



CARLSBERGFONDET

# **A WORLD OF WELL-ORDERED SOCIETIES?**

## **THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF ANCIENT ASSOCIATIONS**

**ABSTRACTS**

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1. Ilias N. Arnaoutoglou (Academy of Athens), ‘Greek *thorubos*, Roman *eustatheia*. The normative universe of Athenian cult associations’

The provocative (but less than accurate) correlation of *thorubos* (lit. tumult) with *eustatheia* (lit. stability) in the title aims to explore and provide an interpretative context for the mutation observed in the normative fabric of ancient Athenian associations. Following the three different levels of investigation outlined in the call of papers (i.e. a descriptive, an ideological and a social one), in the first part of the paper, I shall present briefly and in chronological order the contents of the rules governing the activities of these groups (mainly inscriptions *Ag.* 16, 161; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1275; 1361; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1283; 1328 and the numerous honorary decrees). The decisions have either the form of a *psephisma* of the assembly or the decision of magistrate(s). Associations in Hellenistic Athens (*Ag.* 16, 161; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1275; 1361) regulated different aspects of their activity, ritual – cultic, financial and organizational; similar variation exists in the clauses scattered among the honorary decrees. In Roman Athens on top of the above another aspect was added, that of surveillance and of disciplining their membership (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1368; 1369; *SEG* 31.122). The prominence given to such clauses (in *SEG* 31.122, 5–9 it is the first clause of the inscribed decision, in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1368 it follows immediately after the regulations on joining the group, ll. 63–110) reveals its significance.

A snapshot of the underlying ideology promoted by these groups is provided by their honorary vocabulary. It includes predominantly civic qualities such as ἀρετή (virtue), εὐνοια (benevolence), εὐσέβεια (piety), δικαιοσύνη (righteousness), and φιλοτιμία (love of honour, zeal). These five qualities appear in every possible combination, with only two standard parameters; piety appears in cases the honoured person had a sacral or cultic activity, righteousness is always associated with the administration of common affairs. Noteworthy is the observation that the last integral honorary decree of an association is dated in 37/36 BC (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1343).

The normative threads connecting and integrating associations within their *polis* society are part of long established strategies. They are inspired by what happens at *polis* level and in particular, using the *polis* justice system, scrutinizing magistrates, and channelling the competitive edge of individual members to the service of the association. In Roman times, associations’ legislative function seems to respond to the demands of the Roman authorities.

The overall picture of Athenian associations as producers of their own rules, is marked by a mutation as far as it concerns the goals they should aim at. It is more than clear a shift in the late first and early second century AD occurred in order to establish the association’s disciplinary power over the behaviour of its members, an element completely absent from the Hellenistic associations. Was the influence of the Roman authorities so decisive as to leave a permanent imprint on the modes of collective action? Was willingness to conform to precepts of *Romanitas* so great that dictated the harmonization or some would say the transfer of legal rules from the Italian to the Greek peninsula? Or should we scratch the surface to reveal the scar left over private associations by the tumultuous first century BC in the mindset of the Roman elites, a scar never healed but transformed into a fear of organized activities. Greek associations in the Hellenistic era do not seem to be afraid of *thorubos*, one may even argue that it was a constituent part of deliberation. Greek associations in the Roman East were mindful of the Roman authorities and incorporated rules that would minimize the possibility of a Roman intervention. In ideological terms, *thorubos* had to be suppressed and *eustatheia* was elevated into a cardinal value of an association’s image.

2. Jan–Mathieu Carbon (Université de Liège), ‘The well–ordered city of women’

At the most basic level, a family is a ‘private’ cult association, though in a much less formalised fashion than some other groups, at least until it becomes richer or more ‘public’ and monumentalised as a kinship group (e.g. as a *syngeneia* or a *genos*). The apparent distinction

between ‘private’ and ‘public’ associations, perhaps especially in the cultic sphere, can become even more blurred when one examines larger congregations which are defined by age or gender. Groups such as the *ephebes* or the *neoi*, the *andres* or the *presbyteroi*, could be self-standing and self-regulating to a certain degree, while still remaining well under the wider or sometimes direct authority of the *polis*. This was especially the case because, unlike ‘private’ associations or other cult-groups but much like families and kinship groups, their vocation was not strictly voluntary. Often overlooked, one analogous and particularly instructive category is constituted by married (or older) Greek women. This group is highly pertinent for testing the conceptual framework of the Copenhagen Associations Project, since it was defined by periodic gatherings where it essentially formed a temporary cult association or even a ‘city’ of its own.

