

*Associations' Regulations from the Ancient
Greek World and Beyond
An Introduction*

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The Book's Subject and Aims

Private Associations in the Ancient Greek World investigates the rules and regulations produced by ancient private associations in an attempt to show why and how associations were creating a system of well-ordered groups within their communities. Regulations represent, in fact, an understudied aspect of ancient associative life: this book aims to fill this gap by approaching the well-known phenomenon of ancient associations from a new angle. It analyses the organisational structures, legislative mechanisms and features of associations, while at the same time investigating the potential models from – and interrelations with – the habits and strategies of political institutions. It also provides an assessment of the associations' impact on the broader socio-cultural and physical environment and of their role in local societies, thanks to the establishment of such regulations. The book explores the ideology, values, ideas and aspects of identity embedded in the regulations as ways adopted by associations to create a specific profile to present to the outside world, as well as to members (both existing and future).

Although regulations of associations received attention in the classic accounts on the subject,¹ this was generally done in connection with commentaries on specific individual inscriptions, particularly rich in detail concerning the organisational and administrative aspects of associations.² Later works were even less systematic. The same generally applies to the papyri too: treatment of the subject took the form of learned commentaries on individual Greek or Demotic texts, typically in connection with their

¹ Foucart 1873, Ziebarth 1896, Waltzing 1895–1900 and Poland 1909.

² For instance, the regulations of the *Iobacchoi* (*IG* II² 1368; *LSCG* 51 = *CAPInv.* 339, with Poland 1909: 67–8 and *passim*, cf. A59; Tod 1932: 71–93; Moretti 1986; Jaccottet 2011) or the *hieros nomos* from Philadelphia (Keil and von Premerstein 1914: 18–21 no 18; *TAM* V.3 1539; *Syll.*³ 985 = *CAPInv.* 348, with Weinreich 1919; Barton and Horsley 1981).

publication.³ On the whole, none of these works on associations made the regulations the object of a systematic study, let alone sought to contextualise the historical significance of the phenomenon.⁴ Some broader overarching issues were, however, addressed in connection with the Egyptian material: the main question was whether the rules, along with the system of governance they imply, represented an independent Egyptian tradition, which was adopted by the Greek-speakers in Egypt,⁵ or a single, common Greek–Egyptian tradition, probably originating from Greece.⁶ Furthermore, more recent studies on Egypt have aptly started to analyse associations’ rules with a focus on issues of membership, social standing and personal connections in different localities during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.⁷ However, further issues remain to be addressed regarding the phenomenon not only within Graeco-Roman Egypt, but also outside of its boundaries.

The geographical focus of the investigation is the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, based on at least two reasons. First, the book is linked with the work done on the Inventory of Ancient Associations, an open-access online database of all known private associations attested in the Greek-speaking world from ca 500 BC to ca AD 300.⁸ Second, the analysis aims at uncovering similarities as well as differences in a comparative outlook within a common cultural sphere: the chapters of this book, by various international specialists, study specific aspects of associations’ regulations from selected regions of the Greek-speaking world. Furthermore, the investigation concentrates on the Hellenistic and Imperial times, as most of the evidence on the subject dates from those periods.

The approach adopted in this book is therefore cautiously selective. However, in order to provide a strong comparative perspective and to give

³ For instance, Boak 1937a; Boak 1937b (on *P.Mich* V 243, 244, 245); Norsa 1937 (on *PSI* XII 1265); de Cenival 1972: 3–10 (on *P.Lille Dem.* I 29) and 103–7 (on *P.Berlin Dem.* 3115); Arlt and Monson 2013 (= *P.Bagnall* 42 = *P.Stanford Green Dem. inv.* 21).

⁴ Close attempts in this direction are de Cenival 1972 (although providing a comprehensive and detailed study of all the Demotic material on the subject available at the time, this work fails to provide a larger historical analysis of the phenomenon in all its complexity and potentiality) and Schnöckel 2006 (re-edition of a 1956 doctoral dissertation, focusing on the regulations from the Tebtynis *grapheion* in early Roman Egypt). On the other hand, Muszynski 1977 is a descriptive work with limited scope.

⁵ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936: 72–7; Muszynski 1977: 160–1.

⁶ Boak 1937b: 219–20; Muhs 2001: 5.

⁷ See, for instance, Muhs 2001; Monson 2007; Venticinque 2010.

⁸ See <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/>; each association recorded in the online Inventory of Ancient Associations is referred to by its unique identifier (*CAPInv.* #). This work was an international collaboration between forty specialists of various regions of antiquity and the principal outcome of the Copenhagen Association Project, generously funded by the Carlsberg Foundation.

a taste of the global character of the phenomenon of private associations (even in their legislative habits), we thought it important to include two case studies of associations operating outside our main area of enquiry (both geographically and temporally) with two different approaches: one follows within the path of tradition and looks at the associations of the Roman West, namely, at Ostia, whereas the other provides a new and unconventional perspective by bringing into the picture associations from ancient and medieval Asia, namely, from India and China. Thus, the content coverage, though selective, is ample, as it reaches beyond Greece and Asia Minor and includes Egypt, Ostia and the East.⁹ By the same token, the book encompasses different (socio-political) local realities and source material of a different nature. This obviously results in a great variety of contexts and the reader should not expect absolute uniformity. Although potentially confusing or discouraging at first, such diversity represents the biggest value of this analysis: it allows the reader to better appreciate the world of associations and their normative attitudes in all their richness, while anchoring them in the specificities of their various local societies, from which they cannot be abstracted. Such a wide-ranging comparative approach produces a new perspective, which challenges us to cross the confines of traditional scholarly attitudes – for instance, the Hellenocentric view of the polis – in favour of a broader outlook.

Thanks to its comparative efforts, it is hoped that the book may be of interest to a wider readership, not only to specialists of associations and to those interested in the social, legal, administrative and religious histories of the Greek and Roman worlds, but also to historians and specialists of other periods and geographical areas. As a matter of fact, the comparative results gained in the volume encourage us all to have an open mind and be aware of the broader perspective, considering relevant developments of social phenomena outside of the confines of one's specialisation. Through the comprehensive and comparative analysis of different aspects of rules of associations, through the focus on the legal and institutional workings of non-state entities, on their regulation of space and on their interaction and reciprocal dialogue with local realities (both public and private), this volume aspires to make a new, independent – albeit perhaps modest – contribution to the field.

⁹ Despite our best efforts, we were unable to include a systematic treatment uniquely devoted to the rich Demotic material. However, the Demotic regulations are exploited in various chapters of the volume (for instance, in Chapter 3 by Eckhardt, Chapter 6 by Arnaoutoglou, Chapter 8 by Langellotti and Chapter 10 by Evers) in connection with the larger analysis of specific aspects of normative behaviours by associations.

The chapters of this book adopt a threefold approach for their inquiries into the world of associations' regulations: a descriptive approach (by presenting the main aspects of organisational life and its ideology, beliefs, principles and values), a comparative approach (by relating associations' norms and procedures with those known to apply in other local institutional environments) and a contextualising approach (by investigating the wider role played by associations in their society thanks to their self-presentation as normative micro-systems). The last two approaches in particular have never before been applied to the topic of ancient associations.

What Is a Private Association?

Answering this question means identifying the clear object of investigation of the present volume. Both constituent elements of this notion need to be addressed: first, despite the intrinsic difficulties of providing universally valid and univocal definitions for ancient realities, we shall try to explain how we can identify an ancient association; second, we shall clarify what we mean by the term 'private'. It should be stated clearly that such an interest in a definition of the term is a modern scholarly concern: the ancients never spelt out of what they considered an association. However, the need for such a definition is no trivial matter, as it is fundamental for the selection of the material, in the interest of a stronger validity of research outputs. In this respect, we adopt a rather restrictive approach – often stricter than others – in order to identify a private association with some certainty: there is in fact a set of criteria that needs to be met.¹⁰

We understand an association to be a group of individuals gathering together as a body with some sense of self-identity (often expressed with general terms for 'association', such as *koinon*, *thiasos*, *synodos*, *collegium* and *corpus*, as well as with specific collective proper names, which encompass a variety of possible elements, from names of deities or activities to place names – also in combination), some form of organised structure (with more or less elaborate or codified regulations concerning membership and organisation) and some desire for a durable existence. They met in meetings or assemblies on more or less regular occasions for the most disparate reasons and with the most varied purposes and often behaved in

¹⁰ For a lengthier discussion of the criteria defining private associations, see Gabrielsen and Thomsen 2015 and <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAP1/intro-criteria.php>. See also Harland 2009: 26–35.

their dealings as a corporate body would. The terms employed (by associations themselves and by others) in the ancient sources to identify these realities are various but they mostly recall an idea of 'being, gathering, performing, possessing something together, as a community' – from the Greek term *koinon* to the Latin word *collegium*, for instance – thus showing how important the value of communality and, to some extent, some aspects of communal life were for associations' identity.¹¹ As associations' regulations clearly show, their members, besides being clearly defined vis-à-vis non-members (through criteria decided by themselves), were (expected to be) characterised by a relatively high degree of bonding, intimacy, solidarity, commitment and social cohesion.¹² Conversely, by the term 'private' we mean that associations were neither state-run institutions nor organisations established by the state: they were formed and managed by private individuals, with private funds and with self-government; they were not established as constituent parts of the constitutional features of the political communities where they were active. However, their private nature does not mean that they did not play any role in the public life of their communities; quite the opposite: they were not directly determined and run by the state but were very much embedded in, open to and projected towards the life of their local communities, which they in fact greatly influenced and by which they were influenced.

