

THE TEMPLE AND CULT OF APHRODITE AT PAPHOS

Of all the twelve Olympian gods and goddesses Aphrodite is probably the most sympathetic and most attractive, for she is the goddess of love and beauty and has been the source of inspiration to both poets and artists throughout the ages. Aphrodite, however, is not a native of Hellas, but, as we shall see, came most probably from Anatolia, where, however, she had other attributes.

According to legend, Aphrodite was born of the sea-foam off Paphos in the Greek Isle of Cyprus. Though this legend of the birth of Aphrodite is an exceedingly familiar one to us, there are not so many passages in the Classics which directly assert this fact. According to Tacitus (1), "the goddess herself was conceived of the sea and borne thither (Paphos)", and Lucian (2) and Pomponius Mela (3) mention the same thing. The name of Aphrodite, that is "foam-given", by which this goddess was known, when she came into Greek mythology, was certainly given to her in remembrance of this legend of her birth from the sea. In this connection, it is interesting to note that a feature of the shore in the neighbourhood of Paphos, is the extraordinary production of foam, due to a disintegration of animal and vegetable marine organisms, and there can be no doubt that this has a bearing on the myth of the birth of the Cyprian goddess from the sea (4).

The legends connected with Paphos are especially important, because of the world-wide fame of the Temple and cult of Aphro-

(1) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 3 *Fama recentior tradit, a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam.*

(2) Lucian, *Phars.* VIII, 458:

Tunc Cilicum liquere solum, Cyproque citatas
Immiscere rates, nullas cui praetulit aras
Undae diva memor Paphiae, si numina nasci
Credimus, aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum.

(3) Pomponius Mela, II, 7 speaking of Paphos *æt (quo primum ex mari Venerem egressam accolae affirmant) Palaeapaphos.*

(4) Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. I, p. 13.

dite, and also because of the connection which they illustrate between Arcadia in Greece and Cyprus, in harmony with the undoubted connection between the dialects of the two lands. Three or more strains are to be distinguished in the legends of the origin of the cult of the Paphian goddess; and here it is necessary to mention that there are two Paphos: Old Paphos and New Paphos. The former is situated about seven and a half miles from the latter at a place now called Kouklia. In one of these legends, the foundation of the Temple of the goddess at Old Paphos is assigned to Agapenor, king of Tegea in Arcadia (1), who on his return from Troy, after the famous Trojan War, was diverted by a storm to Cyprus. According to Pausanias (2) and Strabo (3), this Agapenor was also the founder of New Paphos, thus supporting the Arcadian connection with Cyprus. According to another line of legends, the cult of Aphrodite was earlier than Agapenor's day. The priest-kings of Paphos traced their origin to Cinyras (4), the beautiful and wealthy king of Paphos, who lived to a fabulous age and whose grave was in the temple of Aphrodite, where also his successors were buried. One tradition made him the son of Amathusa (5), thus connecting him with another Cyprian seat of worship of Aphrodite, namely, that at Amathus, five miles east of the modern Lemesos (Limassol). As the acropolis and city itself of Amathus have not yet been excavated, we know nothing of the temple of Aphrodite there, beyond mention of it in an inscription found by the excavators of the cemeteries of Amathus. Cinyras himself is dated during the time of the Trojan War, for it was he, who, as the *Iliad* (6) tells us, sent to the famous Agamemnon a notable cuirass. There is also a story that he played the bad joke of promising the Greek king a contingent of fifty ships and then sending only one, with models of the others and of their crews in clay. (7) In return for which Agamemnon conquered Cyprus and drove Cinyras out of his kingdom.

The legends which associate Cinyras with Apollo probably do not belong to the most primitive stratum. According to these, Ci-

(1) Pausanias, VIII, 5, 2, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οικιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν.

(2) Cf. preceding note.

(3) Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV. 6, εἰθ' ἡ Πάφος, κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνωρος.

(4) Tacitus. *Hist.* II, 3, Fama recentior tradit, a Cinyra sacratum templum.

