

Associations of Physicians and Teachers in Asia Minor: Between Private and Public

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1. Introduction. Questions of definition

Distinguishing between private and public responsibilities in Greek education from as early as Archaic times on is a difficult task.¹ From the beginning, education was conceived of mainly as civic education, the education of youths as citizens of a Greek community. The objective of this contribution is to analyse professional associations dealing with education in Asia Minor, focusing on their private/public character and their relationship with the state, and comparing them with other professional associations. Let it be stated at once that my conclusion is in agreement with the general assessment of N.F. Jones when speaking of associations: ‘(...) we should think of “public” and “private” not as mutually exclusive “either/or” alternatives but rather as opposing extremes on a continuum possessing infinite intermediate gradations.’²

I will try to situate the *synodoi* of teachers (*paideutai*) and physicians (*iatroi*) along this continuum. The term *paideutai* (παιδευταί) is attested in Imperial times as referring to a teacher of *paides* (παῖδες) as well as to a teacher of ephebes (ἐφήβοι) and *neoi* (νέοι, youngsters). In official documents, sometimes it seems to refer to *gramma-*

1. Griffith 2001: 25, cf. 24. This essay is part of the research project FFI2011-25506, which is financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. I am grateful to Professor Vincent Gabrielsen for inviting me to the International Symposium *Private Associations and the Public Sphere in the Ancient World* that was celebrated in Copenhagen September 2010. I also thank the anonymous referee for his/her helpful comments.

2. Jones 1999: 31. See further the Introduction to this volume.

tikoi (γραμματικοί), at other times to *grammatikoi* and *sophistai* (σοφισταί), or even *philosophoi* (φιλόσοφοι), so that sometimes it is impossible to know if only one certain category of teachers is meant. The fact that the profession of *grammatici* and *rhetores* was not separated originally (Suet. *De gramm. et rhet.* 4), that they were called *praeceptores* or *professores*,³ and that later on, in the Latin official documents concerning these professions, *grammatici* and *rhetores* are mentioned, together with *medici* and sometimes even *philosophi*, is probably evidence of the meaning of *paideutai* as comprehensive of *grammatikoi* and *sophistai* in the Greek official documents (see *infra*).⁴ It is in public, sometimes official, documents where physicians appear together with teachers, and it is also in an official document where we have the first probable mention of associations of teachers and also, though not the first, of physicians. The fact that in Roman Imperial official documents both categories appear together induce us to believe that both professions were seen as related in Antiquity. The ancient evidence for the conception of the work of *grammatikoi* and *sophistai* is well mirrored by Herzog, when he reconstructs part of Vespasian's decree (on which see below) as follows: [... τὸ μὲν τῶν γραμματικῶν καὶ ῥητόρων, οἱ τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς πρὸς ἡμερότητα καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν παιδεύουσιν]. *Iatroi* (ἰατροί) were indeed not only the teachers of future physicians, but played also an important role in the diffusion of *paideia*. The abundant evidence for physicians who were also philosophers, poets, or historians in Asia Minor, especially in the second and third centuries, substantiates their importance as educators and intellectuals. A physician had, in fact, to be a theorist and a philosopher to be publicly recognised.⁵ And, most important,

3. Cf. Herzog 1935: 979.

4. Cf. Bowersock 1969: 32-3. For the sense of σοφισταί in literary and epigraphic texts, the difference between sophist and *rhetor*, and the importance of the sophist as teacher cf. Puech 2002: 10-15. On the link between philosophical schools and associations, see further Haake in this volume.

5. Cf. Samama 2003: 77f. (with bibliography for the relation between medicine and philosophy), and nos. 194, 231, 294, 321, 341, 334, 329, 365, etc. See also nos. 461, 478 (from Rome) and especially 290 (= TAM II 910), the case of the poet, philosopher and doctor Herakleitos of Rhodiapolis in Lycia (2nd cent. AD). Cf. Massar 2005: 197-9, for the importance of the ἀκροάσεις in order to be engaged in a foreign city in

both were intellectual professions for the public service. Both professions appear together already in an edict of Caesar from 46 BC (*SEG* 8.13), and it is also by this time that medicine is recognized as *ars liberalis*.⁶ The similarities in the attested associations of both professional categories is another reason to believe that they were similarly conceived in Imperial times, and to treat them together as examples of private associations directly related with the public sphere.

Though there are many cases where references to teachers and physicians could be references to their respective professional associations, they could also be just references to professional groups. In the cases, nevertheless, where such groups are referred to as *synodos* (σύνδοξ), *synedrion* (συνέδριον), or *hoi apo Mouseiou* (οἱ ἀπὸ Μουσειου), *hoi paideutai hoi syn Sylla* (οἱ παιδευταὶ οἱ σὺν Σύλλᾳ) etc., and where they have a common centre such as the Mouseion, a group-head, or are participating in such typical associative activities such as tomb protection and the organization of *agones*, I think we can see them and treat them as professional associations (Poland 1909, 105, 157, 206). How these associations come into being and why are central issues in this study, and also the most important ones in an investigation of the relation between these private associations and the state.

In order to analyse the private/public character of these associations and their relation with other professional associations, I have split this opposition into a series of other oppositions that are, in my view, especially significant for this analysis: these include private vs. public initiative; voluntary vs. obligatory; not restricted vs. restricted; instrumental vs. expressive; local vs. translocal; no intervention of local or imperial politics vs. intervention of politics; mainly professional activity vs. different social activities (religious, funerary etc.); private benefactors vs. the state as benefactor; pri-

Hellenistic times; Percy 1993 for the relation between medicine and rhetoric, especially clear in the period of the sources attesting to these professional associations, the period of the second sophistic.

6. Cf. Herzog (1935: 979-980), who also emphasizes the close relation of the medical scientific character to philology in the ancient Medicine.

vate administration vs. public administration; private finances vs. public finances; the use of private space vs. the use of public space; private performances vs. participation in civic performances; sectarian politics vs. acceptance of the political system; hierarchical stratification vs. not hierarchical stratification.⁷

2. Private decision and official promotion in the constitution of the intellectual associations

Hellenistic sources show that intellectual education in this period was offered privately or as a result of a *gymnasiarch's* or *paidonomos'* personal initiative, and depended on the chance presence of grammarians, philosophers, historians, doctors or other travelling scholars. They often received honorary inscriptions from beneficiary groups such as the ephebes and *neoi*, or from the *boule* (council) and the *demos* (People) for their work in educating the youth, and they were awarded privileges such as *proxenia*, citizenship, *proedria*, etc. In Roman times they began to be awarded privileges more systematically as members of professional categories. With a few exceptions, it is from this time on that we find the first evidence of these professionals forming an association. As the reader will see in this paper, teachers' associations are known to have existed in Rhodes, Ephesos, Smyrna, and indirectly in Pergamon in Imperial times; physicians' associations are attested in Ephesos and Smyrna in the second century AD. Though there is an important medicine school in Cos in Hellenistic times, and abundant epigraphic evidence for Coan physicians, I think there is no confirmation of the existence of an association of physicians there, as Samama implies from some inscriptions.⁸ An honorary decree to a chief-physician (*ἀρχιατρός*) in Alexandria dedicated by *to plethos ton en Alexandreiai [.]menon iatron* (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ [.]μένων ἱατρῶν) has been adduced as evidence for an association of physicians in Alexandria

7. For some of these oppositions the information is nevertheless y sometimes unavailable or very scarce; see further the Introduction to this volume. For the other professional associations I mainly base my argument on Dittmann-Schöne 2001.

