**Symbolism of Sovereignty**

An Examination of the Placement and Function of Nonurban Sanctuaries in the Outlying Territories of the Achaean Colonies in Magna Graecia

800-500 BCE.

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Master of Arts Thesis

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September 2014

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This study provides an abstract look at the movement of Greek religion into Magna Graecia with the arrival of Achaean settlers in Southern Italy. Through an investigation into the proliferation of sanctuary construction in the nonurban territory of the colonies, it is evident that the sanctuaries were not only used for religious purposes, and served as symbols of the authority of the city. Metaponto, Croton, Sybaris, and Poseidonia are the colonies in question, whose systematic development relied on the construction of these sacred compounds. This study takes a twofold approach; by investigating the physical placement of sanctuaries in various areas around the chora, their functions will be extrapolated. In the Achaean colonies in Southern Italy, sanctuaries in the nonurban territory did have a sacred significance, but more importantly they demonstrated ownership over the areas they presided over, and thus aided in the delineation of the chora. Nonurban sanctuaries also held the responsibility of sustaining order amongst the outlying populations, bringing together Greeks and indigenous and serving as a mediator amongst them. Furthermore, the sanctuaries positioned at the frontiers of the territory strongly demonstrated the identity of the Greeks, reinforcing their claim to the land. Thus, dissimilar to their counterparts on mainland Greece, the sanctuaries constructed in the nonurban territory of the Achaean colonies were part of a clearly defined development plan, and serviced the political necessities of the Greeks above all.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The religious character of the Greeks is a salient feature of their culture. In the minds of the Greeks, it was their understanding that many different gods and goddesses existed, who played various roles depending on where they were being worshipped. Whether one lived within the urban limits of a city or out in the countryside, participation in prayer and ritual activity was an important aspect of the everyday life of the Greeks, and they made dedications to ensure things such as fertility, prosperity, and good health. Cities and regions produced large-scale dedications to ensure victory in conflict, economic success, and the protection of their people. These figures were an important part of the communities in which they existed, and served to represent the authority of the state, as the laws of their religion controlled the affairs of the Greeks.[[1]](#footnote-2)

Through archaeological evidence, it is understood that activities involving the worship of gods ranged in scale throughout Greece. Family members and servants made daily prayers and participated in ritual activity to ensure protection and prosperity of the household, but the existence of large-scale ritual processions and festivals points to the notion that the religious worship was not just the responsibility of an individual, but for communities as a whole as well. As time went on, Greek religious practices spread beyond the mainland, and extended to the islands and coasts of Ionia in Asia Minor, into the Western Mediterranean, and to Magna Graecia.

The gods were revered not only through ritual worship, but also through physical representations of their authority throughout Greece. From the 8th century BCE onwards, sanctuaries were constructed as demonstrations of the Greeks’ devotion to their divinities, and the practice was proliferated throughout all reaches of the Greek world. These structures ranged in size and complexity, from rural shrines to monumental temple complexes, and were often decorated with sculpture. They were constructed both inside cities, in the most central and significant of locations, and outside as well, anywhere between the suburban and extraurban areas of the chora. Sometimes sanctuary complexes existed between cities, under the authority of one or several entities. There were also sanctuaries that were placed in unimproved locations, corresponding only to some natural feature of the land. Primarily, sanctuaries existed to provide people with ground specifically reserved for religious devotion and a spot to make physical dedications to receive favor from the gods themselves. On the other hand, sanctuaries served a civic function as well, providing a physical space for individuals of a community to come together in a common purpose.

These representations of devotion reveal the contractual nature of Greek religion – one must give something in order to receive something in return. Sanctuaries and votive offerings were dedicated and ritual activity organized in order to receive divine favor, or to thank the gods for fortune that has been received. That being said, as time went on, the reasoning behind the construction of sanctuaries changed; it was no longer done just as an act of religious devotion, especially in the case of colonial foundations outside of mainland Greece.

Between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE, the regions surrounding the Mediterranean and Black Sea witnessed a wave of colonization at the hands of the Greeks, resulting in the formation of many new political communities and the spreading of Greek culture, language, and religion, outside of the mainland. The Southern Italian peninsula was one of the areas targeted by the Greek settlers, who had already arrived in the region sometime before the end of the 8th century BCE. Groups of settlers arriving in Southern Italy departed from several different cities from all over Greece in order to form new communities in this distant and foreign land, physically and culturally separate from their motherland. The Mycenaean populations had contact with those living on the Southern Italian peninsula centuries before for the purpose of trade. The presence of Protogeometric, Geometric, and Protocorinthian pottery at many of the sites suggests that the area was at least visited before settlement by the Greeks at the end of the 8th century BCE; the economic value of the area would have been known before, and was likely one of the reasons the Greeks settled the area in the first place.[[2]](#footnote-3)

The Achaean Greeks were some of the earliest settlers to solidify formal foundations in Southern Italy, locating their colonies based on pre-existing indigenous settlements and the agricultural fertility of the area. In some cases, the placement of settlements was inspired by outside factors, such as the oracle at Delphi and the mythical significance of the location. For instance, the foundation of Croton was a result of its receiving guidance from the Pythian priestess, who resided at the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo at Delphi.

In the same period that the Achaean Greeks were moving into Southern Italy, the religious practices of the Greek world experienced a significant shift from private ritual to public demonstrations of piety. As part of this shift there was a proliferation of sanctuary construction throughout all regions of the Greek world. With the Greek settlers carrying sacred rites into the west at this time, the concept of sacred space and ritual activity matures in the colonies of Southern Italy.[[3]](#footnote-4) In addition, this proliferation of ritual activity worked to bring ‘culturally underdeveloped peoples’ under the veil of Greek religion, immersing them into a new culture and separating them from their ethnic roots.[[4]](#footnote-5) In the case of the Achaean colonies, an effort is made to create spaces that both integrated and mediated relations with neighboring communities. From an examination of the creation and function of sanctuaries, particularly those that lie in the outer, nonurban, territory, it is evident that Greek settlers adopted these structures as symbols of sovereignty and a means of cultural integration.

By the second half of the 8th century BCE, new western foundations in Southern Italy proliferated and grew to be among the largest cities in colonial Greece.[[5]](#footnote-6) One of the first steps initiated by the Achaean settlers upon their arrival in the plains of Southern Italy was the delineation of space into areas reserved for habitation, public and civic functions, and sacred ground. Over the course of the next two centuries, the colonial world developed quickly, with cities evolving into significant political and social units, which rivaled their counterparts on the mainland.[[6]](#footnote-7) Furthermore, the internal colonization of Magna Graecia initiated by Achaean cities resulted in the establishment of several cities such as Sybaris and Croton and lead to additional foundations in the region between the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.[[7]](#footnote-8) Evident in this process is the simultaneous establishment of city and cult, suggesting that the development of the religious authority of the Greeks was integral to the stabilization of the colonies.

Thus, the purpose of this investigation is to inquire into the nature in which cults developed in the Achaean territories in Southern Italy, and to examine the character of the sanctuaries that were constructed shortly after the foundation of the Achaean settlements between the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Evidently, the apoikiai in question were developed on a very clearly defined plan, and sanctuary construction was an integral factor in that process. One aspect that must be taken into consideration is that the colonies in Southern Italy lacked the cultural uniformity and ethnic history that contributed to the cohesive development of cities and sanctuaries on the mainland.[[8]](#footnote-9) As a result, questions are raised in regard to the purpose of cult practice in the colonies in Southern Italy, especially in the midst of colonization, as it is clear that the sanctuaries were not there only to supply the populations with places of worship, or to receive the favor of the gods. Instead, a suggestion can be made that they were used to delineate control, and oftentimes it is evident that sanctuaries, especially those constructed in the outlying territory, stood as buffers between rivaling populations. Examination of the priorities behind the placement of these sites, and their functions, reveals that the religious function was as important as the political necessities that were fulfilled by their construction. Furthermore, four case studies will be presented: these examine the process of development and the political setting that calls for the existence of these types of sanctuaries. By investigating the development of the nonurban territories of Sybaris, Metaponto, Croton and Poseidonia, and the proliferation of sanctuaries in these areas, the function of the sanctuaries will be elucidated.

2.1 METAPONTO

The colony at Metaponto provides a unique insight into the nature of the development of Greek settlements away from the mainland. With the systematic development of the chora alongside the asty, the Achaean settlers established a solid foundation that secured the land between Taras and Siris.[[9]](#footnote-10) In addition, Metaponto has provided significant insights into the deliberate arrangement of sanctuary compounds, to an extent unparalleled in any other city in Southern Italy.

An important factor that must be considered when examining apoikiai is the origin of the expedition and the nature of the initial settlement. In the case of Metaponto, the literary evidence leaves much obscure, but an Achaean origin is all but certain. The Achaean origins of Metaponto are established in several instances in the literary record, and supported by the continual worship of Hera, among less deities associated with religious traditions of Achaea on the Greek mainland, which will be addressed later.[[10]](#footnote-11) Part of what obscures the foundation of new cities is the chronology of Greek contact at most colonial sites in Southern Italy. Interaction between Greek traders and local population seems to have been rather widespread before the attributed traditional foundation dates, constituting an era of ‘precolonization’ preceding the permanent settlements.[[11]](#footnote-12) It is suggested that the Greek colony at Metaponto was founded in the last quarter of the 7th century BCE by Sybaris, a neighboring Achaean colony, in an attempt to occupy unclaimed territory bordering Tarentum, thwarting the latter’s quest for expansion.[[12]](#footnote-13) Strabo supports this, when he briefly discusses the origins of Metaponto,

“Certain of the Achaeans were sent for by the Achaeans in Sybaris and re-settled the place, then forsaken, but they were summoned only because of a hatred which the Achaeans who had been banished from Laconia had for Tarantini, in order that the neighboring Tarantini might not pounce upon the place; there were two cities, but since, of the two, Metapontium was nearer to Taras, the new-comers were persuaded by the Sybarites to take Metapontium and hold it, for, if they held this, they would also hold the territory of Siris, whereas if they turned to the territory of Siris, they would add Metapontium to the territory of the Tarantini, which latter was on the very flank of Metaponotium…”[[13]](#footnote-14)

The threat against Metapontine stability, therefore, came at the hands of neighboring Greeks, not the indigenous communities. Regardless, the relationship with the natives required constant maintenance, and in order to maintain internal stability, the Greeks had to ensure the complacency of all peoples living within its orders. Thus, the systematic development of the chora was crucial to ensuring that it was still connected to the inner city.

The occupation of the nonurban territory and the various ways in which the Achaeans used the land surrounding the asty of Metaponto is crucial in the understanding of the development of the chora and its relationship to the urban center. By examining the myriad improvements to the land outside the city, it is possible to determine the different patterns of development, separate from what is found on mainland Greece, and the priorities behind the arrangement of peri-urban territory. During this investigation, it is imperative that certain factors are taken into consideration: to what degree did the Metapontine’s Achaean origins influence the pattern of development in the chora, and how significant was their relationship with the indigenous populations that inhabited the area beforehand?

On the Greek mainland, the new institution of the polis became prevalent between the 8th and 7th century BCE, and with it came a new form of state governance, economy and foreign interaction. These new developments in mainland Greece influenced the great colonization effort that subsequently followed between the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.[[14]](#footnote-15) The entrepreneurial motives of the Greek settlers in Southern Italy are evident in the intensification and diversification of agriculture during the 6th century BCE, which roughly corresponds to the foundation date for the apoikia of Metaponto.[[15]](#footnote-16)

It is interesting however, that the Metapontine settlers had begun delineating the asty nearly two centuries before Achaea, the homeland of the settlers, would experience the same intense territorial planning.[[16]](#footnote-17) Initially, a pattern of small, single-family, farmhouses emerges, separated at regular intervals adjacent to natural resources such as springs, river valleys, or tributary stream systems.[[17]](#footnote-18) The proof of the permanency of these residences lies in the numerous necropoleis and tombs contiguous to the settlements.[[18]](#footnote-19) One of the most archaeologically significant aspects of the development of Metaponto is the topographic arrangement of the chora, as the apoikia exmployed a basic unit of measurement alongside linear features (walls, roads, canals, etc.) to define an orthogonal grid. The precocious physical expansion that Metaponto underwent does not pattern itself after that of Achaea itself, so it must be the case that Metaponto drew inspiration for urban development from elsewhere.[[19]](#footnote-20) It seems likely that the interplay between Greek tradition and indigenous influence are responsible for defining the new Greek *apoikia* that emerges in the 6th century BCE. Both Dieter Mertens and Carter affirm that the relationships of Greek colonists with their motherland and indigenous counterparts allowed for an original culture to evolve.[[20]](#footnote-21)

By the middle of the 6th century BCE, Metaponto experienced a significant period of prosperity due to the productivity of the grain industry, in addition to many other successful facets of the agricultural production in the area. The fertile land and abundant natural resources did not attract only Greek settlers; it had earlier attracted groups in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods (6th to the late 3rd millennia BCE).[[21]](#footnote-22) Activity at the site increased and decreased over the course of the Bronze and Iron Ages, but there is ample evidence suggesting that the area was inhabited consistently from the time of the earliest, non-Greek, settlers.[[22]](#footnote-23) It is important to note here that the later Greek settlers considered many of the Bronze Age sites found in the area of Metaponto to be sacred ground, and later converted them to larger-scale sanctuary compounds.

Not far from the site of San Marco, roughly 3 kilometers southwest of the Bradano River, evidence of two separate Bronze Age locales came with the discovery of three groups of structures and an abundance of utilitarian material from two areas of activity. Near to these finds, a domestic structure from the same time period was discovered, in an area that was later occupied by one of the earliest rural Greek sanctuaries in the Metapontine chora. A second instance of this can be noted at the site at Pantanello, where a later Greek sanctuary was constructed in conjunction with a Neolithic period settlement.[[23]](#footnote-24) Whether there was continuity in the religious practices over the various periods of occupation is difficult to tell due to the lack of material evidence relating to ritual activity, but the proximity to water sources may have been the primary motive behind the placement of these sites. This is evident at the site of San Biagio that later becomes home to the famous Sanctuary of Artemis, where a cache of Bronze Age pottery was discovered.[[24]](#footnote-25) Despite the fact that the Greek settlers tended to be attracted to sites of previous occupation, questions regarding the interaction with indigenous clans still inhabiting the area at the time of colonization remain obscure.

A site from Metaponto that plays a significant role in this discussion is the area of Incoronata on the southern end of the Basento River, roughly 8 kilometers from the Ionian coastline.[[25]](#footnote-26) This site is integral to the examination of the Metapontine chora, as the preservation of the archaeological remains is exceptional in comparison to other Greek colonial foundations, and offers scholars evidence from a plethora of material from all phases of occupation. According to Carter, this site was in the center of a significant indigenous settlement dating from the 9th to the 7th century BCE, positioned on a naturally defended plateau over roughly 9 acres of land.[[26]](#footnote-27) By the end of the 8th century BCE, Greeks had settled into the area that had been previously inhabited by an indigenous group, but there is little evidence to suggest that they posed a threat. Despite the fact that some scholars argue that the indigenous populations who inhabited this region before the Greeks were subsequently pushed out by Greek settlement, there is ample evidence that suggests they lived in cohabitation for an extended period of time. At the beginning of the 7th century BCE, the settlement at Incoronata witnessed a ‘restructuring,’ inspired by Greek building techniques, which extended over the entire plateau.[[27]](#footnote-28) During this period, Incoronata demonstrated a significantly Greek character before any of the other colonial foundations in the area, but the indigenous population still played a notable role in the development of the settlement.[[28]](#footnote-29) Cohabitation is supported by the fact that defense, natural or man-made, did not seem to be a concern for the settlement, as it had been in earlier periods, suggesting peaceful relations with the indigenous inhabitants.[[29]](#footnote-30)

Another piece of evidence that supports cohabitation is the nature of 9th and 8th century BCE burials found near the ancient site at Incoronata Greca. Primarily holding single individuals, the burials were in a ‘flexed’ (or *rannicchiati*) position, enclosed with sandstone slabs and river cobbles, and paid particular attention to the orientation of the body (males faced south, females faced north). The arrangement of the grave and the orientation are similar to the burials found in the area dating from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and are regular occurrences in indigenous burials in the centuries following.[[30]](#footnote-31) Thus, it is significant to note that the early Greek settlers adopted burial traditions that were not associated with their motherland, but rather with their indigenous neighbors. This suggests a degree of equality among the various populations living within the borders of Metaponto.

Although there is enough evidence to suggest cohabitation in the colony’s early stages of development, the Metapontines may have been responsible for the destruction of a native settlement at Cozzo Presepe, near to Incoronata, sometime around 600 BCE.[[31]](#footnote-32) Before its destruction, this Iron Age settlement occupied the most defensible part of the land, and the inhabitants would have had the advantage during an attack; a site of great value in an attempt to establish control over that particular area. As a response to the hostilities between the Oenotrians[[32]](#footnote-33), Tarentines and Metapontines, the site was enclosed with a 2.5 to 3 meter thick fortification wall until the 5th century BCE, when a monumental sanctuary was constructed as the main symbol of authority over the area.[[33]](#footnote-34)

Despite the destruction of the native settlement, it can be argued that the settled population of Metaponto remained of mixed origins, and some indigenous still remained living in the newly developed Greek colony. At Pantanello, for example, numerous pieces of indigenous pottery were discovered dating to the 6th century BCE, suggesting the indigenous population was not entirely wiped out by the settlement of the Greeks.[[34]](#footnote-35) Two suggestions can be made from these discoveries, the first being that there was an Iron Age presence at the site before the development of domestic structures and, later, the sanctuary. Thus, it is evident that those individuals occupying the small domestic settlements in the surrounding area were in contact with the indigenous population. The evidence could also suggest that there were families of mixed origins, attempting to ‘maintain in some fashion the culture of their ancestors.’[[35]](#footnote-36) As mentioned previously, the treatment of burials over the course of Metaponto’s existence represented an amalgamation of Greek and indigenous traditions, and can be witnessed in material evidence as late as the 6th century BCE. Thus, there is ample evidence to suggest that, despite some tumultuous interaction, the Greeks and indigenous, or Oenotrian, population did cohabit.