(5) Cf. Sir George Hill, *op.cit.* p. 68.

(6) *Iliad*, XI, 20.

(7) Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III, 5 Sqq. (Loeb edition, vol. II, pp. 178-179).

nyras was a celebrated lute-player, who was defeated by Apollo in a musical contest, the penalty for defeat being death (1). Other legends claim Cinyras as Apollo's son (2). These Apolline legends may have been inspired by the Greeks to fit Cinyras into their genealogy — they may, however, belong to the Phoenician layer.

The body of tradition which attributed a Phoenician origin to the cult of Aphrodite, though it goes back to Herodotus (3), is part of the general tradition which assigned to the Phoenicians much greater influence in the origin of Greek culture than our knowledge of Mediterranean archaeology permits us to accept. We must, in fact, rule out all claims on behalf of a specifically oriental, *i.e.* Babylonian, Syrian or Phoenician, origin for the cult of Aphrodite, although parallel developments and later influence from such quarters may be freely admitted. Indeed, all the features of this cult can be paralleled in Anatolia or in the Aegean. It should be noted, moreover, that the earliest anthropomorphic representations of the Mother-Goddess in Cyprus are clothed; the nude goddess with whom Babylonian representations have made us familiar, is a comparative late development. In the same way, for the sacred doves (4) of the Paphian goddess we need not seek a parallel or origin in Phoenicia; their association in the Aegean with the Mother-Goddess and with a building of the same type as the Temple at Paphos is proved by the gold bracteates of Mycenae. Even for religious prostitution, such as prevailed at Paphos, we need not seek a Babylonian or Syrian origin, since we have examples from Asia Minor and at Corinth, Eryx and in Etruria, and this custom may have been of native growth. As regards religious prostitution at Paphos, legend has it that the three daughters of Cinyras were driven by the vengeful wrath of Aphrodite to give themselves to strangers, and ended their lives in Egypt (5). It has been suggested that they, perhaps like the Propoetides of Amathus may have also denied the divinity of Aphrodite and have suffered the same fate by way of punishment by the goddess (6). However, this religious prostitution may originally have had nothing to do

(1) *Schol. Hom. Iliad*, XI, 20.

(2) *Schol. Pindar, Pyth.*, II, 15.

(3) Herodotus I, 199.

(4) Martial VIII, 28 mentions «Paphiae columbae», and Athenaeus IX, 51 also speaks of the doves of Aphrodite's temple at Eryx. There is a dove on Paphian coins of the 4th Century. The dove-cult in Cyprus goes back to the Copper Age, cf. Sir George Hill, *op. cit.* p. 68.

(5) Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* III, 14,3.

(6) Ovid, *Met.* X, 221, 238 sqq.

with religion, but may have arisen out of the primitive fear of the risk run by a man who first had intercourse with a virgin, instances of which in African tribes are given by Fraser in his *Golden Bough*. In any case, the form which seems to have been practised at Paphos was not a continual service as at Eryx and at Corinth, but that all women before marriage were obliged to sacrifice their virginity to a stranger.

At the annual festival of Aphrodite, pilgrims walked by road from New Paphos to Old Paphos, a distance of sixty stadia (1), about seven and a half miles, passing through the sacred garden of Aphrodite, a name still preserved in the village of Yeroskipou (ιερός κήπος) that is to say, "sacred garden". At the mystery performed at the Temple, the initiates received a lump of salt and a phallus, which they acknowledged by payment of a coin to the goddess (2). These symbols doubtless referred to the legend of the birth of Aphrodite from the sea.

