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The Cult of Poseidoniate Hera and the Lucanians in Poseidonia/Paistom

An Ancient Story of Religion and Multiculturalism

Gianluca De Martino

Societas Scientiarum Fennica
The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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Address:
Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsinki
In Swedish:
Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, Norra Magasinsgatan 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsingfors
In Finnish:
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Preface

This work is the result of a minimal revision of my doctoral dissertation, a work which I had begun in 2016. The thesis was successfully defended in November 2022. From that dissertation, this work differs in minor revisions to the text and in the addition of the indices of places, authors, and literary and epigraphic sources. Particularly, I hope that this latter addition will aid the reader in the consultation of the text.

The work originated from my interests in the archaeology and history of the areas of modern Campania and in the cults of female goddesses of ancient Mediterranean. In addition, I am interested in the aspects of multiculturalism in ancient cultures. Particularly, for what concerns this later aspect, I wanted to shed light on the input of Lucanian culture in the preservation of the cult of Hera in the crucial years of the passage from the Greek to the Lucanian rule in Poseidonia, the Sybarite colony which the Lucanians called Paistom, according to their idiom. Although the cult of Hera in Poseidonia is a subject which has been investigated and studied by numerous scholars, I felt that there was still room for different perspectives on the matter. Especially, I wanted to give a humble contribute to the removal of the last remnants of the scoria of old research approaches, which saw the indigenous communities of ancient Italy as mere passive recipients of acculturation in the encounter with Greek culture. Through the study of cult, particularly the cult of Hera, the most known and extensive studied of the deities of Poseidonia/Paistom, I wanted to demonstrate that Greek and Lucanians created a multicultural society with the active contribution of all the population of the area, independently from its original ethnicity.

Decisive, for the completion of the work, was the permission gently granted to me by the then director of the Archaeological Park of Paestum, Gabriel Zuchtriegel, to who is due my deepest gratitude, to study the material related to the cult of Hera stored in the deposit of the Museum. In addition, I want to thank professors Mika Kajava (University of Helsinki), Attilio Mastrocinque (University of Verona), and Ilaria Battiloro (Mount Allison University), for their decisive role during the process of writing and revision of my dissertation, upon which this work is based. Finally, I want to thank my wife Krista and my children Daniel and Chiara for their support in all these years.

Helsinki, March 2023

1. Introduction

When the Sybarite colonists arrived at the plain of the Silaris River (modern Sele) at the beginning of the 6th century BCE, they settled a territory facing the lands belonging to the Etruscan-Campanians of Pontecagnano to the north. Their eastern and southern borders were instead occupied by an Italic population of still disputed origin known to the Greeks as the Oenotrians (Οἰνωτροί or Οἰνώτριοι).[1] These latter's territory ranged from Paestum to the southern part of modern Calabria. Along with the other customs and experiences peculiar to all of the Achaeans of Southern Italy, the colonists brought with them the cult of Hera.

After their arrival, after that they would have established a *teichos*, perhaps on the promontory of Agropoli, and after that the Greek settlers founded the city, they honoured the goddess with the construction of two sacred areas. One was the *Heraion* situated at Foce del Sele, 8,5 km north of the city of Poseidonia.[2] The other sanctuary dedicated to the goddess was in the urban area, the so-called Southern Sanctuary, which was located in the southern section of the city in an area which later included the two large and still extant Doric temples. Another cult place interpreted as dedicated to the goddess was established concurrently with the sanctuary of Foce del Sele and the urban *Heraion* at Fonte di Roccadaspide, circa 12 km east of Paestum.

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[1] There are several references concerning the Oenotrians in the ancient sources. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Pausanias ascribe their origins to Oenotrus, the legendary son of Lycaon, who migrated to Southern Italy from Arcadia during the Iron Age (11th century BCE). This myth probably followed the Greek practice of creating common ancestors with the populations inhabiting the territories to be colonized. This practice was often used by the indigenous people of Italy as well in order to create "common ground" with the Greek colonists. The Oenotrians were known by Hecataeus in the 6th century BCE as inhabiting the Italian inland. Herodotus affirms that Velia was built by the Phocaeans with the help of the Poseidoniates in the lands of the Oenotrians. Strabo affirmed that Oenotria stretched, at its maximum extent, between Laos and the Tyrrhenian side of modern Calabria and Metapontum (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1,11–13; Paus. 8,3,5; Hecataeus in *FGrH* 1,64–71; Hdt. 1,167; Strab. 6,1,4).

[2] According to the ancient sources the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele had been founded by Jason and the Argonauts (Strab. 6,1,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,70; Solin. 2,7). The area surrounding the sanctuary was inhabited in an earlier period by Italic populations. In the 8th and 7th centuries BCE the area was inhabited by people who used the same material found in the Etruscan-Campanian settlements of the Pontecagnano area (Greco G., 2012, 174–76). The first signs of the use of the area for cult purposes by the Greeks are contemporary with the foundation of the *apoikia*, that is, not earlier than 600 BCE.

The fact that Hera had a central role in the religious framework of the Achaeans of the Southern Italian colonies is quite a remarkable phenomenon. The main god of mainland Achaia was in fact Zeus *Homarios*, whose main shrine was situated in Aigion, on the southern shores of the Gulf of Corinth. A not yet identified sanctuary of Zeus *Homarios* was the meeting place of the Italiote League, according to Polybius (2,39,6-7), before being replaced in this role in the 4th century BCE by the sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia* at Capo Colonna, in the territory of Kroton. Another important god in Achaia was Poseidon, whose main sanctuary in the region was situated in Helike, a few kilometres east from Aigion. Helike was the metropolis of Sybaris.

As opposed to the situation in the Greek mainland, concerning the importance of the cult of Hera, it seems that the Italiote Achaeans followed the ancestral custom of the Achaean warriors and heroes of the mythical past and of the Homeric epos, who were under the protection of the goddess. Therefore, if one wants to understand the origin and the deep nature of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia, one would have to track the cult's features back to a still more ancient past in continental Greece, particularly in the Eastern Argive Plain, via the appropriation of the cult by the Achaean colonies in Southern Italy. When analysing the archaeological data obtained from different sites, together with information gained from ancient literature, it becomes clear that Argive/Achaean Hera was a deity with a composite range of attributes. The attributes of Hera in the Greek world were originally similar to those of other goddesses, such as Demeter. Hera's character only later became crystallised as the vengeful wife of Zeus, as portrayed in the Homeric epic.

According to ancient sources, in the 5th century BCE the Greeks of the Italiote cities encountered the Lucanians, another Italic tribe. As it is demonstrated by linguistic comparison, the Lucanians spoke an Oscan dialect closely related to the one spoken by the Samnites. It is still a matter of scholarly debate whether the Lucanians were set in motion by a Samnite migration. Regardless, the Lucanians began gaining territories from the Italiote cities perhaps as a result of the destruction of Sybaris by Kroton at the end of the 6th century BCE and the struggle for predominance between Italiote cities after that event.

Archaeological evidence dates the arrival of some Italic people in the urban territory of Poseidonia after the mid-5th century BCE, as attested by the burials of the necropolis of Gaudo, situated ca. 500 m northwest of Poseidonia. The earlier finds yielded by this necropolis can be dated to ca. 440–420 BCE. The take-over of the city and its territory by the Lucanians probably occurred in stages, but its beginning has been dated to the period between 420 and 410

BCE. Some ancient sources seem to suggest a violent Lucanian conquer of the *polis*, but the picture presented by the archaeological evidence points to a general state of continuity of cult practices and institutions after the Lucanian take-over. Especially, for what concerns this work, the cult of Hera continued and thrived in the Lucanian period as well. The deposits of characteristic terracotta votive figurines representing different iconographic types, both at the *Heraion* of Foce del Sele and in the urban and rural sanctuaries, in fact yield an increasing number of finds dated from the 4th century BCE. In general, it seems safe to state that most of the Greek cults present in Poseidonia and its *chora* continued in the Lucanian period as well.

Leaving aside the political aspects related to the Lucanian conquest, this phenomenon of religious continuity naturally raises the question of why these cults were preserved and even thrived after the arrival of the Lucanians. In the past, it was widely accepted that the Lucanians had embraced the Greek gods because they had previously gone through a process of Hellenization, implying a passive role for this Italic people in the matter.

Contrary to accepting this assumption, I believe instead that in order to understand the reasons for the preservation of the cults at Paistom, the name which the Lucanians gave to the city, during the Lucanian period, it was instead necessary to research those features within Lucanian religion and culture that constituted points of contact with Greek religion and culture. Judging from the epigraphic and archaeological material, the composition of the Lucanian *pantheon* was largely related to the Oscan-Samnite religious world, with some regional differences. Some of the main deities were Keres (Ceres) and the Daughter of Keres (Persephone), Mamers (Mars), Jovis (Jupiter), Herentas (Venus), and Heracles. According to epigraphic evidence, however, it seems that the preeminent deity was Mefitis. Poseidonia was situated in a range of less than 100 km from two major Oscan sanctuaries dedicated to Mefitis, the one in the Ansanto Valley in the modern province of Avellino to its northeast, and Rossano di Vaglio, in the area of modern Potenza, to the east. While Mefitis was the only deity worshipped at Ansanto, at Rossano di Vaglio she had a predominant role in connection with Mamers, Heracles, and Jovis.

Considering the attributes that define the main Lucanian deity Mefitis and generally those of the Lucanian gods and the properties discussed above associated with Poseidoniate Hera, I began to think that perhaps the retention of Hera's cult by the Lucanians was possibly not only due to the respect paid by them to such an ancient and revered goddess. When the ethnical composition of the citizenry of Poseidonia changed with the influx of even larger groups

of Italic Lucanians, there would have been other reasons as well for the Italics to appropriate a cult that had represented the symbol of the ethnic identity of the Achaeans of Southern Italy. The Lucanians and the Greek population still living in Poseidonia/Paistom managed to create a multicultural society, where both cultures could coexist and the cults of Poseidonia and its *chora* continued at least until the Roman period. Therefore, perhaps, if a process had occurred that permitted the continuation of the cults of the Greek period, this could perhaps be detected in the available archaeological evidence pertaining to the topography of the sites and the material retrieved during the excavation campaigns, especially votive gifts such as coroplastic, as well as ceramic evidence.

The foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum in 273 BCE following the Pyrrhic War, brought several changes to the area. The Romans introduced new cults as well. The cult of Hera continued but was probably incorporated into the cult of Juno in the Capitoline Triad and its popularity was challenged by the introduction of other cults as well. The cult of Venus was particularly vital in Roman Paestum, as attested by its presence both in the urban area and in the peri-urban sanctuary of Santa Venera. At the *Heraion* of Foce del Sele, archaeological data presents a picture of intense use of the sanctuary until the 2nd century BCE. After that period, buildings were abandoned, and the number of votive gifts were drastically reduced in number. The earthquake of 62 CE, which also affected Pompeii and the eruption of Vesuvius of 79 CE heavily damaged the site. The buildings generally fell into disuse, and activity became sporadic and was not necessarily related to cult. Excavations have demonstrated how the reuse of material from the temple began between the end of the 2nd century CE and the 3rd century CE.

The aim of this work is to study the development of the nature of the figure of the Hera worshipped at Poseidonia, its appropriation by the non-Greek populations surrounding the territory of the city, and its survival during the Lucanian period. In order to understand the main features of the figure of Poseidoniate Hera, I first studied the origin of the cult in continental Greece, and then its role within the religious framework of the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia later. I next concentrated on the discussion of the features of the cult both in the Greek and Lucanian periods. I focused on topography, cult practice, and an analysis of votive gifts and ceramic evidence. Coroplastics in particular are one of the most essential Paestan cultic artefact types and are discussed according to their chronology. In addition, I analyse the distribution patterns of single types both in Poseidoniate sanctuaries and in the Lucanian inland. Moreover, I study the topographical and architectural features of the shrines dedicated to Hera and

of Lucanian sanctuaries in general. The aim of this comparative study was to detect possible answers to questions such as the existence of non-Greek religious patterns in the iconographies of the coroplastic figurines of the Lucanian period, or to explain the construction in Paestan sanctuaries of the Lucanian period of structures with no equivalent in Greek architecture. The same comparative method was likewise employed for the detection of possible Lucanian influences on ritual practices in Lucanian Paistom. In addition, the study of the topography of the sanctuaries of Hera and the Lucanian shrines, could also solve certain problems related to the interpretation of the construction activities carried out in Poseidonia during the Lucanian period. I utilised the archaeological material and excavation reports from the different sanctuaries of the Paestan area as primary sources of my research. The excavations of the sanctuaries of Poseidonia have yielded tens of thousands of votive clay figurines that were left by the worshippers in the sanctuaries. In this respect, the permission kindly granted to me in September 2018 and May 2019 by the board of the Archaeological Museum of Paestum to analyse the material retrieved in the excavations of the Paestan sanctuaries was a decisive factor in the completion of this work.

I believe that by rejecting the once overwhelming "Hellenocentric" approach to the subject it is possible to understand that the changes that occurred in the cult of Hera in the Lucanian period are the result of the religious interaction between the Greeks and the Lucanians.

1.1 The Topographical Settings

The territory chosen by the Sybarite colonists as the place where to establish the new city of Poseidonia was situated on the plain of the Sele River, which was known to the Greeks as *Silaros*. The territory of the *chora* of Poseidonia was delimited to the north by the streams of the river, upon whose south bank the *Heraion* was built. Some 10 km to the south, the border was set by the promontory of the Castello di Agropoli where some scholars place the τεῖχος, and where a temple of Poseidon was probably situated.

The territory of Poseidonia therefore ran from north to south along the sandy beaches of the southern side of the modern province of Salerno. Most of the vegetation of the coastal areas is constituted of the typical "*macchia Mediterranea*" of mostly evergreen shrubs. The beaches stretch up to 80 m deep from the coastline and are characterised by the presence of dunes. At present, a dense forest line of pines divides the dunes from the plain behind them. The

pines are not an original species of the area, but they were planted in the 1960s to protect the cultivated lands from the salty winds blowing from the sea.

Concerning the possible changes in the morphological features of the area from Antiquity to the present day, it seems that the coastline along the shores around the mouth of the Sele River has extended seaward ca. 500 m more than the ancient coastline.[3] Likewise, the dunes dividing the modern beaches and the inland could be the remains of the ancient coastline. It is possible though that the deposits near the mouths of the rivers situated on the Tyrrhenian coasts of Southern Italy are mostly rather recent, and therefore their formation could not have considerably affected the life of Poseidonia in the period when the site was inhabited. Some of the dune areas around the Sele River estuary can be dated to before the historical period, therefore they were already present when the Greek settlers arrived there.

Recent studies at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele have indicated that the coastline at the mouth of the river was situated at ca. 250 m east from its current position. This information places the sanctuary closer to the sea in Antiquity, but still more than 2 km inland from the ancient coastline. Contrary to what was once thought, it seems that the course of the Sele has not changed much since Antiquity.[4] Much more problematic for Poseidonia were the swamps that formed along the courses of the Sele and the limestone deposits formed by the Salso River (identified with modern Capodifiume), which decisively contributed to the abandonment of the site in Late Antiquity. Despite the difficult hydrogeological conditions, it seems that the Poseidoniates were able to exploit the fertile nature of the land.[5]

The limits of the territory of the *polis* at its north-eastern side are somewhat more undefined. The position of certain sanctuaries can help in the definition of Poseidonia's north-eastern boundaries. The northern boundaries have probably followed the course of the Sele up to a certain extent. They may have continued along the Calore River, an affluent of the Sele, which divides the plain and the hills northeast of Poseidonia from the chains of the Alburni Mountains and from the Vallo di Diano. This latter valley is situated at the feet of the Alburni, and it divides the modern regions of Campania and Basilicata. The sanctuary

[3] La Torre 1992, 200–202.

[4] Senatore – Pescatore 2010, 35–52.

[5] In Antiquity Poseidonia was known, at least in Roman times, for the quality of its roses, which were produced on a vast scale and traded, and according to a disputed passage in Vergil's Georgics (4,116–24) they bloomed twice a year. Mentions of the beauty of the flower in Mart. 6,80; Prop. 4,5,61–62; Ov. *met*. 15,708; *De rosis nascentibus* 10–12 (this latter poem is often attributed to Virgil, but it is more probably a Late Antique production, possibly by Ausonius).

of Fonte di Roccadaspide was possibly placed at the easternmost part of the territory of Poseidonia. Situated along the streams of the Calore at ca 10 km east of Poseidonia, it is an indication that the city's eastern boundary ran along the course of the Calore. The area around Roccadaspide was also a suitable connecting route for exchanges with the non-Greek populations of the area. Another trade route started in Poseidonia at its south end, went along the Alento River, and connected the city with the Greek colony of Elea, and then turned south again to the indigenous territories across the Mingardo River, such as Roccagloriosa.

The population known from the 4th century BCE as the Lucanians inhabited a large territory spanning from the inlands east of Poseidonia, to the area of Laos on the Tyrrhenian side of modern Calabria, and then the inland area from the north of Metapontum down to Thurii. The modern Calabrian area constituted the territory of the Brettians after their schism with the Lucanians occurred in 356 BCE. The area of Lucanian territory surrounding the *chora* of Poseidonia lay between the Alburni Mountains and the Vallo di Diano, and the area of the Mingardo River, ca. 70 km south of Poseidonia. The territory in question is mountainous, with several peaks well over 1000 m high. Despite the terrain, the area is not barren, due to the presence of numerous rivers and smaller streams. The Alburni Mountains are encircled by two affluents of the Sele, namely the Tanagro to their northeast and the Calore to their southwest sections. In the south, the Mingardo River runs through the Bulgheria massif and then into the Tyrrhenian Sea next to Cape Palinuro. In Antiquity, as during modern times as well, the population of the area was engaged in agricultural activity and in livestock herding.[6]

1.2 The Archaeological Research in the Area of Poseidonia/Paestum and in the Lucanian Inlands

The "rediscovery" of ancient Paestum began in the mid-18th century, boosted by the first excavations at Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1748). These were financed by the lover of Classical Antiquities Charles VII Bourbon, king of Naples

[6] The most extensive data on these aspects is derived from the research carried out by the Italian-Canadian expedition at Roccagloriosa. This latter data reveals the herding of cattle, goats, and sheep mostly for the production of milk and wool. Pigs were used to produce meat (Gualtieri – Fracchia 1990, Ch. 10; Gualtieri 1993, Ch. 7.; Horsnæs 2002, 35–36). Analysis of the flora at Roccagloriosa suggests the use of the arable land for crops, horse bean and grapes, which reinforces the view of a territory exploited for cattle herding and agricultural production (Horsnæs 2002, 36).

and Sicily. The ancient site of Poseidonia became one of the stops on the Grand Tour. The first images of the city to reach a wider public in Europe were the not always accurate drawings made by Thomas Major in 1768. Other drawings portraying the beauty of Paestum were made by Piranesi (1778) and Saint Non (1786). Winckelmann and Goethe visited Paestum as well. Despite the dramatic damage that some of the ancient structures have suffered, the decision of Charles VII to open a new road (now the *Statale* 18), which cuts the amphitheatre in half, was a decisive factor in connecting the site to the major transportation routes of the area, thus encouraging travel to and from Paestum. This increased interest in Paestum did not mark the beginning of major excavation activities in the area. The limestone deposits formed by the streams of the Salso had caused the formation of a thick layer of calcified stone deposits. Moreover, the area around the site was still covered by thick vegetation and was still unhealthy and infested with malaria at the end of the 19th century.

It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that significant excavation activity began. Land drainage and more extensive cultivation permitted a better accessibility to the site. The pioneer of modern archaeological activities at Paestum was Vittorio Spinazzola, who conducted excavations, with some interruptions, from 1907 to 1912, and then again in the years 1921–1922. Spinazzola concentrated his work in the area of the Southern Sanctuary where the enneastyle temple later attributed to Hera (then known as the "Basilica") and the so-called temple of Neptune are situated. During the years 1908–1909 excavations were also conducted in the area south of the forum. Unfortunately, Spinazzola's excavations did not follow the principles of stratigraphy. Moreover, the documentation of the works was published posthumously, and it presents numerous contradictions and imprecise information caused by the lack of methodology in those early campaigns.[7]

Spinazzola's place was taken by Amedeo Maiuri in 1923. The change in the leadership of the works was caused by the political frictions that had arisen between the fascist regime and Spinazzola. Maiuri carried out excavations at Paestum between 1923 and 1940, in different phases, and with several interruptions. He continued to some extent the work initiated by Spinazzola in the Southern Sanctuary, where he unearthed the building recently interpreted by Emanuele Greco as an *Asklepieion*. He then began excavations in the Northern Sanctuary, following the original plan of his predecessor. Maiuri's documentation

[7] Regarding the documentation of the works carried out by Spinazzola at Paestum, see Aurigemma – Spinazzola – Maiuri 1986; Spinazzola − Scotto di Freca 2007.

of the work was published only in the 1980s, causing many difficulties for later researchers engaged in fieldwork in Paestum prior to its publication. Maiuri identified the deity to which the large temple of the Northern Sanctuary was dedicated as Athena, drawing on the large number of votive figurines portraying the goddess and a dedicatory inscription from the Roman period found in the area that mentions Minerva.

In 1934 the archaeology of Paestum changed considerably, when one of the greatest mysteries of the topography of Magna Graecia was solved: the location of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. The excavations had been long planned by Maiuri, who expressed his hopes to Umberto Zanotti Bianco already in 1928. The project was put to a hold until 1934, when the necessary funding was obtained. Between 1934 and 1935 the expedition led by Umberto Zanotti Bianco and Paola Zancani Montuoro finally found the long lost *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. Zancani Montuoro continued the excavations at the site also after the death of Zanotti Bianco, until the 1960s.

Field research was put on hold by the events of World War II. Paestum was one of the landing sites of the allied forces engaged in Operation Avalanche, the amphibious assault that eventually led to the conquest of Salerno. The archaeological site of Paestum was used by the Allied forces as one of their headquarters during these operations.

Excavations resumed after the war, under the lead of Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri. In 1954 Sestieri unearthed the so-called *Sacellum* or *Heroon* in the area between the Roman Forum and the temple of Athena. More significantly for what concerns this work, Sestieri conducted excavations in the Southern Sanctuary. Drawing on the large amount of votive material, Sestieri concluded that the *temenos* of the Southern Sanctuary housed the cult of Hera. As a matter of fact, Sestieri believed that not only was the Basilica, in fact, a temple of Hera, but that also the so-called temple of Neptune was dedicated to the goddess, in addition to all the buildings located within the *temenos* of the Southern Sanctuary. The role of Hera as the sole deity worshipped within the *temenos* was later challenged and it is at present widely rejected.[8] In addition to his work at Paestum, Sestieri was one of the first scholars engaged in excavations of indigenous sites during the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, namely at Sala Consilina and Palinuro. At both sites Sestieri discovered burials which contained large amounts of Greek imported vases and Italic material. He inferred that they were an indication of the

[8] The first scholar to challenge Sestieri's views was Ardovino (1986, 107–19). Later Ardovino's position was supported by Cipriani (1997; 2012, 47–48).

presence of Greek settlers living alongside the local populations at both places. The works of Sestieri at Palinuro were a steppingstone towards the study of the non-Greek culture of the area, a subject that had been previously considered to be part of prehistoric archaeology.

In the 1960s the exploration and the excavations of the sanctuaries of the *chora* of Poseidonia began. In 1964 Giuseppe Voza discovered the Sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide. The excavated material yielded votive figurines similar to those found at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. This fact convinced Voza that the sanctuary was dedicated to the goddess. He also participated in the excavations and surveys of other sanctuaries in Contrada Linora, 3 km south of Poseidonia, and at Capodifiume (in this latter, together with Sestieri).

In the 1960s the burial places of Poseidonia were extensively researched by Mario Napoli, who discovered the Tomb of the Diver. Napoli was also the initiator of the joint project between the University of Salerno and the French scholars D. Theodorescu and A. Rouveret which, beginning from the 1970s undertook massive research on the topography and urban features of Poseidonia, including an analysis of the standing buildings, test excavations and the re-examination of the existing data available for the *polis*. The research particularly concerned the Southern Sanctuary as well. The Italian/French project continued its work until 2006.

Between the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s excavations were undertaken throughout all of the territory of Poseidonia. Particularly remarkable were the works at the sanctuary of Santa Venera, already found by Sestieri but never properly excavated, a few hundred meters outside the southern walls of Paestum. The work was undertaken by the Universities of Perugia and Michigan between 1981 and 1985 under the lead of Mario Torelli and John Griffiths Pedley. Other sanctuaries were excavated at Albanella between 1979 and 1985 and at Agropoli in 1983. Important work concerning the restorations of the temples of the Southern Sanctuary and their structural interpretation was made by Dieter Mertens between the 1980s and the beginning of the 2000s. Torelli was engaged in the interpretation of the structures of Paestum in the 1980s and the 1990s.

Regarding the inland and the indigenous territories, as above-mentioned, fieldwork was for a long time sporadic and mostly related to prehistoric archaeology. The atmosphere of Lucanian archaeology began to change in 1982, when Angela Pontrandolfo published her comprehensive work on the history of the Lucanians from the Iron Age until the Roman period, using the documentation and the material retrieved from different excavations. The most extensive and complete excavation of a Lucanian settlement in the area of the province of Salerno in the

vicinities of Poseidonia was carried out by the Canadian project led by Maurizio Gualtieri and Helena Fracchia at Roccagloriosa. The excavations, performed over the decade 1976–1986, revealed the presence of a site comprising both civilian and religious constructions. These latter have yielded Paestan coroplastic figurines, an indication of the interactions between Greeks and Lucanians in an area further south from Poseidonia. Another important excavation campaign in the province of Salerno has been carried out at Roscigno in the Vallo di Diano, 53 km east from Paestum, under the lead of prof. Giovanna Greco between 1988 and 1993 and then again in 2005 and 2015–2022, in this latter phase under the lead of Bianca Ferrara. Much of the excavations and surveys of the Lucanian areas of the modern province of Salerno are a consequence of rescue measures necessary to preserve sites threatened by modern construction works or by natural disasters, such as in the case of the earthquake of 1980.

In more recent times, excavations have continued at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. In particular, the new campaign begun in 2011, has continued annually under the supervision of Giovanna Greco and Bianca Ferrara of the University Federico II of Naples, with the contribution of both Italian and international scholars and students. Their work has yielded both Greek and Lucanian material and structures, which are being continuously analysed.

Within the city walls of Poseidonia, larger excavation works were on hold for few years after the end of the Italian-French project. Work carried out by the *Soprintendenza*, and the University of Salerno concentrated on the restoration of the walls, as for instance at Porta Sirena, the eastern gate of the city. Excavations in that area have revealed the presence of a sanctuary dated to the 5th century BCE.[9]

In 2016 a new excavation campaign began within the city, helped by a new Italian law that facilitates private donations for works related to cultural heritage. The aim of the campaign, led by Francesca Luongo and Francesco Uliano Scelza, was to find structures related to the Greek city, situated underneath the still-standing Roman structures. The first area chosen for excavations was situated next to the Southern Sanctuary, at its western side.

In the last few years, since 2018, also other important excavation campaigns have been carried out in the urban area of Poseidonia/Paistom. Teams of researchers from the Universities of Salerno and Naples have been engaged in different projects in different areas of the city, particularly in the agora and in the southwestern section of the Northern Sanctuary. In 2019, a team from the

[9] Cipriani – Pontrandolfo 2010.

University of Bochum has conducted excavations at the so-called "*Tempio della Pace*" built in the Roman period and detected an older construction underneath the altar of the structure which, in contrast with the temple itself, follows the orientation of the Doric temples. Finally, in 2019, during the restoration work on the walls of the PON project, the sensational discovery of a small Late Archaic prostyle temple dated to the 5th century BCE in the north-western section of the city was made. The exceptional nature of the discovery lay in the fact that the reduced size of the structure is a unicum for prostyle temples of Greek Southern Italy and foreshadows the style of the so-called Temple of Neptune, thus establishing a model for this latter structure.

1.3 The Sources

Due to the multidisciplinary nature of the subject, this work employs several sources. Some of the ancient authors will have a role regarding the definition of the figure of Hera in general, especially concerning the origins of her cult in the Eastern Argive Plain. Unfortunately, the information handed down by ancient authors regarding the description of the cult of Hera in Southern Italy is rather scarce. The only features of the cult among the Italiote Achaeans described in ancient sources are related to the extramural sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia* at Cape Colonna, in the territory of Kroton.

Among ancient sources, Homer is important for the information that he provides about the "canonical" figure of Hera as the wife of Zeus, a vindictive character, both towards the enemies of the Greeks and the numerous lovers of her divine husband. But scratching under the surface of the Homeric poems, it is possible, with closer scrutiny, to grasp a deeper conception of Hera's character, that is, that of a composite goddess with many attributes, whose cult possibly continued uninterrupted from Mycenaean times in continental Greece. Other sources mentioning the cult of Argive/Achaean Hera and its ancient traditions and festivals include Pausanias, Pindar, Plutarch, Apollodorus, and Herodotus.

Despite mentioning the foundation of Poseidonia and of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, Strabo relays little information about the cult of the goddess in Poseidonia. The same can be said about Pliny the Elder in the Roman period. Pseudo-Scymnus is concerned only with the geography of the area. The much-discussed passage of Aristoxenus about the Poseidoniates having lost their Hellenic roots is difficult to interpretate for many reasons and does not shed light on the cult of Hera in Poseidonia.

Moreover, considering Poseidonia itself, despite the numerous finds of votive gifts dedicated to Hera, epigraphic evidence for the goddess is rather scarce, and is related mostly to her name carved onto vases and other artefacts. Fortunately, the archaeological research carried out at Paestum and in other Achaean colonies in Southern Italy in the last century and at the beginning of this century has extensively enriched our knowledge of the cult of Hera in these areas. In particular, the finds of votive gifts collected from votive pits in Poseidonia as well as archaeological evidence from other colonies, permit the identification of the cult of Hera in Achaean Magna Graecia.

This work is indebted to the work of many scholars who have contributed to the issues treated here. Joan V. O'Brien in her *The Transformation of Hera. A study of Ritual, Hero, and the Goddess in the Iliad* (Lanham 1993) was important in defining a different nature for Hera from that portrayed in the Homeric poems. She was able to find a common thread in Hera's cult, originating in the Argolis and spreading as far as Samos. This Hera had a composite nature, with numerous attributes already established in Mycenaean times. O'Brien was able to detect substrata of these attributes in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry as well. In this respect, an important contribution has been made by Jonathan M. Hall, who since the beginning of the 1990s has dedicated numerous scholarly publications to the definition of the ethnicity of the populations of Argolis and Achaea, also focusing on the cult of Hera in the Eastern Argive Plain. Hall has on numerous occasions underlined the role of the cult of Hera in forging a shared cultural identity among the Achaeans of Southern Italy. Among the Italian scholars, the idea of a possible connection between the cult of Hera in Magna Graecia and particularly in Poseidonia with that of the Eastern Argive Plain and Samos had been already put forward by Sestieri in the 1950s. In more recent times, Sestieri's views on this matter have been developed by, among others, Massimo Osanna and Maurizio Giangiulio. When researching the relationship between the foundation myths of the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia and the question of ethnicity and the explanation of the importance of the role of the cult of Hera among the Achaeans one cannot forget the works of Alfonso Mele.

The analysis of the excavation reports and publications, together with the topographical studies of the extant structures present in the area of Poseidonia, plays a central role in this work. With respect of the urban area, a significant modern contribution was made by the work of the Italian-French project and the four volumes they published in connection with the study of the topography of the structures of Paestum made by the project. The most recent and significant contribution concerning the structures and material evidence related to cult for

the Greek and Lucanian period in the urban area as well as for the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele and the other sanctuaries of the area is the comprehensive work *Culti greci in Occidente. Poseidonia/Paestum* (Taranto 2012) edited by Anna Maria Biraschi with important contributions by Marina Cipriani, Giovanna Greco, Bianca Ferrara, and Marina Taliercio Mensitieri.

Regarding the area of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele a large bibliography is available for the archaeology of the site, beginning from the first pioneering reports written by Umberto Zanotti Bianco and Paola Zancani Montuoro until the present day. Particularly important are the modern reports and articles written by Juliette de La Genière, Giovanna Greco, and Bianca Ferrara about the recent excavations at the *Heraion*.

Concerning the understanding of the Lucanian world in general, including religious practices and archaeological and topographical discussion of Lucanian sites, Ilaria Battiloro's *The Archaeology of Lucanian Cult places, Fourth Century BC to the Early Imperial Age* (New York 2017) is a comprehensive work of extreme importance for the purposes of this study. Other works that have been beneficial for this study are Elena Isaev's *Inside Ancient Lucania. Dialogues in History and Archaeology* (London 2007) and Helle Horsnæs' *The Cultural Development in North Western Lucania c. 600–273 BC* (Rome 2002). These works concentrating on Lucanian culture chronologically followed the study of Angela Pontrandolfo, *I Lucani. Etnografia e archeologia di una regione antica* (Milan 1982). One of the most extensive and complete work dedicated to a Lucanian settlement in an area close to that of the region of interest for the present study, are the two volumes on the excavations carried out by the Italian-Canadian project under the lead of Massimo Gualtieri and Helena Fracchia at Roccagloriosa and the more recent work carried out by Olivier de Cazenove at Civita di Tricarico. Concerning sanctuary areas, important contributions have been made lately by the work of the team led by Massimo Osanna at Torre di Satriano, enlarging the excavations carried out by Emanuele Greco at the site in the 1980s. Osanna has been engaged in excavations throughout the territory of ancient Lucania. Regarding the two major sanctuaries of Mefitis at Macchia di Rossano and at Valle d'Ansanto, the bulk of the knowledge is included in the publication of the results of the excavations by Dinu Adamesteanu and Helmtraut Dilthey for Rossano and Ivan Rainini and his team for Valle d'Ansanto.

Finally, this work will use as primary sources the votive offerings, including figurines and potsherds preserved in the Museum of Paestum, part of which I had the possibility to analyse during my periods of research there. These remains of the material culture of Paestum will provide decisive evidence, through the

iconography of the goddess, for tracking the origins of the cult of Hera of Poseidonia within the framework of the Achaean tradition of Southern Italy, which in turn had its roots in the cult of Hera practiced in more ancient times by the Achaean populations inhabiting the Eastern Plain of Argolis. The archaeological evidence represented by the votive offerings will in turn be employed to demonstrate the features added to cult by the Lucanians.

2. The Origins and Features of the Cult of Hera among the Achaeans of Magna Graecia and the Cult of Poseidoniate Hera

If one researches the features of the cult of Hera in the colony of Poseidonia, you will not fail by taking into consideration the cultural framework within which the cult had developed into a position of such importance among the Sybarite Achaean colonists who founded Poseidonia in the beginning years of the 6th century BCE. The cult was common to most of the most important Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, with the notable exception of Caulonia.

The information concerning the reasons behind the centrality of the figure of Hera among the Italiote Achaeans present certain inconsistencies. In the historical and classical periods, in fact, the populations of what was then known as Achaea inhabited a territory stretching from the Gulf of Patras to the city of Pellene on the southern shores of the Gulf of Corinth in northern Peloponnese. The main deities worshipped in the area were Zeus *Homarios* and Poseidon. In what was known as Achaea, Hera was of marginal importance.[10] According to Polybius (2,39,6–7), the Achaean League of Southern Italy had its meeting place in an unidentified sanctuary of Zeus *Homarios* and was only later substituted by the shrine of Hera *Lakinia* as the common sanctuary of the Achaeans in the Hellenistic period. The city of Poseidonia bore the name of Poseidon, the other major deity of Greek mainland Achaea. The coinage of Poseidonia originally portrayed either Poseidon or his attributes, while Hera appears on Poseidoniate coins only in the Lucanian period, from the beginning of the 4th century BCE.[11] This information, however, contrasts with the monumental presence of sanctuaries of Hera in Achaean Southern Italy and with the importance of the cult of the goddess as testified by the number of votive gifts dedicated to her.

So – one may ask: why Hera? In order to find an answer to this question, one must engage in tracking the origins of the cult to a more distant past, to the Northern Peloponnese and the Eastern Argive Plain of the Geometric Age in the

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[10] There were only two sanctuaries of Hera in Achaea, one at Patrai, and one at Aigion. Other deities as well, such as Artemis, also had a more prominent role in the region than Hera did (Osanna 1996, 303–12).

[11] Kraay 1967, 133; Taliercio Mensitieri 1992, 176; Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 210–11; Taliercio Mensitieri 2012, 263–64, 275–76.

9th or 8th centuries BCE and then again to a still further past, to the Bronze Age, to the Achaean heroes of Mycenae, and of the Homeric *epos*. The goddess was an ancient deity whose name is mentioned already in the Linear B tablets. Joan O'Brien, in her valuable *The Transformation of Hera. A study of Ritual, Hero, and the Goddess in the Iliad* (Lanham 1993), suggests that the "Mycenaean" features of the goddess are still detectable under the surface of the canonical character of Hera described by Homer in the *Iliad*.

As Hera herself asserts in the Homeric poem, she was the protectress of Argos, Sparta and Mycenae: that is, of the area of the Peloponnese inhabited in the Mycenaean period by the Achaeans.[12] When, according to the ancient sources, the Dorians invaded the Peloponnese, the fleeing Achaeans occupied the area in Northern Peloponnese that was known as Achaea in the historical period. For some reasons, following a long process, the Achaeans of that area then developed a new religious framework, which relegated the figure of Hera to the role of a minor deity in favour of other gods, such as Zeus *Homarios* and Poseidon, by the latest in the Classical period.

As Michalis Petropoulos (2002, 156–57) interestingly pointed out, the perception in the Greek world that the Achaeans of the Northern Peloponnese of historical times were an *ethnos* unto themselves was a later phenomenon, dating to as late as the 5th century BCE, when the first city-states were founded in the region and the people there united themselves in the First Achaean League.[13] In this respect, the Achaeans who emigrated to Magna Graecia in the 8th century BCE, perhaps also forced by the fact that they were moving to a foreign country, surrounded by not always friendly indigenous people and Greek cities of other backgrounds, were forerunners in reclaiming the shared heritage of the heroic past, as opposed to their counterparts in mainland Greece Achaea.

Archaeological evidence suggests that in the Mycenaean period the populations of the Eastern Argive Plain worshipped as their main deity a single female goddess with composite features. I will begin this chapter by demonstrating how the features of this deity were later transferred to the Hera worshipped in the Eastern Argive Plain. After that, the continuity between the Mycenaean goddess and the Hera of the Geometric period will be established, and I will then proceed by analysing the process by which the Achaean Southern Italian settlers identified themselves as an *ethnos*, under the protection of Hera. This, in turn, will be an

[12] Hom. *Il.* 4,51–61; O'Brien 1993, 84–85.

[13] In this respect Petropoulos agreed with Morgan – Hall 1996; later Morgan (2000, 108) pushed the date of the creation of the Achaean League to the end of the 5th century BCE.

important step in understanding the nature of the cult of Hera of Poseidonia, which was a product of this milieu and the result of hundreds of years of cultic experience related to both religion and the concept of ethnicity.

2.1 The Mycenaean Goddess of the Eastern Argive Plain

The Eastern Argive Plain, that is, the territory stretching east of Argos itself to Mycenae and Tiryns, comprised the major centres of the Bronze Age culture of that area of the Peloponnese. According to Joan O'Brien (1993, 127) the iconography of the female deities portrayed on artefacts retrieved from that area points to the fact that the population of these territory worshipped at the beginning of the Mycenaean period, a single goddess who had different attributes. As a proof of this, she discussed different artefacts that represent the deity, in person or in an aniconic fashion, as a guardian of such spheres as fertility and cultivation, war, and the Mycenaean citadels, the symbols of the community life and of the power held by the chieftains.[14] In addition, the site of Prosymna and its tombs have yielded figurines representing a chariot ridden by a female rider who is wearing a *polos* hat: this latter is a traditional attribute both of Hera and Demeter in later times. Many more depict female figures, some of them nursing a child. These finds all point to the worshipping of a female goddess tutelary of horse-taming, possibly war, and with a strong *kourotrophic* valence.[15]

So, can the composite goddess of the Bronze Age be identified with the later Eastern Argive Hera? It is certain that Hera was worshipped already in the Bronze Age, since her name appears on Linear B tablets as *E-ra*.[16] According

[14] One of these artefacts is a gold ring found on the acropolis of Mycenae, portraying the goddess sitting under a tree amidst a luxuriant natural landscape, approached by three female worshippers holding flowers. What appear to be heads of animals are represented on the right side of the ring. A shield and a double axe are set above the scene. This ring indicates how the goddess portrayed was the deity tutelary of war and the power of the chieftains and of nature and fertility, of animals and humans alike (O'Brien 1993, 126–28). Other rings represent the binding of heraldically arranged lions and other mythical beings such as griffins, at a tree or column. This iconographic pattern strikingly resembles the relief of the Lions Gate at Mycenae. The position of the Gate at the entrance of the citadel could be an indicator that the column presented in the relief is an aniconic representation of the goddess protectress of the citadel and its rulers.

[15] Blegen 1937, vol. 1, 10; Hägg 1974, 197; O'Brien 1993, 124 and note 30.

[16] The tablets in question are PY Tn316, found in Pylos and TH Of28 found in Thebes. On the same tablet from Pylos, another deity differentiated from *E-ra* and named *Di-wi-ja* is mentioned as well. This latter is nothing other than a feminine form for Zeus. According to Hall (1997, 105),

to one interpretation her name possibly derived from the proto-Indo-European word **iêr* ('spring' or 'year') as the adjectival word **iêra* ('of spring' or 'of the year'), thus suggesting an original role for Hera as protector of the seasons' cycle and therefore of the fertility of nature. Another suggestion is that the name could have derived from Ἥρα (mistress), related to ἥρως (master), and that both would have been pre-Hellenic words, the first being the equivalent of the Indo-European *po-ti-ni-ja* ('mistress', 'lady') present in the Linear B tablets and the *potnia* used in the Homeric poems.[17] I believe that both theories are at least not conceptually antithetical to each other. If Hera was indeed one and the same as the divine *potnia* ruling over the Eastern Argive Plain in the Late Bronze Age, then the derivation of her name from the word meaning 'year' or 'season' would not be inappropriate for a Goddess whose one divine realm was, as demonstrated by the above-mentioned votive gifts, the protection of seasonal cycles as well.

According to several ancient sources, the mythological age of Mycenae and of the Achaean heroes came to an end when the offspring of Heracles, the *Herakleidai*, came back from their exile, leading the Dorians to the Eastern Argive Plain after the death of the great hero. The Achaeans fled from their original home and two different groups settled in what was later to be known as Achaea.[18] As pointed out by Michalis Petropoulos (1987–1988, 86; 2002, 144), those Achaean settlements on the eastern part of the region bordering with Argolis now occupied by the Dorians had more contacts with the latter than with their consanguineous Achaeans who had settled in the western and central part of the region. This is attested, for example, by the archaeological data obtained from such sites as the sanctuary of Ano Mazaraki from the Geometric period, which proves the contacts between Eastern Achaea, Argolis, and the other Dorian centre of Corinth. Moreover, archaeological evidence suggests that already in the

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this is a proof that the tradition of Hera being a spouse of Zeus is a later creation, probably dating to post-Mycenaean times. Concerning the edition of the Pylos tablet, see Bennett – Olivier 1973, 76. Regarding commentaries on the Pylos tablet see Chadwick – Ventris 1973, 126; 1976; O'Brien 1993, 114–15. Concerning the marriage between Hera and Zeus as a later addition in Greek religion, see also Burkert 1985, 132; Pötscher 1987, 1.

[17] Regarding the derivation from **iêr*, see Schröder 1956, 57–78; Pötscher 1961, 302–55. Concerning the derivation from ἥρως, see Ruijgh 1967, 64–65; 1985, 156–57, 159; O'Brien 1993, 116.

[18] A first group left from Sparta towards the north-western Peloponnese, led by Preugenes and Patraeus and settled in the area of Patras and in central Achaea. A second group was led by Tisamenos and left from the Eastern Argive Plain, settling the area of Eastern Achaea (Paus. 7,6,2; 18,5; 20,5; 20,7; Hdt. 1,145–46,1; 7,7,94; Petropoulos 1994a, 507; Petropoulos 1994b, 202; Petropoulos 2002, 143–44).

Mycenaean period, when the Eastern Argive Plain was inhabited by Achaeans, the eastern part of what was to be known as Achaea had much more contacts with the Eastern Argive Plain than with Western Achaea. The fact that the cities of the Achaean region among the contingent of Agamemnon mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships of the Greek participants in the Trojan War were from the eastern side of the region, suggests that the area was already inhabited by Achaeans prior to the Dorian invasion.[19]

In due time, perhaps following their displacement, the Achaeans forgot the pre-eminence of Hera and by the classical period the goddess was a minor deity among the Achaeans of mainland Greece. But for those Achaeans who had left their homeland to settle in Southern Italy in the 8th century BCE the common memory of Hera as the ancestral goddess of the Achaean people was still a vivid factor.[20] This is confirmed by the fact that, as ancient sources reveal, only the settlements of Eastern Achaea, that is, the area still in contact with Dorian Argolis, where the cult of Hera was still of great importance, had participated in the colonisation.[21]

2.2 The Cult of Argive Hera

There are several additional facts that point to a continuation of the cult of Hera from the Mycenaean period to historical times. One is the topographical position of the most important of Hera's places of worship in the Argive Plain, the Argive *Heraion*. Despite its name, the sanctuary was built in the 8th century BCE in the area of the Mycenaean settlement of Prosymna, which stood between Mycenae and Tiryns, 10 km east of Argos: that is, in the core area where the ancient Achaeans lived during the Mycenaean period. The cult of Hera among

[19] Regarding the contacts between Eastern Achaea and the Eastern Argive Plains in the Mycenaean period, see Papadopoulos 1976; Papazoglou 1984, 94-98; Petropoulos 1990, 508–10; Petropoulos 1995b; Petropoulos 1996b; Petropoulos 2002, 143–44; Vordos 1996. Concerning the section of the Catalogue of the Ships regarding the Eastern Achaean cities, see Hom. *Il.* 2,198–204, 569–80; Paus. 7,1,4.

[20] On this matter Massimo Osanna (2002, 277) has a similar approach (also, Mele 1999, 437–38).

[21] The leader of the colonists who founded Kroton was Myskellos from Rypes (Diod. Sic. 8,17; Strab. 8,38,7; *FGrHist* 2,14, fr. 4; Rizakis 1995, n. 105; 473, 514, 595; Morgan – Hall 1996, 205–208, n. 226; Greco, E. 2001, 194–95; Petropoulos 2002, 146. Sybaris, the metropolis of Poseidonia, was founded by settlers from Helike, Boura, and Aigai, led by Is of Helike (Strab. 6,1,13; Rizakis 1995, n. 515; Morgan – Hall 1996, 202–04; Greco, E. 2001, 193; Petropoulos 2002, 146).

the Dorians of Argos was possibly a development of the politics of hegemony over the Eastern Argive Plain carried out by the city. Argos took control of the *Heraion* after the victorious conflict which ended with the destruction of Mycenae and Midea in 460 BCE.[22] The cult of Hera was a minor one in the city of Argos itself and generally in the Western Argive Plain before that date.[23]

It is certain that the city of Argos reinforced the ties with Hera's cult by building a sanctuary of Hera on the Aspis Hill concurrently with the construction of the *Heraion*. The construction of this structure, and the later hostilities with the communities of the Eastern Argive Plain, point to the fact that Argos wanted to appropriate the cult of Hera. This was done in order to connect the city to the myths of the Mycenaean Age of the Achaean heroes in order to legitimize the control of Argos over the core of the ancient Mycenaean heartland. Another indication in favour of this hypothesis is the fact that the list of priestesses of Hera of the Argive *Heraion* was used in Argos as calendar and it stretched far back to the Mycenaean period.[24]

Moreover, Argive Hera retained many of the features that she had displayed as the goddess of the Mycenaean cult. As her predecessor, Hera was protector of flora and fauna. She was a *potnia therōn*, presiding over the fertility of animals and land. She was strongly associated with the breeding of horses. Figurines of women with horses or horses alone have been found at the Argive *Heraion*, but also at Tiryns and at Perachora: this latter the site of another sanctuary of Argive Hera in the territory of Corinth.[25] Bovines were also traditionally associated with the Argive *Heraion*. The epithet of βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη ('Hera with the look of an ox') by which Homer refers to Hera is a remnant of the cult of the Mycenaean Age, for the fact that no other female deity owns the title of *potnia* in the Argive Plain and for metrical reasons as well.[26] Concerning flora, Hera was

[22] Diodorus (11,65,2) claims that the possession of the *Heraion* was the main cause of the war.

[23] The major shrine dedicated to Hera in Argos was located on the Aspis Hill in the north-western side of the city. The shrine, built in the 8th century BCE, is the most important indication from Argos itself of a cult of Hera dating to an earlier period than the Classical Age (O'Brien 1993, 123; Hall 1995, 604–605; Hall 1997, 105). The main temple of Argos was, prior to the Classical period, that of Apollo *Lykeios*, which stood in the *agora* of the city. Only in the 420s BCE, for example, did Hera begin to appear on the coins struck by the city (Jeffery 1990, 151; Hall 1995, 606).

[24] Hellanicus of Mytilene (*FGrHist* 4, fr. 74–82) used this list in the 5th century BCE as the calendar upon which to base a history of Greece from the Trojan War until his times. In addition, see Thuc. 2,2; Jeffery 1976, 36; Tomlinson 1972; 202; O'Brien 1993, 133–34.

[25] Greco E. 1998, 52–53.

[26] The main proof of the ancient nature of the epithet derives from the fact that there is a hiatus

known to own the epithet of *Antheia* in Argos.[27] In the *Iliad*, Homer described how Hera caused flowers to bloom during the episode of the seduction of Zeus.[28] Perhaps the most important attribute of Hera in connection with vegetation is the pomegranate, a fruit that also had chthonic features. The cult statue of the goddess in the Argive *Heraion* sculpted by Polycleitus displayed Hera holding a pomegranate.[29] In mainland Greece, votive figurines representing pomegranates were found especially at Perachora.[30]

The canonical figure of Hera characterised her as goddess patron of lawful marriage. Figurines portraying Hera and Zeus together in a representation of the *hieros gamos* have been found in different sites throughout the Greek world. The traditional role of Hera as patron deity of the female sphere is attested in Argos by the traditional annual weaving of the *peplos* dedicated to the goddess by Argive young women. In addition, Hera was also worshipped in the Eastern Argive Plain as a *kourotrophos*. The different types of votive figurines dedicated to the "nursing" Hera included the goddess (or a worshipper) holding her breasts (found at Argos and Perachora) and, perhaps the most typical, the goddess sitting and holding a child (found at Argos, Perachora, and Tiryns). Moreover, Hera was often associated and assimilated with Eileithyia, her daughter and the goddess of childbirth.[31] Hera held the epithet of *Hera Eileithyia* at the Argive *Heraion*.[32]

Perhaps the attribute of the goddess which is most peculiar to the Argive Plain is her role as patron of warfare, of the ancient Achaean heroes, and of the army in general. This was a property that the goddess of the Plain of the Mycenaean period had held as well. Hera owned the epiclesis of *Hoplosmia* in Argos, a feature that the goddess held in Elis as well.[33] Votive figurines portraying

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between πότνια and Ἥρη, which is usually avoided in Homeric poems. There was instead no hiatus in Mycenaean Greek, between πότνια and Ἥρη, therefore *E-ra* must be read as *Hera* since the h did not have yet an orthographical expression. Therefore, the formula derived from the Mycenaean period when the hiatus was not felt (Ruijgh 1985, 155–59; O'Brien 1993, 134–35).

[27] Paus. 2,22,1.

[28] Hom. *Il.* 14,347–51.

[29] Paus. 2,17,4.

[30] Greco E. 1998, 58.

[31] Both Homer and Hesiod affirm that Eileithyia was the daughter of Hera (Hom. *Il.* 11,269; Hes. *Theog.* 921–23).

[32] Hesych. s.v. Εἰλειθυίας.

[33] Lyc. *Alex*. 616. One of the rituals staged at the Argive *Heraion* concerned the *Aspis*, the competition for the shield dedicated to Hera. Another shield, which was according to tradition taken in Troy from Euphorbus by Menelaus was on display at the Argive *Heraion* (Paus. 2,17,3).

mounted warriors and women on horses (possibly the goddess herself) were found in Perachora, Argos, and Tiryns. Miniature shields were found at Tiryns and Perachora, while weapons such as spearheads, arrowheads, sling bullets and swords were mostly retrieved from the latter sanctuary.[34] The tutelary figure of Hera over warriors and heroes is evinced also in Homer. After the opening scene of the wrath of Achilles in the *Iliad*, Athena descends from heaven sent by Hera in order to calm the furious hero and to announce the protection and the φιλία of Hera towards him and Agamemnon.[35] Jason, a Thessalian of Minyan or Pelasgian Argos, was helped by the Goddess in passing the Simplegades.[36] Moreover, as pointed out by Jonathan Hall (1997, 105), although the tradition beginning from Homer sees Hera as hostile to Heracles,[37] there are strong indications that this hero was originally favoured by the Goddess.[38] Moreover, the core area of the worship of Hera, the Eastern Argive Plain, coincided with the area where the Herakleidai ruled.[39]

Finally, another important feature of the cult of Hera in the Eastern Argive Plain is the vicinity of the shrines to rivers and other sources of water, such as sea and marshes, and the role played by these latter in the cult. Three Argive river gods, Inachus, Asterion, and Cephisus helped Hera in beating Poseidon for the possession of Argolis.[40] The Argive *Heraion* was built in Prosymna, next to the Inachus on the spot of a Mycenaean site. At Samos, where the *Heraion* was built according to tradition by Admete and the cult statue of the goddess was brought from Argos, the main ritual of the *Tonaia* festival involved the bathing of the statue of Hera in the Imbrasus River and its binding to the branches of a tree to ensure the protection of the goddess over the island.[41]

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[34] Giangiulio 1982, 16–17; Giangiulio 2002, 294–96; Baumbach 2009, 203–23.

[35] Hom. *Il.* 1,207–209; O'Brien 1993, 158–59.

[36] Hom. *Od.* 12,69–72.

[37] In Homer (*Il.* 19,91–138) Hera has Eileithyia to speed up Eurystheus' birth in order for him to become king of Argos in place of Heracles, who was an illegitimate son of Zeus with Alcmene.

[38] The etymology of the name of the hero, which means "Glory of Hera", indicates how the relationship between Hera and Heracles was originally not one of hatred on the behalf of the goddess. Walter Pötscher (1987, 28–29) suggested that Heracles was originally involved in dangerous feats for the glory of the Goddess.

[39] Hall 1997, 105.

[40] Apollod. 2,1,3; Paus. 2,15,5.

[41] Ath. 15,672a-e; O'Brien 1993, 54–55.

2.3 The Cult of Hera among the Achaeans of Southern Italy

Despite the different opinions concerning the origins of the cult of Hera among the Achaeans of Southern Italy, the historical and archaeological evidence points to the fact that the cult arrived in Magna Graecia with the first colonists and was not, therefore, developed *in situ*.[42] The Southern Italian Achaeans linked themselves to the ancient homeland of the Achaean heroes in the Eastern Argive Plain, of which Hera was the protective goddess, a fact that reinforced their sense of belonging to that ancient ethnical group. This phenomenon was not the result of shared planning between the colonies but rather took different forms according to the local conditions and the individual chronologies of the single *apoikiai* as they developed.[43] Moreover, recent studies have demonstrated that not only the ethnical composition of the colonists was not homogeneous, but also that the indigenous, non-Greek populations that inhabited the areas where the colonies were established had an active role in the colonisation process and the development of the colonies themselves.[44] This enrichment of our knowledge concerning the dynamics of the Achaean colonisation and the role played by non-Greek populations in this process, has not contradicted the notion of the centrality of the cult of Hera among the Achaeans of the Western colonies, a feature that they did not share with their counterparts in Greek mainland Achaia.

One important feature of the Achaean cult of Hera was that each city usually had at least two shrines dedicated to her, one within its walls or in its immediate vicinity and at least one *Heraion* located in its extramural territory.[45] To the southeast of the *chora* of Kroton lay the revered sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia*, while in the city itself, probably immediately outside the ancient wall circuit in modern Contrada Vigna Nuova, there was likely another sanctuary dedicated to the goddess, based on the type of votive finds retrieved from the site.[46]

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[42] In this respect, I agree with the opinion of Massimo Osanna (2002, 277) and recently with that of Emanuele Greco (2021, 69). Catherine Morgan and Jonathan Hall (1996, 193–99, 214–15; 2002, 100) have argued that the Achaean identity of Magna Graecia was a concept developed by the colonists in Italy in the 6th century BCE. This theory is not in accordance with the situation illustrated by the above-mentioned evidence (18–19 and notes 18–21; Giangiulio 1989, 176–77; Mele 1999, 437–38).

[43] Greco, E. 2021, 67–69.

[44] Greco, E. 2021, 65–66.

[45] The only notable exception to this pattern is Caulonia, where there is no evidence of the existence of temples dedicated to Hera, neither in the urban area, nor in the *chora*.

[46] These included numerous specimens of broken chains and utensils used in agriculture such as

Despite the unsuccessful attempts at finding sanctuaries of Hera in Sybaris, most probably because of the topography of the site, which makes research difficult, it is known that the city's *Heraion* was situated in the centre of the city. According to Phylarchus (*FGrHist* 81 F 45; Ath. 12,20–21,521b-e) the urban sanctuary was located close to the agora. Paola Zancani Montuoro (1972–1973 [1974], 58) suggested that the temple was situated in the western part of the city, underneath the theatre of Roman Cosa built in the 2nd century CE, on the site where a Greek temple dedicated to a female deity had stood.[47] The goddess also had a shrine in the *chora* of Sybaris. This latter has not yet been found, but its existence is indicated by the epigraphic evidence of a votive bronze axe-hammer dated to the 6th century BCE recovered from San Sosti. The recipient of the offering was Hera in the Plain (ἐν πεδίοι), whose sanctuary must have stood in the territory between the plain west of Sybaris and the Sila mountain range.[48]

Two important sub-colonies of Sybaris, Poseidonia and Metapontum, featured the same dual arrangement of sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess, both in the city area and in their outlying territories. In Poseidonia, the presence of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele was accompanied by the urban Southern Sanctuary. Again, in Metapontum, Hera had a temple in the city and an extramural sanctuary at Tavole Palatine, near the course of the Bradano River, ca. 3 km northwest of the city.

The feature of marking the boundaries of a city's territory with shrines was a common Achaean practice, both in the Western colonies and in Greece. In the latter, it was not confined solely to shrines of Hera; one important example is the sanctuary of Artemis *Hemera* in Lousoi.[49]

The placement of the sanctuaries dedicated to Hera in Magna Graecia at the major intersections of water courses, and often close to the limits of the *chora*, as is the case with Metapontum and Poseidonia, was probably in part inspired by this ancient Achaean custom. In this view, the cultic place functioned not only

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hoes and pickaxes. This is an indication of the use of the sanctuary for the manumission of slaves, according to the attribute of *Eleutheria* given to the goddess in the sanctuaries of Argos and in the other Krotoniate shrine of Capo Colonna (Maddoli 1984, 318–29; Spadea 1993, 235–59).

[47] Camassa 1992, 574, 580.

[48] *IG* XIV 643 = *IGASMG* IV 15. The inscription carved on the axe-hammer is a dedication written in the Achaean dialect by Kyniskos, a butcher who had the duty of sacrificing and butchering sacrificial animals.

[49] This latter site was situated in the territory of Arcadia in later times, but it functioned in the 8th–7th century BCE as an Achaean territorial marker facing towards Arcadia (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992, 97–108; Osanna 2002, 278).

as a claim to the possession of the land, but also as a point of contact between neighbouring peoples, a physical point that furthered the cultural, cultic, and economic interaction between different communities.[50] Concerning the Western Achaean colonies, it is significant that among the large extramural sanctuaries only the *Heraia* were placed at the limits of the territory facing the non-Greek world. This latter feature may reinforce the view that the Achaeans considered Hera to be a regal figure, perhaps, superseding to the political institutions and the state as well.[51] The situation is different with the small rural sanctuaries, which were dedicated to different deities. In these places, the archaeological evidence demonstrates how they were also often places where people of different ethnical backgrounds interacted, whether the sanctuaries were located in the *chora* of the colony or outside it.[52] The available evidence suggests that the border areas were not impermeable and that not only interaction but also the mixing of populations was rather a common feature in the areas of the Western Achaean colonies.

With the exception of the sanctuary of Capo Colonna on the Ionian Sea, which at any rate was situated on the southernmost Krotoniate border, the other extramural *Heraia* faced indigenous territories at their intersections with water courses. In Metapontum, the *Heraion* of Tavole Palatine was located next to the Bradano River and the border with indigenous lands. The sanctuary of Hera ἐν πεδίοι must have been located in the plain west of Sybaris, at the extremity of the city's territory, facing the indigenous lands of the Sila Mountains. The

[50] The placing of sanctuaries at the limits of a city's territory possibly signalled the fact that the relations between the Greeks and the locals were cooperative. When the affairs with indigenous peoples were hostile, other methods of marking the territory were favoured. This was, for example, the case at Tarentum, which was surrounded by the hostile Iapygians. In this city, a series of *komai* was placed at the borders as a sort of physical barrier between the urban centre and the indigenous populations (Maruggi 1996, 197–218; Osanna 1999, 291–92).

[51] In an interesting review of the issues related to the frontier and the placement of extramural sanctuaries in the Achaean colonies of the West, Osanna pointed out how the *Heraia* were the actual border markers, as opposed to the extramural sanctuaries dedicated to other deities. Such seems to be the case, for example with the *Athenaion* of Timpone della Motta near Francavilla Marittima and the sanctuary of Apollo *Aleus* at Punta Alice, respectively in the *chorai* of Sybaris and Kroton. The first had no physical contact with the border with indigenous people. The second, placed in the frontier area between Sybaris and Kroton, was built after the destruction of Sybaris by the Krotoniates and was therefore no longer situated on a border (Osanna 1999, 273–92).

[52] See for example, the cases of the Archaic sanctuaries of Garaguso and Timmari, located in indigenous areas facing the territories of, respectively, Metapontum and Tarentum (see for example Osanna 2010, 605–11) or the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide (below 50–51 and notes 99–100; 174–75 and notes 404–405).

sanctuary may well have stood in the area of the Esaro River, an affluent of the Crathis, which formed a suitable geographical barrier between the plain and the Sila range. In Poseidonia, the *Heraion* of Foce del Sele faced the Etruscan and Oscan lands situated on the northern banks of the *Silaris*.

Finally, the dedication to Hera of the city's two major shrines, in the city and in its extramural territory, may also indicate that different aspects of the cult of Hera were worshipped in these sanctuaries. Especially for Metapontum and Poseidonia, the vicinity of the sanctuaries to water courses could also be an indicator of the fact that in those sanctuaries Hera was worshipped as a goddess related to the fertility of land and living beings alike. The need to perform rituals that involved the use of water for ablution and the washing of the statue of the goddess, in the fashion of the rituals performed in sanctuaries where the Hera of the Eastern Argive Plain was worshipped, such as Argos and Samos, may also have suggested to the colonists that these were suitable sites for the construction of the extramural sanctuaries of the goddess.[53]

As mentioned above, literary evidence concerning the actual cultic rituals related to the cult of Hera in the Western Achaean colonies is quite scarce. Most of the information refers to the cult of Hera *Lakinia* at Kroton. According to ancient tradition, the justification for the foundation of the city was ascribed to Heracles, who had accidentally killed his friend Kroton, son of king Eacus during one of his adventures. After undergoing purification rituals, the hero had asked the gods that they found the most prosperous city of Magna Graecia on the site of the tomb of his friend. As the initiator of the tasks of Heracles, Hera was thus associated with Kroton from the beginning. As the main goddess of the city, she intervened after the murder of the Krotoniate ambassadors at the hands of the Sybarites. According to Phylarchus (in Ath. 12,521), Hera manifested herself in the agora of Kroton vomiting bile as a sign of repulsion for the blood crime committed by the Sybarites. Hera appeared as the personification of Kroton, together with the youth Sybaris and Temesa in a painting situated in Olympia, described by Pausanias.[54]

The number of known epithets for Hera in Kroton signals a veneration for the goddess in accordance with Achaean custom. She was seen as a *kourotrophos*. Hera's aspect as a "breeder", as the divine mother of heroes, is connected with the chthonic attributes of the goddess in relation to the early death of the young heroes placed under her protection. According to a passage in Lycophron, Thetis,

[53] Above 26 and notes 40–41.

[54] Paus. 6,6,4–11.

mother of Achilles, donated to Hera the promontory of Capo Colonna, where the Krotoniate women performed a ritual mourning of the hero.[55] The presence of Achilles in Krotoniate tradition suggests that the hero was associated, as a young warrior, with the initiation of the youths (into the army, marriage, civic life), which was subject to the patronage of Hera in the Achaean colonies.[56]

In the same passage of Lycophron, the author affirms that Thetis also donated to Hera a *kepos,* a cultivated garden where cattle were grazing free. Here the aspect of Hera as protector of animals, reminiscent of the Mycenaean *potnia therōn* is evident. Unyoked, free grazing cattle were also associated to Hera, in a symbolism of human marriage.[57] As a tutelary deity of animals, Hera secured both their freedom and their taming. As goddess of lawful marriage, she blessed and watched over the same process with the youths, at first as untamed individuals and then, through her, as part of the community of the *polis* and as members of a family or of the army. That the Achaean Hera of Kroton was the protectress of the army is revealed by Lycophron (616), who calls her *Hoplosmia*.[58] The type of votive gifts dedicated to Hera *Hoplosmia* range from the numerous miniature shields found at the sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia* in Kroton to the votive gifts of arms discovered at Metapontum.

In addition, at least some of the Western Achaean *Heraia* functioned as places for the manumission of slaves. According to an epigraphic dedication of the 6th century BCE, of admittedly disputed interpretation, she was venerated at Capo Colonna as *Eleutherìa*.[59] Epigraphic material containing the dedications of freedmen for their manumission and datable to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE point to the fact that Hera was related to the manumission of slaves well

[55] Lyc. *Alex.* 855–858; Maddoli 1984, 316–18.

[56] Greco G. 1999, 231–47; Greco G. 2012, 235.

[57] Argive Hera had the epiclesis of *Zeuxidia*, a word associated with the yoking of cattle. During the celebration of the *Hekatombaia* in Argos Argive youth − the boys in arms, the girls dressed in white garments − walked in ritual procession together with unyoked bovines, following a chariot pulled by cattle carrying the priestess of Hera personifying the Goddess on her way to the enactment of the *hieros gamos*. The cattle were then sacrificed to the goddess (Aen. Tact. 1,17; Apollod. 2,1,3; Hdt. 1,31; Ov. *am*. 3,13; Plin. *nat.* 16,23).

[58] Lyc. *Alex*. 616. The author affirms that Hera had the same epiclesis in Argos, where was also celebrated in the military competition of the *Aspis* (above 25 and note 33). A similar military competition was held at the *Heraion* of Samos (Polyaen. *Strat.* 1,23,2). Hera was also venerated as *Hoplosmia* in Elis (Schol. Lyc. *Alex*. 858).

[59] The epiclesis is present on an inscription dated to the 6th century BCE based on palaeographic factors. The stone was at first interpreted as a boundary stone (Maddoli 1984, 318–20).

after the Archaic period. The presence of broken chains, together with pickaxes and other working tools in the deposit of votive gifts donated to Hera in the other Krotoniate sanctuary of Contrada Vigna Nuova is a further proof of the importance of Hera as a liberating deity.

Naturally, among the Achaeans of Magna Graecia, Hera was venerated as *Teleia*, the tutelary goddess of lawful marriage, together with her spouse Zeus. The deity is often portrayed together with her divine spouse seated on a high throne or otherwise embracing in a canonical motif common in Antiquity, as can be inferred from the finds recovered from votive deposits in Metapontum and in Poseidonia.

The peculiar cult of the Hera of the Achaean cities of Magna Graecia was accompanied by subsidiary cults of other deities and heroes. One such was dedicated to Artemis *Hemera* in S. Biagio della Venella, in the *chora* of Metapontum. There, a sanctuary was probably built in the last quarter of the 7th century BCE, which is contemporary to the foundation of Metapontum. The cult was the transposition into Magna Graecia of the cult of Artemis *Hemera* performed in Lousoi, on the border between Achaea and Arcadia. The association of the cults of Artemis of Metapontum and of Lousoi is attested in Bacchylides 11. The cult was strongly associated with Hera through the myth of the offence perpetrated on her by the daughters of Proetus, king of Argos.[60] According to Bacchylides, the angered Hera caused the girls to go mad, and only the persuasion of Artemis convinced Hera to end the inflicted punishment. Despite different hypothesis being put forward, there is not yet decisive evidence of the presence of the cult of Artemis in other Achaean centres of Magna Graecia such as Kroton or Poseidonia.[61]

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[60] Bacch. 11,44–54, 64–72; Acusilaus of Argos, *FGRHist* 2 F28 *ap*. (Apollod.); Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F114 *ap.* Schol. *MV* Hom. *Od.* 15,225).

[61] Giangiulio 1982, 34–39; Giangiulio 1989, 62–66; Giangiulio 2002, 291. In Kroton, it has been suggested that the deity worshipped in the rural sanctuary of Sant'Anna di Cutro was Artemis, based on the discovery of votive material similar to that found in San Biagio della Venella. The sanctuary was situated near the streams of the Esaro River, where Artemis is said to have drowned the youth Aesarus, guilty of having killed a hind sacred to the goddess (Genovese 1999, 76–82). According to Diodorus Siculus (22), Artemis had a cult in Poseidonia. The historian affirms that a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis was situated on the side of a cliff where the goddess had caused the death of a hunter who had refused to dedicate part of his prey to her. Emanuele Greco (1992a, 480–81) suggested that the sanctuary was possibly situated on the rocky slopes of Località Getsemani, where a cult place in use from the 6th to the 4th century BCE was situated. In addition, Greco presented as a hypothesis that the sanctuary could have been located in località Acqua che Bolle, where a sanctuary also attributed to Demeter (Ardovino 1980, 51–52) was located. Torelli (1992,

In Metapontum a cult of Apollo *Lykaios* was practiced in the city sanctuary, together with the cult of Hera. The temple of Apollo *Lykaios* housed a poliadic cult venerated particularly by young men in arms. Giangiulio (1989, 79–84, 132–33, 153–60; 2002, 290) did not fail to notice that this aspect of the cult of Apollo in Metapontum was also present in the cult of the Achaean Hera, who also was tutelary goddess of young ephebes. In Kroton, instead, Apollo was primarily venerated as the god of Delphi, who ordered the foundation of the city through a sign from the Pythian oracle.

As the above-mentioned evidence suggests, the cult of Hera practiced in the colonies of Magna Graecia conformed with the cult of Hera that already possibly originated in the Mycenaean period in the ancestral lands of the Achaeans in the Eastern Argive Plain. The attributes of Hera known from cultic practice, the topographical settings of her sanctuaries, and the iconography of the goddess as portrayed on votives, all support the view of a shared set of beliefs concerning the cult of Hera in the Western Achaean colonies. This evidence is valid even allowing for the presence of local variants within the cult or other deities associated with the goddess. Examples of such include the presence of myths from Thessaly and Achaea/Phtiotis in Kroton, or the cults of Artemis *Hemera* and Apollo *Lykaios* at Metapontum. Some aspects of the various attributes of Hera are present only in some cities, such as the manumission of slaves being important in Kroton but apparently absent elsewhere. At any rate, all of these attributes refer to the different spheres known to belong to the Argive/Achaean version of Hera, so that it can be affirmed that the presence or lack of certain attributes in certain places is merely a consequence of local variations within the cult.

2.4 Urban and Extramural Sanctuaries of Hera in the Territory of Poseidonia and Possible Differences in their Cultic Functions

Following the Italiote Achaean custom, the cult of Hera in Poseidonia "mirrored" the cult of the goddess in the urban area and in the extramural territory. The urban cult of Poseidoniate Hera was focused on the so-called Southern Sanctuary, while the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele functioned as the main extramural sanctuary.

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54) suggested that a shrine of Artemis *Hemera* could have been situated in proximity to the temple of Athena in the Northern Sanctuary or alternatively in the Southern Sanctuary (Torelli 2008, 35–45; Biraschi 2012, 292–93).

In addition to these centres, a rural sanctuary, interpreted as dedicated to the goddess, was situated at Fonte di Roccadaspide, 11 km northeast of Poseidonia, in an area abundant in springs on the banks of a small brook tributary of the Calore River. The position of the sanctuary was highly strategic, as it was placed at the natural intersection of the Calore and its tributaries, facing towards the Alburni Mountains and the Vallo di Diano, which were inhabited by Italic peoples.

The study of the surviving material remains of the cult of Hera in the different sanctuaries of the Poseidoniate territory is of extreme importance in determining the possible differences in cultic functions between urban and extramural shrines. This particularly applies to the most abundant class of material discovered, that is, votive coroplastic. The analysis of the iconography of the goddess as portrayed on the votive figurines, for example, could demonstrate the differences in the attributes of Hera worshipped in the single sanctuaries during the Greek period. In addition, the analysis of the different types of ceramic material from the different sites could present the evidence of the rituals performed and of the gender composition of the worshippers attending the shrines. The analysis of ceramic material in sanctuary contexts always presents certain challenges due to the difficulty in determining whether certain pieces were used as votives or as tools for ritual. This could be, for instance, the case with such items as unguentaria, which can function for both purposes. In addition, the information gained by examining the finds may be patchy due to the poor accuracy of the documentation of the early excavations at Paestum.

In the following sub-chapters, I will concentrate on analysing the topography of the individual urban and extramural sanctuaries of Hera in Poseidonia and its *chora* during the Greek period (below, Fig. 1). I will particularly aim to demonstrate that the differences in cultic uses between the urban and extramural shrines were dictated by the different nature of the attributes of the Hera worshipped in the urban area and in its outlying territory, respectively, and that this is also illustrated by an analysis of the types of the votive finds retrieved from different contexts. The study of the topography of the sanctuaries in the Greek period will function as a mirror for the later description of the continuity and changes in the topography of the shrines and their use during the Lucanian period.

