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978-0-521-51694-5 - Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy during the Second Punic War

Michael P. Fronda

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## BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE

Hannibal invaded Italy with the hope of raising widespread rebellions among Rome's subordinate allies. Yet even after crushing the Roman army at Cannae, he was only partially successful. Why did some communities decide to side with Carthage and others to side with Rome? This is the fundamental question posed in this book, and consideration is given to the particular political, diplomatic, military and economic factors that influenced individual communities' decisions. Understanding their motivations reveals much, not just about the war itself, but also about Rome's relations with Italy during the prior two centuries of aggressive expansion. The book sheds new light on Roman imperialism in Italy, the nature of Roman hegemony and the transformation of Roman Italy in the period leading up to the Social War. It is informed throughout by contemporary political science theory and archaeological evidence, and will be required reading for all historians of the Roman Republic.

MICHAEL P. FRONDA is Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Classical Studies, McGill University. He has published a number of articles on topics in ancient history and has contributed to D. Hoyos (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Punic Wars*.

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*Southern Italy during the Second Punic War*

MICHAEL P. FRONDA

*McGill University*



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*For Joseph D. Fronda (1935–1985)*

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## *Acknowledgments*

It is perhaps clichéd for a scholar to open his or her first academic book by noting that it started as a PhD dissertation and took final form after a long period of development and revision. Yet some clichés become so because they are true. This is certainly the case with the present book, which did in fact begin as a dissertation written in fulfilment of my doctoral degree at The Ohio State University. Indeed, the core of the book – the basic question, why did some allies revolt during the Second Punic War? – had its roots in a seminar paper that I wrote in 1994 in my early days as a graduate student, the central thesis of which the professor for the course deemed ‘ingenious but ultimately unconvincing’. The work has grown and developed a great deal since then, just as has my own thinking on Roman Italy and ancient history in general has evolved and matured. New arguments and ideas have been added, others have disappeared. This book is the end result. It was written and revised at three different academic institutions – The Ohio State University, Denison University and McGill University – and has benefited immensely from thoughtful criticisms, corrections and suggestions by many colleagues and friends whom I have been fortunate to meet. Any remaining weaknesses, fallacies and errors are my own. I leave it for the reader to determine whether the final product is ingenious or convincing.

It is impossible to name everyone who has helped me directly and indirectly along the way, but the following individuals must be acknowledged. First, I thank Nathan Rosenstein, my dissertation supervisor and the professor who commented on that original seminar paper. He is a formidable scholar, a careful critic and one of the finest professors I have ever had. He more than anyone else taught me how to be an ancient historian. He has been and continues to be both a mentor and a friend. I am indebted as well to the other members of my dissertation committee, Timothy Gregory, who first introduced me to the world of archaeology, and Barry Strauss, who rightly urged that I look at political science and

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international relations theory to help unpack my ideas. Fellow graduate comrades Bill Caraher and Jack Wells read various drafts of my dissertation and continued to give welcome suggestions as that dissertation grew into this book. From Ohio State I should also thank Will Batsone for helping me to become a more sensitive reader of ancient texts, and Jack Balcer (†) for his gentle guidance. Garrett Jacobsen and Tim Hofmeister, my friends and colleagues in the Classics Department at Denison University, provided both moral support and practical advice. The influence of Lisa Fentress, John Dobbins and Darby Scott, whom I met during my wonderful summer at the American Academy in Rome in 2000, can be found in the more archaeological sections. My colleagues in the Department of History and Classical Studies at McGill University helped me immeasurably during the major revision stage. Hans Beck attentively read through and commented on the entire manuscript. He also provided invaluable insights on Roman historiography and the sources for early Roman history, which greatly improved Chapter 1. He has been a great friend and ally. John Serrati read drafts of Chapter 7. Discussions with Bob Morstein-Marx, Claude Eilers, Rene Pfeilschifter, Craige Champion, Martin Jehne and most of all Art Eckstein have helped to clarify and strengthen arguments throughout the book. Art also showed me the manuscript of *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* before its publication. Stephen Oakley graciously allowed me to see drafts of volumes III and IV of his *Commentary on Livy Books 6–10* before they were published.