The most curious feature of the cult of Aphrodite at Paphos was the aniconic representation of the godhead, *i.e.* the conical or meta-shaped object which stood for Aphrodite, which we see represented in the reproduction of the Temple on ancient coins and gems. The cone of Paphos, however, belongs to a class of primitive "symbols" which were widely distributed over Anatolia, and probably also over the Aegean and its western shores, and it is unnecessary to look for its origin in Phoenicia. Another of these symbols is the pillar which seems to have been more favoured in Crete, though there is no lack of evidence for sacred cones or omphaloi. In Greece, in historical times, such old symbols had been replaced or doubled, at least in important sanctuaries, by statues. At Delphi, however, the omphalos remained as a record of the primitive fashion. In Cyprus the use of such primitive

(1) Strabo, *Geogr.*, XIV, 6,3: διέχει δὲ (ἡ Πάφος) περὶ ἑξήκοντα τῆς Παλαιάφου· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναῖξιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων συνίοντες.

(2) Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, I, pp. 12-13 (ed. Potter): ὡς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μορίων ἄξιος Ἀφροδίτῃ γίνεται καρπὸς ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς, τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς, ἄλων χόνδρος καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς μουσμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν ἐπιδίδοται, νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ μουσμένοι, ὡς ἑταῖρα ἔρασταί.

Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, V, in quibus sumentes ea certas stipes inferunt ut meretrici, et referunt phallos propitii numinis signa donatos. Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De Errone Profanarum Religionum*, c. 10, Statuisse etiam ut quicumque initiari vellet, scorto Veneris sibi tradito, assem in manum mercedis nomine Deae daret Bene amator Cinyras meretriciis legibus servit, consecratae Veneri a sacerdotibus suis stipem dari iussit, ut scorto.

symbols was probably widely distributed, for, besides the chief cone of Paphos, smaller cones were found by the excavators in the surroundings of the Temple.

We now come to the Temple of Aphrodite itself, and at the outset it is necessary to state that at Paphos we depend almost entirely on literary evidence for the nature and history of the cult of Aphrodite, for the archaeological evidence is provided by one object only, which may be of primitive date, *i.e.* the aniconic symbol to which reference will be made again, and by coins and gems of the historical period, since the actual shrine has not yet been found. The site cleared by the British School of Archaeology at Athens in 1887, and supposed by them to be that of a temple on a Phoenician plan, is somewhere in the temenos of the real temple, and there is nothing Phoenician about it. That the real Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos still remains to be found and excavated may, however, be just as well, since the old excavators certainly did not possess the modern technique of excavation, and when work is again resumed on the site, we may expect far more satisfactory results than could have been obtained in 1887. Excavation of the actual site of the temple must therefore be awaited, before a definite reconstruction of the Paphian shrine can be attempted. But so much as follows seems to be probable, on the evidence of coins and engraved gems.

The Temple lay-out consisted of a central shrine, containing the conical stone, with two wings, *i.e.* the tripartite liwan-type of building. Such a type of building consists of a middle room opening on a court, with a smaller room on each side of it — a type of building which is also found especially in Anatolia, and this type of building was also used by the Cyprians, both in sacred and secular building, from the Bronze Age down to Roman times. Such a type of building is also represented by the 5th Century palace at Vouni in Cyprus.

In each of the two wings there was a column, the object which surmounted them is uncertain, perhaps merely a capital, or a lamp or a dove. On the roof of each wing there is a bird, no doubt a sculptured dove. The central portion of the shrine had an upper story, perhaps with windows, and the antaë were terminated with what appear to be horns of consecration. The cone itself (1) was

(1) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 3, Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exurgens, set ratio in obscuro. Servius, *Ad Aen.* I, 724. Apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici — vel, ut quidam volunt, metae — colitur.

surmounted by a double flat cap. The large stone, now in the Museum at Leukosia (Nicosia), which was long *in situ* to the north west of the site, has been thought to be the original sacred cone. However, the only ancient author, who gives a description of the stone, Maximus of Tyre (1), says that it was a white pyramid of unidentified stone. The colour of the small cones that have been discovered is indeed white, and they are of limestone or marble, and this would suggest that Maximus of Tyre was right about the colour of the great cone. At the same time, however, it eliminates the cone preserved in the Museum at Leukosia, which is black. In front of the shrine was a paved courtyard with a lattice fence, to which a gate with two wings gave access. This courtyard was semicircular. The details of the objects in this courtyard are too obscure on the coins to allow of identification, but one would expect an altar.

