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MINERVIN KULT NA PODRUČJU RIMSKODOBNE HISTRIJE

THE MINERVA CULT ON THE TERRITORY OF HISTRIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

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Procesom romanizacije na područje rimskodobne Histrije uz ostale je aspekte rimske kulture pristigla i religija, rezultat čega je podizanje zavjetnih spomenika u čast novopridošlih bogova i gradnja svetišta za njihovo štovanje. Jedno od glavnih rimskih božanstava i dio Kapitolijske trijade bila je Minerva, božica mudrosti i umijeća ratovanja, pa je tako i njen kult dospio na taj prostor i postao dio duhovne kulture tamošnjeg stanovništva. O njegovoj prisutnosti svjedoče najviše epigrafski spomenici te u manjoj mjeri figurice, tako da će se u ovom radu na temelju njih obraditi prisutnost i rasprostranjenost Minervina štovanja u Histriji, a posebna će se pažnja posvetiti i pitanju sinkretizma nekog od autohtonih božanstava s Minervom te postojanju i lokaciji njena svetišta unutar kolonije Pole.

With the process of Romanization, the territory of Roman-period Histria saw the arrival of religion along with other aspects of Roman culture, the result of which was the erection of votive monuments in honor of the newly arrived gods, and the construction of shrines for their worship. One of the most important Roman deities, and part of the Capitoline Triad, was Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and martial prowess. Thus her cult likewise arrived in this area and became part of the spiritual culture of the local population. Her presence is evidenced mostly by epigraphic monuments and to a lesser extent by figurines, and on the basis of these, this paper will research the presence and extent of her worship in Histria. Special attention will be paid to questions arising with respect to syncretism of one of the autochthonous deities with Minerva, and to the existence and location of her shrine within the colony of Pola.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Minerva, Histrija, latinska epigrafija, sinkretizam, Minervino svetište, kipić

KEY WORDS: Minerva, Histria, Latin epigraphy, syncretism, Minerva's shrine, statuettes

UVOD

Kult božice Minerve, kao jedne od vrhovnih Rimskih božanstava i dijela Kapitolijske trijade, bio je rasprostranjen po čitavom Rimskom Carstvu pa tako i na području rimskodobne Histrije, koja je bila sastavni dio italske Desete regije. Minerva je uz Dijanu i Vestu bila jedna od djevičanskih božica i u najvećoj se mjeri štivala kao božica mudrosti i umijeća te zaštitnica umjetnosti, trgovine, tkanja i obrta. Bila je pandan grčkoj Ateni i, po mitu, rođena je kao odrasla djevojka, već opremljena oružjem, iskočivši svom ocu Jupiteru iz glave. Od od 2. st. pr. Kr. Rimljani su je izjednačavali s tom grčkom božicom pa se i prikazivala po njenoj ikonografiji, naoružana kacigom i kopljem, a simbol joj je bila sova, koja je označavala njenu vezu s mudrošću. Procesom širenja rimske kulture počela se štovati diljem Italije, a kasnije i u provincijama. Ime Minerva prisvojeno je od etruščanske božice Mjeseca po imenu *Menerva*, koja je s vremenom uzela karakteristike Atene te je počelo njeno štovanje kao zaštitnice mudrosti, umijeća ratovanja i trgovine. Porijeklo njena imena dolazi iz praindoeuropskog korijena *men, koji se pojavljuje i kao dio nekih riječi u latinskom jeziku, poput *mens*, koja označava um ili razum, pa je tako i samo njeno ime već oslikava kao božicu razuma odnosno mudrosti. U etruščanskoj je mitologiji uz božanstva po imenu *Tinia* i *Uni* bila dio vrhovne trijade, a njeno štovanje u tom obliku nastavljeno je kasnije u rimskoj religiji, ali tada uz drugo dvoje vrhovnih bogova. Glavna joj je svetkovina bila *Quinquatria*, koja se slavila od 19. do 23. marta i bila je posvećena umjetnicima, a postojala je i jedna manja, *Minuscula Quinquatria*, u junu. Prvo značajno svetište Minerve utemeljili su 207. pr. Kr. pjesnici i umjetnici na rimskom brežuljku Aventinu, u namjeri da se ondje sastaju i prinose njoj kao svojoj zaštitnici zavjetne darove. Poslije se u Rimu nastavila štovati uz Jupitera i Junonu kao dio Kapitolijske trijade u hramu na Kapitoliju, zatim i kao božica medicine *Minerva Medica* u posebnom hramu te u svetištu (*delubrum Minervae*) koje je osnovao Pompej oko 50. pr. Kr., na mjestu gdje se danas nalazi crkva *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. Mjesta namijenjena njenu štovanju nastajala su po čitavoj Italiji, a daljnjim procesom romanizacije, ponajviše u carsko vrijeme, i po provincijama. U aspektu umijeća ratovanja postala je važnija od Marsa, a osobito je dobila na važnosti u vrijeme Domicijana, koji ju je smatrao svojom zaštitnicom (RE, col. 1775-1805; Roman 2010, 90-92).

INTRODUCTION

The cult of the goddess Minerva, who was one of the supreme Roman deities and part of the Capitoline Triad, was widespread throughout the Roman Empire and thus likewise on the territory of Roman Histria that was an integral part of the Tenth Italic Region. Minerva, together with Diana and Vesta, was one of the virgin goddesses. She was mainly worshiped as the goddess of wisdom, invention, and patron of the arts, commerce, weaving and crafts. She was the counterpart of the Greek goddess Athena, and according to myth she was born having sprung full-grown and equipped with weapons from the head of Jupiter, her father. As from the 2nd century BCE, the Romans equated her with the Greek goddess, and she was depicted in accordance with the iconography of the latter, armed with a helmet and a spear, her symbol being an owl, indicating her relation to wisdom. As such, with the ongoing process of spreading of Roman culture, she began to be worshiped throughout Italy, and later in the provinces as well. The name Minerva was adopted from the Etruscan goddess of the moon, *Menerva*, who eventually took over the characteristics of Athena and began to be worshiped as the patron of wisdom, martial prowess, and commerce. The origins of her name stem from a pre-Indo-European root *men, which also appears as part of some words in Latin, such as *mens* that denotes intellect or sense, which means that her name by itself already depicts her as a goddess of wisdom and intellect. In Etruscan mythology, alongside the deities *Tinia* and *Uni*, she was also part of the supreme triad, and it was in this form that she continued to be worshiped subsequently in Roman religion, only that now she was accompanied by two other supreme gods. Her main holiday was *Quinquatria* which was celebrated from March 19 to 23, and was dedicated to artists; her lesser holiday was called *Minuscula Quinquatria* and it was celebrated in June. The first significant sanctuary dedicated to Minerva was established by poets and artists on the Aventine Hill in Rome in 207 BCE, in order to be able to meet there and make presentations to their patron in the form of votive gifts. Later on she continued to be worshiped in Rome alongside Jupiter and Juno, as part of the Capitoline Triad, in the temple at the Capitol, and still later as the goddess of medicine, *Minerva Medica*, in a special temple and in a sanctuary (*delubrum Minervae*) founded by Pompey around 50 BCE on the spot where nowadays stands the church of *Santa Maria*



Sl. 1 Jedan od tipičnih prikaza božice Minerve smješten u Vatikanskim muzejima (autorica: V. Zović)

Fig. 1 One of the typical depictions of the goddess Minerva, located in the Vatican Museums (photo by: V. Zović)

Minervin kult je i u Istru došao procesom romanizacije, najvjerojatnije u 1. st. pr. Kr. kad je ona imala znatan utjecaj na taj prostor, koji je konačno pao pod rimsku vlast 129. pr. Kr., ali razdoblje između te godine i osnivanja kolonije Pole protjecalo je uglavnom u kontinuitetu života autohtonog stanovništva. Za događanja tijekom tog perioda i arheološke i povijesne potvrde su vrlo malobrojne, stoga je slabo poznat, a tijekom tadašnjih životnih prilika može se tek pretpostaviti. No, nakon nastanka kolonije Pole (*Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola*) na mjestu nekadašnje histarske gradine izvori postaju znatno brojniji te se događaji i život na tom prostoru mogu pratiti. U Augustovo vrijeme veći dio istarskog poluotoka ulazi u sastav Italije, postavši dio jedne od regija na koje je matično tlo Italije bilo podijeljeno (*Regio Decima*).¹ Ona je

¹ Naime, Italija je kao središte Rimskog Carstva bila podijeljena na jedanaest regija, a uglavnom se smatra da je do te podjele došlo između 18. i 12. pr. Kr., kad su August i Agripa napravili upravnu reformu čitave države. Dugo je ta regija, koja je uključivala veliki dio istarskog poluotoka, nosila samo ime Deseta, a krajem 3. st. kad su se sve italske regije počele imenovati i zemljopisno, dobila je ime *Venetia et Histria*, stoga se u literaturi najčešće na nju nailazi pod imenom *Regio Decima: Venetia et Histria* (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 40).

sopra Minerva. Places intended for her worship were created throughout Italy and with the further process of Romanization, especially in the imperial era, in the provinces as well. As a goddess of martial prowess she exceeded Mars in importance, and especially so during the reign of Domitian, when her importance grew by leaps and bounds because he considered her as his patroness (*RE*, col. 1775-1805; Roman 2010, 90-92).

