

The Sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna (Croton)

Gregorio AVERSA

ABSTRACT

This paper will deal with one of the main archaeological sites in Calabria, which has always been linked to the history of the town of Croton. In Greek and Roman times it was called Lakinion promontory and there was a large sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Hera, whose renown and wealth are mentioned in various ancient literary sources (Strabo, Lycophron, Livy, etc.). The myth recalls the presence of a sacred wood and the passage of Heracles with Geryon's oxen. A cult was also practiced here in memory of Achilles, the great hero of the Trojan War. The veneration that was paid to Hera Lakinia made devotees of different origins converge towards her temple, with rich votive gifts. The sanctuary, also remembered for having been frequented by the great philosopher Pythagoras, acquired such fame that it probably became the seat of the Italiot League, a political and military confederation which in the 4th century BC. united all the Greeks of Magna Grecia. From here departed the great enemy of the Romans, the leader Hannibal, to return to his Carthage, after having left the memory of his deeds on a bilingual inscription in Greek and Punic. The sanctuary, precisely because of its location on a promontory, must have represented an essential reference for navigation and a safe port, of which the goddess was the guarantor. But Hera also protected nature and, in particular, the livestock that grazed freely within the wood sacred to her. At the same time, she was venerated as a liberating deity and associated with salvation in sea voyages and, therefore, this sanctuary must be recognized as having a central role in the context and in the natural and landscape components. The paper will try to outline the aspects of the goddess' cult through the analysis of materials and monumental remains.

Keywords : *alsos*, architectural terracottas, Building B, Croton, Hera Lakinia, Herakles.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite de l'un des principaux sites archéologiques de Calabre, qui a toujours été lié à l'histoire de la ville de Croton. À l'époque grecque et romaine, le promontoire s'appelait Lakinion et il y avait un grand sanctuaire dédié à la déesse Héra, dont la notoriété et la richesse sont mentionnées dans diverses sources littéraires antiques (Strabon, Lycophron, Tite-Live, etc.). Le mythe rappelle la présence d'un bois sacré et le passage d'Héraclès avec les bœufs de Géryon. Un culte y était également pratiqué à la mémoire d'Achille, le grand héros de la guerre de Troie. La vénération que l'on portait à Héra Lakinia faisait converger vers son temple des dévots d'origines diverses, avec de riches cadeaux votifs. Le sanctuaire, dont on se souvient également qu'il fut fréquenté par le grand philosophe Pythagore, acquit une telle renommée qu'il devint probablement le siège de la Ligue Italiote, une confédération politique et militaire qui, au IV^e siècle avant J.-C., réunissait tous les Grecs d'Occident. C'est d'ici que partit le grand ennemi des Romains, le chef Hannibal, pour retourner à Carthage, après avoir laissé le souvenir de ses exploits sur une inscription bilingue en grec et en punique. Le sanctuaire, précisément en raison de sa position sur un promontoire, devait représenter une référence essentielle pour la navigation et un port sûr, dont la déesse était la garante. Mais Héra protégeait aussi la nature et, en particulier, le bétail qui paissait librement dans le bois qui lui était consacré. En même temps, elle était vénérée comme une divinité libératrice et associée au salut lors des voyages en mer et, par conséquent, ce sanctuaire doit être reconnu comme ayant un rôle central dans le contexte et dans la composante naturelle et paysagère. L'article tentera d'esquisser, à travers l'analyse des matériaux et des vestiges monumentaux, les aspects du culte de la déesse.

Mots-clés : *alsos*, Bâtiment B, Croton, Héra Lakinia, Héraclès, terres cuites architecturales.

In 1910 the founder of the Archaeological Superintendency of Calabria, the archaeologist Paolo Orsi, led the first official excavation at Capo Colonna, a promontory whose name is *Lakinion akron* in ancient sources. Previous surveys had been attempted by the Americans Alfred Emerson and Joseph T. Clarke between December 1887 and January 1888, but they could not continue due to lack of authorization by the newborn Italian State. This meant that Orsi was the first to engage in systematic research of the site which he had most likely come to know thanks to one of its most important remains: the ara marble slab belonging to the freedman Oecius, the subject of a publication by the epigraphist Vito Capialbi in 1846¹ shortly after it has been discovered in the property of the Marquis Anselmo Berlingieri – and it was thanks to this piece that the site was definitively identified as the ancient sanctuary of Hera Lakinia.

It was Orsi himself who defined subsequent archaeological research in one of the main Greek sanctuaries in the Mediterranean area dedicated to the goddess from Argos, whose epiclesis Lakinia (according to mythological tradition dating back to Timaeus)² refers to Heracles. Here, Heracles accidentally killed prince Kroton, son of the local king Lakinios, because he believed that Kroton was a thief intent on stealing the oxen he had brought from Geryon in Iberia. In addition to describing Heracles and Geryon's oxen on the promontory, the myth tells us about a sacred wood, to which Lycophron adds specific mention of a *kepos* (a garden)³, given to goddess Hera Lakinia by Thetis, daughter of the sea god Nereus, to thank her for breastfeeding her when she was a baby. Here, they may have practised a cult in memory of Achilles, the great hero of the Trojan War.