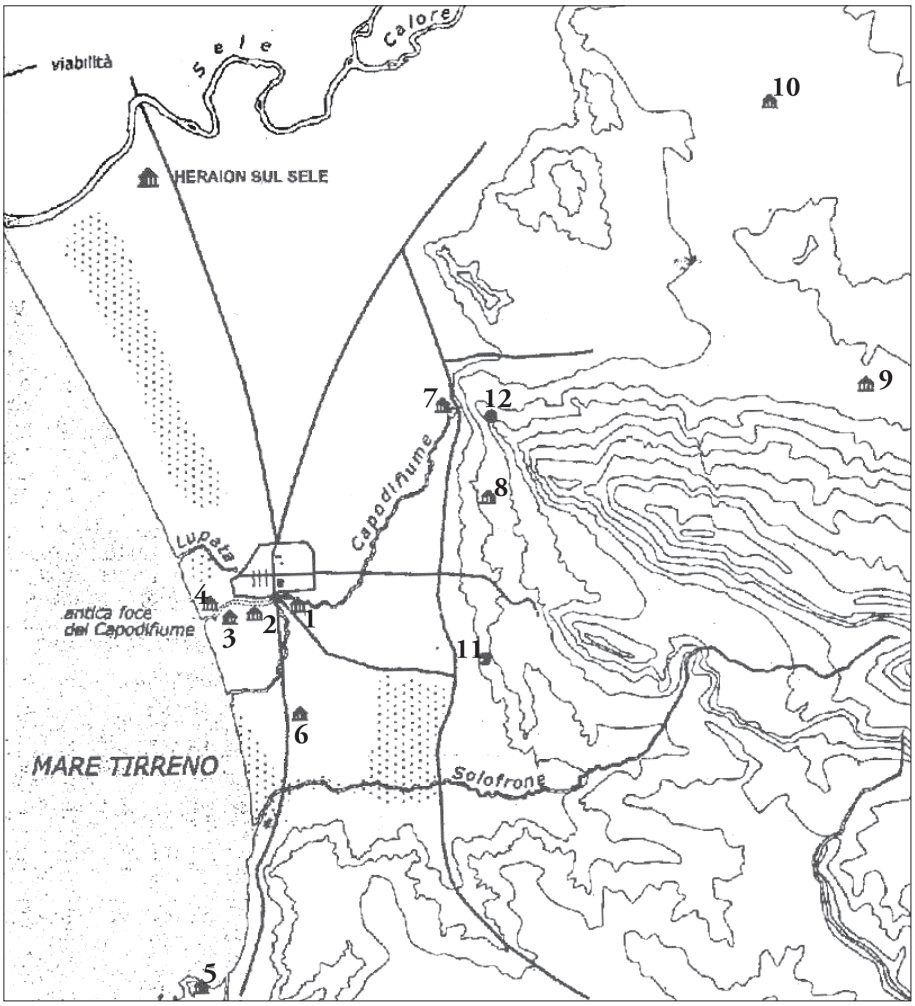

Fig. 1: Distribution of the sanctuaries in the territory of Poseidonia/Paistom. 1: Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Santa Venera; 2: Sacred area west of the *Aphrodision*; 3: Sanctuary at "*Base di Colonne*"; 4: Sanctuary at the Camping Site "Apollo"; 5: Sanctuary of Agropoli; 6: Sacred area at Linora; 7: Sanctuary of Capodifiume; 8: Sacred area of the Getsemani church; 9: Sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide; 10: Sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella; 11: Votive deposit from Località "*Acqua o Fontana che bolle*"; 12: Votive deposit from the Granato hill (Cipriani 2012).

2.4.1 The Urban Southern Sanctuary

Following the theories of Sestieri, since from the 1950s, scholars have long believed that all of the buildings situated within the *temenos* of the Southern Sanctuary (below 37, Fig. 2), including the enneastyle known earlier as the "Basilica" and

the so-called Temple of Neptune, were dedicated to Hera.[62] Despite the long standing influence of Sestieri's theories over the research of the cults of Paestum, the presence of two adjacent temples dedicated to the same deity would have constituted an unnecessary redundancy, in contrast with Greek custom. A border stone datable to the first half of the 6th century BCE found in the area east of the so-called Basilica, dedicated to the centaur Chiron and not accounted for by Sestieri, was instead the proof that already in the Archaic period the Southern Sanctuary housed cults of other deities than Hera. In the mid-1980s Angelo Maria Ardovino suggested that the border stone indicated the presence in the sanctuary of a health-related cult and that the role of Hera as sole deity of the sanctuary was untenable.[63]

Later, in attributing the so-called Temple of Neptune to Apollo and considering the presence in the Southern Sanctuary of *argoi lithoi* similar to those used in Metapontum to enclose the area of what was once thought to be the Temple of *Apollo Lykaios*, Mario Torelli (1992, 62–65) suggested the presence of a health-related cult of Apollo in Poseidonia.[64] Archaeological evidence has also indicated the presence of the cult of Zeus in the Southern Sanctuary, in the form of clay votive figurines portraying the god alone or enthroned with Hera.

Determining the cultic composition of the Southern Sanctuary is made more difficult by the confusion created by the earlier excavations of the site and by the fact that the votive deposits attesting the presence of different cults in the area were disturbed already in Antiquity, concurrently with the different reorganisations of the city over time. The understanding of the Southern Sanctuary's extension and of the cults practiced there during the Greek period is complicated by the changes caused to the topography of the area by construction activity in both Lucanian and Roman periods. The sanctuary stretched far more north than it is now visible, its northern boundary having been obliterated by the buildings of the Roman Forum.

One of the main architectonical features of the Southern Sanctuary during the Greek archaic period was the enneastyle temple once thought to be a basilica and now traditionally attributed to Hera. The temple was chronologically the first

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[62] Sestieri 1953, 19; Sestieri 1955a; Sestieri 1955b; Cipriani 2012, 47–48.

[63] Ardovino 1986, 107–99. Following Ardovino's views, Marina Cipriani (1997, 211–25; 2012, 47–50) made an important contribution to the study of the cults of the Southern Sanctuary, decisively confuting Sestieri's theories.

[64] Torelli saw the votives found in pits situated in the Southern Sanctuary, dated to the Roman Republican period and representing clay votive anatomical parts, as a proof of the continuity of the cult of Apollo in the Roman period, which would thus support the attribution of the temple to this god.

built of the still extant temples in the urban area of Poseidonia. Its construction began around the mid-6th century BCE, concurrently with the first failed attempt to construct a temple at the sanctuary at Foce del Sele. In the first years of life of Poseidonia, the sacred area of Hera in the city possibly consisted only of a *temenos* and an altar formed by the ashes of sacrifices, as was also the case at Foce del Sele and other *Heraia* of Argive/Achaean Hera such as those at Argos, Samos, Perachora and Tiryns.[65] The same kind of altar was also present in the early phases of the *Heraia* of other major Achaean cities of Magna Graecia before the beginning of the monumental phase of the cultic areas there.[66]

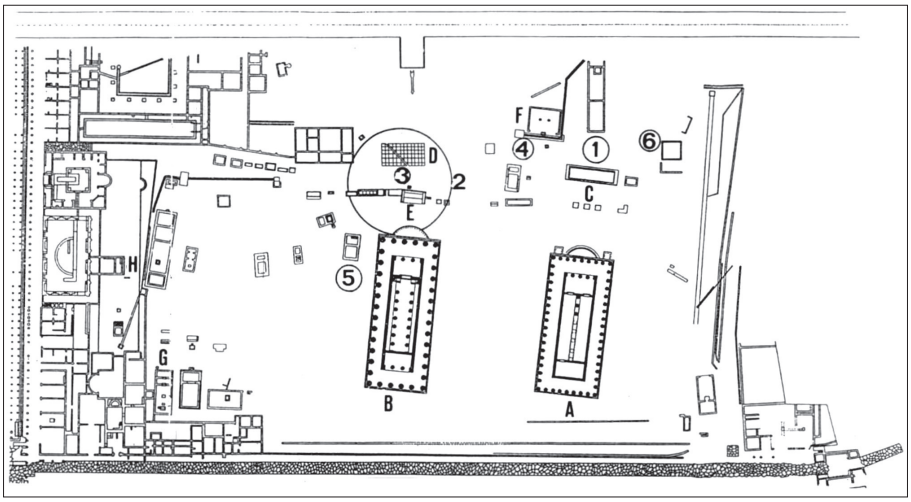

Fig. 2: The urban Southern Sanctuary: Enneastyle (the so-called Basilica) (A); so-called Temple of Neptune (B); altar of the Enneastyle (C); Late Archaic altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune (D); Roman altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune (E); so-called "*Orologio ad acqua*" (F); Temple of the Roman period in the area dedicated to chthonic cults (G); so-called Italic temple (H); so-called *Asklepieion* (I). In the map, at the left side of the Late Archaic altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune is the compound of the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*"; south of the same altar, the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*", and the so-called *Asklepieion* is the row of thirteen altars not related to any temple, 12 of which were most probably erected in the Lucanian period (Map from *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes. Actes du Colloque International de Lille 1993*, Naples 1997).

[65] Greco G. 1998, 47–48. Karl Kerenyi (1972, 121, 136) had already suggested the presence of an altar of ashes at Foce del Sele based on the same feature at the *Heraia* of Argos and Samos.

[66] Greco G. 1998, 48. Giangiulio, 1982, 58; Mertens, 1983, 191–207 (Kroton). Mertens, 1974, 212 (Metapontum).

The building was completed around 520 BCE, after it underwent three different phases of construction. One of the most important architectural features in the temple is the presence of two naves in the cella of the structure. This feature caused many scholars to believe that the temple housed two cultic statues, or two statues of Hera represented by different attributes.[67] These theories have recently been strongly challenged by the studies of Dieter Mertens on the architectural structures of the temple. As he has convincingly demonstrated, after three building phases the original opisthodomos was substituted by an *adyton* that was only accessible through the cella. The *adyton*, and not the proper cella, was the area where the one cultic statue of the deity worshipped in the temple was placed, thus undermining the possibility that the two naves implied the presence of two different cult statues.[68] In this light, the presence of a dual cult of Hera *Kourotrophos* and Hera *Hoplosmia* cannot be demonstrated, at least based on the planimetry of the enneastyle.

The attribution of the enneastyle to Hera has never been extensively challenged.[69] Certainly Hera, the most venerated goddess among the Achaeans of Magna Graecia, must have had a temple in the city rather early on, and the enneastyle, being the oldest of the three extant temples, would fit the identification. The three large deposit pits found by Sestieri in the 1950s southeast of the temple yielded several bases of cups dating from the 4th century BCE to the beginning of the 3rd century BCE with the name of the goddess or its abbreviation inscribed on the inner faces of the sherds: therefore, the presence of the cult in the Southern Sanctuary seems to be demonstrated.[70] In addition, the above-mentioned

[67] Ardovino (1986, 47 n. 2) suggested that the temple could have been dedicated to two deities, such as the divine couple Hera and Zeus, Demeter and Kore, or the Dioscuri. Filippo Coarelli (1992, 328) suggested the hypothesis that the cella could have housed two statues of Hera, portrayed both as *Hoplosmia* and *Kourotrophos*. Following Coarelli's theory, Gianfranco Maddoli (2000, 50–51) presented the example of the *Heraion* of Samos, where Hera had two cultic statues. Regarding a summary of the debate concerning the issue, see Cipriani 2012, 59.

[68] Mertens 1992, 546–50; Mertens 1993; Mertens 2000, 44; Mertens 2006, 152–54; Cipriani 2012, 54–58. For what concerns the enneastyle and the altar, see Sestieri 1953, 129 n. 1709; Mertens 1993, 1–5; Mertens 2006, 142; Cipriani 2012, 59.

[69] Torelli 1988, 59–60; 2008, 15.

[70] The inscriptions present either the full name of the goddess (Ἥρα) or its abbreviation. The abbreviated forms are HHH or Ἥρ. Some abbreviated specimens present the H and P combined in a monogram. One of the sherds with the full name has all the three letters combined into a monogram. One sherd with the full name of the goddess has the letters painted and not inscribed. The inscription was curved onto the inner surface of the bottom of the cup (Sestieri 1955b, 150; Neutsch 1956, col. 437; Guarducci 1967–1978, I, 385–87; Cipriani 1992a, 383; Sacco 1996,

figurines of Hera and Zeus posed together were found in the pits within the Southern Sanctuary, reinforcing this conclusion. Finally, even allowing for the generic nature of the iconography of the coroplastic material of the finds from the deposits located around the "Basilica", the large number of figurines of female goddesses, together with the above-mentioned evidence, confirms the presence of an important cult of Hera in the Southern Sanctuary.

Nonetheless, Marina Cipriani is right in pointing out that there are several factors that might cast doubts on the certainty of the attribution of the enneastyle to Hera.[71] Firstly, the enneastyle has been considered a *Heraion* mostly due to its similarities with the Temple B at Metapontum, which has been traditionally attributed to Hera. In particular, the presence of the double-naves cella was considered a proof that both temples were *Heraia*. Nevertheless, studies conducted by Antonio De Siena and Dieter Mertens have convincingly demonstrated how the traditional attribution of the two urban Metapontine temples must be switched, so that in fact the Temple B of Metapontum should be attributed to Apollo *Lykaios* and the Temple A to its south should be identified with a *Heraion*. In particular, De Siena demonstrated how the *argoi lithoi* dedicated to Apollo *Lykaios* were surrounding Temple B, permitting the identification of the structure with the *Apollonion*.[72] Moreover, Mertens (1988, 547–55) has demonstrated how the double-naves cella was not only a feature of the *Heraia*, but was also a rather common trait of different types of temples in the Greek world, especially in the Western colonies.[73] In addition, as Marina Cipriani has pointed out, while the *argoi lithoi* in Metapontum are mostly located around the Temple B, now believed to be of Apollo, the same cannot be said for Poseidonia. There – other than one example located between the altars of the so-called Temple of Neptune and the enneastyle – the stones are mostly set in the ground east of the enneastyle, next to the latter temple's altar and other altars, or are generally more scattered than in Metapontum. Thus, equating the so-called Temple of Neptune with the Temple

206–207, figs. 104–109; Cipriani 2012, 48, 55, 57; Biraschi 2012, 301); Zancani Montuoro mentioned a sherd of an *askos* from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele with the inscription [H]PAI (1937, 299). Sestieri (1952a) mentioned a sherd with the inscription HPA retrieved from the area of the Roman Forum, north of the Southern Sanctuary.

[71] Cipriani 2012, 57.

[72] De Siena 1998, 162–63; Mertens 2006, 153

[73] As examples of double-naves temples Mertens listed the 7th century BCE "Temple h" at Megara Hyblaea and the 6th century BCE temples of Locri/Marasà (probably dedicated to Aphrodite), the Temple B of Metapontum (now known to have been an *Apollonion*), the enneastyle of Poseidonia, and the temple of Apollo at Cirò, in the territory of Krimisa, situated north of Kroton.

of Apollo in Poseidonia based on the example of the presence of the *argoi lithoi* in Metapontum does not seem to apply.[74]

The imposing so-called Temple of Neptune was built around 470 BCE, and it is the largest temple of the Southern Sanctuary. As was discussed above, the temple was associated by Mario Torelli with the cult of Apollo due to the similarities with what he believed to be the topography of the urban sanctuaries of Metapontum. Other scholars have suggested that the deity to which the temple was dedicated had to be identified with Zeus, based on its obvious association with Hera through the institution of marriage, and on the presence of votive figurines portraying the god enthroned alone or with Hera in the several votive deposit pits found in the Southern Sanctuary. The attribution of one of the temples to Apollo or Zeus seems plausible on the ground that the cults of both deities were present to a certain extent within the Southern Sanctuary, as it is attested by the votive finds recovered in the area.[75] This association with Apollo and Zeus and their poliadic traits, would identify Hera as the focus of an important poliadic cult in the Southern Sanctuary, as was the case with most of the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia.

At the extreme northern side of the *temenos* of the sanctuary was situated a temple built possibly in the last quarter of the 6th century BCE. The temple achieved its fullest size in the Greek period, before being reduced in size due to the construction of a stoa in the 4th century BCE. This latter construction caused the obliteration of the cella of the temple. The presence of a dedication to Aphrodite on the inscription of a cup dated to the 4th century BCE that was found at an altar which Torelli attributed to this temple, prompted him to attribute the structure to Aphrodite. The attribution would be plausible if the altar could be decisively assigned to this building, but this is a disputed matter, since the French-Italian team that carried out probing excavations within the area suggested another structure as the altar of the temple.[76]

The area northwest of the so-called Temple of Neptune now underneath two later temples and the so-called "*Edificio con eschara*", was the centre of an archaic religious cult that was eventually absorbed by the cults performed later in the temples and the building. The presence in the strata below the level of the later

[74] Cipriani 2012, 69, 109–10.

[75] Concerning the so-called Temple of Neptune, see Labrouste 1877; Krauss 1941; Mertens 1992, 555–60; Gruben 2001, 274–78; Mertens 2006, 283–95; Mertens 2007, 153–61; Cipriani 2012, 68–70.

[76] Sestieri 1956, 23; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1980, 19–20, 25–27; Bertarelli Sestieri 1982–1984, 186; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 51–52; 60; Torelli 2008, 21–30; Cipriani 2012, 87–91.

buildings of certain cultic features, such as water channels dug in the rock and pits filled with the remains of ritual meals and votive deposits datable to the end of the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE may suggest that a chthonic cult was practised in the area during the Greek Archaic period. The French-Italian team that has conducted research in this area has suggested that the cult could have been dedicated to Demeter and Kore.[77]

Ceramic evidence of the Greek period from the Southern Sanctuary is not very extensive. It includes a *lekythos* and few fragments of Attic pottery from the end of the 5th century BCE, but it is lacking specimens from the Archaic period.[78]

Concerning the coroplastics, the only retrieved specimen of the type of the goddess lifting her arm as if to brandish a spear found in the Southern Sanctuary, once thought to be a portrayal of Hera *Hoplosmia* (Pl. II, No. 7), has been convincingly interpreted by Marina Cipriani as a dedication to Athena. In addition, several votives retrieved from the sanctuary portray a goddess sitting on a throne holding a horse (Pl. I, No. 3). The type with the horse was a Poseidoniate development and it is not found at other sites. Horses were bred at Capo Colonna in the area of the garden consecrated to Hera.[79] In the urban area the cult may have concentrated on the economic and social aspects of horse breeding, from which the whole institution of the *polis* benefitted.[80] The above-mentioned evidence confirms that the role of Hera as sole deity of the Southern Sanctuary is untenable. By inference from the presence of the cult of Zeus and Apollo, and through certain analogies with the Achaean customs, it is probable that the urban cult focused on the aspects of the patronage of civic institutions through the protection of lawful marriage and the economic stability of the community. As the focus of a poliadic cult, Hera was seen as a regal female figure, as attested by the votive figurine portraying the goddess enthroned holding a pomegranate, datable to the 460s BCE, found in one of the votive deposits of the Southern Sanctuary (Pl. III, No. 12). There is no attestation of the presence of aspects related to the military sphere for the Hera of Poseidonia, as opposed to the veneration for Krotoniate Hera *Hoplosmia*.

Although the identification of the deities worshipped in the two major Doric temples of the Southern Sanctuary cannot be defined with certainty, in accordance with Achaean custom one of them was probably dedicated to Hera. Despite the

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[77] Wyler – Pollini – Haumesser 2005, 360, 368–78; Cipriani 2012, 107.

[78] Cipriani 2012, 80–82.

[79] Mele 1984, 26; 41; Giangiulio 1989, 57.

[80] Greco E. 1979, 7–26; Cipriani 1989, 71–91; Mele 1990, 28; Greco G. 1998, 53.

plausible doubts, the dating of the temple, the location of the deposits containing most of the material dedicated to enthroned goddesses, and the cups with the theonym of Hera, the goddess seems to still be the main candidate for the deity venerated in the enneastyle temple.

2.4.2 The *Heraion* at Foce del Sele

The *Heraion* at Foce del Sele (below 43, Fig. 3), with its peculiar geographical position and the extensive archaeological assemblage, contributes to further enlarging our understanding of the variety of attributes that Hera held in the Greek period. The sanctuary is situated ca. 8,5 km north of Poseidonia itself, and 2,4 km from the sea, on the southern banks of the river *Silaros* (modern Sele). As has been demonstrated by modern research, at the time of the construction of the shrine by the Greeks, the coastline was situated circa 250 m inland from its current location, so that the sanctuary was originally located closer to the sea than it nowadays is, although not in its immediate proximity.[81]

According to myth, the sanctuary of Foce del Sele was founded by Jason and the Argonauts.[82] Despite the obvious association with seafaring through the ship Argo and its famous voyage, the sanctuary was, as opposed to Capo Colonna, not in the immediate proximity to the sea. I believe that in establishing the sanctuary, the colonists must have taken into consideration its connection to the limits of the *chora*, and specifically to the river. At Capo Colonna the seashore

[81] Senatore – Pescatore 2010, 35-52; Greco G. 2012, 172; Greco G. 2015, 103.

[82] Strab. 6,1,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,70; Solin. 2,7. The use by Strabo of the term Ἀργονία in mentioning the epiclesis of the Hera worshipped at Foce del Sele has been central to the debate concerning the history of the foundation of the sanctuary and also on the nature of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia. Following the example relayed by Pliny, who uses the topographic attribute of *Argiva*, many scholars have believed that the manuscripts of the text of Strabo had contained a wrong transcription of the term, thus strengthening the view that the cult of Hera at Poseidonia had its roots in the cult of the goddess as practiced in the Eastern Argive Plain. The recent work of Alfonso Mele, however, has demonstrated that the epithet reported in the text of Strabo is original and that it refers to the protection granted by Hera to Jason and the Argonauts and their ship Argo. Mele has also convincingly shown how the milieu of the myths of the Argonauts and of Thessalian and Achaean Phthiotic heritage were also part of the ancient beliefs of the Achaeans and their cult of Hera already in the Eastern Argive Plain. Having this in mind, in my opinion determining which of the two possible options for the text of Strabo was correct is not consequential for the purpose of understanding the Poseidoniate cult of Hera. These were, in fact, both part of the nature of the figure of Hera, who was both Ἀργονία and *Argiva* in the Achaean cult (Mele 1995, 429, 436–37; Mele 1998, 75, 81; Mele 2002, 69–70, 86–90; Biraschi 2012, 14–16; Mele 2014, 305–11).

coincided with the southernmost area of the *chora* of Kroton. Nevertheless, the sanctuary of Capo Colonna was the only one of all the major extramural *Heraia* in Achaean Magna Graecia to be located on the seashore. The fact that all of the extramural Achaean *Heraia* of Magna Graecia were situated next to watercourses marking the limit of the city's territory, but not all next to the sea, is an indication that in the planning of the sanctuaries the maritime aspect was not the decisive one.

The marking of a border with a landmark did not constitute the establishment of a rigid barrier against everything that was "other". Indeed, the topographical planning of the sanctuary at Foce del Sele suggests that from the beginning the shrine was intended to be a meeting place between Greek and non-Greek cultures. The myth of Jason and the Argonauts was well known in the region, at least among the Etruscans.[83] In addition, the presence of a bend of the Sele River ca. 500 m inland from the sanctuary and situated at Volta del Forno, next to the small hill of Santa Cecilia, functioned as a landing spot protected from the winds and thus constituted a suitable natural haven for small ships.[84]

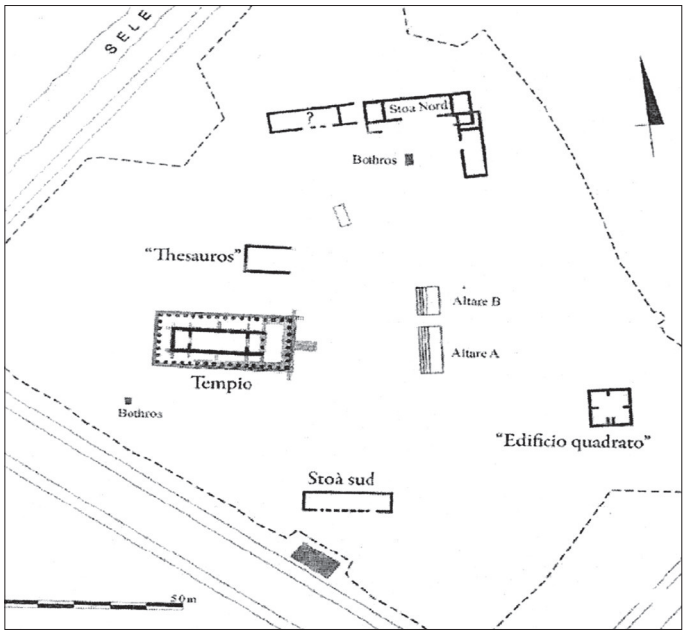

Fig. 3: *Heraion* at Foce del Sele (de La Genière 1999).

[83] Giovanna Greco (2012, 178) mentions a bucchero olpe from Cerveteri dated to the mid-6th century BCE depicting Jason, Medeia, Daedalus, and the Argonauts. She points out that the Western travels of Jason were based on interactions and peaceful relations with local populations. Concerning a discussion of the olpe from Cerveteri, see Martelli – Rizzo 1988–1989, 7–56.

[84] Tocco Sciarelli – de La Genière – Greco G. 1992, 40; Greco E. 1996, 175–78; Greco G. 2012, 172, 178.

The location of the shrine was therefore carefully chosen in order to pursue and maintain trade, political, and religious contacts with the surrounding peoples. The fact that the famous silver disc dedicated to Hera found in the Southern Sanctuary and dated to the mid-6th century BCE and once thought to be a dedication of Poseidoniate warriors to Hera *Hoplosmia*, is, according to more recent influential theories, actually a dedication of the Italic Amineans to the goddess, demonstrates how the surrounding populations were aware of the prestige of Poseidoniate Hera already at the early stages of the existence of the *polis* and how these sanctuaries favoured the connections between ethnical and social groups, which often mixed.[85]

In addition to the liminal aspects, rituals related to the cult of Hera as worshipped in the Eastern Argive Plain often included ablutions for the worshippers and the ritual bathing of the cult statue of the goddess or of the *xoana* representing her. An indication that reasons related to the performance of certain rituals was one of the factors behind the topographical planning of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele can be seen in the striking topographical similarities between this sanctuary and another important shrine offshoot of the Argive/Achaean cult of Hera, the *Heraion* of Samos. This latter was the stage of the festival of the *Tonaia*, during which the *xoanon* representing the goddess was ritually bathed in the waters at the confluence of the marshes and the sea near the sanctuary.[86] As with the *Heraion* of Foce del Sele, also the sanctuary of Samos was an extramural shrine. It was also, as was its Poseidoniate counterpart, set in an area

[85] The disc, diameter 9,7 cm, weight 570,80 gr, was found by Sestieri in 1952 among other material of different date from the cella of a temple built in the north-western area of the Southern Sanctuary. The building was constructed in the 3rd century BCE and was probably used after renovation in the 2nd century BCE as a sort of treasury for valuable material of different dates and from different religious buildings. According to the interpretation presented by Margherita Guarducci, which was widely accepted for a long time, the disc, inscribed in Achaean dialect, would bear the text: Τᾶς ἡέρας ἡιαρόν. Fρόνθι τόξ' ἁμῖν. This latter was considered to be a dedication to Hera *Hoplosmia*. In the last two decades the interpretation given to the text by Adriano La Regina has gained wide support at the expenses of Guarducci's theory. According to La Regina the text must be read: Τᾶς ἡέρας ἡιαρόν. Fρόν<ε>οι τὸξ Ἀμίν(ες). The edition of the inscription and the commentaries are found in Guarducci 1952, 145–52, tab. 29; Sestieri 1952a,36; 1952b, n. 1553; *SEG* XII 412; Jeffery 1955, 78, n. 1; 79, fig. 1, n. 1; Neutsch 1956, col. 439; *LSAG* 252, 260, n. 3; Gallavotti 1975, 298–300; Guarducci 1976, 245–47; *SEG* XXIX 982; Landi 1979, 278–79, n. 123, tab. 44; Gallavotti 1979–1980, 1021–22; Ardovino 1980, 53–54; Giacomelli 1988, 27, n. 12; Arena 1989, 19–20; 1996, 45, n. 19; La Regina 1998, 44–47; Dubois 2002, 62–62, n. 18; Biraschi 2012, 300–301, 304.

[86] Above 26 and note 41.

of marshes and in proximity to the sea. All other major extramural sanctuaries of Argive/Achaean Hera, both in mainland Greece and in Magna Graecia, were planned to be built in proximity to water. The association of sanctuaries with the watercourses through myths and the performance of the Samian rituals suggests that the topographical choice of the setting of the extramural *Heraia* must have had a cultic aspect.

The sanctuary at Foce del Sele was built amidst luxuriant vegetation in an area surrounded by swamps, drylands, and the course of the river. This setting befitted a deity who was also protectress of the fertility of the land. Moreover, modern research has demonstrated how a cultivated area, a *kepos*, together with a surrounding uncultivated area, was included within the *temenos* of the sanctuary. Human activity introduced myrtle to the cultivated area of the sanctuary.[87] As discussed above, a similar garden area, with adjacent uncultivated sections of land, was located in the *Heraion* at Capo Colonna. In the Krotoniate sanctuary animals were grazing free within the area consecrated to the goddess, and these included horses. The presence at Foce del Sele, as well as in the urban Southern Sanctuary, of the peculiarly Poseidoniate type of votives of Hera enthroned holding a horse dated to the Archaic period (Pl. I, No. 3) suggests that horse breeding was an important feature at Poseidonia as well.

The *Heraion* at Foce del Sele was built concurrently with the urban area, at the beginning of the 6th century BCE. Despite the legend of the foundation of the sanctuary by Jason and the Argonauts and the fact that a few fragments of Mycenaean pottery and other Late Bronze Age imports have been discovered in the area of Paestum as well as other settlements in its vicinity, there are no indications of a stable Mycenaean settlement in the area.[88] Therefore, the possibility of a first foundation of the sanctuary in Mycenaean times must be excluded. Much more plausible is that the myth of the Argonauts and the foundation of the sanctuary was developed later and was used by the Poseidoniates themselves in order to link their claim to the territory with the mythical past.[89] Therefore, contrary to even recent theories, the τεῖχος mentioned by Strabo as built by the Sybarites in their supposed first phase

[87] Mariotti Lippi – Mori Secci 2010, 53–59.

[88] A fragment of Mesoelladic coarse ware was found at Volta del Forno, where a possible landing spot for boats was located (Greco G. 2012, 174, 177). Mycenaean pottery was found in Montedoro di Eboli, north of the Sele River (Schnapp Gourbeillion 1983, 160–63; Mele 2014, 296). Mycenaean bronze was found in Polla and Pertosa, both located in the Cilento area south of Poseidonia (Gastaldi – D'Agostino 1983, 155–59; Mele 2014, 296–97).

[89] Mele 1992, 618–19.

of colonisation cannot be identified with the area of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.[90]

As suggested by the archaeological evidence, activity at the sanctuary began between the beginning and the first half of the 6th century BCE.[91] The monumental phase of the sanctuary area began concurrently with the beginning of the same process in the urban area. The construction of a temple was probably initiated in the second half of the 6th century BCE. However, this first attempt at construction failed. The Archaic metopes found in the area of the sanctuary were perhaps intended to be put on display on this temple, but eleven out of the 51 metopes found were not completed.[92] Giovanna Greco (2012, 182) has suggested that the reasons behind the abandonment of the structure probably lay in the swampy nature of the terrain. The builders of the first Temple of Hera at Foce del Sele might have lacked the technical skills necessary to overcome the difficulties posed by such demanding terrain.

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[90] Strab. 5,4,13. Archaeological finds demonstrate how material from the most ancient chronological contexts such as Corinthian pottery were essentially the same for both Foce del Sele and the urban area (Cipriani 2002a, 363–88; Greco G. 2012, 176). In her study of the frieze of the sanctuary at Foce del Sele, Frances Van Keuren (1989, 24–26) has suggested that the *Heraion* was built earlier than the city. In this theory Van Keuren followed a passage of Aristotle (Arist. *Pol.* 5,1303a). According to the philosopher, Sybaris was founded by Achaeans and Dorian Troizenians. When the Troizenians became too numerous, the Achaeans expelled them. Van Keuren suggested that the Troizenians first built the *Heraion* and then the city (she followed Giulio Giannelli in this (1963, 125–26). Jean Bérard (1957, 201–21) suggested that the sanctuary was part of the τεῖχος or located very close to it. Following the extensive work by Mele concerning the religious and mythical background of the founders of Poseidonia as deeply rooted in Achaean custom, the theories of a Troizenian colonisation of Poseidonia have lost almost all support. Sestieri believed that the Troizenians expelled from Sybaris founded a settlement on what is now called Monte Tresino and its promontory on the sea 20 km south of Poseidonia, on etymological grounds and attributed to this latter the ruins situated on the mountain side (Sestieri 1952, 247–52). One of the most supported theories on the whereabouts of the τεῖχος places it on the promontory of Agropoli, which constituted the southern limit of the *chora* of Poseidonia and was also where the temple of Poseidon may have stood (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1954, 172; Greco E. 1979, 19, 21; Fiammenghi 1985, 53; Greco E. 1992c, 164; Torelli 1992, 51; Biraschi 2012, 315).

[91] Material from the chronological contexts of this period includes fragments of Corinthian ware of the same type found in the oldest strata in the city, and the type of clay votive figurines of Corinthian production portraying an enthroned goddess holding a child (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 220, fig. 5; Cipriani 1997, 219; Greco G. 1998, 48–49, tab. 7; 2012, 236).

[92] If the reconstruction of the planimetry of the temple presented by de La Genière and Theodorescu is correct, the structure could have had twelve columns on its long side, and six on its short side. The size of the temple would have been sufficient for 64 metopes, of which only 40 were finished, a sign that the structure was not completed (de La Genière − Theodorescu 2003, 97–102; de La Genière 2010, 532–35; Greco G. 2012, 192).

When the architects entrusted with the building of the temple were able to overcome the technical difficulties, sometimes between 510 and 490 BCE, the building was finally erected. The temple was a peripteral of the Doric order oriented from east to west. The twelve late Archaic friezes found in the area of the sanctuary, along with triglyphs and metopes portraying young girls in motion are attributed to this temple.[93]

The incomplete state of several of the metopes in the first series is a significant hindrance in understanding whether they were all part of the same mythological and iconographical corpus and whether both series that were carved at Foce del Sele were actually on display on the temple. Moreover, the metopes were found scattered throughout the entire area of the sanctuary, some inserted in later buildings. Even some of the late Archaic metopes with representations of girls in motion were found inserted in the so-called Lucanian stoa, so that if they indeed belonged to the final phase of the Temple of Hera, they were not, or at least not all, on display on the building when the so-called Lucanian stoa was built, between the mid-4th century BCE and the first half of the 3rd century BCE.

The dating of the first cycle of metopes has varied, according to the opinions of different scholars, in a time span between 580 BCE and 540 BCE, in any case several decades prior to the construction of the final version of the Temple of Hera. Since the building for which they had been intended, the first Temple of Hera, was not completed, the metopes were not put on display, or at least not before the construction of the second temple, between 510 BCE and 490 BCE, if some of them were reused in the second temple. According to the most common interpretations the first metopes included representations of episodes from at least two heroic cycles, namely those related to Heracles and Achilles.[94] These same heroes were known figures to the non-Greek people surrounding

[93] These latter were carved between the end of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century BCE (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 235; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 133; Greco G. 2012, 193).

[94] The cycle of Heracles would include a Centauromachy, a Gigantomachy, the fight with the Nemean lion, and a Silenomachy. Following the interpretation suggested by Paola Zancani, the latter presented a Poseidoniate version of the myth, where Heracles defended Hera from the attack of the Sileni, in accordance with the Archaic Achaean custom, according to which the goddess was benevolent to the hero, as she was towards other heroes of the Achaean mythical past (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco, 1954, 146–53; Greco G. 2012, 234, 243–46). The metopes portraying the Achillean cycle may have portrayed, among other subjects, Troilus and Patroclus, three figures interpreted as Helen, Andromache carrying the infant Astyanax, Patroclus killed by Hector, and the centaur Chiron.

Poseidonia, and thus they would have offered a visual bridge that could ideally bring together different bordering nations. This was possibly the intention of the planners of the first temple of Hera, which was never completed, so that it is not possible to ascertain whether these metopes were ever seen, at least in full display.

The second series of metopes is contemporary with the construction of the second and final temple. Out of twelve recovered metopes, eleven show a pair of young girls moving from the left towards the right. One portrays a girl running away with her head turned as if to look over her shoulders. The most convincing interpretation of this scene is that the girls represent the Nereids during the episode of the seizure of Thetis by Peleus.[95] If the figures there portrayed are indeed the Nereids, then the metopes would be befitting the figure of Hera as *teleia*, the "tamer" of young girls through marriage, and the rat and the successive marriage would be the visual representation of the "taming". As discussed above, the "taming" of creatures was under the protection of Hera, and it was closely related to the fertility of land. If indeed these metopes were on display on the later temple of Hera, alone or with some of the metopes of the first series, then one may ask what was the reason behind the decision to carve new metopes with a different motif, one perhaps more befitting a female audience than the heroes of the first series. Perhaps the display of these metopes on the temple signalled the nature of the cult of Foce del Sele as favouring themes more related to the *mundus muliebris* and to the goddess' aspect as *teleia*. Archaeological evidence suggests that females constituted most of the worshippers at the site since the first stages of existence of the sanctuary. This, in my opinion, is a strong indication that the topographical choice of the site of the sanctuary lay not only in the importance of creating a common interaction point between different communities at the extremity of the city's territory, but also in the importance of water, vegetation and fertility in the ritual use of the sacred area.

A further indication of this fact is presented by other material evidence. Beginning from the end of the 6th century BCE, clay figurines were produced that portrayed girls holding each other's hands in a circle, sometimes accompanied by another girl playing the flute, in what appears to be a ritual dance before entering marital age (Pl. III, No. 11). In another type of figure, a goddess is portrayed enthroned, her right hand holding a child. This latter type has not been found at the urban sanctuary, so that it can be inferred that this feature must relate to the nature of the cult in the extramural sanctuary, which may have been more focused on the themes of female fertility than the actual civic aspects

[95] Paola Zancani Montuoro 1958, 7–26; also Greco G. 2012, 183, 236.

of the institution of marriage (Pl. I, No. 1). Another popular type of votives from this period was the figurine of Hera enthroned holding a horse, also found in the urban Southern Sanctuary, indicating that the Hera of Foce del Sele had aspects of the *potnia therōn* and the protectress of fertility (Pl. I, No. 3).

Concerning the topographical features of the sanctuary at Foce del Sele, the presence of two parallel altars is a peculiar feature belonging to the last constructional phase of the temple. Underneath one of the two altars, altar B, was perhaps the oldest feature of the sanctuary, an altar of ashes, which was probably surrounded by a *temenos*. As discussed above, an altar of ashes was probably the first structure in the urban Southern Sanctuary as well.[96] Altar A is larger in size than altar B, but both follow the same orientation and share the same construction features, and are datable to the same construction phase, that is, the period between the end of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century BCE: therefore, they were coeval with the last phase of the temple. The presence of the two altars has raised the hypothesis that they functioned as a stage for different rituals dedicated to Hera, worshipped for her attributes of *Pais* and *Teleia*.[97] It is possible that the construction of the two monumental altars occurred within the framework of the first monumental phase of the sanctuary beginning from the second half of the 6th century BCE and was probably fuelled by the increasing wealth of Poseidonia and by the popularity of the cult.

Analysis of the ceramic evidence suggests that from the beginning of the activity at the sanctuary, most of its worshippers were female. Most of the rather scant amount of pottery finds from the first half of the 6th century BCE are unguentaria such as *pyxides, aryballoi*, and *alabastra*, and other types of vessels related to libations, such as *oinochoai*. From the end of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century BCE there are also vases related to the symposium, such as craters, *skyphoi* and *dinoi*, which were not necessarily confined to the male world.[98] The majority of finds from this period are *lekythoi*, another type related to the female sphere. The same can be said for other objects as well,

[96] Above 37and notes 65–66.

[97] Paola Zancani Montuoro noticed that the surface layer of altar A contained copious remains of animal bones. The area of altar B, in contrast, did not yield the remains of any animal bones, unlike the ash altar beneath it. Zancani Montuoro thus suggested that after the first monumental building phase of the area, altar B was reserved for preliminary ceremonies and non-animal sacrifices, while the latter were held at the larger altar A (Greco G. 2012, 183). Lately, Juliette de La Genière (2010, 542) has suggested that the second altar was possibly donated by Sybarite exiles who arrived at Poseidonia after the destruction of their city as a gift to improve and embellish the sanctuary.

[98] Greco G. 2012, 236–38.

such as bases of mirrors, pins, rings, buckles. The types of the votive figurines and the other classes of material recovered from the sanctuary suggest that the Hera worshipped at Foce del Sele was more related to the natural world and to fertility than her double in the urban area, whose cult was possibly more focused on the civic aspects and on the continuation and stability of society.

2.4.3 Fonte di Roccadaspide

The presence of a cultic place at Fonte di Roccadaspide, ca. 12 km north-east of Paestum, was identified in 1964 by Giovanni Voza in connection with works on the waterpipe system of the area. The excavations yielded a copious amount of material left by religious activity. The deposits were found on a slope on the right side of the Fonte stream, a tributary of the Calore River. The area is dotted by numerous springs. The finds were retrieved from small gorges in the slopes and were part of two different phases of deposition. Voza did not find any structures that would suggest the presence of a monumental sanctuary, so it is possible that the material belonged to deposits of a minor structure in the vicinity, or that the votives were intentionally placed in the gorges. Voza believed that the place was intentionally chosen in order to perform rituals in connection with the springs, and he suggested that the area was already sacred to non-Greek populations as the site of the cult of a deity of the springs. The sanctuary was situated at an important junction that connected the *chora* of Poseidonia to the interior, and to the Alburni Mountains where local population lived. The oldest material retrieved at Fonte is datable to the beginning of the 6th century BCE. The lower deposit included material from the Greek period through the 3rd century BCE, while the upper deposit contained material from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. The material from the Greek period is substantially similar to some of the votive types found at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele and the urban Southern Sanctuary, a fact that prompted Voza to suggest that the sanctuary was dedicated to Hera.[99]

The archaeological material dates the votive type of the enthroned plank-like goddess with the high *polos* found at Foce del Sele, and at the urban sanctuary as well, to the beginning of the 6th century BCE to the first half of the 5th century BCE. In the second half of the 6th century BCE the type of the enthroned goddess holding a horse became predominant. The votives were not all made

[99] Voza 1964, 363–66; 1965, 193–94; Vallet 1968, 89, 91 n. 51; Greco E. 1979, 18 n. 40; Mello 1980, 294, Avagliano 1992, 428–30; Leone 1998, 57–58; Cipriani 2012, 155–58.

with Poseidoniate clay, an important indicator of how these forms and religious motifs spread throughout the rural areas of the territory of Poseidonia. Ceramic evidence from Fonte datable to the Greek period is scant, but refers to the same types found at Foce del Sele, such as *kylikes* and an oinochoe.

The votive deposits of Fonte di Roccadaspide constitute an extremely interesting case study for the topology of the site, its cultic implications, and the relationship of the sacred area to the local non-Greek inhabitants. The area of Tempalta, ca. 3 km west of Fonte, and therefore closer to Poseidonia than the sanctuary, was inhabited by a local non-Greek population from the 7th century BCE to at least the end of the 4th century BCE.[100] A necropolis belonging to the Etruscan-Campanian culture was discovered on the northern banks of the Sele River at only 200 m of distance from the sacred area, and was still in use in the first decades of the 6th century BCE.[101] Another burial site ca 1 km east of the sanctuary contained mixed material, both Greek and indigenous.

It is probable that these locals were the ancestors of the population known to Strabo as the Lucanians, or at least that they shared with them a common Oscan kinship. In these areas the mixing of the Greek population and indigenous elements must have been rather high. It was in places such as the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide that the local populations encountered Greek religious beliefs and appropriated the motifs that were closest to their own customs, as well as the gods that had the same attributes as their own deities. The location of the cultic place at Fonte di Roccadaspide and the nature of the finds there, taken together, raise the question of the accuracy of assigning Greek ethnic labels to these rural sanctuaries and, moreover, of the kind of religious interactions that took place between the locals and the Greek population.

2.5 The Cult of Hera as Represented by the Clay Figurines of the Greek Period: The Type

The vast number of finds from the different Poseidoniate sanctuaries of Hera is the major and almost only source for the study of a cult that was the subject of great veneration for many centuries in the area of the plains of the Sele River. In fact, the study of such finds, together with the analysis of ceramic evidence retrieved at the sanctuaries and combined with research on the topography of the religious

[100] Avagliano 1988, 429.

[101] Cipriani 2002a, 369; Cipriani 2012, 157.

areas, constitutes the almost exclusive sources for an attempt in understanding the cultic practices related to the Poseidoniate cult of Hera.

Among the votive gifts dedicated to the goddess, the overwhelming majority are clay figurines representing the deity and other female figures, possibly the dedicands themselves. In the 1950s Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri mentioned an estimate of ca. 30,000 votive figurines retrieved from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele alone.[102] This subchapter will focus on the study of the iconographies portrayed by the votive figurines. As the primary source of this analysis, I will use the figurines themselves, which are stored in the facilities of the Archaeological Museum of Paestum. The study of the figurines was not a simple task, for several reasons. The first are the difficulties inherent in the study of iconographical features and changes in figurines from votive deposits. As Enzo Lippolis (2014, 55–93) well argued, the study of votive deposits in the Greek world based solely on iconography is risky, since several factors could have affected the features portrayed on the figurines or their typological choice. Such factors could have included, for example, a choice of motifs simply based on the tastes of the workshops that created the single types. The choice would not necessarily have been dictated by the requirements of cultic rituals or the need to portray the attributes of the deities in a specific way. In addition, the deposition of votive materials in pits or votive ditches was likely the result of rituals carried out on single occasions or over short periods of time, such as the removal from use of certain religious spaces, therefore the predominance of certain iconographical types is not necessarily an indication of gradual changes during a certain time span, but rather of the production of certain materials for a single specific occasion, or for religious functions performed during short periods of time.

Another major difficulty is the lack of detailed documentation on the depositional contexts of many of the finds from the urban area, and especially on their relationship to the religious structures within it. The situation of many of the finds recovered in the excavations carried out in different sectors of the urban area in the first decades of the 20th century is particularly confused. There is very scarce information for these finds concerning the contexts from which they were recovered. In addition, many specimens could be associated with certain areas of the city only after the revision of the archive reports of the Museum of Paestum had been completed, a work which Marina Cipriani has carried out over many years. The preservation history of the material, the fact that it was moved several times prior to arriving at its final storage place in the Museum, and the fact that

[102] Sestieri 1956, 33.

an earlier partial revision of the finds was carried out only on a typological basis, all add to the difficulty of conducting a methodologically sound study of the material.[103]

The situation is not significantly better concerning the excavations carried out in the 1950s by Sestieri, mostly in the Southern Sanctuary. Modern scholars have often rightly criticised the methods that Sestieri used in those campaigns, during which the excavators dug the same trenches multiple times during the same campaign, ignoring any systematic stratigraphic approach. Particularly for the study of the figurines, the documentation of Sestieri's excavations is fragmentary at best. He was interested mostly in the iconography of the figurines in order to demonstrate the transposition of the *epicleseis* of Hera in the figurines, and in the nature of the goddess as the sole deity of the Southern Sanctuary. Many of the specimens found in the urban area do not have an inventory number, although the recent re-arrangement of the boxes containing the finds in the storehouse of the Museum, and the assignment of new catalogue numbers with, where possible, a mention of provenience, should hopefully ease the study of the finds and of their association with certain contexts.

Fortunately, despite these difficulties, the study of the figurines can contribute to our understanding the cult of Hera in Poseidonia and its territory. The material is vast, and mostly datable to a broad chronological period. This latter aspect particularly reduces the risks inherent in the chance that the iconography of the figurines could represent trends associated with an occasional, single ritual deposit, or that the portrayed features were only the expression of the personal tastes of the workshops involved.[104] Changes in the iconographies portrayed in the figurines could signal changes in and the diversification of different aspects of cult over a long period of time. Moreover, despite the flaws in the methodology

[103] Cipriani 2012, 40 and notes 6–7.

[104] One must point out that even for deposits of votives manufactured for a single occasion, the manufacturers would have responded to the needs of their customers. This is also the case with the Locrian votive *pinakes* used as a case study by Lippolis in the above-mentioned discussion of the use of coroplastics in the sanctuaries. Lippolis (2014, 67) affirmed that the *pinakes* "mostrano di essere l'elemento più evidente del cambiamento, avvenuto consapevolmente all'interno di una specifica pratica rituale, in quanto prodotto commissionato a un artigianato che sembra attirato dall'occasione e che si impegna a rispondere a un'esigenza di differenziazione dei singoli oggetti, soprattutto con la creazione di apposite matrici, ma anche attraverso la combinazione di alcune di esse o l'applicazione di colore e di ritocchi posteriori allo stampo". In this respect, one can affirm that even the production of a single type of votive could have been in response to the needs created by changes in ritual or religious performances within specific groups, or even the entire body of the population.

employed during the excavations in the urban area, it is still possible to relate the iconography of the figurines found there if not to single buildings, then to the general topography of the urban sanctuaries. Regarding the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, the documentation is much more reliable, thanks to the meticulous methodological approach that Paola Zancani Montuoro employed during the first excavation campaigns and which current excavators carry on. The finds from Fonte di Roccadaspide, despite the unclear nature of the deposits, also range from the Greek Archaic period until the Roman Imperial period. The fragmentary or deteriorated state of many of the figurines from Fonte di Roccadaspide does not reduce the importance of the finds and the information that their iconographic types – related to the topography of the cultic area and its connection to the inland territories – can offer to the study of the dynamics of the religious and cultural interactions with the inland areas inhabited by local non-Greek populations.

In the following sub-chapters I will review and analyse the type of the votive figurines collected from the urban Southern Sanctuary, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and the deposits of Fonte di Roccadaspide. In the cases where some of the types were also found in sanctuaries of other deities, I will indicate the site of the find and the possible reasons related to the distribution of these types to these sanctuaries. Finally, I will relate the presence of certain types to the topographies of the different sanctuaries, in order to determine which aspects of the goddess were worshipped more extensively in the individual shrines. This, in turn, will increase our understanding of the figure of Hera during the Greek period.

2.5.1 Archaic *Kourotrophos*

The first known possible images of Hera in Poseidoniate figurines belong to the type of the enthroned *kourotrophos* (Pl. I, No. 1). The specimens of these Archaic figurines are dated to the first half of the 6th century BCE. The type is a Poseidoniate re-elaboration of a type of enthroned goddess first developed in Corinth.[105] The significance of the type lays in the fact that it adds the infant to the Corinthian model of the sitting goddess. The iconography of Hera as a *kourotrophos* is known from the sanctuaries of Perachora and Argos, although the figurines from these latter sites do not belong to the type found at Poseidonia. The enthroned *kourotrophos* is missing from Samos and, regarding the Western colonies, from Capo Colonna and Metapontum.[106] The type presents the image

[105] Greco G. 1998, 48; Greco G. 2012, 236.

[106] Greco G. 1998, 48–49.

of the goddess enthroned, holding a child in her left arm. The image of the child is rather coarse and hand moulded. The right hand of the goddess is resting on her lap. The facial expression of the deity is typical of the Archaic representation of human appearance. The body is a rather thin silhouette, which almost melts into the throne.[107]

Specimens of this type were retrieved from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele and from the sanctuary of Santa Venera, attributed to Aphrodite, just outside the southern section of the city walls of Poseidonia, but they have not been found in the urban sanctuaries.[108] The presence of the Archaic *kourotrophos* type at Santa Venera is an example of the cultic similarities between the extramural sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. The presence of the type at both sites seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a differentiation between the cult of Hera in the extramural sanctuaries and in the urban area. The *Heraion* at Foce del Sele housed the cult of Hera as a patron deity of fertility, as the Aphrodite of Santa Venera naturally was as well. In addition, the rather generic appearance of these early figurines enabled their use in the sanctuaries of both of the goddesses. The fact that this type is missing from the material found in the urban Southern Sanctuary suggests that the *kourotrophic* aspect of Hera was not a major focus of worship there. The type of the Archaic *kourotrophos* was short-lived, since it was no longer being produced by the end of the 6th century BCE.[109]

2.5.2 Enthroned Goddess of the "Ionic Type"

During the second half of the 6th century BCE the production of new types of votive clay figurines began in Poseidonia. One of these is known as the "Enthroned

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[107] Paola Zancani Montuoro (1937, 220 and fig. 5), describing the best-preserved specimen of this type, suggested that the right hand, missing from that example, might have held a pomegranate. Nevertheless, no other figurine was retrieved whose right hand, or its possible attributes, was preserved in its entirety. The Corinthian models, from which this type derived, do not include a pomegranate (Greco G. 2012, 236).

[108] Greco G. (1998, 48) had suggested, based on the interpretation of the material given by Sestieri, that some Archaic small clay heads found in the Southern Sanctuary could belong to the type of the Archaic *kourotrophos*. Cipriani (1997, 219) demonstrated how these latter were appliques of imported Corinthian ware. Concerning the presence of this type at Santa Venera, see Ammerman 2002, 84 and note 7.

[109] The end point of the production of the *kourotrophic* figurines was also similar for the sanctuaries of Hera in mainland Greece such as Argos, Tiryns, and Perachora (Greco G. 1998, 49).

goddess of the Ionic type". This latter is an extremely generic representation of an enthroned female figure, completely lacking attributes other than the veil and *polos* that she is wearing. Some of the specimens do not present this latter attribute. The type originated in the eastern part of the Greek world, in Ionia, and spread to the Western colonies beginning from the first half of the 6th century BCE. The first specimens of this type presented the goddess enthroned, with her arms resting on the armrests of the throne. The hands are coarsely moulded. The type was still in use between the end of the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE and became the almost exclusively predominant type.

While the portrayal of the goddess became less coarse over time, two subtypes of these figurines were produced at the beginning of the second half of the 6th century BCE. The first presented the female figure with her hands resting on the armrests of the throne, with the hands more realistically rendered than in the older version. The second has the female figure with her hands resting on her knees. This type is significant because it signals a loss of attribute for the deity already in the middle decades of the 6th century BCE. The result of this development was a rather generic look, which could symbolise regal female figures of deities or, when the *polos* was not included, the dedicands themselves.[110] Specimens of this type, with its later variants, were found in the urban area of Poseidonia, but also at Foce del Sele, and at Fonte di Roccadaspide.

2.5.3 "Plank Goddess"-Type

Beginning in the second half of the 6th century BCE, a new group of figurines appeared at Poseidonia. They represented an enthroned goddess with an Archaic face, elongated and rather narrow, with a prominent chin. The figurines also present the "Archaic smile" typical of human representation during the Greek Archaic period. The goddesses wear a *polos* and disk fibulae. The bust is flat and elongated, except for a slight protuberance of the breasts. The hair is cut short on the forehead, but otherwise is long and tied in plaits falling over the shoulders and the chest. The dress is long and geometrically plank-formed. This latter feature prompted Rebecca Miller Ammerman to assign the type the name of "Plank Style"-goddess. The deity sits on a high-back throne "*a leggio*". According to Ammerman (2002, 45, 48), the form and the style of these figurines was influenced by the Archaic *xoana*. Specimens and fragments were recovered from both urban sanctuaries of Poseidonia, from the sanctuary of Santa Venera

[110] Lippolis 2001, 225–47; Greco G. 2012, 237.

dedicated to Aphrodite, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and Fonte di Roccadaspide. This type was widely present in the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia, such as Metapontum, Kroton, Sybaris, and Caulonia, and then spread even more during the second half of the 6th century BCE. The type originated in the Achaean colonies of the Ionic coast of Magna Graecia.[111] It is also possible that the Western Achaean production in turn was inspired by the Corinthian models in use in different sanctuaries of Hera in continental Greece, such as Perachora, Tiryns, Argos, and Sicyon, in the second half of the 6th century BCE.[112] In Poseidonia, they were produced by local artisans from Western Achaean moulds with local clay, and later by developing local sub-types.[113]

The success of the series was probably based on the generic nature of the portrayed goddess.[114] This permitted the use of the figurines in sanctuaries of different female deities, sometimes only by adding attributes or offerings by attaching them to the hands of the figures. From the plain enthroned "Plank Goddess" different sub-types sprouted. Poseidoniate workshops developed their own sub-types. Specimens of plain "Plank Goddess" figurines were found in the Northern and Southern Sanctuaries of Poseidonia, at Foce del Sele, Fonte di Roccadaspide, and Santa Venera. In the following sections, I will describe the different sub-types originating from the "Plank Goddesses".

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[111] Ammerman (2002, 46–48) suggests that the type was developed in Metapontum. She also argues that there was a close relationship between the products of the workshops of Metapontum and those of Poseidonia during the Greek Archaic period, based on the results of her study on the finds from Santa Venera. Ammerman presented a wide bibliography of examples from the other settlements of Magna Graecia.

[112] Greco G. 1998, 53.

[113] For some of the specimens in Poseidonia see Brendel 1934, 483–84, fig. 21a; Zanotti Bianco 1936, 230, fig. 10a; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 231, fig. 16a; Van Buren 1953, pl. 62, fig. 6; Sestieri 1955a, 155–57, fig. 13b; von Matt 1961, 71, fig. 53; Voza 1964, 366; Napoli 1969, pl. 20; Sestieri Bertarelli 1989, 28–33, fig. 18a; 18b; Orlandini 1990, 168, pl. 8; Tocco Sciarelli – de La Genière – Greco G. 1992, 376, pl. 51; de La Genière 1997, 176–77; fig., 4; de La Genière – Greco G. 1998, 38, pl. 3.3; Greco G. 1998, 50, pls. 9.2, 10.

[114] Specimens of this type were found at Metapontum in sanctuaries of Hera, Demeter, and Artemis, but also Apollo *Lykeios*, and Zeus *Aglaios*. Hera was probably also the deity venerated in the extramural sanctuary in Kroton where some of these figurines were discovered (Maddoli 1984, 331). The figurines of Satyrion were probably dedicated to Aphrodite, while Demeter was the recipient of these votives in Palinuro and Policoro. At Francavilla Marittima they were dedicated to Athena. At least one of the goddesses to which these figurines were dedicated at Tarentum was Demeter.

2.5.3.1 Armed Goddess

The figurines of this sub-type portrayed a standing goddess with a high *polos* or her bust, the lower part of which forms a conically shaped base (Pl. II, No. 7). The bust is rather flat, and the look is typical of Western Achaean production of the 6th century BCE. In these specimens, the left hand is stretching forward, while the right hand is bent and held over the shoulder. In the best-preserved specimen, retrieved from the Southern Sanctuary, the right hand is closed into a fist and has a piercing for the insertion of an attribute, now lost. Sestieri (1956, Fig. 13) suggested that the attribute would have been a miniature, perhaps metallic, spear, used to represent Hera as *Hoplosmia*.

As discussed above, the warrior nature of Hera is a known trait of the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of the goddess. As patron goddess of civic institutions, Hera was also the protectress of the young ephebes who entered adult age. The epiclesis of *Hoplosmia* for Hera is attested by Lycophron for the sanctuary of Capo Colonna. In relation to the warrior nature of Argive/Achaean Hera, Lycophron also attests the performance of the *Aspis* at Argos, a military competition of young ephebes who competed for a shield consecrated to the goddess.[115] The warrior nature of the Archaic Achaean/Argive Hera is testified by the votive offerings collected in sanctuaries of continental Greece, such as Perachora, Tiryns, and Argos.[116]

In Poseidonia, this specific aspect of Hera is suggested only by the possible presence of the cult of Apollo, another deity who was a patron of the ephebic youth, within the *temenos* of the Southern Sanctuary. In the last decades, the identification of Hera as the deity portrayed on these figurines has been convincingly challenged. As mentioned above, the famous silver disk, dated to the 6th century BCE and having an inscription in the Achaean alphabet, was once unanimously thought to bear a dedication of Poseidoniate warriors to Hera; however, it does not seem to mention the goddess' warrior aspect.[117] Most significantly, in the last few years Marina Cipriani (2002b, 37–46; 2012, 40–41) has expressed her doubts on the fact that the armed female goddess portrayed on the figurines could actually be identified with Hera. She suggested instead Athena, whose sanctuary stood in the Northern area of the urban site of Poseidonia, as the recipient of this type of votive.[118] She also casts doubts (*contra*

[115] Above 31 and note 58.

[116] Above 26 and note 34.

[117] Above 44 and note 85.

[118] Cipriani argues that only one figurine of this type was retrieved from the urban Southern

G. Greco 2010b, 562–63) on the actual presence of this sub-type at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, contrary to what was once thought.[119] In addition, the practice of offering actual weapons at the latter sanctuary belongs to the Lucanian period, when the Italic custom of dedicating weapons was taking root at the sanctuary, and therefore was not necessarily an expression of veneration towards the Archaic Hera *Hoplosmia*.[120] Besides the obvious association of Athena with the army and weapons, the attribution of this type to the cult of Athena seems to fit the space and numeric distribution of the finds.

2.5.3.2 Enthroned Goddess with the Horse

A second sub-type of the "Plank Goddess" was produced in the second half of the 6th century BCE. It portrayed an enthroned goddess, arms stretching forwards, with the left hand bent towards her chest, holding a small animal interpreted as a horse, while the right arm is supporting the lower part of the body of the animal (Pl. I, No. 3). The female figure may or may not wear a disk fibula, but she always wears a *polos*. The face displays the distinctive "Archaic smile" of the 6th century BCE. The head and the torso of the goddess were moulded, while the throne, dress, and hands were handmade. This type with the horse was found in both urban sanctuaries of Poseidonia,[121] in the Sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite,[122] and at Fonte di Roccadaspide.[123] The figurines could thus represent

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Sanctuary, the centre of the cult of Hera in the urban area, while 14 votive figurines were retrieved from the area south of the *Athenaion* in the Northern Sanctuary of Poseidonia (Cipriani, 2012, 40).

[119] Based on the observations that I could make on some of the specimens from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, although in a fragmentary state, they seem to be not compatible with the best-preserved specimen of the Armed Goddess sub-type. The arms, although broken, seem to be stretching forward and not bending upward to hold a spear. This means that they were probably part of the original type of the enthroned "Plank Goddesses" and not of the Armed Goddess, which derived from them. Some other fragments are missing the arms entirely, so that it is not possible to determine to which type or sub-type they belonged to.

[120] Greco G. 1998, 50.

[121] Cipriani 2012, 40.

[122] Ammerman 2002, 51, pl. XI.

[123] Avagliano 1986, 65; Tocco Sciarelli – de La Genière – Greco G. 1992, 429, pl. 70; Ammerman 2002, 51; Cipriani 2012, 156; Greco G. 2012, 237. Regarding Fonte di Roccadaspide, the finds consist of two fragments of horses. I was not able to personally study the fragments, since they were not among the material from Fonte di Roccadaspide held in the storehouse of the Museum, and they were unable to be located during the periods of my residence there. Nevertheless, according to previous photographs, the fragments seem compatible with the horses portrayed on the figurines of the sub-type.

a regal female figure identifiable with Hera, but also with Aphrodite, who was also a patron of the fertility of the animal world, and with Athena, as patron goddess of the army, of which the horse was an essential asset.

This locally made sub-type was in use in Poseidonia for a relatively short period of time, between the second half of the 6th century BCE and the first years of the 5th century BCE. It never spread outside the territory of Poseidonia. The connection of Hera with the horse, both as a symbol of animal fertility and as a necessary asset for the army, was already an important feature of the cult of Hera in the Eastern Argive Plain, possibly already in the Mycenaean period.[124] For the historical period the presence of clay and bronze votive figurines of horses and charioteers is attested from the votive deposits of the *Heraia* of the Greek world where the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of Hera was practiced.[125]

The epiclesis *Hippia* is not attested in Poseidonia, but only at Olympia.[126] As it is with the other epithets of Hera, scholars engaged in Poseidoniate research have used the term in order to classify the material and try to understand the figure and the nature of Poseidoniate Hera within the framework of the Argive/Achaean cult. In this respect, I do not follow this practice, since is not backed by evidence of the Poseidoniate use of the epiclesis. Moreover, the portrayed female goddess cannot be identified solely with Hera. In addition, the presence of specimens of this type at Fonte di Roccadaspide testifies to the possibility that these could also appeal to Italic religiosity.

The presence of the exclusively Poseidoniate sub-type of the goddess with the horse is a significant attestation of the importance of this animal in the Poseidoniate cult of Hera, and of other deities in the Archaic period, and therefore of the significance of this animal for Poseidoniate society. Giovanna Greco (1998, 53) argued that the veneration towards Hera in relation to horse breeding should not be related to her function as mistress of animals and their fertility, but to the social and economic implications that successful horse breeding had for Poseidoniate society. She affirmed that animal breeding fuelled the rise and sustainment of the local aristocracy, which gained power and wealth from the exploitation of the animal. If the inference of the role of Hera as the poliadic deity of the city is correct, then the goddess guaranteed with her protection the stability of society, of which the wealth gained from horse breeding was one important factor. That, in my opinion, cannot be said for the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. As discussed

[124] Blegen 1937, vol. 1, 10; Hägg 1974, 197; O'Brien 1993, 124 and note 30.

[125] Greco G. 1998, 52.

[126] Paus. 5,15,5

above, the topography of the sanctuary and the importance of the aspect of the patronage of fertility that the goddess held at Foce del Sele, are strong indications that the dedication of the figurines of this sub-type at that sanctuary was an offer to Hera as the goddess of fertility of both the land and humans. The fact that this sub-type of figurine was also recovered from the extramural sanctuary of Santa Venera and from Fonte di Roccadaspide, where the object of religious devotion was the patronage of fertility of the goddesses there worshipped, is yet another strong indication of the possible differences in functions between the urban and extramural sanctuaries during the Archaic period.

2.5.3.3 Enthroned Goddess with Phiale

This sub-type is also a Paestan production, which portrays a female goddess enthroned on a "*a leggio*" type throne. The hieratic figure of the goddess, with the "Archaic smile", fixes the period of production in the second half of the 6th century BCE. As with the goddess with the horse, the deity portrayed in this sub-type wears a *polos* and disk fibulae. While the upper bust and the head were moulded, the skirt, hands, and throne were handmade. As opposed to the goddess with the horse, this sub-type has both hands stretched forward. In the right hand she holds a phiale, while the left hand is clinched in a fist, which could possibly have held some other object (Pl. I, No. 2). This latter is unfortunately not preserved in the surviving specimens. Examples of this type were retrieved from the urban Southern Sanctuary, at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera.[127] The presence of the phiale on the right hand of the goddess suggests the importance of libation in the rituals connected with the cult, although the fact that the other possible objects held by the goddess in her left hand are missing hinders our understanding of whether the ritual had a chthonic valence.

2.5.4 Naked Standing Goddess

In the second half of the 6th century BCE Poseidoniate workshops began the production of a new type of votive figurines, representing a standing naked female figure wearing a *polos*.[128] The production of the type continued until the first half

[127] The discovery in the sanctuary at Santa Venera of left hands that hold what appears to be a flower stem, which could be compatible with the hands of enthroned "Plank Goddesses", could signal the existence of yet another sub-type with an enthroned goddess holding a plant or a flower. Since the fragments of hands were found only at Santa Venera, at the moment it is not possible to connect this possible sub-type to the cult of Hera as well (Ammerman 2002, 51, n. 103, pl. XI).

[128] Sestieri 1955a, 151, fig. 4; Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 19, 22; Ammerman 1989; Pedley, 1990,

of the 5th century BCE. The presence of such figurines in the urban Southern Sanctuary, at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and at the small rural sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide, has raised the question of how these figurines fit into the cult of Hera.[129] In addition, the majority of examples was retrieved from Santa Venera.[130] This fact once again reflects the similarities of the production of votives for this sanctuary and the *Heraia* of Poseidonia, which could in turn mean a shared religious semantic framework for some aspects of the cults of Hera and Aphrodite.

The figurines portray a naked standing female figure, whose divinity is signalled by the presence of a flared *polos* on her head (below 63, Fig. 4, Ammerman 1991). The eyes are large and round, and the face is triangularly shaped, as is the hair. The chin is strong, the lips are fleshy, and the feet are spread out to function as a support for the figurine; they almost seem to be unfinished, and simply spread out from the loose clay. The hands, which were handmade, almost look like fins, and are stretching forward, as if holding an object. Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 37) has pointed out how these figurines were inspired by the Daedalic style of Archaic figurines produced in Cyprus and Crete during the 7th century BCE. These latter, in turn, were influenced by Phoenician coroplastic workshops, which transmitted their craft to those islands in the late 8th century BCE. The "Naked standing goddess" figurine was extremely popular in Cretan and Cypriote workshops, and was used to represent Aphrodite on the model of her Phoenician counterpart Astarte.[131] The Poseidoniate version, however, differs from the prototypes originating in the Eastern Mediterranean, which may be a consequence of the intermediation of Metapontine workshops.[132] The

161–62; Ammerman 1990, 353–62; Ammerman 1991, 203–30; Pedley – Torelli 1992, 407, 409.

[129] Ten specimens were collected from the Southern Sanctuary (Cipriani 2012, 135). From the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele come three fragments of the body and at least five heads (Greco G. 1998, 54). I have found at least one fragment of this type among the finds from Fonte di Roccadaspide.

[130] The number of specimens found at Santa Venera is twenty-one (Ammerman 2002, 38).

[131] Riis 1949, 84–85; Cassimatis 1982, 447–64; Böhm 1990, 73–117; 161–76; Ammerman 1991, 208–09 and note 23; Ammerman 2002, 37 and note 3.

[132] Ammerman (2002, 37–38) suggests that the similarities between the Poseidoniate and Metapontine versions of the "Naked standing goddess" can be seen in the faces of votive figurines from the Metapontine sanctuary of San Biagio, and in the figurines of *kouroi* found in the Temple of Apollo in the urban sanctuary of Metapontum. The stance of the naked goddess differs from the Metapontine *kouroi*, since the *kouroi* have their left legs slightly advanced forward. Nevertheless, both types present their arms raised and stretched forward so as to hold an object, a feature that is missing from the Daedalic statuettes of naked goddesses from Crete and Cyprus. (Ammerman

Poseidoniate artisans, although keeping the large round eyes, triangularly shaped face, and hair of the original archetype of the Daedalic style, portrayed the goddess with rounded cheeks and lips, the chin as more protuberant, the feet spreading out in order to support the figurine, and the important feature of the hands stretching forward in order to hold an object.

The presence of these figurines signals the presence of a cult of Aphrodite in the urban Southern Sanctuary. This latter presence has been often hypothesised, but scholars are still unsure of where in the sanctuary area or in which structure a cult of Aphrodite would have been held.[133] The retrieval of specimens of the type from the extramural sanctuary of Foce del Sele and in the rural shrine of Fonte di Roccadaspide opens up the issue of the identification of the portrayed goddess and of the rituals connected to the use of such figurines. Given the peculiar nature of the extramural sanctuary, it is possible that, in such contexts, these figurines could have been used as representations of Hera as the patron goddess of fertility. Likewise, at Fonte, according to the religiosity of the visitor, the statuettes could have represented either an indigenous deity of the springs or a Greek goddess with fertility patronage traits, such as Hera, or a combination of both. The votives may also have been used in rituals in honour of the deity. The

Fig. 4: Specimen of a figurine of the "Naked Standing Goddess" type from Santa Venera (Ammerman 1991).

2002, 37–38 and note 6). Concerning the coroplastic of San Biagio, see Olbrich 1979, 288, 293, plates 85.C189, 87.198; Ammerman 1991, n. 28, fig. 5. For the *kouroi* of the Temple of Apollo in Metapontum, see Sestieri 1940, 101–12, fig. 40; Sestieri 1941, 97, pl. 36, fig. 10; Adamesteanu *et al.* 1975, 138–39, fig. 143g; Ammerman 1991, 210–11, fig. 7.

Greco E. – Theodorescu 1980, 19–20, 25–27; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 51–52, 60; Torelli 2008, 21–30.

[133] Greco E. – Theodorescu 1980, 19–20, 25–27; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 51–52, 60; Torelli 2008, 21–30.

look of the Daedalic style figurines, as adapted by the Poseidoniate workshops, was reminiscent of the *xoana*, the Archaic wooden cult statues that influenced the type of the Achaean "Plank Goddesses" as well. These statues were the object of veneration, which often included a ceremonial "loss", washing, clothing, and a procession featuring the statue, in the staging of a symbolic rite of initiation.[134] Clay figurines reproducing *xoana* of the naked goddess have been found in many major *Heraia*, such as Perachora, Samos, Olympia, and Corinth.[135]

The presence of such figurines at Foce del Sele, where rituals of initiation for young girls entering marital age were staged, and the topography of the place, established close to watercourses where the ritual washing of these items would have been possible, all suggest that Hera could indeed be the recipient deity of these votive gifts, at least in the extramural sanctuary. Therefore, despite the probable presence of a cult of Aphrodite in the urban sanctuary of Hera, I would still include the type of the "Naked Standing Goddess" amongst the votives dedicated to Hera as well.

2.5.5 Dancing Ritual

This local composition was produced in the period between the end of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century BCE. It reproduces a group of female figures in a circle, standing on a flat terracotta circular base (Pl. III, No. 11). The figures wear a *polos*. The women are portrayed with their hands reaching out to hold the hands of the women to either side. The hands of the female figures are fin-like, as were those of the Naked Standing Goddess, of which this production might have been a sub-type. In the best-preserved specimen, one of the women's hands is raised in a gesture of playing the flute. Specimens of this type were found at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele and possibly at the sanctuary of Santa Venera, but not in the urban sanctuaries, nor at Fonte di Roccadaspide.[136]

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[134] Concerning the rituals of the *Tonaia* of Samos, see above 26 and note 41. The city of Thebes, in Boeotia, staged the festival of the *Daidala*, where an Archaic wooden statue of Hera was ritually dressed and took part in a procession.

[135] Böhm 1990. In Corinth the goddess, naked, was portrayed as sitting.

[136] The material belonging to this sub-type found at Foce del Sele consists of two groups partially restored and fragments of another (Greco G. 2012, 56). The find from Santa Venera instead seems to be a fragmentary part of one specimen (Ammerman 2002, 29).

The sub-type was probably influenced by Corinthian models, as was often the case with Archaic Greek terracotta and ceramics in Poseidonia.[137] Although this group of figurines does not portray the iconography of Hera, I include it in this section regarding the figurines of the Greek period, since it is a significant testimony to the rituals held at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. The staging of ceremonies including ritual dances in connection to fertility and the initiation rituals of young girls entering marital age is a common feature in the *Heraia* at numerous sites in the ancient Greek world.[138] Musical instruments were among the votive offerings given to Hera in different *Heraia*, particularly ivory or bone flutes, and flutes were also among the offerings both at Foce del Sele and in the urban Southern Sanctuary.[139]

The presence of these figurines at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele is an attestation of the special nature of the shrine as a centre where young girls entering marital age were sent to perform rituals related to fertility, or to enact initiation rites. The fact that the sub-type has not been found in the urban Southern Sanctuary could be an indication that such rituals were staged only at Foce del Sele, possibly reinforcing thus the view that Hera was worshipped in the urban shrine mostly as a poliadic deity. In this respect, the probable presence of this type at Santa Venera, where similar rituals as those staged at Foce del Sele were probably held, reinforces this view, in consequence of the patronage of fertility held by Aphrodite as well. Furthermore, the absence of these figurines from the rural sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide poses the question of the nature of the cult at Fonte. The shrine was at any rate dedicated to a goddess of fertility, but the absence of specimens of this type may also signal the absence of rituals related to the coming of age of girls.

2.5.6 Goddess with the Pomegranate

The most representative specimen of this type from the Greek period is the large terracotta statue found in the urban Southern Sanctuary, dated to ca. 460 BCE, which probably reproduces a sculpture or a cult statue with the same

[137] Greco G. 1998, 57. The group also includes in this case four female figures standing in a circle, one of which plays a double flute. Other similar groups of figurines were found in other *Heraia* in continental Greece, such as Argos, Olympia (in bronze), Tiryns, and Perachora. In some of the specimens the flute player is represented at the centre of the circle (Greco G. 2012, 238).

[138] Tölle 1964; Brelich 1969, 145–53; Calame 1977, 209–34; Greco G. 1998, 57.

[139] Five fragments of bone flutes were found at Foce del Sele, together with an unspecified number from the Southern Sanctuary.

iconography.[140] The type represented a goddess, once again enthroned and sitting in a hieratic pose, with the arms along the sides holding an applied pomegranate in her right hand and a *phiale* in her left hand (Pl. III, No. 12). A similar representation of an enthroned goddess holding a pomegranate in her right hand is the Demeter or Persephone found at the Sanctuary of the *Malophoros* in Selinous, Sicily, also dated to ca. 460 BCE.[141]

In Antiquity the pomegranate was considered an ambivalent fruit, which symbolised both the world of the dead and the aspect of fertility, and therefore life. As such it became an iconic religious attribute of the cult of Demeter and her daughter Persephone/Kore. The fruit probably played an important role in the staging of the Eleusinian Mysteries, where the rape of Persephone, the search made for her by her mother Demeter, and the act of eating the pomegranate by Persephone/Kore, which tied her to the world of the dead, were all celebrated during the Mysteries. But the fruit also represented fertility, and as such it was also associated with the iconography of Aphrodite.