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# *Note on abbreviations*

The abbreviations used throughout this book are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (for references to ancient literary sources and inscriptions) and of *L'Année Philologique* (for the titles of scholarly journals), with the following additions and variations:

All references to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. Hal.) refer to the *Roman Antiquities* unless otherwise indicated.

Beck and Walter, <i>FRH</i>	Beck, H. and Walter, U. (eds.), <i>Die frühen römischen Historiker</i> (2 vols.). Darmstadt, 2001.
Cauer <sup>2</sup>	Cauer, P. (ed.), <i>Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 2nd edn. Leipzig, 1883.
<i>DNP</i>	Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. (eds.), <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (16 vols.). Stuttgart, 1996–2003.

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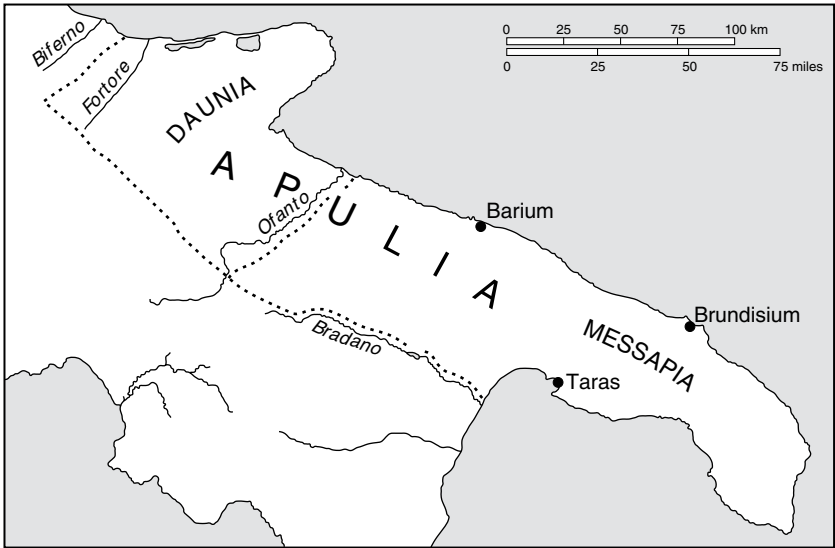
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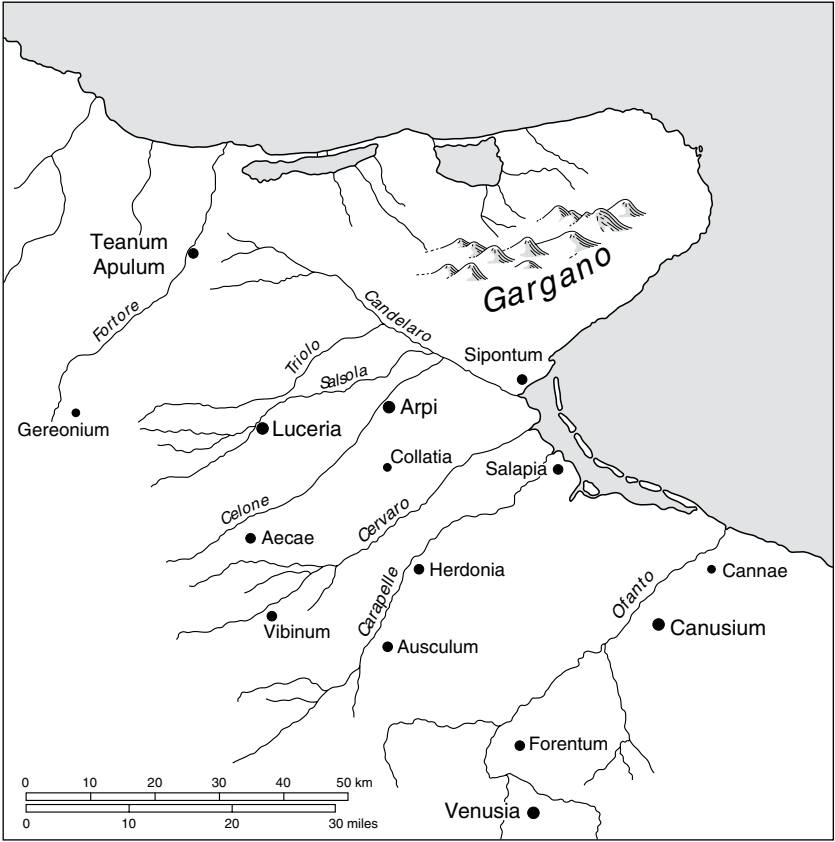
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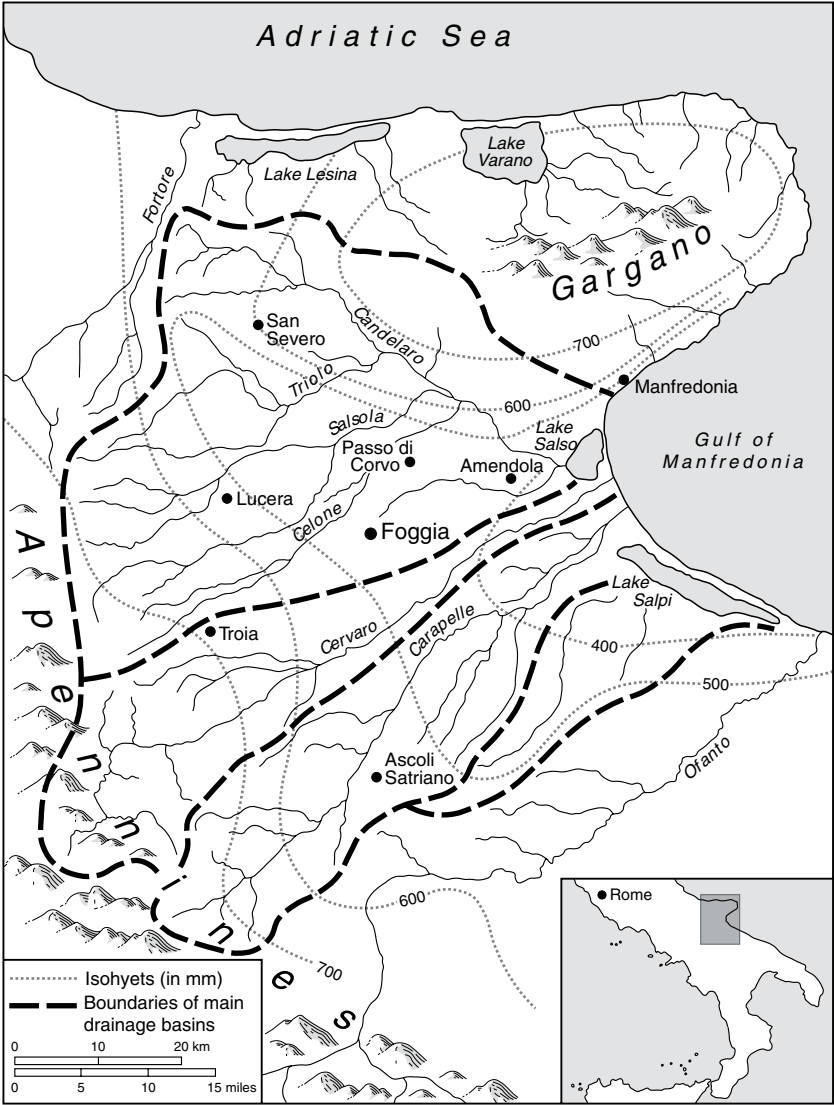
Map 2 Southern Italy, third century BC