At the same time, private associations were quite distinct from other private groups, equally positioned outside of the constitutional spectrum of political or administrative institutions but characterised by a fundamentally different nature. These groups can be generically arranged under three headings: 'informal groups', 'ad hoc groups' and partnerships.

1. 'Informal groups' are a loosely knit type. Members' entrance/exit is often not only largely unregulated by formal rules but probably also undefined: individuals can join or leave the group without needing approval or notifying the other members. Likewise, formal meetings at which all members assemble might not occur at all. Additionally, even if some have a continuous (rather than temporary) existence, all groups belonging to this kind typically do not display any of the fundamental features that usually indicate a specific collective identity, such as a

¹¹ One should, however, note that some degree of polysemy existed: for instance, the Greek word *koinon* was employed to define a great range of disparate entities, from (private) associations to political communities such as federations or leagues.

¹² See Harland 2005: 493 for justified scepticism towards the view that, unlike Christian groups, associations lacked a developed sense of community.

collective proper name (for instance, the *Eikadeis*) and/or general designations for their group as a whole, such as the Greek terms *koinon*, *orgeones*, *thiasotail/thiasos*, *eranistail/eranos*, and so on. Demades and his friends in late fourth-century BC Athens are an example of such an informal group: high-profile people involved in politics, the navy and the grain trade, who shared common financial interests, helped each other and adopted concerted strategies for their own (economic) advantages.¹³

2. 'Ad hoc groups' were formed for the specific performance of a limited and specific task and did not extend their sphere of interest or sometimes even active existence beyond that occasion. These could include the so-called ad hoc cult groups or those age groups not embedded in the political constitution of the hosting community but, for instance, organised for a specific festival, event or ceremony. Although some had some form of collective identity and names, as well as potential rules of entry and exit, they do not display any other signs of more complex formal organisation (developed internal organisation, property, extended duration, etc.). An example of this may be the so-called *Thyadai*: a group of women who were active in the performance of rituals connected to the cult of Dionysus at Delphi.¹⁴

3. In partnerships (especially business partnerships), members are clearly defined, closely knit and probably also intimate, but by virtue of a written or unwritten legal contract between them. Besides stating (a) the purpose of their union, which is the group's *raison d'être*, this contract specifies (b) the duties and privileges of each member and (c) the duration of the group's existence, typically a (short) period of time that coincides with the completion of the stated purpose. After this time, the validity of the contract binding the members is dissolved. The holding of common property may result in added complications, as this would in fact have to be sold and its price redistributed amongst the former members when the partnership ended. The contractual character of partnerships and the nature of their activities give rise to certain legal requirements that the members have to meet in their dealings, especially vis-à-vis third parties: for this reason, partnerships might use one or more features of collective identity, such as a proper name. Partnerships, therefore, bear a resemblance to our associations. However, the majority of partnerships' fundamental features, not least their predetermined time of expiry, set them

¹³ See Gabrielsen 2015.

¹⁴ The term *thiasos*, if it was ever applied to the *Thyadai*, would most probably have meant simply worshippers. See e.g. [Plut.] *Moralia* 293d and 365a, with McInerney 1997: esp. 269 and 272.

apart from associations proper. An example of a partnership is the consortium of 'those gathering under the poplar tree' at Athens: a group of individuals who collectively purchased from the state the right to collect the *pentekoste* (the 2 per cent *ad valorem* tax) in 402/1 BC.¹⁵

Hybrid forms – between 'informal groups', 'ad hoc groups', partnerships and private associations proper – arguably existed. So far, they have largely remained unidentified. For analytical purposes, it is therefore preferable to regard them as theoretically distinct.¹⁶ On the one hand, associations proper had regulations that stretched beyond the practical and somewhat narrow arrangements of the partnership; partnerships had contracts; on the other hand, mere groups needed nothing of the kind, because they could manage simply with an informal 'common understanding' among participants.

Traditional scholarship has tended to divide private associations into different types, giving them various general labels: trade/craft associations, professional associations, cult associations, religious associations and the like. This was done for practical reasons, in an attempt to give some structure to a complex phenomenon, which could often prove itself too confusing and too unsystematic for modern minds. Influenced – unconsciously or not – by the world of medieval and modern professional guilds and religious confraternities, historians have generally considered these types as fundamentally different sorts of organisations categorised on the basis of the alleged individual nature and main *raison d'être* of such associations. In many cases, such identification was mainly or solely based on the association's name, because little beyond that is often known from the sources: a group named *Apolloniastai*, for instance, would be labelled a 'cult association' and their existence would be linked to the worship of the god Apollo, whereas a weavers' club would be defined as a professional association, the activities of which were essentially believed to serve the purpose of facilitating their trade. However, things are more complex: although associations' names certainly advertised an image of the group and did have a meaning in connection with (one of) the characters that the group decided to project to the outer world at the time when the association chose its name, virtually nothing certain can be deduced from associations' names concerning their actual nature, activities, motives and

¹⁵ And. 1.133–4. See Gabrielsen 2016b: 94–5.

¹⁶ Associations and groups are treated indiscriminately in the essays collected in Fröhlich and Hamon 2013a. For the reason stated, 'Gruppenreligionen' in Rüpke 2007 may also be regarded as too vague a concept, not differentiating sufficiently between associations and other kinds of groups.

agenda – one of the first scholars of ancient associations had already remarked that ‘the name of an association does not have to signify its purpose’.¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the idea itself that an association had one sole nature or central purpose – together with our ability to identify it – is questionable: in those cases in which we know more about the activities and existence of an association, at a closer look we often see that the association’s aims and interests were various and stretched beyond the confines of what its name or assigned ‘type’ might suggest.¹⁸ The traditional division of ancient associations into types has therefore fallen short and is being rightly challenged.¹⁹ Although convenient for the sake of classification and often also maintained in more recent scholarship (even in some of the chapters of this volume), in our view such a division is misleading and historically imprecise; therefore, it should be employed without dogmatic value and with caution – or, better still, it should be avoided altogether.

A recent trend in the field of ancient history has provided a new theoretical framework for the study of associations: the concept of networks. Interest in phenomena and realities beyond or outside the traditional poleis and the elements encompassed in their constitutional framework has gained momentum and has triggered the development of this different methodology for the purpose. One of its aims is to uncover and map out those – often complex – interrelations between various agents operating outside of the traditional categories of the political establishment: these relations are not always adequately visible through the lens of formal institutions or traditional descriptive categories; conversely, they become more clearly perceivable with a network approach. Therefore, such a method intends to highlight and interpret those agents that have been largely ignored in traditional scholarship but potentially did exert a distinct influence on historical change.²⁰ In fact, a steadily growing number of studies seek to understand and explain historical processes of various kinds by using the concept of network as their basic tool of analysis and network theory as the framework of their fundamental assumptions.

¹⁷ ‘Der Name einer Genossenschaft braucht aber doch nicht ihren Zweck anzudeuten’ (Poland 1909: 6). The contemporary Freemasonry is a further example in point: in spite of its name, the association neither gathers nor caters for stonemasons or builders (anymore).

¹⁸ A variety of purposes for associations is also maintained by van Minnen 1987, Harland 2003: 55–87, Gibbs 2011, and Verboven 2011.

¹⁹ See Gabrielsen 2001: esp. 218–19; Harland 2003: 28–53; Arnaoutoglou 2011a.

²⁰ See the essays in Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009 and in Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015a.

Some strive to retrieve the broader but dynamically evolving patterns of interrelations – cultural, technical, economic, and so on – formed through the circulation and use of artefacts over a wider geographical space.²¹ Other studies explore the web of connections established by and between political communities (e.g. mother-cities and their colonies; leagues and confederations).²² Highly promising steps have also been taken in the analysis of networks of cults and in the study of amphictyonies, which have shown rich potential in this respect too.²³ Finally, other studies focus on those networks that are generally described as social and economic networks, because they primarily reflect the organisational choices and connectivity strategies of individuals (rather than of political or large religious entities).²⁴ Associations are positioned within the frame of social, religious and economic networks.

