Rospigliosi Athena (Cat. 63)

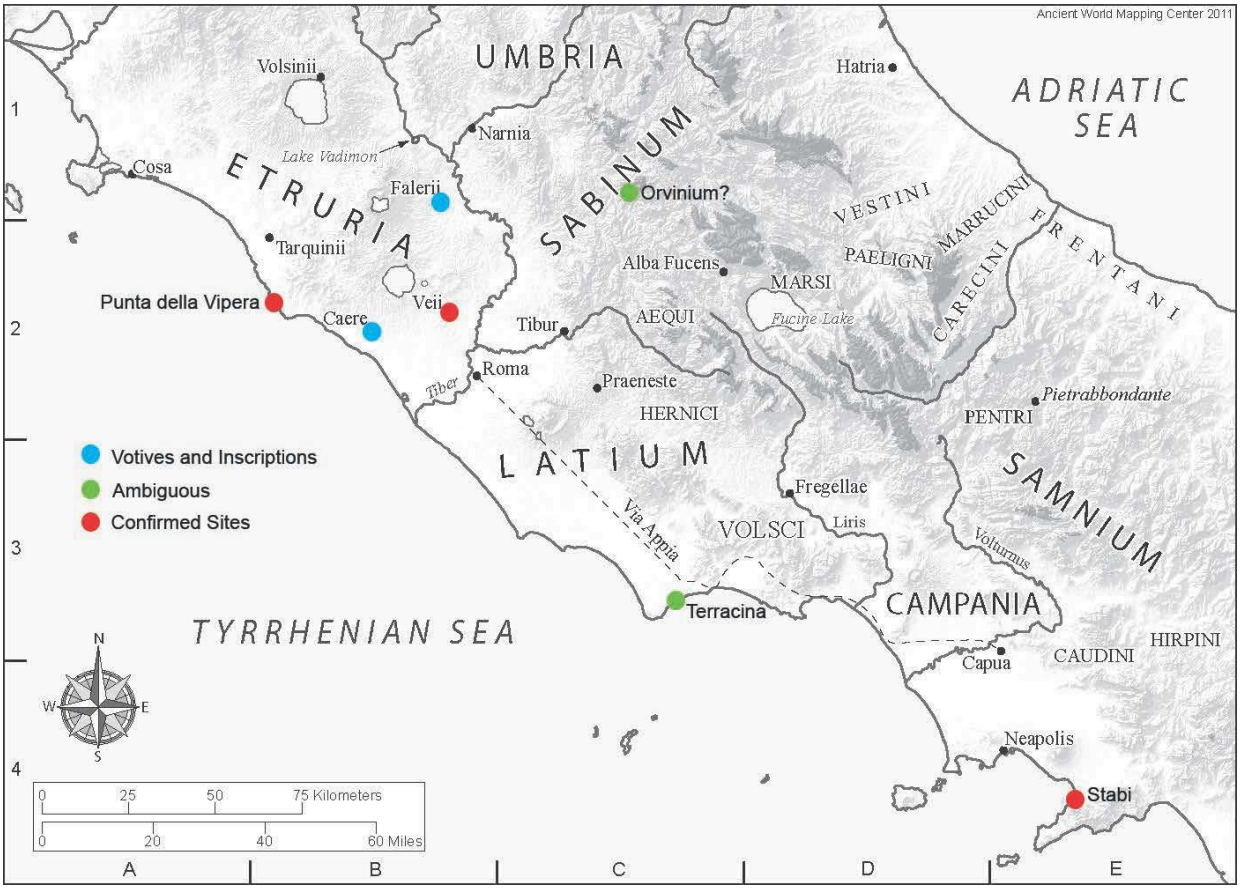
Peplos

C. Myron's Athena (Cat. 65)
D. Ince-Blundell Athena (Cat. 48)
E. Athena Cherchel-Ostia (Cat. 57)
F. Minerva Capta (Cat. 47)
G. Athena Parthenos (Cat. 53)
H. Dresden-Bologna Athena (Cat. 66)
I. Athena Mattei (Cat. 67)

Chiton, Himation

J. Athena Hope-Albani-Farnese (Cat. 60)
K. Athena Campana (Cat. 56)
L. Minerva Giustiniani (Cat. 58)
M. Athena Velletri (Cat. 49)
N. Vescovali-Arezzo Athena (Cat. 64)

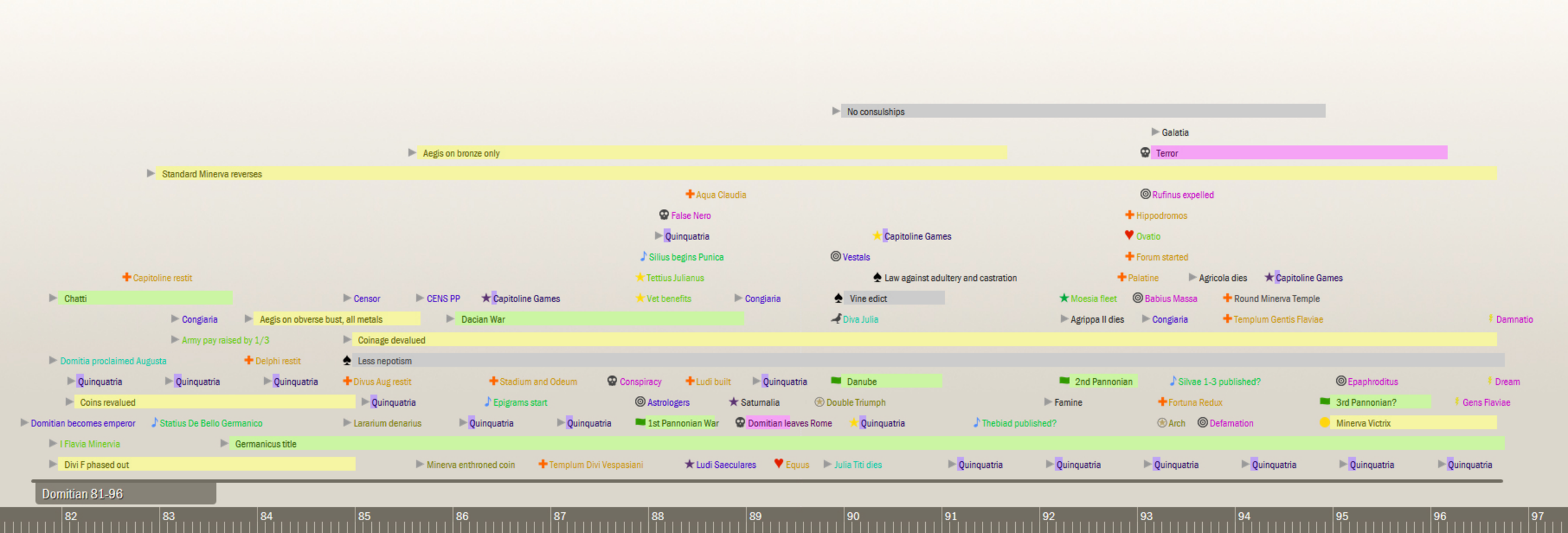
A.3.d: Map of Etruscan and early Roman sites



After Ancient World Mapping Center, modified by K. Jones

Appendix 4: Timeline

The following is a visual representation of the major events of Domitian's reign, including items related to this study such as coin releases, construction, and titles. It was constructed using Timeglider software.


No consulships
Galatia
Aegis on bronze only
Terror
Standard Minerva reverses
Aqua Claudia
Rufinus expelled
False Nero
Hippodromos
Quinquatria
Capitoline Games
Ovatio
Silius begins Punica
Vestals
Forum started
Capitoline restit
Tettius Julianus
Law against adultery and castration
Palatine
Agricola dies
Capitoline Games
Chatti
Censor
CENS PP
Capitoline Games
Vet benefits
Congiaria
Vine edict
Moesia fleet
Babius Massa
Round Minerva Temple
Congiaria
Aegis on obverse bust, all metals
Dacian War
Diva Julia
Agrippa II dies
Congiaria
Templum Gentis Flaviae
Damnatio
Army pay raised by 1/3
Coinage devalued
Domitia proclaimed Augusta
Delphi restit
Less nepotism
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Divus Aug restit
Stadium and Odeum
Conspiracy
Ludi built
Quinquatria
Danube
2nd Pannonian
Silvae 1-3 published?
Epaphroditus
Dream
Coins revalued
Quinquatria
Epigrams start
Astrologers
Saturnalia
Double Triumph
Famine
Fortuna Redux
3rd Pannonian?
Gens Flaviae
Domitian becomes emperor
Statius De Bello Germanico
Lararium denarius
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
1st Pannonian War
Domitian leaves Rome
Quinquatria
Thebiad published?
Arch
Defamation
Minerva Victrix
I Flavia Minervia
Germanicus title
Divi F phased out
Minerva enthroned coin
Templum Divi Vespasiani
Ludi Saeculares
Equus
Julia Titi dies
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Quinquatria
Domitian 81-96
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97

Catalog

The following is a catalog of items discussed in the text. They are arranged roughly by type and include inventory numbers, dimensions, bibliographical information, and photographs when possible. The first section, coins and medallions, is organized chronologically from Republican through to Domitianic and follows the British Museum and American Numismatic Society standards for identification. The second section, sculpture, includes the standard Minerva statue types discussed in Part One as well as friezes, monuments, and terracottas. The third section, gems and cameos, consists largely of material discussed in Part Two. All other materials such as metals, mosaics, and site plans are grouped together in the last section. Items added after initial compilation are included at the end of the appropriate section.

Photo Permissions:

Items from the American Numismatic Society and British Museum are used and cited according to institutional policy. Other photos, unless otherwise specified, fall under Creative Commons license or are my own. Further information on Creative Commons authors is included at the end of the bibliography.

