CHAPTER 10

Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians?
Societies and Settlements in South-East Italy

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Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the south-east Italian Iron Age and some of the issues surrounding its interpretation. In common with other regions of Italy, the south-east has traditionally been considered to have been populated by tribes in the pre-Roman period. Thus, the problems associated with the category of 'tribes' and the interpretation of tribal social organization are as applicable to the south-east as they are elsewhere. In addition to the spectacularly rich archaeological record, we also have a selection of ancient historical sources that relate to the region.[1] Reconciling the information provided by the different sources can be problematic; this too is by no means unique to the south-east. The area also witnesses many of the same social changes that affect other regions, such as population growth, the emergence of a more stratified society, increased external contacts and trade, a move towards a more centralized pattern of settlement, and ultimately, the enforced incorporation into the Roman state.[2]

Thus, the study of the region has much in common, in terms of approaches and interpretation, with that of other parts of Italy. Nevertheless, despite the numerous shared concerns, there are also factors that set the south-east apart. The area was home to Greek colonists at Tarentum from the end of the eighth century BC onwards. Culture contact was a major factor in local socio-economic development. The interplay between Greek and local communities has been a major topic of research and continues to be an area of contention. The importance of this contact raises the question of the significance of ethnicity as a factor in between-group relations. The rise of urbanism and state formation are documented in many Italian regions during the first millennium BC. Here south-east Italy seems to experience a local version of a more widely observed phenomenon, with the emergence of two discrete patterns of settlement centralization.

A number of these topics will be developed further in the three principal sections of the chapter. The first section is concerned with the names ascribed to the peoples in this area and, therefore, touches on the debates surrounding identity and ethnicity. The second addresses the type of societies in which these peoples lived and how those societies changed, particularly in the context of culture contact; this section is also concerned with the problems involved in using both archaeological and ancient historical sources. The third section has a discussion of the settlement pattern and the possible rise of urbanism and state formation in the region.

Geographical Background

The area under discussion equates roughly with the modern region of Puglia (Latin: Apulia). It is bordered by the Molise region to the north and Basilicata to the west. The region extends from just north of the Tavoliere plain and the river Fortore down to the heel of Italy, the Salento peninsula, which lies entirely within Puglia. The western border of the region runs down the Bradano Trench, reaching the coast just east of the ancient Greek city of Metapontum.

Puglia can be broadly divided into three zones—northern, central and southern. The north of the region is dominated by two principal topographic features, the low-lying Tavoliere plain and an upland zone known as the Gargano promontory. The Tavoliere is the largest plain in southern Italy and is still intensively exploited for agriculture. The Gargano is a limestone spur, which juts out into the Adriatic. Northern Puglia is separated from the central region by the river Ofanto, which would have been a major navigable waterway in antiquity. Central Puglia also has two distinct topographic zones, but here the upland area, the Murge, is far more dominant. The Murge consists of a range of limestone hills, covering most of inland central Puglia and stretching into the south-east close to the Greek city of Tarentum. West of the Murge is the Bradano Trench, a depression connecting the Tavoliere and the Ionian Gulf. The low-lying area in central Puglia consists of a thin coastal strip, east of the Murge. This area is mostly flat and forms the hinterland of the modern port of Bari. The Salento peninsula makes up the southern part of Puglia. The heel of Italy shelters the Gulf of Taranto, forming a natural bay on the Ionian Sea, which is still home to the major fishing and naval port of Taranto. Once again the area can be divided into two: the Brindisino is a low-lying limestone plateau with numerous springs, while the Leccese has fertile valleys interwoven with the upland ridges of the Serre.

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1 For the local material culture, see the following well-illustrated works: Pugliese Carratelli 1996, though the origin of the various objects is not always made fully evident to the non-specialist reader; D'Andria 1990 is excellent on material from the Salento peninsula; De Juliis 1983 provides a useful survey of the collections in all of the state archaeological museums in Puglia.

2 For the period after the Roman conquest in south Italy, see Lomas 1993, though the focus is very much on the fate of the western Greeks rather than the Italian tribes.

Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians?

Standard maps of pre-Roman Italy normally have the names of three 'tribes' written across Puglia. These are: Daunians in the north, Peucetians in central Puglia and Messapians in the heel of Italy (Figure 51). These names derive from ancient Greek writers and were later taken up by the Romans. Thus, they represent an externally ascribed and not a declared identity of these peoples. We do not know if any group ever called itself by one of these names. Ethnicity and identity in the ancient world have become important areas of scholarly focus in recent years (Herring forthcoming). The modern debate has focused more

51   South-east Italy showing some of the principal Greek and Native sites and the main tribal names

on the construction of identity than the real origins of people. While it would be wrong to imply that scholarship on this topic has reached consensus, it is generally agreed that there are important differences between internal (within-group or emic) and external (between-group or etic) perspectives on identity. Thus, in the case of south-east Italy it is questionable whether it is appropriate to use the tribal names, except when discussing Greek or Roman views of local political and ethnic structures. Quite simply, we do not know if any south-east Italian person would have recognized the labels and structures ascribed to them by ancient writers.

Furthermore, the information provided by the ancient sources is not as neat as maps like Figure 51 suggest. There are more names cited for the region than are reproduced here; and there is some dispute about the relationship between these other names and the groups shown here. For instance, in some sources the Peucetians and Messapians are seen as a subset of a group referred to as the Iapygians (e.g. Polybius 3.88), whereas others suggest that the Iapygians were a stand-alone group (e.g. Pausanias 10.13.10). Despite these problems, the map offers a reasonable summary of what the ancient writers say about the local political geography for the main part of the Iron Age. Nevertheless, the confusion in the sources only serves to complicate the matter of whether using these names is appropriate.

Due to these problems, some scholars, including the present author, have preferred to avoid using the tribal names, except when specifically referring to what is said by the ancient authors. These scholars have tended to favour more generic terms, such as 'native' or the Italian *indigeni*, particularly when referring to archaeological evidence (for a theoretical examination of problems of using tribal names see Whitehouse and Wilkins 1985). Such terms are clearly artificial. They have the merit of not representing our knowledge as more precise than it may actually be; they also help avoid the tendency to elide archaeological cultures with the ethno-political groupings mentioned in the ancient authors. The use of generic terms also allows one to generalize between areas where (to our eyes) similar populations lived. Indeed, sometimes the evidence does not allow us to talk in terms of Messapians or Peucetians, though we can recognize that we are dealing with the local population (e.g. in the study of the depiction of local people in Apulian red-figure vase painting). Nevertheless, these generic labels are also problematic. They too represent an etic perspective; in some ways one has simply substituted a modern outsider's view for the ancient one. Inevitably, terms like 'native' define local groups, at least to some extent, as opposed to the newcomers to the region (i.e. Greeks). Such an opposition may well have had some resonance with Classical Greeks, who had a developed sense of the Greek/barbarian dichotomy, but it may not be the best way to examine relations in a culture contact environment (Purcell 2005). Moreover, such an opposition may be especially inappropriate for the earlier phases of Greek settlement in Italy. Not only may Greek attitudes towards 'barbarians' have been less oppositional

in earlier times (Hall 2002) but also some early colonies seem to have been mixed enterprises involving Greeks and locals (e.g. Metapontum).