At Metaponto, cohabitation subsequently led to the chora developing in a way in which the indigenous population played an indefinite role. With small clusters of natives living throughout the chora, the Greeks had to develop the territory in a way that responded to their presence and kept the peace to ensure control over the chora. An interesting point to note, however, the intensification of agricultural production, which is a significant indicator of entrepreneurial motives associated with colonization, did not occur until well into the 6th century BCE.[[36]](#footnote-37) What is significant is the presence of Greek settlers nearly two centuries before the development of the chora, allowing for an extended period of interaction with those already inhabiting the area.

Another factor to consider in relation to the development of the chora is the occupation of the surrounding territory relative to the formation, articulation and monumentalization inside the city.[[37]](#footnote-38) Rapid expansion resulted in a detectable pattern of streets and the majority of a city wall being constructed by the middle of the 6th century BCE.[[38]](#footnote-39) Over the course of the next century and a half, a series of extraurban sanctuaries were constructed that facilitated communication between the inner city and the frontiers of the territory, and sanctuaries in the suburban territory served as reference points between the two.[[39]](#footnote-40) Between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, the chora was home to a significant number of farmsteads and necropoleis as far as 14 km inland from the Ionian Sea, and the various sanctuaries presided over all of these entities.[[40]](#footnote-41)

The next logical step in this inquiry is therefore to examine the physical development of the outlying territory of Metaponto, paying particular attention to the unique, but deliberate, arrangement of sanctuary compounds, as they serve as the most direct indicator of cultural and social interaction outside of the asty, and constituted the backbone to the prosperity of the colony, as they presided over, and in turn protected, the lands used for agricultural production: without the farmland, the stability and existence of the colony would be threatened.

The urban area of Metaponto was located within close proximity to the Ionian Sea, at a naturally defended position between the Bradano and Basento rivers. It boasted a large civic area, equipped with an *ekklesiasterion*, a suitable forum for large-scale public gatherings and political meetings, and both Hera and Apollo were worshipped in the intramural sacred compounds. Northwest of the city, the inland boundary of the colony lies at Cozzo Presepe. It is possible that, after the destruction of the indigenous settlement there, mediation with the indigenous inhabitants resulted in the stronghold’s demarcation as the northwestern boundary of the colony.[[41]](#footnote-42) Two other indigenous settlements between Pisticci and Pomarico Vecchio may have formed a defensive boundary around the chora of Metaponto along with Cozzo Presepe.[[42]](#footnote-43) Despite the fact that the presence of such sites suggests they served as defensive boundaries, Metaponto as a whole was rather lightly defended, which indicates that the Metapontines’ relationship with outlying populations was generally very good, though reminders, less intense than military fortifications, of their claim to the land were required to ward off possible threats.[[43]](#footnote-44) Carter argues that the majority of other sanctuaries in the chora were positioned at regular intervals between the three rivers, which envelop the territory, in a type of arrangement known as *cantonal*, due to the fact that the structures govern regions as opposed to populations.[[44]](#footnote-45) Thus, it can be argued that the placement of such compounds was a deliberate attempt to assert control over the surrounding territory, demarcating where Metaponto’s sphere of influence stretched, as improvements to the land such as sanctuaries represented ownership of surrounding area.

Over 20 sites in the Metapontine *chora* are believed to be rural sanctuaries, ranging from simple structures (much like the early farmhouses) to monumental temple complexes, something that is particularly striking in the development of Greek settlements along coastline of the Ionian Sea.[[45]](#footnote-46) The most impressive example of sanctuary construction in the *chora* is a temple dedicated to Hera at Tavole Palatine, positioned at the edge of the Bradano River, 3 km from the city walls, constructed as a response to neighboring Taranto, which posed a threat to the stability of Metaponto.[[46]](#footnote-47) Hera, polis deity to the Achaeans, served as a protectress of the border and, besides delineating control, asserted the ethnic origins of the colony.[[47]](#footnote-48) Evidence of votive offerings associated with the worship of the goddess confirms that the site was dedicated to Hera.[[48]](#footnote-49) In addition, an inscription on the rim of a 6th century BCE *pithos* that reads ‘TAS HE[RAS]’ provides epigraphic confirmation.[[49]](#footnote-50) The earliest material evidence from the site consists of Neolithic tools and hut foundations from the same period, but there is no trace of subsequent habitation until the 7th century BCE, when a modest altar appeared to the east of the site of the later temple.[[50]](#footnote-51) The existence of this altar suggests that the site was a center of ritual activity for inhabitants of the outlying territory before it was developed into a large-scale sanctuary complex in the later 6th century BCE. As the site developed, a *temenos* wall was added, in addition to several *sacella* to the north of the sacred ground. The construction of the major temple, however, changed the face of the site completely, and demonstrated architectural affinities with the intramural temple of Apollo, suggesting a connection between the urban core and nonurban territory; a relationship that is reinforced in several instances throughout the asty and chora of Metaponto.[[51]](#footnote-52)

The placement of this sanctuary is particularly interesting. The Neolithic settlement tipped off the Greek settlers that the Bradano River could be crossed at that particular area, which was an important place to establish control, whether for strategic or sacred use.[[52]](#footnote-53) A smaller, less structurally significant, building, which may have been a temple, was located on the eastern shoreline of the Bradano River.[[53]](#footnote-54) The site could arguably have been dedicated to a river god, due to its proximity to the river, but also could have played a similar role to its monumental counterpart at Tavole Palatine in guarding the river crossing.[[54]](#footnote-55) This particular sanctuary also functioned in the same manner as the sanctuary at San Biagio, occupying spaces that delineated the area of influence of Metaponto between the Basento and Bradano rivers.[[55]](#footnote-56) Thus, it is evident that Metaponto, in response to neighboring Greek colonial settlements, constructed sanctuaries in places that boasted the power and influence of the colony at their height of development, while also integrating all residents of the territory, urban or rural, through ritual activity.

The temple dedicated to Hera was constructed in an inherently Greek style, utilizing standard Doric construction, and demonstrates an emergence of western Greek architectural traditions with the 2:1 ratio evident in the arrangement of the columns.[[56]](#footnote-57) The temple at San Biagio, however, is constructed in a simpler style, reflecting a more agrarian and indigenous orientation.[[57]](#footnote-58) Nevertheless, the temple boasted architectural terracottas that rivaled the decoration of any other sanctuary in the city and the size was considerably larger than usual for its placement in rural territory.[[58]](#footnote-59) Comparison of these two temples makes evident the multi-faceted nature of nonurban sanctuaries developing in the colonies of Southern Italy, as one, Greek in style, served to demonstrate the sovereignty of Metaponto and defend against neighboring Tarentum, while the other had a more subtle function that integrated the Greeks with their indigenous neighbors, but also demonstrated patronage over the area.

Following the pattern of development seen elsewhere around Metaponto, the presence of a rural spring, which faces the Venella River on the slope of a hill, influenced the construction of the sanctuary at San Biagio in the late 7th century BCE. The structure redirected water from the spring into three basins, and architectural remains indicate that the compound once was home to several buildings, and the ritual activity practiced at the site was complex and unique.[[59]](#footnote-60) Despite the difficulties in confirming this, the site was most likely dedicated to Artemis, due to the nature of the votives, the proximity to water, and literary evidence that demonstrates the relationship between the Metapontines and Artemis. The cult of Artemis reached beyond the urban territory of the city all the way to San Biagio. For the early years of the sanctuary’s existence, archaeological findings like the abundance of male terracotta figurines and a stone *cippus* with an inscription, which suggested that other gods such as Zeus Aglaios were worshipped at the site as well,[[60]](#footnote-61) a connection also evident at temple dedicated to Zeus Meilichios at Selinunte.[[61]](#footnote-62) In the plethora of votive material found around the site, female figures, similar to ones discovered at Tavole Palatine are most common, but others feature outstretched wings, carrying animals, which are unique to the site.[[62]](#footnote-63) Other statuettes and utilitarian vessels, which stylistically relate to examples from mainland Greece and Sicily, were also discovered in moderate quantities.[[63]](#footnote-64)

In his 11th Epinician Ode, which was composed to commemorate the victory of Alexidamos of Metaponto at the Pythian games at Delphi[[64]](#footnote-65), Bacchylides writes,

“For your sake even now Metapontion, the city honored by the gods, is filled with delight and with victory processions of young men with fine limbs. They sing the praises of the Pythian victor, the marvelous son of Phaiscus…. But either a god was responsible, or else the wandering judgment of men took the highest honor out of his hands. But now Artemis of the wilds with her golden distaff, the Soother, famous for the bow, gave him shining victory.”[[65]](#footnote-66)

The Artemis that was consecrated here was that of the ‘Soother,’ which is said to have originated in an Arcadian colony, Lousoi.[[66]](#footnote-67) Not only it is evident that the cults and sanctuaries adopted aspects from the Achaean mother city, but it also boasts a mixture of cultural influences from many other Greek and indigenous communities in their cultural practices, architecture, votives and utilitarian objects. Stylistically, the temple at the site demonstrated some architectural affinities with building projects in the urban area, but had an entirely different function.[[67]](#footnote-68) Arguing that Artemis is the principal deity of the site is logical here, as its rural location adhered to her connection with nature and the belief she had the ability to control it.[[68]](#footnote-69) Although this sanctuary does not necessarily demonstrate that ‘frontier’ quality like others in the region, the elaborate arrangement of the small rural sanctuary suggests that it was developed with meticulous planning, and meant to serve as an integrator for the surrounding inhabitants, be it Greek or indigenous.

A less striking example of a sanctuary exerting extramural control is provided by the rural shrine at a small spring on the site of Pizzica, located 2 km north of Metaponto, facing the Basento River Valley. Following in line with the more significant examples of sanctuary construction in the area, the site was once home to a small Neolithic settlement that upon the arrival of the Greeks was rediscovered thanks to the natural spring, which was later remodeled several times due to high water quality.[[69]](#footnote-70) There is no epigraphic evidence to confirm the deity worshipped at the site, but the presence of female figurines similar to ones found in deposits in the suburban territory suggest that the site was dedicated to Hera, Demeter or Artemis, all of whom have associations with agricultural production and nature, but also protection and preservation.[[70]](#footnote-71) All these deities are represented in the suburban or intraurban territory, once again suggesting a solid connection between urban and rural cult practice. The sanctuary at Pizzica is smaller, and less impressively decorated, than its counterparts that Tavole Palatine and San Biagio, but its function is relative to the presence of good, running water, and stood as an authority to a contiguous rural settlement, but also as a reference point for those people navigating through the territory.[[71]](#footnote-72) Again, the sanctuary would seem to have functioned to delineate territory as much as, or more than, it served a ritual purpose.

The unifying features that have presented themselves in this examination of rural sanctuary complexes in Metaponto thus far have been their proximity to water and to outlying settlements. Since the majority of the population lived between the Bradano and Basento rivers, the need to stamp the authority of the city on the extraurban territory was great. Despite the fact that the Metapontines’ relationship with the indigenous population was productive, the need to demonstrate sovereignty was important not just for the inhabitants, but also for those living outside of the borders of Metaponto, as it reminded them of who owned that territory.

Another question that the settlers paid great attention to during territorial planning was how to unify the various populations across the region. Material evidence gained through the discovery of several deposits outside of the city walls provides information regarding the relationship between the chora and astyof Metaponto. Similarly to what is found in both Etruria and mainland Greece, votive deposits are commonly discovered within the vicinity of a plot of sacred ground and often indicate the presence of a sanctuary if no other evidence remains. The presence of such a cache of objects suggests a physical connection between the people living within the city to those in inhabiting the nonurban regions, due to its location in the ‘suburban’ area of the chora, lying between the intramural and extramural territory.[[72]](#footnote-73) These deposits contains a plethora of imported Corinthian, Ionian and Attic material and an abundance of votive female terracottas, many of which show stylistic similarities to figurines found at the sanctuary at both San Biagio and Pizzica.[[73]](#footnote-74) In addition, the pit also contained a series of relief plaques, decorated with female figures accompanied by children, which relate to examples found in other areas around Metaponto and Tarentum.[[74]](#footnote-75) Lo Porto argues that the site was home to the chthonic divinities, Demeter and Kore, due to the location outside of the city walls, which is also a common practice on the mainland.[[75]](#footnote-76) Demeter also has strong associations with agricultural production, which would correspond to Metaponto well, as it contributed to their economic prosperity. Adamesteanu contends that the site was devoted to Artemis, but he agrees with Lo Porto that the area was abandoned by the cult in the 5th century BCE for a new intramural location, as a ‘new Mystery cult’ moved into the area, which had already taken shape in Tarentum and other areas of Metaponto.[[76]](#footnote-77)The movement of the cult within the city not only suggests the presence of outside religious influences in the colony, but also supports the theory that Demeter became an urban goddess as an attempt to strengthen the bond between urban and rural cults, a matter of particular importance to Metaponto in an attempt to reinforce control of its territory.[[77]](#footnote-78)

When it comes to understanding the deliberate and intense sanctuary construction during the development of Metaponto, Ingrid Edlund sums it up very well,

“The needs of the city were taken care of by the urban temples and the divinities worshipped there. As for the extra-urban sanctuaries, the temple of Hera is tied most directly to the city as a ‘frontier’ sanctuary. That Metaponto did not seem to need an equivalent monumental temoke at the Basento or Cavone rivers is best explained by the fact that Tarentum to the east formed the most direct threat to the safety of the colony.”[[78]](#footnote-79)

Thus, the construction of sanctuaries served numerous purposes in the foundation of Metaponto, which demonstrated a deliberate plan of expansion, carried out with a meticulous attention to detail. The rural sanctuaries examined just now show that their placement and function were integral to the control over the natural resources of the land and to unify those living in the asty and with those inhabiting the nonurban regions of the chora, which contributed to the success of Metaponto as a whole.

2.2 CROTON

Croton was founded shortly after Sybaris, and was established in the last quarter of the 8th century BCE.[[79]](#footnote-80) The archaeological data supports the traditional foundation date for the colony, which is 709/8 BCE.[[80]](#footnote-81) Ancient literary sources relate that when a man by the name of Myskellos set out with the intention of founding a colony, he looked to the Delphic oracle for guidance. He received the advice of the priestess, which led him to later settle Croton, and was given several reference points to help guide him to the location.[[81]](#footnote-82) That Myskellos, a citizen of Rhypes, one of the twelve cities of Achaea, was responsible for the foundation of Croton indicates the colony’s ethnic origins.[[82]](#footnote-83)

From what remains of the city walls, dating to between the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, the boundaries of the city enclosed not only the promontory on which it sat, but also part of the northern shoreline as far as the Esaro River.[[83]](#footnote-84) The territory under its control extended over the plain of the Neto, the coastal lands beyond Cutrò, and eventually included lands on both sides of the Esaro River.[[84]](#footnote-85) The area of the coastline on which the inner city sat swooped inwards from the Ionian Sea, providing the Crotoniates a small bay, easily defensible, and perfect for harboring ships.

It is known from archaeological evidence that a separate Greek population lived between the Achaean settlements at Sybaris and Croton. In the outlying territory of Croton, near to the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Aleos at Punta Alice, a group of small towns existed around Cape Cirò.[[85]](#footnote-86) Also corresponding to the *chora* of Croton were settlements at Makalla and Krimissa.[[86]](#footnote-87) These settlements were small towns that cannot be described as poleis, and therefore, they were never properly established colonies.[[87]](#footnote-88)

Ceramic material dating to the last two decades of the 8th century BCE provides evidence for the early occupation of the area; the finds indicate that that the initial city plan divided the small population into separate nuclei divided by large open spaces.[[88]](#footnote-89) By the 7th century BCE, the city had been split into three distinct districts, one to the north of the Esaro River and two to the south, governed by the natural landscape.[[89]](#footnote-90) An orthogonal plan is developed at the settlement at the end of the 6th century BCE, much like what is evident in the other Achaean settlements.[[90]](#footnote-91)

One aspect of the development of Croton is generally agreed upon: it was slow and tenuous.[[91]](#footnote-92) This slow development was likely the result of its being one of the first Achaean colonies to take shape in Southern Italy. In addition, relations with other colonial foundations were not as strong as they needed to be in the early years, and it took the Crotoniates over a century to establish themselves as a formidable force against other settlements in the area.

Although very little is known regarding Achaean Caulonia, its political connection to Croton cannot be doubted. Situated tenuously between Locri and Croton, Caulonia secured the Crotoniate territory, and prevented Croton’s foes from expanding. Traces of unusual fortifications and a temple, which yielded a set of terracotta figurines, have been discovered at the site.[[92]](#footnote-93) Around 570 BCE, Croton joined Metapontum and Sybaris and formed a military coalition against Siris, an expedition that proved to be successful for the Achaean colonies.[[93]](#footnote-94) Not long after, Croton suffered major losses in a war against Locri.[[94]](#footnote-95) Sagra, the location of Croton’s defeat, was far to the south of the colony, on the border between Locri and Caulonia. [[95]](#footnote-96) As a result, Croton was cut off from Caulonia, and its economy suffered severely after being cut off from certain trade routes. It was during this period of depression that Croton witnessed a cultural revolution, in an attempt to restore themselves to prominence in amongst the colonial foundations of Southern Italy.

Croton obtained further fame through the arrival of Pythagoras, from Samos in 530 BCE, which resulted in an extreme reformation of the city’s customs and an increased focus on education, headed by Pythagoras himself.[[96]](#footnote-97) By the end of the 6th century BCE, Croton was well known not for its wealth, but for its advanced school of medicine, in addition to its numerous athletic victories in places all over the Mediterranean.[[97]](#footnote-98) Herodotus speaks to the prestige of physicians from Croton when he writes of Democedes, appointed in the court of the Persian king, who surpassed all in skill.[[98]](#footnote-99) Strabo also discusses the prestigious reputation of Croton in athletic competition. He mentions the wrestler Milon, who won over two dozen victories in Greece and was only one in a long line of champions from Croton.[[99]](#footnote-100) Thus Croton not only rose to prominence in the colonies of Southern Italy, but also on the mainland.