Coins and Medallions

1. Type A, bronze semis
Date: 280-276 BCE
Inv: ANS 1969.83.389
Obv: Head of Minerva, L, wearing Corinthian helmet; below, denominational mark
Rev: Female head, L; below, denominational mark
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 14/2

2. Type B, bronze litra
Date: c. 270 BCE
Inv: Münzkabinett Berlin
Obv: Minerva helmeted R
Rev: Horse with bridle and reins, R
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 17/1d

3. Type C, bronze litra
Date: c. 270 BCE
Inv: British Museum 2002,0102.32
Obv: Minerva, helmeted facing R, star
Rev: Horse head facing L
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 17/1g

4. Type D, bronze semis
Date: 269-266 BCE
Inv: ANS 1969.83.445
Obv: Head of Minerva wearing Corinthian helmet, R; below, denominational mark
Rev: Head of Minerva wearing Corinthian helmet, L; below, denominational mark
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 21/2

5. Type E, bronze semis
Date: 230-226 BCE
Inv: ANS 1969.83.472
Obv: Minerva R with Corinthian helmet, club
Rev: Minerva L with Corinthian helmet, club
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 27/6

6. Type F, bronze as
Date: 225 BCE
Inv: Münzkabinett Berlin
Obv: Head of Minerva, facing, triple-crested helmet
Rev: Bull R
Mint: Italy
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 14/2

7. Type G, silver denarius
Date: 112-111 BCE
Inv: ANS 1896.7.40
Obv: Head of Mars wearing Corinthian helmet, R; behind, mark, dotted border. X (crossed) [CN·BLA]SIO·CN·F
Rev: Jupiter standing facing between Juno and Minerva and holding scepter in right hand and thunderbolt in left hand - Juno holds scepter in right hand, Minerva holds scepter in left hand and crowns Jupiter with right hand; in field, mark. Border of dots. ROMA
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 296/1c

8. Type H, silver denarius
Date: 100 BCE
Inv. ANS 1896.7.50
Obv: Bust of Minerva L, Corinthian helmet and aegis, dot border. RVLLI
Rev. Victory in biga R, palm-branch in left hand and reins in right. Dot border. P
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 328/1

9. Type I1, silver denarius
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: -
Obv: Laureate head of Apollo, R; behind, mark. S
Rev: Minerva in quadriga, R; holding spear in left hand and reins in right hand; in exergue, inscription. Q. TITI
Mint: Rome
Photo: -
Bibliography: RRC 341/5

10. Type I2, silver denarius
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: ANS 1986.161.48
Obv: Laureate head of Apollo R, behind, inscription; before, control-mark. Border of dots. PANSA S with four dots to right
Rev: Minerva, crowned by flying Victory, in quadriga L, holding spear and reins in right hand and trophy in left hand. Border of dots. C·VIBIVS·C·F
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 342/4b

11. Type I3, silver denarius
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: -
Obv: Laureate head of Apollo R, behind, inscription; before, control-mark. Border of dots. PANSA S with four dots to right
Rev: Minerva in quadriga, R; holding spear and reins in left hand and trophy in right hand; above, flying Victory; in exergue, inscription. Border of dots. C·VIBIVS·C·F
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 342/5a

12. Type I4, Minerva in quadriga
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: RRC 342/5b
Obv: Laureate head of Apollo R, behind, inscription; before, control-mark. Border of dots. PANSA
Rev: Minerva in quadriga facing R, spear and reins in left hand and trophy in right hand. Border of dots. C·VIBIVS·C·F
Mint: Rome
Photo: -
Bibliography: C.342.5b; Sydenham.684.var; Babelon.Vibia.1.var

13. Type I5, silver denarius
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: ANS 1971.181.4
Obv: PANSA: Minerva in quadriga L, holding spear and reins in right hand and trophy in left hand. Border of dots
Rev: C·VIBIVS·C·F: Minerva in quadriga R, holding spear and reins in left hand and trophy in right hand. Border of dots
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 342/6a

14. Type I6, silver denarius
Date: 90 BCE
Inv: ANS 1947.2.76
Obv: PANSA S four dots to right: Laureate head of Apollo right, behind, inscription; before, control-mark. Border of dots.
Rev: C·VIBIVS·C·F: Minerva, crowned by flying Victory, in quadriga L, holding spear and reins in right hand and trophy in left hand. Border of dots.
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RRC 342/5b

15. Julius Caesar denarius
Date: 47-46 BCE
Inv: MET 08.170.80
Obv: Head of Venus
Rev: Aeneas with Anchises and palladium. CAESAR
Mint: Rome
Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bibliography: Cr458/1, Syd 1013

16. Julius Caesar dupondius
Date: 45 BCE
Inv: BMCRR 4125
Obv: Draped bust of Victory R, CAESAR DIC TER
Rev: Minerva standing L with trophy & shield decorated with gorgoneion, snake in background. PRAEF C CLOVI
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: Cohen 7; Cr476/1a, Syd 1025; Sear 1417

17. Denarius with statue of Octavian on a rostral column
Date: 29-27 BCE
Obv: Octavian as Apollo, laureate, R
Rev: IMP CAESAR, Octavian on rostral column
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RSC 124; RIC I Augustus 271; BMC 633

18. Silver cistophorus of Claudius
Date: 50-51
Inv: ANS 1944.100.39366
Obv: TI CLAVD AVG AGRIPP AVGVSTA: Claudius and Agrippina the Younger, jugate, R
Rev: DIANA EPHESIA: cult statue of Diana Ephesia
Mint: Ephesus
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 231; RIC I Claudius 119

19. Bronze as of Claudius
Date: 50-54
Inv: ANS 1995.11.1535
Obv: TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP P P: Claudius L
Rev: Minerva striding R, helmeted and draped with spear and shield
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC1 Claudius 116; BMC 206

20. Nero, port of Ostia sestertius

Date: 64-68
Inv: ANS 2011.21.545
Obv: Head of Nero, laureate with aegis, R. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P P
Rev: Port of Ostia with various ships, statue of Neptune on Pharos, Tiber
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 131, RIC I Nero 178

21. Nero, congiaria sestertius

Date: c. 64
Inv: ANS 1944.100.39781
Obv: Head of Nero, R, aegis. CONG.TT DAR POP R
Rev: Nero seated R on platform, attendant handing out a tessera to a citizen, togate, holding out hand to receive tessera while he makes a fold in his toga; small boy behind. In background, a figure of Minerva standing L on pedestal with owl and spear, Liberalitas on lower pedestal
Mint: Rome/Lugdunum
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: C 69. BMC 136v. RIC I Nero 151, WCN 121

22. Nero, congiaria sestertius

Date: 64-68
Inv: ANS 1954.203.156
Obv: Head of Nero laureate R with aegis on neck.
Rev: Nero bareheaded togate seated on stool on low platform on R, holding out right hand, left hand at side, behind him the praefectus annonae standing facing attendant on ground standing L, holding out tessera to citizen who stands R to receive it; in background, central statue of Minerva on pedestal holding owl and spear behind her, low building with flat roof showing four pillars
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 139, RIC I Nero 160, WCN 107

23. Vespasian, Victoria Augusta sestertius
Date: 71
Inv: ANS 1975.102.1
Obv: Vespasian, laureate, R
Rev: VICTORIA AVGVSTI SC: Vespasian, in military gear, receives the palladium from Victory
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC2.1 Vespasian 131, RE2 786, BMC 586

24. Titus, denarius
Date: 80-81
Inv: ANS 1954.211.1
Obv: Head of Vespasian, laureate, R. DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS
Rev: Tensa with two Victories, quadriga
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 119, RIC II.1 Titus 361

25. Vespasian, sestertius
Date: 71
Inv: ANS 1947.2.431
Obv: Vespasian, laureate, R. IMP CAES VESPAS AVG P M TR P P P COS III
Rev: Pax setting fire to arms, Minerva on column with lance, shield, at bottom, lighted altar right. PAX AVG SC
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 553n, RIC II Vespasian 240, Cohen 336

26. Roma Resurgens sestertius
Date: 71
Inv: AND 1944.100.41561
Obv: Vespasian, laureate and draped, R. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG PM TR PPP COS III
Rev: Vespasian raising Roma/goddess while Roma stands behind: previously thought to be Minerva. ROMA RESVRGES SC
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC II.1 195/Sear 233, BMC 565

27. Titus/Vespasian congiaria sestertius
Date: 72
Inv: BM R.10568
Obv: Titus laureate, right
Reverse: Titus seated on curule chair on platform L; attendant and citizen to left; statue of Minerva, behind
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: Vespasian 629

28. Aureus with busts of Domitian and Minerva
Date: 82
Inv: ANS 1967.153.130
Obv: IMP CAES DOMITIANVS AVG PM; Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: COS VIII DES IIX PP TR POT IMP III; Minerva L, helmeted, with aegis and scepter
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC II.1 138; BMC 33

29. Copper alloy medallion of Minerva enthroned
Date: 85
Inv: BM 1873,0303.2
Obv: Domitian, laureate with aegis, facing R. IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMIT AVG GERM COS XI
Rev: Minerva seated L on a throne with a footstool, Victory in right hand and scepter in left. Left arm rests on a round shield supported by the head of a captive seated left on prow. Shield decorated with two temples and four figures
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: Gnecchi 1912 Vol. III 1, p.13, BMCRM 4, p.1, RE2 note 83, p.31

30. Aureus with Minerva bust robed and in an attic helmet on reverse
Date: 84
Inv: BM 1896,0608.18
Obv: IMP CAES DOMITIANVS AVG GERMANIC: Domitian, robed and laureate, L
Rev: PM TR POT IIII IMP VI COS X PP: Minerva bust robed with attic helmet, R
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC 195

31. Type 1 Minerva reverse
Date: 83
Inv: BM 1907,0501.144
Obv: Head of Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: Minerva advancing R, spear raised in right hand and shield raised on left arm
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC2.1 161, p.277; RE2 39; PCR 510, p. 306

32. Type 2 Minerva reverse
Date: 87 (minted 83-96)
Inv. BM R.11079
Obv: Domitian laureate, R
Rev: Minerva with owl on merchant ship
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC II.1 507, RE2 103, p. 322

33. Type 3 Minerva reverse
Date: 83
Inv: BM R1874,0715.30
Obv: Head of Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: Minerva L, spear in right hand, left on hip
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC2.1 168, p.277; RE2 44, p. 307

34. Type 4 Minerva reverse
Date: 83
Inv: BM 1923,1012.3
Obv: Head of Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: Minerva standing L, holding thunderbolt in right hand and vertical spear in left hand; shield at her side
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC2.1 166, p.277; RE2 42, p. 306

35. Coin with trophy and Type 2 Minerva
Date: c. 83
Obv: [IMP DOMITIAN CAES AVG] GERMANICVS: Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: Type 2 Minerva R, tropaion, palm branch
Mint: Caesarea Maritima
Photo: VCoins
Bibliography: Hendin 1454, Meshorer 391, RPC 2304, CHL 276,26, GBC 1454, TJC 391

36. Sestertius with Domitian togate, holding palladium
Date: 81
Inv: BMC 1872,0709,498
Obv: Head of Domitian laureate R. IMP CAES DIVI VESP F DOMITIAN AVG P M
Rev: Domitian togate, standing L, holding palladium in extended R hand. TR P COS VII DES VIII P P SC
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC2.1 167 p 209, RE2 see note 188, p 260

37. Denarius with Vesta and palladium
Date: 79
Inv: ANS 1963.237.60
Obv: Bust of Domitian, laurate, facing R. CAESAR AVG DOMITIANVS COS VI
Rev: Vesta enthroned and holding the palladium. PRINCE[PS IVV]ENTUTIS
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC 1087 (RIC [1962] 244) (Vespasian), RSC 378, BMC 262

38. Denarius with round Minerva temple
Date: 95-96
Inv: BM 1925,0602.10
Obv: Head of Domitian, right. DOMITIANVS AVG GERM
Rev: Temple, round with four columns, with Minerva standing, right hand raised and holding spear in left hand. IMP CAES
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RE2 241, p.346; RIC2.1 814, p.325

39. Minerva quadrans
Date: 81-82
Inv: BMC 485
Obv: IMP DOM AVG, helmeted head of Minerva R
Rev: SC in wreath
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 485, RIC 123, Sear5 #2823

