

## Τεκμήρια

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γεγενήσθαι. μηνύεται ούν ἀπό μετοίκων τέ τινων καὶ ἀκολούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἐρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων περικοπαὶ τινὲς ποτέροιο ὑπὲρ μετάτοινοι μετὰ παδιάς καὶ οἰνοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. τοιούτοις ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις εφ' ὑψέρι τοιούτοις ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμποδῶν ὅντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δῆμου βεβαίως προεστάναι, καὶ νομέσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειν, πρῶτοι ἀν εἶναι, ἐρεγάλινον καὶ ἐβόωτις ἐπὶ δῆμου καὶ αὐλήτη τά τε μιντικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπαὶ τοιούτοις ποιεῖται ἐν αὐτῶν διὰ οὐ μετ' ἑκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὸν παρανοίαν. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι προσθέτοις τοιούτοις ποιεῖται καὶ ἔτοιμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν καὶ τοιούτοις ποιεῖται τοιούτοις ποτέροις ἦν (ἢδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρικῆς ποτέροις ποιεῖται καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἴργαστο, δικεῖ δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθέη, δρχεω. καὶ ἐπεμαρτύρετο μὴ ἀπόντος πέρι αὐτοῦ διαβολὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδεία τοιούτοις ποιεῖται τοιούτοις ποτέροις ἐνιέντες οἱ ἐλεγονοὶ νῦν μὲν πλέιν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τοιούτοις ποτέροις κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις ἥπταις, βούλθεντοι ἐκ μελζονος διαβολῆς, ἢν ἔμελλον ὅπον αὐτῷ ἀπόντος ποτέροις, μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλέιν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέσους μεσοῦντος πῦρ ἡ ἀνανωνὴ ἐνίνυνετο.

**The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares (Paus. 2.25.1)  
in the Periurban Area of Argos and Temples with a  
Double Cella in Greece**

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## **The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares (Paus. 2.25.1) in the Periurban Area of Argos and Temples with a Double Cellae in Greece\***

### **Introduction and Methodology**

The object of this study is the analysis of the sanctuary with a double cella or double temple (*ἱερὸν διπλοῦν*) dedicated to Aphrodite and Ares, located in the periurban area north-west of Argos. This analysis will take into account the topographical, archaeological/architectural and cultic context of the sanctuary. The study will also present some preliminary thoughts on the temple typology to which this building belongs, in other words, on temples with a double cella.

Our only direct source for the sanctuary in question is the short description provided by Pausanias (2.25.1), whilst its location, ground plan, elevation, chronology and architectural and sculptural decoration, with the probable exception of the iconography of the cult statues, remain essentially unknown.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Short references to the monument can be found in H.W. Stoll, “Ares”, in W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I (Leipzig 1884-1890) 484; J. Kophiniotis, *Ιστορία τοῦ Ἀργον* (Athens 1892) 124; Dümmler, “Aphrodite”, in *RE* I.2 (1894) 2.739; Tümpel, “Ares”, in *RE* II.1 (1895) 652; L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II (Oxford 1896-1909) 623; C.W. Vollgraff, *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythén à Argos* (École Française d'Athènes, *Études Péloponnésiennes* I, Paris 1956) 68; S.J. Édouard des Places, *La religion grecque. Dieux, cultes, rites et sentiment religieux dans*

However, I believe that a careful reading of the information presented by Pausanias and further data reported by Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff, who studied the topography of the Argive territory in the first half of the 20th century, may help clarify some of the issues that remain unresolved. This article forms part of a broader research project conducted at the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens, which aims to analyse cult places with a double room in the Greek world.<sup>2</sup>

### Pausanias' Text (2.25.1)

Given the importance of the information provided by Pausanias for this study, it may be helpful to quote the whole of the relevant passage, in the translation of W.H.S. Jones:<sup>3</sup>

ἥ δ' ἐς Μαντίνειαν ἄγουσα ἐξ Ἀργους ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δειράδι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἵερὸν διπλοῦν πεποίηται, καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον. κατὰ μὲν δὴ

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la Grèce antique (Paris 1969) 60, 64; R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid. From the End of the Bronze Age to the Roman Occupation* (London 1972) 208; A. Barattolo, “Il tempio di Venere e di Roma: un tempio ‘greco’ nell’urbe”, *RM* 85 (1978) 402-403; J. Flemburg, *Venus Armata. Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, series in 4o, XIII, Stockholm 1991) 23-26; I. Solima, “Era, Artemide e Afrodite in Magna Grecia e in Grecia. Dee armate o dee belliche?”, *MÉFRA* 110 (1998) 403; V. Pirenne-Delforge, “La genèse de l’Aphrodite grecque: le ‘dossier crétois’”, in S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi and P. Xella (eds.), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca. Stato degli studi e prospettive della ricerca. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Roma, 20-22 maggio 1999* (Rome 2001) 173-174; S. Lynn Budin, *The Origin of Aphrodite* (Bethesda 2003) 75; ead., “Aphrodite Enoplion”, in A.C. Smith and S. Pickup (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Aphrodite* (Leiden, Boston 2010) 89; G. Pironti, “Rethinking Aphrodite as a Goddess at Work”, in Smith and Pickup (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Aphrodite* (see *supra*) 122.

2. The research project, funded by the Accademia dei Lincei with a “Clelia Laviosa” fellowship, is entitled “Temples and Structures with a Double Room (*oikoi*) in Greek Sanctuaries from the Orientalizing Period (7th century BC) to the Roman Conquest (mid-2nd century BC): Typologies, Chronologies and Functions”.

3. W.H.S. Jones, *Pausanias. Description of Greece I. Books I and II* (The Loeb Classical Library, London, Cambridge, MA 1918) 379.

τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἀρεως· εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα Πολυνείκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἀργείων, ὅσοι τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο.

“The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as that to Tegea, but begins from the gate at the Ridge. On this road is a sanctuary built with two rooms, having an entrance on the west side and another on the east. At the latter is a wooden image of Aphrodite, and at the west entrance one of Ares. They say that the images are votive offerings of Polyneices and of the Argives who joined him in the campaign to redress his wrongs.”

For all its concision, the text offers a wealth of information that can be summarized in three fundamental points: the location of the monument, its architectural peculiarity and the association of deities present. These issues will be analysed one by one in the following sections.

### Location and Topographical Context

The first problem concerns the potential for determining the monument’s location as accurately as possible. Unfortunately, this issue cannot be resolved on the basis of the information present in Pausanias alone. However, it is worth providing the topographical context to which the passage quoted above belongs. After completing his description of the monuments inside the walls of Argos,<sup>4</sup> our Periegetes goes on to discuss the roads leading from the city to nearby towns: the first route is that towards Tegea (2.24.5), whilst the next road mentioned, of help to our study, leads towards Mantinea. The sanctuary under discussion lies along the latter road, at some point between the Deiras ridge, where it begins, and the river Charadros, the present-day Xerias (2.25.2; fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Pausanias also notes that a second road departs from the same

4. On Pausanias’ route at Argos: M. Piérart, “L’itinéraire de Pausanias à Argos”, in A. Pariente and G. Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l’Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes – Argos, 28/4-1/5/1990* (Recherches franco-helléniques 3, Athens, Paris 1998) 337-354; on the topography of the city: K.I. Piteros, “Contribution à la topographie argienne. Le site, les remparts et quelques problèmes topographiques”, in Pariente and Touchais (eds.), *Argos et l’Argolide* (see *supra*) 179-210.

5. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (see n. 1) 208; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L’Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et*

city gate and runs towards the site of Lyrkeia before reaching Mantinea,<sup>6</sup> following a longer route than the previous road.<sup>7</sup> Also known are the names of the two passes crossed by the roads, respectively Prinus (“holm oak” – “*quercus ilex*”) for the first (from Deiras to Mantinea) and Climax (“ladder”) for the second (from Deiras to Lyrkeia and finally to Mantinea).<sup>8</sup> On its own, however, this information does not allow us to narrow down the area where the sanctuary must have lain; in fact, we can calculate that the stretch of road running from the Deiras gate to the river Charadros, now the Xerias, is about four kilometres long (fig. 2). Further information can be gleaned from a reading of the work by the Dutch topographer C.W. Vollgraff. In the publication of his topographical studies of the Argive territory, the scholar reports that “Nous plaçons ce temple (i.e. the sanctuary with a double cella) à droite de la route actuelle de Mantinée, à un quart d'heure de distance de l'ancienne porte de la Deiras. C'est là que commence le chemin qui mène à la source dite Akoa”.<sup>9</sup> He

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classique (*Kernos* Suppl. 4, Liège 1994) 167; G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (*Kernos* Suppl. 18, Liège 2007) 256.

