

Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza“ din Iași  
Facultatea de Istorie • Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine

Nr. 10/2015

# CLASSICA & CHRISTIANA



ATTI DEL CONVEGNO

*Ideologia del potere – potere dell'ideologia:  
forme di espressione letteraria, storiografica e  
artistica nell'Antichità e nel Medioevo*

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza“ Iași

***Classica et Christiana***

Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine

Fondator: Nelu ZUGRAVU

**10, 2015**

***Classica et Christiana***

Periodico del Centro di Studi Classici e Cristiani

Fondatore: Nelu ZUGRAVU

**10, 2015**

**ISSN: 1842 – 3043**

**e-ISSN: 2393 – 2961**

### **Comitetul științific / Comitato scientifico**

Ovidiu ALBERT (Ostkirchliches Institut der Bayerisch-Deutschen  
Augustinerprovinz an der Universität Würzburg)  
Sabine ARMANI (Université Paris 13-CRESC – PRES Paris Cité Sorbonne)  
Livia BUZOIANU (Muzeul Național de Istorie și Arheologie Constanța)  
Marija BUZOV (Istitute of Archaeology, Zagreb)  
Victor COJOCARU (Institutul de Arheologie Iași)  
Ioana COSTA (Universitatea din București)  
Dan DANA (C.N.R.S. – ANHIMA, Paris)  
Mario GIRARDI (Università di Bari)  
Maria Pilar GONZÁLEZ-CONDE PUENTE (Universidad de Alicante)  
Attila JAKAB (Civitas Europica Centralis, Budapest)  
Domenico LASSANDRO (Università di Bari Aldo Moro)  
Sorin NEMETI (Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca)  
Eduard NEMETH (Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca)  
Evalda PACI (Centro di Studi di Albanologia, Tirana)  
Vladimir P. PETROVIĆ (Accademia Serba  
delle Scienze e delle Arti, Belgrad)  
Luigi PIACENTE (Università di Bari)  
Mihai POPESCU (C.N.R.S. – USR 710 L'Année Épigraphique, Paris)  
Viorica RUSU BOLINDEȚ (Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-  
Napoca)  
Heather WHITE (Classics Research Centre, London)

### **Comitetul de redacție / Comitato di redazione**

Roxana-Gabriela CURCĂ (Universitatea „Alexandru I. Cuza” din Iași)  
Iulian MOGA (Universitatea „Alexandru I. Cuza” din Iași)  
Mihaela PARASCHIV (Universitatea „Alexandru I. Cuza” din Iași)  
Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU (Universitatea „Alexandru I. Cuza” din Iași)  
Nelu ZUGRAVU, director al Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine  
al Facultății de Istorie a Universității „Alexandru I. Cuza” din Iași  
(*director responsabil / direttore responsabile*)

#### *Correspondența / Corrispondenza:*

Prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU  
Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine  
Bd. Carol I, nr 11, 700506 – Iași, România  
Tel. ++40 232 201634 / Fax ++40 232 201156  
e-mail: nelu@uaic.ro; z\_nelu@hotmail.com

UNIVERSITATEA „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA” DIN IAȘI  
FACULTATEA DE ISTORIE  
CENTRUL DE STUDII CLASICE ȘI CREȘTINE

ATTI DEL CONVEGNO  
***Ideologia del potere – potere dell’ideologia:  
forme di espressione letteraria, storiografica e  
artistica nell’Antichità e nel Medioevo***

a cura di  
Nelu ZUGRAVU

***Classica et Christiana***

**10, 2015**

Tehnoredactor: Nelu ZUGRAVU

**This book has been published with the partial financial support  
of the University of Bari**

**Această lucrare a fost publicată cu sprijinul financiar parțial al  
Universității din Bari**

**ISSN: 1842 – 3043**  
**e-ISSN: 2393 – 2961**

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”  
700511 - Iași, tel./fax ++ 40 0232 314947

## SUMAR / INDICE / CONTENTS

### SIGLE ȘI ABREVIERI – SIGLE E ABBREVIAZIONI / 9

#### ATTI DEL CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE (IX ROMENO-ITALIANO)

#### ***Ideologia del potere – potere dell'ideologia: forme di espressione letteraria, storiografica e artistica nell'Antichità e nel Medioevo***

### PROGRAMMA DEL CONVEGNO – PROGRAMUL COLOCVIULUI / 11

Andrea BALBO, “Classici” nell’oratoria tardoantica: riflessioni sul ruolo dei riferimenti letterari nella *Gratiarum actio* di Ausonio / 15

Violeta BARBU, Eroi dell’Antichità nella costruzione dell’immagine del potere in Transilvania e nei Paesi Romeni nel Seicento / 33

Valentin BOTTEZ, Implementing Roman rule in Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast. The role of the imperial cult / 51

Marija BUZOV, The imperial cult in Dalmatia / 67

Vincenzo DEL CORE, Rapporti di potere nei frammenti delle *Orationes* di Simmaco / 97

Ovidiu CRISTEA, The *basileus* and the prince: the reconciliation between Manuel Comnenos and Reginald of Châtillon / 113

Roxana-Gabriela CURCĂ, La terminologia del potere nello spazio ellenofono della Mesia Inferiore / 129

Mario GIRARDI, Natura, esercizio e fini del potere nel pensiero di Basilio di Cesarea / 137

M.<sup>a</sup> Pilar GONZÁLEZ-CONDE PUENTE, Plotina y Vesta / 165

Emanuel GROSU, Strategie narrative e legittimità del potere nell’*Historia Langobardorum* / 175

Ioan-Augustin GURIȚĂ, *Defensores legitimae potestatis*. Orthodox hierarchs, supporters of the princely power in Medieval Moldavia (preliminaries of a research) / 187

- Domenico LASSANDRO, La legittimazione religiosa dell'*auctoritas* imperiale di Costantino nei panegirici / 213
- Bogdan-Petru MALEON, The Emperors' body in Byzantine political ideology and the significances of eye language / 225
- Constantin-Ionuț MIHAI, Retorica e conversione. Il potere persuasivo dell'*exemplum* personale nell'*Ad Donatum*, 3-4 di Cipriano di Cartagine / 239
- Sorin NEMETI, *Vota pro salute imperatoris* in Dacia / 251
- Giovanni Antonio NIGRO, Forme di potere e di subordinazione negli scritti di Gregorio di Nissa e Gregorio di Nazianzo / 263
- Luigi PIACENTE, Sulle strade del potere: uso e abuso del *cursus publicus* / 291
- Liviu PILAT, The "New Constantine" and Eastern European political thought after the fall of Byzantium / 303
- Constantin RĂCHITĂ, *L'Ep. 39 de obitu Blesillae*: la consolation de l'auteur ou la (re)confirmation de l'autorité spirituelle / 315
- Maria Magdalena SZÉKELY, La célébration de la victoire en Moldavie à 1518 / 329
- Elisa TINELLI, Guerra e pace nel *Panegyricus ad Philippum Austriae ducem* di Erasmo da Rotterdam / 353
- Piero TOTARO, Maschere e potere nella commedia greca antica / 373
- Nelu ZUGRAVU, Mihaela PARASCHIV, Le vocabulaire de la sphère du pouvoir dans l'*Épitome de Caesaribus* / 389
- \*\*\*
- Doina BENEĂ, Augustus și organizarea provinciei Moesia. Unele observații privind teritoriile nord-dunărene / 425
- Sergei BOCHAROV, Vosporo fortress in the system of Genoese fortification of the Crimean Peninsula of the XIV<sup>th</sup>-XV<sup>th</sup> centuries / 443
- Florentina-Cristina GÎLCĂ, Octavianus Augustus între realitate și ficțiune în filmografie / 459