A famous passage from Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousai* reproduces the declaration of an assembly of the female celebrants, which clearly recalls the proceedings of the Athenian *boule* (A. Th. 372–374). As in the *Ekklesiazousai*, Aristophanes of course pushes the joke of a formal assembly of women pretty far, but just how far? Though not particularly conspicuous in the heavily male-centric epigraphy of the Greek *polis*, there is in fact substantive evidence for the organisation of women as a well-ordered cultic association during specific ritual occasions. Beyond the fairly nebulous, usually unregulated Dionysiac *thiasoi*, such associations were reflectively or consciously modelled on the Greek *polis*, just as Aristophanes had it: the joke rang true because it had some basis in reality.

This paper proposes to analyse a few cases where such a political and associative framework is evident, particularly from Athens, the Peloponnese, Caria and Phrygia. It is clear that women celebrating the Thesmophoria in Attic demes appointed the female equivalents of archons who were responsible for the good performance of the rites along with the priestesses (Is. 8.19–20, *LSS* 124). This finds an echo in later, but fairly ample evidence for female ἀρχίδες (vel sim.) in various other communities, whose responsibility was without doubt to preside over the body of wives of citizens. Indeed, in the Roman period, these forms of organisation became perhaps even more prominent, going for example as far as the identification of a separate ‘city of women’, which could be called to assembly during the Heraia at the sanctuary of Zeus at Panamara (*I. Strat.* 149, 174, and 352; cp. also possibly *I. Str.* 666 for Lagina).

For the most part, our evidence for rules relating to this group normally do not appear to issue from the women themselves qua association (cp. e.g. *LSAM* 73 at Halicarnassus). In some cases, though, they might well have. A few Hellenistic fragments allude to official enactments or resolutions on the part of constituted groups of women (at Athens, *LSS* 127, 4; at Mylasa, *LSAM* 61, 5). This finds an even more explicit form in a decree of a *koinon* of priestesses of Demeter at Mantinea (*JG* V,2 266, 46–43 BC), as well as in a new honorific inscription by “Greek and Roman women” from Akmonia (AD 6/7; not exceptional, *pace* Thonemann 2010). It would thus appear that associations of women could self-regulate and pass decrees.

What can we say about the rules concerning, or emanating from, these female bodies? The relevant civic decrees were primarily concerned with traditional religious practice or with the related subject of *gynaikonomia*, maintaining good order in female matters. The concerns of the female associations themselves were essentially the same: performance of the *nomizomena*, definition or elaboration on the role of a priestess, and strikingly, the passing of honorific decrees, just like the Greek *polis* and its other groups. Despite their seeming exceptionality, groups of women therefore conform to what one observes of several other associations: they are envisaged as a well-ordered cult group; they are subject to polis or sub-civic regulations, yet remain self-regulating to some degree. But while one might at first glance suppose that the women formed essentially a ‘private’ cult association, in fact they have all the appearances and trappings of an inclusive and non-facultative public body, of a ‘polis’ of their own. The upshot of this discussion will therefore contribute to the ongoing reconsideration of what is really meant by a ‘private’ association.

