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The important geographical position of Cyprus, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and attempt to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture.



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D.E.

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

3



THE SEEDS OF
TRIPTOLEMUS

3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES



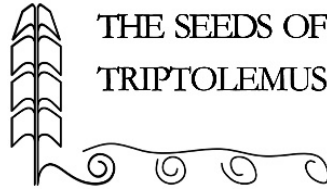
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SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially Lucan and Valerius Flaccus), Roman elegy (especially Tibullus), Cicero's orations, and Roman intertextuality. He has published many articles in international refereed journals and collective volumes, has edited a book on praises of Roman leaders, co-edited a book on the reception of ancient Cyprus in the culture of the western world and another one on Cyprus through travel literature (15th - 18th centuries), and completed a book on Persius' *Satires*. He is currently working on a volume on Pliny the Younger's intertextuality and on a research project on Persius' intertextuality.

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On the cover: reworking of the mosaic of the House of Dionysus, Paphos
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PREFACE

Spyridon Tzounakas

This volume (*The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Roman Sources and Beyond: Eleven Studies*) emerged as a result of the papers presented in two Workshops that took place in Nicosia, on 29 May 2021 and 7 July 2021 respectively, within the context of my research programme entitled *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in the Culture of the Western World* (RACCWW). This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). The main aim of this research programme is to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture. The important geographical position of the island, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and supplement a volume with a similar title that ensued from an international conference held in Nicosia in February 2021: Spyridon Tzounakas, Stella Alekou and Stephen Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2023 (Trends in Classics 139). For more information on the aims and the main findings of the research programme, see the “Introduction” there (pp. 1-10), as well as the website of the programme (<https://receptionofancientcyprus.com.cy>).

The present volume is divided into three parts. Part 1, entitled “The Roman Conquest of Cyprus and the Exemplarity of the Island”, includes three studies. Spyridon Tzounakas (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero’s *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*”) examines the way the Roman conquest of Cyprus is rhetorically exploited by Cicero in his attempt to denigrate Clodius’ image in two speeches. He argues that the case of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, is harmoniously incorporated in the broader argumentation of the speeches, reinforces the tragic aspects of Clodius’ opponents and works as an *exemplum* that illuminates Clodius’ stance towards Cicero and Sestius. Georgios Vassiliades (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: A *bellum iustum* or *iniustum*?”) continues the discussion of the Roman conquest of Cyprus. Through the analysis of relevant Latin and Greek sources, his chapter attempts to show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s BC morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*. It is concluded that Roman public opinion, which is reflected in

contemporary and later sources, was divided on the moral evaluation of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*, by thus adopting the arguments of Clodius or Cicero respectively. Margot Neger (“Cyprus *in exemplis*: Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus”) scrutinizes the presence of Cyprus in Valerius Maximus’ narrative techniques. The chapter investigates a series of anecdotes concerning the island of Cyprus in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. The single *exempla* are both self-contained narrative units and parts of different thematic sections on various virtues and vices. The chapter argues that the anecdotes on incidents regarding Cyprus can be read not only within their respective section but also as a cycle which reaches from the first to the last book of the collection. It also examines how the island, its inhabitants and visitors are depicted in a literary work composed in the time of the emperor Tiberius.

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 15th to the 18th century. Sophia Papaioannou’s study (“Pygmalion’s Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration”) on the one hand discusses the presence of the myth of Pandora in Pygmalion and Ovid’s engagement with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus, while on the other, it examines the incorporation of the Pygmalion episode in the stories of agalmatophilia featuring famous works of art and creators as well as in the Roman ideology of the *imagines maiorum*. In Stella Alekou’s study (“The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian *ekphraseis*: Pygmalion’s Prequel to Arachne’s Story”) the myth of Pygmalion is examined as a prequel to that of Arachne, another famous artist in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. She reveals the ambiguous representation of love in these episodes, when Ovid exposes rape while apparently praising love, and argues that Ovid employs optical illusions to shed light on the image of love which in art appears as distorted, to address the politics of rape. The next study of this Part (“From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion’s Reception in W. S. Gilbert’s Mythological Comedy *Pygmalion and Galatea*”) also deals with Ovid’s Pygmalion. Here Stamatia Kitsou demonstrates that W. S. Gilbert exploited the main outline of the Ovidian myth and proceeded to a generic transformation composing the first mythological comedy with Galatea, the statue’s name after Rousseau, as a

protagonist. As Galatea's inanimation and interaction with the other characters of the play is problematic and a series of misunderstandings arises from her lack of social education, Gilbert proves himself to be prolific in social criticism and masterful, almost latent, considerations regarding the gender-based roles and their social construction. In her second contribution to this volume ("The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*: Transformations and a Play of Identities"), Stamatia Kitsou investigates the presence of the Ovidian myth of Cinyras and Myrrha in Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus*. She argues that for the formation of Myrrha's dramatic persona, Byron takes into account the Ovidian Myrrha (*met.* 10.298-502) and mainly the protagonist of the pre-Romantic tragedy of Vittorio Alfieri, *Mirra*; thus, he creates a play of mutual transformations and conflicting identities, while maintaining the core of his classical models.

Part 3, entitled "Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence", includes three studies. In the first of them, Daniele Castrizio ("A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus") deals, from an iconographic point of view, with an emission of bronze coins generally attributed to the island of Cyprus, and provides elements for a more precise dating of the coin series. Based on the writings of Manilius, this paper provides an interpretation of the importance of the zodiacal signs on ancient coins, and discusses the relationship between the zodiacal sign of Capricorn and the imperial propaganda at the time of Augustus. Next, Antonio Corso ("Pliny, *nat.* 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the *Splanchnoptes*") studies Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues and connects it to the political environment of the Flavian dynasty. Finally, Alessandra Bravi's article ("An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite") sheds new light on the visit paid by Titus to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos. Based on the archaeological data, she reconstructs the site as it looked at the time of the visit of Titus, and suggests a link between the sanctuary at Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, inaugurated by the Flavians, where Venus has her own space. She concludes that the great eastern goddess Aphrodite/Isis/Astarte was the primary legitimacy of the *imperium* of the Flavians, since her oracle was needed to a plebeian family which could not claim mythical ancestors.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Research and Innovation Foundation of Cyprus, which generously supported our research project, to the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, which immediately embraced our workshops, to my dear colleagues and collaborators Dr. Stella Alekou, Dr. Despina Keramida and Dr. Stamatia Kitsou for their valuable involvement in the preparation of these events, and, of course, to all the speakers and the participants in these two

workshops, who contributed to their success. Special thanks go to Stefano Rocchi, the Director of the series *The Seeds of Triptolemus*, who supported the preparation of the manuscript with his help and advice, as well as to our publisher, Dr. Zaira Maranelli, and to Dr. Marco Filippi, at Deinotera Editrice, for their assistance and patience. I also thank the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions which helped to improve the quality of the volume.