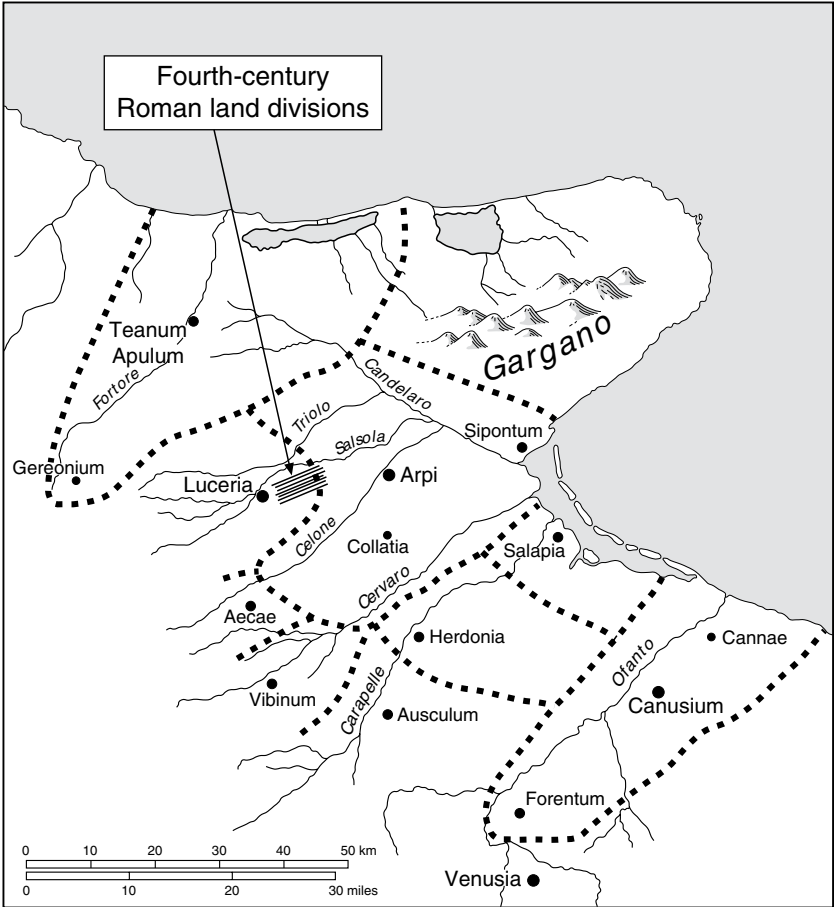
Map 3 Apulia, Daunia and Messapia



Map 4 Northern Apulia/Daunia

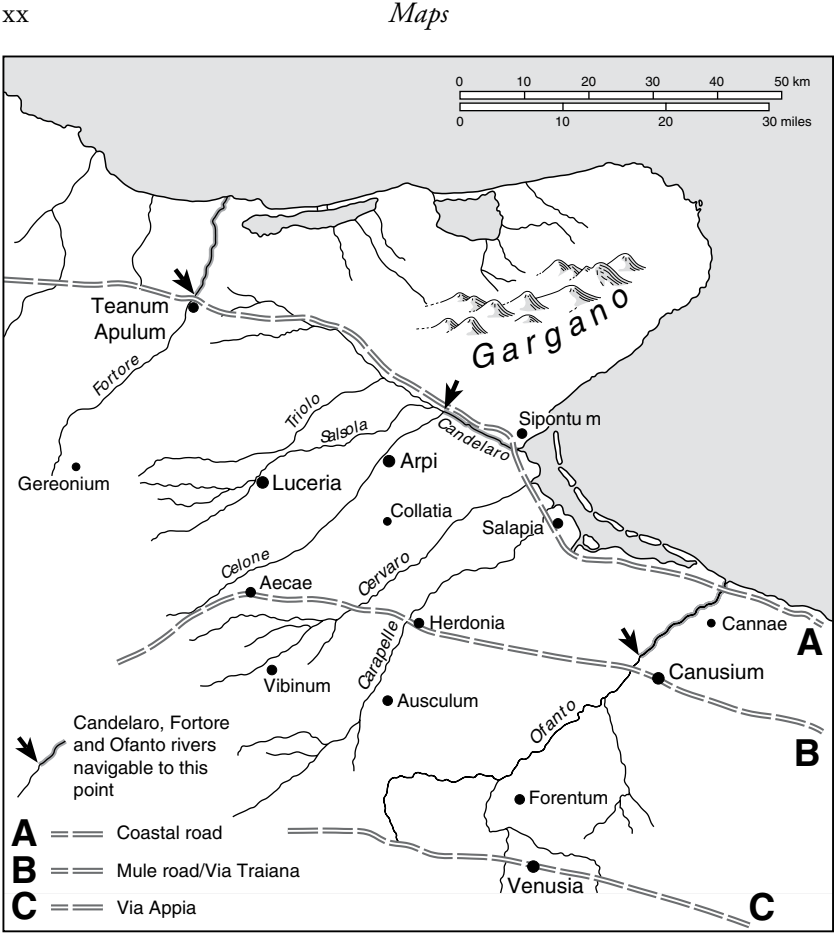


Map 5 Northern Apulia/Daunia: hydration systems (From G. Jones 1987)