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3. Annelies Cazemier (University of Copenhagen), ‘Religious order(s): ancient associations and divine authority’

It is the aim of this paper to assemble and assess evidence for the involvement of gods in the rules and regulations of private associations in the Greek-speaking world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. While on the one hand ancient deities (through oracular consultations or appearances in dreams) could be seen to provide instructions which lay at the very foundation of private societies and which inspired the ritual norms upheld by these groups, divine authority had a role to play also in the enforcement of religious and other rules (through oaths, curses, and fines payable to the gods). Two important examples of associational rules backed by divine authority are: 1) regulations from Philadelphia in Lydia concerning a household cult involving Zeus Eumenes and other gods (LSAM 20); and 2) regulations from Laurion in Attica concerning a sanctuary of the god Men, surviving in two different versions (IG II2 1365 and 1366). It is probably not a coincidence that each of these texts concerns the foundation of a private cult, thus making it pertinent to spell out rules regarding purity and sacrifices, with the proclaimed divine source providing religious legitimacy. After comparing and contrasting the nature of the rules in both texts, and the repercussions of disobedience mentioned in them, I shall try and place the documents in a wider religious and associational context and ask how common or exceptional they were. Is the role of divine authority in these and other texts inspired by specific religious or cultural traditions, and/or does it tell us something about the nature of ancient associations more generally? How significant was religious authority for maintaining order?

4. María Paz de Hoz (Universidad de Salamanca), ‘Rules and regulations of associations in ancient Lydia’

Aim of my contribution is to study the rules and regulations in the Lydian associations. Special focus will be put on a private association of Philadelphia, that has left us a long inscription with regulations that present many interesting characteristics, some of them unique for its time. They are most of them of moral character and have a strong relation with religion. Many aspects of these regulations can be compared with aspects of religious inscriptions in Lydia, especially of the so-called confession inscriptions. Both the confession inscriptions and the regulations of the Philadelphia association seem aiming to create a ‘well ordered society’. The same can be said of another interesting Lydian inscription establishing professional regulations of an association. The relation of these regulations with state requirements in aspects concerning professional building will be examined and compared with other similar professional regulations. With these two main inscriptions as focus, all possible references to rules and regulations in the Lydian private associations will be searched for and studied, paying attention to the values they presuppose, to the methods of agreeing to the regulations, of imposing penalties and what sort of penalties, and to what aspects of the life they cover.

5. Benedikt Eckhardt (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster), ‘Regulations on absence and obligatory participation in ancient associations’

Presence and absence of members are basic factors for the survival of groups with voluntary membership, where participation is not a self-evident necessity. Athenian inscriptions from the 4th century BCE to the 2nd century CE contain regulations on fines to be paid by members who did not participate in a meeting without a good excuse. Similar regulations were established by associations in such different environments as Physkos in Lokris, Tebtynis in the Fayyum, Khirbet Qumran in Judea, and (possibly) Palmyra in the Syrian desert. In addition to the internal need of establishing group cohesion (and cash flow), external pressure could emerge, as when benefactors connected endowments with the explicit demand that all members

of the association come together on a certain day. It is to be asked how this tendency of associations towards obligatory participation relates to the models provided by the respective societies' political and religious spheres – e.g., was obligatory participation in cultic procedures to be expected from any group or community, or were associations exceptional in this regard? Did the perils of voluntary membership lead to the development of more strictly regulated and even coercive “parallel societies”?

A further point is connected to this first set of questions. Regulations punishing ill-founded absence from meetings point to voluntariness of belonging as the main difference between associations and civic subdivisions. They therefore raise the general problem: how could associations expect their laws to be effective if members avoided internal jurisdiction by simply not showing up? Egyptian associations from the Hellenistic and Roman periods invest the president with the authority to enter the house of a disobedient member or to arrest him on the street. The Dionysiac artists – a special case – obtained a letter from Hadrian stating that whoever had entered the association was bound by its laws; they were thus able to draw on the Roman administration's capacities of law-enforcement. Other groups clearly were unable to enforce participation, as in the famous case of the *collegium Iovis Cerneni* in Alburnus Maior which was dissolved for lack of active members. Is it possible to develop a typology of relations between associations and unwilling members?