8. Samama 2003: no. 122, n. 9.

already in 7 AD, probably in relation to the Mouseion.⁹ Both types of association were highly likely to have existed in some Anatolian cities.¹⁰

As in the cases of most professional associations, we have almost no information about the origin of those formed by intellectuals. One of the first, if not *the* first, piece of evidence for an association of *paideutai* appears in an inscription from Rhodes (*IG XII,1* 918, Lindos, 1st-2nd cent. AD) which records the honour bestowed on a certain Apollonios from Pergamon *hypo Sylleion Lolleion paideutan ton syn Syllai* (ὕπο Συλλείων Λολλείων παιδευτᾶν τῶν σὺν Σύλλᾳ). Poland considers Sylla the president of the association and, like Lolleios, also a sort of honorary member.¹¹ If we consider that in Rhodes, unlike Hellenistic Athens or Delos, it was frequent for associations to take the name of the founder,¹² I would propose to see in this inscription evidence for the creation of a private association of teachers. Apollonios may be a benefactor, but he may also be a *paideutes* from Pergamon established in Lindos.¹³ In that case, the association may have had the initiative of inviting, receiving and honouring itinerant professionals in the city. A variety of sources allow us to presume that in the case of craftsmen the association was an expansion of the family profession. Although the profession of physician as a family profession is well known in Hellenistic and Roman times,¹⁴ nothing leads us to suppose that the expansion of a family profession would be the origin of intellectual associations.

Official documents concerning these associations may give us a clue partly to the reason or reasons for their establishment, partly to their position in the private-public spectrum. The earliest securely

9. Römer 1990; Samama 2003: no. 394, n. 9.

10. Associations of physicians in Alexandria: Samama 2003: no. 394, of 7 BC; cf. Römer 1990: 81-88.

11. Poland 1909: 75, cf. 75-6, for such denominations of associations including a proper name with preposition.

12. Baslez 1998: 437.

13. For a state foundation established in Rhodes, from a donation by the Pergamene king Eumenes II, with the purpose of paying the salaries of *paideutai*, see Polyb. 31.31.1-3, with Gabrielsen 1997: 80-1.

14. Samama 2003: nos. 132, 183, 187, 188, 247, 252, 292, 313.

dated reference to associations of teachers and physicians side by side is found in an official document, an edict of Vespasian (of 75 AD) found in Pergamon.¹⁵ It grants privileges whose main points are the following three: exemption from the obligation of billeting and paying taxes (ll. 4-5), protection against injury and arrest (ll. 6-8), and the right to meet in sacred spaces where they enjoy *asylia* (13-15):

(...) κελεύω μήτε ἐπισταθμεύεσθαι

5 [αὐτοὺς μήτε εἰσ]φορὰς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ.
[Εἰ δέ τις τῶν ὑπ'] ἐμὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑβρίζειν ἢ κατεγγυ-
[ᾶν ἢ ἄγειν τινὰ τῶ]ν ἱατρῶν ἢ παιδευτῶν ἢ ἱατρᾶλειπ-
[τῶν τολμήσουσιν,] ἀποτισάτωσαν οἱ ὑβρίσαντες Διὶ Κα-
[πετωλίῳ] (...)

13 ἐξὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς

[ἔστω καὶ συνόδου]ς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ
15 [ναοῖς συνάγειν ὅ]που ἂν αἰρῶνται ὡς ἀσύλοις. ὃς δ' ἂν
[αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάζη]ται, ὑπόδικος ἔστω δήμῳ Ἰωμαίων
[ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς τ]ὸν οἶκον τῶν Σεβαστῶν (...)

(...) I order that no billeting be made

5 [against them and no] taxes be demanded of them in any way.
[And if anyone under] my rule [dares] to injure or to compel
them to put up security [or take (forcibly to court?) any] of the
physicians or teachers or medical practioners,
those guilty of their insolence shall pay a fine to Jupiter Ca-
[pitolinus] ...].

13 And they (ther physicians and teachers) are permitted
[to assemble in their association] in precincts (of temples) and
in shrines and
15 [in temples] wherever they choose with right of sanctuary;

15. Herzog 1935; Oliver 1989; no. 38 (FIRAI 73). The reference (ll. 7-8) to ἱατρᾶλειπ[τες] together with παιδευταῖ and ἱατροί as beneficiaries of the imperial policy in this case has been explained by assuming a probable debt that Vespasian had with one of those professionals, who, however, never appear in this context and in official documents, and for whom there is only one other epigraphic mention: Samama 2003: 12.

whoever [drives them out by force] shall be subject to legal action by the Roman People
 [on a charge of sacrilege to] the house of the Augusti (...)
 (transl. Sherk 1988, 127, no. 84)

The first 10 lines have been reconstructed in order to give an idea of the probable content as deduced from the reference to it in the *Digesta* (27.1.6.8; 50.4.18.30) and the preserved part of the edict. They seem to have referred to the two main conditions for the constitution of associations as established by the *lex Iulia de collegiis* (of 55 BC),¹⁶ the *utilitas publica* and the *religionis causa*. The restoration of σύνοδοι (l. 14) is based on the fact that individual *asylia* existed already, so that it only makes sense in reference to corporations. It is also based on the analogy with the *synodos* of the *technitai* and the *lex Iulia de collegiis*.¹⁷ Underneath the edict, a rescript of Domitian is engraved in an attempt to avoid the avarice of teachers and physicians who want to teach slaves just to increase their earnings.

One very damaged Ephesian inscription dated in the first century AD (*I.Eph* 1386) has been interpreted as a possible regulation of the prices and behaviour of physicians.¹⁸ If this interpretation is correct, we would have here, together with the rescript of Domitian, another possible clue to understanding one of the main functions of this sort of professional *collegia* and perhaps a reason for their constitution.

It is interesting that the first regular headquarters attested as headquarters of such associations are the second century AD Mouseia in Asia Minor.¹⁹ An inscription which is assumed originally to have stood at the Mouseion of Ephesos, and which dates from the beginning of the second century AD, seems to be a copy of three

16. Mainly, Suet. *Iul.* 42; Asc. *Corn.* 75, and possibly *CIL* VI 2193 (*ILS* 4966; *FIRA* III 38). The intent and application of *lex Iulia* are, however, issues still debated: see, e.g. Linderski 1968: 99-100; Arnaoutoglou 2002, 32; Liu 2005, 296-99 (who is sceptical about its existence).

17. Herzog 1935: 1001-2.

18. Cf. Samama 2003: no. 203 with note 21.

19. See, however, the use of the word *synodos* for the Alexandrian Mouseion in Strabo 17.1.8. On the Mouseia see below.

senatus consulta from 42 or ca. 32 BC exempting teachers, sophists and physicians from taxes:²⁰

[— ἄτινα ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀγ]-
 ρῶν ἐξάγεται ἢ φ[έρεται] ἢ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς εἰσάγ[εται]
 ἢ εἰσφέρεται, τούτων πάντων εἰσαγώγιον καὶ ἐξαγώγιον μὴ
 πρᾶσσονται μηδὲ τέλους ὀνόματι. ...