Nicosia, July 2022

PART 3
NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

AN EXCELLENT FOREIGNER: TITUS AT THE SANCTUARY OF THE
PAPHIAN APHRODITE

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Tuscia University

INTRODUCTION

My article aims to offer a wider interpretation, based on archaeological data, to Titus' visit to the renowned sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos in AD 69. Tacitus provides clues in order to explain the ideological reasons of this visit and betrays the desire to regard this episode as a rite of divine predestination for the future emperor. Scholars who previously studied the account of this visit on the basis of the related passage of the *Historiae* focused on the ideological importance of this trip, as well as on its political implications in the context of the seizing of power by the Flavian dynasty. Titus' visit, which gave him a prophecy about his future, has been thought to betray Tacitus' desire to attribute to this son of Vespasian the intention to emulate the analogous *exempla* of Aeneas as well as of Julius Caesar.¹

I wish to focus on this consultation of the oracle of the Paphian Aphrodite and its impact on the following years. In fact, archaeological data reveal a possible link between this emblematic place of memory – Aphrodite's sanctuary at Old Paphos – which can reveal the *omina* of an ancestral power, and the monuments decided by the Flavians at Rome after they strengthened their power. Specifically, I believe that the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite may have provided the inspiration which was at the basis of the architectural complex representing the world-rule of Rome thanks to her universal peace, under the protection of Venus. The *Templum Pacis* has the configuration of a *temenos*, an open sanctuary, which displayed a garden and reproduced sacred sites devoted to Aphrodite. In fact, the area *sub divo* was essential in the structure of the sanctuary of Old Paphos, as well as in other eastern sanctuaries devoted to the goddess of love as that at Cnidus. The *Templum Pacis* is the *reductio ad unum* of several architectural models, which suggest different functions and derive from various sites. However, Titus' visit must have been crucial in the historical development which brought the Flavian family to the empire. That is suggested by the fact that Aphrodite accompanies the young Titus until Rome: it appears in the visual display of the *Templum Pacis* and her

¹ Especially GUERRINI 1986 and TZOUNAKAS 2020. For the cult of Paphian Aphrodite, see PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994.

presence is implied by the notion of the *Pax deorum* which in Roman culture is closely linked to Venus.

The conceptual link between the sanctuary of Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, which harks back to the moment of the prophecy in AD 69, was an important pattern in the construction of the ideology of the imperial power of the Flavian dynasty. The great eastern goddess, Venus/Astarte, *alter ego* of Ishtar, who patronizes both the opposed and complementary spheres of the *eros* and of the military strength, both peace and war, is a primary source of legitimacy in the acquisition of the *imperium* by the Flavians thanks to the prophecy of the oracle.² This justification was necessary because the Flavians were a plebeian provincial dynasty. Needless to say, Venus' link with power had a long tradition at Rome. With the Flavians and via Paphian Venus, the traditional connection of Venus with Victory, which harks back to Venus/Astarte of Eryx in connection with Aeneas, becomes again topical.³ The Flavians represent themselves as the great rulers of the East thanks to the *bellum Iudaicum*: thus, the Roman power becomes truly ecumenical during their rule. The East becomes source of the eternity of power.

TITUS AT OLD PAPHOS

At the time of his visit, Titus probably landed in the main harbour of New Paphos.⁴ As many other pilgrims who arrived there from any corner of the Eastern Mediterranean, Titus may have reached Old Paphos by walking. The route to the sanctuary of Old Paphos was dotted with sacred spots which were probably linked to the annual procession which took place between New Paphos and the old and prestigious sanctuary of Aphrodite. From the Hellenistic period onwards, according to Strabo, a procession led women and men, Paphians and foreigners as well as pilgrims who had landed in the harbour of New Paphos to the sanctuary of Old Paphos.⁵ This path passed through the sacred garden of Aphrodite.⁶ The presence of the garden advertised

² On the syncretism between Astarte and Aphrodite at Paphos, see BONNET 1996; BONNET / PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1999; BUDIN 2004; BUDIN 2014; IOANNOU 2014.

³ SCHILLING ²1982; LIETZ 2010; LIETZ 2012.

⁴ For recent researches concerning the environment, landscape and its transformations from the Bronze Age onwards, see IACOVOU 2019.

⁵ Strab. 14.6.3 (C683): διέχει δὲ πεζῇ σταδίους ἐξήκοντα τῆς Παλαιπάφου, καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαιπάφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων. Inscriptions testify the presence of a branch of the cult at New Paphos: MLYNARCZYK 1985; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994.

⁶ Strab. 14.6.3 (C683): μικρὸν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ἡ Ἱεροκηπία. A rhythmical alphabetic dedication to the Paphian goddess, dated between the 4th and the 3rd c. BC, has been

the epiphany of the goddess and was an important component in the configuration of the sacred space. Visitors of the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite at Cnidus were surrounded by a landscape dotted with “fertile garden trees, against their expectations, without a courtyard paved with marble”.⁷

The sanctuary of Old Paphos stood on a height of around 2 km from the sea. During the Late Bronze Age, it was an active centre of commercial trade. Homer may have known the sanctuary of this goddess at Paphos perhaps because of its close connection with an international harbour: this is the first known evidence of the identification of this goddess with Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.363) and with *Kypris* (*Il.* 5.330).

The fame of Old Paphos in the field of trade no longer existed when Titus arrived there, guided by his own devotion. The place had acquired great religious prestige from the Hellenistic period onwards. Tacitus wrote in his *Annales* that this sanctuary was regarded as the oldest among the places of worship of the island and that its foundation was attributed to the king-priest Aerias.⁸ In fact, this historian informs us about the connection of Old Paphos with Rome even before Titus. In AD 22, a delegation of the sanctuary asked Tiberius for a recognition of exclusive rights, in the context of research promoted by the emperor in order to avoid any abuse of the right of *asylum*. The emperor confirmed the legitimacy of the right to *asylum* to three sanctuaries on this island (Paphian Aphrodite, Amathusian Aphrodite and Jupiter at Salamis on Cyprus) and the citizens of Paphos set up a stele as a token of gratitude to Tiberius.⁹ Even before this episode, in AD 14, the long and lasting friendship between the Paphians and the Julio-Claudians had been strengthened with an oath made by the Paphians to be faithful to Tiberius: in the inscription the eternity of Rome was lauded and the closeness of the local Aphrodite to Roman Venus was mentioned.¹⁰

From the point of view of Titus, who hoped that his power would gain a renowned authority's approval, the prestige of Paphos may have dated back to the Paphian *basileis*, who enjoyed royal status as priests of the Wanassa and descendants of Kinyras, the legendary high priest.¹¹ During the Ptolemaic

discovered at Mandria, not far from Hiéroképia: PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 319-320 nn. 163-165.

⁷ Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 11: CORSO 1988.

⁸ Tac. *ann.* 3.62: *exim Cyprii tribus delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, possuissent.*

⁹ This is evidenced by an inscription found in the village of Nikokleia, probably coming from the near sanctuary of Old Paphos: MITFORD 1960 (ExcCyp 6; IGRom III 941; I.Paphos 148).

¹⁰ Cf. MITFORD 1960, with previous bibliography.

¹¹ PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994; PAPANTONIOU 2012; IACOVOU 2019.

period Paphos even became a centre of dynastic cult and seat of the KOINON KYPRION.¹² Thus a close connection existed between the goddess and the king who during the classical period served as the priest of the goddess.¹³

The landscape around the sanctuary bore signs of the most ancient royalty, of kings who ruled during the Bronze Age, and was dotted with royal monuments: at Marchello the archaic-Cypriot centre was destroyed and its remains reveal the presence of a royal palace, which was razed to the ground. In its place an administrative centre was built nearby on the Hadjiabdoulla plateau.¹⁴

The ‘eastern’ look of the sanctuary must have revealed even in Roman times the great antiquity of the cult, which may have existed already around 1200 BC, in keeping with the function of Cyprus as a point of connection between the Aegean Sea and the eastern world. The structure of the sanctuary betrayed a mixture of different influences: porticoes, halls, specific rooms made it similar to sanctuaries which dotted the centres of the Aegean Sea, of Anatolia, of Crete and of the Near East: Cyprus from the Late Bronze Age until the Roman period was always the crossroad of different cultures.¹⁵

At the heart of the most ancient part of the sanctuary (fig. 1) (Sanctuary I, LC) there was a *temenos*: fragments of polygonal walls supporting orthostats and a roofed hall with portico to the north were perhaps the *sancta sanctorum*. In Roman times, Sanctuary II was rebuilt by the Flavians after the earthquake dated AD 76/77. Sanctuary II bears a homogeneous structure with long porticoes north and south, perhaps halls for banquets and a U-shaped east wing comprising different rooms and surrounding a courtyard *sub divo*. Even this reconstruction does not see the adoption of the features of a Greek-Roman temple and bears a configuration which is similar to that of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, which had also been rebuilt after the earthquake of 76/77.¹⁶

¹² PAPANTONIOU 2012, 154. For the change in the use and concept of sacred landscapes, which were originally constructed in the era of the Cypriot kings (the *basileis*), but then continued to function in a new imperial environment see PAPANTONIOU 2013; PAPANTONIOU / VIONIS 2017.