6. Kasper G. Evers (University of Copenhagen), ‘The Eurasian comparandum: rules and regulations of associations in ancient India and early medieval China’

A central issue in the study of ancient associations is the rules and regulations they created in order to give themselves organisational existence and achieve their objectives. Numerous studies have dealt with either ‘Greek’ or ‘Roman’ associations, the geographical and linguistic divide between Greek-speaking East and Latin-speaking West, however, rendering any attempt at a synthesis on the matter, or even a comparative study, difficult, to say the least. That being said, it appears that ‘il fenomeno associativo’ by tacit assumption comprises the entire Mediterranean as an area of potential study — causality, interaction, and a common chronological framework being the fundamental premises.

However, associations are not a phenomenon restricted in time and space to Greco-Roman Antiquity. In fact, remarkably similar organisations are attested along one of the major Eurasian arteries, that is, from ancient India as early as the 1st century BCE onwards, up through Gandhara and the Tarim Basin of the 1st–3rd centuries CE, reaching westernmost China from as early as the 4th century CE. Accordingly, even a superficial survey of similarities and differences between the rules and regulations of Greek, Roman, Indian, and Chinese associations is of interest, as it is bound to generate insights into institutional parallels and divergences.

Undeniably, this is a huge field of study, but by focusing narrowly on the association-phenomenon in its different guises, it might be possible to sketch an outline of the institutional characteristics and development of this kind of organisation in early Eurasia. First and foremost, though, this paper is designed to pose questions, not answer them, and this modest aim will be achieved through contrasting the statutes of Greek and Roman associations with those of their more or less contemporary Indian and later Chinese counterparts, the main focus of this brief comparative analysis being the different kinds of documents attesting rules, values and their enforcement.

7. Nikos Giannakopoulos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), 'Admission rules and financial obligations in private associations: norms and deviations'

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the rules of admission into private associations and the financial obligations imposed on existing members. Although such practices are quite rightly regarded as omnipresent in the world of private associations, concrete evidence is reduced in a rather restricted number of inscriptions, coming mainly from Attica, but also from other parts of the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands. After classifying these rules in four broad categories according to their content (scrutiny of candidates, entrance-fees, regular contributions, charges imposed for specific purposes), we focus on the values endorsed by them and on their relation with the broader socio-political context.

Mechanisms of scrutiny indicate an effort to secure in advance that the new-comers possessed the necessary moral qualities which guaranteed the proper function of the groups which received them. The various financial obligations may be viewed not only instrumentally (as a source of income) but also sociologically (as material proofs of the members' *eunoia* towards the group and of their commitment to a common cause). The amount of these contributions is evaluated as a factor determining the audience to which associations addressed themselves.

Admission rules often promoted a privileged treatment of descendants of members through lower entrance-fees and exceptions from *dokimasia*. The relevant provisions date to the Imperial Period and may be seen as means of securing the continuous presence of certain already tested families in the respective associations; this phenomenon should be related to a similar tendency also observed in the civic councils. However, the emphasis on the conservative values of family tradition did not lead to the transformation of associations to completely exclusive groups. Persons outside the family-circles of existing members could pay higher entrance-fees and thus prove their *philotimia* and *eunoia* so as to achieve membership. Moreover, the right to introduce new members and the various immunities awarded to generous associates demonstrate that the highly valued social behaviour of a *euergetes* could lead associations to allow for deviations from their norms which were presented as high honours stemming from impressive services but at the same time functioned as marks of internal hierarchy. In this respect, associations drew on commonly accepted models of behaviour and integrated into their own world the dominant social values, but they did so in a particular way which suited their own purposes.

8. Cassandre Hartenstein (Université de Strasbourg), 'Les associations égyptiennes et leur justice interne'

La prévention d'éventuels conflits entre confrères et de manquements à l'égard de l'association est un point essentiel des règlements égyptiens, qu'ils soient rédigés en grec ou en démotique. En effet, tous ont en commun de lister des séries d'obligations dont l'objectif est de maintenir des valeurs, telles que l'entraide, au sein de la communauté. Chaque membre est tenu de signer cette charte lors de son entrée dans l'association, puis chaque année au moment de sa recopie sur un nouveau support, acceptant ainsi d'en respecter les règles.

