

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE GREEKS IN LUCANIAN-OCCUPIED PAESTUM? MULTICULTURALISM IN SOUTHERN ITALY

JOHN W. WONDER

IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C., Poseidonia, ancient colony of wealthy Sybaris, was the preeminent Greek city on the Tyrrhenian littoral. By ca 450 B.C. Poseidonia could boast, among her many city structures, three impressive temples, a *bouleuterion* in the agora, and the imposing sanctuary at Foce del Sele. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, this flourishing Greek city-state suffered a major cultural transformation: the Lucanians invaded the Sele plain, occupied the city, and overwhelmed the *chora*.¹ The Lucanian occupation of Poseidonia, or Paestum as the city came to be known,² induced a major demographic change as well as the creation of a Lucanian ruling class. Burial customs were substantially altered,³ and archaeological evidence indicates that the population level in Paestum and its territory rose to an extent unparalleled in the earlier Greek or later Roman periods of the city.⁴

While most studies of fourth-century Paestum have focused on Lucanian cultural material (such as the splendid tomb paintings), little or nothing has been said concerning the fate of the Greek population which was overwhelmed by the

¹This invasion was part of a larger migration of Oscan-speaking tribes from central Italy who moved into modern Campania and Basilicata. Earlier, in 423, Oscan-speaking invaders of Samnite stock had captured Capua. About two years later they conquered Cumae (Livy 4.37.1; 4.44.12; Diod. 12.76.4). In 433 Lucanians are cited among the enemies who threatened Thurii and fought against Cleandridas (Polyaenus 2.10.2). Sometime around 390 these people occupied the Greek city of Laos (Diod. 14.101). The date of the Lucanian takeover of Poseidonia, the end of the fifth century, can be deduced from evidence from the tombs around the city (see Pontrandolfo 1979: 32–36) and destruction layers at Foce del Sele (see Montuoro 1964: 205; 1965–66: 36). For a discussion of the date, see also Greco 1992: 249. For a discussion of Lucanian Poseidonia, see Ampolo, Bottini, and Guzzo 1988: 356–360, 287–302. For an excellent account of Paestum which contains a chapter on Lucanian Paestum, see Pedley 1990.

²Although some modern scholars suggest that the name was changed from Poseidonia to Paestum with the founding of the Roman colony, numismatic studies indicate that the change was earlier. Paestan coins have been found in the city's tombs with the legend "Paistano" inscribed in place of "Poseidonia." An examination of the objects in these tombs indicates that the graves are to be dated to the end of the fourth century. The city became a Roman colony in 273 B.C. See Pontrandolfo 1982–83; Prisco 1980–81.

³There is a marked tendency to accumulate goods and objects of luxury. A distinction is now made as to the type of vases and other objects deposited in male or female tombs. Tombs with a pitched roof and, later, chamber tombs appear; many of the wealthy tombs contain wall paintings. Arms (normally of Oscan type such as the three-disk breastplate) along with funeral paintings of noble warriors and battles demonstrate the importance of the warrior ethic among the elite elements of fourth-century society. See Pontrandolfo 1979; 1982: 69–165; Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1982; Rouveret 1975; Bottini and Greco 1974–75; Pontrandolfo, Rouveret, and Cipriani 1998.

⁴On the population level in the *chora*, see Greco 1979; Avagliano and Cipriani 1987.

conquering Lucanians. In fact, much work still needs to be done on the subject of relationships between the Italic peoples and the Greeks of Magna Graecia in the fourth and third centuries B.C.

As will be shown below, a close look at the archaeological evidence suggests that Greeks were an important element in Paestum's fourth-century society and a major part of Paestum's culture.⁵ It appears that they lived in harmony with the occupiers and had a symbiotic relationship with both the Lucanian population and the Lucanian rulers. An analysis of the archaeological evidence below suggests that many of the Greeks were artisans living among a Lucanian population that was becoming increasingly hellenized. Some Greeks, as will be suggested, merged with the Lucanian elite. During the third quarter of the fourth century Alexander the Molossian and his armies arrived at Paestum. Most scholars assume that Alexander captured Paestum and engendered an interim Greek administration. As will be discussed below, however, the Epirot king probably did not conquer Paestum but allied himself with the hellenized city and its leaders to repel Paestum's enemies, tribes from the interior. These events further support the proposition that the relationship between the Greek and Lucanian populations in Paestum was cooperative and congenial.

