

# POSEIDONIA – PAESTUM REVISITED

Tracing aspects of place attachment in an ancient context



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## Abstract

The city of Poseidonia-Paestum on the Italian peninsula has a long and manifold history throughout Antiquity. The city was founded by Greek settlers in the seventh century BC, put under Lucanian rule around 400 BC, and was finally colonized by the Romans in the year of 273 BC. This study aims to connect the tangible traces of history to the intangible feelings for a place and explore how these elements give rise to the psychological process of place attachment. The concept holds an interdisciplinary potential and thus is possible to apply to the ancient material from Poseidonia-Paestum. The Greek *agora*, the Roman forum and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera is approached and analysed from this perspective. A close reading of previous research on place attachment in combination with the archaeological record from Poseidonia-Paestum has formed the basis for analysing the material. This study has shown that it is possible to contextualize the theoretical framework of place attachment in an ancient material by pointing out the semiotic potency of the material remains from Poseidonia-Paestum. Through this perspective new questions have been raised and interpreted. Ultimately, a deeper understanding of the attitudes and ideas that formed the basis of human actions and decisions in the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum has been reached.

Keywords: *Poseidonia, Paestum, place, place attachment, environmental psychology, Sanctuary of Santa Venera, Greek agora, Roman forum, displacement, continuity, Archaic, Classical, Roman, Lucania, identity, community.*

Front page: <http://www.museopaestum.beniculturali.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/piranesi-apaestum.jpg> (2017-05-21).

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## 1. Introduction

*A place belongs forever to whoever claims it hardest, remembers it most obsessively, wrenches it from itself, shapes it, renders it, loves it so radically that he remakes it in his own image. - Joan Didion<sup>1</sup>*

As archaeologists, we can truly appreciate the power embedded in a place. One could even say that archaeologists are crucial to the creation of an important place or giving otherwise meaningless space its importance. However, we always have to acknowledge the fact that we find ourselves in a ‘meeting place’ of past history and present. Archaeologists inevitably create strong attachments to the places they investigate, in particular due to the act of excavation. This, being a core disciplinary skill as well as a method for investigative research, also provides a shared human experience.<sup>2</sup> By understanding and knowing the history of a place one gets attached to the very physicality of history – history that has mass and volume and can be handled. History that can be unearthed. Attachment to a place is, however, not something that can be excavated by the archaeologist, in other words, “the soul leaves no skeleton.”<sup>3</sup> Attachment is made up by peoples’ memories, experiences and feelings and to trace them in the material remains is a natural challenge to the archaeologist. The reason for this difficulty is simple: It is the acts of people that no longer exist and inhabit the place of study that needs to be discovered. However, the act of discovering, or rediscovering, is itself a process of connection to the place. The architecture and artefacts give us a sense of connecting with past people and their activities. What is discovered serve as reminders in two ways – first as an interpreted history of the place before it was explored by the archaeologist, and second as our own recent memory of engagement with the revealed artefacts and the place. Thus, we deliberately and subconsciously insert ourselves and our meanings and values into the artefacts at the place, we respond to the features of the place and we are in turn, inevitably, shaped by it.

In the present study I intend to connect the tangible traces of history to the intangible feelings for a place and explore how these elements give rise to the process of place attachment in the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum on the Italian peninsula. The city is located towards the southern end of the Bay of Salerno some 80 kilometres south of Naples (Fig. 1). The Greek city, Poseidonia, was founded in the end of the seventh century BC and flourished for some 200 years with the construction of city walls, towers and gates, three still standing, remarkably

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<sup>1</sup> Didion 1979, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Brown 2010, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Bradley 2003, 6.

well preserved, Doric temples and a Greek *agora* with all its well-known functions and features. In the end of the fifth century indigenous Italic people, the Lucanians, entered the city and brought with them new practices and traditions but on the whole lived side by side with the Greeks. This lasted for approximately a century and a half until, in the wake of the expanding Republican Rome, a Latin colony was founded at the place in the year of 273 BC and the city got its Roman name, Paestum. Along with the foundation of the colony the city was adorned with the typical elements of a Roman town. Yet the Greek temples and sanctuaries continued to be looked after and used and some of the Greek, Lucanian and Roman buildings and concepts stood and prospered side by side.<sup>4</sup>

I hope that the research conducted in this study will provide a first insight to and a basic understanding of the phenomenon of place attachment in relation to an ancient material. Another hope is that, by applying the theoretical framework to this material, new questions regarding the community of Poseidonia-Paestum are raised and some of them answered. This study was in a way initiated by my own perceived emotional response to place, and the connection between the physical and the sensory is a central point in the exploration of attachment to place. Given that we all are embodied and embedded in place, our attachment to it will continue and this will inevitably take the exploration steadily forward.

### **1.1. Research aims**

Through the value or meaning ascribed to a particular place a bond between individuals and the environment they perceive as meaningful is created. Place attachment is an organising theoretical framework within the field of environmental psychology and cultural geography, but it also holds an interdisciplinary potential that makes it possible to use on a historical material. Place attachment as affect is often connected to positive emotions like joy, pride or love for a place, but it can also be used in order to understand emotional bonds to a place connected to something negative like fear, sorrow or anger that has arisen in connection with disruptions in place attachment.<sup>5</sup> Both the meaning of the place and the place as a social arena or symbol and physical character can be considered of importance in understanding place attachment. In the correspondence between the architectonic order, the layout of a city and the social organization; between religion, myths and symbols; between the tangible and the intangible, there is attachment to place. By studying the design of an ancient monument, the city of Poseidonia-Paestum, that represents a collective memory and supports and reinforces

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<sup>4</sup> Pedley 1992, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Brown & Perkins 1992, 279.

the attachments to both the objects associated with it and the experiences it represents, attachment to place can be traced. An overall assumption in this study is, therefore, that city structure, building form and design reflect the cosmological and social order, and that material remains have a semiotic potency.<sup>6</sup>

The aim of this study is to suggest a way of applying the theoretical framework of place attachment to the archaeological material at Poseidonia-Paestum. In doing so I hope to explore and contextualize the process of place attachment in connection to a historical material and ultimately suggest a way of using the framework within the field of archaeology and ancient history. I therefore seek to analyse in detail some aspects of Poseidonia-Paestum in its social and spatial contexts, and interpret the evidence. The analysis is divided into three parts and carefully studies and interprets the archaeological evidence, combined with the ancient literary testimonia, in order to establish a connection to aspects of place attachment. The first part of the analysis sets the scene for the inquiry and discusses the notion of the Greek *polis* in general and the city of Poseidonia-Paestum in particular, and the perceived attachment that it gives rise to in combination with the geographic features of the place. The second part of the analysis focuses on the areas of the Greek *agora* and the Roman forum. The material remains of public buildings combined with the social and political interaction these place gave rise to are analysed in detail. Questions concerning themes of survival or ceasing of important places are raised and discussed in order to contextualize the process of place attachment and in particular contrasting themes of attachment with disruption of place. The third and final part of the analysis connects attachment to a place with the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera and in particular focuses on the female divinity who was worshipped there (Fig. 2). Questions concerning continuity and religious adjustment are highlighted and I also propose a suggestion of an alternative interpretation of the Lucanian period in connection to the remains of the sanctuary. Thus, the present study will contrast the intramural perspective of the *agora*/forum with that of the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera as well as notions of political attachment or disruption with religious continuity and the feeling of rootedness connected with a place. The identities associated with these places and concepts as well as the important and complex issues of culture and ethnicity in relation to Poseidonia-Paestum will be considered. The archaeology of Athens, Rome and Pompeii is introduced at relevant points for comparative purposes as well as a selection of ancient literary sources that are examined in order to capture the concept of attachment to place in a general ancient context, as well as to identify depictions of the

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<sup>6</sup> Low 1992, 171.

environment of Poseidonia-Paestum and to explore the possibility of regarding them as expressions for place attachment. Ultimately, I aspire to create a deeper understanding of the attitudes and ideas that formed the basis of human actions and decisions in the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum.

## **1.2. Theory and method**

The approach of this study, described in the aims for the research above, is to introduce the theoretical framework of place attachment and contextualize it in the material remains at Poseidonia-Paestum. The definition of place attachment is however contentious. There is no real consensus between disciplines and therefore scholars have requested a more general and adaptable “theory of place attachment”.<sup>7</sup> However, in order of doing so it is equally important to acknowledge the difficulties of such a cross-disciplinary approach. In the following chapter the theoretical framework of place attachment and the methodical approach are introduced and problematized along with some key definitions and themes within the framework. The complex, but equally important issues of culture, ethnicity and identity are also touched upon in order to nuance and further enrich the discussion in the present study. The city of Poseidonia-Paestum represents an ideal possibility to apply the concept of place attachment to an ancient material record due to the city’s complex chronology and research history. This made for a natural choice in place of study.

### *1.2.1. Defining place*

Perhaps the most important dimension of the theoretical framework of place attachment is the place itself.<sup>8</sup> In phenomenological terms place can be defined as “any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions and meanings are drawn together spatially.”<sup>9</sup> In our general lexicon the word ‘place’ refers to space that has been given meaning through personal, group or cultural processes. It can therefore be referring to an area such as a city, a building, a monument or a home but also to a situation or an occasion. It may refer to a position but it can also mean duty.<sup>10</sup> Thus, there are many variations to the concept of place. Places can vary in several ways; they can be examined in various geographic scales or sizes. They can be large such as neighbourhoods, countries, the earth or even our galaxy.

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<sup>7</sup> Gifford & Scannell 2010, 2.

<sup>8</sup> A discussion on Aristotle’s thoughts on ‘place’ in *Physics* will follow in chapter 2.2.

<sup>9</sup> Seamon 2014, 11.

<sup>10</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/place> (2017-05-18).

However, a place can also be small like an object or a collection of objects. A place can therefore be tangible, for example the archaeological remains, or symbolic, like a sacred or religious place that has been ascribed to a specific meaning. They can be known and experienced or unknown and not experienced.<sup>11</sup> Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low, the editors and authors of the introductory chapter of the anthology *Place attachment* from 1992 state that:

Places are, therefore, repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached.<sup>12</sup>

In other words, people become attached to places that benefit social relationships, enhance the feeling of group identity and belonging. In the present study an important aspect of the concept of place is the “sense of community” that the concept embodies. Community of place describes social ties that are rooted in places and spaces and thus supports social interaction. A common conclusion is that residence length equals greater social ties. However, it is possible to create attachment to a place regardless of duration, which will be shown in the analysis below.

In the present study the meaning attached to place and the perception of place is essential. Affect, emotion and feeling are central to the process of developing attachment to place, and they emphasize the positive affective experiences and emotions that are associated with the concept. However, it is just as possible to experience negative feelings towards places. For instance, the loss of place also creates attachment. The longing of exiled people and refugees to return to their homeland is a striking example. Attachment to place through loss or destruction is, contrary to the positive experience of attachment, activated retrospectively. The process of losing a place and the subsequent recreating through memory of something that is now destroyed, uninhabited, or inaccessible is undeniably very powerful.<sup>13</sup> An understanding of the psychological concept of place and the different processes that surround it as well as the emotional bond between individual/group and a place is thus essential. Being a psychological process, the nature of one’s relationship to place is unique and individual. However, the approach of the present study focuses on a group perspective, and thus, an overall assumption is that attachment consists of symbolic meanings of a place that is shared by others in a community. A place, in conclusion, can be said to be the environmental setting that create attachment and equally constitutes the heart of this study.

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<sup>11</sup> Altman & Low 1992, 5; Seamon 2014, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Altman & Low 1992, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Low 1992, 167.



### 1.2.2. *Issues of culture, ethnicity and identity*

The epic poet Ennius was born in 239 BC in the heel of Italy, at a place called Rudiae, and thus belonged to the geographical area defined as Magna Graecia. Therefore, he defined himself as ‘Greek’. However, the native tongue of the area was what the Greeks defined as ‘Oscan’. Furthermore, he spent the larger part of his career as a writer among Roman generals.<sup>14</sup> The Latin author Gellius, writing in the second century AD, then claimed that: “Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret.”<sup>15</sup> Faced with the question “Who are you?”, several answers, just like Ennius three hearts, are thus to be expected. The fact that material divisions not always equal ethnic boundaries has long been acknowledged by scholars and the realisation that we ourselves are, in a way, hostages to the surviving, retrieved and published archaeological record is a part of the blunt reality surrounding this field of study.<sup>16</sup>

The complex issues of culture, ethnicity and identity are touched upon throughout the present study and while this will not be a theoretical discussion about culture, ethnicity and identity, it is nonetheless important to, at this point of the study, address the potential difficulties that surround these concepts. Both culture and ethnicity are heavily loaded words, associated with the concept of identity, and are therefore avoided in many cases.<sup>17</sup> However, writing a dissertation about Poseidonia-Paestum requires careful consideration of the terms ‘culture’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘identity’, and inevitably raises questions that range from where we find evidence for such concepts in ancient sources or the archaeological record, to the question on how to apply ancient forms and meanings of these concepts to modern debates and vice versa.<sup>18</sup>

What does it mean to declare oneself ‘Greek’, ‘Lucanian’, or ‘Roman’? What is and is not described in these terms? Is Roman, for example, a term relating to ethnicity, a legal term showing that you are a citizen of Rome, or is it a declaration of geographical origin?<sup>19</sup> Does it express cultural belonging, social identity or a common religious ground, or maybe it is a mix of all of the above? In the present study it is the concept of social identity in connection to place, above all, that will be subject of analysis. It is, however, important to emphasise that social identity and belonging to a social group is not the same. An individual can belong to several

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<sup>14</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2012, 368.

<sup>15</sup> Gell. *NA*. 17.17.1. Translation in English by Rolfe, 1927: “Quintus Ennius used to say that he had three hearts, because he knew how to speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin.”

<sup>16</sup> Hall 2012, 350-351.

<sup>17</sup> Horsnaes 2002, 17.

<sup>18</sup> McCoskey 1999, 561.

<sup>19</sup> McCoskey 1999, 555.

social groups and overlapping networks relating to, for instance, politics, gender, class or ethnicity.<sup>20</sup> Identities, thus, can be swapped and modified to suit the occasion.

Some key components for ethnic formations can be identified, and McCoskey has attempted to do so in the article ‘Answering the multicultural imperative: A course on race and ethnicity in Antiquity’ (1999). The first component is the cause for ethnic formations, and a striking example is the argument that a very specific formula for Greek ethnic identity was created after the Persian War and the sacking of Athens in the fifth century BC. Secondly, the fact that ancient writers often attribute ethnic differences to the geographic area inhabited by different groups is an important factor. Also manifestations; when ancient authors use positive or negative cultural or religious stereotypes to represent an event or a process, or implications; for example, when Roman writers point out differences between themselves and others as a way of justifying the conquest of other populations, or the passing of ‘Roman’ culture to ‘non-Romans’.<sup>21</sup> Certainly, it is not always the case that cultural expressions or concepts come with a specific ethnic label attached to them. Labelling individual elements as ‘Greek’, ‘Lucanian’, or ‘Roman’ should therefore be done with great caution because “the reference is made to nothing more and nothing less than an abstraction, an ideal: one is not referring to cultural entities.”<sup>22</sup>

In the present study attention will be paid to the nature of the Greek, Lucanian and Roman settlements at Poseidonia-Paestum, focusing on the process that gives rise to a sense of attachment to the place. The actual place, here functioning as a medium and a milieu for expressing life experiences; the formation, maintenance and preservation of social, group, or cultural identity, will be the basis of this study. This obviously relates to issues of ethnic conflict and can create tension in a society. I have, however, not conducted this study in order to take on the complex concept of ethnicity in ancient societies, this I leave to more experienced scholars. On this note I will now move on and further introduce the theoretical framework of place attachment.

### *1.2.3. The theoretical framework of place attachment*

The cross-disciplinary concept of place attachment includes a great variety of ideas including themes of topophilia, place identity, place continuity, displacement, rootedness, environmental

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<sup>20</sup> Hall 2012, 351.

<sup>21</sup> McCoskey 1999, 555-556.

<sup>22</sup> Curti *et al* 1996, 182.

embeddedness and place community.<sup>23</sup> This theoretical framework thus incorporates a range of aspects of bonding between person or group and place. It is, however, a complex phenomenon and for the purpose of this study it needs a thorough introduction. In earlier phenomenological studies made during the mid-twentieth century, analyses of place attachment were characterised by a positivistic approach. This meant that studies focused on subjective and individual experiences were not viewed as a productive way of conducting research. Within cultural and historical contexts, however, research could focus on emotional experiences towards a sacred place or the home environment. In recent years, with a more eclectic and broader acceptance of alternative scholarly approaches, and the post-colonial, post-processual influence on the social sciences, phenomenological analyses have become increasingly important in environmental and behaviour studies.<sup>24</sup>

It has been 25 years since Altman and Low published their book *Place Attachment* as a part of the series on *Human Behaviour and Environment: Advances in theory and research* in 1992. The book highlighted the potential importance of studying attachment to places and since then the field of study has become well established and further researched.<sup>25</sup> The interdisciplinary qualities of place attachment have further contributed to the plurality of competing theories subsumed within the concept. Manzo and Devine-Wright argue that this fact can be seen as a sign of “intellectual maturity and vitality”.<sup>26</sup> However, I would like to highlight some misunderstandings in previous research, specifically concerning the adaption of the concept of topophilia to an ancient material. In doing so I wish to invite the reader to a more critical perspective of the appliance of the concept of topophilia and place attachment, and also emphasize the importance of disciplinary knowledge. Yi-Fu Tuan’s volume *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes and values*, published in 1974, has been described as a “landmark of a book”.<sup>27</sup> Tuan, being a geographer, writes from a geographer’s point of view. However, reading Tuan’s book is not a pleasant experience for a scholar in archaeology and ancient history, mostly due to the fact that the author unfortunately, but unsurprisingly, does not seem to have any deeper understanding of the ancient civilisations. Classical Antiquity has *de facto* been studied far beyond the geographical boundaries that once characterised the period. Classical studies are themselves a cross-disciplinary field of study and as an effect

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<sup>23</sup> Altman & Low 1992, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Altman & Low 1992, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Manzo & Devine-Wright 2014, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Manzo & Devine-Wright 2014, 2.

<sup>27</sup> Wraith 1975, 32.

different institutions are often to a large extent ignorant of each other.<sup>28</sup> So when the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan poses assumptions about what topophilia or “love for a place” meant in Greek and Roman societies he runs the risk of being read neither by historians nor by archaeologists.<sup>29</sup> By pointing out this obvious gap in the previous research concerning place attachment I hope to contribute to a wider understanding of the concept by taking into account my role as a scholar of archaeology and ancient history.

The concepts of temporality and memory are also highly relevant within this thematic framework. Bonding to place develops over time in response to individual or group interactions with the environment and these interactions and experiences create memories. Individual memories and collective group or cultural memories are thus central to the concept. Cyclical temporal aspects are an effect of the powerful influence of memory and practice that may form recurrent rituals on annual or more frequent occasions.<sup>30</sup> The term ‘ritual’ can be said to occupy an arena where the sacred penetrates the profane using prescribed movements, props and utterances. Notions of ritual are often connected with religious beliefs or practices and can be said to inhabit a high degree of formality.<sup>31</sup> The place where the ritual is performed is of high importance and the very act of ritual shapes the notion of the place as well as the place shapes the notion of ritual. Furthermore, the concept of tradition is equally important in creating meaningful places. In fact, the concept of tradition and the concept of place attachment are in many ways similar. Tradition is defined by its continuity and consistency over time. In order to identify a tradition, it is necessary to map out the practices and individual or group ways of thinking, and how they expressed themselves, that have survived at a place for a period of time.<sup>32</sup> It is important to acknowledge, however, that the behavioural patterns linked with tradition that makes perfect sense at one place or within a group or society can appear quite incomprehensible to an outsider and, thus, so can the concept of place attachment.

