

Foreigners' Associations and the Rhodian State

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1. Introduction

Two kinds of phenomena are particularly noteworthy in Hellenistic Rhodes: the importance of foreigners—numerically speaking—and the importance of associations, *koina* of the *eranos* type, since we know about more than a hundred such groups, dated mainly to the second and first centuries BC. This chronology confirms the conclusions of recent studies based on Rhodian commerce and amphora trade,¹ conclusions that discredit the view about the so-called ‘long twilight of Rhodes’ after 167:² after the declaration of the *emporion* of Delos as a free port following the Roman victory on Perseus of Macedonia, Rhodes was still an independent city-state, a prosperous and active cultural and commercial center, and a naval power.³

It is central to our understanding of Rhodian society in this period not only to determine the possible existence of links – and to describe the nature of these links – between the two phenomena, but also to shed light on the importance of the relations between associations of foreigners and the city-state in the Hellenistic age.⁴ Most of these associations were established at Rhodos, the *emporion* and eponymous capital of the city-state. But they are also attested in the ancient cities on the island (Lindos and Kamiros) as well as in the Peraia (Rhodes’ continental territory in Caria) and some of the

1. Lund 1999; Rauh 1999; Finkielsztein 2001b. See also Gabrielsen 1993.

2. The expression is used by Berthold (1984, 233) as the title of his last chapter, where the author describes the ‘decline’ of Rhodes after the Third Macedonian War.

3. See the latest syntheses about Hellenistic Rhodes: Gabrielsen 1997; Wiemer 2002.

4. On the associative phenomenon in Rhodes, see Pugliese Carratelli 1939-40; Gabrielsen 1994a, 1994b and 1997, 123-129; Maillot 2005.

islands that were incorporated into the Rhodian state, among others, Nisyros, Telos, Symi and Chalke.

Associations of foreigners were the very type of private groupings which could not be ignored by a city-state. In Classical times, most cities welcomed foreigners, but placed severe limitations on their residence and rights, notably those relating to access to justice and property rights. This remains unchanged in Hellenistic times. The citizen-body of a city-state is still a very exclusive group, even if contacts and mobility are greater and more important than before. We must therefore ask whether the grouping together of foreigners in associations was under the supervision of specific state institutions, and how the official and juridical recognition of such associations operated. One has then to consider the degree to which such groups became integrated into the public and civic life, particularly by adopting *polis* practices in their internal workings, and by participating in certain aspects of the civic life.

2. Definitions: what is an association of foreigners?

Associations of foreigners are a major issue for our understanding of the associative phenomenon and of Hellenistic societies as a whole. Historiographically, they have played an important role in the renewal of studies on ancient Greek and Roman associations that has taken place since the 1980s. This renewal has partly its origin in the new social history developed in the United States in the 1970s, above all in *community studies* and *ethnic studies*.⁵ This kind of history places greater importance on the specificities of the historical experience by the community. The methodological foundations for this culturalist approach consists of the importance ascribed to the values and customs imported by migrants and subsequently used by them to describe their relations to the new society they are living in. This is the general framework within which the paradigm of the foreigners' association is constituted and has to be understood. A case in point are the works of M.-F. Baslez, which are centered on the evidence relating to the *koinon* of the *Poseidoniastai Berytiosi* (Posei-

5. See, e.g., Fishman 1985; Hollinger 1995; Green 2002, 25-26, 53-59.

doniasts from Beirut) *emporoi* (merchants) *naukleroi* (ship-owners) *kai ekdocheis* (and ware-house-men), or to that relating to the *koinon* of the *Herakleistai Tyrioi emporoi kai naukleroi* at Delos. According to Baslez, during this period of demographic growth at Delos, the common interest on which these new groups were based was, in fact, their members' origin from the same place. Ethnic community is thus an exact rendering of the generic term *koinon* as applied by the Heraclists from Tyre and the Poseidoniasts from Beirut'.⁶ In this kind of analysis, foreigners' associations are based on three factors: (1) common geographical origin and ethnic exclusivity; (2) common profession; and (3) common cult, that is, the worship on foreign soil of the group's *theoi patrioi*, a practice usually regarded as an element of the so-called oriental religious feeling, one believed to emphasize more mysticism and less on ritual.

The associations of foreigners in Rhodes nevertheless present a very different picture. Only a small minority acknowledge a foreign geographical origin, even fewer a common origin: we find a *koinon* of *Lapethiastai* from the Cypriot city of Lapethos and a group of *Paphioi* (who, however, do not use the generic term *koinon*) at Lindos;⁷ two groups use the regional ethnic *Syroi* (from Syria): a *koinon* of *Aphrodisiastai Syroi*, on the island of Nisyros,⁸ and the *Adoniastai* [*Aphrodisiastai*] *Asklapiastai Syroi*, on Symi;⁹ groups of *Herakleotai* appear at the capital city of Rhodos and Chalke,¹⁰ and, finally, some Roman *nego-*

6. Baslez 1977, 207. See also Baslez 1984, 338: 'certains groupements expriment des solidarités exclusives, nationales ou professionnelles. Ils font une politique dont il s'agit d'apprécier le caractère particulariste et revendicatif'.