Minerva's cult arrived to Istria with the process of Romanization, most probably in the 1st century BCE, when she exerted a significant impact on this region that had finally fallen under Roman rule in 129 BCE; however, the period between that year and the establishment of the colony of Pola passed mainly in the continuity of life of the autochthonous population. For events during this period of time we can say that they are archaeologically as well as historically very poorly corroborated, which means that we can only make assumptions about the circumstances of life in those times. However, after the founding of the colony of Pola (*Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola*) in the forties of the 1st century BCE, on the site of a former Histrian hillfort, we witness a dramatic increase of the sources that referred to it and, hence, we can follow both the events and life as they occurred in this region. During the period of Augustus, the greater portion of the Istrian Peninsula became part of an organizational unit called *Regio Decima*, which denotes one of the regions into which the territory of Italy proper was divided.¹ It encompassed northeastern Italy, from present-day Cremona and Brescia in the west, to the Raša River on the east coast of Istria. This annexation had an extraordinary impact on the spread of the process of Romanization there, and it was also to a large extent responsible for the prosperity in both the economic and cultural spheres, which resulted in the emergence of two colonies, i.e., *Pola* and *Parentium* (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 33-36). The expansion of Roman culture manifested itself in many respects, and thus we can see that besides the founding of the colonies that

¹ Namely, as the center of the Roman Empire, Italy was divided into eleven regions, and it is for the most part assumed that this division occurred between 18 and 12 BCE, when Augustus and Agrippa carried out an administrative reform in the whole country. This region that included a large part of the Istrian Peninsula was for a long time known only as Tenth, and it was only towards the end of the 3rd century, when all Italic regions began to be named geographically, that it received the name *Venetia et Histria*; hence it is most often referred to in literature as *Regio Decima: Venetia et Histria*. (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 40).

obuhvaćala sjeveroistočnu Italiju, od današnje Cremona i Brescia na zapadu do rijeke Raše na istočnoj obali Istre. To je priključenje imalo znatan utjecaj na širenje procesa romanizacije te je ona u velikoj mjeri donijela prosperitet i na gospodarskom i na kulturnom planu, što je rezultiralo i nastankom dviju kolonija - *Pola* i *Parentium* (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 33-36). Širenje rimske kulture manifestiralo se u mnogim pogledima pa je tako, uz osnutak kolonija kao urbanih središta rimske vlasti, evidentna i gradnja mnogobrojnih *villae rusticae* na njihovu ageru.²

Rimska kolonija Pula, poznata pod imenom *Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola*, nastala 40-ih godina 1. st. pr. Kr., nosi apelativ *Iulia*, koji označava da je osnovana u doba ili pod patronatom nekog od pripadnika obitelji Julijevaca, a pojam *pietas* podrazumijeva osjećaj dužnosti prema bogovima, obitelji ili domovini. Iako se prvotno vjerovalo u pretpostavku da je to ime predstavljalo milosrđe Oktavijana prema mrtvom Juliju Cezaru i držalo se da je koloniju osnovao upravo Oktavijan, budući car August oko 42. pr. Kr., kasnije je dokazano da se pojmom *pietas* koristio i Cezar u političkoj promidžbi. Danas se stoga smatra da je ona utemeljena između Cezarove pobjede nad Pompejem Velikom 47. g. pr. Kr. i njegova ubojstva 44. g. pr. Kr. Za toponim Pola pretpostavlja se da je autohtonog postanka i da su ga rimski doseljenici preuzeli iz lokalne predaje (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 40-46). Dobivanjem statusa kolonije naselje se počelo puno brže razvijati i dobilo je sve arhitektonske sastavnice tipičnog rimskog grada, kao što su bedemi, forum, teatar, amfiteatar i drugo, a snažan proces romanizacije zaslužan je i za prodiranje kultova rimskih božanstava na područja autohtone histarske duhovne kulture. Na taj je način pristigao i kult Minerve, božice koja je uz Jupitera i Junonu sačinjavala Kapitolijsku trijadu i prisutnost čijeg kulta se može vidjeti na nekoliko mjesta na teritoriju rimskodobne Histrije.

POSVETE MINERVI I PITANJE SINKRETIZMA S AUTOHTONIM BOŽANSTVOM

Na čitavom području Istre zapadno od Raše posvete Minervi vrlo su malobrojne; sa sigurnošću znamo da joj je bila posvećena ara, s uklesanim zavjetom Minervi

served as urban centers of Roman rule, there were also numerous *villae rusticae* that were built on their ager.² Roman Pula, also known as *Colonia Pietas Iulia Pola*, which was established in the forties of the 1st century BCE, carries the appellation *Iulia*, indicating that it was established in the period or under the patronage of one of the members of the Julian family, while the term *pietas* implies a feeling of duty towards the gods, family or motherland. Although the assumption that this name represented compassion on the side of Octavian for the deceased Julius Caesar initially enjoyed credibility, and it was assumed that the colony had been founded by no other than Octavian, the future Emperor Augustus around 42 BCE, it was subsequently proven that Caesar likewise used the term *pietas* in his political campaigns. Nowadays it is hence believed that it was founded in the period between Caesar's victory over Pompey the Great, in 47 BCE, and his assassination in 44 BCE. It is presumed that the toponym Pola is of autochthonous origins, and furthermore, that Roman settlers took it over from local tradition (Matijašić, Buršić Matijašić 1996, 40-46). Having acquired colonial status, the settlement began to develop at a much faster pace, thus acquiring the whole range of architectural components that are typical of a Roman city, such as the city-walls, a forum, a theater, an amphitheater, and the like. The powerful process of Romanization was also responsible for the penetration of the cults belonging to Roman deities into regions that were heretofore dominated by an autochthonous Histrian spiritual culture. Thus appeared the cult of Minerva, the goddess who alongside Jupiter and Juno comprised the Capitoline Triad, the presence of whose cult can be observed on several locations on the territory of Roman Histria.

INSCRIPTIONS DEDICATED TO MINERVA AND THE QUESTION OF SYNCRETISM WITH AN AUTOCHTHONOUS DEITY

The inscriptions dedicated to Minerva are few in number on the whole territory of Istria west of the Raša River. We can say with certainty that only an altar was dedicated to her, featuring a carved vow to Minerva

² Ager pulske kolonije obuhvaćao je južni dio istarskog poluotoka, a u njega su bili uključeni i Brijuni te je ulazio prema sjeveru u unutrašnjost Istre. Ager kolonije *Parentium* obuhvaćao je središnji dio zapadne obale Istre, između rijeke Mirne i Limske drage, dok je prostor sjeverne i sjeverozapadne Istre pripadao ageru tršćanske kolonije (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 19).

² The ager of the colony of Pola encompassed the southern section of the Istrian Peninsula, it included the Brioni Isles (*Insulae Pullariae*), and towards the north it entered the Istrian heartland. The ager of the colony of *Parentium* (*Colonia Iulia Parentium*) encompassed the central part of the western coast of Istria between the Mirna River and Limska Draga, while the area of northern and northwestern Istria belonged to the ager of the colony of Trieste (*Colonia Iulia Tergestae*) (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 19).

Flanaticci, pronađena u selu Musalež u blizini današnjeg Poreča, na teritoriju koji je u rimsko doba bio dio agera kolonije *Parentium* (InscrIt X/2, 193). Drugi votivni spomenik, za koji se pretpostavlja da sadržava posvetu Minervi, donji je dio male are pronađen negdje u Puli.³ Donosi ime božanstva u čiju je čast podignut samo siglom *M*, za koju se smatra da predstavlja skraćenicu imena te božice. Tekst natpisa je fragmentaran, kako prikazuje i sl. 2, jer žrtveniku nedostaje gornji dio pa je ono što se može iščitati samo ----- / *Eugono[s]* / *M(inervae?) v(otum) s(olvit)* (InscrIt X/1, 15; Girardi Jurkić, 2005: 151). Ime božanstva u čiju je čast spomenik podignut nesigurno je pa je sve što se o njemu može reći uglavnom na razini pretpostavki. No, ono što je važno i što pomaže u interpretaciji jest vidljivo ime dedikanta, koje glasi *Eugenos*. To je ime iz grčkog imenskog korpusa, što bi moglo ukazivati na to da je polagatelj zavjeta bio muškarac robovskog podrijetla (rob ili oslobođenik) (Matijašić 2002, 72), a kad se to sagleda dolazi se do veće mogućnosti da se doista radi o zavjetu Minervi. Naime, u Puli je pronađeno nekoliko nadgrobničkih natpisa koje podižu *servi Minervae*, koji također nose imena grčkog podrijetla. Stoga bi se možda doista smjelo pretpostavljati da je ovaj spomenik bio postavljen kao zavjet toj božici, a možda čak i to da ga podiže jedan *servus Minervae*.



Sl. 2 Crtež are (izvor: InscrIt X/1, 15)

Fig. 2 A drawing showing an altar (from: InscrIt X/1, 15)

Prethodno spomenuta zavjetna ara iz Musaleža kod Poreča puno je cjelovitije očuvana i daje uvid u veći broj podataka uz pomoć kojih se kult Minerve može interpretirati. Radi se o zavjetnom žrtveniku dimenzija 74 cm x 54 cm x 35 cm, s pulvinom ukrašenim palmetama (sl. 3). Spomenik je prelomljen

Flanatica. It was discovered in the village of Musalež in the vicinity of present-day Poreč, on the territory that in the Roman period was part of the ager of the colony of *Parentium* (InscrIt X/2, 193). The other votive monument for which it is assumed that it contains an inscription dedicated to Minerva is the lower section of a small altar that was discovered somewhere at Pula.³ Written on it is the sigla *M* for which it is believed that it represents an abbreviation of the name of this deity. The text of the inscription is fragmentary, as can be seen in Fig. 2, because the upper section of the altar is missing, hence all that can be read is ----- / *Eugono[s]* / *M(inervae?) v(otum) s(olvit)* (InscrIt X/1, 15; Girardi Jurkić, 2005: 151). Everything that can be said about this monument is based on more or less reliable assumptions because the name of the deity in whose honor the monument was erected remains a mystery. But what is important and helps in the interpretation is the visible name of the dedicant, which is *Eugenos*. This is the Greek name, which might imply that the individual who had the votive monument erected was a male of servile status (i.e., he might have been a slave or a freedman) (Matijašić 2002, 72), and bearing this in mind it increases the probability that this was indeed a vow to Minerva. Namely, several epitaphs discovered in Pula were erected by *servi Minervae* who likewise bear names of Greek origin. Thus it could be, perhaps, assumed that this monument was indeed erected as a vow to this deity, and even that it was erected by a *servus Minervae*.

The aforementioned votive altar from Musalež near Poreč is much better preserved than the previous one, giving us an insight into a greater number of data with the help of which we can interpret the cult of Minerva. This is a votive altar, measuring 74 cm x 54 cm x 35 cm, with a pulvinar decorated with palmettes. The monument was broken into two parts and has damages on all sides, but the text that was hewn on it is readable and pretty clear. Both parts of this monument were discovered to the west of the village, amongst the remains of Roman rural architecture, in a period of thirty years. A few more finds were confirmed on this location, like an object made of gold, and the fragments of two Roman fibulae, but it was never properly investigated (Degrassi 1962, 876). The smaller, lower fragment that was discovered beforehand was initially stored in the Archaeological

³ Ne zna se na kojoj je točno lokaciji u Puli pronađen ovaj spomenik, poznato je samo da je bio pohranjen u nekadašnjem lapidariju u Augustovu hramu te da je odande prenesen u današnji Arheološki muzej Istre (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 151).