ARISTOXENUS OF TARENTUM

A passage by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipno.* 14.632), is sometimes cited by scholars to demonstrate changes in both customs (*ἐπιτήδευμα*) and speech (*φωνή*) at Paestum during this time:⁶

διόπερ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς ὅμοιον, φησί, ποιούμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλῆσιν οὐδὲν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγενοῖσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἄγειν δὲ μίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ἧι συνιόντες ἀναμιμνήσκονται τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων καὶ ἀπολοφουράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται.

Some scholars citing Aristoxenus' passage note that, although Aristoxenus mentions the barbarization of Paestum's inhabitants as well as changes in speech and culture, fourth-century archaeological evidence shows a strong degree of hellenization and a flourishing culture. These scholars, therefore, question Aristoxenus' assessment of the city's society.⁷ Nevertheless, changes in the popula-

⁵This agrees with Mario Torelli's (1987a) suggestion that the Greeks "continuano a rappresentare l'elemento portatore di cultura della città" during the fourth century.

⁶The date of this passage has been debated and is difficult to ascertain with certainty; nevertheless, most scholars would place the writing of Aristoxenus' *Σύμμικτα Συμπότικα* in the second half of the fourth or possibly the very early third century B.C. For a cogent analysis of the passage, see Fraschetti 1981, as well as Carratelli 1971.

⁷See, for example, Montuoro 1973: 15.

tion's culture and speech (barbarized according to the Greek point of view) are intelligible in light of the fourth-century conquest, occupation, and large influx of indigenous people into Paestum and its *chora*. An Oscan inscription discovered *in situ* in Paestum's council house dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. indicates that Oscan was in use.⁸ In fact, the influx of a large Oscan-speaking population, the above cited inscription, the fact that Oscan personal names were used,⁹ as well as Aristoxenus' fragment strongly suggests that Oscan was a major language spoken in Paestum at this time. An analogy can be made with Campania, where the Oscan-speaking Campani conquered Greek or hellenized cities in the second half of the fifth century. Oscan inscriptions and Oscan titles (such as *meddix tuticus*) indicate that Oscan became a major language in cities such as Capua, Pompeii, and Herculaneum.¹⁰

While archaeological evidence at Paestum also indicates a strong degree of hellenization,¹¹ this hellenization was no doubt due to the influence of a Greek population that continued to live in Lucanian-occupied Paestum. In fact, Aristoxenus' fragment implies that Greeks were still living in the city at the time he wrote; the people that met to celebrate the Greek festival and to recall those ancient words and customs (in the above cited passage by Aristoxenus) would have been Greeks, not Lucanians.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR A GREEK POPULATION IN PAESTUM

Ceramic evidence is the most visible sign of a Greek presence in Lucanian Paestum of the fourth and early third centuries B.C. A strong Greek tradition is found throughout the city's red-figure vase painting. The subjects of the decoration are taken from Greek mythological and tragic themes (e.g., Dionysiac scenes, Orestes at Delphi, Heracles, Odysseus and the Sirens), and the technique is similar to known Greek vase painting (e.g., adding yellow or white paint to mark relief or show brightness). Greek inscriptions label figures on vases, and two artists sign their names in Greek followed by $\xi\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon$.¹² These two ceramists (dated to about the middle of the fourth century) sign as Asteas and Python. They were certainly Greeks; Python is a common Greek name, and the name Asteas is also attested among the Greeks.¹³

⁸ See Greco 1981; Greco and Theodorescu 1983: 137–138 and fig. 72. The stele was found in the council house located in the center of town.

⁹ For example, Dossennus (whose name is found on fourth-century Paestan coins) and Staius (whose name is mentioned on the above cited inscription from the council house). For the name Dossennus on Paestan coinage, see Montuoro 1958; 1973: 15–16. Dossennus is also a typical character in the Italic Atellan plays.

¹⁰ See Frederiksen 1984: 134–148; Vetter 1953: 8–139.

¹¹ See below for examples, esp. 42–47.

¹² See Trendall 1987: 54–174; Rouveret 1975: 601.

