



The 'Thirteenth Deme' of Lindos

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Published in:

Tell Me Who You Are: Labeling Status in the Graeco-Roman World.

Publication date:

2018

Document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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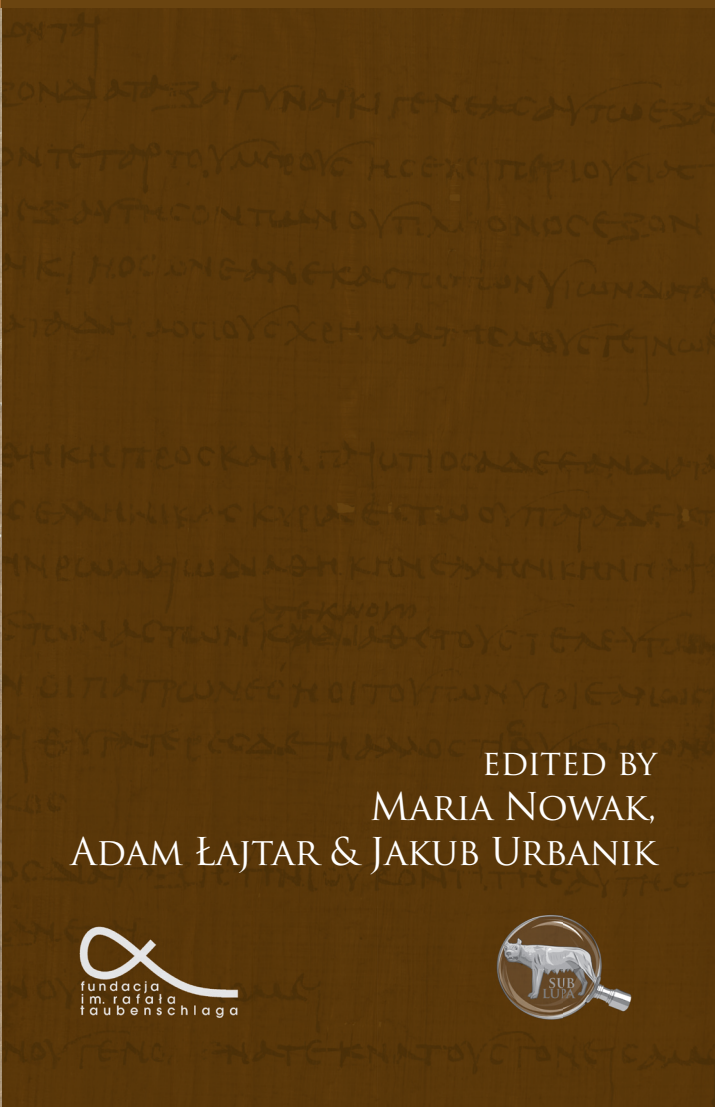
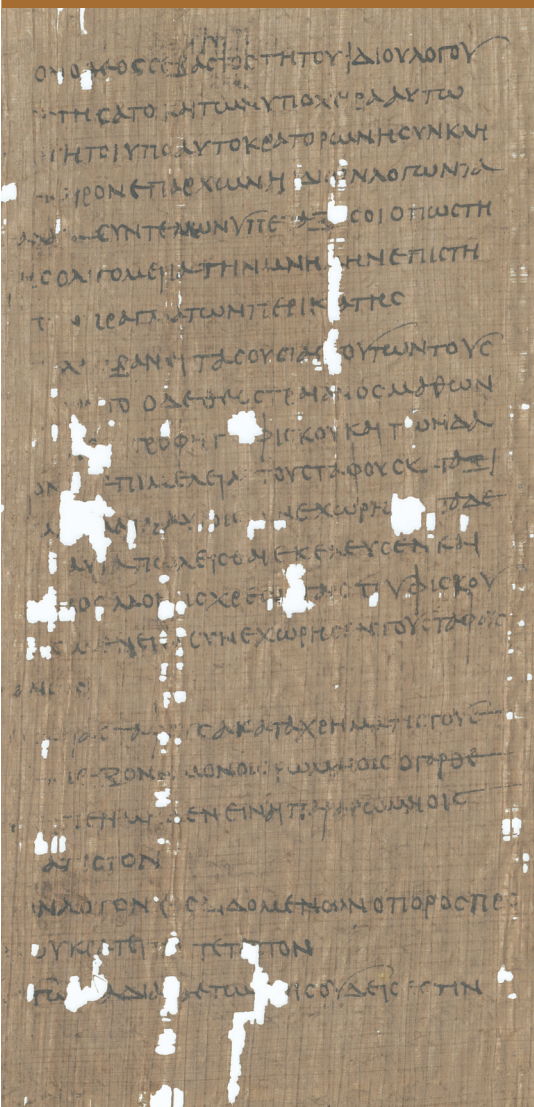
Citation for published version (APA):

Thomsen, C. A. (2018). The 'Thirteenth Deme' of Lindos. In M. Nowak, A. Lajtar, & J. Urbanik (Eds.), *Tell Me Who You Are: Labeling Status in the Graeco-Roman World. : Studia różnawcze. U schyku staroynoci [= Late Antiquity: Studies in Source Criticism] 16 (2017) (2017 ed., Vol. 16)*. Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Studia różnawcze. U schyku staroynoci [= Late Antiquity: Studies in Source Criticism]

TELL ME WHO YOU ARE: LABELLING STATUS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

16 (2017)

U SCHYŁKU
STAROŻYTNOŚCI
STUDIA ŹRÓDŁOZNAWCZE



EDITED BY
MARIA NOWAK,
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Cover photo: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 11650 A V
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This volume has been published with the financial support from the Faculty of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw.



ISSN 2080-8097

Niniejszy tom jest wersją pierwotną czasopisma. Artykuły dostępne są również w wersji elektronicznej na stronie CEEOL, abstrakty zaś również w bazie CEJSH.

Sub Lupa Academic Publishing
ul. Leśnej polanki 16a
Truskaw 05-080
Poland
www.sublupa.pl sublupa@sublupa.pl

Distribution: The Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
Warsaw 00-927
Poland
www.taubenschlagfoundation.pl/

CONTENTS

Preface.....	7
<i>Yanne Broux</i>	
Ancient profiles exploited: First results of Named Entity Recognition applied to Latin inscriptions.....	11
<i>Mark Depauw & Yanne Broux</i>	
Identification in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The modalities of expressing filiation.....	35
<i>Esther Garel</i>	
Le titre $\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\Upsilon$ dans les documents coptes fayoumiques.....	57
<i>Urpo Kantola</i>	
Social standing and Latin names in Greek: Case studies on name catalogues of the early imperial period.....	73
<i>Małgorzata Krawczyk</i>	
Paternal onomastical legacy vs. illegitimacy in Roman epitaphs....	107
<i>Thomas Kruse</i>	
The labeling of strangers and aliens in Roman Egypt.....	129
<i>Micaela Langellotti</i>	
Occupations and naming trends in first-century Tebtunis and Philadelphia.....	147
<i>David Lewis</i>	
Notes on slave names, ethnicity, and identity in Classical and Hellenistic Greece.....	183
<i>Maria Nowak</i>	
Get your free corn: The fatherless in the corn-dole archive from Oxyrhynchos.....	215

Paweł Nowakowski

‘And there, unworthy as I was, I wrote the names of my parents’:

The family identity of supplicants

in pilgrims’ graffiti and dedicatory inscriptions

from the Late Roman and Byzantine East..... 229

Tuomo Nuorluoto

Emphasising matrilineal ancestry in a patrilineal system:

Maternal name preference in the Roman world..... 257

Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen

The ‘Thirteenth Deme’ of Lindos..... 283

Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen

THE 'THIRTEENTH DEME' OF LINDOS*

On the eleventh day of Diosthyos in the year when Kallistratos was priest of Athana Lindia and Rhodopeithes was priest of Halios, that is, towards the end of the year 23 of the Common Era, the Lindians gathered, presumably in their theatre beneath the acropolis on which stood their famous sanctuary of Athana Lindia. The assembled citizens likely met to discuss and decide a number of things, but one item on the agenda that day has come down to us through the decision reached and later carved onto a stone stele, the text of which has been preserved (*IG XII.1 762*) though the stone itself is now lost.