- M.<sup>a</sup> Pilar GONZÁLEZ-CONDE PUENTE, Agrippina en campaña / 469
- Sanja PILIPOVIĆ, Ljubomir MILANOVIĆ, All-seeing Helios in the adultery of Venus: the image and context in Roman art and its Christian afterlife / 479
- Camelia Ștefania RADU, *Gaii Institutionum Commentarii* – style aspects / 501
- Julijana VISOČNIK, Celeians attested across the Roman Empire / 509
- Nelu ZUGRAVU, *Res gestae divi Augusti*. La zece ani de la prima ediție românească / 535

\*\*\*

**RECENZII ȘI NOTE BIBLIOGRAFICE – RECENSIONI E SCHEDE BIBLIOGRAFICHE / 571**

VICTOR COJOCARU / CHRISTOF SCHULER (Hg.), *Die Außenbeziehungen pontischer und kleinasiatischer Städte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit* (Nelu ZUGRAVU) / 571; VICTOR COJOCARU, *Bibliographia classica orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, vol. I (*Mihaela JIPA*) / 574; MATTEO TAUFER (ed.), *Sguardi interdisciplinari sulla religiosità dei Geto-Daci* (Nelu ZUGRAVU) / 577; IMOLA BODA, CSABA SZABÓ, *The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia* (*Maria-Adriana AIRINEI*) / 580; ALEXANDRU DIACONESCU, „Clasicismul” în plastica minoră din Dacia romană (*Andreea CIOBANU*) / 582; Mihai POPESCU, *Quades et Marcians contre Marc Aurèle* (*George-Costin AANIȚEI*) / 585

\*\*\*

**CRONICA – CRONACA / PUBLICAȚII – PUBBLICAZIONI / 589**

- Nelu ZUGRAVU, Cronica activității științifice a Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine (2014) – Cronaca dell'attività scientifica del Centro di Studi Classici e Cristiani (2014) / 589
- Nelu ZUGRAVU, Publicații intrate în Biblioteca Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine – Pubblicazioni entrate nella Biblioteca del Centro di Studi Classici e Cristiani / 597





## SIGLE ȘI ABREVIERI / SIGLE E ABBREVIAZIONI<sup>1</sup>

AARMSI	<i>Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice</i> , București
AnBan	<i>Analele Banatului</i> , Timișoara
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
AIIAI	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A.D. Xenopol”</i> , Iași
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , II, Prinzipat, Berlin-New York
Apulum	<i>Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Alba Iulia
ArhGen	<i>Arhiva Genealogică</i> , Iași
ASLSP	<i>Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria</i> , Genova
AȘUI-Istorie	<i>Analele Științifice ale Universității din Iași – Istorie</i>
AȘUI-TO	<i>Analele Științifice ale Universității din Iași – Teologie Ortodoxă</i>
BCȘS	<i>Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești</i> , Alba Iulia
BOR	<i>Biserica Ortodoxă Română</i> , București
BSHAR	<i>Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine</i> , București
CMRS	<i>Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique</i> , Paris
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DAGR	<i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines</i> , I/2 (C), sous la direction de Ch. V. Daremberg et Ed. Saglio, Paris
DEAR	<i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane</i> , ed. Ettore De Ruggiero, 1885
DNP 3	<i>Der neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , Herausgegeben von H. Cancik und H. Schneider, 3, <i>Cl-Epi</i> , Stuttgart-Weimar, 1997
EDR	<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> ( <a href="http://www.edr-edr.it/Italiano/index_it.php">http://www.edr-edr.it/Italiano/index_it.php</a> )
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte</i> , Berlin-Leipzig
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i>
HA	<i>Histoire Auguste</i> , III/1, <i>Vies de Macrin, Diadumène, Hélogabale</i> , texte établi, traduit et commenté par Robert Turcan, Paris, 2002; V/1, <i>Vies d'Aurélien et de</i>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cu excepția celor din *L'Année Philologique* și *L'Année épigraphique* / Escluse quelle segnalate da *L'Année Philologique* e *L'année épigraphique*.

	<i>Tacite</i> , texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, Paris, 2002; V/2, <i>Vies de Probus, Firmus, Saturnin, Proculus et Bonose, Carus, Numérien et Carin</i> , texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, Paris, 2002
HAC	<i>Historiae Augustae Colloquia Nova Series</i> , I, <i>Colloquium Parisinum</i> , Macerata, 1991; IV, <i>Colloquium Barcinonense</i> , Bari, 1996; VI, <i>Colloquium Argentoratense</i> , Bari, 1998; XI, <i>Colloquium Genevense. In honorem F. Paschoud septuagenarii. Les traditions historiographiques de l'Antiquité tardive: idéologie, propagande, fiction, réalité</i> , Bari, 2010
HEp	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> ( <a href="http://eda-bea.es/pub/search_select.php">http://eda-bea.es/pub/search_select.php</a> )
HD	<i>Epigraphic Database Heidelberg</i> ( <a href="http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home">http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home</a> )
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , I-VIII, Zürich-Munich-Dusseldorf 1981-1997
Materiale	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> , București
MMS	<i>Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei</i> , Iași
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , Ex materia ab A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Marton et M. Szilágy collecta, Composuit et correxit B. Lőrincz, vol. I: <i>Aba-Bysanus</i> , Budapest, 2005; vol. II: <i>Cabalicus-Ixus</i> , Wien, 1999; vol. III: <i>Labarum-Pythea</i> , Wien, 2000; vol. IV: <i>Quadratia-Zures</i> , Wien, 2002.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , Paris
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I.II.III</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , Paris
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , I, A. D. 260-395, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, Cambridge, 1971
PSB	<i>Părinți și scriitori bisericesti</i> , București
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll), Stuttgart-München
RRH	<i>Revue Roumaine d'Histoire</i> , Bucarest
RSIAB	<i>Revista Societății istorice și arheologice bisericesti din Chișinău</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Lyon
SCIVA	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie</i> , București
SMIM	<i>Studii și materiale de istorie medie</i> , București
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i>