40. Minerva and olive branch quadrans
Date: 84-85
Inv: ANS 1934.69.2
Obv: IMP DOMIT AVG GERM, helmeted, draped bust of Minerva R
Rev: SC, olive branch upright
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC II.1 241, BMC 488; Sear5 #2827; Cohen 544

41. Lararium sestertius
Date: 85
Inv: ANS 1937.158.486
Obv: Laureate bust of Domitian R, aegis at shoulder. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERM COS XI
Rev: S-C, Domitian, cloaked, sacrificing at altar before lararium of Minerva
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 296/RIC 277; Cohen 491; Sear5 #2776


42. Ludi Saeculares quinarius
Date: 88
Inv: ANS 1944.100.42475
Obv: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP VIII, laureate head right
Rev: Figure walking L, holding wand and shield decorated with helmeted and draped bust of Minerva R
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC 599; BMC 134; RSC 78


43. Ludi saeculares denarius
Date: 88
Inv: ANS 1944.100.42476
Obv: Laureate Domitian R, IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P VIII
Rev: COS XIIII LVD SAEC FEC inscribed on column; to right, an incense burner, further right, figure, standing left holding wand and shield
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RSC 73; BMC 135; RIC [1962] 116; RIC 601


44. Minerva with Victory denarius
Date: 81
Inv: ANS 1944.100.42453
Obv: IMP CAES DOMITIANVS AVG PONT, laureate head R
Rev: COS VII DES VIII PP, Minerva standing L, holding Victory and spear; shield at feet
Mint: Rome
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: RIC II 29

45. Winged Minerva denarius
Date: 95-96
Inv: BM 1950,1006.410
Obv: Head of Domitian, laureate, R
Rev: Minerva, winged, flying L, holding spear in right hand and shield in left hand
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RE2 237D, p.345; RIC2.1 821, p.326

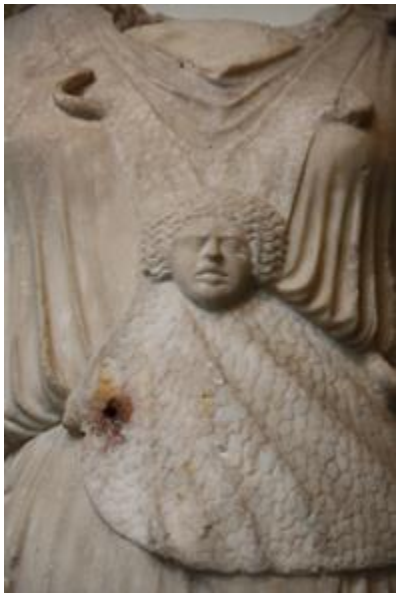
46. Equus Domitianus coin
Date: 95-6
Inv: BM 1978,1021.5
Obv: Bust of Domitian, laureate, draped and cuirassed, R
Rev: Equestrian statue of Domitian R, right hand raised, statue of Minerva in left, captive at bottom
Mint: Rome
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC2.1 797, p.324

46b. Carausius Coin
Date: 286-293
Inv: BM R.3448
Obv: Bust of Carausius R, radiate and draped with cuirass. IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG
Rev: Ram left. LEG I MIN
Mint: London
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum
Bibliography: RIC5 55, p. 486 (var.)

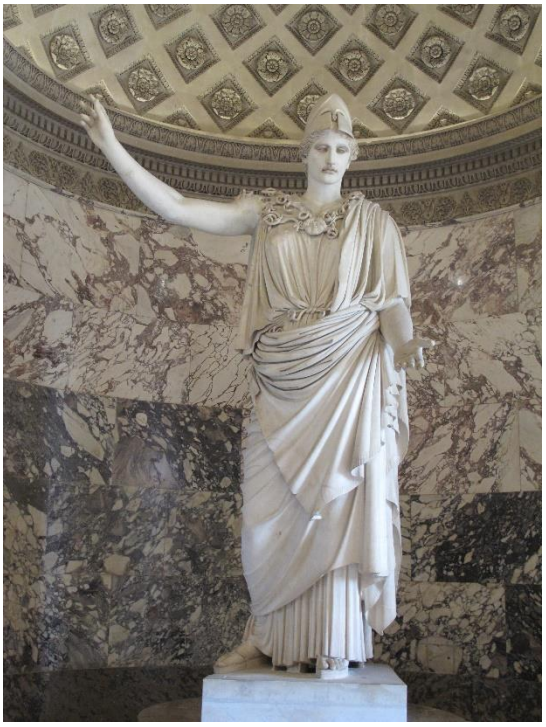
46c. Silver drachma with Diomedes
Date: 370-50 BCE
Inv: ANS 1958.155.1
Obv: Hera wearing a stephane
Rev: Diomedes with palladium in left hand, sword in right
Mint: Argos
Photo: American Numismatic Society
Bibliography: BMC 45

Statues and Friezes

47. Statue of Minerva
Museum: Palazzo Massimo, Galleria IV, Inv. 106165
Date: 1st c. BCE, after 5th c. BCE original
Dimensions: 1.32m H
Material: Alabaster, marble inserts (now missing), metal belt on aegis
Condition: Head, arms, right foot and edge of peplum missing. Chip on hem of robe
Provenance: 1923, via Celimontana 25, casa del Cavalier Bernabei
Bibliography: Bendinelli 1926:58 ss. Tav. I: MNR 1, 2, 1981, p. 18 ss., n. 15 (D. Candilio); LIMC II.1, 1984:1087, n. 168 (F. Canciani); Schürmann 1985:10 ss., tav. 2a. 149. Massimo 2013:149. (Chiara Ciampi). For the type: Vlassopoulou 2005:193 ss
Description: The statue rests on her left leg, with the right positioned outwards and back to suggest movement. Traces of polychromy around the edge of the apoptygma reveal a star and rosette pattern. The arms and head were inserted originally by pins. She wears an attic peplos over a chiton, girdled at the waist with an apoptygma. The aegis is scaly and worn sideways, however, the shape with the thin straps over the shoulders is unique. The attachment on the lower edge would have secured a metal belt. (Photo: K. Jones)


48. Ince Blundell Minerva type
Museum: National Museums Liverpool, World Museum (59.148.8)
Date: Augustan or Hadrianic
Dimensions: 1.67m H
Material: Marble
Condition: Minor repairs, such as owl, but largely unbroken.
Provenance: perhaps Ostia (via Palazzo Lante/Giovanni Volpato, purchased by Henry Blundell from Thomas Jenkins in 1786 for £200)
Bibliography: Richter 1954:43 no. 65; Lippold 1950:184, n. 4 (with previous bibliography)
Description: Minerva in a peplos and short aegis, like the Athena Parthenos, but with a Corinthian helmet. Head tilted down and to the right, weight resting on right leg; left slightly back. Spear or shield missing in left hand, owl restored in right but may have been a Victory. (Photo: © National Museums Liverpool, World Museum)



49. Pallas Velletri
Museum: Louvre (MA 464)
Date: 1st c. Roman, c. 430 BCE (likely) original by Kresilas
Dimensions: 3.05m H, Parian marble
Provenance: Roman villa near Velletri, 1797
Condition: Repairs to top of helmet, straight arm, snakes, part of cloak, polish added by Vincenzo Pacetti
Copies: Plaster casts of original found in workshop in Baiae, same dimensions as Louvre copy. 2nd century head in Glyptotek
Bibliography: M. Papini, 2000. *Palazzo Braschi, la collezione di sculture antiche*, p.36-42, fig.30; Cl. Rolley, 1999. *La sculpture grecque, II. La période classique*, Paris: Picard, p.138, fig.123; M. Nocca, 1997. *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri, Museo Studi e Ricerche 1*; L. Todisco, 1993. *Scultura greca del IV secolo. Maestri e scuole di statuaria tra classicità ed ellenismo*, Milan, p. 39, fig. 5; R. Neudecker, 1988. *Die skulpturen ausstattung roemischer villen in Italien*, p.246, n 72-2; Fr. Haskell, N. Penny, 1981. *Taste and the antique: the lure of classical sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven, p.306-309, n 148; B.S. Ridgway, 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Art*, Princeton, p.176-177; E.B. Harrison,1977. "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, the Cult Statues", *AJA* 81.2:150-155, fig.8, 15-16, 37, p.176, n 1
Description: Similarities to bust of Pericles by Kresilas; copy of a monumental bronze statue, the casts for which were found in a Roman workshop at Baiae, near Naples. Minerva wears a peplos and himation, gathered at the hips, and a small aegis replete with snakes. (Photo: K. Jones)

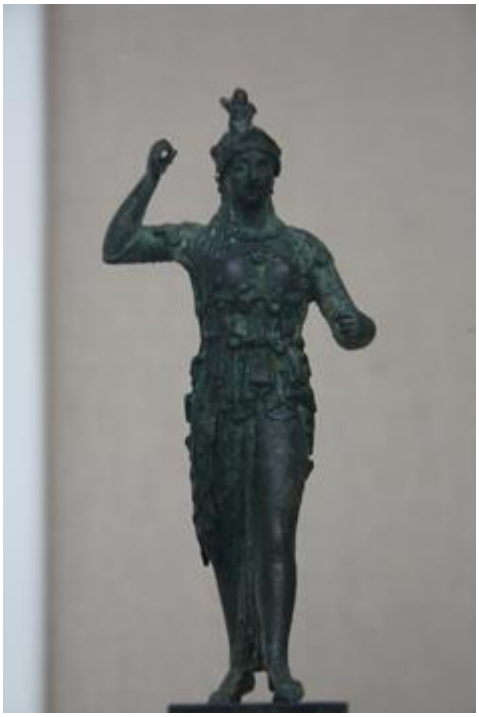
50. Athena Areia of Plataea
Museum: original by Phidias
Date: 5th c BCE
Dimensions: Acrolithic, colossal
Provenance: --
Description: Pausanias IX.4.1-2, acrolithic; gilded wooden body, marble hands, face, feet. Not much smaller than Great Bronze Athena, constructed with spoils from Marathon. Housed in a temple, pronaos held paintings by Onasius and Polygnotos

51. Athena Ingres type (Louvre)
Museum: Louvre (MND 990/Ma 3070)
Date:1st-2nd CE
Dimensions: 2.6m H
Provenance: Rome, acquired by Ingres
Bibliography: B. Holtzmann, *L'Acropole d'Athènes: monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athéna Polias*, Picard, Paris, 2003, p. 99; Cl. Rolley, 1999. *La sculpture grecque, II. La période classique*, Paris: Picard, p.132, fig.118; E. Haeger-Weigel, 1997. *Griechische Akrolith-Statuen des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr*., Berlin, p.86-90, 200-208, 269-270, n 13, pl.12.1, 15.2, 43.2, 47.2; E.B. Harrison, D. Palagia, J.J. Pollitt, 1996. *Personal Style in Greek Sculpture*, p.54-58; M. Potvin, 1991. *Plis et drapés dans la statuaire grecque, Louvre. Visite jeune public*, Paris, n 13, p.25; B.S. Ridgway, 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek sculpture*, Princeton, p.169-170, fig.111; Fr. Chamoux, 1944-45. "Le type de la Minerve Ingres (Athéna Médicis)", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 68-69, p.206-239; E. Michon, 1913. "Le 'Torse Médicis' au Musée du Louvre," *Les Musées de France* 4, p.49-52, pl.19
Description: Frontal, arms and head added separately. Minerva wears a chiton, peplos, and himation thrown over her shoulder. The aegis is relatively short but broken at the bottom edge, truncating the lower half of the gorgoneion. Her weight rests on the left leg, with the right bent and out to the side. (Photo: K. Jones)

