

BABEŞ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Doctoral School „History. Civilisation. Culture”

DOCTORAL THESIS

– Summary –

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The Private Associations from the Greek Cities of the Black Sea
(6th century BC – 3rd century AD)

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Thesis' summary

Keywords: associative phenomenon, Greek cities, prosopography, Black Sea.

In the context of the systematic publication of epigraphic *corpora*, as well as of new inscriptions, the publication of a monographic work on the private associations from the Greek cities of the Black Sea becomes possible and necessary. The topic falls into the new research directions developed in the last decades, in which the interest for the sociological approaches applied to the ancient history increased (influences in what concerns the methodology and the techniques used, but also through the analogies provided, and through the new integrated perspectives). From a geographical point of view, the western provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as some areas of the Greek world (Greece and its islands, Asia Minor) were thoroughly approached but some studies have been also conducted concerning the associations from the Greek cities of the Black Sea with a focus on the associations from the northern shore. The thesis continues therefore the existing approaches, the novelty being given by the monographic approach of the subject in correlation with the geographical area, as well as by some aspects of the methodology.

The thesis has as goal to approach a fragment of ancient social history from the Greek cities of the Black Sea; in this regard the objective is to accomplish a monographic work on the private associations of the Black Sea based on the epigraphic sources, tackling the information from a terminological perspective, from the point of view of the internal framework, the prosopography, the onomastics, and the specific architecture. The goal is to observe how does a Greek phenomenon (the associative phenomenon¹) manifests itself in a Greek colonial area which has such a different evolution.²

¹ Through the associative phenomenon I understand the process of forming and developing communities of private character (the communities being independent of the authorities but needing to respect their regulations) specific to the Greco-Roman world beginning with the classical period and up to the late Roman period.

² Even though the geographical area taken into consideration is not characterised by political, economic, and administrative uniformity, the common element is given by the Greek colonisation. The choice is based on this variety, through which we can interpret the way in which a phenomenon specific for the Greek world manifests itself in a Greek colonial environment but which has a different evolution. The comparison is at the base of the research and its fragmentation is a characteristic given by the topic itself, being a deliberate choice. However, we will not avoid making generalisations because in some cases we can trace down similar evolutions, but also due to the fact that a particular approach is not necessary.

The main hypothesis is that the associative phenomenon occupies a relatively marginal place compared to other parts of the ancient world such as Greece and Asia Minor, fact which is influenced by the state of the research but also by the characteristics of the geographical area.

In this regard the following specific objectives were established:

- the analysis of the associations from each city from different perspectives³ (chapters III, IV, V, VII);
- the identification of the motifs behind the forming of these associations, together with the motives for the individuals not to join them, as well as the reason for choosing a specific association and not another one, or the joining of multiple associations (i.e. in various cities) (especially chapter IV);
- the analysis of the variety of the association's composition – from a social, juridical and onomastic perspective (chapters V and VI);
- the self-representation of the associations (chapters II,⁴ III,⁵ IV,⁶ V,⁷ VI,⁸ VII⁹);
- the identification of their interaction with the authorities, as well as the role of patronage and citizenship (chapters IV, V and VI).

The available sources for the reconstruction of the Pontic associative universe are the epigraphic ones, more precisely there are 227 inscriptions;¹⁰ among these 217 register associations from the Greek cities of the Black Sea, and the other 10 register individuals coming

³ Taking into account the type of sources we have opted both for a specific and general approach (there where the sources are not very numerous to address particularities).

⁴ The chapter has the intention of clarifying some aspects concerning the vocabulary specific for our area of interest.

⁵ This dense chapter has as goal to offer a broader view on the associations tackling also various case studies resulted following the characteristics of the most „visible” associations.

⁶ The chapter regarding the internal framework has as goal to offer information regarding the functioning of the associations, therefore aspects such as the adhesion and exclusion of members will be discussed, as well as the reasons behind forming the associations, the internal hierarchy, the corresponding positions, the internal regulations and the undertaking of the cities' practices, and lastly the longevity of the associations.

⁷ The chapter discusses various aspects regarding the members of the associations. Therefore, after the introduction and a section on the existing data, the chapter addresses topics such as the social origin of members, their geographical origin, the gender representativeness, the familial involvement in associations. Besides these, prosopographical reconstructions are also made, to which we also add a discussion on the interaction of the members with the local elite and the representatives of the authorities. Another section deals with those individuals whom were originally from the Pontus but were attested as members of associations from other parts of the Greek world.