## ALL-SEEING HELIOS IN THE ADULTERY OF VENUS: THE IMAGE AND CONTEXT IN ROMAN ART AND ITS CHRISTIAN AFTERLIFE<sup>1</sup>

Sanja PILIPOVIĆ<sup>2</sup>

(Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

Ljubomir MILANOVIĆ<sup>3</sup>

(The Institute for Byzantine Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences  
and Arts)

**Keywords:** *Helios, Venus, Mars, myth, iconography.*

**Abstract:** *This paper examines the role of Helios as an all-seeing deity in scenes of the adultery of Venus and Mars based on classical literary sources and mythological reliefs in Roman funerary art, and also elucidates its afterlife in Christianity. Few Roman examples survive that explicitly show this act of infidelity, therefore particular emphasis is placed on a relief from a mirror from Viminacium, the province of Upper Moesia, and the altar Ara Casali, now in the Vatican Museums. The paper traces the general development of the symbolic roles of Helios in different thematic representations and the context in which Helios as an all-seeing God is represented in Early Christian and Medieval art.*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Helios, Venus, Marte, mit, iconografie.*

**Cuprins:** *Acest articol examinează rolul lui Helios ca zeitate atotvăzătoare în scenele adulterului lui Venus și Marte bazate pe izvoarele clasice și reliefurile mitologice din arta funerară romană și, de asemenea, urmărește destinul său în creștinism. Câteva exemple romane arată în mod explicit acest act de infidelitate, de aceea un accent deosebit este pus pe un relief al unei oglinzi din Viminacium,*

---

<sup>1</sup> This article is part of the research on the project No. 177012 of the Institute for Balkan Studies, SASA Society, *spiritual and material culture and communications in the prehistory and early history of the Balkans* and the project No. 177032 of the Institute for Byzantine Studies, SASA Tradition, *innovation and identity in the Byzantine world* supported by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. We would like to thank to our friend Allan P. Doyle, PhD candidate, Princeton University for his close reading of the text, helpful suggestions, and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> sanjapil@gmail.com

<sup>3</sup> milanovic.ljubomir@gmail.com

*provincia Moesia Superior, și pe altarul Ara Casali, acum în Muzeele Vaticanului. Lucrarea urmărește dezvoltarea generală a rolurilor simbolice ale Helios în diferite reprezentări tematice și contextul în care Helios, ca divinitate atotvăzătoare, este reprezentat în arta creștină timpurie și medievală.*

The purpose of this research is to elucidate the role of Helios, as an all-seeing god in scenes of the adultery of Venus and Mars based on classical literary sources, and mythological reliefs in Roman funerary art. Furthermore, the development of these ideas in the Early Christian and Medieval art will be stressed.

The starting point of this research is a relief on a Roman mirror in which Helios is represented as an all-seeing deity surveilling the act of adultery of Venus. This bronze mirror with relief decoration, an exceptional piece of craftsmanship, was found in a grave in *Viminacium* (**Fig. 1**)<sup>4</sup>. Other goods from the grave indicate that the mirror was owned by a woman and may be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The front is made of silver-plated sheet bronze. The amalgamation technique of silver-plating required high-quality silver and polishing in order to improve the reflectivity of the surface<sup>5</sup>. Polishing, as a finishing process in metalwork, was reserved for costly pieces of jewelry. The reverse side was executed in gilded bronze and has a matrix-hammered relief in the central, circular portion.

The relief depicts the adultery of Venus and Mars, in the presence of Vulcan, all of whom are being observed by Helios (**Fig. 1**)<sup>6</sup>. In the central part of the composition is the representation of Mars and Venus resting on a couch (*kliné*). The upper part of Mars' body is nude, while a robe wraps around his hips. Venus is semi-nude, and her lower body is covered by a drapery. Above her head is a veil in the form of a canopy. Venus wears a necklace with large pearls. Vulcan is

<sup>4</sup> Rankov 1980, cat. 49; Karović 1995, 217-224, figs. 1-3, T. 1/2; Krunić 2000; Spasić 2001, 162-165, no. 1, figs. 2 and 3; Spasić-Djurić 2002, 72, fig. 51; Pilipović 2011, cat. 40; Mihailović 2011, 178-180; Pilipović 2013, 603-604.

<sup>5</sup> Karović 1995, 219.

<sup>6</sup> The scene has also been identified as a representation of Dionysus and Ariadne (Karović 1995, 217-224, figs. 1-3, T. 1/2; Krunić 2000; Spasić 2001, 162-165, no. 1, figs. 2 and 3; Spasić-Djurić 2002, 72, fig. 51. Pilipović 2011); however, some scholars have identified the scene as the Adultery of Venus. Rankov points out that the figure holds a hammer (1980, 222) and Mihailović (2011, 178-180) identified this scene as the Adultery of Venus, confirming Pilipović's revision of the mirror's iconography (Pilipović 2013, 603-604).

depicted to the left of Venus with a raised hammer in his hand. Helios is positioned behind Mars. He is dressed in a robe fastened with a buckle, has a radiating crown in his hair, and holds a whip in his left hand (**Fig. 1a**). A shield, sword, and graves are shown at the bottom of the composition.

The mirror from *Viminacium* has been published and discussed previously, but not the role of Helios, who is rarely included in this scene of adultery. Omniscience is not an automatic privilege of gods and was primarily ascribed to astral deities, since they occupied a position from which to see all that happens on earth<sup>7</sup>. Helios was the only entity, besides Zeus, described in classical literary sources as an all-seeing god. In Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the Sun is the god who "sees everything and hears everything"<sup>8</sup>, and in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Helios is the god who is watchman of both gods and men<sup>9</sup>. For Greek lyric poets he is an all-surveying god<sup>10</sup>. This characteristic of Helios is stressed by the adjective "panoptes" by Aeschylus in *Prometheus Bound*<sup>11</sup>. In *Agamemnon* he speaks of the all-seeing orb of the sun, which fosters life upon the earth<sup>12</sup>. Roman writers also accept this feature of Helios. According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Helios is the first to see all things<sup>13</sup>. In the *Fasti* he notes that he gazes far and wide on the day's deeds<sup>14</sup>. Valerius Flaccus in *Argonautica*, also characterized Helios as all-seeing<sup>15</sup>. In the *Golden Ass* by Apuleius, the narrator Lucius, swears by the all-seeing god of the Sun<sup>16</sup>. Helios was invoked to witness the most solemn of oaths as the all-seeing god who would report any breach to the punishing deities of oath-breakers<sup>17</sup>. In Ovid's *Heroides*, Jason begs Medea in the name of the all-seeing Sun<sup>18</sup>, and as previously mentioned, in Apuleus' *Golden*

<sup>7</sup> Pettazzoni 1955, 238 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Hom., *Il.*, 3.277; Hom., *Od.* 11. 102 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Hom. *H. Dem.* 19 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Sappho or Alcaeus, *Fragment* 4.