52. Athena "Lemnia"
Museum: Centrale Montemartini (copy), inv. MC 1830
Date: 5th c (450-440); copy 1st-2nd c. CE
Material: Pentelic marble
Dimensions: 0.805m H
Provenance: Made by Lemnians for Acropolis (Montemartini copy from the foundations of a building between the Via del Tritone and Via degli Avignonesi prior to 1909)
Copies: Bologna head, 1st-2nd CE. Via Pelagio Palagi, from Sanquirico brothers in 1829
Bibliography: M. Bieber, 1915. *Ancient Copies: contributions to the history of Greek and Roman art*. New York University Press, p. 6; K.J. Hartswick, 1983. "The Athena Lemnia Reconsidered," *AJA* 87: 345-6 no 3; A. Pasqui, 1909. "Roma: Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio," *NSc* p. 38-39 no 6 fig. 3-4; M. Weber, 1991. "Die helmhaltende Athena Typ Lemnia," *Apollon und Athena Klassiche Götterstatuen in Abgüssen und Rekonstruktionen, Katalog zur Sonderausstellung 1991*, ed. P. Gercke, London: British Museum, p. 56 n2, no 3
Description: Fragmentary torso with a slanted aegis tied around the body like a sash, garment belted at the waist. (Photo: K. Jones)

53. Athena Parthenos type (Louvre)
Museum: Louvre, (MR285/Ma91)
Date: 5th c. BCE (replica: 1st-2nd c. CE)
Dimensions: Colossal
Provenance: Athens (replica: Borghese collection, 1807)
Material: (replica: Parian marble body with pentelic marble head)
Bibliography: J.J. Pollitt, 1990. *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-58; N. Leipen, 1971. *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction*. Toronto
Description: "Colossal, chryselephantine. ...The statue is created with ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is likeness of the Sphinx ... and on either side of the helmet are griffins in relief. ... The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory that is approximately 4 cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. This serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief." - Paus. 1.24
(Photo: K. Jones)

54. Phidian Athena Promachos
Museum: --
Date: 5th c. BCE
Dimensions: Colossal
Provenance: Athens Acropolis, Phidias
Replicas:
1st c CE Roman coins showing Acropolis from N
Attic coins 2nd-3rd CE
Athena Elgin - ex Attica, small bronze, wearing heavy peplos and Corinthian helmet. One leg slightly back, both firmly on ground. Owl in right, left by side with spear. Early classical (MET 50.11.1)
Bibliography: Davidson 2014:277-296
Description: Standing figure of the goddess wearing a helmet, holding upright lance. Shield with Centauromachy resting at leg. Not called promachos in antiquity. Rather, bronze Athena or great bronze Athena. One leg relaxed, slightly bent at knee. Crested helmet, either Attic or Corinthian. Probably Attic. Held winged object in hand



55. Athena Promachos type
Museum: British Museum, (inv. GR 1873, 0820.6)
Date: Especially popular in archaic period and earlier. (here: late 1st CE)
Dimensions: varied (0.113m H)
Provenance: varied (Athens, Greece)
Description: striding forward with raised spear and shield, helmet. (Photo: K. Jones)

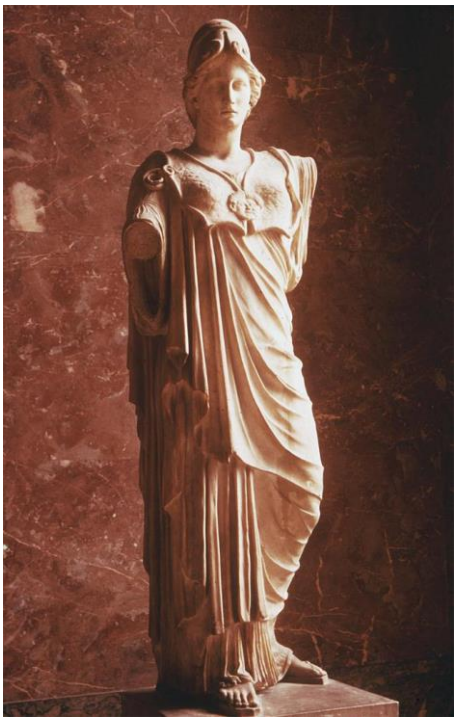
56. Athena Campana type
Museum: Hermitage, inv. ГР-4157
Date: 2nd c. copy of 5th c. Greek original
Dimensions: 2.24m H
Provenance: ex. Marquis Campana collection, Rome (1864 purchase)
Bibliography: I. Altripp, 2010. *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus* Köln: Böhlau-Verlag GmbH, p. 126-130; W. Schurmann, 2000. "Der Typus Athena Vescovali und seine Umbildungen" AntPl 27, p. 75
Description: Rigidly frontal, with a chiton and short aegis. Her himation is gathered around the waist and covers her left arm, which rests on her hip. Triple crested helmet, and likely a spear.

57. Athena Cherchel-Ostia type
Museum: Louvre, MA847
Date: Imperial Roman, copy of 4th c. BCE original
Dimensions: 1.5m H
Provenance: Near Selino in Crete
Reproductions: Generally imperial period, life-size
Bibliography: I. Altripp, 2010. *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus* (Köln); I. Altripp, 2001. "Small Athenas - Some remarks on Late Classical and Hellenistic Statues," in *Athena in the Classical World,* ed. S. Deacy and A. Villing, Brill, p. 181-196.; F. Canciani, LIMC (1984); P. Demargne, LIMC II (1984); S. Karusu, 1954-5, *AM* 69/70; Ch. Landwehr, 1993. "Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae I", *AF* 18; W. H. Schuchhardt, 1977. "Alkamenes," *BWPr* 126; G. B. Waywell, 1971. "Athena Mattei," *BSA* 66.
Description: Standing with weight on right leg, left bent and set back and left. Peplos and sandals. The aegis is semicircular and reaches to just below the breast but is either slanted or pulled to the side. Scaled, knots of snakes on the scalloped edge. Head is downturned, looking at aegis and turned slightly to the left. Corinthian helmet, hair centrally parted and pulled back. Right arm missing but could have held spear, left hand possibly holding basket. (Photo: Kelvin Chen, 2008)

58. Athena Giustiniani type (Capitoline)
Museum: Musei Capitolini/Vatican, Vatican 2223/ Inv. 278 (Capitoline, pictured)
Date: Antonine copy of late 5th-early 4th BCE original
Dimensions: 2.25m H
Provenance: Esquiline, Rome
Bibliography: Lippold 1950:212f. Anm. 15; Helbig 4 I Nr. 449, 1246; Mathiopoulos 1968: 164ff.; G. B. Waywell, 1971. BSA 66, p. 381; M. Bieber, 1977. *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*. New York: p.554-557, Fig. 90f; LIMC II 1 (1984) 1086 Nr.154
Description: Forearms, spear, sphynx restorations. Standing, weight on left leg and right bent and set back. Sandals, chiton and himation. Aegis semicircular and slanted towards left side, snakes along scalloped edge. Gorgoneion and scales. Head is turned slightly left and looks outward; Corinthian helmet. Snake at right side. Sandals, typical hair. (Photo: Tetraktys 2010)

59. Athena Hermathena
Museum: General type
Date: Late Republic
Dimensions: -
Provenance: -
Description: Janus-busts of Mercury and Minerva on a herm base, known from Cicero's letters to Atticus (1.1.5; 1.4.3) Atticus had obtained a rare herm of Athena from Athens for Cicero's Tusculum villa in 67–65 BC

60. Athena Hope/Albani/Farnese type (Louvre, Ma 331/MR 282)
Museum: Naples (Farnese, inv. 6024); LA County Museum of Art (Hope, inv. LA 51.18.12); Villa Albani (inv. 1012)
Date: Original 440-430 BCE HOPE 2nd c CE; Farnese CE1-14; Albani 2nd c CE
Dimensions: Naples: 2.24m H; Albani: 2.01m H



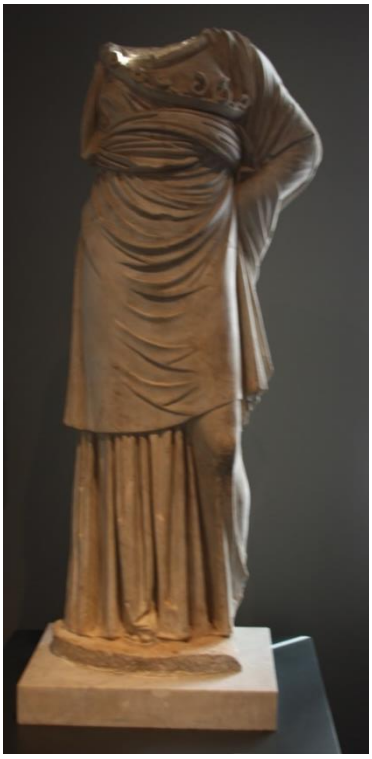
Provenance: Imperial, copy of Greek original by Pyrrhus of Phidian school c. 5th c. BCE; Hope: Ostia, Tor Boacciana; Farnese: near Rome; Albani: Hadrian's villa (?)
Bibliography: E. Mathiopoulos, 1968. *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im fünften Jht. V. Chr.* Dissertation. Bonn: Rheinische Friederich-Wilhelms Universitat, p. 48-69, 102-108; A. Preyss, 1912. "Athena Hope und Pallas Albani-Farnese." *JdI* 27:88-128, figs. 1-4, pls. 9-11; Preyss, 1913. "Athena Hope und Winckelmanns Pallas." *JdI 28:* 244-65*;* B.S. Ridgway, 1981. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton University Press, p. 103 n. 3; C.C. Vermeule, 1981. *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America,* 58, no. 31. University of California Press, p. 58, no 31; G.B. Waywell, 1986. *The Lever and Hope Sculptures. Ancient Sculptures in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, and a Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures formerly in the Hope Collection, London and Deepdene*. Monument artis romanae, 16. Berlin: Mann, p. 67-68, no 1, pl 46, fig 9
Description: Standing, wearing helmet and aegis, ankle-length chiton, sandals; himation draped round whole body and fastened at right shoulder. Weight on right leg, left relaxed to side and back, foot turned outwards. Right arm probably down, left raised and extended to side. Short clasped aegis covering shoulders, under the breast line. Twining snake border, gorgoneion in middle. Attic helmet with seated sphinx on top and griffin at sides. Hair parted in middle, swept under helmet close to ears, broad tress at back. Hope with loose locks down to shoulder and low relief volute over each ear, Farnese with corkscrew curls and ear pieces up. Helmet inspired by Parthenos. Albani on right leg, left relaxed to side, right arm raised and left lowered. (Photo: Artstor, UCSD 13569606)