With regard to the altars of the Temple, we have several references :- thus, in the *Odyssey* we read "But laughter-loving Aphrodite went to Cyprus, to Paphos, where is her precinct and fragrant altars" (2). Eustathius commenting on this passage, says that the Paphian altar was ὑπαίθριος, "in the open air" (3), and it is known that the altar of Aphrodite at Eryx was also in the open (4). According to Pliny (5) and Tacitus (6), rain never fell on the altar of Aphrodite at Paphos. Furthermore, according to Tacitus (7) no blood was shed on the altar which was reserved for the burning of incense (8). The name of the altar according to

(1) Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert. VIII*, τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἄλλω τῶ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ, ἣ δὲ ὅλη ἀγνοεῖται.

(2) Homer, *Od. VIII*, 362: Ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον Ἰκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη.

Ἐς Πάφου ἔνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος βωμὸς τε θυεῖς.

(3) Eustathius, *Od. VIII*, 362.

(4) Cf. Tümpel, *R.E. I*, p. 677. Since the position of a Greek altar was invariably in front of the temple, the use of the term ὑπαίθριος for the altar of the Temple of Aphrodite on which incense alone was offered, rather suggests that incense-altars may normally have been inside the temple.

(5) Pliny, *N.H. II*, 210, Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cuius quandam aram non impluit.

(6) Tacitus, *Hist. III*, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescent.

(7) Tacitus, *Hist. III*, Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur.

(8) Virgil, *Aen. I*, 415:

.....ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo,

Ture calent arae, sertisque recentioribus halant.

Statius, *Theb. V*, 61, also mentions the "centum altaria" but this "centum" is probably poetical licence.

Hesychius was κίχητός, (1). Probably this restriction to bloodless sacrifices applied only to the chief altar of the goddess at Paphos, since we know from Tacitus (2) that animals, though only of the male sex, were offered in sacrifice. (Kids, according to him, were especially valued for the purpose of divination. That small animals were slain in sacrifice, seems to find some support in a small altar-top, suitable for small victims, which was found by the British excavators in 1887. We know also that wild swine and probably tame pigs were sacrificed to Aphrodite (3). From the text of Johannes Lydes it appears that the priest, when sacrificing a pig, wore a fleece. As regards the subject of sacrifices, it should be noted that there was one which it was customary to offer to Aphrodite with the object of securing the fertility of the crops. This is recorded on an inscription found by the British excavators on the Temple site (4). The priest who presided over the sacrifices was called Ἡγήτωρ (5). Hesychius calls him Ἄγητωρ and the sacrifice σάπιθος.

The immense importance of the cult of Aphrodite and the wealth of her Temple gave to the high-priest of the goddess at Paphos a position far beyond that involved in his merely religious functions; the priesthood became, in fact, a theocracy exerting its power over the whole island. When in 58 B.C. the Romans took away from Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, his kingdom, Cato offered him in exchange the highpriesthood of Paphos.

The king-priests of Paphos traced their origin to Cinyras whom we have already mentioned, but the service of the Temple was originally shared with priests of the family of the Tamiradae. These, however, were ultimately ousted from the Temple service by the priests of the family of the Cinyradae. It was agreed formally that the Cinyradae and the Tamiradae should preside over the Temple worship at Paphos, but, in the course of time, it was thought wrong that the *regium genus* should have no superior dignity to the foreign race, and the latter accordingly withdrew, or possibly was ousted from the practice of the art of divination which they themselves had introduced, and thereafter only the Cinyrad priests held office, such, at least, is the account given by

(1) Hesychius, κίχητός· εἰς δ' ἐμβάλλεται λιβανωτός.

(2) Tacitus, *Hist.* III, Hostine, ut quisque novet, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris.

(3) Antiphanes and Callimachus, in *Athenaeus*, III, 95f, 96a.

(4) This inscription is in honour of Nicocles (died 390 B.C.), cf *J.H.S.*, IX, p. 165.