¹³ MASSON 1961 (n. 130), nrs. 6; 7; 16; 17.

¹⁴ The close connection between temporal power and cult of the goddess is argued from inscriptions which evidence the priestly status of the king as well as from the link between Aphrodite and Kinyras on the ground of the myth: MAIER 2004, figs. 55-57; HERMARY 2014, 95: “The religious function attached to the palaces of the Cypriot kings was certainly fundamental, as it was throughout the ancient Near East”; IACOVOU 2019 (East Complex).

¹⁵ History of excavations: MAIER 1997; reconstruction of the sanctuary on the basis of the most recent researches: MAIER / KARAGEORGHIS 1984; MAIER 1985; MAIER 2000; MAIER 2004; MAIER 2007.

¹⁶ MAIER / KARAGEORGHIS 1984.

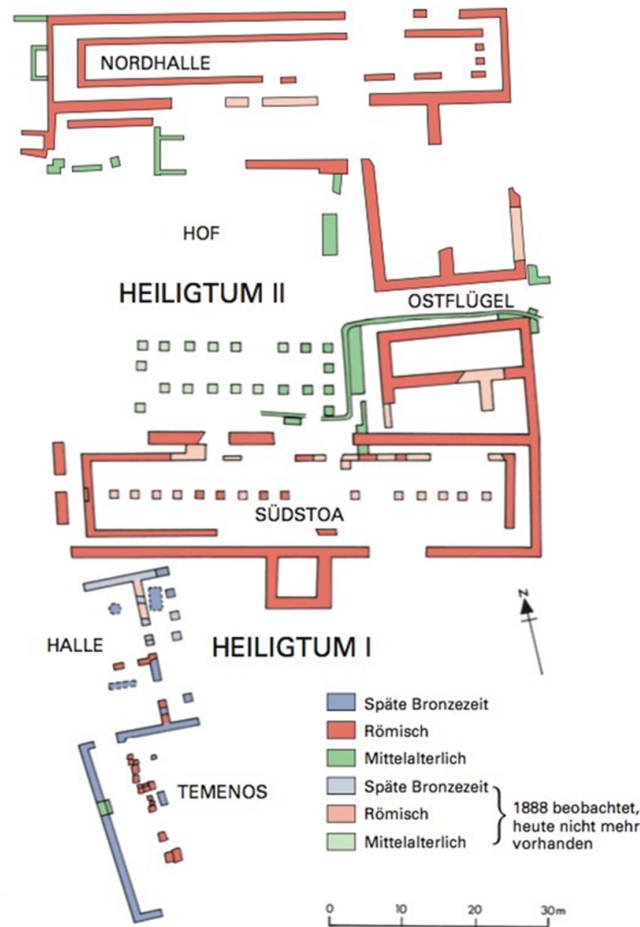


Fig. 1: Sanctuary of Aphrodite: plan
<https://www.hist.uzh.ch/de/fachbereiche/altegeschichte/assoziierteforschende/vonwartburg/forschungsprojekte/paphos/projects/aphrodite-at-paphos.html>

Tacitus records the peculiar and typically Cypriot aspects of the sanctuary: a *temenos sub divo*, with an altar and a conic stone as object of cult.¹⁷ The latter element, although it was in an open site, was not wet by the rain (*hist.* 2.3.2):

nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescunt.¹⁸

Even the most ancient descriptions focus on the open sites, the contact with the sky and the altar, peculiarities of a great *ourania* goddess.

¹⁷ For more recent references on Paphian Aphrodite's aniconic representations, see ULBRICH 2010, 172; see also the overview on the images of Aphrodite in the Cypriot sanctuaries in ULBRICH 2010. For comparative perspectives on aniconism, see GAIFMAN 2017.

¹⁸ Cf. also Plin. *nat.* 2.210: *celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cuius quondam aream non impluit.*

In *Odyssey*, 8.362-366:

“Then smile-loving Aphrodite went to Cyprus / To Paphos,
where are her *temenos* and altar of sacrifice; / The Charities bathed
and anointed her with ambrosial oil / Which adorns the ever-
living gods; / About her they draped a garment, a wonder to
behold”.¹⁹

In representations on coins (fig. 2), gems and medals, inside an open sanctuary a gate is visible which is open and allows the view of the conic stone inside, which bears above a flat cover: around it there are pillars which are higher than the roof, with upper sections that look like horns, and sometimes a wreath appears on top of them, other times a star near a rising moon, symbol of Astarte. Although these images on coins are simplified, the feature of the courtyard in front of the cella is stressed, its shape is semicircular, it is surrounded by a short wall or fence, and, moreover, objects appear, altars, perhaps, or dedications. On a second series of coins a central section appears to be above the ground: a cella is evident with aisles with pillars and candlesticks: in front of the cella there is a courtyard inside a fence. All symbols represented on the more detailed coins express the cult of the *ourania* goddess which retains eastern features of Astarte attributed to Greek and Roman Aphrodite.²⁰ (Fig. 3)



Fig. 2: A simplified version of the sanctuary with a single central pavilion on a bronze *sestertius* of Vespasian on the reverse (AD 76-77).

¹⁹ Transl. BUDIN 2004, 112.

²⁰ MAIER / KARAGEORGHIS 1984 make a distinction between two types of representation: the first bears a sanctuary with unified cella, the second a sanctuary with cella having three aisles. Interpretation of figures on coins in STUCCHI 1991. Cf. moreover PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994.



Fig. 3: Representation of the sanctuary with a tripartite cell and symbolic elements distributed above the pavilions and within the *temenos*. AE-Tetrassarion, Caracalla, BMC Greek (Cyprus) 87, nr. 62.

The evocation of remote royalties is underlined by the presence of cenotaphs and tombs. Clement, in his *Protrepticus* 3.40, asserts that “there is the rumour that at Paphos, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Kinyras and his sons are buried”. Arnobius (*nat.* 6.6) asserts that *Cinyram regem Paphi cum familia omni sua, immo cum omni prosapia in Veneris templum situm esse*. according to this writer the priest-king was buried there with his wife, Metharne, and his sons, Oxyrropus and Adonis.²¹

Titus may have regarded this old memory of kings-priests of Aphrodite the antecedents of statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty dedicated in the *temenos*.²² Between 15 BC and AD 14, Livia had been worshipped at Paphos as a new Aphrodite and her statue²³ may have been set up near that of Tiberius.²⁴

In the space of Paphian Aphrodite the imperial cult must have taken a mystic and nearly initiatory feature, focused on the re-generation and transmission of the power, in the context of a cyclical concept of royalty which migrates in continuity from East to West. Kinyras may have been regarded the founder of these mysteries, according to which the goddess was to be born again:²⁵ that

²¹ These tombs would be located in four trenches. In a trench Adonis may have been buried: he was the most important personality at Old Paphos after Aphrodite: STUCCHI 1991.