From the remarkable quantity, origin and variety of ex-votos⁴, researchers have deduced that the veneration paid to Hera Lakinia brought devout people of different origins together at her temple. This is also proved by numerous episodes found in literary sources: see the gift of a magnificent cloak by the Sybarite noble Alkisthenes on which the personifications of Sybaris, Susa and perhaps Persepolis were represented, together with a number of divinities⁵, or - in the mythical dimension - the dedication of a richly decorated *phiale* by the Trojan Aeneas⁶. The sanctuary is even remembered for having been frequented by the philosopher Pythagoras of Samos who, according to Iamblichus (*VP* 9, 50), taught women separately in the Hera temple. This temple itself was so famous that it probably became the headquarters of the Italiote League, the political and military confederation that in the 4th century BC brought together all the Greeks in Magna Graecia. It was from here that the great enemy of the Romans, the leader Hannibal, left Italy to return to his native Carthage, leaving evidence of his deeds in an inscription in Greek and Punic and in the offering of a golden *bucula* (a little cow)⁷. The bulk of information obtained from various literary sources therefore allowed Orsi to conclude that the Lakinion was one of the main sanctuaries in Magna Graecia and in the Mediterranean, that it was linked to the history of Croton from the very beginning and, that it was not by chance that Livy referred to it as *sanctum omnibus circa populis*⁸.

Particularly exposed to winds from the East, the promontory's geological composition makes it prone to constant coastal erosion: the cliff is made up of poorly cemented sandstone deposits that rest on a layer of marl clay that is highly vulnerable to sea storms and causes the disintegration of the rocky levels

1 CAPIALBI 1846. On archaeological research in the years of Paolo Orsi and immediately preceding, see AVERSA 2019b.

2 Diod. 4, 24,7; Iambl. *VP*, 50; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 552. On the myths concerning the Lakinion sanctuary see GIANGIULIO 1989, p. 70-72.

3 Lycophr. *Alexandra*, 857-865. A recent summary on the cults of the sanctuary and the main myths linked to the promontory can be found in AVERSA & NICOLETTI 2020.

4 SPADEA 1994a, p. 9-26; SPADEA 1994b, p. 368-376, fig. 9-17; SPADEA 1996, p. 51-79, 107-125; BARBANERA 2006.

5 Ps.-Arist. *De mir.*, 96, 838a; MARCHIANDI 2018.

6 Dion. Hal., 1, 51, 3.

7 Coelius Antipater, *HRR* I, fr. 34, 169-170 (= Cic. *De div.* I, 24, 48).

8 Liv. 24, 3, 3: "Sex milia aberat inde [urbe nobili] templum, ipsa urbe [erat] nobilius, Laciniae Iunonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis".

above. It is a very jagged coastline, giving rise to the toponym Lakinion, from the Greek noun *lakis* which means 'shred' or 'rag', referring directly to its perimeter (fig. 1-2).



Fig. 1 : Satellite's view of the Lakinion promontory.



Fig. 2 : The Lakinion promontory (from the East).

Its position on a promontory made the Lakinian sanctuary a great aid to navigators and a securing safe harbour, of which the goddess was the guarantor. And its topographical location is undeniably impressive, with Strabo giving details of the distance from the Strait of Messina and describing the promontory as the 'mouth' of the Gulf of Tarentum⁹. On the other hand, we know from other sources that in the treaty between Rome and Tarentum, the promontory was described as an outer limit not to be crossed¹⁰; and researchers consider it either as an extra-urban sanctuary, a territorial limit or a border sanctuary in order to underline its interaction with the outside world¹¹.

However, one cannot ignore the importance of the cult of the titular goddess as a divinity of civic structures, and its link with the metropolis. Hera is still the goddess wife of Zeus and, for this reason, a maternal divinity, devoted to the care of newborns, an aspect that makes her a protector of the community. In my opinion, the images holding their hands to their breasts on the so-called Sele lamps, that are well attested on the Lakinion¹² and can be compared to representations of Astarte in an oriental context, should be interpreted in this sense. This curatrophic aspect enhances the social role of motherhood protected by the goddess and plays down the notion, typical of ancient people, according to which female fertility falls within the prerogatives of the divine and as such must be framed in light of the seasonal cycle. Nevertheless, not only is the goddess the exclusive protagonist as mother and nurse, but the *hieros gamos* of Hera and Zeus is also implied, uniting the two main cosmic powers, the earth and the sky¹³. From this it seems possible to derive a few more elements.

In this particular instance, Hera seems closely associated with nature if we are correct in interpreting the words of Livy. His writings mention a herd of cattle free to graze on the promontory in the midst of magnificent vegetation that grew spontaneously¹⁴, a description comparable to what Lycophron says in the poem *Alexandra* about the existence of a sacred wood and garden dedicated to the goddess¹⁵. « *Venerable Hera, who often looks down from the sky onto the fragrant Lakinium* »¹⁶, this is how the Lokrian poetess Nosside, who lived between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, addressed the goddess, while giving her a byssus robe as a gift to the sanctuary.

Hera Lakinia's link with nature is confirmed by a large number of architectural terracottas depicting floral chains or slabs with leafy frames¹⁷. These are the products of a coroplastic workshop installed on site to serve the sanctuary, characterized by decorative motifs of oriental origin which were particularly popular during the 5th century BC in the Aegean area: comparisons may be found in Aegina, Thasos, Samos, Miletus, but also in Olympia¹⁸.

The oldest roofing system of the series of architectural terracottas found at Capo Colonna (so-called roof A), surviving in a few fragments, is certainly inspired by Greek-oriental models composed of a sima with Ionic kyma and gorgon heads alternating with panther heads: they are dated between 540 and

9 Strabo VI, 1, 11.

10 Arrian. *Samn.*, 7

11 OSANNA 1997. On the sanctuaries and their relationship with the sea, see also individual contributions in RUSSO & GUARNERI 2016.

12 SPADEA 1994a, p. 10, cat. 3-5, fig. 9-10; SPADEA 1996, p. 70-71, cat. 78-84.

13 COMBA & AMATEIS 2019, *passim*.

14 Liv. 24, 3,4-5: *Lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribusque saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae pecus pascebatur sine ullo pastore; separatimque greges sui cuiusque generis nocte remeabant ad stabula, numquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum.*

15 See above note 3.

16 *Anthologia Palatina* VI, 265.