The decree passed by the Lindians on that day concerned the selection of *choragoi* in Lindos, which according to the proposal, ought to be brought into harmony with the procedure applied by the federal Rhodian state, of which Lindos formed part. The city of Rhodes, situated on the northern promontory of the island Rhodes some 45 kilometres up the coast from Lindos, was a major trade hub of the Eastern Mediterranean and home to a substantial population of foreigners from all across the

* I would like to thank Maria Nowak for inviting me to speak at the conference *Tell Me Who You Are*, and the participants for useful comments and suggestions. Thanks are also due John Lund and Stine Schierup at the National Museum in Copenhagen for their help in accessing the Lindos squeeze collection. Research for this paper was supported by The Independent Research Fund Denmark. Vincent Gabrielsen read a draft and the final paper has benefitted immensely from our subsequent discussions.

Greek world and beyond.¹ At least since the late-second century BCE, foreigners in Rhodes had been allowed to stand for, and be selected to, the *choragia*, and several inscriptions from the federal Rhodian *asty* attest not only to the widespread participation of foreign *choragoi* in Rhodian festivals, but also the considerable pride with which they flaunted their service.²

The Lindians, more conscious of tradition than most, had so far resisted opening up the prestigious liturgy to foreigners. As they now reversed their position, they adopted the Rhodian system wholesale but added a peculiar innovation. The decree, which gave access to foreigners, also specified:

The *epistatai* (?) who at any time happen to be in office are to select, in addition to the *choragoi* chosen from among the citizens, another six foreign *choragoi* from among the *katoikeutes kai georgeutes en Lindiai polei*, if none volunteer.³

In other words, in order to make sure that the newly established *choragia* for foreigners would never be empty, the Lindians made an association of *katoikeutes kai georgeutes en Lindiai polei* stand as guarantors, thereby effectively converting a private association into a kind of civic subdivision.⁴ The *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei kai georgeutes en tai Lindiai*, as

¹ S. MAILLOT, *Les associations culturelles d'étrangers dans la région de Rhodes à l'époque hellénistique I-II* [Unpublished PhD dissertation], Nancy 2005; R. BERTHOLD, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, Ithaca 1984, pp. 54–57.

² IG XII.1 383 (date unknown); 385 (second century BCE); 157 (first half of first century); ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER 148 (date unknown); AD 25 B2 (1970), p. 524, no. 1 (late Hellenistic). The decree of the Lindians (IG XII.1 762) specifies that the *sympas damos* (i.e. the Rhodian assembly) had allowed foreigners to be *choragoi* 'in honour of Dionysos' (ll. 5–7) and it is possible that access was limited to the festival in the god's honour, the Dionysia, which at this period seems to have been celebrated along with an *Alexandreia* (IG XII.1 71 [date unknown]; *Cl. Rhodos* 2 [1932], p. 211, no. 33 [Imperial period]; ΜΑΙΥΡΙ, NSER 18 [after 88 BCE]; AD 18A [1963], p. 1, no. 1 [second half of first century BCE]; SEG 39:759 [after c. 78 BCE]; *Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* 20 [date unknown]). Cf. I. R. ARNOLD, 'Festivals of Rhodes', *AJA* 40 (1936), pp. 432–436, at p. 434.

³ IG XII.1 762, ll. 15–20: [ποτ]αιρείσθων [δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται] τοὶ αἰὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔόντες ποτ[ι] τοῖς ἐκ πολειτᾶν] αἰρουμένοις χοραγοῖς καὶ ἄλλο<υ>ς χοραγο<υ>ς ἐκ τῶν κατοικεύντων καὶ γεωργεύντων ἐν Λινδία πόλει ξένους ἕξ, εἴ κα μ<ή> τινες ἐπανγέ<λλ>ωνται

⁴ On the *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei kai georgeutes en tai Lindiai*, see H. VAN GELDER, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, The Hague 1900, pp. 230–232; V. GABRIELSEN, *The Na-*

they were more commonly known, would have been familiar to all citizens of Lindos. Over the preceding century and a half they had played a part in Lindian affairs and left a considerable mark on the Lindian acropolis.⁵ Their history and position in Lindos provides us with an interesting case through which to consider the changing relationship between the Greek poleis, their citizens, and their resident alien communities in the course of the Hellenistic period.

I

In order to evaluate properly the position of the association of *katoikeutes kai georgeutes* it is necessary that we consider the position of the polis of Lindos and its relationship to the federal Rhodian polis of which it formed part. Since the synoikism of 408/7 BCE the Lindians had formed part of a federal Rhodian state along with the Ialysians and Kamireans. The new city founded not long after the synoikism became the centre of the new state's political institutions – from the late fourth century democratic institutions.⁶ A federal people, the *sympas damos*, met there as did the federal *boula*, the people's court and magistrates in charge of the day-to-day running of the state. The *asty*, as it was known, was also a centre of cult with particular importance placed on the cult of the sun god, Halios, patron deity of the unified state, whose priest gave his name to the year in official Rhodian documents.⁷ The three old cities took on the roles as public subdivisions, as *phylai*, which

val Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes [= *Studies in Hellenistic Civilization VI*], Aarhus 1997, pp. 107 & 129; G. REGER, 'Aspects of the role of merchants in the political life of the Hellenistic world', [in:] C. ZACCAGNINI (ed.), *Mercanti e Politica nel Mondo Antico*, Rome 2003, pp. 165–197, at pp. 185–189; S. MAILLOT, 'Foreigners' associations and the Rhodian state', [in:] V. GABRIELSEN & C. A. THOMSEN (eds.), *Private Associations and the Public Sphere. Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, Copenhagen 2015, pp. 136–182, at pp. 168–170.

⁵ The evidence for the *katoikeutes kai georgeutes* is collected in the Appendix.

⁶ V. GABRIELSEN, 'The synoikized polis of Rhodes', [in:] T. H. NIELSEN, L. RUBINSTEIN & P. FLENSTED-JENSEN (eds.), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History, Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on His 60th Birthday, August 20, 2000*, Copenhagen 2000, pp. 177–205.

⁷ GABRIELSEN, 'The synoikized polis' (cit. n. 6); N. BADOUD, *Le temps de Rhodes : une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions*, Munich 2015, pp. 154–156.

in turn were subdivided into a number of demes, introduced after the synoikism, possibly with inspiration from Athens.⁸ If so, Athenian inspiration only went so far. The mixing of demes from various localities, a hallmark of the Kleisthenic system,⁹ was disregarded and demes were assigned to the old poleis, now *phylai*, to which they or their predecessors had belonged.

The *phyla Lindia* comprised 17 demes of which we can be certain. Three were located on the island of Karpathos to the southwest of Rhodes while another two were on the mainland, the Peraia. The last twelve were on the island of Rhodes, in the Lindia, the territory which had once been the *chora* of independent Lindos.¹⁰

The city of Lindos and its acropolis served as the cultic centre for the *phyla* as a whole, but the impressive number of inscriptions from the Lindian acropolis leaves the unmistakable impression of a sanctuary dominated by the members of the twelve island demes.¹¹ The twelve island demes, which refer to themselves as 'the demes in Lindos', thought themselves to be original and certainly more venerable.¹² Only these twelve demes sent councillors or *mastroi* to the 51-man council in Lindos, and only members of these twelve demes voted in the Lindian assembly and were able to stand for election to the civic priestly offices in Lindos, including the prestigious

⁸ N. F. JONES, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* [= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* CLXXVI], Philadelphia 1987, pp. 242–264; I. Ch. PAPACHRISTODOULOU, 'The Rhodian demes within the framework of the function of the Rhodian state', [in:] P. BILDE, T. ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, V. GABRIELSEN, L. HANNestad & J. ZAHLE (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture, and Society* [= *Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* IX], Aarhus 1999, pp. 27–44; T. H. NIELSEN & V. GABRIELSEN, 'Rhodos', [in:] M. H. HANSEN & T. H. NIELSEN (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, p. 1205; GABRIELSEN, 'The synoikized polis' (cit. n. 6), p. 193.

⁹ D. M. LEWIS, 'Cleisthenes and Attica', *Historia* 12 (1963), pp. 22–40.

¹⁰ Recently, BADOUD (*Le temps de Rhodes* [cit. n. 7], p. 3) has tentatively assigned the Kedreatai in the Peraia and the demes of the Nisyrioi (Nisyros) and Telioi (Telos) to the *phyla Lindia*.