One obvious question, if one wishes to use the literary and historical accounts in the reconstruction of south Italian societies, is whether the tribal names find any archaeological correlation. In other words, is there any discernable trace in the archaeological record that might suggest that the Greeks were recording some categorization that was significant to the local populations? Obviously one cannot simply assume that material culture reflects ethnicity, but group identity is one societal norm that may be reinforced by physical expression. Thus, material culture can consciously or, perhaps more likely, subconsciously reflect the norms of a society, such as group affiliation. However, there can be all manner of other cultural groupings within a community that can just as easily receive physical manifestation. Therefore, material culture patterning does not have to echo ethnic affiliation; and one should be wary of assuming it does.

In our study area the artefact type that shows greatest regionalization (and is therefore most likely to reflect some form of group affiliation) is the local, matt-painted, Geometric pottery. In the Early Iron Age the same style is manifested across southern Italy, but in the late ninth and eighth centuries BC distinct regional styles begin to emerge. This raises the possibility that the regional styles broadly reflect tribal groupings. If this was the case, then an obvious question is how well this regional pottery correlates with the names documented in Greek and Roman writers. There are two schools of thought on this issue. According to the first, there is a very good correlation between local pottery styles and the names derived from ancient sources. This school recognizes a single Geometric style from the Salento peninsula termed Messapic, one from central Puglia called Peucetian, and one from northern Puglia called Daunian (e.g. De Juliis 1977; 1995; Rossi 1981). Any variations within these styles are considered to be workshop differences. The other school (e.g. Mayer 1914; Small 1971; Yntema 1985; Herring 1998) recognizes a single style in southern Puglia, and two in both central and northern Puglia. Thus, this viewpoint would regard the correlation as being fairly weak. The issue is this: either the ceramic evidence is being shoe-horned into categories defined by the ancient writers or it is being split into too many categories as workshop variation is mistaken for regional patterning.

The only other native artefact type that has the kind of distribution pattern that may cast light on this issue comes from northern Puglia and takes the form of incised limestone slabs. Referred to as Daunian stelai, these sculptures are assumed to have been elite grave markers (Figure 52), though none have been found *in situ* (Nava 1980 is an exemplary catalogue of the collection of stelai in the Museo Nazionale di Manfredonia). They were made between the late seventh and early fifth centuries BC, and their distribution coincides reasonably well with the Tavoliere plain (Figure 53). If the distribution of the stelai were seen to coincide with that of the Geometric pottery from northern Puglia, we would have a stronger case for seeing both as physical manifestations of regional

52   Typical 'male' Daunian stele with a sword and heart-protector (cardiophylax) (Nava 1980: 157, no. 736 A, pl. CCXXXVIII). Photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia

entity—the Daunians of ancient history perhaps. The distribution pattern of the stelai does not correlate well with the view that identifies only one pottery style in the whole of northern Puglia; the pottery is distributed over a much wider area, especially south of the Ofanto River. However, the coincidence with the distribution of one of the two styles recognized by the second school of thought outlined above is much better. What is referred to as Tavoliere Geometric in Yntema's terminology (more traditionally north Daunian) is seen as a product of the Tavoliere plain, while the area south of the Ofanto had its own style, Ofanto (or south Daunian) Geometric. If this view is subscribed to then some sort of cultural or ethnic grouping may be attested in the Tavoliere, but whether it is the Daunians is more debatable.

In addition, there are some differences in the script documented on native inscriptions from northern Puglia and elsewhere. The majority of inscriptions from our study area come from the south of the region. They use a Greek script
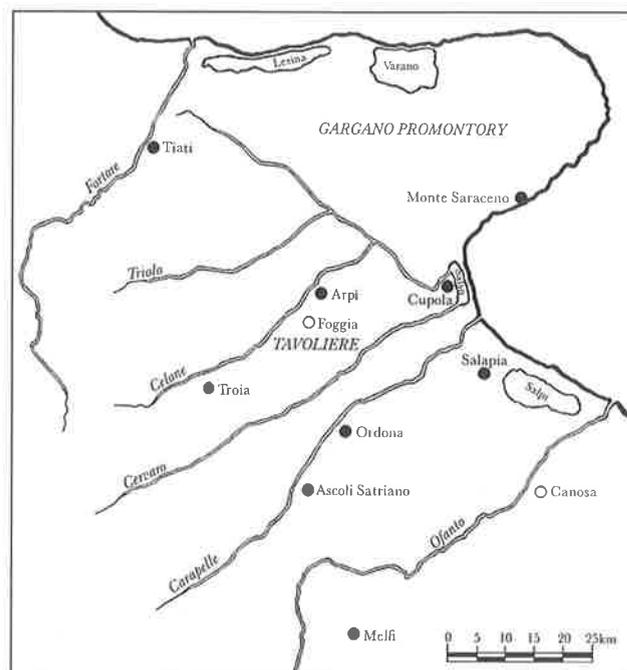
53   Map showing the find-spots of the Daunian stelai (filled circles) and other prominent places (hollow circles) (adapted from Nava 1980)

but record a language termed Messapic, which is taken to be of Indo-European extraction. The inscriptions range in date from the sixth to the first centuries BC, though the majority cluster between the later fourth and the second centuries BC. Relatively few inscriptions are recorded from central Puglia, and the known examples seem closely similar to those from the south. The form of the northern inscriptions is sufficiently different that some scholars have seen it as a separate script (sometimes designated as 'Apulian'); others see it as a variant of Messapic (De Simone 1988; 1991; Lejeune 1991). Again the evidence may suggest some division into different groups, but the correlation with the 'tribal' names is less than compelling. Of course, linguistic divisions need not coincide with ethnic (or political) boundaries: one needs only think of modern examples, like Switzerland, or the spread of the German language well beyond the confines of the nation-state.