17 ORSI 1911, p. 111-115, fig. 95-98; CRISTOFANI 1967, pl. XCIX-CIII; AVERSA 2006, 254-255, fig. 25.2 e 25.13.

18 On the topic see also AVERSA 2014, p. 299-301, pl. LXXIX.e-f and pl. LXXX.

530 BC¹⁹, the time when Pythagoras arrived in Croton. Although very few fragments of this roofing have been found, the type of clay - which reminds us of Corinthian amphorae type A clay - confirms its proximity to models from the Aegean basin circulating in Latium and Etruria, in accordance with the commercial and artistic diffusion described in the studies of Mario Torelli, Fausto Zevi, Charlotte Wikander and Nancy Winter: they connected this diffusion with Corinth and the noble Bacchiad Demaratus, on the one hand, and with the Ionian world through the court of the Lydian king Croesus, on the other²⁰.

There is no doubt that connecting the goddess Hera to plants and nature clearly underlines her role in the vegetative cycle as it is typical of a goddess endowed with generative power²¹, characterized above all by her femininity (*gyné*). Only secondarily is she a bride (*nymphè*). Furthermore, the absence of archaeological finds from the Greek era on the promontory (with the exception of those on the extreme tip, as well as the later attestations in scattered Roman farms²²) suggests a dynamic on the Lakinion similar to that of Perachora, home of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia on the promontory located 14 km N-E of Corinth²³. From this perspective, the news of a flock moving freely on Lakinion accords with the presence of the *alsos*, a sacred wood to the divinity within which neither birth nor death were permitted²⁴. In other words, everything (vegetation, animals and human beings) had to submit to the goddess' will, which, on the Lakinion, was manifest in her special ability to renew her own virginity, as in Argos, through a ritual bath in the Kanathos spring, where devout pilgrims bathed her cult statue (Paus. II, 38, 2). Neither can we overlook the other aspect suggested by Lycophron²⁵: he recalls the "garden of the goddess *Hoplosmia* adorned with plants", and thus presents her as a goddess in arms, that is, in the form of a warrior virgin in the style of Athena, as can be seen in the gigantomachy of the archaic tradition. The discovery of miniature bronze shields at Capo Colonna could be traced back to this prerogative of the goddess Hera Lakinia²⁶.

No less important was her power to guarantee freedom, as is underlined by the border stone with the inscription *Heras Eleutheria*, which may be translated by "(belonging to) Hera of freedom"²⁷. Similar memorial stones were likely placed around the most sacred area. We do not know the exact provenance of this stone, found in the 19th century along the cliff edge below the column of temple A²⁸; but three similar elements in limestone, even if slightly smaller, may be considered *horoi* delimiting a sacred space (fig. 3). Their arrangement, one inside building B, the others a few meters away, further west and further east along the *via sacra*, due to their slightly converging position suggests that they delimited a large circular space north of temple A (fig. 4). Therefore we are led to hypothesize that beneath this limited space there may be a temple older than temple A, famous for its doric column. In fact the space the *horoi* delimit circumscribes a circular area as large as that of temple A. Emerson and Clarke probably carried out their investigations in this area in the 19th century, but the government authorities compelled them to stop and numerous fragments of marble sculptures seem to have been lost since then. If the hypothesis is correct, it would still be necessary to find the other temple under the ground, whose remaining foundations are

19 ORSI 1911, p. 109, fig. 89; MERTENS 1984, p. 200-201, fig. 2; Philipps 1983, p. 15, fig. 42; AVERSA 2014, p. 304; AVERSA 2020, p. 80, fig. 5-6.

20 WINTER 1993, p. 29-33; WINTER 2006; WINTER 2023.

21 On the connection of plants to deities see ARRIGONI 2018.

22 D'ANNIBALE & CARTER 2014.

23 SINN 1991.

24 GIANGIULIO 1989, p. 55-56. From the sources we learn that on the extrem tip of the promontory there must have been a garden (*kepos*), while the rest of the promontory must also have been affected by the presence of a sacred forest (*alsos*). On the topic in general, see CAZANOVE & SCHEID 1993.

25 *Alexandra*, 857-858: ἐν οἷσι πόρτις ὄρχατον τεύξει θεᾶ / Ὀπλοσμίᾳ φυτοῖσιν ἐξησχημένον.

26 SPADEA 1992, p. 96.

27 GIANGIULIO 1989, p. 59, n. 24.

28 DUHN 1897, p. 346-347, fig. 3.

presumed to be parallel to those of temple A, built in the protoclassical age a little further south. What is peculiar in temple A is its orientation, which is different from that of the *via sacra* and building B, but is absolutely consistent with the remains of the limestone investigated to the west of the Albani garden, which is exactly perpendicular to temple A, building H and the entire southern sector of the sanctuary. We are therefore inclined to believe that to the north of temple A there was another temple parallel to it, which was probably older.

If we imagine two parallel temples of similar dimensions, we find ourselves with a coherent structure comparable to other similar constructions in Magna Graecia, such as the sanctuary of Apollo Lyceus in Metaponto; this enables us to verify with greater probability the intrinsic value of the sanctuary as an independent unit as compared to the topographic structure that the Romans gave to the settlement they established on the promontory starting from 194 BC, connecting to what we call the *via sacra*²⁹.