¹³ For specific examples of Greeks with these names, see Fraser and Matthews 1987–2000. For instance, an Asteas is cited on an ancient Greek inscription from Delos dated to the fourth century

Some scholars have noticed a very close connection between early Paestan red-figure vases and Sicilian wares, concluding that the forerunners of Paestan pottery are found among the potters and painters of Sicily (such as the Dice or Prado/Fienga Painters) ca 380–360. Trendall (1987: 18–56), in fact, deduces that Paestan red-figure began as a result of migration from Sicily, possibly in association with the political disturbances that ensued after the death of Dionysius I in 367. The proveniences of early Sicilian forerunners of Paestan pottery demonstrate a spread from Sicily to Calabria and up to Paestum in this period. If Trendall's hypothesis is correct, the Lucanian inhabitants of Paestum must have created an atmosphere that accepted Greek immigrants.¹⁴

There are indications that Greek artists working in other media lived in Lucanian-occupied Paestum. Evidence can be found of Greeks among the makers of Paestan statuettes.¹⁵ Among the material found in the fill of the council building in the agora are terracotta molds of statuettes with Greek letters incised on the outer surface before firing.¹⁶ In one case the ending . . . ξίδος can clearly be read, suggesting the Greek genitive of a personal name. As Cipriani has noted, the incising of Greek personal names and monograms on the back of molds is documented for Greek Italiote cities. Fourth-century molds have been found at Taras and its vicinity with names or monograms on the back.¹⁷ A large number of molds, many with such inscriptions and dated to the fourth and third centuries, have also been found at Heraclea. The molds represent most of the forms of statuettes found in the city of this time period.¹⁸

At fourth-century Paestum, therefore, it appears that artisans of statuettes were placing their name or monogram on the back of their molds in Greek and in the same manner as Greek artists in Taras and Heraclea. In at least one case the evidence is complete enough to indicate with reasonable certainty a Greek personal name. Some of these Greek craftsmen may have migrated from Italiote cities; others would have been descendants of Greeks under the previous administration in Paestum.

Greek artisans were also very possibly engraving dies for coins when Paestum's production resumed under Lucanian occupation. Coining at Paestum ceased

b.c. Two are known from Athens from the Hellenistic period. Python is very common, and the name is found in the Greek world from Archaic through Hellenistic times.

¹⁴The Dionysii's control of the Greek cities from Rhegium to Thurii (Diod. 14.103–108) must have discouraged many Greeks fleeing Sicily from settling there; they may have migrated to places elsewhere such as Paestum. Later, by the time Timoleon gained control (ca 344), the situation in Syracuse and Sicily had worsened; an immense number of citizens had already fled the island (Plut. *Tim.* 1–2, 22–24, 35).

¹⁵Greco and Theodorescu 1983: 124, 133–134, figs. 81 and 82.

¹⁶Evidence indicates that the council building was demolished and filled in at the time of the Roman colonization. The material in the fill is stylistically dated to the second half of the fourth and the first part of the third century. See Greco and Theodorescu 1983: 34–49, 87–138.

¹⁷See Neutsch 1961: 163 and figs. 64 and 68.

¹⁸Adamesteanu 1970: 485, figs. 85 and 86.

ca 400, an interruption attributable to the Lucanian conquest.¹⁹ When issues recommence, the styles of coins show a close continuity with the earlier styles. Many of the images and legends are similar (e.g., Poseidon striding with a trident on the obverse and a bull on the reverse with the legend "Poseidonia"). Oscan Campania, just to the north, may offer an analogy: cities in Campania, which had earlier been invaded by Oscan-speaking people, appear to have commissioned Greek artists to engrave dies once they adopted the custom of coinage.²⁰ In fact, the coinage of the Sabellian communities of Nola and Hyria were ostensibly struck in Naples itself, where there were no doubt many Greek artists.

An examination of fourth-century Paestan coinage, furthermore, supports our hypothesis of the hellenization of the city's inhabitants in general. The issues reflect the continuation of Greek economic and cultural practices,²¹ economic prosperity in fourth-century Paestum, and certainly trade with Greek cities elsewhere. In fact, the many coins from the city of Velia found in fourth-century Paestum demonstrate a strong trade connection with this Greek city to the south.²²

It is also possible that Greek artisans were manufacturing jewelry at Paestum. Guzzo (1984: 217–218) notes the large concentration of silver *fibulae* with a bent bow ("a doppia gobba") and suggests that *fibulae* with a double bow were normally made in Greek cities for the Italian market but that "at Poseidonia the technical knowledge of jewelry production of the Italiote Greek population was maintained even after the Lucanian conquest of the city." Guzzo's suggestion correlates with the ideas presented above that Greeks were the engravers of Paestum's coins when minting recommenced under Lucanian occupation.