<sup>11</sup> Aesch., *Prom.*, 88 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Aesch., *Agam.* 632 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ov., *Met.* 4. 169 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Ov., *Fast.* 4. 575 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Val. F., *Arg.* 5. 245 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Apul., *Met.* 1.5 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Hom., *Il.* 3.104 & 278 ff; Hom., *Il.* 19. 259 ff; Apoll. Rh., *Arg.* 4. 1018 ff; Call., *Aetia* fr. 9; *Orphic Hymn* 8 to Helios.

<sup>18</sup> Ov., *Her.* 12.78 ff.

Ass the narrator swears by the all-seeing Sun<sup>19</sup>. This feature of Helios may also be identified in Seneca's *Oedipus* and *Phaedra* or Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*<sup>20</sup>. In literary sources, Helios was also referenced as a god of sight<sup>21</sup> who could heal the blind (such as Orion) or blind those who offended him (such as Phineus).

Helios's role in the scene of the adultery of Venus and Mars can also be traced in classical literary sources. In the *Odyssey*, Homer confirmed that Helios was the first to see the tryst and reported it to Vulcan<sup>22</sup>. Early roman literary sources also speak of this event. The first century writer Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* emphasizes that Sol, whom he calls "the first to see all things," is thought to have been the first witness of the adultery of Venus with Mars<sup>23</sup>. In *The Art of Love* Ovid speaks about the Sun's tale and asks: "Who can evade the Sun?"<sup>24</sup>. Second century writers also referred to the role of Helios in Venus' adultery. Seneca in *Phaedra* writes that Venus hated Sol because of his role in this act<sup>25</sup>. Pseudo-Hyginus in the *Fabulae* also mentions this role of Helios<sup>26</sup>. Lucian of Samosata in *Dialog of the Gods* writes about Helios who saw and told Vulcan about the adultery<sup>27</sup>. In *The Dance*, Lucian even called Helios the tell-tale Sun<sup>28</sup>. Conversely, in his *Astrology*, Lucian suggests understanding this myth as an entirely celestial one<sup>29</sup>. In the later period, the tale also drew the attention of authors. In his *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus of Panopolis, one of the last Hellenistic poets from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century, states that Phaeton (Helios) was the shining witness of the love of Venus and Mars<sup>30</sup> and that he laughed because Ares had fled from Hephaistos' chains<sup>31</sup>.

Given these literary references, it can be seen that Roman writers retained the idea of Helios as an all-seeing god. This idea was ap-

<sup>19</sup> Apul., *Met.* 1.5 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Sen., *Oedipus* 247 ff; Sen., *Phaedra* 888 ff; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 17. 191 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Pindar, *Paeon* 9; Plat., *Rep.*, 508a-c.

<sup>22</sup> Hom., *Od.* 8. 260 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Ov., *Met.* 4. 170 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Ov., *Ars.* 2, 15.

<sup>25</sup> Sen., *Phaed.* 124 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Hyg., *Fab.* 148.

<sup>27</sup> Lucian., *Dial. Deor.* 8. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Lucian., *De Salt.*, 63.

<sup>29</sup> Lucian., *De Astrol.* 5: 22, 349-69.

<sup>30</sup> Nonnus., *Dionysiaca* 24. 305 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 39. 403 ff.

plied to Roman art. In two mythological scenes, the adultery of Venus, and Cerere's search for Proserpina, Helios is represented as all-seeing<sup>32</sup>. While both mythological scenes are frequently depicted in Roman art, the presence of Helios as all-seeing is rare, especially in the case of the Rape of Proserpina.

Although, Helios' figured as an all-seeing god is not always present in the scene of the adultery of Venus, there are several examples from roman funerary art in which Helios appears. The most important of these is a relief on the altar of the so-called *Ara Casali* (**Fig. 2**)<sup>33</sup>. This altar, now in the Vatican Museums, dates to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. At its center, we find an inscription surrounded by a crown. In the upper left and right hand corners are the figures of Vulcan and Helios, respectively. Vulcan is represented with tongs in his hand, looking down, while Helios with a radiating crown stands half-naked in a chariot. In this scene Helios/Sol is not engaged in any particular action, but rather, positioned to one side, he observes the adultery of Mars and Venus (**Fig. 2a**). At the bottom of the composition Mars and Venus are shown in bed. It is necessary to note that there is an alternative identification of the subject of this relief: as a representation of Mars and Rhea Silvia<sup>34</sup>. The iconography of Helios on the *Ara Casali* is most similar to the one on the mirror from *Viminacium*. On both reliefs, Helios is positioned at the top of the scene as an observer. On the mirror, Helios is depicted with a radiating crown and a whip in his left hand. He wears a robe fastened with a buckle. On the *Ara Casali* Helios also has a radiating crown and wears a robe fastened with a buckle, but here he drives a *quadriga*, a chariot with a four horses. In both reliefs, his function is the same – he observes the act of adultery from on high. Venus' adultery, which is not observed by Helios but an entire group of deities, is represented on a terracotta medallion on a vase from the Gallo-Roman Museum of Lyon (**Fig. 3**)<sup>35</sup>. Above the central pair of Mars and Venus is a frieze with busts of the five deities Minerva, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune and Vulcan. The representation of Venus and Mars on the medallion is similar to those

<sup>32</sup> *Hom. H. Dem.* 19 ff; *Ov., Fast.* 4. 575 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *LIMC* IV/1, s. v. Helios/Sol, no. 185; *LIMC* II/1, s.v. Ares/Mars, n. 385; Santolini Giordani 1989, cat. 62; Matern 2002, 188-189, 282 K30; Hijmans 2009, 248, cat. C2w, 3, T. 33/2-3.

<sup>34</sup> Albertson 2012, 122 with previous bibliography.

<sup>35</sup> Audin, Jeancolas 1969, 181-183; Vertet 1969, 93-133.



on the mirror from *Viminacium* or *Ara Casali*, the only difference is that instead of Helios, a group of deities is depicted observing the infidelity.