- 7 ...ὅταν τις τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων
 ἐπιτηρῶ ἢ διατάγματι δηλώσαι, δεδόχθαι μηδένα
 10 τούτων τοῖς παιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἢ τοῖς
 [ἰ]ατροῖς εἰσφορὰν ἐπιτιθέναι τούτους τε ἀτελεῖ[ους]
 εἶναι βεβουλήσθαι ἢ[—]εν ποιητέον, [ὅ]-
 πως περὶ τούτου τοῦ πρ[ά]γματος διατ[ά]γματι δηλώσο-
 μεν, καλῶς ἔχον ἐστίν. ...

Things driven or taken out from this territory, or driven or taken into this territory won't be subject to importation or exportation taxes, not even (to a payment) under the title of (road- and port-?) taxes. (...) Each time that by the restitution of public affairs one of the triumviri takes care of this question making clear by way of an edict, that no one of them shall impose an expenditure to teachers, sophists or physicians, and that he wants these persons to be exempted from taxes, [---] as we will declare in an edict, this will be well done.

If, as Bringmann states, the translation and publication of these *senatus consulta* rested not on an official decision but on a private one of the teachers, sophists and physicians of the Mouseion, we may infer

20. Knibbe 1981; *I.Ephesos* 4101; *SEG* 31.952; Bringmann 1983, who has dated the inscription in Trajan's time - basing his suggestion on the text in the right column of the same inscription: *I.Ephesos* 4101A, a decree of the Ephesians in relation to the rendering of accounts by the person in charge of finances in the Mouseion. But S. Şahin's proposal of a date not before Hadrian (Şahin 1999 [*I.Perge*] p. 214 with n. 33) is much more in accordance with the other evidence for Mouseia in Asia Minor. Cf. Laffi 2006 for a new edition and thorough commentary of the inscription.

that they are acting as a professional corporation.²¹ The first *senatus consultum* (Il.1-7) establishes the privileges that shall be awarded to these professions; the second one (Il. 7-14) makes the triumvirate responsible for the fulfilment of that concession; the third one (Il. 15-22) presents the decree that the Senate wishes to publish, apparently addressed to the main Roman local magistracies and the presidents of the local organisations delegated with the charging of taxes and customs fees.²²

Being free of *εἰσαγωγίον καὶ ἐξαγωγίον* (Il. 2-3) meant a tax exemption for crossing frontiers on journeys, a concession especially valuable for professions with a well-known itinerant character. We know of other measures adopted in Rome in the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD that aimed to promote the mobility of intellectuals, their permanence in Rome and also the relations among schools, although these measures mostly focused on Rome.²³

Later on, as is well known, Trajan and Hadrian confirmed some of these privileges for the whole empire, except for that of exemption from frontier-taxes, which was never again granted to these professionals in Imperial times. The privileges awarded from the first century AD onwards are mainly those of exemption from liturgies, taxes and billeting. Though none of the words meaning 'association' appear in the edicts of these or later emperors granting privileges to these professionals, it is precisely at this time that spe-

21. Bringmann 1983, but see Knibbe 1981; Laffi 2006: 504

22. Bringmann 1983: 64.

23. Knibbe 1981: 4. As Suetonius says (*De gramm. et rhet.* 32), in 46 BC Cesar awarded civil rights to the foreign doctors and professionals of the *artes liberales* living in Rome. The following senatorial decisions seem nevertheless to be temporary and show that the triumvir edict had also been temporary and limited to Rome, the other communities being free to award those professions tax-exemptions. In many cases, itinerant professionals were exempted from taxes through ad hoc resolutions issued by the person in charge of education or the *gymnasion* in order to promote their visit (see, e.g., Jacobsthal 1908: 379-81, no. 2). It is noteworthy that in *Cyrene*, already in 322-307 BC, Ptolemy I granted exemption from holding offices related to the Myrioi to public physicians, *παιδοτρίβαι*, and teachers of bow-shooting, riding and fighting, together with other professions in charge of public services: Samama 2003: no. 453.

cific evidence for the existence of associations of teachers and physicians comes to light. If we take into account that by this time the honorary inscriptions to itinerant scholars almost disappear; that the term *demosios* (δημόσιος) for the public doctor is replaced by the term *archiateros* (ἀρχιατρός, 'chief-physician'); that the evidence of *paidonomoi* or *gymnasiarchoi* looking after teachers and paying their salary stops; and that the first evidence for Mouseia in Asia Minor starts appearing; then, such changes in the nature of the privileges as those noted above can perhaps be related to a concurrent change from the itinerant character of the profession to an established one.²⁴ This change may have been achieved by the professionals themselves through their forming corporations; or, the other way round, it may have been promoted by imperial policy, which considered the fixed and organised establishment of such professionals in the cities as a basic instrument for education and thus indirectly the Hellenization/Romanization of the Greek East. In any case, associations may have played an important role in this evolution. The general aim of the professionals to have an established position in their local communities or in the main intellectual cities may be one of the reasons that led to the edict of Antoninus Pius limiting the number of physicians, rhetoricians and grammarians who enjoyed exemption from liturgies (*aleitourgia*) in each city (cf. Herennius Modestinus, *Excuses*, Books 2 and 4).²⁵

The fact that the *iatroi*, *paideutai* and *sophistai* of the Mouseion in Ephesos published a two-centuries-old concession of privileges induces us to believe that one of the motives for the establishment of these corporations was to obtain privileges from the local communities where they lived, using the beneficial Roman policy towards

24. The importance of getting a group of students in a concrete place as opposed to the itinerant way of education can be seen for instance in the inscription of Epikrates from Herakleia (*IG XII 6*, 128) from as early as *ca.* 200 BC. He succeeded in staying in Samos, where he created a group of students (σχολάζοντες), cf. Diog. Laert. 5.52.

25. For the concession of privileges to teachers and physicians in Roman times cf. Herzog 1935; Bowersock 1969: 30-42; Bringmann 1983: 69-73; Samama 2003: 72-3. For Hadrian's politics towards grammarians, rhetors and philosophers, see Fein 1994: 282-298, 326-9. A much damaged edict of a proconsul also found at Ephesos seems to mention rights of teachers and sophists: *I.Ephesos* 216.

them as an argument. The information about local policy regarding the establishment of these associations is so scarce that it seems to have consisted simply of a confirmation of the imperial policy in this area, a confirmation that was provided after a request had been made by the professionals themselves. The use by these associations of public space, such as the Mouseion, induce us, however, to believe that the local policy also accepted and maybe promoted these corporations. The grant of permission to associate does not seem to have been a problem. The edict of Vespasian (quoted p. 97 above, esp. ll. 13-14) did not grant this kind of permission, as Herzog (1935) argued, but rather permission to meet in certain places. That there was no systematic ban on non-public associations by imperial policy in the East, as has been postulated with reference to the *Lex Iulia de collegiis*, has been already demonstrated by some scholars.²⁶ In any case, the *synodoi* of teachers and physicians fulfilled the two main conditions for the formation of lawful associations according to the *Lex Iulia: utilitas publica* and (indirectly) *religionis causa*; and, like the other professional associations in Asia Minor, they did not have a sectarian character.