³ It is not known where exactly was this monument discovered at Pula. We only know that it was deposited in the former lapidarium in the temple of Augustus and that it was taken from there to what nowadays is the Archaeological Museum of Istria (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 151).

na dva dijela i oštećen je sa svih strana, no uklesani tekst dobro je čitljiv i prilično jasan. Oba ulomka su nađena zapadno od sela, među ostacima rimske ruralne arhitekture, ali u razmaku od tridesetak godina; na istom je mjestu potvrđeno još nalaza, poput zlatnog predmeta i fragmenata dviju rimskih fibula, no ono nikad nije posebno istraživano (Degrassi 1962, 876). Manji i ranije pronađeni donji ulomak bio je prvotno pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju Istre u Puli, a kasnije je spojen s gornjim, većim ulomkom te je danas tako ponovno sastavljena ara izložena u lapidariju Zavičajnog muzeja Poreštine u Poreču (Girardi Jurkić, 2005, 153). Tekst natpisa na njoj je restituiran kao [M]inervae / [Fl]anaticae / [sa]crum / [---]dus Bassus ⁵ [ex] v(oto) quot a dea pe(tit) / consecutus (InscrIt X/2, 193; Degrassi 1931, 381; AE 1932, 0076) i svjedoči o zavjetnom natpisu koji je u znak zahvalnosti nakon ispunjene molbe (*ex voto*) postavio neki Bassus božici Minervi Flanatici. Kako se na mjestu gdje je stajalo gentilno ime nalazi oštećenje, ne možemo ga sa sigurnošću rekonstruirati, no moguće je da ono glasi *Abudius*, jer je takav gentilicij već potvrđen na nekoliko porečkih natpisa (Degrassi 1962, 877).⁴ Žrtvenik svjedoči o postojanju štovanja Minerve u sklopu privatnog ruralnog posjeda smještenom u tome mjestu nedaleko od rimskog Parentija, no i dalje ostaje nepoznanica je li riječ o samostalnom spomeniku ili se on nalazio u nekakvom svetištu božice, odnosno je li bilo i drugih zavjetnih darova njoj u čast (npr. kipića), što bi dalo još konkretniju sliku tog kulta, no za dobivanje više informacija potrebno je sustavno arheološko istraživanje.

Priroda božanstva navedenog na spomeniku nije u potpunosti poznata jer se ono kao takvo javlja zasad isključivo na ovome mjestu, no postoji dosta čvrsto utemeljeno mišljenje da se radi o autohtonom božanstvu identificiranom s rimskom Minervom. To proizlazi iz činjenice da je njeno ime popraćeno atributom *Flanatica*, koji pokazuje povezanost s područjem Flanone (*Flanates*), grada na istočnoj obali Istre koji je u carsko doba pripadao Liburniji odnosno provinciji Dalmaciji. Girardi Jurkić je iznijela tezu da žrtvenik predstavlja primjer prenošenja autohtonog kulta s istočne na zapadnu obalu Istre te da se može pretpostaviti da ga podiže doseljenik ne bi li nastavio štovati domaću božicu u mjestu gdje je doselio, kao i da je po tamošnjim religijskim tendencijama (veći stupanj romanizacije) sinkretizira s rimskom Minervom (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46). Međutim, čini se mnogo vjerojatnijim da se radi o epihorskom božanstvu koje se već u matičnoj Flanoni sinkretiziralo s Minervom i zatim

Museum of Istria at Pula; subsequently it was joined with the upper, larger fragment, and the whole altar is nowadays on display at the lapidarium in The Museum of the Poreč Territory at Poreč (Girardi Jurkić, 2005, 153). The text of the inscription on it has been restored as [M]inervae / [Fl]anaticae / [sa]crum / [---]dus Bassus ⁵ [ex] v(oto) quot a dea pe(tit) / consecutus (InscrIt X/2, 193; Degrassi 1931, 381; AE 1932, 0076), and it testifies to a votive inscription that was erected by an individual whose cognomen is *Bassus*, in honor of the goddess Minerva Flanatica, after his vow had been fulfilled (*ex voto*). As there is a damaged spot in the area where the gentile name was located, we cannot reconstruct the latter with certainty, but it is possible that it was *Abudius* because such a *nomen gentilicium* has already been confirmed on several inscriptions in Poreč (Degrassi 1962, 877).⁴ The altar corroborates that Minerva was indeed worshiped within the framework of a private rural estate that was located on this location not far away from Roman Parentium. However, the question remains, whether this was a free-standing monument, or one located within some sort of sanctuary dedicated to the goddess, and were there any other votive gifts in her honor (e.g., statuettes), which would give a more concrete picture of this cult there, but to get more information, a systematic archaeological excavation is necessary.

The nature of the deity that appears on the monument is not fully known because it has been observed only on this site to date; however, there is an entrenched opinion that it represents an autochthonous deity identified with the Roman goddess Minerva. This line of thought stems from the fact that her name is followed by the attribute *Flanatica*, which indicates a correlation with the population of Flanona (*Flanates*), a town on the eastern coast of Istria, which in the imperial period belonged to Liburnia, i.e., to the province of Dalmatia. Girardi Jurkić argues that the altar represents an example showing the transfer of an autochthonous cult from the eastern to the western coast of Istria, and that it can not only be assumed that it was erected by a settler in order to continue with the worship of a domestic goddess in the place of settlement, but furthermore, that according to local religious tendencies (a higher degree of Romanization) he syncretized her with Roman Minerva (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46). I cannot fully agree with this explanation. I am inclined to say that this was an epichoric deity who had already been syncretized with Minerva in Flanona, her place of origin, and as such she later arrived on

⁴ InscrIt X/2, 3; InscrIt X/2, 4; EDR 134733.

⁴ InscrIt X/2, 3; InscrIt X/2, 4; EDR 134733.

je kao takvo, preko doseljenika, došlo na parentinsko područje. Naime, za razliku od Parentija, gdje nema potvrda postojanja takvog tipa božanstva, u Flanoni je sinkretizam autohtone i rimske božice potvrđen i u posveti Iriji Veneri (*Iriae Veneri*), što ukazuje na to da je ondje bila svakako prisutna *interpretatio Romana* lokalnih božanstava (AK 2298; CIL 3, 3033). Stoga je vrlo vjerojatno da je i *Minerva Flanatica* bila neko božanstvo tog tipa; osim toga, u Flanoni je domaća religija i u carsko doba ostala zastupljena u znatnoj mjeri, o čemu svjedoči još nekoliko zavjetnih spomenika podignutih epihorskim božanstvima.⁵

Ipak, i tom sinkretizmu treba pristupati s određenim oprezom jer to što božica nosi atribut "Flanatica" ne mora nužno značiti da je ona *interpretatio Romana* autohtonog božanstva. Kako je *Flanatica* pridjev izveden od imena grada Flanona, može se raditi i o rimskoj Minervi kojoj su stanovnici tog grada iskazali pripadnost i vjernost tako što su joj u štovanju pridali taj atribut. Sličan je primjer *Minerva Polensis* koja se javlja na jednom natpisu iz Pole (InscrIt X/1, 158; EDR 136200), za koju također postoji pretpostavka da je sinkretizirano autohtono-rimsko božanstvo (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46; Šašel Kos 1999, 79).⁶ No, za taj njen aspekt to je vrlo malo moguće jer na natpisima pronađenim unutar Pole i na njenom teritoriju nema spomena tog tipa božanstva, a k tome su i svjedočanstva štovanja epihorskih božanstava, posebice unutar grada, zbog velike snage romanizacije vrlo rijetka. Kako atribut *Polensis* ima točno značenje, "ona koja pripada Poli", to radije treba shvaćati kao izraz prisvajanja kulta božice i bliskosti s njime ili lojalnosti. No, valja imati na umu da je u Flanoni ipak vladalo nešto drugačije stanje duhovne kulture, kako sam već ranije objasnila, i utjecaji lokalnih vjerovanja su ostali snažniji; mogućnost da je Minerva poistovjećena s nekim od autohtonih božanstva i da stoga nosi ime *Minerva Flanatica* je mnogo veća.

SERVI MINERVAE I NJIHOVE EPIGRAFSKE POTVRDE

Epigrafski spomenici na kojima se spominju *servi Minervae Polensis* ili samo *servi Minervae* najkonkretniji

the territory of Parentium, courtesy of the settlers. In other words, unlike in Parentium where there are no indications confirming the existence of this type of deity, in this town we can observe syncretism of an autochthonous and a Roman goddess in the vow to *Iriae Veneri*, which indicates that *interpretatio Romana* of local deities was certainly present there (AK 2298; CIL 3, 3033). It is hence highly probable that *Minerva Flanatica* was likewise a deity of this type, besides, domestic religion in Flanona was quite present in the imperial period, which is corroborated by several votive monuments erected to epichoric deities.⁵

Notwithstanding all this, caution is needed when approaching this syncretism. The mere fact that a deity carries the attribute Flanatica does not in itself mean that we are dealing with *interpretatio Romana* of an autochthonous deity. As *Flanatica* is an adjective derived from the name of the town of Flanona, this can also refer to Roman Minerva to whom the town residents expressed affiliation and loyalty by giving her that attribute out of respect. A similar example is *Minerva Polensis* who appears on an inscription from Pola (InscrIt X/1, 158; EDR 136200), for whom it is likewise assumed that she is a syncretized autochthonous-Roman deity (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46; Šašel Kos 1999, 79).⁶ However, the possibilities for this aspect of her are very slim indeed, because on the inscriptions discovered within Pola and on its territory, there is no mention of this type of deities, and in addition, proven cases of worship of epichoric deities, especially within the limits of the city, are very rare due to the huge impact of Romanization. As the attribute *Polensis* has an exact meaning, i.e., "one who belongs to Pola", this whole matter should be understood as a takeover of the cult of the goddess, expressing a closeness and loyalty to it. However, it should be remembered that a somewhat different state of spiritual culture existed at Flanona, as I have already pointed out beforehand. There the influence of local beliefs remained strong and the possibility that Minerva was identified with one of the autochthonous deities, and that she therefore bears the name *Minerva Flanatica*, is much greater.

⁵ Primjeri lokalnih božanstva kojima se u Flanoni podižu zavjeti su: Ika (AK 2296), Sentona (AK 2435, AK 2752) i Irija (AK 2297), koja se, kako sam već istaknula, javlja i sinkretizirana s Venerom; usp. i Šašel Kos 1999, 79-80.

⁶ M. Šašel Kos, osim što smatra da su *Minerva Flanatica* i *Minerva Polensis* bile autohtone božice ranije štovane pod svojim liburnskim odnosno histarskim imenom, također navodi kao analogiju da se na obližnjem venetskom području u republikansko vrijeme epihorska božica Reitia izjednačavala s rimskom Minervom (M. Šašel Kos 1999, 79).

⁵ Examples of local deities that were honored by votive monuments in Flanona are: Ica (AK 2296), Sentona (AK 2435, AK 2752), and Iria (AK 2297) who, as I have already mentioned, also appears syncretized with Venus; cf. also Šašel Kos 1999, 79-80.