⁸ The chapter analyses the complex onomastic data, tackling the anthroponyms, the patronyms, and the distribution of names per city, their popularity and representativeness, the distribution based on gender, in an essay to understand the onomastic component of those who were part of the associations.

⁹ The last chapter approaches the architecture of the associations in an essay to understand the material forms of manifestation.

¹⁰ The overall number of inscriptions is 227 but in the Supplementum the number is 234 due to the fact that some inscriptions were recorded more than once if they mention more than one association (Dionysopolis, Istros).

from the Pontus but attested as members of private associations in other Greek cities of the ancient world. They have been included in order to understand the trajectory which the Pontic Greeks could have in the external associative environment.

The main issue which arose concerning the epigraphic sources was their state of conservation, more precisely in many cases we deal with fragmentary inscriptions through which we can reconstruct only fragments of how the associative life looked like in the area. Besides the fragmentary state of the inscriptions we also add the laconic character of some of these, in which the information is very briefly rendered and cannot be connected with other sources.

In what concerns the methodology, in the present paper we have chosen to combine the established methodology with the more recent one, the latter being influenced by the methodologies coming from other fields of research. Therefore, taking into account the specificity of the source we opted first of all for an epigraphic analysis of the corresponding inscriptions, inscriptions taken from the great epigraphic *corpora*,¹¹ but also from specialised journals and publications.¹² The inscriptions concerning this topic were selected and collected as part of the annexes, in a *Supplementum Epigraphicum*. This *corpus* was organised based on the geographical criterion, taking into account the alphabetical order of the Greek cities. After the selection and gathering of the texts, these were critically analysed and systemised.

In the last decades, the humanistic studies extended their research methodologies by integrating and adapting some which come from other fields of research. As such, on the one hand, one witnessed the development of *digital classics* (*technologies numériques*), but not only. The Information Technology sector and the field of Sociology had a great impact on humanistic studies, as such antiquity started to be addressed from different perspectives. In this scientific climate, at least two tendencies can be noticed: the emergence and expansion of databases and the implementation of the Network Studies (Social Network Analysis). In the present work I have opted for both methods: a) the use of a database for recording the data set; b) the making of social networks, to which I have also added c) the coding (as an example) of some inscriptions using the Extensive Markup Language (XML).

¹¹ We mention only some of them, but the sources are available in the bibliographical list: *ISM I*, *ISM II*, *ISM III*, *CIRB*.

¹² First of all we mention *AE*, *SEG*, but also journals such as *Dacia*, *Pontica*, *Bulletin Épigrafiq*ue etc.

Chapter I. The Historiography of the Problem reviewed the history of the research, from the first interests of the various German jurists (Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, Eduard Platner, Theodor Mommsen) to the most recent and innovative approaches (The Copenhagen Associations Project). The interest in private associations increased at the end of the 19th century, and the beginning of the 20th century, not only following the publishing of epigraphic *corpora*, but also as a result of the associative movements which took place at that time in Europe.¹³ From a geographical point of view, especially for the Hellenistic and Classical period, Athens,¹⁴ Delos¹⁵ and Rhodes¹⁶ were thoroughly studied, several monographic works being published, as well as articles and studies. The focusing of the research on these cities is due not only to the quality and quantity of the sources, but also to the variety of types of associations and their evolution in time. For the Greek East, the reference works are those written by Paul Foucart,¹⁷ Erich Ziebarth¹⁸ and Franz Poland,¹⁹ and for the Latin West those of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke,²⁰ Eduard Platner,²¹ Theodor Mommsen,²² Wilhelm Liebenam²³ and Jean-Pierre Waltzing²⁴ etc. The Greek colonies of the Black Sea were researched by Alexandru Avram,²⁵ but also by Ligia Ruscu,²⁶ Mădălina and Dan Dana.²⁷ Their contribution varies from the re-reading of some inscriptions, to the research of the members' places of reunion, or to the reconstruction of the associative experience of some individuals with cosmopolitan views. To these we add a series of publications written by Russian researchers which focused (early on) on the associative phenomenon from the northern shore of the Black Sea.²⁸

Chapter II. The Terminology Corresponding to the Associations focused on the ancient and modern terminology used to denominate the associations from the Greek cities of

¹³ Frölich, Hamon 2013, 15.

¹⁴ Arnaoutoglou 1998; Arnaoutoglou 2003; Arnaoutoglou 2011; Arnaoutoglou 2015; Baslez 1996; Baslez 2004; Calhoun 1964; Elter 1916; Ferguson 1944; Geagan 1972; Ismard 2010; Le Guen 2007; Leiwo 1997; Steinhauer 2014; Thomsen 2014; Tod 1906-1907; etc.