¹¹ *I. Lindos* 51, an *epidosis* of the late fourth century BCE, reports a high number of Physkioi, a Lindian deme of the Peraia. Otherwise, members of the non-Rhodian demes are virtually absent from the epigraphic record at Lindos. A. BRESSON, 'Richesse et pouvoir à Lindos à l'époque hellénistique', [in:] S. DIETZ & I. Ch. PAPACHRISTODOULOU (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen 1988; Badoud, *Le temps de Rhodes* (cit. n. 7), pp. 75–82 & 352–358.

¹² *I. Lindos* 347, ll. 56–59 (42 BCE); 349, ll. 47–61 (38 BCE).

priesthood of Athana Lindia, the renowned patron deity of Lindos.¹³ The exclusion of the demes in the Peraia and on Karpathos was a Lindian tradition. In the waning years of the fourth century the Lindians had fought-off attempts in court to remove from Lindos the elections of Lindian priests and other magistracies.¹⁴ An honorific decree on the Lindian acropolis celebrated the group of Lindian representatives who had successfully defended the island-deme monopoly on priestly and civic office at Lindos. The identity of their opponents, those who brought the suit and their exact designs, is a mystery, as the Lindians did not care to mention them or the details of their foiled aspirations, but it would not be unreasonable to suspect those Lindians of the Peraia or Karpathos who in spite of their Rhodian citizenship and membership of the Phyla Lindia were nevertheless regarded as second-class citizens by their fellow-*phylatai* in Lindos.¹⁵

The relationship between the Lindians of the island and their fellow-*phylatai* is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the discovery, in Physkos, of a first-century decree regulating sacrifices in the deme of the Physkioi, one of the Lindian demes in the Peraia, but enacted by the *mastroi* and the Lindians and therefore proposed, debated and passed in Lindos without the participation of the Physkioi themselves. Throughout the decree a clear, if surprising, distinction is drawn between the 'Lindians' and the 'Physkians'.¹⁶

It was into this exclusivist environment that the association of *katoikeuntes en Lindiai polei kai georgeuntes en tai Lindiai* made an appearance in the late second century BCE. The *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* first make themselves known to us about 120 BCE when they appear among a number of groups, both private and public, who had bestowed honorific crowns on the priest of Athana Lindia for the year 121 BCE, a certain Aristodamos son of Onasandros, who belonged to one of the leading families of second and first century Lindos.¹⁷

¹³ Exclusivity of Lindian *mastroi*: *I. Lindos* 346 (43 BCE); 378 (27 BCE).

¹⁴ IG XII 761. GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), p. 132; C. A. THOMSEN, *The Corporate Polis* [Unpublished PhD dissertation], Copenhagen 2013, pp. 62–67; BADOUD, *Le temps de Rhodes* (cit. n. 7), pp. 75–82.

¹⁵ IG XII.1 761. BRESSON, 'Richesse et pouvoir à Lindos' (cit. n. 11), p. 145.

¹⁶ *I. Pér. rhod.* 22 with commentary (101 or 66 BCE).

¹⁷ *I. Lindos* 300. The family is well represented in the epigraphic record: *I. Lindos* 252,

Over the next century and a half the association can regularly be found among various bodies which voted crowns for Lindos' priestly aristocracy.¹⁸ To be sure, other non-public associations expressed their admiration for this or that local aristocrat, and Rhodes was very much the land of non-public associations; but these were mostly short lived and associated with individual Lindians whose priestly and civic career they supported and whose patronage they enjoyed.¹⁹ This clientelistic feature of the associational landscape in Lindos may even be read from the names of the groups, which often incorporated the names of benefactors along with those of gods whose cult the associations tended to: the *Timapoleioi* for instance, named for a certain Timapolis, or the *Apolloniastai Theaidetaioi Astymedeioi*, named after the Rhodian, but also Lindian statesmen of Polybian fame.²⁰

ll. 125–128 (*epidosis*, c. 115 BCE). Theagenes son of Aristodamos was *hierothytes* in 121 BCE (247.9) and priest of Pythian Apollo in 98 BCE (282.5–9). Aristodamos' great-grandson and namesake served his term as *hierothytes* in 47 BCE (344.24) and as *mastos* in 41 BCE (348.II.2). See 'Stemma 4' in C. BLINKENBERG, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole II – Inscriptions*, Copenhagen 1941, pp. 33–34.

¹⁸ See Appendix, nos. 2–10 & 12–14.

¹⁹ Private associations at Lindos: (1) *Athanaistan Timapoleion koinon* (*I. Lindos* 252, ll. 226–227); (2) *Timapoleion koinon* (*I. Lindos* 252, ll. 250); (3) *Agathodaimoniastan koinon* (*I. Lindos* 252, l. 251); (4) *Arsinoeion* (?) *Aphrodisiastai ---eion koinon* (*I. Lindos* 252, ll. 256–257); (5) *Apolloniastan koinon* (*I. Lindos* 252, l. 255); (6) *Soteriastai* (*I. Lindos* 252, l. 258); (7) *Strateuomenoi Athanaistan koinon* (*I. Lindos* 264, ll. 5–6); (8) *hoi peri ton Dionyson technitan* (*I. Lindos* 264, ll. 6–7); (9) *Letodoreion Pa[usistrateion koinon]* (*I. Lindos* 264, ll. 10, 13); (10) *to koinon to Dioskouriastan Philokrateion* (*I. Lindos* 285, ll. 5–6); (11) *Haliastan Haliadan Hesteioi koinon* (*I. Lindos* 292, ll. 5–6); (12) *Panathenaistan systrateuomenon syskanon koinon* (*I. Lindos* 292, ll. 7–8); (13) *Soteriastan Athanaistan koinon* (*I. Lindos* 300, ll. 6–7); (14) *Systrateuomenon Panathanaistan koinon* (*I. Lindos* 300, ll. 7–8; 303, ll. 4–5, 11; 391, l. 32; 420, ll. 10–14); (15) *Atabyriastai ---* (*I. Lindos* 391, l. 31); (16) *Eisiastai Serapiastai* (*I. Lindos* 391, l. 33); (17) *Herakleistai Menodoreoi* (*I. Lindos* 391, l. 34); (18) *Athaniastai Lindiastai* (*I. Lindos* 391, l. 35, cf. 420, l. 25); (19) *D[io]n[ysiastai] Neroniano* (*I. Lindos* 391, l. 36); (20) *---riastan Nikatorideion koinon* (*Cl. Rhodos* 2 [1932], p. 210, no. 48, l. 14); (21) *Panathaistan Herakleistan dek* (*Cl. Rhodos* 2 [1932], p. 210, no. 48, l. 15). Numbers 1–6 are all connected with a certain Timapolis, perhaps Timapolis son of Euphragoras and adopted son of Timapolis, the Lindian priest of Pythian Apollo (*I. Lindos* 228, ll. 4–6 [138 BCE]; cf. *I. Lindos* 223; 252). For Rhodian associations generally and their attachment to Rhodian aristocrats, see MAILLOT, 'Foreigners' associations' (cit. n. 4); GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), pp. 123–129; THOMSEN, *The Corporate Polis* (cit. n. 14), pp. 99–123.

²⁰ MAILLOT, 'Foreigners' associations' (cit. n. 4), pp. 164–165 with n. 128; Gabrielsen,

While most of these groups, it seems, came and went, the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* display a remarkable longevity. Beginning, as mentioned, in the late second century, the association persists in honorific inscriptions on the Lindian acropolis well into the first century CE. The last we hear of them is a dedication to the Theos Hypsistos in around 40 CE, a time when the epigraphic record of Lindos diminishes considerably.²¹

Only public bodies, such as the board of *hierothytai*, the college of *synhiereis* or indeed the demes can lay claim to such longevity and unflinching regularity. Unlike the non-public associations, these bodies offered their admiration for the priests of Athana Lindia with a regularity bordering on the routine – a practice that seems to betray an allegiance to the institution of the priesthood rather than its temporary occupant (though these of course cannot be distinguished).²²

Eventually, the similar honorific strategies of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* and the public bodies converged in a single honorific monument, again for a priest of Athana Lindia. Python son of Python served as priest of Athana Lindia for the year 38 BCE.²³ Per tradition, his fellow priests and the *hierothytai* of that same year joined in erecting a statue, presumably of Python himself. The priests and *hierothytai* had their names added according to a template, which had been in use since the early third century.²⁴ But the year 38 BCE saw an interesting innovation, in the inclusion among the dedicants of the name of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*. After them the names of each of the twelve island demes were added as if the list of the demes of Lindos had been expanded to include a new 'thirteenth deme'.