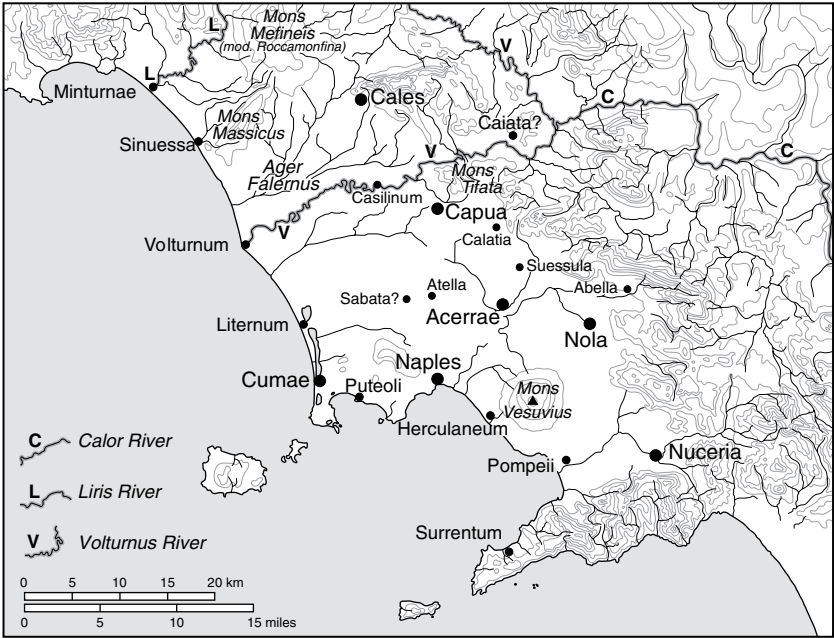


Map 6 Northern Apulia/Daunia: approximate boundaries between cities

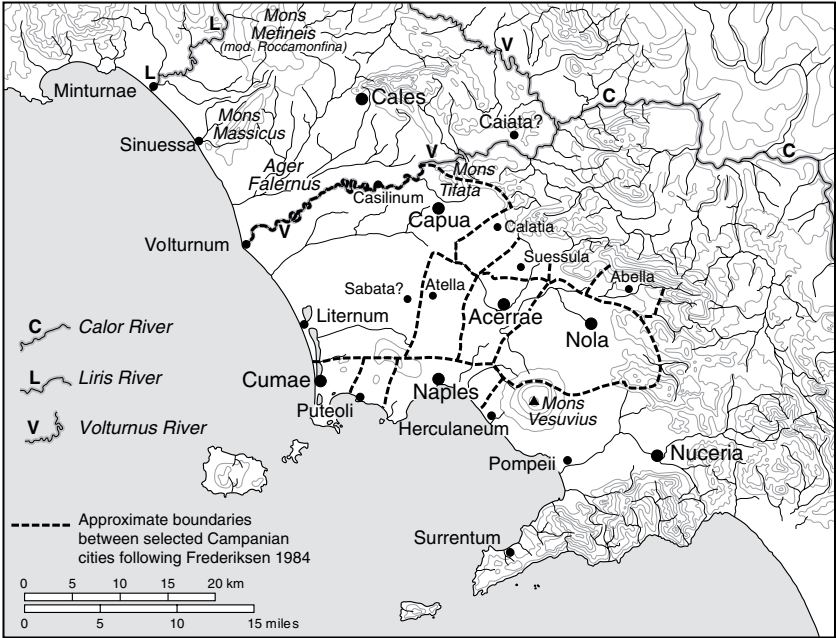