The Regulations of Private Associations

The need to regulate the practicalities of internal organisation and the desire to set some principles for associations' life as a group prompted them to establish regulations. This is the data set that is the main object of investigation of this book: regulations were drawn up in various forms and are preserved both in inscriptions and in papyri, virtually covering the entire time span of antiquity (and beyond). In this respect, the reader should not expect absolute uniformity in the character and typologies in which associations' regulations could be clad, not only as differences could exist depending on place but also because the same association could adopt a variety of legal instruments – at the same moment or over a longer period of time – in order to formally record their dispositions. Furthermore, unwritten customs and traditions also existed and formed – an equally important – part of the system of regulations of associations: although these left no trace in our evidence and therefore cannot be assessed, they should neither be forgotten nor underestimated in their value.

Typologies and formats of the regulations of associations varied (see Table 1.1): they included decrees and contractual agreements, as well as

²¹ Osborne 2009; Fenn and Römer-Strehl 2013. On network theory, in particular: Rutherford 2009, plus the works cited in Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015b: 10–15 and in Davies 2015.

²² Colonies: Malkin 2011 (also with some attention to cults). Leagues: Constantakopoulou 2015.

²³ On networks of cults: Bowden 2009; Davies 2009; see also Eidinow 2011 and Rutherford 2013. On amphictyonies: Hornblower 2009: 39; Malkin 2011: 224; Davies 2015: 252 n. 35.

²⁴ Granovetter 1983; Terpstra 2013; Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015a; Bramoullé, Galeotti and Rogers 2016.

unilateral dispositions such as endowments or foundations, testamentary wills and sacred laws or orders. Furthermore, besides fully formed, self-contained and formal charters, dispositions on different matters and procedures of the association's life could also form part of other documents by associations, from honorific decrees to administrative decisions. Therefore, the body of associations' regulations often had the character of a corpus or a collection rather than of a single normative text: composed of various dispositions contained in and scattered over different documents, these regulations were often drawn up over the course of the association's lifetime, could be added one to another and also adapted to changing circumstances and needs. As established in relevant dispositions appended to associations' texts, the binding validity and force of these regulations was secured by their publicity, accessibility and preservation: associations made sure that members had access to these documents, which were often set up on stone on the association's premises as well as recorded on more perishable materials (tablets and papyrus) to be stored in the association's archives.²⁵ The best known examples of regulations by an association include the rules of the *Iobacchoi*, the name carried by the members of a second-century AD Athenian association which formally called itself 'the *Bakcheion*',²⁶ and the regulations of associations from Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, written in Demotic and Greek. There are some twenty sets of such regulations, often rich in details, the earliest of which dates to the early fourth century BC; they are commonly referred to by modern scholarship as *nomoi*, 'laws', from the name given to them in the Greek papyri.²⁷

For reasons of practicality and theoretical analysis, one may draw a general distinction between two kinds or aspects of these regulations: on the one hand, we find rules relating to administrative matters and procedures; on the other hand, there are rules that focus on members' conduct. For instance, to the former belong rules establishing the

²⁵ The *Koragoi* of Mantinea, for instance, in all likelihood had their own archive where association's records were kept: *IG V.2* 265, l. 46 = *CAPInv.* 428 (see discussion by Zoumbaki in Chapter 7). See also the *synodos* of landowners of Psenemphaia in the Egyptian Delta (*CAPInv.* 1441): *I.Prose* 49, l. 54 (5 BC). On archival practices in antiquity, see, for instance, the papers in Faraguna 2013.

²⁶ *IG II²* 1368; *LSCG* 51 (AD 164/5) = *CAPInv.* 339. On the *Bakcheion* and their rules see also Chapter 2 by Giannakopoulos, Chapter 3 by Eckhardt and Chapter 6 by Arnaoutoglou.

²⁷ On Demotic regulations see de Cenival 1972. The earliest example of association regulations from Egypt (IV cent. BC) is de Cenival 1988 – evidence for associations is, however, older: see, for instance, de Cenival 1986, an account of an association of mortuary priests from the sixth century BC. On the regulations of associations from early Roman Egypt, see also the discussion by Langellotti in Chapter 8.

number, methods, frequency and length of appointment of associations' officials, the regulations about formal decision-making and voting procedures during assemblies and the dispositions about the handling of funds, including the penalties in case of non-compliance. Regulations requiring that members did not drink too much during associations' banquets, did not insult fellow members or sleep with other members' wives belong to the latter. Concerning the regulation of administrative matters, associations were acting as an independent organisation similar to a political community: in this respect, the character of their regulations resembles that of the laws of the state. On the other hand, by establishing rules of conduct, associations appear to be inclined to perform as a 'social' entity: in this respect, they share this trait with no other collective of classical antiquity.²⁸ Strictly speaking, it is only the first that may be immediately associated with the concept of governance, while the second may be largely characterised as behavioural, because it chiefly seeks to provide a code of good conduct: manners, politeness, propriety, courtesy, piety, decorum and so on. In other words, what modern scholarship tends to call civility.²⁹ To the extent that our evidence permits it, the chapters in this volume address both of these aspects.

It is true that in many cases these two kinds of norms not only coexisted side by side (the rules of an association may contain regulations on administrative matters and on members' behaviour) but were also mixed: rules about governance expected the compliance of specific behaviours by the members. For instance, regulations about proper conduct during assemblies or association meetings seem to be concerned as much with civility as with the smooth and effective completion of the business on the meeting's agenda.³⁰ Dispositions concerning the reasons for the award of honours and the type of recognition granted to members and non-members blend issues of governance with issues of decorum and proper behaviour. By establishing honorary awards to associations' officials who performed their duties in an exemplary manner and by allowing them to set up their honorary monument at a (most) conspicuous place on the association's

²⁸ The philosophical schools cannot be used as an objection to this, since they most probably were organised as associations themselves: Haake 2015.

²⁹ These rules of good conduct should be understood in a broad perspective, encompassing also, for instance, the so-called religious rules that codified the performance of rites and regulated worship. Piety, devotion and observance of traditions for the good relationship with the divine were in fact part of the proper behaviour fostered by associations.

³⁰ On this point, see Arnaoutoglou in Chapter 6 and Eckhardt in Chapter 3.

premises, for instance, associations were at the same time setting the expected conduct in office, regulating procedures for granting honours and codifying the management of space.³¹ Moreover, in certain cases even regulations of a religious nature (for instance, rules on purity, on the timely and proper performance of cultic rites and celebrations or concerning the duties of the group's cultic personnel) equally belong to the sphere of the general administration and to that of reverent or pious behaviour. This is even more the case if one considers how important religion was for nearly all associations and how religious concerns shaped the organisation of many associations. Cult and religion played a significant role also in the definition and regulation of space by associations.³² However, the main objective that the regulations on governance and those on conduct aimed at regulating was different in essence: therefore, such a distinction appears helpful, at least from an analytical point of view. In fact, there are instances in which the rules were solely concerned with the behaviour of associations' members, such as those detailed in the *hieros nomos* of Dionysios from Philadelphia (on which more below) or those found in the Demotic papyri with the *nomoi* of associations.³³ Furthermore, the rules of conduct include two elements, which are even further from the rules of governance and from the ideological model offered by the polis: mutual assistance among members, which sometimes is extended to the friends of members,³⁴ and the dispositions regarding the treatment of deceased members, which range from communal funerals and/or 'associational burial' to post-mortuary honours and commemorative celebrations.³⁵ In particular, the first – mutual assistance – underlines the value of *philanthropia* that is cherished by many associations. If the polis honoured good behaviour, associations seem to have demanded it – although they also honoured particularly generous acts by distinguished members.

The ways in which the regulations were validated or officially set up varied: they were often linked to the typology of documents in which the regulations were contained. It is generally assumed that regulations were formulated and validated by the members themselves: this is indeed one

³¹ E.g. the *koinon ton thiasoton* in IG II² 1263 (*CAPInv.* 263; Piraeus, 300/299 BC) and *hoi Sarapiastai* in IG XII Suppl. 365 (*CAPInv.* 17; Thasos, II cent. BC).

³² The importance of religion within associations is underlined in several chapters of this volume; see, for instance, Chapter 4 by Carbon, Chapter 5 by Skaltsa (in particular for the definition of space), Chapter 7 by Zoumbaki, Chapter 8 by Langellotti and Chapter 9 by Tran.

³³ See also Monson 2006.