(5) Cf. Inscription 105 in *J.H.S.*, IX, p. 250.

Tacitus (1). From the same author we learn that the art of divination from the entrails of kids which was practised by the Cinyradae, had been originally brought to Paphos by the Cilician Tamiras (2). Hesychius is the only other author who mentions the Tamiradae whom he terms certain priests in Cyprus: Ταμιραδαί-ερείς τινές ἐν Κύπρῳ. Of the Cinyradae he says that they were priests of Aphrodite: Κινυραδαί ἱερείς Ἀφροδίτης.

In 15 B.C. a severe earthquake laid Paphos in ruins. Augustus, however, came to the rescue with a gift of money and decreed that the city should bear the name of Augusta (3). It is true that there is no proof that Old Paphos, and therefore the Temple of Aphrodite, is meant in the statement of this earthquake made by Dio Cassius and Seneca, — a simple reference to Paphos usually means New Paphos — but, on the other hand, the Roman work of restoration brought to light by the excavators, and to which we shall have occasion to refer again later, is a proof that considerable rebuilding of the Temple was necessitated at this period.

When Titus visited the shrine, on his way to Syria in 69 A.D., he enquired of the goddess first concerning his voyage by sea, and then in ambiguous phrases, *per ambages*, about his own destinies — sacrificing at the same time a large number of victims. This is according to Tacitus (4). Suetonius also mentions this incident and says that Titus consulted the oracle of Aphrodite at Paphos (5), but by the term "oraculum" we must understand "extispicium" i.e. the divination as practised by the Cinyradae, and not a real oracle.

What seems to be a last reference to the priesthood of the Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, occurs in the *Acta Barnabae*, a 4th or 5th Century Cypriot work recording the deeds of the Apostle

(1) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 3, atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteriori caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consultitur.

(2) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 3, set scientiam artemque haruspicium accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse.

(3) Dio Cassius, LIV, 23, Παφίσις σεισμῷ πονήσασσι καὶ χρήματα ἐγαρίσασσι καὶ πόλιν Αὐγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτεψε. Seneca, *Nat. Qu.* VI, 28, Sic Paphos non semel corruit.

(4) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 4, de navigatione primum consulit: postquamde se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis.

(5) Suetonius, *Tit.* 5, aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est.

Barnabas. According to this, the Apostle Barnabas in his travels through the island of Cyprus, came to Old Paphos, where "we found Rhodôn, a minister (ἱερόδουλος) who, having believed, also followed us" (1).

Although the aniconic symbol to which we have already referred was the main representation of the goddess Aphrodite at Paphos, statues and statuettes of her and possibly of Eros, also existed, since fragments of these were found by the British excavators. Such statuettes, it seems, were sold to worshippers at the Paphian shrine, and in connection with this there is a charming little story told by Polycharmus of Naucratis, the Greek settlement established in Egypt in the reign of Amasis, about a fellow townsman of his, Herostratus. This latter, a much travelled merchant, visited Paphos and bought a statuette of Aphrodite, a span high, and of an archaic style of art. He was carrying it home, when his ship was caught in a storm. In their distress the passengers addressed their prayers to the image of the goddess. Immediately, the ship was filled with green myrtle boughs and a sweet savour. When it came safely to land, Herostratus lost no time in offering sacrifice to Aphrodite and in dedicating the figure in her temple (2). The details are particularly interesting, as parallels can also be found in Christian miracles. The date of this incident was roughly 688 to 685 B.C.

A gymnasium was attached to the Temple, as we learn from an inscription found there recording the names of subscribers to the Ἐλαιοχρίστιον, the place where the athletes oiled themselves (3). The Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, as well as that at Amathus possessed the right of asylum, which was established by the Roman Senate in 22 A.D. (4).