The archaeological evidence for the groups documented in the ancient sources is, therefore, contested. However, we should not necessarily expect groups documented in written sources to be traceable in material culture. Scholarship has long since moved on from the notion that 'archaeological cultures' are manifestations of real peoples. Equally ethnographic contexts demonstrate that

54   Apulian red-figure column-krater (BM 297) attributed to the Wolfentbúttel Painter (RVAp I 13/197). Photograph courtesy of the British Museum. © The British Museum

diverse groups can share a near identical material culture. Moreover, ethnic identity may have been manifested in ways that do not survive archaeologically. There is good reason to think that costume may have been one such way in southern Italy (Figure 54). Although our best source of evidence (Apulian red-figure vase painting) dates to the fourth century BC, there are indications that distinctive local costumes, both male and female, had existed in earlier times (e.g. from the Daunian stelai).

In the fourth century, red-figure pottery began to be produced in the region (and elsewhere in south Italy and Sicily). It is normally assumed that the south Italian industry was established by Greek craftsmen (probably from Athens) moving to the region. The technical complexities of producing such vessels make this seem likely to be correct. The production centres of the south-eastern (Apulian) industry are not well established, but it has long been assumed that there were workshops in native areas as well as the Greek cities (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 450). The artistic idiom is essentially Greek, however. Scenes of the native population were a small but consistent part of the output of the Apulian industry; native peoples from more westerly regions can also be recognized on Campanian, Lucanian and Paestan vases. On Apulian vases,

native men are instantly recognizable by their distinctive patterned tunics; Greek males are either draped or heroically naked. Local women are not so obvious, though some may be identified by a broad belt and perhaps by border patterns on their otherwise Greek-style dress.

There is nothing in the male costume to suggest that there were three distinct groups, who dressed differently. Unfortunately, the vast majority of Apulian vases lack a proper archaeological provenance. Thus, we do not know if all the vases in question came from one specific part of Puglia or were distributed throughout it. Consequently there is no way to assess how meaningful the apparent lack of individual 'tribal' (as opposed to generally native) groupings might be.

The correlation between archaeological evidence and the tribal names mentioned in the ancient sources is unconvincing. Nevertheless, the fact that the ancient sources do not necessarily find archaeological correlates does not make them worthless. The sources are very informative in terms of how the Greeks saw the native population. What they do not provide is reliable evidence for how the natives defined themselves.

Societies

To discuss social organization among the local populations is complex. Using a generic term, such as 'native', to describe such societies potentially masks regional diversity that may exist within the archaeological and historical records. Nevertheless, there are some factors which seem to unite the peoples of south-east Italy that make it possible to attempt an overview. These commonalities would include the fact that the ancients saw at least two of these populations as related (as mentioned above, Polybius sees the Peucetians and Messapians as subsets of the Iapygians). Later writers, like Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 31), attempted to rationalize the confusion in earlier works and the connections that were perceived between the south-east Italian groups in the following way: the south-eastern tribes were founded by the brothers, Iapyx, Peuceteus and Daunus and the unrelated Messapeus. While the latter three lent their names to individual tribes, Iapyx gave his to the entire population of the south-east, the Iapygians.

The archaeological evidence for the various parts of Puglia also shows commonalities, such as a broadly common material culture (including matt-painted Geometric pottery and perhaps a shared approach to costume), similar burial customs, and use of the same language. This is not to deny difference. The Greeks did recognize at least three tribal groupings. The matt-painted pottery is regionalized, and some areas have distinctive material culture items (e.g. the Daunian stelai). The amount of contact that individual regions (or even sites) have with each other, the Greek cities, other Italian regions and other parts of the Mediterranean varies considerably. The settlement pattern (see below) is also

different. Thus, it is possible to generalize about native social structures, but one must be alive to the importance of regional diversity too.

Scholars attempting to reconstruct social organization in south-east Italy have two sources of evidence to work with: the ancient sources and archaeology, and would hope, as far as possible, to reconcile them in a way that retains critical rigour in the interpretation of both. We may again begin with the ancient sources. Here the information provided is quite limited, because the social structures of the south-eastern tribes was not of primary concern. Indeed, the sources only concerned themselves with the natives in so far as they impinged on Greek and Roman interests—usually through wars and alliances. Their focus is on the Greeks and/or the Romans. It would be an overstatement to describe local tribes as 'bit-part players' but we certainly do not have digressions on their customs and social structures in the surviving sources.

Nevertheless, some information on native social structures is either mentioned in passing or may be inferred. It is, for example, worth mentioning the terms in which native societies are discussed. Greek writers and political thinkers recognized two types of coexisting society: a polis-type society and an ethnos society (e.g. Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.1.4-5). The polis was a state with a city as its centre, the term being commonly translated as city-state. The ancient authors, who were polis-dwellers, tended to regard this as an advanced form of social organization. Ethnos is often translated by the words 'tribe', 'people' or even 'nation', none of which is wholly satisfactory. While words like 'tribe' and 'people' conjure notions of a common descent, all manner of Greek social connections were predicated on genealogy. Therefore, although the Greeks would have naturally assumed that any discrete group shared a common ancestry, this would have applied as much to polis-dwellers as it did to those who lived in ethne.

Furthermore, it has become clear that the term 'ethnos', as used by authors like Aristotle, covers a range of social forms, from *symmachies*, which were, in effect, collections of poleis, to more primitive groups (Morgan 2003, 8–9). The population of an ethnos-type society was typically larger than that of a polis. Although the leaders of an ethnos could act in much the same way as those of a polis in terms of making treaties, declaring war and peace, raising revenues, the communities themselves were not political in the sense of being based around the notion of the citizen with a participatory stake in the state and its government (Morris 1987, 3–6). To polis-dwelling Greeks, like Aristotle, the citizen's participation in the state was crucial. It was natural for man to live in a polis (Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.1.8-11, which also brings out the desirability of polis life). Thus, any form of government that was not based around citizen participation was seen as inferior and, in some instances at least, as more backward. Ethne existed in many parts of Greece, including Macedonia, Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, Achaea and Arcadia. Some of these areas had monarchical systems of government (e.g. Macedon and Thessaly). Monarchy was considered an ancient, but not desirable, form of government (Aristotle,

Pol. 1.1.7; 3.10.9–10). Rule by one man was antithetical to the notion of the free citizen stakeholder.