#### *1.2.4. Approach and method*

The ancient site of Poseidonia-Paestum is in the present study approached, not in its entirety, but in minor components from the perspective of the theoretical framework of place attachment. This approach has some obvious limitations. Viewing the city from this perspective will naturally rule out some interpretations in favour for others arising from the fact that the

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<sup>28</sup> Hartog 2009, 966.

<sup>29</sup> Tuan 1974.

<sup>30</sup> Altman & Low 1992, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Bradley 2003, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Handler & Linnekin 1984, 272.

investigation rarely goes beyond the city centre, *asty*, and examines the *chora*, except for of course the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera. The other primary focuses, the area of the Greek *agora* and the Roman forum, have been chosen based on the fact that both sites have been well excavated and published and that the *agora* has buildings dated to the period of focus.<sup>33</sup>

The present study has an apparent urban focus and therefore the concepts of Romanization and Hellenization will be of little importance. These complex processes require a wider perspective in order to draw any conclusions and this is not the intention of this study, although it has been highlighted in recent studies that the process of Romanization very much depended on the local context.<sup>34</sup> The settlement at Poseidonia-Paestum was, just like all settlements, unique and it was situated in an area with a specific cultural and ethnic composition, which made its uniqueness possible. Whether the city was part of the Hellenization of Italy, later became ‘Lucanized’ and finally ‘Romanized’ will not be taken any further for the benefit of examining individual processes. This discussion, however interesting, will thus avoid making assumptions about the priority of Greek and Roman culture and confusing labels; very well put into writing by Curti *et al*:

This confusion and complication can be illustrated by the deceptively laden question of how a Hellenized Rome Romanized a generally Hellenized (and sometimes here and there Samnitized or Lucanized) Italy, where the repeated use of –ization concepts conceals and blurs numerous very different processes.<sup>35</sup>

In terms of the architectural development both the Greek, Lucanian and the Roman settlements should be considered in a wider Mediterranean context, as well as in the local Poseidonian-Paestan context, and not necessarily be set against each other in the traditional way that scholars have separated Greek and Roman archaeology in the past.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the tendency of explaining developments in Greek and Roman architecture by using major historical events may restrict our comprehension. For example, the Gallic sack of Rome in the early fourth century has been connected to the building or renewal of her defensive walls that begun in 378 BC. However, the literary sources, in this case Livy, do not state that the walls were built in response to this particular event. If and when foreign occupation occurred, it might

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<sup>33</sup> The importance of this is stated by Sewell 2010, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Sewell 2010, 19.

<sup>35</sup> Curti *et al* 1996, 188.

<sup>36</sup> Sewell 2010, 50.

not have had anything to do with the construction of the walls. It is likely that the matter was more complicated than that.<sup>37</sup>

The method used in the present study intends to reflect and fulfil the research aims. The expressions in this study aim to be *à jour* with the latest research on the concept of place attachment and therefore a close reading of the previous research within this field of study has been conducted. The archaeology of Poseidonia-Paestum is equally essential to this study and therefore the arguments and discussion that this dissertation brings forward is based on the archaeological material and interpretations published and made by archaeologists and scholars. The selection of ancient sources that are used in this study was analysed in detail in order to identify themes of attachment to place in general and attachment to Poseidonia-Paestum in particular. Instead of using an established framework, like the “person-process-place” framework introduced by Gifford and Scannell (2010), as a methodical approach to identify attachment to place, aspects of the general theory of place attachment, as it is presented in Altman and Low (1992) and Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014), will be applied to the ancient material in order to suggest a more contextualized framework for this unique place.

### 1.3. Research history

The ruins of Poseidonia-Paestum were always visible in the landscape but it is nonetheless customary to speak of a “rediscovery” of the remains of the city in the mid-18th century AD. The growing interest of all things Greek and of travelling in general, physical and in thought, led to descriptions and images of the ruins in various publications. The German art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann has been said to have written the first scientific work on Poseidonia-Paestum in his description of the ruins in *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten*, published in 1762.<sup>38</sup> In 1768 Thomas Major of England published his volume *The ruins of Paestum otherwise Poseidonia in Magna Graecia*. In the very beginning of the book he writes ‘To the reader’: “The City of Paestum, or Poseidonia, whose Remains are here exhibited, hath been, ‘till very lately, almost buried in Oblivion.”<sup>39</sup> Unsurprisingly it is the three Doric temples that are the objects of attention in Major’s volume. This is not without reason since the temples are to this day considered among the most spectacular preserved echoes from a long lost world. The term ‘Grand Tour’ had already been established in Richard Lassels’ volume *The voyage of Italy* from 1670 and the temples of Poseidonia-Paestum came

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<sup>37</sup> Sewell 2010, 51.

<sup>38</sup> Horsnaes 2002, 13.

<sup>39</sup> Major 1768, iii.

to be, from the moment of its rediscovery in the middle of the 18th century AD, an obvious part of many travellers' agenda. In fact, a plan of the city was published as early as in 1735 and after the opening of the excavations at Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748 it was inevitable that Poseidonia-Paestum soon would catch the eye of travellers, artists and archaeologists.<sup>40</sup> In 1777 Giovanni Battista Piranesi visited the site and was inspired to create the very famous drawings of the Greek temples of Poseidonia-Paestum. The drawings are Piranesi's most extensive body of work devoted to a single topographical site. They are made with such attention to detail that it has been speculated that it was due to the artist's poor health condition and the fact that his son, Francesco, needed as much detail as possible in order to finish his father's work and publish the prints posthumously.<sup>41</sup> However, Paestum did not endure any further investigations at that time. The French archaeologist François Lenormant visited the abandoned city in the 1880s and found almost half of the coastal plain covered in oak forests and swamps. He left soon after for fear of malaria.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the city of Poseidonia-Paestum had to wait a few years for another period of rediscovery.

### *1.3.1. Excavations at Poseidonia-Paestum*

In the beginning of the 20th century AD land drainage and cultivation schemes began to take place at the ancient site of Poseidonia-Paestum, and as a result the archaeological efforts that had been impossible before, due to the unhealthy environment and the spreading of diseases, could commence. The work of the pioneering archaeologist Vittorio Spinazzola in the early decades of the century brought to light length of the *cardo maximus* near the South Gate. He was also responsible for the finding of the Great Altar of the first temple of Hera and the exploration of the south side of the Roman forum. Spinazzola's work was followed in the 1930s by Antonio Marzullo, Amedeo Maiuri and Friedrich Krauss. Marzullo and Maiuri focused on the city walls, the gates and the main thoroughfares, as well as the zone around the Temple of Athena, to the north, and the north side of the forum. Krauss, meanwhile, paid attention to the other temples on the site. Later that decade Paola Zancani-Montuoro and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco discovered the sanctuary of Hera at Foce del Sele, otherwise known as the Heraion at the Sele River. It was in the 1950s that the city, as it is perceived by a modern visitor of today, was revealed due to Superintendent of Antiquities, Pellegrino Sestieri. He also uncovered the *nekropolis* and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera, south of the city walls. Mario Napoli

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<sup>40</sup> Pedley 1990, 17.

<sup>41</sup> [https://museum.stanford.edu/news\\_room/piranesi.htm](https://museum.stanford.edu/news_room/piranesi.htm) (2017-05-18).

<sup>42</sup> Pedley 1990, 17.

continued the work on the site in the 1960s and was also responsible for the discovery of the sensational *Tomba del Tuffatore*; a painted tomb found in the *nekropolis* at Tempa del Prete south of the city dated to c. 480 BC. In the 1980s French and Italian archaeologists Emanuele Greco and Dinu Theodorescu discovered the site, north of the sanctuary of Hera, that once was the area of the Greek *agora*. They also laid a large amount of work on the Roman forum and its buildings and later published three volumes in the 1980s covering their discoveries (*Poseidonia-Paestum I, II, III*). Dieter Mertens, director of *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Rome 2001-2006, was engaged in a project of restauration and conservation of the temples as well as a study on the walls, towers and gates of the city. The Universities of Michigan and Perugia and the Soprintendenza carried out an investigation of the Sanctuary of Santa Venera between 1981 and 1985 which has resulted in three extensive volumes by John G. Pedley and Mario Torelli.<sup>43</sup>

It is the work by Greco and Theodorescu and Pedley and Torelli on the city in general and the areas of the Greek *agora* and Roman forum as well as the Sanctuary of Santa Venera in particular, that will form the basis of this study. The Lucanian material that will be presented and discussed derives essentially from three different studies published in the 1990s and the following decade: The Canadian project at Roccagloriosa, directed by M. Gualtieri and H. Fracchia, the revised Ph.D. thesis *The cultural development in North Western Lucania c. 600-273 BC* by Danish scholar Helle W. Horsnaes, published in 2002, and a recent study from 2007 by Elena Isayev named *Inside ancient Lucania: Dialogues in history and archaeology*. Ongoing excavations at Paestum-Poseidonia, led by Dr. Gabriel Zuchtriegel, have the aim to gain new data on the inhabitants of the city; their everyday life in the time of the construction of the Doric temples. The archaeologists have recently found a large domestic building dating to the period of focus, as well as imported fine dining ware that indicates wealth. It may be too early to formulate any general conclusions but it would hardly be surprising if Poseidonia at that time was carried by their wealthy Sybaritic heritage.

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<sup>43</sup> Pedley 1990, 17-20.



## 2. Presentation of material

The material central to the present study consists of both the history and the archaeology of Poseidonia-Paestum. The chosen aspects of the city; the intramural areas of the *agora* and forum and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera, are studied through their associated archaeological records and publications. The ground plans and maps over these places in combination with ancient literary sources and the theoretical framework of place attachment constitute vital assets for the material of this study. In the following chapter the material is presented in more detail and an overall historical background of Poseidonia-Paestum is introduced. Some of the written testimonia on Poseidonia-Paestum is presented in order to further contextualize the concept of place attachment in an ancient context.

### 2.1. The history and archaeology of Poseidonia-Paestum

At the place where the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum is located there has been found both traces of Palaeolithic presence, close to the area of the future Roman Basilica, and a Neolithic activity in proximity to the later Temple of Athena. A later Bronze Age settlement, close to the south wall of the city, has gained some attention due to the discovery of a pair of Mycenaean sherds that indicate some contact with the wider Mediterranean. Some Bronze Age activity has also been traced at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, just south of the city walls.<sup>44</sup> Traces of Villanovan and Etruscan activity have been found nearby.<sup>45</sup> Thus, when the Greeks arrived at Poseidonia in the end of the seventh century BC, they were not alone.

The site of Paestum has been extraordinarily isolated since Antiquity. It was gradually abandoned from Late Antiquity and forward, the due to choked streams and flooding that developed marshes and could cause sicknesses. At the Roman forum social conventions had ceased to exist and the buildings were being used for different purposes. The city, thus, began to contract and was from the fifth century AD and on concentrated to the highest geographical point: around the Temple of Athena, now converted to a Christian church.<sup>46</sup> In the Middle Ages the area of the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera was evidently occupied due to the findings of industrial activity and commerce at the site. Pedley even suggests that the Sanctuary of Santa Venera could have been the “a principal, if not the principal, hub of human life in the 13th-

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<sup>44</sup> Pedley 1990, 29.

<sup>45</sup> Pedley 1990, 30.

<sup>46</sup> Pedley 1990, 163-164.

century community”.<sup>47</sup> However, the site was eventually abandoned and the memories of the flourishing community at Poseidonia-Paestum began to fade away.

### 2.1.1. *The Greek settlers*

The westward movement of the Greeks began during the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Contacts with Egypt, the Near East and the western part of the Mediterranean had sparked the interest and the will to travel further (Fig. 3). Just before 750 BC the first Greek colony on the Italian peninsula, at Pithekoussai, on the island of Ischia, was founded.<sup>48</sup> In the last third of the eighth century BC a number of Greek *poleis* and *ethnos* sent out settlers to Sicily and southern Italy. The Euboeans established themselves in Naxos in 735 BC, the Corinthians at Syracuse the following year, Rhodians and emigrants from Crete founded Gela in 688.<sup>49</sup> On the Italian peninsula Greeks from Euboea founded Cumae in the eighth century BC. Tarentum was founded by the Spartans in 706 BC. Herakleia was founded in 433/2 BC by Greek settlers from an already established colony, Taras, similarly to the colony of Akragas on the island of Sicily, founded by Greeks from Gela.<sup>50</sup>

The Greek colony at Poseidonia was founded sometime in the late seventh century, around 600 BC, by settlers that had been excommunicated from the colony of Sybaris, situated on Gulf of Taranto in the south of Italy (Fig. 5). Sybaris had been founded c. 720 BC by settlers from Troezen on the Peloponnese. This can explain the somewhat confusing references from the ancient authors. Aristoteles claims that the colony of Sybaris was founded by Achaeans who joint with Troezenians and founded the colony together. However, due to a nasty quarrel the Troezenians were expelled and driven out of the city. Aristotle further states that this expulsion was “the cause of the curse that fell on the Sybarites” and thus the beginning of the end of this mighty and wealthy colony.<sup>51</sup> The Troezenians then supposedly fled north and founded a colony by the name of Poseidonia. Strabo, however, tells us of a possible pre-Greek settlement at Poseidonia deriving from the legend of the hero Jason and his Argonauts who, according to Strabo’s source, was blown off course on their way back to Greece and ended up on the place.<sup>52</sup> This tale may reflect back on a possible Thessalian origin for the first Greek settlers, not Sybarite, but it can just as easily be seen as an indication of foreign mariners, themselves Greek,

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<sup>47</sup> Pedley 1990, 167.

<sup>48</sup> Osborne 1996, 110.

<sup>49</sup> Pedley 1990, 22-23.

<sup>50</sup> Zuchtriegel 2016, 3.

<sup>51</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 5.2.

<sup>52</sup> Strab<sup>1</sup>. 6.1.1.

who came across the place before the historical Greek settlement was founded.<sup>53</sup> Strabo, however, does claim, similarly to Aristotle, that it was the Achaeans who founded Sybaris and he also describes the mother colony, Sybaris, and mentions the name of its founder: Is of Helice.<sup>54</sup>

The Greeks flourished at Poseidonia for some 200 years. The city enjoyed the status of an autonomous Greek *polis* and was endowed with a defensive wall with four gates, probably built in phases. Inside the city walls three Doric-style temples were erected in the sixth and fifth centuries. There has been some disagreement on which gods the temples were dedicated too, however, even though within the scope of this study they are referred to as Hera I, Hera II and the Temple of Athena, they might as well have been dedicated to more than one god. A Greek *agora* was also laid out north of the sanctuary of Hera (Fig. 6). It was adorned with a variety of Greek features; among them a *bouleuterion* or possible *ekklesiasterion*.<sup>55</sup> An intriguing structure identified as a *heroon*, a place that has been interpreted as being dedicated to founder of the city, was built on the western edge of the *agora* around 510-500 BC.<sup>56</sup> Outside the walls of the city a possible harbour, its existence and position is however debated, several *nekropoleis* and extramural cult sites were located; of which one will be the focus of this study: The Sanctuary of Santa Venera south of the city wall. Poseidonia came to enjoy intense cultural and commercial exchange with the rest of the Greek world as well as non-Greek populations like the Etruscans to the north and other Italic tribes from the hinterland. The Etruscan influence combined with the Greek and local Poseidonian style can for example be seen in the very famous fifth century tomb known as *Tomba del Tuffatore*, the Tomb of the Diver.<sup>57</sup> Altogether Poseidonia prospered and continued doing so. When its mother colony, Sybaris, fell in 510 BC Poseidonia along with other colonies filled the gap as a commercial and cultural centre.<sup>58</sup> However, as the fifth century closed, changes loomed on the horizon and the Greek settlement at Poseidonia was to be forever marked by what was to come.

### 2.1.2. The Lucanian period

There were many subdivisions of the Italic population and among them were the Lucanians; an Oscan-speaking people with an already established close contact with the Greek cities of Magna

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<sup>53</sup> Pedley 1990, 30.

<sup>54</sup> Strab<sup>1</sup>. 6.6.13.

<sup>55</sup> Pedley 1990, 79.

<sup>56</sup> Pedley 1990, 38-39.

<sup>57</sup> Mello 1985, 14.

<sup>58</sup> Mello 1985, 14.

Graecia.<sup>59</sup> The Lucanians, the local name for the south Italian Samnite people, occupied the inland area between the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian coast in the fourth century BC. Samnite people were expanding in numbers and in need of new homes, and therefore looked to the prosperous Greek and Etruscan coastal cities. At the end of the fifth century cities like Cumae and Capua had been captured by the Samnites and around 400 BC also Poseidonia came to be under control of the Lucanians.<sup>60</sup> This is the traditional interpretation among scholars. However, in the final discussion of this study I hope to nuance this interpretation a bit. Consequently, there has been a strong belief among many scholars that a “profound cultural change took place in the second half of the fifth century” at Poseidonia as a result of this Lucanian invasion.<sup>61</sup> However, recent research has showed us otherwise. It is clear that Poseidonia at some point became a Lucanian city and that this happened gradually and peacefully. Much of the earlier historical interpretation of the Lucanian overtaking of Poseidonia derives from a statement made by Aristoxenos of Tarentum, a pupil of Aristoteles writing in the fourth century BC. He claims that the Greeks were essentially enslaved by the “Tyrrhenians”. This have led scholars to blame the Lucanians for this supposed regression in culture, politics and economy. The “Tyrrhenians” in this case have been interpreted as the Lucanians but it might as well refer to the Romans, Campanians, another Samnite people or the Etruscans; the latter have in fact in ancient literature been generally referred to as “Tyrrhenians”.<sup>62</sup> The pessimistic literary evidence concerning the new trends in Poseidonia does, however, not have much support in the archaeological material. The supposed subjugation of the Greeks and the violent conquest of the city may in fact rather be a reflection of Greek attitudes in Tarentum or maybe even part of a larger process going on in Southern Italy at the time: Lucanization.<sup>63</sup> But the evidence from Poseidonia suggests that the Greek practises continued; the *bouleuterion* and the *heroon* remained in use and so did the Greek sanctuaries and the Greek language.<sup>64</sup> Some scholars claim that the change of the Greek name Poseidonia to Paistos or Paistom (later Paestum) can be seen as evidence of a conflict between Greeks and Lucanians, if this renaming happened under the Lucanian rule. The exact time of the change is however unsure, it might as well be a result of the later Roman conquest.<sup>65</sup> Pedley does, on the contrary, not agree with the renaming

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<sup>59</sup> Fracchia & Gualtieri 1989, 217.

<sup>60</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>61</sup> Pedley 1990, 97; Horsnaes 2002, 11.

<sup>62</sup> Isayev 2007, 17-18.

<sup>63</sup> Isayev 2007, 18-19; Zuchtriegel 2016, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>65</sup> Mello 1985, 15.

and states that the city continued to be called Poseidonia during the Lucanian period.<sup>66</sup> In the present study I too will continue to use the name Poseidonia, in line with most scholars.