At some time between 21 and 12 B.C., possibly in 15 B.C., a calendar was introduced in which the names of the months referred to Rome, and more particularly to the Julian family. Aphrodite opens the year, not merely as the Paphian goddess, but as ancestress of the Julian family. This month which correspond-

(1) Tischendorf, *Act. Apost.*, p. 70, κατηντήσαμεν ἐν παλαιᾷ Πάφῳ, καὶ κει ἤβραμεν Ῥόδωνα ἱερόδουλον θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς πιστεύσας συνηκολούθησεν ἡμῖν.

(2) *Athenaeus*, XV, 10, p. 675f: προσσχὼν ἵππε καὶ Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου, ἀγαλμάτιον Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον ἀρχαῖον τῆ τέχνη ὠνησάμενος.

(3) Cf. *J.H.S.*, IX, p. 188 and 231 and Sir George Hill, *op.cit.* vol. I, p. 62, note 3.

(4) Tacitus, *Ann.* III, 62-63.

ed to May, was called Aphrodisios. However, by the year 2 B.C. this calendar had to be revised on account of Julia disgracing her name, Tiberius being sent into exile, and other members of the Julian family being dead. The new months more definitely referred to Augustus himself. The month Aphrodisios still opens the year, but the opening date is changed to September the 23rd, the birthday of Augustus.

As regards the epithets of Aphrodite, *Aëria* and *Urania*, these may possibly be connected with the fact that her altar was in the open air (1), on the other hand, in Cyprian inscriptions Aphrodite is always called *Anassa*, i.e. the lady or goddess, but in late inscriptions she bears simply the title "Paphia".

Two late authorities, namely the Pseudo-Clements Romanos (2) and the author of the Vita of St. Spyridon (3) state that the tomb of Aphrodite was shewn at Paphos.

In the 4th Century a disastrous series of earthquakes knocked Paphos about very badly, and this together with the Edict of the Emperor Theodosius in 382 A.D. issued against the Pagans, gave the death blow to the Temple of Aphrodite.

We now come to a study of the results of the excavations made on the site of the Temple of Aphrodite by the British School of Archaeology at Athens in 1887 (4). As has been already stated the actual shrine was not found, and it is hoped that it may be brought to light, when excavations are resumed on the site.

The parts of the Temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos actually excavated may be divided into two sections. The First Section consists of a great quadrilateral enclosure whose sides are about 210 ft. long. This enclosure is flanked on the north by a wide stoa (5) extending along its whole width, and probably originally by a similar stoa extending along the south front. It seems that originally there was a range of buildings extending along the whole of the eastern side. [Whether there was ever a wall extending along the western side of the enclosure, it is impossible to say, at present, since no traces of it were found *in situ* except at the west

(1) Tacitus, *Hist* II, 3, Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Pausanias I, 14,7: Πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας.

(2) Pseudo-Clemens Romanus, *Hom.* V, 23, Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Κύπρῳ (θεωρεῖται τάφος).

(3) Vita S. Spyridonis (ed. Delehaye) in *Anal. Boll.* XXVI, p. 230, ἐνθα λέγει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐν Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου ταφῆναι.

(4) A full report of the excavations is given in the *J.H.S.*, Vol. IX.

(5) Stoa in the Plan is termed Portico.