The native communities of south-east Italy were seen as ethne, though some individual sites are referred to as poleis. As noted above, there is not any implied contradiction in this as some ethne were made of groups of poleis. The use of the term ethne implies that such poleis as existed were not the dominant political force in the region and that the notion of the citizen stakeholder was not well developed. In some sources we also have references to kings or other types of hereditary ruler (e.g. Pausanias 10.13.10 mentions an Iapygian king (*basileus*) named Opis, while Thucydides 7.33 speaks of a Messapic lord/chief (*dunastes*) named Artas). The ancient sources also imply that each tribe was made up of people with a common ancestry, but, as stated above, this would have been a characteristic assumption made about any population group.

From the limited information provided, an outline sketch of native social organization can be drawn. Each tribe was assumed to be a group of common descent. The fact that they are called ethne implies that they had a reasonably large population, possibly, though not necessarily, scattered over a wide area. Certainly each of the three zones where the tribes were thought to operate is much larger than the territory of even the largest polis. There may well have been some poleis within native territory, but it is not clear at which level the primary political organization operated. While some sources refer to the tribes as a whole, others deal with individual communities. Whether this reflects a lack of knowledge on the part of the sources, or that the ethne were fairly loose confederations of communities that frequently operated independently is open to conjecture. The tribes are assumed to have had some form of hereditary ruler, while the notion of citizen participation is not documented. This impression of native social structures may have had borne little reflection to reality, but it is what the ancient Greek writers thought.

The second source of evidence for native social structures is archaeological. Archaeologists often look to anthropology for models of social organization. Service's (1971) four-fold classification of societies remains a commonly used tool. As Service's system is explicitly evolutionary, one might argue that, over the course of the first millennium BC, the native communities go from being tribes to chiefdoms and perhaps even begin to witness the emergence of early states (see below, in the section on 'settlements'). Certainly there is an increase in social complexity over time, manifested, for instance, in terms of increased wealth differentiation. Both tribes and chiefdoms are dependent on kinship (real or fictive) as the main instrument of social cohesion. Chiefdoms, in particular, assume the leadership of a strong man, usually supported by a social elite, made up of prestige lineage groups. The evidence that supports such a reconstruction for south-east Italy mostly comes from burials.

At the start of the Iron Age the level of social stratification discernible is slight. Most tombs contain few artefacts, and are of similar type. A few

stand out for containing metal weapons, mostly spearheads, and for having more substantial tumuli over the burial. From the sixth century BC onwards, increasing numbers of imported artefacts reach native tombs. Social differentiation seems more evident, with the richest graves receiving more and better quality grave goods. The grave goods include imported Greek pottery, metal vessels, jewellery, weaponry, and more exotic items like amber; local ceramics are usually well represented too. Differences in wealth seem obvious and are equated with differences in social status and power, as is commonplace in archaeological thinking. There are also changes in form, with some burials in deep *fossa* graves, later giving way to slab-lined tombs. By the fourth century BC, elaborate chamber tombs, with built entrances, are used by the wealthiest in society. These are often used for several interments, suggesting the importance of kinship.

The same broad trends are witnessed throughout Puglia. Regional diversity does not seem to invalidate the general picture sketched in here. For example, the Daunian stelai are a distinctly local artefact type that represents a significant investment in the commemoration of the dead. It was presumably only an elite group that was honoured in this way, thus supporting the existence of social hierarchies locally. Their date might suggest that social stratification was somewhat more developed in northern Puglia in the early sixth century BC than it was further south, but every zone was moving in that direction. Equally, in the fourth century literacy is more widely attested in the Salento peninsula than in other zones, which can be explained by the greater proximity to the Greek cities. Nevertheless, each zone is experimenting with literacy, though we do not know if the skill was confined to the social elite. There is also evidence within the settlement pattern (discussed below) that suggests the development of more centralized power structures. In addition there were technological changes, such as the move towards building in stone, the use of terracotta roof tiles, and the introduction of the fast wheel for pottery production. Each of these innovations was adopted as a result of contact with the Greeks. As one would expect, innovations happened first in those areas closest to the Greek cities, but knowledge of them spread widely and rapidly.

The brief outline of social development presented above is a perfectly plausible interpretation of the evidence. Most authorities would accept that a more stratified society developed over time, with the social elite having privileged access to foreign goods. However, there would be differences of opinion about how stratified society becomes and the extent of state formation (of which more below). In terms of the former issue, certainly the level of social differentiation in the south-east does not match that seen in the Iron Age communities of central Europe or even in some of the more spectacular 'princely' burials from Etruria and central Italy. Contact with the Greeks, both through trade and warfare, seems to have been central to native socio-economic development, especially from the sixth century onwards. Traditionally this has been discussed in terms

of Hellenization or cultural assimilation. Nowadays the processes of change are seen as more complex and the native role as less passive (e.g. Herring 1991a; 1991b; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; for the debate on the interactions between peoples in 'colonial' situations see most recently the papers in Hurst and Owen 2005). Nevertheless, some scholars identify the elite as having a Homeric-type society. Certainly elite men were characterized in death as warriors with an interest in wine consumption and perhaps hunting too (Herring et al. 2000). The question is whether this represents a blanket adoption of Greek culture by a Hellenized elite or a more selective appropriation of elements that coincide with and reinforce native social values. Another as yet unanswered question is the extent to which the adoption of Greek cultural attributes is an elite phenomenon.

The emergence of some form of social elite seems reasonably well founded, but one should sound a cautionary note. The evidence we use to recognize wealth consists mainly of Greek imports. Therefore we may be privileging Greek artefacts over local products, seeing them as more valuable because of their status in modern times. There is no *a priori* reason why a native pot should have been of lower value than a Greek vessel of equivalent size, though the manufacturing skill, iconography, relative rarity and the products (such as wine, oil, perfume) it was associated with may have added lustre to the latter. The situation is complicated further by the fact that Greek pots were also made in south Italy— both colonial black gloss and various decorated wares, including Apulian red-figure. We simply do not know how native, colonial and imported wares from the Greek mainland compared in value terms. In any case, values should perhaps be thought about more in terms of prestige than strictly commercial considerations. Moreover, scholars, myself included, use these imports to recognize wealth and power and then talk of a powerful elite having privileged access to Greek goods. There is a clear risk of circular reasoning here.