6. Paus. 2.25.4, with the commentary provided in D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro II. La Corinzia e l'Argolide* (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla Scrittori Greci e Latini, Vicenza 1986) 295.

7. Paus. 8.6.4, with M. Moggi and M. Osanna, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro VIII. L'Arcadia* (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla Scrittori Greci e Latini, Farigliano 2003) 319. For the topographical reconstruction of this road network: J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* III (London 1898) 215; W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part III, Roads* (University of California Publications in Classical Studies vol. 22, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1980) 1-53; Y.A. Pikoulas, *Οδικό δίκτυο και άμυνα. Από την Κόρινθο στο Άργος και την Αρκαδία* (HOROS, Η μεγάλη βιβλιοθήκη 2, Athens 1995) 441; K. Tausend, *Verkehrswege der Argolis. Rekonstruktion und historische Bedeutung* (Geographica Historica 23, Stuttgart 2006) 113-118.

8. Paus. 8.6.4: (...) κατὰ Μαντίνειαν διὰ τε Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ Κλίμακος, on which see Moggi and Osanna, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* (see n. 7) 319. For the names of roads in Greek cities: E. Greco, “Nomi di strade nelle città greche”, in M. Castoldi (ed.), *Koivá. Miscellanea di studi archeologici in onore di Piero Orlandini* (Milan 1999) 223-229. On Athens: L. Ficuciello, *Le strade di Atene* (SATAA 4, Athens, Paestum 2008) and for its extraurban road network, 14-21.

9. C.W. Vollgraff, “Fouilles d'Argos”, *BCH* 31 (1907) 180-181; see also J. Kophiniotis, *Ιστορία* (see n. 1) 124. No further information has been found as yet on the location of

adds that he personally saw only a few scanty remains of ancient wall structures in the field, but recollects the discovery in 1890, in that same place, of foundations in stone blocks, probably belonging to precisely this temple.<sup>10</sup> If C.W. Vollgraff's identification is correct (Pausanias' double temple = foundations discovered in 1890), the monument in question would lie to the right of the modern road (to Mantinea) and about 15 minutes (on foot?) from the Deiras gate (assuming that the modern road "Eparchiaki Odos Argous-Nestanis" roughly follows the route taken in the early 20th century by C.W. Vollgraff). Considering the total length of the road up to the river (about four kilometres) and the scholar's specification of the time taken to reach the point of the discovery (15 minutes starting from the gate on the Deiras), it seems likely that the young C.W. Vollgraff walked along the road, covering at least half of the total distance but probably much more in the specified time (15 minutes), in other words, at least around two kilometres from the gate, plausibly reaching the vicinity of the banks of the river Charadros. We can therefore identify an area of land, in which the sanctuary described by Pausanias was probably located (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> The monument in question thus stood along one of the main

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the Akoa spring, but it is worth noting the presence of a place named "Akoba" in the area under consideration (fig. 2), where the church of Aghios Nikolaos stands. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

10. Vollgraff, "Fouilles" (see n. 9) 181: "Mais il nous a été dit que, vers 1890, on avait découvert en cet endroit le soubassement d'un temple antique, et qu'on en avait arraché les blocs pour les employer comme pierres à bâtir".

11. C.W. Vollgraff (5 June 1876 – 20 October 1967) was thirty-one years old when his topographical studies were published in 1907: J.C. Kamerbeek, "Levensbericht C.W. Vollgraff", *Jaarboek van de KNAW* 1967-1968, 346-354. On the scholar's research activities at Argos: M. Piérart, "Arrivé au train d'une heure". *Les fouilles de Wilhelm Vollgraff à Argos*", in D. Mulliez and A. Banaka-Dimaki (eds.), *Sur les pas de Wilhelm Vollgraff. Cent ans d'activités archéologiques à Argos. Actes du colloque international organisé par la IVe EPKA et l'École française d'Athènes, 25-28 septembre 2003* (Recherches franco-helléniques 4, Athens 2013) 31-39. The area highlighted in fig. 2 is currently used to grow citrus trees, and an inspection undertaken by the author of this article in early December 2016 did not bring to light any specific archaeological features; however, a more in-depth analysis of the area is needed. In this context, it is worth noting that in a seminar at the National Hellenic Research Foundation, on 25/01/2017, Dr Charalambos B. Kritzas, former Curator of Antiquities of Argolis and Korinthia, kindly informed me that surveys carried out in this

roads leading out of the city<sup>12</sup> and near the river Charadros, the present-day Xerias, which wraps protectively around the north and east sides of the periurban area of Argos (fig. 3). Some scholars have linked the topographical proximity of the cult place and the watercourse to the function performed in antiquity by the river and its bed, which is dry for much of the year:<sup>13</sup> this was the area in which any military problems arising during army expeditions were resolved, before the army definitively re-entered the city.<sup>14</sup> Of help in better understanding this specific function of the river is a passage from Thucydides. The historian records that in 418 BC the Argive army, on its way back to the city after military operations against the Spartans in the plains north of Argos, stopped when it reached the river Charadros and stoned one of its five generals, Thrasyllus. The reason for this ferocious act is that the general had been guilty of agreeing to a truce of several months with the enemy, the Spartans, but without first consulting the whole Argive army.<sup>15</sup> However,

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area have yielded archaeological finds (roof tiles and ceramic fragments), apparently confirming the location of the sanctuary within the area shown in fig. 2, which could probably be that mentioned by Pausanias. The archaeological finds from this survey currently remain unpublished.

12. On the close relationship between road networks and sanctuaries: G. Marginesu, "Diarchi giudici di strade", *Workshop di archeologia classica* 5 (2008) 36-39.

13. A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1983, 5th repr. of first edition 1970) 86.

14. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (see n. 1) 208; Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (see n. 5) 167-168; Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 256.

15. Thuc. 5.60.6: τόν τε Θράσυλλον ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὗπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρατείας δίκας πρὶν ἐσιέναι κρίνουσιν, ἤρξαντο λεύειν. ὁ δὲ καταφυγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θωμὸν περιγίγνεται· τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ. The episode described by Thucydides is also mentioned by Diod. Sic. 12.78.4-5, with fewer details. According to Gomme, Andrewes and Dover, *A Historical Commentary* (see n. 13) 86: "The Charadros, no doubt, just seemed an appropriate place for a lynching", whilst S. Hornblower, "Thucydides and the Argives", in A. Rengakos and A. Tsakmakis (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* (Leiden, Boston 2006) 624, and *id.*, *A Commentary on Thucydides. Volume III. Books 5.25-8.109* (Oxford 2008) 158-159, connects the episode to the Argive army's lack of discipline. For a historical contextualization of the events described and the motivations underlying Thrasyllus' actions: D. Kagan, *The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition* (Ithaca, London 1981) 98-104; C. Bearzot, "Argo nel V secolo: ambizioni egemoniche, crisi interne,

Thrasyllus managed to escape with his life by seeking refuge at an altar –ό δὲ καταφυγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θωμὸν περιγράγνεται–, which evidently stood in the vicinity, though his properties in the city were confiscated. S. Hornblower mentions a similar episode that befell the Spartan commander Astyochus, recorded by Thucydides (8.84.3),<sup>16</sup> and claims to have identified the mythical prototype for seeking refuge at an altar in the episode involving Cassandra and Ajax the Lesser, as described in the *Iliou Persis* by Arctinus of Miletus.<sup>17</sup> There is, however, no compelling reason to doubt Thucydides' account of the attempted stoning of Thrasyllus and of his consequent flight to a nearby altar.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, we can narrow down the area in the vicinity of the river Charadros, where the episode described above must have taken place, considering the road that the Argive army must have followed as it returned to the city from the plains to the north. This is the same road taken by Pausanias several centuries later to reach Argos from Mycenae, which entered the city from the north-east (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> Consequently, we can suggest that the altar dedicated

condizionamenti esterni”, in C. Bearzot and F. Landucci (eds.), *Argo. Una democrazia diversa* (Contributi di Storia Antica 4, Milano 2006) 135-136, and A.P. Tuci, “Il regime politico di Argo e le sue istituzioni tra fine VI e fine V secolo a.C.: verso un’instabile democrazia”, in Bearzot and Landucci (eds.), *Argo. Una democrazia diversa* (see *supra*) 244-245 and 249. For the conflicts between Sparta and Argos for dominance over the Peloponnese: J.B. Salmon, “Sparta, Argo e il Peloponneso”, in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società 2. Una storia greca I. Formazione* (Turin 1996) 847-867.

16. S. Hornblower, “Sticks, Stones, and Spartans: the Sociology of Spartan Violence”, in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (Swansea 2000) 57-82.

