Beyond the Greek and Italiote Worlds:
A Local Tarentine Perspective

Alexandru Martalogu

Department of History and Classical Studies
McGill University, Montreal
November 2017

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of the Master's of Arts (History and Classical Studies – Ancient History)

Table of Contents

Abstract

From its foundation in 706 B.C., Taras took advantage of its favourable geographic location and of its region's long history of trade and network connections. Placed within previous discussions on the importance of the seas and other interactions in network and identity formation, this thesis seeks to contextualize and reveal the evolution of a distinctly local Tarentine identity. Whereas in previous works the importance of the "local" and its influence have been studied for the purpose of broader topics, the "local" city of Taras and its citizens are the primary focus of this research in an attempt to step away from the negative connotations associated with the city-state by the surviving ancient sources. The analysis of Taras' early history reveals that the *polis* was founded in a region with a long history of pre-existing network connections, as well as a tendency to depend more heavily upon long distance connections with the Greek world. These ties are multiplied over the centuries and are highlighted by strong links to major hubs, namely Athens and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi. Regional ties, with both Greek and Italian groups, would however eventually dominate the Tarentine network due to centuries of both peaceful and hostile interactions. Cultural, economic, and diplomatic exchanges with a plethora of individuals, groups, and cities are but some of the elements that played a major role in the shaping of Taras' identity. With these established, a study of the city's foundation myths, of its emancipation from its metropolis, and of other distinct markers of local identity will reveal that although Taras was both a Greek colony and an Italiote *polis*, in the most basic sense, it was simply Tarentine.

Résumé

À partir de sa fondation en 706 av. J.-C., Taras a su tirer avantage de sa position géographique et de la longue histoire d'échanges et de connexions de sa région. Placée parmi des discussions antérieures sur l'importance des mers et d'autres interactions dans la formation des réseaux et de l'identité, cette thèse cherche à contextualiser et à identifier l'évolution d'une identité distinctement « locale » et Tarentine. Tandis que des études précédentes ont souligné le « local » et son influence dans le cadre de sujets plus larges, la ville « locale » de Taras et ses citoyens sont le principal objectif de cette recherche qui tente de s'éloigner des connotations négatives associées à la ville par les sources anciennes. L'analyse des premières années de Taras révèle que le *polis* a été fondé dans une région avec une longue histoire de connexions et de réseaux, ainsi qu'une tendance de la ville de dépendre plus fréquemment des rapports à longue-distance avec le monde grecque. Ces liens se sont multipliés à travers les siècles et sont soulignés par les liens forts établis avec des grands centres tels qu'Athènes et les sanctuaires panhelléniques dont Delphes. Cependant, les connexions régionales, avec les groupes grecques et italiens, ont éventuellement dominé le réseau Tarentin en raison de siècles d'interactions à la fois pacifiques et hostiles. Les échanges culturaux, économiques et diplomatiques avec une multitude d'individus, groupes, et cités ne sont que quelques éléments qui ont joué un grand rôle dans la formation de l'identité de Taras. Une fois cela établi, une étude des légendes de la fondation de Taras, de son émancipation de sa métropole, et d'autres marqueurs de l'identité locale vont dévoiler que malgré le fait que Taras soit à la fois une colonie grecque et un *polis* Italiote, dans le sens le plus fondamental, Taras était tout simplement Tarentin.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincerest thanks and gratitude to Professor Michael Fronda for his supervision of this thesis, his invaluable advice, and constant support throughout the entire process. I am grateful for the opportunity he has given me and I will always be thankful for his positive influence and role in my academic and professional growth.

I would also like to thank McGill's History and Classical Studies Department more broadly for the numerous opportunities and events it has put forth that have allowed me to develop better arguments and ideas that have undoubtedly shaped this thesis in some way. More specifically, I would like to extend my deep gratitude to Professor Hans Beck for taking time to discuss some of my ideas, for countless professional and academic opportunities, as well as for giving me insight into his forthcoming work that deals with a similar theoretical framework as some portions of this thesis.

To my friends and colleagues, who have helped me in various capacities, thank you for always being supportive and, quite simply, for being excellent human beings. Thank you to Corey Straub, Daniel Whittle, Laura Sirkovsky, Alexandra Bilhete, Meghan Poplacean, and Victoria Tran. A special thank you goes to Émilie Lucas for her never-ending support, reassuring words, advice, and irreplaceable friendship.

Last, but most definitely not least, thank you to my family (Cristinel, Louise, and Robert Martalogu) for their unconditional love and support. Without them none of this would have been possible.

Introduction

While the Greeks celebrated an improbable victory against Xerxes I and the Persian armies at Plataea in 479 B.C., Herodotus recounts that only a few years after this event, a coalition of Tarentines and Rhegians suffered the greatest slaughter in Greek history.[1] Three thousand Rhegians lost their lives, whereas the Tarentine casualties were immeasurable. This sparked one of the most symbolic and defining moments in Taras' history, as the *polis* abandoned its former *politeia* in favour of a democratic regime, which in turn became the catalyst for further fundamental changes in its development. The Tarentines recovered over the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., as Taras rose to the position of hegemon of the Italiote Greeks. Although the colony was already a few centuries old, this period highlights its increased importance in regional and global affairs. Furthermore, it marks a formative period in the *polis'* history, during which the Tarentine local identity took shape and was promoted.

This thesis aims to identify and contextualize the evolution of Tarentine identity during these years. This will be done through the analysis of Taras' network connections, of its emancipation from its metropolis, and of the markers of local identity that it chose to promote. Founded, in 706 B.C. as a Spartan colony, Taras was located on the site of the indigenous settlement Satyrion. Both its Laconian past and the new world that became the settlers' *oikos* blended throughout the centuries and gave birth to a uniquely local network and identity that dominated Magna Graecian affairs for centuries.

As has been the case with most works focused on the Mediterranean in the past few decades, this thesis must incorporate Braudel and Horden and Purcell's now seminal

---

[1] Hdt. 7.170.3.

works. [2] Though each has received its share of criticism and support, they have undoubtedly sparked recent trends and interests in the study of the Mediterranean world, its network connections and identity. [3] The Mediterranean is especially important for this thesis since Taras was allegedly the most important port in Magna Graecia prior to the foundation of Brundisium. [4] Harris claims that even the Greeks would have been aware of the sea's importance, as Hecateus calls it *ἤ ἡμετέρα θάλασσα,* which he interprets as a Greek understanding of the sea as a whole. [5] In addition, Braudel argues that the sea influenced both cities and the humans around it, while also providing "unity, transport, as well as the means of exchange and intercourse."[6] This however presupposes a notion of boundaries and frontiers, which Harden and Purcell claim to be "fuzzy" (sic) and nearly impossible to perceive, though they admit that they do not sufficiently delve into this notion. [7]

From the Tarentine perspective, it is important to establish the network's boundaries, though they should not be firmly placed only within the confines of the sea. The Mediterranean opened a "global" world to them, which extended to Knidos, Dura

---

[2] Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995; Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of the Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

[3] See Harris, W. V. "The Mediterranean and Ancient History." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by Harris, W.V., 1-44, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005., Malkin, Irad, Christy Constantakopoulou and Katerina Panagopoulou. "Introduction." In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by Malkin, Irad, Christy Constantakopoulou and Katerina Panagopoulou, 1-12, New York: Routledge, 2011., Collar, Anna. *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

[4] Polyb. 10.1.5-9.

[5] Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean.,* p. 15; cf. Hecateus F302c and F18b.

[6] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World.*, p. 276. He adds that the Mediterranean can also be seen as an obstacle and divider. Cf. Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean.*, p. 16.

[7] Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. "Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by Harris, W.V., 348-376, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005., p. 366; cf. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World.*, p. 168-171 who emphasizes the importance of boundaries, as he argues that the Mediterranean stretches beyond the boundaries seen on a map. For him, there was a "global" Mediterranean that reached, among others, the Azores, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in the 16th century. For a broader discussion on boundaries in Braudel, see p. 168-230.

Europos, and even the court of Alexander the Great. [8] Furthermore, besides the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and Ionian seas played an equally prominent role in the colony's development, particularly in its early stages. Thus, the concepts applied to the Mediterranean, especially in terms of network formation, should also apply to other seas. Taras' prominent position in Magna Graecia allowed it to take advantage of the avenues opened by the various maritime routes that extended their horizons beyond the seas themselves. The seas enabled and facilitated connections and networks. Connectivity throughout the Mediterranean was always present according to Horden and Purcell, even when the sea was most fragmented, which is true for Taras as well, since wars and other conflicts did not prevent the *polis* from continuing its economic interactions. [9]

Barabasi famously stated that networks "are present everywhere" and Malkin describes them as connections between nodes, similar to connecting dots on a map. [10] This is where the importance of Taras as a port comes into play, as Braudel and Malkin et al. have argued that a port cannot be studied without the implication of at least one other harbour connected to it and "speaking" (Malkin's quotation marks) to it by exchanging and moving goods, people, ideas, armies, traditions, and so forth. [11] Moreover, Collar claims that such interactions are the drivers of change, which is a central argument in support of my thesis. Osterhammel and Peterson agree that interactions transform into networks,

---

[8] For Knidos, see Hdt. 3.138 and Papadopoulous, John K. "Magna Achaea: Akhaian Late Geometric and Archaic Pottery in South Italy and Sicily," *Hesperia* 70:4 (2001): 373-460., p. 436; Poulter, Angela. "Transforming Tarantine Horizons: A Political, Social and Cultural History from the Fourth to the First Century B.C." PhD diss. Brasenose College, 2002., p. 71. For Dura Europos, Wuilleumier, Pierre. *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939., p. 226, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 68-69. For the court of Alexander the Great, Athen. 12.538.

[9] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea.*, p. 160-172; cf. Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean.*, p. 24 who points out that although this may be true, the important question lies in how far the potential was realized from one age to another, which is crucial for a "historical account" of Mediterranean connections. See chapters one and two below for continued interactions despite a fragmented Mediterranean world, particularly in the context of the Peloponnesian War.

[10] Barabasi, Albert-Laszlo. *Linked: The New Science of Networks*. Cambridge: Perseus Pub., 2002., p. 7.

[11] Malkin et al, "Introduction", p. 1; cf. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World.*, p. 276 and for a broader discussion, p. 276-352.

which in turn gain stability through diplomatic alliances and trade agreements.[12] The sum of Taras' interactions within its network will come to play a crucial role in the rise of its identity, as each of these nodal connections influenced the *polis* in some way and also shaped how Taras "advertised" its identity.

Malkin has primarily focused on the "Greek" world and networks, and therefore attempted to define what was considered "Greek" in the Archaic Period. This thesis both broadens and restricts those horizons. [13] It proposes to include the networks Taras created with native Italian populations, while also focusing on one particular locale, rather than an ethnicity as a whole. Although the Mediterranean and the networks it helped create will be at the centre of this work, they are but one side of the coin. Regionally, Taras, and *poleis* in general, also formed networks subdivided by region, kinship model (i.e. in relation to its metropolis), *syngeneia*, religious and ethnic affiliation (i.e. Dorian and Ionian), and so forth.[14] This is worth mentioning since it reveals that networks are not formed solely based on economic connections, but also from multiple types of interactions.

Thus, Taras fits within the context of "globalization" due to the dichotomy present in this term: the world becomes both smaller thanks to the increasing connections, but also larger due to the new perspectives and horizons it reveals.[15] The Tarentine world in the fifth century extended beyond Magna Graecia, which was arguably the case for a number of *poleis* in an ever-"globalized" Greek world. Yet, globalization undoubtedly also

---

[12] Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 6; Osterhammel, Jurgen and Niels P. Petersson. *Globalization: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005., p. 23.

[13] Malkin, Irad. "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18:2 (2003): 56-74., p. 58-59. For an in-depth study of Greek networks and the emergence of the "Greek world" in the Archaic Period, see Malkin, Irad. *A Small Greek World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Cf. Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean.*, p. 2 who deplores the fact that "Mediterranean" has [too] often been synonymous with Greek and Roman civilizations.

[14] Malkin, "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity", p. 57-58. On this, see also, Ulf, Christoph. "The Development of the Greek Ethne and their Ethnicity. An Anthropolohical Perspective." In *The Politic of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League: Textual and Philosophical Issues*, edited by Funke, Peter and Nino Luraghi, 215-249, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009., p. 231-235.

[15] Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalization*, p. 2-3.

influenced local affairs, through the process of what Roland Robertson called "glocalization".[16] It will be argued in the second chapter that glocalization can be applied even in the Tarentine case, but only in very unique situations, such as the Peloponnesian Wars and the rise of Alexander the Great and his *diadochoi*.

Despite the importance of concepts such as globalization and glocalization within this research, it will be shown that the most important element for the study of network connections and identity remains the local itself, as well as the concept of "localism". According to Hans Beck, the local exists both as a physical and metaphorical space; the former represents the locale, or the place itself, whereas the latter is a point of reference for those who share a space and thus an element, which they consider to represent their locale.[17] It becomes therefore important to understand how the "local" positions itself within this "globalized" Mediterranean world and how it develops its own identity. "Localism" is therefore more important than both globalization and glocalization in the understanding of an individual's or a community's local choices, practices, or culture. As for this thesis, the "locale" will be identified as the city of Taras, whereas the local elements will be those that pertain to this *polis* and its *chora*.

The local as an analytical concept has seen considerable development in recent years.[18] Katherine Clarke has called for scholars to move away from the old claims that parochial local historiography was of no interest to anyone outside of the home *polis*. For her, the Greeks had a distinguished understanding and knowledge of their local practices,

---

[16] See Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage, 1992. Robertson Roland. "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity." In *Global Modernities*, edited by Featherstone, Mike, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 35-53, London: Sage, 1995. Malkin, Irad. *A Small Greek World*., p. 14; Osterhammel, Jurgen and Niels P. Petersson. *Globalization: A Short History*., p. 7.

[17] Beck, Hans. "Localism in Ancient Greece." Accessed September 17, 2017. http://www.hansbeck.org/local/.

[18] See Malkin, *A Small Greek World*., Clarke, Katherine. *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008., Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire*., Kindt, Julia. *Rethinking Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

customs, politics, and time within which events happened.[19] In other words, though they did not call it a "local", the Greeks understood that other *poleis* emphasized different local histories and customs. For example, Herodotus and Menecles of Teos were honoured by the Cretan *demos* for performing Cretan poetry, which included local histories and past events. Clarke uses this second century B.C. decree to argue that local histories were understood abroad and even used as a form of interstate diplomacy.[20] The role of such "itinerant historians", as she calls them, is revealing of the importance of local histories and of the Greek understanding of different communities' histories. It can be argued that the Greeks abroad knew about and understood the importance of the Tarentine local victories against the Messapians and other indigenous groups. The significance of victory monuments dedicated by external *poleis*, including Taras, at Delphi would then be amplified by the political and diplomatic implications that the imagery came with (see Chapters Two and Four). Thus, using Clarke's arguments, it is possible to understand local developments through our surviving sources although no local account survives. The Greek knowledge of various local histories, as demonstrated through the Cretan decree, allows us to accept the legitimacy of some of the claims made by ancient authors regarding Taras' identity. Though literary tropes are abundant when it comes to the depiction of the Tarentines, Chapter Four will compile the available evidence in order to demonstrate how the locals themselves wanted to be perceived by their Greek peers.

---

[19] Clarke, *Making Time for the Past.*, p. 369-370; see also Goldhill, Simon. "What Is Local Identity? The Politics of Cultural Mapping." In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, edited by Whitmarsh, Tim, 46-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010., p. 54 on Strabo's claims (Strab. 2.5.1) that geography is not written for a local, but rather a cosmopolitan audience, despite it containing numerous local references and "histories."

[20] IC 1.24.1, Clarke, *Making Time for the Past.*, p. 346-347; on a more substantial discussion of this dedication, see Erskine, E. "O Brother, Where Art Thou? Tales of Kinship and Diplomacy." In *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives,* edited by Ogden, D. and Sylvie Le Bohec-Bouhet, 97-115, London: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002.

This thesis seeks to distinguish itself from previous works by emphasizing this local approach through the network theory model, rather than simply recounting a local history of the Tarentines. According to the sociological model that identifies strong and weak ties in networks, it is natural for a *polis* to have more strong ties with neighbouring communities (due to repeated and regular contact) and overall fewer
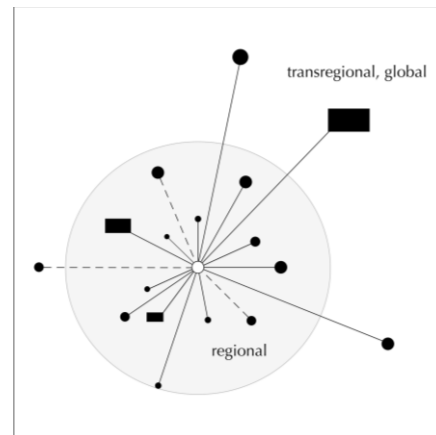
Figure 1 – Local Networks according to Hans Beck

long distance ties. Nevertheless the latter are important as well since they make the social network "global", in addition to linking local groups into one interconnected cluster.[21] Figure 1 indicates a need to understand the local perspective and to look at network connections from the local outwards. Through it, one can distinguish three categories: the local, the regional and the global. The middle dot can be identified as Taras, whereas the gray circle represents the regional level.[22] In addition, the dotted lines reflect weak ties, while the solid lines are strong ties. The rectangles are institutions, such as leagues and temples, while the circles are other locales with their own network webs. The illustration thus perfectly depicts the region's importance to the local, as it contains more network ties and nodal points than the global, or transregional, which has also been argued by previous scholars.[23] Thus, this is but one example in a plethora of similar networks, in what Malkin

---

[21] Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 10-11. She also adds that the long distance ties should for the most part be considered weak ties.

[22] I thank Hans Beck for allowing me to be part of the creative process of this diagram and for allowing me to use it in this work. Figure 1 is a preliminary version of a graphic that will appear in his forthcoming work: Beck, Hans. © *The Parochial Polis. Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018 (forthcoming).

[23] Beck, *The Parochial Polis*; cf. Malkin et al, "Introduction", p. 1; cf. Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean.*, p. 18 who states that agricultural surpluses are usually obtained from nearby sources, rather than distant places (with Rome being the exception with its acquisition of Egyptian grain); cf. Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 12 who argues that close knit communities, such as the clustering of neighbouring nodes, occur more often than long-distance connections.

has coined the "Greek Wide Web of identities", which would have even been familiar to Plato since he describes the Greeks as frogs around a pond (i.e. the Mediterranean).[24]

Connectivity, especially the importance of the sea in creating networks, globalization and localism all impacted Tarentine identity. But, what do we mean by identity? First, we must differentiate between "local identity" and "identity of place". This thesis will focus upon the identity of a *polis*, rather than that of individuals. Irad Malkin has attempted to identify what was "Greek" in the notion of Greek identity, arguing that individuals and locales can have multiple identities.[25] He used the example of a citizen of Syracuse in order to demonstrate that one could be either a Syracusan, a colonist of Corinth, a Sikeliote, a Dorian or a Greek depending on context and audience.[26] Similarly, a Tarentine could be a citizen of Taras, a colonist of Sparta, an Italiote, a Dorian and a Greek. In addition, Malkin, Hall and Goldhill have all pointed out the importance of opposition and contrast to identify, that is, how "Greekness" stood in contrast to something else.[27] For Herodotus, this concept appeared to be simple, as he begins his work by stating that he will relate the deeds of Greeks and "barbarians".[28] Herodotus' position indicates that the Greek had an understanding of a collective identity. Goldhill points out that Herodotus uses the phrase *epikhorios*, "as the locals say", thus contrasting the local with

---

[24] Malkin, "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity.", p. 60; Plat. Phaedo. 109b.

[25] Malkin, "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity.", p. 68, also his p. 62 on the development of regional identities, particularly in Sicily with the altar to Apollo Archegetes near Naxos and its role in establishing an identity that ignored sub-ethnic identities (Dorian and Ionian) and metropolis connections; cf. Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 97-119 and Thuc. 6.3. On the importance of *nomima* in a colony's identity, see also Thuc. 6.4.4; on Tarentine citizenship, see Cic. Pro. Arch. 5.5.

[26] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 19. He does not imply any sort of hierarchy in these layers of identity.

[27] Malkin, "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity.", p. 58-59 states that colonization informed and strengthened the idea of "Greekness" due to the newly perceived differences with the "Others" they came in contact with in Italy, France and North Africa; cf. Hall, Jonathan M. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.; Hall, Jonathan M. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002., p. 172-189 on Hellenic identity as standing in opposition to the Persians in the context of the Persian wars; Goldhill, Simon. "What is Local Identity?", p. 51.

[28] Hdt. 1.1.

the other, or the global.[29] It follows that in some contexts the local can also be the "Other", contrasted with the global, shared Greek identity. According to this framework, the Tarentine identity will both reflect a certain "Greekness", while also differing from Syracusan or Locrian identity, standing simultaneously in contrast and unison with other *poleis*. An example of this occurrence can be seen through a colony's relationship with Delphi. Taras, being a Spartan colony, emphasized a dual origin and sense of belonging through the *apoikia* and the *oikist* since the metropolis stands as a marker of local uniqueness, whereas the Delphic links and oracles present in the foundation myths reflect commonalities with other Greek colonies.[30] In other words, generally speaking, colonies shared a tie to Delphi as their first settlers, or the *oikist*, visited the sacred site prior to sailing abroad.

In order to establish against what identity is this "localness" defined, a few more concepts must be developed. As Horden and Purcell have stated, it is important to create a contrast between the history "in" and "of" the region.[31] In order to construct such an identity, Goldhill proposes a set of questions and the first deals with the issue of positionality: is the local described from inside or outside, or in other words is it described as "this is how we do things here" or "this is how they do things there".[32] Furthermore, borders and boundaries must be established, which in turn will create insiders and outsiders. It must also be remembered that asserting a local identity is a performance.[33] These are all points worth considering when defining Tarentine identity in the fourth chapter of this work. In it, Tarentine identity will be defined as "this is how we do things here", whereas the regional borders will be defined as Magna Graecia. Sicily, and thus by

---

[29] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 53.
[30] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 114.
[31] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 51, Horden and Purcell. "Four Years of Corruption", p. 356.
[32] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 46.
[33] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 46-50.

extent Syracuse, is a particular case that can be included both in the transregional and regional sections. It lies in the transregional since the Sikeliotes identified as a distinct group from the Italiotes (see n. 25) and the two groups are often presented in contrast and in conflict with one another.[34] At the same time, however, as Chapter Three will reveal, relations and contacts with Syracuse occurred for the most part within the regional sphere and distinctly impacted regional outcomes. Within Figure 1, Syracuse can arguably be identified as the node lying on the border between the regional and the global. Moreover, the "performance" of Tarentine identity will become apparent since the Tarentines will seek to spread their newly asserted local identity and other elements they considered "local" to the broader Mediterranean audience. The relation between the networks established and this local identity will be explored, as "global" connections came to influence "local" outcomes and identity and vice versa.[35]

Through these concepts and the model of network theory, this thesis will therefore seek to produce a more nuanced picture of Taras and of the local identity developed in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Though admittedly networks are in a way artificial representations of a more complex reality, establishing the various connections created by the Tarentines will allow us to identify the influences coming into and out of the city that ultimately shaped and ignited the development of a local identity. These connections can be economic, cultural, or diplomatic and often times these will also overlap. This model could then ideally be used for the study of other *poleis* of the late Archaic and Classical periods, particularly in the case of colonies. In order to achieve this goal, a combination of literary, archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence will be presented, as they

---

[34] The conflicts do not necessarily push them out of the regional section (see relations between Taras and Thurii in Chapter Three), but it does add to their opposition. See Ulf, "The Development of the Greek Ethne and their Ethnicity", p. 229 on local and regional sanctuaries used for exchange(s).