³⁴ E.g. IG II² 1275, ll. 7–9 (Piraeus, 325–275 BC), concerning a *thiasos* (*CAPInv.* 266).

³⁵ E.g. IG XII.1 155 d I, ll. 38–95 (Rhodes, II cent. BC = *CAPInv.* 10).

of the principal criteria identifying as 'private' a specific association.³⁶ An external imposition of the norms (especially by a political authority) would compromise the association's independent private nature. However, in a number of instances an association's charter – in part, at least – was drawn up and validated by its founder(s) at the inception of the organisation: in this case, the membership's involvement is confined to their commitment to follow the rules. In some cases, the original document incorporating the rules and regulations may formally take the form of a testament. One well-preserved specimen is the testament of Epikteta from Thera, which forms the legal foundation for the establishment of the *koinon tou andreiou ton syngenon*.³⁷ In other cases, the document may somewhat resemble a Great Rhetra, which was drawn up by the founder on the instructions of a divine authority and enshrined in the association's place of assembly in a monumentalised form. An illustrative example of this *may* be the rules (literally 'ordinances' or 'commandments': *paraggelmata*) of the *hieros nomos* of Dionysios from Philadelphia in Lydia: it was certainly so at least in the eyes of Dionysios, drafter of the rules; however, it is uncertain whether Dionysios' wish to attract cult followers did lead to the formation of an association proper.³⁸ A clause ensuring the regulations' validity for eternity and strictly prohibiting alterations to any of its parts is often present.³⁹ Yet, the pre-existence of a 'founding charter' (in testamentary or other form) does not at all preclude the simultaneous existence of a second set of rules, which may be validated, modified, re-affirmed or renewed by the entire membership, as the case may be.⁴⁰

Once regulations were in place, it was necessary to make sure that they were followed. Therefore, their enforcement often occupies an important position within the regulations' dispositions: it is no surprise that all the chapters of this volume address this issue. In fact, although members agreed to abide by the rules set in the association's regulations, the extant documents contain (often detailed) clauses about what is to be done in cases of transgression. The analysis of this aspect has important

³⁶ On voting and decisional practices of private associations in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, for instance, see Paganini 2016.

³⁷ *IG XII.3* 330 (210-195 BC = *CAPInv.* 1645). Worse preserved is a specimen from Halicarnassus: Isager 2014 (*CAPInv.* 840). See also discussion by Skaltsa in Chapter 5.

³⁸ *CAPInv.* 348. See also discussion by Carbon in Chapter 4.

³⁹ E.g. Isager 2014: no 2A (*CAPInv.* 840).

⁴⁰ One clear example of this is the Rhodian second-century BC *Haliadan kai Haliastan koinon* (*CAPInv.* 10): the association possessed a double set of 'laws', one 'unmovable' (ὁ νόμος ὁ ἀκίνητος: *IG XII.1* 155 d.III, ll. 103-4) and the other 'current' (ὁ νόμος ὡς κείται: *ibid.* l. 93), which may be the object of changes.

consequences regarding the values behind associations' regulations and their interplay with local societies. Only a few of these important matters are highlighted here. The venue where the enforcement is said to take place is of consequence: associations could decide to deal with the matter inside or outside the association's purview. Furthermore, a question of authority arises: if matters were dealt with within the associations, those empowered with the right of execution could be the whole membership or a part thereof, such as individual members chosen for the purpose or designated officials. If matters were delegated outside of the association, the enforcement could be exercised within the judicial system of the association's community (e.g. courts of law or local representatives of the political authority) or could be entrusted to one or more divine powers. Finally, one may question the effectiveness of the intended enforcement: most scholars assume that enforcement was indeed effective and that for this reason members usually complied.⁴¹ This may well have been true in most cases but a more definite answer to the question is to be found only in the careful analysis of associations' documents other than the regulations proper: the existence of punitive measures and sanctions in the regulations, which are characteristically normative, is per se not adequate proof of the rules' effectiveness. An investigation of the ultimate means, which an association could use in case of persistent non-compliance towards the internal punitive measures, would in fact illustrate the attitude by associations regarding collaboration with, reliance on or avoidance of external courts of law. However, it is only in very few cases that the evidence at our disposal is sufficient enough to allow some meaningful conclusions on associations' actual attitudes in case of dispute and on the range of mechanisms adopted by them to make sure that members complied with the rules' requirements. It appears that associations preferred procedures for internal dispute resolution, spanning from mediation, peer pressure, threats, fines, physical coercion, confinement to temporal expulsion; the involvement of external judicial systems seems to have been endured when everything else failed, as *extrema ratio* only.⁴² Besides the desire for

⁴¹ For instance, Monson 2006; Venticinque 2010: 284; Broekaert 2011.

⁴² The evidence from Egypt is particularly instructive in this respect: on the systems of (internal) dispute resolution of private associations in Ptolemaic Egypt see, for instance, Paganini in press b. For an example of the use of state courts by associations from fourth-century Athens, see *IG II² 1258 (CAPInv. 341)*: some members of the *Eikadeis* were prosecuted for false testimony in a dispute about the association's property. On the unique case of direct evidence for the actual imposition of fines by an association see the late third- or early second-century BC Greek ostraca from Maresha (Idumaea) published by Ecker and Eckhardt 2018.

maintaining a public image of friendly and unproblematic behaviour amongst members, by demanding to keep possible problems internal and to avoid resorting to state courts, associations expected members to display particular loyalty, a high sense of community and a developed feeling of trust. Members were urged to have confidence in the association's channels for dispute resolution and ultimately to put the group's collective good and reputation before their personal issues. In this respect, associations seem to have adopted the values and behaviour of the family.⁴³

The analysis of these various aspects relating to associations' regulations brings to the fore the question of whether they had a real significance. Because regulations constituted their institutional hallmark, associations strove to have them in place as much as possible in order to signal something specific about the group's habitus, to use a term borrowed from sociological studies. However, it is unlikely that these regulations and their enforcement clauses were simply rhetorical, with no significant value. Systematic failure or reluctance by associations to enforce them would have undermined the association's credibility and produced a detrimental image, as the group cladded itself in empty procedures followed by no one: regulations were real and were therefore enforced, as far as possible. On a further level, one may wonder whether in some cases these regulations were substituting for or ranking higher than those of the political community. The main issue consequent on this is whether private associations were proposing laws and values, which were new, different, concomitant, additional or opposed to those of their socio-political communities. These are vast issues and not all of them can be answered, as our sources do not permit us to draw definite conclusions in all cases. However, the chapters in this book illustrate to what extent associations' regulations had a real significance and how they may relate to and interact with the values of their wider societies.

The regulations of associations reflected adherence to a specific ideology, beliefs and sets of principles and values. Generally speaking, those rules of governance (regulating the membership as a group) are intimately linked to values of efficiency, accountability, transparency, righteousness, egalitarianism (or at least the cherishing of a participatory culture) and respect for tradition – including religious practice. The rules of conduct (directed towards the individual member), conversely, foster values of reciprocity, compassion, trust, philanthropy, civility in an attempt to make each member useful, both directly to the group and indirectly to outsiders,

⁴³ See the insightful discussion of this aspect in Harland 2005.

because these values may ultimately become embedded in a person's nature. The key notion that all these features implicitly but forcefully support is that of 'good order' to establish associations as 'well-ordered groups'. By regulating both governance and members' behaviour, by allowing different sections of society into their membership and by highlighting the importance of norms of conduct, associations tended to reach out to, manage and somehow 'control' all facets of their membership: rather than mirroring political communities proper, such a holistic approach recalls the philosophers' state utopias, which encompassed polis and society in a homogeneous unit.⁴⁴ Associations were therefore providing a model of community in addition to that of the polis and were engraining sets of values parallel and in some cases complementary to those of the political communities. In this respect, with this book we hope to stimulate further debate on the issue of whether associations were creating something new.

The associations of antiquity, precisely thanks to their rules and regulations and to their desire to be – or at least to appear as – well-ordered groups, became the carriers into much later periods of values, procedures and modes of collective behaviour, as the following example indicates. An extraordinary document, written in Syriac and found in a late ninth-century AD collection of materials by Gabriel, the bishop of Bashra, attests to the continuing transmission of a long tradition. Entitled 'Concerning the ordering and regulation of associations of the crafts called NN', the document offered itself as a blueprint for incipient associations.⁴⁵ Probably originating in the late Sassanian or early Arab period as the rules of a particular association, the document, after having been cleared of the specifics connecting it to its parent association, was turned into a prototype to be used by any association wishing to provide regulations to its members. The rules on governance and on conduct coexist here in perfect harmony. However, what makes this document really extraordinary is that it simultaneously embraces two aspects, one looking to the future and the other to the past. In fact, on the one hand, this text perpetuates a specific and still cherished associational culture, as its purpose as a 'blueprint' makes clear. On the other hand, it links the historical roots of that culture to a distant past: as commentators have noticed, there are clear similarities

⁴⁴ See Hansen 1991: 61–4.