Greek technicians possibly worked on the massive fourth-century walls of Paestum. The extant fortification walls stand on the edge of a travertine platform with a circumference of almost five kilometers and curtains from five to seven meters thick. Individual building phases have been identified, although the dates of some of the phases are under debate. Some scholars suggest that a large part of the city's defensive structure was built or rebuilt in the fourth century, during the Lucanian period. Other building phases include a possible Greek phase (ca 600–400) and later Roman phases.²³

¹⁹The dates of the various fifth- and fourth-century issues of Paestan coinage have been debated; however, the exact dates do not affect the above proposition. See Prisco (1980–81), who suggests that coinage resumed ca 350. Mensitieri (1987) believes that the break in coinage production was much shorter.

²⁰Rutter 1979: 95–100.

²¹As Mensitieri (1987: 171) mentions, the designs and divinities pictured on the coins show "la volontà di sottolineare una continuità culturale con il periodo greco."

²²See Mensitieri 1987: 173–183.

²³The walls are now under study and new evidence will no doubt be forthcoming. Recently, Blum (1987) examined the evidence for the different building phases. Earlier, a major analysis of the walls of Paestum was completed by Schläger (1962; 1964; 1965). Krischen (1941: 19–24) has a section on

Much of the construction technique for the building phase erected during the fourth century is the same technique as that of Greek fortification walls. Paestum's walls were built using casement or compartment wall construction, which consisted of an inner and outer face with internal cross walls. The inner chambers, formed by the cross walls, were filled with rubble.²⁴ The faces were constructed of courses of ashlar limestone stretchers of almost similar height laid dry.²⁵

GREEKS AFFILIATED WITH THE PAESTAN ELITE

An interesting inscription on a black-glazed patera suggests that some Greeks had even merged with the Paestan elite. The patera was found in tomb 11 of the urban cemetery Andriuolo-Laghetto²⁶ in a grave dated to the second half of the fourth century.²⁷ Two words are clearly read scratched on the inside of the patera: ΟΨΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ. Greco suggests that ὀψοφόρος be rendered as a substantive and the inscription read "I am the food-carrying dish of Dionysius," Dionysius being the owner of the vessel.²⁸ Further analysis, however, including examination of information from the tomb, allows the following hypothesis.

The wealth of the deceased is indicated by the chamber tomb with painted walls as well as by the quantity of vases (many red-figure) which were deposited. The painting on the east wall is typical of the triumphant aristocratic Lucanian warrior returning from battle (badly preserved but nonetheless easily seen); he faces a woman pouring a libation and is followed by a man who is certainly his attendant. On the other three panels the paintings of pomegranates and garlands represent possible signs of victory and funeral offerings.²⁹ The tomb contents and paintings constitute a typical grave of the Lucanian upper class at Paestum.

The Greek words on the patera found in the tomb were scratched on the vessel after firing; they were not painted and probably were not the writing of the patera's manufacturer but rather the work of its owner.³⁰ The patera was the

the walls with some good plates but is dated. Further discussion of specific points can be found in Lawrence 1979; Winter 1971; Garlan 1974.

²⁴ Pottery in the fill dates these sections to the fourth century.

²⁵ In mainland Greece walls were built with this technique by at least the fifth century. See Lawrence 1979: 214–215; Winter 1971: 135. For a discussion of fourth-century compartment walls at Athens, see Thompson and Scranton 1943.

²⁶ Greco 1980.

²⁷ Greco (1980) dates the contents of the tomb to the last thirty years of the fourth century. Corrigan (1979: 365–372, 575–576), who consulted Pontrandolfo, mentions the paintings in the tomb and dates them to ca 340.

²⁸ Greco is probably right in this matter. Ω is a common genitive ending, and the inscription on an object with the object in the nominative and the owner in the genitive is frequently found. Greco says little else except to mention that the patera has a bearing on the problem of the language at Paestum.

²⁹ Corrigan 1979: 365–372, 575–576.

³⁰ One might raise the possibility that the vase did not originally belong to the deceased but was given to him as a gift or taken by him as booty with the name already scratched on it. It is difficult to

favorite food-carrying dish of the deceased. If, as is likely, the deceased wrote the inscription, then he was a wealthy man who portrayed himself as a traditional Lucanian mounted aristocrat and was buried with the customary funeral rites of the Lucanian elite, but he used a Greek name and, at least at times, wrote in the Greek language.³¹ He was very possibly from a family of both Greeks and Lucanians. Ancient writers mention that many of the Oscans who conquered and occupied Campanian towns just to the north of Paestum intermarried with the Greek inhabitants.³² At Cumae, for example, where Oscan-speaking Campani occupied the city after taking it by force of arms (421 or 420 B.C.), the Oscan conquerors eventually married many of the Greek inhabitants.³³