[35] Osterhammel and Petersson. *Globalization*, p. 7 who claim that throughout history, globalization came to influence "culture" and thus protests arose in defense of local uniqueness, individuality and identity.

each benefit this study in their own way, as it will be detailed through each chapter below. For instance, the ancient literary bias against the Tarentines that will be covered in depth in subsequent chapters requires accompanying archaeological evidence in order to provide a more objective approach towards Taras.

The first chapter of this thesis will therefore begin by focusing upon the *polis'* early days. Its modest beginning, as well as its location shaped long-term developments in the Tarentine network and identity. Close connections between Taras and the Greek world will reveal the importance of the sea for Taras' growth and expansion. This chapter will provide background information on the network ties and aspects of Tarentine identity discussed in later chapters. It will mainly focus upon archaeological evidence that will pinpoint towards the slow, but gradual development of a local Tarentine market through the help of overseas connections. As it will be seen, literary sources are scant for the early days and heavily biased or anachronistic.

The following two chapters will analyze the Tarentine network from the perspective of Beck's diagram: from the local outward. The network ties established will be divided into two categories: those abroad with the transregional Greeks and those established regionally, both with the Italiote Greeks and with the local populations. The analysis will focus not only on economic relations, but also on the movement of art, religion, individuals, philosophy, and cultural connections, as has been suggested by Malkin and Braudel's network studies. The second chapter will complement the first, since it will reinforce the importance of the sea and of the broader Greek world within Taras' network. By the fourth century B.C. its ties had developed and extended across three continents and into the heart of Asia. Most importantly, strong ties to Athens and Delphi played a crucial role in Taras' economic and cultural development and even in its identity formation. Here, archaeological and literary evidence will blend, as network ties can be

identified both through explicit mentions and various finds from previous excavations: pottery, artistic styles, votive offerings, dedications, and so forth.

The third chapter will focus on regional connections, discussing Taras' links with both the Italiote Greeks and the Italian populations. It will demonstrate that when Taras had reached the peak of its development in the fourth century B.C., the regional sphere played a more important role in its network than the transregional that was so prominent in the early centuries. By the fourth century, Taras stood as the hegemon of Magna Graecia and as a major player in trans-Mediterranean connections. As with the second chapter, both archaeological and literary evidence will be examined, however the latter will require a more careful approach. Bias against the non-Greeks is omnipresent in our sources and it is necessary to step away from the misconceptions perpetrated by ancient authors. In spite of the conflicts of the fifth and fourth centuries, archaeological evidence reveals more numerous positive interactions between Italiote Greeks and even between the Italiotes and native populations in terms of economic and cultural exchanges.

Finally, Chapter Four will discuss the development of Tarentine identity. Between the fifth and fourth centuries, Taras increasingly downplayed its Spartan association, while "local" features were promoted, namely its role as a defender of Greek freedom and its cultural and athletic prowess, to name but a few. As it will be seen, though the connection to and associations with Sparta never truly disappeared, there was very little "Spartan" about Taras, except for the memory of the *polis* as a Spartan colony. The chapter will emphasize the Tarentines' own voice by analyzing and attempting to disclose how they understood and described themselves, their history and their culture. Markers of identity and local features can be found in literary sources, particularly in the colony's foundation myths, as well as in the archaeological and vast numismatic evidence.

Chapter One: Taras' Modest Beginnings

706 B.C. is highlighted by one of the unique events in Archaic Greek history. For the first time, Sparta commissioned a group of individuals to set sail and found an *apoikia*, which would be located in Magna Graecia. Taras, the city, named after the eponymous hero, son of Poseidon and local nymph Satyria, has also been identified as the sole Spartan colony, though this has long since been disputed.[36] Its early days were a far cry from the impressive expansion in the fifth century and its eventual prominence in Magna Graecia in the fourth. This first chapter will contextualize the first two centuries of Taras' existence within the theoretical framework established in the introduction. The importance of the sea, as well as the development of a regional and global network will become apparent from the earliest moments, as the first settlers did not arrive to a barren landscape that they could immediately mould into a Greek world, reminiscent of their home. As with many Greek colonies, the Tarentine foundation can be described as a small settlement founded in the midst of pre-existing networks, trade routes and diplomatic relationships. The early relations, as well as those established throughout later centuries, will play an important role in the upcoming chapters, as they reveal the *polis'* development and the complexity of its early interactions that continued down into the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Archaeological research in the Tarentine area has identified pottery dated to as early as the fifth and fourth millennia B.C., in addition to evidence of Neolithic peoples living in huts along the shores of the Mare Piccolo. By 1800 B.C., inhabitants at Satyrion imported Helladic goods and established trading networks as far as Rhodes and Cyprus. In addition to being the site of the eventual Tarentine foundation, this settlement also played a

---

[36] On Spartan colonies and other foundations, see Malkin, Irad. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994., p. 8-9, 67-69.

crucial role in later Tarentine assertions of local identity, particularly with the cults for

Satyria (discussed in Chapter Four). Brauer and others have pointed out the Mycenaean

emporion in the Tarentine region, which disappeared in the aftermath of southward

migrations of north-central Italian peoples.[37] Excavations in the area contiguous to the

eventual Tarentine acropolis have revealed evidence of pre-Tarentine settlements and

included numerous Iapygian goods. This group had trickled in from Illyria around 1100

B.C. and was shortly followed by the Peucetians and Daunians.[38] Approximately 350

vessels were uncovered in an ancient well and are dated to the eighth century B.C. and

identified as "Iapygian". In nearby tombs, other vases belonging to the indigenous

settlement of Satyrion were uncovered.[39] Taras' first settlers therefore arrived in the midst

of a thriving settlement that already held ties to the Greek world and with other Italian

groups, whereas the region as a whole had a long history of trade and settlement. The

Tarentine settlers occupied an area in the midst of pre-existing network connections that

were established both inland and across the Mediterranean. The early interactions with the

Italiotes and local Italian populations undoubtedly played a crucial role in shaping the

subsequent Tarentine network, in addition to placing the arriving Greeks in contrast with

the "Other": the Iapygians.[40] Based on the scholarship on Greek identity, this would have

---

[37] Brauer, George C. *Taras its History and Coinage*. New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1986., p. 6-7; Taylour, William. *The Mycenaeans.* New York: Praeger, 1964., p. 151 points out a major site at Porto Perone-Satyrion, just south of Taranto, near the Ionian Sea. Among the finds, there were LH IIIA pottery sherds, as well as a few LH IIIB and C. He also adds that some of the pottery found at this site was without a doubt Rhodian.

[38] Astour, Michael C. "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 19:1 (1985): 23-37., p. 24, Brauer, George C. *Taras its History and Coinage*., p. 6-7; De Juliis, Ettore M. *Taranto*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2000., p. 16-17; Dunbabin, T. J. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948., p. 147.

[39] De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 16-17; see also De la Genière. "La colonisation grecque en Italie méridionale et en Sicile et l'acculturation des non-grecs," *Revue Archéoloqiue* 2 (1978): 257-276., p. 267.

[40] See below on relations between Tarentine settlers and Iapygians. Strab. 6.3.2 and Diod. Sic. 8.21 write πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι and πήματ᾽ Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι respectively; cf. Dion. Hal. 19.1. For a discussion, see Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 118-121, who argues that the oracles reflect an accurate depiction of the Archaic period Taras; cf. Giangiulio, Maurizio. *Democrazie greche: Atene, Sicilia, Magna Grecia*. Roma: Carocci editore, 2015., p. 134. The conflicts should not be limited between the Greeks and natives, as Strab.

been a defining moment in shaping the understanding of both a common Greek identity and a more locally distinct one.[41]

Taras' traditional foundation date, 706 B.C., is supported by the findings from two Greek tombs dated to the last quarter of the eighth century.[42] Combined with the evidence of eighth century Iapygian vessels in the nearby area, this reflects the proximity of the two groups during the *polis'* early days. The early relationship between these groups is difficult to establish due to the nature of the evidence. One of the main issues arises from the oracular response to the Tarentine settlers in the foundation myths, as it stated that they would become "a bane of the Iapygians" upon their arrival, which suggests that the earliest interactions were hostile. Furthermore, this evidence comes from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who wrote centuries after these events and potentially held anachronistic views caused by centuries of anti-Tarentine literature and tropes.[43] Nevertheless, Malkin argues in favour of the historicity of this response, as he claims that Taras' early days were highlighted by skirmishes with the Iapygians, unlike at Metapontion where archaeological records reveal traces of coexistence between the Greek and native populations.[44] Both Malkin and Dunbabin have argued that although there is little evidence for early disputes, the lack of Tarentine expansion at this time suggests that skirmishes probably occurred. Moreover, the great battles of the fifth century undoubtedly stemmed from previous hostile

---

6.1.15 claims that the foundation of Metapontion was also a source of dispute. For this, see Astour, "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy.", p. 27.

[41] See pages 13-15.

[42] The tomb findings included a σκύφος, a proto-Corinthian ἀρύβαλλος, as well as a bronze horse statue; De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 17; cf. Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 128. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks.*, p. 146 adds that evidence of Late Corinthian and black-figure vases has been found at Massafra, Gravinola, Monteiasi, Faggiano, San Giorgio and Leporano, which were all within 15 miles of Taranto. Leporano is particularly important because its pottery was dated to the eighth century B.C. and the area may have been inhabited even prior to Taras by the Greeks (for a full timetable of the findings see his n. 2, p. 146). Dunbabin adds that these sites did not contain any native Apulian pottery, further suggesting that Greeks inhabited the small settlements to which the findings belong.

[43] Diod. Sic. 8.21; Strab. 6.3.2.

[44] On Metapontion's situation, see Carter, Joseph Coleman. *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006., p. 55; see also n. 40.

relations.[45] For these reasons, scholars have argued that the Tarentines were unable to initiate much trade with the indigenous populations and thus the *polis* lagged behind more developed colonies in Magna Graecia, such as Croton, Rhegion and Sybaris.[46]

The slow development is reflected in Taras' small urban footprints shortly after its foundation, as well as in its apparent economic dependence upon other *poleis*. Tarentine coinage, votive offerings, and other local goods that were prominent throughout the fourth century B.C. only gradually appeared generations after the colony's slow initial development. Its acropolis and early settlement only measured about 16 hectares, while Tarentine coinage only appeared around the sixth century B.C., after the fall of Sybaris.[47] This was a standard size for an early colony, as archaeological evidence from sites at Siris and Metapontum-Andrisani shows that the Greek settlements in the seventh century B.C. only contained few dispersed Greek hut nuclei. Lo Porto argues that this surface was sufficient for the defense and sustainment of the early settlers.[48] It is around the seventh century that the earliest votive offerings and terracotta appeared, indicating the first traces of local production and craftsmanship. These were hand made locally, with traces of Daedalic style and Cretan influence.[49] A century later, excavations show traces of urban development and an increase in local products, including terracotta figures. The evidence also includes Corinthian imitation ware and local terracotta from the sites at Monte

---

[45] Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 118-121; cf. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks.*, p. 146-150.

[46] De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 15; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 12-13; Moretti, L. "Problemi di Storia Tarantina." In *Taranto Nella Civilta della Magna Grecia: Atti del Decimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto, 4-11 Ottobre 1970,* 21-66. Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1971., p. 32-33; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 118-119; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 82-84 who argues that based on archaeological records, Metapontion was also better connected with its indigenous neighbours than Taras.

[47] Lo Porto, F. G. "Topografia Antica di Taranto." In *Taranto Nella Civilta della Magna Grecia: Atti del Decimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 4-11 Ottobre 1970*, 343-381, Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1971., p. 362, De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 35, Burgers, G-J L. M. *Constructing Messapian Landscapes: Settlement Dynamics, Social Organization and Culture Contact in the Margins of Graeco-Roman Italy.* Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1998., p. 207.

[48] Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 194, Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 362.

[49] De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 87-89; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 16; Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 378. Circa 40 000 terracotta figures have survived from Taras and are dated from the seventh century B.C., down to the third century B.C. Nearly three quarters were found at the sanctuary at Fondo Giovinazzi.

Sannace, Gravina, Valesio and even as far as Canosa.[50] These goods reveal the beginning of a local Tarentine trading market, but also highlight Taras' early connections to the Greek world and a general awareness of artistic trends within it. In addition, they reinforce Brauer's argument that the first two to three centuries of a colony's existence relied on a greater dependence on the Greek world, with more limited contacts with the natives than with the Greek mainland.[51] Material, such as marble, must have been imported either to be worked in Taras or along the way by itinerant merchants and artists. The early funerary findings of the Archaic Period also confirm these trends, as Laconian, Corinthian, Attic and Greco-Oriental imported pottery can be found in the wealthy Tarentine tombs.[52] One can see the importance of the seas in the Tarentine context during these years, particularly in the establishment of long-distance economic ties and local developments.

This brief survey of the early Tarentine settlement serves an important purpose. It dictates the pace for the remainder of the *polis'* history, as it reminds us of the dynamic world in which the colonists arrived and the importance of the Mediterranean, Ionian and Adriatic seas in the first centuries of settlement. As Braudel and Malkin have showed, ports present two-way avenues for contacts and provide a dialogue between at least two nodes. These connections are multifaceted and Taras' early complex dynamics will serve to shape future networks and even identities. The Tarentines' interactions with a Greek or Italiote *polis* will inevitably put them in contact with an entirely different network system. Thus, the sea would have enhanced the connections and provided stronger unity between these Greek nodes, rather than being an obstacle (i.e. due to distance, lack of ships, conflicts, etc.) By the fifth century B.C., Taras established both strong regional ties and a

---

[50] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 98, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 16.

[51] Brauer, *Taras*, p. 15. Admittedly, this argument does not take into account archaeological evidence that is not traceable, such as agricultural products. For more on this issue, see Chapter Three.

[52] Brauer, *Taras*, p. 15; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 19; cf. Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 193-194, who goes as far as stating that colonies should not even be seen as city-states from their origins, but are rather urbanized in the course of the first three centuries of their existence.

multitude of long-distance ties, thus hinting at a slightly different reality at this time than what Figure 1 suggests (see page 12). The dependence on the acquisition of produce from the wider Greek world implies that Taras had more connections abroad than regionally.[53] Based on Clarke's arguments stated in the introduction, these would play an important role in diplomatic ties, as well as in the Greek world's understanding of Taras' eventual emancipation and offerings at various pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. This however should not undermine the importance of regional and local ties, especially considering the proximity of the indigenous settlement of Satyrion and the role that Satyria and Taras would play in the assertion of local identity (see Chapter Four). Though Malkin and Dunbabin have suggested that the Tarentines experienced hostile relations with their neighbours from an early stage, material evidence reveals a more complex relationship for a *polis* that made significant use of both its regional and transregional ties.

---

[53] A word of caution is needed here, as broad conclusions should be tentative due to the scarcity of archaeological evidence from the Tarentine region in comparison to sites such as Metapontion. The modern day city of Taranto currently covers the majority of the ancient sites. On this issue, see Carpenter, T. H. "Prolegomenon to the Study of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery,"*AJA* 113.1 (2009): 27-38., p. 30; Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 207.

Chapter Two: The "World-Wide" Cultural and Economic Greek Network

Taras' modest beginnings expose both the tenuous relations with its Magna Graecian neighbours and the gradual rise of its harbour's prominence. By the fifth century B.C., connections with Greeks abroad were further reinforced, as the Tarentine borders and sphere of influence expanded dramatically. The *polis'* physical expansion, conquests and constant warfare also corresponded with a rapid spread of its material and cultural trading networks. The increased wealth and position amongst the leading powers of the fifth century allowed the Tarentines to take part in cultural discussions that were otherwise reserved to the more developed Greek city-states, such as Athens.

This chapter seeks to highlight Taras' main network connections with the broader Greek world, particularly with Athens and Delphi, as these two centres came to play an important role in Taras' eventual hegemony in Italiote affairs, as well as in shaping its identity. Though the goal is not to provide an extensive list of each tie established by the Tarentines, other cultural and economic developments will be highlighted to illustrate the extent of the *polis'* broadened horizons by the end of the fourth century when it was able to employ some of the Mediterranean's most prominent generals. This chapter will demonstrate that by the arrival of the *condottieri*, Taras had become the dominant economic, cultural, and military centre in Magna Graecia.

Adriatic and Mediterranean connections existed from the earliest stages of the colony's existence. Thanks to Taras' prominent harbour, the seas continued to play an important role in its development until Brundisium overshadowed it as the major harbour in Magna Graecia. It was by the sea that the first settlers arrived from mainland Greece, from a region with an already established identity, trading network and cultural habits. From the perspective of network theory, the first settlers brought their pre-existing

connections to the Italian peninsula. As Anna Collar reminds us, the strongest ties are formed with those closest to us: neighbours, colleagues, families and friends.[54] Friends and families probably travelled together to found the new colony, while others remained behind. The memory of their ancestors and ancestral birthplace undoubtedly remained fresh in the mind of the colonists, as the very first overseas ties created were the ones with their native homeland. Hall and Malkin have already demonstrated that genealogies and ancestries played an important role in the Greek mindset and identity, even in the case of entire communities.[55] Furthermore, the colonists brought their customs and rites with them, which marked the first strong long-distance tie of the Tarentine network.

In light of this, it is therefore worth discussing these first settlers and their imports into the new colony. One of the best examples for this practice is the origin and spread of the Hyakinthian cult. Antiochus, via Strabo, claims that the original settlers, the Partheniae, revolted against the Spartans at Amyklae during a festival in honour of Hyakinthos. The location and moment chosen for this revolt are of particular interest since Hyakinthos' importance and link to Apollo at Taras are undeniable.[56] This pre-Dorian divinity is one of the first imports into the new colony and would later even become part of its identity. One of the first coin types identified at Taras, circa 530-510 B.C., depicts a naked youth holding a lyre and a flower: Apollo Hyakinthos.[57] By the fourth century B.C., both Hyakinthos and his sister Polyboea were prominently present in Tarentine offerings, as

---

[54] Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 10. On the debated origins of the first settlers, see Chapter Four below.

[55] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 99-100 on this claim and his reservations on the importance of genealogy. For Hall's views, see Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* more broadly, but especially p. 67-110 for a case study of genealogy in the Argolid; Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, p. 25-27.

[56] Strab. 6.3.2 is the only source to reference the foundation myth and link the revolt of the Partheniae to the city of Amyklae and the Hyakinthian festival; cf. Strab. 6.3.3, Dion. Hal. 19.1, Diod. Sic. 8.21, Paus. 10.10.6-8 . For an analysis of the origins of the first settlers and their impact on subsequent developments, see Chapter Four.

[57] De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 35; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, p. 19 who claims that it is possible to also identify this figure as the eponymous hero Taras; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 57-58; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 40-43.

deposits dedicated to them have been found in the Montegranaro area and in the Contrada Carmine outside the fifth century walls.[58] Polybius adds that by the time of Hannibal's arrival, Apollo Hyakinthos' tomb was still visible, which Lo Porto located circa five kilometers outside the city walls.[59] Thus, this Amyklean import is one of the earliest indications of a strong link between Taras and a Greek *polis*.[60] The Hyakinthian cult persisted at the very least until the time Polybius was writing and therefore should be considered as one of the city's local features despite its potential Spartan or Amyklaean roots.

This same method of analysis can also be applied to other cultural and religious links with the broader Greek world, most notably to the pan-Hellenic Delphi. Pausanias records two Tarentine donations at Delphi dated to the fifth century B.C. The first commemorated a victory over the Messapians and the second, a major victory against a Peucetian-Iapygian coalition.[61] Pausanias claims that Onatas the Aeginetan and Ageladas the Argive were commissioned to work on these, indicating a further connection to Argos and Aegina. The works also reflect Taras' material wealth and cultural prominence since the *polis* was able to secure the services of some of the most prolific Greek artists of the time. The "itinerant historians" identified by Clarke could have used these dedications to cement their knowledge and understanding of Tarentine history and then use this

---

[58] Lippolis, Enzo, Salvatore Garraffo and Mohammad Nafissi. *Culti Greci in Occidente. I, Taranto*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1995., p. 98-100; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 54; see also Calabrese, Gaetana Abruzzese. "Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 189-198, Napoli: Electa, 1996.*,* on importance of their cults in the fourth century, p. 193.

[59] Polyb. 8.28, Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 378; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 58.

[60] On importance of Hyakinthos at Amyklae, see Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 42-43, Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 40-42.

[61] Paus. 10.10.6 and 10.13.10; see also Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.,* p. 133; De Juliis, M. *Taranto*., p. 22, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 28, 33; cf. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 54-59 for an attempted dating of these two offerings. It is agreed that the first donation was made prior to the devastating defeat in 473 B.C. and the second afterwards. This interpretation however rests on yet another assumption, namely that the defeat prior to the establishment of a democratic regime did indeed occur in 473 B.C.

information as a means to establish favourable diplomatic relations and further network connections. In Goldhill's terms, these dedications reflect the local's description of itself, but can also be used by others to create a history of the locals, as Pausanias eventually did.[62]

The prominent connection to Delphi was also enhanced by both the presence of games and the Tarentine athletic prowess, including in pan-Hellenic games.[63] More specifically, it was reinforced by the *theoroi* who left Delphi and other sanctuaries in order to announce pan-Hellenic games throughout the Greek poleis of the Mediterranean.[64] Their arrival at Taras brought news not only from the city hosting the games, but also from mainland Greece and other cities along their itinerary. For instance, there is evidence of Tarentine *theorodokoi* who hosted messengers announcing the games in Epidauros in the fourth century B.C.[65] Tarentine athletes competing in the games were able to share their customs and habits with the other competitors; their victories and interactions thus allowed the opportunity for the formation of new ties. The amalgamation of all these *theoroi* and movements of athletes and trainers therefore helped expand the Tarentine network within

---

[62] Clarke, *Making Time for the Past.*, p. 346; Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 46. Paus. 10.10.6 and 10.13.10.

[63] On the Tarentine athletic culture and its role in the *polis'* identity, see Chapter Four.

[64] On the institution of *theoria* see Malkin, *A Small Greek World.*, p. 115-117; Dillon, Matthew. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece.* New York: Routledge, 1997*.,* especially p. 1-26; Rutherford, Ian. *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece: A Study of Theoria and Theoroi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Before the Pythian games, a delegation would be sent to all Greek *poleis* to participate in these games and those who were hosting the announcers (i.e. the *theoroi*) were the *theorodokoi*. Malkin states that there were also reverse directions of *theoria* from the Greek communities towards Delphi, who would represent their own individual locales. Thuc. 6.3.1 on the *theoroi* sacrificing at the altar of Apollo Archegetes and sailing away from Sicily. On the itinerary of the *theoroi* see Malkin, *A Small Greek World.*, p.117 who argues that in light of colonization, a new itinerary was needed for the *theoroi*; for a more in-depth study on the early networks of *theoroi* and their itineraries, see Perlman, Paula Jean. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000. On Tarentine links to Delos, Delphi and Dodona with a discussion of *theoria*, see Rutherford, *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece.*, p. 286, 113 and 289 respectively.