During the fourth century BC and up to the establishing of the Latin colony in 273 BC Poseidonia prospered as revealed in the archaeological record. Although there were no major large-scale building programmes to match the constructions of the Greek temples and sanctuaries those places continued to be looked after and the gods were worshiped by the new inhabitants.<sup>67</sup> However, two *stoai* were built at the Greek agora as well as an Asklepieion (Table). The changes that came along with the Lucanians are to be seen in the agriculturalization and the density of settlement of the territory of Poseidonia as well as new burial practices in terms of extraordinary decorations.<sup>68</sup>

### 2.1.3. *The Latin colony*

In 273 BC the expanding city of Rome had reached past the river Sele and stood at the gates of the Greek/Lucanian city of Poseidonia. Rome had been expanding for years, and the Republic was founding colonies, *ex novo* or, in the case of Poseidonia-Paestum, taking over already established settlements, all over the Italian peninsula. The Roman colonies, perhaps especially the ones that were founded during the late Republic, were behaving in a strikingly uniform way. The Roman, or the Latin, colony, is well known for its formulaic way of structure and features; in other words, we know the nature of a Roman colony without having to see one. The foundation ritual has been described in ancient literary sources and is said to originate from the time of Rome's mythological foundation when Romulus, 753 BC, with permission of the gods laid out the sacred boundary, *pomerium*, around the city.<sup>69</sup> The founding ritual of the colonies is describes by Bispham in the article '*Coloniam deducere*: how Roman was the Roman colonisation during the middle Republic?':

Firstly, the *deductio*, or marching out, of the colonists from Rome to the site of the colony; the *deductor* (founder), in ritual dress (the *cinctus Gabinus*), ploughs the sulcus *primigenius* (the original furrow), tracing the line of the future walls and instantiating a ritual barrier, the *pomoerium*.<sup>70</sup>

In other words, it is clear that there was a model for Roman colonization and that the newly founded colonies were using the same set of rules and rituals to express their relationship, as

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<sup>66</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>67</sup> Pedley 1990, 112.

<sup>68</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>69</sup> Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 11.1-4.

<sup>70</sup> Bispham 2006, 74.

well as their obedience and loyalty to their mother colony: Rome.<sup>71</sup> However, Poseidonia, renamed Paestum after the founding of the Latin colony inside its walls, being an early example of Roman colonization as well as an already established city with all its functions and features, this ‘model of colonization’ cannot be applied in the same way. As the following analysis of Poseidonia-Paestum will show, Rome was the model for the colony’s political system. The rôle of the city was, however, adapted to fit its purposes as a colony as well as a product of new and previous influence and it was thus not a direct replica.<sup>72</sup>

After the founding of the Latin colony the city was altered radically (Table). The Greek/Lucanian *agora* ceased to be in use and instead a Roman forum was laid out in the southern part of the old *agora*. Traditional Roman buildings, especially those relating to political and juridical aspects, were constructed at the new forum and simultaneously the buildings with similar functions at the *agora* were demolished. The sanctuaries, however, remained in use, both the intramural and the extramural. They were respected by the new settlers and continued to be objects of worship.<sup>73</sup> A striking continuity of divine worshipping is analysed in detail in the further analysis of the Sanctuary of Santa Venera.

The bonds with the mother colony, the city of Rome, were strong; both in a juridical and political sense as well as affectional. Paestum supported Rome in times of need and aligned itself with its mother colony politically and diplomatically. When the Carthaginian general Hannibal was roaming around southern Italy during the second Punic War, 218-201 BC, and literally breathing down the necks of the Paestans, the city still remained loyal to Rome. However, the many wars and the feeling of unsafety these times must have given rise to might have been a hard blow on the Paestan society. That said, it is a well-known fact that nothing binds a society together like a common enemy, and Paestum was thus rewarded for its loyalty. A certain degree of autonomy was given to the city and also the privilege of striking its own coins.<sup>74</sup> Thus, Rome continued to be a strong influencer on the Paestan society although it is evident, which is shown in the further analysis of some aspects of the nature of Roman influence, that the city never forgot its Greek and Lucanian roots. In 133 the via Popilia, running to the east of Paestum, was constructed and as a result of this the city was unfortunately cut off from principal routes connecting the city to the rest of the peninsula.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Bispham 2006, 73-74.

<sup>72</sup> Sewell 2010, 86.

<sup>73</sup> Pedley 1990, 113.

<sup>74</sup> Pedley 1990, 113.

<sup>75</sup> Pedley 1990, 113-114.

## 2.2. A sense of place in the ancient sources

*Everything must be somewhere and must have a place. And if such a thing should really exist well might we contemplate it with wonder. - Aristotle*<sup>76</sup>

The concept of place has always eluded poets, philosophers, and historians. Since ‘place’ is something we live but also die in, a part of our existence, it is also taken for granted and we may not have to think about it very much except in moments of disorientation or at the loss of place.<sup>77</sup> Today, in our modern societies, it is as easy to get lost, as it is to find one’s way around, due to the striking uniformity of many western cities.<sup>78</sup> However, this uniformity and the feelings of familiarity it generates constitute a key theme in attachment to place. In this chapter some of these key themes and issues, connected with attachment to place depicted in the ancient literary testimonia, will be touched upon. The presentation then becomes more place-specific and introduces some of the written record from and about Poseidonia-Paestum. “Nothing we do is unplaced”, states Edward S. Casey in the preface to his volume *The fate of place: a philosophical history*.<sup>79</sup> In our modern societies we might be dealing with aspects of place that are fundamentally different from an ancient society. Nonetheless, much is also similar and the ancient literary testimonia show us just how very similar we still are.

Some key themes that are fundamental within the theoretical framework of place attachment can be traced in the words of the ancient writers. The concept of place was evidently something that eluded many of these ancient thinkers and Aristotle, writing in the fourth century BC, devoted much of his attention, especially in his work *Physics*, to the phenomenon of place, the void and the concept of time. He states that the natural philosopher must have a knowledge of ‘place’ and further concludes that the innermost motionless boundary of what contains is ‘place’.<sup>80</sup> The concept of ‘place’, thus, can be said to be something that is thought of when movement occurs, in variations of place and in moments of displacement, or in the words of Aristotle:

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<sup>76</sup> “Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστι τι ὁ τόπος παρὰ τὰ σώματα, καὶ πᾶν σῶμα αἰσθητὸν ἐν τόπῳ, διὰ τούτων ἂν τις ὑπολάβῃ δόξειε δ’ ἂν καὶ Ἡσίοδος ὀρθῶς λέγειν ποιήσας πρῶτον τὸ χάος. λέγει γοῦν “πάντων μὲν πρῶτιστα χάος γένετ’, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα γαῖ’ εὐρύστερνος,” ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν χώραν τοῖς οὖσι, διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι πῦρ καὶ ἐν τόπῳ. Εἰ δ’ ἔστι τοιοῦτο, θαυμαστή τις ἂν εἴη ἡ τοῦ τόπου δύναμις καὶ προτέρα πάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ αὐτῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνάγκη πρῶτον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τόπος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ φθειρομένων.” Arist. *Ph.* 4.1., trans. by Cornford & Wicksteed 1957.

<sup>77</sup> Casey 1997, x.

<sup>78</sup> Casey 1997, xiii.

<sup>79</sup> Casey 1997, ix.

<sup>80</sup> Arist. *Ph.* 4.1, 4.

A ‘place’ seems to resemble a vessel, a ‘vessel’ being ‘a place that can itself be moved about’. And just like the vessel is no part of its content, so the place is no part of that which is in it.<sup>81</sup>

Aristotle evidently sought to capture the complex nature, or the *way*, of the place itself, *id est* the ‘vessel’, and how it is in its nature motionless and static. The attachment to place, on the other hand, is ever-changing and also dependent on external circumstances. Place, in other words, is to master the void and to “control and shape that which has already been brought into existence”.<sup>82</sup> Place is thus something in itself and at the same time it is relative to other things and brings with it themes of identity and character, and above all history.<sup>83</sup> The question of community, or the bonding of people through rituals that require particular places, needs thus to be addressed. An example of this is the notion of the Greek *polis* and this will be discussed in the further analysis.

The present study, as presented above, will mainly focus on a group or a community perspective of place attachment. However, attachment to place always derives from unique individual feelings for a place and this can shape the group notion of a place as well as, in turn, the group perspective shapes individual perception of a place. In other words, for an individual, place attachment derives from factors such as personal experiences, insights or milestones that have been important in one's life. This is connected to the perspective of the community, whose attachment more often is based on a religious or historical context.<sup>84</sup> Then, certain places seem to exist mainly because someone has written about them. Within the scope of this study some of the ancient literary testimonia are used in order to nuance, contrast or complete the archaeological material from Poseidonia-Paestum. Descriptions of places in the ancient texts can be seen as an important creator, or enforcement, of place attachment, both for contemporary readers (or listeners) and modern. As scholars of ancient history, we are very well aware of the fact that the veracity in the ancient literary testimonia is difficult to assess. Within the theoretical framework of place attachment it is the reception of these texts that is essential and what kind of attachment, or feelings for a place, it gave rise to. Thus, one overall assumption in this study is that it is possible to identify certain themes in the ancient sources that are important for the creation and enforcement of attachment to place in general and to Poseidonia-Paestum in particular.

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<sup>81</sup> ”Καὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τοιοῦτό τι εἶναι ὁ τόπος οἷον τὸ ἀγγεῖον· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἀγγεῖον τόπος μεταφορητός· τὸ δ’ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν.” Arist. *Ph.* 4.2., trans. by Cornford & Wicksteed 1957.

<sup>82</sup> Casey 1997, 23-24.

<sup>83</sup> Casey 1997, 53.

<sup>84</sup> Gifford & Scannell 2010, 2.



The most extensive literary account on the foundation of the Greek city of Poseidonia is provided by the Greek geographer and historian Strabo. In his *Geography*, written sometime in the late first century BC and the early first century AD, he presents a detailed and descriptive history of people and places. On the placement of Poseidonia he writes:

After the mouth of the Silaris one comes to Leucania, and to the temple of the Argoan Hera, built by Jason, and nearby, within fifty stadia, to Poseidonia.<sup>85</sup>

He also sheds some light on Poseidonia's origins and one of its mother colonies in Greece, Troezen:

Troezen is sacred to Poseidon, after whom it was once called Poseidonia. It is situated fifteen stadia above the sea, and it too is an important city.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, it is interesting to note that Troezen, the mother colony of Sybaris, which in turn is the mother colony of Poseidonia, would too, according to Strabo, have been called Poseidonia. The fact that Poseidonia was named after the god of the sea, Poseidon, is also stated by Strabo.<sup>87</sup> As a geographer, Strabo obviously was aiming for a descriptive narrative and not, primarily, an affectionate portrayal of the place. He also remained quite neutral in his descriptions of the Lucanians:

Accordingly, without making distinctions between them, I shall only tell in a general way what I have learned about the peoples who live in the interior, I mean the Leucani and such of the Samnitae as are their next neighbours. [...] The Leucani are Samnite in race, but upon mastering the Poseidoniatae and their allies in war they took possession of their cities. At all other times, it is true, their government was democratic, but in times of war they were wont to choose a king from those who held magisterial offices. But now they are Romans.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> "Μετὰ δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Σιλάριδος Λευκανία καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀργώας, Ἰάσονος ἱδρυμα, καὶ πλησίον ἐν πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἢ Ποσειδωνία." Strab<sup>1</sup>. 6.1.1., trans. by Jones 1924.

<sup>86</sup> "Τροίζην δὲ ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ποσειδωνία ποτὲ ἐλέγετο, ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου, οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἄσημος πόλις. πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτῆς." Strab<sup>2</sup>. 8.6.14., trans. by Jones 1927.

<sup>87</sup> Strab<sup>2</sup>. 9.1.18.

<sup>88</sup> "Εροῦμεν δὴ<sup>1</sup> κοινῶς ἃ παρελήφαμεν, οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦτο ποιούμενοι τοὺς τὴν μεσόγειαν οἰκοῦντας, Λευκανοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς προσεχεῖς αὐτοῖς Σαυνίτας. [...] οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὶ τὸ μὲν γένος εἰσὶ Σαυνῖται, Ποσειδωνιατῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων κρατήσαντες πολέμῳ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐδημοκρατοῦντο, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἡρεῖτο βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεμομένων ἀρχάς· νῦν δ' εἰσὶ Ῥωμαῖοι." Strab<sup>1</sup>. 6.1.3., trans. by Jones 1924.

In their archaeological notes from 1936, archaeologists Paola Zancani and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco write about the discovery of the Heraion on the Sele River. Based on Strabo's description they manage to locate an Archaic temple near the river:

Relying upon the testimony of Strabo, who placed the sanctuary on the left shore of the Rive Sylarus (modern Sele), near its mouth [...], we explored during April 1934 the country along both shores, from the modern main road to the sea. [...] After a search of two days among marshes and shrubs, in a country inhabited only by herds of buffaloes and flocks of migrating birds, we noted an area not far from the river where a few shapeless blocks and a few bits of tiles were visible among the stubble. At the very outset, we discovered elements of an archaic temple.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, the concept of place and the feelings it gives rise to echoes through history. Obviously we cannot know for sure that it *de facto* is this particular temple that Strabo describes in *Geography*; after all Jason was a mythical hero. But the attachment this statement has created, both for the people who came to the temple to worship the divinity in ancient times, and for the archaeologists that searched for it nearly 2500 years later, is precious.

In contrast, the text of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, here retold by Athenaeus in his work *The learned banqueters* written in second century AD, ponder a much more personal view of the place of Poseidonia:

This is why Aristoxenus says in his Sympotic Miscellany (fr. 124 Wehrli): What we are doing is similar to the people of Poseidonia, who live on the Tyrrhenian Gulf. It happened that this people who were from the beginning Greeks, were barbarised, becoming Tyrrhenians; they have changed their speech and the rest of their habits, but they keep even now one of the Greek festivals in which coming together they remember their previous names/words and customs and after lamenting and weeping with each other they go home.<sup>90</sup>

Aristoxenus himself wrote in the last decades of the fourth century BC and his main topic of interest was ancient Greek music. Music was an important aspect of Greek life and there was a philosophical discussion, in which Aristoxenus took part, on the meaning and function of music and its ideal role in society.<sup>91</sup> This, perhaps, can shed some light on this otherwise negative

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<sup>89</sup> Zancani & Zanotti-Bianco 1936, 185.

<sup>90</sup> "διόπερ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς, ὅμοιον, φησί, ποιοῦμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλήσιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγονόσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων, ἄγειν δὲ μίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμνησκονται τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύναντες ἀπέρχονται." Ath. 14.632a, trans. by Olson 2011.

<sup>91</sup> Gibson 2005, 1. Aristoxenus work *Harmonics* and some surviving fragments from other texts give a record of his general music competence according to Gibson.

observation of Poseidonian society in the Lucanian period but also, if we would take Aristoxenus on his words, provide an interesting take on the aspect of displacement and the feelings of nostalgia it creates.<sup>92</sup> The concept of loss relating to place can be interpreted both as material loss of place or habitats as well as emotionally perceived sorrow for a place that this events give rise to. A place can also be perceived as knowledge and thus, loss of place would mean loss of knowledge. Therefore, Aristoxenus' testimonia can be interpreted as an expression of place attachment and the loss of knowledge connected to Greek music in Poseidonia, perhaps in favour of new traditions and practices. Furthermore, if there truly was a Greek festival at Poseidonia which celebrated the past it would not have been strange or unusual in any way. Thus, this manifestation of memory and knowledge of the past is essential to the concept of place attachment and also, for the attached people to maintain a physical closeness to this memory or knowledge of a place or even to reconstruct a "lost" place.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> By taking Aristoxenus "on his word" I mean to refer to the reception of the text, and the fact that it has been interpreted in a negative way connecting the regression of Poseidonia with the Lucanians. (Pedley 1990, 97; Isayev 2007, 17-18).

<sup>93</sup> Gifford & Scannell 2010, 3-4.

### 3. Tracing aspects of place attachment in Poseidonia-Paestum

In the present study three different types of settlement founding will be discussed: The Greek colony at Poseidonia, the Lucanian take-over, and finally the Roman conquest. It is thus necessary to comprehend something of the social pressures created by the nature of the foundation process. It was evidently of high importance to keep the new citizens busy, judging by the fact that most major-scale building programs started immediately after the settlement was founded, first in the Greek period, but also during the Roman period; the Lucanian conquest seems to have been somewhat different (Table). The construction of a new city meant that the citizens coming to live there had to give up their old homes, and one way of living for another, in order to start a new life elsewhere. Thus, due to the move, the bonds with the former place of origin, no matter how close or far away, would have suffered something between disruption and destruction. Political, religious, social, cultural and ancestral ties would have made this difficult and distressing, no matter how voluntary or involuntary the relocation was. Inevitably, the old way of life would have been consigned to memory. Upon arrival at the new settlement most citizens would have been given tasks in order to construct the new city as well as the domestication of the surrounding landscape and the countryside. During this initial period of construction, the new settlement was most vulnerable; an attack could come at any time. Therefore, when the walls were built high and the gates were shut at night, a sense of security and belonging, important themes within the theoretical framework of place attachment, was vital.<sup>94</sup> Neighbours would have to rely upon each other for the construction of their houses. The sharing of tasks, expertise and experiences would have led to social interaction regardless of the success of the exchange of knowledge. This would be the starting point for affinity within the neighbourhood and the creation of social bonds within the new community.<sup>95</sup>

The overall theme in the analysis of this study is emotion connected to a place. The tracing of emotion, to others, to an object or to a place, is never easy, especially not in the ever-changing web of human motivations, behaviours and interactions. In her article ‘The politics of affection: emotional attachments in Athenian society’, Foxhall argues that “personal relationships in classical Athens were complex, highly nuanced within specific social and political contexts and ranged wider than the alleged formalised and instrumental senses of *philia* on which most discussion, ancient and modern, have centred.”<sup>96</sup> Her work is obviously based on the material from classical Athens, but she believes that “there is some scope for comparing other Greek

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<sup>94</sup> Sewell 2010, 104.

<sup>95</sup> Sewell 2010, 105.

<sup>96</sup> Foxhall 1998, 53.

societies” and that the general trends she sketches out on the workings of personal relationships may be possible to apply to other places in ancient Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries BC.<sup>97</sup>

The analysis in the present study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter will set the scene of the study and discuss some aspects of the notion of Greek *polis* and geography of Poseidonia that are relevant for the future analysis. The next two chapters will focus on the adaption of the theoretical framework of place attachment to the ancient context of Poseidonia-Paestum. Themes of attachment and continuity will be contrasted with issues of displacement, disruption and relocation. The areas of focus are the intramural Greek *agora* and the Roman forum and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera. These areas have been chosen to reflect the themes and issues mentioned above and the aims set out for this study and, above all, in order to contextualize the theoretical framework of place attachment in the archaeological record from Poseidonia-Paestum.

### 3.1. The setting of the scene

Statements like “men make the *polis*”, “the *polis* is its citizens as opposed to its walls or towers” or “every state is a community” conveys the message that the *polis* also had to be comprehended in terms of the society rather than strictly its territorial boundaries or other physical features.<sup>98</sup> The sense of place in connection to important citizens is characteristic in Athenian public discourse, as well as places personified in the ancient literary sources.<sup>99</sup> *Polis*, the Greek word for city, was originally applied to the physical site but soon came to be synonymous with political, religious and social unity and was maintained by a set of reciprocal relations and rituals. Yet, the *polis* was a location, architecturally ordered and conceptualized by its inhabitants. Location did matter; “civilization was always located elsewhere then, or bounded off from, the uncultivated and unbuilt wilderness”, thus, “civilization is marked by the order of inhabited space” and “civilized, and that meant peaceful, relationships were materialized in architecture and the ordering of space”, argues Von Reden in the article ‘The well-ordered *polis*: topographies of civic space’.<sup>100</sup>

It should be mentioned, however, that not only *poleis* sent out settlers in the early Archaic period; the *ethnos* of Achaia, for example, did the same.<sup>101</sup> It is equally important to

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<sup>97</sup> Foxhall 1998, 52.