The iconography and function of Helios in other representations of the scene of Venus' adultery are very different, as demonstrated, for example, by three Roman sarcophagi. These sarcophagi are of unknown origin, and today are deposited in the Abbey of Grottaferrata<sup>36</sup>, the Paradise Cloister of the Cathedral of Amalfi<sup>37</sup>, and in the Palace of the Palazzo Altemps in Rome<sup>38</sup>. These objects display highly complex iconography with many participants and details. Helios is no longer represented as an observer positioned above the main actors in the scene but is placed amongst them. The Amalfi and Palazzo Altemps sarcophagi do not show Vulcan casting a net over Mars and Venus. This reference is only present on the Grottaferrata sarcophagus where Vulcan is depicted in the act of lifting a corner of the net that entraps the guilty pair<sup>39</sup>. Here, the role of Helios is emphasized by his position in front of a seated figure of Zeus (**Fig. 4**)<sup>40</sup>. Helios is displayed with all his features: dressed in a tunic, he has a radial crown and whip. On a sarcophagus from Amalfi, Helios is positioned between Vulcan and Mars, and some parts of the radiant crown on his head may still be seen (**Fig. 5**)<sup>41</sup>. Alternatively, on the sarcophagus from the Palazzo Altemps, Helios cannot be identified with certainty since he is displayed without any recognizable attributes (**Fig. 6**). One can only assume that the figure depicted between Vulcan and Mars and juxtaposed with Luna, is perhaps Helios<sup>42</sup>. We should take into consideration that this sarcophagus was heavily restored, which makes iconographic analysis

<sup>36</sup> *LIMC* IV/1, s. v. Helios/Sol, n. 186; Turcan 1999, 38-39; Matern 2002, 188-189, 282 K29; Ambrogi 2008, 141-147; Hijmans 2009, 255, cat. C3a3, 1; Hutchinson 2011, 252.

<sup>37</sup> Robert 1904, n. 193; Turcan 1999, 38-39; Matern 2002, 188-189, 282, K28; Hijmans 2009, 251, cat. C3a3, 2, T.36/2.

<sup>38</sup> Turcan 1999, 38-39; Matern 2002, 188-189; 282, K31; De Angelis D'Ossat 1996, 205-207, fig. 66; Pomponi 1996, 86, cat. 63; De Angelis D'Ossat 2002, 138-139; Hijmans 2009, 255, cat. C3a3, 3.

<sup>39</sup> This sarcophagus from Grottaferrata is known by drawings from two *codices* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Codex Coburgensis* and *Codex Pighianus*, Ambrogi 2008, 143.

<sup>40</sup> Hutchinson 2011, 252.

<sup>41</sup> Turcan 1999, 38-39.

<sup>42</sup> De Angelis D'Ossat 1996, 206.

difficult. Based on Winckelmann's drawing of this sarcophagus from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, one may conclude that the restoration altered the figures' heads<sup>43</sup>. According to the drawing, the figure that is supposed to represent Helios originally had long hair.

Helios as an all-seeing god, as mentioned above, is present in the myth of Demeter's search for Proserpina<sup>44</sup>, but visual representations of this myth only include him in the scene of the Rape of Proserpina. One of the rare examples showing this scene is a funerary relief from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., now in the Vatican Museums<sup>45</sup>. In the upper right part of the relief next to the representation of a woman, *capite velato*, one finds what is likely the figure of Helios in a *quadriga*. Only the torso of Helios and the hindquarters of the horses are preserved. Another example of this scene may be found on the gold diadem discovered in a tomb from 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, currently in the Hermitage museum, in which Helios is shown seated on a rock<sup>46</sup>.

Helios as an all-seeing god as he appears on the mirror from *Viminacium* and the so-called *Ara Casali*, is one of many iconographic types of Helios/Sol that may be found on objects produced in the Roman Empire. The iconography of Helios carries a complex and diverse meaning. Sol was understood as a planetary and military god and he was also treated as a source of superstitions and a sign of social status or occupation. The popularity of Sol, as a god of victory, peace, vital force, and power, could be seen as a result of the official state ideology and imperial cult, but also as a sign of the sincere reverence of adherents from different social levels.

Greek myths were an essential part of everyday life for Roman citizens. Myths were present in the arts, literature, theatre, and philosophy, and had a very important role in imperial propaganda. Their great popularity, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, came from the fact that they were widely known, easily transferable into visual form, and had appropriate polysemous meanings<sup>47</sup>. The above-discussed Greek and Roman literary sources reveal that the tale of Venus' adul-

---

<sup>43</sup> Winckelmann 1767, I, T. 38; II, 34-35.

<sup>44</sup> *Hom. H. Dem.* 19 ff; *Ov., Fast.* 4. 575 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Matern 2002, 189, 284 K43. Hijmans 2009, cat. C3d.

<sup>46</sup> *LIMC* IV/1, s.v. Demeter, no. 323; *LIMC* IV/1, s. v Hades, no. 106; *LIMC* IV/1, s. v. Helios/Sol, no. 323; Matern 2002, 51-52, 209, Q9; Hijmans 2009, cat. J1.

<sup>47</sup> Turcan 1999, 166-167.

tery was well known. Lucian's description<sup>48</sup> of the event provides information of a very important circumstance. The tale of Venus and Mars's love affair was performed in mime, and thus probably famous. According to Lucian, there was complete silence while the dancer mimed all the events: the adulterous offence, the watching Helios, Hephaestus preparing the snare and catching the offenders, the Olympian gods, the ashamed Aphrodite, and Ares begging for mercy.

There are many different interpretations of the myth of Venus's adultery as well as of Helios's role in it. According to Aristotle in his *Politics*<sup>49</sup>, the love of Venus and Mars could be interpreted as the "rest of the warrior." Warriors are often in need of love and the scene of adultery shows the love of a warrior, making it suitable for sarcophagi commissioned by military leaders. Aristid Quintilian, the Greek music theorist who flourished in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, in his *On music*, interpreted this myth in neo-Phytagorean manner<sup>50</sup>. According to the poet, referring to Homer's *Odyssey* (8, 276 ff), Mars is the body and Venus the soul, which captures love from the mortal, carnal body. Vulcan, who caught them in the act of love, is the demiurge who chained the soul and united it to the body. In the representation of the betrayal of Venus, the soul as a prisoner of the body is compared to the couple imprisoned under the curtain. It will be death that will free the soul from the material that holds her captive.<sup>51</sup> The wedding of Vulcan and Venus is also a symbol of one of the main virtues of the Roman citizen: *Concordia*. The combination of the image of marital virtue, as in the marriage of Vulcan and Venus, along with that of adultery is an allegory of the soul's deliverance from the bondage of the body and its carnal passions after death. Lucian of Samosata mentions the celestial significance of the myth<sup>52</sup>. He indicates that the myth of the adultery of Venus was entirely celestial and that it is nothing else but the conjunction of two planets, Venus and Mars, occurring in the night sky, which is then "undone" or interrupted by the rising Sun.

Marital infidelity was perceived as an act with serious consequences, one that, in particular, involved public ridicule. This is rele-

<sup>48</sup> Lucian, *Salt*. 63.