⁶ M. Šašel Kos, besides being of the opinion that *Minerva Flanatica* and *Minerva Polensis* were autochthonous deities who were earlier worshiped under their Liburnian or Histrian names, also cites as an analogy, that in the neighboring Venetic region in the republican period, the epichoric deity Reitia was matched with Roman Minerva (M. Šašel Kos 1999, 79).

su dokaz postojanja organizirana Minervina štovanja unutar kolonije Pole. Otkrivena su tri nadgrobna natpisa na kojima su oni zabilježeni. Jedan od njih je nadgrobni spomenik pronađen u blizini bazilike sv. Marije Formoze u Puli sredinom 19. st., koji *servus Minerve Polensis*, nesačuvana imena, podiže svojoj ženi. Spomenik nije sačuvan jer je nedugo nakon pronalaska bio odvezen iz grada na nepoznato mjesto, stoga je danas iz transkripcija poznat samo njegov tekst i raspored redaka, koji glase ovako: *D(is) M(anibus) / [---]s Miner(vae) Pol(ensis) ser(vus) / [---]diae Valentinae coniugi / v(ivus) f(ecit)* (CIL 5, 244; InscrIt X/1, 158). Taj je natpis najcjelovitija potvrda spomena *servi Minervae* i na temelju njega su restituirani ostali sličnog tipa.

Idući natpis koji spominje osobu iste funkcije nadgrobna je ara većih dimenzija (142 cm x 60 cm x 46 cm) koju podiže *servus Minervae* po imenu *Cycnus* svojoj ženi *Felicitas*. Kako pokazuje sl. 4, radi se o žrtveniku od vapnenca sepulkralne namjene, prelomljenom na dva dijela i oštećenom s bočnih strana, a djelomično i po sredini (rupe). Natpisno mu je polje omeđeno tankim profiliranim okvirom te se na vrhu može vidjeti dosta oštećeni *pulvinus*. Žrtvenik je nađen u pulskim zidinama, blizu dvorišta komunalne palače. Prvo je bio pohranjen u lapidariju smještenom u Augustovu hramu, a zatim je odande prenesen u Arheološki muzej Istre, gdje se nalazi i danas (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 152). Po paleografskim odlikama može se datirati u 1 st. jer je klesan pravilnom kapitalom, koja je karakteristična za doba najvećeg prosperiteta rimske vlasti. Tekst uklesan na njemu glasi *Felicitati / ann(or)um XIX / [m]en(sium) XI / Cycnus M(inervae) [P(olensis servus)]^s coni(ugi) opti(mae)* (CIL 5, 162; Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1, 159), od čega je dio važan za razmatranje Minervina kulta *Cycnus M(inervae) [P(olensis servus)]*. Kako se može vidjeti, dijelom je oštećen pa kraj retka restituiran kao *M(inervae) [P(olensis) s(ervus)]* odnosno kao *M(inervae) [s(ervus)]*.⁷ Riječ je tako još o jednom nadgrobnom natpisu koji pretpostavljeni *servus Minervae* podiže svojoj ženi. U prilog tomu da je *Cycnus* bio rob svjedoči imenovanje samo jednim imenom, i to grčkog podrijetla, kakvo se često nalazi u imenovanju robova (Matijašić 2002, 72).

O postojanju *servi Minervae* u koloniji Poli svjedoči i jedna nesačuvana piramidalna nadgrobna ara odlomljenog vrha (sl. 5), pronađena u ostacima pulskih zidina, negdje u blizini crkve sv. Marije Formoze. Nju *servus Minervae* po imenu *Eutyches* podiže ženi *Hectici* i sebi, a vidjeli su je u 19. st. J. B. Barsan i T.

⁷ Zbog malo prostora unutar natpisnog polja sklonija sam drugoj varijanti, *M(inervae) s(ervus)*.



Sl. 3 Ara iz Musaleža posvećena Minervi Flanatici (autor: R. Matijašić)
Fig. 3 The altar from Musalež, dedicated to Minerva Flanatica (photo by: R. Matijašić)

SERVI MINERVAE AND THEIR EPIGRAPHIC ATTESTATIONS

Epigraphic monuments on which *servi Minervae Polensis*, or simply *servi Minervae* are mentioned, represent the most concrete proof of the existence of an organized worship of Minerva within the colony of Pola, and three such sepulchral inscriptions were discovered, on which they were recorded.

One of them is a sepulchral monument erected by a *servus Minervae Polensis*, whose name remains unknown because of damages on the monument that he erected in honor of his wife, which was discovered in the vicinity of the basilica of St. Maria Formosa in Pula in the middle of the 19th century. It, however, was not preserved because soon after its discovery it was taken out of the city to an unknown location. From the transcriptions of the text on it, we are nowadays nonetheless aware of the contents and the exact layout of the lines that go as follows: *D(is) M(anibus) / [---]s Miner(vae) Pol(ensis) ser(vus) / [---] diae Valentinae coniugi / v(ivus) f(ecit)* (CIL 5, 244; InscrIt X/1, 158). This inscription represents the most complete

Luciani, koji su napravili i crtež te je danas poznat njen izgled, iako se ne zna gdje je na kraju završila (Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1, 160). Tekst tog nadgrobno spomenika, pronađenog cjelovitog, glasi: *D(is) M(anibus) / Hectice / coniugi / animae /⁵ innocuae / Eutyches / Min(ervae) (servus) et sibi / v(ivus) f(ecit)* (CIL 5, 170; Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1, 160). Dakle, radi se o natpisnoj strukturi sličnoj kao i na prethodna dva spomenika te se i on po paleografiji može datirati u 1. – 2. stoljeće, što vremenski odgovara nastanku prethodnih. Tako gledajući na njih, sa sigurnošću možemo potvrditi postojanje osoba na neki način povezanih s brigom o kultu Minerve unutar Pole tijekom 1. i 2. stoljeća pa se može reći da je taj kult zauzimao važno mjesto u duhovnom životu ove antičke kolonije, čim je postojala posebna skupina ljudi čija je dužnost bila briga za njeno štovanje.

Karakter te skupine nije u potpunosti jasan, no po robovskom načinu imenovanja i nazivu službe *servus Minervae* može se reći da se ne radi o pravim svećenicima te rimske božice, jer su oni morali biti rimski građani. Stoga se, kako upućuje i njihovo imenovanje – *servi* – najvjerojatnije radi o pomoćnicima svećenika ili hramskom osoblju, odnosno nekakvom tipu robova zaduženih za obavljanje pomoćnih poslova u hramu. Mogli su biti nešto slično kao *aeditui*, osobe koje su se brinule o svetištu, otvarale ga, vodile posjetitelje i obavljale slične potrebne dužnosti oko njega. Na tu su službu u rano republikansko vrijeme imali pravo isključivo rimski građani, dok je kasnije u carsko doba ona prešla u velikom broju i na oslobođenike i peregrine. Nisu rijetki ni primjeri epigrafskih spomenika na kojima su u toj funkciji potvrđeni i robovi (Medini 1970, 135–136). Kod njihova je spominjanja uz osobno ime uglavnom navedeno i ime hrama u kojem su obavljali službu ili ime božanstva za čiji su kult brinuli pa je tako s područja Zadra poznata jedna ara (CIL 3, 2902; AK 2027) koja spominje čovjeka po imenu *M(arcus) Publicius Campanus*, koji je *aedituus* svetišta Apolona Likijskog.⁸ Moglo bi se tako pretpostaviti da je služba *servi Minervae* bila slična kao *aeditui*, posebno jer se radi o robovima, a služba pomoćnika svećenika, zaduženih za brigu oko svetišta, bila je prikladna za osobe tog podrijetla. Njihovo oslovljavanje kao *servi* također može samo po sebi davati određenu sliku o njihovom karakteru; naime, na još nekim mjestima u

confirmation of *servi Minervae* being mentioned, and based on it, other inscriptions of a similar type were restored.

The next inscription that mentions them is a sepulchral altar of greater proportions (measuring 142 cm x 60 cm x 46 cm), which was erected by a *servus Minervae* named *Cycnus* for his wife *Felicitas*. As shown in Fig. 4, it is a sepulchral altar made of limestone, which was split in two and damaged on the lateral sides and partly in the middle (holes). The inscription field is bordered by a thin molded frame, and located on the top is a rather damaged *pulvinar*. This altar was discovered within the city walls, close to the courtyard of the communal palace. It was initially stored in the lapidarium that used to be in the Temple of Augustus, and from there it was subsequently transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Istria, where it can still be found nowadays (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 152). In accordance with its paleographic features, the monument can be dated to the 1st century because it was cut using proper capital letters that are characteristic for this period of greatest prosperity of the Roman state. The text engraved on it reads *Felicitati / ann(or)um XIX / [m]en(sium) XI / Cycnus M(inervae) [P(olensis servus)] /⁵ coni(ugi) opti(mae)* (CIL 5, 162; Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1, 159), and the part which is of importance when examining Minerva's cult is: *Cycnus M(inervae) [P(olensis servus)]*. As is readily apparent, the monument is partly damaged and the end of the line has been restored as *M(inervae) P(olensis) s(ervus)*, or as *M(inervae) s(ervus)*.⁷ Thus, this is another sepulchral inscription that a presumed *servus Minervae* dedicated to his wife. The fact that only a single name of Greek origin is mentioned, which is characteristic for naming slaves, tells us that *Cycnus* was a slave (Matijašić 2002, 72).

The existence of *servi Minervae* in the colony of Pola is likewise corroborated by a nowadays non-existent pyramidal grave altar with a broken-off top section (Fig. 5), which was discovered in the ruins of the town walls in Pula, somewhere in the vicinity of the church of St. Maria Formosa. It was erected by a *servus Minervae* named *Eutyches* in honor of his wife *Hectica* and himself, and was seen in the 19th century by J. B. Barsan and T. Luciani, who made a drawing of it, hence preserving its appearance to the present notwithstanding that it has been irretrievably lost (Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1, 160). The text on this sepulchral monument was preserved as follows: *D(is) M(anibus) / Hectice / coniugi / animae /⁵ innocuae / Eutyches / Min(ervae) (servus) et sibi / v(ivus) f(ecit)* (CIL 5, 170; Sticotti 1908, 317; InscrIt X/1,

⁸ Taj je natpis pronađen na Kolovarama, izvan zidina rimskog Jadera, i restitucija mu glasi: *Apollini Lycio / M. Publicius / Campanus, ae/dituus iussu /⁵ ipsius d(onum) d(at)*, što po tekstu ukazuje na postojanje svetišta tog božanstva negdje oko mjesta na kojem je pronađen i čiji je *aedituus* bio upravo *M. Publicius Campanus* (CIL 3, 2902; AK 2027).

⁷ Due to the restricted amount of space within the inscription field, I am more inclined towards the latter variant *M(inervae) s(ervus)*.

Carstvu, i to uglavnom u istočnim dijelovima (Grčka, Makedonija), potvrđeni su takvi robovi ili robinje pojedinih božanstava (Magna Mater, Venera...), koji su po uzoru na orijentalne religije predstavljali aspekt hijerodulije – robovske službe u čast bogova (Ricl 2001, 292). Čak su i upravo *servi Minervae* potvrđeni u gradu Dauliji u grčkoj pokrajini Fokidi, gdje se rimska Minerva povezivala s egipatskom Izidom, za čije su se štovanje brinuli i posebno posvećeni robovi (Rusch 1906, 26).