It is probably not a coincidence that, by the same time as the Mouseia and intellectual associations made their appearance in Asia Minor, mainly in Hadrian's reign and following years, the *synodoi* of the Dionysiac Artists (*hoi peri ton Dionyson technitai*) saw a revival.²⁷ During this period, the evidence for contests (*agones*), and concretely musical and theatrical contests (*mousikoi* and *thymelikoi agones*), increases noticeably.²⁸

The privileges awarded to teachers and physicians were privileges already awarded by the Delphic Amphictyony to the Dionysiac *technitai* of Athens in 279/8 or 278/7 BC (*Syll.*³ 399; Le Guen

26. Cracco-Ruggini 1976; Arnaoutoglou 2002.

27. Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003.

28. See further Şahin 1999: 213-219, on the establishment of numerous Mouseia in the cities of Asia Minor in the second century AD (concretely in post-Hadrian and especially in Antoninian and Severian times), and on the relation of their emergence with Hadrian's policy of panhellenism as well as with the general intellectual movement known as second sophistic.

2001, T2), confirmed in 130 BC (*Syll.*³ 692; Le Guen 2001, T6). Almost two centuries after that, Hadrian, who confirms the privileges of teachers and physicians, also issues an edict bestowing privileges on the general *synodos* of *technitai*.²⁹ The terms of this edict survive in fragmentary form in three papyri from the third century. In it Hadrian confirms the privileges of *asylia*, *proedria*, freedom from military service, from liturgies, exemption from taxes for whatever they transport for their private use as well as for use in the contests, exemption from jury-duty, from the obligation of providing sureties, and from special taxes; the right to meet, no obligation to quarter foreigners and the right not to be arrested.³⁰

It is well known that the associations of *technitai* developed as intermediaries between the cities and their profession in order to negotiate contracts. A similar reason may lie behind the development of physicians' and teachers' associations. For those practitioners of professions who wished to have an established position, the association was surely a way of attaining privileges and having the chance of being recognised by the community and by the state.

The associations of these professionals share a special feature with the *synodoi* of Dionysiac *technitai*. That both types of associations had a strong professional similarity is made obvious by their common devotion to the Mousai.³¹ Moreover, both played an important role in the education offered in the cities and, in imperial times, also in the diffusion of Hellenic education in the East. The frequency with which we find philosophers, rhetoricians, *neoi* and

29. For the privileges awarded to *technitai*, see Aneziri 2003: 243ff.

30. Κεφ[ά]λαιον ἐκ διατάγματος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ περὶ τῶν δο[θ]εισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ· ὧν δὲ εἰσὶν ἀσυλία, προεδρία, ἀστρατία, λειτουργιῶν δημοσίων ἀτέλεια, ἀτελῆ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγ[ω]νται χρεῖας ἰδίας ἢ τῶν ἀγόνων ἐν[εκα], μὴ κρίνειν, μὴ καθισ[τ]άνειν ἐγγυητ[ά]ς, ἀνεισοφορίας αὐτῶν, { οὖν } συνθυσίας, μὴ δέχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην ξένους, μὴ εἰργεσθαι[ι] μὴδὲ ἄλλη τινὶ φρουρᾷ c. 11]θεοὶς ἢ θανάτῳ ὑπευθνη (...): Oliver 1989: 240-2, no. 96 A-C; Frisch 1986: nos. 1, 3, 4. Further evidence for Hadrian's interest on the *technitai*: Petzl and Schwertheim 2006: esp. 8-16, 24-25.

31. For the close relation of the associations of *technitai* to the Mousai, see Poland 1909, 206. Several documents (Le Guen 2001: T 73-75) render it possible that the Mouseion in Syracuse, which was near the theatre, served as the headquarters of the *synodos* of the *technitai*.

gymnasiarchs as members of, or otherwise related to, *synodoi* of *technitai* is not surprising.³² In fact, they trained youths in the arts and skills that the *technitai* practiced. The *technitai*, like poets and rhetoricians, were often chosen as ambassadors of the community,³³ while the physicians of Ephesos, like *synodoi* of *technitai*, organised *agones*. There was nevertheless a great difference. The *technitai* were concerned with the visible, festive, propagandistic part of education. They played a main role in the events that showed the power of a city and gave it international standing and prestige. The teachers and physicians, in contrast, were only concerned with the private, local side of education, and it was only as individuals that they were honoured for representing their city. It is not surprising, therefore, that our evidence on internal organisation and state intervention is much richer in the case of the *technitai synodoi* than in the case of associations of physicians and teachers.

3. Hierarchy and internal organization

As in the case of other professional associations, where a president and a *grammateus* normally sufficed,³⁴ the establishment of teachers and physicians associations does not seem to aim at reproducing a complex hierarchical structure, where the members could achieve social prestige.

32. See, e.g., Le Guen 2001: T 124 (Elaia, 129 BC); *I.Priene* III, l. 175 (C1 AD).

33. Le Guen 2001: 80ff., with the references (in the index) to the activities of Menekles from Teos in Crete, or to those of Dymas from Iasos in Samothrace. For poets and rhetors as ambassadors, see the examples in Puech 2002.

34. The only attested offices are those of the president, *epimeletes* ('superintendent') and *grammateus* ('secretary'). Regarding the office of the president, *proedria* is attested in Egypt and in the Roman West since Severian times, but in Asia Minor only in the case of the association of the *porphyrobaphoi* in Hierapolis (Poland 1909: 126, 157, 415). Some associations have a particular term for the president, generally one with the component ἀρχ- (e.g. the ἐμποριάρχαι in Apameia: Poland 1909: 107, 114). See also Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 36, esp. n. 118 for ἀρχ- (e.g. in ἀρχεραμιστής, ἀρχικωνηγός, ἀρχιβάφθης, ἀρχιμύστις, ἀρχιβούκολος, ἀρχιθυσίτης etc.), and for πρωτ- (e.g. in πρωταυτάρχοι, Laodikeia Catacecaumene and Aphrodisias).

There is only indirect evidence for associational officers in the *synodoi* of teachers. In a possible reference to a physicians' association of the methodical school in Smyrna we find the term *προστάτης*, which could possibly designate the president of the association.³⁵ However, the term is used for patron in other professional associations. In Ephesos, the president is indicated with the expression *archon ton iatron* (ἄρχων τῶν ἰατρῶν: *I.Eph* 719, 1162+Add. p. 24), but much better attested is another office for physicians, the *archiatros* (ἀρχιατρός), a term that has been a matter of discussion.³⁶ It seems to have replaced the term *demosios* and, though in some cases the *archiatros* could be the head of an association (as we know of similar terminology in other associations, mainly cultic ones), he seems to be in most cases the physician recognised by the state as a public doctor.³⁷ In this sense, his function as an important intermediary between the state and the private professionals of the corporation makes his role as head of the association very probable. As Nutton has pointed out, the change from the transient public doctors of the Hellenistic age to the citizen *archiatroi* of the Roman period reflects the increasing stability of many medical families in the East.³⁸ As we already mentioned, the association of physicians at this time probably had something to do with this quest for privileges and stability. In fact, the only place where associations of physicians have been assumed in Hellenistic times is Cos.³⁹ An important school in relation to the Asclepion there promoted the stability of the profession.