<sup>49</sup> Arist., *Polit.* II, 9, 1369.

<sup>50</sup> Aristid. Quintilian., *De musica* 2, 17.

<sup>51</sup> Cumont 1966, 21; Turcan 1999, 39.

<sup>52</sup> Lucian, *De Astrol.* 5; Plut., *De aud. poet.* 4, 19, e-f.

vant for emphasizing the moral values of the scene of Venus' adultery. Even in this context, the tale's content brought shame on the divine lovers and as well as other negative repercussions<sup>53</sup>. The most important idea is that marital infidelity, even when the offenders are Olympian gods, always results in the catching and punishing of the adulterers. On the other hand, the outstanding value of this myth is cultural, as it is a vivid example of the visualization of a literary source<sup>54</sup>.

Scholars have recognized several ways by which the myth of Adultery of Venus and Mars observed by the all-seeing Helios was transmitted from antiquity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Most often it was achieved by the modification of literary sources such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, usually accompanied by commentaries, astrological treatises, iconographies and mythological compilations<sup>55</sup>. In most cases the myth was presented in a moral context as an example of the consequences of adultery<sup>56</sup>.

In the later Middle Ages, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* would be moralized. One of the popular version from circa 1340, the *Ovidius moralizatus*, was by Pierre Bersuire, a French Benedictine monk also known by his Latin name Petrus Berchorius<sup>57</sup>. In the East, Ovid was translated into Greek by the Byzantine monk Maximos Planoudes (ca. 1255-1305)<sup>58</sup>. This translation was accompanied by *scholia*, likely indicating Planoudes' intention for the text to be used for serious scholarly study<sup>59</sup>.

There are not many visual images of this scene from the early Middle Ages. It appeared more frequently in the Middle Ages and grew popular during the Renaissance. While representations of the myth in antiquity were more formally staged, as seen in the examples of the mirror from *Viminacium* and on the so-called *Ara Casali*, medieval compositions were set in more domestic surroundings, almost creating genre scenes. This is the case in an example from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Christine de Pisan's *Epitre d'Othea*, MS Harley 4431 illustrated

---

<sup>53</sup> Mihajlović 2011, 183.

<sup>54</sup> Hijmans 2009, 264.

<sup>55</sup> Takada 2007, 116.

<sup>56</sup> Brumble 1998, 207.

<sup>57</sup> Lowenthal 1995, 51.

<sup>58</sup> Fisher 2011, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Fisher 2002-2003, 77-104.

by Parisian illuminators<sup>60</sup>. Here, the scene of adultery between Venus and Mars is set in a bedroom with the protagonists tucked into bed. Mars sleeps while Venus lies with eyes wide open observing two gods that stand by their bed with a gesture of surprise. While Mars and Venus are semi-naked in bed, similar to the antique representation on the *Viminacium* mirror, in the illumination they are joined by two standing figures dressed in a period costumes. The bed in the miniature has a canopy over it, echoing Venus's veil as found on the *Viminacium* mirror. Vulcan kneels by their bed and throws a heavy chain over them instead of the net that was more commonly displayed in antique examples. Apollo peers through a window with an orange face representing sunlight that reveals all<sup>61</sup>.

Another illumination, found in a 15<sup>th</sup> century French translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* Ms. *français 137*, f. 137, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, depicts the moment when Vulcan, informed by the Sun of the adultery, reaches the two lovers and binds them together with a chain<sup>62</sup>. Here, the event is staged in a bedroom and Venus and Mars are shown in a bed with rumpled sheets, with the upper parts of their naked bodies exposed. The winged Mars wears a crown. Venus and Vulcan wear hats, but while those of Mars and Venus indicate persons of high social rank, Vulcan's is simpler and refers to that of a blacksmith. Unusually, the ceiling of their bedroom is painted as a sky with the figures of deities who witness the adultery. Helios, who revealed the adultery, is depicted in the shape of the Sun above the headboard with rays that fall between Venus and Mars.

As we have seen, Christian art included Helios as an all-seeing god in depictions of the myth of Venus and Mars in the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Helios/Sol was also represented as an all-seeing God during Late Antiquity and Early Christianity without being related to the myth of adultery. He was more often associated with representations of emperors within the imperial ideology and cult<sup>63</sup>. All that remains of a statue ca. 324 AD<sup>64</sup>, presumably dedicated to Constantine as the all-seeing Helios/Sol that once stood at *Termes-*

<sup>60</sup> MS Harley 4431, British Library, London. This book was written circa 1408-1415, Lowenthal 1995, 53; Hindman 1986, 17-18.

<sup>61</sup> For the illustration, see Lowenthal 1995, 52, fig. 36.

<sup>62</sup> Van Moé 1937-1938, 161-169.

<sup>63</sup> Kantorowicz, 1963, 117-179; Hijmans 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Hijmans 2009, 119.

*sus* in Pisidia is a dedicatory inscription that reads: “To Constantine Augustus, the All-seeing Sun”<sup>65</sup>. It remains a matter of scholarly debate whether this sculpture represented Constantine as the all-seeing Sun, or was simply Helios *Pantepoptês*<sup>66</sup>. The statue was equestrian, which would be unusual for a representation of Sol<sup>67</sup>. Ignazio Tantillo has argued that a cult of Helios existed in Termessus from at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, which represented a Hellenized local Sun god depicted on horseback and thus implies that the sculpture was of that earlier date. According to him, the inscription was altered and the first line is a later addition marking the sculpture as dedicated to Constantine-Helios after the defeat of Licinnius<sup>68</sup>. It is not clear if the iconography of the sculpture was modified. Based on the change of the inscription, Steve Hijmans proposes that the work itself remained unchanged and that it still represented Sol, but that the dedication to Constantine actually meant that the sculpture was dedicated to the Emperor Constantine due to the fact that Sun was his personal deity<sup>69</sup>.

The sculpture in Termessus recalls another of Constantine the Great which probably also depicted him with the attributes of Helios. This statue was raised on a porphyry column with a stone base in Constantinople in 330<sup>70</sup>. Most of the information about this lost monument comes from literary sources, according to which, Constantine was represented nude, with a spear or scepter in his right hand and the orb in his left<sup>71</sup>. These texts also describe him wearing a radiant

---

<sup>65</sup> Bardill 2012, 109. Also see, Fowden 1991, 129; Hijmans 2009, 119.

<sup>66</sup> Hijmans 2009, 119-120; Bardill 2012, 109.

<sup>67</sup> Hijmans 2009, 119, n. 29.

<sup>68</sup> Tantillo 2003, 171-177.

<sup>69</sup> Hijmans 2009, 120.

<sup>70</sup> The column was 37 feet long and the statue was placed on the top of the, presumably Corinthian, capital. The sculpture fell down in a storm around 1106, Bardill 2012, 28; Hijmans 2009, 543.

