

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. LII



VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

HELSINKI 2018

ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

Arctos has been published since 1954, annually from vol. 8 (1974). *Arctos* welcomes submissions dealing with any aspect of classical antiquity, and the reception of ancient cultures in mediaeval times and beyond. *Arctos* presents research articles and short notes in the fields of Greek and Latin languages, literatures, ancient history, philosophy, religions, archaeology, art, and society. Each volume also contains reviews of recent books. The web site is at www.journal.fi/arctos.

Publisher:

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o House of Science and Letters, Kirkkokatu 6, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

Editors:

Martti Leiwo (*Editor-in-Chief*), Lassi Jakola (*Executive Editor and Secretary*), Anna-Maria Wilskman (*Review Editor*).

Editorial Advisory Board:

Øivind Andersen, Therese Fuhrer, Michel Gras, Gerd Haverling, Richard Hunter, Maijastina Kahlos, Mika Kajava, Jari Pakkanen, Pauliina Remes, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, Antero Tammisto, Kaius Tuori, Jyri Vaahtera, Marja Vierros.

Correspondence regarding the submission of articles and general enquiries should be addressed to the Executive Editor and Secretary at the following address (e-mail: arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi). Correspondence regarding book reviews should be addressed to the Review Editor at the following address (e-mail: arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi)

Note to Contributors:

Submissions, written in English, French, German, Italian, or Latin, should be sent by e-mail to the Executive Editor and Secretary (at arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi). The submissions should be sent in two copies; one text version (DOCX/RTF) and one PDF version. The e-mail should also contain the name, affiliation and postal address of the author and the title of the article. Further guidelines can be found at www.journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1.

Requests for Exchange:

Exchange Centre for Scientific Literature, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.
– e-mail: exchange.centre@tsv.fi

Sale:

Bookstore Tiedekirja, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.
– Tel. +358 9 635 177, fax +358 9 635 017, internet: www.tiedekirja.fi.

ISSN 0570–734–X

Layout by Maija Holappa

Printed by KTMP Group Oy, Mustasaari

INDEX

	MIREILLE CORBIER	<i>Nouvelle lecture d'une inscription de Mâcon (Matisco) (Saône-et-Loire, France)</i>	11
	GIANLUCA DE MARTINO	<i>A Multicultural Approach to the Study of the Cult of Hera in Poseidonia/Paestum</i>	17
	RICHARD DUNCAN-JONES	<i>The Antonine Plague Revisited</i>	41
	HILLA HALLA-AHO	<i>Left-dislocation, Subordinate Clauses and the Stylistic Difference between Plautus and Terence</i>	73
	GEORGE HOLLENBACK	<i>The Problems in the Vitruvian Hodometer Revisited</i>	95
	MIKA KAJAVA & URPO KANTOLA	<i>A Funerary Inscription from Northern Mesopotamia</i>	99
	ARTHUR KEAVENEY	<i>Notes on Plutarch: Comparison Lysander-Sulla 2,5–7 and 5,5</i>	103
	GEORGIOS E. MOURATIDIS	<i>The Political Vocabulary of the Imperial-period Greek Elite; Some Notes on the Title ἀξιολογώτατος</i>	119
	TIZIANO OTTOBRINI	<i>Cirillo di Gerusalemme e le catechesi 12 e 13 nella basilica costantiniana (348 p.Ch.): verso una mistagogia sindonica</i>	137
	OLLI SALOMIES	<i>A Fourth-Century Inscription from Abritus in Moesia Secunda</i>	157
	KAJ SANDBERG & JASMIN LUKKARI	<i>Equestrian Fortunes and Roman Imperialism</i>	167
	HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta Epigraphica 322–326</i>	191
	KAIUS TUORI	<i>Pliny and the Uses of the Aerarium Saturni as an Administrative Space</i>	199

<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	231
<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	271
<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	273
<i>Index scriptorum</i>	277

A MULTICULTURAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE CULT OF HERA IN POSEIDONIA/PAESTUM

GIANLUCA DE MARTINO*

Introduction

The site of Poseidonia/Paestum, with the vestiges of its imposing temples and the metopes of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele preserved in the local museum, is a very well-known subject of research. The Sybarite sub-colony of Poseidonia presented many of the same cultic peculiarities and religious beliefs common to all the Achaean cities of Magna Graecia. These beliefs valorised the figure of Hera as the most venerated divinity of the Achaean *pantheon* in the Western colonies. Despite the Lucanian¹ take-over of Poseidonia around 420/410 BCE, the cult of Hera in Poseidonia continued and even thrived under the new masters of

* I wish to express my thanks to Professor Mika Kajava (University of Helsinki) for his precious comments and suggestions. Likewise, I am extremely thankful to the two anonymous referees for the very useful suggested corrections and improvements to the text. I nevertheless retain all the possible errors and unclarity contained in the text. This paper presents some of the issues and themes which are included and will be expanded in my doctoral thesis, which I am currently writing. The thesis is founded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, to which is due my deepest gratitude for financially supporting the work. The board of the Museum of Paestum, which I would also like to thank, has kindly granted me the opportunity to research and photograph material and artefacts related to the cult of Hera in Paestum and surrounding sanctuaries. The results of the research at Paestum, and images of the material will be included and presented in the doctoral thesis.

¹ The term was used by Greek historiographers only beginning from the 4th century BCE. The Lucanians sprang from Oscan-speaking populations and became known as an *ethnos* only in the 4th century BCE. Even at the time of their maximum political strength, they were never a unitarian political entity, but rather a confederation of communities. Pontrandolfo 1982 is still a valuable source concerning the history and archaeology of the Lucanian people. See Isayev 2007; Battiloro 2017, 13–42, for more recent discussions concerning Lucanian ethnography.

the *polis*. The foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum in 273 BCE greatly reshaped the cultic composition of the city, but despite this, the cult of Hera/Juno also continued, although reduced in importance, in the Roman period.

The cult of Hera in Poseidonia has been the focus of intense scholarly research also by reason of the impressive number of votive gifts, mostly in the form of clay figurines dedicated to the goddess, retrieved from the various excavations performed in the area since the beginning of the 20th century. The research concerning the cult of the Poseidoniate Hera became the focus of enormous scholarly interest as a consequence of the discovery of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele made by Paola Zancani Montuoro and Umberto Zanotti Bianco in 1934.²

For a long time, the cult of Hera in Paestum has been studied within the frame of Greek culture and its Achaean origin. Affected by the prestige of the supposed supremacy which Greek culture held over ancient native cultures in Western societies for the entire 20th century, research has often taken a Hellenocentric perspective on the subject. The Lucanians have been considered as mere recipient of the cult, almost as if passively accepting the religious belief of a 'superior' culture. As a result of the improved knowledge of ancient Lucanian culture, in the last couple of decades the scientific approach has begun paying attention to the aspects of continuity of the cult and of multicultural religious interaction. The purpose of this paper is to stress the importance of taking into consideration the Lucanian input to the preservation of the cult of Hera of Poseidonia and to discuss some of the features which Lucanian religious practices introduced into the cult, by analysing the archaeological evidence both in Poseidonia and its *chora*, and in the Lucanian inland territories. Future analyses of the Lucanian motifs added to the clay figurines portraying Hera will hopefully contribute to improving the knowledge of those features of Lucanian religion which were added to the cult by the Lucanian population. I am aware that such an analysis based solely on iconographical patterns would be not satisfactory, but fortunately the archaeological evidence covers a significant period of the history of Poseidonia/Paestum, demonstrating the changes during this time. In addition, the cultural contexts, such as the passage from the Greek to the Lucan-

² See Zancani Montuoro - Zanotti Bianco 1951–1954. See Ferrara 2017, 335–346, for the most recent work concerning recent excavations at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.

ian period will also be duly taken into consideration.³ Furthermore, comparative study of the topographical and architectural features of the Greek sanctuaries of Hera in Poseidonia and of the Lucanian sanctuaries will improve the understanding of the elements common to the two cultures that facilitated the continuation of the cult among the Lucanians. The Lucanian appropriation of the cult of Hera, in turn, was a decisive factor in allowing its survival until the Roman Imperial period.