<sup>98</sup> Millett 1998, 206; Von Reden 1998, 170.

<sup>99</sup> Millett 1998, 204-205.

<sup>100</sup> Von Reden 1998, 171.

<sup>101</sup> Wilson 2006, 33.

acknowledge the nature of the early Greek colonization together with the fact that Poseidonia was founded in the so called ‘second colonization’; that is the colonization undertaken by cities that were themselves colonies.<sup>102</sup> This would make the relationship with the mother-city very different from traditional Greek colonization, primarily because of the issue of distance from the mother-city, which in the case of Poseidonia was not too far.<sup>103</sup> Obviously there were also reasons for colonization relating to ideological purposes. The Greek notion of overseas movement and the founding of cities derived from a mythical perspective. The heroes of the Trojan War, Herakles, and in the case of Poseidonia, Jason and his Argonauts, were all said to have founded settlements in their wake.<sup>104</sup> This mythical origin contributed to the increased imperialistic, in the modern sense of the word, Greek colonization as the Archaic era progressed into the Classical period. The memories and beliefs connected to the mythical and the early colonization reflect the ancient, as well as the modern, ideology of the Greek movement.<sup>105</sup>

Poseidonia came to enjoy the status of an autonomous Greek *polis* after its founding in the seventh century BC. Being founded by Sybaris on the Gulf of Taranto, they never lost their connection to that important colony (Fig. 5.). Sybaris was founded in the last quarter of the eighth century BC by settlers from Troezen on the Peloponnese. The colony was known throughout the ancient world for its wealth and luxurious life of its citizens.<sup>106</sup> The city grew rapidly and at the height of its power the colony has been estimated to have controlled no less than 25 cities.<sup>107</sup> Sybaris had a close relationship with Miletus, one of the most important Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and therefore trade from the east in combination with the fertile placement of the colony were the two major sources of Sybaris’ amazing wealth.<sup>108</sup> However, the city was destroyed beyond recognition (maybe also due to an overflowing of the river Crathis) in the end of the sixth century BC and the fate of Sybaris thus, unsurprisingly, came to be “regarded as an exemplary illustration of the consequences of *hybris*.”<sup>109</sup> Not much has been uncovered of public buildings at Sybaris, but Athenaeus, writing in the beginning of the third century AD, mentions an *agora* and a temple of Hera.<sup>110</sup> However, due to the passing of some 900 years between the destruction and Athanaeus’ claim this should not be taken for a

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<sup>102</sup> Wilson 2006, 34.

<sup>103</sup> Wilson 2006, 35.

<sup>104</sup> Wilson 2006, 28.

<sup>105</sup> Wilson 2006, 51.

<sup>106</sup> Rutter 1970, 168; Pedley 1990, 27.

<sup>107</sup> Pedley 1990, 27.

<sup>108</sup> Pedley 1990, 28.

<sup>109</sup> Rutter 1970, 170.

<sup>110</sup> Rutter 1970, 170.

fact. It is nonetheless interesting to note that Poseidonia, as well, had an elaborated cult dedicated to Hera.

Why is a place chosen for settlement founding? Obviously this is a highly complex question and therefore deserves to be addressed properly in connection with the Greco-Lucanian-Roman settlement at Poseidonia-Paestum. The lower portion of the Sele River, which flows out into the southern end of the Bay of Salerno, and the area traversed by it must have been of great importance to the early Greek settlers. It was an easy landing place as well as a natural access to the hinterland and people could meet and trade goods along the river.<sup>111</sup> The city got the name Poseidonia after the Greek god of the sea, Poseidon, to whom a sanctuary is believed to have been built on the nearby hill of Agropoli.<sup>112</sup> The Greek settlers naturally looked for a place to prosper at and that was possible to defend against attacking enemies and the place of Poseidonia offered these characteristics. The natural boundary to the north was the previously mentioned river Sele, where the sixth-century Heraion marked out the limit of the Poseidonian territory. The natural boundary to the west was the sea, and to the east and south were hills and mountains with sanctuaries and cemeteries in the extramural landscape to mark out the territorial boundaries. There were plenty of water supplies and the soil was fertile, and in the midst of this the city rose, not far from the sea, on a rise of the bank of a small salt-water stream, today called Salso or Capodifiume.<sup>113</sup> The network of roads, so essential for the survival and prosperity of the city, may have been established before the arrival of the Greek settlers, and thus contributed to the selection of the place for the settlement.<sup>114</sup>

The most obvious archaeological change, that has been noted in previous research and stated earlier in this study, connected to the Lucanian dominion of the city, can be seen in the *nekropoleis* and the increased rural activity in the area surrounding Poseidonia.<sup>115</sup> The same phenomenon can be traced in Herakleia, on the Gulf of Taranto, that was founded by Taras in 433/2 BC. The grave goods and the rituals in Herakleia associated with a few of the tombs correspond with Lucanian burial customs, although Greek language and culture was still preferred in most cases.<sup>116</sup> The Lucanians, a Samnite people speaking Oscan, were at the time expanding in numbers and the area surrounding Poseidonia has been interpreted as an obvious target.<sup>117</sup> However, it would seem that apart from the major rural changes outside the city, and

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<sup>111</sup> Mello 1985, 10.

<sup>112</sup> Pedley 1990, 98.

<sup>113</sup> Mello 1985, 11.

<sup>114</sup> Mello 1985, 13; Horsnaes 2002, 31.

<sup>115</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 81-82; Pedley 1990, 98.

<sup>116</sup> Zuchtriegel 2016, 22.

<sup>117</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

some alterations inside the city connected to the area of the Greek *agora* (see discussion below), the Lucanian ‘conquest’ was peaceful and the impact on the general structure of the city was minor. However, this may be due to financial limitations.<sup>118</sup> The only apparent reason, thus, for the Lucanian take-over in Poseidonia seems to be the need to house an expanding population, not necessarily to ‘Lucanize’ the city.<sup>119</sup>

What was the nature of the Latin colony at Paestum and how was that different from that of the Greek and Lucanian settlements? The Latin colonies in general had the purpose of controlling newly-won territory. Their placement reflects contemporary strategic concerns; they could both defend against enemies and function as bridgeheads for further conquest. They often defended key communication routes and the exploitation of newly-available agricultural land means that their placement probably had economic benefits too. The model established during the second half of the fourth century, in which the foundation of Paestum is a part, created a system which has been said to have “made possible the rise of the Roman Empire”.<sup>120</sup> The Latin colonies were allowed a level of self-governing. Nonetheless they were obliged to supply troops to Rome, just as they could feel secure in the knowledge that they could call for military assistance from the mother city in times of crisis, knowing very well that the same war machinery could be used against them if they failed to fulfil their duties as a colony.<sup>121</sup> The favour and counter favour system between Rome and her colonies, as a way of ensuring the colonies faithfulness to the mother city, is exemplified in this quote by Livy:

Let them remind them that they were not Capuans nor Tarentines, but Romans, sprung from Rome and sent thence into colonies and on land captured in war, to increase their race. All that children owed to their parents they owed, it was said, to the Romans, if there was any filial affection, any memory of their former city.<sup>122</sup>

The individual colonies could hope neither to achieve any political supremacy nor autonomously conquer new land. They essentially recognised their permanent subordination to another state in order to survive.<sup>123</sup> It also seems likely that colonial chief magistrates did not possess the power and privileges of the consuls, since that “title” for chief magistrates does not

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<sup>118</sup> Sewell 2010, 170.

<sup>119</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>120</sup> Sewell 2010, 9-10.

<sup>121</sup> Sewell 2010, 82.

<sup>122</sup> “Admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias atque in agrum bello captum stirpis augendae causa missos. Quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria antiquae patriae esset.” Livy 27.9.10-12., trans. by Gardner Moore 1943.

<sup>123</sup> Sewell 2010, 83.



seem to have existed in the colonies (except at Arminium and Beneventum), and was dropped elsewhere, in favour of *duoviri* or *praetor*, by the early second century BC.<sup>124</sup>

### 3.2. “I will meet you at the *agora*”: Tracing attachment to the ancient market-place

”L'organisation de l'espace urbain est le champ d'investigation qui offre la plus riche moisson de sujets de réflexion.”<sup>125</sup> This is stated in the introductory chapter of Emanuele Greco and Dinu Theodorescu's second volume of the publication series of the results of excavations pursued at Poseidonia-Paestum; reporting this time on the work done in the area identified as the zone of the ancient Greek *agora*. It is a well-known fact that there was a Greek influence on the construction of the early Latin colonies, including the settlement at Paestum founded in 273 BC. Greek trade and colonization had a fundamental impact on the ancient society on the Italian peninsula and Sicily, also including that of Rome, from the eighth century forward. Obviously the Etruscan influence should also be mentioned as well as influence coming from other Italic tribes. The influence coming from the Lucanian population will be discussed further in the present study. Unfortunately, the connection between Etruscan and Roman urbanism is difficult to map out due to the restrictive archaeological data on Etruscan *fora*.<sup>126</sup>

It is evident that at the Agora at Athens and the Roman Forum, referred to in plenty of ancient testimonia, were places that both concentrated and mixed different activities. It was the ideal place for unplanned encounters in a typical Socratic manner as well as the main place for official political meetings and numerous religious practices.<sup>127</sup> The behavioural aspect of place attachment provides an understanding of the meaning of these encounters, the ongoing everyday living and the social activity at the ancient market-place. Obviously it can be very difficult to map out the behavioural aspect of place attachment in any historical context, mostly due to the fact that in most cases where this type of study has been undertaken an element of observation (for example, interviews and photographic recording) is included.<sup>128</sup> However, by a detailed analyse of the architecture and archaeological record combined with the ancient literary testimonia it is possible to discover certain similarities in the nature of attachment. It is evident that the mixing of commercial functions with those of political and religious character, and especially the unavoidable mingling of people connected to these practices, was frowned upon by the ancient authors. Similar to other sources of discontent, for instance the attitude of

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<sup>124</sup> Sewell 2010, 83.

<sup>125</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 16.

<sup>126</sup> Sewell 2010, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Millett 1998, 228.

<sup>128</sup> Low 1992, 175.

the later Roman writers to the activities that took place at the Roman baths, this can both be seen as evidence of interaction as well as an explanation for the discontent. In fact, the buying and selling at ancient *agorai*, and the conversations that took place due to this practice, encouraged and may also have motivated ordinary people to take part in politics. Thus, a connection between the market-place and the democratic process can be traced.<sup>129</sup>

The location of social, religious and political institutions against the background of place has long been studied in the context of ancient Rome. A similar approach to the city of Athens, a place that has not had the same continuity of occupation or been preserved like Rome, would necessarily have to be different in content and emphasis. The location of the Athenian Agora was not officially confirmed as such until 1934 and before that, at the genesis of excavation at the place in 1931, approximately 400 modern houses and up twelve meters of earth had to be carted away. In Rome, however, the site of the Forum has never been doubted.<sup>130</sup> It has also been argued that the changing topography of the Forum to a great extent mirrors the political history of the Republic and the later Empire.<sup>131</sup> Athens, in contrast, was according to Millett “subject to no master-plan; its growth was spasmodic, and the result was not a complete and co-ordinated whole.”<sup>132</sup> This may strike as an over-simplistic statement, and, as the further analysis will attempt to show, there certainly are some connections between the emergence of buildings at the Agora and the contemporary political situation.

Low argues that the phenomenon of place attachment strongly includes cultural beliefs as well as individual feelings for a place based on personal experiences and common practices that link people to that particular place:

Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment.<sup>133</sup>

The Athenian Agora has been described as “the focus of the life of the city” and “the heart and soul of classical Athens” in modern research.<sup>134</sup> The Agora was, indeed, the concrete as well as the symbolic centre of the entire *polis*. Among the key locations at the Agora were structures like the Altar of Twelve Gods, the impressive temple of Hephaisteion, the *bouleuterion* and the

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<sup>129</sup> Millett 1998, 223.

<sup>130</sup> Millett 1998, 206.

<sup>131</sup> Millett 1998, 212-213; Sewell 2010, 30.

<sup>132</sup> Millett 1998, 213.

<sup>133</sup> Low 1992, 165.

<sup>134</sup> Millett 1998, 211.

*stoai* clustered around the northern end (Fig. 7).<sup>135</sup> At some point the Agora of Athens transformed from being just an experience of space, or a piece of land, to “a culturally meaningful and shared symbol, that is, place.”<sup>136</sup> It has been suggested that the symbol and notion of market-places contributes in evoking this transformed experience although it should be emphasized that place attachment also can be applied to mythical places, that is, places that have never been experienced.<sup>137</sup>

The plan of the ancient Greek *agora* at Poseidonia does not seem to be, at first glance, reflected in the uncovered remains of the excavated city that we can see today; most of the structures and the street grid are of later Roman date or were in use in the Roman period (Fig. 4).<sup>138</sup> However, the location of certain structures uncovered, like the circular assembly-place interpreted as a *bouleuterion* or a possible *ekklesiasterion*, the *heroon*, as well as the plateau directly between the two intramural sanctuaries of Athena to the north, and Hera to the south, made for a highly logical placement of the *agora*.<sup>139</sup> The tempting thought that there could be a functional continuity, a transition at the place when the Greek *agora* was substituted for the Roman forum, has never been demonstrated, not least because such an argument would have the tendency of disregarding more than a century of supposed Lucanian domination.<sup>140</sup> The *agora* covered a vast area of approximately 8.4 ha. However, its limits are somewhat difficult to establish due to later building programmes conducted during the Roman era and later.<sup>141</sup> To the east the modern road (S.S 18) partially covers the circular assembly-place which, at least for now, makes it impossible to conduct any further investigations of the original limit. To the north the *temenos* of the Temple of Athena is marked by the rise of the travertine bank which makes for a natural boundary and the same goes for the southern limit which enhances the fact that the *agora* was placed on a plateau. Finally, to the west, the *agora* is bounded by a crushed limestone road that was found beneath the Roman *cardo*.<sup>142</sup> The placement of Greek *agorai* were often on the most level ground. Thus, the placement of the *agora* at Poseidonia at the plateau between the two intramural sanctuaries comes as no surprise (Fig. 2.).<sup>143</sup> *Agorai* were also commonly placed in connection to the most important streets, similar to the placement of later Roman *fora*. This is also true for the Athenian Agora, where three roads in various

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<sup>135</sup> Millett 1998, 214.

<sup>136</sup> Low 1992, 166.

<sup>137</sup> Low 1992, 166.

<sup>138</sup> Pedley 1990, 35.

<sup>139</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 63; Pedley 1990, 78.

<sup>140</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 63.

<sup>141</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 64; Sewell 2010, 38.

<sup>142</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983 64-65; Pedley 1990, 79.

<sup>143</sup> Sewell 2010, 25.

directions ensured plenty of traffic to and from the place.<sup>144</sup> The width of the adjacent streets generally seems to be larger in the area of *agorai* than those further away; which further demonstrates the importance of the place since the streets must have seen more traffic in this part of the city.<sup>145</sup> Thus, if you came through one of the main gates of Poseidonia as a visitor or a travelling salesman the rule was to follow any of the streets leading into the city, and it would successfully lead you to the main market-place.<sup>146</sup> The traveller would then arrive at the *agora* and perform a symbolic purification ritual where the hands were cleansed in water basins, *perirrhanteria*, that were placed at the entrances. This was the case at the Athenian Agora. However, the practice seems likely to have been in use at the Greek colonies, such as Poseidonia, as well. The *perirrhanteria* are believed to have formed the religious boundary. The legal boundary was defended by the *horoi*, steles of marble or limestone of approximately a meter in height, placed at the edges of the *agora*.<sup>147</sup> At Poseidonia, a *horos* dedicated to the mythological creature, Chiron, the centaur, has been found and dated to the sixth century BC. The *horos* was found in front of the oldest temple, Hera I. However, this may not have been its original placement (Fig. 8).<sup>148</sup>

It is evident that the area within the limits of the *agora* was defined as being different from the one outside it. The zone of the *agora* was a religious, political and juridical unity and therefore a place where not all were welcome in the Poseidonian and wider Greek society. There were a number of rules connected to the *agora*. For example, those who were regarded as impure in some way were not allowed to enter. Criminals, cowards and deserters should be kept out according to some ancient sources.<sup>149</sup> The fact that *agorai* had a profoundly religious character can be seen in the Athenian Agora where the gods were said to be the protectors of the activities conducted at the place.<sup>150</sup> Various religious buildings; altars and smaller sanctuaries, contributed to the sacral function. The Hephaisteion, on the west hill of the Agora, was constructed in the middle of the fifth century and has perhaps received little attention due to the fact that it lies almost literally in the shadow of the most famous temple of them all: The Parthenon. Since Athens is not situated in a major earthquake zone and due to the fact that the temple was later converted to a Christian church, it stands today remarkably well-preserved. The Temple of Athena at Poseidonia was similarly turned into a church in the sixth century

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<sup>144</sup> Millett 1998, 213.

<sup>145</sup> Sewell 2010, 33.

<sup>146</sup> Sewell 2010, 25-26.

<sup>147</sup> Sewell 2010, 66.

<sup>148</sup> Guarducci 1978, 48.

<sup>149</sup> Sewell 2010, 66.

<sup>150</sup> Camp 2009, 32.

AD.<sup>151</sup> However, the most common deity at the *agorai* was Zeus presented in his different epithets, often connected to political activity. At Poseidonia a stele dedicated to Zeus Boulaios, ‘the god that assists the council’, was placed inside the *bouleuterion* at the *agora*. Notably, the inscription on the stele was written in Oscan and placed there during the Lucanian period at the end of the fourth century.<sup>152</sup> Also, at the new *bouleuterion* at Athens, built around 415-406 BC, a wooden image of Zeus “the counsellor” was placed inside the structure.<sup>153</sup>

The *bouleuterion* at Poseidonia, dated to the first half of the fifth century, was cut into the rock on which it stands (Fig. 4).<sup>154</sup> The structure has also been labelled a possible *ekklesiasterion* (where the *demos* voted on the legislation proposed by the *Boule*) and has been estimated to have held up to 1400 people. However, the amount of people that the *bouleuterion* could hold should not be viewed as an indication of how large council meetings were, *if* in fact this was the function of such a place. For example, the assembly-place in Poseidonia could seat a maximum of 1400 people but that of Metapontum, where the urban surface is three times bigger than at Poseidonia, can seat up to 8000 people. In Athens, however, the seats at the *bouleuterion* were awarded to the *demes* on the basis of population, in order to assure equality in representation.<sup>155</sup> It is therefore difficult to say “whether the structures were intended for meetings of the entire citizen body, their representatives, or, on occasion, both.”<sup>156</sup>

In comparison, on the west side of the Athenian Agora, facing south, a square structure identified as a *bouleuterion* was built around 500 BC (Fig. 7). It was built to accommodate the *Boule*, fifty representatives from each of the ten tribes, who got together every day for a year to discuss and decide legislation.<sup>157</sup> Around 415-406 BC, in the midst of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC), a new, rectangular, *bouleuterion* was built to the west of the old one. Circular assembly-places, like the *bouleuterion* at Poseidonia, have not been found on the Greek homeland, and it has been suggested that the circular shape is something that has been developed in a colonial context of the West.<sup>158</sup> To look for originals at the mother-city may therefore complicate the interpretation. The appliance of Athenian terms like ‘*bouleuterion*’ or ‘*ekklesiasterion*’, that have a clear democratic connotation, does not necessarily mean that the phenomenon of democracy had been established and was present in the western colonies.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Camp 1986, 84; Pedley 1990, 59.