This inclusion of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* among the public bodies marks an important step in what we can now begin to identify as a slow, but steady, development in the relationship between the Lindians and the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*. From one non-public group among many who

The Naval Aristocracy (cit. n. 4), pp. 125–126.

²¹ *I. Lindos* 425.

²² E.g. *I. Lindos* 70 (dedication by priest and *hierothytai*, c. 296 BCE); 134 (dedication by priests, c. 215 BCE); 270 (dedication by priests and *hierothytai*, c. 100 BCE).

²³ *I. Lindos* 349 (38 BCE).

²⁴ See n. 22, above.

occasionally displayed their allegiance to the Lindians, over official recognition and inclusion among the public bodies, to their formal integration into the institutional structure of the Lindian polis through the decree of 23 CE with which we began.

II

The narrative presented in the preceding pages rests on two assumptions about the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*, both of which can be questioned. One is that the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* constituted a private association (a *koinon*), the other that members were foreigners or non-citizens of Rhodes. The remainder of this contribution attempts to provide an argument for both.

We begin with the question of whether the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* constituted a private association. The answer, however, is severely hampered by the nature of our evidence, which apart from the decree quoted at the beginning of this paper is comprised of honorific monuments including only the name of the association and the crowns they had bestowed on local Lindian dignitaries.²⁵ This, however, does tell us something. First of all, the act of crowning is intimately linked to the passing of what historians commonly refer to as honorific decrees, that is *psephismata* to the effect that somebody should be awarded a crown (*stephanos*). The very act of crowning therefore implies a mode of organisation modelled on the democratic polis, with a clearly defined membership (who gets to vote, and who doesn't), rules of procedure, and representatives to carry out collective decisions.²⁶ Secondly, the longevity of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*, which greatly exceeded that of any individual member, is further evidence of an association in possession of fairly strong institutions. To this we can add that the decision of the Lindians to appoint *choragoi* from among the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* presupposed not only a clearly defined, but also relatively stable membership (even if their newly acquired responsibilities may have made some reconsider their membership).

²⁵ See the Appendix for an overview of the evidence.

²⁶ C. A. THOMSEN, 'The eranistai of Classical Athens', *GRBS* 55.1 (2015), pp. 154–175, at pp. 163–164.

Perhaps more telling, the name of the group was subject to changes over the course of its documented existence. In *I. Lindos* 264 (App. 2), a late-second-century BCE monument for an unknown priest of Athana Lindia, the *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei* appear alone as they do again in about 40 CE (*I. Lindos* 425; App. 15) without the *georgeutes*. It would be too easy to write these variations off as a mistake on behalf of the stonemason since in one instance an unknown Lindian aristocrat had been crowned 'by the *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei* and by the *georgeutes en tai Lindiai* with a gold crown' (*I. Lindos* 400; App. 6). The second 'by' (*hypo*) seems to suggest that the two groups were thought of as distinct even when they, apparently, offered a single crown together. Evidence suggests that several private associations in Rhodes were divided into smaller 'sub-associations' which could on occasion act alone as associations in their own right, and the instability of the name of the *katoikeutes kai georgeutes* should therefore be taken as an indication that they were a private operation.²⁷

At other times, the group added to its name. In 121 BCE the group added *Athanaistai* or 'worshippers of Athana' to their name to make them the *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei kai georgeutes en tai Lindiai kai Athanaistai* (*I. Lindos* 300; App. 3), only to revert to their more common formula by the early first century (*Cl. Rhodos* 2 [1932], p. 210, no. 48; App. 4). The adoption of the theophoric name component, *Athanaistai*, borrows directly from a popular name formula among private associations in Rhodes, but well-attested elsewhere too.²⁸ Similarly, sometime between 38 and 9 BCE 'shippers' had been added to the name to make the group the *katoikeutes en Lindiai pol(e)i kai georgeutes kai nauklareutes en tai Lindiai*, but that addition

²⁷ V. GABRIELSEN, 'The Rhodian associations and economic activity', [in:] Z. H. ARCHIBALD, J. K. DAVIES, V. GABRIELSEN & G. OLIVER (eds.), *Hellenistic Economies*, London – New York 2001, pp. 222–223.

²⁸ MAILLOT, 'Foreigners' associations' (cit. n. 4); V. GABRIELSEN, 'Brotherhoods of faith and provident planning: the non-public associations of the Greek world', *MHR* 22 (2007), pp. 183–210, at p. 187; F. POLAND, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig 1909, pp. 57–70. It remains unclear whether the *katoikeutes kai georgeutes* added only a name or indeed a group. As it happens, Lindos at this time, was home also to an association of *Athanaistai* (see n. 18, no. 1).

too was dropped before 10 CE.²⁹ These changes in name, at times inspired by other private associations, are suggestive of an organisation sensitive to changes in the composition and preferences of its members, and conscious of its developing relationship with the local elite.

III

As the most stable element in the name of the association the word *katoikeuntes* is crucial. *Katoikeo*, of course, means to settle or reside in a certain place, and the verb is commonly applied in general sense, as in ‘the Greeks who inhabit Asia’ or ‘those who live in’ whatever place.³⁰

In the course of the Hellenistic period, however, two common specialised usages of the verb, or nouns derived from the verb, materialise in the historical record. One of course is the *katoikia*, a military settlement (or at least mostly military settlement) well known from the territories of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings.³¹ The other is the use of the verb in its participle form, increasingly common in the decrees of Greek poleis, particularly in and around the Aegean, as part of the phrase ‘the citizens and the *katoikountes* in the city’.³² In these cases, the participle *katoikountes* has been thought to reflect the existence of a technical term, *katoikos*, denoting either (1) a privileged metic,³³ (2) a temporarily resident foreigner, not (yet) of metic

²⁹ *I. Lindos* 349 (App. 5; Lindos, 38 BCE): τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν Λινδία πόλει καὶ γεωργεῦντες ἐν τῇ Λινδία; *SEG* 14:511 (App. 7) = *I. Lindos* II 384 with P. M. FRASER & G. E. BEAN, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, Oxford 1954, p. 2 (Lindos, c. 9 BCE): [τοὶ κατοικεῦ]ντες ἐν Λινδία πόλι καὶ γεωργεῦντες. [καὶ ναυκλ.]αρεῦντες ἐν τῇ Λινδία; *I. Lindos* II 391 (Lindos, 10 CE): τῶ[ν κατοικεῦντων ἐν Λ]ινδία πόλει [καὶ] γε[ωργ]εῦν[τ]ω[ν ἐ]ν τῇ Λ[ινδία]. For the implications of the change in name, see below.

³⁰ F. OERTEL, *RE*, s.v. ‘Κάτοικοι’. E.g. *I. Priene* 17.14 (Priene, 278 – c. 260 BCE); *IG* II² 1009.39 (Athens, 116/5 BCE).

³¹ G. M. COHEN, ‘*Katoikiai, katoikoi* and Macedonians in Asia Minor’, *AncSoc* 22 (1991), pp. 41–50; B. BAR-KOCHVA, *The Seleucid Army: Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns*, Cambridge 1976, pp. 22–26; F. OERTEL, *RE*, s.v. ‘Κάτοικοι’.

³² *I. Pergé* 12.29–30 (Hellenistic). See below.

³³ H. FRANCOIS, *Mélanges de droit public grec*, Liège – Paris 1910, pp. 213–218; J. HASEBROEK, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*, tr. L. FRASER & D. MACGREGOR, London 1933, p. 42.

status,³⁴ or (3) simply a different form of *metoikos*.³⁵ This notion would seem to derive some support from a phrase such as that found in a second-century BCE decree of Sestos in honour of a loyal supporter of the Attalid kings who had extended his largesse to 'not only the citizens and those others that reside (*katoikountes*) in the city, but also those foreigners who happened to be there at the time (*parepidemountes xenoi*)'.³⁶ The *katoikountes*, here, appear to occupy a space between two (to us) more familiar groups, the citizens and the itinerant foreigners, the very space where one would expect to find the metic. On the other hand, a close look at the same phrase draws this interpretation into question. The insertion of the *alloi* before *katoikountes* hints that the *katoikountes*, whoever they were, shared this common trait with the citizens. That trait, surely, was residence, but more importantly, the fact that citizens too were regarded as kind of *katoikountes* speaks against the latter as a label of legal status for non-citizens.