61. Carpegna Head (See above, Ingres)
Museum: Palazzo Massimo, MNR 55.051
Date: Original, 430s BCE. 1st c. BCE-2nd c. CE
Dimensions: 0.44m H
Provenance: Majority of over-lifesized from Italy, statuettes and votives from Greece. Both in Asia Minor and Africa
Replicas: 30 total, comprised of statues, heads, statuettes, reliefs.
Bibliography: W. Amelung, 1908. "Athena des Phidias," *ÖJh* 11:169-211, figs. 58-61; F. Canciani, 1984. "Athena/Minerva," *LIMC II.I* p. 1074-109, no. 144b; A. Giuliano ed., 1979. *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture, I/1,* no. 138; W. Helbig, 1969. *Führer durch die offentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertiimer in Rom*, Vol. III, No. 2263. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth; A. Linfert, 1982. "Athenen des Phidias," *AM97*:76, no 6; B. Lundgreen, 1997. "A Methodological Enquiry: the Great Bronze Athena by Pheidias," *JHS* 117:23, cat. No 11, pl. 8.3-4, 9.1
Description: The Carpegna face is large and heavy with broad cheeks and chin, big eyes, a broad straight nose, and full lips. The Massimo example has holes for insertion along the brow line (metal) and eyes (glass paste or other material). Part of the lower lip, neck guard, left-side hair, tip of nose restored. (Photo: K. Jones)

62. Athena of Castro Pretorio
Museum: Centrale Montemartini, MC 1829
Dimensions: -
Date: mid 3rd c. BCE, based on early 6th c. BCE models
Provenance: Via Mentana, Castro Pretorio area
Material: Greek marble
Bibliography: I. Altripp, 2010. *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus.* Köln: Böhlau-Verlag, p. 148-158
Description: Minerva wears a belted peplos with a short aegis and a himation over her left shoulder. The aegis has holes for metal insertions along the edges, as does her helmet, left side, and earlobes. She wears a Corinthian helmet with centrally parted hair pulled back into a broad plait. (Photo: K. Jones)

63. Athena Rospigliosi type (Florence)
Museum: Uffizi, inv. 1914 no 185
Date: Original 4th c. BCE, 1st c. CE
Dimensions: 1.62m H
Provenance: -
Bibliography: I. Altripp, 2010. *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus* Köln: Böhlau-Verlag GmbH, S. 281 f. Taf. 19 Abb. 1-3; A.H. Borbein, 1970. "Die Athena Rospigliosi', *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*: 29–43; I. Mansuelli, 1958. *Real Galleria degli Uffizi: Le Sculture.* Rome: 56 f. Nr. 33
Description: Dressed in a peplos, chiton, Corinthian helm, and short starred aegis with a short mantle draped over the left shoulder. Left arm covered, hand on hip, right holding a spear. Minerva looks upwards with her head tilted to the left. A small owl looks upward to the left of her feet. The short mantle has been interpreted by Borbein as a masculine garment of the Attic citizen connected with rhetoric. (Photo: L. Somenzi 2017)

64. Athena Vescovali-Arezzo type
Museum: Palazzo Massimo, inv. 108595
Date: Original by Praxiteles, late 4th c. BCE (copy mind 2nd CE)
Provenance: Tivoli, Villa of Hadrian
Material: Luna marble
Replicas: Newton Hall (Christies 2002, now in Fitzwilliam), 2nd c CE; Nikopolis Museum; Hermitage Museum; Massimo
Bibliography: Helbig II 4, 1966: Nr. 1660; III 4, 1969: Nr. 2218; O. Waldhauer, 1936. *Die antiken Skulpturen der ermitage III Nr. 218; W. H. Schuchardt, Die Epochen der griech. Plastik*, p. 122; LIMC II 1 (1984) p. 98,1 Nr. 256; I. E. Altripp, 1996. "Zu den Athenatypen Rospigliosi und Vescovali. Die Geschichte einer Verwechslung", *AA* 1996, 83-94; W. Schürmann, 2000. "Der Typus Athena Vescovali und seine Umbildungen," *AntPl* 27, p. 37 ff. Taf. 20-49
Description: Standing, left hand on hip under himation. Right hand lost, would have held spear. Corinthian helmet, chiton and himation bunched at bust level. Slanted aegis with ruffled edge. Head tilted slightly upwards, turned to left. Weight on right leg, left bent and back left. (Photo: K. Jones)



65. Athena Marsyas Group
Museum: Vatican Gregoriano Profano (Cat. 9974, 37022, 9975, 9970)/Louvre
Date: Original by Myron c. 460BCE, copy 1-50 CE
Dimensions: -
Provenance: Esquiline, 1823
Bibliography: B. & K. Schauenburg, 1953. "Torso der Myronischen Athena", *Antike Plastik* 12, p. 51, n 5, pl. 52-3; B. Sauer, 1908. "Die Marsyasgruppe des Myron", *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 23, p. 131
Description: Vatican Athena cast from the Lancellotti Athena. She wears a belted peplos and Corinthian helmet, without an aegis. Weight is on the right leg, left bent and to side; left arm hangs down. Her hair is rolled back under the helmet on her forehead, looped down along her temples and back up into helmet just over ear then rolled up in the back, exposing the neck. Cheek flaps/helmet lining are folded into helmet. (Photo: K. Jones)

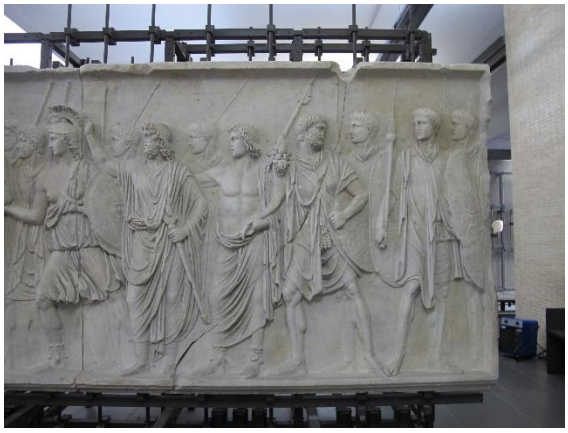
66. Dresden-Bologna Athena type
Museum: Dresden, Staatliche Museum, inv. H49, G 1060
Date: reconstructed in 1891, composite parts 500-432 BCE
Dimensions: 2m H
Provenance: purchased 2 identical bodies from Chigi collection in 1728. Put together by Furtwangler in 1891. Head poorly preserved, matched with one from Pelagio Palagi (Bologna)
Bibliography: J. M. Hurwit, 1999. *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 27 & 151; A. Stewart, 1990. *Greek Sculpture.* New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 261, figs. 313-314; Kim J. Hartswick, 1983. "The Athena Lemnia Reconsidered," *AJA* 87:335-346; A. W. Lippold: *Griechische Plastik*, J. Cape, p. 145 (n.8), pl. 51.3; Richter, 1950. *Sculpture & Sculptors of the Greeks,* Yale University Press, p. 228, fig.615; A. W. Lawrence, 1929. *Classical Sculpture*, J. Cape, p. 198, pl. 49; P. Arndt, 1947. *Brunn-Bruckmann's Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Skulptur* Munich: Bruckmann, pls. 793-4, text vol. 6; Hermann: Catalogue of the Dresden Museum, p. 21
Description: Standing, diagonal aegis. Peplos open along the right side, rope tied around the waist on top of both peplos and aegis. Aegis is slanted and scaled, gorgoneion offset to lower left. Resting on right leg with left slightly drawn back and out. Left arm raised, top of right held by side. Head turned to right, slight tilt down. No helmet, Hair bound with band. Furtwaangler reconstructs left arm holding a spear, right hand extended holding helmet. (Photo: Artstor, Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. 18144613)

67. Athena Mattei
Museum: Louvre, inv. MA 530
Date: 350 BCE/2nd c. BCE
Dimensions: 2.30mH
Provenance: Based on Piraeus Bronze. Installed in the Palazzo Mattei in 1626.
Condition: Modern restorations include: left hand and wrist (probably wrongly restored), fingers of right hand excluding the thumb, right side of neck, underside of chin, some hair at back, crown of helmet, area above left eye, lower end of cheek pieces, nose
Bibliography: LIMC II.1 "Athena" cat. 255; Robertson 1975: 386, 410; O. Palagia, 1973. *AAA* VI:328-9; G.B. Waywell, 1971. "Athena Mattei," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 66: p. 373-382, pl. 66, 373ff.; Schefold 1971, "Die Athena des Piräus," *AntK* 14:37-42, 133, pls. 15-16
Description: Parian marble. Athena faces forward, weight on the right leg, left leg relaxed and foot slightly back, breaking the vertical fall of the drapery on the back and left sides. Her left arm is bent and held somewhat apart from the body. In the modern restoration the hand is open to the viewer, but originally would have been turned inwards to hold a spear. and the substitution of rams' heads for the owls on the cheek pieces of the helmet, an unexplained change but a rather minor detail. (Photo: K. Jones)

68. Porta Latina Minerva
Museum: British Museum, GR 1805.7-3.284 (Terracotta D 440, Townley Collection)
Date: 50-100
Dimensions: 0.9144m H
Material: Terracotta
Provenance: Near Porta Latina, Rome (1767, purchased from Joseph Nollekens who had purchased them from workers at the Porta Latina; they were found at the bottom of a dry well)
Bibliography: G. Colonna, 1991. "Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, l'ager Romanus antiquus e i santuari del I miglio, Scienze dell'antichità." *Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 5, (: 224-231; W. Deonna, 1908. *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquite. Sicile, Grande Grece, Etrurie et Rome*. Paris; H.B. Walters, 1903. *Catalogue of terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, London XIII; T. Combe, 1810. *A Description of Ancient Terracottas in the British Museum, with Engravings*. London
Description: Minerva with slanted aegis, seated on a lion-footed throne. Paint largely gone, found with two busts of Bacchus and several girls (Muses?). May have been displayed in a garden. (Photos: K. Jones)