There is some evidence to support the idea of the importance of kinship. Apart from the tombs used for multiple interments, one also finds very wealthy female and child burials. In the case of wealthy female burials, these are normally interpreted as the wives of local leaders, but this might be gender stereotyping that denies the possibility of women being powerful in their own right. In fact women seem to have played significant roles in native religion (e.g. Herring et al. 2000, 244–47; cf. also the *tabara* inscriptions in Messapic, which are taken to be evidence of priestesses, Parlangèli 1960; Santoro 1982; 1984); indeed, one of the most popular Greek-derived cults to enter native society was that of Demeter, whose worship was very much female-led (see Hinz 1998 on the Demeter cult in south Italy). With the child burials the wealth would seem most likely to reflect status acquired through familial connections, as it is difficult to see how a child could become independently rich or powerful, unless the child was ascribed some special status at birth or in early childhood (as happens with the identification of a new Dalai Lama). The importance of family connections in establishing

social status seems reasonably well founded, but we do not know for certain if there were more developed kinship structures linking families into wider clans.

If we put the evidence from the ancient sources together with that from archaeology, we have a fair degree of overlap. The written sources talk of an ethnos society led by a king or other such leader; the archaeology can be interpreted as evidence for a tribal society bound together by kinship and led by a social elite. The fact that different sources produce a similar reconstruction of native society should be and is reassuring, up to a point. However, it must also be acknowledged that most archaeologists who work on this area are well versed in the Classics. They are naturally happy to find a pattern that seems to fit the ancient history. Subconsciously the ancient accounts would be in the excavators' minds when analysing their data. Thus, they would naturally expect to find evidence for social elites bound by kinship. The established practices of mortuary analysis allow for the recognition of a ranked society from burial evidence in a way that seems entirely free of preconceptions. However, as noted earlier, even the interpretation of certain objects as key wealth indicators may be subject to a subconscious pro-Greek bias.

One should also mention the use of analogy from anthropology and the social sciences. The language of these disciplines, with their talk of tribal and state-level societies, has its roots in the distinction between poleis and ethne that goes right back to the Aristotelian interest in ancient constitutions and beyond. To this day, something of the assumption survives that at the top of the scale of social complexity is the urban state, while simpler societies are tribal and kinship-based. Thus, two ways of thinking, both ultimately derived from the ancient Greeks, potentially feed into to the interpretation of archaeological evidence. If scholars did not share these mindsets they might interpret their data differently.

Settlements

Over the course of the first millennium, south-east Italy witnessed a significant change in its settlement pattern. In general terms, this can be characterized as move away from very small sites to the development of major centres of population that exist throughout Puglia by the time of the Roman conquest. However, this generalization masks the considerable variation in the nature of the changes that occurred across the region. At the start of the millennium, there is little sign of settlement on the Tavoliere plain of northern Puglia, with occupation restricted to a few sites around the edge of the Gargano promontory. Significant occupation seems to begin in the north of the region in the eighth century. Very rapidly the sites in the Tavoliere and the area just south of it become massive, up to one thousand hectares. Some, such as Arpi on the Tavoliere, are surrounded by major earthworks, but others show no surviving

evidence of built boundaries. These sites first became known internationally as a result of air photographs published by John Bradford (Bradford and Williams-Hunt 1946; Bradford 1949; 1957).

The situation in central and southern Puglia is somewhat different. These two zones can be taken together, as they seem to display a similar trajectory of development, though the southern zone has been more extensively studied and the evidence for settlement centralization is better understood. In central and southern Puglia there were plenty of sites at the start of the millennium, but they are mostly of small size—two to three hectares. The shift from small and medium to large sites belongs largely to the fifth and fourth centuries BC here. Large sites in these areas, which mostly range between forty and fifty ha but can occasionally reach up to a hundred hectares, and often have city walls around them, showing obvious Greek inspiration (Vinson 1972; D'Andria 1989, 66–67; Herring 1991a, 37–40). The settlement pattern is particularly well documented in the Brindisino in the Salento peninsula thanks to a groundbreaking field survey project organized by the Free University of Amsterdam (e.g. Yntema 1993; Burgers 1998). This project enabled settlement dynamics to be charted from the Early Iron Age down to the Roman period. It also incorporated intensive surveys of sites alongside more extensive coverage of parts of the rural landscape. One of the conclusions that Burgers (1998, 295–303) draws from this work is that there is little evidence of the elite's ability to unite large entities at a regional (tribal) level during the Archaic/Classical period. He regards the early Hellenistic period as documenting the advent of an increasingly urban landscape. However, he does not feel that tribal entities had an institutional basis in this period (Burgers 1998, 302).

Despite the evident differences between the settlement patterns in northern Puglia and the rest of the region, they have been discussed together in several recent theoretical works (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Lomas 1994); I have been guilty of the same fault in my earlier work (Herring 1991a, 1998, 171–79), but now feel that they should be treated separately (see below). The emergence of large sites in Puglia has been discussed in terms of urbanization and state formation. The debate about settlement and societal change looms large in the archaeology of Italy in the first millennium. Questions such as 'can one have state-level societies without cities?' and 'can one have cities without states?' remain hotly contested. The situation is further complicated by a tendency to blur the distinction between the city and the state (Bradley 2000 takes issue with the whole way in which we view states, cities and tribes in early Italy). A city is a physical type of settlement; a state is a type of socio-political organization, characterized by a strong central government, whose legitimacy may be reinforced by hierarchies of officials, a developed bureaucracy and formalized law. However, states and cities frequently coincide; the most obvious example from the ancient world may be the Greek 'polis' (the word being commonly translated as city-state). Whether Greek (or indeed Roman) models of urbanism

and social organization should be exported to other cultural environments is another debatable issue.

The questions pertinent to this case-study are these: 1) Are the large southeast Italian sites cities? and 2) Are native communities states? Neither question is fully answered. Certainly the settlements of Puglia are not physically similar to the cities of the Greek world. For a start, they contain both occupation and burial areas. This would have been taboo in most Greek communities, though not among the Spartans, whose own community did not take the conventional polis form, nor in the Spartan foundation of Tarentum, which was the only Greek 'colony' in Puglia. The large native sites also contain areas of open land that were presumably used for agricultural purposes. The kinds of civic building familiar from the Greek world are also largely absent, as is evidence for street planning. Some of the more southerly sites show signs of the physical reorganization at the community level in the early Hellenistic period that may be attributed to influence from the Italiote cities. In general, the resemblance to Greek cities remains relatively slight.