Therefore, as an ambivalent fruit, the pomegranate also befitted Hera, who in the Argive/Achaean version of her cult was a goddess of transition, accompanying humans and other living beings through all the stages of their lives. Among the votives of the *Heraion* in Samos were numerous clay pomegranates in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE.[142] At the Argive *Heraion,* clay figurines of the goddess were found wearing a necklace from which clay pomegranates hung.[143] In the Achaean Western colonies other than Poseidonia, the pomegranate is associated to the cult of Hera in several sanctuaries.[144]

The figure of Hera with a pomegranate was then canonised by the chryselephantine statue of the goddess made by Polycleitus for the Argive *Heraion* in the 420s BCE. The Hera portrayed in the statue of the *Heraion* of Argos was enthroned, holding in one hand a pomegranate, and in the other a sceptre on

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[140] Sestieri 1955b, 153–54, fig. 10; Langlotz – Hirmer 1968, 277, n. 65; Rolley 1992, 192–215; Greco G. 1998, 58; Greco G. 2012, 239.

[141] Fuchs (1982, 222–23) interpreted the goddess of Selinous as Demeter, while Giovanna Greco (2012, 239) suggested that she would have to be identified with Persephone/Kore.

[142] O'Brien 1993, 63–66. Concerning the presence of votive representations of pomegranates dedicated to Hera in other sanctuaries, see Muthmann 1982.

[143] Greco G. 1998, 57.

[144] A votive gift representing a silver pomegranate was found at Cape Lakinion (Giangiulio 1989, 11). Figurines of enthroned goddesses with clay pomegranates hung from their necklaces, dated to the 6th century BCE, were found at Sybaris (Giangiulio 1989, 11), Metapontum, and San Biagio, this latter also in the Metapontine territory (Olbrich 1979, pl. 34). See also Greco G. 1998, 58.

which a cuckoo bird stood. In addition, she wore a crown upon which the Graces and the Hours stood. It has often been suggested that the type of the Hera of Poseidonia with the pomegranate was influenced by the Polycletan statue,[145] but in addition to the later date of the Argive statue compared to the Poseidoniate type, I would still affirm that this latter was developed independently from the canonical statue in Argos. The iconography of the Polycletan statue of Hera presents the goddess holding a sceptre and not a *phiale*, as is the case with the Poseidoniate type, and she wears the crown with Graces and Hours and not the *polos*. Although the statue found in the Southern Sanctuary is generic and could represent other goddesses than Hera, the iconography itself was employed, in Poseidonia, as a representation of the goddess, as it is attested by the similar iconography of the later cult statue of Hera in Parian marble found in the Square Building of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.

2.5.6.1 Enthroned Goddess with the Lotus Flower

During the first decades of the of the 5th century BCE major changes occurred in the manner in which Poseidoniate artisans represented human figures in votive figurines. Many of the Archaic features gave way to a more realistic rendering. In particular, the plank-like form of the bodies, reminiscent of the Archaic *xoana,* ceased to be produced. I agree with Rebecca Ammerman (2002, 51–52) that in this period Poseidoniate workshops began to be influenced by Late Archaic sculpture, especially that of a religious nature, rather than by the coarse ancient wooden reproductions of the gods. In addition, these later figurines seem to have been produced almost entirely with a mould, and not with handmade parts, as was the case with several of the archaic types.[146]

The first of these Late Archaic types produced in Poseidonia portrayed a goddess figure sitting on a throne. The female figure is still represented hieratically and wearing a *polos*. The throne has high backrests and ends on both sides with T-shaped wings decorated with palmettes or sphinxes. The goddess has her right hand resting on her chest, where she holds a lotus flower, while the left hand rests in her lap and holds a *phiale* (Pl. IV, 13–15). Examples of this type were recovered from the urban Southern Sanctuary, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, Fonte di Roccadaspide, and the Sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite, and it also spread to other sites and sanctuaries.[147] It had a long period of production,

[145] Cipriani 1997, 220–21; Pontrandolfo 1998, 65.

[146] Ammerman 2002, 45.

[147] Concerning the figurines of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, see Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti

from the first decades of the 5th century BCE until well into the 4th century BCE.

Since once again the type was in use in sanctuaries of both Hera and Aphrodite, it is the context that can aid in determining to which of the goddesses some of the figurines were dedicated. The goddess portrayed in this type is a deity related to fertility and vegetation, as is suggested by the attribute of the lotus flower. The figurines could certainly have been used in the sanctuary of Santa Venera as a reproduction of Aphrodite.[148] In addition, their presence in the urban Southern Sanctuary could suggest the existence of a cult of Aphrodite there. Nevertheless, the occurrence of specimens of this type at Foce del Sele indicates that they could represent Hera as well. Concerning the iconography of the lotus flower, and more generally flora, Hera held the epiclesis of *Antheia* in Argos, which demonstrates her role as protector of vegetation in general.[149] In the *Iliad*, Homer described how Hera caused flowers to bloom during the episode of the seduction of Zeus.[150] In addition to the iconographical and technical innovations, the type of the enthroned goddess with the lotus flower, and more generally all Paestan Late Archaic coroplastic production, represents the important issues of the continuity and discontinuity of the iconographies of the figurines between the Archaic and the Greek Classical periods.

Studying the different types of figurines stored in the Museum of Paestum, I have come to the conclusion that most of the themes and features employed by Poseidoniate workshops were never actually lost over time. The crucial transition from the Archaic to the Classical period caused the abandonment of the stiffness and geometricity of human figures in favour of a more realistic rendering of human bodies and drapery inspired by sculptural works, especially religious ones. Nevertheless, Poseidoniate artisans, perhaps as a consequence of traditionalism in the representation of religious motifs, were conservative enough

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Bianco 1937, 333, fig. 83; Greco, G. 1992, 257, pl. 257. Specimens of this type were found in the votive deposit near Porta Giustizia, the southern gate of Poseidonia, only 500 m north of the sanctuary of Santa Venera. The finds from Porta Giustizia are still unpublished. Another specimen was found at Albanella, ca. 14 km northeast of Paestum (Cipriani 1987, 437).

[148] Rebecca Miller Ammerman plausibly suggested (2002, 52 and note 66) that the presence of the sphinxes on the backrest of the throne of the goddess is an indication that the divine figure portrayed is to be identified with Aphrodite, since Punic and Greek art often represented Astarte and her Greek counterpart Aphrodite with sphinxes on the top of their thrones in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.

[149] Paus. 2,22,1.

[150] Above 25 and note 28.

to not completely turn away from certain features present in the figurines of the Archaic period. The most important of these is perhaps the frontality and hieratic pose of the enthroned divine figures. It is hard to not notice that, for instance, the enthroned goddess with the lotus flower and the *phiale* in her left hand is an elaboration after a few decades of the enthroned "Plank Goddess" holding the *phiale* of the Archaic period. Or that the famous Hera with the pomegranate, which was discussed above, is an adaptation and a result of a long tradition of enthroned goddesses that spans from the goddesses of the "Ionic type" of the first decades of the 6th century BCE. In this process, the generic nature of the iconographies played a key role. This suggests that the workshops may have tried to maximise their production value by creating motifs appliable to different deities in different sanctuaries, but also that it was not only Hera that was a composite deity, but also many other Greek deities of the Archaic period as well, as is the case with Aphrodite and Demeter. In addition, as will be discussed later, certain iconographic motifs were re-used in the Lucanian period even after long periods of hiatus, such as the case of the Archaic *Kourotrophos* and the *Kourotrophoi* of the Lucanian period.

3. The Lucanian Period: The Emergence of the Lucanians and the Multiculturalism of Poseidonia/Paistom

Shortly after the mid-5th century BCE, burial practices in the urban area of Poseidonia underwent significant changes. Several burials from that period present new features that did not conform to the funerary customs common among the Poseidoniate Greeks. The first necropolis where signs of these changes are evident is that of Località Gaudo, situated circa 500 m northwest of the city walls, on the juncture of the road that led from Poseidonia to the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. The necropolis was peculiar since, contrary to the Greek custom of the time, its burials contained copious amounts of grave goods, so that it can be inferred that the associated society placed great importance on the display of wealth and status in burials.

By the end of the 5th century BCE the funerary patterns of other necropoleis of the urban area of Poseidonia also began to change. Usually, the most lavishly furnished tombs of males contained weapons, armour, and kraters, these latter being a common type of ceramic vessel used in the sympotic gatherings of the elites, while the tombs of females contained jewels and vase types related to the *mundus muliebris* such as *lebetes gamikoi* and *hydriai*. In some of the tombs, probably owned by the most important figures of the community, wall paintings were made on the inner surfaces, in order to accompany the dead during their journey to the underworld.[151] Among the most common representations were the funerary exhibition of the deceased, boxing and fighting scenes, and the motif of the return of the warrior on horseback. The style of the paintings and their iconographic motifs conform to the style of burial paintings in Etruscan-Campanian funerary art, which was developed in those Campanian cities that had come into contact with the Etruscans, were founded by them, or had a

[151] Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992 is still an invaluable source for the study of the painted tombs of Poseidonia/Paestum. As pointed out by Cipriani (1996, 41), that painted tombs represented a status symbol of the elite can be seen in the fact that of one-thousand tombs datable to the 4th century BCE, only 80 had wall paintings. After a first phase of tomb paintings where the motifs represented were geometric bands, in the first years of the 4th century BCE figures of plants, animals, and objects appeared. In the first quarter of the 4th century BCE human and divine figures also began to be painted (Cipriani 1996, 43).

mixed population, such as Capua, Nocera, Nola, Fratte, and Vico Equense.[152]

The custom of painting tombs probably continued in Poseidonia even up to the period immediately after the foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum in 273 BCE.[153] Angela Pontrandolfo (1979, 25–50; 1988, 241) suggested that the shift from the frugal burial custom of the Greek Archaic period to the more lavish display of the later tombs is a clear consequence of the takeover of the *polis* by the Lucanians.[154] She did so by comparing the archaeological evidence with the information provided by Strabo (6,1,3), who affirmed that after the Lucanians had defeated the Poseidoniates and their allies, they gained control of their city.

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[152] Horsnæs (2002, 56–57, 86–87) convincingly argues that the painted tombs were not a product of direct Greek origin, but were rather the result of the influence of the painted tombs of Etruria on local funerary art. The distribution of the painted tombs in Southern Italy clusters with only few exceptions around the regions of Campania and Apulia (Steingräber 1991). The Apulian territory where the painted tombs are found was inhabited by the Peucetians and the Messapians. That part of Apulia is connected to Campania through a route running along the valley of the Ofanto river. I therefore believe, as Horsnæs does, that the custom of tomb painting arrived in Apulia through the Etruscan-Campanian territories rather than through the Greek city of Tarentum. In Lucania, the only site where painted tombs were found is Poseidonia. Angela Pontrandolfo (1992, 238) and Agnes Rouveret (1992, 270) pointed out that the paintings on the tombs of Paestum and their peculiar grave goods reflect the connection of the *polis* to the Etruscan-Campanian cities. Therefore, there is a straight connection between these practices and the Etruscan beliefs of the underworld and the afterlife, as they are portrayed on the Etruscan burial paintings. Some of the grave goods retrieved from Poseidoniate tombs, namely some small impasto *ollae* and slip painted *amphora-pelike,* are also found in burials of some Etruscan-Campanian sites, such as Vico Equense, Nocera, Nola, and Fratte (Pontrandolfo – D'Agostino 1990, 101–16).

[153] Angela Pontrandolfo (1988, 257–63) dates the paintings of some of the tombs of the necropolis of Spinazzo, located ca. 3,5 km southeast of the walls of Paestum, to the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE. Pontrandolfo affirms that these are chronologically the last painted tombs of Paestum, thus implying that the end of the custom was concurrent with the foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum and the socio-political changes caused by the new political settlement of the city. Helle Horsnæs (2002, 21–22, 88) pushed the date of last production of painted tombs of Poseidonia to the period immediately subsequent to the foundation of the Roman colony, due to the fact that some Poseidoniate coins with the legend PAISTANO, which are believed to have been in use after the founding of the Roman colony of Paestum, were found in tombs in the necropoleis of Santa Venera and Spinazzo. Horsnæs' hypothesis was based on a first dating of the coins in Crawford 1973, 47–109. In addition to Horsnæs, Burnett (1989, 33–64), Taliercio Mensitieri (1996, 212; 2012, 264–65), Burnett – Crawford (1998, 55–57), Rutter (2001, 112), and Taliercio Mensitieri (2012, 264), also believe that the PAISTANO coins would have been minted after the foundation of the Roman colony (*contra* Pontrandolfo 1979, 47 and note 93; 1983; Greco E. 1988, 55, who dated the coins to around 280 BCE).

[154] Also, Cipriani 1996, 41.

Marina Cipriani (1996, 39–40) instead suggested that these people were perhaps Italic mercenaries, who fought with the Poseidoniates in a conflict against Elea that occurred in the same period.[155]

The subject of the appearance of the Lucanian *ethnos* in the geopolitical map of 5th – 4th century BCE Southern Italy has been the focus of intense scholarly debate. In particular, the mention of the Lucanians as a population with a clear ethnical definition in ancient texts is later than the first appearance of Oscan-Samnite populations in the territory of Poseidonia. The term "Lucanians", as referring to this particular ethnic group, began to be used in Greek literary sources only from the 4th century BCE, although some of the authors refer to historical events concerning the Lucanians well into the 5th century BCE.[156] Earlier Greek authors who mentioned or discussed the region of Italy later occupied by the Lucanians do not mention this population, but affirmed that the area was settled by other Italic peoples such as Oenotrians, Chones, Ausonians, and *Opici*.[157]

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[155] According to Strabo (6,1,1), the united forces of Poseidonia and the Lucanians engaged in conflict with Elea, probably in the period between 430 BCE and 420 BCE.

[156] The first ancient Greek sources mentioning the Lucanians are all 4th century BCE authors (Is. *De Pace* 49–50; Aristox. fr. 17 Wehrli in Porph., *VP* 22). The term Λευκανία used in order to identify the territorial entity inhabited or owned by the Lucanians is first used in the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Scylax, dated to ca. the mid-4th century BCE. Concerning the activity of the Lucanians prior to the 4th century BCE, Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplous* 12) affirms that between the end of the 5th century BCE and the 4th century BCE they had settled in the area between the *Silaros* river and the Greek city of Laos on the Tyrrhenian coast, the northern part of Calabria up to Lametia, and the rivers Bradano and Coscile on the Ionian shores. Based on the report of Polyaenus (*Strat*. 2,10,2; 2,10,4) concerning the conflict between the Lucanians and the Thurians led by Cleandridas, it can be evinced that the Lucanians were settled in the area surrounding Thurii before the period between 440 BCE and 430 BCE. In addition, several ancient sources attest that Lucanian individuals participated in the Pythagorean philosophical movement before the 4th century BCE (Iambl. *VP* 34,241; 36,266–67; Porph. *VP* 22; Diog. Laert. 8,14; Stob. 1,49,27 Wachsmuth). According to Diogenes Laertius (8,80) a Lucanian named Okkelos, possibly together with his brother Okkilos, was an important figure in mid-5th century BCE Pythagoreanism, and wrote a work on the subject. In addition, according to a passage of Plutarch (*De gen.* 583a–b), the leader of the Pythagorean school in c. 440 BCE was Ares, a Lucanian (Isayev 2007, 12–13 and notes; Battiloro 2017, 15–16 and notes 29, 39–40, 46).

[157] The Greek authors who, beginning from the 6th century BCE, described the area of Poseidonia, affirm that it was inhabited by the Oenotrians. The sources track the origins of this population through the waves of immigrants from the Aegean in the Mycenaean period. Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F156) affirmed that the Oenotrians descended from the Greek hero king Oenotrus. In fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1,64–71), six *poleis* of the Oenotrians are listed in the region of what was later to be known as Lucania. Later, Herodotus (1,167) described how the Phocaeans who fled

According to Strabo (6,1,2-3) the Lucanians were of Samnite stock. The Samnites had over time experienced a demographic growth and had sent colonies of their excess population to the neighbouring territories held by the Oenotrians and the Chones. These latter were in turn displaced from their territory by the Samnite colonists, who were the Lucanians' forefathers.

For a long period, the passage in Strabo was considered by most scholars as the proof of a massive Samnite colonisation process that resulted in the displacement of other Italic populations, such as the Oenotrians, from their territory in favour of the forefathers of the Lucanians.[158] Nevertheless, archaeological evidence for this part of Southern Italy suggests the presence of settlements founded during the period beginning from the 9th century BCE to the 6th century BCE that shared a somewhat homogenous material culture.[159] As well exemplified by Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 33, note 20), in the area later occupied by the Lucanians it is primarily burial customs that indicate the presence of possibly different ethnic groups in an otherwise seemingly ethnically homogeneous area: 1) a properly "Oenotrian area", comprising the valleys of the Agri and Sinni rivers, and the territories on the Tyrrhenian coast (including the area of Poseidonia). These "Oenotrians" buried their dead in a supine position. They also produced the

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from Corsica to Rhegion founded the colony of Elea, south of Poseidonia. According to Herodotus, the Phocaeans had taken the city from the Oenotrians. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1,12), referring to works of Antiochus of Syracuse and Pherecydes, the Oenotrians later split into Italics, Sicels, and Morgetes. Citing Antiochus, Strabo (6,1,4) affirms that the Oenotrians lived in the territory that stretched from Laos on the Tyrrhenian shores of Northern Calabria and Metapontum and its inland regions. While the passage of Herodotus implies that Oenotrian territory stretched as far north as Elea, the author of the Pseudo-Scymnian *Periplous* (244-46) affirms that the Oenotrians owned the land situated on the southern bank of the Sele River, where the Sybarites later established the colony of Poseidonia. Concerning the Chones, Strabo (6,1,3), citing Antiochus of Syracuse, affirmed that they were descendent and kin of the Oenotrians, and their capital was the city of Petelia, situated in the inland areas bordering the Sybarite territory and Thurii. In addition, Strabo affirms that Petelia was also the *metropolis* of the Lucanians. Concerning the Ausonians and the Opicians, these ethnic terms are now considered different names for the same population that inhabited the inner parts of modern Campania, particularly of Samnium, and were identical to the Oscans (Aristotle, *Pol.* 7,1,10; Antiochus of Syracuse, *FGrHist* 3 F; F7). According to Strabo (p. 223) the Ausonians had also inhabited the inland territory facing the Pontine marshes.

[158] According to Angela Pontrandolfo (1982, 9) the migration of the Samnites occurred in the 8th century BCE, while most scholars believe that it took place in the second half of the 5th century BCE, when they also began overrunning the Greek cities of the Tyrrhenian coast of Campania, including Poseidonia.

[159] De La Genière 1997, 90; Horsnæs 2002, 121.

characteristic matt-painted West-Lucanian ceramic wares. 2) A North-Lucanian area, between the Basento and Bradano Valleys. The origins of the population inhabiting the area is unknown, but as suggested by Battiloro they could have been the same as the *Peuketiantes* mentioned by Hecataeus [fr. 57]. The people of this area buried their dead in the fetal position. They produced the local "North-Lucanian" ceramic ware. Nevertheless, despite this difference in funerary customs, no structural differences existed between the people of this area and the "Oenotrians", with whom they shared cultural interactions with the Greeks and Etruscan-Campanians. 3) Eastern Lucania and the Ionian coast, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Matera, bordering the modern region of Apulia. In this area, the dead were buried in a contracted position. The material culture of the area does not differ significantly from the bordering territories, probably inhabited by the Peucetians.

The archaeological record for this area thus testifies to the fluidity of the features of the local cultures, which had come in contact and interacted with Greeks and Etruscans. Different parts of what was later known as Lucania shared the same or very similar material culture as other Italic or Oscan speaking communities south of the core of Samnite territory. In Poseidonia, the objects recovered from the first non-Greek burials of the *polis* are mostly similar to other Campanian settlements belonging to the Oscan-Samnite world that had contact with the Etruscans. These facts testify that the newcomers belonged to the Oscan-Samnite population.

Regarding the shift from the Oenotrian phase to the formation of the Lucanian *ethnos* (a map of the known Lucanian settlements below 78, Fig. 5), modern scholarship tends to consider the process as gradual, occurring over a long period, and not homogeneous. This shift occurred during a period of transformation of the Oscan-Samnite communities in this part of Southern Italy, after that they had come into contact with the Greeks and the Etruscans.[160] Certainly, the archaeological evidence suggests that the changes that occurred within "Oenotrian" culture in the 5th century BCE cannot be explained only as a consequence of internal dynamics, but were rather fuelled by the arrival in the area of people from the region of Samnium.[161] This gradual process did not involve violent confrontation, and might have been facilitated by the fluidity of the concept of what comprised an ethnic group, and by the fact that the

[160] Pontrandolfo 1982; Pontrandolfo 1994, 164–68; Torelli 2001, 21–28; Bottini 2016, 42–46; Battiloro 2017, 18.

[161] Fracchia – Gualtieri 2009, 121, note 12; Battiloro 2017, 19 and note 6.

newcomers indeed belonged to the same ethnic family as the Oenotrians did. This perspective, while ruling out the idea of the displacement of the Oenotrians, rather reinforces the view that the Lucanian *ethnos* emerged from a gradual process. Further evidence of these dynamics is the persistence of some of the above-mentioned Archaic funerary features, which predated the Lucanian *facies*, during the full-fledged Lucanian period throughout the whole of Lucania. These features were expressed both in the funerary assemblages and in the rituals of deposition and have been noticed with increasing interest by modern scholarship and signal a deeper role for the pre-Lucanian populations in the development of Lucanian culture than had been previously thought.[162]

These considerations are thus a warning against trying to establish clear-cut ethnic definitions for the cultures of an area where ethnic understanding was fluid and groups of people and communities were ready to move from one place to another within a territory. For example, concerning the production of the Matt-Painted pottery produced between the 9th and the 6th centuries BCE, which has been taken as an example of specifically Oenotrian material culture, Douwe Yntema (1990, 11–13; 1998, 239–68) has on several occasions warned against attaching ethnic terms to specific products of the material culture of the area, precisely because of the vague nature of the consciousness of ethnic background possessed by the populations settled there at the time. Yntema preferred the term "West Lucanian Geometric" rather than "Oenotrian" when referring to the Matt-Painted Pottery produced during that specific period in that area of Southern Italy. Moreover, the Oenotrian language, or the language spoken in what was known to the Greeks of the Archaic period as Oenotria, belonged to the same Italic language group as the Oscan-Samnite languages spoken by the Samnites and the Lucanians.[163]

Therefore, the possible Lucanian occupation of the territory would have occurred in areas where the Oenotrian population consisted of people who

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[162] For a comprehensive review of these aspects, see de Cazanove, O. – Duplouy, A. 2019. For example, at Cancellara, burial practice with the deceased in a crouched position, which had been typical of the area, continued into the Lucanian period as well (Capozzoli – Colangelo, 2019, 268, 276). In the necropolis of San Brancato di Tortora, the burials of the first Lucanian period (380 – 330 BCE) follow some of the practices of the "Oenotrian" period (deceased buried in a shallow pit in the earth, which is sometimes covered by stones or clay, grave goods placed on the side and at the feet of the deceased). In addition, some of the goods followed the "Oenotrian" tradition (La Torre 2019, 416).

[163] The evidence is represented by the Archaic stele found in Tortora, in the Tyrrhenian area of the northern part of Calabria (Lazzarini – Poccetti 2001; Battiloro 2017, 18 and note 64).

spoke a similar language to that of the new occupiers. In addition, archaeological evidence does not support a Samnite mass migration that led to the birth, in due time, of the Lucanians and to the displacement of the Oenotrians.[164] Therefore, one of the possible causes of the Lucanian emergence which has attracted scholarly favour, namely the occurrence of the Italic custom of the *ver sacrum*, does not seem to apply to this situation.[165] It may be that the modern confusion over the interpretation of the historical and ethnic facts of the region in that period has been generated by the historical approach of the ancient sources, who applied information and concepts to the situation of their period, usually a few centuries later than the supposed Samnite mass migration, and often from the Roman perspective, as well as after the shift between Oenotrian and Lucanian culture had supposedly already occurred.[166]

Once one has determined that the forefathers or kin of the Lucanians were probably living in the areas surrounding Poseidonia when the Sybarite *apoikia* was established, the question arises of the date of the Lucanian takeover. In his brief mention of the Lucanian conquest, Strabo does not provide any chronological indication of when that could have occurred. A suggested date of around 420/410 BCE rests mostly on the evidence provided by the increased use of painted tombs in the necropoleis of Poseidonia. Concerning this issue, a remark by Aristoxenus of Tarentum (fr. 124 Wehrli), who in the 4th century BCE mentioned the barbarisation of the Greeks of Poseidonia, has been very controversial. The author stated that the Greeks of Poseidonia gradually became Tyrrhenians or Romans, not making any mention of a Lucanian conquest. This observation has caused scholars to doubt the chronology and nature of the Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia described by Strabo and suggested by the use of painted tombs in the Poseidoniate necropoleis. Due to the proximity of Tarentum to the Lucanian territories, Aristoxenus must have been familiar with the Lucanian people, especially taking into consideration that the author knew about their association with Pythagoreanism.[167]

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[164] Pontrandolfo 1996, 171–72; Henning 2010, 4–9.

[165] Concerning the *ver sacrum*, see Heurgon 1957; Aigner-Foresti 1995, 141–47; de Cazanove 2000, 265–76; Battiloro 2017, 19.

[166] Ilaria Battiloro 2017, 19.

[167] In a passage of Aristoxenus cited by Porphyry (fr. 17 Wehrli = Porphyry *VP* 22), the Tarentine author stated that among the people visiting Pythagoras were Lucanians, Messapians, Peucetians, and Romans.

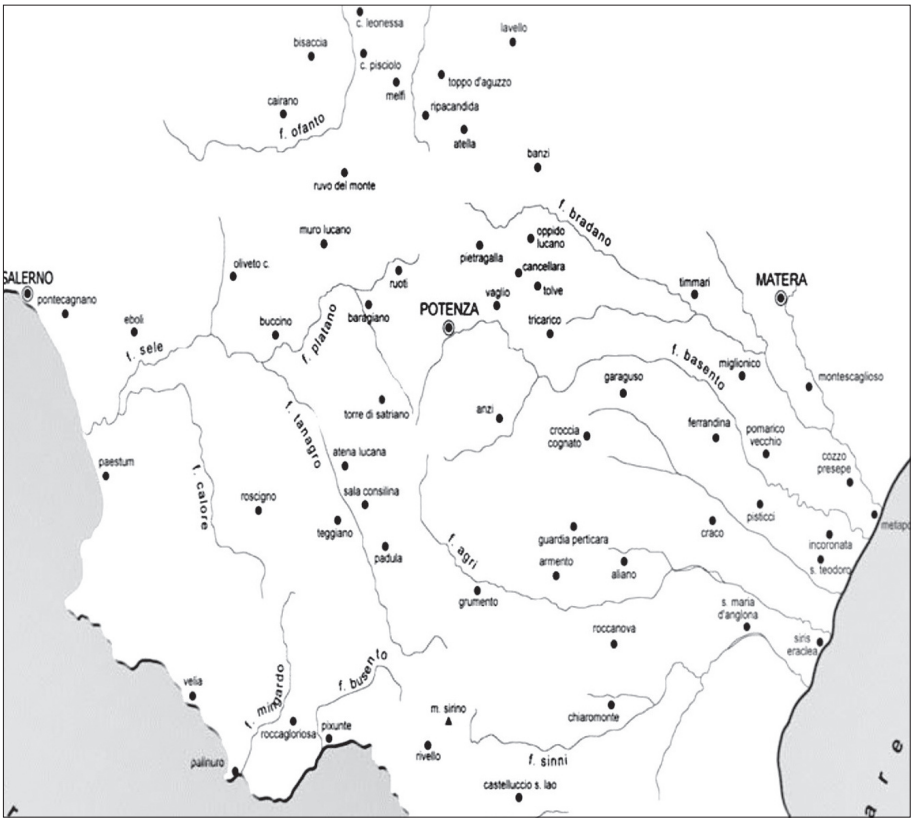

Fig. 5: Territory of ancient Lucania and some of its known settlements (Osanna – Sica 2005).

It seems odd that Aristoxenus would not mention the Lucanians when discussing the people who had subjugated the Greeks of Poseidonia. This question has raised several theories, but none of them has been convincing enough to indicate an undisputable solution to the issue. Wilamowitz (in Athen. 15,632a, ed. Kaibel) had suggested the expunction of the term Ῥωμαίοις as a later gloss, or as an error in the manuscript since mention of the Romans in relation to this event would have been anachronistic at the time of Aristoxenus. Likewise, many scholars have cast doubts on the use of the term Τυρρηνοῖς as well since Etruscan dominance in Campania had long passed at the time during which Aristoxenus wrote his passage. However, in the last decades, since the study of Augusto Fraschetti (1981, 97–115) was published, most scholars have begun to consider the surviving text as original. This, in turn, puts into question the real intentions behind the words used by Aristoxenus. Some scholars have considered

them as a reflection of the author's interest in both the cultural aspect of music and the contemporary Tarentine political situation.[168]

I find implausible to think that the Tyrrhenians that Aristoxenus mentioned were actually Etruscans. It is difficult to think that they, albeit in an alliance with Rome, would have been capable of holding Poseidonia in the mid-4th century BCE, when Etruscan political control of Campania had ceased with the conquering of Capua at the hands of the Oscans-Samnites in 425 BCE. Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (1972, 7–54) has suggested that the term Τυρρηνοῖς should have identified a particular group of Lucanians who took over Poseidonia, and not the broader concept of the Lucanian *ethnos*. Following this theory, David Asheri (1999, 365) suggested that the Campanians were behind the terms Ῥωμαίοις and Τυρρηνοῖς, of whom the Lucanians were kin as well, as Greek historiographers did not differentiate between them as different *ethnoi* at the time of the take-over of Poseidonia. Aristoxenus was thus referring to the information handed down to him by previous authors. This explanation seems plausible to me, and I believe that the archaeological record can support this view as well.

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[168] According to Fraschetti, in this passage Aristoxenus was focusing on the issue of the barbarisation of culture. Nevertheless, besides the cultural implications generated by the idea of Poseidoniate "barbarisation", Aristoxenus was deliberately pursuing a political agenda as well. Dionysius II of Syracuse, who was seen at the time as a paladin of Greek culture, was allied with the Italiote League led by Tarentum. At the time that the Aristoxenian text was written, Dionysius was in conflict with the Romans and the Tyrrhenians, including the Etruscan-Campanians living in the area bordering Poseidonia. Therefore, according to Fraschetti, the author had chosen to put the blame for the barbarisation of Poseidonia on the enemies of the League by purposely omitting the Lucanians. The passage was thus also a warning given by Aristoxenus of the danger posed by Roman and Tyrrhenian foes to the Hellenic values represented by the *poleis* of the Italiote League. As pointed out by Alfonso Mele (2014, 328 and notes 230, 232–34), the Etruscans, who at the time were Rome's allies, were despised by Aristoxenus, who considered them pirates (Iambl. *VP* 267, p. 146,14 Deubner (Nausithoos); Iambl. *VP* 127–128= Iambl. *VP* 235–37 = Aristox. F31 W = 58 B,7 DK). The identification of Romans, Campanians, and Tyrrhenians is often blurred, and perhaps intentionally left so for political purposes, due to the often-volatile nature of alliances. Mele believes that Aristoxenus intended to precisely mean that the Romans and the Etruscans were the people responsible for the barbarisation of Poseidonia. He suggests (2014, 328 and note 231) that Aristoxenus, a Pythagorean himself and aware of the Pythagorean tradition among the Lucanians, possibly shared the views of his teacher Aristotle, who considered the Lucanians to be a hospitable and righteous people (Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol.* 48). According to Pugliese Carratelli (1991, 225), it is possible that Aristoxenus intentionally omitted the Lucanians since he wrote the passage at a moment of conflict between the Italiote League and the Lucanians. Following this view, the omission of the Lucanians as masters of Poseidonia might have served the purpose of diminishing their achievement in subduing a Greek city.

As discussed above, the area north of the banks of the Sele River was inhabited by Etruscans and Etruscanised Campanians. Between the 9th and the 8th centuries BCE a people belonging to the Villanovan culture, which is considered the predecessor of the Etruscans, founded the settlement of Pontecagnano. This was paired with the foundation of another settlement at Capua. By the 7th century BCE, Etruscan culture had sprouted from the Villanovan. The ensuing Etruscan expansion resulted in the foundation of several other settlements, including Nocera, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Nola, Sorrento, and Fratte di Salerno. In the 8th century BCE Greek colonisation had reached the Campanian shores, thereby initiating a process of economic and cultural contacts between Etruscan and Greek cities. As demonstrated by the archaeological evidence, the Etruscan settlements had from the beginning contained a mixed population of Etruscans and Oscan-speaking people. This, in turn, resulted in the creation of a particular culture, which was characterised by a fluidity in the interaction between different ethnic groups, which often mixed. In time, as the Etruscan political power began its decline, the Oscan-speaking Etruscanised Campanians began to pressure the Greek cities of the coasts.

The settlement of Fratte di Salerno is a significant example of the ethnic composition of such communities.[169] Symbolic of this milieu is the small black-painted *olpe* of Poseidoniate production found in a tomb at Fratte and datable to a period between 480 – 460 BCE. The vase has an inscription in the Achaean alphabet that puts into verse the staging of a homoerotic game between men, probably during a symposium. The names of the men are Greek, Oscan, and

[169] Fratte is now a suburb area within the territory of Salerno, about 35 km north of Paestum. The settlement was founded by the Etruscans in the 6th century BCE. Since its beginning, the site seems to have been home to a multicultural society. This is testified by archaeological material (Pontrandolfo 1996, 15–16). The pottery includes Attic black and red figure vases, together with Etruscan pottery and bronze utensils. The buildings of the acropolis situated on top of the Scigliato Hill were topped by polychrome terracottas common to other Campanian cities of the period. Among the votive figurines, imported Poseidoniate production was predominant. The epigraphic material testifies to the use of Etruscan, Oscan, and Greek languages. Fratte has been identified by most scholars as the *Marcina* mentioned by Strabo, which was founded by the Etruscans but then later inhabited by Samnites. According to Strabo (5,4,13 C 251), *Marcina* was situated between the Sirenuses islands off the Amalfi Coast and Poseidonia. It was reachable via a land route leaving from Pompei through Nocera of 120 stadia (22,194 km) in length. This distance would match the distance between Pompeii and Fratte (Sestieri 1949, 343; Sestieri 1952, 163; Colonna 1960, 731; Napoli 1965, 661–70; Pallottino 1968, 149; Napoli 1969, 131). The most valuable and comprehensive work concerning the site of Fratte di Salerno is Greco G. – Pontrandolfo (eds.) 1990.

Etruscan.[170] In view of this information, the possibility that Aristoxenus was referring to the Etruscanised Campanians when he mentioned the Tyrrhenians becomes more plausible. Moreover, as Asheri pointed out, these same Campanians were integrated into Roman jurisdiction between 340 BCE and 338 BCE. They were, thus, both "Romans" and "Tyrrhenians" when Aristoxenus wrote his passage about the alleged barbarisation of Poseidonia. Aristoxenus did not mention the Lucanians because the Campanians who took over Poseidonia at the end of the 5th century BCE were not recognised as Lucanians by his sources, since the ethnic term "Lucanian" only began to be employed in the following century.

The presence of Poseidoniate artefacts among the material finds of such settlements as Fratte opens up the important issue of the relationship of the Poseidoniates with their neighbours. The sites of Pontecagnano and Eboli have the same types of material finds as Fratte. Both were founded by the Villanovans in the 9th century BCE and then became Etruscan centres at a later time, but were also inhabited by a conspicuous group of Campanians as well.[171] After the foundation of Poseidonia, they also established contacts with the Greeks, as did Fratte. The Achaean alphabet of Poseidonia was also in use in these settlements, alongside Greek.[172] Another example of this interaction, perhaps the most famous of all, is the Tomb of the Diver (below 82, Figs. 8–9), dated to a period between 480 BCE and 470 BCE, and thus several decades antecedent to the other painted tombs of Paestum. The attribution of the painting style, as well as the interpretation of the enigmatic image of the man diving into the water, has been a highly disputed matter since its discovery during one of Mario Napoli's excavation campaigns

[170] *IGASMG* IV 33a. Concerning a discussion of the inscription see Pontrandolfo 1987, 55-63. The text of the inscription reads: απολοδορος·ξυλλας·εραται·Fολχας·απυγιζε·απολοδορον·

[171] Pontecagnano is situated ca. 30 km north of Paestum, while Eboli is located ca. 25 km northeast, inland from ancient Poseidonia. Although they were both originally founded by the Villanovans, they were inhabited from their early stages by individuals belonging to other cultures (the "Oenotrians"?) as well. A significant example of such a development is the presence in Eboli, already by the mid-8th century BCE, of tombs belonging to the so-called "Fossa Grave culture" common to other areas of the Tyrrhenian side of Southern Italy, concurrently with burials following the Villanovan custom. After the foundation of Poseidonia, these ethnic groups continued their co-existence, with the addition of elements of Greek culture. These features seem to be shared throughout the whole area. In Pontecagnano, one 4th century BCE tomb was painted with a representation of panthers and griffins, following the same fashion employed in the painted tombs of Poseidonia. Corinthian and Attic pottery was also present in burials at both Pontecagnano and Eboli, followed by vases of Poseidoniate production.

[172] Inscriptions on pottery of the 6th and 5th century BCE in burials in Eboli contain both Greek and Etruscan words, in both cases written with the Achaean alphabet of Poseidonia.

Fig. 6: Symposium scene from the Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia (480 – 450 BCE).

Fig. 7: Diving scene from the Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing, Tarquinia (ca. 530 – 500 BCE).

in the Poseidoniate necro-poleis during the summer of 1968. Its imagery of the sympotic gathering of men has long been thought to represent a unique example of Greek painting. Nevertheless, further study of the painted tombs, together with comparisons with other examples from Etruria and Etruscanised Campania, sets the Tomb of the Diver in the same milieu of multi-ethnic interactions represented by the Poseidoniate *olpe* which was used in the symposia of Fratte.[173] The fact that the tomb, although borrowing from the Etruscan-Campanian style of burial painting, was produced *in situ* at Poseidonia employing local decorative motifs, is yet another proof of the level of mixture of cultural influences and people

[173] The tomb was found at Tempa del Prete, ca. 1,5 km south of Poseidonia (Napoli 1970). More recent discussions in Holloway 2006, 365–88; Zuchtriegel 2016). The Symposium scene has clear stylistic analogies with the symposium scene of the "Tomba dei Leopardi" in Tarquinia (below 83, fig. 6), dated to 473 BCE. The painting of the diver has similarities with the image of the diver from the 6th century BCE "Tomba della caccia e della pesca" in the necropolis of Monterozzi, Tarquinia (below 83, fig. 7), although the act of diving in this example takes place in a luxuriant setting of vegetation and fauna, as opposed to the abstract atmosphere of the Poseidoniate painting.

Fig. 8: Symposium scene from the Tomb of the Diver.

Fig. 9: Diving scene from the Tomb of the Diver.

in this area.[174] This view is strengthened by evidence from other Poseidoniate necropoleis of the beginning decades of the 5th century BCE, which displays signs of an allogenous presence in Poseidonia in the form of non-Greek grave goods and burial practices.[175]

[174] In 2016, Marina Cipriani has affirmed that the locally made palmette decoration of the so-called Tomba delle Palmette, a female burial dated to 500 BCE – 490 BCE, matches the palmettes painted as decoration in the Tomb of the Diver. According to her, this proves that the Tomb of the Diver was painted by a local Poseidoniate workshop that implemented the same ornamental motifs. Cipriani has not yet published these considerations ("La tomba di una donna cambia la storia del Tuffatore di Paestum" – *Il Mattino.it*).

[175] Cipriani 1996, 18. Some ceramic grave goods are particularly typical of Etruscan-Campanian sites. This is the case with the impasto jars decorated with a boss under the rim and the fine

In general, it seems that Poseidonia was always oriented to interaction with its surrounding populations. This was true not only for those settlements and people living on the northern banks of the river, but also for those settled inland, northeast of the city. In this view, the theory that the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele was established as a meeting point for interaction between the Greeks and the neighbouring non-Greek populations, and as sanctuary for young girls preparing to enter adulthood, gains strength. Likewise, the topographical setting of the rural sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide, surrounded by non-Greek settlements and having an audience of mixed ethnicity since the first years of its activity, is yet another indicator that Greek Poseidonia from the first years of its existence became part of the existing texture of the region, where the populations of the settlements were ethnically variegated and their movement between sites fluid.

Moreover, the material evidence recovered from within the urban area bears proof of the interactions with neighbouring populations, and possibly of the presence of people representative of other ethnic backgrounds within its territory, already in the early decades of its life. This is exemplified by several fragments of coating slabs and *simas* belonging to at least four roofs of the Etruscan type, datable to the last decade of the 6th century BCE.[176] These kinds of architectonical decorations were common features on the roofs of Etruscan and Etruscan-Campanian settlements and were also similar to some of the terracotta roof structures of Rome and Latium of the same period.[177]

At the same time, Poseidoniate architectural decorative motifs were spread throughout the Etruscan and Etruscan-Campanian areas of the region and reshaped according to local fashion.[178] Despite the fact that the buildings to which they belonged have unfortunately not yet been identified, they are remarkable since they were used to top sacred buildings located in the Southern Sanctuary. The influence of Etruscan-Campanian culture was therefore present in

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ware mugs with a high handle, used in places including Nocera, Nola, Vico Equense, and Fratte. Concerning the burials, the presence of non-Greek elements is signalled by the female inhumations with the body of the deceased laid in a supine-contracted position, burials typical of the Vallo di Diano inland area, inhabited by non-Greek populations of Oscan-Samnite stock.

[176] Gasparri 1992a, 593–96; Gasparri 1992b, 65–76; Mertens 1993, 172–74, tab. 91; Cipriani 2012, 111. As Mertens pointed out (1993, 209–12, tables 5–9, 1), at least some of the fragments were imported, since they were not produced employing local clay.

[177] Gasparri 1992a, 593–96; Gasparri 1992b, 65–76.

[178] Concerning cultic architecture, Poseidoniate elements were particularly used and reshaped in the temples of the Etruscan-Campanian areas situated around Cumae and in the Sorrentine peninsula (D'Agostino 1996, 443–44; Mertens 1996, 209–12; Cipriani 2012, 111).

Poseidonia already in the first years of its existence. In view of this information and considering that the fragments belonged to at least four buildings, I am tempted to think that not only do these imported materials testify to the skills of the Etruscan-Campanian craftsmen, but that they might also have even topped Etruscan or Etruscan-Campanian structures within the city walls of Poseidonia. The presence of such buildings in Poseidonia may have represented a symbol of the cultural ties between the Etruscan, Campanian, and Greek elites, but also signalled the presence of a number of non-Greek individuals who were more or less regularly visiting or inhabiting the *polis* already in the early stages of its life.[179] In this light, one can put into better perspective the presence of the famous and above-mentioned Archaic silver disk dedicated to Hera.[180]

One can thus infer that the foundation of the city was acknowledged and accepted by the non-Greek populations of the area as well. Perhaps the implantation of the Sybarite colony on former "Oenotrian" land followed an agreement with the indigenous non-Greek population. If so, then what to think of the famous passage of Strabo, who seems to imply that Poseidonia fell to the Lucanians after a military confrontation? Regarding the final decades of the 5th century BCE, there are no signs of violent actions or of burning in the structures in the urban area, although fire and the dismantling of some of the structures, which led to a reshaping of the topography of the sanctuary, has been detected at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.[181] Nevertheless, Giovanna Greco has been able

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[179] Pontrandolfo 1996a, 37–39; Zevi 1998, 3–25.

[180] Above 44 and note 85. According to La Regina the text must be read: Τᾶς hέρας hιαρόν. Fρόν<ε>οι τὸξ Ἀμίν(ες). He considered the object to be either a dedication to Hera by the leaders of Amine, or a payment of a fine in the form of ingot entrusted to Hera, and which could be used in order to provide financial aid to Poseidonia in case of need. Alfonso Mele (2014, 318), on the basis of inscriptions found in Pontecagnano and of the graffito *amina[...]s*, found on a bucchero cup discovered in the Archaic strata around the so-called Temple of Apollo, suggests that Amine must be identified with Pontecagnano. This suggestion lends more support to the hypothesis that the Amineians of the silver disk were the immediate neighbours of Poseidonia (also, Poccetti 1979, 263, 364; *Atti di Amina* 1984, 211–76; Colonna 1999, 405–407). Whether or not it is possible to identify Amine, its existence in the area is suggested by the find of several silver coins datable to the 6th century BCE bearing the inscription AMI(ναίων). According to Anna Maria Biraschi (2012, 304), the presence of the ingot in Poseidonia would suggest that the *polis* took on the role of its metropolis Sybaris after the latter was destroyed in 510 BCE.

[181] Paola Zancani Montuoro (1937, 230–31) had at first interpreted these pieces of evidence as the signs of the military activities related to the campaign of Alexander the Molossian in the third quarter of the 4th century BCE. Later (1967, 14), she suggested that signs of disruption by fire, which were then followed by significant renovation activity in the layout of the sanctuary, were a

to plausibly demonstrate that the evidence from the finds at Foce del Sele does not indicate that the site was the stage for a violent military confrontation at the time of the supposed Lucanian conquest of the city.[182] In addition, I would suggest that the fact that cult activities at Foce del Sele, and also at other urban and extramural sanctuaries of the *chora* of Poseidonia, were not suppressed, but indeed thrived, is a strong indicator that the shift of power between the Greeks and the Lucanians was not characterised by a major military conflict.

Furthermore, concerning the political administration of the city, the beginning of the Lucanian period does not seem to correspond to a period of disruption. The most important symbol of the political institutions of Poseidonia, the *ekklesiasterion*, was continuously in use until the mid-3rd century BCE, when the Romans probably put an end to its use by filling it in after the founding of the colony of Paestum. Moreover, the famous inscription on a stele dated to the end of the 4th century BCE – beginning of the 3rd century BCE, found *in situ* in the filled *ekklesiasterion*, was dedicated to Jovis, possibly by a Lucanian magistrate, and signals the participation of the Lucanian elite in the political institutions of the city in coexistence with the Greek elements of the population.[183]

In addition, that Poseidonia was a key player in the instigation and upholding of the interactions between Greeks and the indigenous peoples of the area, and that these relations were not characterised by enmity, appears evident from the mid-6th century BCE Sybarite bronze plaque found at Olympia, where the Sybarites stipulate a friendship treaty with the *Serdaioi*. The treaty designates

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consequence of the violent takeover of the city on the part of the Lucanians.

[182] Greco G. 2012, 184–85.

[183] The inscription was found in 1977 in the *ekklesiasterion.* The words of the text are in Oscan, but the letters are written in Greek, except for the Oscan *f.* The letters were painted in red on white plaster. The text reads:
[σ]τατ[ι]σ[--(-)?
ες ιουϝηι [---]α-
ναρηι αναϝεδ
βρατηις δατας
The fact that the stele was found *in situ* in the *ekklesiasterion* suggests that the dedicand was probably a magistrate. The name is Oscan and is found in another inscription (Rix, Lu 8 [*RV*-01] with discussion in Lejeune 1971, 52–53) found at the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio. A more comprehensive discussion about the inscription in Poccetti 1979; Greco E. 1981, 245–50, fig. 247; Pontrandolfo 1982, 138, fig. between 92 and 93; Greco E. – Theodorescu – Cipriani 1983, 137–38; Marinetti – Prosdocimi 1988, 44, fig. 61, no. A53 (interpretation Antonini 1981); Del Tutto Palma 1990, 52–56; Greco E. 1992b, 254; Cristofani 1996, 201, 203, n. 98; Isaev 2007, 115–16; Biraschi 2012, 308.

Poseidonia as guarantor of the agreement.[184] Among the different hypotheses concerning the identification of the *Serdaioi*, I follow Emanuele Greco (1990, 39–57), who suggested that this community inhabited the territory of the Noce River, between the territories of Velia and Laos, and was active between the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE.[185]

In view of this information, it seems evident to me that the role of Poseidonia in the treaty suggests its geographical contiguity with the territory of the *Serdaioi*, and therefore that the city was somehow a guarantor of the treaty for the people who bordered its territory, and at the same time was an important asset of Sybarite policy on the Tyrrhenian side of Magna Graecia. The *Serdaioi* are thus to be considered one of the communities belonging to the Oscan-speaking populations known at the time of the treaty as Oenotrians. The role of Poseidonia as a political entity that maintained contacts between the Greeks and indigenous peoples can also be postulated in connection with the episode of the foundation of Elea.[186]As perhaps was the case with the foundation of Poseidonia itself, I am

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[184] *IGASMG* IV 3. The inscription is written in the Achaean alphabet. The text reads: ἁρμόχθεν οἱ Συβαρῖ|ται κοἱ σύνμαχοι κοἱ| Σερδαῖοι ἐπὶ φιλότατ|ι πιστᾶι κἀδόλōι ἀε|ίδιον· πρόξενοι ὁ Ζε|ὺς κὀπόλōν κὄλλοι θ|εοὶ καὶ πόλις Ποσειδα|νία. It has been dated to the decades immediately following the mid-6th century BCE. Lombardo (2008, 219–32) has instead suggested a date near the end of the 6th century BCE, or even after the destruction of Sybaris. Editions of the inscription in Kunze 1961, 207–10, tab. 86.2; Meiggs – Lewis 1969, 10; Arena 1996, n. 3. See also Biraschi 2012, 18–19 and notes 57–58. Concerning the political significance of the treaty, see Giangiulio 1992a, 144–69; Giangiulio 1992b, 31–44.

[185] This theory is based on the discovery in the area of staters bearing the inscription SER-SERD, datable to circa 470 BCE (Greco E. 1990, 39–57; Greco E. 1992, 39–57; Polosa 2000, 49–59, La Torre 2001, 50–76; Mele 2014, 316–17). Mele (2014, 317), following Greco's theory, points out that the staters follow the system of Achaean weight measurement, as is also the case with the coins from Palinuro-Molpa, situated not much north of the area of the Noce Valley. The *Serdaioi* of the inscription preserved in Olympia can thus be identified with the people who issued the 5th century BCE staters. Paola Zancani Montuoro (1962, 11–18) associated the *Serdaioi* with the Sardinians, based on the obvious assonance between the name of the population and that of the island. This theory was accepted by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (1992, 25–26; 2004, 161–69), who, based on a passage in Diodorus Siculus (4,29), suggested that the first settlers of Sardinia were the Thespiades, children of Hercules, under the command of Iolaus. Some generations later (Diod. Sic. 5,15), some of them had to leave Sardinia and went to occupy an area around Cumae. According to Pugliese Carratelli, these were to be identified with the *Serdaioi* of the Olympian plaque.

[186] Hdt. 1,167,3. The Poseidoniate man of the Herodotean passage, who advised some Phocaeans fleeing Corsica (via Rhegion), after a defeat against a combined Etruscan and Carthaginian fleet, to establish a city in the territory immediately south of Poseidonia's *chora*, probably signals a precise plan conceived by Poseidonia. On the one hand, Poseidonia reaffirmed her central role by enacting

prone to think that in the case of the establishment of Elea, the Poseidoniates made an agreement about the matter with the populations living in the inland. This would be more suited to the pattern of the rather peaceful interactions of the different populations of the area, at least until the destruction of Sybaris. Particularly interesting is the above-mentioned information from Strabo (6,1,1 C 252) concerning an alliance between the Lucanians and the Poseidoniates against Elea, who managed to repel the attack between 430 BCE and 420 BCE.[187] The conflict waged by Poseidonia against another Greek city, and one which the Poseidoniates had themselves helped to establish, is perhaps revealing of the political situation in the region after the destruction of Sybaris, an event that may have set in motion political processes that were aimed at filling the power gap left by the destruction of the *metropolis*, through the establishment of alliances that superseded ethnic aspects. Due to the continuous contacts between the different populations and their friendly relations with the Lucanians, it would have been natural for the Poseidoniates to ally with them against the Eleans.

Another important issue is the role played in Poseidoniate society by the people who arrived in the city and were buried in ever-increasing numbers in the Poseidoniate necropoleis from the end of the 5th century BCE. Were these the new Lucanian masters of the *polis*? Or, since the archaeological evidence does not support the hypothesis of a violent takeover of the city in the last decades of the 5th century BCE, were they perhaps mercenaries employed in the conflict against Elea?

The first Lucanians seem to have left the topography and the religious organisation of the city unchanged. In addition, if one excludes the construction of the so-called Square Building at Foce del Sele, and possibly the first phase of the so-called *Asklepieion*, the architectural modification of the structures of Poseidonia and its *chora* seems to have begun after the mid-4th century BCE. In addition, the archaeological evidence suggests that a Greek presence in the anthropic composition of the city is detectable until the foundation of the Roman colony. As rightly pointed out by John Wonder (2002, 40–55), the Greek element of the population was still present after the supposed takeover of the town by the Lucanians in the final

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the Sybarite policy of control of the area. At the same time, however, it also demonstrated a rather large degree of autonomy by inviting into the area a new political player, perhaps with the intention of interacting with the Phocaean market, which had favourable contacts with Rhegion, the area of the Gulf of Naples, and the Etruscan mainland, including the other Phocaean colonies of Massalia and Emporion.

[187] Above 73 and note 155.

decades of the 5th century BCE.[188] Citing archaeological evidence, he suggests that the Greeks were particularly involved in certain professions that required specialised technical skills, such as, for example, pottery making and painting. The signatures on some of the vases with the Greek names Asteas and Python, who lived around the mid-4th century BCE, testify to the fact that Greek ceramists continued their work when the Lucanians took over the city. The presence of Greek artisans in 4th century BCE Paestum is also attested, or strongly suggested, for other crafts.[189] It thus appears that the Greeks of Poseidonia continued to live alongside the growing non-Greek element of the population, and one can infer that they also absorbed features from the other culture.[190]

In recent years, however, several scholars have challenged the view of a Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia at the end of the 5th century BCE. According to Domenico Musti (2005, 252–53, 273), the conquest of Poseidonia occurred

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[188] Wonder never questions the theory that the takeover of the city did indeed occur at the end of the 5th century BCE.

[189] Wonder 2002, 43–44. Concerning coroplastics, Wonder presents the case of the 4th century BCE moulds found in the *ekklesiasterion*, some of which bear Greek letters. One of these bears the end of a possible genitive of a Greek name, "…ξιδος". The custom of signing such moulds with Greek letters or names was known in the Italiote world. In the manufacture of jewellery, Wonder follows Guzzo (1984, 217–18) in noticing that Greek artisans may have manufactured silver *fibulae* with a bent bow, a type produced in many Italiote cities and sold in Italy. The fact that the production of these items continued in the Lucanian period suggests that Greek artisans were still involved in the production of these items. Concerning the minting of coins, Wonder points out that Greek artisans were still responsible for engraving them when their production resumed in the mid-4th century BCE, after a break beginning around 400 BCE. This view of an interruption of the minting of coins altogether from the end of the 5th century BCE until the mid-4th century BCE has been recently convincingly challenged by Marina Taliercio Mensitieri (2012, 263). The iconography of the coins also continues to follow Greek motifs in the Lucanian period, perhaps in an attempt by the Lucanian elites to mark a continuity in the traditions of the *polis* (Taliercio Mensitieri 1987, 171).

[190] Again Wonder (2002, 45–46) gives the example of tomb 11 of the necropolis of Andriuolo-Laghetto. The tomb featured, among other things, the painting of a scene of a warrior returning from battle, followed by a figure that represents his attendant. The warrior faces a woman who is in the act of pouring a libation. The scene is typical of the imagery of the return of the warrior from other Lucanian tombs of the city. Among the grave goods was a black glazed patera bearing the inscription ΟΨΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ, datable to the last thirty years of the 4th century BCE (Greco E. 1980). According to Greco the inscription must be translated as "I am the food-carrying dish of Dionysius", with the Ω as the genitive ending of the name Dionysius. Here, according to Wonder, is an example of a Greek who absorbed the funerary customs and the warrior imagery of the Lucanian elite.

at the hands of Lucanians descending from the inlands in the aftermath of Alexander the Molossian's defeat in 330 BCE. In addition, he suggests that the first non-Greek tombs at Gaudo are the sign of a period of transition between the end of the 5th century BCE and 330 BCE, during which the Greeks of Poseidonia coexisted with a minority of Etruscans and Oscans who moved from the neighbouring area. Thus, the changes in burial practices that occurred in that period did not indicate the takeover of the political control of the city.[191] This position has been used to reinforce the view that for a long period prior to 330 BCE Poseidonia, was essentially a Greek city, where the Italic element of the population had become Hellenised. The continuous use of the sanctuaries and the continuation of the cults prompted many scholars to suggest that the same process of the Hellenisation of the Lucanian population occurred in the religious sphere as well. According to many scholars, it was the Greek element of the population that dictated the cultural trend of Poseidonia, which retained the characteristics of a Greek *polis*.[192]

It has often been suggested that the Lucanian dominion in Poseidonia was interrupted by the campaign of Alexander the Molossian, who in 334 BCE arrived in Italy at the request of Tarentum in order to lead the Italiote League against the Lucanians and the Brettians. Alexander conquered the city from the Lucanians and briefly re-installed the Greeks as its masters. As a result of the ambiguity of Livy's text (8,17), who is the main ancient source concerning the military operations of Alexander in the area of Poseidonia, these events have created the impression of a divide between the Greek and the Lucanian elements of the city.[193] John Wonder (2002, 50) has rightly pointed out that Livy mentions that

[191] According to Musti (2005, 293–98), the painted tombs are the only sign that could indicate a possible takeover of the city prior to 330 BCE. Musti believes that the painted tombs are only the symbol of the coexistence of non-Greek artistic motifs with Greek ones, rather than a proof of the conquest of the city by the Lucanians. For a review of the different theories on this issue see La Greca 2008, 13–41, who believes plausible the theory of Musti; Battiloro 2017, 18 and notes 42, 44.

[192] Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 35 and note 44) affirms that "this continuity with the earlier Greek city indicates that the Lucanian component in some ways *succumbed* to the Greek". The same approach in Greco E. – Theodorescu – Cipriani 1983; Greco E. 1987; Greco E. 1999. Mario Torelli (1992) has been advocating strongly that the Greeks, even in the 4th century BCE, were the only ethnic group producing material culture in the city. Michael Crawford (2006, 63) goes even further by affirming that "nothing in the architectural record would reveal that the city had been taken over by Lucanians".

[193] Alexander possibly arrived at Poseidonia in 332 BCE or 331 BCE. Concerning the theory that a Greek government was re-installed in Poseidonia at the arrival of Alexander, see Giannelli 1969, 17; Trendall 1987, 2–3; Bottini A. 1988, 358; Pedley 1990, 108–09.

Alexander, once he arrived in Poseidonia, made an *escensio*, a march up inland before engaging in battle with the Lucanian and Brettian armies, and before signing a treaty with the Romans. The city of Poseidonia, instead of being the stage of a battle, was the starting point of a campaign against the city's enemies inhabiting the inland areas of the region. Wonder affirms that the population of Poseidonia, including a Lucanian element, welcomed the arrival of Alexander. The Lucanians of Poseidonia were thus not overthrown by Alexander but were his allies against their kin living in the inland territories near Poseidonia.

Based on this interpretation of the passage of Livy, and examining the available archaeological evidence, Musti presented the above-mentioned theory of a Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia, which was postponed until after the death of Alexander. Agreeing with Musti, Fernando La Greca (2008, 17–25) affirmed that a differentiation needs to be made between the "Tyrrhenian Lucanians" living in Poseidonia and the "Inland Lucanians" settling the inlands bordering with it. The first are the ethnic result of centuries of coexistence and cultural interaction between "Oenotrians", Etruscans, and Campanians with the Greeks. According to Musti, these "Tyrrhenian Lucanians" at some point joined the Poseidoniate civic body and became largely Hellenised. Poseidonia is thus to be considered a Greek city until the arrival of Alexander the Molossian. This is the reason, argues La Greca, why there are so few apparent signs of Lucanian presence before the mid-4th century BCE in Poseidonia. The "Inland Lucanians", instead, where enemies of those in Poseidonia during Alexander's campaign. Thus, La Greca (2008, 35–36) affirms that the historical facts mentioned in the passage of Strabo concerning the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia must be postponed to the years after 330 BCE, when the Lucanians of the inland, having defeated Poseidonia and its allies, supposedly descended from their hilly regions and occupied the city, replacing the ruling class formed by the Greeks and the "Tyrrhenian Lucanians" with their own. According to La Greca, these were the Lucanians of the passage of Strabo, and not the individuals belonging to the non-Greek groups buried at Gaudo, or the owners of the first painted tombs. They had done so with the help of the Tarentines, who had broken their alliance with Alexander for fear of losing their hegemony over Southern Italy, and allied themselves with the Lucanians of the inland, the Brettians, and the Samnites. In addition, La Greca affirms that the new *Paistom* had become a Tarentine colony, until the defeat of the latter as a consequence of the Pyrrhic War. This, in turn, caused the Roman punishment, in the form of the creation of the colony of Paestum in 273 BCE, with the overthrowing of the Lucanian ruling class in favour of new Roman administrators.

If indeed the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia, that is, the conquest of the "Inland Lucanians" at the hands of the Greeks and the "Tyrrhenian Lucanians", should be postponed to a period after the death of Alexander, it would conveniently be possible to close the gap concerning building activity in Poseidonia until the mid-4th century BCE. The same could be said about the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, where major renovation and construction works began by the mid-4th century BCE.

Nevertheless, the theory of a later and violent Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia cannot be satisfactorily upheld. It is true that the archaeological record does suggests that the Lucanians who first arrived in the city conformed to the use of many already existing structures, to the continuation of Greek cults, and at least initially to the same economic patterns of the Greek period. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence likewise does not demonstrate that there were violent activities or signs of military conflict in the city, which would have accompanied Alexander's defeat and the conquest of the city by "Inland Lucanians". Despite the statement of Strabo concerning a violent Lucanian conquest of the city, the archaeological evidence suggests instead a progressive seizure of power by a growing non-Greek, Italic portion of the population of the city.[194]

Moreover, no abrupt changes can be detected in cultural interactions or religious influences. As will be discussed later, the changes in the iconography of the coroplastic figurines related to the cult of Hera did indeed begin at the end of the 5th century BCE and continued gradually during the 4th century BCE, perhaps following the increase in the Lucanian population of the area. The construction of the "Square Building" at Foce del Sele in the period preceding the Molossian's campaign, and possibly the first phase of the so-called *Asklepieion* in the urban area, albeit perhaps isolated enterprises, signal the presence of some sort of building program prior to the mid-4th century BCE. In addition, the painted tombs of Poseidonia, and new burial practices being introduced even in unpainted tombs, are so numerous that they cannot be relegated to a marginal phenomenon associated with a few individuals who reached Poseidonia and lived there as a minority.

In addition, the evidence of coinage indicates that minting was never interrupted during the Lucanian period, albeit the production of coins of precious metal ceased in the mid-4th century BCE, which was perhaps a sign of

[194] Isaev (2007, 110), based on Frederiksen (1968, 3–31, 4), plausibly suggests that the change of balance between Greek and Italic elements of the population of Poseidonia was the consequence of the arrival of different groups of Italics over time, possibly also due to the establishment of treaties between the parties. Frederiksen suggested that this was also the case at Capua in 423 BCE and at Cumae in 421 BCE.

the changed economic order introduced by the now ruling Lucanian elite.[195] The production of bronze coins resumed after a pause between 390 BCE and 350 BCE and does not show changes until the foundation of the Roman colony. Coinage is one means of signalling political change. In this respect, it is significant, in my opinion, that the iconography of Poseidoniate coins does not change after 330 BCE, so that it is not possible to testify to a complete disruption of the former political order after that date.

What the numismatic evidence demonstrates, instead, is that during the entire Lucanian period the Paestan coins adhered to Greek iconography. In fact, the Lucanians increased the number of deities portrayed on coins, which in the Greek period had only been minted with the figure of Poseidon. It was during the Lucanian period, between 395 BCE and 385 BCE, that Hera figured on a production of Poseidoniate staters.[196] Marina Taliercio Mensitieri (1992, 170–72; 1996, 210; 2012, 263) plausibly suggests that the increase in Greek gods portrayed on coins of the Lucanian period is the result of a conscious attempt by the Lucanian elite to appropriate the religious milieu and traditions of the city in order to present themselves as continuators of its history. Some of the coins of Poseidoniate production dated at latest to the mid-4th century BCE bear the name of ΔΟΣΣΕΝΝΟΣ, probably a magistrate who supervised the minting, who bears an unmistakably Italic name.[197]

In addition, numismatic evidence cannot prove that the supposedly new Paistom would have become a colony of Tarentum inhabited by "Inland Lucanians". There is evidence that the ties with Tarentum were rather close even prior to the supposed arrival of the "Inland Lucanians" who had supported the Tarentines in the conflict against Alexander. Poseidoniate coinage was circulating in Tarentine controlled Metapontine territory already in the first half of the 4th century BCE. Tarentine coinage circulated concurrently in Poseidonia and in those areas of Lucanian territory near the Poseidoniate *chora*.[198] Nevertheless, over

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[195] Kraay 1967, 133; Taliercio Mensitieri 2012, 263.

[196] The type followed the type struck by Kroton representing Hera *Lakinia* around 390 BCE, which was followed by coinage of the same type issued by other Italiote cities, such as Thurii and Pandosia (Stazio 1984, 390; Stazio 1993, 106; Parise 1998, 89–96). The type also spread throughout Campanian and Samnite areas and was produced by Fensernia and Hyria. The coins of the latter were struck around 395 BCE and 385 BCE and were probably the models of the Poseidoniate production.

[197] Zancani Montuoro 1958, 79–94; Taliercio Mensitieri 1987, 146–89; Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 210; Rutter 2001, 108–17, 111, no. 1142; Isayev 2007, 116; Mele 2014, 326.

[198] Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 211; Mele 2014, 328.

the entire Lucanian period, the measurement system of the Poseidoniate coinage shifted away from the Achaean and then Italiote-Tarentine towards the system in use in the Tyrrhenian area of Campania at Elea and in other Campanian cities; this was true both for Greek cities, such as Neapolis, and Oscan cities as well.[199] It seems to me that this would have been rather more difficult if Poseidonia had become a Tarentine colony inhabited by "Inland Lucanians", who would have naturally been attracted to the hegemonic sphere of Tarentine economy.

Furthermore, it is rather tricky to imply that there were no changes in the topography of the city since the arrival of the first Lucanian settlers at the end of the 5th century BCE. Our perception of the Poseidonia of that period is hindered by the state of the extant topography of the archaeological area, which shows only a strip of the city in its ancient extent. Moreover, except for the temples and other structures in the sanctuaries, most of the visible buildings belong to the time of the Roman colony. Much must be done in order to grasp the stratigraphy of the topographical layout of the city in order to understand if, in fact, there were no changes prior to the mid-4th century BCE. The probable construction of the first phase of the so-called *Asklepieion* in the beginning years of the 4th century BCE is a warning against such hasty assumptions. In my opinion, it is possible to explain the increase in building activities that occurred in Poseidonia and its *chora* after the mid-4th century BCE by a change within Lucanian society rather than by a dramatic shift caused by the political consequences of the campaign of Alexander the Molossian. The changes in the topography and planimetry of the city could be related to the emergence of the concept of Lucanian *ethnos*, probably after the 356 BCE schism with the Brettians, who had been part of the Oscan or Lucanian population but then founded an independent league with its capital at Κωσεντία.[200] Before this date the Lucanians were not defined as such by the Greeks, despite the anachronistic use of the term *Lucanian* employed by ancient

[199] Taliercio Mensitieri 1992, 174–75; Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 211; Taliercio Mensitieri 2012, 264.

[200] Diod. Sic. 16,15; Pomp. Trog. *ap. Iustin*. 23,1,3 f.; Strab. 5,3,1 C 228; 6,1,14 C 255; 6,1,4 C 255; Fest. 28 L (Brutiani); Just. *Epit*. 23,1,11–16. According to Strabo (6,1,4 C 255), the Brettians were originally Lucanian shepherds who then rebelled against their kin and founded their own political entity. Diodorus Siculus affirms that the Brettians were robbers and escaped Lucanian servants who then seceded from their original *ethnos* in 356 BCE. Concerning the discussion of the Brettians in ancient sources see Mele 1988, 187–94. Regarding a discussion of the schism between Lucanians and Brettians, see Pugliese Carratelli 1972, 46–48; Guzzo 1984, 194–96; Lombardo 1989, 249–97; Cappelletti 2002, 8–9; Isayev 2007, 15–16. Concerning aspects of Brettian material culture, see Poccetti (ed.) 1988; Guzzo 1989; De Sensi Sestito 1995.

sources for events prior to 356 BCE. After that date, the name *Lucanian* appears for the first time in ancient texts. At this point there is an increase in building activity, not only in Poseidoniate territory, but also in the regions of Lucania proper. This could have been fuelled by the increased sophistication of the political organisation of Lucanian communities, which, in turn, was possibly prompted by the need to respond to the Brettian schism. This, together with a concurrent increase in population, possibly pushed different Lucanian communities to move from the inland towards the territory of Lucanian Paistom, bringing with them even more cultural and religious features from the inland, and thus causing the need to create new buildings in the city to accommodate the newcomers. It is indeed possible that this influx of people accelerated as a result of Alexander's campaign, but it had already been a continuing feature of that time.

The people who arrived in Poseidonia and buried their dead in the Gaudo necropolis were probably members of the communities living around Poseidonia. They belonged to the same kin of the Italic people living in the inland regions around Poseidonia, but they were perhaps more familiar with Greek culture due to their longer contact with it. They were considered at the time of their arrival not as Lucanians, a later term, but as Samnites, Oscans, Tyrrhenians, or Oenotrians, probably interchangeably due to the vague definition of their ethnicity. Their forefathers had lived in the area before the Greeks, and spread further inland fluidly, as individual communities rather than unified political units or even as a nation, a concept that perhaps became more fitting later, after the Brettian schism.[201] Therefore they continued the cults of the city because

[201] Even then the Lucanians appeared more like a confederation of different smaller states or communities rather than a unified political entity. According to Strabo (6,1,3 C 254), during wartime the Lucanians chose a king among the magistrates (Lepore 1975, 53; Torelli 1993, xv). Salmon (1967, 98) suggested that the king was a former *meddix*, a magistrate, who was invested with dictatorship in times of war. According to Pugliese Carratelli (1972, 102), the *basileus* was a confederal king-priest, who acted as supreme commander during wartime. Firpo (1994, 462, 464) believes that the Lucanian king was a confederal post that was shared by different individuals. It is probable, though, that this organisation reflected the situation of a latter period, perhaps even after the Pyrrhic Wars. Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 23 and note 115) convincingly affirms that the main evidence for a confederal organisation of the Lucanians, the coinage bearing the text ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ, is datable to the period of the Hannibalic Wars (also, Taliercio Mensitieri 1999, 471–72; Parente 2009, 57). Following a theory of Letta 1994, it seems instead that the basic political unit of the Lucanian communities was the *touta* or *tota*, an untranslatable Oscan term which is referred to in Lucanian inscriptions and also in those of other Italic communities in Central Italy and Umbria (Dench 1995, 135–36 for Central Italy; Bradley 2000, 181–82 for Umbria). Regarding a more comprehensive discussion concerning the issue of the *touta*, see Isayev 2007, 21–22; Battiloro

they had become accustomed to Greek religion, but also because they wanted to represent themselves as continuators of the city's traditions. These, in some way, could be referred to as "Tyrrhenian Lucanians", but their differentiation from the "Inland Lucanians" does not imply a violent confrontation between these two and a postponement of the Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia.

Nevertheless, with the continuous arrival of members of their communities, the Lucanians gradually added more of their input to Poseidoniate society. They may have often done so in a manner which it is difficult for modern-day research to understand. But I believe that it is evident that they did so by introducing their funerary customs, with the warrior ideology displayed in the tombs, and then through the iconography of the cultic coroplastic figurines, and finally through increasing ritual activity, which was further reinforced with the continuous arrival of more immigrants from inland. This interaction, including the exports of goods between Poseidonia and the Lucanian inland, was continuous, and does not seem to have been affected by the conflict of the 330s BCE. The Lucanians of the inland represented their deities and performed their rites using Greek-produced items, many of them crafted in Poseidonia, and they learned from the Greeks some of the techniques and architectural principles that would aid them in the monumentalisation of their own sanctuaries. They developed, using some of these means, their manner of expressing their culture and their cults, exploiting the shared features of certain Lucanian gods with those of the Greeks. However, they also maintained many original architectural features of the Italic cultural milieu, such as the use of both roofed and unroofed structures in sanctuaries and the inclusion of open spaces and landscapes in the organisation of sacred spaces. Moreover, they introduced these elements into Paestan society. As will be discussed later, I believe that some of these features can be observed in the urban area of Poseidonia as well, albeit they were added to the pre-existing features of the former Greek *polis*.

The arrival of the Lucanians also continued unhindered during the 4th century BCE, and by mid-4th century BCE this process had toppled the ethnic balance of the *chora* as well as the urban area. This, together with a new understanding of their identity as Lucanians, may have resulted in the restructuring of the topography of the urban area of Poseidonia and of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele as well, rather than a single violent shift in power. The Lucanians reshaped Poseidonia, but still respected the Greek traditions and maintained the older cults of the city, albeit adding their own features to these institutions and cults. The continuation of the cult of Hera was due to the will of the first Lucanian elite who took control of

2017, 21–25 and notes 84–137.

the city, who had long been in contact with Greek culture. It was saved by the decision of this elite to portray itself as belonging to the shared heritage of the city, founded by the ever dwindling but always present Greek minority, but also by the people who over time brought their beliefs from inland Lucania and attached them to the figure of Hera, as well as to other gods of the city. In this respect the Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia was not a disruptive event, but was a gradual process favoured by the fact that it occurred in an area where the coexistence of populations was common. This is supported by the archaeological evidence and testifies to the vitality of this area.

Concerning the concept of the Lucanian *ethnos*, I am aware of the fact that the use of the term "Lucanian" when describing these Oscan-speaking peoples may be anachronistic, especially regarding those who arrived in Poseidonia in the 5th century BCE. They probably did not feel that they belonged to a well-defined ethnic group. They nevertheless shared kin and religion with the Lucanians living in the inland, despite the fact that they had become, with the Greeks, part of the city of Poseidonia, with all that entailed in terms of civic pride and traditions. I will therefore employ the term "Lucanian" to describe all of the non-Greek people of Oscan origin who arrived to Poseidonia and took it over from the Greeks in the final decades of the 5th century BCE. I will do so, even admitting it is perhaps simplistic and somehow not entirely satisfactorily to use here.

3.1 Lucanian Religion: The Cults, Rituals, and Topographic Features of the Sanctuaries

The continuation of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paistom was, as discussed above, the result of the combination of different factors that developed both outside and within Lucanian culture. In order to better understand the influence on the cult by the Lucanian element of the population of Poseidonia, I believe that one should search for features present in Lucanian religion and in the cult of the Hera of Poseidonia that could suggest cultural interactions. I am aware that this sort of analysis entails several risks, and may be hindered by several factors. First, the archaeological evidence demonstrates how, besides elements that originated within their own culture, the Lucanians incorporated aspects of Greek culture, religion, architecture, and craftsmanship in order to visually represent their gods, or to construct structures in the sanctuaries built in their honour. For instance, their coroplastics, which is the most widely available type of evidence for Lucanian sanctuaries in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, mostly

relied on Greek models for the representation of deities. In addition, some of the architectural and decorative features employed in Lucanian sanctuaries were also borrowed from the Greek technical tradition. Furthermore, in the urban area of Poseidonia, where the Lucanian strata of the city are often obliterated by the extant Roman structures, the visible remains of Lucanian Paistom are usually analysed as a continuity of an essentially Greek program of city planning and organisation of spaces.

Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the Lucanian input in expressing their cults lay in the manner that they used some of these borrowed features, which, in turn, contributed to the development of a peculiar expressivity that can be seen under the surface of what seem to be "purely Greek" forms. This laborious and difficult work is the key to demonstrating that the view of previous scholarship has unjustly condemned the Lucanians to be only passive recipients of Greek cultural features. In this often "post-colonialist" approach, the supposedly "inferior" culture, needless to say the Lucanian, is acculturated by the "superior" one, in this case the Greek. Thanks to the improved knowledge of Lucanian culture obtained from the excavation campaigns of the last decades, scholars can better understand the Lucanians and their cults as well. Concerning the urban area of Poseidonia in particular, new excavations that are currently underway will hopefully contribute to improving the understanding of possible changes in the topography of Lucanian Paistom, which has remained rather unclear for the period before the mid-4th century BCE.

In this subchapter I will therefore concentrate over the description of Lucanian religion, of its known deities, its rituals, and of the topographical and architectonical settings of the most important sanctuaries. With the aid of this information, I will aim at identifying those features of Lucanian religion and religious culture that bear some similarity with those of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia, in order to understand which were the features that facilitated the adaptation of the cult by the Lucanians. This analysis, in turn, will aid my attempt to understand which elements of Lucanian religious and cultural origin were gradually added to the originally Greek cults of Poseidonia, and particularly to the cult of Hera. In order to facilitate the study of this process, the most important features identified by this analysis will be compared in the following subchapters with the situation in Poseidonia/Paistom.

A great improvement has been made over the last decades in our knowledge of Lucanian religion. This increased knowledge, however, is still partial, and there are only a few Lucanian sanctuaries that can be tentatively attributed to a specific deity. Lucanian religion belonged to the same Central Italian religious

framework shared by all of the populations of Oscan origin, including the Samnites. Ancient sources are rather silent concerning Lucanian religion, its gods, and its cultic practices. Epigraphic evidence allowing for the attribution of a sanctuary to a specific deity from Lucania itself is rather scant, with the exclusion of the inscriptions from the sanctuary of Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio, which reveal that the shrine was dedicated to Mefitis, a goddess of the Oscan-Sabellian religious *pantheon*. The attestation of the presence of the cult of Mefitis in Lucania relies almost exclusively on archaeological evidence since Roman authors most often mention and describe her figure and cult in relation to Samnium and Central Italy and not particularly in connection with Lucania. Other deities included in the epigraphic evidence from Rossano di Vaglio include Mamers, Jupiter, Hercules, and other who are more obscure. It is still unclear whether the Venus mentioned in a 2nd century BCE inscription recovered from the same sanctuary is evidence that this goddess was one of the deities worshipped there, or whether the inscription signals an identification of Venus with Mefitis.[202] The sanctuary of Armento, ca. 140 km southeast inland from Paestum, is attributed to Heracles on the basis of a fragment of a bronze statue depicting the god, which was found in a square building probably used to host it as the cult statue of the sanctuary.[203] Mamers was the Central Italian and Oscan counterpart of Mars. Hercules was well known and worshipped among the Central Italian populations and the Etruscans. Venus, the Latin version of Aphrodite, was worshipped

[202] Rix 2002, Lu 6/7 (*RV*-17/18); Lu 35 (*RV*-19), concerning the inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio dedicated to Jupiter (also, Lejeune 1975, 320; 1990, 16–17, plates X-XI-XII-XIII, 56–57; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 86–88 (Ro. 14), 89–92 (Ro. 15); 92–94 (Ro. 16); Crawford 2011, 1375–77 POTENTIA 9; 1378–79 POTENTIA 10; 1380–81 POTENTIA 11). Regarding the inscription dedicated to Heracles, see Nava – Poccetti 2001, 95–122, *RV*-58 (also Crawford 2011, 1401–02 POTENTIA 23). Concerning the inscriptions for Mamers, Numulos, and Oina, see Rix 2002, Lu 36 (*RV*-33); Lu 28 (*RV*-35) (also, Lejeune 1972, 399–414; 403–11; Lejeune 1990 and pl. XXIV, 18, 57–59. For Lu 36 (*RV*-33) see also Del Tutto Palma 1990, 117–19 (Ro. 24); Crawford 2011, 1394 POTENTIA 19. Another inscription dedicated to Mamers, or a companion of Mamers, and Mefitis *Utiana* was found in an excavation at Rossano di Vaglio in 2002 (Nava – Cracolici 2005, 105–06; Crawford 2011, 1393 POTENTIA 18; Battiloro 2017, 150. Regarding the inscription possibly dedicated to Venus or to Mefitis equated to Venus, see Rix 2002, Lu 31 (*RV*-05); also Lejeune 1971–1972, 55; Lejeune 1990, 15, pl. II; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 63–66 (Ro. 5); Crawford 2011, 1399–1400 POTENTIA 22. A comprehensive discussion of the inscriptions dedicated to the other deities of Rossano di Vaglio in Battiloro 2017, 139–41, nn. 96–130 (also Isayev 2007, 38 and notes 172–73).

[203] The fragment includes part of the lionskin and the club (Russo 1999, 112–13; Masseria 2000, 251–52; Russo Tagliente 2000, 116–18; Russo 2003, 66–69, Isayev 2007, 39–40; Battiloro 2017, 146, 270).

with the Oscan name of Herentas.[204] From the areas of Lucania itself, the only other epigraphic texts dedicated to deities are the inscriptions from Potenza and Grumentum dedicated to Mefitis.[205] Due to the decentralised nature of Lucanian society and the slowly developing self-consciousness of Lucanian *ethnos*, I tend to think that Lucanian religion included many of the gods present in Oscan and Samnite cults, but there were probably local differences in places nearest to the Greek and Etruscanised areas of ancient Campania. The degree of this mixing of religious features might have been rather high in some of these places.

The study of the material left by worshippers attending individual sanctuaries has permitted, if not the direct identification of the deities worshipped there, an understanding of their attributes. Objects such as pottery and the architectural features of structures can be analysed in order to understand the significance of their occurrence and their relevance in determining the nature of the cults performed at certain sanctuaries. Likewise, an increasing number of studies have been dedicated to the system of sanctuaries within Lucanian society and the links between their topographical settings, their surrounding territories, and the importance of these features in the cults.

According to the available information, after the mid-4th century BCE the Lucanian countryside began to be dotted with sanctuaries built outside the fortified settlements, on the hilltops that probably represented the political centres of single communities. Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 44) points out that, excluding votive deposits from a few Lucanian sites that could point to use in the Archaic period, the cultic places established outside fortified settlements in the 4th century BCE were not in use in the Archaic period. Battiloro and Osanna (2012, 19–20) plausibly suggested that religious activities during the Archaic period were largely performed in areas delegated to cult within the domestic

[204] Varro (*ling.* 6,33) affirmed that the cult of Venus was a later addition to Roman religion. The first temple dedicated to Venus in Rome was that of Venus *Obsequens,* established by Q. Fabius Gurges in 295 BCE. Concerning the foundation of the temple, see Liv. 10,31 (Torelli 1987, 155, 231s.; Ziolkowski 1992, 167–71; Coarelli 1998, 187). The temple was located in an area between the Aventine Hill and the later Circus Maximus. A limestone block from Caulonia (Crawford 2011, 1485, Caulonia 2), dated to ca. 325 – 300 BCE, possibly bears the theonym of Venus in Oscan in the form of the genitive Fεζεις. This attestation would predate the arrival of the cult of Venus in Rome and would constitute an older use of the name of Venus among Oscan speakers, as well as an attestation that the theonym Venus circulated in Oscan areas simultaneously with the Oscan Herentas already in the third quarter of the 4th century BCE.

[205] Potenza (*CIL* X 130–133); Grumentum (*CIL* X 203). See Lejeune 1990, 39, 47; Isayev 2007, 38 and note 173; 39.

spaces of the houses of the elite. I would therefore suggest that the foundation of many extramural sanctuaries was fuelled by the emergence of the concept of a Lucanian *ethnos* during the 4th century BCE, possibly following the Brettian schism of 356 BCE. Nevertheless, it is possible that the actual reason for the paucity of data for sanctuaries of the Archaic Age in Lucanian territories could simply be the lack of an extensive number of excavations and surveys in the Lucanian inland. The only sites that had sanctuaries that were frequented both in the Archaic and the Hellenistic periods are located at Timmari and Garaguso, which are situated close to the territories of Metapontum and Tarentum. The shrines were lacking in definable structures, but resembled their counterparts of the 4th century BCE in their topographical settings; they were situated outside settlement areas, at the junctions of important routes, next to watercourses and streams.[206] It is significant that the topographic settings of these two sanctuaries placed them on roads that linked the indigenous lands to the Greek territories on the shores of the Ionian sea, to the Apulian inland, and also to Poseidonia and the Tyrrhenian sea. It seems evident to me that these functioned as meeting points between different cultures, rather than a frontier in the strict sense.[207] When

[206] Battiloro 2017, 45 (also, Mastronuzzi 2005). The sanctuary of Timmari was situated near the course of the Bradano River, while Garaguso had at least two sanctuaries during the Archaic Age. The first of these was situated at Grotte delle Fontanelle, in an area dotted by caves and springs, and by the streams of the rivers Cavone and Salandrella. The second was at Contrada Filera, within the walls of the later Lucanian fortified settlement. This sanctuary can be dated at the latest to the mid-5th century BCE. Regarding the sanctuary of Timmari and its finds, see Battiloro – Osanna 2012a; Gabrielli 2012, 59–63; Piccioloni 2012, 65–72; Rantucci 2012, 73–79; Vita 2012, 113–22. Regarding the sanctuary at Grotte delle Fontanelle, in Garaguso, see Torelli 1977, 59–61; Masseria 2000, 85–88; Masseria 2001, 83–107; Osanna 2012, 71–96; Bertesago 2012, 49–57; Garaffa 2012 39–48; Bertesago – Garaffa 2015. Concerning the sanctuary of Contrada Filera, in Garaguso, see Moret 2014, 89–92. In addition, the presence of such possible cultic places is signalled by small amounts of votive gifts, not requiring the presence of religious structures, in the lower layers of later Lucanian sanctuaries at Chiaromonte (Bottini – Setari 1996a, 57) and Rivello (Greco G. 1982a, 49; Bottini – Setari 1996a, 57–58; Mastronuzzi 2005, 49–50; Galioto 2012, 139–42). These finds could testify to a sporadic use of the sites rather than to the presence of a proper sanctuary; nevertheless, they are a possible proof of a religious use of the areas even before the foundation of the sanctuaries. In addition, it has been suggested that Archaic Age sanctuaries could have been located at Ferrandina (Mastronuzzi 2005, 54–55) and at Torre di Satriano (Mastronuzzi 2005, 104–07). Battiloro (2017, 45) is sceptical concerning a possible religious use of these sites during the Archaic Age. Concerning Torre di Satriano, it seems that the finds of the Archaic period where related to the settlement upon which the sanctuary of the Lucanian period was superimposed, rather than indicating any religious activity in the Archaic Age (Osanna – Sica 2005, 66–69, 100).

[207] So also in Osanna 2011, 129; Battiloro 2017, 46.

one considers the topography of Grotte delle Fontanelle in Garaguso, set amidst springs and caves, one is reminded of the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide, likewise located in an area rich in springs and gorges and positioned on the route linking the territory of Poseidonia and the Alburni Mountains, and from there to Apulia and the Ionian coast and Garaguso and Timmari. The whole system of border sanctuaries could have been wider than is currently known and may represent an extensive net of connections between the different populations in this part of Italy.

Lucanian sanctuaries have been often divided into three categories, with different levels of importance serving the needs of broad communities. As noted by Elena Isayev (2007, 32), these shrines can be broadly categorised into small sanctuaries located within the settlements, small sanctuaries in rural areas next to a crossroad and connected to a settlement, and large shrines that do not seem to be dependent on any specific site. These latter were the religious centres designated for the performance of religious rituals by a large number of communities, and they have often been considered to be organized and maintained at a federate level. Although this classification is illustrative of the different kinds of sanctuaries in Lucania, it does not take into consideration the changes that occurred over time within Lucanian society and politics. I therefore prefer to follow Ilaria Battiloro's interpretation, which takes into consideration such issues. The small shrines identified within the fortified settlements often belonged to the period prior to mid-4th century BCE, before the construction of the settlements themselves, and were set in the rich residences of members of the elite. These were sometimes built before the proper Lucanian *facies*. The archaeological evidence supports the view that the ceremonies staged in these shrines were offered for a larger audience than merely the families of the ruling class.[208] When the new settlement and extramural sanctuary pattern emerged in the mid-4th century BCE after the rise of the Lucanian *ethnos*, the previous religious organisation may have undergone significant changes, with the transposition of the cults outside the walls of the settlements.[209]

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[208] An example of such a custom comes from Torre di Satriano, where excavations have unearthed what Massimo Osanna (2012b, 273–96) defines as an "Archaic *anaktoron*", a rectangular structure that served as a residence of the leaders of the community, but also as a place used for the performance of religious ceremonies. This archaic building preceded the proper Lucanian *facies*. The archaeological finds (among which are the "temple keys" found at Poseidonia, as well as vases containing offerings of plants and nuts) that were found in the vicinity of a small circular altar in the vestibule leading to a larger hall seem to point to the performance of ritual banquets, involving wine libations, in the structure (Osanna 2013, 129; Battiloro 2017, 47 and notes 19, 21).

[209] This development can be evinced at Roccagloriosa, situated ca. 80 km south from Paestum in the

All known Lucanian sanctuaries of the 4th century BCE seem to follow the same pattern of extramural structures, with the significant exception of the shrine of Civita di Tricarico, which was built within the circuit of fortifications in the vicinity of the habitations of the settlement, and shared important topographical and architectural features with the houses.[210] The latter is an important warning when one is analysing the pattern of development of Lucanian sanctuaries. It is not possible to sweep aside the general pattern of a network of 4th century BCE sanctuaries developed outside fortified settlements. Nevertheless, as with the case of Civita di Tricarico, it is still possible that both intramural and extramural sanctuaries coexisted.

With the current state of excavations in the area corresponding to Ancient Lucania, it can be affirmed that the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio is the only shrine that cannot be related with certainty to a fortified settlement. It has been theorised that the sanctuary must have been connected with the settlement of Serra di Vaglio, which is on the other hand rather far away, ca. 10 km distant.[211] This has encouraged several scholars to hypothesise that the sanctuary served the religious needs of a larger number of communities.[212] These features suggest a connection with the above-mentioned category of "federal sanctuary", one which would have served the entire Lucanian *ethnos*.

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area of the Mingardo River, on the road that connected the Gulf of Policastro and inland Lucania, bordering the territories of Poseidonia and Elea. A small shrine was the centre of cultic activity at the beginning of the 4th century BCE. The shrine, a quadrangular *oikos*-type aedicula (below 104, fig. 10), was located in the courtyard of a large house complex and was surrounded by a portico on three sides. When at the end of the 4th century BCE the habitations began spreading outside the fortifications, the shrine was closed (Gualtieri – Fracchia 1990, 101–07; Fracchia 1990, 215–32). The archaeological record reveals how the cult was not only a domestic cult of the elite, but also a practice that was shared by the larger community inhabiting the region around the *anaktoron* and the surrounding countryside (Fracchia – Gualtieri 1989, 228; Gualtieri – Fracchia 1990, 108; Fracchia – Gualtieri 1993, 109–10). The still partial state of excavations at Roccagloriosa does not permit the identification of the place where religious activities were carried out in later phases, but one can infer that it should be located outside the settlement, in the vicinity of a road leading out or coming from the fortified settlement, thus following the pattern of other Lucanian sites of the same period.

[210] De Cazanove 2004, 252–56; de Cazanove 2006; de Cazanove 2011a, 131–34; de Cazanove 2012, 305–08).

[211] Greco G. 2008a, 62.

[212] Adamesteanu 1987, 131. Battiloro (2017, 76 and note 45; 121 and note 148) also seems to believe that the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano was shared by different communities rather than being connected to a single fortified settlement.

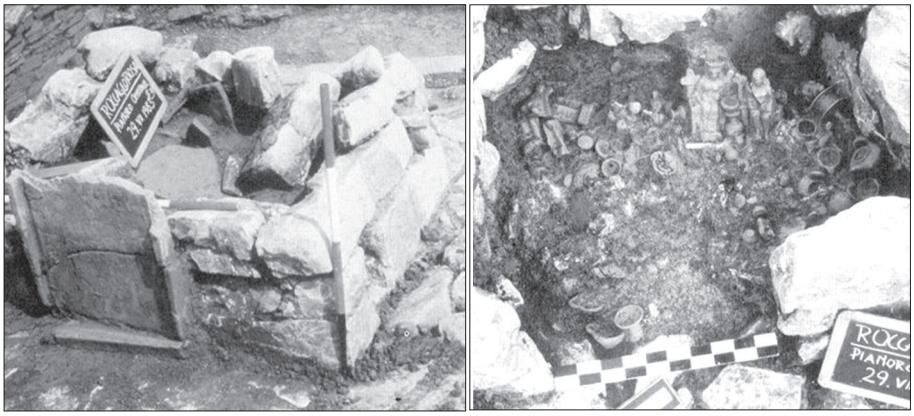

Fig. 10: The aedicula in the courtyard of the regional elite residence of Roccagloriosa (left) and the content of the votive deposit within it (right; including one specimen of Paestan Hera type figurine, standing, on the top right of the picture; Fracchia – Gualtieri 1990).

The designation of the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano as a federal shrine is related to the number of votive gifts recovered there, their quality, the fact that they were mostly imported as opposed to the more domestic sourcing in most Lucanian sanctuaries, and the impressive number of inscriptions compared to other Lucanian sites. All these elements contribute to characterise Rossano di Vaglio as a strikingly important sanctuary when compared to the other Lucanian shrines, which were rather more associated with local participation. The only religious site that can compete with Rossano regarding votive gifts is that of Timmari. This site, on the other hand, is clearly located in the vicinity of the fortified settlement of Timmari and as opposed to Rossano di Vaglio does not seem to have had built structures.[213] In addition, Timmari did not yield the number of inscriptions found at Rossano. A closer examination of the archaeological evidence casts doubts on the whole concept of a Lucanian federal sanctuary. As discussed in the previous subchapter, the Lucanians did not have a federal political organization until the Hannibalic War, but were subdivided into rather small communities controlled at a local level by a basic Oscan political organization, the *touta*, which probably had significant authority over the territory under its control.[214] In addition, the

[213] Concerning the coroplastics from Timmari, see Piccioloni 2012, 65–72; Rantucci 2012, 73–79. Timmari seems to follow Rossano di Vaglio in the pattern of high quality, imported figurines. Concerning the metal objects found at Timmari, see Vacca 2012, 81–93. The presence of weapons and agricultural tools among the metal objects found at Timmari is a feature shared with Rossano di Vaglio. The latter types of artefacts are unusual in other Lucanian sanctuaries.

[214] Above 95–96 and note 201.

epigraphic material from Rossano is to a large extent dated to the Roman period, when the socio-political organisation of Lucania within the Roman state affected the sanctuaries as well.[215]

Based on the texts of three inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio referring to Mefitis *Utiana*, Michel Lejeune (1990, 36–37) suggested that they referred to a *touto utianom*, that is, *Utiana* would thus mean belonging to the community controlling the territory to which the sanctuary depended administratively.[216] Lejeune then identifies the word *touta* with the population of an area, which would have appointed magistrates, such as for example the *meddix touticus* known from Samnite inscriptions, who were also in charge of the sacred areas.[217] Marina Torelli (1990, 85) challenged Lejeune, suggesting that the epithet *Utiana* referred to a gentilician *Utius* or an *Uttius* known from other Oscan, Samnite, and Campanian sites. It is most probable, however, that the epithet was first conceived of as attached to the theonym, and was then passed forward as an anthroponym.[218] At any rate, the association of aristocratic families with the responsibility to administer sanctuaries is attested in Samnium.[219] It is rather

[215] Most of the inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio are dated from the end of the 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century BCE (Battiloro 2017, 53 and note 47). According to Del Tutto Palma (1990, 71–72) only one of the inscriptions can be dated to the 4th century BCE. Regarding the influence of Roman rule over the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, see Parente 2012, 317; Torelli 2012, 329; Battiloro 2017, 53 and note 48.

[216] Mephitis *Utiana* is mentioned in one inscription from the beginning of the 3rd century BCE (*RV*-11), written using the Greek-Oscan alphabet. Another two inscriptions are in Latin, and are datable to the 1st century BCE (*RV*-22 and *RV*-32).

[217] *RV*-51, from Pietrabbondante, is relevant for the fact that it connects the office of *meddix touticus* with responsibility for the administration of the sanctuary.

[218] The gentilician is found at Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2655, 2691), in the modern region of Molise, but a Samnite territory in Antiquity, at Iuvanum, in modern Abruzzo, in Antiquity part of the territory of the Caraceni, a Samnite tribe (*CIL* IX 2975), at Venafrum (Capini 1999, 210), and from Lucania, in Muro Lucano (*CIL* X 442). The variant *Uttius* found at Misenum (*CIL* X 3667) may refer to another *nomen* altogether. In addition, Torelli (1990, 85, 90–91, n. 31) adds the funerary monument of a C. Utianus Rufus Latinianus, dated to the Augustan period (*Inscr.It.* III 1, 113 = *ILS* 9390 (Volcei). The inscription, although later than the period of Lucanian independence, is significant because it was found in Buccino, in the modern province of Salerno, and thus it represents evidence from the Lucanian heartland. The Oscan form *Utiis* was found in Cumae (Crawford 2011, 504 CUMAE 8, dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. Regarding the derivation of the anthroponym from the theonym, see Kajava 2022, 54–57.

[219] This is the case with the *Papii* in the sanctuary area of Vastogirardi, also situated in modern Molise (*CIL* I² 1757), and the *Saii* with the shrine of Pietrabbondante (La Regina 1989, 361).

probable that, considering the affinities between the Samnites and the Lucanians, the same pattern occurred in Lucania as well, and that the aristocratic elites appointed and were part of the *touta*, the main political organization of the community. This, in turn, oversaw the administration of sanctuaries as well. In my opinion, this feature would constitute a certain continuity with the Archaic period, when, as discussed above, religious functions were organised and held in the elite residences of the ruling classes. It may be that the level of participation of the general worshippers, or the numbers of the Lucanian elite, increased over time, or a rich class of landowners or a new "middle class" may have arisen entering the elite during the 4th century BCE. This development, in addition to the growing understanding of belonging to a defined *ethnos,* was one of the reasons behind the development of the system of fortified settlements and extramural sanctuaries that became so widespread after the mid-4th century BCE in Lucania. This developmental pattern would, in my opinion, rule out the possibility that the concept of federal sanctuary could apply to Lucanian society.

Another proof that single elite families were in charge of the sanctuaries is that during the end of the 3rd century BCE, when the fortified settlements began to be abandoned, probably due to the establishment of Roman colonies to which the Lucanian elite moved as well, some of the sanctuaries once connected to fortified settlements continued to be in use, albeit on a reduced scale.[220] It was the impulse given by the Lucanian elite that allowed the continuity of some of these sanctuaries, until most of them were abandoned by the beginning of the 1st century BCE, when the cults had mostly been moved from the countryside to the Roman colonies. The sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio is perhaps an important example of the dynamics of this process (below 107, Fig. 11). The site was still in use until the 1st century CE. When the elite of the area moved to the colony of Potentia, the sanctuary was abandoned, but the cult was transferred to the colony, probably by the members of the *touta*.[221] The fact that it is not sure whether the sanctuary of Mefitis could be associated with Serra di Vaglio is not a decisive factor in the attribution of the sanctuary to a certain administrative unit. Perhaps the *touta* that had control over Serra di Vaglio also controlled other fortified settlements in the vicinity as well, and therefore the sanctuary would have served a larger community. If one considers the size of Serra di Vaglio, which was the largest known settlement in Lucania, it is possible to perhaps understand

[220] Battiloro 2017, 176–209 and notes.

[221] Regarding the inscriptions attesting to the continuation of the cult of Mefitis of Rossano in Potentia, see *CIL* X 130–133.

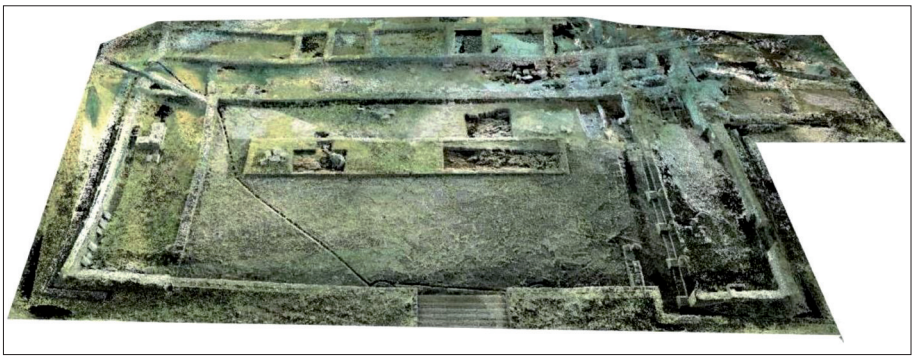

Fig. 11: Three-dimensional map of the Sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio. In the middle is the paved courtyard where the two altars are located. The courtyard is traversed by a water channel. Numerous rooms surround the courtyard (Colangelo *et al.* 2009).

the reasons for the size and wealth of the sanctuary of Mefitis, which therefore represented at a religious level a larger number of settlements than any other Lucanian sanctuary, but not necessarily the whole Lucanian population.[222]

Now that we have determined a somewhat general pattern for the development of Lucanian sanctuaries beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, it will be worth investigating which were the most important features of the shrines in relation to the topographical settings of the sites and the rituals held there. I will begin by analysing the most common topographical and architectonical features of the sanctuaries in order to understand their significance in cult practice, and vice versa. I am aware that this will not constitute an exhaustive review, due to the extent of the information from different sites. Since a comprehensive review of individual Lucanian sanctuaries would fall beyond the scope of this work, it will suffice to determine features shared between different sanctuaries.

[222] Some of the Lucanian fortified centres in the vicinity of Serra di Vaglio and Rossano di Vaglio, such as Acerenza, Oppido Lucano, and Cancellara do not have an extramural sanctuary connected to them (Greco G. 2008a, 62; Battiloro 2017, 76 and note 44). The site of Serra di Vaglio occupied 100 hectares of territory, at least twice the size of any other settlement in the area (Isayev 2007, 63). The area of the Lucanian settlement was inhabited already in the Bronze Age. The site witnessed a substantial population growth between the 6th and the 5th centuries BCE, as testified by the rich burials (Greco G. 1982b, 74; Bottini A. – Setari 2003). Serra di Vaglio was abandoned in the mid-3rd century BCE, when it was probably destroyed by a fire. Despite this, the religious activity at Rossano di Vaglio continued. This can be interpreted as a sign of the survival of the *touta* in some of the other settlements of the area. A comprehensive review of the site and the excavations underwent there can be found in Greco G. 1980, 367–404; Greco G. 1982b; Greco G. 1988; *Scavi e scoperte – Basilicata, Calabria, Campania* 1989–1990, 585–645; Bottini – Setari 1996; Isayev 2007, 78–80.

If one excludes shrines for which there is yet no evidence of physical structures, but only deposited votive gifts, it can be broadly affirmed that the extramural Lucanian sanctuaries, which were built beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, included both roofed and unroofed structures.[223] Sometimes they were encircled by a *temenos* wall in order to clearly set them apart from the surrounding space. Lucanian sanctuaries did not have temples of the Greek or Roman type, with the exclusion of Civita di Tricarico, where the temple structures were a later addition, and perhaps represented a sign of the beginning of the process of Romanisation of the region.[224]

The most important roofed structure in Lucanian sanctuaries was a square *oikos*-type building, of rather small dimensions (few examples below 110, Fig. 12). This structure can probably be paralleled with the square aedicula of the gentilician houses that hosted religious activities in the Archaic age. That these square buildings were of great importance to the cult can be evinced from the fact that not only was the sanctuary area often encircled by a *temenos*, but often the square buildings as well. These type of buildings have been found at Torre di Satriano, San Chirico Nuovo, Rivello, and Civita di Tricarico.[225] Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 55) is right in pointing out that the extreme importance of this type of building can be evinced from the fact that it was preserved or rebuilt following the same patterns when some of the sanctuaries underwent reconstruction.[226]

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[223] A good recent discussion concerning the function of spaces in Lucanian sanctuaries in Vitolo 2018, 311–31.

[224] The structures are datable to between the end of the 3rd century BCE and the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. Regarding "Temple P", see de Cazanove 2004, 266, de Cazanove 2006; de Cazanove 2011a, 131–34; de Cazanove 2011b, 35; de Cazanove 2011c, 34–35; de Cazanove 2012, 305–08; Battiloro 2017, 210. Concerning the smaller temple in the vicinity of "Temple P", see de Cazanove 2001, 189. Regarding a second temple of the Etruscan-Italic type, see Adamesteanu 1974, 448–49; de Cazanove 2001, 189–96; de Cazanove 2014, 30 and note 9.

[225] De Cazanove 2006; de Cazanove 2011a, 131–34 (Civita di Tricarico). Greco G. 1982a, 39–40; Greco G. 1990a, 69–71; Bottini P. 1998, 115–17; Galioto 2012, 142 (Rivello). Tagliente 2005, 115–19; Romaniello 2012, 157–60 (San Chirico). Greco E. 1996, 271–78; Osanna – Sica 2005, 100–119; 431–33 (Torre di Satriano). Another possible square building of this type is located at Armento. However, De Cazanove (2012, 301–04) considered it to be a private domestic building.

[226] At Torre di Satriano the *oikos* was kept in use although the other rooms of the complex were destroyed or their function changed (Osanna – Sica 2005, 100–111). At San Chirico Nuovo, the square building was rebuilt twice. The first time it was moved further north within the complex. The second time a new *oikos* was built upon the older one (Tagliente 2005, 115–18; Romaniello 2012, 157–60). At Armento, between the end of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, the old *oikos* was dismantled and a new one was built at a short distance from it

Concerning the use of the square buildings, Concetta Masseria (2000, 241), later backed by Massimo Osanna (2005, 431; 2017, 67), suggested that these structures housed the cult statue of the god to which the sanctuary was dedicated. This hypothesis seems plausible based on the archaeological evidence of fragments of cultic statues found within the remains of some of the square buildings, such as the above-mentioned bronze representation of Heracles from Armento and the lower part of a clay statue from San Chirico.[227] It is tempting to think that the marble statue of the goddess enthroned wearing a *polos* and the miniature square marble temple that accompanied her, dated to the 5th century BCE and found at Garaguso but probably a Metapontine production, could testify to the symbolism ascribed by the indigenous population of Archaic Lucania to the association of the small square building with the house of the deity.[228] In addition to the function of hosting the statue of the god, the square buildings were also places where votive gifts to the sanctuary were kept.[229] Sometimes the presence of certain types of votive gifts has encouraged scholars to attach a gender characterisation to these particular structures. The material found in the sanctuary of Torre di Satriano, for example, included a significant number of fragments of Paestan Hera type figurines, miniature vases, coroplastic material representing in absolute majority female figures, coroplastic representations of uteri, coinage, and loom weights. This is a clear indication that the area housed the cult of a female goddess.[230] According to Emanuele Greco (1996, 270–71, 277–78), who pointed out the similarities of the finds from the square building of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele

(Russo Tagliente 2000, 43–50).

[227] The clay statue from San Chirico was deposited in a posthole at the time of the abandonment of the sanctuary at the end of the 3rd century BCE, as a votive offering (Romaniello 2012, 163).

[228] For a long time, it has been thought that the marbles were a gift of Metapontine Greeks who visited the sanctuary of Garaguso (Nava 1998, 7; Nava 2001, 7). I agree with Helle Horsnæs (2002, 103) and would rather believe that the marbles were a valuable gift of some member of the local indigenous community to the local goddess of Grotte delle Fontanelle, and a testimony of the process of appropriation of Greek iconographical models to represent a local deity.

[229] Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 79, note 69), referring to the *oikos* of Rivello, rules out its classification as such because a deposit of votive gifts was found within it. According to Battiloro, the square building was only meant to host the statue of the god.

[230] A comprehensive review of the material recovered from Torre di Satriano, including some found during the first excavations led in the 1980s by Emanuele Greco, is provided in Nava – Osanna 2001, 33–106. A list of the votive gifts found at Torre di Satriano during the first excavations carried out by Emanuele Greco in the 1980s is presented in Greco E. 1987–1988, 49–51, tables 12–13; Greco E. 1998, 276; concerning the coinage found in the square building, see Cantilena 1987–1988, 59–61.

and those of Torre di Satriano, the square building would have been a cultic representation of the *oikos*, particularly of the *pyrgos*, which in rural houses was used to store the belongings of the household, and of which the woman was the customary manager.[231] Nevertheless, due to the fact that the above-mentioned statue of Heracles at Armento was probably the cult statue of the sanctuary, the designation of the *oikos* as the specific cult of a female goddess is doubtful. While it seems certain that the square building at Torre di Satriano was dedicated to a female deity, I suggest that this kind of cult places was intended both for female and male gods, according to the deity worshipped there. The architecture of the structure may have instead reflected the symbolism of the rural abode of the god, which was used to host its divine owner.

Fig. 12: Three different examples of square buildings from Lucanian sanctuaries, all surrounded by a *temenos*: On the left, Torre di Satriano (Osanna 2005); on the top right, Civita di Tricarico (de Cazanove 2011); bottom right, San Chirico Nuovo (Tagliente 2005).

Another important feature of the sanctuary was the altar, although it has not been possible to identify such structures in all Lucanian shrines. This could be a consequence of many of them likely being made of perishable materials such as earth or piles of smaller stones. Altars have been found both in sanctuaries

[231] Pesando 1987; Pesando 1989.

with square buildings, such as at Armento and possibly at Torre di Satriano,[232] in sanctuaries where they were surrounded by other structures without a square building, such as at Chiaromonte and Ferrandina,[233] or in the courtyard area of a sanctuary, such as at Rossano di Vaglio.[234]

Once again, I turn to examples from the Samnite world in order to better understand the reasons behind the layout of the Lucanian sanctuaries. Although the monumental phase of Samnite sanctuaries occurred between the 3rd century BCE and 1st century BCE, in the previous centuries they seem to have consisted of an open space, often surrounded by a *temenos* wall, within which was sometimes built a square building. In addition, the sanctuary area was furnished with basins and water channels necessary for the performance of certain religious rituals.[235] The most famous example of such a sanctuary was perhaps that of Mefitis at Valle d'Ansanto, which originally included only the altar within an unroofed open space.[236] In general, Samnite sanctuaries seem to reflect the Italic type of Archaic shrines, which were perhaps in turn influenced by the Etruscan religious custom of designating sacred, often unroofed areas for the performance of the augurs' interpretations. All of these features, namely the square building, the altar, and the open space/courtyard, are mentioned in the ancient sources in relation to the concept of the *sacellum*, that is, the Latin equivalent to the *oikos*-type religious building.[237] The presence of an open space in both Samnite and Lucanian sanctuaries is an indication that these areas were not empty of meaning, but were in fact rather central to the Samnite and Lucanian religious mind. It was an open space that united the earth to the god and made the sky above the area set apart for religious use as part of the religious function. One important example of this feature comes from the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, where, while a square building has not been found, the altars stood on a courtyard that was the centre of religious activities. In addition, it has been postulated that the first phase of Rossano, dated to the

[232] Russo Tagliente 2000, 44 (Armento). Osanna – Sica 2005, 64, 434–35 (Torre di Satriano).

[233] Barra Bagnasco 2001, 218, fig. 1 (Chiaromonte). Bottini A. 1992, 388–89; Bottini A. 1994, 697; Masseria 2000, 68 (Ferrandina).

[234] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 23.

[235] Tagliamonte 2005, 181–85.

[236] Rainini 2003, 137–39.

[237] According to Aulus Gellius (7,12,5) the *sacellum* was a small building dedicated to a god, furnished with an altar. Festus (423 L) affirms that the *sacellum* was an open, unroofed space dedicated to the worshipping of the gods.

mid-4th century BCE, was focused only on a double altar surrounded by a *temenos* wall.[238]

In addition, Lucanian sanctuaries included other important topographical and architectural features. As with the case of the Samnite shrines, they were also furnished with different kinds of water channels connecting to a spring, as at Armento, Rivello, Rossano di Vaglio, and Torre di Satriano.[239] In other cases, the water of the stream was channelled to the sanctuary through a system of pipes, or through a channelling system cut into the surface of the floor, as occurs at Chiaromonte, Ferrandina, Rossano di Vaglio, and Torre di Satriano.[240] In addition to these methods, water was conveyed to the sacred areas by collecting it in basins, or through fountains.[241]

In addition, Lucanian sanctuaries often included other structures that were important for the performance of rituals or cultic practice in general. The open courtyard, where a square building or altar may have stood, was surrounded by other rooms, and sometimes by porticoes. Many of these have been identified as *hestiatoria* designated for the performance of ritual common meals or intended as storerooms for the foods consumed in such rituals.[242] Concerning the

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[238] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 20–24, 78; Battiloro 2017, 66 and notes 94–95.

[239] Russo Tagliente 2000, 39 (Armento). Galioto 2012, 151–52 (Rivello). Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 15–16 (Rossano di Vaglio). Barra Bagnasco 2001, 208 (Chiaromonte). Masseria 2000, 67 (Ferrandina). Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 21–22, 48–49 (Rossano di Vaglio). Osanna – Sica 2005, 71, 100–104 (Torre di Satriano).

[240] Barra Bagnasco 2001, 208 (Chiaromonte). Masseria 2000, 67 (Ferrandina). Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 21–22, 48–49 (Rossano di Vaglio). Osanna – Sica 2005, 71, 100–104 (Torre di Satriano).

[241] In Armento, several basins of different dimensions and one cistern were found, which belonged to different phases of the construction of the sanctuary (Russo Tagliente 2000, 39, 42–46, 48, 50–51, 53–54, 56). In Rossano di Vaglio, at least one basin and a fountain attached to three waterpipes were found (Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 24, 50); at Ruoti one fountain was found (Fabbricotti 1979, 385-–87); at Rossano di Vaglio the identification of an additional fountain is more doubtful, but plausible, since a possible structure of mortar underlying a modern fountain may have had the same function in Antiquity (Osanna – Sica 2005, 98–99).

[242] At Torre di Satriano, the dining hall was located north of the area where the square building was situated and was part of a two-room building. The room adjacent to it, smaller and square, was identified as a kitchen (Greco E. 1996, 272; Osanna – Sica 2005, 107, 433). The sanctuary of Armento was furnished with two rooms that served as a kitchen, as is testified by the finds discovered within them. At least one of the rooms had a hearth (Russo Tagliente 2000, 42–43, 49; Battiloro 2017, 64). A larger nearby room functioned as an *hestiatorion*. A rather large hearth was placed in its middle (Russo Tagliente 2000, 46–48, 50, 54, 56; Battiloro 2017, 64). At Rivello,

storerooms, one such was identified at Armento, in the vicinity of the dining hall.[243] Regarding the shrine of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, neither a banquet hall nor a kitchen have yet been found, but the courtyard is surrounded by several rooms, the use of which is unknown. It is possible that some of them held the *hestiatorion* and the kitchen since these facilities are present in the most important Lucanian sanctuaries.

Finally, Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 69) presented the theory that there were some sort of ceremonial paths in Lucanian sanctuaries that connected various important areas of the compounds. These were sometimes set in the open air, and sometimes surrounded by a portico. These pathways were not only places intended for the passage and accommodation of worshippers but were essential in the performance of certain rituals by leading the participants from one area to another within the sanctuary. This can be evinced from the topography of the sites. In Armento, for example, between the end of the 4th century BCE and the 3rd century BCE the ceremonial path consisted of a paved walkway of bricks connecting the lower terrace of the complex, where a water cistern, the altar, and the square building facing it stood, to the upper terrace of the sanctuary via a ramp.[244] At Chiaromonte, the pathway connected the lower terraces of the sanctuary to the upper terrace, where a spring was located.[245] At Rivello, the ceremonial path and the buildings were bordered on their northern side by a portico that marked the entrance to the sanctuary and the limits of the religious area.[246] At San Chirico Nuovo, from the mid-4th century BCE the pathway, which was flanked by a portico, connected the spring to the central part of the sanctuary, where the square building and its *temenos* were located.[247] A ceremonial pathway was possibly found at Rossano di Vaglio, in the form of a paved path that flanked one of the rooms surrounding the paved courtyard.[248] Ritual ceremonies could also have been staged in other areas of the sanctuary, as is

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the building was subdivided into two rooms, one of which probably functioned as a dining hall, based on the traces of organic material and charcoal found within it (Greco G. 1982, 39). In Chiaromonte, the presence of fireplaces that are to be interpreted as hearths has been detected (Horsnæs 2002, 101).

[243] Russo Tagliente 2000, 50–52, 56, 94; Battiloro 2017, 64.

[244] Russo Tagliente 2000, 44, 51, 56.

[245] Barra Bagnasco 2001, 220.

[246] Greco G. 1990, 69.

[247] Tagliente 2005, 118–19; Romaniello 2012, 158–60.

[248] De Paola – Sartoris 2001, 26, 28, fig. 20.

the case with Torre di Satriano, where a large area east of the square building was furnished with two water channels needed for the performance of some rituals.[249]

Despite their seemingly modest appearance as compared to, for example, Greek sanctuaries of the same period, the Lucanian shrines built from the 4th century BCE are nevertheless remarkable for their use of topography, in order to incorporate the setting and make it a part of the rituals performed on the premises. The combined use of open and roofed areas, the integration of the sky into what appears superficially as modest architecture, are signs of a religious milieu that was common to other Oscan and Samnite communities. Architecturally, a Lucanian sanctuary included the basic units of a square building, an altar, and water channels. The *oikos* was sometimes not present, and the area where the most important rituals were performed was left open, in a symbolic union between the sanctuary, the community there gathered, and the sky. The placing of the sanctuaries outside the circuit walls of the fortified settlements set them apart as units belonging to the agrarian landscape of Lucania. The topographic setting along important crossroads was also part of the identification of Lucanian religion with the territory. The importance and the omnipresence of water in the choice of topographic settings for the sanctuaries is a testimony to the necessity of this element for the performance of some rituals central to Lucanian religion. I believe that all of these practices were probably the continuation of older customs already adhered to in the Archaic period, in the form of small shrines included in the palaces of the elites or in the still too elusive extramural sanctuaries located in the vicinity of springs and important crossroads, such as Grotte delle Fontanelle in Garaguso.

Once one has defined an albeit partial characterisation of Lucanian sanctuaries, in order to better understand what the central features of Lucanian religion were, it is necessary to turn to the most important material manifestation of religious beliefs at the time, namely the votive gifts left by the worshippers in the sanctuaries. The most numerous class of votive gifts found in these contexts in Lucania is coroplastic figurines, mostly reproducing Greek models. According to the analysis of the clay, they were usually locally made, but their moulds were produced in workshops of Italiote cities. The vast majority of figurines from Lucanian sanctuaries in the 4th century BCE represent female goddesses or female figures. This fact indicates that this form of religious piety was most common in the shrines dedicated to female deities. This was also the situation in Greek sanctuaries. The offerings to male gods probably had different forms and

[249] Osanna – Sica 2005, 69–71, 104.

means of representation. The iconography of the deity portrayed on the figurines is often rather plain, with only few attributes, which may or may not vary from one specimen to another. Due to the almost complete lack of epigraphic material that could reveal the names and traits of the Lucanian gods, especially in relation to single sanctuaries, it is impossible, if one excludes the notable example of the Mefitis of Rossano di Vaglio, to know to which gods the coroplastic figurines of Lucanian sanctuaries were dedicated. Only a few attributes, which were sometimes fixed in the hands of the deities portrayed in the figurines, can suggest the nature of the god. Since different iconographies were employed in the same sanctuary, this is perhaps an indication of the fact that some Lucanian gods had a wider range of prerogatives than the Greek deities originally portrayed by the figurines, or that the Lucanians may have only used those figurines that had similar iconographic characteristics to some of their gods.

The coroplastic figurines include both sitting and standing female figures. Among the first were several specimens of the Paestan Hera type (Pls. V–VII, Nos. 16–27), which were found at Torre di Satriano, where they constituted an important part of the total of finds, Rivello, Ruoti, San Chirico Nuovo, and Roccagloriosa, but are missing from the sanctuaries that yielded a vaster number of votive gifts, such as Rossano di Vaglio and Timmari.[250] The absence of the Paestan Hera type at Rossano di Vaglio is balanced in this sanctuary by the presence of a *kourotrophos* of the Lucanian period (Pl. VIII, No. 28), which is also Paestan in origin and a derivative of the Paestan Hera type, but differs from the latter in that the goddess is portrayed with a child in her arms, and is in the act of breastfeeding.[251] Another type of sitting goddess is a derivation of a Tarentine and Heraclean type, which portrayed a female deity with a sort of step, but no base, which was probably intended to stand upright on this support. This type was widely spread throughout the entire Lucanian region between the 4th

[250] Regarding Torre di Satriano, Greco E. (1996, 76) affirmed that these included 84 fragments belonging to four types, at least for the material retrieved from the excavations of the 1980s. Concerning the material retrieved from later excavations see Battiloro 2001, 47, 49–50; Battiloro 2005, 147–53. Fabbricotti 1979, 370, fig. 26 n. 198 (Ruoti). Bottini 1998, 122, fig. 9–10; Galioto 2012, 145–46 (Rivello). Tagliente 2005, 118, fig. 4 (San Chirico Nuovo). Gualtieri – Fracchia 1990, 114–15 (Roccagloriosa). The typology was found, outside the territory of proper Lucania, at the sanctuary of Mefitis in Valle d'Ansanto (Bottini A. – Rainini – Isnenghi Colazzo 1976, 400–403). For a list of sites where the Paestan Hera type was found in the Lucanian inlands, see Battiloro 2017, 87.

[251] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 51 and fig. 49.

century BCE and the mid-3rd century BCE.[252] For the most part these sitting figurines hold some objects, such as fruits, a casket, an animal that could be a rabbit, a goose, or a dove, a *tympanon*, a flower, or a *patera*, but sometimes they do not possess any specific attribute. Most of the time, the enthroned female figure wears a *polos*, but when it does not, this could mean that she represents the dedicand herself. In contrast with the Paestan Hera type, these figurines were present in significant numbers at the sanctuaries that yielded more votive gifts, at Rossano di Vaglio and Timmari, but in other smaller shrines as well.[253] Some of the sitting figurines are totally veiled and do not wear the *polos*. It is possible that the presence of either of these types was affected by the geographical position of the sanctuaries, rather than by any religious significance attached to their iconography. The shrines where both types were discovered, Rivello and San Chirico Nuovo, are in fact located at a certain distance from the roads leading to Poseidonia, where the first type was developed, and the territories of Heraclea and Tarentum, where the second originated. Only the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, on the road leading to Poseidonia, but not too far inland from the territory of Heraclea, seems to contradict this scheme. On the other hand, the presence at the site of the Paestan *kourotrophos* of the Lucanian period increases the uncertainty concerning the rationale behind the presence or lack of certain types in certain sanctuaries.

In addition to the sitting figurines, other types of standing female figures were also employed. Some of them may have originated in an Italiote workshop originally associated with a Demeter cult, such as those found at Rivello, which were fully draped, wearing the *polos*, and carrying objects in their hands related to the cult of Demeter and Kore, such as the cross-torch, together with a casket, a jug, or a piglet.[254] All of these types of female figurines continued to be dedicated in Lucanian sanctuaries for the entire 4th century BCE, only to disappear during the course of the 3rd century BCE. In this latter period, in fact, the Lucanian sanctuaries seem to have followed the same phenomenon of Hellenistic coroplastic *koine* common to Greek sanctuaries of Magna Graecia. During this period, in fact,

[252] Bartoccini 1936, 158; Higgins 1967, 91, pl. 39B; Neutsch 1967, 176–78; Lo Porto 1991, 108–28; Gräpler 1994, 284; Barra Bagnasco 1996, 219.

[253] D'Anisi 2005, 170, figs. 3–4 (Accettura). Barra Bagnasco 2001, 227, fig. 14 no. 228 (Chiaromonte). Bottini P. 1997, 130, figs. 13–15 (Grumentum). Greco G. 1982a, 47, pl. XXII no. 1; Galioto 2012, 145–46 (Rivello). Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 52–54, 106–09, tables V–VIII; Taddonio 2012, 187–94 (Rossano di Vaglio). Tagliente 2005, 119, fig. 5,7 (San Chirico Nuovo). Piccioloni 2012, 68–72 (Timmari).

[254] Galioto 2012, 143–45.

the figurines alluding to divinity gave way to other coroplastic representations of women that lacked any religious iconographic attributes, perhaps to represent the dedicands themselves. This is the case, for example, for the so-called Tanagra figurines, which represent the majority of coroplastic figurines from many 3rd-century BCE Greek sanctuaries such as, for example, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele (Pls. XI–XII, Nos. 39–45). Tanagra figurines are not very numerous in Lucanian sanctuaries, as compared to Greek shrines. Only Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio, which are otherwise significantly superior to the other Lucanian shrines regarding retrieved votive offerings, had a significant number of them.[255]

Other types of coroplastic votive gifts recovered from Lucanian sanctuaries include busts of women. These are not numerous at most sites, with the exception of Grumentum, Timmari, and Rossano di Vaglio. Types and sizes vary according to the sanctuary. Female figures are usually represented wearing a *polos,* and they may be draped or not.[256] The iconographic symbolism of these busts is still a disputed matter. It has been suggested that they were connected to the Demeter cult, but the presence of this type of find in sanctuaries dedicated to deities other than the Eleusinian ones casts doubts on such an exclusive interpretation.[257] Perhaps, in Lucania, the gods to which they were donated had chthonic traits in common with Demeter and Kore. The presence among the busts of women not wearing the *polos* indicates that at least some of the portraits were not intended to represent goddesses.[258] In addition to these types, also of interest is the find at

[255] At Timmari, Tanagra figurines constitute ca. 15% of all the coroplastic material (Rantucci 2012, 76–78). At Rossano di Vaglio, instead, they represent ca. 10% of the coroplastic material yielded by the sanctuary (Langone 2012, 203–10).

[256] The material from Rossano di Vaglio is rather coarse and mostly represents types of the draped woman with *polos*, but also a unique type of a woman that looks as if she is sprouting from a plant. Specimens of women without a *polos* were also found (Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 57, tabs. XXIII, XXIV; Calabrese 2012, 200–201). The busts from Timmari are representative of a wider range of types and sizes, with the depicted women wearing a *polos* and being draped or not according to the type (Lo Porto 1991, 88–108, nn. 30–70; Rantucci 2012, 73–76). The specimens from Grumentum comprise types of different sizes, including life-size pieces (Bottini P. 2005, 180–87). At Torre di Satriano (Battiloro 2001, 51–52; Battiloro 2005, 174–79) and Rivello (Bottini P. 2005, 181–83; Galioto 2012, 146) only few specimens were retrieved.

[257] On the interpretation of busts and *protomai* as a dedication to the Eleusinian deities, see Uhlenbrock 1988, 117–38; 141–42; 150–56; Hinz 1998, 39–42, 223. In addition, they are often interpreted as dedications to deities protecting the passage of young girls to marital status, such as Hera and Artemis. Concerning the dedications of busts and *protomai* to other deities, see Barra Bagnasco 1986, 150–54; Siracusano 1986–1987, 51–71.

[258] Arthur Muller (2009, 81–95) believes that the *protome* represented the dedicand herself and

Rossano di Vaglio of that particular class of *thymiateria* known as "*Donna-Fiore*", so popular in Poseidonia. These depicted the head of a woman, on top of which a flower was attached, which functioned as a burner. As will be discussed later, this type of *thymiateria* was related to chthonic cults.[259] Other types of *thymiateria* were also found in Lucanian sanctuaries.

As mentioned above, figurines representing male gods are quite scarce in number, and they were mostly found at Rossano di Vaglio.[260] Different types seem to represent Eros standing. One of these is a Paestan production portraying the god naked and leaning on a tree or a pedestal. This latter type of votive gift was found at Timmari, and Torre di Satriano as well.[261] In consequence of the obvious association of *erotes* with the Aphrodisian cult, one may infer that they are part of the symbolism related to female fertility. The coroplastic votive gifts found in Lucanian sanctuaries also include miniature fruits and animals. Among the fruits, the most represented is the pomegranate, which was related in Antiquity to death, but also to fertility and to the passage through different stages of human life. These features associate it with the cults of Hera, Aphrodite, and Demeter and Kore, which all included the same symbolism.[262] The presence of miniature animals and fruits is indicative of the general chthonic and agrarian nature of Lucanian cults in general. Regarding other types of votive gifts, the archaeological evidence suggests a more even gender distribution. In the case of objects related to the male sphere of society, perhaps one significant feature of Lucanian sanctuaries is the presence of weapons among the gifts. The dedication

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not a goddess. Elisa Chiara Portale (2012, 227–52), instead, believes that busts and *protomai* were a representation of the bridal state, both human and divine, connected particularly with the cult of the Nymphs.

[259] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 57 and pl. XXXIV.

[260] In this latter sanctuary at least two heads of figurines of a male head wearing a Phrygian hat were found, probably identifiable with Attis (Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 52, fig. 50b; 57; 123, pl. XXII). Other fragmentary pieces include busts and heads that have been suggested to belong to warriors or to Mamers, who was one of the gods mentioned in some of the inscriptions of the sanctuary (Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 55, figs. 52–55).

[261] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 64, fig. 64, 142, XXXVII (Rossano di Vaglio). Lo Porto 1991, pl. XXVII nos. 19–20 (Timmari). Battiloro 2005, 179–81, pl. XII nos. 58–62 (Torre di Satriano).

[262] Among the miniature fruits found, in addition to the pomegranates were figs, apples, pears, quinces, cucumbers, grapevines, and almonds (Battiloro 2017, 94 and notes 49–54). The animals include sheep, cows, pigs, doves, horses (Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 128–31, pls. XXVII–XXX (Rossano di Vaglio). Lo Porto 1991 152–53 n. 203–04, pl. LXXIV (Timmari). Battiloro 2005, 171–73 (Torre di Satriano).

of weapons in Lucanian sanctuaries follows the Oscan-Samnite celebration of military prowess in burials and sanctuary dedications, which can also be observed in the types of grave goods found in the tombs of Poseidonia beginning from the end of the 5th century BCE. The number of weapons found in the sanctuaries is not extensive, with the notable exception, once again, of Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio.[263] In some cases, the weapons were a miniature replica, which may mean that this sort of dedications was not only related to spolia or the commemoration of feats of war, but to other occasions, perhaps as a rite of passage of young males to adulthood.[264] In addition to weapons, tools related to agriculture have been found as well, but only in the major sanctuaries of Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio.[265] Battiloro and Osanna (2017, 72) plausibly suggested that the tools were donated to the richest sanctuaries by rich landowners, and that they functioned as a status marker to emphasize the pride of land ownership as the primary source of one's wealth. In addition to these tools, the sanctuaries of San Chirico Nuovo and Timmari yielded slaves' chains and handcuffs. It is tempting to think that these were not only the donations of freed slaves, but that manumission ceremonies may have occurred in these sanctuaries, as was the case with other shrines of the ancient world.[266]

Regarding other votive gift types related to female attendance at the sanctuaries, another group of items are metal ornamental objects such as earrings, fibulae, bracelets, and pendants. These have been found in rather small numbers in all of the sanctuaries except for Rossano di Vaglio and Timmari, where the amounts found were larger. In addition to ornamental objects, loom weights are

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[263] The finds from Timmari include 22 javelins, 15 spearheads, five arrow points, and six fragments of Samnite-type bronze belts (Vacca 2012, 83–84, 87–88; Battiloro 2017, 97). In Rossano di Vaglio, the arms included three fragments of shields, three anatomical greaves, 13 cheekpieces, several fragments of bronze belts, 10 swords, 80 either spears or javelins, and several bronze and iron horse-bits (Nardelli 2012, 221–27; Battiloro 2017, 98). In the portico of Torre di Satriano, two spearheads were found during the excavations of the 1980s. In addition, another arrowhead was found later at the sanctuary (Bruscella – Capozzoli 2005, 401–02; Battiloro 2017, 97).

[264] Miniature weapons were found at Armento (Russo Tagliente 2000, 70–71) and at San Chirico Nuovo (Tagliente 2005, 120). A miniature horse-bit was found at Chiaromonte (Barra Bagnasco – Russo Tagliente 1996, 188; Barra Bagnasco 2001, 230).

[265] Nardelli 2012, 227–29 (Rossano di Vaglio). Vacca 2012, 84–85 (Timmari).

[266] Tagliente 2005, 123 (San Chirico Nuovo). Vacca 2012, 88, fig. 5 (Timmari). Self-dedications of slaves to the deity were also common in the area, particularly at the sanctuary of Demeter in Heraclea, which was connected via two separate routes to San Chirico and Timmari (Maddoli 1986, 99–107; Pianu 1991–1993, 64–65; Gertl 2014, 235–36).

another type of object found in Lucanian sanctuaries. It has often been postulated that these were real tools that served some sort of ritual role within the shrines. Nevertheless, the fact that many specimens are miniature reproductions, or do not have suspension holes, suggests that they were intended as dedications to the sanctuary.[267] If indeed the sanctuary of Armento is dedicated to Heracles, then the loom weights may indicate the presence in that sanctuary of a subsidiary female cult. Alternatively, the presence of loom weights at Armento could be related to the gender fluctuation of the Lucanian and Oscan gods, who could concurrently possess both male and female aspects.[268] Another peculiar type of votive gift found in Lucanian sanctuaries is the so-called "temple keys", also found at Poseidonia. These items may have represented the keys of the temple, or perhaps of a household that was placed under the protection of the deity of the sanctuary, and therefore they are considered an allusion to fertility and marriage.[269]

Regarding the rituals possibly staged at these sanctuaries, the archaeological evidence provides some information concerning blood sacrifices, offerings of fruits and cereals, and libations. Concerning the blood sacrifices, the evidence is analysed by studying the osteological remains. In general, the most common sacrificial victims in Lucanian sanctuaries were livestock, particularly cattle, but also sheep and pigs.[270] The association of victims with specific deities is rather problematic, since cattle was a common offering in sacrifices performed in honour of different gods. Pigs, as was common practice in the Greek world as well, were dedicated to chthonic deities identifiable with, or similar to, Demeter and Kore. The sacrifice of dogs in Torre di Satriano is also related to the sphere of the gods of the underworld. Dogs were the usual sacrificial victims for the purification of certain spaces, belonging to individuals or the community, in a sort of ritual cathartic act.[271]

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[267] Barra Bagnasco 2001, 230 (Chiaromonte). Bottini 1997, 243 and note 54 (Grumentum). Greco G. 1982, 55–56; Galioto 2012, 147 (Rivello). Battiloro 2017, 126, n. 74 (Rossano di Vaglio). Fabbricotti 1979, 406, n. 146 (Ruoti). Lo Porto 1991, 149, pl. LXXII n. 190–92, 169, n. 252; Muscetta 2012, 131 (Timmari). Greco E. 1996, 276–77; Lo Monaco 2005, 388–95, pls. LXXIII–LXXIV (Torre di Satriano).

[268] See below 133 and note 313.

[269] According to another interpretation, the "temple keys" were related to weaving (Guarneri 2006, 137). In this case as well, this sort of item would have been directly related to the household and its protection. In Lucania, "temple keys" were found at Armento (Russo Tagliente 2000, 71, n. 79), San Chirico Nuovo (Tagliente 2005, 120), and Rivello (Bottini 1998, 131, fig. 20).

[270] Bones of pigs were found in good number in the sanctuary of Chiaromonte (Barra Bagnasco – Russo Tagliente 1996, 189; Barra Bagnasco 2001, 222–23).

[271] Remains of dogs were found at Torre di Satriano in different layers (Osanna 2001, 107–09;

Sacrifice was only one part of the rituals that seem to have been held in all of the Lucanian sanctuaries. According to the archaeological evidence, after the ceremonial sacrifice of the animal the meat was consumed immediately in shared ritual dining. This must have therefore been an essential feature of Lucanian religious rituals. The importance of the ritual is attested by the significant number of cooking and common ware types found in Lucanian sanctuaries.[272] The actual banquet occurred in the open courtyard surrounding the square buildings, or in the dining halls built to host it. The porticoes were also sometimes used for this purpose.[273] Together with food consumption, wine was also an essential part of the banquet, as attested by the significant amount of vase types intended for this purpose retrieved from Lucanian sanctuaries. That the consumption of wine was part of a ritual is further attested by the numerous examples of fine ware found at the sites.[274]

Osanna 2004, 54; Osanna – Sica 2005, 436). Concerning the sacrifices of dogs in the Greek world and in Ancient Italy, see Mainoldi 1981, 24–41; Mainoldi 1984, 51–58; Osanna 1989, 73–95; Rudhardt 1992; 166; Lacam 2008, 29–80. Dogs could be sacrificed during rituals related to rites of passage or at moments of particular crisis for a community (Robert 1993, 119–42). Childbirth was considered a rite of passage as well, during which dogs could be sacrificed. According to Pausanias (3,14,9), during childbirth the Colophonians dedicated black female dog puppies to the goddess Enodio, a deity often associated to Hecate. According to Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom*. 52,277B), the Romans sacrificed a dog to Genita Mana when a birth occurred in a household, in the same way as the Greeks did to Hekate, and, following information supposedly from Socrates, the Argives did so for the goddess Eiloneia, identifiable with Eileithyia, in order to facilitate childbirth. The sacrifice of a dog to Genita Mana by the Romans is also attested in Pliny the Elder (*nat.* 29,58). Sacrifices of dogs are attested in Poseidonia (see below 161 and note 372; D'Ambrosio – De Bonis 2000, 109–16) and Lavello (Tagliente – Fresa – Bottini 1991, 93–104).

[272] Among the most common types are different kinds of pots, *lopades*, *chytrai*, and *ollae*. Russo Tagliente 2000, 96–100 (Armento). Barra Bagnasco 2001, 226 (Chiaromonte). Galioto 2012, 148–50 (Rivello). Laurenzana 2012, 267–75 (Rossano di Vaglio). Romaniello 2012, 162 (San Chirico Nuovo). Fiorani 2012, 123–30 (Timmari). Rinaldi 2005, 222–39 (Torre di Satriano).

[273] Concerning porticoes as staging venues for common meals, at Chiaromonte such a role is suggested by the significant amount of animal bones retrieved from this area of the sanctuary (Barra Bagnasco 2001, 220–21). At San Chirico Nuovo, this function is attested by the retrieval of several vases for mixing and pouring liquids such as jugs, craters, and *oinochoai*, and types for eating and drinking, such as dishes, *skyphoi*, and cups, from the layers of the portico (Romaniello 2012, 160–62).

[274] The fine ware found in Lucanian sanctuaries included black glossed, unpainted and painted figured pottery, consisting of types used to mix wine, such as craters, jugs, and *oinochoai*, and vessels for drinking wine such as *skyphoi*, little cups, and cups, mostly of Italiote production or reproductions of such. Galioto 2012, 149–51 (Rivello). Laurenzana 2012, 270–71; Mutino 2012,

Together with blood sacrifices, other forms of rituals that did not include the killing of animals were also common in Lucanian religion, such as the dedication of first fruits and libations. The dedication of first fruits, the *aparchai*, was a ritual widely practised in the Greek world as well. The ritual is testified to in Lucanian sanctuaries by the votive gifts of miniature cups. This was also a custom common to Greek sanctuaries. These miniature vases were not used for real donations of first fruits, but were rather a representation of real size cups and of the act of dedication of the *aparchai* to the deity.[275] The importance of the ritual of libation can be deduced from the presence of a significant number of *paterae* and *skyphoi*.[276] Libations could be performed as a single ritual or connected to a blood sacrifice.[277] Another ritual aspect common in Lucanian religion was the practice of incense or other essence burning. This is testified to by specimens of *thymiateria* found in all the Lucanian sanctuaries.[278] As suggested by the comparison to Greek religious practice, the purpose of the ritual was to please the gods by offering incense or other essences, but it also served as a purification ritual. It could be performed

257–65; Visconti 2012, 277–82 (Rossano di Vaglio). Romaniello 2012, 162–71 (San Chirico Nuovo). Vita 2012, 113–22 (Timmari). Bruscella – Virtuoso 2005, 261–98; Colangelo 2005a, 299–310; Colangelo 2005b, 311–15 (Torre di Satriano).

[275] Regarding the concepts behind the symbolic miniaturisation of objects. see Torelli 1996, 342–45. Regarding miniature vases in general, see Ekroth 2003, 35–37; Grasso 2004, 52–72, 78; Poli 2006, 239–46. The presence of miniature vases in Lucanian sanctuaries is attested in hundreds of pieces at Rossano di Vaglio and Timmari but is common in all sites. Cinaglia 2012, 251–56 (Rossano di Vaglio). Mandiç 2012, 103–10 (Timmari). Di Noia 2005, 342–45 (Torre di Satriano).

[276] For the ritual of libation in the Greek world, see Rudhardt 1992, 213–48. Concerning finds of vessels used for libations, terracotta *paterae* were found at San Chirico Nuovo (Romaniello 2012, 162) and at Rossano di Vaglio. More precious bronze *paterae* were retrieved at Rossano di Vaglio (Nardelli 2012, 227), at Timmari (Vacca 2012, 81–83, and at Chiaromonte (Barra Bagnasco – Russo Tagliente 1996, 186). At Armento, *paterae* and *skyphoi* with perforated bottoms were retrieved. This custom indicates that they were perhaps used for libations to chthonic gods (Russo Tagliente 2000, 80).

[277] An example of such a custom comes from Torre di Satriano, where a bronze *phiale mesomphalos* was found. The item was originally placed on top of a small stone altar at the entrance of the sanctuary. This was probably connected to the altar with a paved path, thus signalling the presence of a ritual combining a bloody and non-bloody part (Greco E. 1988, 14; Osanna – Sica 2005, 63, 438; Battiloro 2017, 111).

[278] The sanctuaries that yielded more types and a greater number of *thymiateria* were Rossano di Vaglio (Paolucci 2012, 245–50) and Timmari (Catallo 2012, 95–98). The sanctuary of Ruoti yielded more than 80 *thymiateria* (Barra Bagnasco 2008, 185–86).

as an individual act, but also in connection with libations.[279] In addition, the retrieval of miniature *thymiateria* from certain sanctuaries, or of specimens that do not show signs of burning, suggests that *thymiateria* often had value as votive gifts rather than simply as actual burners.[280]

Although male gods were perhaps honoured by the dedication of perishable gifts, the archaeological evidence suggests that Lucanian goddesses also had a central role in Lucanian religion, of which perhaps Mefitis was to be considered the central figure. Perhaps this aspect has something to do with the centrality of water and streams in Lucanian religion, and it may be that water and springs were more often associated with female goddesses in the Lucanian world.[281] The crucial importance of water in cult and rituals is evident when one considers the topography of the sanctuaries and their connection with this element. As became clear when we discussed the architecture and topography of the sanctuaries, everything was done in order to build the sanctuary in proximity to water or to connect it to it in some way.[282] In some sanctuaries, water sources were incorporated into the sacred area in order to be part of the rituals staged there.[283] Sometimes a stream defined the boundaries of the sanctuary, as a sort of marker of the sacred area, as is the case with Torre di Satriano.[284] In addition, this element was naturally related to purification rituals through ablutions and lustrations. Battiloro (2017, 133 and notes 32–34) believes that, following the examples from the Greek world, water was a central element for rituals related to

[279] For a discussion on the use and meaning of *thymiateria* in rituals in the Greek world, see Burkert 1985, 62; Faure 1987, 152–56; Zaccagnino 1998.

[280] Miniature *thymiateria* were found at Armento, where Russo Tagliente classified them as *louteria* (2000, 78, nn. 89–92), and at Rossano di Vaglio (Cinaglia 2012, 254).

[281] The importance of water is an extensively acknowledged factor in the Greek world as well. Personifications of rivers and springs were worshipped as deities. Water supply was an important feature in the topographic setting of Greek sanctuaries, for the performance of rituals, the need to provide water for the personnel and the worshippers of the sanctuary, as well as cleaning and craftsmanship. Regarding the importance of spring water in the religious sphere in indigenous Southern Italy, see Herring, 1996, 158. Concerning the cults of the personifications of rivers and water springs in the Italic world, see Giammatteo 2005, 445-46.

[282] Regarding the importance of water in Lucanian sanctuaries, see Dilthey 1980; Lo Schiavo – Nava 1998; Nava 1999; Russo 1999, 103–26; Cerchiai 1999, 205–22; Giammatteo 2005; Osanna 2005, 447–50.

[283] In San Chirico Nuovo, the square building was connected to the stream via a portico (Tagliente 2005, 118).

[284] In this sanctuary, the stream located on its eastern side marked the border of the sanctuary with the outside (Osanna 2005, 447–49).

a change of status or rites of passage, such as childbirth, marriage, the entrance of youth into military age, and the manumission of slaves.[285]

Due to the connection of spring water with the subterranean world, this element was also present in rituals related to chthonic deities. In general, in the ancient world agrarian cults were also associated with gods of the underworld, with the Eleusinian cults being the most renowned example. Finally, water was often associated with healing and health cults. It could be suggested that this aspect concerned Lucanian religion as well, although epigraphic evidence is lacking that could be related to this feature, and the archaeological evidence concerning this matter is also rather inconclusive, since it is both rather scarce and generally dates from the Roman period, when health cults were possibly introduced to the region following the Roman appropriation of the area.[286]

Concerning male cults, it has been often suggested that Lucanian society was characterised by a strict division between genders, and that this factor is reflected in Lucanian religion as well. Following this hypothesis, it would be possible to explain the division of space in sanctuaries such as Timmari, where the area includes two different areas that could have been used by different genders.[287] It is possible that at least in some sanctuaries the dining hall hosted banquets in which only a small number of male individuals participated.[288]

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[285] Concerning a comparison of the use of water during such rituals in the Greek world, see Ginouvès 1962, 235–38), for childbirth; Ginouvès 1962, 265–82, for marriage; Gertl 2014, 235–36, for the manumission of slaves.

[286] Evidence of the existence of possible healing and health cults in Lucanian sanctuaries is limited to some specimens of votive coroplastic figurines representing anatomical parts discovered at Rossano di Vaglio and Chiaromonte. The presence of this sort of coroplastic votives (arms, breasts, and legs) at Rossano di Vaglio is mentioned by Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 195 and note 101), who has seen the objects in the storerooms of the National Museum of Basilicata in Potenza. The artefacts were produced sometime in the last two centuries BCE and have not been published yet. Concerning the finds from Chiaromonte, see Barra Bagnasco 2001, 222. For anatomic coroplastic votive gifts as a sign of Roman expansion in the area, see Comella 1981, 775. Recently, some scholars (Gentili 2005, 367–78; Söderlind 2005, 359–65; Glinister 2006, 10–33) have cast doubt on the theory that these votives were a distinctive mark of the Roman expansion. Fay Glinister in particular has suggested that votives representing anatomical parts had been produced in non-Roman areas beginning from the 4th century BCE. This view has been convincingly challenged by de Cazanove (2015, 29–66), who has rejected such an early chronology and has demonstrated that this type occurs in central Italian deposits no earlier than the 3rd century BCE and are therefore to be associated with the Roman expansion into those lands.

[287] Cerchiai 1999, 211.

[288] Cerchiai 1999, 212–13; Russo Tagliente 2000, 53–54, 56.

At Rossano di Vaglio, the altar in the paved courtyard is divided into two parts. This has been interpreted as a sign that the structure hosted sacrifices in honour of Mefitis and of a male subsidiary god.[289] The male attendees of the shrines would have been engaged in other types of rituals, perhaps mostly in the shared banquets, and may have dedicated different types of gifts to the gods, of more perishable material than the coroplastic figurines donated by female worshippers. Despite the possible differentiation of spaces, however, it is possible that there was not such a sharp differentiation in the figures of Lucanian gods. The figurine from San Chirico Nuovo, representing a coarse-looking *hierogamia*, albeit a single piece, may testify to the presence of cults dedicated to both genders, in which the male figure is often subsidiary to the female one, as is the case with Rossano di Vaglio.[290] In addition, one has to bear in mind that, as was common in Italic cults, divine gender characterisation was often fluid, with female goddesses also having male valence, and probably vice versa.[291] In addition, I agree with Battiloro (2017, 134) that all agrarian/chthonic cults, which seem to have been the majority in Lucanian religion, imply the presence of a male deity alongside the female one, in the sense that it is inherent to the concept of fertility, and of the agricultural cycles as well. Finally, as discussed above, the archaeological evidence suggests that male worshippers participated in the cult of female goddesses as well.

The importance of agricultural cycles for the Lucanian communities was also reflected in the concepts of the cycles of human life and the different stages that characterize it. Therefore, rites of passage, such as entering into adult age, marital age, or assuming the status of bride or groom, or the achievement of maturity for young boys represented by the entrance into the warriors' class, were central to this religion, and were the things for which it was worth asking for the protection of the gods. Therefore, Lucanian cults were chthonic in the sense that they encompassed all of the cycles of human and natural life, from birth to death. These features are well summarised in the figure of Mefitis, probably the most important Lucanian deity, who, in turn, shared many features with Greek and Italic goddesses who had a wide range of Archaic features, as is the case with the Argive/Achaean Hera of Poseidonia.

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[289] Cerchiai 1999, 213.

[290] Tagliente 2005, 121 and note 9.

[291] Prosdocimi 1989, 477–545.

3.2 Mefitis: A Lucanian Counterpart of Poseidoniate Hera

Mefitis (below 134, Fig. 13, possible representations of the goddess) was the deity to which the greatest Lucanian sanctuary, that of Rossano di Vaglio, was dedicated. This shrine was paired by the other great sanctuary of the goddess, situated in Valle d'Ansanto, in the territory of the Samnite *Hirpini*. As a result of the archaeological activities of the last few decades, our understanding of the figure of Mefitis has significantly improved.[292] Prior to the excavations carried out in the 20th century in the sanctuaries of Rossano di Vaglio and Valle d'Ansanto, and the subsequent re-evaluation of the figure of the goddess based on this new data, Mefitis had been related to the realm of the noxious odours that exhale from the earth, especially in volcanic areas. This notion was based on the accounts of several Roman authors, mostly later scholiasts and commentators, who tied the theonym to volcanic activity, using as a reference a passage of Virgil. In the passage in question (*Aen.* 7,82–84),[293] Virgil uses *mephitim* as a noun, to mean the deadly vapours caused by the streams of the *Albunea* spring surrounding the wood where an oracle of Faunus was located. Significantly, when Virgil describes the sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto (*Aen*. 7,563–570),[294] he does not mention the goddess, nor uses a noun related to the theonym in order to describe the deadly vapours, which this time emanated from a cave located amidst the thick vegetation of the place.[295] Following this interpretation of Virgil, Servius, although associating the goddess with several other deities as well, affirmed that the theonym derived

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[292] Regarding some contributes discussing the attributes of Mefitis and the aspects under her patronage, see Poccetti 1982, 237-260; Silvestri 1982, 261–66; Coarelli 1998, 185–90; Falasca 2002, 7–56; Luschi 2005, 109–27; Poccetti 2005, 73–107; Calisti 2006; Coarelli 2008, 85–89; Mele 2008a; Poccetti 2008, 139–79; Mele 2008b, 181–200; Petraccia Lucernoni 2014, 181–98; Battiloro 2017, 135–44 and notes.

[293] *...lucosque sub alta consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*.

[294] *Est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis, nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris, Amsancti valles: densis hunc frondibus atrum urguet utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens. Hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys, invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat*.