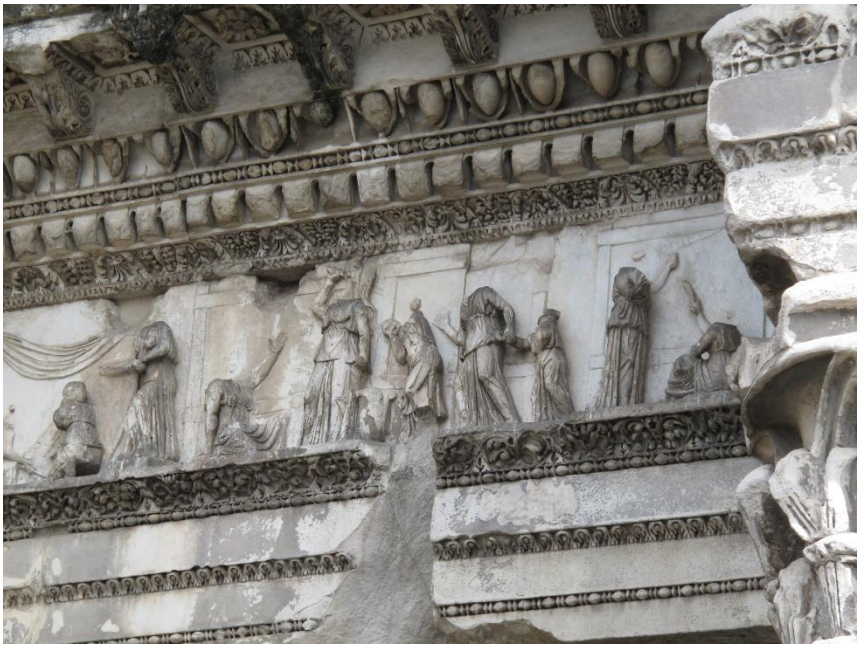
69. Palladium Palatinum (?)
Museum: Palatine Museum inv. 37340
Date: 1st c. CE after 6th c. BCE original
Material: Greek island marble
Provenance: Palatine, Rome
Publications: M.A. Tomei, 1997. *Museo Palatino*. Rome: Electa, p. 54
Description: Part of an archaizing marble head of Minerva, with stylized hair and an Attic helmet. (Photos: K. Jones)

70. Cancelleria Relief A
Museum: Vatican Museum, Rome, Italy (Museo Gregoriano Profano Inv. 13392, 13395, 13389, 13391)
Date: Domitianic, 81-96
Dimensions: 2.06m H
Material: Luna marble
Provenance: Near the Tomb of Aulus Hirtius, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, 1937-1939
Publications: F. Magi, *II Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome 1945); H. Last, "On the Flavian Reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria", *JRS* 38 (1948): 9-14; Toynbee 1957; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom. Die päpstlichen Sammlungen im Vatikan und Lateran I* (Tübingen 1963): Cat. no. 12; Magi 1973; Bergmann MarbWPr 1981 (1982) 19ff; G.M. Koeppel, BJb 184 (1984):29f. Ill. 11 Cat. no. 7; E. Simon, JdI 100 (1985): 543ff; Ghedini 1986; B. Fehr in: R. Rolle and K. Schmidt (Hrsg*.), Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der Alten Welt* (1998):717 ff
Description: Scene showing the *dona milatarum* of Domitian, recarved as Nerva. Domitian is accompanied by Victory (wing visible on left), lictors, Mars, Minerva, Roma, and the Genii of the Senate and People of Rome. (photos: K. Jones)



71. Frieze from the college of the Fabri Tignarii
Museum: Centrale Montemartini, Rome. M.C. inv. 2743
Date: Flavian
Dimensions: -
Material: Proconessian marble
Provenance: Slopes of the Capitoline Hill, Rome (1938)
Publications: A.M. Colini, "Officina di Fabri Tignarii," *Capitolium 22* (1947): 21-28; D'Ambra 1989:267; M. Bertoletti, M. Cima, and E. Talamo: *Centrale Montemartini* (Mondadori Electa, 2008)
Description: Frieze showing workmen in a carpenter's' shop. Minerva directs the scene at left. (Photo: K. Jones)

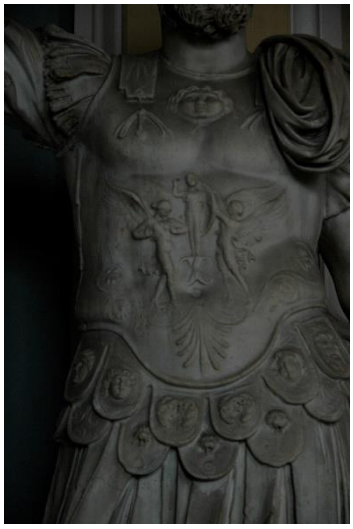
72. Frieze from the Forum Transitorium
Location: Rome, Forum Transitorium, in situ.
Date: 90-97
Dimensions: -
Material: Marble
Publications: D'Ambra 1993; D'Ambra 1991, "Pudicitia in the Frieze of the Forum Transitorium," *RM* 98 (1991): 243-48; LTUR "Forum Nervae," p. 227-9
Description: Women engaged in the various stages of weaving, including a vignette of Arachne and Minerva. (Photo: K. Jones.)



73. Funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus
Museum: Rome, Centrale Montemartini (Inv. 2963)
Date: 94-99
Provenance: East tower of Porta Salaria, 1871
Dimensions: 1.61m H
Material: Marble
Publications: CIL VI 33976 + IG XIV 2012 = ILS 5177 = IGRRP I 350-2 = IGUR III 1336 = AÉpigr (2000) 178. G. Henzen, 1871. 'Il. Scavi,' *Bullettino dell'Institutio di corripondenza archeologica,* p. 98-115; C.L. Visconti, 1871. *Il sepolcro del fanciullo Quinto Sulpicio Massimo.* Tipographia della S.C. de Propaganda Fide: Roma; R. Lanciani, 1892. *Pagan and Christian Rome.* Macmillan: London, p. 280-2; J.R. Nelson, 1903. 'The boy poet Sulpicius: a tragedy of Roman education', *The School Review* 11.5, p. 383-95; Platner and Ashby 1929:487; A.E. Gordon, 1958. *Album of Dated Latin inscriptions.* University of California Press: Berkeley, p. I 144 no. 153, pl. 64b; G. Caruso, 1999. 'Sepulcrum: Q. Sulpicius Maximus' in *LTUR.4, P-S*, ed. EM Steinby. Quarar: Rome, p. 300; B Rawson, 2003. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy.* Oxford University Press, p.17-20, fig 1.1
Description: Funerary altar of the 11-year-old boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who delivered an extempore Greek poem at the Capitoline Games in 94. He stands in the central niche with a scroll upon which the end of his poem is inscribed; the entire text of his poem, detailing Zeus' speech to Helios after Phaethon crashed his chariot, is inscribed along with one Latin epitaph and two Greek funerary epigrams. (Photo: K. Jones)

74. Mutilated cuirassed torso
Museum: Rome, Art Market (private collection)
Date: Late 1st c.
Provenance: -
Dimensions: 0.86m H
Material: Marble
Publications: Stemmer 1978:112-13, no. XI 2, pl 752; R. Gergel 1991 246, n. 70; Varner 2001:49 and 2004:114, 260
Description: Cuirass with a relief depiction of Domitian with Minerva; both heads have been effaced from the surface

74b. Cuirassed statue with palladium motif
Museum: Vatican (Gall. Stat. 248)
Date: Flavian
Provenance: Civitavecchia, Castrum novum
Dimensions: 1.89m. H
Material: Marble
Publications: Stemmer 1978:80, no. VII.10, pl. 55.1, with bibliography.
Description: Central palladium motif with winged victories on either side, and a gorgoneion at breast level. (Photo: E.R. Varner)



74c. Cuirassed statue with palladium motif
Museum: Musée Municipal de Vaison (inv. 990.54.002)
Date: Late 1st c. CE
Provenance: Theatre, Vaison.
Dimensions: 2.20m. H
Material: Marble
Publications: Stemmer 1978:77, no. VII.4, pl. 50.4-51.2, with bibliography.
Description: Central palladium motif with winged victories on either side, and a gorgoneion at breast level. (Photo: maarjaara, cropped from original)

74d. Aeneas and Anchises Group
Museum: Bardo National Museum, Tunis (inv. 2125)
Date: 14
Provenance: Carthage, Byrsa hill
Dimensions: 1.18m H
Material: Luna marble
Publications: M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis* (Heidelberg 1999): 374 Cat. A26 pl. 6.2; M. Yacoub, *Le Musee du Bardo*, (Tunis 1970):45, fig. 37; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munchen 1987): 179, 311 ff. fig. 247
Description: From an altar to the Gens Augusta. Aeneas strides right, holding Anchises and pulling Ascanius behind him. (Photo: Pascal Radigue, cropped from original)

74e. Minerva of Lavinium
Museum: Museo Archeologico Lavinium (Inv. P. 77.38)
Date: c. 500 BCE
Provenance: Sanctuary of Minerva, Lavinium
Dimensions: 1.96m H with base
Material: Terracotta and polychromy
Publications: Castagnoli 1979, Enea nel Lazio 1981:190-3.
Description: Frontally oriented with a scalloped aegis and a belt of snakes. Her snake-edged shield is supported on the left by a triton, and another snake wraps around her right arm. She wears a single-crested helmet with the side guards raised. (Photo: Dan Diffendale 2012)

Cameos and Gems

75. Bust of Domitianic Minerva
Museum: BnF camee.128 (Chabouillet.122, reg.C.1984)
Date: c. 65-68
Material: Agate
Size: H. 13.4 cm, l. 8.1 cm
Provenance: Bavay, acquired 15/12/1846, purchased ex. Hector Bouchard
Publications: M.L. Vollenweider, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, 2003. *Camées et intailles, II, Les portraits romains du Cabinet des Médailles*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, p.117-118, n 132; LIMC II, 1984:1107, Athena/Minerva, n 445; Gisela Marie Augusta Richter, 1971. *Engraved Gems of the Romans*. London: Phaidon, p.36, n 111.*Revue archéologique*. Paris, III² p.624. Ernest Babelon, 1897. *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque nationale*, n 128, p.64-67
Description: Bust of Minerva facing right. Attic helmet with long crest, floral pattern (laurel?), hair rolled back over rim and tucked behind ear, falling out from under neck guard. Aegis in ¾ view with gorgoneion. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

76. Bust of Domitianic Minerva
Museum: BnF camee.23 (Chabouillet.30)
Date: c. 50 (mount added 4th quarter of the 17th century)
Material: Sardonyx, gold
Size: H. 8.8 cm, l. 7 cm
Provenance: ex. Collection de Louis XIV, Cabinet du Roi
Publications: M.L. Vollenweider, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, 2003. Camées et intailles, II, Les portraits romains du Cabinet des Médailles. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, p.105-106, n 115; Ernest Babelon, 1897. *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque nationale*, n 23, p.17; Théophile Marion Dumersan, 1838. *Histoire du cabinet des médailles, antiques et pierres gravées*. Paris, p.108
Description: Bust of Minerva facing left. Corinthian helmet with tall crest, hair tied back over neck guard and with two strands over the left shoulder. Peplos tied at shoulder, no aegis, plain oval border. 17th c. mount. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

