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**KINGSBURY---RHODES, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND
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RHODES, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Although the events which mark the international relations of the ancient world are fully treated by historians, both ancient and modern, the causes of either friction or friendship between two states is sometimes treated inadequately. Too frequently it has appeared that mere selfish aggrandizement was responsible for wars. Nor, even in these cases, has the historian made it perfectly clear what benefit would or did accrue to the conqueror from overcoming its rivals.

It was with a view to discovering what were the probable motives for international rivalries, that this study was first undertaken. Rhodes was selected because it is well known that in the third and second centuries before the Christian Era she was one of the great commercial states of the Mediterranean, pursuing, as far as possible a policy of strict neutrality, anxious only for the preservation of her own autonomy and freedom of intercourse. It was hoped that by ascertaining precisely what towns or countries Rhodes traded with, what commodities were sold and bought by her traders, what dangers or difficulties had to be met by the formal diplomatic action of her government to further the best interests of the state, that some clue might be gained to the underlying causes for international politics in the time of her greatest prosperity. Special attention was paid to the relations between Rhodes and Egypt, Macedonia, Syria, the kingdoms of Asia Minor and Rome.

The results have been somewhat disappointing. With the material at the disposal of the writer it has been impossible to determine with any degree of exactness just what towns were in close commercial relations with Rhodes, in either the Aegean basin, the Black Sea, or the western Mediterranean. It follows naturally that it was quite impossible to discover the objects of inter city traffic. Yet it appears reasonably clear that the friendship between Rhodes and Egypt, both before the Macedonian period, and in the age of the Ptolemy's, was mainly due to the close commercial relations between the island and the Nile country. It also appears that the underlying cause for friction between Rhodes and the kingdoms of Asia Minor, Syria, and Macedonia were partly the oppressive commercial restrictions, and partly, the highly centralized autocratic rule of those kingdoms, which ran directly counter to the desires of all true Hellenes. To ward off these dangers, when they seemed too great for the small city states of the Aegean, the powerful aid of Rome was invoked until it became impossible to exclude her from absolute control of all Greece.

It is in the hope that these results will aid some other investigator to achieve more important results on the main questions of international political relations that this study is published.

RHODES AND HER DIPLOMACY

The situation of Rhodes is fortunate. Off the southwest coast of Asia Minor, and within sight of the mountains of Crete to the southwest and of some of the Cyclades to the northwest, (1) she would form a very natural stopping place for the adventurous mariner from Phoenicia or the mouth of the Nile, on his way westward. The island was also fertile. The mountains were clothed in forests of pine. Around their bases the vine flourished, and the plains close to the edge of the sea produced corn in abundance, as well as pomegranates, figs, and olives. (2) From quarries of cream colored limestone came some of the stone with which Alexandria was built. (3) There were also deposits of asphaltic earth, (4) iron and copper as is indicated by the fact that the early inhabitants—the mythical Telchines—were famous workers in iron and bronze (5).

The Phoenicians settled on the island, probably before 1500 B. C., under a leader named Phalor, establishing colonies at Ialysus and Cameirus (6). They named the highest peak Mt. Atabyris, in memory of their own Mount Tabor, and left many reminders of their possession, both in necropoli of great antiquity (7), and in religious customs which survived the later Hellenic occupation. Thus some of the oldest shrines to the gods were later served exclusively by Phoenician priests, and the custom of sacrificing horses to Helios was not a Greek but a Phoenician custom. Egyptian and Tyrian ware of a period about 1600 B. C. have been discovered on the island (8).

(1) I Pierrot & Chipiez—*Art in Primitive Greece* p. 443.

(2) Rawlinson—*Phoenicia*, p. 59.

(3) Strabo V, Sec. 2; Budge—*Egypt VII*, p. 151.

(4) Strabo VII 5, Sec. 10.

(5) Strabo XIV 2 Sec. 7.

(6) Rawlinson, p. 59; Holm—*Greece I*, p. 50, 53; Breasted—*Egypt*, p. 260; Mahaffy—*Greek Life and Thought*, p. 57.

(7) Pierrot and Chipiez, p. 443.

(8) Breasted, p. 337.

