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Edited by A. E. Astin and F. W. Walbank

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THE CAMBRIDGE  
ANCIENT HISTORY

VOLUME VIII

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# THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME VIII

Rome and the Mediterranean  
to 133 B.C.

Edited by

A. E. ASTIN

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The Queen's University, Belfast*

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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

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[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521234481](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521234481)

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First published 1930

Second edition 1989

10th printing 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by the CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CRO 4YY

*Library of Congress catalogue card no. 75-85719*

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication data*

The Cambridge Ancient History. –2nd edn.

Vol. 8: Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B. C.

1. History, Ancient

I. Astin, A. E.

930 D57

ISBN-13 978-0-521-23448-1 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-85073-5 set

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## NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is arranged in sections dealing with specific topics, which sometimes correspond to individual chapters but more often combine the contents of several chapters. References in the footnotes are to these sections (which are distinguished by capital letters) and within these sections each book or article has assigned to it a number which is quoted in the footnotes. In these, so as to provide a quick indication of the nature of the work referred to, the author's name and the date of publication are also included in each reference. Thus 'Gruen 1984, 1.40: (A 20)' signifies 'E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley, 1984), vol. 1, p.40, to be found in Section A of the bibliography as item 20'.

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## PREFACE

The span of time embraced by this volume is short. Some who could recall personal memories of its beginnings – perhaps the news of Hannibal’s crossing of the Alps, or of the disaster at Cannae – witnessed events not far from its close; such people witnessed also an astonishingly rapid and dramatic sequence of developments which gave Rome the visible and effective political mastery of the Mediterranean lands. The beginnings of this change lie far back in the history of the Romans and of other peoples, in events and institutions which are examined in other volumes in this series (especially in Volume VII.2); but the critical period of transition, profoundly affecting vast territories and numerous peoples, lasted little more than half a century. In one sense a single episode, it nonetheless comprised a multiplicity of episodes which varied greatly in scale and character and in the diversity of those who, whether by conflict, by alliance, or by the passive acceptance of new circumstances, passed under Roman domination. Furthermore, the Romans themselves experienced change, and not merely in the degree of power and supremacy which they enjoyed. That power, along with the material fruits and practical demands of empire, brought consequences of great moment to their own internal political affairs, to relationships within their society and between them and their Italian neighbours, to their cultural life and to the physical expressions of that life.

It is this elaborate complex of fast-moving change which is examined, aspect by aspect, in the chapters of this volume. A survey of the sources of our information is followed by discussions of the Second Punic War and of the first involvements of the Roman state with people across the Adriatic Sea. There follows a chapter which examines Roman expansion in the West in the subsequent decades, looking successively at Cisalpine Gaul, Spain and Carthage, and concluding with the final destruction of that city in the Third Punic War. After two chapters devoted to the government and politics of Rome itself and to the interaction between Rome and her Italian neighbours, two more consider the contemporary expansion of Roman power in the East. The first of these deals with the great wars against Philip V of Macedon and the Seleucid king Antiochus

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III, the second with the overthrow of the Macedonian kingdom and the failure of the final efforts of some of the Greeks to assert a degree of independence, bringing with it the destruction of Corinth in the same year as Carthage. Yet, at least to the east of the Aegean Sea, Roman intervention, albeit on a growing scale, was still only one aspect of the vigorous and often volatile affairs of the diverse peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. The Seleucids and their rivals are discussed at length, in great measure from their own point of view rather than as a mere adjunct to Roman history, though the constantly expanding role of Rome looms ever larger. The Greeks of Bactria and India (upon whom the shadow of Rome never fell) were indeed rivals of the Seleucids but are discussed in a separate chapter which adopts the rather different approach required both by their unique history and by the exiguous and uneven source material. The volume concludes with two chapters which explore the interaction between Roman and Italian tradition on the one hand and the Greek world on the other. The first of these concerns itself mainly with intellectual and literary developments, the second with the material evidence for such interaction at many levels ranging from the basics of economic production to architecture and major works of art.

A few topics have been deliberately omitted from this volume with the aim of avoiding fragmentation and concentrating discussion in other volumes where these topics must occur in any event. Ptolemaic Egypt is examined at length in Volume VII.1 and later events in its history have been assigned to Volume IX, as has consideration of the Bosphoran kingdom. Events in Italy between the First and Second Punic Wars are dealt with in Volume VII.2 in a context where they belong naturally, and are not rehearsed again in this volume. Some matters discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of the present volume necessarily look forward to the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C., but the full consideration of that episode, including a review of developments leading up to it, is reserved for Volume IX. Similarly, while Chapter 12 discusses aspects of religion and of literature, the reader who seeks more extended treatment is referred for the former to the appropriate chapters of Volumes VII.2 and IX and for the latter to *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*. On the other hand the same policy has resulted in two chapters in the present volume having much wider chronological limits than the remainder. These are the chapters devoted respectively to the Greeks of Bactria and India and to the archaeological evidence for the transformation of Italy. In both cases the aim is to preserve the coherence of material which would lose much of its value, not to say its intelligibility, if it were divided.

Two more points of editorial policy require mention. First no obligation was placed upon contributors to conform to an overall interpretation or methodological approach, even in broad terms, though each was

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asked to signal in text or notes major departures from views which are widely accepted. Second, although each contributor was given the same guidance about footnotes it was felt that differences not only of style but of subject matter, of evidence and of the state of scholarship made it impracticable to insist upon very close conformity to a single model. The resulting variations may not be ideal in aesthetic terms but to a considerable degree they do reflect the requirements of different contributors and the varying character of their subject-matter.

During the preparation of this volume, which has been in train for some time, two events were the cause of especial sadness. Martin Frederiksen, who died in consequence of a road accident in 1980, was the member of the original editorial team who had accepted special responsibility for this volume. Its overall concept and plan and the particular briefs given to most of the contributors owed much to his insight, his care and his enthusiasm. It is a source of much regret that he did not live to nurture and bring to maturity a project which owes so much to his scholarship and wisdom. Less than two years later the grievous blow of Martin Frederiksen's death was compounded by a second tragedy, in the sudden and equally untimely death of Robert Ogilvie. He too was one of the original editorial team and contributed substantially to the initial planning. Thereafter, though he had been less directly involved with this particular volume, it benefited from his general guidance and his perceptive comments on several contributions. Yet another loss which we record with deep regret is that of one of the contributors, Professor H. H. Scullard.

The editors wish to place on record their thanks to several persons, not least to contributors for their patience in the face of the delays attendant upon the completion of a composite work of this nature. Some contributions were received as early as 1980, and the majority by 1984, when there was an opportunity for revision. A. K. Narain consented at a late stage to contribute Chapter 11, agreeing at uncomfortably short notice to add this to an already considerable burden of commitments. Chapter 7 was translated from the Italian by J. E. Powell; thanks are due also to Professor M. H. Crawford, from whose expertise this chapter has benefited greatly. Chapter 13 was translated from the French by Mrs Elizabeth Edwards. Chapter 10 was written in English but Professor C. Habicht acknowledges the assistance of Dr A. S. Bradford. The maps in this volume have been drawn by David Cox of Cox Cartographic Ltd. The index was compiled by Mrs Barbara Hird. Special thanks are due to our sub-editor, Ann Johnston, for her great care and vigilance, and to the staff of the Press for their patience and their unfailing support and encouragement throughout.

A.E.A.

F.W.W.