¹⁵ Baslez 2013; Bruneau 1978; Hasenohr 2001; McLean 1996; McLean 1999; Meyer 1988; Picard 1920; Picard 1921; Trümper 2006; Trümper 2011; etc.

¹⁶ Engelmann 1970; Gabrielsen 1994; Wescher 1864.

¹⁷ Foucart 1864; Foucart 1873.

¹⁸ Ziebarth 1896; Ziebarth 1907.

¹⁹ Poland 1895; Poland 1909; Poland 1911.

²⁰ Heinecke 1723.

²¹ Platner 1709.

²² Mommsen 1843.

²³ Liebenam 1890.

²⁴ Waltzing 1895-1900.

²⁵ Avram 2002; Avram 2015; Avram 2018a; Avram 2018b.

²⁶ Ruscu 2014.

²⁷ Dana, Dana 2013.

²⁸ Kalashnik 1972; Saprykin, Chevelyov 1996; Yailenko 2002; Saprykin 2009; Zavoykina 2003; Zavoykina 2004; Gabelko, Zavoykina, Shavyrina 2006; Zavoykina 2007.

the Black Sea. As such, on the one side the chapter discussed terms such as *δοῦμος/ dumus*, *θίασος*, *κοινόν*, *οἶκος*, *σύνδοδος*, *σπεῖρα*, and on the other side terms such as „private association”, and „voluntary association”.

In what concerns the content, the chapter had as goal: 1. to offer a perspective on the lexical and semantic variety (ancient and modern) used to denominate and self-represent the associations; 2. to establish classification and denomination criteria; 3. to discuss the forming of the denominations; 4. to bring into focus those terms which are present in other parts of the Greek world, but which are not attested in the Greek cities of the Black Sea; 5. to discuss the *dubia et delenda* category in which we have those denominations which cannot be included among private associations.

Overall, the chapter had the intention of illustrating the terminological characteristics of the associations from the Greek cities of the Black Sea. As such, one can tell that the denominations through which the members of the associations identify themselves are the „classical” ones, but they lack the complexity and diversity specific for some areas like Greece and Asia Minor. This is due to the fact that compared to these geographical areas, in the Greek cities of the Black Sea the associative phenomenon is much less spread, and is especially encountered in the big urban centres. The characteristics of the Pontic associative phenomenon, as well as the forming of the associations based on specific relation types, or the status of the associations are those which influence directly the denominations, which are a form of self-representation. In the present case, one of the predominant function of the associations (the cultic function) is also the one which is the most commonly found in denominations, even though they are formed in different ways. Due to a relative small number of attestations of private associations along the centuries, but also due to the fragmentary state of the inscriptions, we cannot trace a chronological evolution of the denominations, evolution not related to the phonetic or dialectal aspects. Even though compared to other places of the ancient world the terms used, as well as the ways of forming the names are narrow, compared to the existing sources, in the big cities such as Istros, Tomis, Tanais, Pantikapaion, the terminology reflects the local role of the associations and their degree of importance.

Chapter III. The regional types of associations had as goal, in the first part, to approach the associations from a geographical perspective, and in the second part to discuss the different related aspects, such as the celebration of the imperial cult and the role of the artists' associations, the economic characteristics of the region and the professional associations, as well as the general characteristics of the associations from this area.

As such, from a geographical point of view, the Greek cities in which we have attestations of associations in the timeframe between the 6th century BC and the 3rd century AD are: Amastris, Apollonia Pontica, Byzantion, Taurike Chersonesos, Dionysopolis, Gorgippia, Hermonassa, Istros, Kalchedon, Kallatis, Kimmerikon, Myrmekeion, Odessos, Olbia, Pantikapaion, Phanagoria, Sinope, Tanais, Theodosia and Tomis, being mostly cities of Ionian origin.