Following the Phoenicians, the Greeks under the Heraclid Tlepoulos, occupied the island. According to Strabo (1) He came from either Bocotia, Argos or Tiryns, and is mentioned in Homer as going to the siege of Troy with nine vessels (2). Finally the Dorians under Althaemenes of Argos entered Rhodes, where they established three towns—Lyndus, Cameirus, and Atabyrus. At the last named place the Phoenicians appear to have lived on friendly terms with the newcomers (3).

The part played by Rhodes in the later period of Greek civilization was important. Her sailors early acquired the reputation for skill and daring which they later enjoyed, probably on account of the infusion of Phoenician blood in their veins. Before the first Olympiad they were accustomed to sailing at a great distance from the island "for the protection of sailors" (4). They founded Phaselis and Soli on the coast of Asia Minor, Apollonia in Thrace, Gela and Acragas in Sicily, Parthenope (Naples), Elpiae, and several

towns near Sybaris in Italy; Rhodes in Iberia, and may have been among the first to inhabit the Gymnasian Islands, later called the Balearic, off the coast of Iberia (5).

Rhodian commerce also grew, even though slowly. About 700 B. C. Miletus controlled the trade with both the Black Sea region and Egypt (6). When Nancratis was founded, the position of Miletus was so commanding that the city possessed a temple of their own to Apollo. Gradually however, other Greek towns began to do business there, and when the Pan Hellenion

(1) Strabo XIV 2 Sec 6: see also Holm, Greece I, p. 124.

(2) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought p. 57.

(3) Mahaffy p. 57; Holm I p. 124; Curtius—Greece I, p. 243.

(4) Strabo XIV, 2 Sec 10.

(5) Holm I, p. 363, IV p. 483; Curtius I, p. 473; Strabo XIV 2 Sec. 10; Polybius IX 27.

(6) Budge—Egypt VII, pp. 119-20.

was built, Rhodes shared with a large number of other Greek towns in its erection and maintenance. This would indicate that the trade between Egypt and Rhodes was becoming important (1). That relations continued friendly is shown by the gift (in 572 B. C.) of a fine linen corslet by Amasis of Egypt to Athene of Lindus in Rhodes (2).

After the conquest of Asia Minor by Cyrus, Rhodes surrendered to Harpagus (3). The island however played a very minor part in the war between the Greeks and Persians. Herodotus fails to mention it as furnishing either naval or military contingents to Persia at the battle of Salamis, nor does he number Rhodians in the list of Persian auxiliaries after the crossing of the Hellespont. After the close of the war, Rhodes joined the Delian League, and thus became part of the Athenian Empire. Rhodian slingers, whose reputation was great, accompanied the Syracuse expedition (4). But there were in Rhodes two parties—the wealthier classes who were aristocratic and conservative, and the democratic populace, who were more radical (5). The aristocratic party who favored Sparta, were probably angered by the commercial policy of Athens, doubtless saw an opportunity, in case she were defeated by the Peloponnesian League, to increase the commerce and prosperity of Rhodes. The defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse may have encouraged them to organize, and attempt a coup d'état by which they would come into control of the state and swing the island into close alliance with Sparta.

(1) Herodotus II ch. 172-82; Budge—Egypt VII, pp. 29-30; Holm—Greece IV, p. 483.

(2) Budge VII p. 29.

(4) Thucydides VI, 43.

(5) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought, p. 96; Curtius—Greece V, p. 116.

The conspirators consequently in 412 B. C. dispatched some of their number to Chidus where the fleet of ninety-four Peloponnesian warships lay, and offered them a Rhodian alliance. The moment was opportune. Sparta had just been deprived of the bounty of the Persian Satrap Tissaphernes,

and was in pressing need of funds. Rhodes was wealthy, had a good army and navy, and would therefore be very valuable. The Spartan commander was as surprised as he was delighted, and sailed at once to Cameirus. The inhabitants, most of whom knew nothing of the plans of the aristocracy, fled from the town in consternation, on the arrival of the fleet, but were reassured, and in a short time a congress of the three towns voted to join the Peloponnesian League. When the Athenians were informed of this course of events they hastened to Rhodes, but arrived too late to alter the course of events, and the fleet of the league wintered at Cameirus. Rhodes contributed thirty-two talents to the League (1).