But who then were these resident non-citizens? Free foreigners, of course, by virtue of being settled in their adopted cities, would qualify as *katoikountes*. For that reason, the speaker of Demosthenes 52 could easily refer to a 'metic residing (*katoikounta*) in Skyros' and throughout the Greek world the word was used of resident aliens both individually and collectively.³⁷ But foreigners of metic status need not have made up the entire group of *katoikountes*. An inscription from second-century Klazomenai enigmatically mentions 'the metics and those others who reside in the cities',³⁸ but a rough-

³⁴ Ph. GAUTHIER, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, pp. 109–111.

³⁵ F. OERTEL, *RE*, s.v. 'Κάτοικοι'. On the special case of the *katoikoi* (and *paroikoi*) of Hellenistic Priene (e.g. *I. Priene* 122 + p. 311), see now D. ΚΑΗ, 'Paroikoi und Neubürger in Priene', [in:] L.-M. GÜNTHER (ed.), *Migration und Bürgerrecht in der hellenistischen Welt*, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 51–71.

³⁶ *I. Sestos* 1, ll. 28–30 (Sestos, 133–120 BCE): οὐ μόνον τῶν πολιτῶν [καί] τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων.

³⁷ Dem. 52.9: τὸν μέτοικον ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐν Σκίρῳ κατοικούντα. Examples of individuals include: *IG VII* 3378 (Chaironeia, second century BCE): Θεῶν Διονυσίου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Φάωνος, κατοικούντες ἐν Χαίρωνείαι; *BCH* 66/67 (1942/1943), p. 74, no. 4 (Delphi, 153/2–144/3 BCE): Δημήτριος Θεοδώρου Θηβαῖος ἐν Δελφοῖς κατοικέων.

³⁸ *MDAI(I)* (1979), p. 249, no. 2b, ll. 28–30 (Klazomenai, first half of 2nd century BCE): [Τη-] μνίτας [καὶ Κλ]αζομενίους καὶ τοῖς μετο[ίκοι]ς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς το[ῖς] κατοικ[ούσι]ν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

ly contemporary decree of Kyme helps along our imagination by having the term *katoikountes* bracket ‘metics and freedmen’.³⁹ A first-century BCE decree of Priene mentions ‘the *sympolitai* and the rest of the *katoikountes*’, suggesting that the term could bracket any number of non-citizens in residence.⁴⁰ From this review of evidence two aspects of the term *katoikountes* appear clear enough: (1) that *katoikountes* was used as a convenient shorthand for a variety of non-citizen legal statuses (with a distinct local flavour) whose central tenet was residence,⁴¹ and (2) that it, by the Hellenistic period, had found widespread use among the Greek poleis. The latter perhaps may help explain the former. Some of the earliest attestations of the term belong to interstate agreements, many of which applied not only to those political bodies who agreed to them, but also to their respective communities of resident aliens and freedmen. In one such treaty, of the early second century BCE, the Aitolians guaranteed the Magnesians freedom from seizure, not only from the Aitolians themselves, but also from ‘those residing (*katoikeontes*) in Aitolia’. Similarly, when Miletus and Herakleia on the Latmos in the second century agreed to a treaty, they specifically included their respective *katoikountes* in the agreement.⁴² Given the local variety in the legal statuses of foreigners and freedmen across different poleis,⁴³ the term *katoikountes* offered a convenient bracket for all, anchored on the common trait of residence.

Turning to Lindos and the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*, the widespread use of *katoikountes* as a bracket term for resident non-citizens throughout

³⁹ SEG 33:1041, ll. 72–76: δέδωκεν εἰς θυσίαν καὶ εὐωχίαν τῶ τε βολλῶ τῶ πανδάμῳ στατήρας πενήκοντα καὶ τῶν φυλῶν ἐκάστα στατήρας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τοῖς μετοίκοισι καὶ ἀπελευθέροισι στατήρας πενήκοντα καὶ ἐγλύκισεν τοῖς τε πο[λί]ταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατοικῆντας ἐν τῷ πόλει.

⁴⁰ I. Priene 110 (second half of first century BCE). Freedmen as *katoikountes*: SEG 39:1244.I.37–38 (Kolophon, after 120/19 BCE).

⁴¹ Busolt reaches a similar conclusion, but excludes freedmen from the *katoikountes*, G. BUSOLT, *Griechische Staatskunde 1: Allgemeine Darstellung des griechischen Staates*, Munich 1920³, pp. 292–293.

⁴² IG IX.12 1:4 (Thermos, 194–179 BCE); I. Milet I.3 150 (Miletus, first half of second century BCE).

⁴³ Ph. GAUTHIER, ‘Métèques, périèques et paroikoi : bilan et points d’interrogation’, [in:] R. LONIS, *L’étranger dans le monde grec : actes du colloque organisé par l’Institut d’études anciennes Nancy, mai 1987*, Nancy 1988, pp. 24–46.

the Hellenistic world poses a serious challenge for a number of earlier theories about their identity. First of all, Rostovtzeff's idea that the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* represented an ancient non-Greek population, which had been partially displaced by the arrival of Greek settlers in Rhodes at some point in the early Archaic period only to reassert itself in the late Hellenistic period, may swiftly be set aside.⁴⁴ Similarly, the demonstrable use of the term *katoikeuntes* as a bracket term for resident non-citizens of various statuses (freeborn foreigners as well as freedmen) casts considerable doubt on Blinkenberg's notion of a distinct class of foreigners, the *katoikoi*, similar to metics, but privileged with *enktesis*.⁴⁵

Blinkenberg's interpretation rests mainly on a partially preserved list of foreigners inscribed on the Lindian acropolis sometime in the first century BCE, which deserves a second look (*I. Lindos* 278, I print here Blinkenberg's text):

1	κά[τοικοι].	
	Ἀπολλώνιος	[— — — — —]
	Ἀπολλώνιος	[— — — — —]
	Σωσικράτης	[— — — — —]
5	Τιμασίθεος	[— — — — —]
	Καλλικλῆς	[— — — — —]
	Ἑλλανίων	[— — — — —]
	Μάης	[— — — — —]
	Διοκλῆς	[— — — — —]
10	Εὐάγαθος	[— — — — —]
	Ἀκρίσιος	[— — — — —]
	Θεύφιλος	[— — — — —]
	Δῖος	[— — — — —]
	Φίλων	[— — — — —]

⁴⁴ M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, pp. 689–690. *Contra* I. Ch. PAPACHRISTODOULOU, *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ροδιακοὶ δῆμοι. Ἱστορική ἐπισκόπηση – Ἡ Ἰαλυσία*, Athens 1989, p. 58.

⁴⁵ BLINKENBERG, *Lindos* (cit. n. 17), pp. 581–582. Cf. VAN GELDER, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (cit. n. 4), pp. 231–232.

15	Θευγένης	[— — — — —]
	Ἄρτέμων	[— — — — —]
	μέτο[ικοι]·	
	Ἀπολλώνιος	[— — — — —]
	Νικόλαος	[— — — — —]
20	Φίλων	[— — — — —]
	Μέντωρ	[— — — — —]
	Λαοδικεύς	
	Εὔδοος	[— — — — —]

The list as it is preserves a series of first names and on analogy with *I. Lindos 277*, a contemporaneous list of six names with foreign ethnics in similar script, the second half of the stone would have borne the ethnics (and/or patronymics) in a separate second column.⁴⁶ While each name was inscribed directly below the one above, two lines (1 and 17) were heavily indented and preserve what Blinkenberg interpreted as the ‘headlines’ *katoikoi* and *metoikoi*, respectively. Blinkenberg’s restoration of the headline *katoikoi* is crucial since it constitutes the only evidence for the existence of a distinct class of resident foreigners of this denomination.⁴⁷ Neither of the ‘headlines’, however, is preserved in full and in fact may not be headlines at all. *I. Lindos 277*, a similar list of foreigners already mentioned, includes a certain Ptolemaios of Macedon, who had been granted *epidamia* (a privileged form of metic status) by the Rhodians. The phrase ὦν ἅ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται inscribed below his name is centre-adjusted resulting in an indenture at the beginning of that line. It is possible, therefore, as Morelli suggests, that Blinkenberg’s ‘headline’ μέτο[ικοι] should be read as μέτο[ικος] referring to Artemon, whose name was listed directly above it.⁴⁸ This does not exclude the possibility that others among those listed

⁴⁶ BLINKENBERG, *Lindos* (cit. n. 17), p. 588.