By the 5th century BCE Croton became possibly the most influential city of Magna Graecia, after subduing much of its competition in a war spanning the last decade of the 6th century BCE that included the defeat and destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE.[[100]](#footnote-101) After its defeat by Locri, Croton rose against former ally, Sybaris, in 510 BCE, after refusing to repatriate several hundred Sybarite aristocrats who had taken refuge from their monstrous tyrant, Teli.[[101]](#footnote-102) Croton’s victory allowed her to expand into Sybarite territory, successfully preventing the rebuilding of Sybaris for the next half-century.[[102]](#footnote-103) During this time, Croton also extended its borders toward the Tyrrhenian coastline, taking control of Temesa and part of the plain of Lamezia, all areas of importance in regards to trade and agricultural production.[[103]](#footnote-104)

The success of the colony during this period is reflected in the adoption of a new monetary system, although conservative aristocrats believed that the use of coinage was crass. As the economy of Croton began to stabilize itself, it began to use coins stamped with an image of a tripod, the most aristocratic of gifts, in attempts to demonstrate their prosperity in amongst the other colonies that had been settled in Southern Italy.[[104]](#footnote-105) The use of the tripod as an image represented the fruitfulness of their economy and also proclaimed their connection to Delphi, where Myskellos received the oracle instructing him to found the colony at Croton.[[105]](#footnote-106) Numerous examples have been found, many dating to the years just prior to 510 BCE, the fateful year in which Sybaris suffered destruction at the hands of Croton.[[106]](#footnote-107)

Despite its massive expansion and the cultural revolution instigated by Pythagoras, Croton eventually fell victim to opposing political factions within the city, who could not agree on how to properly govern all of the newly acquired territory.[[107]](#footnote-108) Up until this point, relations with the indigenous occupants of the territory appear to have been relatively stable, as little is mentioned about them in the literary evidence from the time, but around 430 BCE, an effort was organized by Croton against the native population.[[108]](#footnote-109) It was around this time that the city witnessed the construction of the first legitimate military fortification; before that point the land was policed entirely by frontier sanctuary compounds.[[109]](#footnote-110) Croton suffered another great defeat, only this time it was at the hands of the Lucanians and Dionysios I, tyrant of Syracuse, which resulted in a 12-year occupation of the city and the destruction of the sanctuary dedicated to Hera Lacinia.[[110]](#footnote-111) Croton never recovered, nor did it come close to reviving the status that it once held. Over the next several centuries it was conquered by a succession of tribes until, in 194 BCE, it was declared a Roman colony. It is worth noting that this city so often at war, found herself in conflict not so much with the indigenous populations as with other Greeks.

The development of the chora is best discerned through the construction and maintenance of sanctuary compounds in the outlying territory, as they served a very specific purpose outside of housing ritual activity. The locations of the several monumental sanctuaries in the hinterland of Croton were chosen deliberately. As is evident in the development of the *chora* of Paestum, extraurban, ‘frontier,’ sanctuaries were constructed in places that had significance from the moment the Greeks arrived in the foreign territory. Many of these spots marked a significant location in regards to the natural landscape and were already significant for the native population. Turning back to Myskellos’ journey to Delphi, Diodorus Siculus writes of the advice of the oracle, relaying the words of the Pythian priestess,

“To thee the far-darter in person now doth speak, and give thou heed. Here lieth the Taphian land, untouched by plow, and Chalcis there, and there the home of Curetes, sacred soil, and there the isles of the Echinades: And on the island’s left a mighty sea. This way thou can’st not miss the Lacinian Head, nor sacred Crimise [Krimissa], nor Aesarus’ stream.”[[111]](#footnote-112)

The first two locations named to Myskellos by the Delphic Oracle would later be home to significant sanctuary compounds, which not only provide the outlying territory with places reserved for ritual activity, but also served as landmarks denoting the territory belonging to Croton. Although it is known that the sanctuaries were not monumentalized until later, the sites were always recognized as sacred ground, and were widely recognized both by the indigenous tribes inhabiting the area, and other Greeks travelling through. Much like what is evident in the development of other Achaean colonies, the settlers utilized sanctuaries as a means to represent control over the area, in place of a military outpost or a formal border patrol.

The first of these sacred spots to be examined is Cape Colonna, home to the sanctuary consecrated to Hera Lacinia. The sanctuary was positioned on top of a promontory near to the coastline. Livy writes on the natural features and sanctity of the area, stating,

“Six miles from the famous city was a temple more famous than the city itself, that of Lacinian Juno, revered by all the surrounding peoples. There a sacred grove, which was enclosed by dense woods and tall fir-trees, had in its centre luxuriant pastures, where cattle of all kinds, sacred to the goddess used to pasture without any shepherd… and the temple was famous for its wealth also, not merely for its sanctity.’[[112]](#footnote-113)

This sanctuary acted as a symbol of the sovereignty of Croton, but also conserved the relationships it had with both the Greek population and the indigenous inhabitants due to its strategic location between them and the evidence for both Greek and non-Greek dedications at the site suggests that all people were welcome, regardless of their ethnic origins.[[113]](#footnote-114) The presence of a sanctuary in this location also extended the protection of the goddess Hera as far as the sea.[[114]](#footnote-115) According to A.G. Woodhead, this sanctuary was likely the most frequented of all of the sanctuaries in Southern Italy, and also the wealthiest.[[115]](#footnote-116) There was a grove of fir trees around the area, providing shelter and protection for grazing cattle.[[116]](#footnote-117)

The earliest discernable phase of construction dates to the 7th century BCE, but the most notable construction is the monumental temple dated to the second quarter of the 5th century BC.[[117]](#footnote-118) The Temple of Hera is in the Doric order with a peristyle, opisthodomus, and typical proportions.[[118]](#footnote-119) The wealth and prestige demonstrated by the architecture stood in contrast to the densely forested area surrounding it.[[119]](#footnote-120) In a sense the sanctuary took a middle ground between luxury and modesty – the two conflicting cultural values of the city. The sanctity and tranquility of the surrounding grove and pasture contrasted with the overbearing, monumental, temple and opulent accouterments. The site was home to masterpieces of great artists of the time and a large amount of treasure, leaving all those who travelled through in awe of the spectacle set before them.[[120]](#footnote-121) The votive offerings and dedications left at the site were generally of very high quality, often made of bronze, and were brought from all reaches of the Greek world. For example, one of the artifacts discovered near to where the cult statue supposedly stood was a bronze model of a ship from Sardinia, adorned with figures of birds of good omen.[[121]](#footnote-122)

Not only did this sanctuary demonstrate the high profile of Croton, but it also stood as a reminder of the mythical tradition of foundation of the colony. The myth features Herakles as the founder, who arrives in the area with the stolen herd of Geryon’s cattle attempting to escape the robber Lacinio. Herakles utilized the promontory as a means of defense against the robber, but ends up murdering his host on the island, whom the colony was later named after. Herakles, as a means to expiate his sins, predicts the foundation of the city in honor of the man he has mistakenly slain.[[122]](#footnote-123) Thus, the herds that grazed the pasture attached to the sanctuary have a sacred significance in amongst the vast display of artifacts and luxuries. By paying homage to Herakles, and claiming him as its mythical founder, Croton stayed true to its Greek origins and also legitimized the foundation of the colony there, which was crucial considering the history of tension in the area, especially towards other Greek settlers.

In the later years of the Greek occupation of Croton, the sanctuary was protected by two imposing walls and square guard towers, and the enclosure eventually housed the small town north of the area as well.[[123]](#footnote-124) Before this enclosure, however, the sanctuary stood unfortified, except by means of the sanctity of the land on which it was built. This is significant, as it is representative of the authority that sanctuaries had, especially over the countryside in Southern Italy. As the site became more frequented both by residents of the chora and by travelers, several other structures were built including sleeping quarters and dining halls. Thus, by the end of the 5th century BCE, the sanctuary to Hera Lacinia was already receiving monumental recognition, and despite its location 7.5 kilometers outside of the inner city, its was significantly built up with numerous functional buildings. Accordingly, ‘the ‘frontier’ here was not a mighty river, but the promontory that must have marked the presence of the divinity who protected the land.”[[124]](#footnote-125) The colonists before their arrival knew of the location, and the Greeks decided to mark their territory with their own gods, in order to establish a sense of control. The nature of the goddess Hera that was worshipped at the site was that of the protectress, as with the Hera worshipped in other Achaean colonies. Despite the Greek identity of Hera, the native population recognized her presence and paid homage to her command over the area. Considering the physical territory of Croton itself did not fall victim to siege, the authority of the goddess Hera stood strong against adversity in Southern Italy.

Marking the frontier 40 kilometers north of Croton, the sanctuary of Apollo Aleos was also founded on the coastline in the second half of the 7th century BCE at Cape Krimissa.[[125]](#footnote-126) Built north of the River Neto, the sanctuary was surrounded by prosperous indigenous sites, which had been established as early as the Iron Age.[[126]](#footnote-127) Similar to the sanctuary at San Biagio in Metaponto, a large number of indigenous votive offerings are found at the sanctuary, and a temple constructed in a rather conservative style suggests that it was a central location of communication between indigenous tribes of the area and the Greek settlers into the Hellenistic period.[[127]](#footnote-128) The tale that the spot where Philoctetes left Herakles’ bow was to the south of the sanctuary tied the place into the community’s foundation myth.[[128]](#footnote-129) Afterwards, it is also believed that Philoctetes joined up with the native Chones, a tribe of Oenotrian origin.[[129]](#footnote-130) By connecting an integral figure in the mythic history of the Greeks, and founding figure of the colony, to the native populations of the area, the Crotoniates were attempting to spiritually integrate the Greek and non-Greek populations. Similarly to the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia to the north, the sacred location of the sanctuary of Apollo Aleos was recognized in the foundation mythology of Croton, giving the site legitimacy in the eyes of both Greeks and non-Greeks.

The earliest phase of construction of the temple dates to the late 6th century BCE, corresponding to the cultural revolution that occurred at Croton after suffering defeat at the hands of Siris. Although the site was meant to mark the significant promontory nearby, the temple was built in proximity to the shoreline – a very peculiar choice on the part of the Crotoniates.[[130]](#footnote-131) This may have been to increase visibility of the sanctuary to those passing by on ships, in order to mark Croton’s sphere of influence. More peculiarities are noted by Dieter Mertens; he notes that some of the details of the temple’s plan and decoration are a result of a blending of Greek and indigenous ‘Brettian’ traditions.[[131]](#footnote-132) The temple featured an elongated cella, 27 x 8 meters in size, in front of an adyton, which housed the cult statues. Several columns were built dividing the interior cella, and the exterior of the temple featured a unique 5x15-column peristyle. The entablature was decorated in Doric relief.[[132]](#footnote-133) The unique plan, although still recognizably Greek, paired with the typical Greek Doric frieze offered the inhabitants a type of sanctuary that was particularly common among the Achaean colonies: places that advertised the Greekness of the area, protected the territory on which it presided, and provided for the religious needs of the inhabitants. According to T.J. Dunbabin, the temple of Apollo Aleos was frequented mainly by non-Greeks, as evidenced by the discovery of indigenous offerings.[[133]](#footnote-134) The sanctuary was a point of communication for all populations living in the outlying territory of Croton, and also served to welcome those entering the territory. Edlund speaks to the importance of the history and development of this site,

“The element of tradition which refers to Philoctetes, the bow of Herakles, and Apollo Aleos suggest a literary attempt at creating not only a historical continuity, but above all a cultic one. The visual appearance of the Greek form of the temple was directed at Greeks as well as non Greeks.”[[134]](#footnote-135)

Thus, the deliberate decision to construct the temple in a recognizably Greek form suggests an attempt made to settle the tension with neighboring Greeks. Additionally, the acceptance of indigenous traditions at the site is an indication of Croton living in harmony with their native counterparts. This sanctuary, therefore, served as a mediator between both Greeks and non-Greeks, and also eased the tense relations between Croton and other Greek states, reminding the others that the Crotoniates should be treated as neighbors, not enemies.

The two sanctuaries just discussed are the most significant sanctuary compounds in the area, several other rural sites also speak to the cultic practices of those inhabiting the area. On the hill of Vigna Nova, west of asty of Croton, existed a smaller extramural sanctuary in proximity to the defensive wall constructed later between the late 5th and early 4th century BCE. The sanctuary likely stood in a very prominent location, one that was visible to all those nearing the urban area.[[135]](#footnote-136) The location of the sanctuary suggests that movement through the sanctuary involved a ritual associated with the physical crossing of a threshold. The earliest traces of building on the site date to the 6th century BCE, which include the remains of a small rectangular building.[[136]](#footnote-137) A cache of votive objects from the 5th century BCE was also found, featuring an astounding amount of bronze ware from a time of great prosperity in Croton. The site once again reinforces the theory that sanctuaries in the outlying territory of the Achaean colonies typically served as boundary markers, and the crossing of that threshold was ritually important for the sake of the preservation of the colony.

Santa Anna, a site to the south of the city of Croton on the slope of a plateau, is home to a small rural sanctuary marking the location of several springs. The votive deposits at the site boast items similar to those found at the Heraion on the Sele River in Paestum, as well as at the sanctuaries at San Biagio and Pizzica in Metapontum.[[137]](#footnote-138) Edlund suggests that the similarities in style of votive material indicate extensive local production of such items.[[138]](#footnote-139)The site is also comparable to the rural sanctuaries spotting the territory of Metapontum in terms of function, as they all served as markers for natural resources essential for those inhabiting the territory outside of the city. A votive deposit was also found at Cotronei, south of the Neto River, where travelers had to ascend a mountain plateau to avoid a narrow river gorge, dating to the late 7th – early 6th centuries BCE.[[139]](#footnote-140)

In conclusion, the Greek colony of Croton demonstrates that sanctuaries were a necessary source of protection for the outlying territory under the control of the city. Not only did they serve as boundary markers, they also integrated the various populations of the area in a common place, especially during a time when the stability of Croton was tenuous at best. Despite the slow development of the city, the existence of sanctuaries from very early on is reflective of their importance in the control of the territory.

2.3 SYBARIS

The location of Sybaris was crucial to its success in Southern Italy. Positioned on the Ionian Sea, between Tarentum and Metaponto to the northeast and Croton and Locri to the south, Sybaris likely stood as the chief city of Magna Graecia and surpassed all other colonies in terms of influence and economic growth from the 7th century BCE to the time of its destruction.[[140]](#footnote-141) Most of what is known regarding the physical arrangement of Sybaris is owed to the detailed description found in Strabo’s *Geography*. He states,

“In early times this city was so superior in its good fortune that it ruled over four tribes in the neighborhood, had twenty-five subject cities, made the campaign against the Crotoniates with three hundred thousand men, and its inhabitants on the Crathis alone completely filled up a circuit of fifty stadia.”[[141]](#footnote-142)

Even if these calculations are exaggerated, the population of Sybaris was large, and its area of influence was incomparable to any of their neighbouring Greek cities.

Due to the significant changes in the course of the rivers and land elevation, the area occupied by Sybaris is only known through isolated discoveries.[[142]](#footnote-143) What is known for certain, however, is that Achaean settlers sometime near the end of the 8th century BCE founded the colony.[[143]](#footnote-144) According to Strabo, the colony was located between the Crathis and Sybaris Rivers and was founded by Is of Elis, although some scholars doubt that reading of the text.[[144]](#footnote-145) Supported by an expelled group of people from Troizen, a city in the Argolid, the settlers based themselves in the territory to take advantage of the abundance of fertile soil and cultivation opportunities.[[145]](#footnote-146) The territory claimed by the newly established Sybaris also eventually included the coastline to the north and south of the city, and stretched inland, encompassing the plains of the Crathis and Esaro rivers.[[146]](#footnote-147) Although it had no natural port, it became an important reference point for merchant ships, as it was a natural way stop for those travelling from the Ionian to the Tyrrhenian Sea.[[147]](#footnote-148)

The first known stasis that is said to have occurred in Sybaris was shortly after its foundation at the end of the 8th century BCE.[[148]](#footnote-149) In a demonstration of how race was a common cause of faction, Aristotle tells of how the new Sybarite aristocracy, made up of mainly Achaeans, expelled the Troizenians, and the remaining Sybarites were cursed as a result.[[149]](#footnote-150) It is said that the cause of this strife was the distribution of power amongst the initial settlers, in which the significantly larger group forced out the minority.[[150]](#footnote-151) Thus, from the earliest stages of development, the Sybarite foundation experienced unrest.

As time went on, with the Sybarite aristocracy being opposed from both inside and out, the colony fell in to the hands of a tyrant by the name of Telys.[[151]](#footnote-152) As a result of the internal instability, between 511 and 510 BCE Sybaris suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of neighboring Croton, resulting in the complete destruction of the city.[[152]](#footnote-153) The hostilities culminated at a battle on the river Traeis, which must have been a common boundary, and it is said that afterwards the river Crati was redirected over the site, and commemorated with a sanctuary dedicated to Athena Crathia.[[153]](#footnote-154) Herodotus speaks to the presence of a cult of Athena in the outlying territory when he discusses the war with the Crotoniates. He states,

“The Sybarites point to the existence of a precinct and temple by the dry bed of the River Crathis, which they say Dorieus built after having captured Sybaris and dedicated to Athena under the name of Athena of Crathis.”[[154]](#footnote-155)

The existence of the cult of Athena in the plain of Crathis does not tell us much regarding extramural worship in Sybaris, but what it does indicate is the use of sanctuaries as a means to represent control, especially since the sanctuary also commands a natural spring. One thing that must be noted, however, is that even in the midst of their destruction, the strong ties Sybaris had to Achaea were evident, as it is said that Miletus, one of the chief Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, grieved for Sybaris for days on end.[[155]](#footnote-156) Although an attempt was made to reestablish the colony in 446/5 BCE, it was not long before the old Sybarite aristocracy rose against the ‘new’ citizens, and vice versa, disallowing Sybaris to return to its former glory.[[156]](#footnote-157)

Upon arrival in the plain of Crathis, the Achaean settlers were met by several groups of indigenous inhabitants, principal among them were the Oenotrians and populations of Choni descent. The archaeological record of these groups disappears around the time of the arrival of the Greeks.[[157]](#footnote-158) One explanation for the shift in the material culture is that the Greeks showed no restraint, and either destroyed or enslaved the native populations. Support for this point of view is found in the construction of the sanctuary at Francavilla Maritima dedicated to Athena, which was built atop an Oenotrian village.[[158]](#footnote-159) Another interpretation holds that the indigenous inhabitants were absorbed into the Greek population and become unrecognizable after the arrival of the Greeks. This theory is bolstered by the evidence for mixing of cultural traditions in the Achaean colonies, and the publication of a plaque at Olympia, detailing the peaceful agreement regarding the settlement of the area.[[159]](#footnote-160) Furthermore, it is known that foreigners were allowed to attain citizenship in Sybaris, which contributed to the significant growth in population over the course of two centuries after their arrival from Achaea.[[160]](#footnote-161)

The archaeological evidence suggests that the power of Sybaris originated in part with a system of political and productive relationships with the native populations still inhabiting the outer reaches of the nonurban territory.[[161]](#footnote-162) It is also believed that the native populations came to inhabit regions in proximity to the urban center, grouped into small towns politically and economically dependent on Sybaris, and were likely Hellenized by the mid 7th century BCE.[[162]](#footnote-163) For example, an excavation to the north of Sybaris at a site known as Amendolara, revealed the existence of a township contemporaneous with the Sybarite dominance of Southern Italy, suggesting that the town functioned under the political control of Sybaris.[[163]](#footnote-164) It is certain that other similar settlements existed both within and outside of Sybaris’ borders, contributing to its rise to power within Southern Italy.