The foundation of the city of Rhodes, in 408, was doubtless the result of the conviction of the leaders of the state that there was an excellent chance for some city to fall heir to the commercial and naval supremacy enjoyed by Athens. Rhodes had a more advantageous location, as it could not be attacked by land (2). The architect was Hippodamus of Miletus, who had laid the plans for the construction of Piraeus (3). The new city, located at the extreme northern end of the island, near Ialysus, was laid out with straight streets which ran from the harbor inland. These were crossed by other streets running on a curve, so that the plan looked like that of a theatre. There were two disadvantages—the region was subject to earthquakes, and occasionally heavy rains did great damage to the lower parts of the city, where the working

(1) Abbott—Greece III p. 58 6-7.

(2) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought p. 95.

(3) Strabo XIV 2 Sec. 9.

people lived. (1).

The constitution of the metropolis was conservative. Citizenship could be secured only by purchase. Foreign affairs were considered only at Rhodes, where the assembly was less important than the council. Though the three older towns maintained their existence after the creation of Rhodes, their local assemblies became mainly funerary associations. A board of six Prytemies, some generals, and a nomarch, or commander of the fleet, could negotiate treaties with foreign states, subject to ratification by the assembly and council. Special officers procured food for the poor whenever they were unable to find means for their own subsistence, so that the city might not be in want of persons to serve her, especially in maintaining the fleet (2).

Rhodes then adopted a fine coinage system, which became the standard, in a short time, for Ascindos, Halicarnasus, Samos, Chios, Ephesus, Aenos, Cyzicus and Byzantium, and which was the basis of the monetary reforms of Philip of Macedon (5). Commercial treaties were arranged with Andros, Samos, and Ephesus shortly after 400 B. C. (4). After the close of the Peloponnesian War Rhodian commerce with the Black Sea region grew to considerable size, wine and oil being exchanged for slaves, grain, hides and honey. More and more the island became the center for trade with the Phoenicians and the valley of the Nile (5). Foreign merchants came there to study com-

(1) Holm—Greece IV p. 484.

(2) Holm IV p. 487; Strabo XIV 2 Sec. 5; Ferrero V p. 15.

(3) Curtius—Greece V pp. 61, 293.

(4) Curtius V p. 116.

(5) Holm IV p. 487.

merce. (1).

When Alexander started on his expedition against the Persians, the attitude of Rhodes was not friendly. Two of its ablest generals, Memnon and Mentor, forced him for a time to intrench in the Troad, and proved of considerable assistance to the Persians (2). But after the conquest of Asia Minor, a Rhodian fleet appeared as Macedonian allies at the siege of Tyre, and a Macedonian garrison was admitted to the city of Rhodes (3). At Alexander's request, Rhodes also policed the Aegean to repress the pirates (4) who had become more troublesome since the defeat of Athens had produced such anarchy on the seas (5). But on hearing of the death of Alexander, the Rhodians expelled his garrison, and refused to recognize the claims of any of his successors to overlordship (6).

The state now entered upon the period of its greatest power and prosperity (7). After the death of the conqueror, his empire broke into three principal states—Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt,—two loose confederacies—the Aetolian and Achaean—and a number of small states some of which were completely independent, while others were nominally subject to other states. Egypt under the Ptolemy dynasty exercised a shadowy sovereignty over most of the islands of the Aegean (8), and several cities in Asia Minor. Rhodes, whose connection with Egypt was now very close, set about to create a league of commercial states, whose policy should be (1) Neutrality in the wars of the larger kingdoms, and mediation with a view of either ending or preventing

(1) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought p. 533.

(2) Maspero—Passing of Empires p. 809.

(3) Holm—Greece IV p. 484; Mahaffy p. 96.

(4) Mahaffy p. 96.

(5) Curtius—Greece V p. 61.

(6) Holm IV p. 484.

(7) Wheeler—Alexander p. 448.