The Achaean Hera of Greek Poseidonia

Perhaps the main feature which greatly facilitated the appropriation of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia by the Lucanians was the peculiar figure of this goddess as she was worshipped among the Achaeans of Magna Graecia. The cult of Hera was the main religious belief shared by the Western Achaean colonies.⁴ The Achaean colonists who in the 8th century BCE left from the region of mainland Greece which was known by the 5th century BCE as Achaea, were drawing on earlier beliefs which originated in the Eastern Argolis Plain, the heartland and ancestral home of the Achaean people, before, according to Greek tradition, these people were forcibly driven to the shores of the Northern Peloponnese by the invading Dorians.

³ The issue of the risks of solely iconographical analyses of the use of the coroplastic votives in the deposits of the Greek sanctuaries of Southern Italy is well discussed, for instance, by Lippolis (2014, 55–93). Certainly, variables such as the activity of certain workshops and their chosen motifs have to be taken in consideration, together with the ritual, social and historical contexts of deposition. Nevertheless, the workshops also often responded to the needs and inputs given by their customers. This is true of the Locrian votive *pinakes* used as case study by Lippolis in the above-mentioned discussion of the use of coroplastic in the sanctuaries. As stated by Lippolis, 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 artigiano 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” (67).

⁴ In this respect the Achaeans of Magna Graecia differed from their kin in continental Greece, since the cult of Hera was a minor phenomenon in that part of the Peloponnese which only in the 5th century BCE came to be known as Achaea. Only two sanctuaries of Hera were situated in Achaea, one at Patrai, one at Aigion (Osanna 1996, 303–312).

The Argive/Achaean Hera, who had been worshipped in the area of the Eastern Argolis Plain since the Bronze Age, was a divinity whose attributes encompassed a whole range of aspects.⁵ Archaeological evidence and literary tradition portray her as a *potnia theron*, but also as a kourotrophic goddess, and as a patron of both human and floral fertility. She was also a warrior, and votive figurines represent her in military stance and driving charts as protector deity of the warriors and therefore of the order of society. As patron deity of the Achaeans and their heroes of myth, Hera was the goddess who defined Achaean identity. Rituals related to the fertility of land and of living beings were important features taken into consideration when constructing the extramural *Heraia* which followed the cult of the goddess as practised in the Eastern Argolis Plain.⁶ The presence of watercourses for the performance of fertility rituals was an important feature in the topography of the *Heraia* in continental Greece, as well as in the Achaean Western colonies.⁷

As a representative of the Achaean colonies, Poseidonia also featured the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of Hera. In Poseidonia, as in the other Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, Hera had at least one urban and one extramural sanctuary. The main sanctuaries of the goddess in the territory of Poseidonia were the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, circa 8 km. north of the city and the Temple of Hera (also known as the “Basilica”) in the Southern Sanctuary within the city walls. This sort of reduplication of the cult of Hera points to the presence of different attributes and cultic practices in the urban and extramural sanctuaries. Certainly, the choice of the topographical planning of the extramural sanctuaries

⁵ As attested by the evidence presented by linear B tablets, Hera was worshipped in the Eastern Argive Plain already during the Mycenaean period. See Bennett - Olivier 1973, 76; Chadwick - Ventris 1973, 126; O’Brien 1993, 114–115; Hall 1997, 105 and n.206. Hera might have been the multifunctional goddess who ruled over the Plain portrayed on votive gifts dating to the Bronze Age. This goddess of the Plain had a range of attributes similar to those of Hera in the Argive/Achaean cult. For a discussion on the iconography of the Mycenaean goddess see O’Brien 1993, 125–128; 153–155. Even if one would not support the identification of the goddess of the Plain with Hera, it must be admitted that certainly part of her attributes was transferred to the Argive/Achaean Hera in later times.

⁶ O’Brien (1993, 113–166) discusses at length the rituals and the attributes of Hera in her cult in the Eastern Argolis Plain.

⁷ All the extant major extramural *Heraia* of the most important Achaean Western colonies such as Kroton, Metapontum, and Poseidonia were located close to watercourses. The extramural *Heraion* of Sybaris has instead not been found yet.

was also a political statement of claiming the territory, by marking its frontier on the natural barriers constituted by rivers, swamps and sea waters.⁸ Nevertheless, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele was built from the beginning as a meeting point between the Greeks, the Etruscans and local Italic people living on the northern banks of the Sele river.⁹ The presence of the extramural *Heraion*, together with the urban sanctuary, therefore also had other purposes, which perhaps have to be sought in the differentiation of cultic and ceremonial use of the structures.

In the Foce del Sele *Heraion*, the goddess was worshipped during the Greek period with her attributes of *potnia theton* and of patron divinity of the fertility of land and humans alike. At Foce del Sele, her function in relation to marriage focused on the aspect of fertility and the passage of young girls to marital age. These functions of the goddess are attested, for instance, by the iconography of the votive clay figurines retrieved at the sanctuary. One such typology, datable to the mid-6th century BCE, portrays the goddess as *kourotrophos* enthroned, holding a baby in the left arm, in a motif remarkably missing from the urban Southern Sanctuary.¹⁰ The role of Hera as a divinity that protected in particular girls undergoing initiation rituals before entering marital age is demonstrated by a couple of complete votives and others preserved in fragmentary condition datable to the Archaic period. They portray young girls holding hands

⁸ See Osanna 1999, 273–292. The presence on the metopes of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele of motifs such as the feats of Hercules, the Centauromachy and the Silenomachy, and of the Achillean *epos*, are still largely considered to be symbolic representations which back up Greek claims to the territory by showing the victory of the greatest Greek heroes over the ‘other’ and the foreigner. The cycle, belonging to the first series of metopes of Foce del Sele, was designed for the first plan of the temple of Hera, which was never brought to completion. Some of the metopes are clearly in an unfinished state. The possibility that these metopes or part of them were ever on public display at Foce del Sele is a matter of great dispute among scholars. In this respect, it is not possible to determine if this mythological/political message was ever seen by the worshippers and the foreign visitors of the sanctuary, at least in its entirety. See G. Greco 2012, 181–184; 193–195; 233–236 with notes and bibliography, for a discussion of the metopes and the issues related to them.

⁹ The presence of a landing place for boats upriver at Volta del Forno, signals how the frontier and the sanctuary were not impregnable last barriers of Hellenism, but they were from the beginning intended to commerce and interaction.