Agricultural production and strong commercial ties with Etruria were also important factors in Sybaris’ rise to prominence. The city became wealthy through the intense cultivation of the fertile land, and this resulted in a significant split between landowers and lower classes.[[164]](#footnote-165) It is recorded that the Sybarites were slaves to their riches, and lived extravagantly, participating in great feasts and festivals, collecting exotic items of value, and indulging their appetites.[[165]](#footnote-166) International trade dominated the economy of Sybaris, and contributed significantly their economic prosperity.[[166]](#footnote-167)

Despite the internal instability, in the midst of Southern Italy the far-sweeping influence of Sybaris was evident and instrumental in their economic success, but also resulted in their eventual downfall. Sybaris had continued to expand, resulting in the establishment of several other notable Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia. For example, Sybaris was instrumental in the foundation of Metaponto, which was created as a response to the foundation of Tarentum.[[167]](#footnote-168) Not much later, Sybaris also ventured to establish Poseidonia, as a northern frontier against foreign tribes moving into the area, but also as an outpost to service the commerce between the Sybarites and Etruscans.[[168]](#footnote-169) Sybaris also wasted no time in securing other colonies at both Laos and Scidrus, resulting in a rapid acquisition of wealth and power.[[169]](#footnote-170) Although they were attempting to solidify their control, the overbearing nature of the Sybarites during their quest for expansion showed them to be a threat to their neighbors, even to those of the same ethnic origins.

Evidence of their political interactions are found at Olympia, where a bronze plaque was dedicated detailing an arrangement between allies. It reads, “Agreement between the Sybarites and their allies and the Serdaioi for friendship faithful and guileless forever. Protectors: Zeus and Apollo and the other gods, and the city of Paestum.”[[170]](#footnote-171) The publication of this treaty at a notable sanctuary such as the one at Olympia, when Sybaris and Paestum were across the sea is significant to our understanding of the colonies, which evidently had a heavy dependence on their Greek identity in order to establish and keep control over their own territory. The published agreement at Olympia affirmed the colony’s Greek origins and gave the founding of Sybaris legitimacy, as it legally noted the permission given to the Achaean settlers to establish the colony by the native populations, ensuring peaceful relations between them.[[171]](#footnote-172) The placement of the plaque at Olympia placed the agreement under the authority of Zeus, who presided over the details of the contract, and kept both of the parties in line, despite the fact that the treaty was published in the 5th century BCE, centuries after the foundation of Sybaris.

Also, a treasury was dedicated by the Sybarites at Olympia, to serve as a permanent foothold on the mainland. [[172]](#footnote-173) Considering it was one of the first treasuries to be constructed at the site alongside those of Metaponto and Gela, its importance in regards to establishing legitimacy for the Sybarite foundation is evident.[[173]](#footnote-174) The treasury was constructed in a style that was reflective of the Achaean style, used in the construction of various temples and structures throughout Southern Italy. This is also evident in the construction of the Sybarite treasury at Delphi, likely consecrated as thanks for the Delphic oracle directing the Achaeans to the site at which Sybaris was established. As we have seen in the other cases in this study, this local style did not just develop from the Greek settlers who moved westward, but also took local and indigenous traditions into account, creating a new, amalgamated, architectural style.

Throughout its existence, Sybaris was never completely at peace. The development of the chora accorded with these threats to Sybarite stability, and the purpose of structures in the outlying territory, such as sanctuary complexes, differs greatly from their mainland counterparts. As at other Achaean colonies founded afterwards there was an almost simultaneous establishment of city and cult in Sybaris. Here cults were established on pre-existing indigenous sites surrounding the plain of Crathis by the end of the 8th century BCE.[[174]](#footnote-175) The importance of these religious compounds is apparent from their early construction; the sanctuaries were needed in order to establish the areas of influence of the new colonial foundation, and without them the territory would not be clearly defined. The sanctuaries also stood as an extension of the authority of the inner city, serving as a reminder that those inhabiting the outlying territory were still subject to the laws of Sybaris, in addition to being subject to the justice of the gods. These complexes also served as identifiers, affirming the Greek identity of Sybaris.

The discovery of fragments of architectural decoration reveals that monumental temple complexes must have existed in the area, but their nature and number are not known to us.[[175]](#footnote-176) The next most important source available to us for is ancient literature, though the validity of some of the descriptions is questionable. One of the sanctuaries that is known through literature is dedicated to Apollo. The deity’s presence outside of the city is noted in the work of Theokritos, who tells of two shepherds competing in bucolic poetry in the countryside of Sybaris. In the poem, Lacon boasts that he has the favor of Apollo, for his offering was useful for a dedicatory feast.[[176]](#footnote-177) As is evident through the construction of frontier sanctuaries like this one, Sybaris employed Greek styles and familiar forms to domesticate the territory and make it familiar.

Sybaris functioned based on a series of political agreements with various townships and satellite settlements, both of Greek and native origins, and communicated through a network of economic exchange and cultural interaction.[[177]](#footnote-178) One of the most significant satellite in this particular examination of satellite settlements is located at Francavilla Martitima, about 15 kilometers northwest of the asty.[[178]](#footnote-179) Developed in conjunction with the foundation of the colony, the site was home to an important extramural sanctuary that was one of the first Greek temples to be built on Italian soil. Built on the site of a pre-existing indigenous settlement, the sanctuary witnessed numerous phases of construction after the arrival of the Greeks, although the site continued to demonstrate an inherently indigenous character.[[179]](#footnote-180) The indigenous origins of the site are supported by pictorial information stemming from *pyxis* and crater fragments of local manufacture. They suggest that the sanctuary was a center of interaction for those native people living in the area.[[180]](#footnote-181) One thing that is also clear is the indigenous building techniques that were used at the site, despite the physical plan of the temple being Greek.[[181]](#footnote-182) This site continued to have a festive character even as the native populations became Hellenized; archaeologists have been able to reconstruct scenes of a convivial and ritual nature, including the practice of pouring water for the goddess, on several pieces of pottery.[[182]](#footnote-183) Despite the evident indigenous influence on the site, the early Greek settlers and *Oenotrian* aristocrats were initially working together, and were combining their traditions in order to produce something that was suitable for both groups inhabiting the area.

It was not until the late 7th century BCE that the site began to develop more of a Greek character, several decades before the Oenotriantimber temple was replaced with the one constructed of stone. During this period, the site flourished in a unique way. Evidence from several deposits spread out around the sanctuary includes thousands of votive and utilitarian objects of both local and Greek origins, supplemented by a notable number of *hydriskai* and drinking cups, likely used for ritual activities.[[183]](#footnote-184) Although examples of Greek pottery from the 8th century BCE have been found at the site, they are few in number in comparison to the abundance of Greek material found dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.[[184]](#footnote-185) It is interesting to note that, despite the significant increase in Greek material, the material of local production never disappeared, which indicates that the indigenous population was still present alongside the Greek settlers, regardless of their increasing hegemony over the site. This could also be an example of the widespread adoption of Greek practices in Southern Italy.

Despite ongoing acculturative forces, it is apparent that indigenous traditions were upheld alongside the Greek traditions, and the cult practices observed at the sanctuary at Francavilla Maritima were an amalgamation of both cultures. From the votives that have been discovered at the site, it can be deduced that water and wool were frequently dedicated.[[185]](#footnote-186) Among the votives and pottery found at the site, representations of the goddess worshipped there come in various forms. Many were produced locally, and were of high quality, suggesting that participants in festive activities at the sanctuary purchased the vessels there.[[186]](#footnote-187) Depictions on these containers included a standing or seated goddess, a young girl spinning wool or pouring water, warriors in chariots, and processions of women with flowers. Athena is commonly believed to have been the deity worshipped at the sanctuary, and the practice of ritual procession was important.[[187]](#footnote-188) Although some of the iconography just mentioned was commonly associated with Athena, much is not, suggesting that the goddess had taken on some indigenous characteristics at Francavilla Marittima. The only literary evidence that associates Athena with water was the legend of Epeios, who dedicates a sanctuary in Athena’s name.[[188]](#footnote-189) The existence of an inscription from the 6th century BCE, however, firmly connects the sanctuary with Athena.[[189]](#footnote-190) Although the character of the site was unique in comparison to other Greek sanctuaries dedicated to Athena, the connections to the legend of Epeios demonstrated the aspect of victory, which is most indicative of the worship of Athena. As the sanctuaries went through several stages of development, the dedication of *hydriskai* and drinking cups remained a common practice, and many demonstrate the regional Achaean style.[[190]](#footnote-191)

The sanctuary at Francavilla Marittima is indicative of a number of things associated with the settlement of Sybaris: the settlers integrated the traditions of the native populations with their own in attempts to keep the peace in the outlying territory, while slowly taking over control of the site, and Sybaris used sites such as this to hold authority over territory.

At the Parco del Cavallo, west of the city in the extraurban territory of Sybaris, there is evidence for another sanctuary. Three large stone blocks have been located that form a section of a sculpted frieze, dated to the 6th century BCE.[[191]](#footnote-192) Pieces bearing a similar design have been found near to the Heraion at Foce del Sele at Paestum, which show a figure playing a flute accompanied by several dancing girls.[[192]](#footnote-193) Despite the fact that only three blocks remain, the continuous narrative scene suggests that they were part of an Ionic frieze. The existence of temples in the Sybarite hinterland is in line with the distribution pattern apparent in other Achaean foundations in the same area.

At the other Achaean foundations, Hera must have been the most important deity for the colony, as she was connected with the Greek settlement of Southern Italy, but the search for a sanctuary dedicated to her has turned up empty.[[193]](#footnote-194) It is uncertain whether the goddess was represented in the intramural or extramural territory, as there is no evidence of her presence inside the city proper, nor in the outlying territory. As is evident from exploration of the sanctuaries in and around Sybaris, Athena was better represented in the chora.

The examination of the development of the Achaean colony at Sybaris makes clear that the Sybarites were constantly acting in fear of opposition, whether it came at the hands of the indigenous inhabitants of the area, or their Achaean neighbors. From the early stages of development, the Sybarites were attempting to appease their native counterparts by holding their cultural and religious traditions on par with their own, which is evident in the character of the sanctuaries in the outlying territory and through the conglomeration of styles of pottery and votive objects discovered. Similarly to what was practiced in the other Achaean colonies later on, the construction of sanctuaries in the outlying territory ensured that the Sybarite satellite settlements were constantly under Sybarite control. In addition, the use of indigenous building techniques alongside the architectural style of the Greeks also ensured the support of the native populations in keeping control of the area. As they moved into the 6th century BCE, Sybaris was attempting to solidify its influence in Southern Italy, but only received opposition from their Greek neighbors, who believed that their inclination for luxury and penchant for indigenous styles was unacceptable. Although the Sybarites were active in representing their Greek identity on the mainland, the other Achaean colonies in Southern Italy still refused to accept their hegemony and believed that the Sybarites wer acting contrary to their Achaean origins. As the colonization of the Southern Italian peninsula was underway, Sybaris stood strong, and was the most significant economic entity in Magna Graecia for a time, but its unique cultural practices and intense need for expansion eventually brought it to ruin.

2.4 POSEIDONIA

Poseidonia, more commonly known by its Latin name Paestum, lies on the western coast of Italy on the Gulf of Salerno. Founded circa 600 BCE by the Achaean colony Sybaris, its strategic location gave the Sybarites access to the Tyrrhenian Sea and new trading routes, which were otherwise unavailable to them.[[194]](#footnote-195) Sybaris participated in a second wave of colonization roughly a century after its foundation, which is an indicator of its success and growth in population, but also may have been a consequence of tension among factions within the city.[[195]](#footnote-196) Among the two groups that came together to form Sybaris at the end of the 8th century BCE, Achaeans the Troezenians of the Argolid, tensions endured that resulted in the Troezenian Sybarites fleeing to the western coast of Italy to found Poseidonia.[[196]](#footnote-197)

Much like its colonial neighbour Metaponto, Poseidonia enjoyed a naturally defended location amongst a series of mountain ranges and rivers. The chora is comprised of a plain south of the Sele River to the south, which formed the ancient northern boundary. Rising to the East, the Alburnus Mountains form a natural barrier, as does the Punta Licosa in the south.[[197]](#footnote-198) The fertile deltaic plains were likely an attractive feature for those seeking settlement, and since the area had evidently been untouched by malaria, the Sybarites would have met with indigenous inhabitants when they first arrived in the Sele Plain in the 8th century BCE.[[198]](#footnote-199) The specific ethnicity of the indigenous populations, and their relationship with the Greek settlers is generally obscure. Being one of the northernmost Greek colonies meant that Poseidonia experienced contact with a number of different populations and experienced an intermingling of Greeks and non-Greeks. How this blend of cultures affected the emergence of the colony as a whole is of great relevance to this study.

The ambiguity surrounding the relationship between the populations inhabiting the Sele plain and the neighboring areas stems from the fact that the ‘indigenous’ peoples that were present are difficult to identify. The name Oenotrian is applied to the population living amongst the Greeks but there is very little literary evidence that confirms the ethnicity of such individuals. The questions regarding the identification of the Oenotrians as a whole has been addressed previously (see Chapter 3), but in regards to the Sele plain specifically, ancient authors suggest that the area remained, for the most part, a marginal point for the ‘Oenotrian’ territory.[[199]](#footnote-200) Another possibility is that these Oenotrians were natives of Lucania who conquered the city at the end of the 5th century BCE.[[200]](#footnote-201) Despite the relative lack of archaeologically discernable settlements, it is evident that there was continuous activity throughout the prehistoric periods until the time of the arrival of the Greeks.[[201]](#footnote-202)

One of the best-preserved examples of the BronzeAge occupation is the large cemetery to the north of Poseidonia in the Gaudo *localita*, which shows similarities with other sites around Campania in the third millennium BCE, and three smaller cemeteries near Eboli, Pontecagnano, and Buccino, all of which boast features of the Gaudo culture.[[202]](#footnote-203) The continuity between these sites is significant, as it is further evidence that the area was continually occupied before the arrival of the Greeks and also suggests the presence of indigenous groups of varying ethnicities. Another indicator of this is the plethora of burial types that are found throughout the region. Burial traditions are commonly the most effective communicators of the culture in question, but the fact that tumulus graves, rock-cut and trench burials, all dating to roughly the same periods, have all been found in and around Poseidonia demonstrates that there was a number of cultural influences in the area.[[203]](#footnote-204) The presence of these cemeteries indicates that there was a significant Bronze Age village, one that the Greeks were aware of when they arrived in the Sele Plain, as it was eventually used as a reference point for the development of the Greek city.[[204]](#footnote-205)

The remains of several Late Bronze Age residences and Mycenaean sherds found outside the walls of Poseidonia and at Santa Venera demonstrate early contact with the wider Mediterranean world.[[205]](#footnote-206) Of all the evidence of pre-Greek habitation of the Sele Plain, this might be the most significant as it represents a close connection to the settlers that followed from Achaea in the 8th century BCE. One further consideration regarding pre-colonial contact comes from Strabo, who further complicates the origins of the indigenous folk inhabiting the Sele Plain, as he tells the tale of Jason, the Thessalian hero and leader of the Argonauts, landing in the area after being thrown off course on his way home from retrieving the Golden Fleece.[[206]](#footnote-207) Although Thessalian contact cannot be discounted, there is no solid archaeological evidence to support their presence. What is more likely is the presence of Greek mariners before the actual settlement was founded, bringing their own traditions and mythological history with them.[[207]](#footnote-208)

The record of pre-colonial occupation at the site of Poseidonia is better established; circa 800 BCE, there is a notable presence of farmsteads in the territory of Capaccio that included Villanovan artifacts.[[208]](#footnote-209) In addition, in the late 7th century BCE, both Rovine di Palma and Templata witness the arrival of two small settlements, which boast similar characteristics to their Etruscan neighbors to the north.[[209]](#footnote-210) According to Skele, the presence of *bucchero* confirms a definite Etruscan influence, in addition to ten *fossa* tombs, which are relatable to examples found at Pontecagnano, north of the boundary formed by the Sele River.[[210]](#footnote-211) Strabo also states that the initial settlement consisted of a fortified trading post, which may have been present several centuries before the foundation of the actual colony.[[211]](#footnote-212) Not only does this support the idea that small numbers of Greek settlers were moving into the area before the Sybarites, but the presence and location of such a post further suggests that the boundaries of Poseidonia had been roughly established beforehand.[[212]](#footnote-213) Thus, when the Sybarites arrived to properly settle the area into a permanent foundation, they utilized the border system already in place.

The indigenous involvement in the colonization process is crucial, and had a significant role in the development of the apoikia.[[213]](#footnote-214) In this regard, an interesting point has been addressed by Emmanuele Greco, who believes that these small groups of indigenous settlers, or possibly ‘Oenotrians*’*, who inhabited the Sele Plain before the arrival of the Greeks, had already been so closely assimilated into the neighboring populations that their origins are almost completely indistinguishable.[[214]](#footnote-215) Instead, what is evident is that a plethora of cultures that has come together in a unique way, so as to influence the development of the Greek colony in a way that is different from mainland Greece, as manifest in the unique qualities which are evident in the arrangement of the settlement.

