Rome Enters the Greek East
For Jeannie

Fortes Romani sunt tanquam caelus profundus—

Enn. Ann. 470
Rome Enters the Greek East

From Anarchy to
Hierarchy in the Hellenistic
Mediterranean, 230–170 BC

Arthur M. Eckstein
Acknowledgments vi
List of Maps vii

Part I Rome in Contact with the Greek East, 230–205 BC 1
1 Roman Expansion and the Pressures of Anarchy 3
2 Rome and Illyria, ca. 230–217 BC 29
3 Rome, the Greek States, and Macedon, 217–205 BC 77

Part II The Power-Transition Crisis in the Greek Mediterranean, 207–200 BC 119
4 The Pact Between the Kings and the Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean State-System, 207–200 BC 121
5 Reaction: Diplomatic Revolution in the Mediterranean, 203/202–200 BC 181
6 Diplomatic Revolution in the Mediterranean, II: The Roman Decision to Intervene, 201/200 BC 230

Part III From Hegemonic War to Hierarchy, 200–170 BC 271
7 Hegemonic War, I: Rome and Macedon, 200–196 BC 273
8 Hegemonic War, II: Rome and Antiochus the Great, 200–188 BC 306
9 Hierarchy and Unipolarity, ca. 188–170 BC 342

Bibliography 382
Index 402
This study of the early involvement of Rome in the Greek East has profited from the careful comments of several fellow scholars: Hans Beck, Craige Champion, Boris Dreyer, Erich Gruen, John Rich, and above all Andrew Erskine. My gratitude to them, of course, does not necessarily indicate their agreement with me. Conversations with the political scientists Richard Ned Lebow, Robert Jervis, and William Wohlfarth have also been helpful to me – though, again, the same caveat holds. As usual, my wife Jeanne Rutenburg, herself a trained historian, has contributed many thoughtful and scholarly comments throughout the project, while making it a much less lonely task than it might have been.
Maps

Map 1  The Adriatic and Illyria. viii
Map 2  European Greece. ix
Map 3  The western coasts of Asia Minor. x
Map 4  The Southeast Aegean region. xi
Map 1  The Adriatic and Illyria.
Map 2 European Greece.
Map 3  The western coasts of Asia Minor.
Map 4
The Southeast Aegean region.
PART I

ROME IN CONTACT WITH
THE GREEK EAST, 230–205 BC
Roman Expansion and the Pressures of Anarchy

The purpose of this study is a reexamination of the early involvement of the Republic of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean, down to the replacement of the long-prevailing Hellenistic anarchy in the region by a hierarchy of states with Rome at the top. This was established by 188 BC, and brought a minimum of order to the Greek world in the subsequent period down to 171 BC—though not with total stability. The hierarchy was created by victories over Antigonid Macedon and then over the Seleucid Empire won by a coalition of Greek states at whose head stood not a great Greek power, but Rome.

In one sense, this subject is well-trodden ground. The ancient historical writer Polybius of Megalopolis, a nearemporary of many of these events, showed the way in terms of both the geographical and the chronological scale of our study; and prominent modern scholars have been studying Roman imperial expansion into the Greek Mediterranean for over a century. But Roman expansion in the East remains highly contentious territory. There are sharp clashes among modern scholars even over the historicity of certain major events, and always about the motives behind the actions of the states involved. There are especially sharp differences of analysis concerning the causes of Roman imperial expansion in the East (as well as, of course, Roman expansion in general), and the causes of Roman success.

1 See, e.g., Fustel de Coulanges 1893; Colin 1905; cf. Frank 1914; de Sanctis 1923.