[65] These come from the list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros (Ep. Cat. E. 2) and are identified as Δαμοξενος and Ἱππων, dated to 356-355 B.C. and post 340 B.C. respectively. For these lists and names, see Perlman, *City and Sanctuary*, p. 68-69, 255, 264. In addition, Perlman suggests that Damoxenos can be identified with Damoxenos Philodamou Tarantinos, proxeny of Athens (= IG II^2, 248).

the broader Greek world, in addition to reinforcing its already strong link to Delphi.[66] The same connectivity can also be applied to other major sanctuaries, such as Olympia, where a spear has been uncovered with the inscription: *Σκυλα απο Θουριον Ταραντινοι ανεθεκαν Διι 'Ολυμπιοι δεκαταν* (these spoils taken from Thurii, the Tarentines dedicate to Zeus Olympus as a tenth). This is indicative of the relations between Taras and yet another major hub and pan-Hellenic site, while also depicting Tarentine attempts to use local events for self-promotion through one of its pan-Hellenic nodal connections.[67]

As for Ageladas of Argos, he was only one of many prominent artists and leading figures with connections to Taras. For instance, Lysippos worked on the colossal statue of Zeus in the fourth century, while Plato had a close relationship with the Tarentine *strategos* Archytas.[68] Plato even visited Taras and was able to persuade his *hetairos* to help liberate him from Dionysus of Syracuse's imprisonment.[69] Lysis of Taras became the teacher of Epaminondas in Thebes.[70] Lastly, Athenaeus lists a series of Tarentine artists who featured at Alexander the Great's court, marking an early example of the city's link to his imperial family that will later shape the city's development.[71] Thus, by the end of the fourth century

---

[66] Malkin, *A Small Greek World*., p. 20 has identified the sum of all *theoriai* as a hypernetwork connecting the entire Greek world. This multilateral dialogue would have undoubtedly helped solidify pre-existing Tarentine networks and relations, especially since the *polis* was renowned for its numerous successes in various competitions. See also Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 21-66 on Tarentine athletic prowess.

[67] See De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 25 for a discussion of this dedication. See also n. 64-65.

[68] For Lysippos' work, see Plin. NH. 34.40 who claims it measured 40 cubits; cf. Strab. 6.3.1 who claims that the colossus of Zeus was only second in size to the one in Rhodes.

[69] For Plato's friendship with Archytas, see Plat. L. 7.338c-7.339d; for how the philosopher helped Archytas establish an alliance with Dionysus and for the escape from house arrest Plat. L. 7.350a-b. See also Diog. Laert. 8.4 for cultural and philosophical exchanges between the two men and Plat. Laws. 1.637b for Plato's visit at Taras. Lomas, Kathryn. *Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 B.C. – 200 A.D.: Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy.* London: Routledge, 1993., p. 34-35; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 65; Laistner, M. L. W. *A History of the Greek World 479-323 B.C.* London: Methuen, 1957., p. 278.

[70] Diog. Laert. 8.1. Paus. 9.13.1; cf. Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis* for Lysis' escape to Thebes. See also Hornblower, Simon. *The Greek World, 479-323 B.C.* London: Methuen, 1983., p. 57, n. 8 for link between Pythagoreanism and Theban politics, which may have been promoted by Lysis.

[71] Athen. 12.538 recalls the conjuror Scymnos of Taras, the rhapsodist Alexis of Taras and the harpist Heracleitos of Taras displaying their professions at the court of Alexander.

B.C., the Tarentine network had expanded beyond the Mediterranean, as a wave of prominent Greek artists and philosophers circulated to and from the city.

Commercial, cultural and religious ties to Athens formed arguably the strongest long distance connection within the Tarentine network. The prominence of this link is surprising considering Taras' Spartan roots and the "global" context of the fifth century. The archaeological record suggests that the Tarentines consumed Athenian products on a massive scale. Tarentine artwork frequently displays Dionysiac imagery, revealing the *polis'* love for theatre, including the plays of Euripides and other Athenian playwrights, as well as concerns for communal celebrations and the *demos*. These are common in vase paintings, but also in funerary art in the local *naiskoi*. Such monuments built within the necropolis can be dated to as early as the 330s B.C. and followed an Ionian model with steles and reliefs recalling both Athenian style and subject matter. At Taras, they appeared shortly after they were introduced in Athens.[72] Furthermore, sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis Agrotera and Artemis Bendis have been identified at the sites of Torricella and Maruggio respectively. Although at first glance these seem to be local cults, it should be mentioned that Artemis Bendis derives from influences of the Thracian goddess Bendis and was also attested at Athens around the 430s B.C.[73] Though links between the Athenian and Tarentine cults to this goddess are difficult to determine, inhabitants of both *poleis*

---

[72] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 65; Carter, Joseph Coleman. "The Sculpture of Taras," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 65:7 (1975): 1-196*., p. 19-21; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, p. 94 who describes these as shallow temples or shrines that were decorated with limestone sculptures or paintings and were typically associated with the wealthier classes. Carter dates the majority of these *naiskoi* to circa 330-250 B.C. with the largest concentration around the end of the fourth century B.C. For evidence of a Tarentine theatre, see Flor. 1.13; De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 77; cf. Dion. Hal. 19.5 who implies that the Roman embassy came to address the Tarentines in the theatre prior to the Pyrrhic Wars.

[73] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 86-87; Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes*., p. 211; Calabrese, *Taranto*., p. 192. The site at Torricella and its cult have been dated to the early sixth century B. C. due to two archaic inscriptions (SEG XXXVIII 1014 and 1015), whereas Maruggio is dated to c. 600 B.C. based on the votive deposits found. Osanna, Massimo. *Chorai Coloniali da Taranto a Locri: Documentazione Archeologica e Ricostruzione Storica.* Rome: Istituto polgrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1992*., p. 14 adds that the sanctuary at Campomarino has revealed numerous terracotta dedicated to Artemis Bendis, suggesting that her worship continued at Taras for an extended period.

would have nevertheless been aware of the existence of this cult in their respective cities due to the strength of their ties. Athenian cultural and artistic influences are therefore undeniable at Taras.

Economic links between these two *poleis* were even more pronounced. As alluded to in the previous chapter, much of early Archaic ceramics were either imported from the Greek mainland or contained traces of various influences from *poleis* abroad, such as Corinth and Crete. The Athenian model was however the most prominent, despite some differences in style later developed in the Italiote context. In particular, South Apulian red-figure ceramics imitated the Attic model towards the end of the fifth century B.C., while clay vessels imitating black-figure Athenian ware also appeared.[74] The Athenian influence is certain, yet it is often difficult to identify whether the Archaic pottery was locally produced or imported from the Greek mainland.[75] Regardless, the Athenian "presence" was prominent at Taras into the fifth and fourth centuries through the adopted artistic and cultural practices. Yet, during the Peloponnesian War, Athenians were barred from entering the Tarentine harbour, presumably as a gesture in support of the Tarentine allegiance to its metropolis, Sparta. However, the need for such a decree suggests that

---

[74] De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 104; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 64; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 15.

[75] Dell'Aglio, A. "L'argilla: Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 51-67, Napoli: Electa, 1996., p. 56, De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 83, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 65, 75-76 who claims that of the 19 workshops discovered in Taranto in the last fifty years (at the time of her publication), the majority functioned at their peak during the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, they were active from the Classical period until the late Republican period; cf. Lippolis et al, *Taranto*, p. 107. Due to the scarcity of evidence from the Archaic Period (i.e. comparatively to other locations such as Locri or Metapontion) and combined with the aforementioned Tarentine lag at this stage, it can be stated that the majority of the pottery at this time would have been imported either from the Greek mainland or nearby Italiote *poleis*. De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 66, adds that the funerary findings of the Archaic period are often rich in ceramics imported from Greece and the rest of the Aegean, further emphasizing this notion. As Brauer, *Taras*, p. 61 suggests, it is only by the middle of the fourth century that Taras can safely be identified as a prolific center of production of pottery, as it was not affected by the decline of the Athenian ceramic industry at that time. Once again however, this does not imply that the connections were severed between the two *poleis*.

Athenian ships commonly anchored at Taras prior to these events.[76] This is an important example of "global" trends and events influencing local outcomes and perhaps a small hint at the process of "glocalization" coined by Robertson.

The Athenians were but one of many trading partners and nodes that "spoke" to Taras. In addition to the Athenian, Cretan and Corinthian influences already attested above, a large quantity of Achaian and Achaian-style material found at Taras and in its vicinity appears to have been imported from the north-western Peloponnese. Amphorae from Corcyra, Corinth, Cos and Knidos also reveal large imports of wine in the fourth century B.C.[77] Literary sources report widely that Taras was a place of debauchery and extensive wine consumption.[78] Plato himself claims to have witnessed the entire city drunk during the celebration of the Dionysia, which marks one of the earliest references to the Tarentine moral decay and debauchery.[79] The wide range of sources acknowledging Taras in such a negative light should be taken with a grain of salt. Both Greek and Roman authors preserve a strong anti-Tarentine bias, while the alleged Tarentine moral decay provided a convenient explanation for the city's decline and fall from glory. Thus,

---

[76] Thuc. 6.44.2; Diod. Sic. 13.3.4-5; Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 30; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 25 on the relevance within the Peloponnesian war context. In addition, such a decree should not be surprising, as Polyb. 10.1.5-9 states that all ships coming from Greece would have stopped at Taras before pursuing their journey into Italy, as the city hosted the most prominent harbour in Magna Graecia until the foundation of Brundisium in the third century B.C. On the foundation of Brundisium and its role in Taras' decline, see Carlsen, Jesper. "Le citta della Magna Grecia e Loro Sviluppo in Eta Ellenistica." In *Aspects of Hellenism in Italy: Towards a Cultural Unity?*, edited by Bilde, Pia Guldager, Inge Nielsen and Marjatta Nielsen. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1993., p. 17, Roselaar, Saskia T. *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*. Leiden: Brill, 2012., p. 154, Fronda, Michael P. *Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy During the Second Punic War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010., p. 200, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 49 and Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks*, p. 85.

[77] Papadopoulos, "Magna Achaea", p. 436; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 71. In addition, the relations with Knidos are further evident from an episode provided by Hdt. 3.138. In it, Gillus, a Tarentine exile, asks to return to Taras with a Knidian escort since the two cities held a favorable relationship. On this episode and Knidos' network, see Malkin, *A Small Greek World.*, p. 35; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 20.

[78] Plat. Laws. 1.637b; Plut. Pyrrh. 13, 16; Flor. 1.13.4, Athen. 12.519-522, Dion. Hal. 19.5, Zon. 8.2 and Strab. 6.3.4 who goes as far as chastising the Tarentines for celebrating more festivals than the number of days in a year.

[79] Plat. Laws. 1.637b.

Tarentine debauchery developed into a literary trope. [80] Nevertheless, exaggerated references to this decay indicate that the Tarentines celebrated a multitude of pan-Hellenic, regional and local festivals, religious ceremonies and even *symposia* that were prominent on vase and funerary paintings.[81] This implies a consumption of great quantities of wine for a city that extended over 530 hectares at its peak (see below).[82] Unlike in other Italiote cities, there is very little material and literary evidence suggesting that Taras was a prominent wine exporter, and though its immediate region may have sustained the city to a certain extent, the imports from numerous other *poleis* suggest a greater demand than the local supply provided.[83] Thus, literary sources and amphorae both indicate the importance of wine importation for Taras' economy, while also revealing the *polis*' network ties. Moreover, considering that Athenaeus praised Corcyrian wine and highlighted the wines of Cos and Knidos, it is evident that the Tarentines did not shy away from importing the finest goods that the Greek world had to offer.[84]

By the fourth century, Taras' economy had become one of the most prominent in Magna Graecia. Tarentine exports included terracotta, red-figure and Gnathian ceramics that appeared throughout the Adriatic, into Africa, Sicily, Egypt and as far as Dura

---

[80] Barnes, C. L. H. *Images and Insults: Ancient Historiography and the Outbreak of the Tarentine War*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.*,* p. 148. See also Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 29-32 on the issue of source bias in the Tarentine context.

[81] For a discussion on typical Tarentine scenes, see Carpenter, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery.", p. 30; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 95; cf. Gualtieri, Maurizio, et al. *Fourth Century B.C. Magna Grecia: A Case Study.* Jonsered: P. Astrom, 1993., p. 338 on ability to use typical Tarentine scenes to suggest that they were crafted in local workshops.

[82] Estimates of populations are difficult to come by particularly for the fourth century, as Moretti has argued that the decline of the Tarentine population had already begun by the time of the *condottieri*, as Archytas was able to field an army of circa 34 000, whereas Cleonymus' was only 22 000 strong. On this, see Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 59-60; cf. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 101 who claims that the depopulation of Magna Graecia has been overemphasized.

[83] Diod. Sic. 13.81-84 on the wealth of Acragas and their export of wine and fruits to Carthage and Libya; on agriculture at Metapontion, see Carter, Joseph Coleman. "A Classical Landscape: Rural Archaeology at Metaponto," *Archaeology* 33.1 (1980): 23-32; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 71-72 on the importance of viticulture and the importance of the wine demand at Taras; cf. Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 261 on Taras' need for exports in order to sustain itself.

[84] Athen. 1.32e for Cos and Knidos, 1.33b for Corcyra.

Europos.[85] As the *polis'* prominence increased, the Tarentines even attempted to trade with

Alexander's generals. For instance, Theodorus, a Tarentine slave merchant, was

supposedly rebuked and sent away by Alexander when he attempted to strike a deal with

the Macedonian general Philoxenus.[86] Moreover, much of the Tarentine wealth came from

its textile industry and fisheries, which were acknowledged throughout the ancient world.[87]

Wool became a staple of Taras' identity from an early period and its production continued

at the very least until Diocletian's reign.[88] Aristotle also mentions Tarentine fishermen in

his discussion of democratic institutions and thus reveals that fish was a staple of the *polis'*

economy.[89]

Lastly, Taras' employment of *condottieri* demonstrates both Taras' strong ties with

the broader Greek world even into the third century, as well as the importance of global

events on local and regional affairs.[90] Archidamus and Cleonymus came from Sparta,

whereas Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhus provide direct links to Alexander the Great,

as they were his uncle and cousin respectively.[91] Their status reflects both Taras' wealth

---

[85] Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 226, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 68-69.

[86] Plut. Alex. 22.1-2. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 69-70.

[87] For literary sources discussing Tarentine wool, see Plin. NH. 8.189, 9.137; Ed. Dioc. 21.2, 25.1; for earlier source, see fragment of Acheus of Eretria, Photius Lex. P. 569 12 = Acheus frg. 40; on importance of wool industry at Taras, see Carter, Joseph Coleman. "The Greek Identity at Metaponto." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by Lomas, Kathryn, 363-391. Leiden: Brill, 2004., p. 384; Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 20, Laistner, *A History of the Greek World*, p. 377-379, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 68.

[88] Ed. Dioc. 21.2, 25.1 in Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 20. See n. 87.

[89] Aristot. Pol. 4.1291b; see also Lombardo, M. "La democrazia in Magna Grecia: aspetti e problemi." In *Venticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della democrazia*, edited by Canfora, Luciano, 77-107, Paestum: Fondazione Paestum, 1998., p. 81; Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 20.

[90] Fronda, *Between Rome and Carthage.*, p. 189-199 has used the *condottieri* as evidence of the *polis'* hegemonic aspirations. Though this may be the case, it will be argued here that their employment is also an example of Taras' ability to maintain strong relations with the broader Greek world even into the third century B.C., with the arrival of Pyrrhus.

[91] Strab. 6.3.4; Plut. Agis. 3; Athen. 12.536; Diod. Sic. 16.62.4; Just. 12.2; Gell. NA. 17.21; Diod. Sic. 20.104.4. These passages reflect the impacts of these *condottieri* on relations and outcomes in Magna Graecia and on Italiote and indigenous groups alike. Though Archidamus lost his life at the hands of a native coalition, Alexander the Molossian was more successful and wanted to unite Sicily and Magna Graecia under his own kingdom, having even seized Herakleia in an attempt to conquer the West, as Alexander the Great had done in the East (according to Just. 12.2). See also Laistner, *A History of the Greek World*, p. 290, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 62-75.

and prominence within the Mediterranean context, as they were able to employ the Spartan king Archidamus, another member of the royal family with Cleonymus, and the Macedonian elite. In addition, Alexander's conquests had vaulted his family into an esteemed position, as multiple members of the royal family attempted to carve their own empire and follow their ambitions. Alexander's global exploits thus shaped outcomes within Magna Graecia, as Italiote and indigenous groups alike were affected by Taras' decision to employ these *condottieri*. With the right price and perhaps even pre-existing network connections, such as Theodorus' exchange with Philoxenus and the artists at Alexander's court, the Tarentines were able to buy their services, thus reflecting their continuous favourable relations with the broader Greek world.

As Kathryn Lomas has pointed out, Taras and Neapolis are the two *poleis* most commonly found on proxeny decrees. Thus, it should come to no surprise that the former was one of the frontrunners in the connections between Eastern and Western Greeks.[92] The goal of this chapter was not to establish a comprehensive account of each *polis* holding favourable relations with the Tarentines at one point or another, as undoubtedly a massive web can represent their network. Rather, it was to demonstrate the importance of the Mediterranean-wide, Adriatic and Ionian Greek connections in the development of Taras' network, wealth and power. Though it is agreed that the first few centuries saw a greater dependence on imports, the connections and networks established did not disappear after the Tarentine expansion had reached its peak in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.[93] Cultural and artistic trends continued to influence religious habits, artisanal creations and local artwork. The economic imports and exports are far ranging and Taras' ability to call in the highest Spartan and Macedonian officials reveal both the success of the city's

---

[92] Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 101.
[93] See subsequent chapter on Tarentine expansion. By 450-430, an enclosing wall was built around the city, which had expanded to ca. 510-530 hectares.

achievements and its strong connections. The presence of the most important harbour in Magna Graecia helped these outcomes, as some ships were forced to anchor in the Tarentine gulf even if their final destination lied beyond this *polis*.[94] Inversely, using their harbour to propel themselves into the broader Greek world, the Tarentines established dialogues with *poleis* across three continents. Moreover, once they arrived in the sphere of influence of a different *polis* and established favourable ties, they were put into contact with this *polis*' network and vice versa. Global or regional events could then influence and affect these relations, as was the case with the Peloponnesian War and Alexander's conquests. Taras' refusal to accept Athenian ships within its own harbour undoubtedly had repercussions to a certain extent on other Italiote *poleis*, indigenous groups, and Athenian trade. The power held by the Tarentines in this regard and their enormous network are evidence alone of the *polis*' status as a hegemon in Magna Graecia by the fifth century, indifferent of their actual aspirations. Similarly, Alexander's conquests allowed his family to rise to global prominence, which in turn allowed the Tarentines to call in Pyrrhus in order to help settle regional affairs and combat the fastest rising power at the time. The long distance ties acknowledged in this section thus play a prominent role in Taras' development, to the extent of influencing its military and economic decisions.

---

[94] See n. 76 on the Tarentine harbour.

Chapter Three: The Italiote World: Between Warfare and Cooperation

As discussed in the last chapters, Taras' network ties were characterized by extensive contacts with the broader Greek world from its earliest days into its so-called Golden Age. Yet, regional links were equally important, as the amalgamation of interactions with the Italiote Greeks and native populations eventually surpassed those with the Greeks abroad. This is consistent with Beck's view of the local and with the sociological model of strong and weak ties, as regional connections eventually become stronger and more numerous than the long-distance ties. Strabo claims that already by the seventh century, Taras held hegemonic aspirations, as Sybaris founded Metapontion in order to check Taras' expansion.[95] This reveals Tarentine early interactions with its Italiote neighbours who were supposedly more developed at this stage. Nevertheless, in spite of the frequent warfare preserved by our sources, archaeological evidence reveals that the *polis*' overall interactions with its surroundings are indicative of a tight-knit regional environment.

This chapter will explore Taras' regional network and its relations with the other Greek colonies and various indigenous groups during the fifth and fourth centuries through a few case studies. Firstly, the establishment of the democratic constitution will reveal the impact of networks and trends on Taras' decision-making and eventual hegemony. Second, a closer look will be taken at the interactions with individual Italiote *poleis*, focusing especially on the roles of Thurii and Herakleia in expanding Taras' horizons. Also, much like in the previous chapter, a discussion on economic and cultural interactions will help disclose the extent and influences of the regional network on local developments and identity formation. Lastly, the regional picture would be incomplete without the presence

---

[95] Strab. 6.1.15; Astour, "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy.", p. 27.

of different Italian groups who held multifaceted ties with their Greek neighbours. Taras'

ties with them will be therefore explored from an economic and cultural standpoint.

The devastating defeat suffered by the Tarentines at the hand of the Iapygians in c.

473 B.C. has been signalled as the catalyst for the adoption of a democratic regime.[96]

Though seemingly a peculiar choice for a Spartan colony, this decision was in line with

contemporary trends seen in Athens and with other revolutionary movements experienced

in Magna Graecia, suggesting both global and regional influences.[97] The episode also hints

at a Tarentine-Rhegian alliance, as the former were forced to retreat to Rhegion after they

were routed. Sources claim that the Rhegians were coerced into this alliance, which reveals

Taras' influence amongst its Greek peers at this time, as it was able to impose an alliance

upon another Italiote *polis*. It also hints at potential networks pre-established with

Rhegion's cluster. In addition, the eventual foundation of Thurii by the Athenians

undoubtedly further stimulated democratic ideas in Magna Graecia and influenced the

recently established system at Taras due to its proximity to the new colony.[98] The wave of

democratic revolts had a major impact across Magna Graecia, which came with several

outcomes. In the years following 473 B.C., buildings were built or needed to be

repurposed, while new institutions were created in order to accommodate this new

regime.[99] Moreover, following the constitutional change, Giangiulio has argued that the

---

[96] Diod. Sic. 11.52.1-5; Hdt. 7.170.3; Arist. Pol. 5.1303a. Herodotus claims that this was the greatest slaughter of Greeks, as 3000 Rhegians were killed, whereas the Tarentine losses were immeasurable.

[97] Polyb. 2.39; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 5 lists the examples of Rhegion and Syracuse, cf. p. 40 for evidence from fifth century Syracusan coin types; see Asheri, D. and Eric W. Robinson. "Popular Politics in Fifth-Century Syracuse." In *Ancient Greek Democracy: Readings and Sources*, edited by Robinson, Eric W., 123-151, Malden: Blackwell, 2004., for a discussion on fifth century Syracusan politics; Frederiksen, Martin and Nicholas Purcell. *Campania*. London: British School at Rome, 1984., p. 134-137; Berger, Shlomo. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992., p. 53 states that despite the connection to the Athenian movement, the Tarentine democracy may have been less radical because of its Spartan roots; cf. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 56-57, Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 36-39. See next chapter for further discussion.

[98] Diod. Sic. 12.10.7; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 36.

[99] On this and the importance of the democratic shift in Taras' emancipation from Sparta, see Chapter Four. The Tarentine theatre is an example of repurposing a building's function, as sources suggest that Taras'

political and military focus of the Tarentines shifted from the indigenous world in the north-east, towards the coastal areas in the west, as a means to expand their sphere of influence towards Metapontion and Thurii, the two primary economic and military rivals.[100] For Giangiulio, democracy had not only brought about a new political system, but almost an entirely new society, with new public buildings, possibly a new agrarian regime, and new foreign policy. The focus on the Metapontines was necessary, as their *polis* was better connected with the indigenous groups than the Tarentines until the fifth century.[101] In addition, an enormous expansion of the urban area followed in the middle of the fifth century. The most imposing elements of this building project were the enclosing walls built c. 450-430 B.C., measuring about 11 kilometers, increasing the size of Taras to 510-530 hectares and covering sixth century burial sites.[102] The need for such vast defensive structures also suggests tenuous relations with both Italiotes and natives, while also perhaps acting as a show of force and wealth.