Les associations doivent trouver un moyen de dissuader leurs membres de contrevenir à leurs lois, c'est pourquoi dans les règlements, chaque infraction envisagée correspond à une sanction (souvent pécuniaire). Ce système laisse toutefois transparaître des limites : que se passe-t-il lorsqu'une infraction commise n'est pas prévue à l'avance, ou qu'aucune solution n'est trouvée si un conflit éclate ? Si le système judiciaire associatif ne suffit pas, y a-t-il une possibilité de recourir à la justice égyptienne ?

En s'appuyant sur les sources grecques et démotiques, cette communication vise à présenter les types d'obligations et de sanctions que l'on trouve dans les règlements égyptiens (sont-elles communes à tous les textes ? Concernent-elles des aspects autres que l'organisation pratique

des activités communes ?), et les moyens employés par les associations pour que les membres consentent à appliquer ces lois.

9. Sofia Kravaritou (Archaeological Institute for Thessalian Studies, Volos), ‘From *hypostoloi* and *synsitoi* to *hylouroi* and *zoriastai*. Thessalian associations at work’

Though significant light has been shed on Greek voluntary associations during the last few decades and our knowledge of them is steadily increasing, Thessalian associations are practically unknown. This is due to the sparse and very fragmentary evidence which results from the absence of intense research activity on Thessalian society as a whole.

Following an introduction to the nature of the Thessalian associational environment, this paper aims to focus and further develop the issue of the functional aspects of the local groups in question. The available epigraphic and archaeological evidence, though preserved usually in fragments, puts forward the existence of certain applicable rules and, furthermore, hints to certain aspects of their external impact. Surely, it is not by chance that most of the attested groups display cult activity in honour of divinities traditionally (e.g. Heracles, Poseidon) or dynamically (e.g. Isiac cults) involved in the making and development of Thessalian civic and ethnic identities.

10. Ursula Kunnert (Universität Zürich), ‘«... it is not lawful to sell his share ...» Rules and regulations of associations using collective tombs abroad’

Several inscriptions in the territory of the ancient city of Lamos in Cilicia Tracheia provide an interesting insight into the rules and regulations made by private associations with respect to the use of collective burial sites. Many of the members of the concerned groups are immigrants from the Pamphylian city of Selge. Through a set of rules for themselves and their immediate families they have regulated the privilege to be buried in the common tombs.

Apart from scattered references, this series of inscriptions had almost faded into obscurity. Based on a thorough presentation and study of the epigraphic testimonia of these communities from Roman Cilicia, I will try to demonstrate the significance of the rules and regulations for the functioning of the *koina* as well as for the integration of these groups of non-citizens into the city of Lamos. Therefore the set of rules, their implementation and the fines in case of non-compliance will be set in the wider context of norms and values that are known in the native town and the adopted home.

11. Micaela Langellotti (King’s College London), ‘Private associations in the economy and society of early Roman Tebtunis’

This paper aims to investigate the role played by private associations (*sunodoi*) in the economy and society of an Egyptian village in the early Roman period. The village is Tebtunis in the Fayum, and the main evidence is provided by the first-century *grapheion* archive of Kronion. In the *grapheion* archive at least thirteen associations are attested, including the associations of weavers, of *apolusimoi* and of salt-merchants. Every year associations renewed their rules and registered them at the *grapheion* with an up-to-date list of members. Some had a clear economic purpose (e.g. of weavers), some had a more religious character (e.g. of Harpokrates), but all had an intrinsic social nature – members, for example, were obliged to meet up regularly (on penalty of a fine) and go for dinner together.

Starting from the analysis of the regulations of two associations attested at Tebtunis, of the *apolusimoi* and of the salt-merchants, I will investigate the nature of the relationship between

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associations and village economy and life. A number of transactions were entered into at the record office both collectively and individually by members of various associations, revealing important features of the involvement of associations in the rural economy, such as the solidarity and mutual support in facilitating financial dealings.