⁴⁵ Kaufhold 1976. In his review of Kaufhold, Degen 1977: 147 called the document *ein hochinteressantes und meines Wissens einzig dastehendes Dokument*: 'a highly interesting and to my knowledge unique document'. See Brock 2009 (English tr. and brief commentary) and also discussion by Evers in Chapter 10.

to the rules and regulations of the Graeco-Roman associations, particularly to those of the *Iobacchoi*.⁴⁶

The Meaning of 'Well-Ordered'

The regulations and the other various documents produced by associations are not theoretical or abstract in nature: they do not analyse the ideals that informed associations' behaviour but are rather concerned with the application of these ideals and their specific factual results. Associations created documents in order to respond to practical needs, by setting expected procedures, granting honours for specific behaviour and providing solutions to current requirements. Therefore, the general principle of 'good order', which underpins the life of associations, is uncovered by a process of induction, so to speak, from the specific factual content of the regulations' various dispositions and of other documents produced by associations, in particular honorific decrees. The characteristics expected from members – which also correspond to those praised and rewarded by associations – encompassed moral, religious, social and financial virtues: excellence (ἀριστεία), virtue (ἀρετή), piety (εὐσέβεια), favour (εὐνοία), benevolence (φιλανθρωπία), intimacy (οἰκειότης), friendliness (φιλοφροσύνη), love for what is good (φιλαγαθία), concern for good reputation (φιλοδοξία), distinction (λαμπρότης), generosity (μεγαλοψυχία), usefulness (εὐχρηστία), quality of being a benefactor (εὐεργεσία), love for social distinction that comes from one's munificence (φιλοτιμία), liberality (ἀφειδία).⁴⁷ Ultimately, a member of an association should strive to be 'good' (καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός) – and behave accordingly.⁴⁸ Associations' regulations did exactly this: they ensured that members were 'good' by requiring them to act in a specific manner towards each other and by striving to mould themselves as well-ordered groups.

The idea of 'well-ordered' employed here embraces both the moral concept of good behaviour, linked to obedience to regulations, and the modern notions of legal and institutional order, linked to procedural efficiency. As appears clear in their regulations and honorific decrees, associations strove to be well-ordered both by running their common affairs in an orderly fashion (with the help of clear, efficient and codified

⁴⁶ Brock 2009: 55–6.

⁴⁷ Cf. *I.Délos* 1520 (*CAPInv.* 9), *I.Prose* 40 (*CAPInv.* 38) and *IGR* III 209–10 (*CAPInv.* 1969).

⁴⁸ *I.Délos* 1520, l. 18 (*CAPInv.* 9); *IG* XII.1 155 d I, l. 9 (*CAPInv.* 10); *P.Mich.* V 244, l. 4 (*CAPInv.* 1409).

measures to that effect) and by gathering people with a moral imperative towards proper and excellent behaviour (who thus were expected to follow the rules). As a matter of fact, the former was only possible because of the latter: practical order was the direct and tangible result of a moral principle.

The various dispositions in their regulations exemplify how much associations cared to establish order and on which different aspects they put particular emphasis: it is clear that the self-presentation as well-ordered groups was therefore no trivial matter in the associations' agenda. Beyond an interest for the (important) practical advantages of efficiency, associations had an added desire to be well-ordered because such a thing necessarily implied that the members were well-mannered, honest, trustworthy and respectable people – and as a corollary, that the association as a whole was too. The fundamental consequence of this is that associations thus created a specific profile within their local societies, with its associated social and economic advantages.

Associations' Role within Local Society

It should never be forgotten that associations were very much local realities: they were inextricably embedded in their local society, from which they cannot be abstracted. Therefore, they must be analysed in their socio-political and geographical settings: local phenomena and dynamics greatly influenced associations, which adapted themselves on the basis of their surrounding circumstances and could behave differently depending on their location and period. In this respect, one ought to have an open-minded approach: one should not necessarily expect uniformity but rather a variety of different scenarios. Despite the initial potential bewilderment that one may have at the prospect of having to deal with a number of different contexts, this variety constitutes the interesting part of the analysis, as it showcases the vivacity, the dynamic character and the multifaceted essence of the ancient world.

Associations played a fundamental role in society as active agents on a variety of levels: they were in fact contributing to the life of their local communities on a wide spectrum, from economic to cultural and religious aspects. This was made possible by the specific social profile that they established, thanks to their nature – or, at all events, their self-portrayal – as well-ordered and respectable groups. It was exactly the fact that they were being perceived in this way, both as a whole group and as single

members, that allowed them to have scope of action by creating bonds of trust and esteem with other local institutions and individuals.⁴⁹

First and foremost, associations had an important impact on local economic life: this is probably the most extensively studied feature of private associations and therefore also the most familiar topic to be treated when focusing on them. Although we do not intend to underplay this important aspect, the economy per se is not the central concern of this volume. Recent scholarship has uncovered a variety of details concerning the associations' role in the ancient economy. In particular, through the employment of a larger theoretical scheme that incorporates the concept of 'social capital', some studies attempted to interpret the broader economic ramifications of associations' regulations, more specifically, inside as well as outside of associations themselves: the reader should refer to these for a fuller analysis.⁵⁰ For our purposes here, it suffices to say that associations as groups could provide the setting for the facilitation of specific aspects in the organisation of a specific branch of a trade or profession. They often allowed the creation of a network that diminished transaction costs, eased trade and provided social and human capital; in some cases they represented platforms of cooperation with the state and could provide the framework for the mobilisation of foreign capital and for a freer business participation of agents whose action would have been otherwise more restricted (for instance, non-citizens in the Greek poleis). Associations could also act as substantial consumers of marketed goods and services, thus boosting the local market. In addition, they could provide employment. Single individuals also reaped different economic advantages by being members of associations. They could build networks of trust and create commercial alliances; they had at their disposal preferential channels for the availability of ready capital when necessary; they could have considerable advantage from the sharing of information, know-how and potential risks. As a matter of fact, although it is fairly impossible to quantify with certainty, the members of those associations that left a trace

⁴⁹ Standard work on the concept of 'trust' and 'trust networks', especially for their economic implications, is Tilly 2005. Related to it is the concept of 'social capital', developed in sociology and institutional economics: see, for instance, Coleman 1988 and Burt 2005, with Ogilvie 2004. For a theoretical treatment of esteem and social recognition, including its economic implications, see, for instance, Brennan and Pettit 2004.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, van Minnen 1987; van Nijf 1997; Gabrielsen 2001; Monson 2006; Gabrielsen 2007; Liu 2009; Broekaert 2011; Gibbs 2011; Tran 2011; Verboven 2011; Venticinque 2013; Gibbs 2015; Venticinque 2015; Gabrielsen 2016b; Langelotti 2016b; Venticinque 2016: esp. 35–66; Gabrielsen in press.

in our evidence were usually individuals who had at their disposal some means and time, which they were willing to spend in the setting of associational life.⁵¹

Beyond the economy, associations contributed to the local life of their communities on a number of other levels. For instance, they often were in charge of the performance of some religious tasks or activities and provided services that others did not (for instance, in funerary practices); in some cases they could uphold the continuation of rites, which would otherwise have been discontinued, or could introduce new ones. They could also create the opportunity for the establishment of somewhat formalised social interaction between sections of the population for which full integration was not an option (for instance, foreigners in the Greek poleis). Furthermore, they could provide scope of action for those who could otherwise not have been able to contribute to their communities in the same way (for instance, women and slaves). Conversely, they could also operate as means for social distinction and as a way of separation from others. Their influence could also extend to the setting or diffusion of artistic trends and architectural typologies, as well as to the make-up of local topography.⁵² Depending on the contingent situation, associations adopted a variety of different strategies and developed approaches and solutions in order to achieve their agenda: this wide-ranging sphere of action, which associations enjoyed, led to various degrees of impact on the most disparate facets of their societies.

On a deeper and more fundamental level, the input associations gave to their local communities may have also gone beyond the more tangible and practical matters discussed so far. In fact, by accepting and being subjected to the operation of specific regulations, which embodied particular principles, associations' members internalised such values, made them their own – with various degrees of willingness and awareness – and exported them to some degree to their larger communities. In this way, associations could potentially become not inconsiderable influencers of society values. However, as said, associations (and their values) were at the same time also affected by the society in which they were active.

⁵¹ See also the discussion by Giannakopoulos in Chapter 2 and by Langellotti in Chapter 8; see further Gabrielsen and Paganini in Chapter 11.