CONTINUATION OF GREEK CULTS DURING THE LUCANIAN PERIOD

Although Paestum was occupied throughout the course of the fourth century by a large Lucanian population, many of the Greek cults seem to have continued. The persistence of this religious activity in the city and major points in the *chora* not only demonstrates the great degree of hellenization among the Lucanian inhabitants but lends further support for the presence of an influential Greek population who would have fostered Greek cults and participated in the activities. There is little sign of innovation in the use of sanctuaries in the center of the fourth-century city, and votive offerings generally continue the typologies of the Greek era.³⁴ For example, an assemblage of terracotta votives testify to the existence of a cult of Apollo in the center of the city. The date for the votives extends from the Archaic period into and during the Lucanian era.³⁵ Outside the south gate, in the large extramural sanctuary of Santa Venera, dedications demonstrate a continuity in the worship of the goddess from Greek into Lucanian and Roman times. Remains indicate that during the fourth century this sanctuary was the center of considerable religious activity.³⁶

Similar evidence exists for areas in Paestum's *chora*. In Agropoli, a seaside town on the south border of the *chora*, there is evidence for a cult of Athena in the fourth century B.C.³⁷ At the rural sanctuary of Albanella, on the eastern edge of Paestum's *chora*, reconstruction of the physical remains indicates that the sanctuary was dedicated to the worship of Demeter. The finds are dated from the

believe, however, that a plain black-glazed pot would be taken as booty or given as a gift. Moreover, Greco states that the shape of the vase is characteristic of Paestan production. There are two holes on the edge which would have been used for hanging the vessel (possibly in the tomb and/or kitchen).

³¹ As noted earlier (above, 41–42) the Oscan language and Oscan names were used.

³² Dion. Hal. 15.6.41.

³³ See Strabo (5.4.4), who also mentions that in his day there were still many traces of Greek customs at Cumae. See also Diod. 12.76.4; Livy 4.44.12.

³⁴ Ardovino 1986: 121–122; Ghinatti 1975: 181–185.

³⁵ See Cipriani 1987b.

³⁶ Pedley 1990: 129–162; 1987; Torelli 1987b.

³⁷ See Fiammenghi 1985; 1987.

second quarter of the fifth century to the end of the fourth, and evidence indicates that rites did not change after the Lucanian conquest. In fact, archaeological remains (including the type of statuettes typically dedicated to Demeter and Kore) testify to increased activity at this sanctuary during the middle decades of the fourth century.³⁸ At Foce del Sele, a large sanctuary to Hera on the north border of the *chora*, religious and building activity (including two *stoai*) continued throughout the Lucanian period. Archaeological remains verify that this was a period of intense activity at the Heraeum. Sections of a road have been discovered which ran between Foce del Sele and the city. Ceramic evidence found in the road material dates the construction of the road to the middle of the fourth century B.C., confirming the continued importance of this sanctuary to Hera in the Lucanian period.³⁹

Building activity and architectural restoration demonstrate the same trend. A new temple was constructed just north of the "Temple of Neptune" or Hera II during the fourth century B.C. The temple is prostyle on each of its short sides, and the remains indicate a style of architecture that is typically Greek. The model for the fourth-century temple is perhaps the prostyle Temple of Athena, built ca 500 B.C.⁴⁰ In fact, excavations at the site of the Temple to Athena itself have shown that substantial repair was done to the cornices and pediments in the first part of the Lucanian period. Mertens (1987: 562–564) suggests that the destruction to the top of the temple was due to the invasion of the Lucanians themselves a few years earlier. The rebuilding of the upper portions of the Athenaeum conformed to the earlier Greek forms. Thus, there were those in Paestum who wanted the cult site dedicated to Athena to continue in the same way as it had before and the temple of the goddess to exhibit the same architectural features that had existed before the Lucanian period.

ALEXANDER THE MOLOSSIAN

In the third quarter of the fourth century (probably 332 or 331 B.C.), Alexander the Molossian and his armies arrived at Paestum. Alexander (uncle, brother-in-law, and friend of Alexander the Great), who had come with his armies to southern Italy at the request of Taras, created an alliance of Greek city-states and Italic peoples. This alliance eventually included many of the cities and peoples from Taras to Bruttium. The conception is universally held among scholars that Alexander the Molossian conquered the city of Paestum and that a Greek administration briefly ruled the city.⁴¹ Any Greek rule, however, would have

³⁸ Cipriani 1987a; 1989: 27–28, 139–159; Ardivino 1986: 97–98, 131.

³⁹ Sciarelli, de la Genière, and Greco 1987; Montuoro 1964.