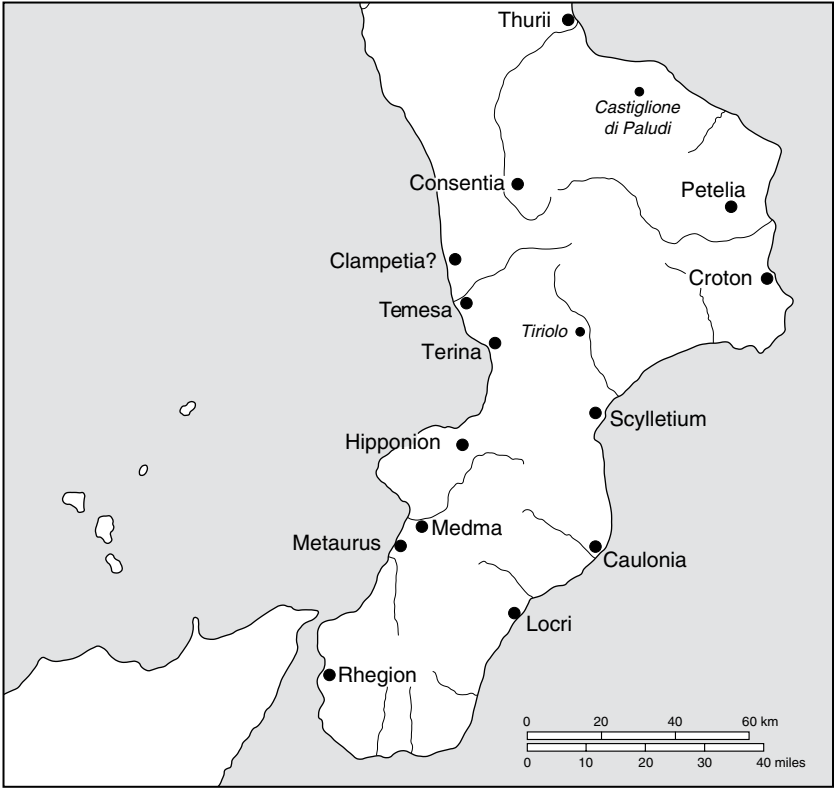
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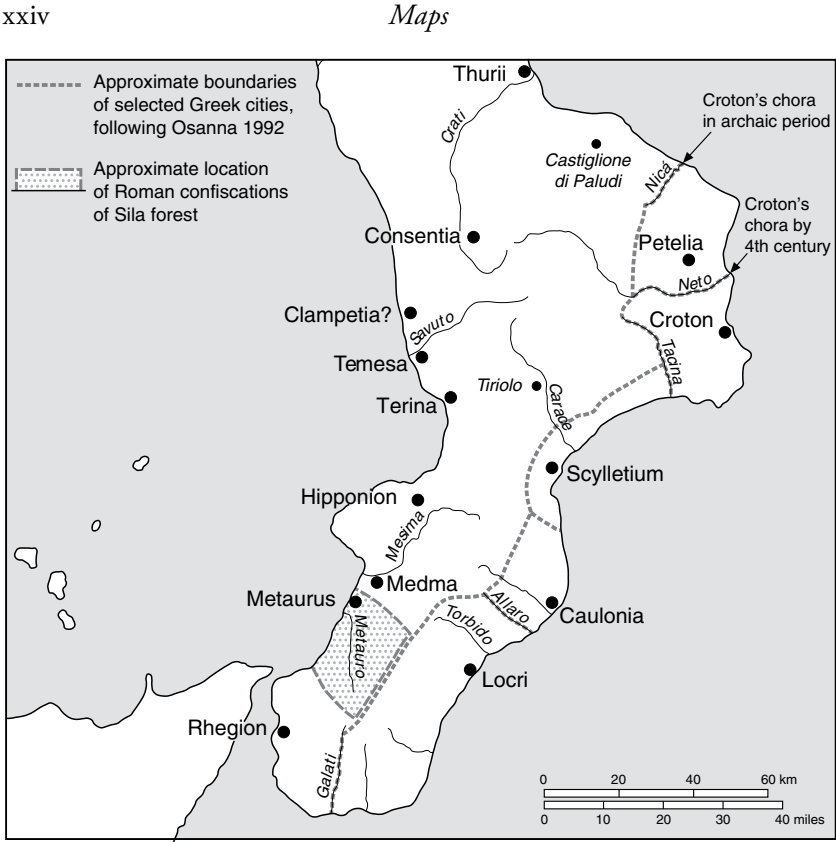
Map 8 Campania