¹⁰ The *kourotrophos* is a typology known from the sanctuaries of Argos and Perachora. G. Greco (1998, 45–61; 2012, 236–242) and Cipriani (2012, 54–55; 80–83) present a comprehensive description of the main features of the various typologies of votives from the areas of the main sanctuaries of Hera in Poseidonia.

together in a circle, in what appears to be a ritual dance.¹¹ The realm of Hera's prerogatives touched not only the sphere of human fertility, but also the fertility of land and animals. In the second half of the 6th century BCE Hera was represented in Poseidoniatic votives sitting on a throne holding in her hand a figure of a horse.¹² Moreover, modern scientific research has demonstrated that an area of woods and cultivated land dedicated to the goddess was present at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. Scholars have also established that myrtle, a plant which was brought on site by human activity, grew in the cultivated area of the sanctuary. This suggests that the aspect of Hera as protector of vegetation was also worshipped at Foce del Sele.¹³ The abundant vegetation of the area surrounding the sanctuary included oat and wheat, and willow trees and poplars grew at the banks of the river. The sanctuary was set amidst the swamps and the fertile plains surrounding the Sele river.

When one takes into consideration these elements, it becomes clear how the topographical choice for the construction of the sanctuary was not only dictated by the necessity of claiming the territory at the place of the natural barrier constituted by the river, but this selection must also have included the necessity of giving to the goddess a sanctuary which befitted her attributes of protectress of fertility. In addition, some rituals in the cult of the Argive/Achaean Hera might have included ablutions and the ritual washing of the cultic statue or of *xoana* representing the goddess.¹⁴

¹¹ Similar votives were retrieved from other sanctuaries, such as Perachora and Tiryns (G. Greco 1998, 56–57 with notes and bibliography).

¹² The type with Hera holding a horse in her hand is remarkable since it is a peculiar Poseidoniatic representation of Hera as *potnia theron*, missing from the other Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, although the votive representation of horses and knights is attested in the *Heraia* of Argos, Perachora, Tiryns and Samos (G. Greco 1998, 52–53, with notes and bibliography).

¹³ Mariotti Lippi - Mori Secci 2010, 53–59; G. Greco 2012, 172. Often the *Heraia* were surrounded by a garden area dedicated to the goddess and an uncultivated area where animals put under the protection of the goddess grazed freely. The presence of such an area is attested, for instance, at Capo Colonna, where animals inhabited the *temenos* of the Krotoniate *Heraion* (Giangiulio 1989, 57).

¹⁴ O'Brien (1993, 9–15; 54–62; 125; 167–169) discusses comprehensively about the association of the cult of Argive Hera with watercourses. O'Brien presents the example of Samos, where the statue of Hera was ritually washed during the celebration of the festival of the *Tonaia*. In addition, O'Brien discusses the association of Hera to several rivers, according to Argive mythology.

The ceramic evidence from Foce del Sele from the Greek period yielded different forms of unguentaria and vessels for perfumes, in addition to forms related to symposia. Other typologies of finds such as paddles, brooches, support for mirrors, rings and pins suggest that women already constituted the majority of the worshippers visiting the sanctuary in the Archaic period.¹⁵

In the Greek Archaic period in the urban Southern Sanctuary the warrior character of the archaic Hera found its expression in the clay figurines portraying the goddess as standing wearing a high *polos*, her right arm bent and pierced in order to hold possibly a spear. Hera was venerated as protector of young ephebes in the Argive tradition.¹⁶ In addition, in the Southern Sanctuary the goddess was venerated as guarantor of lawful marriage, which was one of the founding bases of stability in society. Proof of this are the votive figurines portraying Hera and Zeus together in representation of the *hieros gamos*. Furthermore, one cannot help noticing that the presence of certain cults in the sanctuary area in the Greek period is connected to the overall poliadic cult of Hera. Such is the case with the cults of Zeus and Apollo.¹⁷ Beginning from around 460 BCE, the regal nature of the figure of Hera was expressed by the typology of the goddess enthroned holding in her left hand a pomegranate, which was a re-elaboration of a Southern Italian and Sicilian type of enthroned goddess or, as suggested by Angela Pontrandolfo, the representation of the Argive Hera following the iconography

¹⁵ Very common were *pyxides*, *alabastra*, *aryballoi* and *lekythoi*, all forms related to the *mundus muliebris* and its rituals. Between the end of the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE at Foce del Sele were introduced forms of Attic ceramic such as craters, *dinoi*, *skyphoi* and *kylikes*. A comprehensive discussion of the vascular typologies and of objects related to the female world at Foce del Sele in the Greek period is found in Greco, G. 2012, 237–239.

¹⁶ O'Brien (1993, 145–149, with notes and bibliography) discusses about the attributes of Hera as protector of youths in arms in the Argive tradition. In Argos young ephebes entering adult life competed in the *Aspis*, during which the young warriors, on horseback, had to hit with arrows a shield set in the ground. The winner of the competition was awarded with a shield dedicated to Hera. The competition was therefore also a rite of passage of the young ephebes to adulthood. It symbolised their entering the community of the *polis*, upon which the protection of Hera was set, as was the custom in the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of the goddess.

¹⁷ Apollo was also a deity patron of young ephebes entering adulthood. A cult of Apollo Lykeios, associated to the cult of Hera through the protection of the ephebic youth in an urban sanctuary context was present at Metapontum. See Giangiulio 2002, 290. Zeus, with Apollo the other candidate for the attribution of the so-called Temple of Neptune, was obviously protector, together with the goddess, of lawful marriage.

of the goddess expressed in the canonical cultic statue made by Polycletus in Argos.¹⁸ In view of these features, the presence in the Southern Sanctuary of the typology of clay figurines representing Hera holding a figure of a horse found also at Foce del Sele may signal the fact that in the urban sanctuary the cult concentrated on the impact that horse breeding had for the economy of the *polis* and therefore the stability of the community, while in the extramural sanctuary the cult focused on the aspect of the goddess as a *potnia theron*.¹⁹

As opposed to the situation at Foce del Sele, the pottery finds for the Greek period at the Southern Sanctuary are scant. Fragments of Attic pottery and vessels used in the symposium match the finds at Foce del Sele, but the larger amounts of ceramic ware generally related to female worship found at the extramural sanctuary are missing. This, together with the absence of the typology of *kourotrophos* figurines may indicate that the urban cult of Hera was not so much centred on the sphere of female worship as was at Foce del Sele. Therefore, it is probable that the urban cult of Hera focused on the protection of civic institutions, be these lawful marriage, economic stability, and the regeneration of the civic body symbolised by the passage of the young ephebes into the ranks of citizens. At Foce del Sele her function in relation to marriage was focused on the aspect of fertility and to the passage of young girls to marital age, while in the urban sanctuary it was the civic aspect of the stability of society and its institutions that constituted the ideological frame within which the aspect of Hera as protector of lawful marriage was worshipped. Poseidoniate Hera was therefore a divinity of transition, protecting all the cycles of the physical world and its stability.

¹⁸ Due to the genericity of the iconography of the enthroned goddess with the pomegranate, these figurines permitted the association of the portrayed divinity to different goddesses, such as Demeter, as is in the case with the specimen from Selinous contemporary with the oldest specimen found in Poseidonia. This latter was a fictile statue dated to 460 BCE found in a votive deposit in the urban Southern Sanctuary of Poseidonia (G. Greco 2012, 239 with note and bibliography). See Pontrandolfo 1998, 64–65, for her theory that the typology was derived from the canonical image of the goddess in Argos.

