midcentury, some communities in both provinces provided 5 percent of their grain each year, while others paid a fixed sum of money. Even so, there was no single system that regulated all of Rome’s Spanish subjects.

Over time, the Romans also began to exploit Spain’s mineral resources more systematically. In 195, Cato the Elder in some way arranged for the operators of certain mines north of the Ebro River to make regular contributions of iron and silver. The deposits of ore here were limited in fact, and the collection of this tax in metals need not have been very complicated, let alone notably profitable. Later operations were on a larger scale, however. Mines on the fringes of the Baetis Valley and in the hills behind Carthago Nova certainly proved more lucrative. Polybius (34.9.8) described the latter mines as extending over an area of about one hundred square miles (260 sq km), where 40,000 miners working in the pits recovered enough silver each day to provide the Roman state with as much as 10,800 pounds (4,900 kg) of ore annually. Diodorus Siculus (5.36–38) claimed that Italians exploited these mines, using a vast workforce of slaves who toiled day and night under horrific conditions and frequently died from exhaustion.

**Greece and Asia Minor**

After the end of the Second Punic War, the Romans also began to intervene more regularly in the politics and diplomacy of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Polybius (1.3.6) maintained that, after their defeat of Carthage in 201, the Romans reached out to grab Greece and Asia. But the truth was undoubtedly far more complex than a simple scheme of Roman aggression.

The eastern Mediterranean was a bewildering mix of kingdoms, tribal states, city-states, and leagues of city-states, all with shifting alliances and enmities. Three kingdoms tended to dominate. First, the kings of Macedon had long sought to extend their power over the Greek cities of the south, the islands of the Aegean, and neighboring kingdoms in the Balkans. Second, the Seleucids of Syria had once ruled an extensive state that reached from the Mediterranean to the frontiers of India, but by now much of it had fallen away from their rule. Third, the Ptolemies of Egypt fought Syria for control over Palestine; with their powerful fleet, they also dominated and protected some of the islands in the Aegean, and they often intervened in the affairs of cities on the Greek mainland. Around these three great monarchies, there were many lesser states, sometimes allied with larger ones and commonly on the lookout to pursue their own advantage. Unlike in Spain, the Romans would employ elaborate diplomatic and administrative protocol to confront these well-established and powerful states to the east; consequently this gave Roman intervention here a very different character.

Roman forces first crossed the Adriatic Sea before the Second Punic War. In 229, both consuls campaigned against an Illyrian ruler whose ships had attacked vessels belonging to Italian merchants who were citizens of communities under Roman protection. In this brief war, the consuls helped the Greek cities of Corcyra,
The Romans

Apollonia, and Epidamnus to expel their Illyrian garrisons, and they then placed these communities under Roman protection. Almost a decade later, the consuls of 219 received as their shared provincia a war against another Illyrian ruler seeking to expand his power southwards.

Roman actions in Illyria and Epirus came to involve another, more powerful ruler. The First Macedonian War (215–205) grew out of the Second Punic War. After Rome’s defeat at Cannae in 216, Philip V, the Macedonian king, probably suspicious of Roman interventions across the Adriatic, began to negotiate with Hannibal. Discovery of their alliance led to war between Rome and Macedon. The senate sent a praetor with ships and soldiers, and, after several years of campaigning, he began to assemble a coalition of cities, leagues, and kings that felt threatened by Macedon. The two most important were the Aetolian League—communities in western Greece that elected leaders, made war as a group, and were feared as pillagers—and Pergamum in western Asia Minor, a long-time enemy and rival of Macedon, ruled by King Attalus I. This coalition of allies did not make war according to a common strategy, nor did the Romans, with so many commitments elsewhere, pursue the war vigorously. Attalus disengaged in 208, and the Aetolians made peace with Philip in 206. In the next year, Philip and the Romans made peace, the so-called Peace of Phoenice, in which both sides essentially kept what they held.