---

assembly met in this building. See Flor. 1.13; cf. Dion. Hal. 19.5 who implies that the Roman embassy came to address the Tarentines in the theatre prior to the Pyrrhic Wars. De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 77.

[100] The exact date of this shift in foreign policy is difficult to pinpoint. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p 57 places the establishment of a democratic system circa 467 B.C.; Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 129, 138; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 51.

[101] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 84.

[102] This would have considerably surpassed the size of Metapontion (c. 141 ha) and even rivalled Athens (585 ha if including the Piraeus). For measurements and debate on Taras' size, see Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 364, Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 20, Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 209. Cornell, Tim. *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars.* London: Routledge, 1995., p. 204; see also Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 137, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 49-50, Sconfienza, Roberto, ed. *Fortificazioni Tardo Classiche e Ellenistiche in Magna Grecia: I Casi Esemplari nell'Italia del Sud.* Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2005., p. 32, Lombardo, "La democrazia in Magna Grecia.", p. 89 and Osanna, *Chorai Coloniali da Taranto a Locri*, p. 14-15 who attests dense settlements in the fifth century at numerous sites, including Masseria Cimino, Casino Fiore, Casino Siciliano, and Calabrese. Though the expansion is formidable and other buildings were built over the earlier necropolis, it remains that the entire area was not fully inhabited and occupied. Nevertheless, this would have allowed Taras to hold hegemonic aspirations rivalling those of Syracuse, as the city extended its defensive structure. Furthermore, it also reflected the wealth accumulated by the Tarentines through their victories and expansions, as they were able to finance such a programme in addition to employing a plethora of artists from across the Greek world (see previous chapter). Lastly, the need for these walls could have been a lingering trauma from the defeat in 473 B.C., but more likely suggest Taras' acknowledgement of the envied position it now held and the necessity to defend itself.

Two contemporaneous events further altered Taras' interactions with the Italiotes, adding a few other layers of interactions to the already complex Magna Graecian geopolitical, economic and diplomatic landscape: the foundations of Thurii and Herakleia.[103] The former not only brought democratic influences closer to Taras' walls, but also used artistic and architectural trends popular in Athens in the establishment of its infrastructure. Thurii had followed the traditional orthogonal model developed by Hippodemus of Miletus, whom Aristotle recognized as an important innovator and his system as the fashion trend of his time. As Poulter has stated, the fifth century Tarentine building project seems to have organized the city orthogonally.[104] Similar to the wave of democracy influencing Magna Graecian constitutions, the contemporaneous foundation of Thurii would have promoted the adoption of the orthogonal grid that was already a staple of Greek city planning.

In addition, both Thurii and Herakleia were founded upon pre-existing settlements: Sybaris and Siris respectively. Both of these had already established relations with the Tarentines, particularly the former, which supplied Taras with precious metals, in addition to other hubs such as Elba and Etruria. Thus, the foundation of Thurii must have affected Taras' network to a certain extent.[105] Founded in the 440s by the Athenians, Thurii perpetrated Athenian democratic and architectural ideas, while also providing an indirect link to Athenian customs and trends due to its origins. The appearance and spread of the Apulian red-figure ceramics has often been attributed to Thurii's influence in the spread of

---

[103] Diod. Sic. 12.35.1-2, Strab. 6.1.13 for Thurii; Strab. 6.1.14; Diod. Sic. 12.36.4 for Herakleia. See Brauer, *Taras*, p. 29-30.
[104] Diod. Sic. 12.10.7; Aristot. Pol. 2.8.1267 b, 7.11.1330b. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 50-51; cf. Lippolis et al. *Taranto.*, p. 48-50. See appendices in Poulter's work for reconstructions mapping out the city planning of the fifth century B.C.
[105] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 68.

Attic customs.[106] In addition to reinforcing the influence of democratic trends, Thurii provides a perfect example of how a nodal point in a network provides and reinforces links with its own web of connections. Although it was shown that Taras and Athens had immediate exchanges, Thurii indirectly helped reinforce this long-distance tie.

Despite these positive influences, hostilities between the two cities are repeatedly attested in ancient sources. Diodorus' account of naval and land warfare between the two cities implies such conflict was a common occurrence due to the events being presented as a passing reference in the narrative.[107] The aforementioned spear dedicated at Olympia following a victory over the Thuriians is concrete evidence of this animosity and perhaps even of Tarentine pride, as they saw it fitting to dedicate this spoil at one of the major pan-Hellenic sites. Furthermore, Alexander the Molossian attempted to move the meeting place of the Italiote League from Herakleia into Thuriian territory in an attempt to vex the Tarentines both by undermining their authority and by moving the league's joint festival from Taras' sphere of influence into what he perceived as a Tarentine rival.[108] Later on, Thurii preferred the Romans' support over their fellow Greeks, thus bringing yet another power into the Magna Graecian landscape and encroaching upon Taras' hegemonic status and sphere of influence.[109]

The foundation of Herakleia also played a major role in Tarentine economic and foreign policies. Though originally a joint Thuriian and Tarentine attempt to repopulate

---

[106] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 64 n. 95; cf. De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 104-121 on Thurii's influence particularly in the context of the Peloponnesian War when Athenian exports of ceramics into Taras would have declined.

[107] Diod. Sic. 12.23; see also Strab. 6.1.14.

[108] Strab. 6.3.4 recognizes that it was out of enmity that Alexander the Molossian did this.

[109] On these events and Taras' sack of Thurii, see. App. Samn. 7.2 and Strab. 6.1.13; cf. Dion. Hal. 20.4 who makes a similar statement about the Rhegians who appealed to the Romans for help against the Lucanians and Bruttians instead of the Tarentines, whom they mistrusted. This is yet another example of negative source bias within later sources. On the longstanding rivalry between Thurii and Taras, see Fronda, Michael. "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity." In *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries*, edited by Funke, Peter and Matthias Haake, 123-138. Sttutgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013., p. 136.

Siris, it was later recognized solely as a Tarentine colony. Lomas justifiably argues that Herkleia was founded as a counterweight to Thurii and as a means to protect Taras' interests.[110] In addition, this marks the establishment of a colony by a colony, adding yet another layer of interactions. As was the case with Thurii, Herakleia also provides evidence of mutual benefaction and influence outside of a military context, particularly with the establishment of similar political offices and the development of trade networks under Archytas.[111]

The most important event for the purpose of this chapter is the decision of the so-called Italiote League to convene at the pan-Italiote sanctuary of Herakleia, at some point in the middle of the fourth century B.C. The development and membership of the Italiote League is a difficult topic, which has been covered in greater detail in other works.[112] Its origins are debatable, while the main sources of its foundation are Polybius and Diodorus Siculus. The former claims that Croton, Sybaris and Caulonia came together to form a league modeled on the Akhaian League that would meet at a common temple of Zeus Homarios.[113] Taras' inclusion into the league is also difficult to pinpoint, but it is plausible to suggest it came some time after 393 B.C., when the league may have expanded or after 390-389 B.C. when Dionysios of Syracuse crushed the Italiote coalition at the battle of

---

[110] Strab. 6.1.14 on the joint foundation; cf. Diod. Sic. 12.36.4 who only mentions the Tarentines. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 23.

[111] For a discussion of Herakleia's *ephors* and their relation to Taras, see following chapter and Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 176, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 3, Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 37. For Archytas' role in sending ceramists to help implement workshops of protoitaliote vases at Herakleia, see De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 104-105.

[112] For analysis of its identity, years of formation and members, see Fronda, "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity." Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.* Wuilleumier, *Tarente.* Intrieri, M. "La Lega Italiota al tempo di Pirro," *MStudStor* 6 (1987): 25-37.

[113] Polyb. 2.39; Diod. Sic. 14.91.1 claims that the purpose of the league was to protect its members against Dionysius of Syracuse and the Lucanians; cf. Diod. Sic. 14.101.1 who states that the League's purpose would have been to defend its members against the Lucanians. This passage is problematic however since it refers to a period after the fall of Sybaris and the foundation of Thurii; Fronda has argued that it is probable that Polybius had in fact confused Thurii and Sybaris, as the former was established on the location of the latter. On this, the evolving purpose of the league and its original members, see Fronda, "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity.", p. 125-126, 133; Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 31-32.

Elleporos.[114] Taras' ability to recover from the disaster of 473 B.C. and to remain free of

Syracuse's wrath has led Lomas and others to argue that the *polis* had become a natural

successor to Croton as the league's leader.[115] Taras' wealth and hegemonic aspirations in

the fourth century (particularly under the rule of Archytas) would have allowed it to

achieve this position.

Thus, Strabo suggests that the league's common meeting place had been moved

under the Tarentine leadership, before Alexander the Molossian's arrival, from the temple

of Zeus Homarios to Herakleia, within Taras' sphere of influence.[116] Though the members

and goals of the league fluctuated throughout the two centuries of its existence, the

presence of the meeting place in Tarentine territory and the implications this holds for

potential network connections and alliances are enormous.[117] Moreover, the apparent

federal nature of this league can also be cemented by numismatic evidence, as both

Herakleia and Taras began reproducing Herakles-type coins, with similar imagery

appearing at Metapontion, Croton and Neapolis.[118] In addition to the Tarentine coinage that

---

[114] Fronda, "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity.", p. 133 claims that Diodorus' formation account in fact refers to an expansion of the league in response to the immediate threat of the Italic populations and Syracuse; Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks*., p. 33 argues that the League had eventually expanded to the extent of including communities in Campania, such as Neapolis; see Diod. Sic. 14.104.

[115] Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks*., p. 34-35; Fronda, "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity.", p. 134; Intrieri, "La Lega Italiota al tempo di Pirro.", p. 33-34.

[116] Strab. 6.3.4 claims that Alexander the Molossian moved the common sanctuary from Herakleia to Thurii (see above), thus implying that Herakleia had been the league's *panegyris*.

[117] On membership, see n. 113-114. In addition, on inclusion of Thurii, see Diod. Sic. 14.101; cf. Strab. 6.1.13. Thurii's pleas for help against the Lucanians perhaps hint at Tarentine-Thuriian occasional alliances; Fronda, "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity.", p. 135-136 and Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 129-130 have proposed the sanctuary of Demeter at Herakleia as the potential common ground of the league. See also Polyb. 2.39.

[118] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 135; Rutter, N. K. *The Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily.* London: Spink, 1997., p. 95. Regardless of Lomas' attempt to include Neapolis within the Italiote League, it is clear that the Tarentines did have some relations with this *polis*, as reflected from the events of the Samnite Wars and the promise of providing ships for the Neapolitan cause (see Dion. Hal. 15.5 and Liv. 8.27). Mackil, Emily and Peter G. van Alfen. "Cooperative Coinage." In *Agoranomia: Studies in Money and Exchange Presented to John H. Kroll*, edited by Kroll, John H. and Peter G. van Alfen, 201-247, New York: American Numismatic Society, 2006., p. 208-210 are very critical of the use of cooperative (see federal) coinage as evidence of cooperative economic arrangements. They argue that although the initial production of coinage by the league's founders may have had economic motives, the coinage of the Sybarite "empire" (authors' quotation marks) rather focused on political relationships. In addition, they do not see the benefit

had found its way both in Italiote and native territory by the fourth century, this is further evidence of the *polis'* widespread influence and economic activities.[119] Herakleia would thus eventually become more than Taras' colony. It also acted as a mediator and facilitator of communications between its metropolis and other Italiote *poleis*.

Taras' interactions in the fifth and fourth centuries included other Italiote cities, such as Rhegion, Neapolis, Metapontion, and Syracuse. The latter's favourable relations with Taras alone should be seen as a main reason for the Tarentine expansion and ability to thrive while other Italiote *poleis* were decimated.[120] With cities such as Rhegion and Croton out of the picture, the Tarentines had little competition in their quest for hegemony. Outside of Syracuse, Taras could not be threatened barring an unprecedented coalition and thus it can be argued that the Tarentine Italiote network and Taras' influence within it had reached their peak during the fourth century B.C. Taras' entry in the Italiote League signalled the height of its prominence in Magna Graecian affairs and of its interactions, both cultural and economic, with its neighbouring Greek *poleis*. Though these had occurred for centuries, the Tarentines had the opportunity to bask in the *polis'* hegemonic status and become the primary driver of Italiote interactions.

---

for hegemons to allow their symbols on another city's coins. Though this may be the case, imposing the usage of a standard coin type does nevertheless suggest some sort of dialogue, whether it was unilateral or bilateral. The Tarentine attempt to impose its imagery on this "federal" coinage comes from a long history of similar actions taken by Sybaris and Croton, as Mackil and Van Alfen acknowledge. Tarentine coinage was famous throughout antiquity (as it will also be seen in Chapter Four) and even the Romans acknowledged the importance of the Herakles-type coins, as they minted a series of coins with Romulus and Remus on the obverse and Herakles wearing the lion skin on the reverse after their victory in the Pyrrhic Wars. Miles, Richard. "Hannibal and Propaganda." In *A Companion to the Punic Wars*, edited by Hoyos, Dexter B., 260-279, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. p. 268-269 points out that the Romans associated this coin type with the Greek cities, and especially Taras, which had just been defeated and was the center of production of such coinage.

[119] Tarentine coins have been found at Metapontion, Croton, Locri, Capua, Peucetia, Daunia, etc. For a discussion and comprehensive list of locations see Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 68, Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 227.

[120] Dion. Hal. 20.7.3 for Syracuse's seizure of Croton and Rhegion; Diod. Sic. 14.102-105 for Syracuse's victory at Elleporos and aiding the Lucanians against the Italiotes. For this argument, see Carter, "The Sculpture of Taras.", p. 8, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 43, 53, Astour, "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy.", p. 33-34, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 131; cf. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 34-35 who reminds us that Taras originally joined Acrotatos in an attempt to check Syracuse's growing power under Agathokles (Diod. Sic. 19.70-71).

Shared cult practices also speak to mutual exchanges and interactions. The common Italiote sanctuary at Herakleia is a clear example of a shared cult. The rise of mystery cults amongst Italiote *poleis* in the fourth century can also be attributed to mutual exchanges and interactions. Dionysiac Orphic cults attested in the Bay of Naples spread southward. Secret chambers in the Tarentine necropolis served for the purpose of Dionysiac worship and the cult remained prominent at Taras even after the Roman occupation, as implied by both literary and archaeological attestations.[121] As for more specific Orphic cults, little evidence has survived of the Tarentine practices. Herodotus' and Pausanias' discussions of the cult indicate that there were regional variations, which implies that Italiote practices probably differed from others elsewhere in the Greek world.[122] Though more evidence would be needed for specific conclusions, this marks an example of the importance of studying Taras' networks and incoming influences in order to understand its identity and local practices. The close interactions enabled by the Italiote League allowed for these ideas to be exchanged and augmented the pace and range of their spread at an unprecedented scale.

These exchanges however only provide one side of the coin of affairs in Magna Graecia. The various indigenous populations also played a prominent role in each *polis'* growth and interactions. The Tarentine case was no different. It has already been discussed that the early stages of Taras' history were marked by constant skirmishes with the neighbouring Iapygians, which are reflected by two oracular traditions preserved by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus.[123] The nature of these sources has pushed some scholars to identify

---

[121] Hardie, C. G. "The Great Antrum at Baiae," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 37 (1969): 14-33., p. 19-22 who makes a case for the numerous funerary vases depicting scenes of the Underworld to be understood in the context of Dionysiac Orphism and related to mystery cults, as Orpheus often appears on them; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 56, Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 378; Liv. 39.41 for Postumius' investigation of the cases related to the Bacchanalian affair.

[122] Hdt. 2.80-81 for Orphic practices; for local and regional Orphic variations and influences, see Paus. 2.30.2 (Aeginas), 3.20.5 (Laconia), 5.26.3 (Elis), 9.30.7-11 (Boeotia).

[123] With respect to the oracular response to the colonists, Strab. 6.3.2 says πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι, whereas Diod. Sic. 8.21 writes πῆματ' Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.

a negative relationship between Taras and the indigenous groups. Others have called for a more cautious approach due to the severe source bias and anachronistic assumptions (see Chapter One).[124] Upon their arrival, the Tarentines are said to have become the bane of the Iapygians. The notion of being a bane or a calamity for a people has a long tradition in Greek sources and, as a literary device, it should be seen as an expression of a continuous state of warfare and hostility: the Tarentines became the eternal enemy of the Iapygians from the moment of their arrival.[125] Recent archaeological evidence however suggests that the Tarentines participated in a dialogue of "mutual acculturation", as Poulter calls it, between the Greeks and Italian peoples.[126] In other words, recent scholarship has shown that not all interactions were negative and that the indigenous populations played a crucial role in several aspects of a *polis'* growth: economic, religious, and cultural. Thus, the traditional view of Greek crafts and pottery created and painted by the Greeks for the Greeks should be dismissed. Not only did the Tarentines import pottery from mainland Greece, but they also supplemented these with local and regional products and disseminated both of these throughout Magna Graecia.[127]

---

[124] Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 120-121, Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 133, Nenci, "Il *Barbaros Polemos* fra Taranto e gli Iapigi e gli *Anathemata* Tarantini a Delfi." in *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 6.3 (1976): 719-738., p. 719-738 on discussing the Tarentine view of the Iapygians as slave labour; cf. De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 21, . Robinson E. G. D. "Between Greek and Native." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honor of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985.*, edited by Descoeudres, Jean-Paul, 251-265. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990., p. 265, Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 42, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 4-5, Small, Alastair. "Some Greek Inscriptions on Native Vases from South East Italy." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton,* edited by Lomas, Kathryn, 267-287. Leiden: Brill, 2004., p. 282 on the more cautious approach.

[125]Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 123; cf. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 27 and Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 22-34. Comparatively, Achilles is referred to as a bane to the Trojans in the Iliad (Il. 22.421-422).

[126] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 23; for an older view, see De la Genière, *La colonisation grecque en Italie Meridionale.,* p. 257 who argues that mutual acculturation is based on the level of traditions of heritage contained on both sides. De la Genière uses the example of Anatolia to demonstrate this, as the Greeks came into contact with the Phrygians and Carians, who had a long tradition and heritage prior to the arrival of the Greeks. As stated, this view is no longer applicable.

[127] For traditional view, see Trendall, A.D. *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: A Handbook.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989., p. 17; for more recent developments see Carpenter, T. H. "The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia," *Memoirs of the American in Rome* 48 (2003): 1-24., p. 1 who adds

In short, this analysis will step away from the Greek and "barbarian" dichotomy propagated by the sources, especially for Taras, in order to demonstrate mutual economic and cultural exchanges between the Tarentines and their Italian neighbours, which adds the final pieces to the already complex network system.[128] The various indigenous groups preserved their independence for an extended period of time, had their own individual networks, economic and political allegiances, and should thus be considered as equal partners despite the Tarentine hegemony.[129]

In spite of the early skirmishes assumed by Malkin and Dunbabin, cultural exchanges between the Tarentines and the Messapians occurred as early as the sixth century B.C. Italic inscriptions indicate that the Messapian alphabet is derived from the Tarentine Greek.[130] Around the same time, the natives adopted the lathe from Italiote *poleis,* which they began using in the production of local ceramics.[131] The adoption of traditionally Tarentine elements can be further observed from burial grounds at Messapian and Peucetian sites, such as Ugento, Noicattaro and Rutigliano. Not only do these contain imitations of Greek ceramics and other local goods, but they also depict themes reminiscent of the Tarentine aristocratic tombs, such as scenes of *symposia* and the palaestra.[132] Burgers argues that by the fifth century B.C., these are deliberate choices by the Italic elites, who understood traditional Greek burials, the purpose of the items within them more broadly, as well as the implications of the depicted scenes. He uses the example

---

that some scenes painted on these vases contain such complex imagery that would require a good deal of familiarity of Greek mythology and traditions. For more on the plausibility of this argument, see below.

[128] For a discussion on the problem of this dichotomy, its inequalities and generalizations, see Small, "Some Greek Inscriptions on Native Vases from South East Italy.", p. 282; . Robinson "Between Greek and Native.", p. 265; Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 192.

[129] De la Genière, *La colonisation grecque en Italie Meridionale.,* p. 267; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 82, see also Thucyd. 7.33 for evidence of Iapygians and Messapians aiding the Athenian cause during the Peloponnesian War, in direct opposition of the Tarentine position.

[130] Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 218; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 15; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 20. See also Chapter One and n. 40.

[131] De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 20.

[132] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 101-102.

of an indigenous vase found at the sanctuary at Oria in order to demonstrate Italic understanding and appropriation of Greek myths and legends, as the two figures depicted are interpreted as Odysseus and Circe.[133] This understanding comes from decades and centuries of mutual interactions and cultural exchanges from various contexts. Furthermore, the presence of "common" sanctuaries, such as Oria, brought opportunities for the Greeks and natives to worship the same divinities, provide votive offerings and, on a more basic level, interact with one another.[134]

Moreover, the philosophical interest displayed by the Italic elite reveals their mastery of Greek traditions. Aristoxenos, to whom *Life of Pythagoras* is attributed, and Diogenes' compilations claim that Lucanians, Messapians, Peucetians and even Romans came to see Pythagoras' teachings. Although these sources pose some problems of anachronism and do not refer to Taras explicitly, they nevertheless indicate that Italic elites attended Pythagoras' teachings and imply that they continued to do so even after Archytas moved the school's seat to Taras.[135] In addition, the Tarentine *strategos* also ventured into Lucanian territory in order to retrieve texts requested by Plato.[136] Thus, even the supposed enemy of the Italiotes was at some point a participant in this cultural network promoted by Archytas.

---

[133] Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 219. He adds that in the fifth century context of constant warfare, the aristocrats of the indigenous groups could have appropriated Greek myths and legends in order to fabricate ties with various *poleis* (i.e. for military and diplomatic purposes). On this appropriation, see Hdt. 7.170.2 for the Cretan origins of the Messapians; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 119.

[134] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 119; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 20; Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 219, p. 204-217 identified local fine wares, imported Greek ceramics, votive cups and fragment terracotta figurines at the site. The variety of such products across similar sites suggests that this also served as a trading site, though he admits the evidence is not convincing. Nevertheless, the presence of Greek inscriptions dedicated to various divinities (i.e. SEG XXXVIII 1014 and 1015 at Torricella) reveal Greek participation in rituals. Thus, even though Burgers recognizes the need for further systematic studies, it is plausible to infer Greek and native interactions at these sites.

[135] Porph. Life of Pythagoras. 21-22., Diog. Laert. 8.1; on anachronism of the presence of Lucanians and Romans at Pythagoras' teachings, see Small, "Some Greek Inscriptions on Native Vases from South East Italy.", p. 277; cf. Musti, Domenico. "Le Rivolte Antipitagoriche e la Concezione Pitagorica del Tempo," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 36:3 (1990): 35-65., p. 49.

[136] Diog. Laert. 8.4; Musti, "Le Rivolte Antipitagoriche", p. 46.