The aim of this paper is to establish how and to what extent the regulations of the Tebtunis associations had an impact on the economy of rural society, and whether these rules could have modified the economic behaviour in the village.

### 12. Stella Skaltsa (University of Copenhagen), 'Associations and spatial organization: regulating space and social interaction in the post-classical *polis*'

The paper explores the relationship between the associations' rules and the shaping and organization of their physical space. It explores the influence these rules exerted on social norms and behaviour and their impact on the physical setting within which association groups met and engaged in a range of activities (e.g., religious or social). Association statutes often provide information about admission rules throwing light on the inclusivity or exclusivity of the groups' membership profile. It can be taken for granted that membership was the open sesame to the place(s) where associations met, and it can thus be considered an important factor in terms of regulating access to certain places. A closer examination, however, of the available epigraphic sources and the extant archaeological remains provide us with a rather nuanced picture: e.g., in Dionysiac groups, space seems to have been tightly regulated and elaborately configured in an attempt to cater for the specific needs of its members (e.g., the Iobakcheion in Athens and the 'Podiumsaal' in Pergamon), while in other instances (Asklepiastai in the hinterland of Pergamon, Amphieraistai at Rhamnous), accessibility to specific locales appears to have been less restricted. What did these rules try to regulate? How did they affect the organization of physical space? By investigating how space was regulated, used and shaped, the paper attempts to shed further light on the associations' complex web of societal and cultural interaction.

### 13. Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen (University of Copenhagen), 'Associations, the law and the making of an ancient Greek civil society'

Civil Society is among the most popular, but also most hotly contended, concepts within political science. Caught halfway between socio-political ideal and empirical observation. From this debate Civil Society comes off as something that ought to be rather than something that is. This might be thought to render Civil Society useless for analytical purposes. Nevertheless, this paper will argue that the heuristic value of the concept lies exactly in its ambiguity and that debate over what constitutes civility predates the modern concept of Civil Society by millennia.

The modern debate on Civil Society has focused intensely on the adherence by non-public associations to certain norms of behaviour, particularly the rule of law. With this debate in mind this paper re-examines ancient debates on the role of private associations in the ancient world, a debate that in many ways resemble the modern politically charged debate over who belong and who do not belong in "civil" Civil Society.

From here the paper turns to another aspect of the modern Civil Society debate, namely the potential of permanent associations through consent and active support to legitimise policies and political agents. Based on a few cases from the late Hellenistic period the paper argues for the important role played by private associations in establishing a link between state and society, between elites and masses and for the existence of an ancient Greek Civil Society.

14. Nicolas Tran (Université de Poitiers), ‘*Ordo corporatorum*: epigraphic habit in Ostia and the rules of Roman associations (II – III c. A.D.)’

The so-called *leges collegiorum* are long inscriptions, which contain some rules imposed to members of Roman associations. They form a very narrow category of documents, in general and among the inscriptions engraved by those communities. A few of them, such as the *lex collegii* of the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* from *Lanuuium* or the *lex familiae Siluani* from *Trebula Mutuesca*, are very famous, not only because they shed light on very concrete aspects of associative life, but also because it is extremely rare to conserve this kind of information. Roman *collegia* have engraved laws in very specific circumstances, mostly in order to commemorate an euergetic gesture and its prescriptions. So, the content of these texts is a bit disappointing, for one who would expect a global description of associative structures. Roman associations had rules, but most of the time they did not inscribe them on stone. Of course, a study on associative regulations cannot ignore the *leges collegiorum*, which are also interesting in a comparative approach between ancient societies. As a result, the information given by the *leges* has to be summed up and then compared to the other categories of inscriptions produced by Roman associations. Lists of members, decrees, homages, religious dedications or associative titles inscribed on epitaphs reflect inner regulations. This whole epigraphic production reveals a scrupulous attention paid to formal procedures and internal hierarchies. Thereby, associations tend to define themselves as *ordines*, even if a Roman association was not a “real” *ordo*, i.e. an official status-group whose membership depended on a public decision. Members were expected to observe rules and values inspired by the civic model, because this behaviour and its epigraphic display was a source of social prestige for the whole group. The city of Ostia, during the second and third centuries, provides a great viewpoint on this phenomenon. Indeed, numerous *collegia* and *corpora* have let many inscriptions of all kinds, especially lists of members often defined as *ordines corporatorum*.