[295] Here the term "*Acheronte*" must be intended as the type of openings of the earth emanating deadly vapours, which were called by the Greeks χαρώνεια, and not as the infernal river properly. This use in Latin is attested to and explained by Varro (in *GRF* 369, 456 Funaioli): *spiracula appellata omnia loca pestiferi spiritus, quae Graeci appellant* χαρώνεια *vel Acherontea. Etiam Varro spiraculum dicit huiusce modi locum, et spiracula ex eo dicuntur loca, qua terra spiritum edit*.

from the sulphurous waters streaming between dense forests.[296] It is worth noting that this fits with Virgil's description of the *fons Albunea,* and does not seem to be connected with the description of the Valle d'Ansanto. Nevertheless, the notion of the association of Mefitis with the noun used to mean sulphurous waters was accepted by other glossarists and authors and came to define the goddess herself.[297] Due to the long-lasting lack of archaeological evidence, this association has also shaped the perception of the figure of Mefitis as a minor deity, related to a maleficent odour, and possibly of evil nature. Over time, scholars have tried to adjust the available knowledge to this conception. Concerning the etymology, theories have been suggested that seemed to reinforce the association of Mefitis with sulfuric vapours, and perhaps even the derivation of the theonym from them.[298]

Nevertheless, passages of some late Roman sources also included information that revealed an alternative interpretation of the figure of the goddess. Another later glossarist, 5th century CE Pseudo-Placidus, affirms that Mefitis had different sanctuaries in different parts of Italy, one of which was famous for its sulphurous spring. This passage seems to contradict the notion that the name of the goddess was derived from the toxic odours. The use of the theonym instead of the noun, and the fact that the gloss affirms that one of the shrines was famous for its volcanic odours, seem to imply that this feature was not present in all of the sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess, and therefore it was not a distinctive trait of her nature.[299] In his above-mentioned passage concerning

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[296] Serv. *Aen*. 7,81–84: *mephitis proprie est terrae putor, qui de aquis nascitur sulphuratis, et est in nemoribus gravior ex densitate silvarum. Alii Mephitin deum esse volunt Leucotheae connexum, sicut est Veneri Adonis, Dianae Virbius. Alii Mephitin Iunonem volunt, quam aerem esse constat. Novimus autem putorem non nisi ex corruptione aeris nasci, sicut etiam bonum odorem de aere incorrupto, ut sit Mephitis dea odoris gravissimi, id est grave olentis*.

[297] Porph. *Hor*. 3,18,1; Pers. 3,98–99; Auson. *cent. nupt*. 9,110–14; Ennod. *carm*. 2,112,7.

[298] The most popular interpretation in the past years has been that the name Mefitis could be a derivation of proto-Indo European **med(h)u*, from which the Greek μεθυ- also derived, thus reflecting the inebriation and the obfuscation of a person who would have been exposed to sulphuric fumes (Lavagnini 1923, 344–50; Devoto 1951, 201; Pisani 1964, 96). Another theory suggested that the term could have originated from **medhio-dhuihtis* (that which smokes in the middle) or the alternative **met-dhuih-tis* (that which smokes together with something; Ribezzo 1926, 94).

[299] Ps.-Plac., *Gloss. Lat*. 4,43: *Mefitis dea quae pluribus Italiae locis religiose colitur: et in Lucanis quoque huius deae fons est ex quo gravissimus odor redditur sulphureus*. Since the large Lucanian shrine of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio did not feature sulphurous water springs, the gloss is intended to concern the sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto, which was renown in Antiquity. I believe that Pseudo-Placidus made a purely topographical mistake here, rather than a sort of fusion between the two cult

the etymology of the term *mephitis*, while stressing that it was originally a noun related to the odours emanated by sulphuric waters, Servius added that the name was associated with gods and goddesses known in the Latin religion. Another interesting interpretation of the name of the goddess comes from Priscian, who, in his discussion of the term *Mefitis*, stressed that it was a name and not a noun, and that it derived from the Greek μεσῖτις, which had later undergone the change of the "s" to an "f" sound.[300] The information provided by Priscian is important, since it connects the figure of Mefitis with the concept of her median character and diverts her figure away from a characterisation as a mere goddess of sulphuric waters. Following this information, etymologists have suggested tracking the origin of the theonym to the proto-Indo European *mef-*, which would have resulted in the Latin *medius*, the Greek μέσος, and the Oscan *mefiú*. Together with the suffix *-it-*, the resulting *Mefit-* would then mean "the one who is in the middle".[301] This characterisation became more clear with the increasing amount of information concerning Lucanian religion and the figure of Mefitis obtained from the excavations carried out in some of the sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess.[302] It was the archaeological discoveries at the sanctuaries of

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places, establishing therefore a religious link between the two sanctuaries, as tentatively suggested by Poccetti (2008, 142).

[300] Prisc. *inst*. 3,328,5 H = *Gloss. Lat.* 4,43: *'Mephitis', quod proprium est et a Greco* μεσῖτις*, ut quibusdam videtur, mutatione s in f translatum, rationabiliter in 'im' fecit accusativum. Virgilius in VII: saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*.

[301] Marbach *s.v*. 'Mefitis', 1893, cc. 118–19; Poccetti 1982, 237–60; Marinetti – Prosdocimi 1988, 41; Prosdocimi 1989, 520; Poccetti 2008, 144–45; Battiloro 2017, 138.

[302] Michel Lejeune (1986, 213) suggested that the concept of mediation applied to the name of Mefitis did not have any practical meaning, but rather reflected the function of the goddess as a divine intermediator. According to Marina Torelli (1990, 84), the role of mediator of Mefitis was confined to trade, as she represented the deity supervising it. A similar interpretation was suggested by Angelo Bottini, who postulated that the fact that the sanctuaries of Mefitis were located at important road intersections was a consequence of the fact that they were important trading and interaction spots within the territory organisation. Filippo Coarelli (1976–1977, 346–77; 1998, 186–87) has suggested that the role of Mefitis was to be a *mediatrix* between the underworld, earth, and heaven also (Wagenvoort 1980, 195–96; Lejeune 1990). The sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto, which was known in Antiquity as the *umbilicus Italiae*, was therefore a means of communication between the three different levels of the world, and a place where the *spiracula Ditis,* the entrance to the underworld, was located. Giovanna Falasca (2002, 18–19) enlarged on Coarelli's proposition by asserting that Mefitis was a goddess of passage between not only the three dimensions of the universe, but all the spheres of the physical world, including the passage of humans from one state to another. According to Falasca, water also represented the concept of transition from one stage to another, through the symbolism of its streaming and the fluidity of Mefitis' powers. Likewise,

Mefitis in Valle d'Ansanto and Rossano di Vaglio, beginning from the end of the 1960s, and particularly the discovery of the religious inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio, that decisively enlarged our knowledge of the goddess, who was promoted thereafter to the status of a major deity of the Oscan-Sabellian religion possessing a wide range of traits. Falasca (2002, 9-10) stressed the fact that of all the known sanctuaries and places where dedications were made in honour of Mefitis, only at Valle d'Ansanto was the presence of sulphuric waters determined with any certainty. At Rossano di Vaglio, for instance, the spring nearby is not sulphurous. Therefore, water and not sulphur was the decisive element in the topography of the sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess.

Later, in his influential studies comparing the etymology of the theonym, the interpretation of ancient sources, and an analysis of the archaeological evidence and the topographical settings of the sanctuaries, Paolo Poccetti (2005, 73–107; 2008, 139–79) has plausibly demonstrated the untenability of the relationship of Mefitis exclusively with sulphurous odours. In addition, he has further expanded on our knowledge of the attributes of the goddess by suggesting that in addition to water, the presence of abundant vegetation was also a decisive topographical feature of the shrines dedicated to her. As affirmed by Servius, the presence of thick vegetation is connected to the exhalations from the openings of the earth whence the water was streaming. The same occurs at the *fons Albunea*, where the obnoxious odours were emanating from the water streaming through the woods.[303] In addition, the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, prior to the monumental phase initiated in the 3rd century BCE, which reflected Roman influence, was probably originally conceived as a *lucus*, as attested by its topographical setting in a valley and surrounded by a wood.[304] In this respect, Poccetti's remark that the entire name of the area where the sanctuary is located, Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio, conceals the original nature of the site as a *lucus*, reinforces the importance of the constant presence of vegetation in the sanctuaries dedicated to Mefitis. The

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crossroads were included in the sanctuaries because the goddess protected the passage through the symbolism of streaming water.

[303] Concerning Valle d'Ansanto, see Serv. *Aen*. 7,563: *hunc locum umbilicum Italiae chorographi dicunt. Est autem in latere Campaniae et Apuliae, ubi Hirpini sunt, et habet aquas sulphureas, ideo graviores, quia ambitur silvis. Ideo autem ibi aditus esse dicitur inferorum, quod gravis odor iuxta accedentes necat, adeo ut victimae circa hunc locum non immolarentur, sed odore perirent ad aquam adplicatae. Et hoc erat genus litationis. Sciendum sane Varronem enumerare quot loca in Italia sint huius modi: unde etiam Donatus dicit Lucaniae esse qui describitur locus, circa fluvium qui Calor vocatur: quod ideo non procedit, quia ait 'Italiae medio'*.

[304] Greco G. 2008a, 59–80.

presence of a *lucus* is, in fact, attested where the cult of Mefitis was centred in Rome, on the Esquiline Hill, according to the information provided by Varro and Festus.[305] In keeping with the presence of the *lucus*, the known sanctuaries of Mefitis were extramural, as is also illustrated by the existence of a shrine of the goddess outside the city walls of Cremona, according to information provided by Tacitus.[306] According to Poccetti (2008, 162), the extramural location of both of the shrines on the Esquiline Hill and at Cremona was intended to reproduce the *luci* that were originally part of the sanctuaries of Mefitis in Central Italy and Lucania. None of the other locations of the cult of Mefitis seem to suggest the identification of the goddess with maleficent odours.[307]

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[305] Varro, *ling.* 5,49; Fest. 476 L.

[306] Tac. *hist.* 3,33.

[307] Most of these attestations consist of *ex voto* dedications of statues, even from urban contexts, and from both female and male individuals. Some of the inscriptions seem to associate the goddess with other deities that did not have any connection with graveolent waters, as is the case with the inscription dedicated to Mefitis *Fisica* from Grumentum (*CIL* X 203). This latter epithet is associated with Venus in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 1520; *CIL* X 928). Other inscriptions of dedications to Mefitis were found in Laus Pompeia (modern Lodivecchio – *CIL* V 6353), Atina (*CIL* X 5047), Capua (*CIL* X 3811), Aeclanum (Ve 162, in the Oscan language, dedicated by a woman), and Potenza (*CIL* X 130–133). For a more comprehensive discussion of the presence of the cult of Mefitis at other sites than Rossano di Vaglio and Valle d'Ansanto, see Lejeune 1990, 44–48. Another probable sanctuary of Mefitis was situated at San Pietro di Cantoni, in the territory of Saepinum, in the modern region of Molise. The sanctuary has been attributed to the goddess on the basis of the discovery of tiles with the stamp *mef.sai*, which is otherwise unknown. It is probable that *sai* is the mark of the area of Saepinum in Oscan, and *mef* would be related to the destination of the tiles, in this case the sanctuary of Mefitis. Based on this information it seems probable that the bronze statue donated by a man named Trebis Dekkiis (Trebius Deccius) to the sanctuary, representing a female goddess standing and holding a goose, would be a representation of Mefitis (for a description of the sanctuary, see Matteini Chiari 2015, 83–88; concerning the inscription, see Matteini Chiari 2000, 285, 290, figs. 13–14; Calderini 2004, 110–15; Caramella 2004, 109–10; Crawford 2011, 1136–37). Marisa de' Spagnolis (2014, particularly 63–77) suggests that Mefitis was the goddess to which the sanctuary area found in 1990 at Foce di Sarno was dedicated. The coroplastics recovered from the sanctuary are compatible with the cult of a goddess of fertility related to the streams and the woods, and to the material found at the sanctuaries of Mefitis, and in other Oscan and Lucanian sanctuaries. De' Spagnolis (2014, 30–31) notes one acephalous coroplastic figurine in particular, representing a standing female figure holding a goose, which she identifies with Mefitis, also based on the iconography of the bronze statue of the goddess from Saepinum. The cult was assimilated with the cult of Juno during the Roman period. She argues that the *lucus Iunonis* at Nuceria referred to by Pliny (*nat.* 16,57), in the episode of the portentous event related to an elm tree during the Cimbrian War, must be identified with the sanctuary at Foce del Sarno. In addition, she believes that the female figure standing beside a tree in the painting of the Sarno Lararium at Pompeii,

It seems therefore that two different characterisations of the nature of Mefitis were coeval between the end of the Roman Republic and the Early Empire. The first, which was probably conceived of by Virgil himself as a literary device, arose from his use of the term *mephitis*. The second, that emerges from the topography of the sanctuaries and the votive types used there, portrays the goddess as a great deity associated with fertility and the protection of all cycles of existence. It may be that, due to the great influence held by Virgil over Latin literature, the first eventually prevailed over the second, and was carried through the centuries with the aid of later glossarists and grammarians until the modern day. This is attested, for instance, by the use in the Italian language of the adjective '*mefitico*' to mean what is associated with maleficent odours related to sulphuric exhalations. Paradoxically, the prestige of the sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto may have also played a significant role in this process. Since it was well known, Valle d'Ansanto overshadowed the other sanctuaries of Mefitis. It is likely that the great majority of the population of Italy did not know much about the cult outside the areas of its spread in the Oscan-Sabellian world. The sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto was instead so well known that, as mentioned above, Servius affirms that the site was described as the *umbilicus Italiae*. According to Poccetti (2008, 164) the loss of importance of the sanctuary at Valle d'Ansanto as a gravitational pole for the communities in the area occurred after the Roman conquest, possibly contributed to suppressing the other attributes of the goddess and relegating her to the role of a minor deity of sulphuric waters. I believe instead that the fame of the sanctuary of Valle d'Ansanto and its topography distorted the knowledge of the cult, which was already vanishing in the Early Imperial period, not only at Valle d'Ansanto, but throughout the whole Oscan-Sabellian world, thus crystallising the figure of the goddess as portrayed in the Virgilian passage.[308] The use of the term by Virgil influenced later perception of the figure of the goddess, but this change cannot be detected in the sites where the cult of Mefitis was actually practiced, at least

which also depicts a personification of the river god Sarnus, portrayed Mefitis/Juno and her *lucus* at the mouth of the river. Concerning the description of the images of the *lararium*, see Maiuri 1958, p. 10 and note 2. Maiuri could not know of the figure of the woman sitting in the woods, which is severely worn, but which was possible to discern with the aid of computer analysis (De' Spagnolis 2014, 53–55, 61).

[308] Ivan Rainini (1985, 119–20) affirmed that the frequentation of the sanctuary ceased during the second half of the first century CE, only to resume in the 4th century CE. He suggests that in Late Antiquity the sanctuary was designated for other functions, since the new buildings constructed in the 4th century CE do not seem to have been intended to be incorporated into the older buildings associated with the cult, and neither were the older structures restored.

until Roman religion and Christianity caused its end by partially appropriating some of its features.

The epigraphic material retrieved at Rossano di Vaglio and in other sanctuaries, and a comparative study of the association of Mefitis with other Greek and Roman deities, also contributes to decisively dismissing the characterisation of the goddess according to the Virgilian model. Mefitis has at least two epithets at Rossano di Vaglio that help in characterising her nature. One of these is that of *Aravina*, which, according to most scholars, is comparable to the term *arvom* in Latin and *arva* in Umbrian, and which would thus mean "goddess of the cultivated soil".[309] The fact that the same epithet appears on an inscription dedicated to the goddess at Valle d'Ansanto [310] testifies both to the fact that it was attached widely to Mefitis and that even at Valle d'Ansanto the goddess did not seem to have been associated, at least solely, with the sulphuric waters emanating from that site. Another epiclesis attached to Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio is *Kaporoinna*, which, as will be discussed below, has clear connections with the pastoral and agrarian world and a specific cult of Juno.[311] In addition, the goddess is called *Utiana*, a term of unknown meaning, perhaps associated with a *gens Utia,* or most probably another of the epithets attached to the goddess, which was then passed on as an anthroponym.[312] The fact that she was the tutelary numen of the largest Lucanian sanctuary is in contrast with her supposed role as minor goddess.

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[309] Torelli M.R. 1990, 86. An alternative interpretation is provided by Prosdocimi (1989, 520), who affirmed that the term may be derived from *arvia*, the Umbrian word corresponding to the Latin *exta*. The interpretation seems to be supported by Poccetti (2008, 155). The epithet appears in two inscriptions: *RV*-21 (dated to the 2nd century BCE; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 98–100, Ro. 18; Lejeune 1990, 17, pl. XV; Crawford 2011, 1386–87 POTENTIA 14); *RV*-26 (datable from the 3rd century BCE; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 103–104, Ro. 20; Lejeune 1990, 17, pl. XVIII; Crawford 2011, 1388 POTENTIA 15).

[310] Antonini 1981, 55–60.

[311] The inscription, *RV*-06, is datable to ca. 200 BCE (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 67–88, Ro. 6; Lejeune 1990, 16, pl. III; Crawford 2011, 1389–90 POTENTIA 16).

[312] See above 105 and note 218. The epiclesis is preserved in at least four inscriptions. The first, *RV*-11, is datable to the 3rd century BCE (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 76–78, Ro. 11; Lejeune 1990, 16, pl. VI; Crawford 2011, 1391 POTENTIA 17). Two other inscriptions, *RV*-22 and *RV*-32, are dated to the 1st century BCE (for *RV-22*, see Lejeune 1990, 17, pl. XVI. For *RV*-32, see Lejeune 1990, 18, pl. XXIIIb). Another inscription bearing this epithet was found during the excavations carried out at the site in 2002 (Nava – Cracolici 2005, 105–06; Crawford 2011, 1393 POTENTIA 18). A further inscription, *RV*-45, may have contained the same epithet, but is too fragmentary to be certain (Lejeune 1990, 19, pl. XXXa). Another four inscriptions dedicated to Mefitis *Utiana* were discovered at Potenza (*CIL* I² 3163a; *CIL* X 131–133).

The connection between Mefitis and the other gods of the Greek and Roman religions can be established with the support of archaeological evidence and a comparative study of the topographical settings of the sanctuaries, the etymology of associated epithets, and the cultic traditions of the cult of Mefitis and other Greek or Roman deities. In the above-mentioned passage concerning the origin of the term, Servius reported that some believed that Mefitis was a male god companion of Leucothea, or a female goddess associated with Juno. In addition, the same passage signals a secondary association of Mefitis with Venus and Artemis as well. These female goddesses of the Graeco-Roman *pantheon* held a wide range of attributes, as Mefitis did as well.

The identification of Mefitis as a male god has often baffled scholars, but it is understandable if one thinks of the gender ambiguity of many Italic and Roman deities. Although Mefitis was a female goddess, as it is attested from the iconography of the votive gifts and other cultic references, as with other Italic and Roman deities her figure had aspects of both genders.[313]

The association of Mefitis with Leucothea is indicative of the nature of both goddesses. Leucothea had a well-known shrine in the Etruscan city of Pyrgi, in modern Lazio. As was with the case of the Argive/Achaean Hera, Leucothea possessed the character of *potnia therōn* and great mother, which was so common in Ancient Mediterranean. In this respect, she shared many features with other Italic deities, such as Angitia, Ferona, Mater Matuta, and Vesona.[314] In the same sacred area in Pyrgi, there was another temple where bilingual Etruscan and Phoenician plates dedicated to the Etruscan goddess Uni, who was usually associated by the Romans with Juno, were discovered; the Phoenician part of the text contained the name of Astarte, the Greek Aphrodite. It is significant, in my opinion, that the temples dedicated to Leucothea and Uni/Astarte shared such a close topographical position, which is indicative of the common traits of fertility goddesses shared by these deities. In addition, it is also significant then that Mefitis is associated with Leucothea, another deity who had the traits of protectress of

[313] Luschi 2005, 121–22; Poccetti 2005, 92–94, Battiloro 2017, 143. This phenomenon is well attested in Roman religion, as is testified to by the formula *sive deus sive dea*, attested both in votive gifts and in ancient sources (Guittard 2002, 25–54; Poccetti 2008, 157). A similar fluidity of gender is present in Etruscan religion as well (Cristofani 1997, 209–19).

[314] Poccetti 2008, 159. Concerning the origins of the cult of the Mediterranean *potnia therōn* in Central Italy, see Andersen 1992–1993, 73–113. Regarding the cult of Angitia, see Rocca 1994, 223–40; Santi 1994, 241–58. Concerning the cult of Vesona, see Letta 1996, 317–39. The assimilation of Leucothea with Mater Matuta is attested in Ovid (*fast.* 5,545–547): *Leucothea Grais, Matuta vocabere nostris; in portus nato ius erit omne tuo, quem nos Portunum, sua lingua Palaemona*.

fertility, of life cycles, and of the order of society. This ambivalence of Mefitis can also be seen in the votive gifts left at her sanctuaries, where material related to the *mundus muliebris* was offered to the goddess, together with the epigraphic material, which was often dedicated to her by representatives of the male elite. The similarities in traits between Leucothea and Uni/Astarte are indicative of how these figures of the Great Mothers could be easily associated with one another. In addition, the association between Uni (Juno) and Astarte (Venus) demonstrates once more the often-overlapping nature of the two goddesses, which facilitated the process of the association of the figure of Mefitis with those of the other two deities.

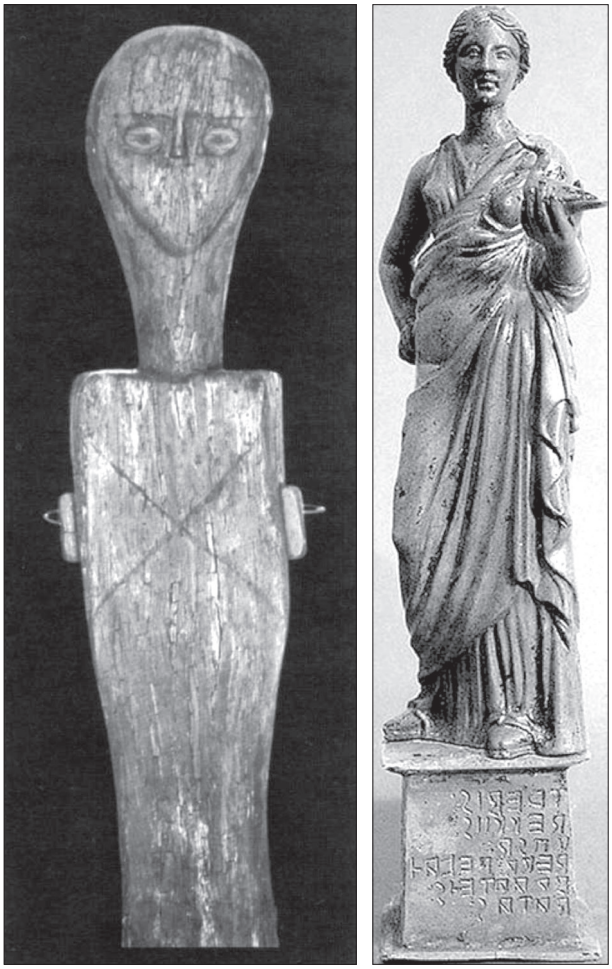

Fig. 13: 6th-century BCE *xoanon* possibly representing Mefitis from Valle d'Ansanto (left, Rainini 1996). Bronze statue believed to be a representation of Mefitis from the sanctuary of Saepinum (right, Calderini 2004).

The association of Mefitis with Juno, signalled by Servius, could be significant for the purposes of this work, despite the fact that these associations are later than the possible contacts between the cult of Mefitis and that of Hera in the area of Poseidonia and in Lucania. One proof of such association is the physical vicinity of the *luci* of Mefitis and Juno *Lucina* on the Esquiline Hill. The epithet *Lucina* has been interpreted by some scholars as deriving from *lux*, while some others prefer to trace its origin to *lucus*, which would be reflected in the topography of the shrine of the Esquiline.[315] Since Juno *Lucina* was a deity who protected childbirth, both epithets signal her association with fertility and the power of nature and reproduction, which could be represented both by light and vegetation. A possible association of the figure of Mefitis with that of Juno can be evinced at Aquino, in the Liri Valley. There, a votive deposit was found in a small sanctuary in a locality known as Méfete, which is an etymological indicator that in Antiquity the area was consecrated to Mefitis. The material found at the sanctuary contains dedications to Pupluna, also known as Populonia, a goddess associated with Juno in Latin inscriptions.[316] The next piece of information concerns the inscription from Rossano di Vaglio, where the goddess is referred to as *Kaporoinna*.[317] The term is a *hapax*, but scholars have detected an association with Juno either in the phonetical similarity of the term with the epithet *Caprotina* attributed to Juno in Latium, where a festival celebrating fertility, the *Nonae Caprotinae*, was organised in her honour, or through the goat, which Festus (76 L) described as the *amiculum Iunonis*, for its association with fertility.[318] I agree with Paolo Poccetti (2008,

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[315] On Juno *Lucina* in Roman literature, see Catull. 34,13–14; Ov. *ars* 3,785; Ov. *met*. 9,698. Concerning the cult of Juno *Lucina*, see Aubert 2004, 187–98. Poccetti, (2005, 85; 2008, 151), following Leumann (1960, 156–61), believes that this epithet of Juno derived from *lucus*.

[316] Poccetti 2008, 159. Dedications in Oscan to Pupluna were found at Teano (Izzo 1994, 277–84). This fact would confirm that the cult of Pupluna or Populonia originated in the Oscan world, as already suggested by Georg Wissowa (1912). On the syncretism between Pupluna and Juno during the Roman period, see Coarelli 1991, 183–92.

[317] Above 132 and note 311.

[318] Concerning the *Nonae Caprotinae*, see Varro (*ling*. 6,18): *nonae Caprotinae quod eo die in Latio Iunoni Caprotinae mulieres sacrificant et sub caprifico faciunt; e caprifico adhibent virgam*. Caprification is the phenomenon of the pollination of wild figs carried out by a certain type of wasps. It can also refer to a process employed in order to enable the pollination of domestic figs by inserting a branch of caprifig into the tree. The word *caprificus* contains both the words *caper* and *ficus*. The *Nonae Caprotinae* were thus a festival related to fertility, in both nature and humans (Marinetti – Prosdocimi 1988, 43). Regarding the passage of Festus, the goat was considered an animal that symbolised fertility, and it was believed that it could grant fertility to sterile women.

159) that, despite the doubts cast by Michel Lejeune (1967, 195–231; 1990, 54) on the correspondence between the epithets *Kaporoinna/Caprotina*, this is a case of the association of Mefitis with the particular figure of Juno *Caprotina*.[319] Other possible proofs of the association between the two goddesses are two inscriptions found at Rossano di Vaglio that bear the text of a dedication to a διωϝιας διομανα[σ].[320] The fact that one of the inscriptions, *RV*-18, was found near an altar located in the paved courtyard of the sanctuary, and that the inscriptions attest to the presence of a subsidiary cult of Jupiter at Rossano di Vaglio, strongly suggests that *Domina Jovia* must be identified with Mefitis. This, in turn, indicates the overlapping of the figures of Mefitis and Juno as companions of Jupiter and protectresses of marriage.[321] Another inscription, *RV*-28, attests to the dedication of two statues to two ρεγο(μ) (plur. gen.) by two magistrates. Most scholars have identified the two regal figures honoured with statues with the divine couple Mefitis-Jupiter.[322]

The regal nature of Mefitis as associated with Juno establishes a connection also to Venus, who constitutes one of the secondary associations of Mefitis mentioned in the Servian passage. This can be evinced by the fact that Venus was worshipped

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The animal was sacred to Juno as a goddess who protected childbirth, through the epithets *Lucina, Sospita,* and *Caprotina* (Calisti 2006, 94).

[319] Lejeune was doubtful concerning a possible introduction of the Latin myth of the caprification of the fig in the cult of Mefitis, of which there is no attestation. But the correspondence of the epithets must have been related to the attributes of fertility and childbirth, rather than a reference to the Latin myth.

[320] The inscriptions are *RV*-18 (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 89–92, Ro. 15; Lejeune 1990, 16, pl. XII; Crawford 2011, 1378–79 POTENTIA 10); *RV*-17+42 (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 86–88, Ro. 14; Lejeune 1990, 16, pls. X–XI; Crawford 2011, 1375–77 POTENTIA 9). The term διομανα[σ] would correspond to the Latin *domina* and to the Greek πότνια (Poccetti 2008, 149).

[321] Prosdocimi 1989, 519–20; Lejeune 1990, 56; Calisti 2006, 100–03; Poccetti 2008, 147.

[322] Lejeune 1971, 674–75; Lejeune 1990, 57; Poccetti 2008, 147; Crawford 2011, 1365 POTENTIA 1. Prosdocimi (1976, 831–32) had initially suggested that the "kings" should be identified with the Dioskouroi as "ϝανακε(σ)". He later accepted Lejeune's interpretation in Prosdocimi 1989, 519520. Another inscription, *RV*-19, has been interpreted as further proof of the association of Mefitis as a companion of Jupiter. The text, which reads ζωϝηι πιζηι, presents the name of Jupiter and what is widely believed to be the Oscan equivalent of the Greek πῖδαξ (Del Tutto Palma 1990, 92–94, Ro. 16; Lejeune 1990, 17, pl. XIII; Crawford 2011, 1380–81 POTENTIA 11; also, Battiloro 2017, 140). Since water was central to the cult of Mefitis, and taking into consideration the fact that a spring was located next to the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, it is plausible to think that the spring mentioned in the inscription could be the personification of Mefitis (Lejeune 1986, 207–08).

in several areas of Oscan Campania as *Iovia*.[323] Moreover, as the Esquiline Hill also housed a shrine dedicated to Venus *Libitina*, the site of the cult of Mefitis was thus symbolically associated not only with that of Juno, but of Venus as well, in a sort of tripartite association of the figures of the goddesses.[324] Venus *Libitina* was a deity related to the cult of the dead, and shared different traits with other Italic goddesses that protected different cycles of life.[325] Therefore, on the Esquiline three goddesses shared a deliberate topographical contiguity, with Juno *Lucina* overseeing the protection of childbirth, Mefitis with her mediating character, and Venus *Libitina* with the connection to the world of the dead. In this respect, Mefitis is characterised as a goddess possessing features of both the others and could be associated with or assimilated by both. Other important information concerning the association of Mefitis with Venus is contained in the epithet of *Fisica* attributed to Mefitis in an inscription from Grumentum. The same epithet is attested at Pompeii in inscriptions dedicated to Venus.[326] The still-disputed origin of the epiclesis seems to be indigenous, probably originating in the Oscan-speaking world.[327] It is attested that in Pompeii there was a festival in honour of Mefitis organised by the *gens Mamia*, which was significantly involved in the cults of Venus and Ceres as well.[328] Therefore, the link constituted by this *gens*

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[323] *CIL* X 3776 (Capua); *CIL* X 1207 (Abella).

[324] Concerning the cult of Venus *Libitina* on the Esquiline Hill, see Piso fr. Peter 14 (in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4,15,5).

[325] Concerning the attestation in ancient sources of the association of Venus with the world of the dead, see Hor. *carm*. 3,30,6–7; Liv. 40,19,4; 41,21,6; Suet. *Ner*. 39,1. Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 142) points out that Venus also had other epithets that related to the protection of marriage and fertility. One of these was *Murcia*. The other was *Cloacina*, whose primary place of worship in Rome was near the *Cloaca Maxima*. The epithet may have symbolised the fumes from the drains or the purification from filth, but Venus *Cloacina* also protected sexual intercourse (Torelli M.R. 1990, 87).

[326] *CIL* X 203 (Grumentum); *CIL* IV 1520, *CIL* IV 6865, *CIL* X 928 (Pompeii).

[327] The adjective *fisica* was first considered as a straight loan word from the Greek φυσική (Preller–Jordan 1881, 448). Nevertheless, Georg Wissowa (1912, 246) had already suggested that the term had Oscan origins. Sogliano (1932, 373) proposed that the epiclesis was derived from the Oscan *fiisia-*, ("giver of faith"), also found in inscriptions from Capua. According to a more recent interpretation of Lepone (2004, 159–69), the epiclesis *Fisica* would derive from the Oscan **futrei*, which is an epithet of Ceres in the Agnone Table. See also Torelli M.R. 1990, 87; Falasca 2002, 34–35. Poccetti (2008, 160) also considers it possible that the origin of the epiclesis was indigenous.

[328] The inscription, Ve 32, is now lost, but was published by Theodor Mommsen (1846, 117; 1850, n. XXXB, tab. XI). According to Mommsen, it was painted on the walls of a house, possibly identifiable with the Casa della Fontana Grande (Van der Poel 1983, 117). The text read: *mamiieise*

demonstrates the possible association of the cults of Mefitis and Venus through the epithet *Fisica*. Concurrently, the Oscan inscription concerning the festival of Mefitis in Pompeii during the Samnite period, and the presence of the epithet related to Mefitis at Grumentum, are evidence that the figure of Venus *Fisica* was a Roman interpretation of the Oscan Mefitis *Fisica*.[329] Another interesting piece of evidence is provided by the above-mentioned 2nd century BCE inscription recovered from Rossano di Vaglio, which bears the text ϝενζηι· μεϝιτι[..].[330] The incomplete state of preservation of the inscription has generated numerous suggestions for its interpretation, none of which can be definitely ruled out.[331] Despite the possibly different degree of relationship between the two goddesses, the fact is indisputable that there was an association between Mefitis and Venus at Rossano di Vaglio. Moreover, the inscription is important because it suggests the unfolding of the process of the appropriation of the cult of Mefitis in Roman religion by the 2nd century BCE. This is evident from the fact that Venus is called by her Roman name, and not by her Oscan name of *Herentas*.[332] Therefore,

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mefitaiiaìs. Concerning the *gens Mamia*, see Castrén 1975, 188. The role of the *Mamii* in the cults of Mefitis and Venus at Pompeii is attested by the presence in the city of one *sacerdos publica* belonging to the *gens,* and who was attested as building the temple of Augustus (*CIL* X 810, *CIL* X 812–813). She was also *sacerdos Veneris* (Castrén 1975, 71). Another *Mamia V(ibi) f(ilia), sacerdos Cereris et Veneris,* is attested at Sulmona (*CIL* IX 3090 = I² 1755).

[329] Coarelli 1998, 186; Coarelli 2008, 86. It has been suggested that a Pompeian mural painting portraying Venus with unusual iconography may betray the assimilation of the figure of Mefitis with Venus during the Roman period. In the painting, the goddess wears a blue mantle adorned with stars, and on her head is a diadem. She holds an olive branch in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. At her sides, two erotes hold a crown and a palm. Under her feet rests an overturned rudder. The iconography would be befitting Mefitis, with the symbolism of the agrarian world expressed by the olive-tree branch, the regal figure represented by the sceptre, the diadem, and the crown. The erotes would then symbolise her protection of *mundus muliebris* and fertility. The rudder under the feet of the goddess would represent her dominion over waters. Finally, the stars represented in the mantle would symbolise the sky, in connection to the chthonic themes of the agrarian world and the waters, all aspects contained in the figure of Mefitis (Della Corte 1921, 68–87; Falasca 2002, 51–53, Battiloro 2017, 150).

[330] Ve 182 = Po 158 = *RV*-05 = Rix, Lu 31; see Adamesteanu – Lejeune 1971–1972, 55; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 63–66, Ro. 5; Lejeune 1990, 15, pl. II; Crawford 2011, 1399–1400 POTENTIA 22.

[331] Lejeune 1990, 59–61; Del Tutto Palma 1990, 65; Crawford 2011, 1400.

[332] Lejeune 1964; Poccetti 2008, 160. Another possible piece of information is provided by an inscription in Latin from Rossano di Vaglio, which bears the text: *?]Ven (eri) U<t>ian<ae>[?* (*RV*-04 bis; Lejeune 1990, 14, 61; Poccetti 2008, 1670). As discussed above, another earlier inscription retrieved at Rossano di Vaglio was dedicated to Mefitis *Utiana*. It is possible that the cult of Mefitis was assimilated into that of Venus during the Roman period under the impulse of the same

perhaps it is significant that the cult of Venus "returned" from Rome, with Roman features and with the goddess bearing a Roman name in the Oscan and Lucanian lands, from which her cult had been exported to Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE.[333]

Mefitis is secondarily associated by Servius with Diana/Artemis. The goddesses shared the protection of vegetation, water, animals, and the overseeing of rites of passage for girls entering the adult age. Votive gifts representing Diana/Artemis have been found in Lucanian sanctuaries, including Rossano di Vaglio.[334] In addition, it seems that the cults of both goddesses coexisted at the sanctuary of Diana at Monte Tifata, near Capua, as has been attested by few inscriptions found at the site.[335] Additionally, in relation to Mefitis' possible role as *mediatrix*, it is interesting to note the role of intercessor possessed by Diana, specifically in relation to her protection of political meetings staged in her groves.[336] The protection of both Mefitis and Diana over vegetation and wilderness could have been reflected in their patronage over political interactions held in their sanctuaries. Finally, concerning female deities, Mefitis, with her protection of fertility, of the agrarian world, of the cycles of life, and with strong chthonic characterisation, could be associated with the Oscan Ceres as well. The discovery of numerous votive figurines with unmistakably Eleusinian iconography in Lucanian sanctuaries could represent such an association, although an independent cult of Ceres must have been an important feature in Oscan religion, as is attested in the Agnone Table. Concerning male gods, besides the association with Jupiter discussed previously, at Rossano di Vaglio Mefitis was associated with Mamers and Hercules as well, as attested by epigraphic evidence. In addition to the characterisation as god of war, Mamers had also agrarian competences. Hercules was also associated with water springs and transhumance.

The archaeological evidence suggests that Mefitis was one of the Great Mother goddesses of the Ancient Mediterranean world. This can be evinced from

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Lucanian elite that oversaw the cult of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio.

[333] Above 100 and note 204.

[334] Coroplastic representations of Diana/Artemis were found at Chiaromonte, Grumentum, Rivello, and San Chirico Nuovo. In addition, two marble statues portraying the goddess have been found at Rossano di Vaglio. These are dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century BCE.

[335] *CIL* X add. p. 976: *Mef[*. (Falasca 2002, 34). The text of a second inscription (*CIL* X 3811 add. p. 976 = *CIL* I² 3473), once believed to be a dedication to Mefitis *Utiana*, is to be corrected from *Mefiti(i) U[tia]n(ae) sacra* to *Mefitu(-) sacra*.

[336] Mastrocinque 2021, 208–38.

her possible first portraits, such as the 6th century BCE coarse *xoana* found at Valle d'Ansanto, which are an indication of such status and which situated Mefitis in the group of great female Archaic deities, as Hera was as well, who have been honoured with such artefacts.[337] Albeit taking into consideration the generic nature of the Greek coroplastic figurines employed in Lucanian sanctuaries, from the types of votive gifts donated to her, from the study of the etymology of her name, and from the topography of her sanctuaries, Mefitis emerges as a truly regal figure who protected all spheres of the physical world, including life, fertility, and death, and who connected the different dimensions of the universe. The spreading of the cult of the goddess in Central and Southern Italy suggests that she may have been the deity that most defined Oscan-Sabellian religious and cultural identity even before the achievement of self-conscious understanding by the single communities that they were part of a defined *ethnos*. The bronze statue from Saepinum brings vividly forth to our eyes the natural force of divine feminine protection over nature, so common in the figures of many multifaceted goddesses, especially those with the Archaic traits of the Great Mother such as Hera, Aphrodite, and Demeter. The regal aspect of the figurines of the sitting goddesses found in the sanctuaries of Mefitis, some of which are Paestan Hera and *kourotrophos* types, could thus have been for the befit of Mefitis, but also other deities. Given the all-encompassing nature of the goddess, there is the risk of considering all of the Lucanian sanctuaries that were home to a cult of the same type as dedicated to Mefitis. This is a consequence of the fact that at the present the goddess is the only Lucanian deity of which we know about her cult more extensively. Nevertheless, one must admit that the broad traits of Mefitis may signal her silent presence in sanctuaries not yet attributed to any god. Essentially, one must concur with Helle Horsnæs (2002, 103) when she affirms: "Likewise it would be easier to explain why a great variety of votive types could be used in one sanctuary: Mefitis cannot simply be identified with Demeter, Hera, Athena or Aphrodite. She contained aspects of them all."

Finally, there is one other question that is of extreme importance for the purposes of this work: is Mefitis a Lucanian counterpart of Hera? Considering the above-mentioned information and the results of the analysis of the characters of Mefitis and Hera, I affirm that she is, as she encompasses many other traits of other Graeco-Roman goddesses as well. This is particularly true concerning the similarities between Mefitis and the specific Hera of Poseidonia, a representative

[337] Concerning the *xoana* of Valle d'Ansanto, see Onorato 1960; Bottini – Rainini – Isnenghi Colazzo 1976, 374–82.

of the Argive/Achaean tradition of the cult of the goddess. But was the figure of Hera of Lucanian Paistom influenced by that of Mefitis, or vice-versa? At the present time, it is not possible to draw a straight association between the two deities in Poseidonia. For instance, there is no attestation of an often-hypothesised cult of Mefitis in the urban area in Lucanian Paistom, and there also are no attestations of a cult of Mefitis *intra muros* in Lucania or elsewhere. This may be partially explained by the current state of excavation of Lucanian sanctuaries. The discovery of sanctuaries within the walls of the fortified settlement of Tricarico shows how little we still know of Lucanian religious organisation, and therefore the extramural nature of the sanctuaries of Mefitis could also be challenged in the future by new data. In addition, while no inscriptions exist that may suggest an overlapping cult, one cannot but notice that the topographical setting of the sanctuaries, the nature of the Hera worshipped at Foce del Sele, and of the goddess identified with Hera at Fonte di Roccadaspide, are befitting Mefitis as well. The arrival in the Lucanian period of new rituals from the Lucanian world at Foce del Sele and in other sanctuaries of the Poseidoniate *chora* suggests that there was space for interaction between the two cults, or generally between the cult of Hera and that of Lucanian goddesses sharing the same properties. Although it is a speculation, it is possible that some sort of overlapping of the figure of Mefitis with that of Hera occurred at Poseidonia, as a result of the same sort of process as those that occurred in other parts of Central and Southern Italy, which permitted the assimilation of Mefitis by Juno particularly, but also with Aphrodite, Artemis, and Demeter. Even if one would not accept this possibility, it is plausible that the Lucanians saw in the cult of Hera of Poseidonia, that specific Argive/Achaean Hera, protecting all cycles of life, marriage, nature, and fertility, and overseeing rites of passage, all features already familiar from their religion, and perhaps something that was encompassed by the regal nature of their most venerated goddess. The acceptance of the cult of Hera and its preservation, besides the original wish of the Lucanians of embracing the city's traditions, was allowed, in my opinion, by this crucial transition. I believe that the expression of this process of cultic appropriation, and the fact that it was not a mere unidirectional absorbance by the Lucanians, can be found in all the aspects of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian period, from the topography of the shrines to the system of votive gifts, and the rituals. This will be the focus of discussion in the next subchapters.

3.3 Topography of the Sanctuaries and Rituals of Lucanian Paistom

The study of the topography of the sanctuaries of Lucanian Paistom and of the rituals held there has been hindered in the past century by several factors, which are still partially affecting the research of the subject. It has been traditionally stated that the Lucanians did not change the topography of the religious areas of Greek Poseidonia, and that the cults of the Greek city were permitted to continue unscathed after the Lucanian takeover of the city. This has been related to a supposedly almost complete process of Hellenisation of the Lucanian population of the city. These factors must be added to the long-standing underestimation of indigenous cultures as opposed to Greek and Roman ones, which has for decades affected research, particularly in Italy. Thus, the extant remains of structures from the Lucanian period have been interpreted by trying to compare them to examples from the Greek world to understand their function. This long-standing traditional research approach does not come to terms with a possible religious interaction with a non-Greek population, especially concerning the possibility of an influx of religious and cultural features from what was long considered to be a retrograde culture. Fortunately, in the last few decades interest in the indigenous cultures of Italy has increased among scholars, and this may facilitate a different approach to the subject.

In this sub-chapter I will discuss the topography of the sanctuaries of Hera in the urban context and in the former *chora* of Poseidonia, and the rituals staged in the sanctuaries, as can be inferred from the archaeological evidence. In doing so, I will compare, where possible, the situation at Paistom with the information gathered in the above-mentioned analysis of the topography and architecture of the Lucanian sanctuaries in the inland, and of Lucanian ritual, so trying to detect features of the cult of Hera originating in possible cultural interactions or influxes from Lucanian religious culture. Concerning the topography of the sanctuaries, I will try to explain the development of the sites during the Lucanian period, taking into consideration the fact that the extant part of the urban site is for the most part the Roman layout of the city. Concerning the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, I will employ the information gathered by the still ongoing excavations and try to compare it with the situation of the coeval sanctuaries of the Lucanian inland. Concerning Fonte di Roccadaspide, where no structures have yet been detected, the analysis will focus on the types of finds in order to compare them to those of the Lucanian inland shrines and the sanctuaries of the former territories of Poseidonia. Furthermore, regarding rituals, I will try to infer some of the ceremonies carried out at the sanctuaries with the aid of architectural features

and archaeological evidence, such as ceramic finds, osteological remains, and coroplastic figurines.

As I discussed above, the available archaeological evidence concerning Poseidonia and its *chora* seems to suggest that there was a hiatus in construction activity beginning from the first decades of the Lucanian period at the end of the 5th century BCE and the mid-4th century BCE. Even if this would be true, it is significant, in my opinion, to note that the mid-4th century BCE signalled the beginning of the reorganisation of the religious and administrative structure of the settlements of the Lucanian inland, with the emergence of the above-mentioned pattern of fortified hilltop centres and the extramural sanctuaries associated with them. I will aim at demonstrating that, despite the possible hiatus, the evidence suggests that the sanctuaries of Poseidonia and its *chora* underwent significant changes during the Lucanian period, and that both urban and extramural shrines thrived and increased in popularity during the same time span. This, in my opinion, could hardly be the result of the efforts solely of the diminishing Greek population of Lucanian Paistom, but could rather be better explained as the conscious effort of the rising Lucanian *ethnos* living in the city, which surpassed in size and organisation all of the Lucanian settlements of the inland. Our knowledge of the sanctuaries of the urban area is particularly hindered by both the superimposition of the Roman structures onto the previous ones and by the consequences of the excavations of the first half of the last century, which had little regard for stratigraphic documentation and of the relation of the finds with the different layers. Therefore, I will have to resort to combining the available data with the information gathered from Lucanian sanctuaries in order to understand how the Lucanians contributed to the preservation of the cult of Hera after that they had gained control of the city.

Concerning the urban area, in the Southern Sanctuary it seems that the two main archaic temples, the "Basilica" and the so-called Temple of Neptune, also continued in use in the Lucanian period. This can be evinced from the material retrieved from the numerous pits and votive deposits that dotted this area of the city. Despite the fact that these contexts, mostly buried as a result of the re-organisation of the sanctuary area after the foundation of the Roman colony, were disturbed already during Antiquity, the material contained in them testifies to the continuation of the use of the temples. Perhaps the most vivid example of the continuation of the cult are the sherds of the bottoms of cups bearing the inscription of the theonym, or its abbreviation, datable between the end of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, found in the so-called "*Stipi della Basilica*" (below, Fig. 14), a designation acquired from the fact

Fig. 14: Two examples of the bottoms of cups bearing the inscribed theonym of Hera found in the so-called "*Stipi della Basilica*" and dated to the 4th century BCE (De Martino 2018).

that they were collected in an area southeast of the enneastyle attributed to Hera. Concerning the temple itself, in the Lucanian period this was only involved in minor restoration works. Likewise, the so-called Temple of Neptune and its altar do not present signs of disuse or of renovations, so that there are no reasons to think that the structures had been abandoned during the Lucanian period.

The continuation of the cults and the continuous use of the structures of the main temples in the Southern Sanctuary has been one of the main arguments in the theory of the predominance of Greek culture in the Lucanian period. Nevertheless, the Lucanians were ruling a former Greek *polis*, with its established institutions and traditions, and with an urban layout that had no counterpart in Lucanian settlements. I believe that, as I suggested above, once the Lucanians had reached the majority of the population of Poseidonia, and with the continuous influx of people from the Lucanian inland beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, they began to more decisively introduce features to Poseidoniate religion and culture that originated in their own cultural and religious background.

However, while the main temples and their altars denote a clear continuity with the past, the archaeological evidence suggests that instead the Southern Sanctuary underwent a significant reorganisation in the 4th century BCE, which included the construction of several new structures. The relationship of these new features with the cult of Hera *per se* are, at the present, difficult to ascertain, but certainly the fact that the cult of the goddess in the urban area continued its existence with increasing popularity is a feature that cannot be dismissed or overlooked. The importance for the Lucanians of the new building program was ideally symbolised by the construction in the mid-4th century BCE of a *stoa*

situated in the southern part of the so-called *plateia* B, the road dividing the *agora* from the northern section of the sanctuary. The new Lucanian *stoa* permitted the transit of worshippers from the *agora* to the sacred area and created a monumental outlook for the entrance to the sanctuary.

Concerning the other sections of the Southern Sanctuary, most scholars believe that the area immediately north of the "Basilica" was designated for health-related and healing cults. The theory is based on the above-mentioned attribution by Torelli of the so-called Temple of Neptune to Apollo. Torelli based his theory on the supposed analogy of the topography of the Southern Sanctuary with the urban sanctuary of Metapontum, where Temple B was considered an *Apollonion*, and Temple A a *Heraion*. As discussed above, the decisive switch in attribution of the two Metapontine temples has weakened this attribution. Likewise, Torelli had suggested that the small temple situated north of the altar of the "Basilica" had to be attributed to Chiron on the basis of the 6th century BCE *argos lithos* found in its vicinity. This small temple, dated very approximatively to the second half of the 5th century BCE, incorporates numerous blocks of reused material, which casts doubt on the dating given by Sestieri. Marina Cipriani (2012, 61) is right in affirming that, even if the temple could be dated to the 5th century BCE despite the doubts created by the reused blocks, there is no indication of a cult of Chiron present somewhere in the urban area during the Archaic period, and which would have survived until the second half of the 5th century BCE. Moreover, the *argos lithos* with the dedication to Chiron was from a secondary deposition, and therefore the attribution of the temple to Chiron on the basis of the topographical position of the stone is not tenable.

Even if the attribution of the so-called Temple of Neptune is still a disputed matter, the presence of a cult of the god is suggested by a few votive figurines attributed to him found in the area. However, most of all, the cult of Apollo may have had a poliadic valence and, following the Achaean custom, it was associated with the cult of Hera, rather than being more related to the protection of health. Nevertheless, since the theory of Torelli was put forth, scholars have attributed the central and larger part of the Southern Sanctuary to Apollo. Moreover, later structures, built from the Lucanian period onwards, have been interpreted as related to the cult of the god or deities associated with him, especially concerning the protection of health. Such is the case, for instance, with the building that is known as the "*Orologio ad Acqua*".[338] The building is located east of the front of

[338] The structure was first unearthed by Spinazzola at the beginning of the last century. Sestieri carried out excavations in the structure in the 1950s. The structure is located ca. 45 m northeast

the enneastyle, and it follows almost the same orientation as the main temples. The structure is quadrangular in shape, and was furnished with a complex network of wells and water channels, a factor that prompted Antonio Marzullo (1936, 20) to believe that it was a water clock. Once again, Torelli related the structure to health cults and to the nearby temple that he attributed to Chiron and dated the "*Orologio ad Acqua*" to the Archaic period. According to Torelli, due to the presence of the channel systems and the wells, constructed in possible relation to an adjacent spring, the structure was a *lesche* for the Medical School of Poseidonia.[339] A possible date is provided by a nearby boundary stone, which was *in situ* and was ritually surrounded by stone slabs so as to form an enclosure to preserve it, most probably when the "*Orologio ad Acqua*" was built.[340] According to the archaeological evidence recovered from the enclosure, the boundary stone was enclosed by the slabs in the 4th century BCE, so that the "*Orologio ad Acqua*" must have been constructed in that period. Therefore, the building, which Dieter Mertens (2006, 167) defined as unparalleled in the Western Greek world, is part of the Lucanian reorganisation of the Southern Sanctuary. Concerning the use of the structure, I find the interpretation of Mertens (2006, 167) and Emanuele Greco (1995, 80) very plausible, that it was an *hestiatorion* for the consumption of common ritual meals.[341] In my opinion, the above-mentioned examples of Lucanian *hestiatoria* with their water channel systems, and the general importance of water in Lucanian rituals, suggest that the peculiarity of forms and structures of this building could perhaps be thought of as features introduced by Lucanian rituals after their takeover of Poseidonia. Another building south of the "*Orologio ad Acqua*", rectangular in shape but not oriented with the temples, and separated from them by a water channel, has

from the front of the "Basilica". It is quadrangular in form. The remains of the building present the rest of an enclosure surrounding a paved court. At the western side is located a small basin with a cocciopesto flooring. The basin covers an older well. A channel cuts the paving from east to west. Another well of square form was located in the eastern section of the building. Outside the structure, on the southern and western sides of the "*Orologio ad Acqua*", runs a channel which starts from a building to its south. The channel bifurcates on the north-eastern side of the "*Orologio ad Acqua*", with one section going towards the north, and one ending in the south-western corner of the building, terminating in another small square well.

[339] Torelli 1992, 63–4.

[340] Ardovino 1992, 457–58. Concerning the finds discovered within the enclosure of the boundary stone, see Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988, 96–98.

[341] Mertens (2006, 167) believed that the building was constructed in the 5th century BCE. A review of the different hypotheses concerning the building is in Cipriani 2012, 63–66.

been considered by Neutsch (1956, 378, Tab. 115, No. 8) to be a *hestiatorion* from the Greek period, but recent test excavations conducted in the building have not confirmed this date or clarified its use.[342]

Another example of such association of structures with health-related cults is represented by a large square area situated in the north-eastern corner of the Southern Sanctuary, which follows the orientation of the late archaic path and has been recently identified as an *Asklepieion*.[343] The building belongs to a phase between the end of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. As a consequence of the test excavations carried out by the members of the Italian-French project in the 1990s it was possible to determine that the visible phase of the building was preceded by a another complex datable to a period between the end of the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE. The form of the structure and the presence of the complex system of water channels and wells has long caused an intense scholarly debate concerning the attribution of the structure and its use. Since the 1990s, almost unanimous consensus has been given to the hypothesis that the structure was destined for the performance of a health-related cult. Based on the results of the investigations carried out by the project, Emanuele Greco has suggested that the building of the phase between the end of the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE was the centre of the Poseidoniate cult of Asclepius, and that the structure continued to be in use and was still attributed to the god in the later phases as well. Greco based his theory on the similarity between this structure and Building E, believed to be the oldest *abaton* of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which, as affirmed by Pausanias (2,26,8), was the model for all the other most important *Asklepieia*.

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[342] Also, Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988, 95; Bergquist 1992, 140; Amarger – Haumesser – Montel – Mousseaux 2006, 354–56.

[343] The structure is only partially visible, because its eastern section is covered by the road of the Bourbon period, which cuts through the archaeological area. The building was discovered in the 1920s, and its westernmost area was the target of test excavations by Sestieri in the 1950s. He interpreted the structure as a gymnasium built during the Greek period. During the explorations of the Italian-French project during the 1990s, the building was again the subject of study. The structure has a square form measuring 50 m on each side. It has a large courtyard surrounded by a portico with fountains at its corners. A water channel runs along its sides. The courtyard leads to a large rectangular paved room that is also surrounded by water channels, which convey water into a well. Along both northern and southern sections of the courtyard, facing onto it, a series of rooms or *oikoi* were situated. A *propylon* on the southeast functioned as an entrance to the courtyard, and included fountains (Sestieri 1956, 19-20; Greco E. 1998, 71–79; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 54–61; Torelli 2008, 20; Cipriani 2012, 92–93).

According to Greco, the analogies between the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus and the structure in Paestum include the supposed presence of the cult of Aphrodite in the vicinity of the rectangular area, which could have been the counterpart of the cult of Aphrodite in Epidaurus.[344] The theory proposed by Emanuele Greco is the most widely accepted among scholars. Nevertheless, it also includes aspects that could cast doubt on the attribution. First, there is no epigraphic evidence attesting that the structure would have been dedicated to the god. Second, no votive gifts were recovered from the rectangular area. Moreover, the only trace of rituals from the site was the presence of burned bones from the courtyard, which would suggest the performance of blood sacrifices in that area of the structure and the possible staging of common ritual meals.[345] Finally, the topography of the sanctuary of Epidaurus and of the rectangular complex of Paestum diverges in that the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus stood in the main sanctuary area, while the shrine and the altar of Apollo *Maleatas* was detached and was located on the slopes of Mount Kynortion, east of the main sanctuary area of Epidaurus. Emanuele Greco instead identified two temples, the amphiprostyle and a smaller temple building at its south, both located west of the rectangular area and divided from it by a row of 13 altars, as the Temples of, respectively, Asclepius and Apollo *Maleatas*. In addition, the association of the two Paestan temples with the Epidaurian model relies on the assumption that the rectangular structure is an *Asklepieion*, which again rests on the other assumption that this part of the Southern Sanctuary was dedicated to health-related cults.

As discussed above, Lucanian sanctuaries often contain a courtyard encircled by porticoes and with rooms facing onto the courtyard. Some of the rooms, or the courtyards themselves, could have been used for the performance of

[344] In the latter sanctuary an altar dedicated to Aphrodite *Ourania* stood north of building E, while a temple, "Temple L", dedicated to the goddess was located north of the sanctuary (Torelli 1986, 304). Emanuele Greco suggested that an altar located northwest of the structure, in the vicinity of the *naiskos* where a cup with the inscription of dedication to Aphrodite was found, could have been dedicated to the goddess in her epiclesis of *Ourania,* and therefore testified to the similarities with Epidaurus. The presence of a temple of Aphrodite *Ourania* cannot be testified to for Paestum, at least in the Southern Sanctuary, where the so-called *Asklepieion* stands. There is no indication that the Archaic temple, then reduced to the size of a *naiskos* at the moment of the construction of the Lucanian stoa, and which stood in the vicinity of the altar, would have been in use for the entire Lucanian period, nor that it would have been dedicated to Aphrodite. For the Roman period, Greco suggested that it was dedicated to a deity related to the Forum activities, possibly Hercules (below 151 and note 352).

[345] The bones were left in a series of pits. In Epidaurus, the courtyard also contained the remains of animal bones from sacrifices (Greco E. 1999, 58).

common ritual meals and sacrifices. The first phase of the complex, built between the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE, although chronologically preceding the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland and the major construction activities in the urban area of Poseidonia, was still built during the Lucanian period. Despite the supposed hiatus in construction activity in the first years of the Lucanian period, the structure could still be explained as the physical manifestation of Lucanian religious culture. This, in turn, would cast doubt on the actual existence of the hiatus. The possibility of Lucanian input was contemplated by Greco as well, who, before presenting his theory of the identification of the rectangular area as an *Asklepieion*, suggested that it could have functioned as a sanctuary dedicated to a health-related deity; he regarded Mefitis as main candidate for the attribution of such a structure.[346] Scholarly research, especially after Greco's suggestion was made, has resorted once more to the paradigm of Greek culture in order to explain the peculiar architecture of the rectangular compound, thus brushing aside any hypothesis concerning Lucanian influences.[347] Nevertheless, in my opinion, the association of the structure with the one in Epidaurus could be set against, albeit later, examples from the Lucanian inland, and doubts remain despite the now commonly accepted attribution of the site to Asclepius.

West of the large rectangular area, divided from it by a row of thirteen altars, the two above-mentioned temples, the amphiprostyle and the smaller one at its south, were constructed during the Lucanian period, which Greco had attributed to, respectively, Asclepius and Apollo *Maleatas*. The first, according to Sestieri (1956, 18) and to the data recovered from the test excavations conducted by the Italian-French project, was built at the end of the 4th century BCE.[348] The

[346] Greco E. 1988, 2, 85.

[347] Emblematic in this regard is the position of Mario Torelli (2008, 20), who, although pushing the date of the extant compound to the period after the establishment of the Roman colony, between the end of the 3rd century BCE and the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, affirmed that the Roman colonists had monumentalised the area where the cult of Asclepius had been performed in the previous century. He believed that the cult had been established in Paistom under Lucanian rule, but with the input of the remaining Greek element of the city.

[348] The temple is a *hekatompedon* of 30 m length x 8 m width. It includes a *pronaos* and a *prodomos* of the same dimensions, a cella, and an opisthodomos. In the end section of the cella, towards the wall dividing the space from the opisthodomos, is a square structure of slabs laid in the ground by a cutting. Sestieri interpreted the structure as the remains of the base for the cult statue, while Torelli believed that it was a square *bothros*, which could be compared to the similar structure found in the Samnite sanctuary of Hercules at Campochiaro, near Saepinum. For a more comprehensive discussion of the amphiprostyle temple, see Sestieri 1952b, 126–29, n. 1553; Sestieri 1956, 18;

temple attributed by Emanuele Greco to Apollo *Maleatas* is a small structure situated only few meters south of the amphiprostyle, to which it is parallel and of which it follows the same orientation.[349] The temple shares with the adjacent amphiprostyle the same building technique and a similar planimetry but, while the amphiprostyle was built at the end of the 4th century BCE, the small temple was constructed at the earliest in the first half of the 3rd century BCE, as suggested by the archaeological evidence.[350] As a consequence of the similarities in orientation, planimetry, and construction techniques, it is possible that the temple was somehow associated with the cult performed in the adjacent amphiprostyle. The chronological span between the construction of the first and the second temple, in this respect, would not be a decisive negative factor in the attribution of both temples to a unified religious plan. Their attribution to, respectively, Asclepius and Apollo *Maleatas*, although an ingenious suggestion, is still not confirmed by the available archaeological evidence.

Dividing the two temples from the rectangular area stands a row of thirteen altars. Although their state of preservation is poor and no excavation reports concerning them are available, Emanuele Greco (1992a, 491) suggested that all except one, which was renovated or newly built during the Roman Republican period, were erected during the Lucanian period, between the end of the 5th century BCE and the 4th century BCE. Greco suggested the end of the 4th century BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the altars, on the basis of the dating of the large square structure, interpreted as an *Asklepieion* constructed in that period, and which at any rate does not follow the orientation of the altars. These latter are not related to any temple, and probably functioned as an independent religious unit. In consequence of this, although Greco did not rule out the possibility that the altars were part of the cultic milieu of the Greek population of Paistom, he suggested that they were part of the expression of Lucanian federal cults. In this respect I found extremely interesting the example

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Neutsch 1956, 376; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1980, 30; Bertarelli Sestieri, 1982–1984, 186; Mertens 1984, 162; Mertens 1992, 563; Torelli 1992, 68–72; D'Ambrosio 1996, 189, n. 86; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 41, 45–47, 58–61; Cipriani 2012, 94–95.

[349] The structure is poorly preserved. It rests on a low podium with three steps. The cella is square-shaped, and in the middle is located a base formed by slabs, which the excavators believed to be a *bothros* (Bertarelli Sestieri 1982–1984; Torelli 1992, 71–72; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 59–60; Torelli 1999, 50–51; Greco G. – Cipriani – Rouveret *et alii*, 2004, 641–42; Cipriani 2012, 96).

[350] The foundations of the temple rest on soil only containing material datable to the first half of the 3rd century BCE (Greco G. – Cipriani– Rouveret 2004 *et alii*, 641-642).

provided by the Samnite Agnone table, where the rituals performed to Ceres and seventeen other Italic deities in a *hùrz* are described. This latter was a sacred precinct within which every god had their own altar.[351] The Agnone Table does not necessarily imply the presence of a temple structure within the *hùrz*. The example from the Agnone Table reinforces Greco's theory that these altars were expressions of Lucanian ritual and cults and suggests the possibility that the same could have occurred in Lucanian Paistom. In this case the actual *temenos* of the Southern Sanctuary could have functioned as a sacred precinct.

In the northern section of the Southern Sanctuary, the construction of the Lucanian *stoa* that divided the agora from the Southern Sanctuary caused significant modifications to the structures already standing there during the Greek period. Such is the case, for example, with the above-mentioned temple once situated in this area and dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BCE.[352] With the construction of the *stoa*, the cella of the temple was obliterated and the structure was reduced to the size of a *naiskos*. Emanuele Greco (1999, 51-52, 60) suggested that in the Republican period the *naiskos* had been made part of the religious structures used for the performance of cults related to Forum activities and suggested that the temple was dedicated to Hercules. There is no certainty that the small temple had a religious use in the Lucanian period prior to the construction of the forum, but certainly an attribution to Hercules could be pertinent to the cults housed in Lucanian sanctuaries as well, as a consequence of the popularity of that hero/god among the Italic people.

The north-western section of the Southern Sanctuary was also a target for construction activity during the Lucanian period. A rectangular building, in which a large *eschara* was situated, was constructed in this section of the sanctuary in the

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[351] The table is dated to the 3rd or the 2nd century BCE (Carpineto 1993, 111–23; Del Tutto Palma, 1996). The word *hùrz* roughly corresponds to the Latin *hortus*. Ilaria Battiloro (2017, 72 and notes 139–42) notes a passage of Livy (10,38,5–12) that describes an arrangement of sacred spaces similar to that mentioned in the Agnone Table. In the passage, Livy describes the recruitment of the *Legio Linteata* in the Roman army in 293 BCE from the ranks of the Samnite *Pentri* in the aftermath of the hostilities between these latter and the Romans. Livy described the sacred area, a large open-air square space, the boundaries of which were drawn in each direction according to an ancient Samnite ritual. The sacred area was delimited by a wooden fence, and it was roofed by linen cloths, from which the name of the legion itself derived. The altars for the individual gods stood in the middle of the sacred area. Again, as with the case with the Agnone Table, in the passage of Livy there is no indication that the sacred area included temple structures, nor a square, or *oikos*-type buildings.

[352] Above 40 and note 76.

4th century BCE.[353] According to recent explorations, the compound included at least two rooms. In the 1950s Sestieri excavated the larger rectangular room in the northern section of the compound. The room had two small openings, which connected it on the east side to a small plateau of levelled rock where water channels and small wells were situated. Sestieri (1956, 113) named the structure "*Edificio Greco*" and dated it to the 5th century BCE, but such an early chronology was decisively dismissed by several explorations carried out in the beginning of the 2000s.[354] The date proposed by Sestieri was influenced by the finds from the building and in the area surrounding it, which included material of the 5th century BCE, among which were several fragments of coroplastic figurines representing male and female figures holding a piglet. The structure was built on top of an older sanctuary area that dated back to the 5th century BCE at least. The channels and wells for water collection and use, together with the small pits filled with animal bones, seem to attest to the performance of common ritual meals in the structure already in the 5th century BCE. The material found in the area, especially the coroplastic figurines, together with the form of the structure with the *eschara,* have prompted scholars to postulate a continuation of a cult with chthonic valence during the Lucanian period as well. Demeter and Kore have been suggested as the deities venerated in the structure.[355] The form of the structure is reminiscent of a *sacellum* with an enlarged planimetry. Marina Cipriani (2012, 107 and note 26) pointed out that this type of structures is found in Sicily among the Greek colonies and the indigenous settlements, and other sites in Southern Italy and Lucania.[356] The example presented by this building, constructed in the Lucanian period, perhaps in order to continue (in a re-interpreted form?) an older Greek chthonic cult, again suggests the possibility that some sort of religious mutual influence occurred in this part of the Southern Sanctuary, and that it is important to take into consideration the examples from the Lucanian and Oscan inland.

A symbol of the uncertainties concerning the interpretations of the changes undergone by the city of Poseidonia/Paistom is the enigmatic building

[353] Sestieri 1956, 19; Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988, 113; Pollini 2002, 485–87; Pollini 2004, 643–46; Viola 2004, 646–51; Wyler – Pollini – Haumesser 2005, 360; 368–78; Cipriani 2012, 106–08.

[354] The date suggested by Sestieri was supported by Bertarelli Sestieri (1987–1988, 113), who interpreted the structure as a stoa and dated it to the 5th century BCE.

[355] Cipriani 2012, 107. Mario Torelli (1992, 73) also supported the presence of a chthonic cult in the structure but believed that the building had been constructed in the Roman period.

[356] Cipriani mentions examples from the Greek colonies of Syracuse, Nassos, Gela, Akragas, Megara Hyblaea, Himera, and Selinous, and the indigenous sites of Monte Saraceno and Morgantina, and notes the example of Torre di Satriano.

traditionally named the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*". The structure is situated between the so-called Temple of Neptune at its southeast and the middle and southern sections of the row of 13 altars and the large rectangular area interpreted as an *Asklepieion*. Due to its position and contiguity with the altar of the temple and its planimetry, the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" was interpreted by the first explorers in the 1950s as a civilian building used to host the religious officials of the large temples. The building, rectangularly shaped, includes several rooms and spaces of different sizes. The results of the first explorations were not documented. In the spring of 2019, the Archaeological Park of Paestum began excavations in order to understand and suggest a date for the construction and use of the building. According to the first results of the campaign, the structure was built sometime between the end of the 4th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE. In one of the rooms a hearth or an open oven was found. Unfortunately, the stratigraphy was disturbed by the excavations of the 1950s, which, because of the lack of documentation, have deprived us of understanding the relationship of the fireplace to the building, and its date. The "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" has been the focus of only one campaign of modern excavations, but the objective of the authorities of the archaeological park is to collect more funds in order to better understand this problematic but extremely interesting structure. As affirmed in several interviews with the former director of the park Gabriel Zuchtriegel, the goal of the excavations would be to determine the attribution of the so-called Temple of Neptune, due to the contiguity of the structure to the temple and to its altar, and to understand if the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" was a symbol of the introduction of new rituals in the Southern Sanctuary in the Lucanian period. As stated by Zuchtriegel in the press conference concerning the conclusion of the first campaign of excavations at the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*": "E con loro (the Lucanians and then the Romans, ed.) inizia quello che possiamo definire la 'seconda vita dei templi', i quali rimangono in uso, ma subiscono una rivisitazione. Non solo Hera diventa Giunone, Athena si ribattezza Minerva, ma anche la ritualità viene adattata ai nuovi patroni. Pare che la "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" sia da inquadrare in questo processo di rivisitazione dell'antico santuario greco".[357]

The still extremely incomplete data from the excavations suggests that the construction of the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" may indeed indicate a change in the rituals connected with the cults performed in the temples, albeit the continuity of use of the structures also points to a continuity of the cults. In this respect, the presence in the building of a hearth and well could possibly link to the same

[357] Si scopre la "seconda vita" del Tempio di Nettuno – Parco Paestum e Velia (beniculturali.it).

examples from other still disputed buildings constructed in the Lucanian period. It is still too early to present a plausible suggestion concerning the possible use of the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*", but I would find it not improbable that it would have been the setting, at least partially, for the same kind of rituals that included the performance of common ritual meals that occurred in other newly built structures in Lucanian Paistom.

Concerning the rituals staged in the Southern Sanctuary in the Lucanian period, one element that could yield some possible information concerning the matter is pottery. The use of functional analysis of ceramic material in order to understand its possible connection to rituals has increased over the last decades.[358] Concerning the Southern Sanctuary, Bianca Ferrara (2012, 250) signalled the example presented by the material found in a hollow dug deep into the natural rock. The material was datable to the first years of the 3rd century BCE. The largest group of finds collected from this pit is constituted of ceramics used as kitchenware and for the preparation of foods, and types used as liquid containers, such as jars and black glazed cups with painted decoration. The repetition of the occurrence of these types points to an emphasis on rituals of a collective nature, and specifically to the performance of common ritual meals. In addition, deposits of animal bones, and the re-opening of wells and ritual pits demonstrate that the different buildings added to the Southern Sanctuary during the Lucanian period for such collective rituals are a testimony that ritual common meals were a central feature in the religious customs of Paistom. This is paired with the situation in the coeval Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, where such patterns are repeated. Even though collective meals were a common feature in Greek religion, and they were performed in Greek Poseidonia as well, the Lucanian custom was not necessarily adopted from the Greek one, but rather stemmed from the Lucanian agrarian religious milieu. This latter was centred on the aspects of fertility and the worship of deities with a marked chthonic nature. The roots of this increase in ritual common meals in Paistom should be viewed, in my opinion, as an affirmation of Lucanian religiosity in their encounter with and reshaping of Greek cults, or the arrival of Lucanian cults from the Lucanian inlands.

Ritual meals were perhaps accompanied by other rituals where water was involved. Complex water channelling systems and wells used for the collection

[358] Significant studies, in this respect, for the areas of Central and Southern Italy are: Bonaudo – Cerchiai – Pellegrino 2009 (concerning necropoleis). Comella – Mele S. 2005; Nava – Osanna 2005; Greco G. – Ferrara 2008 (these latter three focus on sanctuaries). See Ferrara 2012, 247–54, for a more comprehensive overview concerning the occurrence of different types of ceramics in different sanctuaries of the urban territory and of the region of Lucanian Paistom.

of water were significant features of several structures of the Lucanian period in Paistom. This is the case, for example, with the so-called "*Orologio ad Acqua*", the rectangular area identified as an *Asklepieion*, and the building with *eschara*. Much was also done in Lucania to incorporate water and springs into the sanctuaries, or to convey it through water channels in order to perform rituals. Water was certainly an important feature in Greek ritual as well, but the increase in common meals combined with the construction of buildings where water was an important element seems to me to follow the same pattern as in inland Lucania. Streaming water necessary for ritual was collected in Lucanian Paistom from springs within the urban territory, as demonstrated by the example of the compound in the north-western section of the Southern Sanctuary, which was probably dedicated to a deity with marked chthonic characteristics.

Concerning the figure of Hera, past research has stressed the concept of continuity of the cult from the Greek to the Lucanian period. In my opinion, given the indisputable fact that archaeological evidence proves that the cult survived the transition from the Greek to the Lucanian period, one must ask if indeed the figure of Hera also underwent the same changes and reshaping that is evidenced by the topography and architecture of the Southern Sanctuary, or by ritual changes suggested by the ceramic evidence. One type of material that can aid in such an investigation is coroplastic votive gifts. In the previous chapters I discussed the appearance in the Southern Sanctuary of the iconographic motif of the canonised figure of Hera enthroned holding a pomegranate in her right hand (Pl. III, No. 12).[359] Beginning from the final years of the 5th century BCE until the end of the 3rd century BCE, Poseidoniate workshops, now not serving only a Greek population but an ever increasing number of Lucanian worshippers, began producing a new type of coroplastic figurines, which continued the motif of the enthroned goddess with *polos* with the addition of the attributes of the patera in the right hand and a basket of unspecified fruits in her left. The type became extremely popular, probably due to the generic aspect of the portrayed goddess, which could be used to represent not only Hera but also other goddesses with a regal aspect and an agrarian/chthonic nature, such as Demeter or Kore, or related to fertility, such as Aphrodite. Only rarely were the attributes held by the sitting goddess changed in order to more markedly indicate the identity of the deity through the attribute, as is the case with the specimens with the piglet held in the left arm found at Fratte di Salerno but produced from a Paestan mould. The attestation of the presence of the type, which is referred to by scholars as the

[359] Above 41.

Paestan Hera type, in indigenous sanctuaries of Samnium ad Lucania, testifies to its spread, not only for the prestige of Paestan coroplasts or for the economic influence of Lucanian Paistom in the inland, but probably to the similarities that this specific iconography shared with certain Italic goddesses.