¹⁹ Giovanna Greco (1998, 52–53) had suggested that all the figurines representing Hera with the horse symbolised the importance of horse breeding for the stability of the community. I agree that this might be the case for the urban Southern Sanctuary, but I suggest that the votives of Foce del Sele symbolised the aspect of Hera as patron of animal fertility within the wider frame of the cultic use of the extramural sanctuary.

The Lucanian Period

By the time of the Lucanian take-over of Poseidonia in ca. 420/410 BCE, the Oscan-speaking Italic people inhabiting the area surrounding the *chora* of Poseidonia had been in contact with the cult of Hera for almost two centuries. The extramural sanctuaries offered in this respect an ideal place of contacts between cultures. At least some of these first immigrants underwent in time some sort of Hellenisation process, but the Lucanians also kept their own strong cultural elements, as attested by the painted tombs excavated at Poseidonia and dated from the end of the 5th century BCE to the beginning years of the 3rd century BCE. The tomb paintings feature iconographical and stylistic motifs common to all the Campanian communities which had been long in contact with the Greeks and the Etruscans.²⁰ The continuation of the cult of Hera in Lucanian Paestum was partially facilitated by these cultural contacts, and by the exposure to Greek culture and by the prestige of the cult in the area. At the same time, the Lucanians added to the cult of Hera their own themes, which originated from within the frame of their own cultural milieu.

I will now treat the possible Lucanian influences added to the cult of Hera as concerns architectural works, the iconography of the votive figurines dedicated to the goddess, and ritual practices. I will subsequently compare these influences to Lucanian religious customs, in order to discuss some aspects of the unfolding process which determined the preservation of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia in the Lucanian period.

The first area which underwent architectural modification in the Lucanian period was the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. This might have been due to the fact that, as will be discussed later, the sanctuary was set in a topographical landscape which resembled Lucanian sacred contexts. On the other hand, the urban Southern Sanctuary, with its poliadic cult of Hera, was not the focus of architectural modifications in the first years of Lucanian presence. Perhaps in this case the Lucanians pursued continuity of the traditions of the *polis* in association with the Greek element. This was done partly because they had absorbed some of the customs of Greek culture, and partly in an attempt to solidify their rule by affirming their adherence to the traditions of the city. An indication of this is

²⁰ Pontrandolfo - Rouveret 1992 are still an invaluable source for an extensive discussion of the painted tombs of Poseidonia.

perhaps the fact that the first major architectural activity in the Southern Sanctuary is datable to the mid-4th century BCE, when the Lucanian predominance in the city was consolidated.

Perhaps the most known construction of the Lucanian period in the Lucanian *Paistom* is the so-called Square Building in the sanctuary at Foce del Sele. This peculiar construction has baffled the researchers since its discovery in the 1950s for its perfectly square form. The building programme of the structure was initiated at the end of the 5th century BCE. Retrieved in the interior of the structure, possibly abandoned after a fire in the 3rd century BCE, was the statue of Hera in Parian marble now in the museum of Paestum. The statue portrayed Hera enthroned holding a pomegranate and it is dated to a period between the end of the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE. In addition, the excavations at the site have yielded numerous coins dating from a period spanning from the end of the 5th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE, together with a significant amount of loom weights. These weights have been considered evidence that the structure was destined to a ceremony of ritual weaving of the *peplos* of Hera on the part of Lucanian girls.²¹

Although the urban Southern Sanctuary was not the focus of major building construction, archaeological evidence suggests that the cult of Hera also thrived there during the Lucanian period. A proof of this are the bottoms of cups with the inscribed name of the goddess or its acronym from the beginning of the 4th century BCE.²²

²¹ See G. Greco 2003, 103–122 and 2012, 216; Ferrara - Meo 2017, 112–125. In discussing the issue of adherence to and continuity of Greek practices among the Lucanians and Samnites, Mele (2003, 37–58) remarked how these populations reshaped their customs on the Greek ones, especially concerning rituals of initiation. Within this frame, the weaving in the Square Building of the dress for the goddess in preparation for the *peplophoria* would thus represent the adherence of the Lucanian elite to the initiation rituals for young girls at marital age.

²² The sherds were retrieved during the excavations performed by Sestrieri in the 1950s in three large pits situated at the SE side of the enneastyle known as the "Basilica" now attributed to Hera. The specimens present the full name of the goddess ("Ἥρα) or its abbreviation. The latter can be expressed as HHH or "Hp. Some abbreviated or full name specimens present the characters combined into one monogram. The inscription was always curved into the inner surface of the bottom of the cup. One sherd with the full name of the goddess present painted characters. See Cipriani 2012, 48; 55; 57; Biraschi 2012, 301, this latter with a comprehensive bibliography of the works concerning the sherds.

After the construction of the Square Building a hiatus in building activity occurred at Foce del Sele. Construction works resumed at the extramural sanctuary and began in the urban area beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, when Lucanian control over the city was secured. The vitality of the Lucanian *Paistom* is reflected by the large construction activity initiated in all the areas of the excavated part of the city. In the Southern Sanctuary, the centre of the urban cult of Hera, among other works completed in the Lucanian period, a quadrangular structure was built, which featured basins, wells and channels – the so-called “*orologio ad acqua*”. The unusual structure, an anomaly in Greek architectural practices, was perhaps a dining hall or alternatively it was dedicated to the ritual washing of the worshippers.²³ A large stoa was built in the northern sector of the Southern Sanctuary, perhaps to accommodate an increasing number of worshippers. A structure destined to the same use was also built at Foce del Sele. Next to this latter building was erected another rectangular structure, which was identified with a dining area for common ritual meals, due to the presence of a large number of animal bones retrieved from its excavation.²⁴ In the yard between the two structures was also built a small altar in whose vicinities a votive pit was found.²⁵ The presence of this latter *bothros* and another one, located at the SW side of the temple, both filled with a significant number of animal bones and traces of burned soil along with ceramic ware and small amounts of coroplastic material, documents the performance of chthonic rituals at Foce del Sele after the arrival of the Lucanians. These chthonic features might indicate either a more marked chthonic nature attributed by the Lucanians to Hera, or the presence of the cult of a chthonic divinity within the sanctuary during the Lucanian period.²⁶ Other material evidence suggesting the importance of chthonic cults during the Lucanian period is the appearance of that peculiar class of votive figurines used as *thymiateria* known as “*donne-fiore*”. These figurines con-

²³ Cipriani 2012, 63–66, with notes and bibliography.

²⁴ Zancani - Zanotti Bianco 1937, 296–297; G. Greco 2012, 220.

²⁵ Zancani - Zanotti Bianco 1937, 294; G. Greco 2012, 220.