Both the cultural ties and the economic relations appear to be rarely affected by military and political alliances.[137] Tarentine material goods are found throughout various Italic sites despite the numerous conflicts attested by our sources. By the fifth century, black gloss ceramics and protoitaliote red-figure wares from Taras and Metapontion predominated Greek ceramics in Messapia and Peucetia, including at the sites of Vaste, Valesio, Oria, Monte Sannace and Gravina.[138] To name a few other examples, Taras' trade connections are also apparent in Lucanian territory, as Tarentine rhyta and jewellery are found at Roccagloriosa, in addition to terracotta moulds potentially imported from Taras. Fourth century grave goods in this region also include luxury items from Tarentine workshops, such as a volute krater found at Buccino.[139]

The presence of Tarentine goods in Italic territory and of indigenous elites amongst the Greeks implies less hostile interactions than the literary sources emphasize. In addition, though not always in direct contact with others, the Tarentines also served as mediators and the *polis* was often a middle ground between the natives and other Greek *poleis* both in Magna Graecia and abroad. Taras' prominent harbour and its status facilitated the interactions between various nodal points in these complex networks.[140]

---

[137] Robinson, "Between Greek and Native.", p. 264 uses the example of the trade of red-attic figure vases during the Peloponnesian War in order to validate this statement; see also Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 222.

[138] Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 195, 212; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 82, 98, who adds that by the fifth century, the Peucetii are no longer mentioned in opposition to the Tarentines, suggesting improved relationships; cf. p. 101-102 where she argues that it is difficult to differentiate between Tarentine and Metapontine production in the fifth century, although supposed Tarentine goods were prominent at sites along the isthmus between Taras and Brundisium; Strab. 6.3.4 even claims that the Peucetians and Daunians aided the Tarentines. On the problems of transmission of this passage, see De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 25, Nenci, "Il *Barbaros Polemos*", p. 725.

[139] Gualtieri et al, *Fourth Century B.C. Magna Grecia.*, p. 258, 263, 338; cf. Carpenter, "The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia.", p. 3-5 who cautions against the exaggeration of Tarentine influence in the indigenous acquisition of "Greek" trading goods, as there is more evidence of native workshops imitating Greek pottery than such Tarentine ateliers.

[140] Carpenter, "The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia.", p. 3-4 has argued against Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily.*, p. 23 and stated that Attic vases came directly from Greece into Peucetian territory, through a native port. Though this is plausible, especially considering the independence shown by these groups (see above on Messapian independence), the Tarentine involvement in this trade should not be undermined. The apparent favorable relations with the Peucetians post-fifth century would

Furthermore, these interactions should not be limited to Magna Graecia, since the Tarentines developed ties with indigenous groups beyond their immediate sphere of influence, including the Etrurians and Samnites. E. T. Salmon has already argued that the latters' worship of Castor and Pollux may have originated from Taras, where the cult was particularly prominent.[141] Cicero reports that Archytas also had ties with a certain Pontius the Samnite, and Livy claims that the Tarentines even attempted to arbitrate the Roman-Samnite conflict.[142] Taras' Italian connections were equally broad and arguably even more complex than its Greek connections, and by the fourth century, it was already increasingly difficult to differentiate "Greek" and "native" elements, as cultural and economic interactions had facilitated the appropriation of each other's features.[143] This implies that the Tarentines also adopted native customs and cultural elements, in spite of Strabo's claim that they inhabited one of the three remaining non-barbarized *poleis*.[144] This can be seen through artistic influences and trends adopted from various Italian groups. For example, as Lomas has argued, there might have been some Messapian influence in the Tarentine burial traditions.[145] Taras' hegemony thus allowed it to expand its connections, as the city benefited both from a variety of increasing exports and imports. Though these could not be categorized as strong ties, the connections established with the natives are necessary to complete Taras' regional interactions. In contrast to the early years of the colony, in which there was a heavy reliance upon ties with mainland Greece, it slowly became evident that

---

have promoted a different dynamic between the two groups. See also Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 221.

[141] Salmon, E. T. *Samnium and the Samnites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967., p. 170-171 who states that there was also a temple to Castor and Pollux in Capua and thus this may have been an alternative origin of their worship among the Samnites; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, p. 91 for Castor and Pollux at Taras.

[142] Cic. Sen. 12; Liv. 9.14; see also Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 48 on attempted arbitration.

[143] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 81.

[144] Strab. 6.1.2; cf. Liv. 35.16.

[145] Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks*, p. 352 on the Messapian influence on the presence of the necropolis within the city walls; Carter, "The Sculpture of Taras.*", p. 28-35; cf. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 250-251, Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 79-91, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons." p. 51.

the combined Italiote and Italian ties grew more numerous and more influential throughout the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The evidence presented in this chapter has demonstrated the extent of the Tarentine network, differentiating between the importance of the transregional and regional interactions. The ties established abroad, regionally and locally were unique to this *polis*. By the fourth century, Taras had become more than a military hegemon, as it was involved in cultural dialogues and economic interactions throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Exterior events, such as the Peloponnesian War, Alexander's conquests and the Roman ascendance to power undoubtedly affected Taras' connections. Yet, its network was so vast that even though fickle alliances or Hellenistic conquests may have influenced its ties, the *polis* continued to thrive. Taras' hegemonic aspirations were undeniable, but the *polis* existed alongside numerous other groups who also had expansionist desires and shared an equal political status up until the fourth century B.C.[146]

Taras' network established up to this point will be used in the subsequent analysis in order to facilitate and pave the way for the understanding of the rise of Taras' local identity, while also showcasing how these connections had impacted local developments. It then becomes necessary to understand what the Tarentines chose to disseminate to and adopt from each audience (i.e. Greeks abroad, Italiotes, indigenous populations), since this will influence how they elected to portray their identity to each of them.

---

[146] Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 193.

Chapter Four: Breaking the Chains: Tarentine Emancipation and Local Identity

As Greek ships sailed the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Ionian seas to set anchor in the Tarentine harbour, they were at last welcomed by a majestic sight. Renowned throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, the harbour opened the route to the *polis'* colossal statues of Zeus and Heracles, its wealthy *chora*, and to Magna Graecia as a whole.[147] The green pastures and the rivers Taras and Galaesus, which helped develop the wool industry, only added to the bucolic scenery that greeted recently arriving travelers, merchants and artists.[148] According to Polybius, the latter of these rivers was also commonly referred to as Eurotas, in honour of Taras' metropolis, as were other elements in the city and *chora*.[149] Yet, during one of his visits, Plato makes no mention of this imagery, but rather remarks that he witnessed the entire city drunk during the Dionysia.[150] He also refers to Taras' inhabitants as ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις: "our colonists". Thus, whereas Polybius emphasizes the association between metropolis and *apoikia*, Plato takes matters a step further and calls Taras a colony of the Greeks as a whole. These associations leave no room for the local to express itself and have a voice of its own. Both of these traditions are examples of how outsiders chose to identify Taras, though these do not necessarily reflect how the locals portrayed themselves.

All of our surviving literary sources attempt to give us a picture of how they perceived this particular locale, its traditions and particularities. Yet, as Simon Goldhill has pointed out, when it comes to establishing local identity there is an important distinction

---

[147] See Diod. Sic. 8.21 on imagery near the harbour. On importance of the harbour itself, see Chapter Three.
[148] On wealth of the Tarentine land and bucolic imagery, see Paus. 10.10.8, Verg. Georg. 2.197; Paus. 10.10.6; Diod. Sic. 8.21 for the river Taras; Polyb. 8.33 for the river Galaesus, which was supposedly commonly referred to as Eurotas, in honour of the *polis'* roots.
[149] Polyb. 8.33.
[150] Plat. Laws. 1.637b.

between "this is how they do things there" and "this is how we do things here".[151] In spite of this issue, it remains possible to identify what was "local" in Taras, at least to the degree allowed by our sources. The fifth and fourth centuries were pivotal years in the development of "local" Tarentine identity. Taras' hegemonic status in Magna Graecia and its global recognition allowed the city the opportunity to break away from its Spartan roots and advertise its local identity both on global and regional scales. Sometimes the Tarentines consciously dissociated from their Spartan past. Other shifts in local identity emerged organically, resulting from centuries of development, interactions and network connections.

As Collar and Poulter have shown, identities are never static and interactions, both positive and negative, often drive change.[152] The established ties and relations discussed in previous chapters all shaped Taras' identity, as well as how the Tarentines performed and asserted their identity to different audiences: Greeks abroad, Italiotes and even native groups. This chapter will begin with a brief overview of Taras' initial Spartan connection and then contextualize the association's decline in the fifth and fourth centuries through the analysis of uniquely "local" elements of Taras' identity. It will be shown that the defeat of 473 B.C. and the subsequent democratic government were pivotal in shaping local identity. Other elements also helped, namely the rise of foundation myths, the local hero, and even athletic competitions to name but a few markers of local identity.

A few ties had been preserved between the Spartans and Tarentines by the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The cult of Aphrodite Basilis, associated with the Archaic Spartan cult of Aphrodite Areia, has been interpreted as an early indication of remnants of Spartan

---

[151] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 46.
[152] Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 6; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 8.

identity, while the increased importance of the Dioskouri reveals later affinities.[153] However, as Salapata has argued, the prominence of Castor and Pollux on coins and other plaques only became noticeable after 344 B.C., when Taras re-established a close alliance with Sparta in the preamble of Archidamus' arrival as a *condottiere*.[154] The incorporation of the necropolis within the city walls has been previously interpreted as evidence of Spartan influence since the metropolis also observed this custom. Recently however, scholars have argued that this occurred out of necessity due to the city's massive fifth century expansion, as well as due to Messapian or Iapygian influences.[155] Considering the regional ties between Taras and its neighbours, this suggestion is more appealing. It should be added that there is no evidence of hostile relations between the Tarentines and the Spartans throughout the years and therefore their relationship should not be understood as such. On the contrary, Taras clearly maintained some ties to the Peloponnesus throughout its history considering that it was able to call in Spartan *condottieri* later on. Yet, events of the fifth and fourth centuries encouraged the adoption and promotion of a different local identity.

Taras' competing foundation traditions must be analyzed in more detail, as they provide prime evidence for the rise of the local Tarentine identity. The variations in these stories are essential in our understanding of the myth's evolution and transmission to the broader Greek audience.[156] There are two major traditions. The earliest, dated to the fifth century, emerges from Antiochus' version transmitted through Strabo, whereas Ephorus

---

[153] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 57; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 91; Osanna, *Chorai Colonial*, p. 14 shows that terracotta dedicated to her were found as late as the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

[154] Salapata, Gina. *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Kassandra*. Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2014., p. 199.

[155] On the old argument, see Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 250. On the inevitability of the city walls incorporating the necropolis, see Brauer, *Taras its History and Coinage*., p. 93; on potential Iapygian influences, see Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 380 and on Messapian influence, Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 352; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 51. Polyb. 8.28.6-8 claims that it was in fact an ancient oracle that ordered the *intramoenia* burial. Though scholars discard this, it remains nevertheless important that Polybius deemed it necessary to point out this peculiarity about Taras, marking it as a distinct, local feature.

[156] For a full list of these foundation myths and relevant passages, see appendix A.

and Aristotle preserve another, which is dated to the fourth century B.C.[157] Later versions are detailed in the works of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pausanias and Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus.[158] With the exception of Pausanias, each account tells the story of a disenfranchised group that unsuccessfully revolted against Sparta and was then sent to colonize Taras. It is here that the two diverging traditions can be observed: one similar to Antiochus' myth of the fifth century and one indicative of a shift in identity during the fourth century.

Antiochus, Ephorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Aristotle all claim that Taras was settled by the Partheniae: illegitimate children born during the Messenian War who did not possess Spartan citizenship rights.[159] This disenfranchised group revolted to obtain voting rights. Antiochus claims that the revolt was expected to take place at Amyklae during the Hyakinthian festival, whereas Ephorus places it in an unspecified agora. Dionysius of Halicarnassus simply states that the Partheniae were defeated after a dispute and Aristotle does not even mention a revolt, but claims that the Spartans uncovered their conspiracy. Antiochus' version is particularly interesting since it allows for a more thorough investigation of the first settlers. Some authors have argued that the Partheniae may in fact have descended from the Amyklaeans, a pre-Dorian people who had populated Arkadia prior to the Spartan annexation and who perhaps comprised a big portion of the early Tarentine settlers.[160] The association with Amyklae is further emphasized by the

---

[157] Strab. 6.3.2-3. Antiochus = Strab. 6.3.2; Ephorus = Strab. 6.3.3; Aristot. Pol. 5.1306b.
[158] Diod. Sic. 8.21; Dion. Hal. 19.1; Paus. 10.10.6-8; Just. 3.4.
[159] Strab. 6.3.2-3. Antiochus = Strab. 6.3.2; Ephorus = Strab. 6.3.3; Dion. Hal. 19.1; Aristot. Pol. 5.1306b.
[160] Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 40-43 also adds that the Partheniae may in fact have originated from Illyria, or may have been a political party that had fallen out of favour; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, 7, p. 9 n. 3 and p. 19; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 113 states that it is possible that the first colonizers were in fact the Amyklaeans who were not assimilated following the Spartan colonization, to which Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 46-48 adds that they were placed under the guidance of both Apollo and Hyakinthos. On the importance of Hyakinthos and Polyboea in Tarentine worship, see Chapter Two.

prominence of the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos at Taras.[161] The establishment of such cults in "new lands" had enormous implications in terms of identity construction, as a broad network of cults emphasized belonging, while also providing links to these new spaces, thus resulting in connectivity. According to Malkin, this interconnectivity pushed pan-Hellenic aspects, such as the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos, to the foreground, while simultaneously promoting more local and regional identities, as it will be seen below.[162] In this case, the cult connected the settlers both to their Amyklaean past and to their new locale, as they organized the worship of Hyakinthos and his sister Polyboea at Taras. Moroever, Polybius refers to a Hyakinthian tomb at Taras, while Pausanias notes a similar tomb at Amyklae.[163] This highlights the similarities between these two groups, the inter-*polis* ties and the cult's *longue-durée* at Taras. Though it is impossible to confirm the Partheniae's Amyklaean origins, it is interesting to note that Antiochus' tradition from the fifth century chose to preserve this ancient link, whereas subsequent authors did not.

Diodorus Siculus preserves a somewhat different version of events, reporting that another disenfranchised group, the Epeunactae, established the colony.[164] Though he mistakenly seems to use this group interchangeably with the Partheniae, his account agrees that the settlers of Taras comprised individuals who attempted to revolt against Sparta. Thus, the sources seem to agree that the original settlers were forced to depart, and as such it is unlikely that they would have embraced any Spartan origins, which also explains the lack of "Spartan" elements in the early Tarentine settlement.

The sources agree that Phalanthus was the founding figure, rebel, and leader of the colonial expedition. Interestingly, unlike the colonists, he was a Spartan citizen. Antiochus

---

[161] On his worship, see pages 25-26.
[162] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.*, p. 106.
[163] Polyb. 8.28; Paus. 3.19.3-5.
[164] Diod. Sic. 8.21.

calls him the *προστάτης* of the Partheniae, while Diodorus claims that he was the lover of a Spartan *ephor*, and Justin adds that his father had held a prominent role amongst the Spartans.[165] Though Antiochus describes him as the leader of the Parthenian revolt, a century later, neither Ephorus nor Aristotle even mention him or his involvement in the foundation. This indicates a gradual shift in Tarentine identity and the earliest indirect reference to dissociation from Spartan origins. It also marks a clear shift between two major traditions preserved by our sources. Though Phalanthus resurfaces in later versions, there appears to be a conscious choice to diminish his importance in the fourth century.

Sources after the fourth century also leave Phalanthus aside or reduce his role in the city's foundation. Both Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus appear to copy Antiochus' version of the myth, however only the former places Phalanthus at the head of the revolt, whereas the latter does not even mention him. Moreover, even though Diodorus preserves Phalanthus' role, his account differs when it comes to the foundation oracle. Whereas Antiochus claims that Phalanthus had been sent to Delphi to consult the oracle, Diodorus and Dionysius leave the supposed *oikist* out of this episode, as they claim that it was the disenfranchised group who consulted the oracle and received the permission to settle upon Satyrion's wealthy lands. Be it as it may, the group of settlers also appears to have been eager to rid themselves of their Spartan connection, as Phalanthus was exiled to Brentesion shortly upon arrival, which suggests further dissent and disconnection between the settlers and their apparent leader.[166] In fact, Justin and Pausanias are the sole accounts that focus on Phalanthus and his deeds, yet they come from the second century A.D. when Taras was but a shell of its former self and its portrayal and identity had changed far beyond the scope of this

---

[165] Strab. 6.3.2; Diod. Sic. 8.21; Just. 3.4; Paus. 10.10.6 explicitly states that he was a Spartan: οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο Σπαρτιάτης Φάλανθος.
[166] Just. 3.4.

thesis.[167] Though Justin's account has similarities to Antiochus' version (i.e. the Partheniae revolt and its aftermath), Pausanias' does not even mention any other group or event outside of the *oikist*'s deeds, which is clearly an indication of later Spartan bias, or perhaps bias encountered throughout the author's travels in the Greek world.

Malkin is correct in describing Phalanthus as an *agent provocateur* of the Spartans.[168] However, there is little archaeological evidence to support the existence of a hero cult to Phalanthus at Taras. Malkin attempts to argue in favour of it, though most of the arguments lie in educated comparative case studies and associations to the hero cult of Lycurgus in Sparta.[169] Although a cult may have existed in the *polis*' early days or the Archaic Period, there are no signs of it during the fifth and fourth centuries. Moreover, the two accounts that focus on his deeds, Pausanias' and Justin's, date from the Roman Imperial period and should be taken separately from the accounts of the fifth and fourth centuries. It is telling that Ephorus and Aristotle, who wrote only a century after Antiochus, completely disregard Phalanthus from their accounts.[170] Even the later accounts of Diodorus and Dionysius gradually reduce or completely remove Phalanthus' role in this expedition, which is reflective of the versions that were circulating in the fourth century B.C.

---

[167] Just. 3.4; Paus. 10.10.6-8.

[168] Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 140.

[169] For this argument, see Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 122-131; Malkin also points out similarities to Solon's ashes spread at Salamis in Diog. Laert. 1.62. However, though Phalanthus died at Brentesion, where a shrine was supposedly dedicated to him, there is no evidence suggesting that there was a cult transferred back to Taras. Malkin admits this himself and adds that the only other supporting evidence is the dolphin rider on coinage, which could be interpreted as either Phalanthus or Taras (see below). In addition, there is a reference in Just. 3.4 to Phalanthus supposedly asking for his ashes to be spread around the Tarentine forum, suggesting that he had maintained strong ties and favored his foundation. Yet, this is another problematic source and, similar to Pausanias' version, comes from the imperial period when there was an evident shift in the depiction of the Tarentine myth, that focused more prominently on Phalanthus.

[170] For further analysis on the foundation myths as a whole, see also Pearson, Lionel. *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors*. Atlanta: American Philological Association, 1987., p. 162-173; Berard, Jean. *La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie Méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité: L'Histoire et la Légende.* Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957., p. 162-173; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 17-46; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 112-140; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 11-14.

Thus, starting at some point in the fifth century, Phalanthus was gradually overshadowed by Taras, the eponymous hero. This is illustrated by the second Tarentine dedication at Delphi. Dated to c. 460 B.C., this work was commissioned after a victory against the Peucetians and Iapygians and depicts the slain king Opis, as well as Taras and Phalanthus. This suggests that the two heroes were either fused or confused by this time, while perhaps even used interchangeably, as the *polis* had become comfortable in adopting two "heroes": one local and one imported.[171] The local hero's importance continued to grow in the subsequent years. A fragment from Aristotle tells us that by the fourth century, the dolphin rider prominent on Tarentine coinage came to be identified as Taras rather than Phalanthus.[172] Aristotle's *Politics* refers to the foundation myth, but makes no references to Phalanthus, indicating that the founding figure had almost entirely fallen out of use. Ephorus' account also highlights this, since the *oikist* is absent in his version, which is more or less contemporaneous to Aristotle's. Numismatic evidence preserves even clearer signs of Taras' prominence. The hero is depicted holding a *kantharos* in his right hand and a trident in his left, evocative of his father Poseidon, to name but one example.[173]

As the son of pan-Hellenic Poseidon and of the local nymph Satyria, the eponymous hero Taras reveals multiple layers of identity-making within the local Greek mindset.[174] The Tarentines, despite emphasizing their local heroes, also identified as

---

[171] Paus. 10.13.10; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 38; cf. Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 138; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 28-33.

[172] Pollux 80 = Aristot. Fr. 590 Rose; See Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 39 and Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 133 for a discussion of this fragment and the interpretive issues. These coins contained the inscriptions "TAR" or "TARAS", which according to Malkin should denote the city rather than the eponymous hero. See also Brauer, *Taras*, p. 20 on the persistence of this type down to the late third century B.C. However, considering Aristotle's understanding of Taras' foundation myth, the lack of any reference to Phalanthus and the discussion provided by this chapter, there is little reason to dismiss his statement; cf. Paus. 10.13.10 for a later retelling of Phalanthus being saved by a dolphin prior to reaching the Tarentine shore.

[173] Jentoft-Nilsen, Marit. "A Fourth and Third-Century B.C. Hoard of Tarentine Silver," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984): 167-172., p. 167; cf. Giangiulio, Maurizio. *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 137; on Peloponnesian origins of the *kantharos* in imagery, see Salapata, *Heroic Offerings.*, p. 231.

[174] De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 12.

Greeks who worshipped pan-Hellenic divinities who were then adapted to their local needs. Taras' increased prominence within the *polis* and abroad can be seen as either an attempt to emphasize local identity in the face of the adversity coming from non-Greeks or as a reflection of the challenges faced by the local population to reconcile what Malkin called "historical autonomy and national youthfulness."[175] The oracle's response that the Tarentines would become a "bane" for the locals is resonant of the fifth century conflicts with the Messapians and Iapygians and of other local circumstances.[176] Moreover, the claim that the settlers arrived and immediately entered a conflict with the local native populations is indicative of the tensions of the fifth century when these accounts were written.[177] Taras, as a local hero, was therefore a more appropriate choice to reflect the local struggle and the Tarentine victories over their enemies.

Taras' mother, Satyria, was also featured on Tarentine coinage and in votive offerings, and was even indirectly associated to the founding myths. In the accounts, the Delphic oracle offered Satyrion and its lands to the settlers, which has been associated with the name of the pre-existing settlement upon which they arrived.[178] In addition to giving her name to this settlement, the nymph began appearing on coin types after 490 B.C. and especially in the mid-fifth century. Terracotta votives found at the sanctuary site at Torre Saturo have also been identified as Satyria, who is portrayed as a veiled female dolphin rider. [179] Thus, local elements are incorporated within broader traditions and their

---

[175] Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 133 and 139.

[176] Strab. 6.3.2 and Diod. Sic. 8.21 both preserve the oracle that states that the Tarentines would become the bane of the Iapygians, while both these and Dion. Hal. 19.1 emphasize the oracle's prediction that the settlers would occupy the wealthy lands of Taras near the previous settlement Satyrion. See also chapters one and three.

[177] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 38-39; see Strab. 6.3.2-3. Diod. Sic. 8.21; Dion. Hal. 19.1.