35. *I.Smyrna* 537; Samama 2003, no. 195, first-second century AD): ἰητῆρ μεθόδου, Ἀσιατικέ, προστάτα, χαῖρε.

36. *I.Eph* 622, 719, 1038, 1161-1163, 1165, 1167, 3055, 4350III.

37. See, e.g., *I.Ephesos* 3055: ἀρχιατρός τῆς [E]φεσίων πόλεως. It is possible that from the time of Antoninus Pius on, the *archiatroi* were among the physicians exempted from liturgies.

38. Nutton 1977: 191-226, esp. 200. For the reasons for engaging foreigners as public doctors in Hellenistic times, cf. Massar 2005: 283-5, who adduces as an important one the power that a native doctor could achieve in the city.

39. E.g. Samama 2003: no. 122, though I think there is no confirmation of the existence of such associations.

Though the post of *archiatros* was increasingly maintained in the same families,⁴⁰ making competition in small communities almost impossible, the medical association in big cities was probably a way to access the official post, and in any case, the circle of this profession that by this time was mainly a profession of intellectuals from the upper class.⁴¹

4. Spaces related to the associations

There is no evidence for the use of a private space by associations of teachers and physicians. In the edict of Vespasian, we have seen above (p. 97), permission was granted to teachers and physicians to meet in sacred places. The Asklepieion seems to be a seat of the physicians association in Ephesos (*I.Eph* 719), and probably of physicians together with other intellectuals in Pergamon (see below p. 111-112).⁴² But the main attested seat of these associations is the Mouseion. In fact, apart from the general term *synodos*, attested for the *paideutai* of Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 215), and *synedrion* for the *iatroi* of Ephesos (*I.Eph* 2304),⁴³ the only specific denominations for these groups are *hoi paideutai hoi syn Syllai* (παιδευταὶ οἱ σὺν Σύλλα) from Lindos (*IG* XII 1, 918); and *hoi peri to Mouseion* (οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον: *I.Eph* 2065, 3068, cf. 3239) or *hoi apo Mouseiou* (οἱ ἀπὸ Μουσείου: *I.Eph* 1162, 2304, 4101A) in Ephesos.⁴⁴ Mouseia related to *synodoi* of intellectuals were

40. *I.Ephesos* 622; Samama 2003: no. 240 (Philadepheia, C2-3 AD); Nutton 1977: 43 (Heracleia), 57 (Thyateira).

41. Nutton 1977: 202.

42. For the special relation in Hellenistic times between the physicians of Cos and the Asklepieion, see Samama 2003: nos. 122 (they were in charge of exposing in the *abaton* the sacral regulations concerning other cults), and 121 (they appear right after the cult personnel and the Nestorides, but before musicians and craftsmen, in the list of distributions of sacrificial meat in a cult calendar). Though I think that these mentions of physicians in relation to the Asklepieion are not a confirmation of their association; rather they are a confirmation of the existence of the notion of professional corporations.

43. The reference to a τόπος συμβιώσεω[ς-] in relation to an *iatros* in Hypaipa (*I.Ephesos* 3818, C3-4 AD) has been interpreted as possible evidence for a medical association, see Samama's (2003) comment on no. 242.

44. The Ephesian Mouseion could also be the centre of philosophical schools, as an honorary inscription to an eclectic philosopher from the Mouseion leads us to

presumably to be found also in Smyrna and Pergamon in the second and third centuries AD.⁴⁵

The Mouseion of Ephesos was the association centre for teachers and physicians. Nevertheless, physicians are more prominent in the evidence from this Mouseion. This circumstance, together with the existence of specific events related to the Mouseion and involving medical demonstrations, the *agones asklepiadai*, may explain the difference between the expressions (*iatroi*) *apo tou Mouseiou* and *peri tou Mouseion*, used in the case of the *paideutai*. The latter perhaps assembled there but surely taught in the *gymnasion* and/or in private centres.⁴⁶

The Mouseion of Ephesos was probably also the centre where new doctors were trained, as perhaps the one in Smyrna was the law school of the city.⁴⁷ The association in the Mouseion gave private teachers and physicians the opportunity to become known and considered, and to attain privileges. In Ephesos the public doctors, *archiatroi*, were probably the presidents of the Mouseion, and the intermediaries between private physicians and the state. This symbiosis between the public and the private we know already from the philosophical schools (*see also* Haake in this volume). As N.F. Jones stated concerning the Athenian schools, ‘a private school (was) housed in a public space, whether agora, or stoa, or gymna-

suppose (*I.Ephesos* 789), though the ethnic *Alexandreus* could mean that the person honoured was a philosopher from the Alexandrian Mouseion.

45. *I.Smyrna* 191 (*IGR* 4.618); *I.Pergamon* VIII 3.38.

46. See Dow 1960 with comments and a bibliography on previous discussion about the meaning of the expression οἱ περὶ τὸ Διογένησι in some Attic inscriptions dating from the end of the second cent. BC to ca. 260 AD. The correct understanding of this designation could help us understand the two different expressions related to the Ephesian associations, but there seems to be no agreement on the question. For Dow, this expression refers to a separate staff of the *ephebeia* that includes all officials, trainers etc., who were associated with the Diogeneion not for a single year, but for life. Another school of thought holds that the expression refers to students of pre-ephebic age at the *ephebeia* institution, which in its latest years extended its age-range: Reinmuth 1959. In Oliver’s view (1934: 191-6), ‘one should explain the phrase περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον as indicating not only the professors ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσεῖου but also those that without holding official appointments had the privilege of teaching there’.

47. Massar (2005: 192-93) considers it possible that physicians were active in the Hellenistic Mouseion of Alexandria.

sium'; and he subscribes to Lynch's view that the use of public space in and of itself gave the central government a powerful source of leverage over the philosophers.⁴⁸ An honorary inscription of the *boule* and *demos* to a person who, among other things, decorated the Mouseion in Ephesos (*I.Eph* 690) shows the public importance of this institution.

In the case of Smyrna, the reference to the city archive as Mouseion induce us to consider the institution as public in nature.⁴⁹ This function of the archive as Mouseion is probably related to the place as the seat of lawyers. This we know from an inscription from Temenothyrai in Phrygia (*IGR* 4.618) dedicated to a member of the tribunal of provincial governors. This individual is also said to have been ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως Συμυρναίων πόλεως ἡγησάμενος Μουσειῶν ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνπερίῳ (the director of the Mouseion of the brilliant metropolis, the city of Smyrna, because of his knowledge of the law), which means that he, a lawyer, was the director of the Mouseion because it was the archive of the city.⁵⁰ It is most probable that the Mouseion was the school of law, but there is no evidence that it was also the seat of the *synodos* of *paideutai* (*I.Smyrna* 215), though this seems quite probable judging from the Ephesian evidence. There is no evidence that the lawyers were associated in any sort of corporation either.