Sl. 4 i 5 Nadgrobnni spomenici koje podižu *servi Minervae* svojim ženama (izvor: *InscrIt X/1*, 159; *InscrIt X/1*, 160)

Figs. 4 and 5 Sepulchral monuments erected by *servi Minervae* in honor of their wives (source: *InscrIt X/1*, 159; *InscrIt X/1*, 160)

Još bi jedan spomenik pronađen unutar Pole mogao upućivati na potvrdu postojanja Minervina kulta, no zbog fragmentarnosti nemoguće ga je točno interpretirati. Riječ je o malom fragmentu, dimenzija 15 cm x 16,5 cm x 15 cm, vjerojatno nekog zavjetnog natpisa čiji se tekst restituira kao [--- Mine]rvii? [---] / [--- H]irtiuis [---] / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito) (*InscrIt X/1*, 31; EDR 135228). Pritom se sačuvani dio *RVII* pretpostavljeno čita kao *Minervii*, što bi tako gledano upućivalo ili na ljude zadužene za brigu o Minervinu štovanju ili na nešto drugo povezano s tom božicom. No, oba su ta tumačenja vrlo nesigurna i nedovoljno utemeljena, stoga je bolje osloniti se na prethodna tri natpisa, iz kojih se dobivaju sigurniji podaci.

160). It is obvious that this inscription is similar to the previous two, and on the basis of paleography we can date it into the 1st, 2nd century, which also corresponds with the period of creation of the aforementioned ones. Seen in this light, we can be certain of the existence of individuals who were in some way responsible for the cult of Minerva in the colony of Pola during the 1st and 2nd centuries. We can furthermore state that this cult occupied an important position in the spiritual life of the ancient colony, when a special group of people existed, whose duties were connected with issues related to her worship.

As the character of this group is not entirely clear, based on the manner the slaves were named, and in accordance with the name of the service provided by *servus Minervae*, it can be said that these were not priests of this Roman goddess in the true sense of the word, for in order for them to be that, they had to be Roman citizens. We therefore suspect, as is also implied by their nomination as *servi*, that they were most likely priest helpers, or, temple personnel, i.e., a type of slaves whose task was to perform auxiliary duties in a temple. They could have been similar to *aeditui*, the individuals who took care of a shrine, opened it, led visitors, and performed similar duties as required. In the early republican period this duty was reserved exclusively for Roman citizens, whereas at a later stage, in the imperial period, large numbers of freedmen and peregrines were allowed to carry it out, and there are even epigraphic monuments on which slaves are mentioned in this position (Medini 1970, 135–136). When they are mentioned, along with their personal name, the name of the temple where they carried out this function is usually mentioned as well, or, the name of the deity for whose cult they were responsible. Thus, from the region of Zadar we know of an altar (CIL 3, 2902; AK 2027) on which an individual by the name of *M(arcus) Publicius Campanus* is mentioned, who was an *aedituus* of a sanctuary dedicated to Lycian Apollo.⁸ It could therefore be surmised that the functions carried out by *servi Minervae*, could have been similar to those of the *aeditui*, especially because we are dealing with slaves, and furthermore, because an employ as priest-helper, whose job was to take care of a sanctuary, was considered proper for individuals of this origin. Their appointment as *servi* can by itself provide a specific picture of their character, namely, on some other

⁸ This inscription was discovered at Kolovare, outside of the walls of Roman Iader, and it reads as follows: *Apollini Lycio / M. Publicius / Campanus, ae/dituus iussu /^s ipsius d(onum) d(at)*, which in accordance with the text points to the existence of a sanctuary of this deity somewhere around the area where it was discovered, its *aedituus* being *M. Publicius Campanus* (CIL 3, 2902; AK 2027).

PITANJE POSTOJANJA I LOKACIJE MINERVINA HRAMA UNUTAR KOLONIJE POLE

Još od polovice 19 st., počevši s P. Kandlerom koji povezuje natpis na kojem se spominje Minerva Polensis, nađen na prostoru bazilike sv. Marije Formoze, s postojanjem njena hrama negdje na tome mjestu⁹, pojavljuju se zajedno s novim otkrićima mišljenja i teze vezane uz postojanje i smještaj Minervina hrama, u kojem su službu obnašali *servi Minervae* o kojima je bilo riječi u prethodnom poglavlju. Sigurnih arheoloških dokaza o njegovu smještaju još uvijek nema pa su sve što se može o njemu reći hipoteze zasnovane na lokaciji nalaza epigrafskih spomenika koji upućuju na štovanje tog kulta i analogije s gradnjom crkava na ostacima poganskih hramova. Činjenica da je Pola bila jedan dosta značajan rimski grad kolonijskog statusa ukazuje na to da je u njoj kult božice Minerve kao jedne od pripadnika Kapitolijske trijade svakako trebao biti organizirano štovanje te da je za to moralo postojati svetište. Može se postaviti pitanje je li ona bila štovana samo kao dio službene Trijade ili je imala (i) neki poseban aspekt štovanja sama za sebe. No, uvidom u epigrafske potvrde prisutnosti osoba zaduženih za brigu o njenom kultu, kao što su pomoćnici svećenika ili sluge u svetištu, i slijedom nedostatka materijala koji bi općenito potvrdio postojanje hrama Kapitolijske trijade (Sinobad 2007, 236–239), bolje je prikloniti se opciji da se ona u tom gradu štovala samostalno.

Negdje na prostoru bazilike sv. Marije Formoze otkrivena je mramorna tabula s natpisom pravnog karaktera (sl. 6) koja spominje insulu Minerve. Ona predstavlja službeni natpis, koji se po paleografiji datira u 2. st., a smatra se vrlo značajnim jer govori o koloniji Poli pod imenom *Colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea* te imenuje tadašnje gradske duovire (*P. Muttienu Priscus i C. Marcus Hister*).¹⁰ No, na ovom je mjestu važnije to što ona spominje *Setidija Abaskanta*, koji je obnašao neku službu *in insula Minervae*. Taj se pojam povezuje sa svetištem Minerve i prema njemu se

locations in the empire, and mainly in the eastern regions (Greece, Macedonia), there was confirmation of such slaves, both male and female, who were in the service of some deities (Magna Mater, Venus ...), and who, based on the model presented by Oriental religions, represented an aspect of hierodulism – of slave services in honor of gods (Ricl 2001, 292). And it was precisely the *servi Minervae* who were confirmed at Delphi in the Greek province of Phocis, where the Roman goddess Minerva was associated with the Egyptian Isis, and it is also known that issues related to her worship there were in the hands of specially ordained slaves (Rusch 1906, 26).

Another monument discovered in Pola could lead us to a confirmation regarding the existence of Minerva's cult; however, due to its fragmentary state we are not in a position to interpret it in any detail. This is a small fragment measuring 15 cm x 16.5 cm x 15 cm, probably of some votive inscription, the text of which has been restituted as [--- Mine]rvii? [---] / [--- H]irtiu[s ---] / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito) (InscrIt X/1, 31; EDR 135228). The preserved letters *RVII* are presumably read as parts of *Minervii*, which seen from that angle would refer one to someone responsible for the worship of Minerva or to something else that is associated with this deity. However, both of these explanations are very unreliable and insufficiently founded and it is consequently better to rely on the previous three inscriptions that offer us more reliable data.

THE QUESTION REGARDING THE EXISTENCE AND LOCATION OF MINERVA'S TEMPLE WITHIN THE COLONY OF POLA

Already from the middle of the 19th century when an inscription that mentioned Minerva Polensis was discovered in the area of the basilica of St. Maria Formosa, P. Kandler started to connect this discovery with the existence of her temple somewhere on this site,⁹ and together with new discoveries there also appeared opinions and theses related to the existence and location of a temple dedicated to Minerva, where *servi Minervae*, who were discussed in the previous chapter, carried out their duties. As there is no certain archaeological evidence of its location to date, all that can be said about it are hypotheses based on the founding places of epigraphic monuments indicating to her worship and on the analogy with the practice of building churches on ruins of pagan temples. The fact that Pola was a rather important Roman city that

⁹ Kandlerovo mišljenje prenosim prema B. Forlati Tamaro (InscrIt X/1, 85) i B. Marušić (Marušić 1967, 52-53).

¹⁰ Tekst toga natpisa glasi: *In colonia Iulia Po/la Pollentia Herculanea / referentibus P(ublio) Muttienu Prisco et C(aio) Marcio Histro Ilvir(is) /⁵ non(is) Sept(embribus) / Quo[d] verba facta sunt Settidium / Abas[ca]ntum praeter probita/tem v[ita]e s[ua]e ea sollicitudine / adque in[d]ustria delegatum sibi /¹⁰ officium [in] insula Minervia tueri / ut non t[a]ntum contentus sit cura ac / dilige[n]tia r[el]igioni publicae satisfac[er]e verum [et] iam quaedam proprio sum/[p]tu suo ad excolendam locum excogitet /¹⁵ [atque i]mpenda[re] et propter hoc talis adfecti/[onis] merita decreto] publico remuneranda / [esse ---] illi spor(tul-) public(-) gra(---)* (CIL 05, 08139; InscrIt X/1, 85).

⁹ I transmit Kandler's opinion in after B. Forlati Tamaro (InscrIt X/1, 85) and B. Marušić (Marušić 1967, 52-53).

pokušava odrediti njegova lokacija. Tako T. Mommsen dolazi na ideju da termin *insula Minervae* označava neki otok na kojem se nalazilo mjesto njena štovanja, dok se B. Forlati Tamaro nikako s njim ne slaže i radije to povezuje s gradskom insulom, koja je dobila ime prema hramu smještenom unutar nje (T. Mommsen, B. Forlati Tamaro; v. u: InscrIt X/1, 85). Taj dio grada se onda sukladno mjestima nalaza natpisa smješta na prostor između Slavoluka Sergijevaca, velikog rimskog kazališta i bazilike sv. Marije Formoze (Girardi Jurkić 1972, 212).