(8) Holm IV p. 341.

wars: (2) the greatest possible freedom of commerce from restrictions by taxation, and (3) persistent war against pirates (1). Heraclea, Cyzicus, Chios, Byzantium, Athens, Cius, Lampsachus, Sinope, Abydos, Mitylebe, Smyrna, Samos, Halicarnassus (2), and others in course of time joined this Hanse, over which Rhodes made no attempt to rule (3), but whose spokesman she was frequently. For herself and her allies Rhodes negotiated and stipulated in treaties. No taxation for the benefit of the head of the league was resorted to, and the friendliest of feelings were entertained by all the members of the organization towards Rhodes, which was now rapidly becoming the commercial center of the entire Levant (4). Friendly relations also existed between her and Hiero of Syracuse, Cassander and Lysimachus (5).

The policy of friendship for Egypt however brought Rhodes into conflict, at the close of the fourth century, with Antiochus of Syria, who was intent upon siezing both Syria and Palestine. Upon the unsuccessful termination of his attack on Egypt, Antiochus dispatched Demetrias Poliorcetes to wreak vengeance upon Rhodes for her refusal to help him in his venture. The Syrian army of forty thousand troops accompanied by a fleet of two hundred war vessels, one hundred and seventy transports and a thousand merchant or pirate ships, attacked Rhodes in 305 B. C. The city was defended by but six thousand free troops, but a considerable number of slaves did valiant service. Embassies sent to Lysimachus, Cassander, and Ptolemy brought back promises of aid, and so determined was the resistance that Demetrius finally abandoned the siege. Rhodes however agreed to become

(1) Holm IV p. 485.

(2) Holm IV p. 290, 341; Mahaffy p. 331; Mommsen—Rome II p. 407.

(3) Holm IV p. 485; Mommsen—Rome II p. 407.

(4) Mahaffy p. 96, 343-4; Hohn IV p. 487.

(5) Mommsen II, p. 406; Hohn IV p. 290.

the ally of Antiochus against all his enemies except Egypt (1). With material from the engines of war abandoned by Demetrias, the pious Rhodians erected a colossal statue of their chief diety—Helios (2), which at once became famous as one of the wonders of the world.

From 304 to 224 B. C. the importance of the island in the comercial world steadily increased. Rhodes became the banking center of the Eastern Mediterranean, and pursued steadily her policy of repressing piracy, of offering her mediation in the disputes of the great states with whom she had trade relations. Every year several squadrons, usually numbering not more than three or four war vessels, were dispatched against the marauders on the high seas. The skill of Rhodian sailors was the astonishment and admiration of other powers, as is illustrated by the stories told of the Rhodian Hannibal at the siege of Lilybaceum during the First Punic War (3). There seems to be little definite knowledge of the intercourse between Rhodes and the other towns or nations. It is asserted that her vessels went as far as the Atlantic and a treaty of commerce between Rhodres and Rome shows that there was some trade between those states after 306 (5).

In 224, however, occurred an earthquake which overthrew the Colossus, destroyed much of the wall surrounding the city, and a large number of public and private buildings. Many of the ships in the harbor were also wrecked, and the loss of life was heavy. Embassies were at once sent to the courts of the kings all over the east, and to many of the large cities with which Rhodes was connected by trade or otherwise. The response was remarkable. Hiero of Syracuse contributed one hundred talents, part for general purposes, and part for the services of the temples. Ten talents was to be used to purchase new citizens.

(1) Budge—Egypt VII p. 185; Holm IV p. 45; Mahaffy Greek Life and Thought pp. 96-99.

(2) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought p. 334.

(3) Holm IV p. 487.

(5) Mommsen—Rome II p. 3.

Rhodian merchants were freed from the payment of taxes on commerce in his realms, a statue of the community of Rhodes being crowned by Syracuse was erected in the market place of the stricken city. Ptolemy sent three hundred talents of silver for general purposes, and quantities of corn, sail cloth, tow, ship timbers, and in addition one hundred master builders and three hundred helpers with money to pay their wages for some time. He also offered three thousand talents for the repair of the Colossus, but this the Rhodians were commanded by the oracle to decline. Antigonous of Syria and his wife sent a hundred talents of silver, and large quantities of ship timbers and rafters, food, iron, lead, and pitch. Selencus freed from taxes all Rhodian merchants in his dominions, and presented to the state ten quinquerumes fully equipped, and large quantities of food, lumber, resin, and hair for the manufacture of war machines. These large contributions of wealthy princes were further supplemented by smaller gifts from other states (1).