Nor should the position of building B be underestimated: it appears to be oriented according to a completely different logic and - if our hypothesis is correct - it would be no coincidence if it were located at the edge of the circular space delimited by the stones. We believe that the temple hidden by the Albani garden (let's call it temple C) is an architectural organism older than the classical phase of temple A, under which Dieter Mertens and Giorgio Rocco already conjectured that an older phase was hidden (Temple A1)³⁰. Consequentially, it seems plausible to associate roof A with one of the two archaic temples (A1 or C) and with the other the architectural material recovered in the important landfill, identified north of the villa Albani during the 2000 excavations³¹; the landfill, closed at the beginning of the 5th century BC, allowed us to recover lots of clay elements from roof B, a roofing system of siceliote production which also dates back to between 540 and 530 BC³². If our hypothesis is correct, the two roofing systems (roof A and roof B) would have covered the oldest phases of the two temples A and C, and would have been replaced during restoration of the sanctuary which presumably took place when building B and the *via sacra* were built. Both, in fact, are a sign of radical change that occurred in the topography of the sanctuary in the transition period between the 6th and 5th century BC. Building B probably pre-existed this transformation (fig. 5), also because the large trapezoidal block inside it was staggered *vis a vis* the entrance to the building, and seems to indicate a narrowing of the building following demolition and reconstruction slightly set back from the North wall. However, this did not prevent the building from being respected and placed between the two major temples, although it was even more important in generating the line of the road parallel to it.

Building B is known for the discovery of numerous votive gifts during the 1986 campaign, including the famous golden diadem which was found, not as a coincidence, next to the *horos*, which underlines its importance as an offering of supreme value³³. Among the various votive gifts, a small Nuragic boat stands out on account of its elegance and size compared to other examples from Sardinia³⁴. The bronze object was a lamp and, at the moment of ritual deposition, the animal head on the bow and the tree on the deck, serving as supports for the lamp, were cut. Its importance as an object is confirmed by its discovery just next to the boundary stone incorporated in building B. This was clearly a specific building for objects relevant to the cult and underlined the sacredness of the area; to the point that next to this building, at

29 RUGA 2014, p. 186-211.

30 ROCCO 2009, pp. 2-6, fig. 8. This archaic building will therefore be called Temple A1 compared to the classical building (Temple A2).

31 VERBICARO 2005; VERBICARO 2009.

32 AVERSA 2009; AVERSA 2011.

33 SPADEA 1994a, p. 24-26, fig. 30, pl. VII.a and VIII; SPADEA 1994b, p. 368-371, fig. 9; SPADEA 1996, p.76-79, cat. 148.

34 LILLIU 2000; SPADEA 1994a, p. 22-24, fig. 27-29, pl. VII.b,e; SPADEA 1994b, p. 375, fig. 15; SPADEA 1996, p. 56-58, cat. 4.

about the end of the 6th century BC, was built the sacred road which came from Crotone and led to the area overlooking the sea, in front of the temples where the altar would have stood.

According to literary evidence, the altar would have been a point of particular importance for navigation along the coast. Livy and others³⁵, in fact, describe it as a perpetually lit altar, maybe similar to the altar of Zeus in Olympia, built up gradually with the ashes and remains of sacrifices. If we accept the idea that the marble slab in the Crotone Museum³⁶ is one side of a marble altar from Capo Colonna, we could imagine a monumental altar enclosure of the stepped type, dear to Attic architecture of the classical age³⁷. Stylistic comparison also refers to the period between 420 and 400 BC compatible with building work shortly after the construction of temple A. In any case, the arrangement of the altar with a view of the sea appears plausible and would give the area an even more theatrical character if one considers that the eastern façade of temple A would have either a staircase or a platform in front of it³⁸.



Fig. 3 : The *horoi* along the sacred way.

The stretch of coast in front of the temple must have been a few dozen meters deeper in ancient times, yet the special position of the temple overlooking the sea does not lose its importance. This large classical building must have stood out for those travelling along the coast of the promontory, and promontories have always been major landmarks for sailors; the very term 'cabotage' seems to derive from

35 Liv., 24, 3, 2; Plin., *N.H.*, 2, 107. An allusion to the altar and ashes is also in Val. Max., I, 8.

36 LATTANZI 2005, pl. I-III.

37 Proposal from the author during the conference *Andres gar poleis (Thuc. VII, 77.7): partecipazione civica e produzione nelle città greche d'Occidente, Convegno internazionale-Webinar (9-10 febbraio 2021)*.

38 ROCCO 2009, p. 6-8, fig. 9-11 proposes a terrace, while the writer prefers a monumental staircase similar to that of the temple D (or temple of Hera Lacinia) in Agrigento (MERTENS 2006, p. 386-390, fig. 654-657).

the Spanish noun *cabo* (promontory). Nor should it be forgotten that the Nuragic boat refers to sea travel and its function as a lamp hints at the divinity who lights the path and thus ensures protection from the dangers of navigation. This brings us back to the goddess who protects and frees from danger.

If this were true, the location of the sanctuary on the extreme tip of a vast promontory would gain its full significance. One of the most important comparisons is the sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Perachora on the Corinth Gulf, where the goddess is also called *Limenia*: here the goddess is primarily linked to the sea and to her function as protector of sailors, so the promontory constitutes an *asylon*. In the *Life of Pompey* (24, 5), Plutarch lists the Heraion Lakinion together with Argos and Samos among the other sanctuaries capable of ensuring *asylia*, that is, protection and therefore liberation.