The fact that there is no reference to a priest, that the Mouseia do not appear in the literary sources as a public institution, and that that of Ephesos and the one in Smyrna are clearly different in organisation and functions, all three features induce me to believe that these Mouseia were not created as exact copies of the Alexandrian Mouseion. The other mentions of Mouseia in Asia Minor have been interpreted as references to the Alexandrian Mouseion, but only in cases where it is explicitly stated, or where the expression τῶν ἐν Μουσειῳ σειτουμένων ('those dining in the Mouseion') is

48. Jones 1999: 227-234, who refers (234) to Lynch 1972: 130-4.

49. *I.Smyrna* 191: τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς <ἐπ>ιγραφῆς ἀντι[ι]γραφοῦν κείται ἐν τῷ ἐν Ζμύρνῃ ἀρχεῖῳ τῷ [καλοῦ]μένῳ Μουσειῳ ('a copy of this inscription lies in the archive of Smyrna which is called Mouseion').

50. Robert 1937: 146-48. Lemerle 1935: 131-40.

used, are we able to be certain of it.⁵¹ In other cases, there is no reason to reject the existence of local Mouseia.⁵²

The use of public space by the intellectual associations could denote an official character of these associations, but we know that many craftsmen's associations were allowed to meet in temples or public spaces. This was, for instance, the case with the Ephesian smiths' use of the Hephaistos temple (Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 42-3) and with many tradesmen's guilds use of the port temple (Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 47). This custom is indicated by descriptions such as τοῦ ἐμπορίου (of the market-place), ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος (in the harbour), περὶ τὸν βείκον (by the measure jar), ἐπὶ τῆς θερμαίας πλατείας (in the street of the thermal baths).⁵³ As in the case of the philosophical schools, the use of public space was probably a way to control the private associations and ensure their public utility.

The granting of public space by the state to these professional associations is directly related to the state policy towards associations attested through the official concession of privileges already mentioned. Even though it is not so well attested, and may have been a much rarer practice, consuls and emperors issued official grants of privileges to other types of professional associations.⁵⁴

51. Such is the case of Phronton in Hamidiye, north-east Lydia, *TAM* V,1 498: τῶν ἐν τῷ/ Μουσειῷ (sic!) σειτου/μένων φιλοσόφων τῶν Ἀλεξανδρία/[ῶν -]. Cf. the inscription from Philippi: Κλωδιανὸν ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων τῶν ἐν Μουσειῷ σειτουμένων (Lemerle 1935: 131-140, with commentary on other evidence for Mouseia). The reference to the Mouseion in the funerary inscription of Ailios Dionysios, a known grammarian and sophist described in the inscription as [φι]λοσόφος ἀπὸ Μουσειῷ in Halikarnassos (B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 4 [1880] 405-406, no. 21), is probably a reference to the Mouseion in Alexandria, where he had studied.

52. Şahin considers also these Mouseia as local Mouseia: see his comment to *I.Perge* 193, with references to most of them and considerations of date and context.

53. Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 49. Sites of different professional associations are attested in the Stoa of Servilius in Ephesos. The asiarch M. Fulvius Publicanus Nikephoros grants the space between the columns by the reconstruction of the columnata to at least seven associations (e.g. *I.Ephesos* 445, 2078, 2080; on this use of the *intercolumnia*: *Lib. Or.* 11.254). An edict by the emperor Zeno orders the occasional construction of association seats in public spaces: Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 45 and 64, where other evidence for official permission to associations to use public spaces is cited.

54. Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 64, 59.

5. Patrons (*patrones*) and benefactors (*euergetai*) of associations

A main link between the state and a professional association – particularly when one considers the latter’s practical and economic significance – are the individuals who became patrons and benefactors of associations. In an inscription from Ephesos *hoi peri to Mouseion paideutai* (οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον παιδευταί) honour an asiarch as ‘their benefactor and founder of the fatherland’ (τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην/ καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος: *I.Eph* 2065, 2nd cent. AD). The same association honours, by decree of the *boule*, a *lampadarchissa* of Artemis (*I.Eph* 3068), which may demonstrate the relationship of the *paideutai* with the temple of Artemis, in whose *temenos* a *gymnasion* is known to have existed. In Smyrna, the *synodos* of the *paideutai*, together with the *neoi* of the Mimmermeion and the *gerousia*, honoured Poplios Petronios Achaikos, probably a benefactor of these associations, with decrees and a golden crown (*I.Smyrna* 215).

Benefactors and patrons could achieve important economic and social concessions for the association while they themselves gained prestige in the community as a result of their beneficial activity. In many cases, the official status of benefactors made them a useful instrument of state policy, even through their apparently private donations.

6. Extra-professional activities

This public face of associations is also revealed by their extra-professional activities. One of the best known among them, the preservation and protection of tombs, has also a clearly extra-associational character in Asia Minor, if we consider that only in some cases, which are limited to certain geographical areas, do the associations arrange and pay for the burial of their members (Dittmann-Schöne 2001: 83-5). Most frequently, a member of the community (who may or may not be a member of the association) would prepare his burial place in life and give instructions that the association, which was to inherit it, should take care of its maintenance and protection.⁵⁵

55. Dittman-Schöne 2001: 82-93, for evidence especially stemming from Ephesos and

Those associations that are better attested to have performed that duty were usually also the most prestigious ones in the cities.

‘The physicians in Ephesos, those from the Mouseion’ (οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί) carried responsibility for the tomb of an important doctor, who was a friend of the emperor. The doctor, perhaps a member of the association, had bequeathed to its membership forty thousand and six hundred denaries (*I.Eph* 2304). In the inscription from Smyrna already mentioned above (*I.Smyrna* 215), the *synodos* of *paideutai* appears not to have any direct involvement in the burial of the deceased as such, but is simply mentioned for having passed a decree honouring its benefactor, or perhaps one of its members, who had arranged his burial privately.

The other well-known extra-professional activity is a religious one. Most associations had their own tutelary divinity, to which they devoted most of their cultic activity. Cult officials of associations are, nevertheless, scarcely attested, and the same applies to their worship of other cults within the city. In the case of the physicians, the relation to Asklepios is well attested and well explained, but always in relation to the Asklepieion, not to the Mouseion. An honorary inscription to an *archiatros*, who was also *epitropos* of Trajan and a priest, was set up by ‘the physicians who sacrifice to the ancestor Asklepios and to the *Sebastoi*’ (*I. Eph* 719; 102-114 AD). In this case, the association of physicians defines itself as worshippers of the god Asklepios, which emphasises the cultic aspect of this association and may also indicate that its seat was in the sanctuary of Asklepios, the find-spot of the inscription.⁵⁶ However, this association may be the same as the one known as *hoi apo tou Mouseiou iatroi* (‘the physicians from the Mouseion’), the *archon* of the physicians and the priest (of Asklepios: cf. *I.Eph* 1162) being the same as those in an inscription of this *synodos* (*I.Eph* 4101). A relation between the cult of Asklepios and an ‘intellectual’ association is also to be supposed in the case of the famous incubatory sanctuary of the god in Pergamon, where Aelius Aristides spent so much time. The repeat-

Hierapolis, and for isolated evidence from other cities of the northern and western Anatolian coast.