<sup>152</sup> Sewell 2010, 38.

<sup>153</sup> Paus. 1.3.5.

<sup>154</sup> Sewell 2010, 38.

<sup>155</sup> Camp 1986, 90-91.

<sup>156</sup> Sewell 2010, 40.

<sup>157</sup> Camp 1986, 52-53.

<sup>158</sup> Sewell 2010, 38.

<sup>159</sup> Sewell 2010, 38-39.

However, the connection between the circular assembly-place and Zeus *Boulaios* in Poseidonia is an indication that it had, at least in part and at least during the Lucanian period, a political or judicial function. The same goes for the previously mentioned assembly-place at Metapontum that held a shrine to Zeus *Agoraios*.<sup>160</sup> It is therefore quite safe to assume that the purpose of the structure on the Poseidonian *agora*, at least partly, was linked with political assembly. However, sometime in the years following the foundation of the Latin colony in 273 BC, the *bouleuterion* at Poseidonia was filled in with what has been interpreted as dump (crushed locally produced pottery).<sup>161</sup> This is an interesting aspect of change of function of the construction and in the end symbolizes a break in place attachment. On this note, it is interesting to mention that even though the *bouleuterion* at some point was filled in and put out of use, the stele with the dedication in Oscan was left *in situ*, which indicates that at least this religious aspect of the *bouleuterion* was respected and had a continued function.<sup>162</sup>

Another important architectural aspect of Greek market-places was the *stoa*. The origins of the Greek *stoa* can be traced back to the late seventh century BC. Models for the structure have been derived from the Bronze Age architecture of Crete and Greece, the older civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt but no conclusions have been drawn.<sup>163</sup> Still, it emerged as a public building in several parts of the Greek world in the late seventh century, and was apparently found very useful with structural advantages well adapted to the Greek way of life. Due to the poor condition of ancient Sybaris, the mother colony of Poseidonia, it is difficult to say whether *stoai* were an element in the cityscape. However, according to Athenaeus there was an *agora* at the place.<sup>164</sup> Due to Sybaris' status as a wealthy polis, and the fact that the construction of *stoai* usually corresponds with economic prosperity as seen in Athens, it is possible that a *stoa* was constructed and later destroyed.<sup>165</sup> It is equally possible that the innovation of the *stoa* came to Poseidonia in the wake of the increased popularity it gave rise to elsewhere in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>166</sup> At Poseidonia at least two *stoai* were erected on the *agora* at the end of the fourth century (Fig. 6). Sewell claims that "wherever agoras have been securely identified and excavated, stoas have been found."<sup>167</sup> These specific structures came to dominate the public market-places, and also the boundaries of sanctuaries,

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<sup>160</sup> Sewell 2010, 41.

<sup>161</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 83.

<sup>162</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 70; Crawford 2006, 65-66.

<sup>163</sup> Coulton 1976, 19-20.

<sup>164</sup> Rutter 1970, 170.

<sup>165</sup> Coulton 1976, 46-47.

<sup>166</sup> Coulton 1976, 39. However, according to Pedley two *stoai* dated to the 6th c. BC have been found at the Hearion at the Sele River. The oldest, dated to c. 580, was in the 4th c. replaced by a portico (Pedley 1990, 62).

<sup>167</sup> Sewell 2010, 65.

of the Greek cities. However, it has been pointed out in previous research that there seems to be a general absence of *stoai* in the western Greek colonies, which has been explained by Coulton with:

...the unhappy history of the western colonies in the 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, for they were continually oppressed by tyrants and battered by wars against each other, against the Carthaginians, against the native peoples, and finally against Rome.<sup>168</sup>

Needless to say, as the uncovering of the *stoai* at Poseidonia exemplifies, the case might be counter-argued with the fact that the *stoai* of the west simply have not all been located yet. Sewell proposes in 2010, contrary to Coulton who published his work in the 1970s, that “no Greek agora on the peninsula or in Sicily has been found to lack stoas by the third century”.<sup>169</sup> It is true that the western colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily saw a lot of political turbulence and Poseidonia is a striking example of this, but I turn against the claim that this would prove that they were oppressed by either surrounding Italic tribes, or the Romans. In fact, it is interesting to note that the *stoai* were built at the *agora* at Poseidonia after the Lucanian conquest of the city.<sup>170</sup>

However, the concept of the *stoa* at Poseidonia was evidently rejected by the new Roman founders. The *stoa* which constituted the southern boundary of the new forum was partly destroyed in order to create an opening to the south towards an Italic temple (Fig. 6.).<sup>171</sup> The Roman equivalent of the *stoa*, the *porticus*, started to appear on fora during the second century BC. Sewell therefore proposes the following question: “If a colonnaded border was seen as fitting for the forum in the post-Hannibalic world, why was it rejected in the fourth and third centuries”?<sup>172</sup> The answer may lie in the function as well as the symbolic meaning of the Greek *stoa*.

The Greek *stoa* was multifunctional. Generally, *stoai* provided shelter and shade, housed minor dedications, sanctuaries and statues inside or outside them. In sanctuaries, the *stoai* offered a place to sleep overnight for far-away visitors, and provided shelter for patients in the healing sanctuaries. In the *agorai*, the *stoai* housed offices for magistrates, displaying laws (Stoa Basileus, Athens (Fig. 7.)) and history of the city (Stoa Poikile, Athens (Fig. 7.)). A *stoa*

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<sup>168</sup> Coulton 1976, 8.

<sup>169</sup> Sewell 2010, 67.

<sup>170</sup> Sewell 2010, 65.

<sup>171</sup> Crawford 2006, 66.

<sup>172</sup> Sewell 2010, 67.

was also a place for court sessions (Stoa Poikile, Athens) and a place for hosting public banquets.<sup>173</sup> Thus, the concept of the *stoa* was closely linked with the political and administrative activity within the city. Furthermore, the placement of *stoai* at the boundaries of *agorai* enhanced the intention of creating a monumental division between private and public space. Besides, the previously mentioned religious function of the *agora* meant that the space inside the limits of the *stoai* was special and had a different significance than the space outside them. It is thus possible to conclude that the Greek *stoa* was, in function and symbolic meaning, a distinctly ‘Greek’ phenomenon strongly attached to political activity. However, it should be emphasized that people of different ethnicities frequented these places, as seen in Poseidonia.

The Roman architects seem to have rejected the *stoai* in the colonies in favour of Roman alternatives. The Roman equivalent, the *porticus*, is a later concept to appear on the scene in Paestum. Also the Greek versus Roman notion of private and public space is important. The Roman *domus* had a clear connection to the activities at the forum, especially due the patronage system and the public aspects of the atrium house, and the *tabernae*, for example, marked a transition between public and private spaces rather than denoting the edges of public space. It is, however, important to mention that the notion of public space may differ from one society, place or time to another. The Greek *agora* and the Roman forum thus embodied different aspects of public space. In truth, considering the exclusiveness of some aspects of the *agora* and forum, ‘public’ space in Antiquity can be said to be the exception, not the rule.<sup>174</sup> So far it is possible to conclude that the Romans who came to Poseidonia and founded the colony of Paestum in the third century BC rejected and even demolished Greek structures relating to political activity at the Greek/Lucanian *agora*. But what about the structures with religious connotations?

The *heroon* that is situated on the western edge of the *agora*, constructed in the end of the sixth century, provides a striking example of a building situated in a political part of the city, with a continuous meaning to the people of Poseidonia-Paestum, that in a way was depoliticised by the Roman settlers (Fig. 4.). It has been interpreted as a kind of tomb, when it was found covered entirely by earth, similar to a tumulus grave, in the 1950s, and inside it archaeologists found eight splendid bronze vessels, an Attic black-figure *amphora* and five spits made of iron.<sup>175</sup> What was not found inside the structure, however, were any traces that a body had ever been put to rest here. It was the iconography of the Attic *amphora*, which depict

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<sup>173</sup> Sewell 2010, 64-65.

<sup>174</sup> Sewell 2010, 160.

<sup>175</sup> Pedley 1990, 38.



the *apotheosis* of the hero Herakles, that contributed to the conclusion that this could in fact be a cenotaph of a hero, a *heroon*.<sup>176</sup> Due to the fact that the dating of the structure, and the treasure inside it, correspond with the destruction of the mother-city, Sybaris, it has been suggested that this was a cult dedicated to the founder, however not to the founder of Poseidonia but to the founder of Sybaris, which would explain the absence of a body and the dating. The introduction of this cult can very well have been due to the destruction of Sybaris and it is likely that refugees from the destroyed mother-colony, that was so important to Poseidonia and also close in distance, wished to highlight this connection and initiated the cult *in memoriam* of their lost home.<sup>177</sup>

This kind of disruption of place attachment shows how fundamental it is to the experience and meaning of people's everyday life.<sup>178</sup> When disruption interrupts the process of place attachment "individuals must define who they are and where they are going without the benefit of the tangible supports that formerly bolstered such intangible understandings."<sup>179</sup> Thus, the reasons for the initiation of the founder-cult in Poseidonia is in line with this type of psychological process. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the *heroon* was carefully and reverentially surrounded by a protective wall sometime in the early years after the arrival of the Romans.<sup>180</sup> This *temenos*-like enclosure truly emphasized the religious aspect of the structure but also worked to de-politicize any eventual previous aspects not connected to religion. Similarly, it has to be mentioned, that the Romans showed the same kind of respect and deep reverence for the Doric temples and the sanctuaries. The fact that the Roman colonists targeted elements of the Greek urban centre connected with political symbolism, and exchanged them for traditional Roman concepts has long been known among scholars. Thus, the majority of Roman buildings found in the colonies, including Paestum, are more or less associated with the political life.<sup>181</sup>

The forum at the newly founded Latin colony at Paestum was set up in the southwest area of the former *agora*. It included, of course, a *comitium*, a *curia* and a row of *tabernae* east of the *comitium* to the north. On the south side was the *macellum* and a *basilica* built in the first and second centuries AD (Table; Fig. 4).<sup>182</sup> As concluded above, it is evident that some elements were rejected in favour of traditional Roman concepts. One question rising from this

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<sup>176</sup> Pedley 1990, 38; Wilson 2006, 46.

<sup>177</sup> Wilson 2006, 47.

<sup>178</sup> Brown & Perkins 1992, 279.

<sup>179</sup> Brown & Perkins 1992, 301.

<sup>180</sup> Pedley 1990, 38; Crawford 2006, 66.

<sup>181</sup> Sewell 2010, 168; Neer 2012, 263.

<sup>182</sup> Crawford 2006, 66.

conclusion concerns which processes formed the physical model of the Roman colonial city of Paestum and how this fits into the spread of the Roman version of civilization? Could the answer, at least partly, lie with the mother of all Latin colonies: Rome herself? The Latin colonies have been described as physical replicas of their mother-city and the fact that the forum at Paestum, for example, bears some resemblance to the Roman Forum cannot be denied (Fig. 9.) However, this model/replica theory best suits a comparison on a political level.<sup>183</sup> Each of Rome's colonies were unique due to their variety in cultic activities, ethnic composition and history. Rome grew organically and so did the Roman Forum. The Latin colonies, however, seemed to have reached a level of preconception for future development and also a general willingness of adopting foreign ideas of city-building as well as being inspired by Roman originals.<sup>184</sup> It is the well-known Roman pragmatism at the works as well as local acknowledgement and acceptance of identities. "The more they [the Romans, my ed.] learned about being Greek, the more clearly they could explain why being Roman was different", writes Wallace-Hadrill.<sup>185</sup>

Thus, the process of cosmological place attachment, which may be best illustrated by the amount of preserved Greek religious buildings at Paestum in general, is also evident in the Greek *agora* where religiously connoted structures, like the *heroon*, have a continued function. Buildings with a clear political function, like the *bouleuterion* or the *stoai* have, on the other hand, been destroyed or at least been de-politicized in favour of Roman concepts. This might provide an explanation to the filling of the *bouleuterion* and destruction of the *stoai* during the early years of the Latin colony. One possible conclusion that can be drawn is that the Roman settlers targeted the buildings connected to the previous Lucanian era; the importance of the *bouleuterion* during this period is evident as well as the construction of the *stoai* during this period. However, the Asklepieion south of the eastern part of the forum, also constructed during the fourth century, was taken over by the colony.<sup>186</sup> In other words, it comes down to the function of the particular building and whether it symbolizes the political aspect of urban life or not. It is thus interesting to recall that even though the *bouleuterion* at some point was filled in and put out of use, the stele with the dedication in Oscan was left *in situ*.<sup>187</sup>

The overall displacement of the main market-place and the obvious centre of civic life of the Greek/Lucanian city, undeniably led to the abolition of the former political life by the

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<sup>183</sup> Sewell 2010, 73.

<sup>184</sup> Sewell 2010, 61, 81.

<sup>185</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2012, 375.

<sup>186</sup> Crawford 2006, 66.

<sup>187</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 70; Crawford 2006, 65-66.

annihilation of the architectural framework. The evidence from the excavations undertaken by Greco and Theodorescu in the 1980s indicates that the area of the *agora* was in fact abandoned for more than a century and not, at least from the start, integrated in the new Latin colony at Paestum. Thus, Greco and Theodorescu put the question as to whether the movement of the main market-place, and the construction of the forum to the south of the old *agora*, should be seen as an expression of political will or if it was a way of making the centre of the Roman city more urbanised.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps the new Roman colony in the beginning was centred further south and important civic buildings, like the *comitium* and the *curia*, being built here, and thus replacing older buildings with similar functions, made for a natural and gradual displacement of the former Greek/Lucanian market-place? This would mean that the disruption in place attachment in connection with the *agora* may have been adjusted and even anticipated by the inhabitants of Paestum. Place attachments are not static. When changes in people, activities or processes at a place occur the nature of the attachment also changes.<sup>189</sup> Thus, it is a way of providing protection from the stress that is relocation but equally a way of adjusting to the new way of life. Another aspect of the move has been suggested by Greco and Theodorescu. During the excavation of the southwestern corner of the *agora* a rock layer that shows signs of stagnation of water was found. This predicament should have occurred in the last centuries BC and may have made the move necessary as well as the narrowing of the city further south.<sup>190</sup> However, the city evidently expanded to the north again, at least sometime in the first century BC, when the construction of the amphitheatre began north-west of the forum.<sup>191</sup>

The transition from the Greek/Lucanian society to that of the Latin colony can be described as a slow evolution of the urban fabric and not necessarily something sudden and violent. In other words, the inhabitants of Poseidonia became citizens of Roman Paestum on the condition that the Romans in Paestum, in turn, became Poseidonians.

### **3.3. In search of the roots: Attachment to the Sanctuary of Santa Venera**

Memories may serve as a developer of place attachment. Thus, one of the most salient components of place attachment is the concept of duration. Attachment is diagnosed by the declared intention of being in the place and it has been assumed that attached people stay longer at a place than those who are unattached.<sup>192</sup> It would therefore appear that people seek,

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<sup>188</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 70.

<sup>189</sup> Brown & Perkins 1992, 282.

<sup>190</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 84.

<sup>191</sup> Pedley 1990, 121.

<sup>192</sup> Lewicka 2014, 49.

intentionally or unintentionally, to establish a personal connection with a new place through various forms of memories.<sup>193</sup> Movement and migration can be said to characterize both ancient and modern societies and the theoretical framework of place attachment, applied to this ancient era of increased mobility in southern Italy; the Greek westward movement and the Lucanian expansion, as well as the later Roman colonization, can identify various mechanisms through which these people became attached to places to which they had no ancestral or cultural bonds. A temporal dimension of place attachment is thus vital to address in this case. In other words, the aspect that “implies continuity of the relationship with the attachment object, connects its present to its past, with the hope that this relationship will continue in the future.”<sup>194</sup>

The extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera is located some 80 meters outside of the walls of Poseidonia-Paestum and about 200 meters from the south gate, Porta Giustizia (Fig. 2). Immediately outside the gate there was in ancient times a bridge that carried the north-south road over a watercourse, a branch of the river Salso, that ran along the wall. Thus, when the water in the Salso was particularly high, the sanctuary was at times separated from the city, and at times the river even overflowed parts of the sanctuary and the city. However, the sanctuary flourished in ancient times and the waters seem to have been under control, as shown by the ancient ditches around the walls and aqueducts leading into the city.<sup>195</sup> Water, therefore, certainly was an important aspect of the nature of the cultic activities at the sanctuary of Santa Venera. Just south of the sanctuary two *nekropoleis* have been identified and thus the placement of the sanctuary is significant, between the city of the living and the city of the dead.<sup>196</sup>

Pedley’s and Torelli’s work at the site in the 1980s included a detailed analysis of the stratigraphy at the sanctuary showing large quantities of volcanic ash. One of the most prominent strata seems to be connected to the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, in which the ash filled in Roman structures at Santa Venera to a depth of several centimetres.<sup>197</sup> In similar fashion the Heraion at the Sele River, north of Poseidonia-Paestum, was covered in a 30 centimetres deep volcanic ash in the Vesuvian eruption. However, contrary to the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, the Heraion at the Sele River never quite recovered, apart from a hint of new activity in the second century AD, and later sank into oblivion.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Lewicka 2014, 54.

<sup>194</sup> Lewicka 2014, 51.

<sup>195</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 24.

<sup>196</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 24.

<sup>197</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 28.

<sup>198</sup> Pedley 1990, 75.

Pedley's and Torelli's research at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera has resulted in the emergence of three distinct building phases (Fig. 10). The evidence of the architecture from the Greek phase shows that all walls were built contemporaneously in the ashlar masonry technique on the foundations, the way Greeks constructed buildings in the fifth century BC.<sup>199</sup> During the Lucanian period the sanctuary continued to be in use and was evidently respected by the new rulers. However, no new buildings were constructed.<sup>200</sup> In the second phase the Romans had established themselves at Paestum and evidence of a Roman repair of the fifth century structure has been noted. The Romans also took pains in putting down new floors and a new portico in front of the Rectangular Hall as well as a cistern.<sup>201</sup> During the third phase the entrance to the sanctuary was monumentalized. A major project of renewal which involved floors and walls was also undertaken in this phase as well as the amalgamation of buildings which created a new sanctuary plan. A piscine, or a "fishpond", was constructed in the early first century AD and is believed to have been built for ritual purposes.<sup>202</sup>

As mentioned above, the oldest architectural structures found at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera have been dated to the first decades of the fifth century. However, it is noteworthy that the earliest Greek pottery and votive terracottas at the place have been dated to c. 600 BC, corresponding with the foundation of the Greek settlement. It would thus appear that cult activity took place at the sanctuary before the construction of the buildings and was well established as a cult site from the early years of the Greek colony. The possibility that the cult activity was practised in the open air must therefore be considered. However, it should be mentioned that a number of sandstone column drums and Doric capitals have been found to have been reused in later structures at the sanctuary. Therefore, it is impossible to rule out the possibility of an even earlier, but later recycled, structure at the site, as well as potential structures at the unexcavated area under the modern factory.<sup>203</sup>

The sanctuary, as indicated by the name, was without a doubt dedicated to the goddess Venus during the Roman period. The placement of the sanctuary, outside the city walls, is also in line with existing knowledge of other sanctuaries dedicated to Venus, as well as corresponding with the Roman architect Vitruvius statement that the shrines of Venus are to be situated outside the wall, "so that venereal pleasure may not be customary to young men and

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<sup>199</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 69.

<sup>200</sup> Pedley 1990, 112.

<sup>201</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 106.

<sup>202</sup> Pedley 1990, 157.