Map 9 Campania: approximate boundaries between selected cities

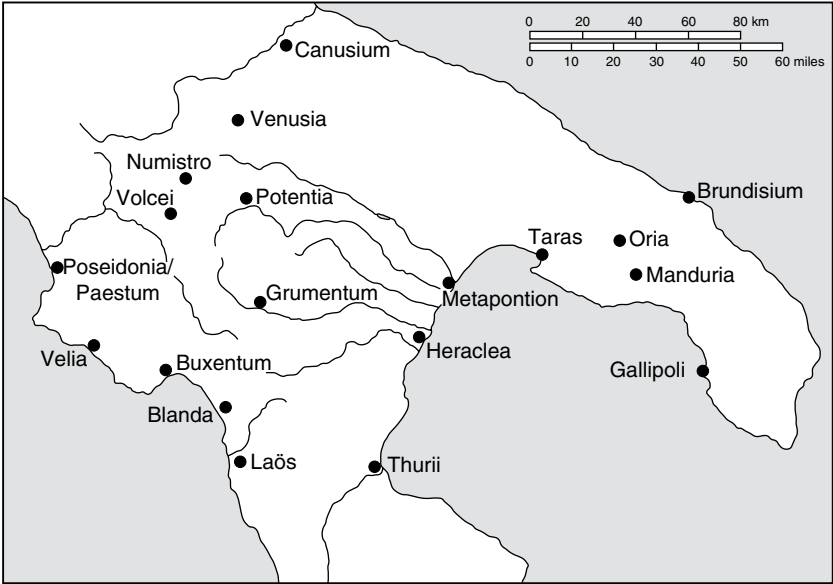


Map 10 Bruttium and SW Magna Graecia

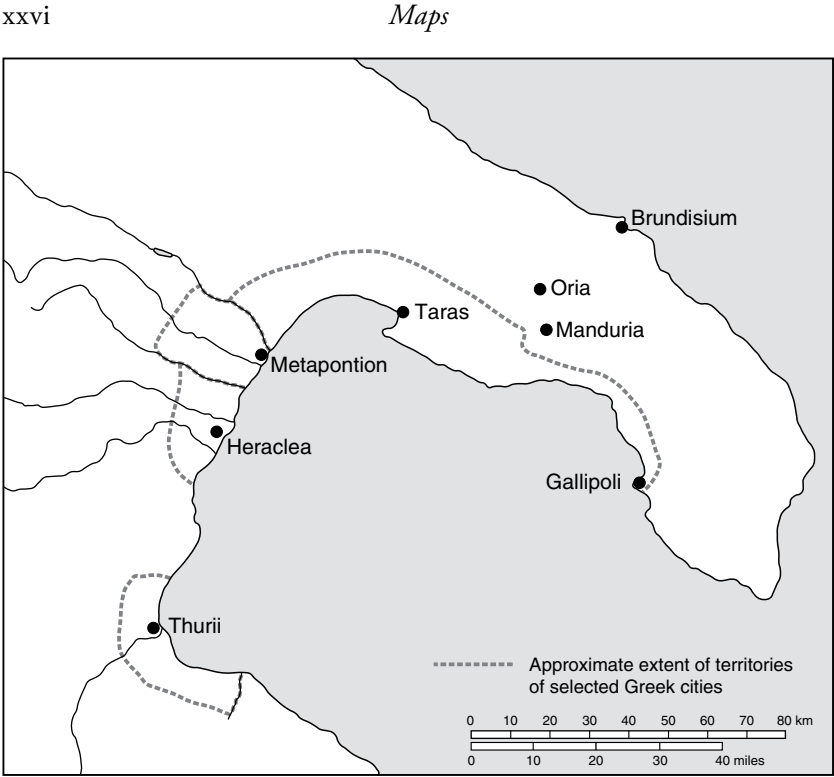


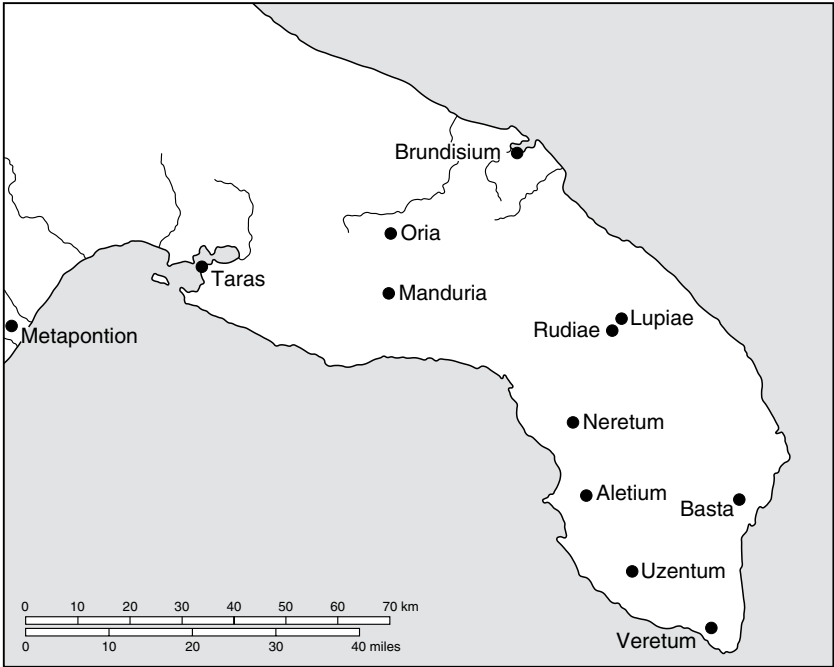
Map 11 Bruttium and SW Magna Graecia: approximate boundaries between selected cities