²² On the kings of Paphos as descendants of Kinyras, see MLYNARCZYK 2011.

²³ KANTIRÉA 2008.

²⁴ For statues of Tiberius dedicated to Paphian Aphrodite, see FUJII 2013, 191, Paphus Vetus nr. 11; FUJII 2015. For an overview of sculptural ensembles in marble in Roman Cyprus, see FEJFER 2019, especially 611-616 on the sculptural décor in the theatre of Salamis.

²⁵ A libation probably was part of the mysteries of the goddess (according to Hesychius γ 339, Γένεσις Κύπρου· ἢ σπονδή, παρὰ Κυπρίους, where γένεσις is interpreted by J. Rudhardt as “principe générateur”, and where the libation was functional to the re-naisance of the goddess in the context of a cult of Ariadne/Aphrodite; see RUDHARDT 1975, 141-142).

rite would perpetuate the memory of the birth of Aphrodite from the waters of Cyprus.²⁶

Perhaps Titus could enter the part of the sanctuary in which the oracles were delivered, through a rite which may have been close to the Roman *haruspicina*, based on the *extispicina*.²⁷ The nature of the rite practised by the priests of Old Paphos is argued by different passages: from the novels, as that of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, where the hero asks questions to the priests, who are the only ones allowed to sacrifice goats for divinatory purposes. Even vegetables were crucial in the Cypriot cult: Porphyrius in his *De abstinentia* cites a text by Empedocles about bloodless sacrifices in honour of *Kypris* in order to stress the purity and simplicity of the original practises.²⁸ The smells of the trees which were found in the sacred space of Aphrodite enveloped the faithful, expressing the epiphany of the goddess and her effective healthy power attributed to the small statues which could be bought in the sanctuary. A merchant from Naucratis was saved from a storm with all the crew of the boat by one of these statuettes, which spread the smell of myrtle.²⁹

²⁶ The mystic nature of the cult of Aphrodite at Old Paphos (Palaepaphos) is found in Himerius (Him. Or. 17): the beginning is preserved by Photius, *Bibl.* (243), 372b, 1.10-24: Τὴν Κύπρον οἱ ποιηταὶ θεῶν Ἀφροδίτῃ χαρίζονται, ὡσπερ τὴν Δῆλον Ἀπόλλωνι. Ἡ γὰρ Κύπρος πόλις μεγάλη δήμοι τὴν γλώτταν ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνες. Ὡδινεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἢ θάλαττα· τὰς δὲ ὠδίνας ταύτας, αἱ τινές ποτέ εἰσιν, μυστικοὶ λόγοι κρύπτειν κελεύουσι. Καὶ ἔδει γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐκκυθῆναι τὴν δαίμονα. Ἰσταται μὲν εὐθὺς καὶ ἄγει γαλήνην ἢ θάλαττα, ἀπαλοῖς κύμασι περὶ τὸν τόπον πορφύρουσα.

²⁷ Tac. *hist.* 2.3.2: *hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris.* An analogous case is that of the sanctuary of Mt. Carmel, which had been visited by Vespasian who went after a favourable oracle to Alexandria: there he will be lavished with a royal status similar to that of a pharaoh, he will make miracles and will cause the flood of the Nile: Tac. *hist.* 2.78.3: *est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque [...] illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis 'quicquid est' inquit, 'Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.'* has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat; Suet. *Vesp.* 5.6: *Apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur.* See MORGAN 1996, 53; WELLESLEY 2000, 121; ESCÁMEZ DE VERA 2017.

²⁸ Tac. *hist.* 2.3.1-2: *sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posterī caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere; tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur; certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescent. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exurgens, et ratio in obscuro;* Chariton *Chaereas and Callirhoe* 8.2.8-9; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.132.3; Emp. 31 B 128 DK (I, pp. 362-363), in Porphy. *Abst.* 2.21.2-4: quoted by PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 319 n. 161.

²⁹ PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 293 with 319 n. 163: Polycharmus of Naucratis (FGrHist 640 fr. 1) in Athen. 15.675f-676c.

This complex cult of re-generation, linked to an eternal concept of royalty, may have been the meaning of the rite which delivered to Titus his *omen* for the acquisition of a royal status, when the goddess, through her great priest Sostratus, foretold him of his family's eventual ascent to the throne. This *omen* implied that the dynasty which was going to rise to the *imperium* reported a victory. The link between Paphian Aphrodite and imperial victory is ancient, being rooted in the years after Actium and enshrined in the Augustan ideology of victory. In 26 BC, the change brought about in the Mediterranean world by the battle of Actium determined on Cyprus the mint of a coin which had on the reverse a Nike standing on a *globus*, with wreath and palm. On the *recto* of the coin, there is the portrait of the successor of the Ptolemies in the rule of the world, Octavian Augustus. This Nike was substituted in the following coinage by the image of the temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos.³⁰ (Fig. 4)



Fig. 4: AE; Obv. IMP CAESAR DIVI F; Rev. A PLAVTIVS PRO COS. Temple of Aphrodite in Paphos, containing baetylus, paved semicircular court in foreground. Sear GIC 105; BMCRE I, pl. XIV, 2.

On the path already opened by the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the new winners and restorers of world peace take an interest in the cults of the island, attended by pilgrims from every side of the *oikoumene*. After Titus' visit and his rise as emperor, an altar had been devoted to Paphian Aphrodite by Titus and after him by Domitian.³¹ At Amathus Titus shares the sanctuary with goddess Aphrodite Cypria:³² in the sanctuary 'between the stelai', in the second year of the reign of Titus (September 79-August 80), two inscriptions

³⁰ GORDON 2012.

³¹ KANTIRÉA 2008.

³² The sanctuary was dotted with imperial statues: FUJII 2015; see also the catalogue of statues of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus in FEJFER 2006.

of L. Bruttius Maximus, proconsul, combine the cults of Titus and of the great goddess Aphrodite Cypria.³³

TOWARDS ROME

After having consulted the oracle, as if pushed by the daemon of Aphrodite Paphia, Titus returned to his father in Syria, conquered Jerusalem and sacked the temple (Aug.-Sept. 70). After that he did not return to Rome but remained for sometime in the East: that decision delayed his and his father's triumph in Rome. He sent the *Legio XII Fulminata* to Melitene, but he decided that the other legions would not go back to their provinces, although that may have been necessary because Vitellius had died less than a year earlier. On the contrary, he took them with him and toured the East with them as Flavius Josephus asserts. Titus appears to have used the winter weather as his excuse of the delay. As Tacitus informs us, in Rome the situation was complicated and Vespasian had trouble restoring concord (*hist.* 4.11: *discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas*), especially with regards to his intention to grant the succession to his son Titus.³⁴

In this context of waiting and suspension, Titus continued his sacred journey and on 25 April 71, returning from Palestine, entered Alexandria; "first of all he went to the camp, then to Serapeum, then to the Hippodromus".³⁵ He followed the same path of Vespasian in 69, according to a ceremonial disposed by Tiberius Alexander. In the Hippodromus Vespasian had been acclaimed *soter evergetes* and "son of Ammon, rising star". The peak of both visits was the Serapeum.³⁶

Titus' trip to Rome has stops which punctuate a dynastic itinerary toward the conquest of the *imperium* which is based on the eastern notion of a universal royalty. That way the *omen* which anticipated the end of Vitellius is accomplished: two suns were thought to have appeared at the same time, the one in the west was very pale, while the other in the east was very bright (Dio Cass. 65.8). At the time Vespasian was in Judaea, while Vitellius had been acclaimed emperor by the legions in Gallia: Vitellius was the western sun, the weak one destined to fade, in front of a strong light rising from the east.