<sup>203</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 206.

matrons in the city.”<sup>204</sup> He also states that sanctuaries to Venus should be located near the harbour.<sup>205</sup> However, the harbour at Poseidonia-Paestum remains to be found. Numerous objects relating to this particular goddess have been uncovered in the sanctuary. During the excavations in the 1980s the archaeologists found an inscribed marble base, dated to the early years after the foundation of the colony, in the Rectangular Hall that had apparently been reused as a building block. The inscription is dedicated to Venus (Fig. 11):

[...*f.Cn. Veneri* (line 1)...*onavit* (line 2.)]<sup>206</sup>

It is interesting to note that the fathers name, *Cn.* (*Cnaius*), after the *f.* (*filius*) is contrary to what should be expected in the arrangement (it should be *Cn.f.*), and this had led the archaeologists to suggest a possible influence of some other language than Latin.<sup>207</sup> That, in turn, leads to the question of cultic continuity at the place; was Venus, or her Greek counterpart Aphrodite, worshipped here before the Romans established themselves at Paestum? Who was worshipped here during the Lucanian period? For the purpose of this study I will in the following section try to construct a possible line of development in order to trace the nature of attachment this divinity gave rise to during ancient times. The arguments presented below will in general be in line with Pedley’s, Torrelli’s and Miller Ammerman’s interpretation of the site’s patron goddess. However, I will also present a different approach to the interpretation of the Lucanian period including a possible presence of a cult to a goddess of Lucanian decent, Mefitis.

At the Sanctuary of Santa Venera objects were given to the deity as a tangible expression of devotion. Archaeologists have found numerous votive gifts made of terracotta, probably due to the fact that this particular material tends to endure the test of time. Some of these votive gifts, in particular those picturing a standing naked goddess that is the focus of Miller Ammerman’s contribution to the Michigan/Perugia project, have been discovered in stratigraphical units from the Archaic period and onwards, under the floors in the *oikos* and the Rectangular Hall, from the Archaic period and onwards (Fig. 12). Due to stylistic and technical aspects some of the terracottas have been dated to the first half of the 6th century.<sup>208</sup> It should be mentioned that the naked female terracottas only constitute a small part of the terracottas found at the sanctuary.

<sup>204</sup> ”Extra murum Veneris, Volcani, Martis fana ideo conlocari, uti non insuescat in urbe adolescentibus, seu matribus familiarum veneria libido.” Vitruvius *De arch.* 1.1.7., trans. by Granger 1931.

<sup>205</sup> Vitruvius *De arch.* 1.1.7.

<sup>206</sup> Pedley 1990, 159; Translation of the inscription (Pedley 1990): ”Son of Cnaius to Venus...gave”. *Onavit* should probably be *donavit* (=gave); Pedley & Torelli 1993, 196.

<sup>207</sup> Pedley 1990, 160.

<sup>208</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 204-205.

A significantly larger quantity consists of terracottas depicting an enthroned female goddess (Fig. 13). However, Miller Ammerman claims that the group of naked female terracottas is the most informative one about the nature of pre-Roman cult activity.<sup>209</sup> The iconography of the naked standing goddess combined with the mould technique to make terracottas can be traced to the Syro-Phoenician coast. In the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries BC the technique had spread further to Cyprus and Crete, on to sites in Ionia and the Greek mainland and ultimately to the Italian peninsula. Some of the moulds used for the figurines thus came into circulation, and among them was a standing naked goddess, known to the Phoenicians as Astarte.<sup>210</sup> This is the goddess that stands behind the deity that the Greeks called Aphrodite, the goddess of love, desire and beauty. According to Hesiod, Aphrodite was born when heaven, Ouranos, was separated from earth, Gaia. Thus, from the first cosmic differentiation the power of unison was created. The beautiful foam-born goddess was carried on the waves to the island of Cyprus where she stepped ashore.<sup>211</sup> This is only one of many stories about the birth of Aphrodite. What is interesting to note in Hesiod's account, and this is also mentioned in Plato's *Symposium*, is that she is older than all the other Olympian gods, and in other words, love is the most ancient power.<sup>212</sup> In Homeric poetry Aphrodite, or love, is well-known for outdoing Athena and Hera in the Judgement of Paris, which in turn led to the abduction of Helen of Troy and ultimately the Trojan War.<sup>213</sup> It is also one of the heroes from this famous war, Aeneas who, according to Virgil's epic the *Aeneid*, is the son of Aphrodite's Roman counterpart Venus and the mythic ancestor to Caesar, Augustus and the Julio-Claudian rulers.<sup>214</sup>

The naked figurines from Poseidonia-Paestum are unique in the West and Magna Graecia. The question that remains to be addressed, then, is how Venus, Aphrodite, or Astarte, possibly embodied in the naked goddesses found at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, came to be in this place. Pedley and Torelli recall that Aphrodite was also worshipped in Troezen, the mother colony of Sybaris. She may then have travelled with the colonists to Sybaris and later on to Poseidonia where she found her new home.<sup>215</sup> Miller Ammerman suggests two other possibilities. The first is that Aphrodite came from a Greek site in the western Mediterranean and was transferred to Poseidonia at some point. The second possibility is that she somehow

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<sup>209</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 207-208.

<sup>210</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 208.

<sup>211</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 185-200.

<sup>212</sup> Pl. *Symp.* 178B.

<sup>213</sup> Burkert 1985, 153.

<sup>214</sup> Burkert 1985, 154.

<sup>215</sup> Pedley & Torelli 1993, 237.

came directly from the Phoenicians, as Astarte, to Poseidonia.<sup>216</sup> However, I would like to highlight another possibility, in which the Lucanian contribution is visible.

There seems to be no references to Lucanian sanctuaries or cult practices in ancient written sources.<sup>217</sup> The evidence gathered from cult places in the Lucanian region conveys the image of “a faint core intersected by overlapping spheres of influence which were tied into both Italian and Greek domains.”<sup>218</sup> In other words, local groups in Lucania were integrated in both the Greek, the Italian/Roman cultural spheres and with each other, quite contrary to the more violent clashes depicted in the ancient sources. Thus, it would seem that there existed a cultural consensus among Lucanian groups, in particular due to linguistic similarities, but also in the structural layout of their sanctuaries, which were not based on temple models but resembled that of houses. Water was evidently an important element in the cult practice, based on the findings of cisterns, water channels and the construction of artificial water installations in connection with Lucanian cult places. It is also likely that the ritual would have taken place in the open air in the fourth-century cult events.<sup>219</sup> The archaeological evidence for cult practice at Lucanian sites consists of votive deposits, often found in pits, near springs, other water sources or cisterns, emphasising the importance of water in the cult, and containing, in the fourth and third centuries, a variety of terracotta statuettes. The votives are commonly depictions of an enthroned female figure, standing or seated.<sup>220</sup> Here it is worth recalling the enthroned female goddess found in large quantities in the Sanctuary of Santa Venera. However, Miller Ammerman argued that “the iconography of the seated figures is so generic that a specific deity cannot be recognized in the clay images”.<sup>221</sup> Who could she be then, the enthroned goddess?

The cult to Mefitis, a Samnite/Lucanian goddess who embodied similar characteristics to those associated with Demeter and Kore but also, more importantly, to Aphrodite, became widespread throughout central Italy during the fourth century BC. Most of the sanctuaries dedicated to Mefitis in Lucania have remains of water channels, a small shrine, sacrificial pits and votive deposits.<sup>222</sup> Mefitis could thus embody a variety of roles and could very well have been represented or worshiped and received as votive gifts some of the enthroned female

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<sup>216</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 226.

<sup>217</sup> Isayev 2007, 32.

<sup>218</sup> Isayev 2007, 41.

<sup>219</sup> Isayev mentions a “southern” dialect of Oscan spoken in this region: Isayev 2007, 33, 54; Horsnaes 2002, 105.

<sup>220</sup> Isayev 2007, 36.

<sup>221</sup> Miller Ammerman 1991, 207.

<sup>222</sup> Isayev 2007, 38-39.



statuettes found in Santa Venera. The fact that Mefitis was associated with the Roman goddess Venus can be seen at Pompeii, 75 kilometres north of Poseidonia-Paestum. The cult dedicated to Venus is said to have been brought to Pompeii, that became *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*, by the general Sulla when he conquered the city in 80 BC. A temple was built adjacent to the Roman forum shortly after the conquest and Venus became the city's patroness (Fig. 14).<sup>223</sup> Archaeological investigations conducted at the site of the Temple of Venus have uncovered cisterns which contained votive gifts dating to the third century BC, indicating a continuity of cult practice at the place. Curti proposes that the most likely candidate for being at the place before the foundation of the Venus Temple is the Samnite goddess of love, Mefitis.<sup>224</sup>

Consequently, it is possible to suggest that Mefitis was the predecessor at the site of the main cult centre dedicated to Venus at Pompeii. Mefitis, being, among other things, the goddess of love, is thus the Lucanian equivalent to both the Greek Aphrodite and Roman Venus. Is it possible that Mefitis was also present and worshiped at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera in Poseidonia-Paestum? That would explain the many enthroned goddess figurines found at the site but it would also contribute to the nature of attachment to the place and the continuity of such an attachment.

The Lucanian population at Poseidonia is clearly visible in some aspects of the city structure. However, the Lucanian presence in the city seems to be strangely absent at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera. On the other hand, judging by the nature of the Lucanian cult practice, and especially the cult dedicated to Mefitis, there seem to have been rituals taking place out in the open air, in close association with water sources and the nature. This would explain the sudden halt in building activity in the fourth and beginning of the third centuries BC; there was no need for any new constructions due to the nature of the Lucanian cult practice. When the Romans came to Poseidonia and founded Paestum in 273 BC the sudden increase in construction of new buildings and monumentalization of the sanctuary is apparent, and so is the cult dedicated to Venus.<sup>225</sup> It is thus interesting to recall the inscription made by the son of Cnaius that was misformulated. Maybe this was due to the fact that his mother tongue was not Latin, but Oscan? New cults arrived in the wake of the Roman colonial policy but, nonetheless, pre-existing cults survived and merged with the Roman traditions creating a blend of foreign and local deities

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<sup>223</sup> Berry 2007, 194-195.

<sup>224</sup> Carroll 2010, 67.

<sup>225</sup> Crawford 2006, 64.

unique to every colonial town.<sup>226</sup> In the case of Poseidonia-Paestum, and the Sanctuary of Santa Venera, the nature of the cult practice might not have changed much, even though, as seen in the discussion on the *agora* and forum, parts of the city were altered radically during some periods.

The sense of continuity, and the attachment it gives rise to, can be obtained even though the time of residing in a place is short and the emplaced experiences are few. Through symbolic means, for instance by inserting oneself, one's ancestors or religious beliefs into the history of a place, a sense of attachment and belonging can be created and even restore disrupted place attachments among immigrant individuals.<sup>227</sup> Attachment can also be obtained by active copying, in other words, a way for people to adopt and adjust to a new environment.<sup>228</sup> Thus, it is possible that the process of place attachment gave rise to the apparent religious continuity at the Sanctuary of Santa Venera. However, it is equally possible that it was the other way around; that religious continuity created attachment to the place. Lewicka addresses the case of inherited places in her article 'In search of roots: Memory as enabler of place attachment':

We inherit places together with the "ghosts" of those who lived there before us. These ghosts give meanings to the place and help us feel one with it but, as time goes on, we replace them with our own ghost – a sign that we have appropriated the place and made it our own.<sup>229</sup>

At the Sanctuary of Santa Venera the experienced or unexperienced memories of a cult dedicated to a goddess of love may have made people feel increasingly attached, especially due to her cross-cultural potential and embodiment of several aspects of divinity. The devotion of this female deity can be traced back to the earliest, and to the very last, days of the life of the city of Poseidonia-Paestum. And even to this present day, she never ceases to fascinate.

In conclusion, it is also worth mentioning that the rose was valued particularly high and was beautifully grown in this part of the Italian peninsula during ancient times.<sup>230</sup> In the words of Virgil:

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<sup>226</sup> Sewell 2010, 80.

<sup>227</sup> Lewicka 2014, 51.

<sup>228</sup> Lewicka 2014, 57.

<sup>229</sup> Lewicka 2014, 57.

<sup>230</sup> Paus. 6.24.7; Plin<sup>1-2</sup>. *NH.* 13.6.26, 21.10.15-17.

In fact, were I not, with my task well-nigh done, about to furl my sails and making haste to turn my prow to land, perchance I might sing what careful tendance clothes rich gardens in flower, and might sing of Paestum whose rose beds bloom twice yearly, how the endive rejoices in drinking streams, the verdant banks in celery; how the cucumber, coiling through the grass, swells into a paunch.<sup>231</sup>

As the years went by Paestum, now a provincial town in the vast Roman Empire, passed into lore. It was famous, however, among the ancient writers for its roses. The rose was in fact a flower sacred to Aphrodite. Thus, where better to grow beautiful roses than in connection to her sanctuary?

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<sup>231</sup> "Atque equidem, extremo ni iam sub fine laborum vela traham et terris festinem advertere proram, forsitan et, pinguis hortos quae cura colendi ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Paesti, quoque modo potis gauderent intibae rivis et virides apio ripae, tortusque per herbas cresceret in ventrem cucumis." Verg. *G.* 4., trans. by Fairclough 1916.

## 4. Final discussion and conclusions

In this final discussing and concluding chapter I would like to revisit the initial thoughts and purpose of this study and also invite the reader to a critical review of the nature of the Lucanian presence at Poseidonia, before the arrival of the Romans and the foundation of the Latin colony. Thus, this chapter has two purposes: primarily to address the Lucanian involvement in Poseidonia-Paestum and by doing so giving the Lucanians a place within this field of study as well as contextualizing this discussion to the overall aims presented in the introduction. Secondly, I will present the main conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis above and thus, figuratively speaking, close the loop.

### 4.1. A hybrid community? Discussion of the nature of the Lucanian presence in Poseidonia

Take a Greek city ‘barbarized’, a Lucanian city as its successor, a colony of Latin status placed there by Rome in 273 BC; add a campaign of modern excavation, documenting major changes in the urban framework over the centuries; mix and stir thoroughly. The result is a series of equations between political change and urban transformation, with the sub-text that the nice Lucanians did not change things very much, while the nasty Romans changed things a lot.<sup>232</sup>

This is stated by Crawford in the article ‘From Poseidonia to Paestum via the Lucanians’, where the author makes a contribution to the discussion on the nature of the Lucanian, but also the later Roman, conquest of Poseidonia. The Lucanian presence at Poseidonia has been described in the words of Greco and Theodorescu: “la società pestana conosce una trasformazione radicale, sicuro effetto [...] della occupazione lucana” and Pedley, likewise, refers to the event as the arrival of “the new masters” of Poseidonia, and that upon their arrival “the city ceased to be Greek and became Lucanian”.<sup>233</sup> Torelli states that their presence was “una mera sostituzione della sola classe dirigente greca nelle vesti di un’aristocrazia ristretta”.<sup>234</sup> In other words, the Samnite people referred to as “the Lucanians” would have come and radically transformed the Poseidonian society in the end of the fifth century. However, they did not seem to be a large group of invaders disrupting the former population. More likely, according to Torelli, they represented a mere substitution of the Greek ruling class, a kind of narrow aristocracy, in

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<sup>232</sup> Crawford 2006, 59.

<sup>233</sup> Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 81; Pedley 1990, 11, 97

<sup>234</sup> Torelli 1999, 7.

Poseidonia. Pedley, too, states that the Lucanian presence in Poseidonia was “more a fusion of peoples and ideas than a conquest”.<sup>235</sup>

It is undoubtedly due to the statements made in the ancient sources that the Lucanian presence in Poseidonia, as well as at other places, has gained attention in modern discourse. If we recall the quote by Aristoxenus, written sometime in the fourth century BC, the author states that the Greeks in Poseidonia were barbarised and largely oppressed by the “Tyrrhenians or Romans”. This is problematic since Aristoxenos lived and wrote well before the Romans entered the scene at Poseidonia. What does he then refer to? Strabo has also described the people who ruled Poseidonia in the fourth century, but he, on the other hand, refers to them as ‘Lucanians’. One should keep in mind that Aristoxenos, primarily wrote about ancient Greek music and that his purpose probably was to criticise the decline in musical taste in Poseidonia, not to analyse the ethnicity on the Italian peninsula.<sup>236</sup>

There is a small, but convincing, amount of archaeological evidence for a Lucanian presence in Poseidonia, beginning with the dedication, written in Oscan sometime during the fourth century, placed and found within the circular assembly-place otherwise known as the *bouleuterion* located on the east side of the former Greek *agora*. The inscription is a dedication to *Iove*, that is Iuppiter or Jupiter, equivalent of Zeus.<sup>237</sup> Given the total absence of other inscriptions in Oscan found in Poseidonia, other existing examples have not been found *in situ* and have a more private character, it is interesting to think twice about the nature of the Lucanian presence at Poseidonia. A Greek inscription on a small juglet from Poseidonia, dated to 480-460 BC, has been found in a tomb in Fratte di Salerno, located in the northern part of the Bay of Salerno. The text describes sexual activities and the persons involved have Greek, Etruscan and Italic names.<sup>238</sup> Who were they and how did their names end up on a Poseidonian juglet? Were they immigrants or maybe the results of mixed marriages? They might have been slaves or perhaps just guests visiting Poseidonia. Another possibility is that the motive and the little story are fictional, they might even intend to be humorous or ironic. Nonetheless, the inscription seems to indicate that individuals with non-Greek names might have been present in Poseidonia as early as the second quarter of the fifth century.<sup>239</sup>

Furthermore, the evidence of Lucanian-style burials, Lucanian funerary art and grave goods found in the *chora* of Poseidonia reflect the “radical transformation” stated by Greco and

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<sup>235</sup> Pedley 1990, 97.

<sup>236</sup> Crawford 2006, 60; Isayev 2007, 17-19.

<sup>237</sup> Horsnaes 2002, 106.

<sup>238</sup> Horsnaes 2002, 106.

<sup>239</sup> Horsnaes 2002, 107.

Theodorescu. Two new types of graves have been found in Poseidonia and traced back to the Lucanians: the rectangular rock-cut tomb with end blocks extended upwards and thus creating support for a sloping roof, and the built chamber tomb that was introduced sometime in the middle of the fourth century.<sup>240</sup> The Lucanian funerary art found inside the tombs located in the Poseidonian territory is described by Pedley as “the largest, most encompassing and the most important gallery of Italic paintings preserved.”<sup>241</sup> Crawford, however, states that the burials should be viewed as a “part of the general pattern of dispersal of settlement into the countryside in Magna Graecia in the fourth century BC.”<sup>242</sup> The funerary art, introduced in the period between c. 370 and 330 BC, shows depictions of what has been interpreted as military prestige, funeral games like chariot races, boxing matches or armed combats, and funeral processions with animals prepared for slaughter. Is there anything specifically Lucanian about these depictions? Very little can be said about the Lucanian funerary rites. However, the chariot races, boxing matches and armed combat were at home in the Greek, and also the Etruscan, world.<sup>243</sup> Besides, only one Oscan name has been found in a tomb painting and it might as well be the name of the painter. To summarize, there are evidently far more Greek inscriptions concerning burials from Poseidonia during the fourth century.<sup>244</sup>

The building activity during the Lucanian period was, as shown in the analyse of the Greek *agora* and Roman forum above, considerable and altered the appearance of Poseidonia, especially in the area of the city centre. The construction of the *stoai*, that divided the northern from the southern half of the *agora*, and the Asklepieion are striking evidence of this but, as Crawford points out: “Nothing in the architectural record would reveal that the city had been taken over by the Lucanians.”<sup>245</sup> It has been stated that the Heraion at the Sele River, north of the city, was destroyed in a fire around 400 BC and that this would very likely have been the work of “marauding Italic tribes”, that is, the Lucanians.<sup>246</sup> There is, however, no indication that it actually was a group of Lucanians who burned down the temple. This event could just as likely have occurred before the Lucanian period. At the Sanctuary of Santa Venera no building activity was going on in the Lucanian period, but once again after the establishment of the Latin

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<sup>240</sup> Pedley 1990, 101.