However, just because the centralized native sites do not look like Greek cities does not necessarily mean that they are not cities. Kathryn Lomas (1994) has argued that they represent a distinct south Italian development and that our view of the ancient city is too dependent on the Greek polis (and Roman urbs). Others (e.g. Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Herring 1991a; 2000) have seen them as proto-urban nucleated settlements, i.e. large settlements that serve some of the functions of a city without having all the features one would expect of an urban centre. According to the latter view, such settlements may have been undergoing a process of urbanization but were not yet fully formed cities; this argument can be criticized for its overtly evolutionary conception of societal change. The disagreement about the nature of these sites is aggravated by the lack of an agreed terminology. Even for the modern world there is no accepted definition of a city. In the study of ancient urbanism, there has been, as has already been noted, a tendency to treat notions like the city (a type of settlement) and the state (a type of society) as interchangeable. I feel that progress can be made if we try to keep these categories separate.

A city, then, would be a large centre of population possibly dominating a rural hinterland; that domination might have some physical manifestation such as the organization of the territory into coherent plots or the development of a road network radiating from the city. The urban centre might be expected to show certain infrastructural elements designed to support a large population. Such elements could include some or all of the following: a city wall or other boundary for the defence and/or symbolic definition of the community; an organized urban space, perhaps demarcating areas for residential, industrial, commercial and civic purposes, and in some instances showing signs of street planning; public buildings for the governing authorities of the community—

such buildings might be more overtly religious rather than civic to modern eyes; and organization of water supply, sewerage, etc.

Obviously the development of a complex infrastructure presupposes a high level of community organization, to plan projects, to muster the resources and labour force needed to carry them through to completion, and to ensure their maintenance into the future. Such a capacity to organize the community will only be possible where highly sophisticated social structures exist, i.e. in state-level societies and perhaps the most highly developed chiefdoms. Thus the state and the city will tend to coincide (as they do in the Greek and Roman worlds) but they are not the same thing. Separating our terminology allows us to think about the possibility of states existing in a non-urbanized society (where the state authorities could meet in a non-urban space, such as collective sanctuary) and that cities might exist in the context of developed chiefdom rather than a state society. The downside of defining cities solely in terms of physical features is that it can lead to rather mechanistic thinking: in effect creating a check-list approach whereby a settlement need only achieve a set number of physical features to be ascribed urban status without a wider consideration of the social, political and economic context in which it existed. The debates around urbanism in the ancient world will continue, but the development of a unified terminology will help bring clarity to the areas of dispute.

To turn back to the case of the large sites in Puglia, it is clear that they have some of the features that one would expect of an urban society. They must have been significant centres of population (by ancient standards). Those in central and southern Puglia typically have a built boundary; the situation in northern Puglia in this regard is more mixed. By the early Hellenistic period there is some evidence in central and southern zones for the organization of both the rural territory, with the formalization of rural sanctuaries, and also of the 'urban' space in terms of demarcated residential, agricultural, religious and perhaps civic areas (Burgers 1998, 300). Most of these developments are quite late, certainly not before the mid-fourth century BC and often later (i.e. around or after the Roman conquest). Moreover, while a fair number of urban features can be argued for central and southern sites, the evidence from northern sites is less compelling.

Trying to recognize ancient states can also be problematic. The existence of an urban society would provide strong circumstantial support but as noted above is not necessarily a prerequisite for a state-level society. Obviously, the ancient written sources can provide evidence about states other than those of the Greek and Roman worlds. Leaving aside the question of how well the ancient authors understood native socio-political structures, it is unclear to what extent they depict the south-east Italian ethne as states. Lombardo (1991, 72) has argued that the texts on southern Puglia tend to treat the native world as quite fragmented, with an emphasis on individual communities rather than regional socio-political entities. In terms of archaeological evidence, one would hope to find examples of socio-political self-identification, for example in the form of inscriptions and

coins. Where these exist at all, and they are most late (third century BC or later), the focus is again on the individual community. Thus there is little evidence to be found of the kinds of formal governmental structures that characterize state societies at the regional level.

The situation in Puglia, therefore, is different from that which prevails somewhat later in central Italy, where the Samnite society is sometimes seen as a state, but one that lacks urbanism (Bradley 2000, 122). The Samnites do have some nucleated settlements but, perhaps more importantly, also some shared central places, normally sanctuaries (such as Pietrabbondante). Furthermore, their inscriptions reveal the existence of formal magistracies. Similar evidence from Puglia is more difficult to pin down. The best indication that state level societies may have existed in Puglia is provided by the centralized (or if one prefers, urbanized) settlement pattern. In later periods this receives further support from occasional self-identifications, but always at the local rather than regional level. Such a picture is not necessarily inconsistent with the evidence provided by the ancient sources.

Returning to the two questions posed above, I now think we should separate northern Puglia from central and southern Puglia. In the latter two areas, the trend towards settlement centralization is later and results in somewhat smaller sites. These areas are in close contact and often conflict with the Greek cities on the coast. It seems reasonable to think of these settlements as a native response to the threat posed and the stimulus provided by the Greek poleis. As such they should be seen in the context of state formation (Herring 2000, 65–69)—a process that was ongoing at the time of the Roman conquest. Whether they were literally cities is questionable. However, they undoubtedly have some of the features that one would expect of a city and must have performed some of the roles of cities (such as the short-term defence of the rural population in times of war). Whether the native communities in central and southern Puglia had developed full-blown states by the time of the Roman conquest is again open to doubt; some scholars (e.g. Bradley 2000, 120) would question this kind of language for seeing the state as a fixed end-point in a hierarchy of social evolution. Irrespective of the level of state formation, it seems likely that kinship remained the dominant force for social cohesion; but then it did in Greek communities long after the polis had emerged (Hall 2002). We have no way to assess how real the kinship ties were, but this scarcely matters; the crucial thing is that it was a value system that individuals subscribed to.

The case of northern Puglia, where the phenomenon of settlement centralization is earlier and involves even larger sites, which look even less like cities, may be something different. The sites have fewer of the urban features that were outlined above than do the centralized sites in central and southern regions. Specifically, there is less evidence for formal organization of the space within the site, public buildings and infrastructure. In general our knowledge of the rural countryside is less strong for northern Puglia than for more southerly

zones, although some of the roads on the air photographs may date back to the Iron Age. It is difficult to assess what level of control over the rural countryside was exercised by the large population centres. We do not know how extensively the plain was exploited for agriculture, though it seems reasonable to assume that sheep pasturing was important to the local economy; typically the sites are rich in loom weights, suggesting textile production on a significant scale, while Apulian wool was highly valued in the Roman period. The evidence for urbanism in northern Puglia is clearly weaker than it is for more southerly zones. Indeed, the only strong evidence for collective community action in northern Puglia is the elaborate earthworks found at some of the sites.