²⁶ The animal bones buried in the *bothroi* include, among other things, the bones of a dog and a cockerel, animals which were associated with chthonic divinities such as Hecate and Persephone respectively. See Dewailly 1997, 201–210; Ferrara 2008, 77–111; Ferrara 2009, for a discussion concerning the *bothroi* of Foce del Sele and their meaning for the cultic developments at the sanctuary during the Lucanian period.

sisted of busts of women which functioned as the base for a flower attached to their head, which could be used as incense burner. This class of figurine votives was spread widely in the Mediterranean area during the 4th century BCE, but it presents different variations and forms in its Paestan version. In the context of Lucanian Paestum, the “*donna-fiore*” have been associated with the increased importance of chthonic cults during the Lucanian period.²⁷ Rituals involving fire, incense burning, and fumigation played an important feature in Lucanian religious practices.²⁸

The iconographic typologies of the clay figurines signal the changes in the cult of Hera during the Lucanian period. The typology of Hera enthroned with Zeus in representation of the *hieros gamos* was still popular in the urban sanctuary, but at the same time, beginning from the end of the 5th century BCE, began the production of a typology of figurines portraying Hera enthroned holding a patera in her right hand and in her left hand a basket of fruit. This type was produced in Poseidonia beginning from the last decades of the 5th century BCE, and it became known as the Paestan Hera-type. This typology was a reshaping of the canonical figure of Hera enthroned holding the pomegranate and it became established in the Lucanian period, a fact which might signal some changes in the ritual nature of the cult following the tastes of a mutating society.²⁹ The popularity of this type lay probably in the fact that its regal but neutral aspect could represent any kind of female goddess. The generic iconographic features of the Paestan Hera contributed to the success of its use in Paestum, not only in the sanctuaries of Hera, and its spreading in Lucanian cultic contexts, in places

²⁷ For a recent and comprehensive discussion concerning the “*donne-fiore*”, not only from Paestum, but in the whole Mediterranean basin, see Cantone 2016. The typology was associated for a long time with the representation of Hera *Antheia*, protectress of vegetation, but it is now widely and plausibly considered as an evidence of the popularity of chthonic cults in Paestum during the Lucanian period. See G. Greco 2012, 240–241.

²⁸ See Battiloro 2017, 112.

²⁹ An example of how workshops were ready to adjust to the tastes and cultic needs of their customers comes from Fratte, an Etrusco-Campanian settlement located in the suburbs of the modern city of Salerno, about 35 km. north of Paestum. There, during the 4th century BCE, the Paestan Hera-type figurines portrayed the divine figure enthroned holding a piglet, and not a basket of fruit. The type with the piglet is absent from Paestum, although it is clearly derived from the original and was destined for the sanctuary of a local chthonic cult, possibly that of Demeter/Kore. See G. Greco 1990, 106–107.

where direct Greek presence is not attested.³⁰

Important variations in the votive figurines occurred from the mid-4th century BCE onwards in the extramural sanctuaries, concurrently with the beginning of extensive construction activity both in the sanctuaries of the urban area and in the *chora*. New typologies introduced in the Lucanian period suggest a shifting of the cult of Hera more towards the focus on childbirth and fertility than was before.³¹ In addition, in the 4th century BCE the custom began of dedicating clay figurines probably representing the dedicands themselves, with different headdresses and clothing.³²

Ceramic finds suggest that generally beginning from the 4th century BCE both in the urban area of Poseidonia and in the extramural sanctuaries, the ware types related to cooking and dining predominated over all other typologies. This

³⁰ Paestan Hera-type figurines were found at the Lucanian sites of Ruoti, Colla di Rivello, Torre di Satriano. Not so numerous specimens of this particular type have been retrieved from sanctuaries of the Lucanian territories, though their presence testifies to the wide geographical spreading of the Paestan Hera-type and of the genericity of its iconographical traits. On the presence of the Paestan Hera-type in Lucania, see Battiloro 2017, 87. Other specimens of Paestan Hera-type were found in Roccagloriosa (Gualtieri - Fracchia 1990, 114–115), and at the Hirpinian sanctuary of Mephitis in the Ansanto Valley (Bottini *et al.* 1976, 400–403). The generic appearance of the type was instead a major factor in the wide spreading of the type in the sanctuaries of Poseidonia and its *chora*. The Paestan Hera could thus represent other female divinities, such as Demeter and Aphrodite. One of the best documented examples of this interchangeability of the Paestan Hera in representing different female goddesses is attested at the sanctuary of Santa Venera, attributed to Aphrodite and situated outside the S side of the city walls, where the type constitutes roughly 85% of the total amount of votive figurines retrieved at the sanctuary from the 5th century BCE until the end of the third quarter of the 4th century BCE, a total of 261 figurines (Ammerman 2002, 108).

³¹ A new type of figurines, portraying a nude female figure crouching and leaping forward and representing of assisting childbirth appeared in addition to the Paestan Hera. The crouching woman-type is identified with Hera in her function of *Eileithyia* attested also in the Argive context. In the same period at Foce del Sele a new typology of enthroned Hera *kourotrophos* appeared, a derivation of the Hera Paestan-type (G. Greco 1998, 49 and 2012, 240). The same type is present in other contexts than at the sanctuaries of Hera. Such is the case with the sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite, where the use of the figurines corresponded to the Lucanian period. According to R. M. Ammerman (2002, 130), although the number of specimens is not large, “the protective nurturing aspect of the *kourotrophos* may have been either a characteristic newly attributed by the Lucanians to female deities already worshipped by the Greek population or a pre-existing trait that perhaps only received visual expression as a response to Lucanian influence”.

³² See G. Greco 2012, 240.

change in the use of ceramic types is evident in all the sanctuaries, including those not dedicated to the cult of Hera, especially from the beginning of the mid-4th century BCE.³³

In view of the above-discussed evidence, it is clear how during the Lucanian period the popularity of the cult of Hera continued. The numerous votive finds, the major construction activities both in the urban Southern Sanctuary and at Foce del Sele in order to accommodate more worshippers, are all indications of such a trend. In addition, the institution of common ritual meal, although this was a practice performed also by the Greeks, reached significant importance with the arrival of the Lucanians. These elements, together with the changes in votive typologies, are indications that the cult was also practised among the Lucanian population of the city. Likewise, the presence of these new features attests that the Lucanians did not only absorb the cult, they also reshaped it, and that Lucanian features increased from the mid-4th century BCE, when probably the Lucanian element became numerically predominant in the anthropic context of Poseidonia. I believe that this process is better grasped if one researches the practices and religious customs of the Lucanians.

Over the past decades, the understanding of Lucanian religion and Lucanian cultic practices has increased, albeit much is still to be done in this direction. Examining the cases of known Lucanian sanctuaries, it seems that these resembled the extramural *Heraia* for what regards topographical settings. They were usually set outside the civilian settlements, in the proximity of watercourses such as springs and rivers. The sanctuary of Mephitis in the Ansanto Valley was situated near sulphuric water. They were all somehow placed in the vicinity of major connection routes.³⁴

³³ Bianca Ferrara (2012, 247–254) wrote a comprehensive description of the typologies of vases and ceramic ware and their possible indications in connection to cultic activities in Poseidonia during the Lucanian period. The increase is detected in the city of Paestum, but also in the extramural sanctuaries dedicated to other divinities than Hera. Ferrara presents the examples of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, of the urban area, of the sanctuary at the Camping Site Apollo (probably dedicated to Isis), of the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide (possibly dedicated to Hera), of the sanctuary of Capodifiume (probably dedicated to Kore), and of the sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella (possibly dedicated to Demeter). I agree with Ferrara that the increasing use of dining ware and of the forms used for communal dining are the result of Lucanian influence and of Lucanian religious rituals possibly related to the worshipping of divinities with a strong chthonic connotation.