⁴⁰ See Mertens 1987: 562–564.

⁴¹ Bottini (Ampolo, Bottini, and Guzzo 1988: 358), for example, mentions the "conquista della città (Paestum) da parte di Alessandro il Molosso." Giannelli (1969: 17) discusses "la conquista di Paestum" by Alexander. Pedley (1990: 108–109) mentions a "brief non-Lucanian interlude" when

been temporary. There is no breach in the archaeological record, and evidence indicates that a Lucanian elite continued to be dominant in the last quarter of the fourth and the early third centuries. There is a strong possibility, however, along with the arguments and indications presented below, that Alexander did not actually conquer Paestum, that the Paestan elite were not removed from power, and that many among the upper class (as well as in the Greek population) welcomed Alexander's move north to defend a city that had become increasingly hellenized against new pressures from the interior.

In the first place, the ancient literary sources do not state that Alexander conquered Paestum. One would think that such an important city as Paestum would have been noted in the sources if it had been captured by the king. Moreover, Alexander had not acquired his sphere of influence and control solely by conquest; he also had contracted agreements with both Greek and Italic leaders. One can find examples among the Italic rulers of the Peucetians (who appear to have fought on his side in his operations at Heraclea) and the Italic leaders of Brundisium.⁴²

A look at the archaeological record and the events at this time explains why the leaders of Paestum might have sought help from this successful military leader and his experienced army. There is evidence for disturbance and movements in interior Lucania in the second and third quarters of the fourth century, and these phenomena, as will be maintained below, led to movements against the cities in western Lucania. Many settlements around Melfi (an Italic site in the interior of modern Basilicata), for example, show signs of abandonment and subsequent new settlement with increased population at this time. There are new settlements in areas of the interior never before occupied. A large expansion and major changes are attested at Serra di Vaglio; the street axes and building orientations of the city are rearranged. Pontrandolfo (1982: 153, 163–164) and other scholars suggest that at this time there were movements of people from the north (the new graves show similarities with Samnite areas) into Lucania “alla ricerca di spazi da occupare” (sometimes violently and other times by infiltration), creating an area of constant changes and of “notevole instabilità politica.”

The pressure in the interior had a major impact on the Greek cities of the Ionian coast and seems to have led to incursions into western Lucania: the walls at Eboli (Montedoro), just to the north of Paestum, are dated to the second half of the fourth century, suggesting that inhabitants felt threatened at this time.⁴³

Alexander arrived and that after he died “the city once again fell under the control of the Lucanians.” Trendall (1987: 2–3) states that Paestum was briefly in “Greek hands” under Alexander.

⁴²Justin 12.2.6–12. De la Genière (1989) suggests that Alexander often negotiated friendly agreements with local leaders (particularly on his route up to Paestum, which she suggests was along the Agri River): “l’objectif du Molosse en effet était une conquête stable et non pas une domination éphémère.”

⁴³Cipriani 1990: 121.

Events at Moio, a community on the edge of Velia's *chora*, just to the south of Paestum, also fit into the pattern discussed above. There are destruction layers dated to the second half of the fourth century and rebuilding towards the end of the century.⁴⁴ In fact, evidence suggests that the fourth-century inhabitants of Paestum rebuilt their walls at this time.⁴⁵

Important clues from the tomb paintings provide further evidence for the events proposed above. A close examination of Paestan tomb paintings dated to the second half of the century indicates that Paestum's enemies were usually Lucanians or other Italic peoples. Gladiators, as prisoners of war, are often depicted on the paintings in scenes that scholars propose represent the actual funeral events for the deceased. The dress and armor worn by the prisoners of war (Paestum's enemies) are the same as those used by Lucanians and other Oscan peoples: large bronze belts, three-disc breastplates, and conical Lucanian shields.⁴⁶ Furthermore, two battle scenes are known among the tomb paintings at Andriuolo, a cemetery just outside the north gate of Paestum (tombs 104 and 114 dated ca 330 and ca 325–300). Corrigan (1979: 362) notes that in both paintings the dress of the combatants of each army indicates that none were Greek but that both sides were Italic.