Recently, together with colleagues from University College London and the universities of Manchester and Reading, I have been working in the Tavoliere looking at these sites, including Arpi, the largest of them, Ordona and Tiati. Our project[3] encompasses the techniques of conventional field survey and phenomenology, which looks at how human beings react to and perceive the environment around them. The latter approach is a relatively recent theoretical development in landscape archaeology and is controversial for what its critics perceive as its highly subjective nature (Tilley 1994; for a typical critique see Brück 1998). In our work, we have tried to bring greater methodological rigour to the application of phenomenology by recording human reactions to different landscape contexts in a series of repeated and repeatable experiments. Our hope is to diminish the biasing effect of individual idiosyncrasies and to allow our conclusions to be tested in the same way that the results of conventional surveys can be. In particular, we have addressed phenomenological approaches to the boundaries of the large Iron Age sites. It seemed to us that boundaries are important conceptual markers in a landscape that human populations both defined and would have reacted to. For this reason we began our work at a site with a built boundary.

Arpi is the largest Iron Age site in the Tavoliere plain. It had a huge embankment and ditch running around a substantial part of its perimeter (Figure 55). The bank is still visible on the ground and represents a massive community investment in terms of labour and time. It was certainly built by the sixth century BC and may well be earlier, the site having been occupied since the eighth century BC (Tinè Bertocchi 1975). The western edge of the site is marked by a terrace leading down to the river Celone. This is the only part of the perimeter that has a close relationship to a topographical feature. Elsewhere the reasons behind the location of the earthwork are not obvious. Scholars agree that the embankment is not defensive, as it is evidently far too long to defend.

Moreover, the site was accessible by the then navigable river. This raises the question of why the embankment was built in first place, given that it involved such a commitment in terms of resources.

It was here that we felt a phenomenological viewpoint might yield dividends, with the idea being that if the reasons behind the location of the earthwork could be understood, one might get closer to understanding why it was built. As already noted, the boundary does not seem to follow the natural topography for most of its course. Thus, as far as we can tell, nature did not suggest where the boundary should be put. This led us to consider whether it delineated something that was already there—a pre-existing occupation area, perhaps— or was constructed as part of a process of defining the area within which it was possible for the community to operate (i.e. that it was a socio-political boundary).

One thing that struck us as worthy of consideration about the earthwork was its effect on those living within Arpi. That it made a profound impact on

55   Aerial photograph of Arpi. Ministero della Deifesa-Aeronautica, 1954

those viewing the site from outside seemed self-evident. It would have been a very significant feature in what is a predominantly flat landscape. Anyone approaching would have been made aware of the presence of a substantial settlement. Yet at the same time, the embankment prevented outsiders from getting clear views of life within the site. The impact of the boundary on those living within Arpi seemed to us equally important. To those living or working near the rampart, it would have defined the limits of their perception of the landscape (except for the tops of very distant features, such as mountain ranges), as they would have been unable to see beyond it without climbing onto it. To them, it would have limited their environment to the space within the site. Those operating nearer the centre of the site or down by the river would not have been so affected, because of the site's vast scale. It is possible to stand in the centre of the site and have no sense of where the boundary is, even when looking in the direction of one of the upstanding portions. For, although the area gives the impression of flatness, it has micro-relief that, together with the size of the site, serves to hide the perimeter. Moreover, in antiquity there would have been buildings, structures and human activities further to obscure and divert a person's view.

In order to try to understand how the boundary functioned in the eyes of the community, we took views and recorded (subjective) impressions of the boundary at various points from inside and outside the site. While our analyses are still at a preliminary stage, my own working hypothesis is this: the boundary at Arpi was part of an original, or at least early, self-definition of the community. The original inhabitants of the site were probably settling a largely unoccupied area for the first time. That area had few significant local landmarks that could be used to define one's sense of communal space. The people at Arpi resolved this problem by building their own landmark—the earthwork.

The notion that the rampart at Arpi is connected with community self-definition can be supported by the comparison with other broadly contemporary sites in the same area. To date, our field project has looked at Ordona and Tiati in some detail. Although both sites are on a smaller scale than Arpi, they are still massive in prehistoric terms (for Ordona see Mertens and Volpe 1999, 18 and fig. 21; for Tiati see Antonacci Sanpaolo 2001, fig. 4.2). Ordona is further south than Arpi in an area of the plain with somewhat greater relief. The site appears to lack a built boundary in its Iron Age phase, though it has later Roman fortifications. Like Arpi, it is well situated to exploit riverine transport (via the Carapelle). Parts of the site sits on a ridge made up of three hilltops. Thus, it exploits the natural landscape but is not restricted to a single topographical high point. The ridge creates a sufficiently well-defined sense of space, at least in some areas, so as to preclude the need for significant investment in the enhancement of the boundary. Tiati presents similar evidence; this site is located in the northern tip of the Tavoliere, in the narrow area between the Gargano and the Apennines. While this is still a low-lying area, it has much greater degree of relief than in

the heart of the plain, where Arpi is located. Tiati does not have a humanly constructed boundary. Here, local topography defines the site; occupation is concentrated on the tops of a system of interconnected low hills, in a situation broadly similar to parts of Ordona. Thus if we compare the three sites, we can posit an argument that the Iron Age population only built elaborated embanked boundaries when adequate topographical features to define the community space were lacking.

Two questions remain: are the settlements in northern Puglia cities? and did the people have a state level social organization? To deal with urbanism first: certainly John Bradford (1957) had no problem referring to Arpi as a city. Neither did Strabo (6.3.9), who regarded Arpi as having once been one of the two largest poleis in Italy (together with Canosa, another large north Apulian site from just south of the river Ofanto). The archaeological evidence is less convincing.

The activity areas within the sites are very dispersed. It appears almost as if there were a number of small villages and farmsteads operating within the occupied area, which also contained cemeteries and agricultural land; the basis for the division of land and the organization of the occupation area at these sites is not clearly understood. There are neither public buildings nor any sign of a planned approach to the use of space. Any evidence that does exist for such features (e.g. public buildings) is considerably later than the period in which these sites were first established as large settlements, usually dating no earlier than the late fourth to early third century BC. It is also impossible, with our present knowledge, to identify demarcated areas for habitation, craft production, agriculture and the disposal of the dead. Equally lacking is evidence for infrastructural support, such as drainage. As has been outlined above, the settlement boundaries seem only to have been marked with substantial physical features when it was deemed necessary (i.e. in the absence of topographical features that could serve the purpose). It is very difficult to ascertain what level of control the large settlements exercised over the rural territory. If we maintain the definition of a city as a physical type of settlement, as suggested above, then these sites do not look like cities. This is not to say, however, that they were not substantial centres of population, nor that the community had no notion of itself as a political entity.