In addition, a *kourotrophic* cult seems to have been introduced in the northern part of the *temenos*, in an area later occupied by the so-called "*Giardino Romano*", underneath a structure known as the "Italic Temple". The temple had covered a votive deposit that included, among other material, a total of 20 figurines datable to the 4th century BCE representing *kourotrophoi*. Four specimens of these represent a derivative variant of the Paestan Hera type. This sub-type portrays an enthroned goddess in the act of breastfeeding a child that she holds in her left arm (Pl. VIII, No. 28). In addition to this derivative sub-type, other types of *kourotrophoi*, some of which betray an Italic influence, entered the Paestan market. Thus, the theme of *kourotrophia* entered the Southern Sanctuary, while in the Greek period it was a central feature only at Foce del Sele and at the sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite. The area around the "Italic Temple" is the only context in the Southern Sanctuary where kourotrophic figurines were discovered. This fact may suggest that the cult was introduced in the Lucanian period, or that the Lucanians had reshaped a Greek cult, adding to it a more marked kourotrophic valence. Specimens retrieved from the Southern Sanctuary surpass in number those found in other sanctuaries where the kourotrophic aspect of the deity there worshipped was marked, such as at Foce del Sele and at Santa Venera. At present, there is no possibility to determine if the kourotrophic deity of the Lucanian period from the Southern Sanctuary can be identified with Hera. The presence of the figurines in the Southern Sanctuary and in other sanctuaries of the area, where goddesses such as Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera herself at Foce del Sele, were worshipped, is an indication of the fact that in general all the major female cults of the area were interested in the increasing importance of kourotrophic aspects. In consequence of the evidence of the topography and the interpretation of the rituals performed in the shrine, it is difficult to think that the figure of the Hera worshipped in the Southern Sanctuary would not have been affected by such changes.

In light of this information, this emphasis on the aspect of fertility, rather than some sort of reminiscence of the poliadic nature of the goddess, may lay behind the production in the 4th century BCE of the coroplastic compositions representing Hera and Zeus in the act of the *hieros gamos,* found in different votive pits in the Southern Sanctuary and at Foce del Sele (Pl. VIII, Nos. 29-31). The figure of Zeus was also extremely popular in Lucanian religion. The god was associated with Mefitis, for example, as regal companion of the goddess in

Rossano di Vaglio. The above-mentioned base dedicated to Jupiter in the Oscan language, retrieved *in situ* from the *ekklesiasterion*, testifies to the popularity that the god retained in Lucanian Paistom.

The increasing importance of chthonic and agrarian aspects is signalled in coroplastic by the production in the 4th century BCE of the type of *thymiateria* of Paestan production, known as "*Donna-Fiore*". As discussed above, these burners were often associated with the worshipping of chthonic deities. The presence of "*Donna-Fiore*" and of other *thymiateria* in significant numbers in Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, and the fact that the chthonic aspect of rituals was an important feature in Lucanian religion, is yet another element in favour of the increasing importance of chthonic cults and rituals in Paistom. Another class of coroplastic votive gifts that could be related to chthonic or agrarian cults is that of miniature cups. As discussed above in connection to Lucanian sanctuaries where these items were found in significant number, miniature cups were symbolic gifts to the gods representing real wares used for the dedication of first fruits, the *aparchai,* or to the ritual of libation, and they had an inherent chthonic meaning. During the Lucanian period, in the Southern Sanctuary busts of women, wearing or not wearing a *polos,* became rather popular (Pl. X, No. 35). It is possible that the development of such busts in Paestum was related to the increasing importance of chthonic cults during the 4th century BCE.

Concerning other female cults, the votive pits of the Southern Sanctuary from the Lucanian period yielded figurines dedicated to Athena, Aphrodite, and Artemis.[360] Three figurines portraying a goddess holding a tympanon and sitting on a peacock have been interpreted as Aphrodite or Hera-Cybele.[361] Regarding figurines of male deities, evidence from the Lucanian period is extremely scarce. If one excludes the portraits of Zeus in the above-mentioned plaques of the *hieros gamos* with Hera, these consist mostly of *erotes* represented standing and leaning on a tree or a support, or in company of Aphrodite (Pl. IX, Nos. 33–34). These figurines of Eros were popular in Lucanian sanctuaries as well and were closely related to the cult of Aphrodite or of deities related to the protection of fertility. The archaeological evidence, besides the popular suggestions concerning the topography of the site, does not directly testify to the presence of major cults of Asclepius or of Apollo. The retrieval of a few tens of coroplastic figurines representing anatomical parts has been attributed to the cult of these gods.[362]

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[360] Cipriani 2012, 74–76, 80–83.

[361] Cipriani 2012, 82.

[362] Torelli 1992, 63. Torelli dated the items to the Roman Republican period.

However, the figurines were found in different votive pits in the Southern Sanctuary, and the scarce documentation concerning their provenience and their relationship to the stratigraphic context and to the buildings are a hindrance in their attribution to a specific deity. Certainly, the lack of figurines portraying male Olympic deities is a common feature in Greek sanctuaries as in Lucanian ones as well, and it is not indicative of the lack of cults of male gods altogether. Other common figurines portrayed fruits such as pomegranates or quinces, acorns, or animals such as doves. The coroplastic figurines from the 3rd century BCE retrieved from the Southern Sanctuary testify to the fact that this shrine was also affected by the so-called "Hellenistic *koine*" of coroplastics, when the iconographies, already rather generic in appearance, lost all specific references to individual deities. The most evident proof of such a process is the almost absolute predominance of Tanagra figurines in the archaeological evidence (Pls. XI–XII, Nos. 39–45). The reference to the dedicands themselves, also signalled perhaps by the popularity of busts towards the end of the previous century, indicates a gradual change in ritual and in the religious needs and experiences of a changing society.

In the Lucanian period, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele witnessed construction activity as well. The works were not limited to the religious buildings but were functional and according to a structural plan of renovation of the sanctuary area. The most important proof of this is the construction of a road that connected the city and the haven of Volta del Forno, situated 500 m north of the sanctuary. The road, of which the first phase of construction has been dated to the mid-4th century BCE, ran perpendicular to the western side of the shrine, for a total length of 9 km from the city to the haven.[363] The road

[363] The date is provided by fragments of black glazed pottery sherds of forms dated to that age, found in the layer of the first road. The road was, in its original Lucanian version, ca. 3,50 m wide. The surface consisted of earth and crushed stones, while the road curb consisted of large stones mixed with earth. The first road was covered by a layer of sand that was only partially the result of natural causes, such as the flooding of the river, but was rather the result of the laying of a new road, as testified by its enlargement to ca. 5,50 m. In this second phase, the curbs were formed by laying down a row of square-cut large blocks of travertine. In the middle sections of the road, water channels were added in order to facilitate drainage. The road was covered partially by the volcanic ashes of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, but probably still functioned after that date, at least partially, for an undefined period. While archaeological exploration has not yet revealed anything about the possible date of the second phase of the road, it is plausible to think that it was constructed after the foundation of the Roman colony. The small scale monumentalisation of the road with the enlargement, the use of travertine blocks, and the addition of water channels seem to follow the same pattern of monumentalisation of roads also detected, in the Roman period, in the

probably had a byway that led to the sanctuary, but the first explorations did not succeed in discovering it.

The main area of cult in the western sector of the sanctuary, including the actual temple of Hera and the altars, continued to be used and was central to the religious framework of the shrine in the Lucanian period as well. As discussed above, the signs of burning and the presence of weapons in the archaeological finds of the area are not the signs of a violent conquest of the sanctuary by the Lucanians, as Paola Zancani Montuoro first believed, but were the remains of, respectively, the decay of perishable material such as the wood employed in the structures and of the clay, and of weapons dedicated to the sanctuary according to Lucanian custom.[364] This indicates that the Lucanians took control of the sanctuary in a gradual but not violent manner, as it seems had occurred in the urban area as well. The archaeological evidence suggests that the temple was not subject to construction activity during the Lucanian period.[365] Sometime beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, the metopes of the temple began to be reused for the construction of other buildings. Since the temple was still in use, the reasons behind the removal of the metopes remain a mystery. As discussed above, the metopes do not belong to a unified plan, as some were part of a previous series that was probably partially intended to replace those from the first version of the temple, but which was never brought to completion. Nevertheless, several of the metopes of the later series, portraying girls in motion and probably part of the decoration of the roof of the final phase of the temple, were re-used in some of the buildings constructed in the Lucanian period. Not all the metopes were removed, however, as is attested from the fact that some were retrieved from the temple, underneath the layer of volcanic ashes of the eruption of Vesuvius of 79 CE, while the structure itself was probably damaged in the earthquake of 62 CE.[366] The altars of the temple also do not show any signs of discontinuity of use during the Lucanian period.

The vitality of the nucleus of the temple of Hera, with its altars, is indicated by the additions that the Lucanians made in this area of the sanctuary. At the

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urban area of Paestum as well (Greco E. 1992a, 495–96; Tocco Sciarelli – de La Genière – Greco G. 1992, 389–92; Greco G. 2012, 187).

[364] Above 85–85 and notes 181–82.

[365] Only the roof was the target of minor repairs between the end of the 5th century BCE and the first half of the 4th century BCE, when some parts of the *sima* of the eave of the temple representing lionheads were repaired (Greco G. 2012, 193).

[366] Greco G. 2012, 193.

end of the 5th century BCE the southern section of the sanctuary was subject to a major inundation of the Sele River, which affected the temple as well. The Lucanians reacted by elevating a sort of roadbed in the area south of the temple. The scholars studying the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele call this technique "*piano indurito*", which consisted of laying down a layer of material mixed with stones and earth in order to level the walking floors or other surfaces of the structures that were inundated by water. In this manner, the resulting surface hardened and was kept dry as much as possible.[367] This manner of construction follows a specific ritual behaviour on the part of the Lucanians, intended to ritually functionalise the area for a new purpose while still showing respect for the previous religious function.[368] More recent investigations have detected the presence of "*piani induriti*" in the temple as well, where the levels were constituted of chips of calcareous stone pressed into earth along with fragments of tiles and potsherds.[369]

The addition of the "*piani induriti*" to permit the building of the temple area despite the wet terrain is yet another indication of the continuation of its use and of its continuing centrality in the Lucanian period. In addition, the area adjacent to the temple to its north was dotted with several boundary or memorial stones, *stelai,* and aniconic *anathemata*, which do not present any dedicatory inscriptions, nor any signs of painting or plaster.[370] It is possible that the stones, which were re-used material, were part of the same building program that included the reuse of material from some of the buildings from the Greek period in disuse, and the removal of at least some of the metopes from the temple of Hera. A few meters southwest from the temple, a small unit constituted by a *bothros* and a small altar

[367] In the case of the area south of the temple, the "*piano indurito*" consisted of chips of calcareous and arenaria stones pressed with earth. In addition, among the material, coroplastic figurines, votive ceramics, and fragments of bronze were found, dating from the 6th century BCE to the ending years of the 5th century BCE, when the level was closed.

[368] That the deposition of votive material was ritual is demonstrated by the presence of several miniature cups that were deposited with the mouth facing down, with signs of burning, probably from the dedication of some gift, denoting that the ritual had a chthonic valence (Greco G. 2012, 185).

[369] Greco G. 2012, 193.

[370] Greco G. 2012, 200-208. These dedicatory stones were mostly present in the area immediately north of the temple, so as to mark the importance of the structure. In addition, some items were retrieved south of the temple, in the vicinity of the altars, adjoining the Square Building east of the temple, but also in the northern section of the sanctuary. The *stelai*, in the form of parallelograms, present two variants, with or without tapering of the top.

connected to it was found.[371] The material deposited in the *bothros* included mostly common and kitchen wares and miniature pots, together with animal bones and carbonised wood. Particularly important for the identification of the nature of the cult related to the *bothros* is the presence of the bones of dogs, goats, cats, a cockerel, and a dove. The analysis of the material deposited in the pit suggested a date between the ending decades of the 4th century BCE and the first decades of the 2nd century BCE. Above this layer of stones were the remains of a sacrificed dog, which signalled the chthonic nature of the deposition.[372] The sacrifice occurred in the Roman Imperial period, when the already sealed pit was reutilised.[373] At 2,5 meters southeast from the mouth of the pit are the remains of a small altar. The type of the material dated to the Lucanian period found from this area is indicative of the presence of blood sacrifices related to the performance of ritual meals.

Further south of these structures is situated the southern portico, a structure that Paola Zancani Montuoro (1967, 7–28) dated to the first half of the 6th century BCE on the basis of the presence of few sherds of Corinthian pottery discovered at the site.[374] More recent test excavations have uncovered a small section of the structure undisturbed by later activity, in which a fragment of black painted patera in primary deposition and dated to the mid-4th century BCE was found. The fact that the foundations of the structure lay on a "*piano indurito*" laid on top of the level of the Iron Age, and that re-used material was employed for the foundations, favour a chronology after the mid-4th century BCE, which would fit well in the reorganisation program of this side of the sanctuary carried out by the Lucanians.

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[371] The *bothros* was discovered in April 1935. It is quadrangular in shape. The mouth of the *bothros* was covered obliquely by a large arenaria boulder. Underneath this was a layer of blocks of arenaria and calcareous stone, that covered the layer where the material was found for 1,50 meters. The layer of finds rested on pure sterile sand (Greco G. 2012, 225–28).

[372] Zancani Montuoro 1937, 305–07; Dewailly 1997, 201–10. The cockerel was an animal usually sacrificed to Persephone, while the dove was associated with Aphrodite, who also had chthonic aspects. Concerning the association of the sacrifice of dogs to Hecate and other chthonic deities, and the traditions concerning the sacrifice of dogs, see above pages 120–21 and note 271. Concerning the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, the remains of sacrificed dogs were found at Torre di Satriano (above 120–21 and note 271).

[373] Greco G. 2012, 226.

[374] The building was discovered in the excavation campaigns carried out by Paola Zancani Montuoro between 1957 and 1958. It is located ca. 50 meters southeast of the temple. The form of the building is rectangular, with the opening to the south. The portico was supported by seven pilasters (also Ferrara 2009, 25; de La Genière – Greco G. 2010, 281–87; Greco G. 2012, 216–17).

Elsewhere in the sanctuary, the Lucanians built a structure at the beginning of the 4th century BCE. The building was constructed in a zone devoid of other structures east of the temple area, and has been the subject of debate regarding its shape, its isolation, and the types of finds retrieved from within its perimeter. The building is known, due to its form, as the "*Edificio Quadrato*" - the Square Building. The date of the structure, if one excludes the first phase of the rectangular compound in the north-eastern section of the urban Southern Sanctuary, makes it, according to present knowledge, one of the first buildings constructed in the sanctuaries of Paistom during the Lucanian period and the first at Foce del Sele. The structure was found in the 1960s in an area ca. 80 m east of the front of the temple, beyond the two monumental altars. The form of the building, which is completely square (12 m x 12 m) immediately seemed to Paola Zancani Montuoro as hardly compatible with Greek architectural canons.[375] The building was constructed with reused material.[376] The orientation of the entrance of the building, a rather narrow passage, was towards the south, so that the front of the structure did not face east, as was instead the case with the temple and the two altars. The building had been destroyed by a large fire, as testified by the signs of burning that are visible on the surviving slabs. The stratigraphy of the structure has been a puzzle since its discovery. The foundations lay on top of a large deposit consisting of votive material mixed with chips of arenaria and calcareous stones. The material consists of votive gifts dated from the 6th century BCE to the beginning of the 4th century BCE. The later date would be contemporary with the construction of the building. At the level of the walls, on the walking surface, a new deposit was laid down after the fire in order to create a new walking level, which obliterated and covered over the foundations of the structure. The material included in this deposit is dated to a period not later than the mid-3rd century

[375] The inner space of the Square Building did not contain any internal structures, except the remnants of truncated walls projecting out of the main walls. According to the reconstruction presented by Schläger (1965–1966, 47), the truncated walls functioned as buttresses for the beams supporting the roof. As a consequence of the shape of the building, the roof was possibly four-pitched. The entrance was roofed by a canopy supported by two small pillars (Zancani Montuoro – Schläger – Stoop 1965–1966, 23–195; Greco E. 1996, 262–82; Greco G. 2003, 103–22; Greco G. 2012, 211–16).

[376] The first layer of the foundations consisted of a row of large blocks of arenaria. On three of the corners were three of the sculpted metopes of the first series. On top of the foundation slabs, another row of blocks of calcareous stone was laid. These are preserved only on three sides, since on one side the building material had been spoiled already in Antiquity, when the walking surface was also disturbed (Zancani Montuoro – Schläger – Stoop 1965–1966, 27–31; Greco, G. 2012, 211–12).

BCE. This fact permits us to date the fire that destroyed the Square Building and the cessation of use of the structure to the period immediately following the foundation of the Roman colony. The understanding of the stratigraphy of the two deposits, and therefore of the structure itself, has been hindered by the fact that during the course of the 3rd century CE the area was disturbed, which caused the mixing of the material from the two different depositions. Fortunately, during more recent excavations a small part of the surface inside the building was discovered where the layers had not been disturbed, thus demonstrating the division between the two and presenting a more correct stratigraphy.[377]

Numerous theories have been presented concerning the function of the structure, and whether it had a civil or religious use. As discussed above, square sacella were a central topographical feature in many Lucanian sanctuaries. They symbolised the house of the god, by hosting the cult statue of the deity and their belongings in the form of votive gifts such as coroplastic figurines and coins, but also tools and loom weights. Probably the only cult statue retrieved in the territory of Paestum was found at the Square Building of Foce del Sele, given the doubts of such an identification concerning the large terracotta statue of the enthroned Hera holding the pomegranate from the urban Southern Sanctuary. The statue, a small module figure in Parian marble, was found within the Square Building, underneath a layer of volcanic ashes from the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. The statue portrays Hera enthroned and wearing the *polos* and holding, as opposed to the terracotta statue of the Southern Sanctuary, a pomegranate in her left hand. The statue has been dated to a period between the end of the 5th century BCE and the first decades of the 4th century BCE. The presence of the statue in the Square Building would thus reinforce the view that this sort of structure, common in Lucanian sanctuaries and imitating the basic Lucanian residential unit, would have symbolised the house of the gods with their belongings. Other objects found in the structure, such as coroplastic figurines and various ceramic types, are all related to the female world. One conspicuous group of items are coins. The number of coins found within the Square Building is by far the largest concentration in the whole sanctuary, numbering 155. They cover a chronological span between the end of the 5th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE. Another large group of items found at the site consisted of terracotta loom weights, more than 300 of them (Pl. XIII, Nos. 47–48).[378] The retrieval of loom weights at Foce del Sele has been related

[377] Greco G. 2012, 212.

[378] Most of the loom weights are in the form of truncated pyramid, but disc-shaped specimens are

to the theory of the presence in the Square Building of actual looms used by the girls who were hosted at the sanctuary, in order to weave the *peplos* of Hera for the *Peplophoria*.[379] The identification of the building as a place for the weaving of the dress of the goddess would thus seem to contradict the above-suggested theory presented by Emanuele Greco (1996, 263–82), who, pointing out the similarities between the types of finds collected at Torre di Satriano and in the Square Building, had identified the structures as symbolising *oikoi-pyrgoi*, the heart of the possessions of the household, and designated to a female cult and to the storage of the treasury of the sanctuary.[380]

Another work instead casts doubts over the religious destination of the Square Building. Olivier de Cazanove (2011a, 131–41) analysed the square buildings present in several Lucanian sanctuaries and then compared them with the structure at Foce del Sele. He noted the isolation of the structure from other buildings in the sanctuary. As has been discussed above, the square buildings with religious functions in Lucanian sanctuaries have a rather central position within the shrine, or they are at any rate placed in a harmonic setting with the other sacred buildings. Moreover, since the structure does not follow the same orientation of the temple and the altars, it seems to be set apart from the main religious functions of the sanctuary. De Cazanove suggested that the building

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also numerous (Greco G. 2012, 216). In addition, seven lead loom weights were found. These may have functioned as items used to close a fabric roll. Emanuele Greco excluded the possibility that the lead weights were related to weaving, or that they were master weights, as suggested by Paola Zancani Montuoro (1965–1966, 63). He believed that they were fishing net weights. Since fishing was considered part of household activities, it also was considered to belong to female competencies.

[379] Considering that between 70 and 80 loom weights were needed for the looms to function, at least three looms would have been present in the Square Building at Foce del Sele (Greco G. 2003, 103–22; Greco G. 2012, 216). Bianca Ferrara has suggested that the idea that the loom weights were indeed part of the looms used in the weaving of the *peplos* of Hera can be demonstrated by the small size of many of the items. Loom weights of small dimensions were used in Antiquity for the weaving of fine clothing, which would befit a dress of the goddess, and have parallels in the weaving of the *peplos* of Hera in other sanctuaries as well (Ferrara – Meo 2016, 49–78; Ferrara 2017, 118–30; Ferrara – Meo 2017, 112–25).

[380] Emanuele Greco notes that the first deposit at Foce del Sele is more variegated in nature, suggesting different aspects of cult. Much of the material is related to libation (craters, *skyphoi*, *olpai*, *kylikes*, *deinoi*, an amphora for wine) and the female world (25 "temple-keys", *pyxides*, bronze mirrors, but also partially the *lekythoi*). The second deposit, containing material almost exclusively from the Lucanian period, only included material related to the *mundus muliebris* (jewellery, *lebetes gamikoi*, vases intended as perfume containers, *lekanai*) or generally to the administration of the household, which was also seen as part of the female sphere (loom weights, coins, plates, *phialai*, moulds for bread loafs).

must be interpreted as the smaller unit of a typical *a pastàs* house modelled in Greek sanctuaries as *hestiatorion,* and in Lucanian settlements as a house.[381] He reconstructed the projecting walls as having formed a T-shaped division of the interior of the house, which divided the *pastàs* proper from the posterior section of the structure.[382] The remaining walls were, according to his reconstruction, only the lower part of walls, the upper parts of which were made of more perishable material.

Despite the interesting theory presented by de Cazanove, the doubts concerning the nature of the Square Building remain. The collapsed wall placed on top of the no longer extant west projecting wall was constructed with stone blocks, and not as suggested by de Cazanove with unbaked bricks. This latter fact, as he himself noted later, is in contrast with the structure of the division wall in a *a pastàs* Lucanian house, the upper part of the walls of which was made by unbaked bricks on top of a supporting row of blocks. The presence of actual permanent dividing walls to delimit different spaces within the building is therefore doubtful. Moreover, the examples from Greek sanctuaries presented by de Cazanove are structures that are not completely square, while the Square Building is. The comparison is more cogent with the *a pastàs* houses from Civita di Tricarico, which had a standardised square form. Concurrently, the presence of the projecting walls is problematic for the comparison with other square buildings in Lucanian sanctuaries, which were completely square, as the structure at Foce del Sele was, but were devoid of any walls or separation of spaces in their interior. The religious use of the building has been suggested by the presence of votive material and of the cult statue of the goddess, as symbolising the house of the deity with her belongings. On the other hand, the isolation of the structure from the other important religious buildings of the sanctuary, the modest appearance

[381] De Cazanove believed that the truncated walls projecting from the eastern and northern walls were not the support of a four-pitched roof, which would have been too heavy to support without a central supporting element, but instead suggested that they functioned as dividing walls within the structure. He presented examples of quadrangular buildings from Greek sanctuaries. The known examples of *a pastàs* houses in Lucania are from Serra di Vaglio, Civita di Tricarico, and Muro Lucano (Russo Tagliente 1992, 54–55, fig. 18b; 63–67, fig. 24; fig. 53b; 119–20, fig. 64; 173–74, fig. 104; de Cazanove 2002, 93–120). The houses of Civita di Tricarico are standardised and measure 11 m X 11 m, and the T-shaped partition is placed exactly in the middle of the house, so that the *pastàs* and the posterior rooms have the same dimensions (de Cazanove 2008, 44; de Cazanove 2011, 138).

[382] Giovanna Greco (2012, 214) also believed that the truncated walls functioned as the division walls within the structure, but she suggested that they were perhaps related to mobile structures that were related to the activities carried out in the building.

of the entrance, and the possible interpretation of the loom weights as the actual parts of the looms used to weave the *peplos* of the goddess are in contrast with the possible identification of the structure as a religious building similar to the square buildings of Lucanian sanctuaries. Nevertheless, several of the loom weights found in the structure lack a suspension hole, so that their identification as actual weights is problematic. Moreover, loom weights were dedicated as votive gifts in several Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland.[383] The identification of the functions of the Square Building remains an unsolved matter. It was certainly conceived and constructed by the Lucanians, as suggested by its chronology and its shape, which conforms to Lucanian architecture. It may have been a significant building, since it was the first to have been built by the Lucanians in the sanctuary, at least according to our present knowledge. In addition, the many votive gifts, the numerous coins retrieved from its interior, and the fact that it was the only building destroyed (intentionally?) in the years immediately following the foundation of the Roman colony, may constitute clues in trying to determine its still elusive nature.

The Lucanians made a significant effort in adding new religious architectural units to the north as well. There, the disputed rectangular structure, which Paola Zancani Montuoro (1951–1954, 25–27) had named the "archaic *megaron*", was situated.[384] She dated the building to the end of the 7th century BCE, due to the presence under the walking surface of fragments of *oinochoai* with conical bodies and votive material under the southern wall of the building. Later investigations have demonstrated how the ceramic material was mostly composed of drinking vessels datable to a period between the first half of the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE.[385] The material was included in a layer of "*piani induriti*" made of chips of arenaria and calcareous stones that rested on Iron Age levels. The structure lacked any proper foundation trenches, but layers of stone blocks functioned as foundations, being positioned directly on top of the "*piani induriti*". Several of these blocks were reused material from previous buildings, a fact that would be at odds with the early construction date for the structure.[386]A

[383] Horsnæs 2002, 99; Battiloro 2017, 102 and note 74.

[384] The building was discovered in 1938. The structure is in the form of an elongated rectangle. It is formed by two rooms, the smaller of which is located in the eastern part of the building. For a wider discussion concerning the so-called "archaic *megaron*", see Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951–1954, 25–27; de La Genière – Greco G. 2010, 287–92; Greco G. 2012, 217–18.

[385] Greco G. 2012, 218

[386] As observed by Giovanna Greco (2012, 218), Paola Zancani Montuoro had herself begun to

broader recent analysis of the finds from the "*piani induriti*" suggested that they were composed of material dated from the second half of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE.[387] The analysis of the coinage found in the structure suggests a late date for the construction of the building.[388] In fact, the Lucanians may have laid down the "*piani induriti*" as a preparative layer for the construction of the building in the framework of the new organisation of the northern section of the sanctuary.

Immediately to the east of the so-called "Archaic *megaron*" a portico was built, the so-called Lucanian stoa.[389] The foundations of the building were made almost entirely of reused material, which included six sculpted metopes with their triglyphs, while two other were in fragmentary conditions and were found in the interior of the structure.[390] The building was laid directly on a "*piano indurito*" containing a substantial amount of material from the Greek period, but also from the 4th century BCE up until the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE. This latter period is represented particularly by a bronze coin portraying the head of Poseidon and Eros riding a dolphin and bearing the inscription PAIST. Since the structure was built in two different phases, as demonstrated by the enlargement towards south and a new colonnade, it is plausible to think that the first phase of the building was constructed sometime during the years after the mid-4th century BCE, during which the material from the Greek period and from the beginning of the Lucanian period was possibly deposited in order to create the "*piano indurito*", which served to accommodate the foundations of the building.

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change her opinion concerning the date of the building in the explorations of the northern section of the sanctuary carried out in 1958. In her campaign diary (notebook 6, 29, 11–26 June 1958) she affirmed that the Corinthian pottery found under the walking surface belonged to the deposit underneath it, which was perhaps a later preparatory layer for the building.

[387] G. Greco supplied the data as part of the doctoral thesis of M. Franco, *La ceramica corinzia dei santuari di Poseidonia*, *Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II*. Naples 2007–2008.

[388] Cantilena 2010, 703; Greco G. 2012, 218.

[389] The Lucanian stoa is situated only 1,70 m from the so-called "archaic *megaron*" and shares with it the same orientation. It has an elongated rectangular form. It consists of a central large room with two smaller rooms on both sides connected to the main one with doors. The portico was initially supported by five pilasters. In a later period, the stoa was enlarged further south with a new portico, supported by six pillars, one of which utilised one of the Archaic metopes of the temple (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 293–97; Zancani Montuoro 1951–1954, 43; Greco G. 2012, 218–19).

[390] Greco G. 2012, 243–46, tab. 1.

The embankment may have been enlarged later in order to accommodate a new section of the building, which was increased in size towards south. The presence of the PAIST coin suggests that this latter enlargement took place in the years immediately following the foundation of the Roman colony.

Another building was constructed to the eastern side of the Lucanian stoa, at right angles with it.[391] The structure has the form of an elongated rectangle, with an orientation north/south. It consisted of two rooms, of which the northern is a large hall that is divided by a wall with the space for a door and a threshold from a small southern room. The entrance of the building faces west, and therefore it seems that the building, together with the Lucanian stoa and the so-called "archaic *megaron*", formed a sort of unified compound opening to south with a common courtyard. The building was constructed with reused material. The foundations were made by using blocks of arenaria, two of which, placed in line with the entrance, were two metopes of the temple from the newer series portraying girls running or in motion. In both rooms one small oven was found, which prompted the discoverers to suggest that the structure was intended to host a workshop for ceramicists. This building was also constructed on top of a "*piano indurito*" containing votive material dated to the Archaic and Classical period. This fact has prompted the researchers to believe that the structure was built after the mid-4th century BCE.[392] The fact that the material discovered in the building included two small ovens, together with the very significant amount of animal bones and ceramic types with a predominance of cooking ware and a large clay *loutherion*, suggests that the building functioned as a dining hall.[393] This would be in line with the practice in Lucanian sanctuaries, where religious architectural units often featured the presence of an adjacent portico where the worshippers could find shelter from the elements, but could also circulate through it along a sort of ceremonial path.

The probable function of the building as a dining hall is also suggested by the presence of a *bothros* and a small altar constructed west of the building in the open courtyard created by its vicinity to the buildings in the northern section of the sanctuary.[394] The manner of deposition of the material indicates that the pit was

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[391] The structure was discovered between 1935 and 1936 (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 297; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco, 1951–1954, 46; Greco G. 2012, 219–20).

[392] Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 297; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951–1954, 46.

[393] Also, Greco G. 2012, 220.

[394] The *bothros* was found in 1936. The opening of the pit was rectangular in form and was made

created in order to dispose of the material coming from the sacrifices that occurred on the small altar and from the dining activities held in the compound.[395] The material retrieved from the pit was for the most part dated to a period between the end of the 4th century BCE and the final decades of the 3rd century BCE. The unit of the altar and pit was thus in use concurrently with the other buildings in the northern section of the sanctuary, thus probably forming a unified feature. The pit was closed in the last decades of the 3rd century BCE.[396] The altar and the pit were thus both in use for a few years during the transitional period which followed the establishment of the Roman colony.

Concerning the votive gifts, the amount of material retrieved during the different excavation campaigns suggests that the popularity of the sanctuary increased during the Lucanian period. Concerning the iconography of Hera at Foce del Sele in the 4th century BCE, the coroplastic figurines indicate the same generic nature detected in the specimens and types retrieved in the urban sanctuaries. At the end of the 5th century BCE the Lucanian period began with the dedication of the cult statue made of Parian marble with a pomegranate placed in the right hand of the goddess. This statue, although it crystallised the canonical portrait of Hera, was destined to be one of the last of its kind, at least in sanctuary contexts. With the affirmation of the Paestan Hera type, in fact, the version with the pomegranate was relegated almost exclusively to burial contexts. The Paestan Hera type is the most represented iconographical type in the representation of the goddess during the Lucanian period at Foce del Sele. Together with the Paestan Hera type figurines, a specimen of a *kourotrophos* of the Lucanian period and other specimens of *kourotrophoi* were also discovered at Foce del Sele.

The aspect of childbirth was often associated with a chthonic aspect. This latter was represented in coroplastic figurines by the "*Donne-Fiore*", which appeared in the coroplastic market in the mid-4th century BCE. The busts of female figures wearing a *polos* that were discovered at Foce del Sele may also belong to the chthonic sphere. In addition, the coroplastic figurines from the *Heraion* attest to the same adherence to the so-called Hellenistic *koine* of coroplastic art

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of slabs of calcareous stone. Its depth was 4,23 meters. The altar was located 1,20 meters from the southern corner of the *bothros*. The structure consisted of a stand made of a reused arenaria block, with a reworked block of a column made of arenaria stone at its centre (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 294; Greco G. 2012, 228).

[395] The material retrieved around the altar was quite scarce, while the largest amount was found along the southern wall of the pit, which is the nearest to the altar, thus suggesting that the material from the sacrifices performed on the altar were thrown into the pit (Greco G. 2012, 228).

[396] Greco G. 2012, 229.

attested in other coeval sanctuaries, with an ever-decreasing incidence of the representation of divinity in favour of the portrayal of the female dedicands themselves.

Figurines of male deities are almost exclusively erotes leaning on trees or pillars, or the Zeus portrayed in the *hieros gamos* plaques with Hera. It is plausible to think that the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele remained a site dedicated exclusively to a female cult in the Lucanian period as well. The presence of the erotes nevertheless signals the overlapping roles of the figures of Hera and Aphrodite concerning fertility, indicated already by the figurines of the standing naked goddess of Foce del Sele and Santa Venera from the Greek Archaic period, and in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland concerning deities, which shared features in common with Hera and Aphrodite. In addition to figurines portraying gods and humans, the *Heraion* yielded significant numbers of coroplastic figurines of fruits such as pomegranates, quinces, and almonds, and animals such as doves and rabbits. This is consistent with the same custom found in other coeval sanctuaries, both Greek and Lucanian, as donations in honour of deities that protected fertility and the agrarian world and its crops.

Concerning coroplastics portraying dedicands, the number of so-called Tanagra figurines is impressive, which were retrieved from the *Heraion* in the thousands, with the usual extensive combinations of hair styles, facial features, attributes, dresses, and sizes. In addition to these, the types of sitting females with their hands resting on their laps and with their heads veiled but not wearing the *polos* were also numerous. The types of votives changed even more drastically with the establishment of the Roman colony, when any direct reference to the figure of Hera gradually disappeared and only some of the votive types, such as coroplastic uteri, testify to the continuation of the cult.[397]

Concerning ceramic evidence, the most consistent class of vases found at Foce del Sele was black glazed pottery produced in Paestum. Most common for the period of Lucanian rule between the 4th century BCE and the first half of the 3rd century BCE are small cups and single-handled small cups. Since these latter were used to drink and consume food, their significant number suggests, especially if compared to the incidence of certain types of ceramic forms from the Greek period, an increasing importance of ritual meals during the Lucanian period. Other types of vases that appear with a high incidence belong to forms related to the female sphere, such as containers for perfumes and unguents such as *lekanai*, bottles, unguentaria, and *pyxides*. In addition, a peculiar form appeared,

[397] Greco G. 2012, 241.

the "annular *askos*", which has been interpreted as container for medical essences or liquids.[398]

Bianca Ferrara has conducted a study of the ceramics found in the two *bothroi* connected to the small altars at the northern and southern sections of the sanctuary. These yielded material that is dated from the mid-4th century BCE to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. The study of the material suggests that the significant majority of finds from the *bothroi* was composed of types employed in the processes of preparation, cooking, and the consumption of meals.[399] Concerning the preparation of food, *ollae* and basins were the most common forms. Such types as *lopades* and *kakkabai* were employed for the cooking phase of the ritual.[400] The rest of the ceramic material consisted of black glazed thin kitchenware including forms for containing foods and liquids, to pour, drink, and eat.[401] Concerning other areas of the sanctuary, such a functional analysis of ceramics has been attempted with the finds of the Square Building. The interpretation of the material has been hindered and made more difficult by the disputed function of the structure.[402] In fact, the material could be interpreted according to the religious or civil use of the building. Therefore, it could have been part of the votive gifts dedicated to the goddess, but also of the treasury of the sanctuary. It could have been used during ritual meals, but could also represent the remnants of the daily activities of the girls frequenting the structure during the supposed preparation of the *peplos* of Hera.[403] The disputed nature of

[398] Greco G. 2008b, 177–92; Greco G. 2012, 241. She pointed out that, due to the technical difficulty in the realisation of this type of vase, the type must not have been produced on a mass scale, but rather for specific functions and on commission. In addition, the item is mostly found in Paestum among the grave goods of richer females, so that it may have been a more expensive product. According to Greco, it is possible that the "annular *askoi*" were used as containers for liquids or essences to soothe the pain during pregnancy or childbirth.

[399] Ferrara 2009, 192, figs. 102–03; Ferrara 2012, 248.

[400] These types of cooking wares were used for the slow cooking of cereals, porridges, and soups (Bats 1996; Ferrara 2012, 249).

[401] Some of the types of thin black glazed kitchenware were possibly used as containers of first fruits for the goddess, and therefore could have functioned as votive gifts. *Kylikes*, *skyphoi*, *olpai*, and *paterae* could have served as part of libation rituals. Forms such as *oinochoai*, cups, dishes, partially small cups, and *paterae* were perhaps the types of thin black painted kitchenware that were used during the meal (Ferrara 2012, 248).

[402] For a more detailed discussion of the ceramic material retrieved from the Square Building, see Greco G. 1995, 87–110; Greco E. 1996, 263–82; Greco G. 2003, 103–22; Greco G. 2010, 587; Ferrara 2012, 249–50.

[403] Ferrara 2012, 249–50.

the building does not permit an assured interpretation of the ceramic material, but without having to imply a definitive association according to function, one may note for this structure an increase in wares that could have been used for common meals compared to the ceramic types dated to the Greek period.

The analysis of the structures and of the topographical features of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele suggests that the Lucanians constructed the still disputed Square Building already in the first years after their takeover of the city. The construction activity intensified after the mid-4th century BCE, as was the case with the urban area and the establishment of the extramural Lucanian sanctuaries in the inland. The Lucanians employed reused material in order to construct new structures, but they followed a precise planning of assimilation of the topography of the sanctuary, and they overcame the threat of water to the stability of the buildings by creating the "*piani induriti*", the deposition of which had a religious significance as well. The temple and the altars continued in use, although some of the metopes were found as reused material in buildings of the Lucanian period. It was probably during this period that the two porticoes delimiting the southern and northern sections of the sanctuary were constructed. In their vicinity, small altars and pits for the performance of sacrifices were built. In the northern section, the portico was in the middle of two other rectangular buildings, one of which was situated at a right angle to them, thus forming a sort of open courtyard with the others. The eastern building of the northern section was most probably a dining hall for the performance of common ritual meals. The smallest of the two rooms of the building could have functioned as a kitchen if we are to compare this compound with similar examples from Lucanian sanctuaries. The Sele River itself functioned as the water element that was so central to Lucanian religion and ritual, and an always present feature in Lucanian sanctuaries, and together with the extramural nature of the sanctuary and the presence of abundant vegetation, this must have rendered the topographical setting of the sanctuary very similar to those of Lucanian inland.

Therefore, it is tempting to think that the construction program enacted by the Lucanians had the objective of making the sanctuary of Foce del Sele a Lucanian shrine, albeit an unconventional one, in consequence of the presence of the venerated cult of Hera and of her temple and places of worship. As the cult was preserved and absorbed, I believe that the Lucanians integrated the place into their ritual framework by creating buildings following the needs of their own rituals. Therefore, the whole sanctuary area was delimited at the south end by the Southern portico, while at the north there was the row of three buildings with the Lucanian stoa in the middle and the dining hall to its east. The whole central area

of the sanctuary would have functioned as a large, monumental courtyard, with the temple, the altars, and the *anathemata*. At the east was the enigmatic Square Building, the function of which remains disputed, although certainly it at least stored objects of value for the sanctuary and the cult statue of Hera. Moreover, I would even hypothesise a possible pattern for a ritual path in the sanctuary. The worshippers could enter the sanctuary from the south and go through the southern portico, proceeding to the area of the temple where sacrifices were held. There, the remains of the sacrifices were thrown into the southern *bothros*. From there, the stream of worshippers continued to the northern section through the northern portico. After that, they headed to the dining halls, where the common ritual meal was held. The remains of the meal and of sacrifices were then ritually thrown into the northern *bothros*. This hypothesis would be in accordance with the possible reconstruction of Lucanian ritual and could be confirmed by the structures found so far in the sanctuary.

Concerning the information presented by the iconography of the coroplastic figurines of the Lucanian period, it can be evinced that Hera retained, at Foce del Sele, her character of protectress of fertility and childbirth that she had already possessed during the Greek period. In the Lucanian period, the *kourotrophic* nature of the Hera of Foce del Sele is suggested by the appearance of different types of *kourotrophoi*. Considering the nature of the rites, of the composition of the audience, and of the type of the sanctuary at Foce del Sele, the composition representing the *hieros gamos* between Hera and Zeus found in the Southern Sanctuary may also belong to the sphere of human fertility, rather than being a representation of the civic institution of marriage. The canonical figure of the goddess in Parian marble soon gave way to the Paestan Hera type. The success of this latter type was perhaps enabled by a more profound change in the nature of the goddess or the enhancement of some of her aspects at the expense of others. The lack of a poliadic aspect in the Hera of Foce del Sele, with her focus on fertility and child breeding, may have favoured the transition from the Greek to the Lucanian period, as those traits were also central to Lucanian religion. In addition, the regal figure of the goddess, enthroned and holding a patera and a basket of fruits, signals the increasing importance of chthonic aspects as well. The presence of the types of the "*Donne-Fiore*" and of the busts indicate the same pattern.

Regarding ritual, recent studies seem to suggest that, as was the case with the coeval situation in the urban sanctuaries, the custom of common ritual meals increased in importance during the Lucanian period. The retrieval of ceramic forms used for the preparation, cooking, medium term storage, and eating of food

take predominance over other forms which during the Greek period had been markers of status and prestige in the dedications, such as forms commonly used for sympotic ceremonies. This, together with the above-mentioned construction of structures that could have been designated for the performance of common meals during the Lucanian period, reveal the importance of the ritual and the Lucanian origin of its popularity, as attested by the coeval custom in Lucanian inland sanctuaries as well. In addition, the ceramic evidence indicates that forms related to the performance of libations at Foce del Sele became more popular as well. The ritual was often associated with the cult of chthonic deities. The presence of the *bothroi*, one of which was sealed by the sacrifice of a dog, a typical chthonic victim, and associated with the small altars, combined with the rise in popularity of the "*Donna-Fiore*" type and the busts, indicates that the increased focus on chthonic aspects during the Lucanian period at Foce del Sele originated in the agrarian inland of Lucania. In this respect, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele represented, both as a consequence of the topographical setting and of the nature of the goddess patroness of the shrine, a sanctuary whose religious semantic was the closest to the sanctuaries of Lucania. The presence of the Sele River, which had served the Greeks in the performance of fertility rituals in honour of Hera, served the Lucanians as the source of water and of the streams omnipresent in Lucanian sanctuaries. The vegetation surrounding the sanctuary and the presence of a large, cultivated garden area must have reminded the Lucanians of the *luci* present, for instance, in the sanctuaries of Mefitis. Finally, the goddess Hera, with her Achaean background, was able to be identified by the Lucanians as the regal mother protectress of fertility and the agrarian cycles, which permitted the assimilation of the cult. With the addition of even more chthonic aspects to her nature, Hera continued to protect the area of the Sele River with its human, floral, and faunal population, alone or accompanied by some still at present unknown Lucanian goddess, for the entirety of the Lucanian period.

Another site that resembled Lucanian sanctuaries in its topographical location was Fonte di Roccadaspide. During the Lucanian period the material found at Fonte seems to follow motifs and perhaps rituals common to the other sanctuaries of Paistom, and of the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland.[404] Concerning coroplastics, from the end of the 5th century BCE to the first half of the 4th century BCE the Paestan Hera type had an almost absolute predominance among the finds. Some of the specimens, the older ones, portray the goddess enthroned holding a patera and a basket of fruit, sitting on a throne

[404] Cipriani 2012, 156–57.

with a backrest decorated with sphynxes. Some of the pieces are of rather large dimensions. From the second half of the 4th century BCE, busts of women wearing the *polos* constituted the majority of figurines. One head of a figurine from this period portrays a female figure wearing a Phrygian hat and has been interpreted as Artemis or Bendis. Between the end of the 4th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE, Tanagra figurines became the most common coroplastic type. Figurines portraying males are relegated to only a few specimens of erotes, with or without a cloak, leaning against pilasters. Among other kinds of coroplastic votives, a dove is the only animal representation found from the Lucanian period at Fonte.

Concerning ceramic material, between the end of the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE, the forms used for wine drinking, such as *skyphoi*, *kylikes*, and small craters became quite rare, while the majority of finds are constituted of black painted and achromatic small cups, both in normal size and in miniature form. After the second half of the 4th century BCE the number of ceramic finds increased significantly. Most pieces belong to kitchenware. The most represented types are *ollae* for storage and cooking, and lids, while somewhat less present are basins, *lopades*, and *kakkabai*. The predominance of these types of wares suggests, as was with the case with the coeval situation in the urban sanctuaries and at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, an increased importance of ritual common meals correspondent chronologically with the Lucanian period. Since no actual sanctuary structure was found at Fonte di Roccadaspide, it is possible that the shrine consisted of an open space surrounded by a *temenos* with an altar made of more perishable material, such as pebbles or even plain earth, which were common features of less monumental Samnite and Lucanian sanctuaries. Concerning the miniature cups, these must be considered as *ex voto* representing the donation of first fruits to the deity. Another important class of pottery from the end of the 4th century BCE is achromatic small plates on a high foot, found also in Paistom.[405] The inner face of the bodies of the plates from Fonte present clear signs of burning, which indicates that they may have been used in rituals as incense or essence burners. The coeval appearance at Fonte of the Paestan "*Donna-Fiore*" type indicates that the practice of burning incense and offerings increased

[405] Cipriani 2012, 157. Approximately 600 small achromatic plates on high foot were discovered at Fonte. From the urban territory of Paistom, wares of this type were discovered in the Northern Sanctuary dedicated to Athena (Cipriani 2008, 56), at the sanctuary of the Camping Site "Apollo", located on the shore facing Paestum (Napoli 1968, 246–47; Cipriani 1992b, 412–13; Torelli 1992, 49–50, Cipriani 2012, 144–46), and in a small number in the small sanctuary at Porta Giustizia, the southern gate of the city (De Caro – Di Gregorio – Marino 2010, 266).

in importance during the Lucanian period. In addition, references to female fertility diminished drastically, if one excludes few erotes and one coroplastic dove. Likewise, items usually related to the feminine world, such as *pyxides* and unguentaria, are quite rare, while only one specimen of fibula has been retrieved. Thus, the presence of a majority of female attendance, already doubtful for Fonte during the Greek period, is not supported by material evidence.

The analysis of the material from Fonte di Roccadaspide demonstrates the vitality of the sanctuary during the Lucanian period, from which most of the material was found. The archaeological evidence suggests that the goddess worshipped at the sanctuary, identified by Voza according to the material from the Archaic period as Hera, acquired from the Lucanian period onwards more marked chthonic and agrarian traits. Since the material evidence suggests that the sanctuary was not frequented exclusively by a female audience during the Lucanian period, as opposed to the situation at Foce del Sele, one should perhaps compare the situation of Fonte with examples from the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, where, as discussed above, the gender of the deities was not a decisive factor in the gender type of the attendance, and it seems that the shrines of female deities related to the chthonic, agrarian, and fertility spheres in particular attracted a mixed audience. The material datable to the Lucanian period indicates an increase in three ritual activities central to Lucanian religious practices: common ritual meals, the burning of incense or offerings, and the donation of first fruits. The increase in ritual meals is signalled by the sharp increase in kitchenware types used for cooking and to consume food. The burning of incense and offerings are represented by the hundreds of achromatic small plates on a high foot found at the site. The donation of first fruits and the hopes for a blessed harvest are represented by the numerous miniature cups. The chthonic nature of the deity of the Lucanian period at Fonte is further demonstrated by the numerous examples of busts. In view of these considerations, I suggest that, at the latest by the beginning of the Lucanian period, the sanctuary at Fonte had been absorbed as one of the many rural Lucanian sanctuaries. The presence of figures related to other cults, such as the "Artemis/Bendis", and of the erotes, or the dove usually related to the cult of Aphrodite, despite not being so numerous, are another attestation of the fact that figurines of different deities were used in the same sanctuary in order to represent the same Lucanian deity that shared some of their traits, following a custom common to Lucanian sanctuaries at large. The generic appearance of the Paestan Hera type suited the use of these figurines, which could have symbolised goddesses, both Greek and Italic, that possessed similar traits to those of Hera. As was the case with Foce del Sele, Fonte di Roccadaspide was an

ideal spot for cultural interaction through cult. It is tempting to think that, as a result of their nature, these two sanctuaries, placed at the intersection between cultural worlds, may have played a crucial role in the preservation of the cult of Hera, and that they were the places where changes in the cult began. These changes became full-fledged when the Lucanians took effective control of the area from the Greeks.

The analysis of the topography of the sanctuaries of Hera in the territory of Lucanian Paistom, and of the possible reconstruction of the rituals connected to the cult of the goddess from the same period, indicate both changes and continuities within the cult. These were fuelled by the wish of the Lucanians to continue a cult that they and their forefathers and kin living in the areas surrounding the plain of the Sele River had known since the foundation of the colony of Poseidonia. Certainly, the figure of the Hera worshipped at Poseidonia favoured this transition despite the fact that she had been the defining religious symbol of the culture and ethnicity of the Achaeans of Magna Graecia. Poseidoniate Hera, with her Archaic character of the great mother, was not only the poliadic protectress of the institutions of Poseidonia, but the goddess overseeing all of the cycles of life of the natural world, of the fertility of humans, animals, and vegetation alike. These latter traits, perhaps more than the first, permitted the association of Hera with some of the Lucanian goddesses sharing the same characteristics, such as Mefitis, the main deity of the Lucanian and Oscan religion. I believe that this religious semantic similarity was the decisive factor in enabling the adaptation of the cult of Hera among the Lucanians and its subsequent preservation.

Concerning the topography of the sanctuaries, contrary to what research has traditionally theorised, it seems that the Lucanians significantly reshaped the planimetry of the Southern Sanctuary and of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. They did so in order to facilitate the performance of rituals central to their beliefs. Therefore, when the Lucanians both preserved the temples and constructed numerous buildings in their vicinity they created something new, which united Greek and Lucanian religious elements. In this respect, Poseidonia/Paistom was the stage of an unprecedented case, with the takeover of an important Greek *polis* by the Lucanians, with its own heritage not only in social culture, but also in buildings as well. In addition to features originating in their own religious tradition, such as the use of unroofed spaces and areas of cult that were not enclosed in a temple-like structure, the Lucanians also borrowed from the Greeks their architectonical techniques, which they employed to create structures useful to the staging of their own rituals. They reused material from older buildings, especially at Foce del Sele, but they reshaped the sites according to their own religious needs.

Especially concerning the urban area, it would be useful, in my opinion, to begin questioning models borrowed solely from Greek architecture and topographical planning in order to explain structures of the Lucanian period, and to instead compare them to similar ones present in Lucanian sanctuaries. This also concerns the urban sanctuaries, for which the employment of such models seems, in my opinion, sometimes forced and not always supported by the evidence. Such is the case, for example, with the "*Orologio ad Acqua*", of disputed interpretation for its structure according to Greek canons, which seems instead plausibly identifiable with a dining hall furnished with a complex system of water collection and storage, common in many Lucanian sanctuaries. Another case is the identification of the central part of the Southern Sanctuary as an area designated for health-related cults and, based on this, of the identification of the large rectangular area as an *Asklepieion*. The identification was inspired by the theory presented by Mario Torelli of a supposed reduplication of the sacred area of Metapontum in Poseidonia. Even though recent investigations of the temples and the sanctuary of Metapontum have decisively changed the attributions of the areas dedicated to Hera and Apollo, the identification presented for Paestum by Torelli has remained. In addition, the creation of structures such as dining halls, porticoes, the thirteen altars, and the rectangular area interpreted by Greco as an *Asklepieion*, followed a precise reorganisation plan, which is matched by the same process at Foce del Sele and demonstrates how the Lucanians actually significantly changed the planimetry of the sanctuaries.

The more thorough excavations conducted over the years at Foce del Sele have contributed to demonstrating more clearly the input of the Lucanians in the planimetry of the site. Two porticoes were added in order to provide a space to accommodate and offer shelter to people moving from one place to another in the sanctuary. Groups of buildings forming a common yard were constructed where rituals of common dining preceded by sacrifices were held. In consequence of these considerations, I suggested the possible presence at Foce del Sele of a ceremonial path similar to those present in Lucanian sanctuaries, and which served to lead the worshippers from one ritual to another within the sanctuary.

Likewise, it is tempting to attempt a similar reconstruction for the Southern Sanctuary. The so-called "Lucanian stoa" could have functioned as a portico belonging to this hypothetical path. The path could have run along the road that passed by the row of thirteen altars, twelve of which were constructed during the Lucanian period. The fact that the row of altars is positioned north/south along the road indicates that worshippers were circulating along this path. The large rectangular area immediately east of the row of altars, interpreted as an

Asklepieion, could have been related to the altars, or could have perhaps been an independent compound designated for the worship of another deity. The path must have continued towards the south, directly to the area of the main temples with their altars, in front of which other structures of peculiar architectonical planimetry, which could have been halls designated for the consumption of ritual meals stood, such as the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" and the "*Orologio ad Acqua*". The amount of dining halls would have been justified by the grandiose size of the Southern Sanctuary as opposed to other Lucanian shrines, where there were usually one of these structures, and to the number of gods venerated at urban Paistom. I believe that this reading should at least be investigated more thoroughly, and even if the old models are not necessarily abandoned, they should at least be accompanied by a comparison with the situation in Lucanian sanctuaries and with the Oscan religious tradition. Furthermore, this hypothesis could be supported by the analysis of the finds and the possible reconstruction of the rituals staged at the sites during the Lucanian period.

The analysis of the finds suggests that the construction activities were pointed at reorganising the cultic areas so as to permit the performance of certain rituals that were central to Lucanian religion and culture. In particular, the ceramic evidence has suggested, concerning the urban Southern Sanctuary, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and Fonte di Roccadaspide, the increasing importance of common ritual meals in the cultic activities at these shrines, as compared to the same evidence from the Greek period. This can be evinced by the sharp increase in the presence of kitchenware at the expenses of other ceramic types, such as for example vessels used in sympotic and celebrational occasions, which were more common during the Greek period. Bianca Ferrara (2012, 247–53) has demonstrated how this phenomenon is not relegated exclusively to the sanctuaries dedicated to Hera but is a generalised pattern for all of the sanctuaries she analysed in her review, both in urban and extramural areas.[406]

[406] Concerning the analysis of the ceramic finds at Foce del Sele, in the Southern Sanctuary, and at Fonte di Roccadaspide, and their interpretation as presented by Ferrara, these were discussed earlier in this work. In addition, in her review she discussed the ceramic finds from the small sanctuary near Porta Sirena, the eastern gate of the urban area, of the sanctuary at the Camping Site "Apollo" (interpreted by Mario Torelli as a sanctuary dedicated to Isis), of the sanctuary of Capodifiume (attributed to Kore), and of the sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella (interpreted as a sanctuary of Demeter). At Porta Giustizia, while in the first half of the 4th century BCE forms meant for the consumption of wine such as large cups, *skyphoi*, and single-handled small cups constituted the majority of the finds, after that period types used in order to draw liquids such as *olpai,* or to mix and pour liquids, were predominant (small amphorae, *stamnoi*, *deinoi*, kraters, *oinochoai*, jars, and *situlae*). It was at the end of the 4th century BCE that forms used for the preparation, cooking,

The comparison of the above-discussed data with the situation in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland may suggest a wider re-evaluation of the attribution of structures and sanctuaries and could even put to a test the ethnical attribution of sanctuaries in the whole area of the former *chora* of Poseidonia, such as could be the case of Fonte di Roccadaspide. The reassessing of the finds could be crucial for the understanding of the nature of sanctuaries attributed to other deities than Hera as well. This could be the case, for instance, of the sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella, situated northeast of Poseidonia, in an area characterised by springs and watercourses and attributed to the cult of Demeter, the establishment of which began, according to material evidence, at the end of the 6th century BCE.[407] As indicated by Helle Horsnæs (2002, 104–05), the form of the main structure of the sanctuary, a rectangular enclosure with six hearths at its internal, with two votive pits including burnt offerings and votive material is conforming with similar structures in Lucanian sanctuaries. The chthonic nature of the cult, if added to the other available information, indicates similarities with the general features of Lucanian cults in the inland sanctuaries and may signal the presence of the cult of a Lucanian deity with strong chthonic connotations,

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and consumption of meals, such as *lopades*, *kakkabai*, *chytrai*, ollae, *taghena*, small cups, and black glazed plates, became the majority of the finds. The increasing importance of common meals is suggested by the numerous finds of animal bones and molluscs' remains retrieved from the layers of this period (Pizzano 2010, 231–40; Cipriani 2012, 126–31; Ferrara 2012, 251). Concerning the sanctuary of the Camping Site "Apollo", the kitchenware dated to the 4th century BCE, including small cups, *paterae*, double-handled cups, small *olpai*, and one-handled small cups, seems to suggest an increase in religious activities featuring common meals. The ceramic evidence from the sanctuary of Capodifiume from the second quarter of the 4th century BCE until the third quarter of the 3rd century BCE includes a significant amount of kitchenware, such as cups, small cups, jars, *skyphoi*, *paterae* and of cooking ware, which still show evident signs of burning, together with types related to the *mundus muliebris* such as *lekanai*, unguentaria, and *pyxides*, especially in miniature size, which suggests that they were votive gifts to the chthonic deity venerated at the sanctuary (Greco G. 1992a, 419–28; Greco G. – Pontrandolfo 1996, 237–42; Serritella 2005, 19–26; Ferrara 2012, 251–52).

[407] The cult performed at San Nicola di Albanella had its centre in an area within a sacred enclosure characterised by the presence of different rudimental *escharai* used for the cooking of meals or for the burning of incenses or seeds and first fruits. The chthonic nature of the deity worshipped at San Nicola is signalled by the deposition of overturned small cups containing vetch. The sanctuary was defunctionalized after the mid-4th century BCE, when one of the *escharai* was covered by a layer including a large quantity of cooking ware, a small stove, fragments of a mortar and bovine bones. This latter finds were probably the remains of the last common meal performed at the moment of the abandonment of the area (Cipriani 1989; Cipriani – Ardovino 1989–1990, 339–51; Cipriani 1996c, 233–36; Leone 1998, 54–57; Cipriani 2012, 158–63; Ferrara 2012, 252).

or the assimilation of Demeter to such deity. In addition, the coincidence of the most important phases of the sanctuary with the establishment, in the mid-5th century BCE of an indigenous burial place on the nearby hill of Tempalta, casts doubts over the assignation of the sanctuary to a Greek audience.[408]

The increase in chthonic features in Paestan cults is illustrated by the topography and the architecture of the places themselves. In the urban Southern Sanctuary, the chthonic valence of the cult performed in the buildings in the north-western section of the area is evident in the manner of the deposition of the finds from those spaces, and the iconography of the finds themselves. The switch to a more chthonic focus in the cults, including concerning the agrarian aspect and the cycles of fertility of the earth, seems a general pattern throughout the whole Southern Sanctuary area. The development and the spread of such types of coroplastics as the "*Donna-Fiore*" and busts of deities, which are all related to chthonic aspects, also point towards this direction. The increasing importance of common meals and burning incense and offerings attested to by the archaeological evidence likewise points towards this possibility. At Foce del Sele, the chthonic and agrarian valence of the cult performed at the sanctuary during the Lucanian period is testified to by the organisational and topographical arrangements made by the Lucanians to express this form of cult. This is illustrated particularly well by the construction of the two *bothroi* with the small altars, and the connected forms of deposition of the finds, which all refer to the chthonic and agrarian spheres. The votive finds from Foce del Sele also seem to conform with those retrieved in the urban sanctuary, so that the end of the diversification of functions between the two sanctuaries, and the poliadic and extramural cults of Hera, evidently took place during the Lucanian period. The finds from Fonte di Roccadaspide follow the same pattern of the two sanctuaries of Hera. This fact, together with the comparison of the same patterns in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, prompts me to suggest that, in general, all of the cults and sanctuaries of the former territories of Poseidonia were affected by the increase in the chthonic and agrarian aspects driven from within Lucanian religion and culture.

The arrival and spread of these features in the cult raise other questions in turn. For instance, is the changing figure of Hera the only recipient of votive gifts in her sanctuaries, and were the cultic structures built to meet the needs of the new ritual ceremonies of the cult of Hera alone? Or are these features indicative of the arrival of deities from Lucanian inland in the sanctuaries of Hera? In consequence of the lack of epigraphic evidence, the latter is only a

[408] Avagliano 1987, 29–30, note 31; Cipriani 2002, 381–82; Cipriani 2012, 159.

hypothesis. Such a pattern would not be implausible for the urban Southern Sanctuary, where the cult of Hera had been complemented by other cults already during the Greek period. But what about Foce del Sele, where Hera seems to have been the sole deity worshipped there since the Greek period? Was she joined by another goddess, or were her attributes changed to tilt towards the agrarian and chthonic aspects following a process of assimilation with another Lucanian goddess who shared the same religious features? Both hypotheses seem plausible to me and could be complementary. When I think about the possible examples within Lucanian religion of a character who would have functioned as a sort of bridge in the Lucanian mind for the assimilation of Hera of Poseidonia and her cult, my thoughts run to Mefitis. I am aware that an association with Mefitis could be affected by the fact that the goddess is the only Lucanian deity of which we possess an ever-increasing amount of information. It is true that there is no indication of sanctuaries of Mefitis *intra muros*, a fact that would create problems in postulating the association of the goddess with the Hera of the Southern Sanctuary, or her actual arrival in an urban shrine. This latter could be explained by the lack of information concerning the presence of Lucanian sanctuaries within the city walls, as demonstrated by the excavations of the sanctuary area of Civita di Tricarico, located within the city perimeter. The enthroned goddess portrayed by the Paestan Hera type would befit the figure of Mefitis. The regal Mefitis of Rossano di Vaglio, the *Domina Jovia* of the inscriptions of that sanctuary, could be associated with Paestan Hera. In view of these considerations, I am tempted to suggest, as a hypothesis, that an assimilation occurred between the figures of Mefitis and Hera in the Lucanian controlled territories of Poseidonia, and that this was an important factor in the assimilation of Mefitis with Juno in Lower Latium. This phenomenon must have followed the same pattern of the assimilation of Mefitis with Venus in Rome. In this latter case the figure of Mefitis already possessed some of the traits of Aphrodite, who had been associated with Mefitis in the Oscan lands. After the events of the Third Samnite War, the cult of Venus, filtered through that of Mefitis, was introduced to Rome. I believe that a similar pattern could have occurred between Juno and Mefitis for the Lower Latium, and that the fulcrum of the beginning of this process could have been Poseidonia. This consideration could be based on the following points.

Firstly, the Lucanians and their forefathers, the Oenotrians or Etruscanised Campanians, had been in contact with the prestigious cult of Hera for about two centuries before they took control of the city. The goddess resembled, especially in such sanctuaries as Foce del Sele and Fonte di Roccadaspide, some of their goddesses in their role as the Great Mother, and perhaps, in this aspect, most of

all their main goddess Mefitis, who they shared with the other Oscan people. By the time of the Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia this process had already been under way for a while, which eventually permitted the assimilation of Hera with Mefitis.

This form of the cult of the goddess, with elements originating from the figure of the Achaean Hera of Poseidonia, spread throughout many of the Oscan lands. Poseidonia was a centre that could have had such a level of influence in both economy and religion in this area of the Southern Italian peninsula to create the premises for such a process. One proof of this is the spread of votive material used for the cult of Hera throughout all of the territories of interest for this study, including the sanctuary of Mefitis in Valle d'Ansanto in the territory of the Hirpini, and Fratte di Salerno, the gateway between the other Oscan territories of Pompeii and Nuceria. It was only a matter of time before the cult Mefitis, assimilated to Hera during this process, would have reached the lands of Lower Latium, where the goddess would be assimilated with Juno. The Romans introduced the cult of Mefitis in Rome after the Samnite Wars, and they did not fail to notice the similarities between the figures of the Juno of Lower Latium and the Oscan goddess, and so placed her shrine on the Esquiline Hill next to that of Juno *Lucina*. In due time, the figure of Mefitis would be completely absorbed by those of Venus and Juno, so to be relegated to the status of a minor deity. A demonstration of this is the above-mentioned assimilation of Mefitis with Venus that occurred at Rossano di Vaglio, after Roman Venus had been in turn influenced by Mefitis in the Oscan lands. This suggestion illustrates once more the vitality of the cultural and religious interactions that occurred between the different peoples in this area of modern Campania and Latium.

3.4 The Clay Figurines from the Sanctuaries of Hera in the Lucanian Period: The Types

As discussed above, the transition from the Archaic to the Classical period was symbolised in the Poseidoniate coroplastic industry by the gradual abandonment of the plank-like forms of Archaic figurines in favour of forms and a more detailed rendering most probably inspired by Late Archaic Poseidoniate religious architecture. Despite this, features such as the frontality and hieratical posture of the portrayed figures continued to be employed, even if the representation of bodies and drapery was affected by the new stylistic trends developed during the final years of the Archaic period, and throughout the Classical and Hellenistic

periods as well. The retention of certain Archaic features in Poseidoniate figurines was done, perhaps, in order to grant the coroplastic votives a sacred aura and more traditional guise that would bestow on the figurines an ancient and therefore more venerable appearance.

Concerning the actual production of the figurines, perhaps one of the most significant features was that while the Poseidoniate coroplastic industry in the Archaic period had relied on imports or moulds made in Corinth, Athens, Ionia, and Magna Graecia and Sicily as well, beginning from the Late Archaic period onwards, and for all of the Lucanian period, the vast majority of coroplastic material from the sanctuaries of the territory of Poseidonia were locally made figurines of different types. Therefore, this is a sign that local workshops had developed techniques and motifs that permitted them to operate independently from imports, and which raised them to a level of predominance in the coroplastic market of the area. Poseidoniate production, and moulds created in Poseidoniate workshops, reached a wide territory of Southern Italy, from modern Mondragone north of Capua to the Lucanian site of Rivello on the Tyrrhenian Sea, to the inland areas of Lucania, including Roccagloriosa and the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, and from Tarentum through Metapontum down to Caulonia on the Ionian side of Southern Italy. After the Lucanian takeover of the city, both the technical skills of the coroplasts and the extent of Paestan coroplastic trade increased as compared to the Greek period. As discussed above, the majority of scholars favour the hypothesis that the ethnical background of the coroplastic artisans was Greek during the Lucanian period as well. One of the strong arguments in favour of this theory is the use of the Greek alphabet to mark several of the discovered moulds used to produce the figurines. This appears to be a sort of "signature" by the artisans and may betray their Greek ethnic background. It is probable that, at least in the first years of the Lucanian rule of the city, the bulk of craftsmen and artisans were of Greek ethnicity, and that they retained their prestige in the field. With the use of moulds, though, coroplastic crafts were passed onto other communities as well, as is attested by the local production of figurines employing Poseidoniate moulds at other sites in Southern Italy located within the range of cultural influence of Poseidonia/Paistom.

Beginning in the Late Archaic period, the goddesses of the Greek and Italiote moulds gave way to figures still representing the hieratic posture of the deity, but with a more natural visual rendering borrowed from local sculpture. Within a few decades from the development of the Late Archaic types, Poseidoniate artisans began to develop their moulds and to refine their skills. Concerning the technical aspects, the workshops overcame the wearing out of the moulds, which caused

the gradual reduction of the size of the figurines, by accordingly modifying their iconography. The refinement of their skills in producing moulds, favoured, in turn, the mass production of coroplastic figurines. This process reached its apex during the Lucanian period.

Despite the general standardisation of the hieratic and archaicizing appearance of the figures, on some occasions the Paestan coroplastic artisans were able to change some of the attributes of the figurines, in order to meet the needs and tastes of their clients. This is the case, for instance, with the figurines of the enthroned goddess holding the piglet found at Fratte di Salerno. As will be discussed later, this type exploited the iconography of the Paestan Hera type by substituting the basket of fruit with a piglet, in order to serve the needs of a local cult of a deity with a marked chthonic character.[409] Concerning the sanctuaries of Lucanian Paistom, the same process of reshaping the Paestan Hera type in order to create a type more functional for another cult, or for another aspect of the cult, can be evinced with the creation of one type of *kourotrophos* in which the attributes of the Paestan Hera type - the patera and the basket of fruit - were replaced by a child held by the divine mother figure (Pl. VIII, No. 28). Furthermore, the skills acquired by Paestan coroplasts during the Lucanian period are demonstrated by the significant number of variations in the local production of Tanagra figurines, the overwhelmingly most popular type produced in Paistom between the ending decades of the 4th century BCE and the first half of the 3rd century BCE, which were created by combining different modules in order to represent the female figures with a vast amount of options for hairdressings, jewels, and facial features (Pls. XI–XII, Nos. 39–45).

The dating of the figurines from Paestan sanctuaries during the Lucanian period is made complex by several factors, some of which have been discussed above when the problems connected with the dating of the coroplastic finds of the Greek period were analysed.[410] In addition to these factors, particularly concerning the Lucanian period, the nature of the votive deposits relates directly to the difficulties in dating the artefacts. As has been discussed above, the sanctuaries and the civil areas of Paistom underwent extensive programs of reorganisation, which included the construction of new buildings and spaces. The Lucanians were thus faced with the issue of defunctionalizing structures and votive gifts of different sacred areas. To show respect for the cults of the previous centuries, they deposited the votive gifts in pits with stone frames, or only in the

[409] Below 170 and note 422.

[410] Above 53 and notes 103–04.

plain earth, following rituals of piety. They did so not only for the votive gifts of the Greek period, but for those of the Lucanian period as well. This same pattern of deposition occurred after the foundation of the Roman colony as well. As discussed above, at Foce del Sele the Lucanians employed the same ritual, and in addition created the use of "*piani induriti*" to overcome the problems posed to the structures by the water of the river Sele.

At Fonte di Roccadaspide, the whole site consists of two large votive deposits, the material of which was ritually shattered and then laid in the gorges located among the springs of the area. The two different deposits contained material that ranged chronologically from the foundation of the Achaean colony of Poseidonia to the first years of the Roman Empire. Since no structure was found at the site, it is impossible to affirm with certainty whether the material had been laid in the ground after the defunctionalisation of some religious structure in the vicinity, or whether their shattering was the consequence of some repeated ritual held over the centuries, or whether they were laid in the ground during two large, individual ritual deposits. Therefore, there is the possibility that the vast majority of the material was the result of secondary deposition. The date of the coroplastic figurines from Fonte, among other votives, has been attempted only in terms of comparison with material from other sites and on stylistic grounds, and therefore it suffers from the same problems in terms of the reliability of the dating as the finds of Paestan votive gifts from other sanctuaries. Most of the votive gifts found in the urban sanctuaries of Poseidonia/Paestum and of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and all of those found at Fonte di Roccadaspide were retrieved from votive pits. Therefore, most of the material found in such contexts is the result of secondary deposition, often mixed with material from different periods, and with a dubious relationship to associated structures, and therefore any cultic aspects.

The predominance of material from votive pits is closely entangled with another factor that reduces the precision in dating and attribution of the material. With the beginning of mass production, in fact, several types, the most notable example of which is the Paestan Hera type, were in production for a rather long period of time, although somewhat retaining their original iconography. This factor is an obstacle in determining the date of the specimens, as there are fewer stylistic changes to mark the relative passage of time. The most notable changes that can aid in dating these types are the modifications made to the moulds by the coroplasts in order to overcome production wear and tear. This factor created different mould series with several modifications to the originals, and which could present a chronological indication of the date of the figurines, at least on a relative basis.

The other possibility for the dating of the figurines is the analysis of the material found in verifiably closed contexts, such as burials. The Lucanian tombs of Poseidonia/Paistom, and also those of the Etruscanised Campanian communities inhabiting the opposite banks of the Sele River, have yielded several figurines of Paestan production. Chronologically, these are more reliable finds than those from the votive pits of Paestan sanctuaries, although the material retrieved is far fewer in number and does not provide such a wide spectrum of types or variants. In this respect, in my opinion, the finds from the Lucanian inland could offer a valuable aid as well, if a thorough analysis of the material from these sites and their chronological contexts could be compared with the coeval situations of the sanctuaries of Paistom.

As was the case in the previous sub-chapter, this section of the work does not have the ambition of constituting a thorough analysis of the different types of coroplastic figurines retrieved from the Paestan sanctuaries of Hera during the Lucanian period, as these have been extensively treated by previous scholars in more detail, and during my research period in Paestum I have not noticed any types of coroplastic figurines other than those already catalogued. Nor, due to the enormous amount of material stored in the Museum, will single pieces be discussed at length. A quantitative analysis of the individual types also does not fully fall within the scope of this work. I will therefore attempt to analyse the individual types of coroplastic figurines in order to discuss the possible meaning behind the use of certain types. In particular, concerning the Lucanian period, I will aim at identifying those changes in the iconography or the incidence of certain types that could have been the result of Lucanian influence, or of the mixing of Greek and Lucanian cultural and religious features. Furthermore, I will attempt to identify, through the analysis of changes in iconography, the possible changes that occurred in the cult of Hera. I will furthermore try to track, where possible, the diffusion of the types, not only in the sanctuaries in Paestan territory, but in Campania and the Lucanian inland as well, in order to identify the geographical range of the spread of Paestan coroplastic production, the cultural, economic, and religious ties between Paistom and other communities, and the possible reasons behind the acceptance of certain types among the non-Greek communities. I am aware of the difficulties inherent in such an analysis, not least in consequence of the issues discussed above concerning the deposition, excavations, documentation, and storage of the finds. In addition, the risk of attaching epithets and significance to the specimens that would not actually have been employed by the cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paistom, or by the cults of inland Lucania, is always present. Nevertheless, I believe that much

information can be gained by analysing the material. This could enlighten the changes and the continuities in the cult during the Lucanian period, with the aid of iconographic and contextual information derived from the material. In this respect, the comparative study of the presence of the same material in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland and in the Oscan/Campanian sites can be indicative of the changes that occurred in the cult, by analysing which of the iconographic features were closer to non-Greek tastes and beliefs. I will therefore resort more to concepts, motifs, and contexts, rather than interpreting the finds under the light of the epithets somewhat artificially attached to different types. The sheer amount of the coroplastic material discovered in the area is indicative of certain trends and changes over time. In addition, I will aim at presenting a different interpretation of the iconographies, which takes into consideration the situation in the Lucanian inland sanctuaries and the possible impact of Lucanian culture and religion on the coroplastic production of Lucanian Paistom.

Concerning iconography, the transition between the Archaic and the Classical period was marked, a couple of decades before the mid-5th century BCE, by the introduction of the figure of the enthroned Hera holding a pomegranate, represented by the large specimen found in the urban Southern Sanctuary. This type generated a Poseidoniate variant that portrayed the goddess enthroned holding a lotus flower. This was perhaps the first attempt by Poseidoniate coroplasts to produce independent creations from locally crafted moulds. The beginning of the Lucanian period in Paestan coroplastics was perhaps coeval with the decline of the occurrence of figurines of the enthroned goddess with a pomegranate. One of the last specimens of this latter type was the small module statue of Hera in Parian marble retrieved from perhaps the most distinguishable building of Lucanian origin in the sanctuaries of Poseidonia/Paistom, the Square Building of Foce del Sele. Paradoxically, this statue, while it may have canonised the figure of Hera with a pomegranate as the cultic image of the goddess at Foce del Sele, concurrently marked the decline of this iconography in sanctuary contexts, in favour of types that will be discussed in the following subchapters.