⁴⁷ This in itself is highly problematic. While foreigners of metic status (*metoikoi*) and who had been granted *epidamia* are well attested in Rhodian inscriptions (see the following note), the word *katoikos* cannot be found outside Blinkenberg’s restored κά[τοικοι] (D. MORELLI, ‘Gli stranieri in Rodi’, *SCO* 5 [1955], pp. 126–190, at p. 133; cf. GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* [cit. n. 4], p. 129 n. 90).

⁴⁸ MORELLI, ‘Gli stranieri in Rodi’ (cit. n. 47), p. 134 n. 27.

were also resident aliens, as the Rhodians seem to have been inconsistent in recording the status of foreigners.⁴⁹ The first 'headline' is still more problematic. Blinkenberg read *κά[τοιχοι]*, but Morelli, who also examined the stone, had considerable doubts about the α and a consultation of the squeeze housed in the National Museum of Denmark only reinforces those doubts.⁵⁰ However, even if Blinkenberg's reading were accepted the *κα* still leaves a number of possible – and more plausible – restorations such as the ethnics *Καβαλεύς*, *Κάρ*, *Κασσανδρεὺς* or *Καύνιος* (all attested in Rhodes) or even the Lindian demotic *Καττάβιος*.⁵¹ With that both 'headlines' evaporate from the text, and with them any evidence for a distinct Rhodian class of *katoikoi*.

With the hypothetical *katoikoi* out of the way, we are seemingly left with *katoikeuntes* as a bracket term for resident foreigners and freedmen as the most viable remaining option. There are, however, further complications that first need sorting out.

In spite of their rôles as *phylai* in the federal Rhodian state, Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos remained somewhat unwilling to abandon their status as *poleis*.⁵² All three cities excluded members of the other two from holding offices and priesthoods, but the Lindians, as we saw above, took this exclusivity to the extreme in disallowing even their fellow-*phylatai* of the Peraia and Karpathos. It therefore remains a possibility, as suggested by Papachristodoulou, that the *katoikeuntes* in Lindos included – or perhaps consisted entirely of – Rhodian citizens belonging to one of the other *phylai* or even the Lindian demes outside of the island.⁵³ This

⁴⁹ See for instance the *epidoseis*: *Cl. Rhodos* 2 (1932), p. 177, no. 2 (Rhodes, first century BCE); *ASAA* 2 (1916), p. 134, no. 1 (Rhodes, c. 100 BCE); *ASAA* 1–2 n.s. (1939/1940), p. 168, no. 21 (first century BCE).

⁵⁰ MORELLI, 'Gli stranieri in Rodi' (cit. n. 47), p. 134 n. 27.

⁵¹ This of course presupposes that a patronymic was added so as to 'push' the ethnic into the following line. A parallel may be found in the entry for Mentor in line 21 whose patronymic does not survive, but whose ethnic was inscribed alone in the following line (the smaller indenture should mean, as Morelli suggests, that his ethnic was *Λαοδικεύς* [*ἀπὸ Φοινίκης*]). In *I. Lindos* 275, which preserves a similar and contemporaneous list of foreigners, a single individual is named with his patronymic at line 13.

⁵² GABRIELSEN, 'The synoikized polis' (cit. n. 6), pp. 192–195.

⁵³ PΑPACHRISTODOULOU, *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ροδιακοὶ δῆμοι* (cit. n. 44), p. 58 with n. 219.

hypothesis furthermore receives some support from the fact that in Rhodes all occurrences of the term *katoikeuntes* are associated with the civic subdivisions (the demes and the constituent polis of Lindos).⁵⁴ A clearer and perhaps parallel case is provided by an inscription from neighbouring Cos, more specifically the Coan deme of the Halentioi, in which a group described as ‘the *katoikeuntes en toi damoi*, the *enektemenoi*, and the *georgeuntes en Halenti kai Pelei*, those of the citizens (*politai*), of the Romans, and of the metics’ voted a crown for a certain Isidoros son of Neikarchos, a public doctor.⁵⁵ The implication seems to be that ‘the citizens (*politai*)’, i.e. Koan citizens belonging to other demes, could be considered *katoikeuntes* in the deme of the Haleis (and perhaps *georgeuntes* and even *enektemenoi* as well). Though the institutional history of Cos before 366/5 is still poorly understood, it has been suggested that some demes had been independent poleis, prior to the synoikism of that year.⁵⁶ Lindos, certainly, had a history of independence and it may therefore have been the case that fellow-Rhodians settled in Lindos would have been thought of as *katoikeuntes*.

As a way of probing this possibility it is necessary to take an estimate of Lindian society as it manifested itself in the epigraphic evidence of the period with which we are concerned. Since we are looking for the members of an association who would be liable to serve as *choragoi*, we may confine our search to the very top of Lindian society. *I. Lindos* 252 preserves an elaborate list contributors to an *epidosis* held at Lindos sometime during the last years of the second century BCE in order to provide Athana, Zeus, and Nike with new gold crowns. The list of

⁵⁴ *IG XII.1* 1032 (decree of the Brykountioi on Karpathos, second or first century BCE); 994 and 995 (both dedications by the Brykoundioi on Karpathos, 81–96 CE); *Historia* 7 (1933), p. 577, no. 1 (decree of the Arkaseis on Karpathos, second century BCE); *I. Pér. rhod.* 27; 28; 29; 32; 35 (dedications by the *katoikeuntes en Physkoi kai georgeuntes kai nauklareuntes* (Physkos in the Peraia, Imperial period).

⁵⁵ *SGDI* III.1 3698, ll. 4–8: τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Ἀλεντίων καὶ το[ῖ] ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντες[ς] ἐν Ἄλεντι καὶ Πέλλῃ, τῶν τε πολειτᾶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων.

⁵⁶ JONES, *Public Organization* (cit. n. 8), pp. 236–242; S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, Göttingen 1978, pp. 58–64, esp. p. 58; W. R. PATON & E. L. HICKS, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891, pp. 212–213; A. N. MODONA, *L'Isola di Coe nell'antichità classica*, Rhodes 1933, pp. 22–27.

contributors, most of them donating on behalf of not only themselves, but also their immediate family, reads like a veritable *Who's Who* of the Lindian aristocracy at the turn of the second and first centuries. The list is not all together a Lindian affair and attests to a considerable number of marriages that cut across boundaries between the twelve Lindian island demes and demes in the Peraia, on Karpathos as well as Kamiros and Ialysos. In every one of these unions, however, the husband, who contributed on behalf of his family, was a member of one of the Lindian demes and not a single Rhodian citizen from Ialysos, Kamiros or even the Lindian demes of the Peraia or Karpathos was recorded as a contributor to the *epidosis*. Their absence, conspicuous as it is, might be interpreted as respectful deference to the old aristocracy of Lindos, but the fact that one outsider, a foreigner (of either Idyma, Sidyma or Apamea),⁵⁷ did contribute suggests that their absence is in fact significant. In that sense *I. Lindos* 252 is symptomatic of the epigraphic evidence from Lindos. On the whole, the sanctuary of Athana Lindia preserves virtually no trace of Rhodians from outside the twelve Lindian island demes; foreigners on the other hand left a clear mark.

From these very years (that is, the turn of the second and first centuries BCE) date a number of dedications set up on the Lindian acropolis by groups of foreigners, one of which has already been quoted above (*I. Lindos* 275; 276; 277; 278, all c. 100 BCE). Collectively these monuments preserve or partially preserve the names of some 76 foreigners, to which many more, now lost, should certainly be added. Their fragmentary nature makes detailed interpretation difficult (though enough of an 'artist's signature' is preserved on *I. Lindos* 277 that we may safely assume that it was a statue base). Whatever they were exactly, their very existence in this exclusivist environment is evidence of the social importance of those who placed them there as well as their sense of self-worth. As we are concerned with the identity of a particular group of *katoikeuntes*, we may pause to note that this spat of dedications by foreigners in the sanctuary of Athana Lindia coincides with a change in the name of that group

⁵⁷ *I. Lindos* 252, ll. 116–119: [— —]ΜΕΥΣ [ὅτι ἄ ἐπιδ]αμία δέδοται [κ]αὶ ὑ[π]ὲρ τὰς γυναικὸ [— —]γόρα[ς] Ἄντιοχίδος.

through the addition of *Athanaistai*, a clear declaration of allegiance with the local patron deity.⁵⁸ Though the sanctuary of Athana Lindia undoubtedly attracted visitors from across the Greek world, there is reason to believe that the foreign dedicants had close connections with the city. A number of them, who identified as either *metoikos* or *hoi ha epidamia dedotai*, clearly enjoyed permanent residency in Rhodes and there are reasons to believe that Lindos and her countryside were home to a considerable community of foreigners. The handsome number of funerary inscriptions which to date have been found in what was once Lindian territory is clear evidence that a permanently settled community of foreigners existed, not only in the city of Lindos itself, but also throughout the countryside.⁵⁹ Non-Lindian Rhodians, by comparison, are virtually absent from the funerary epigraphy.⁶⁰

Though the evidence is circumstantial, it cannot be made to support the presence at Lindos of a settled community of non-Lindian Rhodians with liturgic potential. Foreigners on the other hand abound. The inevitable question as to what these foreigners were doing in the Lindian countryside touches on the meaning of the second component in the name *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*, and it is to them that we turn next.