[178] Strab. 6.3.2; Dion. Hal. 19.1; Diod. 8.21; De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 13;

[179] De Juliis, *Taranto*. p. 26 and 44-45 states that a cult for the nymph Satyria was found between the coast and today's coastal road, whereas the votive offerings of female figures included veiled females in front of dolphins who were identified as Satyria; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 39 and 54 also adds

importance is noticeable both in foundation stories, but also in the daily life of the Tarentines. As discussed previously, Tarentine coinage was found throughout Magna Graecia.[180] Based on Clarke's arguments, the Greeks as a whole would have had a good knowledge and understanding of each other's traditions, particularly when it came to forging alliances and other bonds. Therefore, the local hero Taras and his mother Satyria were "globally" recognized through the Tarentine coinage (as attested by Aristotle), its foundation myths that various authors spread, as well as the Delphic dedication that explicitly depicted the eponymous hero.[181]

Whereas the foundation myths reveal a certain distancing from Spartan associations, the Tarentine constitution never truly mirrored its metropolis' form of government. In fact, this can be used to further highlight the lack of Spartan prominence within the colony from an early stage. Though little is known about the political system governing the first settlers, it is clear that the Tarentines never adopted the Spartan diarchy. Herodotus mentions one Tarentine *basileus*: Aristophilides. However, he has been interpreted as a tyrant, rather than a king.[182] *Ephors,* prominent in the Spartan constitution, are never referenced by ancient sources. [183] There is no reason to assume that a colony necessarily mimicked the constitution of its metropolis, as many have already argued. [184] Lastly, if the foundation stories contain a kernel of truth, the settlers were dissatisfied with

---

that female figures at this site relate to Athena and Gaia, which are associated to Satyria, Demeter-Kore and Aphrodite; Osanna, *Chorai Coloniali*, p. 8.

[180] See n. 119.

[181] For Clarke's arguments, see introduction.

[182] Hdt. 3.136 is in fact the sole reference to a *basileus* in the *polis* prior to the establishment of the democracy. Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 36; Lombardo, "La democrazia in Magna Grecia." p. 88; cf. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 176 for an attempt to tie this to Spartan traditions.

[183] The *ephors'* existence at Taras is assumed for the most part due to their implementation at Herakleia. For this argument, see Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 176, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 31 and Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 36-37.; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 37. A more substantial evidence of their presence is the mention of an *ephor* on an amphora dated to the third century (SEG XL 901), which is beyond the scope of this thesis and does not necessarily imply that they would have been a staple of the Tarentine constitution in previous years.

[184] Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 35-36; Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni, Palazzo Grassi. *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli, 1996., p. 218.

Sparta, as its constitution was a main cause for their revolt. Thus, they had little reason to adopt the Spartan political constitution in their new home.

Whatever the nature of the earliest government, a major constitutional shift occurred in 473 B.C. in the wake of the defeat against the Iapygians, when the Tarentines adopted a democracy. This form of government stood in stark contrast to the Spartan constitution.[185] Little is known about the practical functioning of this system, aside from Aristotle's praise for its more moderate form of democracy compared to the Athenian model.[186] According to him, magistracies were divided into two classes, one that was elected by vote and the other by lot.[187] Furthermore, there was also an office of *strategos*, which was available to a man only twice in his lifetime, although Archytas abused these limits (see below). [188] Unfortunately, there is little epigraphic evidence to support further claims about Tarentine offices, as there are no decrees from the boule or other political public spaces, such as at Neapolis.[189]

---

[185] Diod. Sic. 11.52.1-5; Hdt. 7.170.3; Arist. Pol. 5.1303a. Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 41 argues that based on this episode one can make some inferences of Taras' previous constitution, namely that such a dramatic shift could not have occurred if the previous government would have been a rigid aristocracy, which implies that the city already held some democratic tendencies; cf. Berger, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*., p. 53 who claims that the aristocracy previously in charge would not have relinquished its powers easily and this shift would have come with a period of civil strife; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 56-57 in the same vein claims that the shift would not have occurred immediately after the defeat and it would have taken a while for the new system to be implemented, as he marks its establishment around 467 B.C.; Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 36 adds that the Tarentines saw this as a good opportunity for a constitutional change, as part of the leading figures would have died in combat if Herodotus' account holds a grain of truth by calling it the greatest slaughter of Greeks.

[186] Aristot. Pol. 6.1320b; cf. Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 42 who argues that this description might refer to the democratic system of Archytas' time. Berger, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*., p. 53 has stated that the moderation can be explained by former Spartan influence.

[187] Aristot. Pol. 6.1320b.

[188] Diog. Laert. 8.79.

[189] For these issues, see Lomas, "Urban Elites and Cultural Definition: Romanization in Southern Italy." In *Urban Society in Roman Italy,* edited by Cornell, Tim and Kathryn Lomas, 107-120. New York: St Martin's Press, 1995., p. 113; Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 379; Musti, Domenico. *Strabone e la Magna Grecia: Citta e Popoli dell'Italia Antica*. Padova: Programma, 1988., p. 228. Gasperini, L. "Note di Epigrafia Tarentina." In *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967*, 135-140. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971., Bowersock, G. W. "The Barbarism of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995): 3-14., p. 8.

As argued in Chapter Three, this political system necessitated new public spaces and buildings and coincided with the building project of the mid-fifth century.[190] Literary sources also suggest that the theatre was repurposed as a gathering place for magistrates and they preserve evidence of a prytany.[191] All in all, fifth century Taras adopted a political system, offices and civic buildings that had very little resonance with any potential Spartan tie. The second dedication at Delphi, which came after the adoption of this system, is perhaps the first attempt by the *polis'* new leaders to announce their arrival within broader discussions. By focusing on the colony's local geographical, historical and topographical contexts, there appears to be a desire to move away from associations with Spartan identity and to emphasize the colony's competent new regime and ability to both govern itself and protect the freedom of the broader Italiote communities.[192] Neither the tyranny hinted at by Herodotus, nor the democratic regime, suggest affinities with the Spartan political beliefs or constitution.

The second Delphic dedication dated to 460 B.C., portraying both Taras and Phalanthus, is worth analyzing in light of the rise of the democratic regime, as it appears to be the first attempt by the new rulers to advertise local Tarentine identity.[193] Through this offering, it is possible to see that the Tarentines had begun to assert their own identity by emphasizing their local heroes and victories, while also promoting themselves as the defenders of Greek freedom. According to Pausanias, the Tarentine dedication was set near the common Greek monument commemorating the victory at Plataea against the

---

[190] On the expansion and the role of the defensive walls, see n. 102.

[191] Flor. 1.13; cf. Dion. Hal. 19.5 who implies that the Roman embassy came to address the Tarentines in the theatre prior to the Pyrrhic Wars. De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 77. For prytany, see Athen. 15 700d and Lo Porto, "Topografia Antica di Taranto.", p. 379.

[192] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 38-39; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 133 and 139.

[193] For a discussion and dating of the two dedications see pages 26-27 and n. 61.

Persians.[194] As Giangiulio has suggested, the Tarentines were redefining their identity in the context of the encounters with the Iapygians, Messapians and Peucetians, but also in relation to broader Mediterranean outcomes. This notion has already been seen through the foundation myths, which portray the Tarentines as predestined by the Delphic Oracle to be the counterweight of the indigenous populations.[195] The dedication may have signalled a parallel between their victory and Plataea: just as the victory at Plataea preserved Greek freedom against the Persians, so did the Tarentines protect Italiote Greeks against the Iapygians. This can also be applied to the earlier Tarentine Delphic dedication, which had been commissioned after a victory against the Messapians.[196] This suggests that even prior to the establishment of the democratic regime, Taras attempted to promote this imagery. The new rule and the swift recovery from the defeat of 473 B.C. however allowed the Tarentines to further emphasize their role as defenders of Greek freedom. This can be seen through the greater splendour of the later donation, as well as the employment of the artists Ageladas and Onatas to complete it. It should be reiterated here that this is but one side of the story, as it was told by the Tarentines. Chapter Three has shown that archaeological evidence reveals a more nuanced picture, one in which relations with various native populations could also be positive, though this reality did not comply with the message that the newly established government attempted to send throughout the Greek world.

---

[194] Paus. 10.13.9-10; Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 133 states that these dedications are symbolic for several reasons. The employment of famous artists, such as Ageladas and Onatas, serves as testimony of the *polis'* wealth and desire to emphasize this imagery (see below on territorial wealth as well), whereas the second donation is particularly important within the Persian War aftermath. For its location besides the Plataean victory monument, see Bommelaer, Jean-François. *Guide de Delphes : Le Site.* Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1991., p. 186, plate 3, cf. 191-192. Conversely, for the location of the first victory monument, see Bommelaer, *Guide de Delphes,* p. 124, plate 2. See appendix B for modern day view.

[195] Strab. 6.3.2; Dion. Hal. 19.1; Diod. 8.21. Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 133; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 24.

[196] Paus. 10.10.6; See Giangiulio, *Democrazie Greche.*, p. 134 for a broader analysis of this argument, as he claims that the Tarentines redefined their identity in the context of their encounters with the Iapygians, Messapians and Peucetians at the beginning of the fifth century, since the foundation myths suggest that they were predestined by the Delphic oracle to oppose these people.

Neither dedication emphasizes associations with Sparta, underscoring Taras' success achieved without the support of its metropolis. Furthermore, they are examples of how local and regional events can affect broader representations of the Tarentines since all Greek travelers and pilgrims at Delphi would be able to see these works and likely understand their message and purpose.[197] By the time of the second dedication, the Tarentines also needed to reassert their dominance and reaffirm themselves in front of their Greek counterparts in light of the humiliating defeat of 473 B.C. As Poulter has stated, the emphasis on this particular identity was more suited to the newly adopted democracy and to a Taras that was more "independent and mature."[198] Though some Spartan connections persisted throughout the centuries, literary sources reveal Tarentine efforts to assert their emancipation and independence from Spartan associations. As its network expanded and its new government became more stable, Taras realized its favourable position within the global context. With these developments, the image of a defender of Greek freedom fit its hegemonic ambitions. This continued into the fourth century with Taras' hegemony of the Italiote League and even later with its ire when the Rhegians appealed to the Romans for help against the natives, rather than to the Tarentines.[199]

After the establishment of the democratic regime, the Tarentines also chose to further promote other aspects of their identity, including their wealthy lands, their athletic prowess, as well as their cultural flourish. Even through the earliest versions of the foundation myths, it is possible to see a focus on specific geographic locations, as the stories highlight Taras within its local, wealthy environment. Each one includes some local elements, such as the hero Taras, Satyrion, the river named after the eponymous hero, the harbour, fig trees, and

---

[197] For a discussion of this, see Chapter Two.
[198] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 38-40.
[199] See pages 41-43. On Rhegion's appeal, see Dion. Hal. 20.4.

so forth.[200] Furthermore, Antiochus' and Diodorus' versions of the foundation oracle described Taras' land as πίονα: full, fat or wealthy.[201] The myths thus portray Taras' local wealth both in military and economic terms through its war on the indigenous populations and the splendour of its harbour and countryside. In the meanwhile, Sparta had become just one of many other trading partners. At this stage in its history, the *polis* thus had little need for its metropolis and it did not hesitate to drift away from this association in an attempt to solidify its position amongst the increasingly growing Mediterranean superpowers: Athens, Sparta, Syracuse, etc. As Moretti has pointed out, Greek historiography rarely recorded "important" Tarentine victories, yet multiple sources preserved the devastating defeat at the hand of the Iapygians.[202] The Tarentines thus took matters into their own hands and ensured that although perhaps none may have written about their victories against the Messapians or Iapygians at the time, their dedications at Delphi would showcase their deeds for the numerous pilgrims, athletes and locals who would visit the site. They asserted their regional military and economic dominance, which were then further emphasized within the foundation myths that would begin circulating in subsequent decades. These accounts also helped broadcast the *polis*' economic might for centuries to come. The image of a wealthy countryside survived into the Roman Imperial period, as Virgil described the pastures of Tarentum (renamed by the Romans), as *saturi Tarentini* and Pausanias reminds his readers that Taras was once the biggest and wealthiest city by the sea.[203] In addition, the famous Tarentine wool production, which required considerable pasturage for the raising of cattle,

---

[200] Paus. 10.10.6-9; Diod. Sic. 8.21; Dion. Hal. 19.1; Strab. 6.3.2-4 The fig tree is a particularly interesting local element since Pliny the Elder later writes that only at Tarentum did the sweet fig "ona" grow, marking it as a unique local variation of this popular fruit; see Plin. NH. 15.72. On the importance of the Tarentine fig for the Romans, see Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks,* p. 222.

[201] See foundation oracle in Strab. 6.3.2; Diod. Sic. 8.21.

[202] Moretti, "Problemi di Storia Tarantina.", p. 29.

[203] Verg. Georg. 2.197; Paus. 10.10.8 writes μεγίστην καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεων.

added to this pastoral, bucolic depiction of a *polis* that is otherwise criticized by later sources.[204]

Another important element of the Tarentine identity was the athletic culture and prowess for which the *polis* was renowned already prior to the fifth century. Numerous "athlete" graves have been discovered in the necropolis, containing sporting goods and depicting scenes of games. Athletic culture was so prominent that even the native Italian populations began imitating these themes. Messapian burials at Ugento and Cavallino contained imported bronze goods and items with athletic connotations, particularly in a tomb at Ugento that was eerily similar to aristocratic Archaic tombs at Taras.[205] This trend continued with the appearance of the *naiskoi*, as sculptures of heroic combat, victories and processions were depicted on them.[206]

Numismatic evidence confirms the continued importance of this culture even after the establishment of democracy. A majority of Tarentine coins have horsemen on the obverse, among which some have been interpreted as athletes, and suggest both the presence of games held at Taras, as well as the general importance of its athletic culture. Evidence of games held within the *polis* itself is unfortunately scant and relies mostly on an epitaph of an Alexandrian athlete who had retired there.[207] The prominence of agonistic games can also be deduced from coin-types from the second half of the fifth century, where a naked, unarmed

---

[204] Barnes, C. L. H. "The Significance of Satur: Tarentum and the Georgics," *Vergilius* 49 (2003): 3-16., p. 7-9; Malkin, *Myth and Territory*, p. 121-122; see also Chapter Two for a discussion on the Tarentine wool production.

[205] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 101-102; Lombardo, "La democrazia in Magna Grecia.", p. 88; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 25 adds that the evidence suggests that these athletes excelled in chariot racing and that it would be likely that they also led the Tarentine army against the natives. For more on the blending of athletics and combat, see below.

[206] Brauer, *Taras*, p. 91-95. The themes also included a focus on the notion of revival, with depictions of Persephone, Castor and Pollux, and Orpheus whose cult at Taras was already discussed. See also Carter, "The Sculpture of Taras", p. 35 and De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 127-130 for a discussion of heroic scenes and popular Greek myths on the *naiskoi*, including Dionysiac processions, the rape of Persephone, Herakles in the underworld, and others.

[207] Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks.*, p. 138-139; Gasperini, L. "Un buleuta alessandrino a Taranto." In *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di A. Adriani, III*, edited by Adriani Achille, N. Bonacasa and Antonino di Vita, 476-479, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1992., p. 476-479.

rider can also be interpreted as an athlete.[208] According to Salapata, the horse riders on this type of coinage represent victorious athletes in a dismounting pose. She adds that this iconography can also be seen in fourth century Lucanian bell kraters that displayed Nike in a similar way and that this is an unusual type only found at Amyklae, Messene and Taras.[209] Not only do these coins underline the importance of athletic culture, but they also reflect the continued association between Amyklae and Taras, well into the fourth century. In addition, it is likely that the iconographic influences at this time went from Taras to Laconia due to the *polis*' prominence in the fourth century and the long-standing tradition of horse riders in Magna Graecia, thus marking this practice as a locally developed identity marker.[210]

Based on network ties established with pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, such as Delphi and Olympia, and the offerings found at these locations, it should come as no surprise that the Tarentines heavily emphasized their athletic culture both at home and abroad. The horse riders, both as members of the army and participants in athletic games (see n. 205, 208, 209), thus became a prominent feature of the Tarentine identity. Their increased reputation in the fifth century is also coincidental with the advent of democracy. Christesen has argued that sport fostered democratization in ancient Greece, partly because it provided "models of horizontal relationships" between *plousioi* and *penetes*, which could then serve as models of relationships outside of sport.[211]

The local importance of the athletic culture can also seen abroad, as the Tarentines featured in numerous competitions and maintained strong ties to sanctuaries and games at

---

[208] Salapata, *Heroic Offerings.*, p. 199 nevertheless adds that towards the end of the fifth century, more armored and armed horsemen make their appearance on coins; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 37.

[209] On Tarentine coins and plaques depicting riders, as well as an interpretation of these, see Salapata, *Heroic Offerings.*, p. 197-198, who adds that these horsemen are also reflective of the Tarentine cavalry who was renowned for its prowess and are represented as performing a "dangerous military manoeuvre in an athletic context"; see also, p. 202-203 for relation to Amyklae; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, p. 54-55.

[210] Argument proposed in Salapata, *Heroic Offerings.*, p. 203.

[211] Christesen, Paul. *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012., p. 172.

Delphi and Olympia. Furthermore, sources record prominent Tarentine victors at the Olympic games, including late sixth century athlete Anochus, son of Adamatas, who had won victories in the short and double footraces and whose statue as an Olympic victor was built by the same Ageladas of Argos who worked on the Tarentine dedications at Delphi.[212] Moretti also lists several other Tarentine victors, including the famous pentathlete Icchus and a few anonymous others, as well as a victor in youth combat, *stadion* victors Dionysodoros (380 B.C.) and Mikrinas (352 B.C.), and the boxer Mys.[213] The pentathlete Icchus is a particularly interesting figure, as he is said to have been a role model for how an athlete should live and prepare for competitions. He eventually became one of the most famous medical practitioners of his time, thus combining the athletic and other cultural and scholarly opportunities provided by the *polis*.[214]

It should also be added that these lists refer to a single pan-Hellenic competition and preserve only the victors, not all competitions and competitors. They do not account for athletes participating in other games, or simply for athletes who only took part in these games, but did not come out victorious in a discipline. One should therefore expect many other Tarentines involved in various competitions throughout the Greek world.

Although Taras' athletes grew in prominence in the Mediterranean, no Tarentine individual experienced more fame in the *polis*' history than Archytas. Under his leadership in the 360s B.C., the *polis* reached its "Golden Age". Much like the constitution itself, very

---

[212] Paus. 6.14.11 for the statue and its location. See also Moretti, L. *Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1957., p. 74. He dates this to circa 460 B.C.

[213] For Icchus' victory (and potential dating of his victory to 476 B.C.), Moretti, *Olympionikai*, p. 103 and Paus. 6.10.5; for other pentathletes, p. 89 = P. Oxy 222, as well as p. 92 for an athlete whose name was damaged and the sole remains of it are […]TION; for the youth victor whose preserved reference is incomplete, as the inscription only reads […]KRATIDAS, p. 92 = P. Oxy, 222; for Dionysodoros, p. 118 = Diod. Sic. 15.23; for Mikrinas, p. 123 = P. Oxy, 12 = Diod. Sic. 16.37; for Mys, p. 125.

[214] As a medical practitioner, see Paus. 6.10.5; for his simple life and athletic preparation, Plat. Laws. 8.839e-840a; Plat. Prot. 316d. Ael. VH. 11.3. Though as Moretti, *Olympionikai*, p. 103 points out, Aelian's account is clearly erroneous, as it identifies Icchus as a wrestler, though it preserves the legend of his diet and lifestyle.

little can be deemed "Spartan" about this figure or his rule, as scholars compare him to Pericles and Syracusan tyrants.[215] Though it is difficult to characterize him, he does provide apt comparisons with the Athenian Pericles. As he oversaw the Tarentine Golden Age, Archytas was elected *strategos* either six or seven times, though the constitution only allowed for two mandates, and he embodied democracy and tyranny, both of which were despised by the Spartans.[216]

His role in Taras' promotion of local identity went beyond his political career and the connections he was able to establish with Greeks and natives alike (see Chapter Three). Though his involvement in Taras' cultural expansion has already been discussed, it is worth restating his importance in placing Taras within cultural and philosophical discussions that were dominated at the time by the Athenians. Diogenus Laertius' description of the *strategos* begins by stating that he was a Pythagorean before even listing his rule.[217] Though his rule is interesting in and of itself, it is his other achievements that propelled Taras into a new age. By moving the centre of Pythagoreanism to Taras, holding a prominent friendship with Plato, and promoting learned discussions with Greeks and natives alike, Archytas was able to promote Taras as a culturally developed *polis* with interests in fields such as philosophy, mathematics, medicine and arts. [218] Already prior to Archytas' arrival, the

---

[215] Diog. Laert. 8.79 claims Archytas was *strategos* seven times, while Ael. VH. 7.14 only counts six times. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 69, argues he would have ruled between 367 and 360 B.C, whereas Musti, "Le Rivolte Antipitagoriche e la Concezione Pitagorica del Tempo.", p. 47 claims it was between 367 and 361 B.C. For comparisons, see Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 43-44, Berger, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*., p. 94, Laistner, *A History of the Greek World*, p. 278.

[216] Diog. Laert. 8.79.

[217] Diog. Laert. 8.79; see also Laistner, *A History of the Greek World*, p. 278, Hardie, "The Great Antrum at Baiae.", p. 19; Musti, "Le Rivolte Antipitagoriche e la Concezione Pitagorica del Tempo.", p. 46; Brauer, *Taras*, p. 46-47 for his importance as Pythagorean and mathematician; cf. Brauer, *Taras*, p. 53 as he argues that the Tarentine Golden Age would have lasted until about 345 B.C. and that its end coincided with the eventual arrival of the *condottieri*.

[218] Sconfienza, *Fortificazioni Tardo Classiche e Ellenistiche in Magna Grecia.*, p. 27-29 also discusses Archytas' importance in overseeing a peaceful time that allowed the Tarentines to recollect their forces in order to face the Lucanian and Bruttian menace of the mid and late fourth century. See also Lomas, Kathryn. "Constructing 'the Greek': Ethnic Identity in Magna Graecia." In *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*,

Tarentines enjoyed theatre and philosophy, among other passions, and were not afraid to make these interests visible through their art and architecture.[219] However, it is after his rule that sources begin to mention more Tarentine artists and philosophers within the Greek world and even at Alexander's court (see Chapter Two). The city remained a cultural and learning hub even into the third century, when Heraclides of Tarentum was the first to perform corpse dissections at Taras and later received great praises from Galen.[220] Thus, Archytas helped shape Taras' identity as a *polis* interested and involved in multiple scholarly discussions that could contribute to various fields thanks to the city's schools, wealth, and, of course, network connections. In addition, during and after his rule, Pythagoreanism would be associated with Taras and even briefly became part of its identity since the *polis* harboured its seat and one of its most prominent adherents in Archytas himself.

Taken together, it seems that the defeat of 473 B.C. and the subsequent advent of democracy played a crucial role in the desire to emphasize the *polis*' most prominent local features. Though it is evident that the foundation myths and other literary sources chose to highlight certain aspects of the Tarentine identity, there are many other features that can be considered "local". Taras' wealthy land grew a number of local plants that remained famous into the Roman period: pears, figs, chestnuts, and myrtle.[221] In addition, sources record particularly local customs observed by the Tarentines. For instance, following the Tarentine victory at Carbina in the fifth century, Athenaeus claims that Tarentine houses had pillars in front of their doors equal to the number of men sent to Carbina. He adds that the population

---

edited by Cornell, Tim and Kathryn Lomas, 31-41. London: University of London, 1997., p. 37 on Archytas' role in Taras' development into a seat of philosophy.

[219] See Chapter Two.

[220] Diog. Laert. 5.6; Cels. De Med. Prooenium. 9; Astour, "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy.", p. 32-33; Von Staden, Heinrich. "Staging the Past, Staging Oneself: Galen on Hellenistic Exegetical Traditions." In *Galen and the World of Knowledge,* edited by Gill, Christopher, Whitmarsh, Tim and John Wilkins, 132-157, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p. 151-152.