³⁴ Horsnaes (2002, 205) and (Battiloro 2017, 131–133) present an analysis of the main topographical

The monumental phase of the Lucanian sanctuaries began from the mid-4th century BCE, significantly when the major construction works in the sanctuaries of Poseidonia and its *chora* began as well.³⁵ An important architectural feature was often the presence of buildings or areas designated for the consumption of common meals.³⁶ In view of this latter information, it is perhaps not a surprise that, as discussed above, the use of cooking and dining ware at Poseidonia in sanctuary contexts incremented significantly during the Lucanian period.

Once one has taken into consideration the fact that indeed the Lucanians added their own customs into the cult of Hera of Poseidonia, perhaps also the archaeological evidence related to the cult could be reconsidered by examining the evidence from Lucanian sanctuaries. One focus of such a reconsideration could be the so-called Square Building. Structures of this shape are a frequent feature in Lucanian sanctuaries. In several known cases, this type of building had the function of housing the cult statue. It is significant that the cult statue of Hera retrieved at Foce del Sele was found in the Square Building.³⁷ According to E. Greco, the structure was a Lucanian *oikos-pyrgos*-type building, a cultic place representing the household activities and the realm of the female world.³⁸

features of Lucanian sanctuaries.

³⁵ Much has still to be grasped concerning the patterns behind the choice of the topographical setting of Lucanian sanctuaries. Battiloro (2017, 44) notes that besides small votive deposits, cultic places subject of monumental construction in the 4th century BCE were not in use in the Archaic period. Battiloro - Osanna (2012, 19–20) suggested that during the Archaic period much of the cultic activities were performed in the domestic areas of the elite, while the emergence of many extramural sanctuaries was contemporary with the consolidation of the concept of Lucanian *ethnos* during the 4th century BCE. The lack of data for extramural sanctuaries in the Archaic Age might be due to the still not extensive state of excavations and surveys of Lucanian inland. As an example of this, Battiloro (2017, 45) presents the examples of the sanctuaries of Timmari and Garaguso, which were close to the territories of Metapontum and Tarentum and were in use in the Archaic period. The sanctuaries were lacking monumental structures but resembled their counterparts of the 4th century BCE in their topographical settings, since they were located outside the settlement areas. The first was situated near the course of the river Bradanus, while the latter was located in an area characterised by caves and water springs, and by the streams of the Salandrella and Cavone rivers.

³⁶ See Horsnæs 2002, 205; Battiloro 2017, 104–111.

³⁷ Hornæs (2002, 99) presents a list of square buildings similar to the one situated at Foce del Sele. Masseria (2000, 241), Osanna (2005, 431), discuss the use of these square buildings as a house for the cult statue. See Battiloro (2017, 54–64), for a comprehensive discussion of the square buildings in Lucanian sanctuaries.

³⁸ Concurrently, Greco convincingly presented the similarities, albeit with some differentiation

Therefore, also the purpose of the material excavated in Poseidonia in contexts of buildings of possible Lucanian origin should be reconsidered. One such case are the hundreds of loom weights found in the Square Building. The function of these weights has been connected to the possible use for weaving the *peplos* of Hera for the *peplophoria*.³⁹ Nevertheless, the practice of dedicating loom weights as votives was a known feature in Lucanian religion and these items were found in several sites, therefore the hypothesis of their use as weaving instruments for the goddess' *peplos* can be plausibly challenged.⁴⁰ These latter considerations constitute a warning against mechanically applying a traditionally Greek frame to the material finds of the Lucanian period, not only in the Lucanian territories, but also in the formerly Greek-held Paestum. In view of these information, the whole material could be reassessed taking more into consideration the features introduced by the Lucanians.

Once one rejects the possibility that the Lucanians appropriated the cult of Hera of Poseidonia only as a result of Hellenisation, then she or he could search within the frame of Lucanian religion for the possible points of contact which facilitated this process. In this respect, it is possible to evince that the figure of the Argive/Achaean Hera of Poseidonia had important similarities with Mephitis, the main female divinity worshipped among the Oscan-Sabellians, Campanians and Lucanians.⁴¹ Although it is not possible, at the moment, to determine a direct relationship between the two goddesses, it is worth noting

within the different classes, of the finds of the Lucanian period deposit of the Square Building with the finds from the *oikos-pyrgos* construction of the Lucanian sanctuary of Satriano, ca. 100 km. E inland from Paestum. See E. Greco 1996, 263–282.

³⁹ See above, p. 26 and n. 21.

⁴⁰ For a list of sites where loom weights were found as votives see Horsnæs 2002, 99; Battiloro 2017, 102 and n.74.

⁴¹ Roman authors and commentaries describe Mephitis as the divinity of the sulphuric odours of volcanic waters emanating from the depth of the earth. See Lejeune 1990, 44–50, with notes and bibliography, for a commentary concerning the occurrence of the name of Mephitis in inscriptions and literary texts. This interpretation was probably influenced by the fact that the most famous sanctuary of Mephitis, situated in the Ansanto Valley, in inland Hirpinia, was located near sulphuric waters. As pointed out by Pocchetti (2008, 162–163), no sulphuric waters are present in the vicinity of the major Lucanian sanctuary of Mephitis in Rossano di Vaglio, about 110 km. to the NE of Poseidonia, nor in other cult places dedicated to the goddess, so that it can be inferred that the nature of this deity had other attributes than those portrayed in Roman texts.

that the two shared similar functions, and that perhaps the study of the figure of Mephitis enables one to understand some of the Lucanian religious motifs also present in the cults of Lucanian Paestum. The understanding of the figure of Mephitis relies on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, on the analysis of the topographical features of the sanctuaries of the goddess, and on her associations with other divinities. The most accepted etymological interpretation of the name of the goddess describes her as a divinity of transition between one stage of life and another, therefore protecting all the spheres of human and natural existence, with a strong chthonic connotation.⁴²

In addition, albeit one should avoid making overly mechanic associations, it is known from different sources that Mephitis had a strong connection with the Roman Juno.⁴³ Furthermore, being a deity, whose pertinences encompassed a wide range of attributes, she was associated with a large number of divinities. Except for the aniconic 6th century BCE *xoana* found at the sanctuary of the Ansanto Valley, Mephitis was represented iconographically only after contacts with the Greeks had occurred. The neutral appearance of votive clay figurines portraying Greek goddesses, such as the Paestan Hera, clearly befitted a divinity with a large range of attributes. Therefore, Mephitis was represented interchangeably, according to the place concerned, as Hera, Aphrodite, Athena, and Demeter, because all of them contained various features proper to her character.⁴⁴ In later periods, Mephitis was associated by different sources with Roman Juno. As attested by the epigraphic material from the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, one of Mephitis' epithets was *Kaporoinna*, who can be associated to *Juno Caprotina*, an epithet of Juno as protector of fertility, child-birth, and the agrarian world.⁴⁵ In the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, Mephitis was also venerated as *Domina Jovia*, an obvious assimilation to Juno as wife of Jupiter.⁴⁶

⁴² The term could have been originated from the Indo-European root **medhyo*, which would correspond to the Oscan *mefiú* and the Latin *medius*. (Battiloro 2017, 136–137 with notes and bibliography).