IV

The most basic meaning of *georgeuntes* is of course ‘those who work the land’.⁶¹ The term, however, was not only applied to lowly farmhands. The strug-

⁵⁸ *I. Lindos* 300 with GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), p. 129 n. 94.

⁵⁹ Area of Lindos: Rodo of Knossos (*I. Lindos* 627); Apollonidas of Pisidia (?) (631); Alexandra of Ephesos (632); Anteiochos of Ephesos (635). East coast: Theuphanes of Sardis and Mikke of Antioch (642); Nous of Lycia (643); Apollonios and Dionysia of Pergamon (*IG XII.1* 918); Apollonia of Sardis (*IG XII.1* 943). Interior: Maphernes of Eusebeia and Megistion of Antioch (660); Demainetos of Ephesos (*IG XII.1* 940); Alexander of Side (*I. Lindos* 668); Attalos of Ephesos (*IG XII.1* 941). West coast: Artemon of Termessos (MAIURI, *NSER* 431); Annas of Phrygia (*IG XII.1* 895).

⁶⁰ Other Rhodians in Lindian funerary inscriptions: an unknown woman of the Kryasseis (*I. Lindos* 654); Hagesidamos of the Kymisaleis (659); and (if the restoration may be trusted) Ἀριστῶν[υμων] β τοῦ Ἀγα[θάν]δρου Τύ[μνιον] (*IG XII.1* 907).

⁶¹ E.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1327b 10–14; *I. Rhamnous* 43, ll. 6–7 (Rhamnous, 215/4 BCE).

gling *georgountes*, invoked by Demosthenes in his speech against Timokrates, may have been in arrears to their creditors, but part of the reason was the burden of liturgies exacted from them.⁶² Elsewhere Demosthenes used the same term, *hoi georgountes*, of that subsection of the liturgical class whose wealth was derived from landed estates rather than mining, and Plato's Euthyphro, by all accounts a man of considerable means, could say with a straight face that he had been 'farming in Naxos'.⁶³ In documents from Hellenistic Delos, the term is applied to leaseholders, who as such required the right to farm a particular plot of land, but who need not have gone into the field themselves.⁶⁴ This third usage is interesting since it assumes that *ho georgon* did not have legal ownership of the land he cultivated or had cultivated on his behalf, in fact it assumes he did not, and establishes a possible connection with the *katoikeuntes* whom we saw were almost certainly resident foreigners (with or without *enktesis*). The evidence from funerary inscriptions for settlement of foreigners throughout Lindian territory is complemented by finds of amphora handles, which attest, among other things, to foreigners engaged in agricultural production.

Rhodian amphorae bore two stamps, giving the date (the name of the eponymous priest of Halios) on one handle and the name of a so-called 'fabricant' on the other. Though long a bone of contention, the view that these 'fabricants' were connected with the producers of the jug or its contents has won wide acceptance among scholars and the fact that every so often women appear among the 'fabricants' indicates that 'fabricants' were really proprietors of pottery workshops and estates.⁶⁵ The remains of amphora workshops have been found all over the countryside (including finds from Kattavia, an area asso-

⁶² Dem. 24.172.

⁶³ Dem. 42.21. Cf. 13.30. Pl. *Euth.* 4c. Euthyphro's estate in Naxos was in fact worked by hired labourers and slaves.

⁶⁴ IG XI.2 199.A3 (Delos, 273 BCE); 203.A18 (Delos, 269 BCE). G. REGER, *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314–167 B.C.*, Berkeley 1994, pp. 189–247.

⁶⁵ M. LAWAL, 'Amphoras and Hellenistic economies: addressing the (over)emphasis on stamped amphora handles', [in:] Z. H. ARCHIBALD, J. K. DAVIES & V. GABRIELSEN (eds.), *Making, Moving, and Managing. The New World of Ancient Economies, 323–31 BC*, Oxford 2005, pp. 194–196. Cf. Y. GALAN, *Amphores et timbres amphoriques grecs : entre érudition et idéologie* [= *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, nouvelle série XXI*], Paris 2000. Women 'fabricants' : G. FINKIELSZTEJN, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ* [= *BAR International Series CMXC*], Oxford 2001, p. 34.

ciated with the ancient Lindian deme of the Kattabioi) and associated with large agricultural facilities, the remains of which have been found in several locations on Rhodes.⁶⁶ Among the ‘fabricants’ whose names have come down to us are a number foreigners identified as such by their ethnics such as Mnason of Antioch, Menandros of Laodikeia or Artemidoros of Side, to name only some of those attested at Lindos.⁶⁷ While directly attested metics among the ‘fabricants’ provide strong evidence of the deep penetration of foreigners into Rhodian agricultural production, they represent only a tip of the iceberg, as evidenced by a number of ‘fabricants’ with non-Greek names, such as Manes – a name attested only of three Phrygians in Rhodes – or Maes, whose name – closely associated with the Black Sea region – appears on Rhodian amphorae of the second or first century discovered at Athens.⁶⁸ The latter is furthermore interesting since his name, Maes, is attested only once in Rhodian epigraphy, in the list of foreigners dedicated at the Lindian acropolis and discussed above (*I. Lindos* 278).

As noted by Gabrielsen, the decision of the *katoikeuntes en Lindiai polei kai georgeuntes kai nauklareuntes en tai Lindiai* in the late first century BCE to add that third element to their name, *nauklereuntes* or ‘shippers’, betrays the direct connection between the worlds of agricultural and long distance trade.⁶⁹ The large quantities of Rhodian amphorae that have turned up throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond – particularly around

⁶⁶ Amphora kilns: J. LUND, ‘Rhodian transport amphorae as a source for economic ebbs and flows in the Eastern Mediterranean in the second Century BC’, [in:] Z. H. ARCHIBALD, J. K. DAVIES & V. GABRIELSEN (eds.), *The Economies of Hellenistic Societies. Third to the First Centuries BC*, Oxford 2011, p. 283 with bibliography. For an overview of the archaeological material, see GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), pp. 105–107.

⁶⁷ M. P. NILSSON, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos. Exploration archéologique de Rhodes V*, Copenhagen 1909, pp. 67–68, with *Paphos* V 494 (Rhodian amphora handle found in the ‘House of Dionysos’ in Nea Paphos, c. 107–86 BCE), and *ASAA* 2 (1916), p. 118, no. 138.3 (Kalavarda, Kamiros, date unknown).

⁶⁸ The ‘fabricant’ Manes: *IG* XII.1 1345 (Ialysos, Rhodes); NILSSON, *Timbres amphoriques* (cit. n. 67), p. 99. Manes Phryx: *SEG* 27:467 (Rhodes, second century BCE); 39:793 (Rhodes, first century BCE or CE); *BCH* 34 (1910), p. 247, no. 37 (Rhodes, date unknown). The ‘fabricant’ Maes: Ag. Inv. R348 (*LGPN* 1, s.v. ‘Μάης’ [3]). Interestingly, a ‘fabricant’ by the same name operated in Knidos in the second century (*LGPN* 5b, s.v. ‘Μάης’ [1]).

⁶⁹ *SEG* 14:511, ll. 15–16. GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), p. 129. Cf. REGER, ‘Aspects’ (cit. n. 4), pp. 185–189.