3.4.1 The Enthroned Goddess with Pomegranate in the Lucanian Period

The influence of the Polycletan statue of Hera with a pomegranate from the sanctuary of Argos has been suggested as the inspiration for the Poseidoniate iconography. However, the date of the clay statue of the goddess from the Southern Sanctuary (Pl. III, No. 12) demonstrates how this anticipated the statue from Argos by a few decades. Instead, the model that inspired the Poseidoniate version

likely originated in a Siceliote workshop few decades earlier. The deity portrayed in the Siceliote clay statue that influenced the Poseidoniate iconography had originally been Demeter. The connection with Argos relied more on the common mythical and religious background of the figure of Hera, rather than specifically with this statue. Perhaps the most important features of the statue of the Southern Sanctuary, besides the pomegranate, are its generic nature and the hieratic stance of the figure of the goddess. In addition, because the pomegranate is a fruit sacred to other goddesses, such as Kore, Hera, and Aphrodite, such imagery could have befitted any of these deities, according to the context of dedication. Therefore, the type entered the Poseidoniate market and could represent Hera in the Southern Sanctuary, but also any other of the above-mentioned goddesses elsewhere. The goddess with the pomegranate inspired the production of the type of the goddess with the lotus flower (Pl. IV, Nos. 13–15), which was the first produced using Poseidoniate moulds. These features were then enriched by the examples that the Poseidoniate coroplasts drew on from local religious arts, concerning the rendering of the human body and the representation of the drapery. The imagery of the goddess enthroned and holding a pomegranate continued to be in use at the beginning of the Lucanian period.

The most famous specimen of the period is not a coroplastic figurine, but the marble statue of the goddess recovered from the Square Building at Foce del Sele (below 165, Fig. 15). It has been suggested that the statue, a small module production of Parian marble, is the only cult statue retrieved from the territory of Poseidonia/Paistom. The statue has been dated to the mid-4th century BCE and differs from others in the detail that the pomegranate is in the left hand of the goddess, while the patera is in her right hand, with a switch in the position of the attributes.

The dedication of the statue occurred in a period which, rather than establishing the continuity of the iconography of the goddess with the pomegranate, instead marked its decline in sanctuary contexts. During the 4th century BCE, in fact, one of the sub-types of Paestan Hera type portrayed the goddess enthroned and holding a *phiale* in her right hand, while in the left she holds a pomegranate, instead of the basket of fruit in the main type. The importance of the production of this sub-type lays in the fact that its specimens have only been discovered in funerary contexts.[411] The creation of this sub-type seems to me a signal of the understanding and the expression of different aspects of attributes by Paestan coroplasts. The relegation of the imagery of the goddess with a pomegranate to the

[411] Pontrandolfo 1977, n. 41; Greco G. 1998, 61; Greco G. 2012, 240.

funerary sphere occurred during the crucial period of transition between Greek and Lucanian rule in Poseidonia/Paistom. This period was marked in the coroplastic industry by the predominance of the Paestan Hera type with a basket of fruit, which can be considered as the first large-scale product of a transitioning society and its cults.

Fig. 15: Cult statue of Hera holding the pomegranate and the patera in Parian marble from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.

3.4.2 The Paestan Hera Type ("*La Pestana*")

Sometimes after the mid-5th century BCE, perhaps concurrently with the arrival of the first Italic groups in Poseidonia, a new type of figurine entered production that was destined to become the most overwhelmingly represented coroplastic votive figurine type between the end of the 5th century BCE and most of the 4th century BCE. The new type took inspiration from the type of Hera with a pomegranate in its frontality and hieratic look. The Archaic models employed by the coroplasts were productions similar to the clay statue found in the urban Southern Sanctuary, or religious sculptural models, possibly even local, representing an actual cult statue.[412] The most obvious difference with the previous iconography is the presence of a basket of fruit in the left hand, instead of in the right (Pls. V–VII, Nos. 16–27). In the right hand the goddess holds a patera, an item present in the iconography of the goddess with a pomegranate and in other previous types as

[412] Concerning the influence of cult statues on clay figurines, see Alroth 1989, 15–64; Ammerman 2002, 105 and note 13.

well.[413] The deity sits on a throne, the back of which is formed by crossed planks. In addition, the feet of the goddess are supported by a low footrest and she wears the *polos* as further references to her divine nature. Due to the development of mass scale production as well, the type became pervasive in the Paestan territory and was exported to several sanctuaries of the Lucanian inland as well. The figurine became so iconic of Paestan coroplastic production that the scholars engaged in Paestan research refer to it as "*l'Hera pestana*" or only as "*La Pestana*", a term that I also employ for reasons of convenience, along with the English term of the Paestan Hera type, although I am aware of the fact that according to the context the deity represented in the figurines could acquire a different identity.[414]

Despite the iconographic references to visual archaism, the figurines of the Paestan Hera type present motifs and renderings typical of the Greek Classical period concerning the representation of human forms and aspects of the drapery. The clothes worn by the goddess are conventional and common to the clothing of the Archaic period. She wears a chiton that has a draped fold and a *kolpos* that folds under her knees. Nevertheless, the rendering of the human form, which is more harmoniously delineated underneath the drapery, already speaks the visual language of the first decades of the Greek Classical period. In addition to revealing more naturally the form of the human body, the drapery itself presents a few details that reveal that the type was developed during the Classical period. In particular, the drapery that descends from between the knees breaks the pattern of the otherwise straight and continuous part of the dress, which was inherited from the Archaic period. Finally, the facial features of the goddess reveal the transition between the almost Daedalic look of the figurines of the Archaic period to a more naturalistic Classical look. The goddess wears disk earrings and a mantle that falls over her shoulders from the back of the head. Her curly hair is represented as falling over her forehead, while two tresses of curls fall on each one side of

[413] It has been suggested (for example Cipriani 1989, 126–27) that the fruit in the basket are indeed pomegranates. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the fruit are extremely generic in appearance and could be many different types. The fact that a new sub-type of the Paestan Hera type portraying the goddess with a pomegranate had to be produced for funerary purposes prompts me to infer that this was done in order to create a more specific image with the pomegranate, and that the basket of fruit was too generic and, therefore, did not likely contain only pomegranates.

[414] The nickname was coined by Sestieri, who sought to identify the dominant figure of Hera in Poseidoniate sanctuaries (for example Sestieri 1953, 129, no. 1709; Sestieri 1955b, 38; Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 44; Ammerman 2002, 103 and note 4). Although modern scholarship has demonstrated that the figurines of this type could be dedicated to other goddesses than Hera because of the generic nature of their iconography, the nickname remained.

her neck. The chubbiness of the lips and the ovality of the eyes, albeit still partly present, gives way to a more realistic representation.

The presence of stylistic features from both periods has contributed to making the dating of the figurines belonging to this type more difficult. Moreover, as was discussed above, the conservatism of the coroplasts and possibly the preference of the worshippers for the more ancient imagery resulted in the type being in use for a long period, until the end of the 4th century BCE, thus hindering the precise dating of the specimens according to different contexts. Only a few of the figurines in the area have been retrieved from a closed context, such as burials.[415] In this respect, it may be that the technical improvements achieved by Paestan coroplasts over time could aid in the dating of the material. Because of their prolonged and extensive use over the decades, the moulds gradually became smaller as residue accumulated inside, a factor that would have caused, over a long period of time, the production of figurines ever smaller and smaller in size.[416] Therefore, the coroplasts of Paistom had to come up with methods of keeping up the production while still using somewhat the same iconography.[417]

Regarding iconography, the figure of the goddess portrayed is rather generic. The cult of Hera was central to the Poseidoniate *polis,* as it was for all of the

[415] Noteworthy are the three specimens of the Paestan Hera type figurines found in a tomb in the Andriuolo necropolis, located ca. 1,5 km north of the urban area of Paestum. The tomb was dated to the second decade of the 4th century BCE (Pontrandolfo 1977, 41, 47, fig. 8.3; Pontrandolfo 1979, 33–34, fig. 4; Ammerman 2002, 105 and note 11). Two other figurines have been found in the tomb of a girl dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BCE (Cipriani 1990, 134).

[416] See on this respect the dated but still valuable insights in Jastrow 1941, 2–5; Nicholls 1952, 220, n. 23.

[417] In her work on the coroplastic material from the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, in the section treating the Paestan Hera type figurines discovered at the sanctuary, Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 105) noted that the coroplasts essentially employed two methods of modification. The first was to add a step to the footrest, thus raising the now smaller figure of the enthroned goddess and allowing the height of the figurine as a whole to remain the same as the original series. This thus created a second mould series of the Paestan Hera type. This method was also employed in many examples of a third mould series, where the size of the footrest was further enlarged. The second method was less common than the first. It was developed for some of the figurines of the third generation. This version produced a figurine in which the legs of the goddess from the first generation were combined with a torso of the version of the third generation. This meant that the legs of the goddess were still their original size, and that the resulting figurine was thus higher than those of the previous generations, but the figure of the goddess had odd proportions, with longer legs compared to the size of the upper body. This latter method may have been a last attempt to counteract the wearing out of the moulds, and thus this second version of the third-generation moulds is later than the other methods employed for the third-generation figurines.

Achaean cities of Magna Graecia and continued to be so in the Lucanian period as well. Figurines of this type have been found in all of the sanctuaries of the territory of the city attributed to the goddess. In addition, specimens of this type have been discovered in several other sanctuaries not attributed to Hera, such as the sanctuary of Albanella attributed to Demeter or some other chthonic deity, the Sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite, the urban Northern Sanctuary dedicated to Athena, and the votive deposit of Porta Giustizia, but also from civil and funerary contexts.[418] In addition, several specimens are scattered in several Museums of the world.[419] It thus becomes evident that, contrary to the belief of the excavators of Foce del Sele and particularly of Sestieri concerning the urban area, these figurines were not an exclusive representation of Hera. Indeed, their iconography could befit other goddesses such as Demeter, Kore, Athena, and Aphrodite, or some other deity with some of the same attributes as these. In this respect, I believe that is important to remember that, as discussed above, the iconography of the enthroned goddess with a pomegranate from which the Paestan Hera type took its inspiration was designed as an image of Demeter or Persephone in the Siceliote workshops that originally produced it. In addition, in this original model there was already an inherent genericity that allowed the figurines to function as representations of different deities. It is probable that

[418] The first specimens of Paestan Hera type figurines published were those found in the votive deposits at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. The first excavations have yielded more than two hundred specimens. More have been found during modern campaigns. (Zanotti Bianco 1937, 219, 222, fig. 7; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 14, pl. 5; Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 44–5, fig. 30; Orlandini 1990, 187, 231, pl. 61; Zevi 1990, 191; Greco G. 1992b, 257, pl. 53.2; Cipriani – Longo 1996; 135; 275–76, n. 140; 172.2–72.5; 262–63; Greco G. 1998, 61, pl. 15.3–15.4). Concerning the specimens from the urban Southern Sanctuary, see Sestieri 1953, 1029, n. 1709; Sestieri 1955a, 154–55, fig. 11; Sestieri 1955b, 38; Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 44–46, fig. 31; Cipriani– Longo 1996, 217–18, n. 138, 141; Cipriani 1997, 220–21, fig. 11. Cipriani 2012, 81, tab. XV, a-b. The specimens from Porta Giustizia have been put on display in the Museum of Paestum, but they are still unpublished. The excavation of the deposit lacked proper documentation; thus, the specimens cannot be contextualised. The situation is thus similar to the material from the urban Northern Sanctuary. A recent work conducted by Marina Cipriani (Cipriani – Avagliano, 2005; Cipriani, 2008, 128–31) has led to the identification of 15 specimens of Paestan Hera type figurines dated to the period after the mid-5th century BCE and 236 pieces from the 4th century BCE. In addition, Voza 1964, 366 (Fonte di Roccadaspide). Cipriani 1989, 126–27; 136, pls. H223–H224, 29.I4 (Sanctuary of Albanella). Cipriani 1983, 126, fig. 78.202; Rouveret 1983, 151, fig. 84.375; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1987, 154–55, fig. 107.489 (civil buildings or civil areas of the city, *ekklesiasterion* and the agora). Pontrandolfo 1977, 41, 47, fig. 8.3; Pontrandolfo 1979, 33–34, fig. 4 (funerary contexts, tomb 22 in the Andriuolo necropolis).

[419] Ammerman 2002, 103, note 3.

the imagery of the goddess with a pomegranate was originally borrowed by Poseidoniate coroplasts to portray Hera, since the imagery of the goddess at Poseidonia presented this iconography, as testified by the cult statute of Foce del Sele. Consequentially, it is possible that the Paestan Hera type was conceived as a modification of the figure of Hera with a pomegranate, but was not, as was the case with their model, exclusively a representation of this goddess.

Figurines of "*La Pestana*" reached the territories of the Oscans, Etruscan-Campanians, and Lucanians that lay in the sphere of cultural influence of Poseidonia first, and Lucanian Paistom later.[420] Concerning the overall number of figurines of this type recovered from Lucanian sanctuaries, this is not impressive, but it is still noteworthy in comparison to the overall number of votive gifts from Lucanian sanctuaries, which is, with the exception of Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio, not comparable to the rich votive deposits of Paestan sanctuaries. The presence of these figurines in the Lucanian heartland demonstrates that they could be used as votive gifts in sanctuaries dedicated to local deities that shared the same characteristics as the Greek goddesses who could be identified with the divine figure portrayed on the figurines, such as Hera, Demeter, or Aphrodite. As with the figure portrayed by the figurines, these goddesses possessed the characteristics of the divine mother and protectress of fertility, with a chthonic valence, in the sense of its relation to the earth and its cycles, as represented by the attributes of the patera and the basket of fruit. These aspects were central to Lucanian religion as well, so that most of its gods and goddesses had these characteristics as their central features. The clearest example of this is the figure of Mefitis, who

[420] Examples of the figurines have been found in the territories of the Etruscanised Campanians on the other side of the Sele River from the burial contexts at Pontecagnano and Eboli (Ammerman 2002, 103, note 2 with bibliography for some of the figurines) and from Eboli (Levi 1926, 98, fig. 81, n. 419 = Zancani Montuoro 1931, 171, pl. 3.2). Other specimens were found in the Alburni Mountains and the Upper Sele River Valley from Postiglione (Cipriani 1994, 13–14, pl. 3.3) and Serradarce (Sestieri 1955a, 155, note 28; Sestieri 1955b, 41, note 4). From the Oscan-Campanian sites, some examples come from Cumae (Scatozza Höricht 1987, 53, pl. 7.CIX.a1), Capua (Della Torre – Ciaghi 1980, 13–14, pl. 3.1), and Mondragone (Rainini 1976, 401). Of note is the example from the sanctuary of Mefitis in Valle d'Ansanto, in the territory of the Samnite Hirpini (Rainini 1976, 400–03, fig. 14.45). From the Lucanian inlands come specimens from Rivello (Greco G. 1982, 46, pl. 21.4; Bottini 1998, 122, fig. 9–10; Galioto 2012, 145–146), Roccagloriosa (Fracchia – Gualtieri 1989, 226–29, figs. 7-8; Cipriani 1990b, 109–19, figs. 115–16; Fracchia 1990, 215–17, pl. 84.1–84.2; Gualtieri 1990, 74–75, figs. 51–54; Fracchia – Gualtieri 1993, 116–20, figs. 75, 78), Ruoti (Fabbriccotti 1979, 368, 370, 403–04, figs. 24-26.198–200, 57.S132), San Chirico Nuovo (Tagliente 2005, 118, fig. 4), and Torre di Satriano (Greco E. – Capano 1988, 50, pl. 12; Battiloro 2001, 47, 49–50; Battiloro 2005, 147–53).

possessed many of the same traits as Hera, but also as the other Greek goddesses who shared some of the same characteristics and could therefore be represented by the enthroned goddess of the Paestan Hera type. We know that she was at Valle d'Ansanto, while at Rossano di Vaglio, the only major Lucanian sanctuary known to have been dedicated with certainty to the goddess, one figurine among the votive gifts belongs to the *kourotrophos*, a sub-type of "*La Pestana*" (Pl. VIII, No. 28). In addition, it is possible that some of the other sanctuaries in Lucania that are still not attributable to any specific deity actually belonged to Mefitis. Such could perhaps be the case with the shrine of Torre di Satriano, where incidentally, but perhaps not casually, the material was in a great part of Paestan production, and of which the Paestan Hera type figurines constitute the majority of the coroplastic material.

The issue of the spread of "*La Pestana*" into the Lucanian inland prompts me to ask a question of significant importance for this work: Is there anything Lucanian in the development, iconography, and success of the Paestan Hera type figurines? I believe that the substitution of the pomegranate with a generic basket of fruit in "*La Pestana*", as opposed to the previous, canonical figure of the goddess, was not only a stylistic decision, but reflected the deeper changes occurring within Poseidoniate religious life at the time. The above-mentioned relegation of the imagery of the goddess with a pomegranate to the status of burial votive in favour of "*La Pestana*" cannot be, in my opinion, a coincidence. Following a suggestion by Giovanna Greco (1998, 61), I argue that the pomegranate, which had in the Greek period the ambivalent meaning of the fruit of life/death, became more attached to the world of the dead in the Lucanian period. In this respect, it is significant that the fruit is widely represented in the imagery of the Lucanian painted tombs.[421] The basket of fruit, with its generic nature, thus became the symbol of fertility, of the cycles of life and of the agrarian world, of which the enthroned goddess was the divine mother. Nevertheless, the basket of fruit also had a chthonic value, in the sense of the fertility of earth. The basket may have been intended to signify this feature of the chthonic aspects, one more related to themes of life and fertility of the earth rather than to the world of the dead symbolised by the version of the goddess holding a pomegranate. The fact that the new type was developed concurrently with, or in the first decades after, the arrival of the first Lucanians to Poseidonia makes me think that the Poseidoniate coroplasts responded to the impulses and the tastes of the Lucanians. The fact that the type remained popular for the

[421] Particularly Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1992, 35.

entirety of the Lucanian period is a demonstration that its iconography was familiar and accepted by the Lucanians.

That the Poseidoniate coroplasts were able and eager to respond to the needs of their customers becomes evident when one analyses the evidence from Fratte di Salerno. There, during the 4th century BCE, modified Paestan moulds of the Paestan Hera type had been imported in order to begin the production of the figurines with local clay. The sub-type showed the enthroned goddess wearing the *polos*. The goddess, resting her feet on the usual footrest, holds a piglet by its posterior feet with her right arm. The basket of fruit is still present in the left hand of the goddess, while the patera is not in her right hand, but resting on her lap.[422] The sub-type is totally absent from Paestan sanctuaries. Likewise, the original "*La Pestana*" is missing from Fratte. The presence of the piglet in the iconography of the figurine suggests that the coroplasts had modified the moulds of the Paestan Hera type in order for the new product to function as votive gift for a cult of Demeter or Kore, or of a deity with similar chthonic traits but of Italic origin, at Fratte. The ever-increasing Lucanian population of Poseidonia/Paistom probably caused the same adjustments to Italic features by the artists. Perhaps the shift from the goddess with a pomegranate to that with a basket of fruit in sanctuary contexts, in what appears to be an apparently minor iconographic change of details, instead reflects a gradual shift in the ethnic composition of the population of the city. The Paestan Hera type, in this view, could be interpreted as an agrarian, chthonic, and ultimately Lucanian interpretation of the iconography of the Hera of Poseidonia. This could also explain the spread of the type in the Lucanian inland as a representation of local deities.

[422] Twelve specimens from three different mould series have been found of this sub-type. The number exceeds the number of other types except for that of the standing worshipper with a piglet, which means that it had a higher incidence in relation to the numbers from Fratte. In addition to this sub-type of the Paestan Hera type, two other types of sitting goddesses holding piglets were produced for Fratte. One (5 specimens identified) portrays the goddess enthroned wearing the *polos*. The feet rest on a stool, and she holds a piglet to her chest with both hands. On the left upper part of the throne a cylindrical *cista* rests. This was usually a container used to carry items used in the cults of Demeter and Kore. It is possible, at least on stylistic grounds, that this type was also a modification of "*La Pestana*". Another type (6 specimens identified) portrays the goddess wearing the *polos* and sitting on a throne with her feet resting on a stool. The drapery is more richly rendered than in the other types, but unlike "*La Pestana*" and her derivative, the *kolpos* is missing from the dress of the goddess. She sits with her right leg more backward than the left one. The piglet held with both hands is very large. Based on stylistic grounds, it appears that the moulds for this type, whose figurines were also produced with local clay, were not Paestan (Greco G. 1990, 106–08).

3.4.3 The *Kourotrophoi* of the Lucanian Period

In the 4th century BCE, but possibly already in the last years of the 5th century BCE, a sub-type of the Paestan Hera type began to be produced by Paestan coroplasts. The figurines show the same enthroned goddess wearing the *polos* portrayed in the mould series of "*La Pestana*". She sits on a throne occasionally backed by wings, and her feet rest on a footrest. As opposed to the original version of the Paestan Hera type, this time the goddess does not hold a basket of fruit or a patera, but a child (Pl. VIII, No. 28). The rigid hieratic posture of the frontal "*La Pestana*" is broken, in this version, by the gentle turn of the head of the goddess towards the child held in her left arm. The goddess wears a chiton and a mantle that encircles both her and the child. Her left breast is bare and is offered to the infant. The image confers an aura of maternal love to the figurine and portrays the goddess as a child carer.[423]

The theme of *kourotrophia* had already been present in Poseidoniate coroplastic votive gifts during the Archaic period. The first figurines of these Archaic *kourotrophoi* were produced beginning in the mid-6th century BCE. The phenomenon was nevertheless short-lived since production ended already by the end of the 6th century BCE. Therefore, it seems that in the Greek period at least the expression of *kourotrophia* in coroplastic votives was rather scarce, albeit Hera in the extramural sanctuary and Aphrodite at Santa Venera, for instance, must have had *kourotrophic* traits. Perhaps the veneration of the protection of childbirth by these goddesses was encompassed within the aspect of fertility, which was represented in coroplastic material, broadly speaking, by the figure of the goddess with the horse and with the lotus flower, which were produced much more frequently and are found among the votive gifts from all the major sanctuaries of the area.

Therefore, the theme of *kourotrophia* returned among the votive gifts of Paestan sanctuaries at the beginning of the Lucanian period after a hiatus of almost one century. The number of specimens of the *kourotrophos* of the Lucanian period that developed from the Paestan Hera type are rather few and consist of four specimens from the votive deposit of the "Italic Temple" in the northern section of the Southern Sanctuary and two examples from Santa Venera. Only

[423] The most famous example of this sub-type is the complete specimen inv. no. 4035I recovered from the area of the so-called "*Giardino Romano*", in the votive deposit of the "Italic Temple" (Sestieri 1955a, 153–54, fig. 9; Neutsch 1956, 441–43, fig. 155; Rota 1984, 72, fig. 1; Tocco Sciarelli 1988, 383, pl. 57; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 217–18, n. 142; Cipriani 1997, 219; Ammerman 2002, 128, pl. XXXIV K).

one example is known from the Lucanian inland, significantly coming from the Sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, which in contrast strikingly lacks examples of "*La Pestana*".[424] Despite the low incidence of the sub-type and its limited geographical spread, I believe that it signals an important phase of the introduction of Lucanian stylistic and religious features in the cults of the city.

First, as with the case of the sub-type of the enthroned goddess with a piglet from Fratte, Paestan coroplastic workshops attempted to respond to the needs of their customers, the Lucanians who arrived to Paistom, concerning their religious attention to *kourotrophia*. They did so at first by modifying the Paestan Hera type figurine and creating a sub-type which, despite its apparently limited numbers, surpassed by far the original in grace and harmony of the depiction of human figures and drapery. The gentle twist of the head of the goddess towards the infant is such a vivid example of divine maternal love that it even reminds one of later representations of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus in her arms. Moreover, the sub-type was not the only one that represented *kourotrophoi* among the votive gifts dedicated at sanctuaries during the Lucanian period but must rather be framed between the phenomenon of the wider introduction of the theme of *kourotrophia* in the cults of Paistom during the Lucanian period. The presence of figurines of *kourotrophoi* moulded by Campanian and particularly Capuan casts, and later Paestan production inspired by Campanian models employed at Paestum, demonstrates on one hand the shift of Lucanian Paistom towards the cultural orbit of the Campanian and Lucanian communities, and on the other hand a more marked interest by the worshippers of Paestan sanctuaries that reflected the growing Lucanian community of the city.

Beginning from the end of the 5th century BCE, Paestan coroplastic artisans began producing two new types of *kourotrophoi*, which differed from and were only marginally inspired by "*La Pestana*". Since the women represented in the types do not wear the *polos*, they may represent mortal worshippers. The types were created, as usual with Paestan coroplasts of the Lucanian period, by experimenting with and manipulating the moulds in order to create different versions of the figurines by switching and combining different elements. Thus, heads of the same mould series were used for the two types: one where a woman is standing, and one where the female figure is sitting on a throne. In both types, the child is not held in the arms of the woman but sits on the woman's left shoulder. In both types, the same mantle covers the heads of the woman and the infant,

[424] Cipriani 2012, 98 ("Italic Temple"). Ammerman 2002, 128–32, pl. XXXIV (Santa Venera). Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 51, fig. 49 (Rossano di Vaglio).

in a representation of motherly care. In the enthroned type, the woman holds a patera, while for the right hand there are two variants, one with an oil lamp or a bird and one with a bowl of fruit. Most of the specimens of *kourotrophoi* from the Lucanian period found in Paestum belong to these types, as well as a few examples from Campanian and Lucanian sites.[425] Concerning the dating of the two series, they may come somewhat later than the type of the *kourotrophos* generated from the Paestan Hera type, having entered production between the end of the 5th century BCE and the first two decades of the 4th century BCE, and were produced for most of the 4th century BCE.

However, perhaps one of the most significative examples of the increase in this tendency towards a cultural and religious milieu shared with other Italic centres at Poseidonia/Paistom is testified to by a single figurine found at Santa Venera.[426] It portrays a woman sitting and holding an infant laying on her lap with both hands. The rendering of the human body, the lack of the motherly

[425] Twenty figures from Paestum, divided between the type of the sitting and that of the standing *kourotrophos,* have been found in the urban Southern Sanctuary, 16 from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Santa Venera, 10 from the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, 7 from the urban Northern Sanctuary, and one from the sanctuary at Porta Giustizia (Cipriani 2012, 98 and note 22). In addition, one specimen of the sitting type has been retrieved from a funerary context in the Andriuolo necropolis (Pontrandolfo 1977, 53–56, fig. 29.2). Concerning examples from outside the territory of Poseidonia/Paistom, other examples now located in the Museum of Pontecagnano have been found from funerary contexts (Ammerman 2002, 129 and note 8). Other examples were collected at Roccagloriosa (Cipriani 1990b, 297, fig. 196, n. 513). In addition, specimens are scattered throughout other museums (Ammerman 2002, 129 and note 8, with bibliography). Concerning the type of the standing woman, examples of the variant with the bird or oil lamp were found from outside the territory of the city. Some of these were discovered in Pontecagnano, again from burial contexts (Ammerman 2002, 129 and note 9). Another example was found in Rivello, in inland Lucania (Greco G. 1982a, 46, pl. 21.3). Other specimens are in museum collections, and another example was found in Chieti (Ammerman 2002, 129 and note 9, with bibliography). For the variant with the bowl of fruit, one specimen was discovered at Fratte (Sestieri 1952c, 128–29, fig. 42; Greco G. – Pontrandolfo 1990, 112–13, fig. 203). One more type of a standing woman has been found, although it is represented by only one fragment retrieved from the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, belonging to the same type as a complete specimen preserved in Berlin. The woman holds a child on her left shoulder, under a shared veil. In her right hand, she holds some type of fruit or a bird (Ammerman 2002, 129, pl. XXXV, no. 1830 and M). The mould series seems to be inspired from the above-mentioned example, but it differs from it stylistically and belongs to a different production run.

[426] Ammerman 2002, 128–29, pl. XXXIV, no.1816. She also notes (2002, 129 and note 6) a figurine with clear iconographic Italic influences, but of a different type, found in the votive deposit of Porta Giustizia.

gaze that had characterised the earlier Paestan productions, and the stiff look of the child are typical of the Italic production of *kourotrophoi* of the 4th century BCE.[427] The fashion of the mantle, which covers the head, the shoulders, the upper torso, and the jaw of the woman, is Italic, and matches an example from Fratte.[428] The example from this latter site located on the road connecting Paestum and Campanian sites such as Nuceria, Capua, and Pompeii, suggests in turn a close relationship with the city of Capua. The material from Fratte indicates the importance of the theme of *kourotrophia* for Campanian communities.[429] Likewise, the specimens discovered at the same site evince the close connections with Paistom, a relationship that continued from the Greek period. In this respect, the presence of details such as the basket of fruit in addition to certain types of clothing are also a testimony to the common Italic background of certain iconographic patterns and the presence of certain themes in Paestan cults of the Lucanian period.[430] Particularly well-known is the Capuan production of the

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427 Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 166–69; Bonfante 1986, 195–201; Bonfante 1989, 85–106.

428 Sestieri 1949, 349–51, fig. 21; Sestieri 1952c, 125–26, fig. 36; Greco G. – Pontrandolfo 1990, 112–13. Giovanna Greco (1990, 112) interprets the figurine from Fratte as a Paestan production, since a similar example is stored in the Danish Museum (Breitenstein 1941, 46, pl. 53.428). This is stored under the plain and generic heading of "Paestum", without further reference, and differs from the example from Fratte in that it portrays the infant held in the arms of the mother, while in the figurine from Fratte the suckling child is older and capable of standing, resting his side on the left side of the mother. Despite the possible Paestan origin of the specimen, I still believe that the type was conceived in Campania on stylistic and iconographic grounds.

429 The total number of *kourotrophoi* figurines from Fratte is eight. They belong to five types. Two of them, however, are surely Capuan, and one is a local reinterpretation of a Capuan type (Greco G. 1990, 111–13).

430 One of the female figures of the type with the woman suckling a standing child, wears the same mantle covering the jaw of the woman present in the figurine found at Paestum, of possible Campanian origin discussed above. Giovanna Greco (1990, 112) identifies the mantle as a *tarantinon rakinon*, a typical Tarentine covering. It is possible, therefore, that the production could also have been generated in other Italiote workshops and then spread to the areas of Paestum and the Campanian settlements as a result of the cultural and commercial ties between these communities. These ties are testified to by the dress of the mother in the fifth type, which portrays a standing mother holding a child by her left hand, while his body, quite small in proportion, leans against her shoulder. The mother holds a basket of fruit in her right hand. The dress, a mantle that covers the head of the woman, falls downward and folds so as to form a triangular hem, and is found in the iconographies of female dresses from the end of the 4th century BCE in Paestum, but also in other Italic contexts in Latium (at Ariccia, Carsoli, and Nemi), in Campania (Cales, Capua, and Teano), and in Apulia (Lucera). Greco G. 1990, 113, with notes and bibliography.

so-called "Capuan mothers".[431] By the end of the 4th century BCE, Capuan models began circulating in other Campanian sites as well, such as Cumae, Nola, and Teano.[432] Although the original models had been Greek, the return of the imagery of the *kourotrophos* after a period of disappearance was the result of the reinterpretation of the theme among the Italics.

Despite the unimpressive number of finds of *kourotrophoi* from Paestan sanctuaries, I believe that their appearance and, albeit limited, use in a period dominated by the extensive production and diffusion of the Paestan Hera type signals an increasing interest in the *kourotrophic* aspects of Paestan cults. Therefore, the evidence of *kourotrophic* figurines in the urban sanctuaries and the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, where no attention to *kourotrophia* could be detected from the finds of the Archaic period, indicates the presence of this aspect in the cults of Lucanian Paistom, including those not dedicated to Hera. In view of this, I thus believe that the revival of *kourotrophic* themes during the Lucanian period in Paestum, after a hiatus of approximately a century, was a consequence of the influence of Lucanian religious culture. Together with the increasingly agrarian and land fertility aspects represented by the iconography of the Paestan Hera type, the influence of cults originating in Lucanian and generally Italic religious culture appears to me rather significant. In this respect, I agree with Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 130), who, when discussing the presence of figurines of *kourotrophoi* from the Lucanian period among the finds from the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, albeit pointing out that these do not numerically have a prominent role in any of the Paestan sanctuaries, affirmed: "The period when the kourotrophos figurines were produced corresponds to the time of Lucanian hegemony at Paestum". Then, after pointing out the popularity of the theme of *kourotrophia* in Italic figurines of the 4th century BCE and their presence in sanctuaries in Etruria, Latium, Campania, and Lucania, she continued by affirming that: "Hence, the presence of kourotrophos figurines at Santa Venera and also at other Paestan sanctuaries may express concerns more closely linked to the Lucanian element of the population…The protective, nurturing aspect of the kourotrophos may have been either a characteristic newly attributed by the Lucanians to the female deities already worshiped by the Greek population or a pre-existing trait that perhaps only received visual expression as a response to Lucanian influence".

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[431] First publication of the material in Adriani 1939.

[432] Bonghi Jovino 1978, 52; Della Torre – Ciaghi 1980, 27; Greco G. 1990, 111.

3.4.4 The *Hieros Gamos*, "Hera *Eileithyia*", and Other Types Related to Human Fertility and Childbirth

In addition to the *kourotrophic* figurines, other types of coroplastic votives that portrayed the themes of human fertility and childbirth were dedicated in Paestan sanctuaries during the Lucanian period. One of these portrays the divine couple of Hera and Zeus, in a representation of the *hieros gamos*. The two gods are portrayed frontally, in the hieratic position also known from "*La Pestana*". On the left side sits Zeus, his chest bare, with his beard and curly hair. His left arm is stretched behind the neck of his divine consort, so as to portray a gesture of marital affection (Pl. VIII, Nos. 29–31). In the best-preserved specimens, Zeus holds a patera in his right hand, which rests on his lap. On the right side of the composition sits Hera, whose head is uncovered to indicate the completion of the marriage ceremonies. She wears a chiton that leaves her collarbone and chest exposed immediately above the breasts. In the best-preserved examples, she seems to hold a plate containing some offerings, perhaps some fruit. The heads of the two deities are separated by a floral decoration, possibly a symbol referring to the blooming of flowers that occurred at the moment of the *hieros gamos* according to myth. Stylistically, this production seems to follow models from the decades following the mid-5th century BCE, but the specimens themselves were produced during the 4th century BCE.[433] The presence of this type of figurine at both the urban area and Foce del Sele suggests that this imagery was functional for all these sanctuaries. If, as I suggested above, the figure of Hera gradually lost her poliadic traits during the Lucanian period, then the figurines would have been more concerned with the theme of human fertility and not strictly to marriage as a civic institution.

Another type of figurines produced during the Lucanian period portrayed a naked female figure squatting and leaning forward. The figure holds a large cloak with her left hand, which covers the whole back of her body to form a sort of shield-like effect that leaves exposed the totally naked front part of the body (Pl. IX, No. 32). The naturalistic but still harmonious posture and the accuracy of the rendering of the hair demonstrate that the type is a production of the last decades of the 4th century BCE. Specimens of the type were found at Foce del Sele.

[433] Eleven figurines of this type have been retrieved in the urban sanctuaries: 9 possibly in the deposits from the Northern Sanctuary, but the context of which cannot be confirmed in consequence of lack of documentation (Cipriani 2012, 43) and three from the *loculi* found north of the so-called Temple of Neptune in the urban Southern Sanctuary. One figurine of the type was found at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele (Greco G. 1998, 99).

The sophistication of the iconography of the figurine, a locally made production, suggests that it may have been the coroplastic reproduction of a cult statue. In addition to these figurines, other, cruder representations of the naked crouching figure were retrieved at Foce del Sele.[434] These latter were a local production as well and were coeval with the more sophisticated type.

The first excavators of the site believed that the figurine represented Hera in her epiclesis of *Eileithyia*, a goddess protecting childbirth who was described as daughter of Hera by various ancient authors.[435] Homer mentions Eileithyia as daughter of Hera, both as a single character and in plural, mentioning the existence of several *Eileithyai* (for example Hom. *Il.* 11,269–72). The figure of Eileithyia often merged into that of her divine mother. In fact, the characteristics of Hera as a deity protecting human fertility are only signalled in ancient literature through the epiclesis of Hera *Eileithyia* from Argos, as affirmed by Hesychius,[436] while the epithet of *kourotrophos* is never attached to Hera by ancient sources. The connection with the Argive tradition would once more be convenient in relation to the Argive/Achaean origin of the cult of Poseidoniate Hera, but I would nevertheless cast doubt over the conscious Argive connection with the figurines of the Lucanian period at Foce del Sele. While Hera was the recipient of these votive gifts, the association of the figure with a Hera *Eileithyia* in Argos is doubtful. A possible interpretation is that the iconography of these figurines was taken from the representation of the motif of the *loutron gamikon* of Aphrodite and would be therefore related to the theme of love and fertility rather than being an allusion to childbirth itself.[437] While the type was originally conceived as a representation of Aphrodite, its presence at Foce del Sele once more suggests the overlapping characteristics of Hera and Aphrodite.

Another popular theme of coroplastic production found in Paestan sanctuaries of the Lucanian period is the portrayal of Eros. Obviously, the figure of this god is closely related to that of Aphrodite and therefore to the theme of human fertility. Nevertheless, as will be discussed hereafter, figurines representing the youthful Eros were also found in Paestum in sanctuaries not dedicated to the god's divine mother. It is thus probable that the presence of figurines of Eros among the finds from sanctuaries dedicated to other deities than Aphrodite

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[434] Hadzisteliou Price 1979, 180; Greco G. 1998, 49; Greco G. 2012, 240.

[435] Hes. *Theog.* 921; Pind. *Nem.* 7,1; Diod. Sic. 5,72,5; *Anth.Lyr.Gr.* 7,6,244.

[436] Olmos 1986, *s.v.* Eileithyia, in *LIMC*, III, 1, 685–99; Greco G. 1998, 49.

[437] *LIMC* II, 2, *s.v.* Aphrodite, 988ff. For what concerns the *loutron gamikon*, see Aeschin. *Ep.* 10,4; Plut. *De exil.* 606F.

could also be a consequence of the more marked stress on human fertility, and therefore on childbirth, detected in the sanctuaries of Paistom during the Lucanian period.

Coroplastic types portraying Eros were developed in the Greek Mediterranean world in the 4th century BCE and spread during that same century to Italy, and were produced by Paestan workshops as well.[438] According to the archaeological evidence, the height of popularity of this particular iconographic theme in Italy and at Paistom was reached between the last decades of the 4th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE.[439] The majority of figurines of Eros found in Paestan sanctuaries are of local production. In this type, the god is portrayed as a youngster leaning for support on a rock, a tree, a column, or a pillar, in stances clearly reminiscent of sculptural production of the period (Pl. IX, Nos. 33–34). The body of the young god, naked or wearing only a *chlamys*, bends naturally in order to take the stance of leaning on the support. He may have wings or be wingless. Once more, the ingenuity and inventive nature of the coroplasts created different modifications for the figurines of this type, slightly altering the stance of the god, the shape of the wings when they were present in the composition, the folds and arrangement of the cloak, and the position of his arms. In some of the variants the youth may hold some object, such as a bird or a basket of fruit. Both types of objects are consistent with the themes of fertility of the land and humans, which became even more important in the imagery of the Lucanian period. While the bird could be associated, but not exclusively, with the figure of Aphrodite, one cannot fail to note the presence of the basket of fruit, an attribute related to the agrarian world and raised to importance by its presence in

[438] The types found in different sites around the Mediterranean are not always similar to the ones produced in Paestum. Nevertheless, this suggests that during the Hellenistic period the figure of Eros became a significant subject in coroplastics throughout the Mediterranean, thus signalling a deeper religious significance surrounding the figure of the god (Bonghi Jovino 1976, 41–47). Concerning the presence of figurines of Eros similar to the Paestan type, but still of different models, in several Italic sites, see Rainini 1976, 416–18. Specimens of erotes of the Paestan type were found at Fratte (Greco G. 1990, 120, figs. 232–34) and at Ruoti (Fabbricotti 1979, 405, fig. 58.S137).

[439] The timespan of the popularity of Eros figurines in Italy is indicated by closed datable contexts such as burials. This is the case with the figurine found in a burial at the Campanian site of Teano (Gàbrici 1910, 89–90) and dated to the 4th century BCE, and another from a tomb at Ponticelli, Naples, dated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE (Giglioli 1922, 270, fig. 13). Another specimen dated to the 330s BCE was found in contexts datable to the time of Timoleon in Gela (Orlandini 1957, 67, pl. 32.2). Concerning closed burial contexts in Paestum, several figurines have been found in a tomb of the late 4th century BCE, and in children's burials of the first decade of the 2nd century BCE (Cipriani 1983, 130, notes 85, 87).

the imagery of the Paestan Hera type. The sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite was a major find location for these figurines, where they exceed the number of examples dedicated to the goddess herself.[440] Concerning the cult of Hera, these figurines have been retrieved in the urban Southern Sanctuary, at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, and Fonte di Roccadaspide.[441] The site where most of the figurines of Eros were found was the urban Northern Sanctuary.[442] Other specimens of figurines of Eros were found in the sanctuary of Capodifiume, located ca. 4 km northeast of the urban territory of Paestum, and dedicated to a chthonic female deity often interpreted as Kore.[443] Specimens of figurines of Eros belonging to the Paestan type have been found in other Campanian sites, such as Capua, Pompeii, Pontecagnano, at the sanctuary of Mefitis at Valle d'Ansanto,

[440] The figurines portraying Eros found at Santa Venera number 35, against the 5 specimens depicting Aphrodite. Most of the specimens belong to the Paestan type of the leaning Eros. A further 14 heads of a child possibly belonged to figurines of Eros, thus raising the total number for Santa Venera to 49 possible specimens. In this case, figurines of erotes would constitute 8 per cent of the total of figurines from the Hellenistic period, when the predominance of specimens were Tanagra figurines (Ammerman 2002, 148–49, notes 19-20 and table 3; 156).

[441] The three specimens of Eros found in the Southern Sanctuary are still unpublished (Cipriani 1983, 122–23; 130, figs. 79.220, 80.211, 80.225). One further figurine published as a youth seems similar to the Eros figurines (Cipriani 1983, 130, fig. 80.224). Concerning the examples found at Foce del Sele, see Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 220; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 15; Dewailly 1997, 203, fig. 15. Regarding Fonte di Roccadaspide, I found one specimen belonging to the Paestan type among the still not published finds.

[442] The number of figurines dedicated to Eros found in the Northern Sanctuary number 200 (Cipriani 2012, 44). The finds were then collected in storage boxes, but they lack any reference to the precise discovery context. Sestieri (1955c, 68, also Neutsch 1956, 442) affirmed that they were found in a votive pit located north of the *Athenaion,* without any further details. He suggested (1955a, 153, n. 21; 1955b, 40) that they may have belonged to the votive deposit of a still unidentified temple, and suggested the presence of a cult of Aphrodite *Pandemos* in the Northern Sanctuary.

[443] G. Greco 1988, 425, 427–28. She suggests that the presence of the figurines of Eros, together with material befitting chthonic cults in the finds of Capodifiume, is a strong indication that the sanctuary was dedicated to Kore and not to Demeter, since they represented the desire of the newly wedded girls to bear children, an aspect also represented in the figure of Kore, the bride of Hades. I believe that it is possible that the sanctuary, which was established in the first decades of the 4th century BCE, was, considering its late establishment, a Lucanian sanctuary dedicated to Kore, or to a Lucanian deity that possessed the same chthonic characteristics, since childbirth, fertility, and chthonic aspects were connected and central to Lucanian religion. The sanctuary was then abandoned in the mid-3rd century BCE, after the foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum (Cipriani – Longo 1996, 240, 176.13–76.17).

and Fratte.[444] Other figurines of Eros belonging to other types of Paestan or imported origin were also found in the sanctuaries of Lucanian Paistom. However, these have a far lower incidence than those of the primary local production.[445]

The figurines of Eros are by far the most conspicuous votive gifts clearly dedicated to a male god in Paestan sanctuaries. When discussing the erotes found at Fratte, Giovanna Greco (1990, 120), following Günther Zuntz (1971, 165), suggested that the presence of figurines of Eros in sanctuaries dedicated to Persephone must be related to the role of the winged god in the *hierogamia* between Kore and Hades, and that this was the case in Fratte as well. The fact that the figurines were found in sanctuaries dedicated to several goddesses, however, is indicative of a phenomenon that was not only limited to the figure of Persephone and was not only present in Greek or formerly Greek areas, but Italic regions as well. I would thus go one step further than Giovanna Greco did, by suggesting that the figurines of Eros signal a relationship between aspects related to fertility and to chthonic themes, which were both important features of Italic, Oscan, Lucanian, and generally also Southern Italian cults during the Hellenistic period, but which were also present in the cults of deities other than the properly chthonic ones. In this respect, the presence of the basket of fruit, an item related to the chthonic sphere in the sense of the agrarian world and fertility aspects, appearing in the hand of the goddess of the Paestan Hera type and some of the figurines of Eros of Paestan production, could not be a coincidence. In addition to the aspects of the fertility of land and of childbirth and *kourotrophia*, the figurines of the Paestan sanctuaries of the Lucanian period thus demonstrate the relation of these themes with the chthonic aspects of the cults.

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[444] Besques 1986, 14, pl. 10.g; i.D3384-D3385 (Capua). Panofka 1842, 84–85, pl. 24.1 (Pompeii). Serritella 1995, 17–18, 106, fig. 3 (Pontecagnano). Bottini – Rainini – Isnenghi Colazzo 1976, 416, fig. 80 (Valle d'Ansanto). Greco G. 1990, 120, figs. 232–34 (Fratte).

[445] Ammerman 2002, 155–66. One imported type, found at Santa Venera, represented the god as flying. Another Paestan type represented Eros in a stance somehow similar but nevertheless preceding the style of the most common and later Paestan type. The god has large wings compared to the size of the body, and his hair is gathered in a *lampadion* coiffure. Specimens of this type were found at Santa Venera, and as plaques missing the back part in tombs of the last quarter of the 4th century BCE at the Spinazzo and Acqua che Bolle necropoleis. Another type developed by Paestan coroplastic workshops portrayed a chubby Eros riding a dolphin or a bird. Specimens of this type were found at the urban Northern Sanctuary and at Santa Venera. The imagery of Eros riding a dolphin was popular in Paestum, as can be evinced by some bronze coins belonging to the PAISTANO series (Taliercio Mensitieri 2012, 273).

3.4.5 *Protomai* and Busts of Female Figures

Another group of coroplastic votive gifts present in Paestan sanctuaries of the Lucanian period is constituted by *protomai* and busts portraying female figures (Pl. X, No. 35). The terminology used in the classification of such objects is variegated, and may differ according to individual scholars.[446] Although the production of such items had arrived from East Greece in the Archaic period and became popular in Southern Italy and Sicily, a wider production began in Paestum only in the first decades of the Lucanian period, sometime at the beginning of the 4th century BCE.[447] The archaeological evidence attests that in the Paestan production of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd centuries BCE busts were far more represented and probably produced than *protomai,* and thus the Paestan coroplasts seemed to have preferred the more rounded representation over the one-sided *protome*.[448] Examples of busts have been found in significant numbers in the urban Northern and Southern sanctuaries, at the Sanctuary of Capodifiume, and with a lower incidence, although still in good number, at the *Aphrodision* of Santa Venera. In addition, some examples have been recovered

[446] Zuntz 1971, 142–43, 151–52; Kilmer 1977, 1–2; Croissant 1983, 2, 16–21; Barra Bagnasco 1986, 133–34; Uhlenbrock 1988, 19; Ammerman 2002, 290. In this respect, I prefer to follow the interpretation arrived at by Rebecca Miller Ammerman, that is, that *protomai* portray the front part of the head of a female figure. Sometimes the neck, the upper torso, or even the arms are portrayed in the composition. The busts, instead, present the figure in the round, and include the upper torso of the female figure until the lower shoulders, but sometimes the entire body until the waist as well.

[447] The most important examples of large finds from Southern Italy from the Greek Archaic period come from Locri Epizefiri (Barra Bagnasco 1986, 15–132). In Sicily, numerous examples were found at Gela, as well as at other sites (Uhlenbrock 1988, 117–38). Rebecca Ammerman (2002, 291 and note 7) notes only four *protomai* of the Archaic period found in all of the sanctuaries in Paestan territory. One example found at Santa Venera is of Eastern Greek inspiration. Two unpublished specimens were discovered in the urban Southern Sanctuary. The last example was found in the Sanctuary of Albanella (Cipriani 1989, 26, 36–37, pl. 11a.A30; Cipriani – Ardovino 1990, 341, fig. 3).

[448] Few examples of *protomai* from the Lucanian period were discovered at Foce del Sele. The first excavators of the site described the items as busts, but they were probably made without the back part, and thus can be categorised as *protomai* (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 334–36, figs. 83, back; 84; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 17, fig. 7 low centre; Dewailly 1997, 203, fig. 10 left). One specimen was found at Capodifiume (Zevi 1990, 196; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 238, n. 176.1). A few other examples were discovered in burial contexts in the Andriuolo necropolis (Pontrandolfo 1977, 62, fig. 29.1; Pontrandolfo 1979, 42–43, fig. 31).

from burial contexts.[449] It is possible that the preference of Paestan coroplasts for busts over *protomai* was dictated by the fact that the latter were the first to be developed, and at the time of the large Paestan production run the first type had supplanted them.[450] The types, mostly of the rounded version of the bust, reached other Campanian sites at the end of the 4th century BCE and were most popular during the 3rd century BCE. The sites that yielded more specimens of busts included Capua, Cumae, and Fratte.[451] Bust production in the Italic area during the 3rd century BCE gradually lost any reference to the specific divinity of a portrayed female figure, and thus became more related to the expression of the figure of the mortal dedicands themselves. The phenomenon perhaps matched the rising importance of the Tanagra figurines within the framework of the *koine* of coroplastic arts.

Both *protomai* and busts represent the image of a woman in abbreviated form, ornamented with jewellery such as necklaces and earrings. The female figures wear chitons of different shapes, the drapery of which is rendered differently according to the type. The hair is curly, often very dense, and parted in two above the forehead. The women may or may not wear a *polos*. The peak of production in Paestum coincided with the Lucanian period, and despite the fact that busts were produced during a time characterised by the overwhelming predominance of "*La Pestana*" and of the Tanagra figurines, they attained a

[449] The busts from the urban Northern Sanctuary have not been published, but Marina Cipriani (2012, 42–43), in her work categorizing the material from this sanctuary, noted the presence of 107 busts of female figures among the finds. The busts from the Southern Sanctuary were found mostly in the votive *loculi* located north of the so-called Temple of Neptune (Cipriani – Longo 1996, 275–78, n. 267, 278; Cipriani 1996a, 70, Cipriani 2012, 81–82). In addition, few examples of moulds used to produce busts were found in the urban centre (Cipriani 1983, 121, 124–25; 132–33, figs. 79.216, 81.230, 82.236–82.237; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 237–39, n. 297–98; 300; Cipriani 1996a, 68). Regarding the busts found at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, see Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 334–36, figs. 83 back; 84; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 17, pl. 7 low centre; Dewailly 1997, 203, fig. 10 left. Concerning the examples from Capodifiume, see Greco G. 1988, 423–24, pl. 69.1–69.2; Orlandini 1990, 189, fig. 74; Zevi 1990, 196; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 237–39, n. 176.1–176.2, 176.5–176.7; Cipriani 1996a, 68. The specimens found in burial contexts came from tombs in the Andriuolo necropolis (Pontrandolfo 1977, 62, fig. 29.1; Pontrandolfo 1979, 42–43, fig. 21).

[450] The *protome* originated in some Eastern Greek workshop, possibly in Rhodes or in the nearby areas, already sometime in the mid-6th century BCE (Croissant 1983, 20–21; Greco G. 1990, 99). By the mid-5th century BCE, the rounded figure portrayed in the bust had been developed and gained wide success in the workshops of Sicily and Magna Graecia (Kilmer 1977).

[451] Bedello 1975, 20 (Capua). Greco G. 1990, 99–104 (Fratte).

relatively significant popularity. The busts produced in Paistom were locally made but were influenced by Siceliote and Heraclean and Tarentine productions.[452] This type, which mostly represents figures wearing a *polos*, resembled the Paestan Hera type and constituted the majority of busts found in the Paestan territory. It is thus possible that the Paestan workshops employed the busts of this type as an abbreviated variant of "*La Pestana*". Examples of this type spread outside the territory of Paistom, into both Campanian territories and inner Lucania.[453] As discussed above, the custom of dedicating busts was seen in Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland as well, especially in larger shrines such as Grumentum, Timmari, and Rossano di Vaglio. In view of this, I find it plausible that Paistom once more catalysed the influences that it had received from Siceliote and Italiote visual arts, reshaped them, and then passed them on to the nearby Italic and Lucanian communities.

The symbolism behind the issue of the expression of the abbreviated form of the female figure has been the centre of scholarly debate. The most popular theory concerning the issue, already proposed by Henri Smith (1949, 353–55), suggested that it was associated with the *anodos* of Persephone and therefore with chthonic cults.[454] *Protomai* and busts were found in great abundance in Siceliote sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Sicily was particularly devoted to chthonic cults, and Akragas, Syracuse, and Gela were some of the most important centres of production of these votive gifts on the island.[455] The same can be said for the productions in Locri Epizefiri and in the area of Heraclea and Tarentum,

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[452] Ammerman 2002, 209–309. Typical signs of production inspired by Siceliote models is the naturalistic rendering of the head, but a less detailed attention to the anatomical representation of the torso. The narrow eyes and the detailed representation of the eyebrows suggest inspiration from a model of the late 5th century BCE, although they were produced by Paestan workshops during the second half of the 4th century BCE. The busts inspired by Heraclean and Tarentine production usually represent the woman wearing a *polos,* underneath which is a veil that falls from the neck onto the shoulders and the upper arms. She wears a chiton with a V-shaped neckline and a catenary chain falling from the shoulders. The face is rather oval-shaped, and the hair is set in strands. The style of this type is modelled on production from the end of the 5th century BCE but was produced in Paestum after the mid-4th century BCE.

[453] Some specimens were found in Pompeii (D'Ambrosio – Borriello 1990, 77–78, pl. 31.201). Other examples from Lucania come from Ruoti (Fabbricotti 1979, 383, fig. 31.286) and Roccagloriosa (Cipriani 1990b, 297–99, fig. 196, n. 512).

[454] In addition, concerning the interpretation of busts and *protomai* as a dedication to the Eleusinian deities, see Uhlenbrock 1988, 117–38, 141–42, 150–56; Hinz 1998, 39–42, 223.

[455] Rizza – De Miro 1985, 339-342; Greco G. 1990, 100.

which were developed for dedication in sanctuaries of chthonic deities.[456] Thus, it seems that all the major centres that produced the material which was the model for the Paestan productions were related to chthonic cults. Such was also the case for the Campanian sites of Cumae, Capua, and Fratte.

Nevertheless, Croissant (1983, 2–4) pointed out that the *protomai* and busts had originally been developed in Eastern Greece, where chthonic cults were not as predominant as in Sicily, and therefore their interpretation as votive gifts for exclusively chthonic deities would be dubious. Moreover, specimens of these types were found in sanctuaries of goddesses such as Hera, Athena, Aphrodite, and Artemis, both in Greece and in Sicily.[457] Following these considerations, the material has often been interpreted in the context of retrieval. Thus, they could have been accordingly dedicated to deities protecting the passage of young girls into marital status, such as Hera, the Nymphs, Aphrodite, and Artemis.[458] In Lucanian Paistom, such votive gifts have been recovered from sanctuaries dedicated to Kore and Demeter, but also from those dedicated to Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. The situation in the Lucanian inland indicates that the chthonic aspect was not the only one possessed by the deities to which *protomai* and busts were offered. Finally, the presence of some representations of women not wearing a *polos* indicates that not all of the specimens were intended to portray goddesses, but probably the dedicands themselves.[459]

When considering the above information, it becomes evident to me that *protomai* and busts that were later developed from them were not exclusively votive gifts for chthonic deities. On the other hand, this does not mean that they did not possess an inherent chthonic significance as well. The other deities to which the items were dedicated, the Great Mothers such as Hera and Aphrodite, all possessed a chthonic nature as well, in the sense that they protected the cycles of life, fertility, and marriage, but also death. The presence of these items in

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[456] Locri Epizefiri (Arias 1977, 494–579; Sabbione 1987, 115–26). Heraclea and Tarentum (Lo Porto 1967, 181–92).

[457] Uhlenbrock 1988, 117–38, 141–42, 150–56.

[458] Barra Bagnasco 1986, 150–54; Siracusano 1986–1987, 51–71.

[459] Arthur Muller (2009, 81–95) believes that the *protome* represented the dedicand herself, and not a goddess. Elisa Chiara Portale (2012, 227–52), instead, believes that *protomai* and busts were representations of the bridal state, both human and divine, connected particularly with the cult of the Nymphs. Concerning the discussion of the status of the female figures portrayed in *protomai* and busts, see Croissant 1983, 2–4; Barra Bagnasco 1986, 139–40; Lo Porto 1991, 90–91. Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 290–91) suggested that the iconography of the female figure was kept generic not only to portray deities of different natures, but also the dedicands themselves.

Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland is a consequence of the fact that all these aspects were present in some of the most important Lucanian deities as well. The fact that *protomai*, but particularly busts, arrived rather late, in the full-fledged Lucanian period in Paestum, as opposed to the situation in other Greek cities in Magna Graecia and Sicily, suggests that they served the needs of a new religiosity. I thus believe that they became increasingly popular in consequence of the arrival from Lucanian inland of aspects related to Italic cults, such as fertility and the emphasis on chthonic aspects. Likewise, the specimens representing mortals highlighted the same aspects, with a focus on the protection of the cycles of life and fertility invoked by the dedicand.

3.4.6 The "*Donna-Fiore*"

The first excavations at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele yielded a particular type of objects that were immediately related to the figure of Hera. The objects portrayed the head of a woman, which functioned as the base for a flower sprouting from her head (Pl. X, Nos. 36–38). The composition was realised by using two different models, one for the head and one for the flower. Numerous combinations were created employing different moulds of the head and of the flower and then using them interchangeably.[460] These items have been described and labelled with different interpretations, but the most widely accepted of these is that they were *thymiateria*.

The iconography of these items prompted scholars to hypothesise about different aspects of the cult of Hera that were supposedly honoured by these objects. Therefore, due to the obvious visual association between the form of the items and the tradition of the goddess of Foce del Sele as protectress of fertility and vegetation, for a long period the most common interpretation has been that the "*Donna-Fiore*" were a representation of Hera *Antheia*, an epithet known from Argive tradition but not attested at Poseidonia.[461] Another explanation related the objects to the aspect of Hera as *Eileithyia,* and to her characteristics as a deity related to childbirth in the shrine at Foce del Sele.[462] Alternatively, since in some of the items the female head is accompanied by figures of *erotes*, these latter have

[460] Francesca Cantone (2014, 39–40) was able to detect 48 combinations only among the finds of Foce del Sele.

[461] Such an interpretation was first proposed in Stoop 1960. Hera *Antheia* had a temple in Argos (Paus. 2,22,1).

[462] Stoop 1960, 77–78.

been interpreted as objects dedicated to Hera as a portrayal of Hera-Aphrodite, a variant of the goddess as a deity related to fertility and childbirth.[463] Successive excavations in different Paestan sanctuaries have demonstrated that the "*Donna-Fiore*" were present among the finds of sanctuaries where Hera was not necessarily venerated, or was not the sole venerated deity. In addition to Foce del Sele, in fact, specimens of this type were found at Santa Venera and in large numbers in both the Northern and Southern urban sanctuaries.[464] Moreover, the Paestan "*Donna-Fiore*" spread to the Italic communities that had cultural and economic ties with Paistom and have been discovered at, among other sites, the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, Capua, Fratte, Grumentum, Torre di Satriano, and Pompeii.[465] The type was produced between the second half of the 4th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE.

In addition, in her recent work concerning the "*Donna-Fiore*" from Foce del Sele, Francesca Cantone (2014, 115–52) points out that the production of coroplastic floral *thymiateria* was a rather widespread phenomenon during the Greek Hellenistic period, with different production centres not only in Italy, but throughout the whole Mediterranean basin and as far as the shores of the Black Sea.[466] Not all of these centres were devoted to Hera to a significant degree.

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[463] Sestieri 1955a, 157–58, fig. 16.

[464] Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 224–26, fig. 85; 334–36, figs. 11–13; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 17, pl. 7; Sestieri 1955a, 157–58, fig. 16; Stoop 1960, 7–10, 12–13; pls. 2.2, 3.2–3.4, 4.1–4.4, 5.1–5.3, 6.1–6.2; von Matt 1961, 48, figs. 43–44; Chirassi 1968, 105, pl. 36.b; 37; Napoli 1969, pl. 6; 21; Orlandini 1983, 503, fig. 578; Orlandini 1990, 187, fig. 63; Pedley 1990, 100, fig. 61; Zevi 1990, 199; Greco G. 1992, 258, pl. 55.4; Tocco Sciarelli – de La Genière – Greco G. 1992, 396, tab. LX.3; Maddoli 1992, 133–34, figs. 199, 201; Dewailly 1997, 203, figs. 10 centre, 13–14; Cantone 2014, 39–114 (Foce del Sele). Ammerman 2002, 292, 309–13, pl. LXXXV, nos. 2692–2704 (Santa Venera, 13 fragmentary items). The specimens from the Northern Sanctuary are still mostly unpublished, with the exception of one example (Sestieri 1955a, fig. 6; Orlandini 1983, 503, fig. 578 right; Cipriani 1996a, 72; Cipriani 1996d, 211–12 left; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 275, 277, no. 268). Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 13; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 217–18, no. 144 (Southern Sanctuary). A few moulds and casts for the production of "*Donna-Fiore*" were recovered during the excavations in the urban centre (Cipriani 1983, 120, 123, 127, figs. 79.207, 81.226; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1987, 155, fig. 107.149).

[465] Adamesteanu – Dilthey 1992, 57, 61, pls. 34–35 (Rossano di Vaglio). Bedello 1975, 76–77, pls. 22.3, 23.1; Bedello 1990, 35–53, pls. 4–9 (Capua). Greco G. 1990, 102–04, fig. 154 (Fratte). Bottini 1992 (Grumentum). Greco E. – Capano 1988, 49, pl. 14 (Torre di Satriano).

[466] Concerning examples of floral coroplastic items differing from the Paestan type found in Italy, Maria Wilhelmina Stoop (1960, 14–21) had already presented specimens from Canosa, Canneto, Locri Epizefiri, Vibo Valentia, Cirò, Caulonia, Selinous, and Lipari. Chirassi 1968, 105, pl. 35b

Thus, the hypothesis that these *thymiateria* were created exclusively to represent the goddess is untenable. The Paestan coroplasts who developed the "*Donna-Fiore*" were innovative in forming the figure of the woman as a base for the floral composition and, by mastering the mould techniques and combining different elements, were able to create an impressive number of different combinations in the representation of both the woman and the flower. The productions from other centres, in contrast, also used male figures, such as the Sileni from Lipari, groups of figures, or even plain bases.

The "*Donna-Fiore*" thus belong to a broad category of composite incense burners that were produced in different areas of the Mediterranean and beyond and which served different purposes. They have been found in religious, burial, and civil contexts. Concerning the "*Donna-Fiore*" of Paestum and the surrounding areas, these have been discovered in sanctuary contexts, and therefore they were produced to be used for a religious purpose. As is attested by the signs of burning on several specimens, some were used for the actual burning of offerings or of scents during religious ceremonies. In addition, several examples do not present any signs of burning, and therefore these could have been offered as votive gifts as well.

Concerning the interpretation of the religious significance of *thymiateria*, the first types were developed in areas where chthonic cults were not preeminent, and therefore they were not everywhere intended for the performance of chthonic rituals. Moreover, the actual identification of the female figure with a divine being is doubtful, in consequence of the lack of clear iconographic reference to her divinity. Nevertheless, the production from different centres varied in iconography and functions according to the needs of the community and the cults for which the objects were produced. While this was possibly not the case, for instance, in Eastern Greece, the presence of floral incense burners in sanctuaries dedicated to chthonic deities in Tarentine, Locrian, and most of the Siceliote shrines must have been related to the performance in such sites of

(Canosa). Molli Boffa 1977, 239–43, pl. 48, nos. 164–65, 169–70; Barra Bagnasco 1989, 38, pl. 8.3; Barra Bagnasco 1992, 279–80, 293, pl. 90.319 (Locri Epizefiri). Bernabò Brea – Cavalier 1991, 75, fig. 114 (Lipari). Mazzolani 1975, 311–12, fig. 380.E18-E20 (Lavinium). Bell 1981, 233–34, pl. 138.932–138.934 (Morgantina). Fiorentini 1990, 34 (Akragas). Concerning other examples from elsewhere in the Mediterranean area, including the Black Sea, Stoop (1960, 21) presented possible examples from Argos, Myrina, Rhodes, and Kertsch. Regarding other centres of production, see Williams 1977, 72, pl. 25.27; Romano 1994, 92–93, pl. 28.89; Merker 2000, 75, 112, pl. 21.C261–21.C263, for Corinth; Romano 1995, 17–22, pls. 11–14, with further bibliography for examples from Asia Minor, Carthage, Olynthos, Olbia, and Ikaros, for Gordion.

chthonic rituals, such as offerings of incense or of first fruits, or the items could have been offered as votive gifts themselves, as symbols of the performance of such rituals. In addition, concerning Lucanian Paistom, as was discussed above, chthonic and agrarian features were taken into the cults of several Greek deities at this time, and therefore chthonic and agrarian rituals were staged not only for goddesses with a traditional chthonic valence such as Demeter and Kore, or some of their Lucanian equivalents, but also for deities such as Hera, Aphrodite, and Athena. Therefore the "*Donna-Fiore*" could have been used in chthonic and agrarian rituals in honour of these deities or donated, as befitting votive gifts symbolising these ceremonies. As was discussed above, similar ceremonies were also central features of Lucanian ritual. The presence of the Paestan "*Donna-Fiore*", but also of types of other floral and non-iconographical incense burners in the most important Lucanian sanctuaries, whether as actual burners or votive gifts, is a strong indication confirming this suggestion. The contexts of the other Campanian sites where the "*Donna-Fiore*" were discovered, such as Capua and Fratte, all related to chthonic cults, which is an attestation of the wider spread of the increase in chthonic and agrarian cults during the Paestan Lucanian period, following the increasing power and influence of the Oscan/Campanian and Lucanian communities in this part of Central and Southern Italy.

In this respect, in my opinion, the beginning of the production of the "*Donna-Fiore*" in Paistom and the concurrent production of busts, this latter after the period of great production of busts in Magna Graecia and Sicily, cannot be a coincidence, in consequence of the chthonic significance attached to the form of the human figure represented in both the busts and the "*Donna-Fiore*". For these reasons, I agree with Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 292) when she affirms that "Moreover, fictile busts - sometimes in combination with floral and nonfigurative thymiateria - are found in abundance at Capua, Naples, Grumentum, Timmari, Macchia di Rossano, and Heraclea; they are a hallmark of Campanian and Lucanian ritual practice in a wider sense".

The increased importance of chthonic features in the cults of Paestum during the Lucanian period can be further evinced by the figurines of a standing female holding a piglet, a lamp or a cista on her left shoulder and the male figures holding a piglet and a plate of fruit or sacrificial cakes, all attributes related to agrarian and chthonic rituals. Some of these examples of female figures wear a *polos*. The male figures are remarkable in the sense that they constitute the most conspicuous attestation of male figures after the *erotes* in Paestan coroplastic production. The model for the figurines was the imagery of the period after

the mid-5th century BCE, perhaps the same that inspired the enthroned "*La Pestana*", but they were produced on a larger scale in the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, thus covering the whole Lucanian period in Paestum. Aside from a few specimens of the female figure found in the urban area and of the male figure in the urban Northern Sanctuary, the vast majority of finds was retrieved from the extramural and rural sanctuaries of the territory of the city, such as Albanella, and in a lesser quantity at Santa Venera and at Basi di Colonne.[467] This Paestan production then spread to other Campanian and Lucanian centres such as Pontecagnano, Eboli, Fratte, Palinuro, Rivello, and the sanctuary of Mefitis at Valle d'Ansanto.[468] The spread of the types of standing figures with the piglet shows the popularity of the chthonic and agrarian themes in the countryside of Paistom in sanctuaries dedicated to deities with chthonic characteristics, which have been identified with Demeter and Persephone, but which could possibly have been dedicated to their Italic and Lucanian re-interpretations or to other non-Greek deities. Paestan workshops once more responded to this interest by creating a type that would fulfil the religious needs of those communities by looking to the same artistic models that had inspired "*La Pestana*".

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[467] Cipriani 1983, 118, 123–25, fig. 176.195–96; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1987, 155, figs. 107.452, 107.487, 107.496 (female figures from the urban centre). Ammerman (2002, 134, n. 2) notes unpublished examples from both the Northern and Southern Sanctuary, from an area near the Church of the Annunziata, and from the votive deposit near Porta Giustizia. Concerning the male figures, the examples retrieved at the Northern sanctuary are unpublished. Cipriani 1986, 73, fig. 8.a; Cipriani 1989, 98–118, 13–23; Cipriani – Ardovino 1990, 341–44, figs. 4–5; Orlandini 1990, 236, fig. 73; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 233–35, nos. 175.1–175.5; Hinz 1998, 171, fig. 41 (female figures from Albanella). Cipriani 1986, 73, fig. 8b–8c; Cipriani 1989, 118–26; 139–51, pls. 24–25; Cipriani – Ardovino 1990, 342–44, figs. 6–7; Zevi 1990, 193; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 235–36, nos. 175.6–175.8; Cipriani 1996d, 215, fig. 164 (male figures from Albanella). Ammerman 2002, 134–40; pls. XXXVI–XXXVII (female and male figures from Santa Venera). Ammerman 2002, 134, n. 2 (unpublished female figure from Basi di Colonne).

[468] Levi 1926, 97–98, fig. 80, nos. 416–17; Cipriani 1990c, 134 (female figure from Eboli). Sestieri 1949, 347, 349, fig. 16; Sestieri 1952c, 128–35, St XXXV, figs. 41, 43, 44, 47, 48; Greco G. 1990, 106–11, figs. 176–96 (Fratte). D'Agostino 1965, 191; Bailo Modesti 1984, 217, figs. 21, 24 (Pontecagnano). Naumann – Neutsch 1960, 193–94, pl. 61.3; Greco E. 1975, 106, fig. 51d (Palinuro). Greco G. 1982a, 44, 46; pls. 19.2, 20.5 (Rivello). Rainini 1976, 392–96, 402–03; 462; figs. 13.39, 14.46–14.48, 33.236 (Valle d'Ansanto). Greco G. 1990, 107, 111, figs. 197–99 (male figure from Fratte). Rainini 1976, 193–96, fig. 15.49–15.51 (male figure from Valle d'Ansanto).

3.4.7 The Tanagra Figurines

The last important Paestan coroplastic production on a vast scale may have signalled once more the deep changes in Paestan society that took place between the last decades of the 4th century BCE and the whole 3rd century BCE, thus encroaching on the period subsequent to the foundation of the Roman colony. The excavations conducted in different Paestan sanctuaries have yielded an enormous number of figurines for that period, which are known to scholars by the name of Tanagra figurines (Pls. XI–XII, Nos. 39–45). The type owes its name to the city of Tanagra in Boeotia, where examples of this type were found for the first time during the 1870s. In the years following that discovery, it was possible to determine that the type was first developed in Athens during the last quarter of the 4th century BCE and that by the end of the century new centres of production and coroplastic workshops were engaged in the production of similar figurines throughout the Mediterranean area.[469] They were found both in burial and sanctuary contexts and were of different sizes.

As discussed above, the incidence of this type of figurine in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland was less than the overwhelming presence in Paestan sanctuaries, or the production of the Greek centres of Magna Graecia and Sicily such as Syracuse and Tarentum.[470] Only the great sanctuaries of Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio present a more substantial incidence of Tanagra figurines as compared to the overall number of coroplastic artefacts.[471] It may be possible that the reason behind this phenomenon is related to the cessation of use of several shrines during the period of maximum production of these figurines, as a consequence of the extension of Roman rule over the region. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the sanctuaries that continued to be in use in this period, such as Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio, yielded a fair amount of Tanagra figurines. This factor may be indirectly confirmed by the fact that the Paestan production of Tanagra figurines did reach and was popular in the Campanian sites that had ties with Paistom, and therefore the phenomenon

[469] Concerning the determination of the Athenian origin of the type, see Thompson – Thompson – Rotroff 1987, 181–459; Uhlenbrock 1990, 48–53. For a survey of the production of Tanagra figurines in the Mediterranean, see Kleiner 1942; Thompson 1966, 51–63; Comella 1981, 767; Higgins 1985; Uhlenbrock 1990; Lippolis 2003, 272–75; Jeammet 2003, 120–29.

[470] Coarelli 1980, 376; Orlandini 1983, 501–54.

[471] At Timmari they represent ca. 15% of all the coroplastic material (Rantucci 2012, 76–78). At the Sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, they represent ca. 10% of the coroplastic material (Langone 2012, 203–10).

may not have been related to a rejection altogether of Tanagra figurines by the Lucanians.[472]

Concerning iconography, the figurines portray standing draped female figures in different postures, with a varied number of attributes and details in haircut, dresses, and facial features. The Paestan Tanagra figurines were produced with three different moulds: one for the head, one for the front of the body, and one for the back. This allowed the artist to produce a wide variety of figurines by changing the combination of these moulds.[473] It is possible that the Tanagra figurines were inspired by the original models developed in Athenian workshops in the third quarter of the 4th century BCE, but they were modified according to local tastes and were in production already by the end of the century in Paestum as well, as demonstrated by the few specimens retrieved from closed burial contexts.[474] This class of votive gifts was still produced until the end of the 3rd century BCE. The Tanagra figurines were by far the most produced figurines of the Hellenistic period in Paestum, and specimens were found in significant numbers in almost all of the Paestan sanctuaries, above all at Foce del Sele, where they were retrieved in the thousands.[475]

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[472] A good example of the popularity of the type among the Campanian communities north of Paistom comes from Fratte, where Giovanna Greco (1990, 113–17) has identified examples belonging to at least 15 types of Tanagra figurines, most of which are of Paestan production. In addition, once again the material from Capua demonstrates strong similarities with the Paestan type (Baroni – Casolo 1990).

[473] Ammerman 2002, 173 and note 6. The back of the figurines was usually less defined than the front. The head, which was entirely filled, was inserted into the combined front and back sides, which formed a hollow unit. This may be one factor that allowed a better preservation of the heads as compared to that of the bodies. The figure may or may not stand on a square or cylindrical base.

[474] Two figurines were found in two tombs dated to a period between the end of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century BCE in the Spinazzo necropolis, located ca. 5 km southeast of Paestum (Cipriani 1983, 128, note 61; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 295, figs. 307.15–307.16).

[475] Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 217, 331, 333, 335–38, figs. 82, 88–92; 94; Zancani Montuoro 1965–1966, 69–72, pls. 14b–14d, 15a–15d; Orlandini 1990, 232, pls. 64–65; Zevi 1990, 195; Greco G. 1992b, 257–58, pl. 55.3–4; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 227, 276–78, nos. 172.6–172.7; 269–75, 281–284; de La Genière – Greco, G. 1994, 309, fig. 12; de La Genière 1997c, 179, fig. 9; Dewailly 1997, 202–05, figs., 4, 12, 18-20; de La Genière – Greco G. 1998, 42, pl. 5.1 (Foce del Sele). Neutsch 1956, 431, 436, fig. 150; Napoli 1970, 40, fig. 48 (urban Southern Sanctuary). Napoli 1970, 32, figs. 34–35; Orlandini 1990, 169, fig. 11 (urban Northern Sanctuary). Cipriani 1983, 122–24, 127–28, 132, figs. 80.219, 80.221, 81.232, 82.234; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1987, 155, fig. 107.196; nos. 492, 682 (non-sanctuary sites within the urban centre). Two moulds for the production of Tanagra figurines were found in the city centre (Cipriani 1983,

The popularity of the figurines has fuelled a scholarly debate concerning the identity of the portrayed female figures and the phenomena behind the mass dedication of the figurines in sanctuaries and tombs. The most widely accepted theory for sanctuary contexts is that the women represented were the dedicands themselves.[476] Certainly, concerning the Paestan type, the female figures do not present any reference to divine status, and therefore it is probable that they were portraying the countless worshippers who attended to the rituals in the different shrines, or were only intended as generic gifts.[477]

Coroplastic imagery thus moved from the portrayal of gods to that of humans, in what has been interpreted as the raising of a sense of self-consciousness of individuals during the Hellenistic period. So, what can the thousands of Tanagra figurines tell about the cults of Lucanian Paistom in that period? And do they mirror the changes that Paestan society was undergoing in a period during which the Lucanian part of the population was inexorably becoming majority in the city? Although the largest deposit of Tanagra figurines was discovered at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, the fact that such figurines were interchangeably offered in shrines dedicated to other deities, or in tombs, indicates that they were not exclusively related to the cult of Hera. Perhaps, if one must determine some pattern behind the reasons for the dedication of Tanagra figurines in sanctuary contexts at Paestum, it could be related to the theme of female fertility, which increased in importance during the Lucanian period. On the other hand, they may have represented only an attestation, in the form of a gift, of the presence of single worshippers at the different sanctuaries.