Thus, it appears that the inhabitants of Paestum in the second half of the fourth century were frequently fighting other Lucanian or Italic peoples and were under pressure from Lucanians of the interior. The hellenized leaders of Paestum therefore would have welcomed Alexander's expedition north and his moves against the Lucanians and Samnites of the hinterland. An analogy might be made with Oscan Campania. The Oscan rulers of hellenized Capua, also a city of mixed population, appealed to Rome (with whom Alexander made an alliance) for help when the city was threatened (ca 343). The new invaders were former kinsmen (Samnites) of both the Capuan rulers and much of the population.⁴⁷ Like the *chora* of Paestum, Capua (and Campania in general) was fertile, well populated, and productive. The new movement of Samnites (they had occupied the Tifata Mountains to the east of Capua) was certainly a threat to the landowning inhabitants and to those in power.⁴⁸ As a result, the rulers of Capua welcomed Roman help to counter the threat from invading forces from the interior.

⁴⁴ Greco and Schnapp 1983.

⁴⁵ As mentioned (above, n. 23), the walls of Paestum are under study. Blum suggests that the ceramic evidence indicates a date of the second half of the fourth century for a major phase of the walls built during the Lucanian period. She offers the suggestion that the walls of Paestum were constructed because of the hostility of the Greeks against the Lucanians (Blum 1987: 586). I am maintaining that threats to this hellenized city from the interior provided the impetus for the construction.

⁴⁶ Corrigan 1979: 203–205.

⁴⁷ Livy 7.29.4–7.

⁴⁸ See Frederiksen 1984: 180–206.

As further evidence, Alexander's movements in the area of Paestum fit into the pattern and events proposed above: after he arrived at Paestum, the Molossian marched up country from the city and defeated a combined force of Lucanians and Samnites. He seems to have defended the city from hostile forces moving out of the interior. As Livy (8.17) states:

Ceterum Samnites bellum Alexandri Epirensis in Lucanos traxit; qui duo populi adversus regem escensionem a Paesto facientem signis conlatis pugnaverunt. Eo certamine superior Alexander, incertum qua fide culturus, si perinde cetera processissent, pacem cum Romanis fecit.

Livy indicates that Alexander was marching up country from Paestum (making an *escensio*) when he encountered the combined force of Lucanians and Samnites. The country east of Paestum becomes mountainous as one passes the Calore River and Mt. Pruno, but mountains do not exist to the north of Paestum and those on the south face the Greek territory of Velia. Mountains are conspicuously rendered in the battle painting of tomb 114, a battle between Paestan forces and an Italic enemy, and it is possible that the mountainous regions to the east of Paestum, the major route to the interior, were an area of frequent conflict at this time. Alexander, however, could not stay long in Paestum. Far to the south hostile forces of Bruttians and Lucanians once more took up arms and the king was compelled to march away and confront them. After a dramatic and heroic battle in Bruttium, Alexander was killed near Pandosia in 331 or 330.⁴⁹

It is in the third quarter of the fourth century that Apulian-style vases are found at Paestum. They might be taken for Apulian imports if not made of the typical Paestan clay and found in substantial numbers. Trendall (1987: 237–251, 339–361) dates the start of the Apulian phase in Paestan vase painting to the decade 340–330, a time which coincides with Alexander's expeditions in Italy. Alexander was general of forces fighting for the Italiote League, an alliance of south Italian city-states in which Taras was a major power, as well as the center of Apulian red-figure pottery.⁵⁰ The Molossian's alliance with the people of Paestum seems to have initiated closer contacts between Paestum and Taras.⁵¹ Trendall considers the Aphrodite Painter, who retained many Apulian characteristics in his work, to be one of the first of many migrant Apulian potters who settled in Paestum. Later Apulian artists adapted less to Paestum styles, continuing the fashions of Apulian vase painting (on vases of Paestan clay). These painters made a major impact on the Paestan pottery styles, affecting the stylistic

⁴⁹Livy 8.24; Justin 12.2.13–15; Strabo 6.1.5. See Adamesteanu 1982 on a possible *heroon* to Alexander near Metapontum. Livy (8.24.16) states that his remains were sent back to Metapontum and then to Epirus.

⁵⁰See Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978 for vases made in Apulia.

⁵¹Contact between hellenized Paestum and Taras (as well as other Italiote cities) no doubt existed before Alexander arrived in Paestum; however, it is suggested that at the time of Alexander's expedition to Paestum connections between the two cities strengthened.

canons established by Asteas and Python that had remained unchanged until the 330s.⁵²