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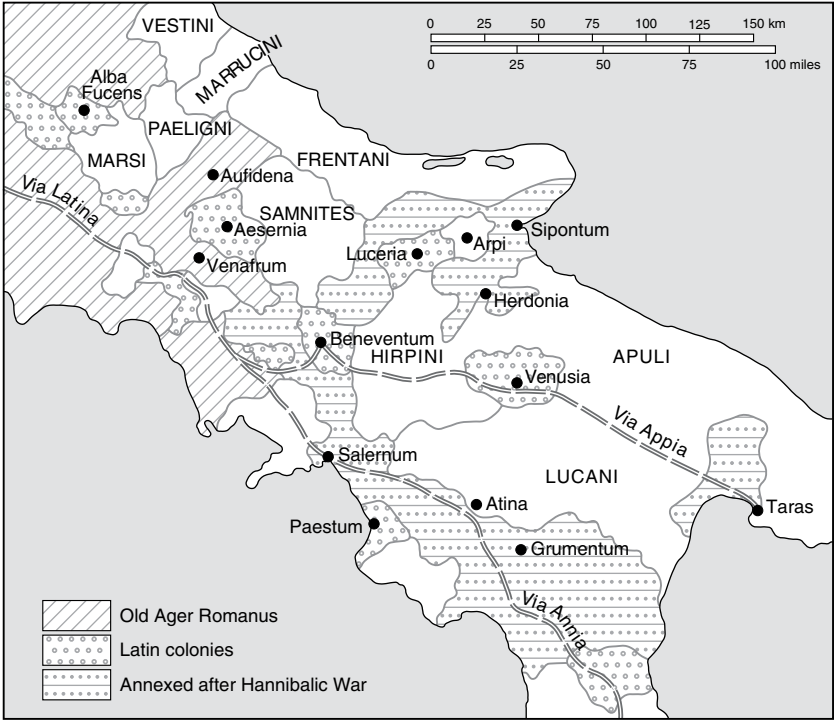
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Map 14 Taras and the Salentine Peninsula





Map 15 Roman confiscations and colonisation, c. 200–100 BC