The sources related to the associations from our area of interest are few in number, coming mostly from the great urban centres and being underrepresented in the small cities, the associative phenomenon being urban in essence. Even though overall the timeframe in which the associations are attested is wide (6th century BC – 3rd century AD), the associations are mostly active in the 2nd-3rd centuries, which coincides with a period of relative prosperity for the region under focus. The associative phenomenon is a Greek phenomenon which however manifests itself differently depending on the economical (Gogippia, Tomis), political (Tanais, Gorgippia, Istros, Tomis), and cultic characteristics of the cities, which also influence the variety of associations. If on the one side we have associations oriented towards self-representation and the development of networks with the authorities (royal, Imperial, provincial), which points to the interconnectivity and interdependence of the public and private sector, on the other side we also have associations whose main preoccupation seems to be a more basic one, the insurance of a grave for the members (Phanagoria). The versatility of the associations from the Greek cities of the Black Sea, as well as their local economic role are not revealed by the inscriptions, such as in the case of the weavers' association from Philadelphia,²⁹ or in the case of the associations from Pergamon,³⁰ or Smyrna.³¹

The goal of **chapter IV. The Internal Organisation of the Private Associations** was to understand the pillars on which are built the private associations; as such, the chapter tackled aspects such as: a) the adhesion and exclusion of members (established based on subjective

²⁹ BGU 7 1572 = AGRW 296.

³⁰ OGIS 484.

³¹ ISmyrna 24, 712.

criteria which can vary from an association to another); b) the reasons behind the forming of associations and their specific activities; c) the internal regulations and hierarchy. Through all these the associations built themselves a framework, from which they address to their members, and to the people on the outside, or to the *polis*/ Empire/ monarchy.

In what concerns the reasons behind the founding of associations, as well as the specific activities of the associations, these mostly correspond to those found in associations from the Latin West and Greek East, the sole difference being the variety of attestations and probably of manifestation. It is unlikely for some associations, whose structure and longevity can be doubted, to have played a role in the local society, as some associations from Greek cities such as Ephesos and Thyateira do.

In what concerns the hierarchy we notice differences as a result of the worshipped divinity, or the practiced profession. The positions do not correspond to those encountered in other parts of the Greek world, some positions lacking, or some similar associations having a slightly different hierarchy. Even though the available internal regulations focus on the cultic or financial practices and therefore do not refer to the functioning or behavioural norms, examples from other areas point to the fact that through the internal regulations the associations did not only get a framework but they also represented a point of contact with the outside due to the fact that the associations need to respect the laws of the cities in order to avoid their dissolution or other conflicts with the authorities. The synchronization with the authorities is also reflected through the fact that some of the associations follow closely the examples of the cities and undertake not only the language used but also the honorific practices.

Overall, the polyvalence of the internal framework and of the associative life is not impressive when compared to other parts of the Greek world, and similarly their particularities do not bring new aspects as compared to other areas (except to the internal hierarchy), these being direct results of the local characteristics of the associative phenomenon.

Chapter V. The Members of the Private Associations had as goal to reconstruct the profile of those who were part of the private associations, and in this sense various aspects, such as the social status of the members, their geographical origin, the involvement of family members inside associations, and their possible ethnic origin, as well as the gender representativeness were tackled.

Out of the 227 inscriptions a number of 1892 individuals resulted as members of the associations from our area of interest.³² The individuals are either members inside an association from the Greek cities of the Black Sea, or they come from the Greek colonies of the Black Sea but they are attested as members in associations from other parts of the Greek world (15).

Due to the characteristics of the sources we cannot establish a numerical principle based on which the associations were formed (*tres faciunt collegium*), but one can observe the priorities which the associations have in their self-representation for the present and for the posterity, and partially their magnitude; as such some associations leave us with long lists of members based on which we can reconstruct the internal hierarchy and its complexity (Tanais, Pantikapaion, Gorgippia, Dionysopolis, Kallatis, Istros), other record the internal regulations (Gorgippia, Kallatis), their specific activities (Istros, Kallatis), while other categories focus on elevating funerary monuments (Amastris, Phanagoria), or honorific ones (Byzantion), all these leading to the attestation of a numerical variability regarding the members. In what concerns the social and juridical status of the members, one can notice that, as in other parts of the Greek world, we find both associations whose members belong to all social and juridical categories, and associations whose members belong to only a certain social and juridical category. The familial involvement is representative for all of the cities, being in most cases directly proportional with the number of members attested in each city. As expected, the involvement of women in the associations reflect (with exceptions) their role and involvement in the city, being underrepresented from a numerical point of view.

³² According to Annexe n. 2. Catalogue.

present chapter had as goal, both to briefly classify the names and to write, based on them, a study regarding the onomastics of the associations' members.