Sl. 6 Mramorna tabula na kojoj se spominje officium in insula Minervae (izvor: Girardi Jurkić 2005, 89)

Fig. 6 The marble tabula that mentions officium in insula Minervae (source: Girardi Jurkić 2005, 89)

Ta je bazilika izgrađena polovicom 6. stoljeća i uz starokršćanski kompleks biskupa Eufrazija u Poreču najznačajniji je spomenik za poznavanje sakralne umjetnosti i arhitekture tog vremena na području Istre. Nastala je neposredno nakon što je Justinijan obnovio carstvo i izgrađena je kao monumentalna trobrodna kamena bazilika. Bila je vrlo raskošno ukrašena mramornim ukrasima, freskama te podnim i apsidalnim mozaicima. Orijentacija joj je bila klasična u smjeru istok – zapad, imala je dvije bočne kapele, a ritam stupova i lukova iz unutrašnjosti ponavljao se i na vanjskoj strani zidova. Uz samu crkvu u arhitektonskom se sklopu nalazio i samostan koji je obuhvaćao dio gradske četvrti kod južnih bedema kasnoantičke Pule. Danas su od te bazilike sačuvani i vidljivi samo ostatak sjevernog zida i kapele te čitava južna kapela (sl. 7) (Marušić 1967, 52–53; usp. Ujčić 2007, 7–35).

Nadgrobnici spomenici koje *servi Minervae* podižu svojim suprugama (InscrIt X/1, 158; InscrIt X/1, 160) nađeni su također u blizini bazilike sv. Marije Formoze pa se postavlja pitanje jesu li i oni relevantni

enjoyed colonial status indicates that in it the cult of the goddess Minerva, as one of the members of the Capitoline Triad, was certainly worshiped in an organized manner, for which a sanctuary must have existed. One might ask whether she was worshiped only as a member of the official Triad, or if there were (also) particular aspects of worship reserved only for her. However, examining the epigraphic confirmations regarding the presence of individuals responsible for taking care of her cult, such as priest–helpers or servants in the shrine, and bearing in mind the lack of materials that would generally confirm the existence of a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad (Sinobad 2007, 236–239), it is better to incline towards the option that in this city she was worshiped independently.

Somewhere in the area of the basilica of St. Maria Formosa, a marble tabula was unearthed, bearing an inscription of a legal character (Fig. 6), which mentions an *insula Minervae*. It represents an official inscription that is on the basis of paleography dated into the 2nd century, and is considered to be very important because it mentions the colony of Pola under the name *Colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea*, and names the town's duumviri (*P. Muttienus Priscus and C. Marcius Hister*).¹⁰ However, even more important at this point is the fact that it mentions Settidius Abascantus who performed some function in *insula Minervae*. This concept is associated with Minerva's shrine, and based on it there are ongoing efforts to determine the location of the latter. Thus T. Mommsen introduced the idea that the term *insula Minervae* denotes an island on which there was a place for her worship, while B. Forlati Tamaro cannot agree with him in the least, maintaining that this refers to an urban insula that was named after the temple situated inside it (T. Mommsen, B. Forlati Tamaro; see in: InscrIt X/1, 85). Based on the locations where the inscriptions were discovered, we can pinpoint this section of town to the area between the Arch of the Sergii, the large Roman theater, and the basilica of St. Maria Formosa (Girardi Jurkić 1972, 212).

¹⁰ The text on this inscription reads as follows: *In colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea / referentibus P(ublio) Muttieno Pris/co et C(aio) Marcio Histro Ilvir(is) /⁵ non(is) Sept(embribus) / Quo[d] verba facta sunt Settidium / Abas[ca]ntum praeter probita/tem v[er]itae s[er]vare ea sollicitudine / adque in[d]ustria delegatum sibi /¹⁰ officium [in] insula Minervia tueri / ut non t[ra]ntum contentus sit cura ac / diligenti[r] eligioni publicae satisfa[c]ere verum [et] iam quaedam proprio sum/[p] tu suo ad excolendam locum excogitet /¹⁵ [atque i]mpenda[it] et propter hoc talis adfecti/[onis] merita decreto] publico remuneranda / [esse ---] illi spor(tul-) public(-) gra(---) (CIL 05, 08139; InscrIt X/1, 85).*

za ubiciranje Minervina svetišta negdje na tome mjestu. U antičkim gradovima nije se smjelo pokapati unutar gradskih zidina pa ti natpisi sukladno karakteru moraju potjecati s neke od nekropola koje su se nalazile *extra muros*. Jedna od njih bila je smještena podno brda Monte Zaro, u neposrednoj blizini te ranokršćanske bazilike (Girardi Jurkić; Džin 2003, 109), stoga je moguće da spomenuti natpisi potječu upravo s tog prostora i da je ondje svetište možda čak imalo svoje zajedničko grobno zemljište na kojem su se pokapali *servi Minervae* i njihove supruge. No, ne smije se isključiti ni mogućnost da su oni na mjesto nalaza došli kao spolije, kao što je treći spomenik na kojem su posvjedočeni pronađen u gradskim zidinama, što bi ih onda činilo irelevantnima za raspravu o smještaju Minervina svetišta i *insulae Minervae*.¹¹

Blizina nalaza epigrafskih spomenika koji su dokaz postojanja svetišta Minervina kulta unutar kolonije Pole, položaj bazilike sv. Marije Formoze i pojava gradnje crkava na mjestima ranijih poganskih svetišta (što je poznato u nekim drugim mjestima, a tumači se kao nastavak korištenja istih prostora za nove kultove koji su pristigli i razvili se)¹² upućuje na mogućnost da i ovdje nalazimo na primjer kontinuiteta kulturnog mjesta od poganskog hrama do kršćanskog svetišta. Stoga bi se onda možda smjelo pomišljati na to da je i ova trobrodna bazilika nastala na ruševinama nekog ranijeg, poganskog svetišta, vjerojatno Minervinog. Kako je njegovo postojanje prema potvrdama gotovo sigurno, kad se uzmu u obzir poznati podaci može se reći da je ono moralo biti smješteno ili na položaju same bazilike sv. Marije Formoze ili pak negdje između nje i Monte Zara, na čijem se obronku nalazio veći pulski teatar.

Iako je hram Minerve u Poli morao postojati, karakter te božice nije u potpunosti poznat jer zasad nema materijala na temelju kojeg bi on mogao biti razjašnjen. Po epitetu *Polensis* koji prati njeno ime, kako sam već ranije spomenula, i B. Forlati Tamaro i V. Girardi Jurkić pomišljaju na postojanje sinkretizma rimske Minerve s nekim od autohtonih božanstava sličnih osobina, a kao primjer kojim to potkrjepljuju navode spomenutu Minervu Flanatiku s are pronađene na parentinskom teritoriju (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46). Ipak, mogućnosti da je *Minerva Polensis* bila sinkretizirano božanstvo treba pristupati s oprezom jer na području Pole općenito sinkretizmi takve vrste nisu

This basilica was erected in the middle of the 6th century, and, alongside the Early Christian complex of bishop Euphrasius in Poreč, it represents the most important monument for the study of sacral art and architecture from that period on the territory of Istria. It was created in the aftermath of the restoration of the empire by emperor Justinian, and was constructed in the form of a monumental, three-aisled basilica made of stone. This basilica was very ornately decorated with marble ornaments, frescoes, as well as floor and apsidal mosaics. It was oriented in the classical manner, in the East-West direction, and was equipped with two lateral chapels, while the ambience consisting of a series of columns and arches in the interior, replicated itself on the exterior side of the walls. Along with the church, the architectural complex also consisted of a monastery that encompassed a section of a city district in the vicinity of the southern defensive wall of the Late Roman Pula. Nowadays only the ruins of the former St. Maria Formosa are preserved and visible, i.e. its northern wall and chapel, and the entire southern chapel (Fig. 7) (Marušić 1967, 52-53; cf. Ujčić 2007, 7-35).

The sepulchral monuments that *servi Minervae* erected in honor of their wives (InscrIt X/1, 158; InscrIt X/1, 160) were also discovered in the vicinity of the St. Maria Formosa basilica, thus raising the question whether they are likewise relevant when attempting to locate the position of Minerva's sanctuary somewhere in this area. Interments within the boundaries of city walls were forbidden in Roman cities, hence, according to their character, we should regard these inscriptions as coming from one of the necropolises that was located *extra muros*. One of these was located at the foot of the Monte Zaro hill, in the immediate vicinity of this Early Christian basilica (Girardi Jurkić; Džin 2003, 109), and it is therefore possible that the aforementioned inscriptions stem exactly from this area, and that a shrine there even had its joint burial grounds that were used for interments of *servi Minervae* and their consorts. However, we must not rule out the possibility that they arrived at the findspot as spolia, as was the case with the third monument mentioning *servi Minervae* because it was discovered in the city walls, which would make them irrelevant in a discussion about the location of either Minerva's sanctuary or *insulae Minervae*.¹¹

¹¹ Zahvaljujem prof. dr. sc. Anamariji Kurilić na sugestijama za razjašavanje problematike povezanosti mjesta nalaza nadgrobničkih spomenika na kojima se spominju *servi Minervae* i lokacije Minervina svetišta.

¹² Za primjere gradnje crkava na mjestima ranijih poganskih hramova usp. Migotti 1992.

¹¹ I would like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Sc. Anamarija Kurilić, for her suggestions aimed at clarifying the issues that arise when connecting the findspots of these sepulchral monuments on which *servi Minervae* are mentioned, with the location of Minerva's sanctuary.



Sl. 7 Južna kapela bazilike sv. Marije Formoze (autorica: V. Zović)

Fig. 7 The southern chapel of the St. Maria Formosa basilica (photo by: V. Zović)

potvrđeni, a i stara religija je slijedom jake romanizacije ondje ostala prisutna u maloj mjeri. Stoga bi pridodani atribut bilo bolje tumačiti kao izraz pripadnosti rimskoj Minervi u smislu Minerve kolonije Pole.

IMENA MINERVINUS I MINERVIUS I MINERVIN KULT

Na nekim su natpisima pronađenima u Poli zabilježeni kognomeni *Minervinus* i *Minervianus* te pojedini autori (P. Sticotti, B. Forlati Tamaro; v. u: InscrIt X/1, 84) to povezuju s važnošću i snažnim utjecajem Minervina kulta u gradu. Jedan od takvih natpisa je s počasne baze sa statuom podignute na forumu u čast duovira i patrona kolonije Q. Mursija Plinija Minervijana, a podigao ju je svećenički kolegij dendrofora. Precizno je datirana po konzulima (*M(arco) Nummio Senecione Albino M(arco) Laelio [Maximo co(n)s(ulibus)]*) u 227. godinu. Taj cognomen *Minervianus* je po njihovu tumačenju proizašao iz imena božice Minerve te se, kako pokazuje i natpis, prenosio iz generacije na generaciju u uglednoj obitelji iz koje je potekao ovaj patron kolonije (InscrIt X/1, 84). Drugi spomenik je sarkofag koji je *Aurelius Minervinus* podigao svojoj ženi (CIL 05, 00125; InscrIt X/1, 216). Kako u njegovom imenskom obrascu nedostaje praenomen (Matijašić 2002, 59) i budući da se radi o sarkofagu (Starac 2006, 25), natpis bi valjalo datirati negdje u kasno 2. ili 3. st., što po vremenskom

The proximity of the findspots where epigraphic monuments were discovered, which prove the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to the cult of Minerva within the colony of Pola, the position of St. Maria Formosa, and the practice of church-building on locations that were previously occupied by pagan sanctuaries (which is known from some other places, and was interpreted as the continuity of use of the same premises for new cults that arrived and developed)¹², indicate a possibility that here too we are witnessing an example of cult site continuity from a pagan temple to a Christian sanctuary. We could thus begin to think that this three-aisled basilica was perhaps also erected on the ruins of some earlier pagan shrine, most probably one dedicated to Minerva. As it is possible to confirm its existence almost with certainty in view of all the evidence, and taking into account all the other data, we can say that it must have been located either on the location of the basilica of St. Maria Formosa itself, or somewhere between it and Monte Zaro, on whose slopes Pola's large theater was located.