<sup>71</sup> One of the early literary sources is by Arian ecclesiastical historian Philostorgius from 5<sup>th</sup> century Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.*, II. 17 or by the 6<sup>th</sup> century Greek chronicler Malalas, *Ioan. Mal.* XIII.320. For more on the literary and other sources see Preger 1901, 457-469; Fowden 1991, 125-131; Bardell 2012, 28-108. Anna Comnena described the sculpture a couple of decades after its fall in 1106: “In the centre of Constantine’s Forum there was a bronze statue, facing the east and standing on a conspicuous column of porphyry, holding in its right hand a sceptre and in its left a globe (σφαῖραν) made of bronze. It was said to be a statue of Apollo, but the inhabitants of the city called it, I think, Anthelios. The great emperor Constantine, father and lord of the city, altered it to his own name, calling it the Statue of

crown. It is not clear if this headgear was adorned with ribbons, which would represent the imperial radiant crown, symbol of emperors and victory since the time of Augustus, or without ribbons, which would be the symbol of Helios or Hellenistic kings<sup>72</sup>. It remains uncertain if Constantine the great was represented as Helios, or was merely given specific attributes of Helios<sup>73</sup>. His colossus could be linked with the Colossus of Nero in Rome, who was the first roman emperor who depicted himself with a radiant crown during his lifetime. Later, in 75 AD, Vespasian dedicated a statue to Sol. As with Constantine's sculpture, it was never clear whether Nero was represented as Helios or if he wore an imperial radiant crown that linked the emperors with the power of Augustus<sup>74</sup>. That Constantine was impressed with the Nero's Colossus is evident by the positioning of his Triumphal arch in Rome directly across from it. Most likely, the indeterminate identity of both sculptures, either as victorious emperors or the god Helios was intentional. A similar indeterminacy was adopted for the staging of triumphal processions in which triumphator oscillated between divine and human status. At the same time through the course of the procession he embodied a living image of the god Jupiter himself and represented a negation of that divine presence<sup>75</sup>. By positioning Constantine's statue on a high column in Constantinople one could link it with the all-seeing Helios, one who observed from above, or, in the words of Homer: the god who "sees everything and hears everything"<sup>76</sup>.

After the reign of Constantine, the representation of Helios with a radiant crown would soon vanish, only to reappear again during the Byzantine Macedonian dynasty (ruled 867 to 1056). In the scene of Isaiah and Hezekiah (Isaiah 38, 2 Kings 20) from the famous mid-10<sup>th</sup> century Paris Psalter MS Grec 139, folio 436v, the sun is represented as a circle in which a profile view of Helios wearing a radiant crown forms the center (**Fig. 7**). This clearly indicates the antique origin of the motif of Helios wearing a radiating crown, but also reveals the pos-

---

the emperor Constantine. But its original title persisted, and it was known by everybody as Anelios or Antheli." *Anna Comnena* XII.4 as cited by Fowden 1991, 126.

<sup>72</sup> Hijmans 2009, 515-535.

<sup>73</sup> Hijmans 2009, 543-547; Bardill 2012, 108.

<sup>74</sup> The statue is lost and its reconstruction is mostly based on images from coins and gems, Hijmans 2009, 536-539.

<sup>75</sup> Price 1987, 56-105; De Jong-Hekster 2008, 79-96; Hekster 2009, 95-111; Milanović 2014, 76-88.

<sup>76</sup> Hom., *Il.*, 3.277; Hom., *Od.* 11. 102 ff.

sibility that the manuscript was an imperial commission<sup>77</sup>. During the Early Christian and Medieval period there were many references that metaphorically linked Christ with the Sun and its light in a manner similar to Helios and compared Christ to Helios as “the Sun of Justice,” but that is a material for another, larger study.

One may conclude that during the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, two parallel processes of the transformation of the iconography of Sol took place in Roman art based upon Greek and oriental themes, and artistic models that existed in the Roman Empire. The *Viminacium* mirror, *Ara Casali*, and the above-mentioned sarcophagi are extraordinary, very rare examples of the iconography of Venus’ adultery with the all-seeing Helios depicted as a witness to this mythological act. The myth and the role of Helios in it could be understood in different contexts: as an *inter alia* neo-Pythagorean, celestial, and in moralizing. The role of Helios in the moralizing context is, however, indisputable. This aspect will be a key motivation in the transformation of the myth in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, not only in literary sources but in visual art as well.

### FOTO

1. *Adultery of Venus*. Relief mirror from *Viminacium*. The National Museum in Požarevac, inv. C-1769/P. Foto I. Stanić.
- 1a. *Adultery of Venus*. Relief mirror from *Viminacium* (detailed).
2. *Adultery of Venus*. *Ara Casali*. The Vatican Museums – Museo Pio Clementino, inv. 1186. Foto: Nuck Thomson (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/pelegrino/6929153744/>).
- 2b. *Adultery of Venus*. *Ara Casali* (detailed).
3. *Adultery of Venus*. Gallo-Roman Museum of Lyon, inv. 2000.0.2821. After: Zeifer 2010, fig. 145.
4. *Adultery of Venus*. Sarcophagus. Abbazia di Grottaferrata, inv. 1156. After: Ambrogi 2008, fig. 78.
5. *Adultery of Venus*. Sarcophagus. Amalfi Cathedral. After: Turcan 1999, fig. 23.
6. *Adultery of Venus*. Sarcophagus. Palace of the Palazzo Altemps in Rome, inv. 381000. After: De Angelis d’Ossat 2002, 138.

---

<sup>77</sup> Paris Psalter, MS Grec 139, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. For more on the Paris Psalter, Buchthal 1938; Kalavrezou 1997, 240-242. For an image see Stojaković 1970, fig. 39.



7. *Isaiah and Hezekiah*. Paris psalter, MS Grec 139, folio 436v, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. After: Stojaković 1970, fig. 39.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albertson 2012 – F. Albertson, *Mars and Rhea Silvia in Roman art*, Bruxelles, Latomus.
- Ambrogi 2008 – A. Ambrogi et Al., *Sculture antiche nell'Abbazia di Grottaferrata*, Roma, Comitato nazionale per le Celebrazioni del millenario della fondazione dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo a Grottaferrata.
- Audin, Jeancolas 1969 – A. Audin, L. Jeancolas, *Le médaillon des amours de Mars et Venus*, *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments lyonnais*, 4, 181-183.
- Bardill 2012 – Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Brumble 1998 – H. D. Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
- Buchthal 1938 – H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, a Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, London, Warburg Institute.
- Cumont 1966 – F. V. M. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, P. Geuthner.
- De Angelis D'Ossat 1996 – M. De Angelis D'Ossat, *Rilievi Massimo – del Drago del Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Altemps*, in M. Pomponi (ed.), *Camillo Massimo collezionista di antichità*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 205-212.
- De Angelis D'Ossat 2002 – M. De Angelis D'Ossat, *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps: Museo Nazionale romano*, Milano, Electa; Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma.
- De Jong-Hekster 2008 – J. De Jong, O. Hekster, *Damnation, deification, commemoration*, in S. Bénoist, A. Daguét Gagey (eds.), *Un discourse en images de la condamnation de mémoire*, Metz, Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire, 79-96.