17. Hornblower, “Thucydides and the Argives” (see n. 15) 624 and n. 29; *id.*, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (see n. 15) 159; M.L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (Loeb Classical Library, London, Cambridge, MA 2003) fr. 146.

18. It is currently impossible to identify the name of the deity to whom the altar mentioned by Thucydides was dedicated with any certainty. Other examples of individuals seeking refuge at a sacred place or at the statue of a deity include Eratosthenes (Lys. 1.27) and Kylon (Hdt. 5.71), with a commentary in A. Giuliani, “Il sacrilegio cilionario: tradizioni e cronologia”, *Aevum* 73 (1999) 21-42.

19. On the road network in the northern sector of Argos: Paus. 2.15.2 and M. Piérart, “Deux notes sur l’itinéraire argien de Pausanias”, *BCH* 106 (1982) 142; Musti and Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* (see n. 6) 261, 272. Useful observations are found also in: Kagan, *The Peace of Nicias* (see n. 15) 96 and n. 56, with prior bibliography; Gomme,

to an unknown deity, thanks to which the Argive general managed to escape stoning, was in the same area outlined above.

In conclusion, at least two separate sacred areas are attested in the vicinity of the river Charadros: the first is the sanctuary dedicated to two gods (Aphrodite and Ares), connected to one another and linked, as we shall see in the following section, to the world of warfare; the second is an altar dedicated to an unknown god. These sacred presences highlight the religious importance of the course of the river for the city.<sup>20</sup> It is worth stressing that, according to J.M. Hall, the river formed the boundary of Argive territory during the Archaic period and therefore played a role of primary importance on a political, economic and military level.<sup>21</sup>

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Andrewes and Dover, *A Historical Commentary* (see n. 13) 81; Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (see n. 15) 152. Pausanias notes that the road in question ended at the city gate named after the nearby sanctuary (*ἱερὸν*) of Eileithyia (2.18.3), but unfortunately the exact topographical location of both the gate and the sanctuary is uncertain. As such, we cannot propose the identification of the anonymous altar mentioned by Thucydides with the sanctuary of Eileithyia, generally thought to be located inside the city, north-east of the agora: A. Boëthius, “Zur Topographie des dorischen Argos”, in *Festskrift tillägnad Professoren Per Persson på hans 65-årsdag* (Strena Philologica Upsaliensis, Upsala, 1922) 257-260; Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (see n. 1) 213-214; Musti and Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* (see n. 6) 272; Piérart, “L’itinéraire de Pausanias” (see n. 4) 347, 352-353. I thank Dr Ch. B. Kritzas for discussing this issue with me.

20. On the reasons for the establishment of a sacred area: W. Burkert, “Greek Temple-builders: Who, Where and Why?”, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis. Proceedings of the Third International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-18 October 1992* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, series in 8o, XIV, Stockholm 1996) 21-29; F. Graf, “Gli dèi greci e i loro santuari”, in Settimi (ed.), *I Greci* (see n. 15) 354-355; on the general characteristics of sanctuaries, see N. Marinatos, “What Were Greek Sanctuaries? A Synthesis”, in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London, New York 1993) 228-233.

21. J.M. Hall, “How Argive was the ‘Argive’ Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.”, *AJA* 99.4 (1995) 590. On the use of watercourses as natural boundary markers: G. Daverio Rocchi, *Frontiera e confine nella Grecia antica* (Rome 1988) 51-53, and 205-240 on the functions of boundaries.

### The Cult Statues and the Association of Gods: Aphrodite and Ares

Pausanias states that both cult statues were *xoana*<sup>22</sup> and that they had been dedicated by Polynices and his Argive allies.<sup>23</sup> The reason for this odd mythical reference has been explained as a desire on Pausanias' part to emphasise either the antiquity of the cult place<sup>24</sup> or the close links between the sanctuary and the sphere of war.<sup>25</sup> The two cult statues have not survived, but some scholars have hypothetically identified images of them on coin issues (fig. 5). According to Pausanias, they were placed at the entrances to the sanctuary and not, as we would expect, inside the rooms, which were arranged opposite one another: that of Aphrodite occupied the eastern area and that of Ares the western area. The divine association Aphrodite-Ares has been analysed in depth in recent years, and whilst the presence of Ares in a context connected to war is unsurprising,<sup>26</sup> the explanation for that of Aphrodite, linked to Ares since Homer and Hesiod,<sup>27</sup> has occasioned a lively academic debate. Two alternative interpretative hypotheses have been formulated. The first, argued by V. Pirenne-Delforge, considers the association in terms of an “opposition complémentaire”,

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22. A.A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (American Classical Studies 15, Atlanta 1988) 376, no. 218; for this typology: S. Bettinetti, *La statua di culto nella pratica rituale greca* (Le Rane, Collane di Studi e Testi 30, Bari 2001) 48-52. For the use of the term *xoana* in Pausanias: F.M. Bennett, “Primitive Wooden Statues which Pausanias Saw in Greece”, *The Classical Weekly* 10, January 8 (1917) 82-86; Donohue, *Xoana* (see *supra*) 140-150; K.W. Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece. Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers* (Cambridge 1996) 50-57; C. Jourdain-Annequin, “Représenter les dieux: Pausanias et le panthéon des cités”, in V. Pirenne-Delforge (ed.), *Les Panthéons des cités. Des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias. Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Liège du 15 au 17 mai 1997* (Kernos Suppl. 8, Liège 1998) 246-249.

23. M. Daumas, “Argos et les Sept”, in M. Piérart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos. Argos de la fin des palais mycéniens à la constitution de l'État classique, Fribourg (Suisse), 7-9 mai 1987* (BCH Suppl. 22, Paris 1992) 262, with the commentary by M. Piérart on 264.

24. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (see n. 5) 168, 170.

25. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 256-257.

26. Interesting observations on the divine association between Athena and Ares in connection with the world of war can be found in S. Deacy, “Athena and Ares: War, Violence and Warlike Deities”, in van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence* (see n. 16) 285-298.

27. Hom. *Il.* 5.355-363 and *Od.* 8.266-366; Hes. *Theog.* 933-937.

which also finds concrete expression in the architectural layout of the monument itself “comme si leur localisation constituait un cheminement de la guerre à la concorde”. On this view, the statue of Ares, representing the male element, looks westwards, towards Arcadia and therefore the outside world, whilst the statue of Aphrodite, the female element, looks towards the east and the Argolid, and therefore the domestic world.<sup>28</sup> The second hypothesis, advanced by G. Pironti, paints a different picture of the relationship between the goddess Aphrodite and the world of war and military life. According to this theory, the goddess is in no way extraneous to the world of war, as attested by numerous pieces of evidence,<sup>29</sup> and consequently her association with Ares should be considered fully complementary and in no way antithetical. In support of this theory, she also cites the temple with a double cella found at Sta Lenikà, in Crete (fig. 6, no. 6), dedicated in the Hellenistic period to the same divine couple. The many inscriptions discovered confirm that this temple was a focal point for numerous events connected to armed conflicts between some of the island’s towns.<sup>30</sup>

28. Pirenne-Delforge, *L’Aphrodite grecque* (see n. 5) 167-169, 450-454, and *ead.*, “Something to Do with Aphrodite”: Ta Aphrodisia and the Sacred”, in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Malden, Oxford, Carlton 2007) 318, a theory also espoused by Fr. Croissant, “Identification d’une déesse : questions sur l’Aphrodite argienne”, in C. Prêtre and S. Huysecom-Haxhi (eds.), *Le donateur, l’offrande et la déesse. Systèmes votifs dans les sanctuaires de déesses du monde grec. Actes du 31e colloque international organisé par l’UMR Halma-Ipel, Université Charles de Gaulle/Lille 3, 13-15 décembre 2007* (*Kernos*, suppl. 23, Liège 2009) 191-192. Also arguing against a warrior Aphrodite are Solima, “Era, Artemide e Afrodite” (see n. 1) 402-416, and Lynn Budin, “Aphrodite *Enoplion*” (see n. 1) 89.

29. We list only the principal bibliography: R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l’époque classique. Recherches sur les rites, les dieux, l’idéologie de la victoire* (Paris 1979) 211-213; G. Pironti, “Aphrodite dans le domaine d’Arès. Éléments pour un dialogue entre mythe et culte”, *Kernos* 18 (2005) 172-177, 184; Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 237-241, 257-258, 276-277; Pironti, “Rethinking Aphrodite” (see n. 1) 113-129.