The Second Macedonian War (200–196) marked the beginning of the next stage of Roman intervention. Immediately after the end of the war with Carthage, Rome’s former ally Attalus of Pergamum, together with some Greek cities, successfully urged intervention in Greece, a plea that must have gained strength from resentment among the Roman elite over Philip’s earlier alliance with Hannibal. The first Roman commanders campaigned in the west, shielding allies and trying to force the passes over the mountains into Macedon itself. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, consul in 198 and proconsul for several years after, reached the plain of Thessaly, and—with the assistance of his Greek allies—was able to defeat Philip’s army at Cynoscephalae in 197. In the peace that followed, Philip agreed to withdraw his garrisons from Greek cities, surrender most of his fleet, and pay Rome a large indemnity. Shortly afterwards, therefore, the senate ceased assigning provinciae in this area.

Rome’s actions here stand in stark contrast to its behavior in Spain. To judge by actions alone, the Roman senate could be thought to have had no desire for a permanent military presence in the region. It would be mistaken, however, to infer that consequently Rome’s leaders did not regard themselves as preeminent here. After his victory, Flamininus proclaimed the freedom of a number of Greek cities at the Isthmian Games, where thousands had gathered for the festival. Proclamations of freedom had a long and honored place in Hellenistic diplomacy, and Flamininus’ decree shows how Romans adapted themselves to local practices while maintaining their own leadership. Kings typically issued proclamations of freedom to win over allies, and to weaken rivals by encouraging their subject-cities to defect. Such “freedom” usually meant no foreign garrisons, no
Map 3.5 Greece, the Aegean, and Western Asia Minor
tribute, and no change to existing laws; however, it did not mean that the newly freed city could also omit to acknowledge the leadership of a larger and more powerful state.

Subsequent events would reveal how seriously the senate took its claims to leadership. The first major military intervention following the Second Macedonian War came shortly after the withdrawal of Roman armies. Antiochus III, king of Syria, had restored much of the grandeur and power of the Seleucid dynasty, and, after a seven-year campaign into eastern Iran, he was regarded by some as a second Alexander. While Rome was engaged with Philip V, Antiochus had extended his power in Asia Minor, largely surrounding the small kingdom of Pergamum; he had even recovered part of Thrace, which had once belonged to his predecessors. Before the beginning of the Syrian War (192–189), he had frequent exchanges of embassies with the Romans, as well as with a number of Greek cities and rulers; there were also such exchanges among the Greek cities and leagues themselves. In all this diplomacy, Antiochus achieved some success, most notably an alliance with the Aetolians, former allies of Rome, who felt they had not been sufficiently rewarded for their participation in the Second Macedonian War.

Hostilities began in 192, when Antiochus sent a small force across the Aegean Sea to Greece, where it joined with the armies of some allied states. Early in 191, the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio crossed with his army from Brundisium to Apollonia, marched across the mountains into Thessaly, and defeated Antiochus and his allies at Thermopylae. In the next year, the senate sent a commander with an army and a fleet across the Aegean, where they joined forces with Eumenes, who had succeeded Attalus as king of Pergamum. Finally in 189, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, defeated Antiochus’ army at Magnesia. Antiochus had to abandon all his claims to Asia Minor, refrain from making alliances in Greece and around the Aegean, surrender most of his ships and his war elephants, and pay an exceptionally large indemnity. In Asia Minor, Roman officials and legates then divided Antiochus’ territory among Eumenes and other allies.

Gnaeus Manlius Vulso followed this victory with a campaign against the Galatians, Gallic migrants who had entered Asia Minor in the previous century and had for decades posed a threat to the kings of Pergamum as well as to settled communities throughout the region. Vulso’s campaign was highly successful, devastating many of the communities of the Galatians and forcing them to accept peace on Roman terms. Within a few years, the senate again assigned no more provinciae in Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor for some time.