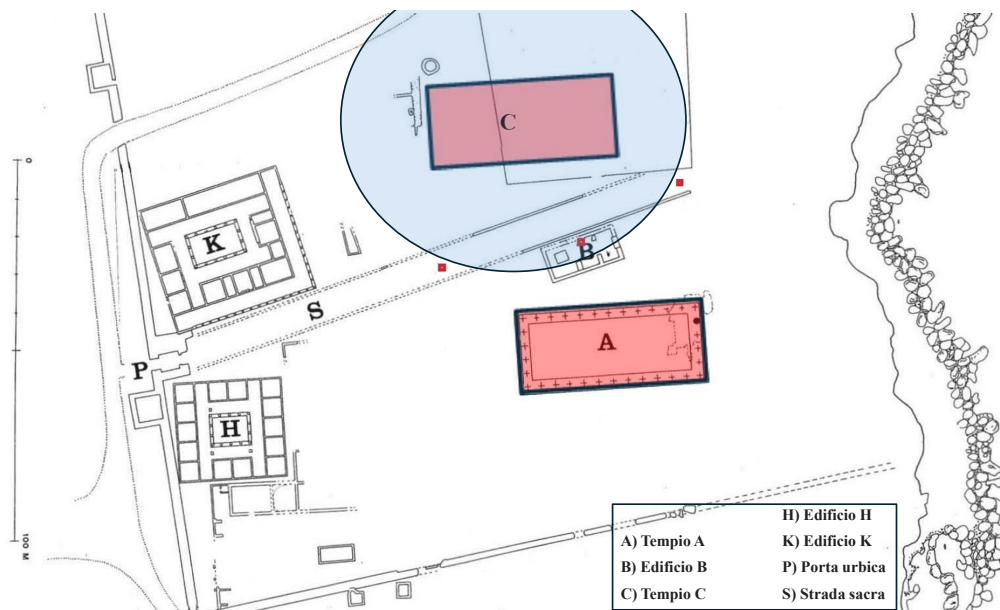


Fig. 4 : General plan of the sanctuary area (the *horoi*, Temple A and the hypothetical location of Temple C are highlighted in red).

The coexistence of so many functions referring to the female world, the sea, war, but also *asylia*, liberation, as well as to vegetation and generative power, closely reflects characteristics of other famous divinities of the Mediterranean sea, especially Astarte and Aphrodite. They both had famous shrines located on the sea and are recognized today as manifestations of the same divine feminine power. Particular evidence was found linking the Astarte venerated in Malta in the sanctuary of Tas Silġ to the Aphrodite of Erice, later venerated by the Romans as Venus Ericina³⁹. In both cases, the location of the sanctuary on the coast enhances its connection with the sea: as in Crotona, this is an eastern version of Hera Akraia, since it is interwoven with its promontory - the Lakinion *akron*.

On the other hand, the absence of a Zeus Lakinios in literary sources suggests that the Calabrian sanctuary underlines the pre-eminent role of Hera as the primordial divinity of the krotoniatan pantheon, directly going back to the goddess venerated in Argos, in a very similar way to what happens in Samos, where the Heraion places the goddess in the foreground. Not surprisingly, literary traces indicate direct filiation from the Argive goddess. This does not mean that Zeus did not have a role in the Lakinion, but we cannot rule out that the Krotoniatans wanted to give a special place in their main sanctuary to the goddess to whom they were devoted.

39 AMADASI GUZZO 2010 ; LIETZ 2012.

All this rather implies that the Lakinion sanctuary was part of a wider network of international relations, connecting it mainly to the Argive Heraion, but in all likelihood also to other important Mediterranean sanctuaries dedicated to female divinities, linked to the sea through the world of navigation.

This would seem to be confirmed by a particular type of votive offering found in the area, not only inside building B, but also on the sea shore as shown by recent excavations. During investigations in 2012, evidence of the presence of a *favissa* containing material discarded at different times between the beginning of the 7th century and mid-6th century BC was found. This was closed at the end of the Archaic period to make way for significant reorganization of the sanctuary with the leveling of the upper surface, and to let the building B be raised on it⁴⁰. Furthermore, other clues demonstrate substantial restructuring of the entire area: some holes, the remains of poles on the western front, cut by the foundation cable of temple A (fig. 6), suggest there may have originally been trees, which were subsequently removed to prepare an esplanade where the archaic peripteral lithic temple stood (temple A1), which was to follow in 480 BC the classical temple (temple A2).