³³ AUPERT / HERMARY 2006.

³⁴ JONES 1985, 349 rightly asserts that "for Titus, the political climate was like the sea – dangerous and best avoided".

³⁵ P.Oxy. XXXIV 2725: letter dated 29 April 71: MARKOVIĆ 2017.

³⁶ MONTEVECCHI 1981.

THE *IMPERIUM* OF THE FLAVIANS, VENUS AND THE *TEMPLUM PACIS*

When Titus arrived in Rome, he celebrated his triumph together with Vespasian. Both winners paraded along the traditional route on a cart, followed by Domitian on horseback. They started at the *Villa Publica*, near the place where the temple of Isis and Sarapis was going to be built. These deities were assimilated to Venus and Jupiter, whose joined agency was achieved during the *Vinalia priora* and was auspicious for the victory and the triumph.³⁷ In the occasion of the celebration of the triumph *de Iudaeis*, the *Templum Pacis* (fig. 5) was founded *ex manubiis*.³⁸ This architectural complex was opened in 75; this year was crucial because the widening of the *pomerium* was completed.³⁹

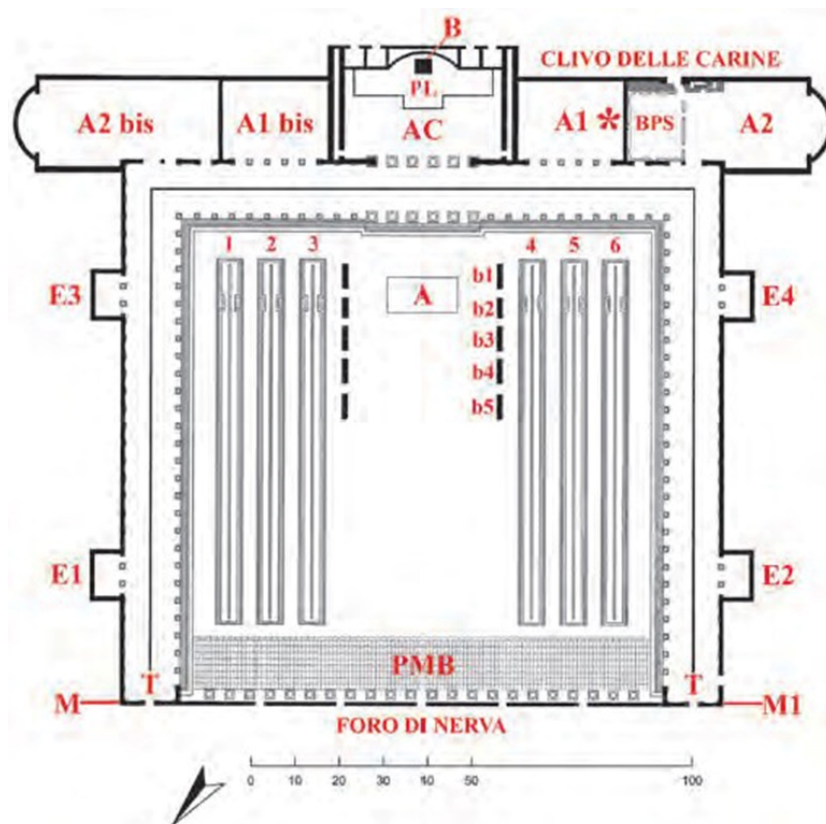


Fig. 5: *Templum Pacis*. Plan. MENEGHINI / REA 2014.

³⁷ Venus came to be associated with Jupiter in the *Vinalia* by virtue of her Trojan connections: Ov. *fast.* 4.863-954; SCHILLING ²1982; on the Venus and the *Vinalia*, see the recent paper of MARCATILI 2017.

³⁸ Joseph. *Bj* 7.5.7; Dio Cass. 65.15.

³⁹ For the triumph, the Flavian *pomerium* and the monumental enterprises of the Flavians at Rome, see COARELLI 2009b. For representations of this activity on official monuments, see HÖLSCHER 2009.

Although the following vicissitudes of the complex were characterized by destructions, reconstructions and restorations, it is possible thanks to the excavations of the archaeological service to figure out how this area looked at the time of Vespasian.⁴⁰

The project of the *Templum Pacis* included the existence of a large *temenos sub divo*. The layout which is suggested by the archaeological research is that of a complex structure, inappropriate as *forum*. The suggested models were endowed with several functions: libraries, architectural complexes for the imperial cult and sacred areas with porticoes in front of temples.⁴¹

The *temenos* included an unpaved square and porticoes along the south, east and west sides.⁴² The entrance was from the north side⁴³ and was in axis with a large hall which was included in the centre of the south portico and was endowed with rooms on both sides. Moreover, the portico was divided into two sections through a barrier made of ‘cipollino’ marble. The large square in rammed earth is crossed by six elevated canals or euripi, which carried water. The general configuration suggested a sense of open space, with water feeding the lushness, which was found at the sides of the euripi. Rows of small circular holes were disposed for containers of vegetable essences.⁴⁴ Bushes of Gallic roses were placed in clay containers (especially amphora tips) or directly in the soil.⁴⁵ The use of these planting pots evokes eastern models: in a poem by Sappho an *alsos* of Aphrodite is described as *temenos sub divo* in which groves of apple trees and bushes of roses grow.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Fire under Commodus: Dio Cass. 73.24.2; Hdn. 1.14.2-6; FOGAGNOLO / ROSSI 2010; CAPRIOLI / PENSABENE 2017. For the excavations, see MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007; MENEGHINI / CORSARO / PINNA CABONI 2009; CORSARO 2014, in particular about the phase of Vespasian, 258; MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2014; REA 2014; specifically for the architectural structure, see TUCCI 2009; MENEGHINI 2014.

⁴¹ For architectural models that may have influenced the conception of the *Templum Pacis*, see COARELLI 2009b, 71-75; CAPRIOLI / PENSABENE 2017, 558.

⁴² MENEGHINI 2014, with previous bibliography.

⁴³ During the age of Domitian, the entrance from the north side was emphasized by a wide strip paved with slabs of white Luna marble: MENEGHINI 2014.

⁴⁴ RIZZO 2001, 239.

⁴⁵ Cato *agr.* 51-52; 133; Plin. *nat.* 17.64; 17.97-98. For the roses of the *Templum Pacis*, see RIZZO 2001, 238-239; CELANT 2005; MENEGHINI 2006, 158-159, fig. 19; MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, figs. 54-55. Plin. *nat.* 13.26; 21.15-17 and Paus. 6.24.7 tell us that the rose was connected to Venus; see CARROLL 2010.

⁴⁶ CALAME 2006; LAMBRUGO 2018.