Equally there seems little evidence to support the idea that these communities had state-level social organization. Once again any self-attestations of the community, in terms of coins and inscriptions, belong to a later period, mostly after the Roman conquest. The lack of any planned approach to space militates against seeing these sites as having a sophisticated level of central authority. Indeed, the only feature that suggests the existence of a strong central authority is the embankment, as to construct such a monument involves the mobilization of a significant labour force. The sites that lack earthwork boundaries are in other respects physically similar to those that do have them, suggesting a similar level of socio-political organization. If we examine sites like Tiati and

Ordona in isolation, there is nothing physical, save the size of the occupied area, to suggest statehood: at least, certainly not before the late fourth/early third century BC.

If these communities lacked a state-level social organization, what they must have had was a sense of community that bound those living within the confines of the settlements together. This sense of community must have applied at sites like Arpi for the inhabitants not only shared the same confined world, but they also constructed that world. At Ordona and Tiati (and other sites like them) the sense of community is not so obviously manifested in terms of human intervention (though the natural boundaries could have been enhanced by more temporary markers, like fences) but there still were boundaries that set the community apart from those beyond the physical constraints of the site. A sense of belonging to a defined group and place is a well-attested human desire. In the case of the communities of northern Puglia, it was sufficiently strong to compel the people at Arpi to work together to create a definable physical space for themselves. The reason why this may have seemed so important to the ancient population of northern Puglia may be connected to their first settlement of the area, which had not been extensively used for occupation in the Bronze Age and may therefore be akin to a colonization scenario (Herring 1998, 178). This 'colonization' of a previously largely empty landscape may also help explain the pattern of settling in large communities in the first place, given that this was not the normal pattern of settlement in other parts of south Italy in the eighth-fifth centuries BC.

Having a developed sense of community could potentially make the population strong as it would promote unity; in turn this might lend itself to the development of the state over time. Certainly the Daunians loom large in the historical accounts as a powerful group. Arpi was even dignified by having a Greek heroic ancestor, Diomedes, ascribed to it. Most non-Greek places were incorporated into the Greek system of mythic genealogies by the invention of a barely sketched eponymous ancestor (e.g. Daunus, the founder of the Daunians). Only important places and peoples were associated with well-established figures from myth: the Romans and their Trojan founder, Aeneas, being the best-known example. The Daunians were clearly a force to be reckoned with.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to offer a survey of the current state of knowledge on the peoples of south-east Italy in the first millennium BC. Certain key points emerge. We know that the Greeks thought that the region was occupied by the Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians, who lived in ethnos-type societies governed by hereditary leaders. How closely this view matched how the natives saw themselves, we cannot say with any surety.

From archaeology it can be argued that the native communities were kinship based and developed greater social and political complexity over time, especially as a result of contact with the Greek city-states on the coast (which themselves became more sophisticated over the course of the millennium). These contacts also helped ensure greater economic prosperity for both Greeks and natives. However, the exact nature of the trade relationship between the two groups is not as well understood as one would hope. There would also have been all manner of other social interactions between individuals and communities that deserve fuller attention than they have often received in the past (Herring 2005). Contact facilitated the spread of ideas between the different communities. Traditionally this has been seen as a rather one-sided process, with the Greeks giving new ideas and technologies to the natives and receiving little in return. The reception of Greek ideas by natives was seen as fairly passive and uncritical: a process commonly referred to as 'Hellenization'. More recent scholarship has focused on interaction as a two-way street and on the natives having had an active role in their own cultural development.

Turning to the settlement pattern and the level of social organization, central and southern Puglia seems to witness settlement centralization in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Some scholars have seen in this the development of a distinctly south-east Italian form of the city (Lomas 1994). Both areas may also have experienced a process of state formation in the same general period (Yntema 1997; Herring 2000). The independent development of these putative states was curtailed by the Roman conquest, which occurs in the earlier third century BC; Tarentum, the major Greek city in the area and leader of the Italiote League, fell to the Romans in 272 BC.

In northern Puglia, the situation seems different, although there may well have been some parallel phenomena at work. Here the development of large centralized settlements was earlier and less influenced by external factors. It may be connected with the initial colonization of a largely barren space and the definition of a sense of place in a landscape that mostly lacks significant landmarks. At some sites, communities exploited local topographic features to define their sense of place. Elsewhere, such as at Arpi, communities were forced to create artificial perimeters. As for whether these large settlements constitute an early and entirely local form of the city and whether these communities were state-level societies, I tend to think not. However, the evidence is not so compelling that the opposite view can be dismissed out of hand.

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CHAPTER II

Romanization

The End of the Peoples of Italy?[1]

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Introduction

This chapter addresses the fate of the peoples of Italy after the Roman conquest, and aims to provide a follow-up for the discussions in the preceding regional studies. There are several important questions to answer. How long do the peoples of Italy continue to perceive of themselves as ethnic groupings? How are they affected by Romanization, and to what extent do they maintain an interest in their earlier history? How does their past inform their concept of self-identity?

Ethnic identity is a key modern concept for these questions, which we can define as 'the sense of identity possessed by social groups in relation to outsiders, an identity that can be expressed in various symbols, such as elements of their material culture, and in shared beliefs' (see Bradley 1997b for a detailed discussion). I will pay particular attention to how the peoples of Italy see themselves during the last few centuries BC, privileging their own sense of identity over those ascribed to them by Greek and Roman authors. But as we shall see, it is not always easy, or desirable, to ignore the writings of 'external' authors, and by the late republic these peoples began to produce writers themselves.

The peoples of Italy are often assumed to reach their apogee before the Roman conquest, in the late fourth and early third century. Conventionally, histories of these peoples spend most time discussing the pre-conquest era, with little on the Hellenistic period. An apogee implies a subsequent decline, and modern literature revels in value judgements on the process. For instance, in a recent exhibition catalogue on the Etruscans the penultimate phase of Etruscan history is described as 'the anguish of the decline' (Torelli 2001). Most books on the peoples of Italy have normally followed this line, and end with the Social War (e.g. Tagliamonte 1996), or at latest the early imperial period (e.g. Salmon 1967; Haynes 2000). Most tend to reflect the conviction that the history of the Etruscans and others ends and becomes the history of Rome from (at the latest) Augustus. If treated at all, the period is usually characterized as one of 'nostalgia',

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[1] Translations of ancient texts are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, with minor modifications, unless otherwise noted.