⁴³ According to Servius, *ad Aen.*, VII 84, Mephitis was associated to Juno, Venus, Artemis, and she was a companion of Leucothea.

⁴⁴ I agree in this respect with Horsnæs (2002, 103) and Battiloro (2017, 143).

⁴⁵ See *RV-06* in Lejeune 1990, 16. For a discussion of the inscription, see Lejeune 1990, 54; Poccetti 2008, 159; Battiloro 2017, 138 with notes and bibliography.

⁴⁶ See *RV-18* in Lejeune 1990, 16. For a discussion of the inscription, see Calisti 2005, 100; Bat-

The shrines of Mephitis were extramural and were placed in the vicinity of watercourses. In addition, as befitted a divinity of fertility, the sanctuaries possibly featured a sacred wood dedicated to the goddess.⁴⁷ The similarity with the garden and wood areas of Hera at Foce del Sele and at Capo Colonna is an evident proof of the association of religious semantic content which the Lucanians encountered when they came in contact with the cult of Hera at Poseidonia. The presence of votive clay figurines portraying goddesses as *kourotrophos*, in the Lucanian sanctuaries of Mephitis and of other unidentified divinities demonstrates the importance of the kourotrophic aspect in Lucanian religion. The increase of such aspect at the expense of other features of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia in the Lucanian period is an indication of the motifs and representational means introduced by the Lucanians.⁴⁸

Conclusions

Hera was the shared religious and ethnic symbol of the Achaeans of Magna Graecia. Her attributes encompassed a wide range of aspects of life. She was the divinity who granted fertility to nature and humans. She protected the stability of the community through the patronage of social institutions such as lawful marriage. She was a transitional goddess, accompanying the cycles of nature and of humans through the different stages of their life. Finally, she was the divinity linking the Achaeans of Magna Graecia to the ancient cult of their ancestral homeland, in the Eastern Argolis Plain.

Paradoxally, the vitality of the cult of this goddess that so defined Achaean identity was preserved in Poseidonia by a non-Greek, non-Achaean people, the Lucanians, who became the masters of the city beginning from the last decade of the 5th century BCE. The reasons behind the absorption of the

tiloro 2017, 139.

⁴⁷ Such a wood was present at least in the sacred area on the Esquiline where Mephitis had a *lucus* together with Juno Lucina and Venus Libitina. This is also yet another indication of the assimilation of Mephitis with Juno and childbirth (Lejeune 1990, 45; Poccetti 2008, 160–161; Battiloro 2010, 145–146 with notes and bibliography). Poccetti (2008, 150–151) suggests that a similar sacred wood might have been present at the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio.

⁴⁸ A standing *kourotrophos* type is attested for instance at the sanctuary of Mephitis at Rossano di Vaglio (Battiloro 2017, 232).

cult by the Lucanians lay probably in the multifunctional nature of the Hera of Poseidonia.

The importance of studying Lucanian religious practices lies in the fact that the information available on the subject also enriches the knowledge of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian *Paistom*. This information suggests that the appropriation of the cult of Hera among the Lucanians did not occur merely through a process of Hellenisation of the Lucanian elements. Such a multicultural approach to the subject could in turn enlarge the knowledge concerning the dynamics of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian period in regard to topography of cult places, to the iconography of the goddess as portrayed on the clay votive figurines, and to ritual aspects.

In view of the above discussed information, although it is still not possible to determine how much the Lucanians altered the number of divinities worshipped at Poseidonia or if, as it is still maintained, the religious *pantheon* of the city remained unaltered, certainly they did not refrain from undertaking construction enterprises in the sanctuaries. It is remarkable that major construction works in the sanctuaries of the urban area and at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele occurred in mid-4th century BCE, that is, concurrently with the beginning of the use of, or monumental phase of, many other Lucanian sanctuaries in the inland areas. This, if nothing else, is an indication that the works at Poseidonia followed an input common to many other sites of the Lucanian territory. Furthermore, comparison with the architectural plans of similar structures in other Lucanian sites suggests that such structures which have puzzled the scholars at Poseidonia, such as the Square Building and the channelling system of the so-called *orologio ad acqua* should be analysed also taking into consideration such similarities from Lucanian examples.

In addition, the Lucanians probably were the cause of the increase in Poseidonia of such religious practices as the ritual common meal and chthonic rituals. This is suggested by the increased amount of cooking and dining ware in the finds from the sanctuaries of Poseidonia, as well by the construction of buildings destined to the partaking in common ritual meals. This ritual was often probably related to the chthonic rituals attested by the *bothroi* at Foce del Sele.

Finally, the Lucanians perhaps found a religious semantic association of Hera with Mephitis, the main female divinity of their *pantheon*. As Hera, Mephitis too was a goddess of transition, protecting all the spheres of life, and

all cycles of nature. She was strongly associated to childbirth and fertility. As a goddess of earth, she presided over all the cycles of life, particularly childbearing and she had marked chthonic aspects. If one takes into consideration that the nature of Mephitis was one of the mirrors of Lucanian culture and religious beliefs, one could grasp themes which were brought by the Lucanians to the cults of Poseidonia. In this manner, perhaps it can be determined that in the Lucanian period the Poseidoniatic figurines of *kourotrophos* and *Eileithyia* signalled the increased importance of the kourotrophic aspect of divinity, or that chthonic aspects assumed a more important role in all the sanctuaries of Lucanian Paestum and its surrounding territories. The study of the Lucanian absorption of the cult of Hera valorises the dynamicity of an area where different cultures had interacted since the beginning of the foundation of Poseidonia. After the Lucanian took over the city, the cult of Hera received features peculiar to the Lucanian custom, which permitted to the cult to thrive also in the Lucanian period, when the Greek anthropic element in the *chora* of Poseidonia diminished. The Lucanians, conversely, through contact with the Greeks, received the means of visually representing their deities by exploiting the iconography of the Greek goddesses portrayed on the votive figurines, one of which was the Paestan Hera. Also, the concept of monumentalising the cultic areas was grasped by the Lucanians after contact with the Greeks, but they added to it architectural features, such as the Square Building and structures furnished with complex water channelling systems destined for ablution and lustration.

Moreover, this comparative study of the religious result of the interaction of Greek elements with non-Greek cultures could contribute to an understanding of the religious dynamics of these areas of modern Campania in Antiquity, also in connection with other cults. Such a study could offer a more comprehensive picture of the cults and religious interaction of this extremely vital territory, where in many areas mutual cultic influences produced multicultural religious practices, before Roman might began reshaping the region.