Although the temple dedicated to Minerva must have at one time existed at Pola, the character of this deity is not fully known to us because no evidence was discovered to date, which would shed some light on it. In accordance with the epithet *Polensis* which follows her name, and as I have already pointed out before, both B. Forlati Tamaro and V. Girardi Jurkić are thinking about the existence of syncretism matching Roman Minerva with some of the autochthonous deities having similar traits, and they cite the aforementioned Minerva Flanatica from an altar discovered on the territory of Poreč, as an example that supports this (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 46). Notwithstanding, we should tread carefully when we approach the possibility that *Minerva Polensis* was a syncretized deity, because on the territory of Pola, in general, syncretisms of that sort are not confirmed, and in the wake of a strong Romanization wave, the old religion remained scarcely present there. Hence it would be better to interpret the added attribute as an expression of affiliation to Roman Minerva in the sense of Minerva of the colony of Pola.

THE NAMES MINERVINUS AND MINERVIUS AND THE CULT OF MINERVA

On some of the inscriptions discovered in Pola, the cognomens *Minervinus* and *Minervianus* were recorded, and some authors (P. Sticotti, B. Forlati Tamaro; see in:

¹² For examples of church-building on sites that were previously occupied by pagan temples, cf. Migotti 1992.

razdoblju odgovara prethodnom na kojem se pojavljuje kognomen sličnog tipa. Za oba se spomenuta primjera pojavljuju pretpostavke da su nastali kao posljedica utjecaja i važnosti Minervina kulta u Poli, no s takvim idejama treba biti jako oprezan. Naime, takva imena ne smiju se nužno povezivati sa značajem tog kulta u Poli, jer se ona pojavljuju i drugdje na prostoru Rimskog Carstva¹³, iako, naravno, mogu, ali i ne moraju imati izravnu vezu sa značajem Minervina štovanja općenito.

P. Sticotti i gentilicij *Minervius* koji se javlja na dvije pločice prokletstva (InscrIt X/1, 592a, InscrIt X/1, 592b) povezuje s tradicijom kulta Minerve u Puli (Sticotti 1908, 317), ali to je malo vjerojatno jer je takvo gentilno ime posvjedočeno na natpisima i u drugim gradovima na području Rimskog Carstva¹⁴, tako da ga se nikako ne može vezati isključivo za taj grad. Etimološki on, kao i prethodno navedeni kognomeni, odgovara imenu božice i zasigurno je nastao na nekoj razini zbog veze s njome, ali to nema direktne veze s kolonijom Polom jer se mogao razviti bilo gdje i kao takav se proširiti i doći na mjesto gdje ga se zatječe.

KIPIĆI MINERVE

Osim u obliku epigrafskih spomenika, Minervin kult je na području rimskodobne Histrije posvjedočen i njenim kipićima nađenim na nekoliko mjesta. Jedna je figurica tako otkrivena na obali podno Premanture, na sastavnom dijelu agera kolonije Pole. Radi se o brončanom kipiću visine 10,7 cm, s djelomično oštećenom površinom i tragovima zeleno-smeđe patine (sl. 8). Po ikonografiji, koja uključuje pomnu stilsku obradu, karakterističnu frizuru i kacigu, pripada tipu *Athena Promahos*. Uzor za raširenu produkciju kipova te vrste, raznih dimenzija, jest skulptura božice Atene koju je izradio poznati grčki kipar Fidija. Premanturska Minerva je tako odjevena u dvostruko potpasani hiton koji pokriva ramena i pada niz tijelo u ostrim okomitim naborima. Lijeva joj je ruka savijena prema gore i u njoj je držala koplje, ali se ono nije sačuvalo, dok joj je desna lagano povijena u visini trbuha. Lice joj je obrubljeno uvojcima kose, a na glavi ima tipičan atribut s kojim se prikazivala, korintsku kacigu s perjanicom. Ovaj primjerak je umanjena serijska kopija grčkog predloška, rađenog po uzoru na spomenuti Fidijin kip, a figurice rađene po njemu bile su rasprostranjene u velikom dijelu Rimskog Carstva u 1. i 2. st. (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 155).

InscrIt X/1, 84) connect this with the importance and powerful influence of Minerva's cult in the city. One of these inscriptions is from an honorary base with a statue erected on the Forum by the priestly collegiate body of dendrophori in honor of the duovir and patron of the colony Q. Mursius Plinius Minervianus, which has been precisely dated to the year 227, on account of the consular date (*M(arco) Nummio Senecione Albino M(arco) Laelio [Maximo co(n)s(ulibus)]*). This cognomen *Minervianus*, in accordance with their explanation, originated from the name of the deity Minerva, and as has been shown by the inscription, it has been transferred from generation to generation in the distinguished family from which this patron of the colony originated (InscrIt X/1, 84). The second monument is a sarcophagus ordered by *Aurelius Minervinus* in honor of his wife (CIL 05, 00125; InscrIt X/1, 216). Because the praenomen is missing from his name form (Matijašić 2002, 59), and because we are dealing with a sarcophagus (Starac 2006, 25), the inscription should be dated approximately into the late 2nd or 3rd century, which in temporal terms corresponds with the previous one on which a similar type of cognomen occurs. Both cited examples are accompanied by assumptions that they were created as a consequence of the influence and importance of the cult of Minerva at Pola, but we should be extremely careful when considering ideas like that. In other words, names such as these must not be necessarily connected with the nature of this cult in Pola, because the same ones also appear elsewhere across the Roman Empire,¹³ although, naturally, they can, but they don't have to have a direct connection with the nature of worship of Minerva in general.

P. Sticotti ties the gentilicium *Minervius*, which appears on two curse tablets (InscrIt X/1, 592a, InscrIt X/1, 592b), with the tradition of Minerva's cult at Pula (Sticotti 1908, 317), but this is only slightly probable because such gentile names were also confirmed on inscriptions from other cities on the territory of the Roman Empire,¹⁴ so that it is impossible to connect it exclusively with this city. As was the case with the previously mentioned cognomens, etymologically it corresponds to the name of the deity, and it is certain that on some level it was created as a result of connections with her, but this has no direct bearing to the colony of Pola because it could have developed somewhere else,

¹³ Npr. u Germaniji inferior (EDH 011479) *M(arcus) Naevius Minervinus*, u Panoniji inferior (EDH 052960) *Aurelius Minervinus* i dr.

¹⁴ Npr. u Urbino (EDR 016463) *C. Minervius Onesimus* i u Ostiji (EDR073099) *Minervius Aposimul(---)*.

¹³ For example in Germania Inferior (EDH 011479) *M(arcus) Naevius Minervinus*, in Pannonia Inferior (EDH 052960) *Aurelius Minervinus*, and elsewhere.

¹⁴ For example at Urbino (EDR 016463) *C. Minervius Onesimus*, and at Ostia (EDR073099) *Minervius Aposimul(---)*.

Kad se pogledaju karakteristike i okolnosti nalaza, može se pretpostaviti da je ta figurica bila dio kućnog svetišta jer su upravo za njih karakteristični nalazi takvih malih prikaza bogova.



Sl. 8 Minerva nađena na obali u Premanturi (izvor: Girardi Jurkić 2005, 154)
Fig. 8 Statuette of Minerva, discovered on the beach at Premantura (source: Girardi Jurkić 2005, 154)

Iz same kolonije Pole potječe jedno malo poprsje Minerve (sl. 9), visine 12,4 cm, a širine 7,3 cm, izrađeno od terakote oker-sivkaste boje. Ono prikazuje Minervu s korinjskom kacigom na glavi i hlamidom pričvršćenom dvjema kopčama na ramenima, dok se na grudima može vidjeti amblem koji prikazuje Meduzu. Figurica je pronađena početkom 20. st. u istraživanju nekropola kod Dvojnih vrata (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 156). Stoga se može reći da je Minerva, osim što je bila štovana unutar javnog svetišta u gradu, bila štovana i na njegovu širem području, samo što je ondje bila dio privatnog kulta čije se štovanje odvijalo u sklopu osobnih domova.

Krajem 19. st. u Brtonigli u sjeverozapadnoj Istri pronađena je još jedna brončana figurica Minerve. Vrlo je malena (visina joj je svega 6,6 cm). Površina je dosta oštećena i nedostaje joj šaka desne ruke. Božica je prikazana u uspravnom položaju, s korinjskom kacigom na glavi i ogrnuta dvostrukim hitonom. Desna joj je ruka izbačena prema gore; u odlomljenoj šaci držala je koplje, dok joj je lijeva ruka odmaknuta od tijela i oslonjena na štit s umbom (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 155). Još je jedna slična Minervina figurica nađena negdje na području Istre, no točno mjesto nalaza nije

and as such it could then have spread and eventually arrived at the place where it was found.

THE STATUETTES OF MINERVA

Except in the form of epigraphic monuments, the cult of Minerva has also been confirmed on the territory of Roman Histria by her statuettes that have been discovered on several locations. One such figurine was discovered on the beach below Premantura which was part of the ager of the colony of Pola. It is a bronze statuette measuring 10.7 cm in height, with a partially damaged surface and traces of green-brown patina (Fig. 8). In accordance with the iconography that includes a careful stylistic treatment, a characteristic hairdo and helmet, it belongs to the *Athena Promachos* type; the model for the widely spread production of statues of this kind in various sizes was the sculpture of the goddess Athena, sculpted by the famous Greek sculptor Phidias. The Minerva from Premantura is thus wearing a double-girdled chiton that covers the shoulders and falls down the body, forming sharp, vertical pleats. Her left hand, bent upwards, was used to hold a spear that has not been preserved, while her right hand curves slightly at the belly. Her face is framed by curls of hair, and on her head she wears an attribute with which she was typically depicted, a Corinthian helmet with a plume. This specimen represents a small-scale serial copy of the Greek model that was made on the model of the aforementioned statue sculpted by Phidias, and according to it, these figurines were spread on a territory covering a large part of the Roman Empire in the 1st and 2nd centuries (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 155). When we examine the characteristics and circumstances associated with the discovery, we can assume that this figurine was part of a household shrine, because finds consisting of small depictions of gods were characteristic for them.