[221] Plin. NH. 15.94, 15.54-6, 61, 72, 15.122; on this topic and on why the Romans chose to name these fruits specifically "Tarentine", see Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks.*, p. 222.

offered sacrifices to Zeus the Thunderer in light of these events.[222] The practice continued

even during his time, which is indicative of a local tradition of *longue-durée.* [223]

Unfortunately, little is known about other physical structures, with the exception of the

Temenid gate and the famous temple of Poseidon whose remains can still be seen today.[224]

The temple's monumental stone columns demonstrate not only Taras' wealth, but also the

lack of Spartan influences, since monumental stone architecture was not part of Spartan

traditions.[225] Local production of terracotta and pottery is further emphasized and increased

following the establishment of the democratic regime and under Archytas.[226] In the second

half of the fifth century, grave goods include *lekythoi* and black gloss pottery attributed to

local productions, while findings from local cults show the prominence of locally produced

terracotta and votive offerings dedicated to various divinities, including Satyria, Polyboea,

Artemis Bendis, the Dioskouri, fertility goddesses, and many others.[227]

From a local Tarentine perspective, the successful fifth and fourth centuries provided

the perfect opportunity to distinguish the *polis* from any association with its metropolis and

to emphasize local features and the newly established local identity. With their massive,

constantly developing network, the Tarentines were able to broadcast their identity

---

[222] Athen. 15.522 claims that Zeus was so irate at the Tarentines' behavior following their victory that he struck them down with his thunderbolts.

[223] Brauer, *Taras*, p. 89 claims that this episode is sufficient evidence of a pillar cult at Taras, which had ancient Dorian origins and used the pillar as an altar.

[224] On the Temenid gate, see Polyb. 8.30, Sconfienza, *Fortificazioni Tardo Classiche e Ellenistiche in Magna Grecia.,* p. 30-31.

[225] On this argument, see Mertens, D. "Some Principal Features of West Greek Colonial Architecture." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honor of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985.*, edited by Descoeudres, Jean-Paul, 373-383. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990., p. 379.

[226] On Archytas' role, see Chapter Three and above.

[227] On terracotta production, votive offerings and local sanctuaries, see previous chapters. Dell'Aglio, A. "La ceramica a vernice nera: Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 323-328, Napoli: Electa, 1996., p. 324; Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes.*, p. 211, Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 53-55; cf. Carpenter, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery.", p. 30 for caution against the assumptions that some of these items were indeed locally produced at Taras. Though they may not all have been produced in local workshops, their imagery can still be used to identify what the Tarentines considered as important in their daily interactions and what was part of their cultural identity.

throughout the Greek and native worlds both directly and indirectly. As Clarke has demonstrated, the Greeks had a good understanding of each other's traditions and local histories and thus Plato, Aristotle, and others would have understood, at least to a certain degree, the Tarentine history and identity and it is significant that they did not identify the *polis* as "Spartan" during these years.[228] It was only with later Roman imperial sources that the association resurfaced, when the *polis* had fallen from relevance. Yet, even at this stage, some of its previous depictions were preserved, which indicates their prominence in Taras' identity: a wealthy land with a once glorious economic and military past overshadowed by the Roman expansion. By Archytas' time, the city had already attained a hegemonic status in Magna Graecia and the *strategos* only furthered its cultural and economic standing within the Greek world. Lastly, although the *condottieri* period is associated with the decline of the Tarentine proficiency, their employment would become a staple of Taras' history and would eventually be incorporated into its identity. Yet, here one must differentiate between perceived identities and how the locals defined their identity. Taras was indeed the sole Italiote *polis* to employ these infamous *condottieri*, to bury its dead within the city walls, to adopt Taras and Satyria as local cults, to develop a cult after a defeat at Carbina, and to adopt a moderate democratic regime, which would be praised by Aristotle. These distinctly local features, amongst many others, combined to shape the *polis'* identity during these centuries. However, this chapter has sought to analyze how the Tarentines defined and advertised themselves through the networks established in the previous chapters. Similar to the Spartans and Athenians, they were defenders of Greek freedom, but they worshipped and promoted local heroes; they were proud of their athletic culture and past, and their *polis* eventually became a cultural and scholarly hub. As Goldhill stated, asserting local identity was a

---

[228] Clarke, *Making Time for the Past.*, p. 369-370.

performance and the Tarentines chose to emphasize their most proud local features. [229] Though these were numerous, their metropolis played a minimal role in influencing them, as the Tarentines chose to temporarily severe their ties with Sparta in an attempt to promote their own identity and accomplishments on their way to becoming the clear military, economic and political hegemon of Magna Graecia. The vast network and innumerable ties established throughout the centuries not only influenced and shaped their identity through various means, but they provided Taras an enormous platform to broadcast this newly established local pride and identity.

---

[229] Goldhill, "What is Local Identity?", p. 50.

Conclusion: Beyond Taras and its Golden Age

Braudel, Horden, Purcell, and others have defined the Mediterranean as a vehicle for interactions, change, and identity formation.[230] Their analyses employed individual case studies in order to establish broader claims about the importance of the sea as a whole or about specific time periods. Likewise, Irad Malkin, in his persuasive *A Small Greek World,* used the island of Rhodes and its regional cluster in order to explain the emergence of an island identity shaped by Rhodes' overseas dispersion, which in turn affected local developments.[231] This thesis has approached Taras from a similar angle, as the analysis of its overseas and regional interactions was necessary for the understanding of the rise of a local identity. However, whereas Malkin's discussion on Rhodes fits within his broader analysis that seeks to establish the emergence of a communal Greek identity in the Archaic Period that was ignited by networks, ties, exchanges and even colonization, this thesis has attempted to study a single city-state with an emphasis strictly on the local: it has attempted to show how connections, both local and global, shape and are shaped by an evolving local identity. This model revealed a more nuanced reality of the Tarentine case and underlines the merits of using network theory in order to not only attempt to revisit local histories, but also to retrace local trends and customs, and redefine interactions otherwise tarnished by the ancient authors' bias.

The first two chapters demonstrated that the Tarentines relied heavily on maritime networks in the years leading up to the fifth century. Though Anna Collar indicated that regional and local ties were inevitably stronger than long-distance ones due to extensive

---

[230] See Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World.* Horden and Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea.* Harris,. *Rethinking the Mediterranean.* Malkin et al, "Introduction". Malkin, *A Small Greek World*. Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire*.
[231] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 100.

contacts and proximity, the first few centuries revealed a heavier reliance upon connections to Greeks abroad.[232] This is an understandable outcome, as many other Italiote colonies were still experiencing their formative periods and it was only in the late sixth century that *poleis* such as Sybaris and Syracuse were able to surface as leading players in the Italiote and Sikeliote landscapes.[233] Taras' prominent geographic position in Magna Graecia and its harbour allowed the *polis* to take advantage of the seas in this early period in order to develop its economic network, while also maintaining strong cultural and artistic links with other Greeks. These ties were most prevalent with Athens and Delphi, and to a certain extent other pan-Hellenic sites as well. The Athenian artistic influence is evident in the local Italiote pottery of the fifth century, but also in cultural and religious trends. Though the Tarentines had their own theatre, they enjoyed Athenian playwrights, adopted Athenian funerary art, developed a democratic regime and worshiped Artemis Bendis, whose cult was also present at Athens. Thus, this connection influenced developments that shaped Taras' identity and arguably enabled Archytas' rise and his ambition to place the *polis* within the Athenian-dominated cultural and scholarly discussions.

Similarly, the continuous ties to Delphi and Olympia facilitated the reinforcement of the athletic culture at Taras, due to the *polis'* successes in various competitions. The *theoroi* network, various offerings, and commissioned statues at these sites also allowed the Tarentines to remain within the broad pan-Hellenic discussions, while also giving them the opportunity and platform to promote and advertise local interests, aspirations and identity. Taras used these nodal points in order to emphasize its victories against Greeks and non-Greeks alike, as well as to announce its arrival as a rising economic and military

---

[232] Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire.*, p. 10-11. Her argument is also reflected through Beck's diagram (see introduction).

[233] On Sybaris, see Mackil and Van Alfen. "Cooperative Coinage.", p. 208-210; De Juliis, *Taranto.*, p. 35, Brauer, *Taras*, p. 13; Astour, "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy.", p. 27. On Syracuse's ability to decimate the original Italiote League and its favourable ties to Taras, see Chapter Three and n. 120.

power in the Mediterranean world.[234] As Malkin suggested, colonies had a dual origin through the *apoikia* itself and the *oikist* from Delphi. Thus, they used the metropolis to distinguish themselves from other colonies, but also used the Delphic links preserved in the foundation myths to emphasize their commonalities with other Greek foundations.[235] Taras is a particular case since, as it has been shown, the group of settlers who sought Delphic guidance allegedly exiled the traditional *oikist* and, by the fifth century, the eponymous hero Taras became the favoured local hero. Nevertheless, the ties to this pan-Hellenic sanctuary continued to emphasize both Taras' broader Greek and local identity.

In addition, Tarentine imports and exports demonstrate a wide network spread across three continents and reaching beyond Asia Minor. Taras' wool and terracotta production became a staple of its economy, a feature of its regional and global reputation, and perhaps even a component of local identity.[236] The heavy wine consumption also hinted at mass imports from as far as Corcyra, Cos and Knidos, while Tarentine ceramics were found even in Egypt and Dura Europos.[237] The *polis* was also well connected with the most prominent artists the Greek world had to offer, as they employed Ageladas the Argive for several tasks, Onatas the Aeginetean and Lysippos.[238] Furthermore, the Tarentines were aware of contemporary artistic trends in pottery, funerary art, and even in street planning through Hippodemus of Miletus' famous orthogonal grid.[239] All in all, this reflects both Taras' increasing wealth in the fifth and fourth centuries, but also its ability to maintain and develop network connections throughout the Greek world.

---

[234] The examples include the two dedications at Delphi, the spear offered at Olympia after a victory against Thurii, and the athletic statues in honour of the victors at the Olympic games.
[235] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.*, p. 114.
[236] On wool and terracotta production, see chapters one and two.
[237] See n. 77 and 85.
[238] Paus. 10.13.10; Plin. NH. 34.40.
[239] Aristot. Pol. 2.8.1267 b, 7.11.1330b.

As the colony matured, its regional environs also grew in importance from a network perspective, as the combined interactions with Italiotes and native populations became more numerous than the long-distance ties that dominated the early centuries. Furthermore, with Taras' assertion as the Italiote hegemon, the interactions intensified both negatively and positively, as the *polis* was able to dictate more terms and possessed more capital. The democratic regime and the subsequent building program not only propelled the city into a Golden Age, but also revealed hints of the *polis*' desire to assert its own identity. Shortly afterwards, with the foundations of Thurii and Herakleia, Taras' attention turned towards these two *poleis*, as its favourable relations to Syracuse had allowed it to emerge unscathed from the Sikeliote-Italiote conflicts.[240] Herakleia was particularly important in the development of Taras' Italiote relationships since it was chosen as a new common meeting place of the Italiote League. As the Tarentines became the hegemons of this political entity, they were able to further emphasize their role as defenders of Greek freedom, which was arguably first advertised nearly a century earlier with the Delphic dedications.[241]

Unfortunately, the favourable relations with the native populations are scarcely preserved by the sources, as these did not fit the mould created by the Tarentines who wanted to be seen as the "bane" of their non-Greek nemeses. However, more recent archaeological evidence has allowed scholars to demonstrate mutual influences between Greeks and non-Greeks.[242] Amongst these can be included Taras' role in the Messapian adoption of the Greek alphabet and of Tarentine burial practices, numerous economic and

---

[240] For relation with Syracuse and Archytas' alliance, see Chapter Three.

[241] Paus. 10.10.6; Paus. 10.13.10.

[242] Some of the works include Carter, *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto;* Carter, "The Sculpture of Taras."; De la Genière, *La colonisation grecque en Italie Meridionale.;* Carpenter, "The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia." Burgers, *Constructing Messapian Landscapes* and Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 23 who calls this phenomenon "mutual acculturation" between Greeks and Italic peoples.

cultural exchanges, as well as indigenous influences in Greek art and burial goods. Although the evidence is limited, it was suggested that the first few centuries were in fact characterized by isolated skirmishes and it was only in the fifth century that the great conflicts surfaced. Yet, even at this time, alliances were fickle and some indigenous populations gradually formed alliances with the Greeks. For example the Peucetians and Daunians eventually cooperated with the Tarentines.[243] This trend should not be surprising based on the amount of Tarentine coinage, pottery and other ceramics found within indigenous territory, as well as the philosophical and learned interactions between these groups.

The local Tarentine world of the fifth and fourth centuries was very different from the debauched, expansionist *polis* depicted by later authors. Though Taras had gradual hegemonic ambitions at this time, as Fronda suggested, it remains that this was an identity that was imposed on the *polis* by later authors.[244] It is true that the Tarentines played a role in this depiction through their Delphic dedications, however these came at a time of great turmoil in the Greek world, when the Greeks sought to differentiate themselves from the "Others", whether they were Persians, Messapians or Iapygians. There is no doubt that Taras became the Italiote hegemon during these centuries, as the first three chapters demonstrated this through the *polis'* vast network and through its ability to branch "globally". Yet, for the purpose of this thesis, it was important to establish the process that allowed the Tarentines to reach this stage through its various connections. In turn, this highlighted when, how and why they chose to funnel their efforts into advertising and asserting their own identity.

---

[243] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 81; De Juliis, *Taranto*., p. 25 on transmission issues related to this alliance preserved in Strab. 6.3.4; cf. Nenci, "Il *Barbaros Polemos*", p. 725.
[244] Some of the negative depictions include Plat. Laws. 1.637b; Plut. Pyrrh. 13, 16; Flor. 1.13.4, Athen. 12.519-522, Dion. Hal. 19.5, Zon. 8.2 and Strab. 6.3.4. For Fronda's arguments, see Fronda, *Between Rome and Carthage.*, p. 188-233.

Jonathan Hall and Irad Malkin analyzed the concept of Greek identity in contrast to influences and interactions with non-Greeks: Hall in the context of the Persian Wars and Malkin by looking at the Greek colonizers coming into contact with local populations.[245] Malkin also discussed the multi-layered identity held by most Greek citizens, as they simultaneously held non-hierarchical multiple identities and emphasized each one based on circumstances and audience.[246] My thesis fits into both of these authors' frameworks, as the foundation myths indeed set the locals in contrast to the "others". This juxtaposition is essential in order to identify one's "Greekness" and, according to Malkin's work, the Greeks had already comprehended this common identity by the Archaic Period with the wave of colonization. There is no denying that the Tarentines understood themselves as Greeks, as they spoke the same language, worshipped similar divinities, participated in pan-Hellenic games, and had common origins with other Greeks. Even their "local" hero Taras was fathered by a pan-Hellenic divinity and their constant interactions with Greeks abroad and regionally would have allowed them to understand these commonalities. Yet, the regional interactions and mutual colonial connections to Delphi allowed them to understand that their regional identity was different to that of the Boeotians, Attic Greeks, and others. The only remaining element in this hybrid identity was the assertion of their local identity.

The adoption of the democratic regime allowed the Tarentines to reconsider their position within the Mediterranean world, whereas their vast network created multiple avenues for the diffusion of their most prominent features. The foundation myths revealed hints of the reality of fifth and fourth century Taras, while also showcasing that the

---

[245] On these arguments, see introduction and n. 27.

[246] Malkin, *A Small Greek World.,* p. 19 uses the example of an individual from Syracuse who can simultaneously be Greek, Dorian, Sikeliote, a colonist of Corinth and a Syracusan citizen.

Tarentine "civilization" was neither purely native, nor simply only a Greek colony.[247] Though Tarentine authors did not preserve these stories, the myths underline a gradual distancing from the metropolis in favour of local abundance and pride. Considering the context of the fourth century, namely Taras' "Golden Age" under Archytas and Sparta's fall as a Greek hegemon, it was advantageous for the Italiote *polis* to emphasize its own merits, rather than continue to promote any links to a metropolis that was never prominent in its network. Furthermore, Archytas' rule came at a time when Taras had reached its peak and the *strategos* was able to take advantage of the *polis*' already broad network and of his own intellectual and diplomatic connections in order to transform the city-state into a learning and cultural hub: something that Sparta never achieved. Thanks to its wealth, Taras allowed opportunities for various artists to become prominent and even reach the court of Alexander the Great, while philosophers, mathematicians and medics conducted their work within the *polis*. Being able to commission statues for Olympic victors and portray them on coinage that was diffused throughout the Greek world also permitted further emphasis on the athletic pride that had already been a part of the city's identity for centuries. Thus, it is possible to delve into the local mindset in order to understand what the Tarentines believed to be staples of their identity.

With the fall of Archytas and the appearance of the *condottieri*, sources gradually bemoaned Taras' demise. Most notably, Dio Chrysostom concludes in the second century A.D. that it had become the most desolate city.[248] Though this may be, archaeological records propose a different scenario, as the second half of the fourth century B.C. saw an increased density in the occupation of the *chora* and the abandonment of land in favour of large-scale villas attributed to the Roman occupation is now believed to be a phenomenon

---

[247] Argument proposed by Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", p. 22 n. 29.
[248] Dio. Chrys. Or. 33.25.

of the late Republican and Early Imperial periods.[249] This is in line with evidence found in other *poleis* previously thought to be in decline in the fourth and third centuries. For example, at Metapontion, Carter noticed an important revival and increase in the number of farmsites in the *chora* and in the number of burials in the necropolis in the second half of the fourth century B.C.[250] Thus, although the years of the *condottieri* were marked by constant conflicts with the natives and even with the mercenaries themselves, Taras remained a major hub in Magna Graecia. Though by Dio Chrysostom's days the *polis* may have indeed been a shell of its former self, its decline was not as dramatic as some might suggest.

This research has therefore used the network connections established by a specific locale in order to understand the influences circulating within the *polis*, which in turn shaped and modified its identity. The difficulty in this analysis lied in establishing the local view and attempting to briefly step away from what the sources perceived to be Tarentine and rather step into the locals' shoes. In addition, the small pool of archaeological and epigraphic evidence compared to other sites has also made it difficult to paint the whole picture of what it meant to be a Tarentine in the fifth and fourth centuries. It is here that comparative studies are needed from areas that have extensive records, such as Metapontion. Here, Carter has shown that from the earliest stages of its foundation there was considerable coexistence between the Greek colony and the indigenous settlement that had been established on the same location as early as the ninth century B.C.[251] Was this also the case between Taras and the settlement of Satyrion? The foundation myths clearly

---

[249] Poulter, "Transforming Tarantine Horizons.", 90-96; Lippolis, Enzo. *Catalogo del Museo nazionale archeologico di Taranto*. Taranto: La Colomba, 1994., p. 52; Lomas, "Constructing the Greek: Ethnic Identity in Magna Graecia.", p. 35; for a similar phenomenon elsewhere, see Arthur, Paul. *Romans in Northern Campania: Settlement and Land-Use Around the Massico and the Garigliano Basin*. London: British School at Rome, 1991., p. 62-78.
[250] Carter, *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto.* p. 214, 220.
[251] Carter, *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto.*, p. 55.

do not reflect this, but as it was shown, they provided more evidence of the interactions of the fifth century context, rather than of the early days of the colony. Nevertheless, such stories are necessary for the understanding of one's identity, as can also be seen through Neapolis' various foundation myths. Its original settlement was named Parthenope in honour of a local siren, and similar to Satyrion and Taras, her worship overshadowed any potential founding figure. Traditionally, its foundation was attributed to the Rhodians, but in time Cumae became its metropolis, as Pseudo-Scymnos reveals that they were the ones to have received an oracle, which is reminiscent of the Partheniae's importance at Taras.[252] Parthenope thus became the Neapolitan equivalent of Taras and Satyria, as Diotimus founded a torch race in her honour in the 430s B.C. and, by the fourth century, she had become a standard on Neapolitan coinage.[253] The need for comparative studies is therefore evident, as there seems to be a common trend in the assertion of local identity and more archaeologically bountiful areas can supplement lacking evidence. It is also important to note that colonies should be differentiated from other city-states, as their history, networks, and local identities are more complex and are the result of centuries of relationships and emancipation that led to the rise of an "independent" *polis*. Although one's roots are never forgotten, their importance gradually faded unless they could provide benefits. Thus, Taras, the so-called sole Spartan colony, was anything but Spartan at the height of its power. In light of pan-Hellenic events and in the face of the indigenous threat, Taras was

---

[252] On Rhodian foundation, see Strab. 14.2.10 as well as Frederiksen and Purcell. *Campania*., p. 86-87. On Cumae's role see Ps. Scymn. 251-252; Plin. NH. 3.62; Vell. Pat. 1.4.2; cf. McKay, Alexander G. *Ancient Campania: Volume II Naples and Coastal Campania*. Hamilton: Vergilian Society, 1972., p. 39-40 also argues that there may have been some Aetolian influences amongst the early foundation, as the Teleboans (originally from Aetolia) described in Verg. Aen. 7.733-744 settled at Capri and Naples.

[253] Timaeus BNJ 566 F98; for the dating of the torch race, see Mitchell, Lynette G. *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435-323 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997., p. 199; Berard, *La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie Méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité: L'Histoire et la Légende.*, p. 57-58; cf. Lancaster, Jordan. *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Cultural History of Naples.* London: I. B. Tauris, 2005., p. 11-15.

Greek. As a hegemon of the Italiote League, Taras was Italiote. Yet, in the most basic sense, and in most interactions, Taras was simply Tarentine.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Unless stated otherwise, translations of ancient texts have been accessed through the Loeb Classical Library, as well as through the online collections compiled in the databases on Perseus and Lacus Curtius, whereas the BNJ has been used for various fragmentary authors.

Abbreviations:

BNJ = *Brill's New Jacoby*
IC = *Inscriptiones Creticae*
IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
P. Oxy = *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

Aelian. *Various Histories*. Translated by Thomas Stanley.

      http://penelope.uchicago.edu/aelian/varhist2.xhtml.

Appian. *Roman History*. Translated by Horace White.

      http://www.livius.org/sources/content/appian/appian-samnite-wars-1/.

Aristotle. *Politics*. Translated by H. Rackham.

      http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0058.

Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophists.* Translated by C. D. Yonge.

      http://www.attalus.org/old/athenaeus12a.html.

Aulus Gellius. *Attic Nights*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe.

      http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Gellius/home.html.

Cicero. *De Senectute*. Translated by W. A. Falconer.

      http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/cicero/cato_maior_de_senectute
      /text*.html.

Cicero. *Pro Archia*. Translated by C. D. Yonge.

      http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0019
      %3Atext%3DArch.

Celsus. *De Medicina*. Translated by W. G. Spencer.

      http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/celsus/home.html.

Dio Chrysostom. *Orations*. Translated by J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Dio_Chrysostom/home.html.

Diodorus Siculus. *The Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/home.html.

Diogenes Laertius. *Lives*. Translated by R. D. Hicks.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0258%3Abook%3D8%3Achapter%3D1.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities*. Translated by Earnest Cary.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Dionysius_of_Halicarnassus/home.html.

Florus. *Epitome of Roman History*. Translated by E. S. Forster.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Florus/Epitome/home.html.

Herodotus. *The Histories*. Translated by A. D. Godley.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0126.

Homer. *Iliad*. Translated by A. T. Murray.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134%3Abook%3D1%3Acard%3D1.