<sup>241</sup> Pedley 1990, 102.

<sup>242</sup> Crawford 2006, 60f.

<sup>243</sup> Pedley 1990, 102; Crawford 2006, 61.

<sup>244</sup> Crawford 2006, 61.

<sup>245</sup> Crawford 2006, 63.

<sup>246</sup> Pedley 1990, 74.

colony.<sup>247</sup> However, as shown in the analysis of the sanctuary above, that might have been due to the nature of the Lucanian cult practice.

The Lucanian ethnicity can be viewed as a social construction and it was probably created both externally and from within. The label ‘Lucanian’ seems to be externally applied by the ancient authors when they wanted to refer to Italo-Lucanian communities, and therefore the term may be interpreted as a reference to the geographical area inhabited by these people rather than the actual ethnicity of the people who lived there. We know very little about their self-perception but one conclusion can nonetheless be made: the most prominent identity was local.<sup>248</sup> However, when the Romans founded their colony at Paestum in 273 BC they brought with them Roman traditions and Roman urbanism; that is, urbanism as a particular form or a social process from which the assumption that a city is a product of its society can be derived. Roman urbanism, as seen in Paestum came with a specific nature and a high degree of uniformity. This would have made the adaption and adjustment to the new colony easier; new citizens could thus relay on their own perceptions of the city and also experiences of other cities. For example, the main or the wider streets would lead to the forum; thus, a stranger or a visitor could, according to their own knowledge of a city’s general structure, find their way around and feel ‘at home’ in Paestum.<sup>249</sup> However, the Lucanian presence in Poseidonia, traditionally dated from the end of the fifth century and up to the founding of the Roman colony, cannot and should not be interpreted on the same terms as the Roman conquest. The body of archaeological evidence on Greeks influencing indigenous populations on the Italian peninsula, as well as the presence of non-Greeks in Greek *poleis* like Poseidonia, is steadily growing. If ‘local’ is one of the key concepts to unlock the nature of the ‘Lucanian’ identity, that too can be applied to ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ identities. The semiotic potential in the archaeological remains at Poseidonia-Paestum, some demonstrated here in the present study, is that they express what it was to be a Poseidonian or Paestan and offer individuals who lived there an image of their position in the society and in the wider ancient world. Thus, if new inhabitants demanded a new identity of the city, new monuments or practices accompanied that particular identity and reflected the new situation. It is also possible that, in order to adjust to a new place, attachment was created and obtained by active copying. In order to adjust to a new way of life people often tend to do what needs to be done, in other words, in time, they learn how to fit in.

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<sup>247</sup> Crawford 2006, 64.

<sup>248</sup> Isayev 2007, 54.

<sup>249</sup> Laurence 2007, 184.

As newcomers to the already established society of Poseidonia, the Lucanians seem to have succeeded.

#### **4.2. Conclusions**

In the twenty-first century there are few places on earth that have not been exposed to human activity and we find ourselves, in a way, out of physical places to discover. The very act of discovering, just as in the notions of 18th-century travellers that came upon the ruins of the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum, there exists the instinctive desire to explore that we can also find within ourselves and in the role of the archaeologist. This is a force to be reckoned with. When all is discovered we inevitably start retracing our own steps. By applying the theoretical framework of place attachment we have an opportunity to revisit and rediscover. The various ways in which people get attached to places and invest them with meaning have become an important contribution in understanding human and material agency. This has raised questions on how place supports and creates identity, how it is essential for preserving peace and create social cohesion, but also how it has been exploited as an instrument to legitimate power. Environmental psychology is an interdisciplinary field of study, and so is archaeology and ancient history. The concept of place attachment transcends these disciplines and can thus be applied, with care and consideration, outside its main field of study. This is a new way of tracing connections between humans and the environments they perceive as meaningful within the field of archaeology and ancient history. By highlighting the significance of aspects of the material record at Poseidonia-Paestum and connecting these aspects with human agency and the psychological process of place attachment, different meanings of social and cultural contexts can be understood. Thus, place attachment can be seen as an important and active factor in historical processes.

The aim of this study was to connect the tangible traces of a place, in this case the archaeological remains at the city of Poseidonia-Paestum, with the intangible emotions that the place gave rise to, such as feelings of attachment or disruption of attachment. By suggesting a way of adapting aspects of the theoretical framework of place attachment to the ancient remains in the area of the Greek *agora*, the Roman forum and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera, the theoretical framework was contextualized and applied to the archaeological record from these important places in, and outside, the city. On a more general note the present study aimed to suggest a way of applying the interdisciplinary concept of place attachment to the field of archaeology and ancient history.



The results of the present study in the areas of the Greek *agora*, the Roman forum and the Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Poseidonia-Paestum show that it is possible to map out and contextualize the theoretical framework of place attachment in the archaeological record. By doing so, it is possible to gain a wider understanding of aspects within this framework, and aspects of the archaeological record such as the creating, disruption and renewal of place attachment contextualized in the continuity or discontinuity of buildings and the social structures and practices that these buildings represented. The analysis of the present study was divided into three parts. The first part aimed to set the scene of the study and to problematize the notion of the *polis* and how the *polis*, in the case of Poseidonia, and in line with the general notion of the *polis*-state, being an urbanised centre (*asty*) with a surrounding territory (*chora*), created a common identity but also was created and maintained by its citizens. Poseidonia, a result of second-wave colonization as well as being located near its mother city, Sybaris, therefore must be considered in this context. The geographical and topographical features, that are essential for settlement founding, and the transformation of the landscape in connection with the monumentality of the buildings at Poseidonia-Paestum are equally important for a creation of identity at a common, *polis*-oriented, level and thus creating attachment to a specific place. The physical place is always the same but attachment is not static and therefore, if newcomers to Poseidonia-Paestum demanded a new identity of the city, architectural features and practices accompanied this identity and thus can be viewed as a reflection of the new situation. However, attachment can also be obtained by the wish to adjust to a new place and restore disruption in attachment, and by doing so, insert oneself and one's ancestors or religious beliefs, symbolically and historically, into the history of a place.

At Poseidonia-Paestum the *heroon* at the Greek *agora* provides a striking example of attachment to a place, in this case to Sybaris if the interpretation that it was dedicated to the founder of Sybaris is correct. This place was evidently respected by the Greeks, the Lucanians and the Romans in Poseidonia-Paestum, due to its continuity as an important place in the city. Also the great Doric temples from the sixth and fifth centuries continued being in use and were looked after by the new citizens of the city. However, some buildings in connection with the *agora* did not survive the arrival of the Romans in 273 BC. The *bouleuterion* was filled in with dump and thereby lost its function as a politically important structure. On this note it is however interesting to recall the stele with the dedication to Zeus *Boulaios* put there in the Lucanian period and found by archaeologists *in situ*. Thus, the Romans evidently respected this monument and function of the *bouleuterion*.

The moving of the main market-place, as well as the political centre of the city, has also been highlighted as an important factor in this study. The Roman forum was, however, built in an area previously occupied by the south-western part of the *agora* and in proximity to the same main roads leading into the city, but it was nonetheless moved and, more importantly, adorned with traditional Roman structures like the *comitium* and *curia*. Thus, it can be concluded, in line with previous research, that some Greek concepts were removed (the *bouleuterion* and the *stoai*) and altered (the Greek *agora*) in favour of traditional Roman institutions and practices, especially connected to aspects of the political life. The *stoai*, Greek in origin but built during the Lucanian period, were public buildings connected with politics, commerce and religion in function but they also symbolized something very Greek. It is thus interesting to ponder on both their creation and destruction. If Poseidonia at that time had a Lucanian ruling class, why would they construct something so fundamentally Greek? Further, the Romans were very well aware of the concept of the *stoa* but nonetheless these buildings were demolished in favour for Roman equivalents, like the later *porticus*. Why? An interpretation that has been brought forward in the present study is that the *stoa* contributed to creating the almost *temenos*-like feature of the Greek *agora* and was a part in the political and religious aspects that this place gave rise to. The *stoa* and the *agora* thus were fundamental in the creation of different identities, much due to the fact that this primarily also was the main market-place and consequently also the main meeting-place of the city. However, Greek structures more exclusively connected to religion and cult, like the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera, seem to have been spared and even worshipped in Poseidonia-Paestum, by both the Lucanian population that arrived in the fourth century BC and the third century Roman colonists. At the Sanctuary of Santa Venera the experienced or unexperienced memories of a cult dedicated to a goddess of love may have contributed in making people feel attached to the place, especially due to her cross-cultural potential and embodiment of several aspects of divinity. Thus, it is in the Sanctuary of Santa Venera that that creation and enforcement of place attachment can be traced.

In this study I have also highlighted two different interpretations of the Lucanian period at Poseidonia-Paestum. The most common interpretation, brought forward by archaeologists like Pedley, Torelli, Greco, and Theodorescu and others, is that the Lucanians came and radically transformed the Poseidonian society by leaving their mark on the city and its territory. Crawford, however, brings forward another interpretation in which the Lucanians did not change the Poseidonian society very much at all. The buildings, in this study connected with the general area of the Greek *agora*, constructed during this period were Greek in origin, such as the *stoai* and the Asklepieion, and consequently reveal nothing of the nature of a specific

‘Lucanian’ influence on the city. On the other hand, there are some undisputable evidence of Lucanian activity in the archaeological records from Poseidonia, including the inscription dedicated to Zeus on a *stèle* located inside the *bouleuterion* and the changing in burial practices and funerary art. Concerning the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera it would seem that the Lucanian impact was next to none. No new building activity has been traced to this period and this provides a sharp contrast to the previous Greek, and later Roman, phases. However, the use of the sanctuary must have continued in the Lucanian era and evidence of this is provided by the votive gifts that are dated to this period. The nature of the Lucanian cult practice, especially, and in focus of this study, the cult dedicated to the Samnite goddess of love, Mefitis, was different from the cult dedicated to her Greek and Roman counterparts, Aphrodite and Venus. In other words, the cult needed different material features and thus it might leave blanks in the archaeological record.

Change in climate, natural disasters, such as the eruption of Vesuvius, in combination with changes in the infrastructure can help explain both increase and decrease in place attachment. For future studies on this topic it would be interesting to trace these changes both from a longer and wider perspective but also, when possible, as a single event. On this note I would also like to emphasize the fact that this is a study of some aspects of the nature of an ancient city contextualized in a specific theoretical framework. Thus, the conclusions that can be drawn from the results have to be viewed in light of the chosen material, theoretic and methodical approach and can therefore not be said to be representative for Poseidonia-Paestum as an entity, but rather a contribution to a larger ongoing discussion. In archaeological terms this has to be viewed as a point-pattern distribution, in which specific points in the city have been highlighted and studied in detail. However, it would be interesting to broaden the inquiry and add aspects of the *chora* as well as off-survey points, especially concerning the Lucanian activity which mainly is visible in the increasing rural activity, outside the urban centre. This would provide a more unitary environmental dynamic and the concept of place attachment could be more thoroughly contextualized in order to create a more complex and integrated narrative and perspective.

It is true that certain places seem to exist mainly because someone has written about them. Feeling attached to a place or experience displacement thus are themes that continue to fascinate us. To feel something for a place can be established consciously or unconsciously, and at many different levels. Place attachment thus transcends ethnic boundaries, geographical limits and even the concept of time.

## 5. Summary

In this study the psychological process of place attachment has been contextualized in the material remains connected with the area of the Greek *agora*, the Roman forum and the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera in Poseidonia-Paestum on the Italian peninsula. Due to the interdisciplinary potential of the concept of place attachment it has been concluded in the present study that this theoretical framework successfully can be applied to the material and places of focus at Poseidonia-Paestum. A close reading of previous research on place attachment in combination with the archaeological record has thus formed the basis for analysing the material brought forward in this study.

The analysis in the present study was divided into three parts. The first part aimed to introduce the reader to the physical place of Poseidonia-Paestum and by doing so set the scene of the study. Aspects of the notion of the *polis* and the Sybaritic heritage of Poseidonia-Paestum, as well as the geographical conditions and motives behind settlement founding were discussed. It was concluded that the notion of the *polis* and the identity that came with this notion was an important factor in the creation and reinforcement of place attachment. The connection between a place and the community at the Greek city of Poseidonia was emphasized and compared to that of Athens. Further, the important connection to the mother colony, Sybaris, was discussed and the proximity to this colony was concluded as being an important aspect of the self-image of the Poseidonians and thus contributed to the enhanced feeling of belonging in the city. An overall conclusion of the reasons for settlement founding was that the Greek, Lucanian and Roman settlers established themselves at Poseidonia-Paestum with different purposes but the mechanisms behind the process of getting attached to the place is similar.

In the second part of the analysis the area of the Greek *agora* and the later Roman forum was discussed in detail in order to trace aspects of attachment and displacement at these places. The architecture and the continuity of buildings constructed or demolished at the *agora* and forum through the history of Poseidonia-Paestum was analysed. It was concluded that some Greek concepts, like the *bouleuterion* and the *stoai* on the *agora* were removed and altered in favour of traditional Roman institutions and practices, especially those connected to aspects of the political life. On the other hand, buildings associated with religious practice appears to have been preserved and continued in use. It was further argued that this can be interpreted as aspects of place attachment and also disruption of place attachment. It was concluded that place attachment is not static, it changes according to the people who inhabit the place and provide it with meaning.

In the third and final part of the analysis the extramural Sanctuary of Santa Venera was analysed in detail and especially some of the votive gifts, depicting a naked standing goddess and a seated enthroned goddess, that was found at the place. The discussion aimed to trace a continuity of devotion to the one and the same goddess and thus fill in the gap between the devotion to Aphrodite in the Greek period and the worship of Venus in the Roman era. The Lucanian goddess Mefitis was suggested as the “missing link” and comparisons to the same sort of continuity at the Temple of Venus in Pompeii was made. It was concluded that the nature of the Lucanian cult to Mefitis was different from the cult dedicated to her Greek and Roman counterparts, Aphrodite and Venus. In other words, the cult needed different material features and therefore left blanks in the archaeological record.

This study has shown that it is possible to contextualize the theoretical framework of place attachment in an ancient material by pointing out the semiotic potency of the material remains from Poseidonia-Paestum. By taking this perspective new questions have been raised and interpretations have been brought forward and a deeper understanding of the attitudes and ideas that formed the basis of human actions and decisions in the ancient city of Poseidonia-Paestum has been reached.

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**Table**

PERIOD (BC) / BUILDING	GREEK c. 600-400	LUCANIAN c. 400-273	ROMAN c. 273 →	OTHER
<b>Heraion on the Sele River</b>	Votives c. 600, altar c. 580, treasury c. 570-560, temple c. 500.	Fire damaged the temple and the treasury c. 400. Building at the place indicates religious continuity.	Renewed damage and decline.	Damaged by earthquake in first century AD and victim to the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius AD 79.
<b>Temple of Hera I</b>	Constructed sometime in the sixth century.	Roof reparations of terracottas, continued use.	Continued use.	
<b><i>Heroon</i></b>	Built and closed c. 510-500.	No building activity, but continued use.	Protective wall constructed shortly after 273.	
<b>Temple of Athena</b>	Constructed c. 500 (profile of the capitals).	Continued use.	Continued use.	Christian church in the sixth century AD.
<b>Temple of Hera II</b>	Constructed c. 470-460.	Continued use.	Continued use.	
<b>Greek <i>agora</i></b>	Constructed during the fifth century.	Some building activity, continued use.	Abandoned in the third century, substituted for the forum.	
<b><i>Bouleuterion/ekklesiasterion</i></b>	Constructed in the first half of the fifth century.	Stele with Oscan inscription, end of fourth century.	Filled in 273 or c. 200? Stele with inscription preserved.	
<b><i>Stoai</i></b>		Constructed in the fourth century.	Partly demolished in construction of the forum.	
<b>Sanctuary of Santa Venera</b>	Oikos with “porch”, Rectangular hall and South building constructed in the fifth century.	No building activity, but continued use.	Portico in front of Rectangular hall, the West wing, cistern, new floors and repair of the fifth-century structures.	Piscine, “fishpond”, constructed in the early first century AD. Medieval activity on the site.
<b>Asklepieion</b>		Constructed 350-300.	Continued use during the Roman period.	
<b>Roman forum</b>			Planned and installed in the third century.	
<b><i>Comitium</i></b>			Constructed on south side of forum shortly after 273.	
<b><i>Curia</i></b>			Constructed on south side of forum (behind <i>comitium</i> ) shortly after 273.	

<i>Macellum</i>			Constructed on south side of forum second or third centuries AD.	
<i>Basilica</i>			Constructed on south side of forum second or third centuries AD.	
<b>Amphitheatre</b>			Construction began in the first century.	The structure was enlarged with another bank of seats in the first century AD.

**Table. 1.** Table over selected buildings and their different phases of construction/continuity/destruction in Poseidonia-Paestum.