56. Samama 2003: 328, no. 205.

ed use of the term *therapeutai* in this context, in inscriptions as well as in the speeches of Aelius Aristides, induced Herzog to believe in the existence of an association with the name *therapeutai*.⁵⁷ From Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 50.19) we know that one of these *therapeutai* was Rhosander, a member of a well-known Platonic philosophical school, to which other visitors of the Asklepieion also belonged.⁵⁸ Further proof of this intellectual aspect can be found in the current reference to sophists in the inscriptions from the place, as well as in the existence within the sanctuary of both a theatre and a library offered by a benefactor, Flavia Melitine, who was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Pergamon (*I.Perg* VIII 3, 38).⁵⁹ The evidence of a Mouseion (*I.Perg* VIII 3, 152) in the city makes it probable that there were two independent intellectual associations, which surely had some or many of their members in common (cf. the commentary on *I.Perg* VIII 3, 152). The cultic aspect of the associations of teachers is only indirectly attested through the relation of these professionals to the *gymnasion* and the groups of *neoi*, ephebes and *paides* and through the direct evidence of the attachment of this institution to the cults of Herakles, Hermes and the Mousai. The honorary inscription dedicated by the *synodos* of *paideutai* in Ephesos to the *lampadarchissa* of Artemis may reflect the attachment of the *synodos* to the main cult of the city, though this is not strictly necessary. Neither the cult of the Mousai nor any other cult is attested in relation with the Mouseion in the Anatolian cities, except in Perge, where it is connected with the Alexandrine Mouseion.

The role of the association of *iatroi* at Ephesos as a medical school and as a centre of diffusion of *paideia* is shown by the organization of medical contests (*agones*) in the disciplines of *syntagma*, *cheirurgia*, *problema* and *organon* (*I.Eph* 1161, 1162, 1164, 1165, 1167, 1168; Samama 2003, no. 210-215). There is no explanation of what one had to demonstrate when competing in each of these disciplines. We may suppose they

57. Herzog 1935: 1007-8.

58. One of them, Pryllianus, is called 'from the temple'. For the possible intellectual associations in the Asklepieion, see Remus 1996: 152, 159-60.

59. Habicht 1969: 15, 17 (cited by Remus 1996: 160), who describes the Asklepieion as the 'Zentrum des geistigen Lebens' in the city, indeed in the province of Asia.

were demonstrations of medical skill in preparing medication (*pharmaka*) or writing medical treatises (the probable meanings of *syntagma*), in surgery (*cheirurgia*), in diagnosis (*problema*) and in making or using medical instruments (*organa*).⁶⁰ In any case, they demonstrate the unity of theory, surgery and pharmacology that reminds us of Galen's insistence on an integral knowledge and skill for a good doctor,⁶¹ and of the important relation of physicians to *paideia*. The *agones* were dated by the priest of Asklepios, the president of the association of physicians and the *agonothetes*. They were organised in the *gymnasion* and a *gymnasiarchos* of the physicians was appointed during the days of the *agones* (*I.Eph* 1162, ll. 12-13, cf. 1164, 1165). The fact that *archiatroi* were often winners of different demonstrations (cf. *I.Eph* 1162) allows us to suppose that the *agones* were not for students of medicine, but for doctors. Even if they were not official examinations of civic physicians but the usual challenge matches in the context of civic festival, as Barton states, these *agones* were probably significant in the election of the public doctors of the city.⁶² It is surely not a coincidence that they date from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), the emperor who restricted the right to enjoy exemption from liturgies to a certain number of physicians and teachers in each city.

7. Representation of these associations in the community

There is really no evidence that associations of craftsmen and intellectuals in Asia Minor participated in public festivals. Most of the evidence presented by O. van Nijf comes from the West, while the

60. Cf. Barton 1994: 148 and n.72; Nutton 1995: 7-8; 1979, 187-88; Samama 2003: 70-1. Barton (loc. cit.) assumes that the proofs consisted on free choice on medical theme on which to speak, surgical demonstrations, a theme chosen by judges, and medical instruments, though his assessment that 'The order with words before deeds is notable' is based in a false order, and for that reason is void. Nutton (1995) interprets the proofs as submission of novel inventions, of a drug (*σύνταγμα*) or an instrument (*ὄργανον*), and resolution of a medical and surgical problem; or, alternatively, drug prescription (*σύνταγμα*), manipulation or bandaging (*χειρουργία*), some form of diagnosis and the use of instruments.

61. Gal., *De opt. med. cogn.*, cited by Nutton 1995: 8.

62. Barton 1997: 148 and n. 72.

evidence from the East is always indirect or concerns Dionysiac *technitai*, athletes and other sorts of associations which were professionally related to festivals.⁶³ It is significant that there is no mention of professional associations either in the foundation of Demosthenes of Oinoanda (*SEG* 38:1462) or in that of Salutaris in Ephesos (*I.Eph.* 27). *Topoi*-inscriptions securing seats in theatres or latrines for these associations surely have a symbolic value, as van Nijf (1997) has stated, but also a practical one. The *topoi*-inscriptions in the Ephesian latrines of the Vedius gymnasium can probably be explained by the fact that this gymnasium was near the Servilius stoa, where many professional associations had their headquarters.

In some cases the reference to teachers and physicians as professional groups may be a reference to an association. Professional associations appear frequently at public distributions and banquets in the Roman West. Though it is not usual in the Roman East, and there is no evidence in imperial Asia Minor, we have some examples in Hellenistic Cos, which are probably related to the change that took place in the physicians' profession from an itinerant to an established one. These professionals appear among the recipients of sacrificial meat together with other associations: the *nestorides*, and the flute players, the smiths and potters.⁶⁴ In first-century BC Priene, however, only foreign physicians and teachers appear among the recipients of sacrificial meat (*I.Priene* III; Samama, no. 226). They are listed together with other foreign professionals such as the *theoroi*, *technitai* of Dionysos, masseurs and physical trainers, and together with the ephebes of the city.⁶⁵

These examples, together with evidence from the Black Sea dating from imperial times, suggest that it is possible that public distributions to these professions also occurred in Anatolia. A female

63. van Nijf 1997: 131-46.

64. *I.Cos* 37 (*Syll.*³ 1025; Samama 2003: no. 121, mid C4 BC). For the *Nestorides* as possible association of disciples honouring Nestor, who, as Asklepios, had received medical teachings from Chiron, see Samama 2003, 224, n. 4.

65. See the donations made by a *paidonomos* to the *paides* at the end of his term of office in Carian Hydai: *I.Mylasa* 909. The inclusion of the *paidoutai* among the recipients surely helped this profession to become a respectable group in society, cf. van Nijf 1997: 175, n. 131.

gymnasiarch named Aba was honoured in Istros for her distributions to physicians and teachers, together with other social, cultic and professional associations. Lines 25-30 of the relevant inscription (*I.Histriae* 57; *SEG* 30.796, ca. 150-200 AD) read:⁶⁶

(...) τοῖς μέν γάρ/ βουλευταῖς πᾶσιν καὶ γερουσιασταῖς καὶ Ταυ/ριασταῖς
καὶ ἰατροῖς καὶ παιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ/ καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος καλουμένοις ἐκ δύο
κατ' ἄνδρα/ δηναρ[ί]ων/ διανο[μ]ήν, ἦν οὐπω τις ἄλλη πρότερον,/ ἔδωκεν (...)

... for all members of the *boule* and the *gerousia* and for the *Tauriastai* (i.e. worshippers of Poseidon), the physicians, the teachers and all those who have been individually invited, she has distributed two dinars per person, what nobody had done before...