30. J. Bousquet, “Le temple d’Aphrodite et d’Arès à Sta Lenikà”, *BCH* 62 (1938) 387-408; Pirenne-Delforge, “La genèse de l’Aphrodite grecque” (see n. 1) 173; K. Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 3, Heidelberg 2002) 68-79, with prior bibliography; Lynn Budin, *The Origin of Aphrodite* (see n. 1) 86-89; Pironti, “Aphrodite dans le domaine d’Arès” (see n. 29) 176-177; M. Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults. Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*

It is also worth recalling that the cult of Aphrodite was amply attested in the city of Argos itself: by the statue of Aphrodite Nikephoros in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, by the *Aphrodiseion* at the foot of the Larissa, and the temple of Aphrodite Ourania;<sup>31</sup> in the city's main sanctuary, that of Apollo Lykeios, a first pair of gods is recorded, namely the *xoana* of Aphrodite Nikephoros and Hermes.<sup>32</sup> Finally, it is worth noting the ideological connection proposed by G. Pironti between the *Aphrodiseion*, the urban sanctuary with strong martial connotations,<sup>33</sup> and the sanctuary under consideration here, which represented the counterpart to the *Aphrodiseion* in the periurban area and was established to protect Argive territory.<sup>34</sup>

### **The Sanctuary at Argos and Cult Places with a Double Cella**

Pausanias describes the monument at Argos as an *ἱερὸν διπλοῦν*, in other words, as a double sanctuary, or, as will be explained in this section, a sanctuary equipped with a double cella.<sup>35</sup> Within the context of studies on Greek

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(Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, vol. 154, Leiden, Boston 2005) 348-349; Pironti, “Rethinking Aphrodite” (see n. 1) 122. On the cult of Aphrodite and Ares in Crete: Pirenne-Delforge, “La genèse de l’Aphrodite grecque” (see n. 1) 173, 182, 186.

31. Pirenne-Delforge, “L’Aphrodite grecque” (see n. 5) 153-170; E. Interdonato, “14.1.3 Santuario di Afrodite”, in E. Lippolis, M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco (eds.), *Architettura greca. Storia e monumenti del mondo della polis dalle origini al V secolo* (Casarile 2007) 634, and Croissant, “Identification d’une déesse” (see n. 28) 181-202.

32. Paus. 2.19.6; Musti and Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* (see n. 6) 294.

33. Pirenne-Delforge, *L’Aphrodite grecque* (see n. 5) 154-165; Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 259-262.

34. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 262. On sanctuaries and cult places at Argos: M. Piérart and G. Touchais, *Argos. Une ville grecque de 6000 ans* (Paris 1996) 35-38; A. Banaika-Dimaki, “Cult Places in Argos”, in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, series in 4o, XLVIII, Stockholm 2002) 107-116, and M.C.V. Vink, “Sanctuaries and Cults in an Early Urban Context: Argos c. 900-500 BC”, in Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* (see *supra*) 53-61.

35. On the term *ἱερόν*, with the generic meaning of “sanctuary” or “temple”, see: M. Casevitz, “Temples et sanctuaires: ce qu’apprend l’étude lexicologique”, in G. Roux (ed.), *Temples et sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981-1983* (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient

architecture, a specific analysis of the typology of cult structures with a double cella is still lacking, since the attestations have hitherto been considered too limited. We could recall, for example, the words of R. Ginouvès: “le cas est assez rare dans le monde grec; il peut s’agir de deux pièces jumelles, souvent précédées par un vestibule commun”,<sup>36</sup> and the still more recent remarks of Marie-Christine Hellmann: “Le temple à double *oikos* ou à *cellae* jumelles, non pas juxtaposées mais adossées ou reliées par un mur mitoyen, est beaucoup plus rare: deux exemples en ont été relevés en Crète, tous deux de date hellénistique et dédiés à deux divinités différentes, à Sta Lénika près d’Olonte et à Aptéra. C’est peut-être ainsi que se présentait le ‘temple double’ d’Asclépios et des Létoïdes, remarqué par Pausanias à Mantinée (VIII 9, 1), et finalement l’Érechtheion entre aussi dans cette catégorie”.<sup>37</sup> Though there have been sporadic mentions of some of these structures, the most recent study to correctly address the problem, at least as concerns the literary evidence, is certainly that by A. Barattolo published a few decades ago.<sup>38</sup> As part of an architectural analysis of the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome, rightly described already in the title of the work as a “tempio ‘greco’” for its peculiar ground plan, the scholar also considers the most important instances of temples with a double cella in both the literary and the archaeological sources.

The present study, still ongoing, has uncovered a complex situation and the archaeological attestations recovered are not as few as thought in the past.

7, Paris 1984) 82-85; M.-C. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l’architecture grecque, d’après les inscriptions de Délos* (B.E.F.A.R. 278, Athens, Paris 1992) 169-171; V. Pirenne-Delforge, “Le lexique des lieux de culte dans la *Périégèse de Pausanias*”, ARG 10 (2008) 145-151; I. Patera, “Espace et structures cultuels du sanctuaire grec: la construction du vocabulaire”, RHR 227.4 (2010) 541-543, 546. On the adjective  $\delta\pi\lambdaο\eta\mathbf{v}$ : C. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris 1968) 286.

36. R. Ginouvès, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l’architecture grecque et romaine* III. *Espaces architecturaux, bâtiments et ensembles* (Collection de l’École française de Rome 84, Paris, Rome 1998) 41.

37. M.-C. Hellmann, *L’architecture grecque* 2. *Architecture religieuse et funéraire* (Paris 2006) 29.

38. Barattolo, “Il tempio di Venere e di Roma” (see n. 1) 397-410, and especially 402-404; see also P. Gros, *L’architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire* 1. *Les monuments publics* (Paris 1996) 179-180; J.W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples. The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge 2005) 206-212.

Hitherto, around twenty examples have been collected, without considering uncertain cases, for which the limited data available have rendered a precise interpretation impossible. In any case, we cannot rule out future important discoveries resulting from field work.<sup>39</sup>

As concerns the literary tradition, the main source is certainly Pausanias, who describes these buildings variously as: ἵερὸν διπλοῦν, ναὸς διπλοῦς and οἰκημα διπλοῦν. A total of five examples are mentioned by the Periegetes: the urban building dedicated to Apollo Karneios at Sicyon (2.10.2);<sup>40</sup> the city temple of Asklepios and Leto with her children (Apollo and Artemis) at Mantinea (8.9.1);<sup>41</sup> the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares in the *proastion* of Argos (2.25.1);<sup>42</sup> the temple of Eileithyia and Sosipolis in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia

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39. It is worth recalling, for example, the recent discovery of a temple with a double cella at the sanctuary of Apollo at Despotiko: Y. Kourayos, *Despotiko. The Sanctuary of Apollo* (Athens 2012) 26-27.

40. Ἐντεῦθέν ἔστιν ὁδὸς ἐς ἵερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. παρελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν περίθολον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διπλοῦν ἔστιν οἰκημα· κεῖται δὲ "Ὕπνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ οἱ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔτι λείπεται. τὸ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται Καρνέω, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τοῖς ἵερεῦσιν ἔσοδος. Transl. by W.H.S. Jones (The Loeb Classical Library): "From here is a way to a sanctuary of Asclepius. On passing into the enclosure you see on the left a building with two rooms. In the outer room lies a figure of Sleep, of which nothing remains now except the head. The inner room is given over to the Carnean Apollo; into it none may enter except the priests." (Underlining by the author)

41. ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστά που κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διειργόμενος: τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀγαλμά ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη Ἀλκαμένους, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον Λητοῦς ἔστιν ἵερὸν καὶ τῶν παΐδων. Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τρίτη μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾶ. τούτων πεποιημένα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ Μοῦσαι καὶ Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἐπείργασται στήλῃ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα. Transl. by W.H.S. Jones (The Loeb Classical Library): "The Mantineans possess a temple composed of two parts, being divided almost exactly at the middle by a wall. In one part of the temple is an image of Asclepius, made by Alcamenes; the other part is a sanctuary of Leto and her children, and their images were made by Praxiteles two generations after Alcamenes. On the pedestal of these are figures of Muses together with Marsyas playing the flute. Here there is a figure of Polybius, the son of Lycortas, carved in relief upon a slab(...)" (Underlining by the author)

42. Quoted above, pp. 98-99.

(6.20.2-3),<sup>43</sup> and the sacred building known as the Erechtheion on the Acropolis at Athens (1.26.5).<sup>44</sup> The choice between the terms *ἱερὸν* or *ναὸς* and *οἰκημα* depends principally on the ground plan and architecture of the monument at the time of Pausanias' visit: *ἱερὸν/ναὸς* are used when the building belongs to a temple typology that we could describe as being of traditional type,<sup>45</sup> whilst *οἰκημα* is used when the architectural anomalies are so obvious as to render a more generic and vague term preferable.<sup>46</sup> Pausanias' description of the

43. ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτεις ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἡλείων καὶ αὐτῇ λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθησιν αὐτῷ μεμαγμένας μέλιτι. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ -διπλοῦς γάρ δὴ πεποίηται- τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας ὄντος καὶ ἔσοδος ἐξ αὐτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς δὲ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμάς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τῇ θεραπεύουσῃ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυσμένη ὑφος λευκόν. Transl. by W.H.S. Jones (The Loeb Classical Library): “The old woman who tends Sosipolis herself too by an Elean custom lives in chastity, bringing water for the god’s bath and setting before him barley cakes kneaded with honey. In the front part of the temple, for it is built in two parts, is an altar of Eileithyia and an entrance for the public; in the inner part Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it except the woman who tends the god, and she must wrap her head and face in a white veil.” (Underlining by the author). On this temple: A. Moustaka, “Die deutschen und griechischen Ausgrabungen”, in W.-D. Heilmeyer, N. Kaltsas, H.-J. Gehrke, G.E. Hatzi and S. Bocher (eds.), *Mythos Olympia. Kult und Spiele* (Munich 2012) 179, fig. 11. I thank Prof. A. Moustaka for providing me with information on this temple.

44. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἰκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἔσοδου Διός ἔστι ὄντος ‘Υπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμπατα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἔτι οὕνω χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἔσελθοῦσι δέ εἰσι θωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρέχθεῖ θύουσιν ἔκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωας Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου· γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν καὶ -διπλοῦν γάρ ἔστι τὸ οἰκημα- καὶ ὑδωρ ἔστιν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. Transl. by W.H.S. Jones (The Loeb Classical Library): “There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus the Most High, on which they never sacrifice a living creature, but offer cakes, not being wont to use any wine either. Inside the entrance are altars, one to Poseidon, on which in obedience to an oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, the second to the hero Butes, and the third to Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings representing members of the clan Butadae; there is also inside – the building is double – sea-water in a cistern.” (Underlining by the author)

45. For the instances at Argos (2.25.1), Olympia (6.20.3) and Mantinea (8.9.1).

46. For the cult complex at Sicyon (2.10.2) and Athens (1.26.5). See also the remarks

ground plans of the sacred buildings tells us that at Sicyon and Athens, both οἰκήματα διπλᾶ, the rooms and entrances lie on the same axis in the first case and on different axes in the second;<sup>47</sup> at Mantinea, by contrast, two different reconstructions are possible, since the arrangement of the entrances is not clearly specified. For this reason, the cellae may have been either parallel to or opposite one another.<sup>48</sup> As concerns the temple at Argos, in the passage quoted at the very beginning of this article (2.25.1), Pausanias mentions an architectural detail of the arrangement of the entrances to the cult rooms that is of enormous interest: καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἔσοδον καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐτέραν ἔχον, in other words, “having an entrance on the west side and another on the east” (translated by W.H.S. Jones).<sup>49</sup> Though the text does not fully clarify the spatial organization, it seems clear that the two cult rooms were divided in some way<sup>50</sup> and arranged with opposing entrances. The closest archaeological parallel, at least from the point of view of the ground plan, in the absence of information on the dimensions of the monument, is without doubt the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome (fig. 7),<sup>51</sup> built by the emperor Hadrian (AD 117-

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in L. Beschi and D. Musti, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro I. L'Attica* (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Fizzonasco 1982) 361, and M. Osanna, “Descrizione autoptica e rielaborazione ‘a tavolino’ in Pausania: il caso di Aigeira”, in Pirenne-Delforge (ed.), *Les Panthéons des cités* (see n. 22) 218.

47. Barattolo, “Il tempio di Venere e di Roma” (see n. 1) 403. The complex and difficult case of the Erechtheion on the Athenian acropolis requires a specific treatment for which there is no space here, and at least two different reconstructions are possible. For general information on the monument, see the recent overview in M.C. Monaco, “Eretteo”, in E. Greco, *Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C.*, Tomo 1: *Acropoli - Areopago - Tra Acropoli e Pnice* (Collana SATAA, Athens, Paestum 2015, reprinted) 132-136.

48. According to the observations proposed in Barattolo, “Il tempio di Venere e di Roma” (see n. 1) 403.

49. On the exceptional nature of Pausanias’ description: V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque* (Kernos Suppl. 20, Liège 2008) 208, n. 142.

50. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (see n. 5) 456.

51. Barattolo, “Il tempio di Venere e di Roma” (see n. 1) 403; Gros, *L'architecture romaine* (see n. 38) 178-180; Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples* (see n. 38) 206-212. Most recently on the temple: F. Fraioli, “Regio IV. Templus Pacis”, in A. Carandini and P. Carafa (eds.), *Atlante di Roma antica. Biografia e ritratti della città* 1-2 (Verona 2012) 281-306.

138), with which the Argive temple also shares the same east-facing orientation of the cella dedicated to the goddess Aphrodite-Venus.

As regards archaeological aspects, we should say, first of all, that the architectural model with a double cella is widespread in the Greek world and attested in both cult buildings and those with a non-religious purpose.<sup>52</sup> In cult buildings, both rooms may be dedicated to two or more deities, or there may be one room dedicated to the cult of a god and the other to a different purpose (for example, to a banqueting room<sup>53</sup> or to housing an altar<sup>54</sup>). Finally, the architectural arrangement with a double cella may take up the whole monument or just a part of it. Figure 6 presents an initial selection of temples or parts of temples that belong to this typology.<sup>55</sup> From this partial selection,

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52. This group comprises different types of buildings with two parallel rooms. Some examples include: the *hestiatorion* or banqueting hall (see, for example: M.S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries, 600-300 a.C.* [Berkeley 1978]; Ch. Börker, *Festbankett und griechische Architektur* [Xenia 4, Kostanz 1983]; B. Bergquist, “Sympotic Space: a Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms”, in O. Murray [ed.], *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium* [Oxford 1990] 37-65; R. Sassu, “L’hestiatorion nel santuario greco: un problema interpretativo e funzionale”, *MediterrAnt* 12, 1-2 [2009] 317-338; E. Interdonato, *L’Asklepieion di Kos. Archeologia del culto* [Supplementi e monografie della rivista *Archeologia Classica*, 12 – n.s. 9, Rome 2013] 283-288; M. Livadiotti, “Lo hestiatorion nell’Asklepieion di Kos”, *Thiasos* 2.2 [2013] 39-58); the *pastas* house (C. Krause, “Grundformen des griechischen Pastashauses”, *AA* 1977, 164-179; F. Pesando, *La casa dei Greci* [Biblioteca di Archeologia 11, Milan 1989] 63-72); temple-like tombs, of which there is an example in the necropolis outside the walls of the city of Messene (G. Themelis, *Ancient Messene. Site and Monuments* [Marousi 1998] 8-9).

53. For example, the sanctuary of Apollo at Aliki (G. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia in età romana. Persistenza e cambiamenti del paesaggio sacro tra II secolo a.C. e IV secolo a.C.* [Antenor Quaderni 25, Rome 2012] 362-372).

54. For example, the so-called “temple of Anios” on the island of Delos (Ph. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* [Sites et monuments 1, Athens 2005] 243, n. 68).

55. To this type belong the following buildings: 1. Sanctuary of Apollo (?) or of the Dioscuri (?) at Aliki (6th century BC, J. Servais, *Aliki I. Les deux sanctuaires* [Études thasiennes 9, Athens, Paris 1980]; Y. Grandjean and F. Salviat, *Guide de Thasos* [Sites et monuments 3, 2nd edition, Athens, Paris 2000] 162-165; G. Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* [5th edition, Munich 2001; 1st edition 1966] 366, fig. 275; A. Borlenghi, “23.2 Aliki”, in Lippolis, Livadiotti and Rocco [eds.], *Architettura greca* [see n. 31] 719; Falezza,

it is clear that the predominant model is that with parallel cellae, though of different dimensions (fig. 6, nos 1-3, 5-6), whilst there is just one example of the type with opposing cellae. This is the temple of Athena Nikephoros (later of Augustus and Roma?) at Pergamon, recently re-analysed by F. Coarelli (fig. 6, no. 4). Based on the information provided by the literary tradition and the archaeological data, we can distinguish from the point of view of the ground plan between three basic types or models for cult buildings with a double cella (fig. 8):

Type A: with cellae parallel to one another and divided by a party wall; the entrances are separate and face in the same direction;

Type B: with cellae and entrances on the same axis;

Type C: with symmetrically opposed cellae, with independent entrances.<sup>56</sup>