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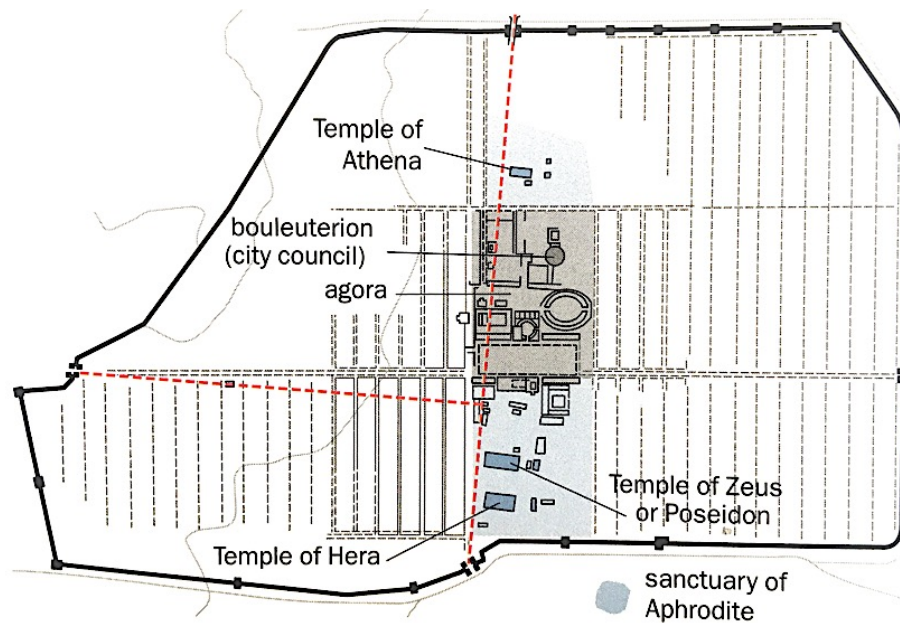
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## Illustrations



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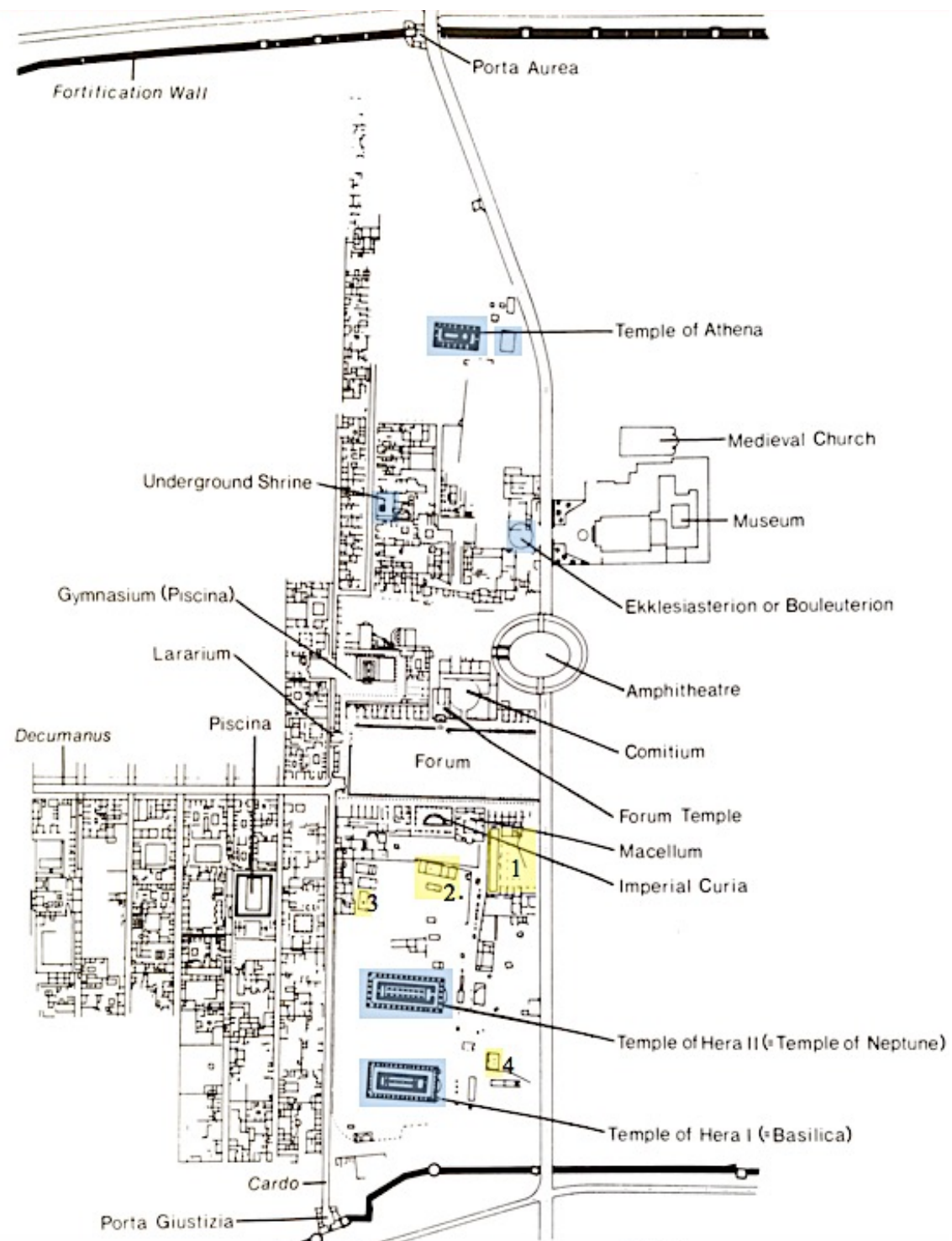


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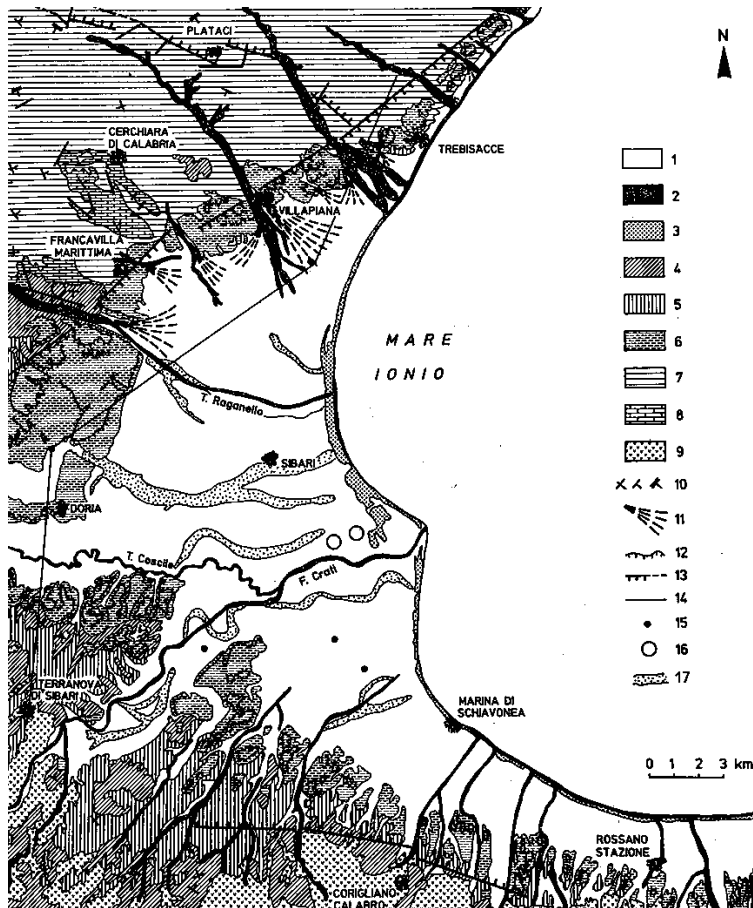


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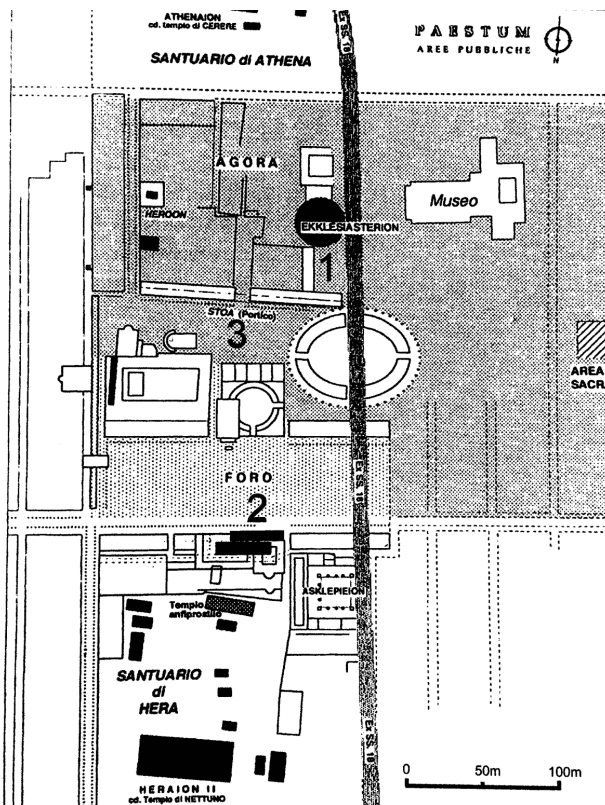
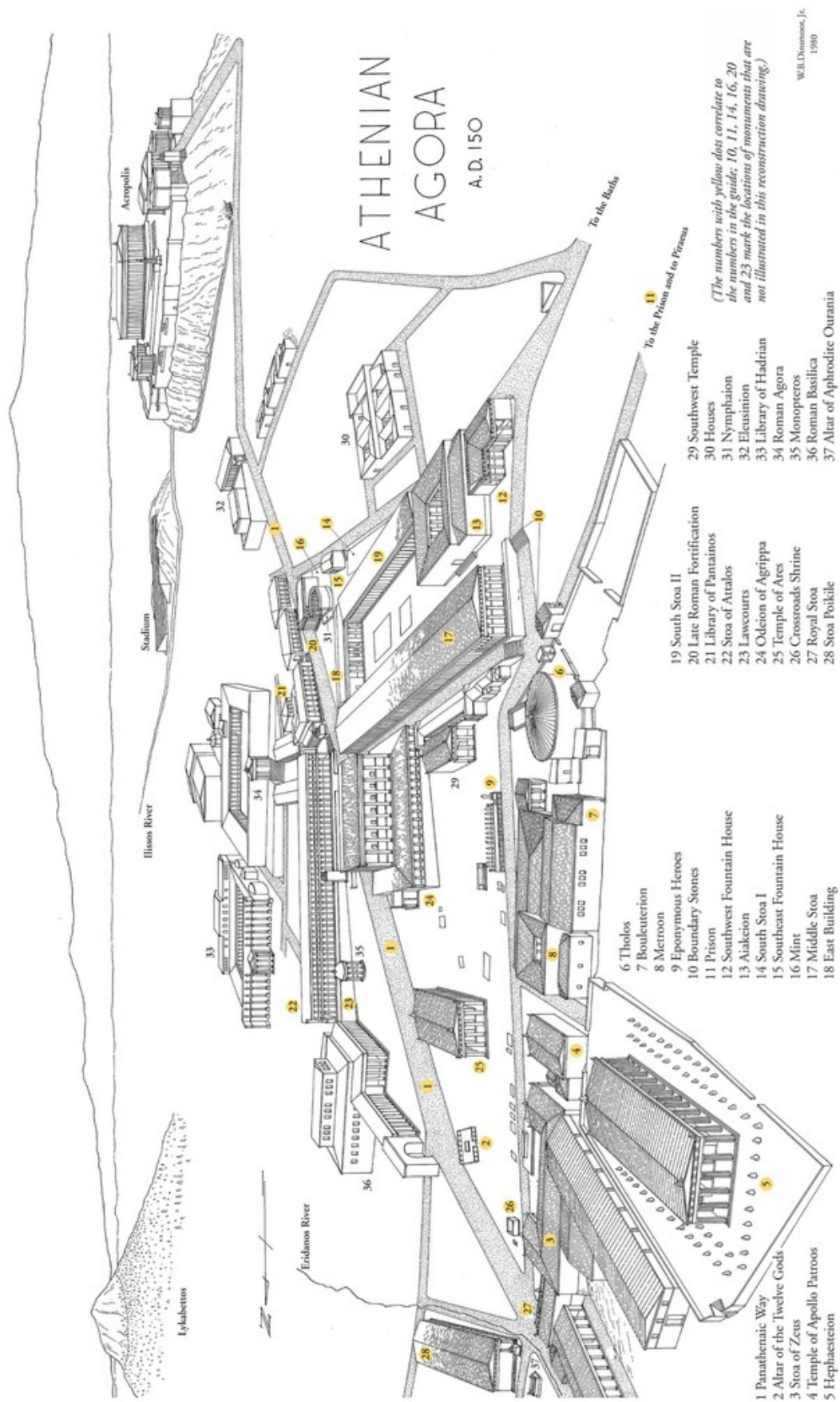


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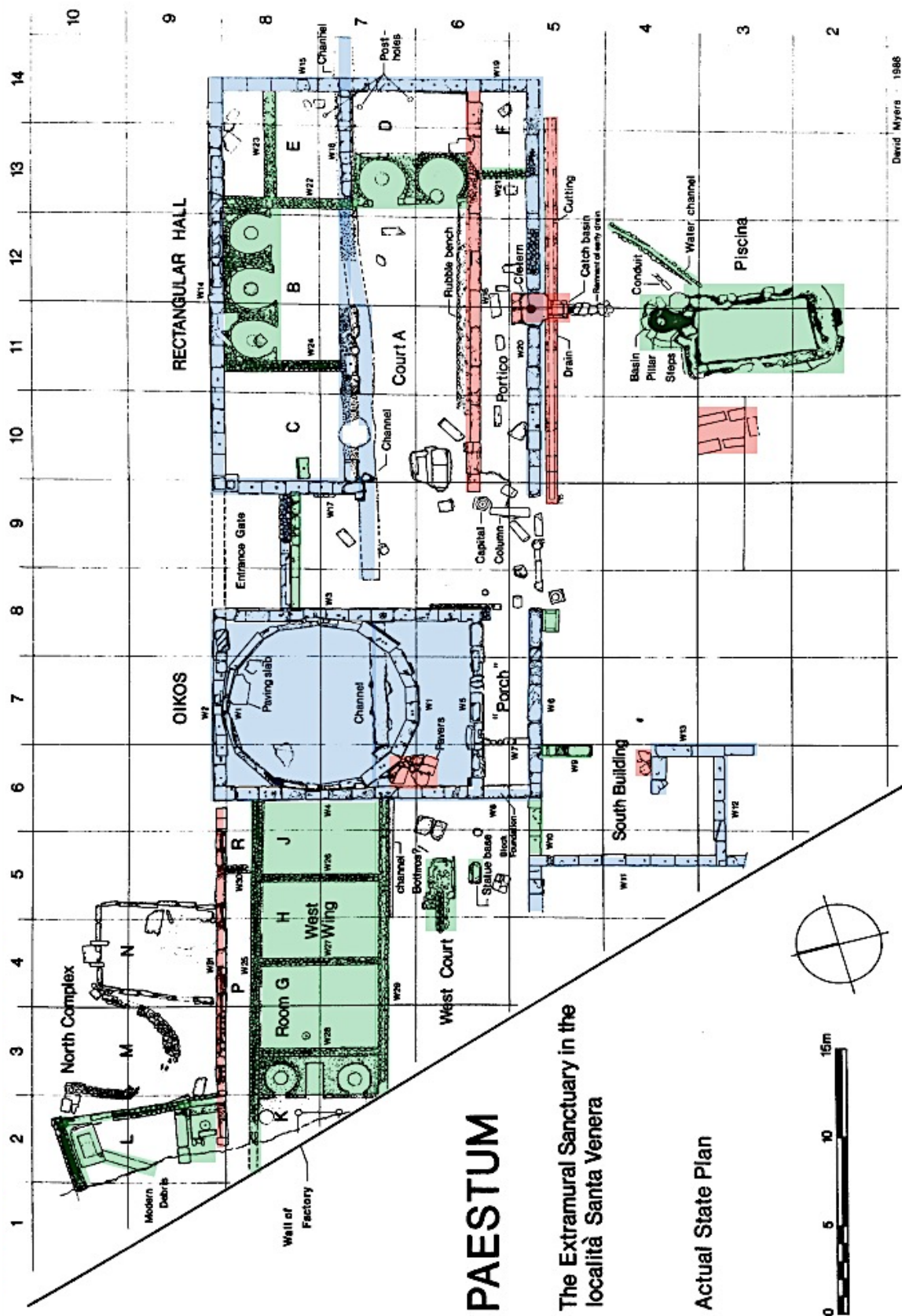


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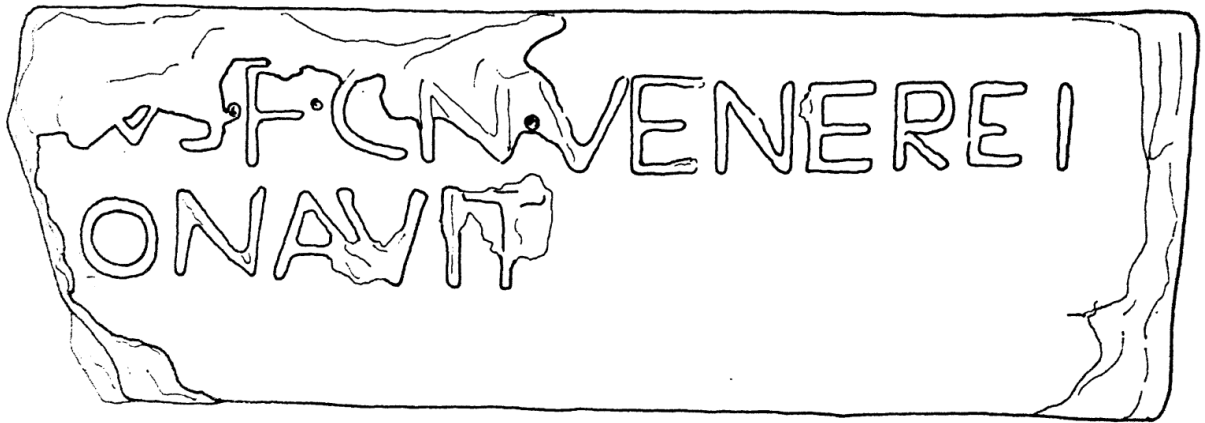
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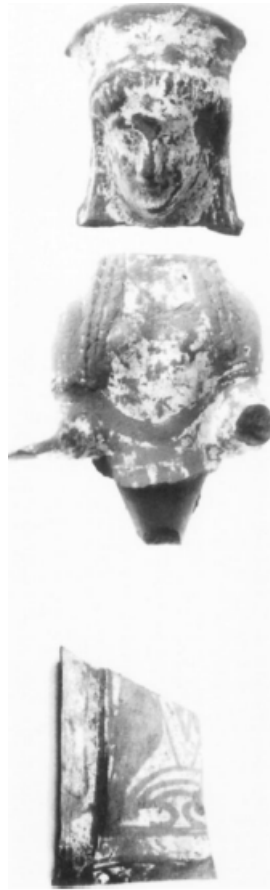
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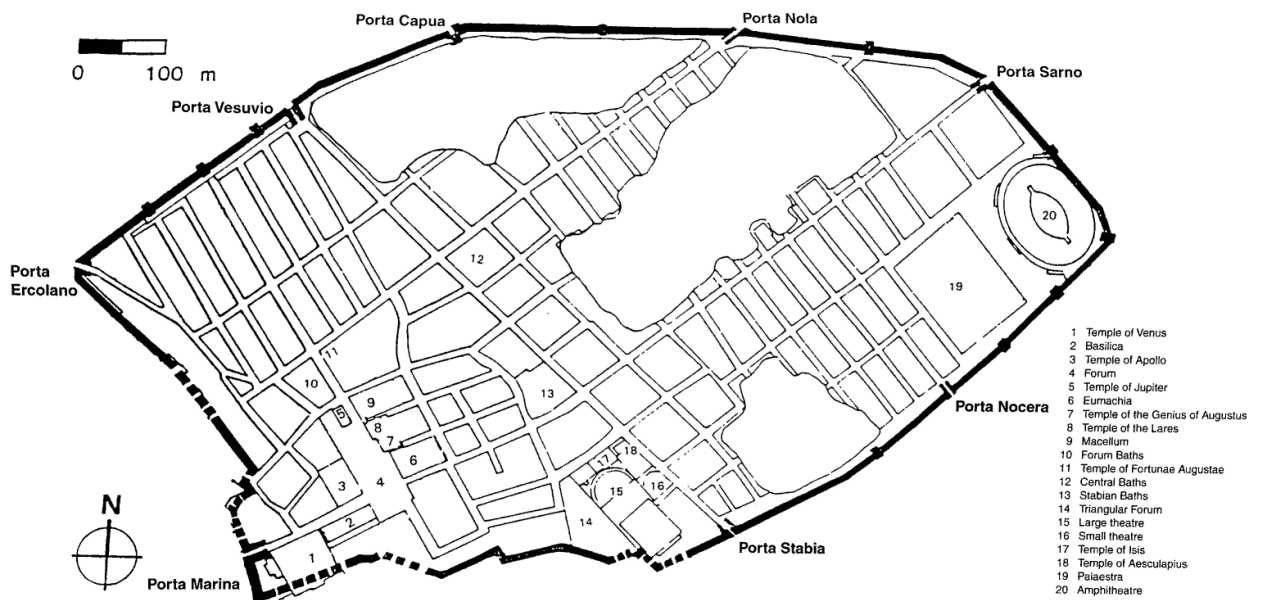
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