Teachers and physicians are here distinguished from those 'individually invited' (τοῖς ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος καλουμένοι), and appear after the *bouleitai*, *gerousiastai* and *tauriastai*, but before the cultic and professional associations of the *hymnodoi* (hymn singers), builders, craftsmen and traders of the Sacred Avenue, and the *Herakleleistai* (II.31-33: ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὑμνωδοῖς καὶ τέ/κτωσιν καὶ ἱεροπ[λα]τείταις καὶ Ἡρακλειασταῖς). It seems that for the benefactress Aba, the most prestigious group of professionals consisted of physicians and teachers.⁶⁷ We don't know if they constituted an association or not, but the fact that they appeared together with professional associations makes it probable that they were also one, or at least they were conceived as one by the community.

66. See van Nijf 1997: 170-188, on the professional associations in this inscription, and Robert 1989: 195-266, esp. 205-8, on *IGBulg* I², 15(3).

67. See also the case of Dionysopolis in Moesia, where a gymnasiarch is honoured, among other things, for having made distributions to the *boule* and the visiting *bouletai* from a league of five cities, the *agoraioi*, *iatroi* and *paideutai*: *IGBulg* I² 15(2) (early third cent. AD, after 212) and 15(3), which includes *hymnodoi* and foreign traders.

8. Conclusions

There seems to be no important distinction between associations of physicians and teachers and other sorts of professional associations. The main difference is probably the different status of the members. Grammarians, sophists, rhetoricians and physicians in Asia Minor belonged to the middle and upper classes, some of them even to the elite.⁶⁸ The higher recognition many of them received is nevertheless much clearer in individual references to such professionals. When they join together as an association they seem to become an entity similar to other associations in its internal organisation, but also in its rights and obligations towards the community. Reference to membership of a private person is only found in documents erected by the association or addressed to the association as such, but usually not as a sign of identity in private documents of its members. The naming of an association after its founder is very rare, as are also inscriptions honouring individuals who are members of an association. Most of our evidence is about the relationship of associations with their patrons, benefactors, the community and the state. Speaking of the circle of Aelius Aristides, Remus (1996, 148) writes: ‘By virtue of their birth, means, and education they had little need to resort to such organization to attain the ends – social and professional – that motivated persons beneath them in the social scale to form voluntary associations.’ That rhetoricians and physicians who apparently did not need to join such associations did in fact join them is a sign of their main practical professional interest and, at the same time, of the associations’ significance not for the individual but for the *koinon*. As Baslez states, ‘ce n’était donc pas le triomphe de l’individualisme, comme on l’a dit parfois, mais plutôt la dissociation du collectif et du politique, confondus dans la cité depuis ses origines’.⁶⁹

I think there is no evidence for assuming that teachers, physi-

68. The social status of members of craftsmen’s and traders’ associations ranges from the lower class to the middle one, the Roman citizens being nevertheless more numerous than the members of the lowest classes: see Dittmann-Schöne 2001.

69. Baslez 1998: 439.

cians, craftsmen or tradesmen joined associations to compensate a social lack or to achieve a social status they could not achieve otherwise, though sometimes such a thing could be, and surely was, a consequence of their membership. I think the symbolic and social value of associations that define themselves in terms of their occupational activities must not be overstressed in detriment to their professional value. The associations of teachers and physicians were constituted with a professional, not social, restrictive membership. The aim was clearly professional: to gain recognition and privileges that allowed them to exercise their profession, to have an established position and the possibility of access to public office and, finally, to be related to an institution where they could have intellectual discussions and find students. Therefore their association was probably only theoretically voluntary. It seems very probable that a teacher or a physician in Ephesos or Smyrna had to join the professional association in order to attain the privileges that their profession claimed and to have the chance of being recognised publicly as a teacher or physician. Membership in such associations offered them the possibility of becoming a public physician or teacher. Public, here, means 'recognised by the state' as the community's physician, sophist, etc. In many professions, the decision of associating was surely a private decision, but the state not only did not oppose the establishment of these associations, but probably even granted them privileges in order to stimulate their creation. In the case of teachers and physicians this is, as we have seen, very probable. The state also offered them a public space in which they adopted the official ritual which is represented in the monumental epigraphy, the displaying of statues and the institution of benefaction and patronage that allowed them to satisfy their professional needs. Honorary dedications and tomb protection were inherent to this kind of *koinon*. The association was guaranteed by the state as an important link in the community and a representative element of it. The community could benefit of the professional skill of its members, but also of its role protecting their tombs or in order to be honoured by being its patron or benefactor. For the state, the establishment of such associations guaranteed the provision of education and health care, much like the existence of an association of bakers

in Ephesos (Dittmann-Schöne 2001: II.1.29) guaranteed the bread supply of the population, or, again, the existence of the association of linen-weavers in Lydian Saittai (Dittmann-Schöne 2001: no. III 3.1-III.3.11) ensured the exploitation of a most important economic resource of the region.

It is not simply as a matter of form when physicians are honoured 'for having attended the community in a private and in a public capacity' in the third and especially in the second century BC.⁷⁰ A significant example is the case of Onasandros, a physician who learnt the profession from a teacher and public physician (διδάσκαλος, ἰατρὸς δημόσιος) of Cos. He became so well-known in the deme of Halasarna for his medical skill that after being an appointed medical assistant for many years, he opened his private practice (*iatreion*) where he generously attended everyone, letting his private interest come second to his public function.⁷¹ On the basis of the *Lex Iulia*'s requirement of *utilitas publica* from associations, Herzog has reconstructed the lines 5-6 of Vespasian's edict (see p. 97 above) as follows: [Ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις πρέποντα ἐπιτηδεύματα / ταῖς τε πόλεις κοινῆι καὶ ἰδίᾳ χρήσιμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ νομίζεται] (Because the professions that are suitable to free persons are considered useful for the cities publicly as well as privately, and sacred to the gods). The insistence on public service, which we find in Hellenistic honorary decrees, seems to have been also a principal reason for the imperial (and probably local) policy towards these professions and for the steps taken to make the associations become a framework uniting private and public dimensions.

From the moment an association of teachers and physicians was founded, the private/public opposition no longer seemed to have

70. Samama 2003: nos. 106 (Halicarnassus) and 129 (Cos). See also the later evidence of Samama 2003: no. 245 (Robert and Robert 1954: no. 70B), ll. 11-12 (Herakleia Salbake, C1 AD): παρασχόμενον τοῖς πολει]ταις καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰ[δ]ιωτικῶς.

71. Samama 2003: no. 137 (*SEG* 41. 680, Halasarna, C2 BC), ll. 24-38, cf. Samama 2003: no. 067, a nearly contemporary decree of Amphissa in Locris, in which a physician is honored for his work for the common health, treating everybody on equal terms (ll. 15-17): τ[ὸν] ἐγγει]ρισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ πάντων περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἐφ' ἴσου καὶ πο[θ] / ἅπαντας εὐνοικῶς διαφυλάξας (... favourable preserving the confidence entrusted to him in relation to the common health, in equal conditions, and for everybody).

any more significance for the association and its representation in the community. If somebody had asked a pedestrian in an Ephesian street if the teachers that assembled in the Mouseion constituted a private or a public *synodos*, I wonder if he would have known how to answer.

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