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*I santuari della Macedonia in età romana* [see n. 53] 362-372); 2. Western cella (megaron) of the temple of Athena Polias (475-406/405 BC, J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* [Cambridge 1999] 144-145; Monaco, “Eretteo” [see n. 47] 131-132, 134, 138 and nn. 109, 111); 3. Temple of Demeter (and Kore?) at Spiliotaki (late 6th - early 5th century BC, N.M. Verdelis, “Ανασκαφή εἰς Θέσιν Σπηλιωτάκη”, *ArchDelt* 19, *Chronika* B.1 (1964) 121-122; A. Foley, *The Argolid 800-600 B.C. An Archaeological Survey. Together with an Index of Sites from the Neolithic to the Roman Period* [Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 80, Gothenburg 1988] 178, n. 25; E. Interdonato, “14.13 Spiliotaki (Elaios)”, in Lippolis, Livadiotti and Rocco [eds.], *Architettura greca* [see n. 31] 647); 4. Temple of Athena Nikephoros (later of Augustus and Roma?) at Pergamon (last quarter of the 3rd century BC, W. Radt, *Pergamon. Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole* [Cologne 1988] 179-190; Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* [see supra] 464; renovation of the cella in the Imperial period: F. Coarelli, *Pergamo e il Re. Forma e funzioni di una capitale ellenistica* [Studi Ellenistici Suppl. 3; Pisa, Rome 2016] 55-59); 5. Temple at Aptéra in Crete (Hellenistic period, Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas* [see n. 30] 266; Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque* [see n. 37] 29); 6. Temple of Aphrodite and Ares at Sta Lenikà in Crete (J. Bousquet, “Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Lenikà” [see n. 30]; Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas* [see n. 30] 68-73; Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque* [see n. 37] 29; Vasileiadou, “30.20 Olous (Sta Lenika)”, in Lippolis, Livadiotti and Rocco [eds.], *Architettura greca* [see n. 31] 764).

56. In the illustration we have chosen to represent Type C as amphiprostyle, distyle in antis, but obviously the presence of the columns is purely hypothetical.

The most widespread type is certainly type A, whilst B, for which we have only one archaeologically attested instance, is the least frequent.<sup>57</sup> Some temples of the Imperial period, of exceptional size, belong to type C.<sup>58</sup> The temple at Argos falls into the last category, but unfortunately its chronology is uncertain, since neither its foundation date nor any potential restorations and/or rebuildings up to the time of Pausanias' visit in around the mid-2nd century AD can be determined.<sup>59</sup> On its own, the similarity of ground plan between the temple at Argos and that of Venus and Roma in Rome does not allow us to advance any further hypotheses regarding the possible architectural influences that one may have had on the other (fig. 9). It is, however, of some interest to note that the emperor Hadrian visited the city of Argos<sup>60</sup> (and also the temple of Aphrodite and Ares?) during one of his journeys, probably in AD 124,<sup>61</sup> when work to build the temple in Rome had not yet begun.<sup>62</sup>

57. To this type belong the urban building dedicated to Apollo Karneios at Sicyon and the temple of Eileithyia and Sosipolis at Olympia, both mentioned by Pausanias (2.10.2; 6.20.3).

58. Other temples with cellas of this type are: the temple of Venus and Roma (105.73 x 48.22 m) in Rome (A. Cassatella, "Venus et Roma, aedes, templum", in E.M. Steinby [ed.], *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae V* [Rome 1999] 121-123; Fraioli, "Regio IV. Templus Pacis" [see n. 51] vol. 1, 295-296, vol. 2, pl. 102) and the Artemision of Sardis (99.16 x 45.73 m), dedicated to Artemis and Antoninus Pius/Faustina (S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* [Cambridge 1984] 151-152, 260 no. 57; Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* [see n. 55] 438-439; T. Spawforth, *The Complete Greek Temples* [London 2006] 193-194; N. Cahill and C.H. Greenewalt jr., "The Sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis: Preliminary Report, 2002-2012", *AJA* 120, n. 3 [2016] 473-507).

59. For the chronology of book II: D. Musti, "Nota introduttiva al Libro II", in Musti and Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* (see n. 6) xxxii.

60. Pausanias himself mentions the emperor's visit: 2.17.6 and 6.16.4.

61. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907) 184; R.A. Birley, *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* (London 1997) 179; A. Lo Monaco, "Adriano in visita agli dèi in Grecia", in E. Calandra and B. Adembri (eds.), *Adriano e la Grecia. Villa Adriana tra classicità ed ellenismo. Studi e ricerche* (Rome 2014) 29.

62. It is thought that the *constitutio* of the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome dates to AD 121, the inauguration to around AD 135 and the completion of works to the early years of the AD 140s, under the emperor Antoninus Pius: Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples* (see n. 38) 207-209; Fraioli, "Regio IV. Templus Pacis" (see n. 51) 295-296.

## Final Considerations

On the basis of the above observations, we can identify the presence in the immediate *proastion*<sup>63</sup> of Argos of an area or a strip of land, roughly following the route of the river Xerias on its north and east side, that was characterized by close connections with the world of war and that represented a sort of final boundary for the Argive army before it entered the city. It has already been noted that the bed of the river Charadros (Xerias) “runs along the north and east sides of the city, forming a natural defensive trench”,<sup>64</sup> and the same applies to the other river, the Inachos, which crosses the Argive territory following a route almost parallel to the preceding water course, but about two kilometres further out (fig. 3).<sup>65</sup> As concerns the presence of areas with specific functions, it is interesting to recall that the site of the *agreion* is also attested in the city of Gortyn, on a purely epigraphical basis. It is interpreted as a public space linked to the military and/or judicial sphere, perhaps created to limit violent actions that might subvert the political order.<sup>66</sup>

We can usefully end this study by examining the reflections of François de Polignac on the cultic organization of urban and extraurban space in Argos,<sup>67</sup> in order to place the monument under consideration in its broader cultic context. The scholar calls attention to the existence at Argos of two cultic centres of equal importance: the cult at the poliadic urban sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios and the cult at the extraurban sanctuary of Hera (*Heraion*), on the edge of the

63. On the *proastion* in the Greek city: R. Étienne, “La notion de *proasteion* dans les textes grecs”, in P. Darcque, R. Étienne and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets (eds.), *Proasteion. Recherches sur le périurbain dans le monde grec* (Travaux de la Maison de l’Archéologie et de l’Ethnologie, René-Ginouvès 17, Paris 2013) 13-27.

64. Gomme, Andrewes and Dover, *A Historical Commentary* (see n. 13) 86.

65. For an overview of the characteristics of the Argive territory: M. Piérart, “Argos des origines au synoecisme du VIIIe siècle avant J.-C.”, in C. Bearzot and F. Landucci (eds.), *Argo. Una democrazia diversa* (Contributi di Storia Antica 4, Milan 2006) 3-26.

66. G. Marginesu, *Gortina di Creta. Prospettive epigrafiche per lo studio della forma urbana* (Tripodes 2, Athens 2005) 46-48, 98, 113 no. 2. Most recently on this issue: M. Gagarin and P. Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete, c. 650-400 BCE* (New York 2016) 39, 274.

67. F. de Polignac, “Argos entre centre et périphérie: l’espace cultuel de la cité grecque”, *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 59 (1985) 55-63; *id.*, *Cults, Territory, and Origins of the Greek City-State*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Chicago, London 1995).

city's territory about eight kilometres from the town. The latter is thought to have held strong symbolic value, exalting Argive sovereignty over the area;<sup>68</sup> however, this interpretation is considered reliable only for the historical period after 460 BC, when the city succeeded in reconquering the whole Argive plain,<sup>69</sup> and more recently it has been suggested that the site was a meeting place for the various communities of the Argolic plain (for example Mycenae and Tiryns) with a predominant Argive participation.<sup>70</sup> These two cults, far from belonging to a hierarchical system, according to F. de Polignac, constituted the two fundamental poles of aggregation on which the city's unity depended. This is confirmed by the annual procession that left the city to reach the extraurban limit of Argive territory, in other words the *Heraion*, thereby also connecting the two.<sup>71</sup> We can include the sanctuary under discussion here within the context of the detailed reconstruction of the sacred landscape of Argos and the concept of the “pluralité religieuse” for which the scholar argues.<sup>72</sup>

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68. de Polignac, “Argos entre centre et périphérie” (see n. 67) 60; on this type of extraurban sanctuary: F. de Polignac, “Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece”, in S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994) 4-5, and de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and Origins* (see n. 67) 22-23, 25, 32-41 and 24, 33 for specific references to the *Heraion*.

69. Hall, “How Argive was the ‘Argive’ Heraion?” (see n. 21) 612-613.

70. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (see n. 1) 203-204; Piérart, “Argos des origines” (see n. 65); M. Papini, *Città sepolte e rovine nel mondo greco e romano* (Rome, Bari 2011) 36 and n. 143 with prior bibliography.