It is possible that a first sign of the shift in favouring the representation of the dedicands themselves over portraits of deities was signalled by the production of busts representing female figures not wearing the *polos*, a clear marker of the mortal status of the figure. The Paestan production of these had considerable success, not only in the Paestan area, but also in the Campanian sites north of the territory

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124; 132, figs. 81.232, 82.234; Cipriani – Longo 1996, 208, nos. 113–14). Ammerman 2002, 173–98, pls. L–LXXI (Santa Venera). Two moulds of local origin used to produce Tanagra figurines were found at Santa Venera (Ammerman 2002, 173–74, n. 1923–1924, pl. L). Cipriani – Longo 1996, 238–39, figs. 176.9–176.11 (Capodifiume). Cipriani 2012, 156 (Fonte di Roccadaspide).

[476] Concerning the different interpretations of Tanagra figurines, see Berti 1987, 55–56; Bell 1990, 66–67.

[477] Rebecca Miller Ammerman suggested that in some sanctuaries some attributes were occasionally added to Tanagra figurines in order to express the divine status of the portrayed female. The example she cited concerned the Tanagra figurines found in a tomb in Heraclea. Coroplastic snakes were added to the arms in order to portray Hygieia or Demeter.

of the city and in the Lucanian sanctuaries of the inland, so that they have been considered as markers of the rise of the Campanian and Lucanian communities between the mid-4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BCE. Albeit not in such an abbreviated form, the Tanagra figurines seem to (indirectly) follow these busts of mortals in their conscious representation of the dedicands, who became the protagonists of the figurines in their show of piety. They share with the busts their popularity among the Campanians and, although in a lower incidence, they are present in a good number in the major Lucanian shrines of Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio as well, so that I am tempted to think that for the Tanagra figurines the pattern of distribution also not only represents the ties between Lucanian Paistom and the other surrounding Italic communities, but also an adherence to common means of expression that must not have been only formal. In this respect, the centrality of important families within the Oscan and Lucanian societies comes to my mind, and of the participation of these individuals in the posts of the *touta*, the organ of the community that also had the responsibility for the administrative organisation and maintenance of the sanctuaries. This may have created the milieu for the use of the busts representing mortal women, the individualisation of the figurines representing single dedicands, and the shift from the representation of divinity to the representation of the women who donated the votive gifts. The Tanagra figurines may thus have represented, in the contexts of Paestan sanctuaries and in the other Oscan-Campanian and Lucanian centres, the representation of the women of the most outstanding families, who were then idealised by the different figurines. They may have had the significance of gifts made to receive the protection of the deity concerning fertility, but not necessarily. The donation of these figurines later became generalized, and a custom not limited to the members of important families.

3.4.8 Some Final Considerations Concerning the Coroplastic Figurines in the Sanctuaries of Hera in Paistom during the Lucanian Period

In my opinion, the analysis of the coroplastic figurines from the Paestan sanctuaries of Hera during the Lucanian period confirms the increasing interest in rituals related to the aspects of fertility, childbirth, agrarian themes of the abundance of crops, and to the chthonic world, in both the attention to the cycles of life and death, as already suggested by the study of the topography of the shrines themselves and the possible rituals there staged. This phenomenon affected the figure of Hera and her cult, but it can be fully grasped only by taking into consideration the developments in other cults as well, within the

framework of the wider changes that occurred in the region between the final years of the 5th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE. These were fuelled, in my opinion, by the increasing power and cultural influence of the Etruscanised Campanian, Campanian, and Lucanian communities that surrounded the Greek cities on the shores of modern Campania. That all of the local cults were affected by the same developments can also be evinced from the evidence provided by coroplastic votive gifts. In this respect, the generic nature of the iconographies of most types produced during the Lucanian period favoured their spread not only in the Paestan region, but also in Campania and Lucania as well.

As a result, to understand the possible meaning attached to the figurines, their analysis has to be more subtle, taking into consideration the few attributes present in the different compositions and the contexts wherein they were offered and then deposited. It is possible that the generic nature of the figurines' traits was thus not a casual choice, but the result of the need to produce votives for deities which, following the increase of the above-mentioned factors, shared much of the same characteristics, not only in the Paestan territory, but in Lower Latium, Campania, and Lucania as well. This was made possible by the long-standing interaction between the peoples of this area, and a process started with the Greek cults arriving in the region with the foundation of the colonies, then being accepted by local non-Greek communities, who associated them with their local deities, and then being reshaped when the non-Greek communities became the majority of the population in formerly Greek cities such as Poseidonia or Cumae, or in sites with a mixed population such as Fratte.

Of these types, the only one that could have been originally developed to portray Hera is the Paestan Hera type, which was developed from the model of the enthroned Hera with the pomegranate. The type became the most defining and successful Paestan coroplastic production, both for its iconography and the range of its distribution, but quite soon after the beginning of its production it also began to be seen in sanctuaries not dedicated to Hera, and in Campanian and Lucanian sites as well. The generic nature of the enthroned goddess, a regal figure holding a patera and a basket of fruit, would make it a befitting offering to other goddesses as well. The attributes of the patera and of the basket of fruit thus signalled the increasing importance of rituals and cults related to the agrarian world and the fertility of nature and crops already at the beginning of the Lucanian period in Paistom, and concurrently with the generalisation of these themes to other cults. The presence of figurines of this type at Campanian and Lucanian sites reflects the importance of these themes to those people.

The Paestan Hera type generated several sub-types, all related to themes that were important to non-Greek communities, and which increased in use in Paestan cults during the Lucanian period. The chthonic enthroned goddess with the piglet from Fratte and the enthroned Paestan *kourotrophos*, one of several types of *kourotrophoi* that were in use in the Paestan sanctuaries during the Lucanian period, are signs of the increased importance of such features that originated in the Italic world. While the identification of the Paestan *kourotrophos* with Hera cannot be proved, it is significant that during the Lucanian period figurines related to the motif of *kourotrophia* were dedicated in the Southern Sanctuary, the main centre of the cult of Hera in the urban area, for the first time. The location where they were found, at the northern section of the shrine, continued to be dedicated to this theme in the first decades after the foundation of the Roman colony, as attested by the discovery of figurines belonging to that peculiar type of swaddled infants, indicating the Italic origin of the theme of *kourotrophia* in the sanctuary. The increasing importance of *kourotrophia* and childbirth is signalled at Foce del Sele as well, by the presence, among other types, of *kourotrophoi*. In view of this, it is possible that the goddess lost her poliadic nature in the urban sanctuary, while conforming to the Hera of Foce del Sele in her religious characteristics. The production in the Lucanian period of figurines portraying the *hieros gamos* of Hera and Zeus can thus be interpreted in light of the focus on fertility rather than the protection of the civic institution of marriage. Perhaps the substantial number of figurines of *erotes* in Paestan sanctuaries dedicated to several goddesses, among whom was Hera, and in sanctuaries in Campania and Lucania, is another attestation of the increasing importance of the theme of human fertility during the Lucanian period.

The figurines of "*La Pestana*" were in addition related to the development of one type of the busts of female figures with a *polos*. This latter suggests the increased importance of chthonic cults and of the rituals related to them during the Lucanian period. Concerning the busts, the identity of the portrayed figure, of her status, and the possible cultic meaning behind such a representation have all been issues that have gathered a wide range of hypotheses. One cannot fail to note that, in the Paestan sanctuaries, the busts often are accompanied by the "*Donna-Fiore*". This latter was used in rituals of a chthonic and agrarian nature, which included burning of first fruits or incense, or as a dedication to the gods that represented the symbolic staging of such rituals. The presence of both "*Donna-Fiore*" and of other types of *thymiateria* in Campanian and Lucanian sanctuaries as well demonstrates the importance of such rituals. The pattern of the combined presence of the busts and "*Donna-Fiore*" or other types of *thymiateria* is also seen

in Campanian and Lucanian sanctuaries. A further indication of the spread of chthonic features is the production of standing figures of dedicands, both female and male, with piglets and items used in chthonic rituals, which constituted a characteristic production of Lucanian Paistom.

The last large Paestan coroplastic production was that of the local Tanagra figurines. Interest in the representation of mortal figures and the individualisation of the figures used as votive gifts had been signalled already by the busts of women not wearing a *polos*. If these latter, as it seems, had begun to be produced in the region in question much later than in other parts of Magna Graecia and Sicily, as a consequence of involving non-Greek customs and rituals, then their dedication possibly followed the wish to express certain features on the part of the individuals who bought and dedicated these works. Since the Tanagra figurines of Lucanian Paistom, which were also exported in Campania and Lucania, seem to follow the same pattern of development and distribution, then they may be taken into consideration when discussing the same social changes that favoured the success of the busts. Therefore, I suggest that, concerning the Paestan sanctuaries of the Lucanian period and the shrines of Campania and Lucania in general, the desire to change the focus of coroplastic figurines from the representation of deities to the representation of mortal dedicands was fuelled by the gradual increasing role of important Oscan-Lucanian families in the region. These latter may have been the families to which the dedicands of these votive gifts belonged. It is possible that, due to the mass production of the items, the phenomenon then became generalised and these votive gifts were dedicated by other women who belonged to other families than those of the ruling class, but the Italic origin of the change towards the representation of the mortal dedicands in Paestan figurines may be confirmed by the fact that the figurines were also produced in the decades after the foundation of the Roman colony, a sign of both the vitality of the Lucanian community under Roman rule and of the fact that the concept of dedicating a sort of portrait of oneself as an act of piety was not considered foreign to Roman colonists.

Finally, the coroplastic figurines found at Paestum from the Lucanian period, and the spread of motifs common to the communities of a rather wide area comprising Lower Latium, Campania, and Lucania, from Paistom to those communities and vice-versa, demonstrate the ties between the former *polis* and Campanian-Lucanian communities that surrounded it. These ties must have been not only formal, or related to trade, but were deeply embedded in the cultural and religious intercourse that had taken place in the region since the foundation of Poseidonia. These ties are expressed in the coroplastic production of Paestum as

well, albeit the visual implementation of Greek stylistic canons makes the means of research more subtle, and one must resort to different sources concerning the history, the culture, and the religious tastes of the people of a wider area in order to grasp some of the features originating in non-Greek cultures that were added to the figurines of Paistom and to the original cults of the city. It was to this milieu that the Roman colonists arrived, gradually but inexorably reshaping the topography, but also the cultic framework, of Paestum, and beginning the process that would relegate the heyday of the cult of Poseidoniate Hera to the past.

4. Epilogue

In addition to the struggles between the different peoples of this part of Italy that ensued, the aftermath of Alexander the Molossian's campaign had another result in the increasing presence of Rome, with which Alexander had stipulated a treaty, in the area. In addition, Greek Tarentum gained a firmer control of the Italiote League, to which Paistom also belonged, together with other Greek *poleis* and Lucanian and Italic communities.

During the years following the death of Alexander at the hands of Lucanian exiles, different Lucanian communities were engaged in alternate periods of peace and hostility with Rome and with Tarentum. This factor may signal the lack of political unity between the various Lucanian communities, and within Lucanian society itself. The allegiance of Paistom also changed according to the changing circumstances. These considerations thus conceal the probability that ancient authors have grouped under the heading of "Lucanians" different Lucanian communities who took different political stances on different occasions.

According to Livy (10,11),[478] in 298 BCE Lucanian ambassadors sought the aid of Rome against the Samnites, who had tried to force them into an alliance, thus giving the Romans the pretext for the initiation of the Third Samnite War. Nevertheless, the Romans had to send forces to Lucania in order to subdue an uprising of the Lucanian plebs, as a result of which the Lucanians had to offer hostages and proclaim their submission in order to convince the Romans of their loyalty.[479] The political stance of Paistom is not mentioned on this occasion. It is possible that it sided with the Romans, under the treaties signed by Alexander, which possibly gave to the city the status of a *civitas sine suffragio,* or that it remained non-belligerent, as the Tarentines and the other allies of the Italiote League did.

After this, the continuing hostile actions of Rome against the Lucanians instigated the outbreak of the war that resulted in the expedition of Pyrrhus. Following the treaties of friendship stipulated by Alexander, Tarentum had been an ally of Rome, albeit still having ambitions of hegemony over the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and those Italic communities, such as Paistom, with a Greek cultural heritage or mixed ethnic background. Some of the Lucanian

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[478] Also, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 17–18,1–2.

[479] Liv. 10,11.

communities bordering on Tarentine territory were instead often hostile to the *polis* and her allies, and military confrontation along these lines was continuous. In 282 BCE, the pressure exerted by the Lucanians became unbearable for several of the Greek cities, and Rome intervened for fear of the fall of the Italiote League and the consequent enlargement of Lucanian power. The Romans sent garrisons to Rhegion, Locri Epizefiri, and Thurii. It was perhaps in order to establish a garrison at this latter site that Roman ships were stationed in and moved through Tarentine waters, thus violating the treaty that forbade such an action. Fearing a wider intervention by Rome in the area, which would have hindered Tarentine hegemony, Tarentum attacked and drove away the Roman garrison in Thurii, in alliance with her former Lucanian enemies, and called on the aid of Pyrrhus. The Epirote king thus initiated his campaign against Rome and the Carthaginians in Sicily. Paistom, as a member of the Italiote League, sided with Pyrrhus and suffered from the defeat of the Epirote monarch in his five-year campaign in Italy and Sicily. In 273 BCE, after the departure of Pyrrhus, and one year prior to the capitulation of Tarentum, the Romans founded the colony of Paestum, which ended the independence of Paistom.

The foundation of the Roman colony resulted in the reorganisation of the city, not only in its civic topography, but also for its cultic spaces. Proof of this lies not only in the extant structures of the Roman period, but also the votive pits that the Romans, or the Lucanians still living in the colony, laid in the earth in the usual rituals of defunctionalisation of religious buildings and spaces. It is rather difficult to discern whether the process of Romanisation was violent or forced. With our present knowledge, it seems that it was a gradual but still firm process. I believe that a remaining part of the Graeco-Lucanian population of the city lived in the Roman colony as well, but it became in due time integrated into Roman culture. Therefore, a transitional period occurred between the two points in the history of the city. The PAISTANO coins are also a result of this context, which, with their depiction of Neptune on the obverse and the presence of the same god or Eros riding the dolphin on the reverse, seem to stress the continuity of the colony with the heritage of the Graeco-Lucanian city. The use of painted tombs was also still an active custom a few decades after the foundation of the colony.

In the urban area, the Romans obliterated the *ekklesiasterion*, as a sign of the altered political conditions of the city. Nevertheless, as suggested by the material from the fill of the structure, the destruction occurred only sometimes after the mid-3rd century BCE, so that is not possible to determine whether the building

was still in use for some time after the foundation of the colony.[480] In the first years of the colony, a Forum, including a Comitium and later a Curia, were built to replace the agora. This reorganisation of the spaces somewhat reduced the size of the Southern Sanctuary and obliterated the Lucanian stoa. An amphitheatre, one of the most visible symbols of Roman civic life, was built northwest of the Forum only in the mid-1st century BCE and was renovated sometime in the 1st century CE. In contrast, there are signs of both continuities and discontinuities in the religious buildings of the city during the Roman period. The *heroon* of the *oecist* was also preserved for a long time into the Roman period. It was only at the end of the Roman Republican period, concurrently with a new organisation of that side of the former agora, that one side of the structure was repaired, and it was refurnished with rooftiles and encircled with orthostatic slabs. These had the function of concealing but still preserving the monument, as a sign of piety towards the ancient cult of the hero founder.[481] Both the Northern and Southern sanctuaries retained their religious functions. In the Northern sanctuary, an altar, possibly an earlier structure only repaired during the Roman period, has been interpreted as a possible sign of the introduction of the cult of Jupiter at the shrine. The suggested hypothesis of the concurrent transfer of the cult of Hera under the form of Juno to the Northern Sanctuary, thus forming the cult of the Capitoline Triad, cannot be supported by the evidence.[482] The cult of the Capitoline Triad was probably housed in the so-called "*Tempio della Pace*", which was built in the northern section of the Forum between the end of the 2nd century BCE and the beginning of the 1st century BCE. The structure was superimposed over one corner of the Comitium, which was reduced in size because of this and possibly even put out of use.[483]

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[480] Torelli 1992, 45–46; Burnett and Crawford (1998, note 42) push the date for the fill of the *ekklesiasterion* further forward, to ca. 200 BCE (also, Crawford 2006, 65–66).

[481] Greco E. – Theodorescu – Cipriani 1983, 32–33; Cipriani 2012, 114.

[482] Concerning the altar, see Bertarelli Sestieri 1982–1984, 191; Aurigemma – Spinazzola – Maiuri 1986, 76–77, fig. 16; Torelli 1992, 54; Mertens 2006, 166; Cipriani 2012, 34–35. The hypothesis of the presence of a cult of the Capitoline Triad in the Northern Sanctuary during the Roman period was presented by Paola Zancani Montuoro (1954, 166, n. 2), as an alternative to the main theory that the two inscribed slabs found in early medieval constructions east of the Temple of Athena with the dedication to Minerva and Jupiter were originally part of the wall of the cella of the "Italic Temple", which could have thus functioned as a Capitolium. According to Zancani Montuoro, there may have been three slabs, including a lost one dedicated to Juno.

[483] Recent excavations (2017–2019) conducted by a team from the University of Bochum have brought to light the remains of an older structure with the same orientation as the Doric temples

In the Southern Sanctuary, the northern section, which was partially obliterated by the Forum, underwent the most significant modifications. It may be that a few years after the foundation of the colony, a new temple, known as the "Italic Temple", was built in the area where a deposit of figurines of *kourotrophoi* of the Lucanian period have been found.[484] In addition, the Archaic temple was reduced to the size of *naiskos* after the construction of the Lucanian stoa, resulting in it being separated from the rest of the Southern Sanctuary by the construction of the Forum and the road, although it did continue to be in use. The structure was incorporated into the Forum area with a new altar, only to be obliterated in the early Imperial period by the construction of the Macellum and the Basilica. In consequence of the incorporation of the building into the Forum, Emanuele Greco (1999, 60) has tentatively suggested that it could have been dedicated to a deity protecting the activities of the forum, such as Hercules, during the Republican period. In the eastern section of the sanctuary, one more altar was added, or perhaps repaired, during the Roman period, in the above-mentioned row of altars of the Lucanian period, thus possibly increasing the number to thirteen.[485] This could indicate that the suggested ceremonial path was still functioning at the beginning of the Roman period, or that the cults to which the altars were dedicated continued at least for some time after the foundation of the colony. Only minor repairs have been detected for the "Basilica", namely the construction of a semi-circular access ramp on the front side of the structure in the years immediately following the foundation of the colony. In addition, the altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune was demolished and a new, smaller one was built late in the 1st century BCE.[486]

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but with a somewhat different orientation from the superimposed temple of the Roman period. The results of the campaigns have not yet been extensively published. Concerning the so-called "*Tempio della Pace*", see Krauss – Herbig 1939; Torelli 1980–1981, 105–16 (who suggested that the temple may have been dedicated to Bona Mens); Greco E. – Theodorescu 1987, 27–40; Theodorescu 1989, 114–25; Torelli 1992, 74–77; Denti 2004, 665–97).

[484] The building consisted of a small pronaos and the cella. Only the foundations of the structures are preserved. The northern section was destroyed at the moment of the construction of the Roman Basilica, underneath which it partly rests. In his attempt to demonstrate that all of the buildings in the Southern Sanctuary belonged to the cult of Hera, Sestieri (1956, 18–19) suggested that the structure was dedicated to Hera-Juno, a readaptation of the cult of Hera by the Roman colonists (Sestieri 1956, 18-19; Greco E. – Theodorescu 1980, 18-20; 30; Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988, 109–10; Torelli 1992, 65–68; Greco E. – Theodorescu – D'Ambrosio 1999, 40).

[485] Greco E. 1992a, 491; Cipriani 2012, 86–87.

[486] Concerning the semi-circular access ramp built at the enneastyle, see Cipriani 2012, 56.

As is the case with the structures of the urban area, at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele the same pattern of continuities and discontinuities suggests a transitional period prior to the more thorough Romanisation that occurred after the foundation of the Roman colony. The road leading from the city to the haven of Volta del Forno, and most probably bifurcating the sanctuary, was enlarged and further monumentalised.[487] The sanctuary was the location of the first structure built by the Romans after the foundation of the colony, namely the so-called "*thesauros*". This latter was a roofless rectangular enclosure that was erroneously interpreted by the first excavators of the site as an Archaic structure that may have been the home of the sculpted metopes. Two of these latter have been found on the premises. Recent excavations have suggested that the building may have gone out of use already in the 2nd century BCE.[488] In the eastern section of the sanctuary, the Square Building was destroyed by a fire in the first half of the 3rd century BCE and was never in use after that event. Whether the fire was an intentional action of the Romans against this peculiar structure, or was an accident, the spoliation of the material of the building began soon after

Regarding the new altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune, see Sestieri 1956; 18; Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988, 99–100; Bertarelli Sestieri 1989, 2; Cipriani 1997, 213; Cipriani 2012, 71.

[487] Above 158–59 and note 363.

[488] The structure was found in the summer of 1936, approximately 14 m north of the temple. The building had a rectangular form, and only three sides are preserved. No signs of the original floor level have been detected within the structure. A column drum was discovered at the end of the northern wall. This latter feature was interpreted by Paola Zancani Montuoro and Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1937, 275) as *in situ* and part of the original colonnade of the building. The presence of two Archaic metopes within the premises, together with that of other Archaic architectural material, prompted them to suggest (1937, 278) that the structure had been built around 575 BCE, that it was never completed (1951, 31), and that it had been conceived as a *thesauros*. Together with Krauss, they then suggested that the structure was a prostyle tetrastyle temple, to which the metopes that were found belonged. Modern excavations have determined that the column was instead not in primary deposition and was not part of the suggested colonnade of the building. Moreover, the extant structures covered the foundations of the whole original building, and no signs of spoliation of the walls have been detected on that side of the structure. Therefore, originally the building was a rectangular enclosure that may have held a stela, as testified by the presence of a base that probably supported it and the calcareous Ionic capital that surmounted it and may possibly be of the Hellenistic period. The walking surface of the structure had been removed already in Antiquity, and the foundations rest on "*piani induriti*" composed of heterogeneous materials, the latest of which is dated to the mid-3rd century BCE; that is, after the foundation of the colony. Finally, the remains of the structure were covered by the so-called "*stipe ellenistica*", which is at the latest dated to the 2nd century BCE. Regarding a more detailed recent discussion of the so-called "*thesauros*" and the results of more recent excavations, see Greco G. 2012, 221–25.

its destruction. The whole area, which was already isolated from the rest of the sanctuary, was abandoned, as is suggested by the presence of two mid-3rd century CE *enchytrismos* burials abutting the eastern wall of the structure, which is a clear sign of the defunctionalisation of the area and probably of the whole sanctuary by that date at the latest.[489] The situation in the eastern part of the sanctuary in the years immediately following the foundation of the colony contrasts with the coeval context of the other sides of the shrine. In the area around the temple, in addition to the above-mentioned construction of the rectangular enclosure, the temple was still functioning, and *anathemata* and *stelae* were still dedicated in the decades following the foundation of the colony. Moreover, the ritual pits were still in use, thus denoting the continuation of the rituals staged there, as was the case with the porticoes and dining halls at the north and south ends of the sanctuary.[490]

Despite this initial period of continuity, things began to change during the 2nd century BCE, during which many of the areas of the sanctuary were abandoned or fell into disuse. Especially, beginning from that century, all votive and ritual pits, including the two *bothroi,* were closed. In this same period, the laying down of the "*Stipe ellenistica*" covered over a large area of the central section of the sanctuary, immediately north of the temple, including the *stelae* and the other stone *anathemata* erected from the end of the 4th century BCE, and the so-called *thesauros* itself.[491]

Concerning the other buildings of the sanctuary, the temple and the altars still seem to have been in use during the Early Imperial period, although it is possible that the temple was spoliated of some of its metopes already beginning in the final years of the 3rd century BCE. The purpose of this latter action is still unknown. It is not clear what use the halls and the porticoes located in the northern and southern sections of the sanctuary served after the end of the 2nd century BCE. The structures were deprived of the *bothroi* and the small altars connected to them, and it is unclear if this fact was a result of the termination of the rituals of sacrifices and dining to which the structures were originally connected.

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[489] Zancani Montuoro 1965–1966b, 34–35.

[490] Greco G. 2012, 188.

[491] I here follow Giovanna Greco (2012, 188), who believes that the deposit was made at the end of the 2nd century BCE (also, Ferrara 2009, 37). The few coins of the 2nd century CE, which prompted Paola Zancani Montuoro (1937, 338) to suggest that the deposit was made in that period, and of which there is no trace, were probably an intrusion. The vast majority of the material includes votive gifts datable to the Hellenistic period until the end of the 2nd century BCE, when the closing of the pit probably occurred.

The eastern building of the northern compound of the sanctuary, which had been used as a hall or a kitchen for the preparation of meals, was enlarged at its northern end with three rooms, which utilised slabs of the balustrade of the altars. These seem to have lost their balustrade as a consequence of the earthquake of 62 CE, and therefore they were likely not in use by that period or continued to function without a balustrade. In one of the rooms of the structure, the pavement was made by using chips of arenaria and calcareous stone, a factor that has led scholars to hypothesise the presence of a water tank or of a basin for lustrations, which has nevertheless left no trace.[492]

In general, it seems that frequentation of the sanctuary became more sporadic beginning in the 2nd century BCE, as can also be evinced from the reduction in votive gifts, which were confined mostly to coins during that period. The earthquakes of 62 CE and 79 CE must have exerted a dramatic toll on the already faltering affairs of the sanctuary. In addition to the above-mentioned collapse of the balustrade of the altars, the earthquake of 62 CE also evidently caused some damage to the temple, since seven metopes were found lying on the ground, possibly fallen after a collapse awaiting replacement, under the layer of ashes from the eruption of Vesuvius of 79 CE. The seismic event of 62 CE also probably caused the collapse of the roof of the portico of the northern compound, as can be evinced by the layer of ashes that covered its remains.[493] It is probable that most of the structures affected by the earthquakes were never put in use again, as is suggested by the construction of the so-called "*Torre*" in Area B of the sanctuary. The structure was built entirely with reused material from the damaged buildings. Among this material were 21 metopes, three of which are of the later series of girls in motion that were part of the decoration of the later phase of the temple.[494] The spoliation of the temple itself began sometimes between the end of 2nd century CE and the first half of the 3rd century CE, as suggested by the material retrieved from the trenches dug during the spoliation and the presence of two furnaces for liming the removed material.[495] The above-mentioned presence

[492] Zancani Montuoro 1937, 297; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 46; Greco 2012, 220.

[493] Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 233; Greco G. 2012, 189.

[494] Area B is located ca. 500 m east of the sanctuary. The walking surface of the "*Torre*" rests on layers of ashes from the eruption of 79 CE. The function of the structure is at present unknown, but its construction establishes the abandonment of certain buildings of the sanctuary after the earthquakes. In addition, its isolation from the sanctuary area suggests the possibility that it was not directly related to it (Zanotti Bianco 1951, 48; Greco G. 2012, 189).

[495] The material found in the spoliation trenches included few coins and African *terra sigillata*

of the *enchytrismos* burials is yet another attestation of the cessation of religious use of the sanctuary at the latest by mid-3rd century CE.

The situation of the rural sanctuaries after the foundation of the colony seems to attest to the gradual abandonment and decrease of importance of the sanctuaries and their cults in favour of the urban cults, as evinced for the settlements of the entire Paestan region. This pattern, however, has a few exceptions. Concerning the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide, the material from the lower deposit, which included finds dated from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, actually suggests that the cult was vital for several decades after the foundation of the colony, for the entirety of the 3rd century BCE at least.[496] The finds from the upper deposit, which contained material dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE and that included glass unguentaria and lamps with signs of use, indicate that the cult resumed or was readapted at the site after a hiatus. This cannot tell us more about the possible differences between the nature of the cult attested by the two different deposits.

On the northern bank of the mouth of Capodifiume River, ca. 300 m south of the south-western section of the walls of the city, a shrine was built at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE on the site of a more ancient cult site, frequented in the Greek Archaic period and in the Lucanian period as well, found underneath the modern Camping Site "Apollo". The shrine has been tentatively assigned to Isis by Mario Torelli (1992, 49–50) based on structures of similar planimetry dedicated to the goddess in Pompeii and Dion, but the plausibility of the attribution is hindered by the almost complete lack of documentation of the excavations.[497]

Regarding the sanctuary of Santa Venera, the foundation of the colony ushered in a renewed interest in and an increasing importance of the shrine, with the obvious association of the figure of Aphrodite to that of Venus, the mother goddess of Aeneas, from which the Latin people descended. The sanctuary was object of construction activity already in the first decades after the foundation of the colony, possibly focused on repairing the Archaic *oikos*, a structure that has been

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dated to a period between the end of the 2nd century CE and the first half of the 3rd century CE. Concerning the furnaces, constructed sometime during that period, one was built resting on the southern section of the opisthodomos of the temple, while the second, located somewhat more to the south, was assembled by employing, amongst other material, 22 fluted column drums probably belonging to the temple (Greco G. 2012, 190).

[496] Cipriani 2012, 157–58.

[497] Napoli 1968, 246–47; Ardovino 1986, 49–52; Cipriani 1992b, 412–13; Torelli 1992, 49–50; Cipriani 2012, 144–46.

interpreted as the most important building of the cult dedicated to the goddess in the sanctuary, and also with the erection of a portico. Between the end of the Republican and the beginning of the Imperial periods, the *oikos* was built anew.[498]

In consequence of the lack of excavations of other areas than the enclosure in the rural sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella, it is impossible to say at present if the defunctionalisation of the enclosure occurred after the mid-4th century BCE corresponded to the abandonment of the sanctuary altogether. On the other hand, the data in our possession concerning the fate of Paestan sanctuaries and cults during the Roman period also suggests the abandonment of some liminal, suburban, and extramural shrines. This is the case, for example, with the liminal sanctuaries located in the areas of the different gates of the city. These shrines were in use from the Greek Archaic period, and the archaeological evidence suggests that they were all abandoned shortly after the foundation of the colony, possibly concurrently with the enlargement and rearrangement of the Lucanian walls.[499]

Concerning the rural territory of Paistom, the sanctuary of Capodifiume, located ca. 4 km east of the urban area, in the vicinity of the springs of the Capodifiume River, was abandoned in ca. mid-3rd century BCE, thus in the decades immediately after the foundation of the colony.

Generally, in the urban and peri-urban areas, the Romans seem to have mostly continued the use of the existing sanctuaries and added other shrines

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[498] Sestieri 1953, n. 171; Greco E. 1979, 11–13, 21; Johannowsky – Pedley – Torelli 1983; Pedley – Torelli 1984, 367–76; Menard 1991; Pedley 1992, 402–08; Pedley – Torelli 1993; Ammerman 2002; Mertens 2006, 168–69; Cipriani 2012, 134–38; Torelli 2020.

[499] Concerning the shrine of Porta Sirena, see Cipriani – Pontrandolfo 2010; Cipriani 2012, 126–32. Religious activity was carried out there until the foundation of the colony, as attested by the latest material retrieved, which included a silver didrachm of Elea dated to a period between 290/280 BCE and 275 BCE (Pantuliano 2010, 285), and the lack of material datable to the period subsequent to the foundation of the colony (De Caro – Di Gregorio – Marino 2010, 221–22). Concerning the sanctuary east of Porta Giustizia, see Bertarelli Sestieri 1987–1988; Cipriani 1992c, 399–400; Cipriani 2012, 131–32). The material collected in the 1950s lacked proper documentation and was analysed for the first time in the 1980s by Bertarelli Sestieri. Since the contexts and the stratigraphy of the material is unknown, only stylistic analysis is possible. The material seems to cover a timespan between the mid-6th century BCE and the mid-3rd century BCE. Regarding the sacred area north of Porta Marina, see Cipriani 2012, 132–33. Once more, the excavation carried by Sestieri in the area in 1959 did not produce enough documentation concerning the finds. During the work of rearranging the boxes in the storage rooms of the museum, Marina Cipriani noticed that the material from Porta Sirena extended into the mid-3rd century BCE. She suggested that its deposition may have occurred as a consequence of a possible rearrangement of the walls and the gate during the Roman period.

later. Nevertheless, it is a fact that in the countryside only the sanctuary of Fonte continued to be in use by the 2nd century CE.

The developmental pattern of the sanctuaries during the Roman period introduces the question of the fate of the cult of Hera, and generally of Paestan cults, after the foundation of the Roman colony. As was the case with the Greek and Lucanian periods, both ancient sources and epigraphic evidence contain scarce information concerning this issue, albeit they attest some cultic presence in the city. Concerning the written sources, authors of the Roman period reference the fame of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. However, as has been discussed above, the archaeological evidence indicates that the cult gradually lost its importance beginning in the 2nd century BCE and may have definitively declined after the earthquakes of 62 CE and 79 CE.[500] The epigraphic texts from the Roman period are rather short, mostly containing the name of the god who was the recipient of the dedication. These include Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, Castor and Pollux, Venus, Bona Mens, and Hercules, while numismatic evidence adds to the list Neptune, Ceres, Diana, Liber, and Victoria.[501] No reference to a cult of Juno has been preserved in epigraphic or numismatic evidence from the Roman period. At least concerning the epigraphic material, however, this could be partially explained by the fact that material from Paestan buildings was extensively reused in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

While coroplastics had compensated for the almost complete lack of literary and epigraphic evidence concerning the cults of Poseidonia/Paistom in the Greek and Lucanian periods, with the establishment of the Roman colony, if one excludes the production of figurines of swaddled infants retrieved from the area of the "Italic Temple" and at Santa Venera, the once great Paestan coroplastic industry came to an end, at the latest by the end of the 3rd century BCE.[502] This

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[500] Concerning the mentions of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele in authors of the Imperial period, see Strab. 6,1,1; Plin. *nat.* 3,70.

[501] Concerning the epigraphic evidence, a good summary with bibliography in Mello 1996, 301-395; regarding literary and epigraphic evidence, see Biraschi 2012, 285–347. Concerning the numismatic evidence from the Roman period, see Taliercio Mensitieri 2012, 264–67, 270–75, 276–80, 281.

[502] Regarding the possible reasons behind the end of large scale Paestan coroplastic industry, Rebecca Miller Ammerman (2002, 147) hypothesised that the decline may have occurred as a consequence of the repetitiveness of the models employed in the ending years of the Lucanian period, which was possibly caused in turn by a lack of interest in the dedication of figurines in the sanctuaries. She pointed out that this phenomenon was matched by the decline of coroplastic production in the other great production centres of Magna Graecia such as Syracuse and Tarentum

is in sharp contrast to the wealth of evidence for the vitality of the cult of Hera during both the Greek and Lucanian periods, as attested by the votive gifts from the sanctuaries. In view of these considerations, one has to resort to other sources of information, such as the topography of the sanctuaries and other types of dedications, in order to hypothesise how the cult of the goddess fared and how her transition to the cult of Juno during the Roman period took place.

The construction and reorganisation activity in the urban Southern Sanctuary leaves this question open, however it may suggest a slow but steady reduction in importance for the cult, following the plausible inclusion of Hera/Juno in the cult of the Capitoline Triad. As was discussed above, religious activity in the Southern Sanctuary continued apparently unchanged at least in the years after the foundation of the colony. The archaeological material found in the votive pits that were dug into the earth or in *loculi* after the different reorganisations of the sacred area, demonstrates a predominance of material from the Lucanian period. The material from the Roman period is not as numerous and suggests a reduction in attendance of the cults in the shrine. The *terminus post quem* of the pits of the Roman period is the 1st century BCE, which may suggest that the area underwent a wider reorganisation than what can be evinced from the extant monuments sometime between the end of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. In the same period, the late Archaic altar of the so-called Temple of Neptune was demolished and a new, smaller one, was built further east. The fact that a new altar was not built for the "Basilica" has prompted scholars to believe that between the end of the Republican period and the beginning of the Imperial period the temple was no longer in use, while the so-called "Temple of Neptune" continued to function. During the same period, in the northern section of the sanctuary, the "Italic Temple", was obliterated by the basilica of the Forum and by the Macellum. It is not possible, at present, to identify the goddess venerated in the area of the "Italic Temple" as Hera, nor as any other specific goddess, neither Greek nor Italic/Roman, but it seems evident that, with the construction of the temple, the Roman colonists had recognised their veneration of the *kourotrophic* deity previously worshipped in that area of the sanctuary.[503] With the destruction

after the end of the Second Punic War. This may thus suggest a wider change in the practice of religious piety throughout all of Southern Italy during the final part of the 3rd century BCE, which affected Paestan workshops as well.

[503] Mario Torelli (1992, 66–68), once more basing his reconstruction on the topography of Rome, namely of the Forum Boarium, suggested that the temple was dedicated to Mater Matuta, thus assigning a wholly Roman origin to the cult. More recently, he (2008, 14) has suggested as an alternative that the deity could be identified with any other goddess connected to *kourotrophia*

of the temple between the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Imperial period, the *kourotrophic* cult in the area does not seem to have survived. This is a further sign of the reduced importance of some of the former cults of the city, and of the reorganisation of the cults of the Southern Sanctuary at large.

Further north, the construction of the so-called "*Tempio della Pace*", probably a Capitolium, between the end of the 2nd century BCE and the beginning of the 1st century BCE, marked the end of use of the Comitium, the first seat of the magistrates after the foundation of the colony, and possibly concurrently began the reorganisation of the cults in the Southern Sanctuary. The construction of the Capitolium, thus, could represent a key to the understanding of the reduction in cultic activity in the southern section of the Southern Sanctuary. Although the information is at present rather patchy, it may be possible that the cult of Hera, being associated with Roman Juno, after a transitional period following the foundation of the colony suffered from competition with other cults that were closer to the religiosity of the Roman colonists. In this respect, the reduction in activity around the "Basilica" is countered by the increasing importance and vitality of the sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Venus, the *genetrix* of all the Latin people, during the Late Republican and Imperial periods, or by the continuation and popularity of the cult of Minerva, together with Jupiter, in the Northern Sanctuary. The arrival or increasing importance of other cults particularly venerated by the Latins, such as Ceres, Bona Mens, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules, may have further diminished the centrality that the cult of Hera had enjoyed during the Greek and Lucanian periods and, albeit with decreasing importance, during the first years of the Roman colony. Perhaps the figure of Hera/Juno was included in the cult of the Capitoline Triad in the Capitolium and the cult of the goddess in the Southern Sanctuary ended. This is suggested by the closing of the votive pits during that period, and by the lack of a replacement for the altar of the "Basilica", as opposed to the replacement that did take place for the altar of the so-called temple of Neptune.

Concerning the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, the picture provided by construction activity and finds suggests that the cult of the goddess still enjoyed some popularity for several decades after the foundation of the colony. While the Square Building was destroyed by a fire of an unknown nature and never used again, the other

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and whose cult was popular during the middle-republican period. I believe that an association of the temple with the cult of Mater Matuta, or with any Roman deity, cannot be supported by the available evidence, since the theory of Torelli does not stress the fact of the pre-existence in the same area of a cult of a yet unknown *kourotrophic* deity that had been introduced to the Southern Sanctuary during the Lucanian period.

areas of the sanctuary were still functioning. The further strengthening of the road leading from the city to Volta del Forno, and most probably to the sanctuary after the foundation of the colony, is a further attestation of the veneration that the shrine enjoyed from the Romans as well. The construction of the so-called *thesauros* could have been part of this first phase of continuity of the cult after the establishment of the colony. With the decline of the Paestan coroplastic industry after the foundation of the colony, a significant number of coins, mostly of the PAISTANO series, but also of other series struck until the end of the 3rd century BCE, testify to the relative vitality of the cult in that period.[504]

Nevertheless, beginning already from the 2nd century BCE, the situation of the cult at Foce del Sele seems to change, and suggests a reduction in activity. The closing of the votive pits during that century, the abandonment of all the area north of the temple, the covering of the *stelae* and the *anathemata* and of the *thesauros*, is more than a proof of the beginning of the decline of the cult. The archaeological evidence suggests only a sporadic human presence at the sanctuary during the Imperial period, and this was not necessarily related to religious purposes. Such material included a few examples of terra sigillata vessels, dating from a period between the 2nd century CE and the 7th century CE, and a few coins dating from the reign of Vespasian until the reign of Commodus.[505] Thus, sometime during the 2nd century BCE the process began that led to the end of the cult of Hera at Foce del Sele, at latest by the beginning of the Imperial period. As was the case with the urban area, the cult of the goddess succumbed to the changing religious and political circumstances, with the increase in the importance of cults favoured by the Latin colonists. In addition, particularly concerning the shrine at Foce del Sele, it may have suffered from the decrease in importance of the countryside in favour of the urban centre after the foundation of the colony. When the sanctuary was affected by the occasional flooding of the river or earthquakes, there was simply not enough interest or means to repair the structures. After Late Antiquity, or possibly the High Middle Ages, the sanctuary fell into oblivion, so that even its location became a mystery until its rediscovery in 1934.

Regarding the sanctuary at Fonte di Roccadaspide, the fact that a hiatus occurred between the first and the second deposits raises questions about the

[504] Greco G. 2012, 242.

[505] Regarding the terra sigillata found at Foce del Sele in recent excavations, see Falcomatà 2010, 481–82; Greco G. 2012, 242. Concerning the coins of the Imperial period at Foce del Sele, see Cantilena 2010, 730–31.

nature of the cult during the Roman period. It is remarkable that the sanctuary was the only rural shrine in the former Paestan territory still in use during the Roman period. The reasons behind the recovery of the cult at Fonte are thus elusive. It may be possible that it was sustained by local Lucanian families in order to hold onto the ancient traditions of their people. On the other hand, it could also be possible that the cult was totally independent from the previous one or was a Roman re-interpretation. In any case, there is no evidence that the sanctuary continued to function after the 2nd century CE.

The cult of Juno, together with the other cults of Paestum, succumbed in due course to the arrival and affirmation of Christianity. Between the 4th century CE and the 5th century CE the city became the seat of a bishopric. During that same period the size of the urban centre was considerably reduced and was confined to the area of the Northern Sanctuary and the *Athenaion*. East of the temple, the Paleo-Christian church of the Annunziata, still in use today, was built during the same period. The *Athenaion* itself became a church. The reduction in size of Paestum was possibly caused by changes in the river Salso, identified with the Capodifiume, which run right outside the southern walls. The silting up of the mouth of the river caused the formation of swamps in the southern section of the city. In addition, as pointed out already by Strabo (5,4,13), the waters of the Salso were rich in calcium, which when it solidifies creates a thick and hard stratum of calcareous stone. Over time, this layer covered the remains of the ancient city.

Together with this natural phenomenon, the increasing threat of Saracen and Norman incursions into southern Italy probably pushed the last inhabitants of Paestum to abandon the city and move inland to the hills east of the site, where the springs of the Salso were located. There, in the 9th century CE, they founded the settlement of Capaccio (*Caput Aquae*), to which Paestum administratively belongs today.[506] Later in the Middle Ages, between the 11th and the 12th centuries, the remaining vestiges of Paestum were spoliated for the construction of the Cathedral of Saint Matthew and other buildings of the city of Salerno, where they are still visible. After this period, the insalubrious state of the area, together with the threat of malaria, drastically reduced the knowledge of the topography of the site, although the imposing edifices of the three Doric temples were still known to the occasional travellers who ventured into the area. The site became known to broader European culture after the construction of the Bourbon road that cuts through the amphitheatre, and which is still in use today.

[506] Ghinatti 1975, 180; Mello 1989, 5–8.

The discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum during the same period also stirred interest in the antiquities of Paestum. The marvellous drawings of Piranesi and the words of Goethe, who visited the site, placed Paestum and its temples among the landmarks of the Grand Tour.[507]

Hera, the once great protectress of Poseidonia/Paistom and its territory, remained silent until the rediscovery of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele made her voice and the memory of her might rise again. Already in the 19th century the figure of the goddess had attracted interest for the similarity of her iconography with that of the Virgin of Granato of Capaccio, the statue of an enthroned Mary holding a pomegranate in her right hand and the baby Jesus in her left. The church of the Madonna del Granato had been founded by the Paestans who fled the city and founded the new settlement of Capaccio in the 9th century CE. The statue of the Virgin now displayed in the church is a plaster copy of a probably mid-17th century wooden statue that burned in a fire that seriously damaged the sanctuary in 1918. The association with Hera was fuelled even more by the sensational discovery of the *Heraion* and of the figurines and statues of the goddess holding a pomegranate, and of the *kourotrophos* of the Lucanian period.[508] The suggestive association of Paestan Hera with the Madonna del Granato cannot be proved by the available evidence, and Giovanna Greco (2016, 187–97) has brought up doubts about the possibility that the iconography would have been passed directly from one divine figure to another after so many centuries, and most especially because the epithet of Granato only appears in documents in the 1630s, that is, almost concurrently with the possible creation of the wooden statue. Consequently, the imagery that inspired the Madonna del Granato should be searched for elsewhere in the iconography of Christendom. Likewise, the first occasional discoveries of objects from the ancient city in the 16th and 17th centuries may have led to the appropriation of the imagery of Hera, rather than a direct religious superimposition that occurred during Late Antiquity or the Early Middle Ages.[509]

Despite this, the excavations of the last century contributed to bringing back from the dust of the past the figure of Hera of Poseidonia/Paistom. In one way or

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[507] For good summaries of the rediscovery of Paestum in modern era, see Mello 1989, 91–123; Mello 1991, 5–16.

[508] Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1937, 234; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti Bianco 1951, 18–19; Ghinatti 1975, 180; Aurigemma – Spinazzola – Maiuri 1986, 27.

[509] Some of the same considerations also in Greco G. 2010, 159–85. Doubts on the association were cast also in Ardovino 1986, 189.

another, the goddess re-emerged from oblivion. She brought with her the voices of the thousands of Greeks and Lucanians who worshipped her, and who created a multicultural society which in my opinion is worth studying by taking into account the role played by both civilisations. The story of Hera, and of the other deities and cults of Poseidonia/Paistom, is still open, and awaits new information gathered by future excavations, both in the urban area and in the inlands. The hundreds of thousands of visitors who arrive in Paestum each year are re-enacting the pilgrimages of more than two millennia ago. Once more, like in Antiquity, the goddess has set her protective embrace over the ancient city, the Sele River Plain, and the hilly inlands surrounding them.

Conclusions

This study of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paistom, and of the Lucanians who took control of the city in the final decades of the 5th century BCE, has become a sort of long chronological journey from the origins of the cult to the transformations that occurred in its nature and rituals after it encountered the Italic culture of the Lucanians. In addition, the cult of Hera of Poseidonia/Paistom, in consequence of its centrality to the life of the city, has functioned, for the purposes of this work, as a sort of case study in order to explore some of the aspects related to multiculturalism in cultic practices. In this respect, cultic practices, especially those of ancient cults, despite a patina of significant traditionalism, are a relevant and tangible indicator of change. The foundation of such change must often be extracted from different sources, and must be interpreted by expanding the research field, both in relation to chronology and topography. This is the case, for instance, with the origin of the cult of Hera among the Achaean colonists and the implications this has for their ethnicity. The cult originated in the area corresponding to the Mycenaean heartland in the Peloponnese and the Eastern Argive Plain, possibly already during the Mycenaean period. It survived the transition of the so-called Dark Age and established itself as the central religious feature of the Eastern Argive Plain, the ancestral homeland of the Achaean people, and the eastern part of that region that was later known as Achaia, all former territories of the mythical *Aigialos*, Agamemnon's kingdom.

Hera was the mistress of the Plain, who protected the fertility of crops, animals, and humans, and civic institutions such as marriage and the Army, through her connection with the Achaean warriors portrayed in the Homeric epos, and with the dead. She was thus a deity holding the patronage of many aspects encompassing all the cycles of life. She was worshipped by the Achaean colonists who left their homeland in continental Greece in the 8th century BCE to establish several colonies in Southern Italy that proved to be wealthy and successful. Their kin in mainland Greece were pushed to the northern shores of the Peloponnese and over time lost their connection with the cult of the great goddess, who in turn had lost her centrality and many of her attributes within the framework of the canonisation of the religion of the Olympic gods. The Achaeans of Southern Italy, surrounded by populations who were not necessarily always friendly, instead rallied around the cult of Hera, a symbol of their ancestral home, so as to boost their ethnic pride. This was probably not the result of unified decisions by the Achaeans, and it permitted broad local differentiations and variations;

nevertheless, it also permitted the formation, within the individual colonies, of the concept of an Achaean *ethnos*. In Southern Italy all the most important Achaean colonies, such as Kroton, Sybaris, Metapontum, and Poseidonia, apparently with the notable exception of Caulonia, seem to have shared a belief in the centrality of a cult of Hera, who, despite some local differences, possessed the same wide range of attributes of the ancient cult that originated in the Eastern Argive Plain. Therefore, in order to worship the different aspects of the figure of the goddess according to this Argive/Achaean version, a replication of the cult occurred, in the form of the construction in each city of an urban and at least one extramural sanctuary. This latter was often located in the vicinity of a watercourse marking the frontier of the territory of the *polis*.

When the Sybarites established the sub-colony of Poseidonia at the beginning of the 6th century BCE, the same pattern occurred, with the concurrent establishment of the urban Southern Sanctuary, where the poliadic cult of the goddess was housed, and the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. In the latter the cult was centred from the moment of the establishment of the sanctuary on the veneration of Hera as a protectress of fertility and childbirth. The setting of the sanctuary along the river, with its luxuriant vegetation and the presence of an area of mixed cultivated and uncultivated land forming the garden of the goddess, are yet another indication of the nature of the cult at Foce del Sele. Another sanctuary attributed to Hera was established concurrently with the foundation of the city and of the sanctuary at Foce del Sele, at Fonte di Roccadaspide, at the eastern extremity of the territory of Poseidonia. The shrine was located in an area set among springs and surrounded by local non-Greek settlements. The inhabitants of these communities had an active role in the cult, possibly because the sanctuary was established on the site of the cult of a local goddess of the springs. Although the explorations of 1964 did not discover a temple structure there, the artefacts found at the site were similar to those found at the *Heraion*, therefore suggesting that the deity of Fonte, even in the case that she was not Hera, did share with her many of the same attributes.

The sanctuary of Fonte poses questions about the relationship and reception of the Greek cults by the local populations, particularly the Etruscans and the Etruscanised Campanians living on the northern banks of the Sele River, and another indigenous people that was known to early historiographers as the Oenotrians. These lived in settlements bordering or within the territory of Poseidonia itself. These relationships seem to have been significant already from the establishment of Poseidonia, as can be evinced by the material retrieved from sites such as Fratte di Salerno and possibly Fonte, and the presence of architectonic material of

Archaic Etruscan-Campanian manufacture in the urban area. The famous silver disk of Poseidonia was once believed to be a dedication of Poseidoniate warriors to Hera; however, it may be that such a valuable offering to the goddess by a local non-Greek population, the Amineans, conceivably the Etruscan-Campanian inhabitants of modern day Pontecagnano and of the territories on the northern banks of the Sele River, was a sign of the strength of those connections. In this respect, cult functioned as a means of interaction between the Greeks and the surrounding non-Greek populations. These relationships were characterised by trade and religious and cultural interaction, rather than by military confrontation. In addition, recent research has demonstrated that, contrary to what the first modern excavators of Paestum and its territory believed, the Lucanian takeover of the city occurred gradually and peacefully. Therefore, the transition from the Greek to the Lucanian period was rather smooth, indicating that the almost two centuries of interaction between the Poseidoniate population and the Italics was distinguished by mutual respect. Cult may have played a decisive role in this process. Places such as Foce del Sele and Fonte di Roccadaspide thus may have functioned as decisive points where the contact between cultures favoured the appropriation and modification of the cult.

I felt that this first part of this work was necessary to define the nature of the figure of the Hera worshipped in her multiple aspects in Poseidonia and its *chora*. In addition, it was necessary to understand the possible reasons behind the reception of the cult among the local non-Greek communities that surrounded Poseidonia, and which became in due time the majority of the inhabitants of the city and its territory. Even if the study of the figure of Hera has been an extensive theme in Paestan studies, I employed the data represented by the topography of the sanctuaries, the architectural structure of the buildings related to cult, ceramic evidence, and votive gifts in order to identify the defining features of the figure of Hera of Poseidonia during the Greek period. The votive gifts of coroplastic figurines, one of the most defining features of the cults of Poseidonia, have been particularly valuable in sketching a possible picture of the character of the goddess.

The collected evidence suggests that in the Greek period the figure of Poseidoniate Hera was coherent with that worshipped in the Achaean/Argive version of the cult of the goddess. She was one of the Great Mothers of the Mediterranean, with whom she shared her attributes of protectress of the cycles of the world. Therefore, she was in this respect also a chthonic deity. In addition, her figure was the focus of a poliadic cult in the city, which emphasised the protection of civic institutions such as marriage and the wealth of the community. The

hypothetical warrior nature of the Hera of Poseidonia, following the example of Krotoniate Hera *Hoplosmia* and Hera the protector of the ephebes of Argos, does not seem to be supported by the available evidence. In addition to the probable dismissal of the silver disc as a dedication to Hera by Poseidoniate warriors, all but one of the figurines of the Archaic goddess holding a spear found at Paestum were discovered in the area surrounding the *Athenaion*. Therefore, the recipient of the figurines was most probably Athena. This lack of evidence regarding Hera, however, may only constitute the attestation of local differentiations within a cultic pattern widely shared between the Achaean colonies of Magna Graecia.

The definition of the figure of Poseidoniate Hera opens up the question of the appropriation of the cult by the Italics, and particularly the Lucanians who eventually took over the city. In my opinion, the great popularity of the cult, and the desire of the first Lucanians arriving in Poseidonia to be part of the cultural and religious heritage of the city, do not suffice as the sole reason for the continuation and success of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian period. For instance, the spread of "*La Pestana*" to the Oscan settlements and to the Lucanian inland cannot be explained as a demonstration of a unidirectional process of assimilation, which makes the Oscan and Lucanian communities surrounding Poseidonia the passive recipients of Greek culture. In sum, something else in the figure of Poseidoniate Hera likely attracted the Lucanians, something that was present in their own religion and some of its deities. The presence of these similarities therefore constituted the decisive factor in the preservation and, on the base of the archaeological evidence from Paestan sanctuaries, the increasing of importance of the cult during the Lucanian period. I argue that the Lucanians absorbed the cult, but also reshaped it, as they did with other cults of the city, by adding features originating from their own cultural and religious milieu.

The Lucanians rose as an *ethnos* only beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, possibly as a consequence of the Brettian schism of 356 BCE, but they belonged to the Oscan ethnic family, to that group of populations to which the Samnites and the Campanians also belonged. Despite the doubts concerning their arrival in the region, it seems that they were kin of the Oenotrians. Therefore, the Lucanian religious framework and organisation must be analysed with reference to Oscan religion and ritual. In the last few decades, great advances have been made in our knowledge of Lucanian religion and cult. Several sanctuaries have been excavated, at least to a certain extent, thus offering the possibility of establishing patterns of organisation for Lucanian sanctuaries and rituals. Shrines such as Timmari and the Sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, which equals in importance the other shrine of this goddess at Valle d'Ansanto in the former

territory of the Samnite tribe of the Hirpini, have yielded a considerable number of finds, a rare event for Lucanian sanctuaries. The settlement of Roccagloriosa, with its small yard sacellum, and the sanctuary of Torre di Satriano, have been suggested as having favourable connections with Paestan culture in the areas bordering the territory of the city, because of their relative vicinity and the presence of a significant number of votive gifts of Paestan production retrieved during their excavations. The analysis of the topography of Lucanian sanctuaries, which will benefit from the results of further excavations, allows the identification of several patterns of development and of repeated topographical and architectural features.

In the period corresponding to the Archaic and Classical Greek periods, religious activity in Lucania seems to have been performed in structures located in the palaces of the ruling classes, in areas designated for religious performances in the palaces' courtyards, often in the form of small sacella. This conforms with the customs of the Oscan people, which featured the presence of open roof or roofed sacella surrounded by a sacred enclosure as the main structures of a sanctuary. The few examples of rural sanctuaries of the Archaic period from Lucania, such as Garaguso, were usually located in areas with an abundance of springs and watercourses. These might have functioned as locations for interaction between the indigenous populations and the Greeks, as was with the case with Timmari and Fonte di Roccadaspide as well. Beginning in the mid-4th century BCE, and concurrently with the emergence of the concept of a Lucanian *ethnos*, a new pattern appeared in Lucania of walled hilltop settlements to which an extramural sanctuary was attached. The sanctuary served the community of the hilltop settlement and the surrounding countryside. The pattern is generalised, but the still partial state of excavations warns us to consider it as solely applicable to Lucania, as demonstrated by the example of Civita di Tricarico, where recent excavations have brought to light a mid-4th century BCE sanctuary within the circuit of the settlement walls.

The mid-4th century BCE sanctuaries of Lucania seem to follow the same topographical and architectural patterns of earlier periods, albeit they were situated for a large part outside the settlements. Like the few examples of rural sanctuaries in Lucania from the Early Archaic period, the later extramural Lucanian shrines were constructed near watercourses and springs, or sometimes the springs were located within the sanctuary. Moreover, the shrines were often situated in the vicinity of woodlands or areas of rich vegetation, possibly in order to stage agrarian fertility rituals. In addition, the architectural features resembled the space organisation of the Archaic period, with a square sacellum that probably housed the statue of the god, which was worshipped at the shrine or at an enclosed open-

roofed space with an altar in the courtyard of the compound that surrounded it. This latter included halls designated for the performance of common dining rituals, and a kitchen. The topography of the sanctuaries demonstrates that they were planned in order to meet the needs of the rituals that were held within the compounds. Water was an essential feature of rituals of purification, and water tanks, channels, and basins were constructed in order to collect and convey it. The presence of a spring in several Lucanian sanctuaries indicates how the element of water was included in the rituals. Ceramic and votive gift evidence from Lucanian sanctuaries, some of which was of Paestan production, suggests that ritual common dining, the burning of incense and offerings, and the offering of first fruits were central rituals in the ceremonies. In addition, many sanctuaries featured a sort of ritual path that permitted the circulation through the ceremonies from one area of the sanctuary to another.

Concerning Lucanian religion, much progress has been made in the last decades, albeit much must still be done. The only Lucanian shrine that can be attributed to a specific deity is the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, thanks to the rich epigraphic evidence that the shrine yielded. At Rossano, Mefitis had as subsidiary deities, other gods that were popular in Italic religions, such as Jupiter, Mamers (Mars), and Hercules. In the Roman period, Mefitis was associated at Rossano with Juno and Venus. The latter had in turn been assimilated by the Romans from the Oscan Herentas and returned to Lucania under the Roman name. It is possible that Lucanian religion included other much venerated goddesses among the Oscan people such as Ceres. In addition, in areas bordering the Greek colonies, Greek deities were worshipped by the Lucanians as well, or these were assimilated into Lucanian gods. Moreover, it is possible that local variations of the cults occurred in different areas. In general, it seems that in Lucanian religion male deities were often subsidiary to female ones, and that female deities were also largely venerated by male worshippers as well. In addition, as was the case with other Italic religions, the gender characterisation of deities could be blurred.

As a sort of "case study", I have explored the figure of Mefitis, the most important deity in the Lucanian religion, who had characteristics similar to, among others, those possessed by Poseidoniate Hera, in order to try to find out why it was apparently natural for the Lucanians to appropriate the cult and eventually add to it features from their own religion and culture. The advances made in the last decades in our knowledge of Lucanian religion have permitted us to appreciate the figure of Mefitis, the most important goddess of Oscan religion. For a long time, as a consequence of some passages of Virgil supported by Late

Antique scholiasts and lexicographers, the goddess had been relegated to the role of minor, malicious deity often associated with the venomous exhalation of sulphuric waters. This concept was later passed on to several modern languages, and is still in use at present. Modern research, aided by increasing archaeological evidence, has demonstrated that sulphuric exhalations were a feature of her cult only at Valle d'Ansanto, and that instead Mefitis was a deity associated with the protection of fertility, childbirth, of all the cycles of life, an agrarian goddess with strong chthonic connotations. At Rossano di Vaglio she had, among others, the epithet of *Jovia*, an epiclesis obviously attached to Juno, but also to Venus. She was therefore a goddess with a wide spectrum of characteristics, which could be associated with different deities that shared the same whole-encompassing character, the Great Mothers of the Mediterranean, such as Hera, Demeter, Aphrodite, Astarte, Ishtar, or Uni. The evidence provided by Lucanian sanctuaries suggests that many of the still unknown female deities worshipped by the Lucanians shared many of the same characteristics, and that generally all the gods of the Lucanian religion had a particular focus on the protection of the agrarian world, of fertility, and of the cycles of life and chthonic traits. I suggest that some of the reasons behind the preservation of the cult of Hera of Poseidonia, with her whole-encompassing character, and of other Poseidoniate goddesses in the Lucanian period, lay in the fact that the Lucanians already had deities with several similar features in their religion, a fact that made the appropriation of these Greek cults easier. It may be that Poseidonia/Paistom, as a consequence of it being the main cultural and economic centre of the area, and considering the similarity between Hera and Mefitis, was the cultural means that enabled the association of Hera/Juno and Mefitis in Southern Latium and then, through there, in Rome. This possibility is well represented by the vicinity of the shrines of the two goddesses on the Esquiline, and by a similarity in patterns, in the cases of Pompeii and Rossano di Vaglio for Venus and Herentas. This latter pattern of associations is also demonstrated by the epithets of *Caprotina* and *Kaporoinna* for Juno in Southern Latium and Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio.

During the Lucanian period, a hiatus in construction activity may have occurred at Paistom after the Lucanian takeover of the city, with the construction of the Square Building at Foce del Sele and the first phase of the so-called *Asklepieion* as perhaps the only exceptions before the mid-4th century BCE. This fact suggests that the Lucanians, some of whom had lived in the areas surrounding Poseidonia and interacted with the Greek colonists, left the sanctuaries unscathed, possibly in order to claim a shared cultural heritage with the Greeks. With the passage of time, however, the Lucanians must have become the majority of the

population of the city. It is true that the Lucanians continued the use of Greek sanctuaries, but archaeological evidence suggests that during the Lucanian period many buildings and structures were erected after the mid-4th century BCE. This fact suggests that the shrines of Paistom underwent some sort of reorganisation. It may be of some significance that this occurred after the mid-4th century BCE, after the Lucanians achieved a self-awareness of belonging to a defined ethnic group, and concurrently with the reorganisation of the network of sanctuaries in inland Lucania.

Thanks to the evidence provided by Paestan coroplastic production, and by other finds in the sanctuaries, it is possible to show that Paestan cults thrived during the Lucanian period. In particular, the cult of Hera reasserted its presence at the urban sanctuary and at Foce del Sele. The inscribed bottoms of cups with the name or the acronym of the goddess found in the votive pits in the Southern Sanctuary, and the thousands of votive figurines found at Foce del Sele, attest the high attendance at these sanctuaries dedicated to Hera. The same general pattern extends to other cults as well, as demonstrated by the thriving rural sanctuaries of the Paestan territory. Concerning the topography of the shrines, numerous halls designated for common dining and porticoes for the reception of worshippers were built in the urban area and at Foce del Sele. Additional temples were built in the urban area, together with other structures of uncertain use with no clear parallels in Western Greek architecture. Some of the new structures featured channel systems for the collection and conveyance of water. Although the identification of Lucanian features is made more difficult by their partial implementation of Greek architectonical techniques, I have suggested that this increased building activity was fuelled by the need of the Lucanians to construct structures for the performance of rituals and cults related to their religion. In the Southern sanctuary of the urban centre, several halls for common dining were built. One of these was possibly the enigmatic "*Orologio ad Acqua*", and further doubts could also be cast on the identification of the large rectangular area in the eastern section of the sanctuary as an *Asklepieion*. Common ritual meals were also staged in this latter building.

The Lucanian origin of the increase in common dining rituals is supported by the ceramic evidence, which suggests a sharp increase in the incidence of kitchenware over other types in all of the Paestan sanctuaries during the Lucanian period. This phenomenon mirrors the importance of the ritual in Lucanian sanctuaries. The northern section of the Southern Sanctuary was dedicated to the cult of a deity with a strong *kourotrophic* valence in the Lucanian period, as demonstrated by the retrieval of coroplastic figurines of *kourotrophoi*. In addition,

the so-called "Italic Temple" was built in this area after the foundation of the Roman colony, and was also dedicated to a similar deity, as indicated by the figurines of swaddled infants found on the premises. There is no confirmation that the *kourotrophic* goddess would have been Hera, and the theme of *kourotrophia* was introduced in the Southern Sanctuary only during the Lucanian period. This has been interpreted as influence from the Lucanian component of the Paestan population. In the western part of the sanctuary, structures associated with the performance of rituals related to chthonic cults were built on a location designated for the same use during the Archaic period. The increasing importance of chthonic cults during the Lucanian period in Paestum is confirmed by the establishment of a rural sanctuary dedicated to a chthonic deity at Capodifiume, and by the development of the type of figurines representing male and female dedicands holding a piglet and other objects related to chthonic rituals. In the eastern part of the Sanctuary, a row of at least twelve altars not associated with any temple was built during the Lucanian period. I suggested that these marked a possible ceremonial path of the type known from Lucanian sanctuaries, and which would lead the worshippers from the Lucanian stoa to the southern section of the sanctuary, where the temple of the goddess and the other Doric temple and the halls for dining stood.

Likewise, I suggested that the structures built in the Lucanian period at Foce del Sele could point to the possible presence of a ceremonial path, with the worshippers entering from the southern portico to the main area where the temple and the double altars stood and the ceremonies were held, then to the northern compound with three different buildings that formed a sort of courtyard. The westernmost of these functioned as another portico for the transition of the worshippers, who then moved to the other buildings where a kitchen and a hall for dining were located. The increase in chthonic features for the cult of Hera at Foce del Sele is suggested besides by the ceramic evidence, and also by the manner of deposition of the votive and sacrificial material in the two votive pits associated with the two small altars located in the northern and southern sections of the Sanctuary. The southernmost of these was closed in the early Roman period by the sacrifice of a dog, an animal offered to chthonic deities. The function of the Square Building remains uncertain, together with the possible practical and religious significance of the material found in the deposits within its premises. The find of loom weights used as votive gifts in Lucanian sanctuaries casts doubts on the possible identification of the Square Building as a structure for the ritual weaving of the *peplos* of Hera for the *Peplophoria*. On the other hand, the isolation of the structure from the rest of the sanctuary is also

at odds with the identification of the building as a sacellum similar to those of the sanctuaries of the Lucanian inland, despite the presence of the cult statue of Hera, or as an *oikos-pyrgos* destined to store the offerings and the properties of the goddess.

Concerning the coroplastic evidence, it seems that the only type of figurines produced during the Lucanian period that could have been originally designed for Hera was "*La Pestana*", since it borrowed the theme of the canonical image of the goddess enthroned and holding a pomegranate. Nevertheless, the switch of the attribute from a pomegranate to a basket of generic fruit may conceal a change in the nature of the cult that was not only formal. In fact, the later creation of the sub-type of "*La Pestana*" holding a pomegranate was relegated to use as a burial gift, suggesting that the coroplast intended to underline the dichotomy of the basket of fruit and the pomegranate. I interpreted the first attribute as symbolising fertility and the agrarian world, and the second as related solely to the world of the dead. Thus, what seems to have been only a minor stylistic adjustment may have signalled the arrival of Lucanian religious features that were related to the rural and agrarian world. In this respect, "*La Pestana*" was a Lucanian re-interpretation of the canonical figure of the Hera with a pomegranate. Moreover, the generic nature of the iconography was another trait of the "*La Pestana*" type, and of all of the other coroplastic figurines of the Lucanian period. In addition to being an attempt by the coroplasts to maximise the available iconography by creating a product that could fit a number of different sanctuaries, it is possible that generic nature was also a response to new features being introduced to the cults and the figures of different deities, which the customers themselves saw as sharing many of the same traits. In fact, this could be the reason why "*La Pestana*" was dedicated in sanctuaries of deities such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Kore, and Athena, who in the eyes of the worshippers of the Lucanian period must have seemed to share the traits of regal figures protecting the plenty of the agrarian world symbolised by the basket of fruit. For the same reason, figurines of the type were exported to sanctuaries of inland Lucania and Campania in order to be dedicated to deities, among them Mefitis, who asserted their protection over the agrarian world.

The production of votives associated with the other above-mentioned religious themes increased during the Lucanian period in Paestum, and figurines of *kourotrophoi* of Paistom were exported to several areas of Lucania and Campania; but at the same time Paestan production mutually influenced that of other Campanian production centres such as Capua. The theme related to chthonic cults was represented by the combination of busts of goddesses with

the *polos* and the class of *thymiateria* of Paestan production known as "*Donna-Fiore*". The wide geographical range of distribution of these items, and their presence in the Paestan region and in Campanian and Lucanian sanctuaries in shrines dedicated to goddesses with strong chthonic connotations, indicate that they were created in order to function as votive gifts or items used in rituals in honour of deities possessing such traits. In Lucanian sanctuaries the "*Donna-Fiore*" were dedicated as burners for fumigation and the offering of first fruits. In addition, the presence of such items in the sanctuaries of deities who during the Greek period in Paestum had only a minor chthonic valence, such as Aphrodite and Athena, suggests that chthonic themes were pervasive in all of the originally Greek cults of the Paestan region during the Lucanian period as a result of Italic influence on ritual.

The last great Paestan coroplastic production run was that of local Tanagra figurines, which portray mortal women, possibly the dedicands themselves. The production of this type, coming from different production centres, became pervasive and predominant in all of the Southern Italian sanctuaries, supplanting almost altogether the production of figurines of deities. It is possible that the change to this sort of *koine* in coroplastics may have been foreshadowed by the manufacture of busts of women without *polos*, and that this change from the representation of the divine to the representation of profane in figurines was the expression of a deeper societal change. I suggested that it is possible that this change was fuelled by the ever-increasing power of important Italic families, many of which were members of organizations such as the *touta*, which was in charge of the management of the sanctuaries.

Regarding the Hera of Poseidonia, it is possible that her figure lost her poliadic traits in the urban sanctuary, thus aligning with the cult of Foce del Sele, where she retained her character as a protectress of fertility in humans, animals, and vegetation. An increased emphasis on the fertility of the land, and particularly of crops, and therefore towards the agrarian world, can be evinced in the figure of Hera, for example in the iconography of "*La Pestana*". In addition, the figure of the goddess took on a more pronounced chthonic valence, as was the case with several deities of Greek origin, as a consequence of Italic and particularly Lucanian cultural and religious influence. The most ethnically iconic deity of the colonial Achaean *pantheon*, Hera, as a result of her whole-encompassing nature, was assimilated by the Lucanians into some of their deities who shared the same traits, including Mefitis. This fact, together with the veneration for the ancient cult of the goddess of the city, of which the Lucanians claimed a shared cultural heritage, was the key to the preservation and success of the cult during

the Lucanian period. This was also the case for the cults of other Poseidoniate goddesses who shared with Hera an ample range of characteristics, such as Athena, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Kore. This cultural and religious framework, which was created by an ethnically mixed community, lasted until the arrival of the Romans, particularly in the crucial years between the mid-1st century BCE and the 1st century CE, which reshaped it decisively and created a system of cults more conforming to Roman religion.

One of the objectives of this work was to provide new perspectives, new ideas, and a different approach to the cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paistom during the timespan when it thrived in the Greek and Lucanian periods. Despite the fact that the subject has been treated by previous scholarship, I believe that there is still room for a different understanding of many of the issues related to it. In addition, another intent of this research was to contribute to eliminating the last scoria of the almost post-colonialist approach to the issue of the participation of the Lucanians in the development of the culture of Paistom and of its cults, which has still partially resisted until recently.

I believe that to have a more complete grasp of the issue of the multiculturalism of Poseidonia/Paistom, research needs to take into consideration the wider picture and the different milieus that permitted its development. It may be that, in places, the interpretation of issues of religious features and topographical aspects herein may seem imprudent and somewhat forced, however it was fuelled by the intent to stir up ideas and to think outside the framework dictated by the pervasive models of Greek culture. The fact that the goal of this work was to highlight the Lucanian input may seem to some as diminishing the input of the Greeks of Lucanian Paistom. It is possible that, by emphasising this Lucanian input, there is a danger of seeming almost "iconoclastic" towards the Greek models. This was not the intent, since the Greek element of the city was decisive not only in the spread of the cult throughout the area, but also in its continuation during the Lucanian period, when Greek artisans and architects reshaped the visual representations and topography of the sanctuaries in order to meet the needs of a changing society, and thus rendered the old cultural and religious background of the former *polis* more understandable and assimilable to the non-Greek population. Finally, the work had the humble objective of trying to valorise the dynamic nature of the culture and religion of a region where cultural interactions and multiculturalism were an even wider phenomena than has been thought, and which may have influenced Roman cults as well because of their vicinity to Latium.

In this respect, further studies concerning the multicultural aspects of communities in ancient Campania and Lucania could constitute a fruitful

subject of research. Further excavations of sites located at the borders of what was the Poseidoniate *chora*, such as Fonte di Roccadaspide, where no structures were detected in the occasional excavations of 1964, or Roccagloriosa, located between the territories of Poseidonia and Elea and never fully excavated, would shed more light on the beginning and the developments of the interactions between the Greeks and the non-Greek populations in this area of Southern Italy.

I believe that there are more pages left to write about the cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paistom, and that hopefully further excavations will enlighten our perception of both this cult and the other cults of the city, and its multicultural nature. The still ongoing excavations led by Prof. Bianca Ferrara at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele will hopefully provide more information that could fill in the gaps in our understanding of the different phases of the life of the sanctuary and of the great goddess that was once worshipped there. The recent excavations of the "*Casa dei Sacerdoti*" will hopefully provide further information concerning the use of the two Doric temples of the Southern Sanctuary during the Lucanian period. The sensational discovery and ensuing excavation in 2019 of the small peripteral Doric temple dated to the first half of the 5th century BCE, located in the north-western section of the northern part of the city, also demonstrates how little we still know of the Greek city as well. The study of Poseidonia/Paistom, of the cult of Hera, and of the lives of the Greeks, Italics, and Romans who lived there, will still yield more surprises, and perhaps even some answers, for those who seek them from different perspectives.

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Appendix*

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2. Inv. no. 1938 (Urban Southern Sanctuary)

3. Inv. no. 1937 (Urban Southern Sanctuary)

4. Inv. no. PF 14 (Fonte di Roccadaspide)

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* Pictures De Martino 2018–2019.

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6. Inv. no. PF 522 (Fonte di Roccadaspide)

7. Inv. no. 1884 (Urban Southern Sanctuary)

8. Inv. no. P84 TC 46 (Santa Venera)

9. Inv. no. P84 TC 41 (Santa Venera)

10. Inv. no. P83 TC 46 (Santa Venera)

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(Heraion Foce del Sele)

15. Inv. no. 56549 (Heraion Foce del Sele)

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18. Inv. no. HU 48.595
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19. Inv. no. 4079 I
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23. Inv. no. V5 2110
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