⁵² For an example of this, for instance, in the villages of Hellenistic Egypt, see Paganini 2020b. See also the discussion by Skaltsa in Chapter 5.

Overview of the Chapters

The first four chapters after this Introduction focus on various broader aspects of the regulatory behaviours of associations, namely, admission and financial survival, participation in associations' life, religious concerns and normative attitudes towards physical space.

Chapter 2 by N. Giannakopoulos analyses the practice (often modelled on those of the hosting communities) by associations to vet admissions, regulate entrance-fees and secure financial contributions by the members, all important procedures to maintain associations' purported egalitarian, well-ordered and prosperous profile. However, in certain cases, deviations which could *prima facie* seem to undermine the egalitarian character and immediate income of associations were contemplated: this was done in accordance with a well-planned attitude, which sometimes included practices long abandoned by the local political counterparts, to achieve greater advantages and respectability than by following standard norms.

B. Eckhardt in Chapter 3 explores the normative attempts by ancient associations in the Greco-Roman world to regulate the obligatory participation by members in associations' activities and their implications for the relationship between associations and local societies. The practice was widespread among associations in time and place: associations relied on members' participation for their existence; finding ways to 'encourage' their presence was of vital importance and formed a constituent part of associations' regulatory practices.

Chapter 4 by J.-M. Carbon deals with normative concerns regulating the religious sphere, in particular concerning purity: through norms on purity, associations aimed at maintaining good order and propriety within the group, while at the same time attempted to expand their network of followers, for instance by regulating access to sanctuaries and behaviour for a wider community of worshippers. With precise technical display of epigraphical finesse, case studies (mainly from Asia Minor) showcase the wide spectrum of characteristics of these norms, which could mirror traditional civic practices or be more stringent, and the ways in which associations asserted and regulated (as well as enforced) them.

Chapter 5 turns our attention to a different aspect ingrained in the topic of regulations. Using modern sociological definitions of space, S. Skaltsa seeks to explain the ways in which associations created space and constructed their own identity through well-defined physical as well as social space. A major outcome of the chapter is to show how spatial arrangements were as much part of an association's self-perception and self-presentation as the

composition and activities of its membership. The empirical basis of this analysis consists of the epigraphic dossier of three 'founders' of associations: Epikteta from Thera, Poseidonios from Halicarnassus and Diomedon from Cos.

Chapters 6–9 allow us to turn our attention to defined geographical areas of the ancient world, with specific case studies centred on associations from Athens, Mantinea, Egypt and Ostia.

Chapter 6 by I. Arnaoutoglou investigates the attention to and regulation of orderly behaviour in the world of the so-called cult associations of Athens, from the late fourth century BC to the late second century AD. In this respect, the opposition of the two concepts of *thorybos*, 'clamour, tumult, confusion', and of *eusthateia*, 'tranquillity, quiet conduct', is presented and it is argued that Athenian associations shifted from allowing the former to stressing the latter as a response to Roman attitudes of diffidence towards possible unrest caused by associations.

S. Zoumbaki in Chapter 7 devotes her study to associations in Mantinea and their regulatory dispositions, in which specific values allowed the creation of an image of well-ordered and respectable institutions, in order to establish interactions with local society, in particular with local elites. Thanks to the adoption of specific strategies and sets of conduct, associations claimed a specific scope of action and role in public life within fields no longer monopolised by civic institutions, such as in the case of specific aspects of traditional religious life and of women's participation. In so doing, they complemented polis institutions in the public life of their communities, while all agents involved (associations, polis and local elites) reaped full advantage from the practice.

The values embedded in the regulations by associations of early Roman Egypt, together with their relation to the values of the local communities and the provincial administration, and their attempt to present themselves as well-ordered and respectable institutions are investigated in Chapter 8 by M. Langellotti. Traditional ethical values fostered by associations continued to be successfully mobilised and adapted to conform with the new values of local societies and of political contingencies. Thanks to regulations, associations established a successful model of order that guaranteed their existence, also in the face of changed socio-economic circumstances.

Chapter 9 by N. Tran presents associations in Ostia in the second and third centuries AD, which had their regulations primarily kept in their own archives and thus often lost to us. However, the set of their regulations transpires from associations' *alba* 'membership lists' and honorific

texts: they testify the spread and wide-ranging dispositions for the upholding of a ruled environment, including vetting of admissions, expulsion of unworthy members and the regulation of activities, contributions, votes and appointments. These rules characterised the very existence of associations, which thus presented themselves as well-ordered, respectable and socially integrated institutions; just as they defined themselves as *ordines*, imitating the public sphere.

Chapter 10 broadens up the horizon of our investigation. Adopting a comparative approach with Greco-Roman associations, K. G. Evers brings into the analysis evidence of regulatory practices by associations from India and China, showing the communal Eurasian and thus global character of the phenomenon. Despite different inputs from diverse socio-political realities, Roman, Indian and Chinese associations with members sharing the same profession in fact developed parallel institutional traditions and independently adopted regulations (with comparable content, values and practices) to answer similar circumstances.

Chapter 11 provides some concluding remarks on the role and position of private associations in the societies of the ancient world, bringing together the various issues analysed in detail in the preceding chapters of the book.

Table 1.1. *Tentative list of associations' regulations and of texts with clear references to regulations from the ancient Greek-speaking world (VI cent. BC–IV cent. AD)*