A small bust of Minerva (Fig. 9) stems from the colony of Pola itself; it is 12.4 cm high and 7.3 cm wide and made of ocher-grayish terracotta. It shows Minerva with a Corinthian helmet on her head, wearing a cloak fastened with two fibulae on the shoulders, while on her bosom is an emblem with a depiction of Medusa. This figurine was discovered at the beginning of the 20th century, while exploring the necropolises located near the Porta Gemina (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 156). Thus we can say that Minerva was worshiped not only within a public sanctuary in the city, but also on its wider territory, only that in the latter case it was part of a private cult that was worshiped in people's homes.

Another bronze figurine of Minerva was discovered at Brtonigla, in northwestern Istria, towards the end of the



Sl. 9 Poprsje Minerve pronađeno negdje u Puli (autorica: V. Zović)
 Fig. 9 Bust of Minerva, discovered somewhere in Pula (photo by: V. Zović)

poznato. Istarska se provenijencija pretpostavlja na osnovi podatka da je kupljena 1909. godine zajedno s nezakijskim Jupiterom te da je potom, kao i prethodna iz Brtonigle, dospjela u kolekciju *Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte* u Trstu. Radi se o brončanom kipiću visine 10,2 cm, dosta oštećene površine, koji se po tipu frizure i načinu izrade datira u julijevsko-klaudijevski period. Božica je prikazana u uspravnom položaju, s tipičnom korintskom kacigom na glavi, čija se kresta spušta sve do sredine leđa. Odjevena je u široki hiton, a preko leđa joj pada bogato nabran himation. Prsa i ramena su joj djelomično prekrivena egidom, desna ruka joj je spuštена i savijena unaprijed te se pretpostavlja da je u njoj držala posudicu za libaciju, dok joj je lijeva ruka uzdignuta i zatvorene šake, iz čega se zaključuje da je u njoj držala koplje (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 156). Kako se može vidjeti iz navedenih primjera, kipići su sličnog tipa, sve su vrlo malih dimenzija i prikazuju Minervu tipa *Promachos* te se na osnovi njihove rasprostranjenosti može zaključiti, jednako kao i na osnovi ranije spomenutih epigrafskih svjedočanstava, da je Minervin kult bio štovан privatno, unutar kućnih svetišta.

ZAKLJUČAK

Minerva je kao jedno od vrhovnih rimskih božanstava i zaštitnica mudrosti i umijeća bila štovana na više mjesta u rimskodobnoj Istriji, o čemu svjedoči nekoliko epigrafskih spomenika te prikazi u obliku statua. Potvrde njena kulta, iako zasad nisu brojne koliko bi se očekivalo, ipak su dostatne za stjecanje određene slike o njegovoj rasprostranjenosti na više mjesta unutar Istrije, kao i odlikama koje ga karakteriziraju. Posvjedočena su samo dva direktna zavjeta Minervi, od kojih je jedan djelomično sporan jer je ime božanstva zabilježeno samo siglom M. Drugi, pronađen u selu Musalež među ostacima rimske ruralne

19th century. It is very small in size (its height measures barely 6.6 cm). The surface is rather damaged and the fist on the right hand is missing. The goddess is shown in an upright position, wearing a Corinthian helmet, a double chiton round her. Her right hand points upwards, in her fist that was broken off, she used to hold a spear, while her left hand is at a distance from the body, resting on a shield with an umbo (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 155). Another similar figurine of Minerva was found somewhere on the territory of Istria, but the exact findspot is not known. An Istrian provenance is assumed on the basis of data showing that it was acquired in 1909, together with the Jupiter from Nesactium, and that subsequently it became part of the collection at the *Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte* in Trieste, as was also the case with the previous one from Brtonigla. This is a small bronze statuette, 10.2 cm in height, with a rather damaged surface, which can be dated into the Julio-Claudian period according to the type of hairdo and mode of production. The goddess is shown in an upright position, wearing the typical Corinthian helmet whose crest falls all the way to the middle of her back. She is wearing a broad chiton, while a richly draped himation falls over her shoulders. Her bosom and shoulders are partially covered by an aegis, her right hand is lowered and bent forward, and it is assumed that in it she held a small vessel for libations, while her left hand is raised with a clenched fist, which leads us to believe that in it she held a spear (Girardi Jurkić 2005, 156). As can be seen from the cited examples, the statuettes are of a similar type, and all of them are small in size and depict Minerva of the *Promachos* type. Based on their spread as well as on the aforementioned epigraphic confirmations, we can conclude that the cult of Minerva was worshiped privately, within household shrines.

CONCLUSION

As one of the most important Roman goddesses and patroness of wisdom and skill, Minerva was worshiped at several places in Roman Istria, which is corroborated by a number of epigraphic monuments and by depictions in the form of statuettes. Confirmations of her cult, although they are not as great in number as one would expect, are nevertheless sufficient to get a certain picture of its spread, and of the distinctive features that characterize it on several locations in Istria. Only two direct vows to Minerva were confirmed, one of which is partially controversial because the name of the goddess was recorded only with the abbreviation M. The other one, discovered in the village of Musalež, among remains of Roman rural architecture on the territory of the ager of Parentium, is an altar that was erected in honor of

arhitekture na prostoru parentinskog agera, jest ara podignuta Minervi Flanatici kao znak zahvalnosti. Taj spomenik upućuje na sinkretizam Minerve s nekim od autohtonih božanstava koji se razvio u Flanoni te je preko doseljenika došao s istočne na zapadnu obalu Istre i ondje se nastavio štovati.

U koloniji Poli najvažnija su svjedočanstva postojanja organiziranog štovanja Minerve nadgrobni natpisi na kojima se spominju *servi Minervae* odnosno *servi Minervae Polensis*. Oni su najvjerojatnije bili neka vrsta pomoćnika svećenika ili sluge u svetištu, što pokazuje da se unutar toga grada vodila posebna briga o Minervinu kultu i neizravno svjedoči o postojanju njenog hrama. O njegovoj lokaciji postoji nekoliko hipoteza nastalih na temelju mjesta nalaza i teksta mramorne tabule na kojoj se spominje *officium in insula Minervae*, kao i nadgrobni natpisa na kojima su prisutni *servi Minervae*, što treba odbaciti. Naime, nadgrobni spomenici moraju potjecati s nekropole, koja u antičkim gradovima nije smjela biti unutar gradskih zidina, pa je upitno kako su se našli na mjestu na kojem su pronađeni; možda su prenijeti s obližnje nekropole podno Monte Zara, gdje je moglo postojati posebno mjesto namijenjeno ukopu osoba iz obližnjeg svetišta, a možda su doneseni i kao spolije, što ih onda čini irelevantnima za lociranje *insulae Minervae*. Stoga se među postojećim pretpostavkama najviše vjerojatnom može smatrati ona da se Minervino svetište nalazilo ili na mjestu kasnije ranokršćanske bazilike sv. Marije Formoze ili negdje u njenom bližem okruženju, na što upućuje i nerijetka pojava kontinuiteta gradnje crkava na mjestima nekadašnjih poganskih hramova. Osim natpisima, Minervin kult posvjedočen je i nalazima kipića koji je prikazuju, i to na nekoliko mjesta na prostoru Istre (Pula, Premantura, Brtonigla). Oni su najvjerojatnije bili dio kućnih svetišta. Stoga možemo zaključiti da se Minerva u rimskodobnoj Istriji štovala kako na privatnoj, tako i na javnoj razini. Sitni nalazi i zavjetna ara iz Musaleža ukazuju na postojanje privatnog štovanja, dok epigrafski spomenici pronađeni unutar Pole upućuju na postojanje njenoga javnog štovanja u hramu. Aspekti karaktera božice i dalje ostaju djelomično upitni, no možda daljnja istraživanja donesu rezultate na temelju kojih će se moći iznijeti konkretniji i jače utemeljeni zaključci.

Minerva Flanatica, as a sign of gratitude. This monument indicates syncretism, matching Minerva with one of the autochthonous deities that developed at Flanona, which with the help of settlers then arrived from the eastern to the western coast of Istria, where it continued to be worshiped.

Sepulchral inscriptions on which *servi Minervae* or *servi Minervae Polensis* are mentioned represent the most important testimony of the existence of an organized worship of Minerva in the colony of Pola. These *servi* were most likely some sort of priest-helpers or servants in the sanctuary, which shows that within this city special care was taken of the cult of Minerva, indirectly corroborating the existence of her temple there. The location of the temple is the subject of several hypotheses that were developed on the basis of either the findspot and text of the marble tabula on which an *officium in insula Minervae* is mentioned, or sepulchral inscriptions mentioning *servi Minervae*, which is to be rejected. Namely, sepulchral monuments must come from necropolises, but in ancient times necropolises were never located inside city walls, which further complicates the provenance of these monuments, raising questions. Perhaps they stem from the nearby necropolis at the foot of Monte Zaro, where there could have been a special area for the interment of personnel from the nearby sanctuary, or perhaps they were brought here as spolia, in which case they become irrelevant for locating *insulae Minervae*. Thus, among the existing assumptions the most probable seems to be the one that locates Minerva's sanctuary either on the site of the subsequent Early Christian basilica of St. Maria Formosa, or somewhere in its immediate environment, which is also supported by the frequent continuity of church building on sites of former pagan temples. In addition to inscriptions, there are further confirmations for the existence of the cult of Minerva in the form of her statuettes that were discovered on several locations in the region of Istria (Pula, Premantura, Brtonigla). These were most likely used as an integral part of household shrines. We can therefore conclude that in Roman Histria the cult of Minerva was worshiped both on a public level and at home. The small finds and the votive altar from Musalež indicate the presence of private worship of Minerva, while the epigraphic monuments discovered within the city of Pola indicate that she was worshiped in a temple. Various aspects of the character of this goddess still remain partly questionable, but perhaps further explorations will bring new evidence upon which we will be able to present more concrete and better founded conclusions.

SKRAĆENICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE = *Année épigraphique*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris

AK = A. KURILIĆ, 1999., *Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge*, doktorska disertacija (rukopis), Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, Zadar

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, Academia litterarum regia Borussica

InscrIt = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, volumen X, regio X, fasc. 1. – Pola et Nesactium, Roma, 1947; fasc. 2. – Parentium, Roma, 1934; fasc. 4. – Tergeste, Roma, 1951.

RE = PAULY, A., WISSOWA, G., KROLL, W., WITTE, K., MITTELHAUS, K., ZIEGLER, K. eds. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung*, svezak 15, podsvezak 30, Met-Molaris lapis, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894. – 1980.

EDR = Epigraphic Database Roma

EDH = Epigraphic Database Heidelberg

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