77. Type 3 Minerva
Museum: BnF camee.26 (Chabouillet.35)
Date: Roman
Material: Agate
Dimensions: H. 12 cm, l. 5.5 cm
Provenance: -
Publications: LIMC II 1984:1082, Athena/Minerva, n 105;
Ernest Babelon, 1897. *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque nationale*, n 26, p.18
Description: Full-length Minerva facing left with left hand on hip, right holding spear. A Corinthian helmet is pushed up over her brow (damaged, missing face). Her hair rolls over the edge of her helmet and is tied in the back underneath the neck guard. Her aegis is frontal with a scale pattern and gorgoneion. She wears a chiton/peplos with long sleeves. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

78. Bust of Domitianic Minerva
Museum: BnF camee.22 (Chabouillet.32)
Date: c. 60-63
Material: Sardonyx
Dimensions: H. 9.9 cm, l. 7 cm
Provenance: 1858, ex. Louis XIV collection, Cabinet du Roi
Publications: M.L. Vollenweider, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, 2003. Camées et intailles, II, Les portraits romains du Cabinet des Médailles. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, p. 116-117, n 131. LIMC VIII 1997, Aigis (S), p.514, n 22. Anatole Chabouillet, 1858. *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque impériale*. Paris, n 32
Description: Bust of Minerva facing left. Corinthian helmet with shortened face and short crest, strands of hair along the edges and in front of her ear, two locks from under the neck guard. She wears a frontal aegis with gorgoneion and scale pattern. Bead and oval border. Reverse has been recarved as a full-length portrait of Henri IV after the Louvre painting by Francis Pourbus. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

79. Sardonyx cameo with two imperial princesses as Minerva and Juno
Museum: British Museum, inv. 1890,0601.2
Date: 54-68
Material: Sardonyx
Size: 5.7cm L, 7.3cm H
Provenance: George James Howard, 9th Earl of Carlisle
Publications: -
Description: Two imperial females, jugate, in the guise of Minerva (foreground) and Juno. (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

80. Minerva Panthea
Museum: Bibliotheque Nationale, inv. Seyrig.1973.1.525.47
Date: Roman
Material: Carnelian
Dimensions: 1.6cm W, 1.9cm L
Provenance: -
Publications: -
Description: Syncretized version of Minerva, Fortuna, and Isis. Minerva, right, with aegis and Attic helmet. She holds a thunderbolt in her left hand, a cornucopia in her right, and Isaic motif on the top of her helmet. Pillar behind, snake behind and at her feet. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France)

80b. Glass Paste Gem
Museum: British Museum, BM 1814,0704.2697
Date: 1st c. Roman
Material: Glass
Dimensions: 1.7cm L, 1.4cm W
Provenance: Townley collection
Publications: Schürmann 1986
Description: (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Metals

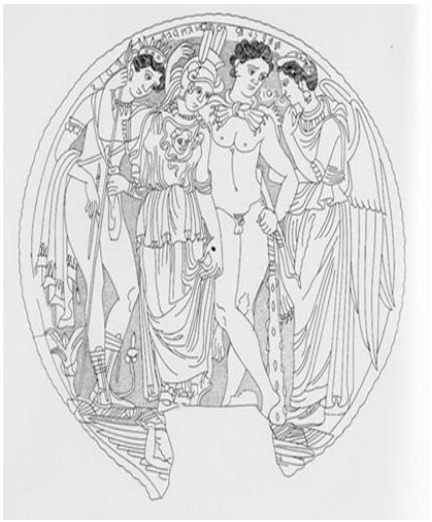
81. Bronze mirror
Location: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung, inv. Fr 42 (Misc 3352)
Date: late 4th-early 3rd c. BCE
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: L. 0.166 m, H. 0.229 m
Bibliography: CSE Bundesrepublik Deutschland 4, Nr. 24, Gerhard, Es III p 246; Friederichs, BAB, II 51f; Pfiffig 1975:258; Fischer-Graf, Vulci 3 Nr. 28; G. Colonna in LIMC II "Menerva" 1984:1057, Nr. 84; Simon 1990:172.
Description: Winged Menrva rushes left with a lightning spear and owl-emblazoned shield. (Photo: After CSE Deutschland:4.24)

82. Bronze mirror
Location: Indiana University Art Museum, inv. 74.23
Date: Hellenistic
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: w. 0.178 m, h. 0.275 m
Bibliography: Art Journal 34 (1974: 62; Bonfante, Etr. Dress, frontis; no 122, pp 196-7; L Bonfante in StEtr 45 1977 149-168 pls XXI-XXIII; N de Grummond in Archaeology 34 (1981) 54; " Guide, pp 107, 155-6; figs 50-51; E Simon, sv Althaia in LIMC I, 1, p 579 no 1; I, 2, pl 435, 1; Guide to the Collections (Bloomington 1980) p 44. Inscriptions: Thes. L. E. I. pp 53, 125, 156, 240, 349, 357. Cf De Simone I, pp 57 (16) and 66 (5)
Description: Uni, Menrva, and Turan; Uni adjusts Turan's diadem. (Photo: © Indiana University, artmuseum.iu.edu)

83. Bronze mirror
Location: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung, Fr. 47 (Misc 2947)
Date: late 4th c. BCE
Provenance: Chiusi
Dimensions: w. 0.136 m, h 0.280 m
Bibliography: Gerhardt, ES II p. 166; Friederichs, BAB, II p. 53, Mansuelli, StEtr 1948, p. 49, 91f; Q.F. Maule, H.R. W. Smith, 1959, Votive Religion at Caere. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology 4, p. 1, 110ff; H. Wagenvoort 1951, De Oorspruing der Ludi Saeculares, Mededelingen der K. Nederlanse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde p. 14,4, 19ff; Pfiffig 1975, p. 282; E. Simon in LIMC II (1984) Nr. 165 s.v. Athena/Menerva; CSE Bundesrepublic Deutschland 2, p. 26.
Description: Turan and Menrva with an infant (Mariś Husrnana) and a large amphora. A nude youth with a spear (Leinth) holds Mariś Halna. (Photo: After CSE Deutschland:2.26)

84. Bronze mirror
Location: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. inv. Bronze.1289
Date: 475-450 BCE
Provenance: Vulci, Canino, or Orvieto
Dimensions: diameter 16.6cm, h. 23.3cm
Bibliography: LIMC IV. 1988, p.336, Gorgones (in Etruria), n°71; LIMC II. 1984, p.954, Athanasia, n°3* et p.1070, Athena/Menerva, n°237°; Babelon, Ernest, Blanchet, Jules-Adrien. Catalogue des Bronzes Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale. Paris: 1895, p.504-505, n°1289, fig.1289; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, Denise. Le Miroir étrusque, d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles. Ecole Française de Rome, 1973, p.68-72.
Description: Menrva leads a young woman. (Photo: After ES:2, 146)

85. Bronze mirror
Location: Morlanwelz, Musee Royal de Mariemont inv. B.206
Date: 325-300 BCE
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions:
Bibliography: CSE Belgiqie1.25a
Description: Menrva, Hercle, Eris, and Thethis (Photo: After CSE Belgiqie:1/25a)



86. Bronze mirror
Location: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
Date: late 5th c BCE
Provenance:
Dimensions:
Bibliography: Lembrechts 1978:71; de Grummond 2006:103
Description: Artumnes brings a wrapped Esia to Menrva and Fufluns. (Photo: After Lembrechts 1978:71)

87. Bronze mirror
Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 97.22.17
Date: 325-300 BCE
Provenance: -
Dimensions: 29.4 cm L; 17.3 cm diameter
Bibliography: Richter, Gisela M. A. 1915. *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes.* no. 798, pp. 274-75, New York: Gilliss Press; LIMC, Vol. 7. Sime II, no. 2; Thalna, no. 10, Zürich: Artemis Verlag; Bonfante, Larissa. 1997. CSE USA.3 no. 10, pp. 37-40, figs. 10a-d, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider; Wiman, Ingela M. B. 2000-2001. "Review of Etruscan Mirrors, by L. Bonfante." *Opuscula Romana, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom:* pp. 125-8; Ridgway, Francesca R. 2000. "Etruscan mirrors and archaeological context." *JRA* 13: p. 408 n. 8; De Grummond, Nancy Thomson. 2006. *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend*. pp. 152-53, fig. 7.7, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; de Puma, Richard Daniel. 2013. *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. no. 6.12, pp. 178, 181, 182, 249, New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Description: Menrva with Thalna and Sime. (Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art)

88. Bronze mirror
Museum: Dayton Art Institute, Inv. 70.34
Date: late 4th c. BCE
Provenance: -
Dimensions: h. 0.33 m
Bibliography: CSE U.S.A. I:20, 36-7
Description: Menrva on the left with spear, shield, helmet, aegis, and owl. She gazes at a partially nude young man on the right who holds a thyrsus and is in the process of being crowned with a wreath by a nude young woman. (Photo: after CSE USA:1.20a)

89. Bronze mirror
Museum: British Museum, inv. 1868,0606.1
Date: late 4th c. BCE
Provenance: Bolsena
Dimensions:27.5cm H, 18.5cm diameter
Bibliography: de Grummond 2006:76, fig. V.5; Bonfante 1990 p. 31-2 and fig. 15; Walters, H B, Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum. Greek, Roman & Etruscan., I-II, London, BMP, 1899, p. 618.
Description: Menrva with aegis and shield standing just left of center and either pulling an infant out of an amphora or placing one inside. Turms stands to the left with a second infant, Amatutunia holds a third. A nude youth called Laran is also present, along with Turan. The scene is framed above by Dawn and her quadriga, and below by Hercle kneeling on a raft of amphorae. The children are called Mariś Isminthians, Mariś Husrnana, and Mariś Halna. (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

90. Bronze mirror
Museum: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, inv. 72740
Date: c. 325 BCE
Provenance: Volterra
Dimensions: 31cm L, 19cm diameter
Bibliography: de Grummond 2006 p 84 fig V.14; *National Archaeological Museum Guide*, ed. A.M. Esposito and M.C. Guidotti, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Tuscan Archaeological Heritage, p. 52-3; *ES*:5:60
Description: Uni nurses Hercle after his apotheosis. (Photo: after ES.5.60)

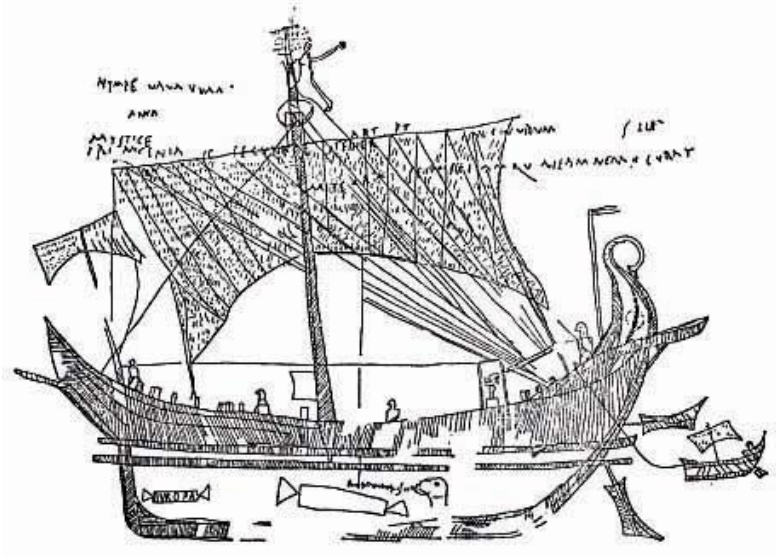
91. Bronze mirror
Location: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung
Date: c. 350 BCE
Provenance: Vulci
Dimensions: -
Bibliography: N. de Grummond, *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, 1989; ES 2 pl 165.
Description: Crowning of Hercle with Menrva, Turan, and Epiur (Photo: after de Grummond 1989)

92. Bronze mirror
Location: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung
Date: 425-400 BCE
Provenance: Vulci
Dimensions: -
Bibliography: N. de Grummond, *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, 1989; de Grummond 2006 p 68 fig IV.16
Description: Hercle picks up an adolescent Epiur while Menrva watches. (Photo: after N. de Grummond 2006, fig IV.16.)