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1584	<i>platiwoinoi</i>	f. VI BC	<i>SEG</i> 30:380	Tiryns, Argolis	blocks on wall; list of dispositions	Greek	(Argaeon)	N/A
538	N/A	VI–V BC	<i>SEG</i> 11:244	Sicyon, Peloponnese	bronze tablet; dispositions for the use of a dining hall, with list of members	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1964	<i>Labyadai</i>	VI–IV BC	<i>CID</i> I 9	Delphi, Phocis	stele; decree	Greek	<i>thesmos</i> 'precept'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1047	<i>Molpoi</i>	VI–II BC (?)	<i>I.Milet</i> I.3 133	Miletus, Ionia	stele; decree	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1687	N/A	391/0 BC	de Cenival 1988: 39–42	Memphis (?), Egypt	papyrus; list of dispositions	Demotic Egyptian	N/A	
337	<i>Diataleis</i>	s. IV BC	<i>JG</i> II ² 1267	Athens, Attica	stele; decree (fragmentary)	Greek	<i>nom[os]</i> 'law'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
230	<i>Orgeones</i>	330–323 BC	<i>JG</i> II ² 1361	Piraeus, Attica	stele; decree (?)	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
266	<i>Thiasotai</i>	325–275 BC	<i>JG</i> II ² 1275	Piraeus, Attica	stele; decree (?)	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
109	<i>Orgeones</i> of Heracles in Kome	late IV BC	<i>ASAA</i> 2006: 534 no 10	Kome, Lemnos	stele; security boundary stone	Greek	<i>grammateion orgeionikon</i> 'register/contract of the <i>orgeones</i> '	The association's financial activities were regulated by a <i>grammateion</i> .
1919	N/A (Diomedon's foundation)	IV/III BC	<i>IG</i> XII.4 1 348	Cos	stele; unilateral dispositions (foundation)	Greek	<i>ta syntetagmena</i> 'the orders'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
858	<i>eranos</i>	IV–III BC	<i>IG</i> XII.7 58	Arcesine, Amorgos	slab; boundary stone	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
264	<i>Thiasotai</i>	299 BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1271	Piraeus, Attica	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
830	N/A (Poseidonios' foundation)	285–240 (?) BC	<i>LSAM</i> 72	Halicarnassus, Caria	stele; endowment and decree by Poseidonios and his descendants	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
563	<i>Thiasotai</i>	273/2 BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1278	Athens, Attica	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Possible reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
269	<i>Koinon</i> of the <i>thiasotai</i>	258/7 BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1298	Athens, Attica	stele; list of members and decree	Greek	N/A	
1812	N/A	mid III BC	Decourt and Tziafalias 2012	Larisa, Thessaly	stele; sacred law	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1691	N/A	250–210 BC	<i>P. Bagnall</i> 42	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement (?)	Demotic Egyptian	N/A	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1808	<i>Basaidai</i>	250–200 BC	<i>SEG</i> 36:548	Metropolis, Thessaly	stele; (communal) dispositions	Greek	<i>syntheke</i> 'agreement'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
304	<i>Koinon</i> of the <i>eranistai</i>	s. III BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1291	Athens, Attica	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>no/moi koinoi</i> 'common laws'	Reference to the association's <i>nomoi</i> .
1688	N/A	245/4 or 244/3 BC	Vittman 2011	Arsinoites, Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement (?)	Demotic Egyptian	N/A	
281	<i>Koinon</i> (of the <i>Thiasotai</i>)	245/4 and 2444/3	<i>SEG</i> 59:155; <i>SEG</i> 44:60	Salamis, Attica	stela; honorific decrees	Greek	<i>nomoi</i> 'laws'	References to the association's <i>nomoi</i> .
1657	<i>Basilistai</i>	243–197 (?) BC	Wörrle 2015	Limyra, Lycia	stele; decree (?) with list of members	Greek	N/A	
232	(Thracian) <i>orgeones</i>	241/0 BC and 240/39 BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1283 and 1284	Piraeus, Attica	stele; decree (<i>IG</i> II ² 1283); honorific decree (<i>IG</i> II ² 1284)	Greek	<i>nomoi</i> 'laws'	Reference to the association's <i>nomoi</i> in <i>IG</i> II ² 1284.
1689	The association of the temple of Horus-Behedet	223 BC, 17 Mar-15 Apr	de Cenival 1972: 3–10	Pisais, Ars., Egypt (from cartonnage from Ghoran)	papyrus; (contractual) agreement	Demotic	<i>hp.w</i> 'laws'	
754	N/A (<i>thiasos?</i>)	221 BC, 26 Feb	<i>P.Entreux</i> . 20	Alexandrou Nesos, Ars., Egypt (from cartonnage from Magdola)	papyrus; petition to the King	Greek	<i>thiasitikos nomos</i> 'law of the <i>thiasos</i> '	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1645	The <i>koinon</i> of the relatives	210–195 BC	<i>IG XII.3</i> 330 = Wittenburg 1990	Thera	statue pedestal; Epikteta's testament and decree of the <i>koinon</i>	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
539	<i>Thiasotai</i>	III BC	<i>I.Kalchedon</i> 13	Chalcedon, Bithynia	stele; list of dispositions	Greek	N/A	
861	<i>Hierourgoi</i> of Athena Itonia	III BC	<i>IG XII.7</i> 241	Minoa, Amorgos	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the group's <i>nomos</i> . Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1707	N/A	III–I BC	<i>P.Cair.</i> II 30654 (dem.)	Pathyris	papyrus; (contractual) agreement (?) (fragmentary)	Demotic Egyptian	N/A	
235	<i>Dionysiastai</i>	185–175 BC	<i>IG II²</i> 1325 and 1326	Piraeus, Attica	stela; honorific decrees	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Several references to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
361	<i>Koinon</i> of the <i>orgeones</i>	183–174 BC	<i>IG II²</i> 1328	Piraeus, Attica	stele; two decrees	Greek	N/A	
1686	N/A	early II BC	Arlt and Monson 2010	Bakchias (?) Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement (?)	Demotic Egyptian	N/A	
1655	<i>Koinon</i> of the coppersmiths	mid II BC	<i>SEG</i> 58:1640	Tlos or Xanthos, Lycia	stele; Symmasis' endowment and decree (?) by the <i>koinon</i>	Greek	N/A	
1186	(<i>Bakchikos thiasos</i>)	II BC	<i>I.Kallatis</i> 47	Callatis, Euxine coast, Thrace	stele; sacred regulations	Greek	N/A	These regulations likely concern the <i>bakchikos thiasos</i> attested in other inscriptions.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
10	<i>Koinon</i> of the <i>Haliadaí kai Haliastai</i>	II BC	<i>JG</i> XII.1 155 c IV + d I–III	Rhodes	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to a 'current law' and to an 'unmovable (i.e. unchangeable) law of the association.
17	<i>Sarapiastai</i>	II BC	<i>JG</i> XII Suppl. 365	Thasos	stele; decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
829	<i>Syggeneis</i>	ca 200 BC–AD 100 (?)	<i>I.Halikarnasos</i> 118	Halicarnassus, Caria	stele (?); dispositions (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1971	N/A	179 BC, 4 Feb–5 Mar	de Cenival 1972: 39–40, 215–18	Krokodilopolis, Ars., Egypt (found at Tebtynis)	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	[<i>mt.wt</i>] 'words, matters'	
1932	The association of the priests of Sobek Lord of Tebtynis	178 BC, 6 January	Bresciani 1994	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions (two sets, one fragmentary)	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Six sets of the yearly regulations of the same association have been preserved.
921	N/A	168–164 BC	<i>SEG</i> 52:1197	Apollonia (?), Mysia	stele; list of dispositions	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPIInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1932	The association of the priests of Sobek Lord of Tebtynis	157 BC, 27 Aug-25 Sep	de Cenival 1972: 45-51 and 218-19	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Six sets of the yearly regulations of the same association have been preserved.
1932	The association of the priests of Sobek Lord of Tebtynis	151 BC, 30 Oct	de Cenival 1972: 59-61 and 219-20	Tebtynis, Ars. (Egypt)	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Six sets of the yearly regulations of the same association have been preserved.
840	<i>Syggeneia</i>	150-100 BC	Isager 2014: 186-8, text A	Halicarnassus or Mylasa (?), Caria	block; unilateral dispositions (testament?)	Greek	<i>ta diatetagnena, ta epitetagnena</i> 'orders'	
845	<i>Heroistai</i>	150 BC-AD 100	<i>I.Mylasa</i> 423	Mylasa, Caria	stele; orders or testament (?) (fragmentary)	Greek		
9	<i>Koinon</i> of the Berytian <i>Poseidoniastai</i>	149/8 BC	<i>I.Delos</i> 1520	Delos	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to a <i>nomos</i> of the association.
1932	The association of the priests of Sobek Lord of Tebtynis	147 BC, 3 Jan	de Cenival 1972: 63-8 and 221-2	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Six sets of the yearly regulations of the same association have been preserved.
1932	The association of the priests of Sobek Lord of Tebtynis	145 BC, 20 Sept	de Cenival 1972: 73-8 and 222-5	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Six sets of the yearly regulations of the same association have been preserved.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1690	The association of [the processions and of the festivals?] in the Polemon district of the Arsinoites	137 BC, 1 May	de Cenival 1972: 83–91 and 225–7	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Association's name after Bresciani 1994: 53 n. 16.
1970	The association of [the companions?]	137 BC, 3 Jun	de Cenival 1972: 93–7 and 227–9	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement with list of members' contributions	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hp</i> 'law'	Association's name after Bresciani 1994: 53 n. 16.
645	<i>Phratores</i>	137/6 BC	Marek, <i>Stadt</i> 1	Abonoteichos, Paphlagonia	stele; honorific decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> .
955	<i>Technitai</i> from Isthmus and Nemea	112 BC	<i>F.Delphes</i> III.2 70	Delphi, Phocis	blocks on wall; <i>senatus consultum</i>	Greek	<i>nomoi</i> 'laws'	Several references to the association's <i>nomoi</i> .
1480	The Association of Amon-Opet	109–108 BC	de Cenival 1972: 103–31	Thebes, Egypt	papyrus; dossier, (contractual) agreements	Demotic Egyptian	<i>mt.wt</i> 'words/matters'	
142	<i>Koinon</i> (connected with the gymnasium)	II–I BC	<i>JG</i> XII.3 253	Anaphe	stele; list of dispositions (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
176	<i>Koinon</i> of the <i>technitai</i> of Dionysus from Isthmos and Nemea, performing in Chalcis	II–I BC	<i>IG</i> XII.9 910	Chalcis, Euboea	statue base; honorific decrees	Greek	[<i>nomos</i>] 'law'	Reference to the association's <i>nomos</i> (supplied).
777	<i>Synthiasitai</i>	II–I BC	<i>C.Prol.Sklav.</i> 92	Magdola, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; list of contributions; list of dispositions	Greek	N/A	The association's regulations may have been written in the missing part of the papyrus, before the list of contributions.
31 780	<i>Synodos</i>	II–I BC	<i>IG</i> V.2 264	Mantineia, Arcadia	plaque; decree (fragmentary)	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	References to the group's <i>nomos</i> . Uncertain whether this was a private association.
348	N/A (Dionysios' <i>oikos</i>)	II BC–I AD	<i>TAM</i> V.3 1539	Philadelphia, Lydia	stele; unilateral dispositions as divine instructions	Greek	<i>paraggelmata</i> 'commandments'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1292	<i>nekrotaphoi</i>	95 BC and 67 BC	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 65	Oxyrhynchus (?), Egypt	papyrus; judicial sentence	Greek, Demotic	<i>Aigyptia syngraphe</i> 'Demotic contract'	Reference to an <i>Aigyptia syngraphe</i> entered by the members of the group, regulating the burial of corpses. This was either the group's rules or a contract of partnership.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
654	<i>Synodos of Zeus Hypsistos</i>	69–58 BC	<i>P.Lond.</i> VII 2193	Philadelpheia, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1684	<i>Thiasos of the Dionysiastai</i>	50 BC–AD 50	<i>SEG</i> 4:598	Teos, Ionia	stele; decree	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Reference to the <i>nomos</i> regulating finances. Uncertain whether this was a private association.
357	<i>Koinon of the Heroistai of Diotimos, [Zenon,] and Pammenes</i>	39/8 BC	<i>IG</i> II ² 1339	Athens, Attica	stele; decree	Greek	N/A	
1963	The troop of the weavers of Coptos	30 BC, 19 Jan	<i>Short Texts</i> I 158	Coptos	stele; (contractual) agreement	Demotic Egyptian	<i>hm.w</i> 'agreements'	
1782	<i>Hetairoi kai Sabbatistai</i>	27 BC–AD 14	<i>GRA</i> II 152	Elaeoussa Sebaste, Cilicia	stele; decree	Greek	N/A	
1514	N/A	I BC	<i>BGU</i> XIV 2372	Heracleopolite, Egypt	papyrus; (contractual) agreement (?) (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	
627	N/A	AD 1–50	<i>PAT</i> 0991	Palmyra, Syria	stele; sacred law	Aramaic	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1408	N/A	AD 14–37	<i>P.Mich.</i> V 243	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; dispositions undersigned by members	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1409	<i>Apolysimoi</i>	AD 43, 26 Aug	<i>P.Mich.</i> V 244	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; decree, list of members and subscriptions	Greek	<i>cheirographon</i> 'document'	
1273	Shepherds	AD 45/6	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , XVI l. 12	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1437	<i>Synodos theou</i>	AD 45/6	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 124 <i>recto</i> , II l. 23	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
33 1430	<i>Synodos</i> of Psosneus the oil maker	AD 45–47	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , VI l. 18	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1432	Builders	AD 45–47	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , XVII l. 38	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1975	<i>Synodos</i> of Kroni. . .	AD 46, Jan	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , IX l. 45	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1976	<i>Synodos</i> of Kronion, son of Kames	AD 46, Jan	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , X l. 6	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1977	<i>Synodos</i> of Herakleios, son of Pichis, of the 'farmyard'	AD 46, 30 Jan	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123 <i>recto</i> , XI l. 36	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; entry in register of the record office	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
1658	Salt merchants of Tebtynis	AD 47, 18 Aug	<i>P.Mich.</i> V 245	Tebtynis, Ars., Egypt	papyrus; decree with list of five members	Greek	N/A	It is possible that this constituted a partnership.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
349	<i>Synodos</i> of the <i>Herakliastai</i> in the Marshes	AD 90 (?)	<i>SEG</i> 31:122	Attica	stele; decree with unilateral dispositions of the chief- <i>eranistes</i>	Greek	N/A	
569	N/A	end I AD	<i>JG</i> II ² 1346	Athens (?), Attica	stele; decree	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1329	<i>Synodos</i> of the <i>hieronikai</i>	I AD	<i>I.Smyrna</i> 709	Smyrna, Ionia	stele; unilateral dispositions (endowment, fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
491	<i>Mystai</i> of the <i>phyle</i> of Zeus	I–II AD	<i>REG</i> 2 (1889): no 19	Amorion, Phrygia	stele; honorific decree	Greek	N/A	
1786	Those gathering Mobrenis, son of Rhodos, and those with him	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Ada 3	Lamos, Cilicia	sarcophagus; funerary inscriptions, agreement	Greek	<i>homologon</i> 'agreement'	
1788	N/A	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Ada 15	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, agreement	Greek	[<i>homologon</i>] 'agreement'	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1791	<i>Koinon</i>	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Dir 6	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	Possibly the same association as <i>CAPInv.</i> 1793.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
1793	<i>Koinon</i>	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Dir 7b	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	Possibly the same association as CAPInv. 1791.
1795	N/A	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Dir 9	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	
1797	<i>Koinon</i> ; Rhodon, son of Kydimasas, Selgian, and those with him	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Dir 10	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	
1798	N/A	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> Dir 11	Lamos, Cilicia	tomb monument; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	
1799	N/A	I–II AD	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium</i> AntK 25	Antiochia ad Cragum, Cilicia	marble slab; funerary inscription, dispositions	Greek	N/A	
1311	N/A	I/II AD	SEG 40:624	Gorgippia, northern coast of the Black Sea	stele; list of sacred regulations	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1659	N/A	AD 117–38	<i>MDAI (A)</i> 32 (1907): 293–6 no 18	Pergamum, Mysia	stele; decree (?) (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	
1050	<i>Oikos of the naukleroi</i>	AD 131	Ehrhardt and Günther 2013	Miletus, Ionia	marble block; letter of Emperor's Hadrian	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	Hadrian confirmed the <i>nomos</i> for the foundation of the association.