This partial summary of the donations made to Rhodes reveals the fact that most of the contribution was either in material for ships, or in silver. Supposing Rhodes to be actively engaged in the suppression of piracy, the destruction of a large number of her vessels would necessitate the equipping of a new fleet to protect deep sea commerce for all her connections. The furnishing of all these materials would consequently benefit the donor quite as much as the recipient. Then again, a commercial panic would be sure to result from the bankruptcy of Rhodes, and so large deposits of funds with which to avert such a calamity would also be of equal benefit to the state making the gift and to the commercial and financial metropolis of the East (2).

(1) Polybius V sec. 88-9.

(2) Mahaffy—Greek Life and Thought pp. 541-4.

In pursuit of the policy of no commercial restrictions Rhodes encountered difficulties not only with the pirates but even with her own allies. Thus in 220 B. C. Byzantium, driven to the verge of despair by the exactions of the tribes inhabiting the land closest to the Hesplespont, sent on request to a number of states interested in the trade in the Black Sea region, begging for financial assistance. The result proved a disappointment, and the city therefore determined to lay a tax on all vessels sailing to the Pontus. To this all the commercial states objected, and urged Rhodes, as their spokesman, to register an emphatic protest. A Rhodian mission was consequently dispatched to Byzantium, but was unable to induce the inhabitants to alter their determination. War was declared at once, and the mouth of the Hellespont blockaded. By some clever diplomacy Byzantium was deprived of allies, and in a short time agrees to abandon the obnoxious tolls, whereupon peace was re-established. (1).

The greatest menace to the commercial policy of Rhodes and her allies, however, came from the states of Asia Minor and from Macedonia. Philip V

of Macedon had aided his ally Prusias of Bythina to conquer several free Greek cities (2) which were members of the Rhodian Hanse, and which were located close to his territories. This had naturally angered Rhodes. Philip himself was at war, during the closing years of the third century, with the Aeolian League, and attempts were frequently made by the neutral commercial states to end this war, whose continuation was disastrous for Greece at large, and tended to offer opportunities for Macedonian expansion (5). The

(1) Polybius IV 38-52.

(2) Mommsen II p. 410-11.

(3) Mommsen II p. 318; Polybius V 24, 28, 29, 63: XI 4.

leaders at Rhodes realized that the absolute despotism of Macedonia was utterly incompatible with freedom of either city government or commercial intercourse (1). The relations of Rhodes and Macedonia were becoming steadily more hostile, when in 204 Philip admiral, Heracleides, came to the city, declared that he was a fugitive, and succeeded finally in burning the Rhodian arsenal (2). Macedonia then seized a number of the Cyclades, and became the allies of the Cretan pirates, the long time enemies of Rhodes. But when Philip, with no just cause, attacked and captured Cius, and either killed the inhabitants or sold them into slavery, the island state abandoned her air of neutrality, and in common with Pergammon, declared war. Two stubbornly fought naval engagements resulted, the first off Samos, the second at Lade, and though in each case the allies claimed the victory (3) Philip was able to invade Caria, part of which belonged to Rhodes. At this very critical juncture Rhodes secured assurances of support from both Rome and Athens (4). Rome had been in hostility to Macedonia ever since her alliance with Hannibal, but was able now for the first time to dispatch any considerable force to that country. Athens also declared war on Philip and honored the Rhodian envoys by granting to their fellow citizens all the privileges of Athenian citizens. These dangers at home forced Philip to abandon his army in Caria at the approach of winter and hurry home to meet the new dangers. The Rhodian fleet, rebuilt and re-equipped since Lade, rapidly gained control of the island of the Aegean which Philip had overcome (5). In 198-7 the war ended. Philip withdrew from the Greek cities of Asia Minor and from Greece, relinquished to Rhodes her possessions in Caria, and the Macedonian menace was thus averted, at least for a time (6).

(1) Mommsen II p. 411.

(2) Polybius V 17, 20 Holm IV p. 34.