THE SACRED NATURE AND THE SPACE OF VENUS

The square in rammed earth, the euripi with running water and the bushes of roses characterize this space as a garden sacred to Venus: the garden as place of divine epiphany. In Egypt the deities were thought to inhabit gardens and groves attached to temples, and large gardens surrounded the palaces of the pharaohs as well as in Assyria.⁴⁷

In particular the rose is understood as a flower linked to the epiphany of the goddess from the archaic period onwards⁴⁸ and the memory of this connection in Greece is kept alive during the imperial times. When Pausanias describes a group of Charites in their own sanctuary at Elis, he notices that the first Charis holds a rose in her hand, the middle one an astragalus and the third a bough of myrtle; and he specifies: “It is possible to suggest that they hold these objects because the rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and associated with the story of Adonis, and the Charites are the most regular companions of Aphrodite among all the goddesses”.⁴⁹ The rose trodden by a reckless Aphrodite at the time of the death of her lover takes the colour of the blood oozing from the wound of the goddess.⁵⁰

The rites carried out in honour of *Pax* must have taken place near or inside the large hall located at the centre of the south portico. A large rectangular structure in axis with the entrance, in the middle of the area not crossed by the euripi, was once interpreted as an altar, but it has been recently regarded as a monumental fountain⁵¹ (fig. 6).

There is no evidence of bases of statues in the square garden. The bases at the sides of this structure seem to be dated in the age of Hadrian. The exact location of the numerous sculptures and pictures known to have been in the *templum* by epigraphical and literary *testimonia* is an unsolved problem.⁵²

⁴⁷ CARROLL 2015; CARROLL 2017. A function as botanical gazetteer of empire has been indeed proposed for the garden of the Flavian *Templum Pacis*, with the nearby *borrea piperataria* being understood as a tangible indication that peace allowed trade with faraway lands to flourish; on the Venus’ flowers in the sacred gardens of Aphrodite, see LAMBRUGO 2018.

⁴⁸ Cf. fr. 4 Bernabé of the *Cypria*, perhaps of the late 7th c. BC, and see PARLATO 2008.

⁴⁹ Paus. 6.24.6-7 (the translation is based on MADDOLI / NAFISSI / SALADINO 1999); LAMBRUGO 2018. On Aphrodite and Adonis at Amathus, see MAVROJANNIS 2015.

⁵⁰ *Geoponica* 11.17.

⁵¹ MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, 65; MENEGHINI 2014, who suggests that it is a fountain, on the basis, *inter alia*, of fragments of a colossal *labrum* found there; cf. AMBROGI 2002.

⁵² LA ROCCA 2001, 197-201: bases of statues of Pythokles and Parthenokles; three bases supported works of Praxiteles and Cephisodotus.



Fig. 6: The *Templum Pacis* in the plate 15 of the *Forma Urbis*. A = rectangular structure (altar or monumental fountain). MENEGHINI / REA 2014.

According to Flavius Josephus, a contemporary witness who took part in the opening of the complex, the abundance of works of art was one of the main features of the *Templum Pacis*: “After the celebration of the triumph and having strengthened and made the bases of the Roman Empire more stable, Vespasian decided to set up a temple of the Peace which was built in a very short time and whose grandeur was beyond any human imagination. In fact, he devoted the means of his extraordinary wealth to this complex, and beautified it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture; in fact, all the works which people travelled from all over the world to admire, although they were scattered in different countries, were collected and preserved in that temple. Here he also placed the gold furnishings taken from the temple of the Jews, for which he was proud. On the contrary he ordered to place and preserve in the palace the copy of their laws and the purple canopies of the sanctuary”⁵³ (fig. 7).

The presence of *nobilis opera* from everywhere in the known world acquires a precise political value in the ecumenical context of the *pax Flavia*; their exposition in Rome was made possible by the universal peace, by the *immensa Romanae pacis maiestas* (Plin. *nat.* 27.3), which allowed the free circulation of products from one border of the *oikoumene* to the other. The

⁵³ Joseph. *BJ* 7.5.7.

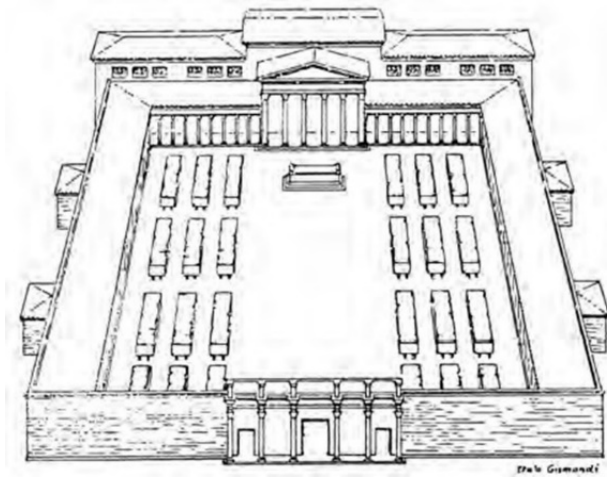


Fig. 7: Reconstructive view of the *Templum Pacis* by I. Gismondi (MENEHINI / REA 2014).

open side reproduces this notion of the ruled *oikoumene*, which is thus included in a *temenos*: the *Templum Pacis* makes the concept of the conquered external world clear. It is represented according to the culture of the Greek-Roman rulers: a space which became known and viable thanks to the wars and, at the same time, was included in the sphere of the *pax Romana*. In this walled sacred garden some works suggest the perception of a new political dimension of the *imperium* of the new dynasty as well as of its eastern antecedents.⁵⁴ Some of these statues acquired a sacred status through the dedications by the same emperor.

This is the case of the colossal statue of the Nile. In his book on stones, Pliny the Elder writes that a large block of basanite had been carved as a colossal image of the Nike and that Vespasian dedicated it in the *Templum Pacis* (Plin. *nat.* 36.58):

Invenit eadem Aegyptus in Aethiopia quem vocant basaniten, ferrei coloris atque duritiae, unde et nomen ei dedit. Numquam hic maior repertus est in templo Pacis ab imperatore Vespasiano Augusto dicatus argumento Nili, sedecim liberis circa ludentibus, per quos totidem cubita summi incrementi augentis se amnis eius intelleguntur.

The Nile is represented at the moment of the full flood (the 16 putti are symbols of the 16 cubits of the full flood) and expresses in the *Templum Pacis* the status of the ideal prosperity of the pacified empire as well as the source of the sacred power of the *princeps*. The representation of the Nile in full flood

⁵⁴ BRAVI 2009; BRAVI 2012, 167-181.

reminds the viewer that the level of the Nile rose by one palm above the normal level when Vespasian arrived to Alexandria.⁵⁵

This dedication reveals how the Flavian times are different from the earlier, Augustan ones. The great statue of Nike brought by Augustus during his triumph upon Egypt (Flor. *epit.* 2.13.88) marks the beginning of a rule which cancels the political identity of the Egyptian country. In the 8th book of the *Aeneid* the Greek-Roman world triumphs upon the deities of Egypt and the Nile: *magno maerentem corpore Nilum, / pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem / caeruleum in gremium latebrosaue flumina victos* (Verg. *Aen.* 8.711-713). With the Flavians Egypt re-acquires strength as *templum mundi, hierotate chora*⁵⁶ and especially as a seat of a sacred ancestral royalty. The works which give a symbolic identity to this space make it a representation of the power and of the events which allowed Titus and Vespasian to get it, as the ‘pilgrimage’ of Titus to Paphos.

In the context of a self-representation of Titus based on the myth of Aeneas, Nicomachus’ picture of Scylla becomes meaningful. Cf. Plin. *nat.* 35.109: *Pinxit* (i.e. Nicomachus) *Scyllam, quae nunc est Romae in templo Pacis*. Scylla had been a personification of the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea for Phoenician and Greek sailors of the archaic period. In the imagination of Greeks and Romans, Scylla represents the supernatural strength which rules the deep sea, the *Pontos*, unknown and without borders. The *pax Romana* brings to the fore a new concept of the sea space. Although monsters inhabit the sea, nevertheless the sea is ruled by the power of the *princeps*. Thanks to the *pax Flavia* the sea becomes tame. Pliny represents a situation in which the whole of nature, the sea included, is dominated by the *ars* of the human and her/his *ingenium*.