- Fisher 2002-2003 – E. A. Fisher, *Planoudes, Holobolos, and the Motivation for Translation*, *GRBS*, 43, 77-104.
- Fisher 2011 – E. A. Fisher, *Ovid's Metempsychosis: The Greek East*, in J. G. Clark, F. T. Coulson, K. L. McKinley (eds.), *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 26-48.
- Fowden 1991 – G. Fowden, *Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion*, *JRS*, 81, 119-131.
- Hekster 2009 – O. Hekster, *Honouring Ancestors: The Dynamic of Deification*, in O. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner, C. Witschel (eds.), *Ritual dynamics and religious change in the Roman Empire: proceedings of the eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 95-111.
- Hijmans 2009 – S. E. Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 2 vol. PhD diss., Groningen, Reijksuniversiteit.
- Hindman 1986 – S. L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre d'Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Hutchinson 2011 – D. O. Hutchinson, *Telling tales: Ovid's Metamorphoses and Callimachus*, in D. Obbink, R. Rutherford (eds.), *Culture in Pieces: Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons*, Oxford University Press, 239-261.
- Kalavrezou 1997 – I. Kalavrezou, *The Paris Psalter, catalogue entry 163*, in H. C. Evans, W. D. Wixom (eds.) *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Distributed by H. N. Abrams, 240-242.
- Kantorowicz 1963 – E. Kantorowicz, *Oriens Augusti-Lever du Roi*, *DOP*, 17, 117-179.
- Karović 1995 – G. Karović, *Srebrno ogledalo sa reljefnom predstavom iz Viminaciuma*, in I. Popović, T. Cvjetičanin, B. Borić-Brešković (ed.), *Radionice i kounice srebra*, Beograd, Narodni muzej, 217-226.
- Krunić 2000 – S. Krunić, *Rimski medicinski, farmaceutski i kozmetički instrumenti na teritoriji Gornje Mezije*, PhD thesis, Department of Archeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

- Lowenthal 1995 – A. W. Lowenthal, *Joachim Wtewael: Mars and Venus surprised by Vulcan*, Malibu, Calif., J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Matern 2002 – P. Matern, *Helios und Sol. Kulte und Ikonographie des griechischen und römischen Sonnengottes*, Istanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Mihajlović 2011 – V. Mihajlović, *Adultery in the Mirror: Roman Mirror from Viminacium, Myth, Moral and Rite(s) of Passage*, in K. Maricki Gađanski (ed.), *Antika i savremeni svet: religija i kultura: zbornik radova*, Društvo za antičke studije Srbije, Beograd, Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet Univerziteta, Institut za teološka istraživanja, 178-193.
- Milanović 2014 – Lj. Milanović, *Playing God: The Role of Indeterminacy*, in *Representations of Triumph and Adventus*, *Huu u Vizantija*, 12, 76-88.
- Pettazzoni 1955 – R. Pettazzoni, *Onniscienza di Dio*, Roma, Einaudi.
- Pilipović 2011 – S. Pilipović, *Kult Bahusa na centralnom Balkanu. I-IV vek*, Beograd, Balkanološki institute SANU.
- Pilipović 2013 – S. Pilipović, *Le rappresentazioni di Helios/Sol nella Moesia Superior*, *C&C*, 8/2, 599-626.
- Pomponi 1996 – M. Pomponi, *Schedatura dei disegni del taccuino*, in M. Pomponi (ed.), *Camillo Massimo collezionista di antichità: fonti e materiali. Fonti e Materiali*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 73-90.
- Preger 1901 – T. Preger, *Konstantinos-Helios, Hermes*, 36/4, 457-469.
- Price 1987 – S. Price, *From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: the Consecration of Roman Emperors*, in D. Cannadine, S. Price (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 56-105.
- Rankov 1980 – J. Rankov, *Viminacium, glavni grad provincije Gornje Mezije*, Beograd, Narodni muzej.
- Robert 1904 – C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III.2, Berlin, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Santolini Giordani 1989 – R. Santolini Giordani, *Antichità Casali: la collezione di villa Casali a Roma*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Spasić 2001 – D. Spasić, *Reljefna ogledala iz Viminacijuma, Viminacium*, 12, 159-178.

- Spasić-Đurić 2002 – D. Spasić-Đurić, *Viminacijum, glavni grad rimske provincije Gornje Mezije*, Požarevac, Narodni muzej Požarevac.
- Stojaković 1970 – A. Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor u slikarstvu serdnjovekovne Srbije*, Novi Sad, Matica srpska.
- Takada 2007 – Y. Takada, *Transcendental Descent, Essays in Literature and Philosophy*, Tokyo, UTCP.
- Tantillo 2003 – I. Tantillo, *Costantino e Helios Pantepoptês. La statua equestre di Termessos, Epigraphica*, 65, 159-184.
- Turcan 1999 – R. Turcan, *Messages d'outre-tombe: l'iconographie des sarcophages romains*, Paris, De Bocard.
- Van Moé 1937-1938 – E.-A. Van Moé, *Les manuscrits à peintures à la Bibliothèque Nazionale, Archives et Bibliothèques*, III, 161-169.
- Vertet 1969 – H. Vertet, *Observations sur les vases à médaillons d'applique de la vallée du Rhône, Gallia*, 27/1, 93-133.
- Winckelmann 1767 – J. J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti romani inediti spiegati e illustrati da Giovanni Winckelmann I et II*, Roma.
- Zeifer 2010 – A. Zeifer, *Marte e Venere sorpresi di Vulcano: la fortuna iconografica di un affresco perduto di Baldassarre Peruzzi per la Villa Farnesina a Roma*, in M. Beltramini, C. Elam (eds.), *Some degree of happiness: studi di storia dell'architettura in onore di Howard Burns*, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 207-232.



**Fig. 1**



**Fig. 1a**



**Fig. 2**



**Fig. 2a**



**Fig. 3**





**Fig. 4**



**Fig. 5**



**Fig. 6**



**Fig. 7**



Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza“ din Iași  
Facultatea de Istorie • Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine

Bd. Carol I, Nr. 11, 700506, Iași, România  
Tel.: 040/0232/201634, Fax: 040/0232/201156



ISSN: 1842-3043  
e-ISSN: 2393-2961

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza“ Iași