(3) Polybius XV 22-3; XVI 2 Sec. 9-15.

(4) Polybius XVI 2, 25, 36.

(5) Holm IV p. 341.

(6) Mommsen II p. 446.

In the year 199 Antiochus of Syria had conquered all of Asia Minor to the borders of the territory of Pergamum. He also had a large well-equipped fleet, acquired for the most part in Cilicia and along the southern coast of Asia Minor. A new and more pressing danger than that of Macedonia thus

confronted Rhodes and her allies. Antiochus was warned that if his fleet passed off the Lycian coast it would be regarded as a declaration of war. When he disregarded this ultimatum the Rhodian fleet promptly attacked him. Embassies were also sent to Rome urging that the Senate aid them. The Romans did not enter into the conflict until 192, but Antiochus was finally defeated, and in the treaty of peace was required to confine himself to the land east of the Taurus and the river Halys. In return for her stalwart resistance, Rhodes gained all of Lycia and Caria south of the Meander, while Pergamum received additions of territory on the Thracian coast of the Aegean. Among the minor provisions of the treaty was one stipulating that debts to Rhodian merchants in Syria were recoverable (1).

Ever since the treaty of commerce of 306 B. C. the relation between Rhodes and Rome had been friendly. Both had pursued much the same policy against the pirates, and both had had common enemies in Philip and Antiochus. But after the close of the war with Syria in 189 the eastern policy of Rome became one of commercial aggrandisement. This naturally tended to make Rome look with increasing disfavor on the wealthy commercial states of Greece—a fact which could hardly have escaped the keen sight of the Rhodian leaders. Simultaneously there grew up in Hellas a party whose policy may best be expressed as "Greece for the Greeks," and who desired as little extension of Roman influence as possible Macedonia under Philip.

(1) Mommsen II pp. 646-7, 455; Holm IV, p. 365, 485; Polybius XXI 10, 22, 24, 45.

V. who had served Rome loyally in the war against Antiochus, saw Pergamum receive a part of Thrace which they desired greatly, while their own efforts went unrewarded. This caused both Philip and his son Perseus to aid the opponents of Rome in every possible way. A party in Rhodes as well as in many other towns began to favor Perseus, as the head of a purely Greek party, despite the old distrust entertained for Macedonia (1).

The first indication of this altered relation for Rhodes was in the settlement of the question as to the status of Caria. The territorial adjustments following the war with Antiochus had been made by a board of ten commissioners dispatched by the Senate. It was not quite clear whether Caria had been granted on terms of equality (as the Carians, understood) or of absolute possession (as the Rhodians declared). When Carian ambassadors arrived at Rhodes they were informed of the opinion held by the islanders, but promptly declared they would fight rather than become Rhodes' slaves (2). War seemed imminent. Both parties dispatched missions to Rome to ascertain the facts, and were there informed that it had been the intention to unite them on terms of absolute equality. Rhodes was curtly forbidden to enslave the Carians.

In 181 Perseus married a daughter of Antiochus, but as the Syrian fleet could not enter the Aegean, the bride was escorted by the entire warfleet of Rhodes. The affair was so staged as to make it appear like a national demonstration in behalf of Perseus (3). Yet when emissaries of Perseus sought

alliance with Rhodes, they were informed that Rhodes could do nothing which would plunge her into war (4). Yet when ambassadors from Perseus' ally Genthius of Illyria, came to Rhodes he was entertained in very elaborate

(1)

(2) Holm IV p. 485; Polybius XXII 5; XXIII 9; XXV 4; Mommsen II p. 513.

(3) Polybius XXV 4; Mommsen II p. 495.

(4) Polybius XXVII 4.

fashion (1). All this could hardly escape the knowledge of Rome. But when war finally broke out, the conservatives were able to secure a vote in the assembly committing Rhodes to the war as Rome's ally, and equipping a war fleet of forty vessels. This action greatly pleased some Roman Commissioners visiting the region of the Aegean (2). In 168 however, a Rhodian embassy visited Crete to secure an offensive-defensive alliance "in view of the great dangers confronting Greece." (3). In 169 Rome granted Rhodes permission to export 150,000 medimi of corn from Sicily (4). These facts make it quite evident that the party struggles at Rhodes were very close.