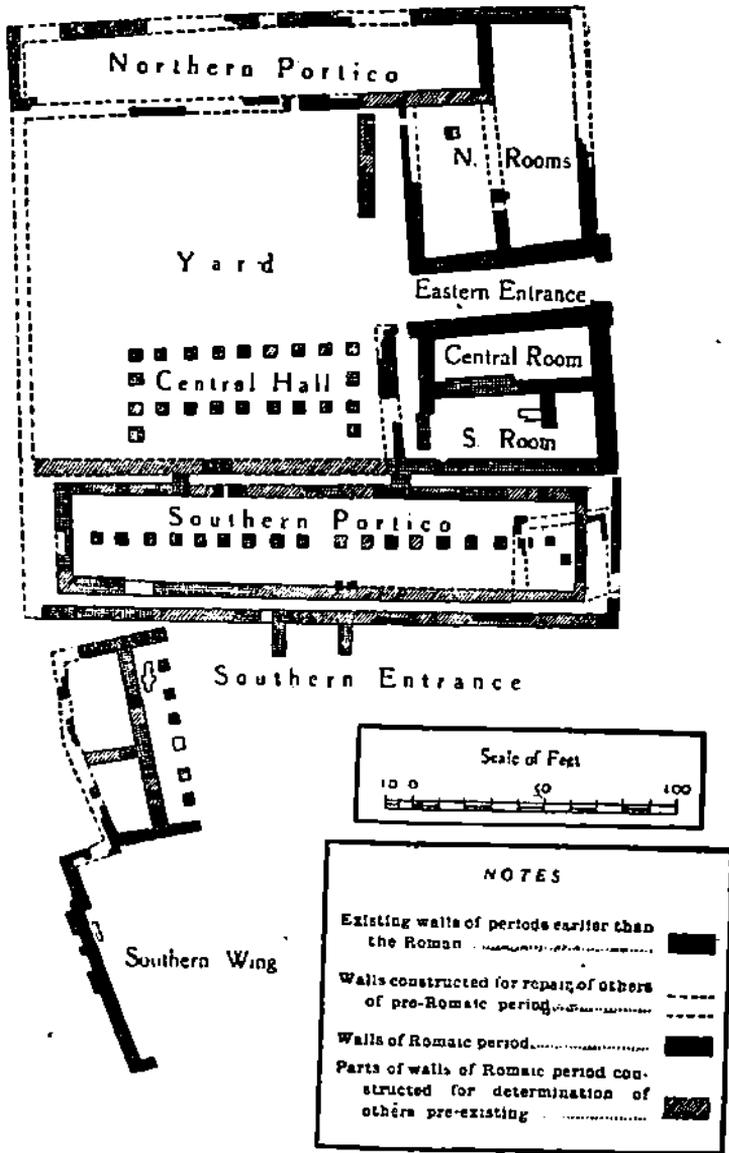
end of the north and south stoas, but it seems probable that such a wall existed. The Second Section is situated south of the south stoa on the west side. It consists of the remains of a large open court with two irregular chambers and a double row of pier bases extending in a northerly direction.



View of the Temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos

FIRST SECTION

In the great quadrangle the north wall of the north stoa from its junction with the west wall is tolerably perfect for a distance of over 40 ft., but is only one course high; it is similar, however, to the other early walls of the quadrangle. On this wall are a few very much broken blocks of an upper course still standing. Where this wall recommences, its character is very uncertain; its direction, however, points to its being an early wall. The eastern portion is undoubtedly Roman and extends nearly 60 ft. in an unbroken line. The south wall of this stoa is very fragmentary, and the west wall is very imperfect, though traceable throughout its length, but it is much narrower than the north or south walls. This stoa was paved with a coarse Roman mosaic formed of large tes-



Plan of the parts of the Temple of Aphrodite excavated 1887

serae and for the most part of plain white marble, but traces remain here and there of a coloured border. The alteration and repair of the north stoa seems to belong to the second great period of Roman restoration — the work is very hurried and irregular.

The south stoa and the central hall adjoining it form the chief part of the Roman work. These remains are not in any sense repairs or additions to existing work, but thorough and complete reconstructions, differently orientated from the earlier work of which remains exist on the same site. This stoa occupies a much larger area than any former one could have done, as it extends the whole length of the south front and includes in its area the space at the east end formerly occupied by various chambers. Down the centre of this stoa runs a series of roughly constructed piers on which stood columns of the Roman Doric order, and their position seems to indicate that this stoa was covered with a roof. To the south of this stoa exist the remains of a projecting portico, which we may assume formed its principal entrance; at the west end is a flight of steps leading from a lower level up to the ambulatory. A considerable portion of the mosaic pavement exists; this is of much finer work than that of the north stoa, the tesserae being smaller, with a very elaborate border in beautifully coloured natural marbles.