University of Helsinki

Bibliography

- R. M. Ammerman 2002. *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum II. The Votive Terracottas*, Ann Arbor.
- I. Battiloro 2017. *The Archaeology of Lucanian Cult Places. Fourth Century BC to the Early Imperial Age*, London/New York.
- I. Battiloro - M. Osanna 2012. “Le aree di culto lucane: topografia e articolazione degli spazi”, in I. Battiloro - M. Osanna (eds.), *Brateis Datas. Pratiche rituali attraverso votivi e strumenti del culto dai santuari della Lucania antica*, Venosa.
- A. M. Biraschi 2012. “La documentazione letteraria ed epigrafica”, in A.M. Biraschi - M. Cipriani - G. Greco - M. Taliercio Mensitieri *et al.*, *Poseidonia-Paestum. Culti Geci in Occidente. Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica*, Taranto, 285–348.
- E. L. Bennett - J. P. Olivier 1973–1976. *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed*, Rome.
- A. Bottini *et al.* 1976. “Rocca San Felice. Il deposito votivo del santuario di Mefite”, *NSc*, 359–524.
- F. Calisti, 2005. *Mefitis: dalle madri alla madre. Un tema religioso italico e la sua interpretazione romana e cristiana*, Roma.
- F. Cantone 2016. *La “donna-fiore” nel santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele – Un progetto per l’informatizzazione dei dati*, Pozzuoli.
- J. Chadwick - M. Ventris 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed, Cambridge.
- M. Cipriani 2012. “Le testimonianze in città e nel territorio”, in A. M. Biraschi - M. Cipriani - G. Greco - M. Taliercio Mensitieri *et al.*, *Poseidonia-Paestum. Culti Greci in Occidente. Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica*, Taranto, 27–168.
- M. Dewailly 1997. “L’Heraion de Foce del Sele: quelques aspects du culte d’Héra à l’époque hellénistique d’après les terres cuites”, in J. de La Genière (ed.), *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes (Actes du colloque international, Lille 29–30 novembre 1993)*, Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 15. Napoli, 201–210.
- B. Ferrara 2008. “Il sistema dei doni votivi nei bothroi del santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele”, in G. Greco - B. Ferrara (eds.), *Doni agli dei. Il sistema dei doni votivi nei santuari (Atti del seminario di studi. Napoli 21 aprile 2006)*, Napoli, 77–111.
- B. Ferrara 2009. *I pozzi votivi nel santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele*, Pozzuoli.
- B. Ferrara 2012. “Rituali e forme ceramiche nei santuari di età lucana”, in A. M. Biraschi - M. Cipriani - G. Greco - M. Taliercio Mensitieri *et al.*, *Poseidonia-Paestum. Culti Geci in Occidente. Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica*, Taranto, 247–253.
- B. Ferrara 2017. “Le indagini archeologiche dell’Università Federico II di Napoli nell’area di Foce Sele (2013–2016): nuove scoperte e dati inediti relativi alle mo-

- dalità insediative dall'età arcaica all'età romana", in *Dialoghi sull'archeologia della Magna Grecia e del Mediterraneo: Atti del 1. Convegno internazionale di studi (Paestum, 7–9 settembre 2016)*, 2. Paestum, 335–346.
- B. Ferrara - F. Meo 2017. *Loom weights in sacred contexts: the Square Building of the Heraion near the Sele River*, in C. Brøns - M.L. Nosch (eds.), *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean, International Workshop, Copenhagen, 21st and 22nd of November 2013*, Oxford – Philadelphia, 112–125.
- M. Giangiulio 1989. *Ricerche su Crotona arcaica*, Pisa.
- M. Giangiulio 2002. "I culti delle colonie achee d'Occidente", in E. Greco (ed.), *Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'Occidente*, Paestum, 283–313.
- E. Greco 1996. "Edifici quadrati", in C. Montepaone (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, 3. Naples, 263–282.
- G. Greco 1990. "Coroplastica", in G. Greco - A. Pontrandolfo (eds.) 1990. *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco-campano*, Modena, 99–123.
- G. Greco 1998. "Da Hera Argiva a Hera Pestana", in G. Greco - S. Adamo Muscettola (eds.), *I culti della Campania antica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in Ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele. Napoli 15–17 maggio 1995*, Rome, 45–62.
- G. Greco 2003. "Heraion alla Foce del Sele: nuove letture", in O. De Cazanove - J. Scheid (eds.), *Sanctuaires et sources. Les sources documentaires et leurs limites dans la description des lieux de culte*. Naples, 103–122.
- G. Greco 2012. "Il santuario di Hera alla Foce del Sele", in A. M. Biraschi - M. Cipriani - G. Greco - M. Taliercio Mensitieri et al., *Poseidonia-Paestum. Culti Geci in Occidente. Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica*. Taranto, 171–246.
- M. Gualtieri - H. Fracchia 1990. *Roccagloriosa I. L'abitato: scavo e ricognizione topografica*, Naples.
- J. M. Hall 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- H. W. Horsnaes 2002. *The Cultural Development in North Western Lucania c. 600–273 BC*, Rome.
- E. Isayev 2007. *Inside Ancient Lucania. Dialogues in History and Archaeology*, London.
- M. Lejeune 1990. *Méfites d'après les dédicaces lucaniennes de Rossano di Vaglio*, Louvain.
- E. Lippolis 2014. "Alcune osservazioni sull'uso e sulla diffusione della coroplastica rituale nei depositi dell'Italia meridionale: il caso di Locri Epizefiri," in F. Fontana - E. Murgia (eds.), *Sacrum facere: Atti del II Seminario di archeologia del sacro: contaminazioni, forme di contatto, traduzione e mediazione "sacra" del mondo greco e romano (Trieste, 19–20 aprile 2013)*, Trieste 2014, 55–93.
- M. Mariotti Lippi - M. Mori Secci 2010. "L'antica vegetazione alla Foce del fiume Sele", in J. de la Genière - G. Greco (eds.), *Il santuario di Hera alla Foce del Sele. Indagini e studi (1989–2006)*, Roma, 53–59.

- C. Masseria, 2000. *I santuari indigeni della Basilicata*. Napoli.
- A. Mele, 1994. "Rites d'initiation et processus de libération: le cas des Brettii", in *Religion et anthropologie de l'esclavage et des formes de dépendances, Actes XX Colloque GIREA, Besançon 1993*, Paris, 37–58.
- J. V. O'Brien 1993. *The Transformation of Hera. A Study of Ritual, Hero, and the Goddess in the Iliad*, Lanham.
- M. Osanna 1996. *Santuari e culti dell'Acacia antica*, Naples.
- M. Osanna 1999. "Territorio coloniale e frontiera. La documentazione archeologica", in *Confini e frontiera nella grecità d'Occidente. Atti del Trentasettesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto 3–6 ottobre 1997*, Taranto, 273–292.
- M. Osanna - M. M. Sica (eds.) 2005. *Torre di Satriano I. Il santuario lucano*, Venosa.
- P. Poccetti 2008. "Mefitis rivisitata (vent'anni dopo...e oltre, con prolegomena e epilegomeni minimi)", in A. Mele (ed.), *Il culto della dea Mefite e la Valle d'Ansanto. Ricerche su un giacimento archeologico e culturale dei Sannites Hirpini*, Avelino, 139–180.
- A. Pontrandolfo 1982. *I Lucani*. Milan.
- A. Pontrandolfo 1998. "Spunti di riflessione intorno alla Hera pestana", in *I culti della Campania antica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in Ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele. Napoli 15–17 maggio 1995*, Rome, 63–69.
- A. Pontrandolfo - A. Rouveret 1992. *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum*, Modena.
- G. Ramires 2003. *Servio. Commento al libro VII dell'Eneide di Virgilio*. Bologna.
- P. Zancani - U. Zanolli Bianco 1937. "Capaccio. Heraion alla Foce del Sele (Relazione preliminare)", *NSA* 62. Firenze, 206–354.
- P. Zancani Montuoro - U. Zanolli Bianco 1951–1954. *Heraion alla Foce del Sele*, I, II, Roma.