71. de Polignac, “Argos entre centre et périphérie” (see n. 67) 58, 61; on the concept of poles of aggregation: de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and Origins* (see n. 67) 40. There has been no lack of criticisms of this proposal: Hall, “How Argive was the ‘Argive’ Heraion?” (see n. 21); see also C. Auffarth, “Das Heraion von Argos oder das Heraion der Argolis? Religion im Prozeß der Polisbildung”, in K. Freitag, P. Funke and M. Haake (eds.), *Kult - Politik - Ethnos. Überregionale Heiligtümer im Spannungsfeld von Kult und Politik. Kolloquium, Münster 23-24 November 2001 (Historia Einzelschriften, Heft 189, Stuttgart 2006)* 73-87. The interpretative model proposed by de Polignac has also recently been considered for Crete, but without finding useful confirmations for the settlement structures present: Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults* (see n. 30) 498-502.

72. de Polignac, “Argos entre centre et périphérie” (see n. 67) 56.

It is located in the periurban area of Argos<sup>73</sup> and thus in a more or less intermediate topographical position between the two aforementioned cults (urban sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios and extraurban sanctuary of Hera). The sanctuary, though not touched by the annual procession, certainly had an important role, given both its location in the vicinity of the river Charadros, whose religious importance for the city has been described above, and the original ideological connection proposed by G. Pironti between the *Aphrodiseion* and this sanctuary, which may have been established to protect Argive territory.<sup>74</sup> Only a more in-depth study of all the sacred installations in the periurban area of the city, of which the altar mentioned by Thucydides represents a new example, may provide greater detail on the possible sacred organization (a belt of cult places?) of this specific portion of territory.<sup>75</sup>

This brief analysis has attempted to call attention to a monument in the periurban area of Argos, whose scholarly potential has not hitherto been fully realized. Although the building is known mainly in the tradition of studies on Greek religion for its association of gods (Aphrodite and Ares), this study has proposed some new considerations, of help in resolving the problem of its exact location, now narrowed down to a more circumscribed area of land that is still fairly rural, and in defining in as complete a way as possible the topographical and cultic context to which the sanctuary belonged. Finally, it has suggested a possible reconstruction of the ground plan of the monument, which belongs to the typology of Greek temples with a double cella, based on

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73. On the importance and organization of “suburban or periurban sanctuaries”: de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and Origins* (see n. 67) 22.

74. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre* (see n. 5) 262.

75. On this theme: de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and Origins* (see n. 67) 33. For the organization of sanctuaries in Greek colonial cities: Greco, “Nomi di strade nelle città greche” (see n. 8) 227, with prior bibliography. It is also worth mentioning the case of the suburban area of Rome, where two rings of sanctuaries have been identified, at different distances and connected to two sacred boundaries: the first at around the I mile (consisting of sanctuaries, *nemus* and *lucus*) and the second between the IV and VI mile (consisting of the river Tiber, sanctuaries, *oppida*, ditches and boundary stones) and representing the boundary of the *ager Romanus antiquus*; on the whole of this complex issue: U. Fusco, “*Ager Romanus antiquus*”, in A. Carandini (ed.), *La leggenda di Roma III. La costituzione* (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Borgaro Torinese 2011) 153-160.

the description provided by Pausanias and its closest archaeological parallel, namely the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome.

New food for thought may come from the start of a broader and more systematic topographical and archaeological research project in the periurban area of Argos, with the aim of reconstructing its religious landscape.

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### Summary

The object of this study is the analysis of the sanctuary with a double cella or double temple (*ἰερὸν διπλοῦν*) dedicated to Aphrodite and Ares in the periurban area north-west of Argos. Within the context of studies on Greek architecture, a specific analysis of the typology of cult structures with a double cella is still lacking, since the attestations have hitherto been considered too limited. The present study, still ongoing, has uncovered a complex situation and the archaeological attestations recovered are not as limited as thought in the past. Hitherto, around twenty examples have been collected, without considering uncertain cases, for which the limited data available have rendered a precise interpretation impossible. The only direct source on the Argive sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares is the short description provided by Pausanias (2.25.1), whilst its location, ground plan, elevation, chronology and architectural and sculptural decoration remain essentially unknown. New observations may help clarify some of the issues that remain unresolved. The closest archaeological parallel, at least from the point of view of the ground plan, in the absence of information on the dimensions of the monument, is without doubt the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome, built by the emperor Hadrian (AD 117-138), with which the Argive temple also shares the same east-facing orientation of the cella dedicated to the goddess Aphrodite-Venus.

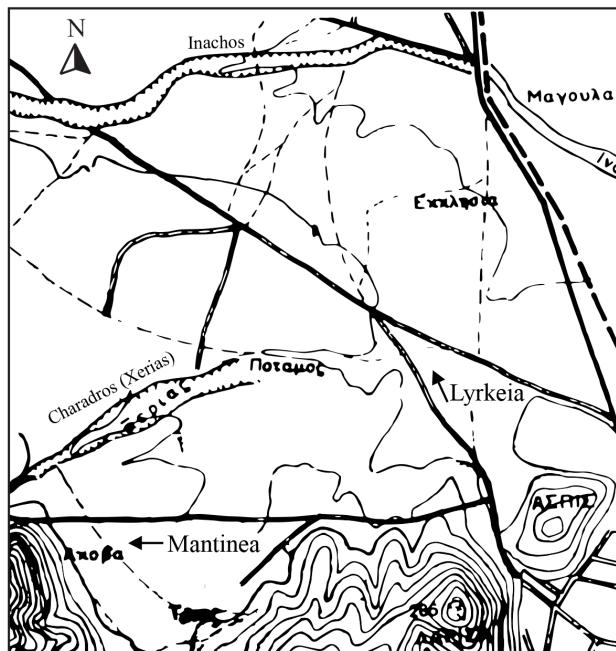


Fig. 1. Detail of the periurban area north-west of Argos, showing the road towards Mantinea and that towards Lyrkeia (reprocessed from M. Piérart, “Deux notes sur l’itinéraire argien” [see n. 19] fig. 1).

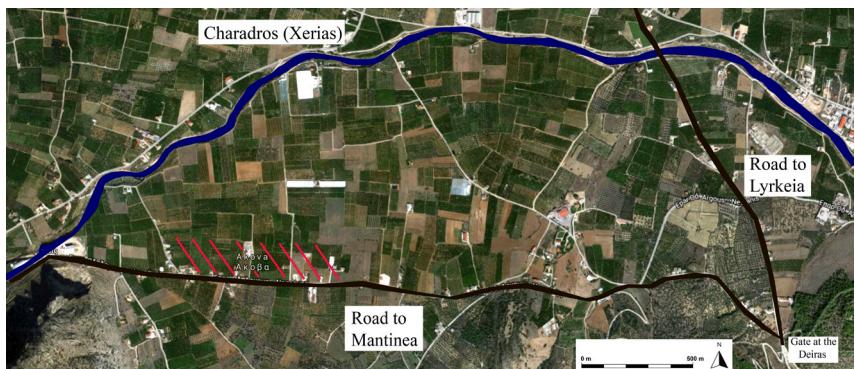


Fig. 2. The road towards Mantinea, with diagonal lines marking the area where the temple described by Pausanias may have been located (reprocessed from Google Earth).

THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE AND ARES IN THE PERIURBAN AREA OF ARGOS