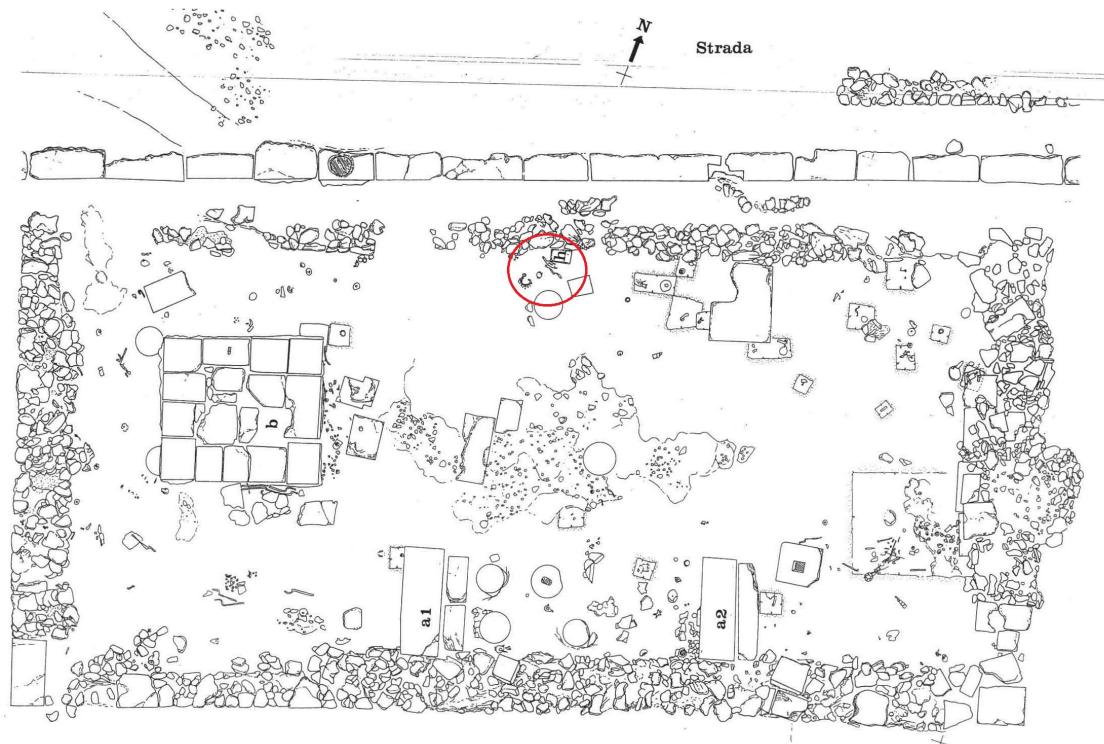


Fig. 5 : Plan of building B (the *horos* with the diadem and the small Nuragic boat are highlighted).

The *favissa* under building B contained objects of oriental origin, especially scarabs, found in various specimens alongside Corinthian, Chalcidian and Greek-Oriental ceramics. And it is the scarabs that have attracted our attention (fig. 7)⁴¹. These specimens belong to a well-defined chronological period between

40 RUGA 2020, pp. 353-387.

41 Scarabs were also found during the excavation of Building B (SPADEA 1994a, p. 20, fig. 23, pl. VI,a-b; SPADEA 1996, p. 59, cat. 9; RUGA 2020, p. 379, pl. I.g).

the end of the 8th and beginning of the 6th century BC and are recognized as unequivocally of Egyptian origin, as there are words in hieroglyphic characters. The association of *Aegyptiaka* with sanctuaries of female deities is especially well known, with a so-called "international female network" linked to the circulation of this type of jewelry, appreciated by women as amulets favorable to health and procreation⁴². In addition, the provenance of the votive offerings found inside building B also indicates the international character of the sanctuary, with objects of Attic, Chiotian, Samian, Milesian origin, rather than Syriac or Urartian similar to a sanctuary of this type in Gravisca⁴³ and, above all, in the Greek sanctuaries of Naukratis, where the community of Samos had established the cult of Hera⁴⁴. It is no coincidence - in my opinion - that Gravisca and Naukratis are places frequented by the same Samians, fellow countrymen of Pythagoras, and this international status would have continued even in the 5th century, as proved by the marble decoration of the classical temple, attributable to the initiative of an Aegean stonemasons' workshop⁴⁵.



Fig. 6 : The foundation cable of temple A seen from the West.



Fig. 7 : Scarab found in building B.

In conclusion, the Lakinion sanctuary's international dimension, facing both East towards Egypt and West towards Sicily and Etruria, confirms the Mediterranean scope of this place of worship, but also favors the idea that this center marked the identity of the Achaean community established in Croton in the last decades of the 8th century BC, a community which never forgot its origins and the need to maintain its ties with the Aegean sea, the Peloponnese and its cultural traditions. This is confirmed by the most ancient architectural terracottas of Croton, which are based on Argive style models, the so-called "Horned Roofs" also identified in Aegina⁴⁶, together with original myths that go back to Heracles and the Homeric memory of Achilles, the hero son of Peleus, whose funeral took place in Lakinion - as the *Odyssey* tells us - on the Sigeus promontory of the Hellespont⁴⁷, when Thetis emerged from the sea with a long procession of Nereids to mourn the hero who died in Troy: a *penthos* in some way similar to that of Medea, who in

42 On the importance and meaning attributed to scarabs as amulets linked to the medical-magical protection of female fertility and infant health, see DE SALVIA 2021. On the phenomenon in general, see DE SALVIA 2011.

43 On recent discoveries see FIORINI 2016.

44 An introduction to the issue can be found in VILLING & SCHLOTZHAUER 2006.

45 BELLI PASQUA 2010.

46 AVERSA 2013 ; AVERSA 2019a, p. 201-202.

47 Hom., *Od.* XXIV, 43-94 ; Soph., *Philoct.* 355 ; Auson., *Epitaph.* 5, 1-2.

the sanctuary of Hera Akraia on the Perachora promontory mourned her dead children through a ritual sacrifice⁴⁸. And, as we have seen, according to legend, it is the sea nymph Thetis, mother of Achilles, who gives the *kypos* to Hera Lakinia⁴⁹. In short, this is a mythical tradition that establishes a significant parallel with Aphrodite and Adonis, symptomatic of the kinship between the great Mediterranean mothers Hera, Aphrodite and Astarte. But, at the same time, it is an explicit and – I would say – definitive reference to the interconnection between a place of worship, the rites practiced there and the Mediterranean dimension.

References

AMADASI GUZZO, M.G., 2010, « Astarte a Malta: il santuario di Tas Silġ », in L. de la Bandera Romero & E. Ferrer Albelda (éd.), *El Carambolo. 50 años de un tesoro*, Sevilla, p. 465-489.

ARRIGONI, G., 2018, « Riflessioni su dei e piante in Grecia: una questione di metodo », in G. Arrigoni (éd.), *Dei e piante nell'antica Grecia I, Riflessioni metodologiche, Efesto, Demetra in Grecia, Magna Grecia e Sicilia, Kore Persefone, Ecate, Apollo, Afrodite*, Bergamo, p. 13-32.

AVERSA, G., 2006, « Ionismo e ionismi in Magna Grecia. Le terrecotte architettoniche dell'Heraion Lacinio », in I. Edlund-Berry, G. Greco & J. Kenfield (éd.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations, Proceedings of the international conference held at the American Academy in Rome (Novembre 7-8, 2002)*, Oxford, p. 252-258.