Tarentine influences also seem to appear for the first time now in other areas of the archaeological record. Rouveret and Pontrandolfo describe new motifs and pictorial techniques in the assemblage of tomb paintings that they conclude are borrowed from Taras. They date the innovations to the decade 340–330, remarking that the traits appear in the “période qui coincide, de manière significant, avec l’expédition d’Alexandre le Molosse.” The new techniques include a change in female skin color from white to pink, a preparatory incised design for figures, enriched colors, and an attempt at creating relief.⁵³ Tombs 58 and 84 from Andriuolo, for example, which contain tomb paintings with traditional Lucanian themes, include among the motifs representations of sphinxes, griffins, and panthers, seen now for the first time in Paestum but already found in the same manner in Apulian painting. Both tombs are dated about 330, the time of Alexander’s move to Paestum.⁵⁴

The expedition to Paestum by Alexander and his Greek and south Italian forces may have induced greater cultural contacts between the two cities in the same way that Cristofani (1965; 1967) and other scholars have suggested artistic trends spread between Macedonia and Apulia via Alexander and his Epirote entourage. A population in Paestum that was broadly hellenized, including those of Greek and partial Greek descent, was certainly a major factor in helping this diffusion.

CONCLUSION

In sum, Greeks not only continued to live and work in Paestum after the Lucanian conquest, but they were an important part of the city’s society. Paestum in the fourth and early third centuries B.C. was a city with a large Lucanian population and a Lucanian upper class. Nevertheless, Greeks and Greek culture continued to exert a profound influence on a Lucanian population that was becoming more and more hellenized. Many of the Greeks were artisans and craftsmen: potters and painters, statuette makers, engravers, jewelers, and builders of the city’s walls. These Greeks were descendants of previous generations or new Greek immigrants. Greek cults (such as those to Hera, Apollo, and Athena) continued, as is attested by votive offerings. Sanctuaries (such as the Athenaeum, Santa Venera, and the Heraeum at Foce del Sele) were maintained and repaired if necessary. New temples and *stoai* were built. All of this strongly suggests

⁵² On the Aphrodite Painter, the first Apulian traits in Paestum red-figure, and other Paestan painters of the Apulianising Group, see Trendall 1987: 237–251, 339–361; 1989: 204–209; Greco 1970. Vases by the Aphrodite Painter show an evolution in style from Apulian to one which adopts many of the Paestan traits.

⁵³ For details and discussion of these Apulian traits, see Rouveret and Pontrandolfo 1983: 104–105; Rouveret 1975: 636–652.

⁵⁴ Rouveret 1975: 646–647.

the continued presence of an influential Greek population and testifies to the increased hellenization of the city's population as a whole.

The material culture of Paestum at this time discloses a blend of Greek and Oscan characteristics. Such a society sustained a population of Lucanians, Greeks, and those of mixed heritage. It has been argued that Dionysius, the occupant of tomb 11 at Andriuolo-Laghetto, was just such an individual of mixed Greek and Lucanian heritage, as well as a member of the fourth-century Paestan elite.⁵⁵ Greeks, Lucanians, and those of partial Greek descent lived in harmony, and a purely Greek administration probably never did regain control of the reins of government when Alexander the Molossian marched up to Paestum. Evidence has been marshaled to show that Alexander did not conquer the city but formed an alliance to defend the hellenized city against aggressive Italic tribes from the interior (the same people who have been painted on Paestum's tomb walls). In fact, Alexander's short stay at Paestum probably created longer-lasting effects than most scholars realize: besides a check on potential conquerors who had an eye on taking the hellenized city, his campaign in Paestum created stronger cultural ties between Paestum and Taras and a diffusion of people and ideas between these two cities. Thus, Alexander's sojourn in Paestum brought more Greek influence to a city with a large Lucanian population, an influential Greek segment, and a culture that was already very hellenized.

Finally, the festival mentioned by Aristoxenus appears to have been a gathering of certain Greeks who lamented a break in the old order. Greek artisans, craftsmen, and others (some of whom may have migrated from other Greek areas) who were making a living at their industry would not gather to lament and shed tears over the old ways. Descendants, however, of families who had previously been in power might congregate at such a meeting.⁵⁶ Therefore, a small group of disenfranchised Greeks, descendants of the fifth-century elite, still existed in Paestum, cherishing what they considered were the halcyon days of fifth-century Poseidonia.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
 SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY
 SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94132
 U.S.A.

jwwonder@sfsu.edu

⁵⁵ Strabo (5.4.7) mentions that at Naples, which contained a population of both Greeks and Oscan-speaking Campani, both Greek and Campanian names can be found among the names of the leaders of the city.

⁵⁶ See the remark by Ardivino (1986: 122), that the Greeks mentioned by Aristoxenus were the "ottimati spodestati . . . che colpiscono l'immaginazione del cronista" (Aristoxenus), which may be close to the truth.

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