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
991	<i>Synodos thymelike peripolistike of the techmitai hieronikai stephanitai of Dionysus</i>	AD 134	<i>SEG</i> 56:1359	Alexandria Troas, Troad	marble slab; unilateral dispositions by Emperor Hadrian (Imperial letters)	Greek	<i>nomoi</i> 'laws'	
437	<i>Thiasos of Amandos</i>	mid II AD	<i>IG IX.1</i> ² 670	Phycus, West Locris	stele; list of dispositions	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
339	<i>Bakcheion (Jobacchoi)</i>	AD 164/5	<i>IG II</i> ² 1368	Athens, Attica	column; decree	Greek	N/A	
308	<i>Eranos</i>	s. II AD	<i>IG II</i> ² 1369	Mesogaia, Attica	stone (lost); list of dispositions	Greek	<i>nomos</i> 'law'	
306	<i>Hieros doumos</i>	AD 171/2	<i>TAM V.1</i> 536	Maionia, Lydia	stele; order (cult rule) presented as a dedication	Greek		Uncertain whether this was a private association.
1081	<i>Corpus of the Heliopolitans</i>	II AD	<i>CIL X</i> 1579	Puteoli, Campania	marble slab (boundary stone?); list of dispositions	Latin	<i>lex et conventio</i> 'law and agreement'	
1138	<i>Symbiosis of the flax workers (?)</i>	II AD (?)	<i>I.Smyrna</i> 218	Smyrna (?), Ionia	grave stone; dispositions for members' burial	Greek	N/A	
1787	The partners and associates with Neon son of Nous	II AD (?)	Hagel-Tomaschitz, <i>Repertorium Ada</i> 4	Lamos, Cilicia	funerary monument; list of dispositions	Greek	N/A	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
979	<i>Synodos</i> of the <i>heroiastai</i> of our children Epaminondas and Theokrine	late II AD	Roesch 1982: 136–8 no 16	Acraephia, Boeotia	pillar; funerary foundation	Greek	N/A	
476	<i>Thiasos</i>	II–III AD	<i>Corinth</i> 8.3 308	Corinth, Peloponnese	stele (?); dispositions (?) (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	
747	<i>Eriphiastai</i>	II–III AD	Nigdelis 2010: 39 no 14	Thessalonica, Macedonia	plaque; decree (?)	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
907	<i>Symbiosis</i> of <i>philonikoi</i>	II–III AD	<i>TAMV</i> .3 1521	Philadelphia, Lydia	architrave; orders	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
143	<i>Semnotate ergasia</i> of the purple-dyers	II–III AD	<i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> 133, 227, 342; <i>AAT</i> 101: 305, no 23	Hierapolis, Phrygia	stelae; epitaphs, unilateral dispositions (funerary endowment)	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
170	<i>Ergasia thremmatike</i>	II–III AD	<i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> 227b	Hierapolis, Phrygia	stele; epitaph, unilateral dispositions (funerary endowment)	Greek	N/A	Uncertain whether this was a private association.
984	<i>Hiera gerousia</i> of the Saviour Asclepius	AD 212–50	<i>SEG</i> 32:459	Hyettus, Boeotia	stele; decree	Greek	N/A	

Table 1.1. (*cont.*)

CAPIInv.	Association's Name	Date	Source	Provenance	Physical format and text type	Language	Terminology	Notes
804	N/A	end III AD	<i>JG</i> X.2 1 Suppl. 1048	Thessalonica, Macedonia	stele; dispositions (fragmentary)	Greek	N/A	
417	Wool merchants	AD 301	<i>I.Ephesos</i> VII.2 3803d	Hypaipa, Lydia	plaque; endowment	Greek	N/A	Endowment of vineyards and grape presses to the city and to six associations.
418	Linen weavers	AD 301	<i>I.Ephesos</i> VII.2 3803d	Hypaipa, Lydia	plaque; endowment	Greek	N/A	Endowment of vineyards and grape presses to the city and to six associations.