The construction of several intramural temples mark the earliest stage of development of the colony at the turn of the 6th century BCE; these buildings are significant to the discussion of territorial occupation as the intramural and extramural temples worked in conjunction with one another in a unique way. In the first half of a century after its foundation, Poseidonia witnessed the construction of its first temple, dedicated to Hera and possibly Zeus, in the southernmost *temenos,* also known as the ‘Basilica.’ The area in which the temple was constructed had been set aside specifically for religious purposes and had been labeled as sacred ground by sandstone *horoi*.[[215]](#footnote-216) The temple is in the Doric style and includes a number of architectural features that are also evident in the Achaean colonies at Metapontum and Sybaris such as the pseudo-dipteral plan, Doric columns with Ionic embellishment, and triglyphs and metopes on an architrave with an Ionic molding.[[216]](#footnote-217) Another unique architectural feature of the *Heraion* is the style of capital found in the *antae*, which is only comparable to examples found at the rural *Heraion* located on the mouth of the Sele and at Argos, representing a purely Achaean/Peloponnesian influence. According to Barbara Barletta, these elements are all indicative of the ‘Ionian Sea’ style, which demonstrates aspects of regionalism within the Doric order in Western Greek architecture.[[217]](#footnote-218) Unfortunately, none of the metopes decorating this temple have been found, and some believe them to have been painted rather than sculpted, but a number of fragments from the architectural terracotta sculpture survive. A noteworthy example is a torso of a female figure, dressed in an unusual kind of tunic, lavishly decorated, which is relatable to decorative figures found in Asia Minor, particularly Miletus, which can be contextualized through the well-attested relationship between Miletus and Sybaris, Poseidonia’s mother colony.[[218]](#footnote-219) The advent of a regional style – Ionian Sea Style or Colonial Style, as named by D. Mertens – represents a culture that is still in its initial stages of development, featuring a plethora of characteristics that were not evident in Mainland Greece.[[219]](#footnote-220) Although the architectural style of the temple itself was inherently Greek in origins, a hint of Etruscan flavor is evident in the large-scaled terracotta figurines, which may have been used as cult images, since the Etruscans were the masters of sculpture during this period.[[220]](#footnote-221) This is demonstrative of Greek identity attempting to flourish in a ‘foreign’ land, but also represents the apparent tendency of Greek colonists to use their own artistic traditions along with those of their indigenous counterparts. Even minimal influence provided by the surrounding cultures is indicative of relatively good relations amongst the populations during this period of settlement, and this is further represented in the years to come.

The Temple of Athena, built within the northern *temenos*, is another example of Poseidonia’s unique architectural style., “In a sense, the structure can be conceived as an Ionic prostyle temple with certain Western refinements within a Doric peristyle.” [[221]](#footnote-222) The temple dates to almost half a century before the construction of the Parthenon, the benchmark example of architectural utilizing both Ionic and Doric styles. Constructed at the highest point in the city, the temple is arranged in the same orientation as the *Heraion*, but exhibits some features that abandon the traditional Doric arrangement evident in the earlier temple in the south of the city.[[222]](#footnote-223) This intermingling of Greek styles is complemented by the use of foreign architectural characteristics such as the absence of the horizontal cornice and pedimental sculpture, typical of Etruscan construction, although the presence of fragments of a seated Zeus and other terracotta figurines could suggest that the pediment was decorated.[[223]](#footnote-224) According to Vitruvius, the prostyle porch and pronaos of the temple demonstrate similar proportions to an Etruscan temple, but also show affinities with temple G and Temple D at Selinus, which had a prostyle porch and pseudo-prostyle porch, respectively. Other buildings with Doric prostyle porches include the Treasury of Gela at Olympia and the so-called Treasury of the Etruscans at Delphi.[[224]](#footnote-225) The prostyle plan is noted by Barletta as one of the architectural features associated with the ‘Ionian Sea’ style, which was adopted as the primary style of 5th century BCE building construction in the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy.[[225]](#footnote-226) Another feature common to the Ionian Sea Style is the ‘anta’ column capital, which appears on the Archaic Heraion and the Heraion at the Foce del Sele.[[226]](#footnote-227) Thus, over the course of a century, Poseidonia emerged as a dynamic center of architecture and monumental construction, and the home to a unique architectural tradition that integrated local influence into its monuments.

What is also notable, however, is how the temples worked in conjunction with one another, revealing the motives of the Greek colonists. On the one hand, the Temple of Hera I demonstrates a thoroughly Greek identity, demarcating the origins of the colonists and informing those living in the Sele Plain that they now share their land with Greeks and are, therefore, subject to their culture, religion and laws. On the other hand, the Temple of Athena demonstrates a mixing of cultural influences, drawing on the traditions of the indigenous clans living amongst the Greeks, possibly to demonstrate that their interests were along the lines of inclusion and assimilation, not segregation. Regardless of the motives of the Greek settlers, the sheer monumentality of these sanctuaries is an effective indicator of their identity in amongst the indigenous populations and other Greek habitants of Southern Italy. By manifesting the authority of the gods in such a splendid way, they serve as a vivid reminder of ownership over the area in which they preside.

Turning to the most important aspect of this examination, the series of extramural sanctuaries at Poseidonia played a significant role in the delineation of territory and the establishment of borders with neighboring communities.[[227]](#footnote-228) Despite the fact that the relationship between the Greeks and other inhabitants of the Sele plain was generally good, extramural sanctuaries were constructed as a means of maintaining security over the farmlands and resources.[[228]](#footnote-229) The inner city of Poseidonia was roughly 5km in circumference during the Archaic period, but the colony did not initially develop from this point. It is assumed that the first settlement was located at Agropoli to the south, at which point the *asty* began its development and the sanctuary at Foce del Sele was constructed in order to surround the main city with two outposts.[[229]](#footnote-230)

The sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the Sele River served as the northern frontier, a sanctuary to Poseidon guarded the southern border, and the cult of Artemis served as a border to the east, all of which simultaneously had institutional and political roles but also acted as mediators for the indigenous and Greek settlements in proximity to the frontiers of the territory.[[230]](#footnote-231)

Similar to the ritual activity evident at Croton, Hera served as a ‘true poliad deity’ in Poseidonia and represented a civilizing order against barbarian invasion.[[231]](#footnote-232) The first, and arguably the most important, sanctuary constructed was consecrated to Hera on the bank of the Sele River, located seven kilometers from the town, and was established in response to the presence of Etrusco-Campanian populations to the north.[[232]](#footnote-233) The presence of various tools and indigenous material suggests that the site was well known before the arrival of the Greeks.[[233]](#footnote-234) This suggests that the site had previously been established as sacred or important to those already inhabiting the area and the Sybarites took it over in order to properly assert their influence and control, demonstrating a certain measure of territorial planning from a very early stage in the development of the colony.

Terracotta votive figurines representing Hera Hoplosmia, normally positioned in a warlike stance, serving as a defiant protector, support the function of this sanctuary as a defender against foreign populations.[[234]](#footnote-235) It is interesting to note how the architects demonstrated the defensive quality of the sanctuary, but in a less abrasive way that the construction of military outposts or defensive walls. This version of Hera was also worshipped at the intramural *Heraion* referenced previously, evident through the discovery of a silver disk with an inscription declaring, ‘I am sacred to Hera – strengthen our bows.’[[235]](#footnote-236) This unusual aspect of Hera representing the goddess as the provider and preserver of weapons is relatable to the needs of the Greek settlers at the time of the temple’s construction. The role of Hera in the Sele Plain established her as a protectress of the northern boundary, and also the city of Poseidonia itself, and simultaneously connects the city with the outlying territory by means of divine intervention.[[236]](#footnote-237) De Polignac argues that this rural sanctuary presented ‘a perfect image of the Greek’s orientation of space in the face of not only a barbarian expanse of land but equally the expanse of the sea.’[[237]](#footnote-238)

Several buildings have been excavated on the site including a Doric temple from the end of the 6th century BCE showing some Ionic influence, two altars, an Archaic treasury or small temple from the second quarter of the 6th century BCE. Also evident are the remains of an Archaic *megaron* and a colonnaded hallway.[[238]](#footnote-239) It is significant to note that, over the course of its development, the monumental character of sanctuary at Foce Del Sele grew quickly, as more buildings were constructed or rebuilt over the course of only two centuries, suggesting that the site was growing in importance as well.

The small temple, or treasury, discovered at the site provides significant insight into the purpose of this sanctuary. Worthy to note are the sculpted metopes that present a range of iconography including a Centauromachy, scenes from the Trojan Wars, the ‘Sinner’s Cycle,’ and also the deeds of Herakles. Rather than decorating the sanctuary with iconography associated with Hera herself, the adornments were governed by clear principles of organization, and were made to represent themes that were applicable to the motives behind its construction.[[239]](#footnote-240) It is evident that a deliberate decision was made to represent the notion of struggle against chaos, order against disorder, as a public statement of civic identity, employed to demonstrate control over the territory and to present the Poseidonians as formidable opponents to barbarian populations.[[240]](#footnote-241) In particular, the use of Herakles and scenes from the Trojan War recognizes the accomplishments of Greek heroes and their triumphs over others, which would serve as a warning against hostility. At the same time, in the early stages of colonization, indigenous settlements spotted the extramural regions of Poseidonia comfortably alongside the Greeks who migrated towards the northern end of the plain.

Not only is the iconography significant, but the fact that the temple was decorated with sculpted metopes was unique in the city and rare for the region as many temples of Magna Graecia were without sculptural decoration at all.[[241]](#footnote-242) More broadly, the presence of sculptured metopes is rare across the entire Greek World (notable examples are the so-called Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis, the so-called Treasury of the Sikyonians at Delphi, Temple C and Temple Y at Selinus). This unique use of architectural sculpture both emphasized the decorative innovations of the city and emphasized the importance of the sanctuary itself.[[242]](#footnote-243) The sculptural adornments serve as a manifestation of the Greeks’ influence, while also serving as a reference to visiting populations. Furthermore, the décor contributes to the monumentality of the temple, which was important with respect to demonstrating the wealth of the city beyond.

The use of ‘sofa,’ or Proto-Ionic, capitals that feature a cavetto profile, with small pendant volutes, different from the typical capitals found in Poseidonia, which are square and lack ornamentation, is suggestive of the Achaean Greeks’ influence over the area.[[243]](#footnote-244) This style also appears in Metapontum and Ugento, a Messapian center near modern Lecce, and is adopted in Sicily towards the end of the 6th century BCE.[[244]](#footnote-245) According to John Griffiths Pedley, the use of this type of capital in Sybaris and Argos suggests an Achaean/Argive origin.[[245]](#footnote-246) Dieter Mertens argues that this feature can be defined as the ‘Achaean Order,’ which is a conglomeration of the both the Doric and the Ionic orders and is perpetuated as a trademark of the style in Poseidonia, Sybaris, Metapontum, and Amyklai, near Sparta, where it is employed on the Throne of Apollo.[[246]](#footnote-247) This is significant as it suggests that colonies such as Poseidonia utilized their Greek origins simultaneously with the style of other cultures to create a new, amalgamated style. In turn, the use of such a conglomeration of styles in Poseidonia suggests that the placement of the sanctuary, along with the number of buildings found at the site, served as a reference point, and cultural integrator, between Greeks and non-Greeks in the chora. However, the iconography presented on the sculpted metopes decorating the treasury has a different motive, identifying the structure as a mediator between civilized and uncivilized territory, since the story of Herakles would have been widely recognizable and respected even through the non-Greek areas of the Mediterranean.

Terracotta schools thrived among the Greek cities of Southern Italy and must be considered alongside the metopes as an integral part of monumentalization of the apoikiai. For example, a terracotta head from Rhegium, a terracotta mask from Locri, and a long series of terracotta sculptures from Medma share stylistic qualities, which Holloway calls the ‘Coroplastic’ Style.[[247]](#footnote-248) The fleshiness of the faces in these examples was an obvious characteristic of the Greek sculpture of southern Italy and was representative of local influence, which perpetuated into the 4th century BCE.[[248]](#footnote-249) The plethora of votive offerings at Foce del Sele evidences a mixing of stylistic influences from all over the Greek world. Various findings of terracotta figurines demonstrate stylistic similarities to Greek examples but many are recognized as having foreign origins. For example, a terracotta figurine of Hera *Kourotrophos* from the 6th century BCE represents the divinity as a nurturer. This is significant as many similar representations of the goddess are found in the urban and nonurban sanctuaries in Poseidonia, but also in places such as Corinth and Rhegium.[[249]](#footnote-250) A large terracotta female torso, dating to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE, might have belonged to the major Doric temple dedicated to Hera as it included a joint on the back, which would have been used to attach the figure to the roof [[250]](#footnote-251) As Pedley notes, similar and contemporary use of decorative acroteria to highlight the corners of buildings is evident in Asia Minor at Miletus, which is known to have connections to Sybaris, and therefore Poseidonia, through colonial patronage.[[251]](#footnote-252) These examples are significant in so far as although they are representative of a regional style used throughout the Achaean colonies, Greek and other foreign styles influenced the development of this style to create something that integrates the various cultural traditions of those living within and around the boundaries of the Sele Plain.

Similar to the arrangement of sanctuaries evident in the *chora* of Metapontum, several extramural compounds have been discovered that create a sort of semicircular ‘band’ around the asty of Poseidonia. Although very little is known about several of the sites in question, their presence must be noted as they support the conclusion that extramural sanctuaries were used in the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy as ‘frontiers’ with neighboring populations, regardless of the lack of fortifications and military outposts as a means of defense. After the rural Heraion on the Sele river, the second most northern of the sanctuaries is also positioned the furthest to the east, at Fonte, between Albanella and Roccadaspide, constructed in correspondence to a natural spring. Although there is no archaeological evidence of a structure, the presence of a cache of votive statuettes, depicting a seated female deity, dating from he 6th century to the 4th century BCE, demonstrates that the site was used to represent ownership over the resource and the surrounding area.[[252]](#footnote-253) Edlund points out the possibility of the existence of two other rural sanctuary compounds at Monte di Capaccio and Albanella, due to the discovery of similar votive statuettes and pottery dating to the 5th century BCE, when sanctuary construction in the Sele Plain was at its peak.[[253]](#footnote-254)

Moving southwest through the Sele Plain, Santa Venera is located just outside of the southern boundary of the inner city of Poseidonia. Several structures remain at the site; these include a small building that may have served as a temple. In use up until Roman times, remains of two Doric column capitals and a sculpted metope likely depicting the story of Europa and the bull have been found.[[254]](#footnote-255) It is also known that around the end of the 5th century BCE, a rectangular hall, connected to an ‘*oikos*,’ was constructed at the site.[[255]](#footnote-256) The *oikos* is interesting, as the construction technique, proportions, and materials are all dated to 5th century BCE, and are noticeably Greek in character. What is unique, however, is the circular plan, built within a square enclosure, not typical of Greek architecture.[[256]](#footnote-257) The only structure to which it relates is located just outside of the *altis* in Olympia on the mainland, classified as a *heroon*, also dated to the 5th century BCE.[[257]](#footnote-258)

The location of the sanctuary, within the suburban territory of Poseidonia, is supplemented by the deities worshipped at the site: Aphrodite and Damia, and later Venus and Bona Dea. Damia was a lesser divinity, who was not generally the object of large-scale ritual devotion. The goddess Damia, however, was known well in Troizen, whose colonists were responsible for helping to settle Sybaris and were later expelled, many fleeing to help form Poseidonia.[[258]](#footnote-259) Archaeological evidence is representative of the goddesses worshipped at the site, as an inscription was found from the 3rd century BCE, which describes a gift left as an offering to Venus.[[259]](#footnote-260) Another inscription was found, dating to the 1st century BCE, that suggests a woman, Sabina, was constructing a shrine to ‘the goddess,’ but it is believed that the inscription is referring to Bona Dea, who is known to have been worshipped alongside Venus.[[260]](#footnote-261) The importance of the location of this sanctuary is supported by its continual use by the Romans, after their conquest of the city; during the years of Greek occupation, it served as the connecting point between those in the city and those living in the areas near the border of the territory, as it served as a sacred middle ground between the two areas. Furthermore, it serves a relatively similar purpose to its cousins on the frontiers, as it defends the inner city of Poseidonia, in addition to the intramural and suburban regions of the colony.

Further southwest of Santa Venera lies Linora, which may have been home to a smaller rural sanctuary positioned on the coast. Roughly 3 kilometers from the asty of Poseidonia, the existence of a structure is evidenced by architectural remains including votive statuettes, an antefix fashioned in the shape of a Gorgon, and Archaic Attic pottery, all dating to the mid 6th century BCE.[[261]](#footnote-262) Much like several other rural sanctuaries positioned around the outlying territory of Poseidonia, the sanctuary would have served as a marker for a nearby natural resource, the Solofrone River.[[262]](#footnote-263) This further supports the idea that the placement of the sanctuaries in the outlying territory was anything but arbitrary, and suggests that they were used as much more than centers for ritual activity.

Last, but not least, the southernmost sanctuary at Poseidonia is located at Agropoli, which may have been dedicated to Poseidon due to its proximity to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Forming the southern boundary of the Paestan chora, the settlement and temple would have sat at an elevated position, serving as a visible landmark for those sailing along the coast, and those coming up from the south.[[263]](#footnote-264) Previous recognition of this site is evident through the discovery of an ancient emporion set up by the Sybarites, supported by a plethora of material dating to the 7th century BCE, and many fragments of Ionian material from the middle of the 6th century BCE.[[264]](#footnote-265) The presence of a sanctuary at a site that was already home to a fortified trading post suggests that it function as a symbol of ownership over the area, in addition to pointing out the location of the post.

These rural sanctuaries are demonstrative of the initial stages of development, well thought out and articulated, by the Greek colonists upon their arrival in the Sele Plain. The construction of *Heraiai* on the Sele River, at Fonte di Roccadaspide, and the sanctuary at Agropoli, all correspond in date to the founding of Poseidonia.[[265]](#footnote-266) There may have been several other sanctuaries in the area, but too little has been found to give definitive confirmation of their existence.[[266]](#footnote-267) Most of the rural sanctuaries were built to claim a natural resource, and indicated Greek control over said resource, and they also provided a reference point for those living in the outlying territory and gave them a formal place to come together. The sanctuaries demarcating the northern and southern boundaries, however, serve a different purpose. Generally isolated from other settlements in the chora, and leagues away from the asty, these structures served to protect the integrity of the colony, dancing a fine line between the role of the defender and the integrator. They served as landmarks for Poseidonian control, but also greeted those entering the territory in a way less threatening than a military outpost, or defensive walls.