15. Andreas Victor Walser (DAI München), ‘Miletus and its associations – The interaction between the *polis* and its associations in the Hellenistic and Roman period’

The city of Miletus was over time home of a variety of associations of very different forms: associations of traders and of craftsmen, the world-wide association of the Dionysiac artists with its local branch and a wide array of religious cult associations both small and large. These associations played very different roles within the Milesian polis. The Molpoi, the cult association of Apollo Delphinios, had from Archaic times through to the Roman imperial period important functions in the civic life of the city, with its chairman acting as the eponymous magistrate of the polis. Others, like the various associations of so-called *themenitai*, small religious groups of citizens or foreigners, seem to have interacted little with the polis. Still others, like the artists’ association, dealt with the polis at times as a largely independent party, in a relationship that was not always free of conflict.

With few exceptions, we know little about the substance of the rules and regulations that governed the inner working of these various associations. However, the evidence allows to observe different modes in which such regulations were set up and enacted. Most importantly, it emphasizes the important role of the polis that assigned to these associations their specific place within its institutional framework, confirmed statutes drafted by the groups themselves, but also set rules that defined an association’s obligations towards the citizens and enforced them when necessary. At times, it took up the interests of an association and acted as mediator in dealings with foreign authorities, especially the Roman state.

Based primarily on the evidence from Miletus, the paper aims to analyze the ways in which a polis acted for, together with, or against its associations in establishing and enforcing rules that primarily concerned a specific group, but had consequences for the city as a whole.

16. Sophia Zoumbaki (KERA Athens), 'Private affairs in a public domain: internal regulations and social impact of religious associations from the Peloponnese in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial period'

This paper focuses on three different case studies of religious associations from the Peloponnese: the first concerns several associations from Mantinea dated from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and all focussed on traditional cults of the town. The snapshots preserved by the epigraphic sources show that the organizations enjoyed a fully organized life, including such elements as regulations, members with particular and clearly defined competences and responsibilities, ceremonies and common banquets, income and property. The rituals and practices involved in these procedures are regulated by the association's internal prescriptions, whilst failure to follow these rules is punished. The safeguarding of the integrity of the process and the imposition of punishment is the responsibility of the civic authorities. The attestation of endowments to synods and the general care bestowed on them on the part of prominent citizens of the town show that the associations had a vivid and respected presence in public life.

The second case-study, from Argos, employs documents that shed light on the association of the *Phaenistai*. This group does not appear to be attached to any traditional cult. As its name suggests, it was centred on a private individual, Phaenos/Phaena, its founder or an individual in whose honour the association is devoted, the honours in question being perhaps posthumous and heroic. Parallels from other places show that heroization and establishment of ceremonies in the memory of the deceased are to be found within families of a relatively high social and economic status. A fragmentary decree of the *Phaenistai* shows that the synod had an organized annual programme and an impact on the community, since a prominent couple displays considerable euergetic activity towards the association.

The third case study concerns the so-called *thiasos artokreonikos* attested in Kenchreai, most probably devoted to Dionysiac mysteries and dated by the editor of the inscription, Joseph Rife, to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD. This group is apparently to be placed in the context of the vivid society and the intense economic life of one of Corinth's ports, where different groups of a population of varied origin and cultures sought collective identities. The short honorific inscription, whilst giving no insight into the regulations of the group, does offer some information indirectly.

Although the original set of regulations is not preserved in any of these cases, we attempt on the basis of the available documents to reconstruct their main features, which were apparently specified right from their foundation. The presence of the associations in the public sphere of the community and the impact they had on it seem to be determined by a combination of both the nature of the associations and the type of the society that hosted them.

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