Alexandria – give evidence of the extensive trade network that connected producers in the Rhodian countryside with consumers in the cities in the Aegean and Black Sea, Egypt, the Levant, and beyond.⁷⁰ This lucrative trade attracted the likes of the famous Vedius Pollio, a wealthy friend of Augustus, whose name can be found among the ‘fabricants’ of amphorae from both Cos and Chios, two other poleis noted for wine production. As a highly visible owner (or at least tenant) of estates in two different localities he both exposes to us and epitomises a certain class of large-scale and export-oriented agriculturalists in possession of both the cash and the connections to acquire estates in the territory of several poleis. Their presence at Cos is beyond doubt and it seems reasonable that they formed part of the ‘the *katoikeuntes en toi damoi*, the *enektemenoi*, and the *georgeuntes en Halenti kai Pelei*, those of the citizens (*politai*), of the Romans, and of the metics’ mentioned earlier.⁷¹ Though Roman citizens are conspicuously absent in the Rhodian evidence, there is no reason to assume that this *modus operandi* was limited to Romans.⁷² Whatever the case, foreigners who sought a share in the production and trade in Rhodian wine first and foremost needed access to land and those who lacked the prestige and political connections of a Vedius Pollio would have to find an alternative means to curry favour with those locals who controlled this vital resource either as owners or decision makers.

This last point returns us to Lindos on the eleventh day of Diosthyos in 23 CE on which the *choragia* was opened up to foreigners (*xenoi*). Traditionally, the decision has been interpreted as a response to declining wealth

⁷⁰ GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy* (cit. n. 4), pp. 64–69; N. RAUH, ‘Rhodes, Rome, and the Eastern Mediterranean wine trade, 166–88 BC’, [in:] BILDE *et al.* (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes* (cit. n. 8); J. LUND, ‘Rhodian amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as evidence of trade’, [in:] BILDE *et al.* (eds.), *Hellenistic Rhodes* (cit. n. 8); M. ROSTOVITZ, ‘Alexandrien und Rhodos’, *Klio* 30 (1937), pp. 70–76.

⁷¹ L. P. ÉBERLE & E. Le QUÉRÉ, ‘Landed traders, trading Agriculturalists? Land in the economy of the Italian diaspora in the Greek East’, *JRS* (2017), pp. 42–46, esp. p. 44 with n. 105.

⁷² The sheer number of contemporary homonyms found among Rhodian and Coan ‘fabricants’ could be taken to provide a clue. The Rhodian ‘fabricant’ Manes (see n. 68, above) should provide an interesting point of departure since the name is attested only once for Cos – as the ‘fabricant’ named on an unpublished Coan amphora found on the Athenian agora (LGPNI, s.v. ‘Μάνης’ [5 & 8]).

among the local Lindian elite and therefore as a last, if undesirable, measure taken to secure that the gods received the kind of celebration to which they had become accustomed.⁷³ This interpretation, however, is contradicted by the decree itself, which called for the appointment of additional *choragoi* from among the foreigners, not replacements. Since ‘everything else concerning the Sminthia-festival was to remain as previously’, according to the decree, the election of six foreign *choragoi* clearly represented an expansion of the festival, and the impetus for including foreigners, therefore, must have come from elsewhere.⁷⁴ A hint is provided by the decree’s motivational clause, which held that the expansion was inspired by a similar inclusion of foreign *choragoi* among those appointed for the festival of Dionysos in the *asty*. In the context of the federal Rhodian *asty*, ‘foreign *choragoi*’ can only mean non-Rhodian citizens.⁷⁵ Like their peers in the *asty*, members of the community of wealthy foreigners in Lindos must have seen in the *choragia* a similar source of social prestige, and the decision of the Lindians to have the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* stand as guarantors is a strong indication that their members in particular wished for access to the liturgy. However, in order to secure access to this vital source of social and civic prestige, would-be foreign *choragoi* in Lindos needed not only wealth, but also a means of demonstrating their loyalty and reverence for their adopted home city, its institutions and its citizen elite. That means was the association of the *katoikeuntes en Lindiai polei kai georgeuntes en tai Lindiai*.

⁷³ BLINKENBERG, *Lindos* (cit. n. 17), p. 581.

⁷⁴ *IG XII.1* 762.13–20.

⁷⁵ See n. 2.

APPENDIX: NAME VARIATIONS AND EVIDENCE (CHRONOLOGICAL)

1. *I. Lindos* 229, ll. 3–4 (137 BCE):

[τῶν — — —] καὶ γε[ωργεύντων ἐν] τᾷ [— — —]

2. *I. Lindos* 264, ll. 14–15 (late second century BCE):

[τῶν κατοικεύν]των ἐν Λινδίαί πόλει

3. *I. Lindos* 300a, ll. 4–6 (121 BCE):

τῶν κα[τ]οικεύντων [ἐ]ν Λιν[δίαί πόλει καὶ γ]εωργεύντων ἐν | [τᾷ] Λινδίαί
καὶ Ἄθα[ναῖστᾶν κοινόν]

4. *Cl. Rhodos* 2 (1932) 210, no. 48, ll. 12–13 (69 BCE):

[τῶν κ]ατοικεύντων ἐν Λινδίαί πόλει and τῶν [γεωργεύν]των ἐν τᾷ Λινδίαί

5. *I. Lindos* 349, ll. 44–47 (38 BCE):

τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν Λινδίαί πόλει καὶ γεωργεῦντες ἐν τᾷ Λινδίαί

6. *I. Lindos* 400, ll. 3–4 (late first century BCE):

[τῶν] γεωργεύντων ἐ[ν τᾷ Λινδίαί] and
[τῶν κα]τοικεύντ[ω]ν ἐν [Λινδίαί πόλει]

7. *SEG* 14:511, ll. 15–16 (c. 9 BCE):

[τοὶ κατοικεῦ]ντες ἐν Λινδίαί πόλι καὶ γεωργεῦντες [καὶ
ναυκλ]αρεῦντες ἐν τᾷ Λινδίαί

8. *I. Lindos* 391, ll. 28–29 (10 CE):

τῶ[ν κατοικεύντων ἐν Λ]ινδίαί πόλει [καὶ] γε[ωργ]εύν[τ]ω[ν ἐ]ν τᾷ Λ[ινδίαί]

9. *I. Lindos* 392, ll. 10–11 (10 CE):

τῶ[ν κατ]ο[ικεύν]των [ἐν Λινδίαί] πόλει καὶ γεωργεύντων [ἐν τᾷ] Λιν[δίαί]

10. *I. Lindos* 394, ll. 8 & 10–11 (10 CE):

γε<ωρ>γεῦντες ἐν τᾷ Λινδίαί and τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐ[ν Λινδίαί πόλει]

11. *IG XII 762*, ll. 18–19 (22 CE):

τῶν κατοικεῦντων καὶ γεωργεῦντων ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει

12. *I. Lindos 420*, ll. 21–22 (22/3 CE):

[τῶν κατ]οικεῦντων [ἐν] Λινδίᾳ πόλ[ει] καὶ γεωργεῦντων [ἐν τῇ Λινδίᾳ]

13. *N. Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* 25, ll. 3–4 (date unknown):

[τοὶ κατοικεῦντ]ες ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει καὶ [γεωργεῦντες] ἐν τῇ Λινδίᾳ

14. *N. Suppl. Epigr. Rh.* 29, ll. 23–24 ('Roman period'):

το[— — — καὶ τοὶ κατοικεῦντες] ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλι

15. *I. Lindos 425*, ll. 6–8 (c. 30–40 CE):

τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλ[λ]ει

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THE 'THIRTEENTH DEME' OF LINDOS

Abstract

Hellenistic Lindos was home to a remarkable association of *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*. Through its connections with the local elite the association was gradually integrated into the civic structure of Hellenistic Lindos and eventually achieved a position similar to that of the demes. The identity of the members has long been debated. This study revisits the question and argues that the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* were foreign merchant agriculturalists with social aspirations.

Keywords: associations, foreigners, Hellenistic Rhodes, trade, civic institutions

„TRZYNASTY DEM” LINDOS

Abstrakt

W okresie hellenistycznym w Lindos istniało interesujące stowarzyszenie *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*. Poprzez swoje związki z lokalną elitą stowarzyszenie to stopniowo zintegrowało się ze strukturą obywatelską Lindos do tego stopnia, że w końcu zyskało statut podobny do demu. Długo tożsamość tej grupy stanowiła przedmiot dociekań. Artykuł wraca do tego zagadnienia i dowodzi, że *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes* byli cudzoziemskimi kupcami i rolnikami z wysokimi aspiracjami społecznymi.

Słowa kluczowe: stowarzyszenia, cudzoziemcy, hellenistyczna Rodos, handel, instytucje publiczne



ISSN 2080-8097



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