It is evident that extramural sanctuaries, which serve as frontiers for Greek settlements in Southern Italy between the 8th and 6th century BCE, serve a much different purpose than their counterparts in the east. Poseidonia is exemplary of this, as the sanctuaries littering the outlying territory were a part of a clearly defined plan of organization. What is interesting to note is that walls did not appear around the city until the 4th century BCE, at the time when the threat of Lucanian advancement lingered.[[267]](#footnote-268) Thus, up until that point, the frontier sanctuaries were the primary method of demarcation and separation of territory for Poseidonia, suggesting relative peace in the southwestern Italian countryside. The Greek colonists utilized sites of particular note to those already inhabiting the Sele Plain to their advantage, whether they featured remains of older, Bronze Age, settlements, or highlighted some natural resource like a spring, or harbored the best view of the surrounding area. It was at these spots they constructed their temples, placing their gods in charge of the countryside, while welcoming those living in the outlying territory onto their sacred ground. They served as centers of worship, the face of law in the area out of the inner city’s reach, and protectors for those living behind them. The plethora of architectural styles and influences that are evident in the construction of the various temples are indicative of the Greeks’ colonial motives: they meant to keep the integrity of their Greek ethnicity, but also demonstrated a willingness to welcome others under their protection, producing a culture that was entirely unique to Southern Italy.

3. PLACEMENT OF NONURBAN SANCTUARIES

Greek religion must be examined in the context of the home and the urban center, paying particular attention to aspects such as the evidence of ritual activity, the physical boundaries and structures intended for worship, and the relationship between the worshiper and the deity in question. Another area of Greek religion that also merits attention is the religious activity of the countryside. Through the construction and precise placement of extraurban sanctuaries, architectural compounds dedicated to the worship of a specific deity located outside of the densely populated urban area, cities could define their area of influence and provide points of interaction between those who live in the urban center and the surrounding populations. Nonurban sanctuaries served not only as a demarcation of political influence but also provided a sense of cultural ownership over that particular area.

Evident in the development of the colonies of Southern Italy is a deliberate attempt to separate residential areas from commercial, civic, and religious spaces. This had a notable affect on the planning of temple construction, as it restricted the positioning and quantity of sacred land available in the urban district of the settlement.[[268]](#footnote-269) A general assumption that can be made from the examination of the colonial foundations established by Achaea is that the city planners were very careful in their allotment of sacred ground, and it results in an emerging trend of the development of monumental sanctuary compounds in the outlying territory of the colony.[[269]](#footnote-270)

Taking fundamental characteristics of development from mainland Greece and combining them with the local conditions that they were met upon arrival in Southern Italy, the Greek settlers’ efforts were materialized into solid foundations. Unlike on the Greek mainland, the geopolitical configuration in colonies of the west did not allow sanctuaries constructed on the edges of the chora to transform into interregional compounds, evident at both Olympia and Delphi, as they avoided ‘intermediary’ placement of their sanctuaries.[[270]](#footnote-271) The placement of nonurban sanctuaries was, for the most part, a result of a systematic and clearly defined plan, and the sanctuaries were only ever under the control of one political entity, not several.

The concentration of sanctuary compounds in the extraurban territories of the Achaean apoikiai suggests to us that the structures had utility. Through the examination of the choraat all of the Achaean colonies established on the Southern Italian peninsula, it is evident that the chora in every case was littered with small settlements and towns, many of which had a sanctuary nearby. In the case of Croton, for example, there were nonurban sanctuaries built both to the north and southeast of the city which served as manifestations as sovereignty but also housed dedications of both Greek and non-Greek origins, suggesting that they also served as points of communication between populations.[[271]](#footnote-272)

Oftentimes the placement of sanctuaries reflected the traditions of cults that existed in the territory before the arrival of the Greek settlers, who chose the site based on its proximity to a pre-existing settlement or a natural landmark.[[272]](#footnote-273) The establishment of sanctuaries generated a sense of order among those living in areas out of reach to the asty, as the authority of the gods stood in for the authority of the law. The delineation of sacred space served to help unify fragmented territories and also played a significant role in defining the political organization of the colonies.[[273]](#footnote-274) Turning to Croton once again, there was very little time observed between the foundation of the city at the end of the 8th century BCE and the establishment of the cult of Hera Lacinia, which is said to have been around 700 BCE.[[274]](#footnote-275) This almost simultaneous establishment of city and cult is also evident in Sybaris, where cults were set up on pre-existing indigenous sites surrounding the plain of Crathis at the end of the 8th century BCE, Metapontum and Paestum.[[275]](#footnote-276) The construction of sanctuaries was evidently priority for the Achaean colonists. The addition of a temple to the sacred ground strengthened the sanctity of the site, as it was considered permanent and it firmly represented its builders.

As the Achaean settlers developed the outlying territory, they tended to select areas for sacred ground with a natural landscape that left them in awe, some place that was well suited for a divine presence. With the addition of a temple and other structures, the settlers attempted to evoke a sense of strength and assurance, and to inspire confidence in those inhabiting the areas nearby. The presence in the *chora* was also necessary for the efficient functioning of the colony, as it aided in the interaction with the surrounding territory for the purposes of trade and agricultural production.

In any case, it is the contrast between the natural landscape and the sacred spaces defined by man that helps explain the pattern of settlements and sanctuary development in Magna Graecia, and in the Achaean colonies in particular. For the purpose of this study, the sanctuaries that are located in the chora of the colonies in question are classified into three separate categories, extraurban, suburban and rural, which all facilitated separate functions.

The first category, and arguably the most integral for this study, encompasses the sanctuaries that were located far outside the city, often at the edges of the territory. These compounds ranged in complexity, but were constructed to create a less abrasive system of border policing, and served as representations of the political authority of the city to which they belonged. In the beginning, these religious centers were small in size, but many grew to be monumental sanctuary compounds by the middle of the 6th century BCE, and were often supplemented by other sanctuaries positioned at regular intervals around the territory. Those involved with the development of the territory of the colonies in question intended to create a building system that fortified the entire area under their control, a system that was upheld by ‘frontier’ compounds at every route that could be travelled to reach the inner city. Although formal military fortifications and guard towers would have served the same purpose, the employment of sanctuaries for the purpose of protection was a simpler and a more culturally effective way to delineate their areas of influence.

In many cases, the Greek settlers defined the areas under their control by taking advantage of pre-existing factor in the chora. Oftentimes, small indigenous settlements, which featured areas reserved for their own cult practice, were chosen as reference points for the border of the territory. In turn, a sanctuary was constructed near to, or on top of, these locations, and served the small population that lived there, whether they been of Greek or native origins. Temples that were erected at the boundaries of the Achaean colonies served as guard posts, and were meant to impress the Greek identity of the area upon the non-Greek inhabitants and travelers.[[276]](#footnote-277) Events connected with the actual foundation of the colony were important in determining the forms adopted for honoring the deities and establishing links with the divine protectors of the mother city.[[277]](#footnote-278) As these centers developed alongside the asty, the simple structures that were initially constructed were replaced with large, more permanent, temples, often drawing on inspiration from their indigenous counterparts to supplement the Greek character of the area. By employing indigenous building techniques and styles, the Greeks were attempting to demonstrate to the native populations that they were a part of these new colonial foundations, albeit under the rule of the Greek colonial city. Although some contend that the construction of these inherently Greek compounds near pre-existing indigenous settlements subsequently wiped out the native populations, mixing of cultural traditions is evident at most of the extraurban sanctuaries.

The presence of these monumental frontier sanctuaries would ensure that any group intending to invade the territory would be turned away, as the authority of the gods was stronger and more effective than that of the law.[[278]](#footnote-279) The frontier sanctuaries did not necessarily demonstrate a militaristic character, but the existence of the theme of warfare in some of the material dedications made, and in some of the architectural decoration, suggests that the need for relative mediation between the surrounding populations was there. The treasury built beside the Heraion at the mouth of the river Sele outside of Paestum, for example, features sculpted metopes that detail the trials and tribulations of Herakles, rather than a theme that is more suited to Hera herself.

The next category to be considered comprises the sanctuaries that were found in the suburban regions of the chora. In other words, this category includes the sanctuaries that were located between the border of the city and its territory. Although there is less archaeological evidence for the existence of such sites in comparison to the extraurban sanctuaries that dominate the frontiers of the territory, nevertheless they did exist in the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy.

They served a different purpose from the extraurban sanctuaries. The suburban sanctuaries were located just outside of the inhabited area, and did not hold the responsibility of delineating the physical borders of the territory. Instead, these sanctuaries were home specifically to ritual activity that involved the sacred crossing of a threshold. The compounds were dedicated to specific deities that were associated with this ritual crossing, a way to separate the tame from the wild, and the civilized city from the uncivilized territory.[[279]](#footnote-280) In addition, this type of sanctuary could be found outside of necropoleis, separating the land of the dead and the land of the living. An example of this is evident at Paestum, where a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite was built at the site of San Venera, sandwiched between the city walls and a large necropolis to the south.[[280]](#footnote-281)

The last classification of sanctuary that is evident in this exploration of Achaean territory in Southern Italy takes in rural sacred sites, outside of the inhabited areas, but ones that are not involved in the division of the territory. The locations of these sanctuaries were not chosen on the basis of pre-existing features such as the existence of a settlement or earlier cult activity. Instead, they were governed by the natural landscape. A trend also apparent in the construction of sanctuary complexes on mainland Greece, the Achaean colonists built sanctuaries in proximity to natural phenomena like promontories, waterfalls, and springs. Sometimes they were used to demarcate features that were less apparent, such as spots of a river that were easily crossed, or an underground hot spring. These sanctuaries also represented a ritualistic taming of the wild territory, and were constructed not because the area had been defined sacred by man, but were already discerned as sacred through the creation of such natural phenomena by the gods themselves.[[281]](#footnote-282)

One aspect of Greek religion that is important to note in regard to the rural sanctuaries is how natural signs (the movement of birds, thunder, flowing water, etc.) contributed to the perception of divine will.[[282]](#footnote-283) In the minds of the Greeks, these phenomena were physical representations of the will of the gods, and their way of communicating with their human subjects. Sanctuary compounds that tend to develop in seemingly odd spots in terms of territorial organization, then, were constructed to serve the physical location, rather than the needs of the political community.

In summation, the examination of the types of sanctuaries found in nonurban areas of the apoikiai in Southern Italy aids in our understanding of the function of these compounds, as the motives behind their construction changes depending on where they are physically located in the territory.

4. FUNCTION OF NONURBAN SANCTUARIES

Following the discussion of the placement of sanctuaries in the outlying territories of the Achaean colonial foundations, it is opportune to investigate the motives underlying their construction, piecing together their significance in comparison to their counterparts on their mainland. It is interesting to note that on the mainland, extraurban sanctuaries took shape largely to satisfy the need for sacred space, and to represent the divine in areas where the values of Greek religion could be lost due to isolation from poleis. Although they could denote territorial distinctions, they were often not used in this way until centuries after their construction.[[283]](#footnote-284) In the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy, however, the sanctuaries that were constructed in the nonurban regions had a remarkably different role in the organization and administration of the apoikiai.

It is clear that in Magna Graecia the localation of sanctuary complexes in the extraurban area was, in part, due to the topographic arrangement of the land. Their function, however, was dictated by the needs of the settlers, hence their unique appearance. Furthermore, the location also played a role that shifts depending on what occurred both inside and outside of their borders.

Once the boundaries of apoikiai were properly established, outlying settlements served to connect those living in the territory outside of the city proper, whether they were groups belonging to the native population or Greeks that had settled in the hinterland after colonization. Social systems established through these webs of small settlements allowed the spread of religion, and strengthened the ties between men and the divine.[[284]](#footnote-285) Through the establishment of sanctuaries, colonies were able to connect the nonurban areas to the urban areas under the authority of the gods. For example, the physical presence of the temple marks the sacred ground, but it also transforms the area into a part of the civic structure, as sanctuaries were an integral feature of the development of the Achaean colonies The sacred ground also represented a connection to the cosmos, and provided a space for communication with the gods, and any improvement on the land represented a link between the physical earth and the godly realm.

Analogous with the nonurban sanctuaries found on the mainland, these compounds served a religious function first and foremost. Caches of votive objects found at all types of nonurban sanctuaries throughout Southern Italy support this function, as the dedication of such objects is the clearest representation of ritual activity at the various sites, and the abundance of such material demonstrates that, above all, these were centers of religious worship. Acting as earthly residences for the divine, inhabitants of the outlying territory travelled to the nearest sanctuary as demonstrations of faith. In order to effectively connect with these outlying populations, extraurban sanctuaries in the Achaean colonies were often constructed in conjunction with several other sacred compounds that were positioned around the periphery of the chora. This is evident at Metapontum, where several sanctuaries existed at regular intervals around the borders of the territory, forming a ring that defended the asty from all directions. Although defense was one of the motives behind the construction of these sanctuaries, they were built contiguous with smaller settlements that littered the outlying territory, and each served small portions of the nonurban community. This ensured that the religious authority of the gods reached all members of the colony, both indigenous and those of Greek origins, to create communities bound by their religious values. This was the primary intention behind the construction of these compounds, despite the fact that the practice was not always successful, as at Sybaris, for example, whose luxurious tendencies caused them to become branded as ‘unclean’ in the eyes of the other Achaean colonies even though they made many attempts to demonstrate their faith through the construction of sanctuaries.

Sanctuaries constructed in rural and suburban positions in the territory had the primary function of representing the presence of the divine. Rural sanctuaries were built in order to highlight certain natural phenomena that were created at the will of the gods. It is evident at these sites that certain divinities received dedications based on whatever phenomenon was present. Poseidon, for example, was often consecrated at sites near to large bodies of water. They were also built to house certain religious activities, like those involving water, and the location was sometimes chosen to supply a specific cult with the resources they required to carry out rituals.

Similarly, suburban sanctuaries served a ritual function above all. The crossing of a threshold was a practice that was sacred to the religious values of the Greeks, as the concept of leaving one space and entering another saw a change in how one was meant to conduct himself, especially under the watchful eye of the divine. These cults, often found in the open countryside, represented a physical crossing from the chaotic wild, to the orderly interior, the uncivilized, to the civilized. Like what is evident at rural sanctuaries, suburban sanctuaries were also dedicated to particular deities, such as Artemis, Apollo, Hera, and Poseidon, who were all associated with the ritual crossing of boundaries.[[285]](#footnote-286)

Rural sanctuaries that were associated with significant natural resources and phenomena like springs, promontories that provided significant viewpoints of the territory, and river crossings, held more than just a sacred function as well. The existence of a Greek structure next to a natural feature of the land was a way for the settlers to demonstrate control over that particular resource. Despite the fact that these resources were often used for ritual activity, some also played a role in the economic prosperity of the area. For example, sacred groves often provided areas perfect for pasturing animals. Certain springs, whether hot or cold, could be channeled and used for many things associated with agricultural production. Sanctuaries on promontories and the sides of mountains were used to keep a watchful eye on the nonurban territory out of reach of the urban unit, much of which was used for agricultural production, the most integral factor to the colonies’ economic success.

Those extraurban sanctuaries that were located on the frontiers of the colonies were the clearest examples of places where the gods were charged with the duty of protecting the colony in a topographic sense.[[286]](#footnote-287) These compounds were generally positioned on the borders of the territory, separating the land that belonged to the colony, from the untamed land that lay beyond. Often beginning with small altars and boundary stones, many grew to be monumental compounds, comparable to those Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries on the mainland, sometimes only over the course of a century. These sanctuaries were of significant value to the various ruling aristocracies, as it gave them power and leverage over their outlying populations. They also protected the borders of the territories much like a military fortification would have, policing those entering the territory before they reach the inner city. Suburban sanctuaries worked in the same way, providing a sacred boundary marker that indicated they were now crossing in to the urban territory. By utilizing monumental structures such as sanctuaries, a colony would demonstrate that it was acting under the authority of the gods, and anybody coming in to the territory was subject to that same authority. Sanctuaries that marked the frontiers also served to prevent the expansion of enemy territory, as they were not legally allowed to take over territory that had been ‘improved’ on. These motives were also demonstrated architecturally, as many of the temples found at these frontier sites featured sculpture that represented the theme of chaos vs. order, a common warning found in temple decoration, even on the mainland.

It was the extraurban sanctuaries in particular that most often corresponded with pre-existing indigenous settlements, as these sites marked boundaries even before the arrival of the Greeks, and thus would be understood by all members of the population. For instance, after the oracle at Delphi gave the oikist of Croton reference points to help him found the colony, the colonists arrived in the territory only to find that natives had already settled in these spots. Instead of wiping out the pre-existing settlements entirely, they constructed sanctuaries at both points, to mark out the borders of the territory and signify that the area was now under their control.

Questions do arise, however, regarding the nature of these indigenous inhabitants who lived in the areas of Southern Italy that were later conquered by the Achaeans. For the most part, the relationship between the Greek settlers and the native population was generally peaceful, as there is very little historical evidence regarding conflict between them. It is understood that the name Italia was originally given to the southernmost end of the peninsula, south of the Isthmus of Catanzaro, to include modern Basilicata and Calabria.[[287]](#footnote-288) This area was more commonly recognized as Oenotria, although of the ethnic origins of the people inhabiting the area, little is known.[[288]](#footnote-289) Strabo is arguably the most important source for the examination of the Oenotrian population, as he spends time discussing the geography of the area in question. He states,

“According to Antiochus, in his treatise On Italy, this territory was once called Italy, although in earlier times it was called Oenotria. And he designates as its boundaries, first, on the Tyrrhenian Sea, the same boundary that I have assigned to the country of the Brettii [Leucania]; and secondly, on the Sicilian Sea, Metapontium… And at a time more remote, according to him, the names “Italians” and “Oenotrians” were applied only to the people who lived this side the isthmus in the country that slopes towards the Sicilian Strait… But after that, he says, the name of “Italy” and that of the “Oenotrians” was further extended as far as the territory of Metapontium and Seiris, for, he adds, the Chones, a well-regulated Oenotrian tribe, had taken up their abode in these regions and had called the land Chone.”[[289]](#footnote-290)

For the most part, the term Oenotrian applies to those living in the area of Southern Italy in which the Achaeans arrived, and Michele Skele speaks to the origins of the term,

“The idea of the Oenotrians as a wide-spread cultural entity occupying most of what was to become Magna Graecia is traceable at least in part to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 12-13), who, citing Atiochus of Syracuse and Pherecydes of Athens, comes to the conclusion that the Oenotrians were the ancestors of most of the indigenous Italic peoples encountered by the Greeks, having arrived in Italy from Arcadia under the leadership of Oenotros an unspecified number of generations before the Trojan War.”[[290]](#footnote-291)

Regardless of where these people originated, they had a long history of contact with the Greeks, and would have been aware of their religious beliefs and traditions before the arrival of the Achaean settlers at the end of the 8th century BCE. Thus, when the Greeks did make it to Southern Italy to establish themselves permanently, the immediate construction of sanctuaries served to effectively notify the indigenous population that the Greek divinities had assumed authority over the area.