The variety of the anthroponymy is great, and the name categories reflect the historical evolution of the areas. As such, the Greek personal names are predominant, and the name categories reflect the historical evolution of the areas. We have a predominance of the Greek personal names, followed by the Iranian names (in the north), as well as the Roman ones especially once with the establishing of the Roman rule. The latter category is poorly represented and in general is attested among the elite, few in number. Names which reflect local or areal influences, such as the Thracian or Dacian ones are few in number, as well as the names with a more distant origin, such as the Paphlagonian names. Out of the Greek names, the subcategory of theophoric names is the most widespread, but the divinity whose name is worn by a specific member rarely corresponds to the associative choices. On the western shore the cities have a different political evolution which is also reflected in the names, the situation being different compared to the one on the northern shore where we find a greater uniformity from an onomastic point of view.

The relations which the cities have with Rome reflect themselves also in the anthroponymy, not only regarding the juridical status but also regarding the frequency and the use of some names. As such, compared to the western and southern shore, where the Greek cities fall into the Roman rule, in the north where the status is different one can notice not only the modest holding of the Roman citizenship but also the „inappropriate” use of some *praenomina* Γάϊος (catalogue n. 936, 1048, 1177), Πόπλιος (catalogue n. 1409-1411), Τίτος (catalogue n. 1032) as personal names (missuses which are also found in the case of the provincials). On the other side, the interaction of the Greeks with the locals, as well as the Hellenization of the latter is to be noticed also through the personal names and patronymics of the members. The associative phenomenon is a Greek one and this is especially visible in the northern area where most of the members bear Greek personal names and patronymics, the Iranian elements playing a modest role in the associative life, as the Thracian one on the western shore of the Black Sea.

Chapter VI. The Architecture of the Associations had as goal to evaluate the epigraphic and archaeological sources which attest information regarding the estate of the private associations, including (strongly connected to it) a discussion regarding the finances of

the associations, respectively regarding the way in which the associations obtained and spent their funds.

The sources point to an architectural correspondence between the Pontic associations and the Greek Mediterranean world, even though the former lack precision and are modest in content and number. Most probably the places of gathering of the associations were not as complex in what concerns their plan and structure, like the ones in Delos. This situation reflects not only the state of the archaeological research but also the intensity of the associative phenomenon in this area.

In what concerns the position of these structures, some were located in natural environments (caves), others were located in an urban context (the temples of Dionysos, Poseidon, Sarapis), and others were located in an extra-urban context (the temple of Dionysos Dasyllios). If the internal hierarchy of the associations is the result of a choice, their place in society was established and directed by the authorities, fact which is reflected in the personal networks of the associations, but also in the places which the associations occupy in the *auditorium*, or the locations which they obtained for building their gathering and cult places.

Conclusions

The thesis started with the intention of producing a monographic work on the private associations from the Black Sea, based on the epigraphic sources, tackling the information from the perspective of their corresponding terminology, internal framework, prosopography, onomastics and architecture. The goal was to observe how a Greek phenomenon manifests itself in a colonial environment which is not characterised by uniformity and which has a different evolution in time. The chapters represented the pillars of their understanding as well as the pillars which sustained the hypothesis according to which the place of the associations is relatively marginal compared to other places of the ancient world (due not only to the state of the archaeological research but also due to the local characteristics), and the fact that phenomenon is rather fragmentary and irregular in manifestation.

The associative phenomenon is specific to the great urban centres, in which the variety of associations and of their statuses is diverse and directly proportional with their attestations. Istros illustrates best this *status quo* due to the numerical representativeness of the inscriptions, but also to the existing types of associations; here we have prestigious associations like the Dionysian one (reason for which we have also individuals from Tomis here), but we also have

smaller associations (in this regard the decree in honour of the benefactress Ἔβα is illustrative for the classification of five associations depending on the role they played at a local level: as such, the *Ταυρεασταί*, *οἱ ἰατροί* and *οἱ παιδευταί* are included among the first category of beneficiaries of her liberalities, while the *Ἡρακλειασταί*, *Τέκτονες* and *Ὑμνωδοί* are to be found in the second category, their inclusion in different categories being an illustration of the society's structure.

Compared to other cities such as Athens, Delos, Ephesos, Kyzikos, Pompeii, Rodos, Roma, Miletos, the associative phenomenon is rather peripheral as manifestation and representativeness, the quantity and quality of the sources being inferior, just like their role and local involvement; the difference is to be noticed when surveying the inscriptions which attest the Pontic Greeks as members of private associations in other cities of the ancient world. Even though some of the cities have not been as intensely researched like the great centres of the Greco-Roman world, also only these inscriptions reflect the difference in what concerns the importance of the cities, translated also in the types of associations and their activities.

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