North of this stoa there is towards the west end the Great Court or Peristyle, and towards the east end there are two chambers (1), termed the Central and South Chamber. Of this peristyle only the rough lower bases of the columns exist — this is also of Roman work and, like the stoa, was of the Doric order, the bases being similar in all respects to those in the south stoa, and formed of small blocks roughly put together with hard white mortar. This hall had a range of nine columns along the north side, four each at the east and west ends — the south wall is part of the north wall of the stoa — and another range of nine columns extends down the centre. A roof, no doubt, covered this hall which must have been open on the north and west sides.

As regards the Central and South Chambers, these belong to one period, the last prior to the Roman work, and to the same period may be assigned the walls of the north stoa. The South Chamber is now very irregular in form owing to the alteration of the direction of the south wall by the Romans. The Central Chamber is the most perfect of all, the north and south walls being throughout of the same period and style of construction as the

(1) Chamber in the Plan is termed Room.

other early walls. Over the western portion a rough stone pavement set in mortar was found, but it cannot have been the original one, for underneath it were discovered certain earlier objects, *e.g.* a pin of bronze overlaid with a thin gold plate with an inscription written in letters of the Ptolemaic age.

Immediately north of this central chamber is what appears to be a great passage which has been termed the Great Entrance. It is of almost exactly the same dimensions as the central chamber itself. That this was always a passage is clear from the finish of the north and south walls which precludes any east or west wall. In the last two blocks at the west end of the south wall of this passage, occur at the bottom two small rectangular cavities into which bits of stone were let, and fixed with mortar. From the depth of the sinking and the fact that there was some space behind the filling-in stones, it seems that these cavities had at one time some definite purpose.

The north wall of this entrance forms the south wall of a construction which from three parallel walls running in a northern direction, seems to point to the existence of two large rooms termed the North Chambers, of which the eastern one is the larger. None of these walls, however, exceed two courses in height, and in some places are of only a single course.

SECOND SECTION

In the south-west corner outside the south stoa we have a construction comprising a wing which consists of the remains of a large open court with two irregular chambers and a double row of pier bases extending in a northerly direction. The wall of this south wing extends for some 85 ft. in a nearly northerly direction and consists of a basement of polygonal blocks mostly of massive proportions on which rests a series of magnificent rectangular blocks of limestone, the largest of which measures 7 ft. by over 15 ft. About 50 ft. from the south-west corner two socket-boles for door-posts are cut in the basement stones, and two steps lead down from them: this is the only remains or distinct evidence of the position of a doorway on the whole site. These walls appear to have belonged to a large rectangular enclosure and to be the

earliest walls on the site, belonging to the first period of early work. There are no remains of any east wall to this enclosure. In the northern part of the south wing there is, between two rows of bases, a sinking cut in the rock 11 ft. 6 in. long, some 4 ft. 6 in. wide and about 2 ft. deep, in the bottom of which is a circular sinking 9 1/2 in. deep, and in the sides there are two grooves. Its exact purpose seems uncertain, but it may have formed part of a bath used for ceremonial purification.

It has been suggested that the Great Entrance on the east side of the Great Quadrangle, leading as it does directly into the Inner Court, was used for great processions or important occasions. It is, however, probable that the general body of worshippers would approach the Temple from the south — or sea-side, where the road of communication between the port of New Paphos and the districts along the sea coast runs. They would then enter by the portico already mentioned into the South Stoa from which a flight of steps probably led up to the Central Hall, and from this point there would be access to the Inner Court and various chambers.

Such then is a description of the excavations made at the Temple of Aphrodite, as they exist to-day. As they stand, it is practically impossible to identify from them any of the structures portrayed on contemporary coins and engraved gems, but as we have already stated, the shrine itself has not yet been found, and it is this shrine with its famous aniconic symbol of the goddess that appears on the coins and gems.

Though the Temple of the goddess Aphrodite has long vanished, her memory still lingers on among the population of Cyprus, and one can, even now, occasionally hear the expression *Panagia Aphroditissa* as an epithet now applied to the Panagia Theotokos.

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