A primary goal in these wars was stability in Greece together with preservation of Rome’s position in the Greek world. Roman forces returned to Greece because Antiochus III appeared to be challenging Rome’s leadership there, and because some of Rome’s allies seemed to be willing to join him. Such a desire to lead, but not necessarily to rule or to exploit systematically, evidently lay behind other Roman actions in the area. At first, it would seem, the senate attempted to
assert Roman preeminence largely through diplomatic means. The Greek world possessed a complicated political and diplomatic culture. Here, rulers and cities both formed and broke alliances as needs and opportunities arose, the weaker sought protection from the stronger, and the parties to a dispute (be it domestic or foreign) sought arbitration by outside powers. For the powerful, alliances, calls for protection, and requests for arbitration were signs of their strength and their benevolence. For the less powerful, they were means to gain benefits that were otherwise unattainable, in exchange for giving public thanks and acknowledging dependent status.

Rome’s elite adapted to these practices. The senate itself received foreign embassies and, when possible, granted their requests. Senatorial legates arbitrated boundary disputes, decided which cities should be free and self-governing and which should be subject to another, forced kings to give up garrisons, and sometimes merely observed. We have evidence of some Greek cities thanking prominent Romans for their benefactions in the proper way. Chyretiai, for example, honored Flamininus for returning property that the Romans had seized during the war against Philip V by erecting a monument on which his letter granting the city’s requests was inscribed. In the letter, Flamininus used appropriate language for a benefactor, claiming that he wished the citizens to “learn of our nobility of character,” and announcing that the Romans did not wish “to be avaricious, but instead thought good will and a good reputation to be of the highest importance.” In their interventions, the senate and its legates tended to act most willingly and firmly against those who resisted giving due recognition to their leadership, or who seemed likely to disrupt it, or even to contemplate supplanting it.

The Third Macedonian War (171-168) ended the Macedonian monarchy. For years, prominent Romans had distrusted Philip’s son and successor, Perseus, and were willing to listen to complaints against him. Perseus’ marriage to a daughter of Seleucus IV, Antiochus’ successor as king of Syria, no doubt increased their suspicions. In 172, Eumenes of Pergamum came to Rome with a long list of complaints against Perseus, and, with these as pretexts, the senate decided on war. The result was that in 168 Lucius Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus at Pydna, where he had concentrated his army. The terms of the peace were severe. Perseus was transported to Rome, where he was paraded in Paullus’ triumph; later, he was imprisoned in the Latin colony of Alba Fucens. Macedon was divided into four regions each with its own assembly and elected officials. The king’s lands and mines became the property of the Roman state and, within a few years, contractors had doubtless begun to exploit them. Some Greek cities faced substantial penalties for real or imagined offenses. Hundreds of Aetolians were put to death for anti-Roman activities, and the Achaean League had to send 1,000 men from leading families to Rome as hostages; the historian Polybius was one.

While reorganizing Macedon and imposing terms on Greek communities, Paullus also marked his victory by a ceremonial demonstration of Roman power. At Amphipolis in 167 he put on a grandiose and expensive festival thanking
Rome's gods for his victory. Not to be outdone, Antiochus IV of Syria chose to stage a festival of his own in the very next year, 166. Just after the victory at Pydna in 168, a Roman embassy led by Gaius Popillius Laenas had forced Antiochus to end his invasion of Egypt under threat of war (Source 3.3). Following this rebuff and probably seeking to restore his prestige, Antiochus invited cities and kings to come to Antioch for a festival thanking Apollo for his victories; he thus rivaled Paullus, and some even judged the quality of his performances to be higher. Antiochus followed his festival with more military campaigns in regions far from the Romans.

Roman expansion created opportunities in many areas for Italian businessmen or negotiatores (singular, negotiator), individuals who were at once speculators, merchants, and financiers. In the second century, such negotiatores make their appearance in many regions of the Mediterranean, and especially in the east where the potential for profit was so high. The names of negotiatores—preserved