Justinus. *Epitome of the* Philippic History of *Pompeius Trogus*. Translated by Rev. John Selby Watson.
http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/index.html.

Livy. *Ab Urbe Condita*. Translated by Rev. Canon Roberts.
http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/txt/ah/livy/.

Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Translated by W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Omerod.
http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias1A.html.

Plato. *Laws*. Translated by R. G. Bury.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0166.

Plato. *Letters*. Translated by R. G. Bury.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0164%3Aletter%3D1%3Apage%3D309.

Plato. *Phaedo*. Translated by Harold North Fowler.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0170%3Atext%3DPhaedo%3Asection%3D57a.

Plato. *Protagoras*. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plat.%20Prot.

Pliny. *Natural History*. Translated by John Bostock and H. T.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137
%3Abook%3D1%3Achapter%3Ddedication.

Plutarch. *De Genio Socratis*. Translated by Philip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/De_genio_S
ocratis*/home.html.

Plutarch. *Life of Agis*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/home.html.

Plutarch. *Life of Alexander*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/home.html.

Plutarch. *Life of Pyrrhus*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/home.html.

Polybius. *The Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/home.html.

Porphyry. *The Life of Pythagoras*. Translated by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie.

http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/porphyry_life_of_pythagoras_02_text.htm.

Strabo. *Geography*. Translated by H. L. Jones.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/home.html.

Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Richard Crawley.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200.

Velleius Paterculus. *The Roman History*. Translated by Frederick W. Shipley.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/velleius_paterculus/home.html.

Virgil. *Aeneid*. Translated by Theodore C. Williams.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0054
%3Abook%3D1%3Acard%3D1.

Virgil. *Georgics*. Translated by J. W. MacKail.

http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/virgil/geo/.

Zonaras. Translated by Earnest Cary.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/9*.html.

Secondary Sources:

Arthur, Paul. *Romans in Northern Campania: Settlement and Land-Use Around the*
      Massico and the Garigliano Basin. London: British School at Rome, 1991.

Asheri, D. and Eric W. Robinson. "Popular Politics in Fifth-Century Syracuse." In *Ancient*
      Greek Democracy: Readings and Sources, edited by Robinson, Eric W., 123-151,
      Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Astour, Michael C. "Ancient Greek Civilization in Southern Italy," *Journal of Aesthetic*
      Education 19:1 (1985): 23-37.

Barabasi, Albert-Laszlo. *Linked: The New Science of Networks*. Cambridge: Perseus Pub.,
      2002.

Barnes, C. L. H. *Images and Insults: Ancient Historiography and the Outbreak of the*
      Tarentine War. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.

Barnes, C. L. H. "The Significance of Satur: Tarentum and the Georgics," *Vergilius* 49
      (2003): 3-16.

Beck, Hans. "Localism in Ancient Greece." Accessed September 17, 2017.
      http://www.hansbeck.org/local/.

Beck, Hans. © *The Parochial Polis. Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State.* Chicago:
      University of Chicago Press, 2018 (forthcoming).

Berard, Jean. *La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie Méridionale et de la Sicile dans*
      l'Antiquité: L'Histoire et la Légende. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957.

Berger, Shlomo. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*. Stuttgart:
      Steiner, 1992.

Bommelaer, Jean-François. *Guide de Delphes : Le Site.* Paris: Editions E. De Boccard,
      1991.

Bowersock, G. W. "The Barbarism of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies in Classical*
      Philology 97 (1995): 3-14.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.
      Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Brauer, George C. *Taras its History and Coinage*. New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1986.

Burgers, G-J L. M. *Constructing Messapian Landscapes: Settlement Dynamics, Social Organization and Culture Contact in the Margins of Graeco-Roman Italy.* Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1998.

Calabrese, Gaetana Abruzzese. "Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 189-198, Napoli: Electa, 1996.

Carlsen, Jesper. "Le citta della Magna Grecia e Loro Sviluppo in Eta Ellenistica." In *Aspects of Hellenism in Italy: Towards a Cultural Unity?*, edited by Bilde, Pia Guldager, Inge Nielsen and Marjatta Nielsen. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1993.

Carpenter, T. H. "Prolegomenon to the Study of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery,"*AJA* 113.1 (2009): 27-38.

Carpenter, T. H. "The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia," *Memoirs of the American in Rome* 48 (2003): 1-24.

Carter, Joseph Coleman. "A Classical Landscape: Rural Archaeology at Metaponto," *Archaeology* 33.1 (1980): 23-32.

Carter, Joseph Coleman. *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2006.

Carter, Joseph Coleman. "The Greek Identity at Metaponto." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by Lomas, Kathryn, 363-391. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Carter, Joseph Coleman. "The Sculpture of Taras," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 65:7 (1975): 1-196.

Christesen, Paul. *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Clarke, Katherine. *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Collar, Anna. *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Cornell, Tim. *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars*. London: Routledge, 1995.

De Juliis, Ettore M. *Taranto*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2000.

De la Genière. "La colonisation grecque en Italie méridionale et en Sicile et l'acculturation des non-grecs," *Revue Archéoloqiue* 2 (1978): 257-276.

Dell'Aglio, A. "L'argilla: Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 51-67, Napoli: Electa, 1996.

Dell'Aglio, A. "La ceramica a vernice nera: Taranto." In *Arte e Artigianato in Magna Grecia,* edited by Lippolis, Enzo, 323-328, Napoli: Electa, 1996.

Dillon, Matthew. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Dunbabin, T. J. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948.

Erskine, E. "O Brother, Where Art Thou? Tales of Kinship and Diplomacy." In *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives,* edited by Ogden, D. and Sylvie Le Bohec-Bouhet, 97-115, London: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002.

Frederiksen, Martin and Nicholas Purcell. *Campania.* London: British School at Rome, 1984.

Fronda, Michael P. *Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy During the Second Punic War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Fronda, Michael. "Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity." In *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries*, edited by Funke, Peter and Matthias Haake, 123-138. Sttutgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013.

Gasperini, L. "Note di Epigrafia Tarentina." In *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967*, 135-140. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971.

Gasperini, L. "Un buleuta alessandrino a Taranto." In *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di A. Adriani, III*, edited by Adriani Achille, N. Bonacasa and Antonino di Vita, 476-479, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1992.

Giangiulio, Maurizio. *Democrazie greche: Atene, Sicilia, Magna Grecia*. Roma: Carocci editore, 2015.

Goldhill, Simon. "What Is Local Identity? The Politics of Cultural Mapping." In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, edited by Whitmarsh, Tim, 46-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Gualtieri, Maurizio, et al. *Fourth Century B.C. Magna Grecia: A Case Study.* Jonsered: P. Astrom, 1993.

Hall, Jonathan M. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Hall, Jonathan M. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of
        Chicago Press, 2002.

Hardie, C. G. "The Great Antrum at Baiae," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 37
        (1969): 14-33.

Harris, W. V. "The Mediterranean and Ancient History." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*,
        edited by Harris, W.V., 1-44, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. "Four Years of Corruption: A Response to
        Critics." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by Harris, W.V., 348-376,
        Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of the
        Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

Hornblower, Simon. *The Greek World, 479-323 B.C.* London: Methuen, 1983.

Intrieri, M. "La Lega Italiota al tempo di Pirro," *MStudStor* 6 (1987): 25-37.

Jentoft-Nilsen, Marit. "A Fourth and Third-Century B.C. Hoard of Tarentine Silver," *The
        J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984): 167-172.

Kindt, Julia. *Rethinking Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Laistner, M. L. W. *A History of the Greek World 479-323 B.C.* London: Methuen, 1957.

Lancaster, Jordan. *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Cultural History of Naples.* London: I.
        B. Tauris, 2005.

Lippolis, Enzo. *Catalogo del Museo nazionale archeologico di Taranto*. Taranto: La
        Colomba, 1994.

Lippolis, Enzo, Salvatore Garraffo and Mohammad Nafissi. *Culti Greci in Occidente. I,
        Taranto*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1995.

Lomas, Kathryn. "Constructing 'the Greek': Ethnic Identity in Magna Graecia." In *Gender
        and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, edited by Cornell, Tim and Kathryn Lomas, 31-41.
        London: University of London, 1997.

Lomas, Kathryn. *Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 B.C. – 200 A.D.: Conquest and
        Acculturation in Southern Italy.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Lomas, Kathryn. "Urban Elites and Cultural Definition: Romanization in Southern Italy."
        In *Urban Society in Roman Italy,* edited by Cornell, Tim and Kathryn Lomas,
        107-120. New York: St Martin's Press, 1995.

Lombardo, M. "La democrazia in Magna Grecia: aspetti e problemi." In *Venticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della democrazia*, edited by Canfora, Luciano, 77-107, Paestum: Fondazione Paestum, 1998.

Lo Porto, F. G. "Topografia Antica di Taranto." In *Taranto Nella Civilta della Magna Grecia: Atti del Decimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 4-11 Ottobre 1970*, 343-381, Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1971.

Mackil, Emily and Peter G. van Alfen. "Cooperative Coinage." In *Agoranomia: Studies in Money and Exchange Presented to John H. Kroll*, edited by Kroll, John H. and Peter G. van Alfen, 201-247, New York: American Numismatic Society, 2006.

Malkin, Irad. *A Small Greek World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Malkin, Irad. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Malkin, Irad. "Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18:2 (2003): 56-74.

Malkin, Irad, Christy Constantakopoulou and Katerina Panagopoulou. "Introduction." In *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, edited by Malkin, Irad, Christy Constantakopoulou and Katerina Panagopoulou, 1-12, New York: Routledge, 2011.

McKay, Alexander G. *Ancient Campania: Volume II Naples and Coastal Campania*. Hamilton: Vergilian Society, 1972.

Mertens, D. "Some Principal Features of West Greek Colonial Architecture." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honor of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985.*, edited by Descoeudres, Jean-Paul, 373-383. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Miles, Richard. "Hannibal and Propaganda." In *A Companion to the Punic Wars*, edited by Hoyos, Dexter B., 260-279, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Mitchell, Lynette G. *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435-323 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Moretti, L. *Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1957.

Moretti, L. "Problemi di Storia Tarantina." In *Taranto Nella Civilta della Magna Grecia: Atti del Decimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto, 4-11 Ottobre 1970,* 21-66. Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1971.

Musti, Domenico. "Le Rivolte Antipitagoriche e la Concezione Pitagorica del Tempo," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 36:3 (1990): 35-65.

Musti, Domenico. *Strabone e la Magna Grecia: Citta e Popoli dell'Italia Antica*. Padova: Programma, 1988.

Nenci, Giuseppe. "Il *Barbaros Polemos* fra Taranto e gli Iapigi e gli *Anathemata* Tarantini a Delfi." in *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 6.3 (1976): 719-738.

Osanna, Massimo. *Chorai Coloniali da Taranto a Locri: Documentazione Archeologica e Ricostruzione Storica.* Rome: Istituto polgrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1992.

Osterhammel, Jurgen and Niels P. Petersson. *Globalization: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Papadopoulous, John K. "Magna Achaea: Akhaian Late Geometric and Archaic Pottery in South Italy and Sicily," *Hesperia* 70:4 (2001): 373-460.

Pearson, Lionel. *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors*. Atlanta: American Philological Association, 1987.

Perlman, Paula Jean. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

Poulter, Angela. "Transforming Tarantine Horizons: A Political, Social and Cultural History from the Fourth to the First Century B.C." PhD diss. Brasenose College, 2002.

Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni, Palazzo Grassi. *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily*. New York: Rizzoli, 1996.

Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage, 1992.

Robertson Roland. "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity." In *Global Modernities*, edited by Featherstone, Mike, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 35-53, London: Sage, 1995.

Robinson E. G. D. "Between Greek and Native." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honor of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985*., edited by Descoeudres, Jean-Paul, 251-265. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Roselaar, Saskia T. *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Rutherford, Ian. *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece: A Study of Theoria and Theoroi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Rutter, N. K. *The Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily.* London: Spink, 1997.

Salapata, Gina. *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Kassandra.* Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Salmon, E. T. *Samnium and the Samnites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Sconfienza, Roberto, ed. *Fortificazioni Tardo Classiche e Ellenistiche in Magna Grecia: I Casi Esemplari nell'Italia del Sud.* Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2005.

Small, Alastair. "Some Greek Inscriptions on Native Vases from South East Italy." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton,* edited by Lomas, Kathryn, 267-287. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Taylour, William. *The Mycenaeans.* New York: Praeger, 1964.

Trendall, A.D. *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: A Handbook.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Ulf, Christoph. "The Development of the Greek Ethne and their Ethnicity. An Anthropolohical Perspective." In *The Politic of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League: Textual and Philosophical Issues*, edited by Funke, Peter and Nino Luraghi, 215-249, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Von Staden, Heinrich. "Staging the Past, Staging Oneself: Galen on Hellenistic Exegetical Traditions." In *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, edited by Gill, Christopher, Whitmarsh, Tim and John Wilkins, 132-157, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Wuilleumier, Pierre. *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939.

APPENDIX A
Tarentine Foundation Myths: Literary Sources

1. **Strab. 6.3.2 = Antiochus** trans. H. L. Jones, 1924. Accessed: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01. 0198%3Abook%3D6%3Achapter%3D3%3Asection%3D2.

"In speaking of the founding of Taras, Antiochus says: After the Messenian war broke out, those of the Lacedaemonians who did not take part in the expedition were adjudged slaves and were named Helots, and all children who were born in the time of the expedition were called Partheniae and judicially deprived of the rights of citizenship, but they would not tolerate this, and since they were numerous formed a plot against the free citizens; and when the latter learned of the plot they sent secretly certain men who, through a pretence of friendship, were to report what manner of plot it was; among these was Phalanthus, who was reputed to be their champion, but he was not pleased, in general, with those who had been named to take part in the council. It was agreed, however, that the attack should be made at the Hyacinthian festival in the Amyclaeum when the games were being celebrated, at the moment when Phalanthus should put on his leather cap (the free citizens were recognizable by their hair); but when Phalanthus and his men had secretly reported the agreement, and when the games were in progress, the herald came forward and forbade Phalanthus to put on a leather cap; and when the plotters perceived that the plot had been revealed, some of them began to run away and others to beg for mercy; but they were bidden to be of good cheer and were given over to custody; Phalanthus, however, was sent to the temple of the god to consult with reference to founding a colony; and the god responded, "I give to thee Satyrium, both to take up thine abode in the rich land of Taras and to become a bane to the Iapygians." Accordingly, the Partheniae went thither with Phalanthus, and they were welcomed by both the barbarians and the Cretans who had previously taken possession of the place. These latter, it is said, are the people who sailed with Minos to Sicily, and, after his death, which occurred at the home of Cocalus in Camici, set sail from Sicily; but on the voyage back they were driven out of their course to Taras, although later some of them went afoot around the Adrias as far as Macedonia and were called Bottiaeans. But all the people as far as Daunia, it is said, were called Iapyges, after Iapyx, who is said to have been the son of Daedalus by a Cretan woman and to have been the leader of the Cretans. The city of Taras, however, was named after some hero."

2. **Strab. 6.3.3 = Ephorus** trans. H. L. Jones, 1924. Accessed: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01. 0198%3Abook%3D6%3Achapter%3D3%3Asection%3D3.

"But Ephorus describes the founding of the city thus: The Lacedaemonians were at war with the Messenians because the latter had killed their king Teleclus when he went to Messene to offer sacrifice, and they swore that they would not return home again until they either destroyed Messene or were all killed; and when they set out on the expedition, they left behind the youngest and the oldest of the citizens to guard the city; but later on, in

the tenth year of the war, the Lacedaemonian women met together and sent certain of their own number to make complaint to their husbands that they were carrying on the war with the Messenians on unequal terms, for the Messenians, staying in their own country, were begetting children, whereas they, having abandoned their wives to widowhood, were on an expedition in the country of the enemy, and they complained that the fatherland was in danger of being in want of men; and the Lacedaemonians, both keeping their oath and at the same time bearing in mind the argument of the women, sent the men who were most vigorous and at the same time youngest, for they knew that these had not taken part in the oaths, because they were still children when they went out to war along with the men who were of military age; and they ordered them to cohabit with the maidens, every man with every maiden, thinking that thus the maidens would bear many more children; and when this was done, the children were named Partheniae. But as for Messene, it was captured after a war of nineteen years, as Tyrtaeus says: "About it they fought for nineteen years, relentlessly, with heart ever steadfast, did the fathers of our fathers, spearmen they; and in the twentieth the people forsook their fertile farms and fled from the great mountains of Ithome." Now the Lacedaemonians divided up Messenia among themselves, but when they came on back home they would not honor the Partheniae with civic rights like the rest, on the ground that they had been born out of wedlock; and the Partheniae, leaguing with the Helots, formed a plot against the Lacedaemonians and agreed to raise a Laconian cap in the market-place as a signal for the attack. But though some of the Helots had revealed the plot, the Lacedaemonians decided that it would be difficult to make a counter-attack against them, for the Helots were not only numerous but were all of one mind, regarding themselves as virtually brothers of one another, and merely charged those who were about to raise the signal to go away from the marketplace. So the plotters, on learning that the undertaking had been betrayed, held back, and the Lacedaemonians persuaded them, through the influence of their fathers, to go forth and found a colony, and if the place they took possession of sufficed them, to stay there, but if not, to come on back and divide among themselves the fifth part of Messenia. And they, thus sent forth, found the Achaeans at war with the barbarians, took part in their perils, and founded Taras."

3. **Aristot. Pol. 5.1306b** trans. H. Rackman, 1944. Accessed: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0058%3Abook%3D5%3Asection%3D1306b.

"And this is most bound to come about when there is a considerable number of people who are proud-spirited on the ground of being equals in virtue (for example the clan called the Maidens' Sons[3] at Sparta—for they were descended from the Equals—whom the Spartans detected in a conspiracy and sent away to colonize Tarentum)."

4. **Diod. Sic. 8.21** trans. C. Bradford Welles, Loeb Classical Library. Accessed: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/8*.html.

"The Epeunactae had agreed with Phalanthus that they would rise in revolt in the market-place, as soon as Phalanthus, in full armour, would pull his helmet over his forehead; but a

certain man disclosed to the ephors what was going to take place. The majority of the ephors believed that they should put Phalanthus to death, but Agathiadas, who had become a lover of his, stated that if they did this they would plunge Sparta into the greatest civil strife, in which, if they were victorious, they would win a profitless victory, and, if they lost, they would duty destroy their fatherland. He gave as advice, therefore, that the herald should publicly proclaim that Phalanthus should let his helmet rest as it was. This was done, and the Partheniae gave up the undertaking and began to seek a reconciliation.

The Epeunactae sent envoys to Delphi and inquired of the god if he would give them the territory of Sicyon. And the priestess replied:

> Fair is the plain 'twixt Corinth and Sicyon;
> But not a home for thee, though thou wert clad
> Throughout in bronze. Mark thou Satyrion
> And Taras' gleaming flood, the harbour on
> The left, and where the goat catches with joy
> The salt smell of the sea, wetting the tip
> Of his gray beard. There build thou Taras firm
> Within Satyrion's land.

When they heard this reply they could not understand it; whereupon the priestess spoke more plainly:

> Satyrion is my gift to thee wherein
> To dwell, and the fat land of Taras too,
> A bane to be to the Iapygian folk."

5. **Dion. Hal. 19.1** trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library. Accessed: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Dionysius_of_Halicarnassus/19*.html.

"When the Lacedaemonians were warring against Messene and Sparta was stripped of men, the women and especially the maidens who were of marriageable age begged them not to allow them to go unwed and childless. Accordingly, young men were constantly sent from the camp in rotation to have intercourse with the women and they consorted with the first women they met. From these promiscuous women were born boys whom, when they had grown to man's estate, the Lacedaemonians called Partheniae, among other taunts that they hurled at them. When a sedition occurred and the Partheniae were defeated, they voluntarily withdrew from the city; and sending to Delphi, they received an oracle bidding them sail to Italy and after finding a town in Iapygia called Satyrium and a river Taras, to establish their abode where they should see a goat dipping his beard in the sea. Having made the voyage, they found the river and observed a wild fig-tree growing near the sea and overspread with a vine, one of whose tendrils hung down and touched the sea. Assuming this to be the "goat" which the god had foretold them they would see dipping his beard in the sea, entreaty remained there and made war upon the Iapygians; and they founded the city which they named for the river Taras."

6. **Paus. 10.10.6-8** trans. W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Omerod, Loeb Classical Library. Accessed: http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias10A.html.

"Tarentum is a colony of the Lacedaemonians, and its founder was Phalanthus, a Spartan. On setting out to found a colony Phalanthus received an oracle from Delphi, declaring that when he should feel rain under a cloudless sky (*aethra*), he would then win both a territory and a city.

At first he neither examined the oracle himself nor informed one of his interpreters, but came to Italy with his ships. But when, although he won victories over the barbarians, he succeeded neither in taking a city nor in making himself master of a territory, he called to mind the oracle, and thought that the god had foretold an impossibility. For never could rain fall from a clear and cloudless sky. When he was in despair, his wife, who had accompanied him from home, among other endearments placed her husband's head between her knees and began to pick out the lice. And it chanced that the wife, such was her affection, wept as she saw her husband's fortunes coming to nothing.

As her tears fell in showers, and she wetted the head of Phalanthus, he realized the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aethra. And so on that night he took from the barbarians Tarentum, the largest and most prosperous city on the coast. They say that Taras the hero was a son of Poseidon by a nymph of the country, and that after this hero were named both the city and the river. For the river, just like the city, is called Taras."

7. **Just. 3.4** trans. Rev. John Selby Watson. Accessed: http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/trans3.html.

"Those who sprung from these unions were called Partheniae, as a reflection on their mothers' violated chastity; and, when they came to thirty years of age, being alarmed with the fear of want (for not one of them had a father to whose estate he could hope to succeed,) they chose a captain named Phalantus, the son of Aratus, by whose advice the Spartans had sent home the young men to propagate, that, as they had formerly had the father for the author of their birth, they might now have the son as the establisher of their hopes and fortunes. Without taking leave of their mothers, therefore, from whose adultery they thought that they derived dishonour, they set out to seek a place of settlement, and being tossed about a long time, and with various mischances, they at last arrived on the coast of Italy, where, after seizing the citadel of the Tarentines, and expelling the old inhabitants, they fixed their abode. But several years after, their leader Phalantus, being driven into exile by a popular tumult, went to Brundusium, whither the former inhabitants of Tarentum had retreated after they were expelled from their city. When he was at the point of death, he urged the exiles "to have his bones, and last relics, bruised to dust, and privately sprinkled in the forum of Tarentum; for that Apollo at Delphi had signified that by this means they might recover their city." They, thinking that he had revealed the destiny of his countrymen to avenge himself, complied with his directions; but the intention of the oracle was exactly the reverse; for it promised the Spartans, upon the performance of what he had said, not the loss, but the perpetual possession of the city. Thus by the subtlety of their exiled captain, and the agency of their enemies, the possession of Tarentum was secured to the Partheniae for ever."

APPENDIX B
Modern Day Delphi

1. (Left) Serpent Column at Delphi. Allegedly the Tarentine monument would have lied in its vicinity at the time of Pausanias' visit.
Photo: Alexandru Martalogu, 2017.

2. (Right) Another view of the Serpent's Column, with the Temple of Apollo in the background, further emphasizing the prominent location chosen by the Tarentines to display their dedication.
Photo: Alexandru Martalogu, 2017.