AVERSA, G., 2009, « Indizi per un tempio di età arcaica: il tetto B », in C. Mezzetti (éd.), *Il santuario di Hera al Capo Lacinio. L'analisi della forma, il restauro e la ricerca archeologica*, Roma, p. 99-106.

AVERSA, G., 2011, « Un tempio arcaico al Lacinio: elementi di una copertura fittile con figure plastiche dai recenti scavi sul promontorio di Capo Colonna di Crotona », in P. Lulof & C. Rescigno (éd.), *Deliciae Fictiles IV. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. Images of Gods, Monsters and Heroes, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Rome and Syracuse (October 21-25, 2009)*, Oxford, p. 378-387, [doi:10.2307/j.ctvh1dkxd.45](https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh1dkxd.45)

AVERSA, G., 2013, *I tetti achei. Terrecotte architettoniche di età arcaica in Magna Grecia*, Paestum.

AVERSA, G., 2014, « Coperture fittili ed edilizia a Crotona. Vecchi indizi e nuove testimonianze per una storia dello sviluppo urbano », in R. Spadea (éd.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis achea e il suo territorio*, Roma, p. 289-307.

AVERSA, G., 2019a, « Nuove considerazioni per una definizione dell'architettura arcaica degli Achei d'Occidente », in E. Greco & A. Rizakis (éd.), *Gli Achei in Grecia e in Magna Grecia: nuove scoperte e nuove prospettive, Atti del convegno di Aigion (12-13 dicembre 2016)*, Athens, p. 201-222.

AVERSA, G., 2019b, « Paolo Orsi e Crotona: una storia contrastata », in C. Malacrino, M. Musumeci (éd.), *Paolo Orsi. Alle origini dell'archeologia tra Calabria e Sicilia*, Reggio Calabria, p. 243-257.

AVERSA, G., 2020, « Pitagora a Crotona? Indizi e suggestioni attraverso la testimonianza dei dati archeologici », dans *Hesperia* 37, N.S. 2, p. 73-94, [doi:10.48255/1286](https://doi.org/10.48255/1286).

48 DUBBINI 2019.

49 See *supra*.

- AVERSA, G. & NICOLETTI, G., 2020, « Capo Colonna di Crotona. Considerazioni generali sul sito e primi risultati delle indagini archeologiche nelle aree limitrofe al santuario di Hera Lacinia », in R. Spadea, F. Lo Schiavo, M.L. Lazzarini (éd.), *Tra Ionio e Tirreno: orizzonti d'archeologia. Omaggio a Elena Lattanzi*, Roma, p. 389-396.
- BARBANERA, M., 2006, « Altre presenze. 'Stranieri' nei luoghi di culto in Magna Grecia », in A. Naso (éd.), *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Udine, 20-23 novembre 2003)*, Firenze, p. 359-395.
- BELLI PASQUA, R., 2010, « Scultura architettonica e officine itineranti: il caso dell'Heraion al Capo Lacinio », in G. Adornato (éd.), *Scolpire il marmo. Importazioni, artisti itineranti, scuole artistiche nel Mediterraneo antico, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, (Pisa, 9-11 novembre 2009)*, Milano, p. 171-184.
- CAPIALBI, V., 1846, *Di un'ara dedicata alla Giunone Lacinia*, Napoli.
- CAZANOVE, O. de & SCHEID, J. (éd.), 1993, *Les bois sacrés, Actes du Colloque International du Centre Jean Bérard (Naples, 23-25 Novembre 1989)*, Napoli, [doi:10.4000/books.pcjb.313](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pcjb.313).
- COMBA, E., & AMATEIS, M., 2019, *Le porte dell'anno: cerimonie stagionali e mascherate animali*, Torino, [doi:10.4000/books.aaccademia.5409](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.aaccademia.5409).
- CRISTOFANI, M., « Le terrecotte architettoniche provenienti dal santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna », *Arch.Cl. XIX*, 1967, pp. 313-319.
- D'ANNIBALE, C. & CARTER, J.C., 2014, « Ritorno al passato. La seconda campagna di field survey dell'Istituto di Archeologia Classica dell'Università del Texas nel territorio del Marchesato di Crotona », in R. Spadea (éd.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis achea e il suo territorio*, Roma, p. 281-286.
- DE SALVIA, F., 2011, « La via mediterranea degli Aegyptiaca. I. Produttori, acquirenti e consumatori nell'Egitto faraonico », in S. Francocci & R. Murgano (éd.), *La cultura egizia ed i suoi rapporti con i popoli del Mediterraneo durante il I millennio a.C., Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Viterbo, 6-7 novembre 2008)*, Vetralla, p. 35-43.
- DE SALVIA, F., 2021, « Origine e significato degli Aegyptiaca di Amendolara », in J. de La Genière (éd.), *Amendolara. La Nécropole de Paladino Ouest*, Napoli, p. 219-233, [doi:10.4000/books.pcjb.5193](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pcjb.5193).
- DUBBINI, R., 2019, « Medea sovrana di Corinto. Una scelta astuta nella costruzione dell'immaginario e dello spazio corinzio di epoca bacchiade », *Dionysus ex machina. Rivista online di studi sul teatro antico X*, p. 32-61.
- DUHN, F. von, 1897, « Crotona. Antichità greche di Crotona, del Lacinio e di alcuni altri siti del Brezio », *NSc* 1897, p. 343-360.
- FIORINI, L., 2016, « Il santuario emporico di Gravisca: nuovi dati dalle recenti campagne di scavo », in A. Russo & F. Guarneri (éd.), *Santuari mediterranei tra Oriente e Occidente. Interazioni e contatti culturali*, Roma, p. 23-31.
- GIANGIULIO, M., 1989, *Ricerche su Crotona arcaica*, Pisa.
- LATTANZI, E., 2005, « Osservazioni su una stele frammentaria in marmo con scena di commiato », in R. Belli Pasqua & R. Spadea (éd.), *Kroton e il suo territorio tra VI e V secolo a.C. Aggiornamenti e nuove ricerche, Atti del Convegno di Studi (Crotona, 3-5 marzo 2000)*, Crotona, p. 19-23.
- LIETZ, B., 2012, *La dea di Erice e la sua diffusione nel Mediterraneo. Un culto tra Fenici, Greci e Romani*, Pisa.