93. Silver mirror with a portrait of Domitian
Museum: Badisches Landes Museum (Karlsruhe, Germany)
Date: 82-96 CE
Provenance: Northern Iran
Dimensions: 11.8cm diameter
Bibliography: M. Taddei 1967; M.R. Alfoldi (ND) 15-22; K Vierneisel and P Zanker 1979 20 with fig; Fittschen-Zanker I 36, n 4, 37, n5; W Schürmann 1985 41, pl 3; WR Megow 1989 446-47, fig 4, Varner 2004 132
Description: A bust of Domitian, laureate, faces right. At his collarbone is a small figure of Minerva, representing the palladium. Signed by Euporos. (Photo: Bill Storage, 2009)

Other Materials

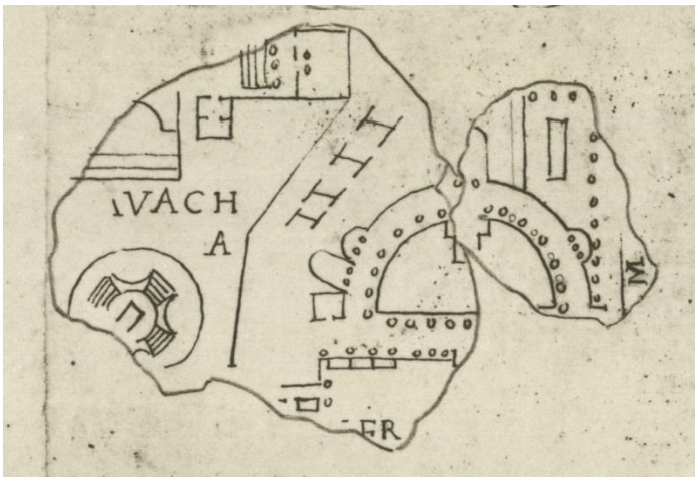
94. Europa graffito, sketch
Museum: House of the Ship, Pompeii, in situ
Date: 1st c. CE
Dimensions: over 1m square
Bibliography: Lagner, M. 2001. *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*. Reichert.
Description: Located on the peristyle wall immediately east of the cubiculum doorway. A cargo ship, named 'Europa,' tows a lifeboat. (Photo: after M. Lagner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*)



95. Mosaic of a harbor
Location: Piazzale della Corporazioni, Ostia
Date: 2nd c CE
Description: Detail of a mosaic showing a cargo ship and lighthouse. (Photo: sailko, 2015)

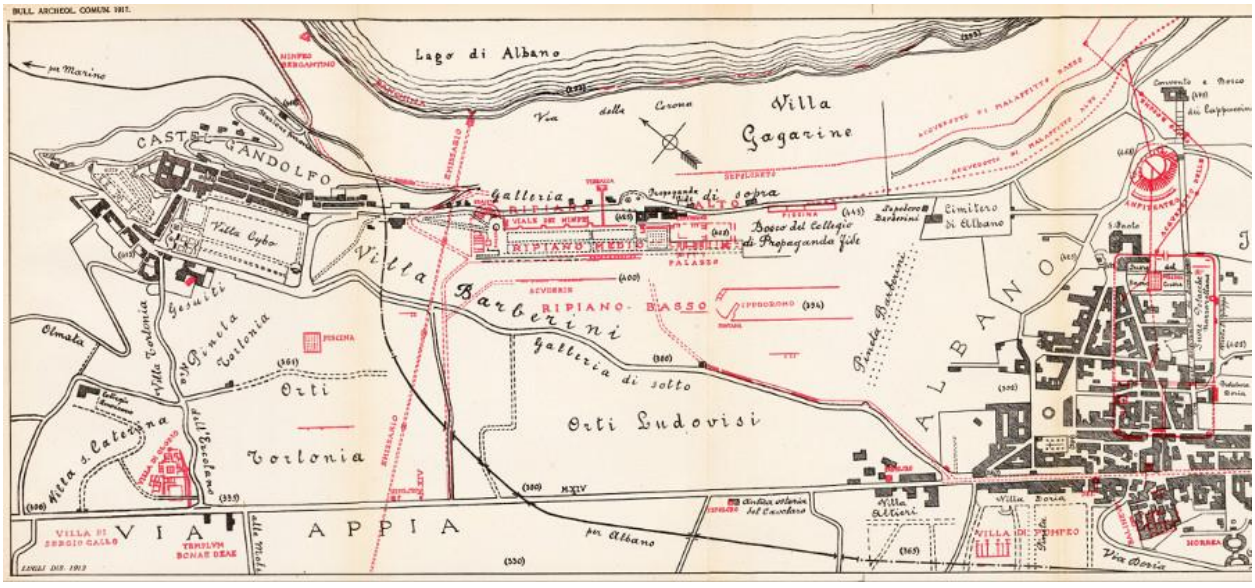
96. Campana Relief with Minerva and the Argo
Museum: British Museum, inv. 1805,0703.301
Date: 1st c. CE
Provenance: Porta Latina, Rome
Dimensions: 0.635m H, 0.5588m L
Bibliography: Burn, L, Higgins, R.; Walters, H B; Bailey, D M. 1903. *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum, I-IV*, London, BMP: D603; Hermann, V.R.; Hermann, W., 1911. *Architektonische Roemische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, IV.1 and 2, Berlin und Stuttgart, Verlag Von W. Spemann: p. 12-14, pl 32.
Description: Terracotta relief from the Porta Latina. Minerva, seated left, helps to construct the mast and sail of the Argo. (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

97. FUR Stanford #35m, Slab IV-5
Bibliography: LTUR III "Minerva Chalcidica, Templum" (F. de Caprariis) 255
Description: Minerva Chalcidica (Photo: FUR database, Stanford)

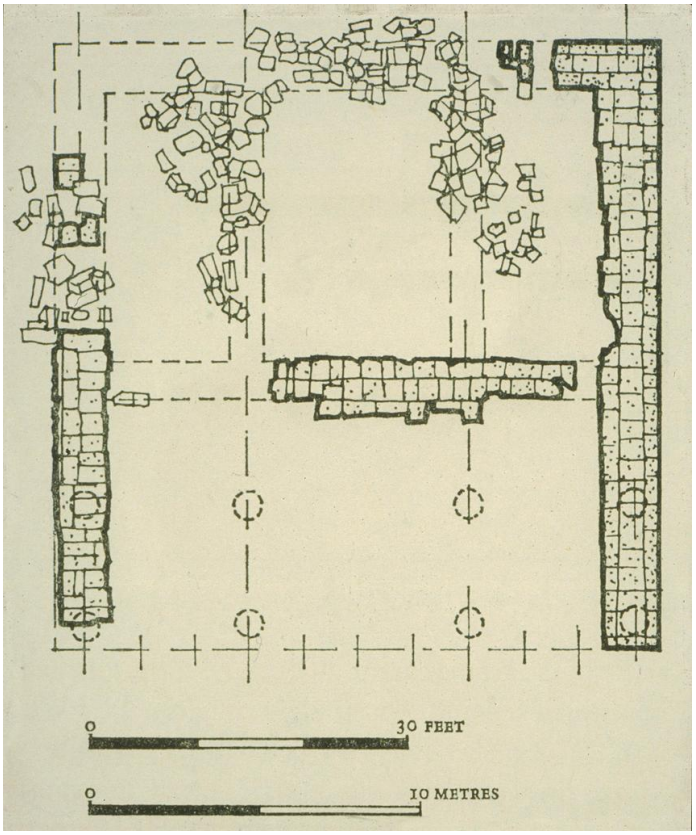


98. FUR Stanford #22b, Slab VII-15
Bibliography: LTUR "Aedes Minervae" 342
Description: Aedes Minervae (Photo: FUR database, Stanford)

99. Map of the Alban Villa
Location: Castel Gandolfo, Italy
Photo: After G. Lugli, 1917



100. Site Plan, Portonaccio Sanctuary
Location: Veii
Photo: Artstor, UCSD 13911940



101. Site Plan, Temple of Menrva
Location: Punta della Vipera
Photo: after M. Torelli, "Tempio etrusco in loc. Punta della Vipera," *BdA* 5.50 (1965)

Planimetria del santuario di Punta della Vipera. A. Muro di temenos; B. Fondazioni del lato ovest del tempio; C. Altare; D. Villa romana; E. Settore di nord-est della cosiddetta Piazza; F. Pozzo; G. Bothros arcaico; H. Vani sul lato posteriore del tempio. Da M. Torelli.

Abbreviations

BMCRE/BMC	Mattingly, H. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum.* London: 1966.
BNJ	Worthington, Ian ed. *Brill's New Jacoby Online.*
CHL	Meshorer, Ya'akov, *Coins of the Holy Land.* Ancient Coins in North American Collections 8: 2013.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
Cohen	Cohen, Henry. *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain Edizioni Quasar.* Paris: 1886.
Hendin/GBC	Hendin, David. *Guide to Biblical Coins*. 5th ed. Amphora:2010.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Artemis & Winkler Verlag. Zürich, Munich, Düsseldorf: 1981-1999.
LTUR	Steinby, E.M. ed. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Rome: 1993.
Meshorer	Meshorer, Ya'akov, Gabriela Bijovsky, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert. *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. ed. David Hendin and Andrew Meadows. New York: 1982.
RIC	Mattingly, Harold et al. *Roman Imperial Coinage.* London: 1923-1994.
RPC2	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Part I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69).* London: 1992.
RRC	M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage.* New York: 1974.
RSC	Seaby, H.A. *Roman Silver Coins.* Los Angeles: 1994.
Sear	Sear, David R. *Roman Coins and their Values*. Los Angeles: 1988.
Syd	Syndenham, E. *Aes Grave: a Study of the Cast Coinages of Rome and Central Italy.* London: 1926.
TJC	Meshorer, Ya'akov. *Treasury of Jewish Coins.* Jerusalem: 2001.
Wcn	Mac Dowall, D.W. *The Western Coinages of Nero. ANSNNM* 61. New York: 1979.

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