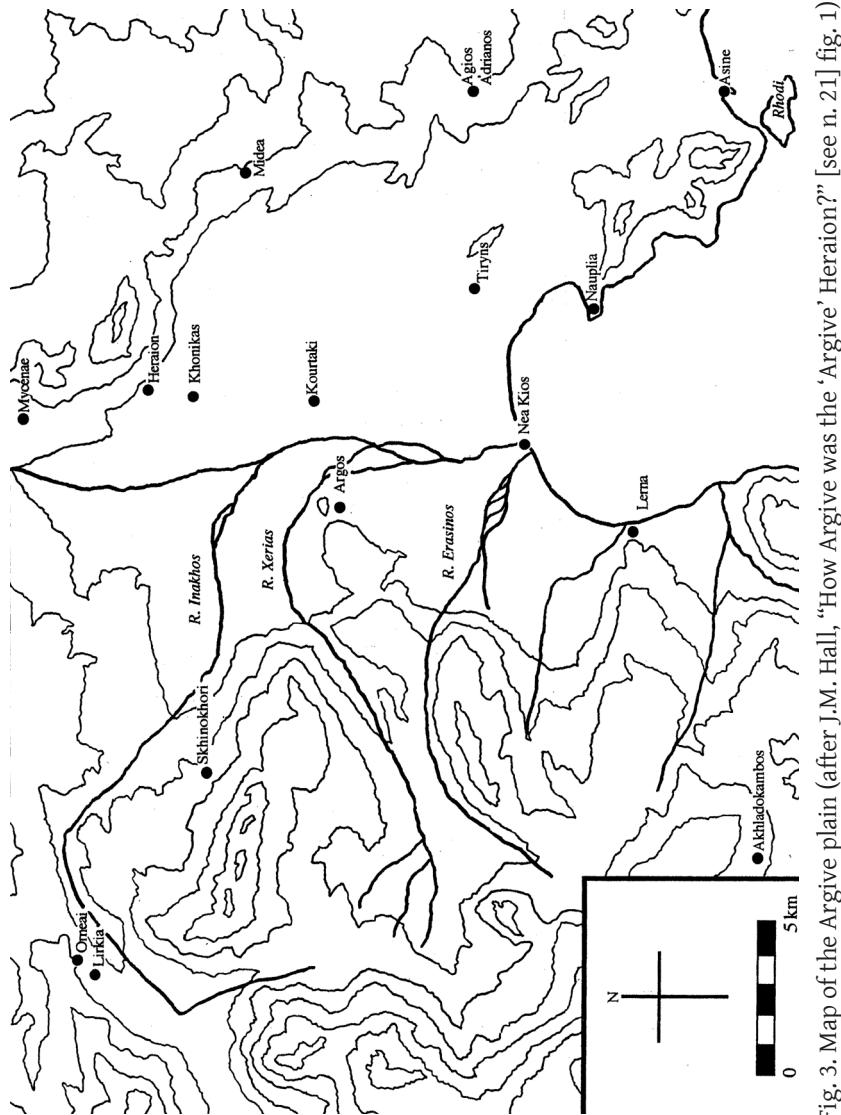
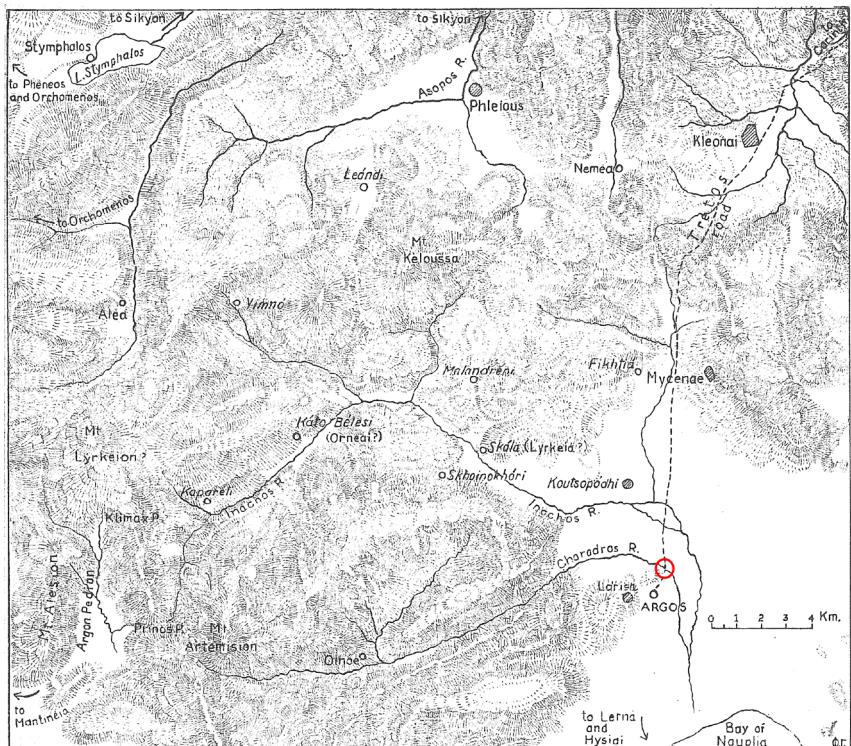


Fig. 3. Map of the Argive plain (after J.M. Hall, "How Argive was the 'Argive' Heraion?" [see n. 21] fig. 1).



MAP 2. THE ARGOLID

Fig. 4. Map showing the road taken by the Argive army to return to the city and the area where the Thrasylus episode probably occurred (indicated with a circle) (reprocessed from A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary* [see n. 13] map 2).



Fig. 5. Images on coins showing the cult statues of Aphrodite and Ares.  
After: A.N. Oikonomides, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art. A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (Chicago 1964) (= New enlarged edition of F.W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* [London 1887] pl. L, nos. L-LI.

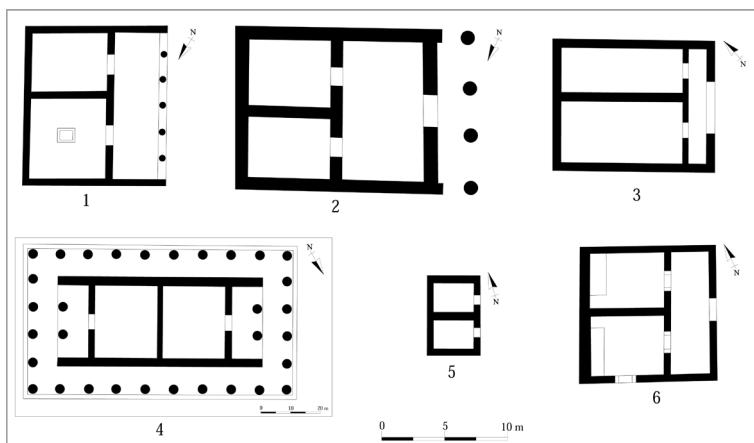


Fig. 6. Some examples of cult buildings with a double cella: 1. Sanctuary of Apollo at Alikí 2. Western cella (*megaron*) of the temple of Athena Polias 3. Temple of Demeter (and Kore?) at Spiliotaki 4. Temple of Athena Nikephoros (later of Augustus and Roma?) at Pergamon 5. Temple at Aptéra in Crete 6. Temple of Aphrodite and Ares at Sta Lenikà in Crete.

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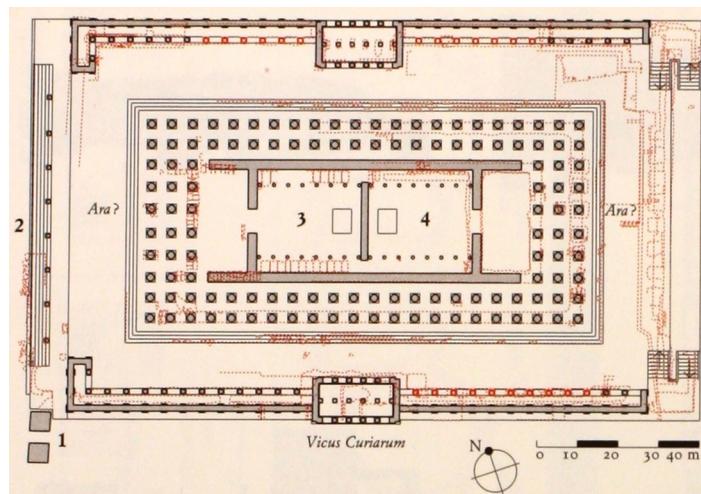


Fig. 7. Reconstructed plan of the temple of Venus and Roma in its Hadrianic phase (after F. Fraioli, "Regio IV. Templus Pacis" [see n. 51] 102).

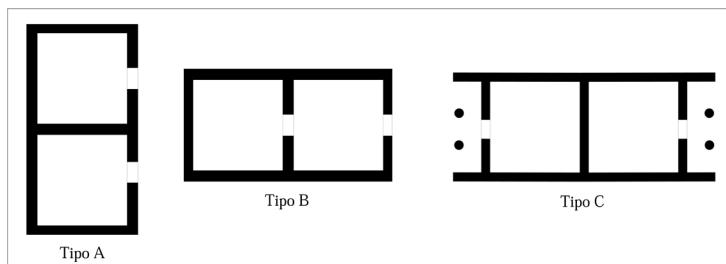


Fig. 8. The three architectural types (A, B, C) of cult buildings with a double cella. ©U. Fusco and F. Soriano

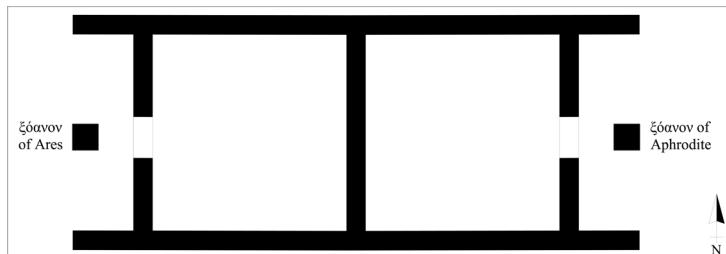


Fig. 9. Possible reconstruction of the plan of the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares in the periurban area of Argos. ©U. Fusco and F. Soriano