Another way in which the Achaean sanctuaries of Southern Italy differed from the mainland was in the adoption of indigenous traditions in regards to architecture and cult practice. At some of the major extraurban sanctuaries, certain Greek divinities took on strange characteristics that separated them from the gods represented in the Peloponnese, and at other Southern Italian colonies. Certain aspects of the cultic traditions of the indigenous populations also mingled with the ritual activities of the Greeks, as in the case of the Sanctuary of Athena at Francavilla Maritima outside of Sybaris. By doing this, the Greeks were furthering their attempt to ensure order among the indigenous populations, assuring them that they had a significant place in the newly established colony. This ensured internal stability for the most part, as the Greeks were clearly making an effort to not push out the initial settlers of the area, but to integrate them into their own culture instead.

Last, but certainly not least, the sanctuaries constructed in the nonurban areas played a significant role in the cultural significance of the Achaean colonies. Valued for their ability to connect the people with the urban area, sanctuaries were an effective demonstration of Greek cultural values and traditions in the territory of the young apoikiai. Southern Italy lacked the same cultural unity that was prevalent on the mainland. In response, the colonies employed sanctuaries to fill the void that was created by their lack of mythic history, providing a platform for the colonists to establish their own foundation legends. For example, the landing of Jason of the Argonauts at the later location of the sanctuary consecrated to Hera at Foce del Sele provided legitimacy for the settlement, as it was proof that the Greeks had landed in the area beforehand. Also, receiving instruction from the oracle at Delphi before travelling to Southern Italy gave the Achaean expeditions legitimacy. By constructing sanctuaries at the locations of mythical events and locations set by the will of the gods, the Achaean settlers provided the physical spaces with sacred authenticity. Although their cultural traditions experience a shift after the Achaeans established their colonies in Southern Italy, at the end of the day they were still Greek, and they still saw the value in solidifying connections to the mythical history of their homeland; sanctuary construction was an effective way to do that.

The custom of constructing rural sanctuaries was carried over from mainland Greece to the colonies, where they dotted the outlying territory just as in the motherland. Although the function of extraurban sanctuaries was altered in the context of the Achaean colonies, the rural compounds were generally in step with their counterparts on the Peloponnese. This is significant to our understanding of the colonies, as it is evident that they were still trying to hold on to their ties to their homeland, and by following the same religious practices, were able to demonstrate their Greek identity, even when separated by a large body of water. The retention of their ‘Greekness’ was crucial to their success in amongst the other colonial foundations in Southern Italy, as without it, they would be considered barbaric, and acting against the values of their homeland would allow them to be targeted by other Greeks. If a colony did not uphold the same values, they would eventually become insignificant in the colonial race.

Another method utilized by the Achaeans to establish their Greek identity in the territory of Southern Italy was the worship of Hera throughout the extraurban territory. Not only did this connect them to the religious traditions of the mainland, it also created a connection amongst the Achaean colonies themselves, as Hera was considered the one true deity involved with their establishment in Southern Italy. Evident at Capo Colonna (Croton), Foce del Sele (Paestum), and throughout the chora of Metapontum, the worship of Hera demonstrated their Achaean ethnicity, and served as the ‘cultural glue’ that connected them with one another. It is evident in the apparent lack of devotion towards Hera at Sybaris contributed significantly to its downfall as the rest of the Achaean colonies eventually rose up in opposition of them, which points to her importance in the Achaean colonization of Southern Italy. What's more, the various sanctuaries dedicated to Hera throughout the Achaean territory in Southern Italy were relatively uniform in size and decoration, and suggests that she was specifically used to define territory. In addition, the goddess Hera was easily relatable to significant female figures in indigenous cults. As a result, the Greeks adopted some traditions from their native counterparts to ensure that they were able to accept the construction of sanctuaries near to their own settlements. This also ensured communication between the Greeks and the indigenous, and eventually helped to integrate them into Greek culture, which is apparent in the eventual disappearance of the Oenotrian population. The sharing of religious traditions is also evident in the vast selection of votives that have been found at the various sanctuaries dedicated to Hera throughout the colonies, as the dedication of Greek votives alongside indigenous ones was commonly noted.

One last thing to note regarding the cultural significance of the nonurban sanctuaries is the emergence of a regional style of architecture. Coined the ‘Ionian Sea Style’ by Barbara Barletta, it represented a conglomeration of Greek styles, seasoned with a touch of indigenous character. Various features represented by this style included the leaf-necked column capital, the ‘sofa anta’ capital, the prostyle arrangement of temples, the half-column, horizontal decoration, the single interior colonnade, and the 1:2 architectural ratio.[[291]](#footnote-292) It was clear that this style represented a shared repertoire within a single geographical region.[[292]](#footnote-293) By creating something that demonstrated acknowledgement of the cultural traditions of all those inhabiting the area, the Achaeans appeased everyone, and formulated a whole new identity, while also recognizing the importance of the connection to their homeland.

Thus, it is evident that the nonurban sanctuaries found in the outlying Achaean territory in the Southern Italian countryside quickly became the principal places for communication with the gods and with each other. At the same time, the sanctuary reflected and influenced the way the Greeks represented their own space, organizing it around points where superior divine powers were anchored in the human reality.[[293]](#footnote-294) The Achaean colonists used this to their advantage, as they were able to use these traditional structures in a way that solidified their influence and control over the territory without having to resort to violence.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The earliest phases of development in the Greek settlements dating to the 8th century BCE display nascent urban plans, representing a regional form of urbanism. By the end of the 6th century BCE, the Achaean cities in Magna Graecia displayed many common features, the most significant of these being the distribution of nonurban sanctuaries in the outlying territory. Despite extensive intersection in city design, each city displays its own peculiarities and experimental design elements. During this period, the settlers did not indiscriminately apply a strict model over whatever terrain they inhabited. Instead, the interplay between mainland standards and colonial eccentricities in every city resulted in a unique arrangement of asty and chora, which both urged the adoption of new traditions and encouraged the continuous invention of new stylistic trends.

As the Greek colonists became more invested in their Western colonies due to their flourishing economies, they made a deliberate attempt to reinforce their hold on the nonurban territory. Through the proliferation of nonurban sanctuary construction, the Achaean colonies improved on their land so as to mark their control over it. By constructing temples of a monumental scale at sites that were once sacred to the indigenous populations, they recognized the importance of boundaries that had been pre-established, and solidified their control over their newly claimed territories. By establishing the authority of the gods in areas that were out of reach to the inner cities of the Achaean colonies, they extended Greek law far into the countryside, as a reminder that those living in the outlying territory were still subject to them. In addition, they put to use the traditions they brought over from the mainland, establishing their identity firmly as Greek, in order to distinguish ownership over the area. At the same time, the employment of indigenous traditions alongside their own Greek religious values was an attempt to integrate the native populations into the new Greek foundations, in order to prevent hostilities between them by means of ritual devotion. The use of nonurban sanctuaries was a less abrasive way for the settlers to establish their sovereignty, while ensuring that their control extended far beyond the reach of the inner city. Thus, the nonurban sanctuaries played an integral role in the development of the Achaean cities of Magna Graecia.

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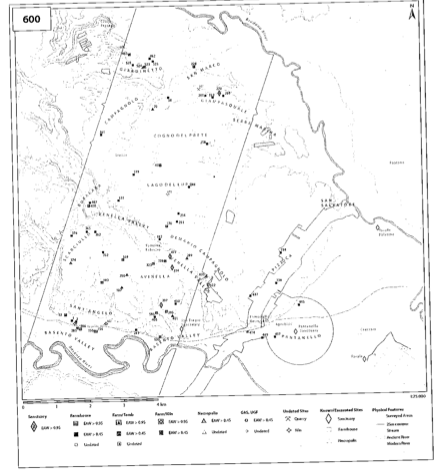
**Appendix 1**

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**Partial Colonial Arrangement of Southern Italy – Including the distribution of nonurban sanctuary sites at Metaponto**

**Carter 2006, 54.**

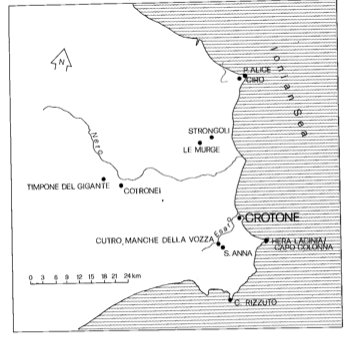
**Appendix 2**

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**Arrangement of the Chora at Metaponto**

**Carter 2011a, 201.**

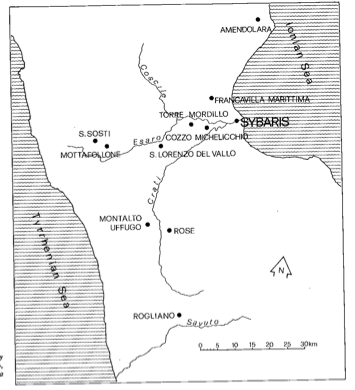
**Appendix 3**

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**Map of Croton and Adjacent Territory**

**Edlund 1987, 106.**

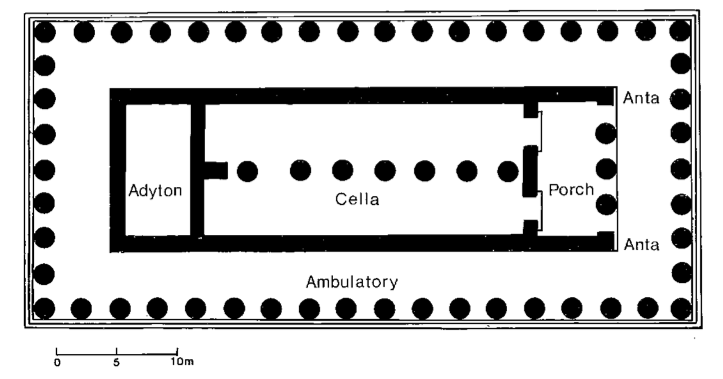
**Appendix 4**

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**Map of Sybaris and Adjacent Territory**

**Edlund 1987, 119.**

**Appendix 5**

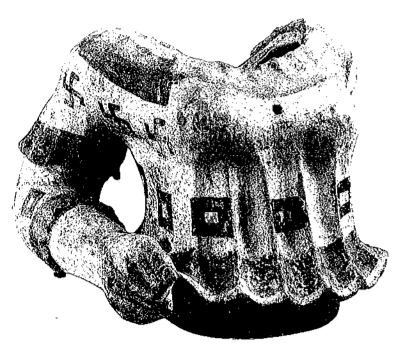
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**Plan – Temple of Hera I, Poseidonia**

Noteworthy aspects include the nine columns of the façade, the wide ambulatory, the three columns built into the porch, and the sing row of columns dividing the cella.

**Pedley 1990, 42.**

**Appendix 6**

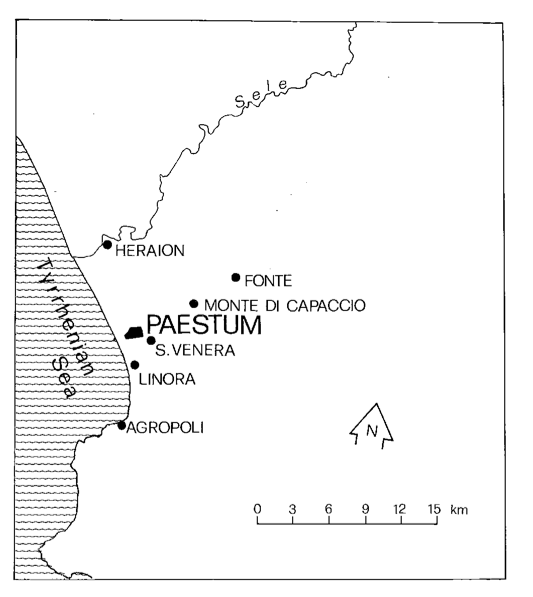
****

**Fragment of Architectural Female Terracotta – 3rd quarter of the 6th century BCE**

Note the unusual garment – a long sleeved bodice worn beneath a decorated upper blouse. Temple of Hera I

**Pedley 1990, 50.**

**Appendix 7**

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**Map of Poseidonia and Adjacent Territory**

**Edlund 1987, 119.**

**Appendix 8**



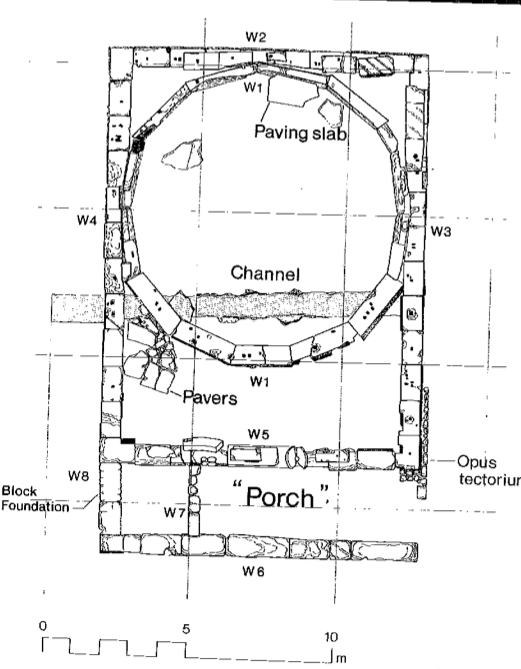
**Inscribed Disk – Silver, 6th century BCE**

**Found at the sanctuary dedicated to Hera.**

It reads, “I am sacred to Hera, strengthen our bows.”

**Pedley 1990, 51.**

**Appendix 9**

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**Oikos Plan – Sanctuary at Santa Venera, Poseidonia**

**Pedley 1990, 134.**

**Appendix 10**

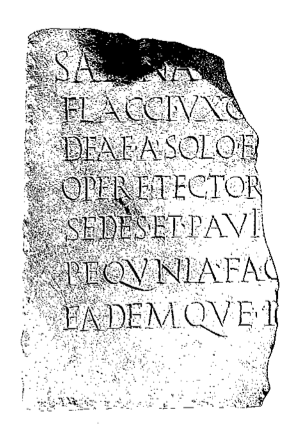
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**Inscribed Marble Base, 3rd Century BCE**

For a statuette dedicated to Venus, found at the Sanctuary at Santa Venera, Poseidonia.

**Pedley 1990, 157.**

**Appendix 11**

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**Inscription Recording the Benefactions of Sabina, 1st Century BCE**

‘Sabina, wife of Flaccus, saw to the construction of the goddess’ shrine from the ground up, to the decoration with stucco work, and to the provision of seats and pavements; she paid for it with her own money, and she approved the work.’