The picture of Scylla by Nicomachus presents the notion of a nature still full of perils. This image of Scylla was perhaps similar to that described by Vergil in *Aen.* 3.369 ff. as a human figure above, virgin with a deep bosom until the waist, scaring pistrix below, with tails of dolphins and bellies of wolves. The presence of this monster in the *Templum Pacis* may have been topical. Scylla was traditionally associated with the enterprises of the Argonauts, of Odysseus and of Aeneas: it may have reminded visitors of the dangers of the sea faced by Titus during his voyage. Tacitus describes this trip first westward, then eastward. This *topos* evokes the trip by Aeneas narrated

⁵⁵ Dio Cass. 66.8. The *dies imperii* of Vespasian coincides with his acclamation by the army at Alexandria (1 July 69). For the happenings in the sky and the prophecies on the rise of Vespasian to the empire, cf. Tac. *hist.* 2.78 and 4.81-84; Suet. *Vesp.* 4-7; Dio Cass. 66.1 and 8.

⁵⁶ For Egypt as an opposite world, see ASSMANN 2000.

by Vergil: in both cases *Fortuna* helps the predestined:⁵⁷ the visit of Titus to Paphos and his predestination established a link between the new and the old dynasty, because the young heir to the throne is linked to Aeneas from a mythical point of view and to Caesar from a historical one.⁵⁸ (Fig. 8)

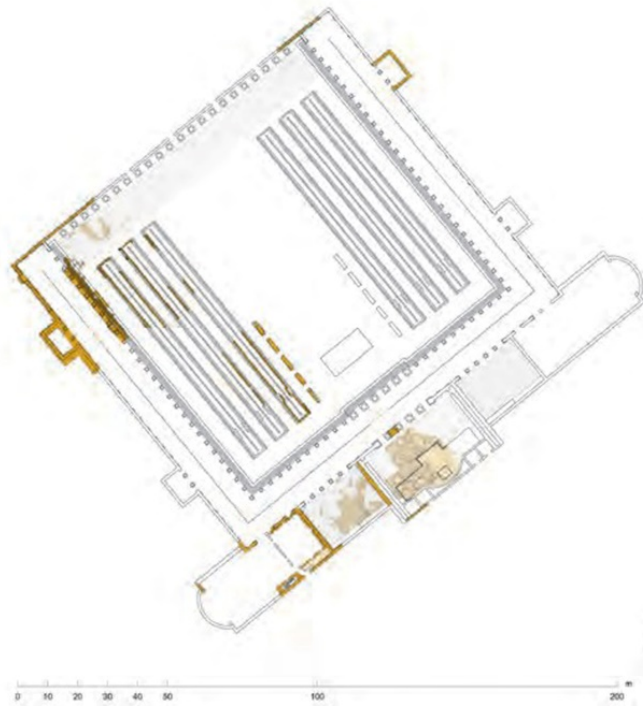


Fig. 8: Archaeological planimetry of the *Templum Pacis* (Azimut s.a.s.): in the centre of the south side the hall of worship; in the southern corner, the apsidal hall / A2 fig. 5), with niches probably used for displaying paintings. MENEGHINI / REA 2014.

The large apsidal hall on the southern side of the complex during the Flavian period had three niches covered with marble for each wall. The larger niches may have had statues, while the smaller may have been decorated with pictures.⁵⁹ Perhaps the *pinax* of Nicomachus was exposed in this hall, in a space which was a library, which flanked the *aedes* of *Pax* in the large apsidal hall at the centre of the southern portico. The *aedes* of *Pax* is not yet

⁵⁷ The words used by Tacitus imply that the model constituted by Vergil's description of the vicissitudes of Aeneas on sea in Book 3 and the consultation of the oracle of the Sibylla in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. *Venus Paphia*, after her appearance to Aeneas on the African coast (Verg. *Aen.* 1.415-416: *ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit / laeta suas*), is the same goddess mentioned by Suetonius: *Tito adito Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est* (*Tit.* 5.1).

⁵⁸ Aeneas: GUERRINI 1986; Caesar: TZOUNAKAS 2020.

⁵⁹ MENEGHINI 2014, 296.

characterized by the prevalence of the goddess whose base is found in the southern apse.⁶⁰ The cult statue was a colossal acrolith, with the naked parts in insular marble, and could be admired through the double colonnade of the pronaos.⁶¹

The iconography of the goddess is an open question: she has been recognized on numerous images of *Pax* on coins which are found in the years 70 to 75.⁶² In 75, when the complex is inaugurated, the frequency of *Pax* on the *denarii* reaches its peak.⁶³ She appears seated while she outstretches a branch of olive tree held in her right hand.⁶⁴ The base of the statue stood on a tall podium in the bottom apse, whose remains will become part of the larger base created with the re-construction by Septimius Severus.⁶⁵

It is difficult to recognize sculptural types in the different iconographies of *Pax* on coins and gems: the attributes change according to their specific functions. However, gestures and attributes connect these images of *Pax* to Venus.⁶⁶

A goddess with the attributes of *Pax* but with a general configuration derived from Aphrodite *en kepois* appears on a gem dated at the age of Tiberius: she was wreathed with a branch of olive tree, held a caduceus with her right arm resting on a short column, and a horn of plenty in her left hand. A thin chiton leaves her right shoulder bare, the himation is wrapped around her left side and is held by her elbow on top of the support at the right side.⁶⁷ The *Pax Augusta* rests on a short column on *aurei* and sesterces of Vespasian and Titus in AD 73, while in 75 an enthroned *Pax* appears on *aurei*, with branch and sceptre, on sesterces with bough and naked until her waist.⁶⁸ (Figs. 9-10)

⁶⁰ FACCHIN 2014; MENEGHINI 2014.

⁶¹ Fragment of hand attributed to the acrolith and various hypotheses of reconstruction on the basis of the iconographies on coins in PINNA CABONI 2014.

⁶² SIMON 1994, 209, nr. 48; COARELLI 1999: *Pax* enthroned. FOGAGNOLO / MOCCHEGGIANI CARPANO 2009: an enthroned statue is not in keeping with the size of the base in the cult hall.

⁶³ NOREÑA 2003.

⁶⁴ *Pax* type of 75 (BMCRE II, 30-31, nrs. 161-164 = RIC 90) was intended to commemorate the inauguration of the *Templum Pacis*: NOREÑA 2003. This type of enthroned *Pax* appears naked in her upper part as *Venus Victrix*.

⁶⁵ MENEGHINI 2014.

⁶⁶ GALINSKI 1992 was the first to notice this closeness on reliefs, interpreting the female figure of the *Ara Pacis* as Venus.

⁶⁷ SIMON 1994, 207, nr. 11.

⁶⁸ SIMON 1994, 209, nrs. 40; 48.



Fig. 9: AU, Vespasian AD 75-79. Obverse: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVGVST, and bust of Vespasian with laurel wreath facing right. Reverse: PAX AVGVST, and *Pax* seated on a throne (BMCRE II, 49, nrs. 280-282). London, The British Museum.



Fig. 10: AR *Denarius*, Rome mint AD 75, RIC 772; RSC 366. Reverse: *Pax* seated left on throne, holding an olive branch, naked until her waist.