- LILLIU, G., 2000, « D'una navicella protosarda nello Heraion di Capo Colonna a Crotona », *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* XII, 2, p. 181-233.
- MARCHIANDI, D., 2018, « Dediche effimere ad Artemide: tessili iscritti negli inventari di Brauron », in F. Camia, L. Del Monaco, M. Nocita (éd.), *Munus Laetitia. Studi miscellanei offerti a Maria Letizia Lazzarini*, vol. II, Roma, p. 75-76.
- MERTENS, D., 1984, « I santuari di Capo Colonna e Crimisa: aspetti dell'architettura crotoniate », in *Crotona, Atti del XXXVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Napoli, p. 189-230.
- MERTENS, D., 2006, *Città e monumenti dei Greci d'Occidente*, Roma.
- ORSI, P., 1911 « Croton. Prima campagna di scavi al santuario di Hera Lacinia », in *NSc* VIII, suppl. 1911, Roma, p. 77-124.
- OSANNA, M., 1997, « Territorio coloniale e frontiera. La documentazione archeologica », in *Confini e frontiera nella grecità d'Occidente, Atti del XXXVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto 1997, p. 273-292.
- PHILLIPS, K.M. jr., 1983, « Terrecotte architettoniche con protomi di leopardo da Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena) », *Bollettino d'Arte* 68, p. 1-24.
- ROCCO, G., 2009, « Il tempio di Hera al Capo Lacinio: nuove acquisizioni ed elementi per una sua restituzione », in C. Mezzetti (éd.), *Il santuario di Hera al Capo Lacinio. L'analisi della forma, il restauro e la ricerca archeologica*, Roma, p. 1-30.
- RUGA, A., 2014, « Crotona romana: dal promontorio Lacinio al sito 'acheo' », in R. Spadea (éd.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis achea e il suo territorio*, Roma, p. 181-272.
- RUGA, A., 2020, « Scavi 'Orsi' al *Lakinion* di Crotona. Considerazioni alla luce di recenti scavi d'archivio (2018) e degli scavi sul campo (1955-2014) », in R. Spadea, F. Lo Schiavo & M.L. Lazzarini (éd.), *Tra Ionio e Tirreno: orizzonti d'archeologia. Omaggio a Elena Lattanzi*, Roma, p. 353-387.
- RUSSO, A. & GUARNERI, F. (éd.), 2016, *Santuari mediterranei tra Oriente e Occidente. Interazioni e contatti culturali*, Roma.
- SINN, U., 1991, « La funzione dell'Heraion di Perachora nella peraía corinzia », in F. Prontera (éd.), *Geografia storica della Grecia antica*, Bari, p. 209-232.
- SPADEA, R., 1992, « L'Heraion del Lacinio e le sue scoperte », in R. Spadea (éd.), *Omaggio a Crotona*, Roma, p. 59-88.
- SPADEA, R., 1994a, « Il tesoro di Hera », *Bollettino d'Arte* 88, p. 1-34.
- SPADEA, R., 1994b, « Santuari di Hera a Crotona », in J. de La Genière (éd.), *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes, Actes du Colloque International du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III et de l'Association P.R.A.C. Lille, 29-30 novembre 1993*, Napoli, p. 235-259, [doi:10.4000/books.pcyj.954](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pcyj.954)
- SPADEA, R. (éd.), 1996, *I Greci in Occidente. Il tesoro di Hera*, Roma.
- VERBICARO, G., 2005, « Uno scarico di materiali nell'area dell'edificio termale », in R. Spadea (éd.), *Scavi e ricerche sul promontorio Lacinio: nuove ipotesi e aggiornamenti*, Crotona, p. 81- 91.
- VERBICARO, G., 2009, « Stratigrafia e materiali di una fossa al di sotto del balneum di Capo Colonna: un approfondimento », in C. Mezzetti (éd.), *Il Santuario di Hera al Capo Lacinio: l'analisi della forma, il restauro e la ricerca archeologica*, Roma, p. 173-180.

VILLING, A. & SCHLOTZHAUER, U., 2006, « Naukratis and the Eastern Mediterranean: Past, Present and Future », in A. Villing & U. Schlotzhauer, 2006, *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt. Studies on East Greek Pottery and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London, p. 1-10.

WINTER, N.A., 1993, « 'Kroisos' Role in the Diffusion of Greek Mainland Architectural Terracottas to Ionia », in J. des Courtils & J.-Ch. Moretti (éd.), *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23-25 mai 1991, Istanbul, p. 29-33.

WINTER, N.A., 2006, « Gorgons, Minotaurs and Sibyls: A Shared Early Archaic Terracotta Roof System at Pithecusae, Cumae and Rome », in E. Herring *et al.* (éd.), *Across Frontiers. Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians & Cypriots. Studies in Honour of David Ridgway & Francesca R. Serra Ridgway*, London, p. 349-355.

WINTER, N.A., 2023, « Refugee Terracotta Craftsmen from Anatolia in Southern Etruria and Latium, 550/540-510 BCE », in E.P. Baughan & L.C. Pieraccini (éd.), *Etruria and Anatolia: Material Connections and Artistic Exchange*, Cambridge, p. 129-142, [doi:10.1017/9781009151016](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009151016).