Found at the Sanctuary at Santa Venera, Poseidonia

**Pedley 1990, 139.**

1. Tomlinson 1976, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Dunbabin 1948, 24-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Greco 2002, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Langlotz 1975, 11-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. De Polignac 1995, 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. De Polignac 1994,16. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. De Polignac 1995, 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Eldund 1987, 38 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Metraux 1978, 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. Berard 1957, 177. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Carter 2006, 52. Boardman 1980, 191-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Cerchiai 2004, 130. Eusebius wrote that the foundation date was 773/2, but Berard and Dunbabin relate the founding to Siris at the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th century BCE (Metraux 1978, 158). Antiochus of Syracuse wrote that Metaponto was founded by colonists from Achaea sent by Sybaris (Cerchiai 2004, 130). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Strabo 6.1.15. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. Carter 2006, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Carter 2006, 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Carter 2011a, 641. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Carter 2011a, 562-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Carter 2011a, 563. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. Morgan and Hall 1996, 213. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Carter 2006, 34. Mertens 1996, 1990. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. Carter 2011a, 569-70. An abundance of Neolithic material has been found at 55 sites between the Bradano and Basento rivers, much of which has been discovered due to the proximity to known Greek structures. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. Carter 2011a, 575-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. Carter 2011a, 576. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. Carter 2011a, 576. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. See Appendix 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. Carter 2006, 55-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. Edlund 1987, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. Carter 2006, 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. Carter 2011a, 577. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. Carter 2011a, 578. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
31. Carter 2011a, 580. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
32. *,* The term ‘Oenotrian’ refers to a name Greek writers often ascribe to the population that inhabited a large portion of central Southern Italy, from the Ionian to Tyrrhenian, before the arrival of Greek colonists.Carter 2011a, 583. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
33. Carter 2011a, 580. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
34. Carter 2011a, 582. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
35. Carter 2011a, 582. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
36. Carter 2006, 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
37. Greco 2002, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
38. Edlund 1987, 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
39. Greco 2002, 102-3. See Appendix 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
40. Edlund 1987, 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
41. Edlund 1987, 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
42. Adamesteanu, 1974, 76, 91. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
43. Carter 2011a, 610. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
44. Carter 2006, 161. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
45. Carter 2011a, 612. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
46. De Polignac 1995, 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
47. Greco 2002, 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
48. Edlund 1987, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
49. Lo Porto 1981, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
50. Edlund 1987, 96. Lo Porto 1981, 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
51. Edlund 1987, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
52. Edlund 1987, 97, Adamesteanu 1974, 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
53. Edlund 1987, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
54. Giannelli 1963, 77-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
55. De Polignac 1995, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
56. De Polignac 1995, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
57. De Polignac 1995, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
58. Carter 2006, 162. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
59. Edlund 1987, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
60. Greco 2002, 103. Adamesteanu 1974, 65. Edlund 1987, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
61. It may have been the case that Zeus Aglaios was worshipped in a temple contiguous to the one dedicated to Artemis. Olbrich 1979, 88-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
62. Edlund 1987, 98. Artemis would make the most sense, as she was known to be a protector of animals (‘*potnia theron*’). [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
63. Edlund 1987, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
64. Bérard 1957, 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
65. Bacchylides, 11th *Epinician Ode.* [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
66. Greco 2002, 103. The epiclesis suggests a Peloponnesian/Achaean origin. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
67. Edlund 1987, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
68. Edlund 1987, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
69. Eldund 1987, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
70. Zuntz 1971, 107-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
71. Edlund, 98. Carter 1983, 410-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
72. Edlund 1987, 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
73. Edlund 1987, 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
74. Edlund 1987, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
75. Lo Porto 1981, 322. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
76. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens, and F. D’Andria 1983, 276 (dates for Adam. And Mertens?. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
77. Edlund 1987, 96. In regards to Demeter’s shift from rural to urban status, coinage from Metaponto began depicting Demeter, and by reinforcing her importance to the urban citizens, in turn they realize the importance of agricultural production for the success of their settlement. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
78. Edlund 1987, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
79. Edlund 1982, 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
80. Bérard 1957, 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
81. Diodorus Siculus, 8.17: Consulting the oracle at Delphi was a common practice for Greek colonists before setting out – a practice that has evidence in both myth and historical literature. Myskellos arrived at the Delphi with the intention of settling Sybaris, but the sacred word of the oracle lead him to do otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
82. Dunbabin, 1948, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
83. Edlund 1987, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
84. Woodhead 1962 62. See Appendix 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
85. Dunbabin 1948, 159. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
86. Lykophron 911ff. It must be noted that Tlepolemos was himself associated with Philoktetes, whose bow had been dedicated at the Temple of Apollo at Punta Alice. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
87. Dunbabin 1948, 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
88. Cerchiai 2004, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
89. Edlund 1987, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
90. Edlund 1987, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
91. Dunbabin 1948, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
92. Woodhead 1962, 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
93. Cerchiai 2004, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
94. Woodhead 1962, 62-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
95. Cerchiai 2004, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
96. Cerchiai 2004, 106. It should also be noted that from the time of his arrival, Pythagoras fought against the city’s existing culture, which was centered on the concept of luxury and laxity. The evidence of this type of a culture can be found in the lack of a defined development plan, which was evident in other Achaean colonies formed afterwards. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
97. Dunbabin 1948, 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
98. Herodotus 3.131 [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
99. Strabo 6.1.12 [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
100. Dunbabin 1948, 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
101. Cerchiai 2004, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
102. Woodhead 1962, 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
103. Cerchiai 2004, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
104. Neer 2012, 136. Fig. 5.26 a/b. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
105. Dunbabin 1948, 26-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
106. Neer 2012, 259. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
107. Cerchiai 2004, 106. “While the Pythagorean aristocracy was pressing to be reinstated into the Sybarite nobility, which had lined up against Teli, the democratic faction, led by a noble called Kylon, wanted them dispersed among the citizens of Croton.” [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
108. Cerchiai 2004, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
109. Cerchiai 2004, 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
110. Cerchiai 2004, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
111. Diodorus Siculus 8.17. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
112. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita,* 24.3.3-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
113. De Polignac 1994, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
114. Cerchiai 2004, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
115. Woodhead 1962, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
116. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
117. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
118. Cerchiai 2004, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
119. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
120. Cerchiai 2004, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
121. Cerchiai 2004, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
122. Cerchiai 2004, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
123. Cerchiai 2004, 109. *The walled enclosure dates to the 4th century BCE.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
124. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
125. De Polignac 1994, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
126. De Polignac 1994, 16. There is evidence of prehistoric activity at nearby Ciro Marina as well; an indication of the importance of the promontory even to the earliest settlers in the area. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
127. De Polignac 1994, 16-7. The simple architectural terracotta decoration that adorned the temple featured beads, fillets and fascias – all typical Doric motifs – that contribute to its conservative character. The temple was not monumentalized until the 3rd century BCE. Cerchiai 2004, 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
128. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
129. Cerchiai 2004 , 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
130. Edlund 1987, 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
131. Mertens 1981, 117, 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
132. Cerchiai 2004, 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
133. Dunbabin 1948, 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
134. Edlund 1987, 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
135. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
136. Edlund 1987, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
137. Edlund 1987, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
138. Edlund 1987, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
139. Eldund 1987, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
140. Edlund 1987, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
141. Strabo 6.1.13 [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
142. Edlund 1987, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
143. Edlund 1987, 119. Cherchiai 2004, 112. Two traditional dates have been associated with the foundation of Sybaris: 720 or 709-708 BCE. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
144. Strabo 6.1.13 This is an example of how historical evidence acquired through literary sources can be unreliable at times. With the lack of archaeological evidence supplementing what is known through ancient sources such as Strabo, it is hard to properly discern how Sybaris developed. As a result, we must turn to the other colonial foundations established by Achaean settlers, several of which offer a significant amount of material evidence. Three other colonies – Metapontum, Croton, and Paestum – will all be explored in this project, in an attempt to understand the nature of these settlements. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
145. Pedley 1990, 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
146. Eldund 1987, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
147. Dunbabin 1948, 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
148. Berger 1992, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
149. Aristotle, *Politics* 1305a.25. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
150. Dunbabin, 1948, 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
151. Diodorus Siculus 12.9 “Now there arose among the Sybarites a leader of the people named Telys (511 BCE), who brought charges against the most influential men and persuaded the Sybarites to exile the five hundred wealthiest citizens and confiscate their estates. And when these exiles went to Croton and took refuge at the altars in the marketplace, Telys dispatched ambassadors to the Crotoniates, commanding them either to deliver up the exiles or to expect war. An assembly of people was convened and deliberation proposed on the question whether they should surrender the suppliants to the Sybarites or face war with a superior foe, and the Council and people were at a loss what to do. At first the sentiments of the masses, from fear of the war, leaned toward handing over the suppliants, but after this, when Pythagoras the philosopher advised that they grant safety to the suppliants, they changed their opinions and accepted war on behalf of the safety of the suppliants. When the Sybarites advanced against them with three hundred thousand men, the Crotoniates opposed them with one hundred thousand under the command of Milo the athlete, who by reason of his great physical strength was the first to put to flight his adversaries. For we are told that this man, who had won the prize in Olympia six times and whose courage was of the measure of his physical body, came to battle wearing his Olympic crowns and equipped with the gear of Heracles, lion’s skin and club; he won the admiration of his fellow citizens as responsible for their victory.” [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
152. Neer, 259. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
153. Woodhead, 60-1. The sanctuary is said to have been built by the Spartan Dorieus, an ally of Croton. It is interesting to note how Sybaris also constructed a sanctuary to Athena when they took over Francavilla Maritima just after their arrival in the area a few centuries beforehand. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
154. Herodotus 5.45. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
155. Herodotus, 6.21. “The point is that when Sybaris was captured by the Crotonians, the whole Milesian population, old and young alike, shaved their heads and signaled their deep grief, because there are no known states which have closer ties than Miletus and Sybaris.” [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
156. Berger, 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
157. Pedley 1990, 27. Edlund 1987, 120. At Francavilla Maritima, for example. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
158. Pedley 1990,27. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
159. Eldund 1987, 120. The bronze plaque will be discussed later on in the examination of Sybaris. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
160. Pedley 1990, *27.* Diodorus Siculus 12.9 “…And since they kept granting citizenship to many aliens, they increased to such an extent that they were considered to be far the first among the inhabitants that the city possessed three hundred thousand citizens.” [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
161. Cerchiai 2004, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
162. Dunbabin 1948, 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
163. Pedley 1990*,* 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
164. Berger 1992, 31. Cerchiai 2004, 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
165. Dunbabin 1948, 76. For a more detailed account of the luxurious inclinations of the Sybarites, see pages 75-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
166. Edlund 1987, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
167. Dunbabin 1948, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
168. Edlund 1987, 120. Dunbabin 1948, 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
169. Woodhead 1962, 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
170. Neer 2012, 178. The ‘Serdaioi’ were also a group of indigenous peoples inhabiting the territory of Sybaris at the time of the arrival of the Achaean settlers. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
171. Cerchiai 2004, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
172. Dunbabin 1948, 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
173. Tomlinson 1976, 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
174. De Polignac 1995, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
175. Edlund 1987, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
176. Theocritus, *Idylls* 5.82. Lacon is referring to a ritualistic feast in the name of Apollo, which would be taking place in the following week. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
177. Cerchiai 2004, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
178. See Appendix 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
179. Papadopolous 2001, 374. There is evidence for several versions of temples constructed both of timber and mudbrick before the construction of a stone temple. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
180. Papadopolous 2001, 395. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
181. Kleibrink 2004, 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
182. Kleibrink 2004, 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
183. Kleibrink 2004, 55. There was also an abundance of containers for perfume and oil, also used for ritual activity, as well as pottery baskets used for storing wool. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
184. Kleibrink 2004, 57. The majority of the Greek ware was Corinthian imports, along with Late Geometric Rhodian pottery, fragments of the early Thapsos style, pottery of local production, examples of the ‘Achaean’ style, in amongst bronze jewelry, bone and amber beads, faience objects and several terracotta pinakes. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
185. Kleibrink 2004, 55. Water was likely poured from large hydriskai in a ritual dedication to the deity in question, and the existence of kalathiskoi points to the practice of dedicating unspun wool. There were also connections made to the act of weaving in dedications of spindle whorls. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
186. Kleibrink 2004, 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
187. Kleibrink 2004, 60. The images of the processions also indicated that men and woman participated in the festivals at the sanctuary; the men carried swords and other weapons, and the women carried water, flowers and cloth. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
188. Kleibrink 2004, 60. The legend states that Epeios had to carry water to the heroes of the House of Atreus, and received the aid of Athena. Later on, after he was victorious in the funeral games for Patroklos, he was credited with the invention of the Trojan Horse. Epeios was often called ‘hydrophoros’ (‘carrier of water’) and donkeys were often named after him. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
189. Kleibrink 2004, 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
190. Papadopolous, 376. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
191. Cherchiai 2004, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
192. Cherchiai 2004, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
193. Edlund 1987, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
194. Neer 2012, 254. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
195. Pedley 1990, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
196. Aristotle, *Politics,* 5.1303a.20 (Perseus Digital Library) “Also difference of race is a cause of faction, until harmony of spirit is reached; for just as any chance multitude of people does not form a state, so a state is not formed in any chance period of time. Hence most of the states that have hitherto admitted joint settlers or additional settlers have split into factions; for example Achaeans settled at Sybaris jointly with Troezenians, and afterwards the Achaeans having become more numerous expelled the Troezenians, which was the case of the curse that fell onto the Sybarites.” [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
197. Skele 2002, 5. His discussion of the relevance of the physical landscape in regards to the settlement of the area should be noted, as the Sele Plain debatably went through significant topographical changes during the Archaic and Classical Periods, leaving the inward plains marshy and causing major drainage issues. Some scholars argue that these events lead to the eventual abandonment of the settlement, but this has yet to be confirmed. 6-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
198. Skele 2002, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
199. Strabo, 6.1.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
200. Cerchiai 2004, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
201. Skele 2002, 13. Many sites have boasted material that dates as early as the Eneolithic period, but according to Skele, prehistoric/protohistoric levels at the sites that have been excavated are minimally represented in the archaeological findings, and inadequateexcavation of more isolated sites in the early 1900s have obscured our understanding of the early stages of the settlement of the Sele plain. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
202. Skele 2002, 13. Holloway 1975a, 12. One aspect that must be noted here – the ‘Gaudo’ culture is known mainly through their burial traditions, and identifying assemblages of pottery/ceramic material/utilitarian objects as being of this culture is difficult due to lack of comparable evidence. There is also some ambiguities regarding the ethnicity of the group inhabiting the locality – whether they were immigrants from the East, or developed indigenously. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
203. Skele 2002, 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
204. Pedley 1990, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
205. Pedley 1990, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
206. Strabo 6.1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
207. Pedley 1990, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
208. Skele 2002, 16. Pedley 1990, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
209. Pedley 1990, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
210. Skele 2002, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
211. Strabo 5.4.13 [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
212. Edlund 1987, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
213. Skele 2002, 13. In this case, I follow the same train of thought as Skele, “If modern scholars can attribute cultural origins on the basis of similarities, might not Greek historians have followed a similar line of reasoning? Which is to say, given the long contact between Italy and the Aegean of which the Greeks were almost certainly aware, a genetic relationship may well have been the most expedient explanation of familiar cultural features among the populations they encountered during the colonization period, especially given their genealogically oriented cosmology.” [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
214. Greco and Theodorescu 1983, 72-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
215. Pedley 1990, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
216. Skele 2002, 28. See Appendix 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
217. Barletta 1990, 26. Skele 2002, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
218. Pedley1990, 49. See Appendix 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
219. Mertens 2006, 167-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
220. Skele 2002, 29 [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
221. Skele 2002, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
222. Skele 2002, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
223. Skele 2002, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
224. Barletta 1990, 56. Vitruvius *De Architectura* 4.7.1. On the arrangement of Etruscan Temples, “The place where the temple is to be built having been divided on its length into six parts, deduct one and let the rest be given to its width. Then let the length be divided into two equal parts, of which let the inner be reserved as space for the [cellae](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=cellae&la=la&can=cellae0" \t "morph), and the part next the front left for the arrangement of the columns.  Next let the width be divided into ten parts. Of these, let three on the right and three on the left be given to the smaller [cellae](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=cellae&la=la&can=cellae0" \t "morph), or to the [alae](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=alae&la=la&can=alae0&prior=cellae" \t "morph) if there are to be [alae](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=alae&la=la&can=alae1&prior=alae" \t "morph), and the other four devoted to the middle of the temple. Let the space in front of the [cellae](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=cellae&la=la&can=cellae1&prior=alae" \t "morph), in the pronaos, be marked out for columns thus: the corner columns should be placed opposite the antae on the line of the outside walls; the two middle columns, set out on the line of the walls which are between the antae and the middle of the temple; and through the middle, between the antae and the front columns, a second row, arranged on the same lines. Let the thickness of the columns at the bottom be one seventh of their height, their height one third of the width of the temple, and the diminution of a column at the top, one fourth of its thickness at the bottom. The height of their bases should be one half of that thickness. The plinth of their bases should be circular, and in height one half the height of the bases, the torus above it and congé being of the same height as the plinth. The height of the capital is one half the thickness of a column. The abacus has a width equivalent to the thickness of the bottom of a column. Let the height of the capital be divided into three parts, and give one to the plinth (that is, the abacus), the second to the echinus, and the third to the necking with its congé. Upon the columns lay the main beams, fastened together, to a height commensurate with the requirements of the size of the building. These beams fastened together should be laid so as to be equivalent in thickness to the necking at the top of a column, and should be fastened together by means of dowels and dove-tailed tenons in such a way that there shall be a space two fingers broad between them at the fastening. For if they touch one another, and so do not leave airholes and admit draughts of air to blow between them, they get heated and soon begin to rot. Above the beams and walls let the mutules project to a distance equal to one quarter of the height of a column; along the front of them nail casings; above, build the tympanum of the pediment either in masonry or in wood. The pediment with its ridgepole, principal rafters, and purlines are to be built in such a way that the eaves shall be equivalent to one third of the completed roof. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
225. Barletta 1990, 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
226. Barletta 1990, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
227. The points that have been made on the map represent areas in the outlying territory of Poseidonia in which sanctuaries have been constructed as a means to delineate the boundaries of the Greek territory in the Sele Plain. This will receive a more in depth discussion further on in the case study.See Appendix 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
228. Skele 2002, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
229. Edlund 1987, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
230. Greco 2002, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
231. De Polignac 1995, 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
232. De Polignac 1995, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
233. Edlund 1987, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
234. Pedley 1990, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
235. Pedley 1990,51. See Appendix 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
236. Pedley 1990, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
237. De Polignac 1995, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
238. Von Matt 1962, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
239. R. Ross Holloway 1998, 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
240. De Polignac 1995, 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
241. Von Matt 1962, 46. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
242. Pedley 1990, 72. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
243. Barletta 1990, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
244. Barletta 1990, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
245. Pedley 1990, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
246. Mertens 2006, 167-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
247. Holloway 1975, 6-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
248. Holloway 1975, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
249. Pedley 1990, 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
250. Pedley 1990, 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
251. Pedley 1990, 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
252. Edlund 1987, 105. The deity in question was most likely Hera, which would make the most sense as she is worshipped at numerous centers around the Sele Plain, and serves as a polis deity in most Achaean colonies due to her various personae – Hera as a protectress has already been noted at several other sanctuaries in the Sele Plain. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
253. Edlund 1987, 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
254. Edlund 1987, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
255. Edlund 1987, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
256. See Appendix 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
257. Pedley 1990, 137-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
258. Edlund 1987, 103. n. 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
259. See Appendix 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
260. See Appendix 11. The Roman goddess Bona Dea was often reflective of the characteristics of the Greek goddess Damia. For more on the interpretation of this inscription, see Pedley 1990, 139-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
261. Edlund 1987, 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
262. Edlund 1987, 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
263. Edlund 1987, 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
264. Skele 2002, 22-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
265. Skele 2002, 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
266. Skele 2002, 32. Melo 1980, 43.A sanctuary may have existed at Capaccio Vecchia at the time of foundation. In addition, Skele believes that a sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon may have existed here, as the location was befit, with a view of the sea and looked over the Capodifiume Springs. It was more likely dedicated to Hera, however, as it was found near to the Christian grotto of the Madonna del Granato, and it would have created a symmetrical arrangement with the Heraion both on the Sele, and at Agropoli. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
267. Skele 2002, 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
268. Metraux 1978, 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
269. Metraux 1978, 179. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
270. De Polignac 1994, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
271. De Polignac 1994, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
272. Edlund 1987, 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
273. Greco 2002, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
274. De Polignac 1995, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
275. De Polignac 1995, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
276. Edlund 1987, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
277. Edlund 1987, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
278. De Polignac 1995*,* 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
279. The deities often associated with the ritual crossing of thresholds were generally female: Demeter, Persephone and Aphrodite were the main goddesses that were seen at suburban sanctuaries. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
280. Pedley 2005*,* 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
281. Edlund 1987, 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
282. Edlund 1987, 127. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
283. Malkin 1996*,* 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
284. Edlund 1987, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
285. De Polignac 1994, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
286. Edlund 1987, 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
287. Dunbabin 1948, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
288. Dunbabin 1948, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
289. Strabo 6.1.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
290. Skele 2002, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
291. For a full examination of all of these features, and for an understanding of where they originated, see Barletta 1990, 45-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
292. Barletta 1990, 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
293. De Polignac 1995*,* 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)