The image on the sesterces picks up a type of *Concordia* struck by Galba, but the nakedness is typical of Vespasian's *Pax* and may suggest an association of this goddess with *Pax*. Thus, this personification does not have a standard iconography on coins which does not allow a certain identification of the configuration of the cult statue. *Pax* has the style of Aphrodite *en kepois* again on reverses of coins of Vespasian and Titus.⁶⁹

With the exaltation of Venus, the Augustan tradition is restored, as the best possible world for a *civis Romanus*. Cultural activities flourish in the *otium* of the *pax Flavia*. Artists find a patronage similar to the Augustan one. Vespasian advertised with pride the restoration of Apelles' Coan Aphrodite by a contemporary painter (Plin. *nat.* 35.91; Suet. *Vesp.* 18). Tradition and memory

⁶⁹ BMCRE II, 224, nr. 4; 225, nrs. 8-11; pl. XLIV, 2 and 6 (Titus, AD 79); SIMON 1994, 209, nr. 40; SCHMIDT 1997, 211, nr. 199.

of past glories lead to the dedication of a statue of Venus by Vespasian which, according to Pliny, although the artist is unknown, is worthy of the fame of old statues: perhaps this statue was dedicated in one of the rooms located at the sides of the large central hall, which is identified as the *aedes* of *Pax* (Plin. *nat.* 36.27):

Qua de causa ignoratur artifex eius quoque Veneris, quam Vespasianus imperator in operibus Pacis suae dicavit antiquorum dignam fama.

In Roman culture the connection between Venus and *Pax* is clear. Vergil and Lucretius promoted this association: *nam tu sola* (i.e. Venus) *potes tranquilla pace iuvare / mortalis*.⁷⁰ The statue of Venus set up in the *temenos* was thus endowed with conceptual links to *Pax*, who appeared in colossal size on a podium in the middle of the large hall of this complex. Moreover, the symbolic space of Aphrodite may have been populated by other images in the large *temenos* of the Flavian Peace. (Fig. 11)



Fig. 11: Reconstructive drawing of the *Templum Pacis* (R. Meneghini / Inklink)

In the 2nd century AD, Tatian, a rhetor and Christian writer, notices several statues of courtesans on his way from the gardens of Aphrodite in the *porticus Pompei* to the imperial *fora*: images of courtesans were a typical imagery of areas devoted to Venus. Among these *exempla* of immodesty, a *Pseliourmene*

⁷⁰ Lucr. 1.31-32.

by Praxiteles was near the statue of Ganymedes kidnapped by the eagle of Zeus, a work of Leochares: the latter is located by Pliny in the visual display of the *Templum Pacis* of Vespasian.⁷¹

Venus and the hetaerae are worthy images for a garden of Aphrodite, where the *charis* of the goddess linked to the *eros* appears.⁷² According to the tradition, this garden displayed bushes and trees sacred to this goddess: roses and myrtles.⁷³

The *Templum Pacis* embodies the concept of sanctuary as a reproduction of a symbolic order⁷⁴ which was felt by visitors. This sanctuary delivered the perception of a recondite space, built through images of the world of Aphrodite, the smells of trees, the open sky: it conveyed the sense of a sacred space which was perceived in the oldest sanctuaries of Aphrodite: “Going to Cyprus she entered the sweet-smelling temple / in Paphos, where are her *temenos* and fragrant altar” (transl. BUDIN 2004, 112).⁷⁵

At the temple of Venus at Paphos Titus received an oracle which predicted his future. This prediction may have strengthened his determination to associate himself and his family with Aphrodite/Venus. The importance of this goddess should not just be seen as a continuation of Augustus’ practice. Now the goddess of love is regarded as the universal ruler upon the East, as Astarte, and as the guarantor of victory and political success offered to the Flavian dynasty. The reconstruction and widening of the sanctuary of Paphos, as well as the new dedications set up in this area, are hardly accidental. In Rome, the Flavians’ gratitude towards a ‘universal’ Venus is confirmed by the cult lavished on the statue, which Vespasian dedicated in the *temenos*, as well as by the prevalence of the garden, which was endowed with rose bushes. In fact, this garden had no temple in the middle, as customary in the Roman

⁷¹ On the presence of the *Pseliourmene* in the *Templum Pacis*, see Plin. *nat.* 34.69; Tatian *Adversus Graecos* 35; 37; SEG 51, 1442: all this evidence is discussed by CORSO 2013, 180-185.

⁷² For the cult gardens of Aphrodite, see CALAME 2006.

⁷³ Tatian *Adversus Graecos* 34: “Why are you not ashamed of the fornication of Hephaestion, even though Philo has represented him very artistically? And for what reason do you honour the Hermaphrodite Ganymede by Leochares, as if you possessed something admirable? Praxiteles even made a statue of a woman with the stain of impurity upon it. It behoved you, repudiating everything of this kind, to seek what is truly worthy of attention, and not to turn with disgust from our mode of life while receiving with approval the shameful productions of Philaenis and Elephantis” (transl. RYLAND 2007). The *Aphrodite Pseliourmene* is now identified on a convincing ground in the type Pourtales-Myrina (BESQUES 1983). See CORSO 1996.

⁷⁴ CALAME 2015.

⁷⁵ *Homeric Hymns* 5.58-59. This hymn was composed in the area between Lesbos and the Troad around 650 BC, perhaps for a ceremony in honour of Aphrodite and for the patronage of a noble local dynasty which was thought to descend from the Aeneades: LAMBRUGO 2018 with bibliography.

world.⁷⁶ This eastern Aphrodite, though represented according to a standard iconography, rules upon this sacred place, thus revealing her ecumenical power while joining her power with that of Peace. As regards the layout, the *temenos* can be compared with other architectural complexes of the empire: from the *forum* of Tarragona to the library of Hadrian.⁷⁷ The importance of this new temple relies mainly in its status as a synthesis of different suggestions, which are re-used in order to express the universal rule of Rome. Egypt is represented through the colossal statue of the Nile and expresses the fertility and abundance offered by the Empire. The vanquished East was revealed by both the *spolia* taken from the temple of Jerusalem and the megalography of the battle of Alexander the Great against Darius III created by Helen, a painter. The goddess of love was ubiquitous in the *temenos* and imposed on viewers the notion of its sacrality. To a Roman citizen, the garden of the *Templum Pacis* gave the impression of a wide space, of an *oikoumene* which included the East thanks to a victorious peace: this is a world which blossoms on the basis of Aphrodite's wishes.

⁷⁶ On the garden of the temple of Venus at Pompeii, see FIORENTINO / MARINÒ 2008.

⁷⁷ The importance of the *Templum Pacis* is also confirmed by its function as model for new *fora* in the western part of the empire; the most obvious case of a new *forum* inspired by the Temple of Peace is that of Tarragona; see RUIZ DE ARBULO 2007. Moreover, see the bibliography cited in n. 41. On Hadrian's library, see LA ROCCA 2014.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

BMC Greek (Cyprus) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 24: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, London 1904.

BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.

CNNM = J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955-1958.

DK = H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin ⁶1952.

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- RIC² = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London ²1984.
RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London / Paris 1992-.
RSC = H. A. Seaby, D. R. Sear, R. Loosley, *Roman Silver Coins*, London 1978-1987.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1923-.
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, London 1931-.
ThL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae (then also Stutgardiae, Monachii, Berolini, Novi Eboraci, Bostoniae) 1900-.
VLQ = *Codices Vossiani Latini in Quarto*.

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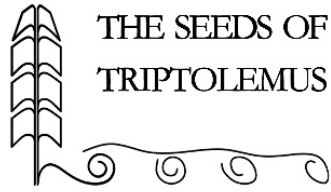
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