SOURCE 3.3 A memorable act of diplomatic bravado in 168 by the Roman senate's envoy Gaius Popillius Laenas sufficed to forestall an invasion of Egypt (under the rule of King Ptolemy VI) launched by King Antiochus IV of Syria. Strictly speaking, Rome had no right to intervene here, but by this date the senate had become concerned with relations between the states of the entire eastern Mediterranean and the balance of power there. In the aftermath of Rome's shocking defeat of King Perses of Macedon at Pydna earlier the same year, Antiochus could only acknowledge that it would be suicidal for him to persist with his invasion of Egypt against the senate's wishes. More generally, it is no wonder that Polybius came to be so awestruck by the rapid growth of Roman power in the fifty-three years following the end of the Second Punic War. Polybius narrates:

Just as Antiochus was approaching Ptolemy in order to gain possession of Pelusium [entry-point to Egypt at the eastern end of the Nile delta], the Roman commander Popillius—being hailed with a greeting by the king, who held out his hand—had the document containing the senate's decree ready and so passed it to him, directing Antiochus to read it first. I imagine Popillius thought it inappropriate to make the usual gesture of friendship before establishing whether the recipient regarded him as friend or foe. The king, having read the decree, said that he would like to communicate the circumstances to his advisers. Popillius' reaction was to do something that seemed severe and utterly outrageous. Taking a stick of vine-wood that he had in his hand, he used it to draw a line around Antiochus and instructed him to give his reply to the document from within this circle. The king was amazed at such assertion of authority by this means, but after brief hesitation declared that he would comply with all the Romans' demands. With handshakes Popillius' entire entourage then greeted him warmly. The document ordered him to abandon his war against Ptolemy at once. So, within the period that he was permitted, he led his forces back to Syria, aggrieved and protesting, but for the time being submitting to the situation. (29.27.1-9)
on inscriptions they left in the cities of Greece and Asia Minor—show that they came from many regions of Italy, but that residents of Campania, where commerce had long been important, were especially numerous.

The small island of Delos became one of the great commercial centers of the Aegean, and the chief place of business for many Italian negotiatores. At the end of the Third Macedonian War, Roman officials punished the city of Rhodes by removing Delos—sacred to the god Apollo and the site of an important sanctuary—from its control and transferring it to Athens. Merchants and bankers began to concentrate on the island, and their number increased sharply after a Roman army destroyed the wealthy commercial city of Corinth in 146; the island’s annual festival to Apollo became one of the chief occasions for merchants to meet in the Aegean world. On Delos, wealthy individuals financed the construction of temples, places of assembly, and luxurious private dwellings. The activities of Italians here were varied. Inscriptions record the presence of bankers, oil and wine merchants, and shipowners. Later in the century, the merchants of Delos took a pivotal role in the trans-shipment of slaves—captured by pirates, often with the connivance of kings—from the eastern Mediterranean to Italy.

Roman armies intervened again less than twenty years after the end of the Third Macedonian war. In 149, Andricus, who claimed to be a son of Perseus, declared himself king of Macedon. In the next year, Quintus Caecilius Metellus (later known as Macedonicus) defeated the self-proclaimed monarch and ended his reign. From this time onwards, the senate regularly assigned Macedon as a provincia. Roman commanders there spent much of their time guarding against incursions made by Balkan peoples to the north; these were wars that Rome now inherited from Macedonian monarchs. By contrast, the Roman commanders in Macedon probably did not intervene much in the affairs of the Greek cities to their south and east. In 148, however, the Roman senate did assert itself against the Achaean League to the south, sending legates to order it to give independence to some cities under its control. When the Achaeans refused to comply, war began. In 146, Lucius Mummius defeated the League’s army and captured Corinth, one of the richest and most famous cities in Greece. As a dire warning to other Greeks, he then plundered and destroyed it, and sold many of its citizens into slavery.

North Africa

To the west, Roman armies and fleets were waging war against Carthage at the same time. The Third Punic War (149–146) began as a result of longstanding quarrels between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians (as noted earlier in the chapter). For years, Masinissa had been making provocative demands of the Carthaginians, and in the resulting arbitrations, Roman ambassadors had generally supported the Numidian king. For equally long, too, some leading Romans had not hesitated to voice the enmity and suspicion they felt towards Carthage. In particular, according to one tradition, for several years before Rome