The return of the Rhodian contingent from the headquarters of the Roman consul who commanded the army designated to attack Perseus, with the answer that Rome required no naval auxiliaries (5), threw the populace into the hands of the Macedonian party. Some of the leaders of this party became convinced that the position of the Roman army was nearly desperate, and were emboldened to send an ultimatum to the Senate requiring that any war which interfered with commerce in the east cease at once (6). The ambassadors reached Rome just before the news of the annihilation of the Macedonian army at Pydna and produced a very acute crisis. A Roman praetor actually urged that war be declared at once (7). Rhodes was too rich, and haughty, despite all the favors Rome had showered upon her. All Greece secretly favored Perseus, it was asserted (8), and here was an excellent opportunity to teach them a lesson. But gradually wiser councils prevailed. The Rhodians at once arrested or expelled the leaders of the Macedonian party, and turned them over to the Roman authorities for punishment (8).

(1) Polybius XXIX 10 (End as on old sheets)

(2) Polybius XXVII 5.

(3) Polybius XXIX 10.

(4) Polybius XXVIII 2.

(5) Polybius XXVII 4.

(6) Mommsen II p. 514; Holm IV, p. 387.

(7) Polybius XXIX 10; XXX 4-5; Ferrero I p. 37.

(8). Polybius XXX, 5.

Rome however deprived Rhodes of the possession of Lycia and Caria and in 165 B. C. declared Delos, a free port (1). This struck a very heavy blow at the commercial prosperity of the city, whose revenues from port dues in a short time from 166 2-3 talents to twenty five. Besides this Rhodes

was ordered to abandon two towns (Stratonicea and Camius, on the south coast of Asia Minor, which had been their possessions for a long time.)

These misfortunes reduced Rhodes to a very weak state, but still she continued to wage war against the Pirates. In 154 a small fleet was dispatched against the Actan pirates in which expedition the city had the support of Rome, who had agreed to an alliance in 164, the first formal compact of this sort into which the island had ever entered. Rhodian commerce must also have remained important, for when Mithradates of Pontus began his war of conquest in Asia Minor, he attempted to secure an alliance with Rhodes. The leaders of the city showed that the chastisement they had suffered after the war with Perseus had produced its effect. The proffers of Mithradates were rejected, and when he finally became involved with Rome in 88-7 B. C. all the Roman traders in Asia Minor who escaped massacre found refuge at Rhodes. The Rhodians further attacked his allies, the pirates of the Cilician

(1) XXX Polybius 7; Mommsen—Rome III p. 515; Holm—Greece, 4 p. 387.

coast and of Crete. But he was able to bring into existence so large an army and navy that he attacked the city, which he was unable to capture. When Sulla's lieutenant Lucullus appeared at Rhodes the city helped to organize a fleet for the prosecution of the war, and was consequently able at the conclusion of hostilities, to regain a part of her former possessions in Asia Minor (1).

This brought back some degree of her former prosperity and Rhodes became a seat of learning, literature and art. In each of these lines she perpetuated the best traditions of Attic Art (2). With the outbreak of the war between the conspirators Brutus and Cassius against Antony and Octavius, the city, which sided with the avengers of Caesar, was captured and pillaged by Cassius, who siezed 8500 talents of public or private treasure (3). As a result, when Augustus became master of the Roman Empire he offered to abolish all debts, but the high commercial integrity of Rhodes is well illustrated in her refusal to take advantage of his generosity (4). As peace finally settled over the Roman world, Rhodes once more became one of the great trading centers of the east (5). It became the favorite resort of travellers especially of Romans, who came to study oratory, commerce, law, and to enjoy the beauties of scenery and of architecture which made the city one of the notable places in the early empire (6).

(1) 4 Mommsen p. 33, 47, 54.

(2) 5 Mommsen p. 455.

(3) 3 Ferrero p. 195-7; Josephus Antiquities XIV 3; Mahaffy Gr. W., p. 161.

(4) Mahaffy—Greek World under Roman Sway p. 231.

(5) 5 Ferrero p. 14-15.

(6) Strabo XIV 2 Sec. 5.