7. *Lapethiastai*: IG XII 1, 837; *Paphioi*: I.Lindos II, 392b, l. 8, 394, l. 5.

8. IG XII 3, 104 (imperial period).

9. IG XII 3, 6 (1st cent. BC).

10. Rhodos: *Herakleotai*, Maiuri 1916, 139, no. 10 = Pugliese Carratelli 1939-40, no. 19 (1st half of the 2nd cent. BC); *Herakleotai* [...]*Joneioi*, IG XII 1, 158; *Herakleotai Poseidaniastai Polemoneioi hoi syn Agathameroi*, Pugliese Carratelli 1986-87, no. 12. Chalke: *Herakleotai Xouriastai*, IG XII 1, 963. The contexts in which the ethnic *Herakleotai* appears and its combination with cultic names shows that it is used for associations of the *eranos* type and not simply for indicating the city of Herakleia. For when cities are honouring someone, the word *polis* is used, see, e.g., Maiuri, *NS* 18. Doubts remain as to the identification of the city from which the *Herakleotai* living in Rhodes came. There are a number of cities called Herakleia (Herakleia) in the Hellenistic world: for a list,

tiatores, cives Romani qui negotiantur, are attested at Rhodes.¹¹ Very few associations declare a profession common to all its members: for instance the *cives Romani qui negotiantur*, the group of teachers of the *Sylleioi Lolleioi paidoutai hoi syn Syllai*,¹² a group of *Haliastai Athanaistai Hermaistai Aristeideioi hoi synergaxamenoí ton hippodromon* (i.e. 'those who built the hippodrome'),¹³ a *koinon* of public slaves, *Diosatabyriastai hoi tas polios douloi*,¹⁴ and some resident farmers at Lindos, the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes en Lindia polei*.¹⁵ Notably, there are no associations of *emporoi* or *naukleroi*, except the particular case of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes en Lindia polei*, who are also once attested as *nauklareuntes*.¹⁶ One should add the fact that the divinities worshipped are very seldom *theoi patrioi*. The few cases known are: the *koinon* of the *Meniastai* at Lindos, who worship the Phrygian god Men; the *Herakleotai Xouriaistai*, who probably worship the Nabatean Dusares; the *Aphrodisiastan Basileias Aphroditas koinon*, who probably worship the Phoenician Astarte.¹⁷ Most associations accumulate in their names an impressive number of divinities, for instance the *koinon* of the *Soteriastai*

see Robert 1973, 438 n. 18; Robert 1978, 477-490. The Rhodian evidence offers no means for an identification. Geographical proximity, though, suggests Herakleia on the Latmos, which had ties to Rhodes. An independent city after Apamea in 188 BC, this Herakleia is allied with Rhodes, and the treaty signed in 185 BC with its neighbour Miletus indicates that Herakleia and Miletus, though they became allies, pledge not to act counter to their respective treaties with Rhodes (*Syll^b* 633). This political situation could explain an emigration from Herakleia to Rhodes and at the same time an affirmation of ethnic or civic identity.

11. *CIL* III Suppl. 2, 12266 (end of 1st cent. BC). See Bresson 2002.

12. *IG* XII 1, 918 (1st/2nd cent. AD).

13. *NuovoSuppl.Epigr.Rhod.* I, no. 3 (2nd cent. BC). Some doubt remains about the sense of *synergaxamenoí*: one thinks of the Delian expression *hoi ten tetragonon [agoran] ergazoumenoi*, where *ergazoumenoi* means 'traders' (Roussel, *ID* 1709), or more precisely, 'those who make business' there.

14. *IG* XII 1, 36.

15. See below 168-92.

16. *I.Rhod. Per.* 510 (Bresson, *RecueilPéré* 27), ll. 9-10.

17. *Meniastai*: *IG* XII 1, 917; *Herakleotai Xouriaistai* at Chalke: *IG* XII 1, 963; *Aphrodisiastan Basileias Aphroditas koinon*: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 8 (1st cent. BC). The expression *theoi patrioi* is not attested in Rhodes. It is known in the neighbouring island of Astypalia through the *koinon* of the *thiasos* of Atargatis and the ancestral gods: *IG* XII 3, 178 (3rd cent. BC or later).

Asklapiastai Poseidoniastai Herakleistai Athanaistai Aphrodisiastai Hermaistai Matros Theon, comprising the cults of a savior god (probably Zeus), Asklepios, Poseidon, Herakles, Athena, Aphrodite, Hermes and the Mother of Gods.¹⁸

Given all this, how are we to identify groups as associations of foreigners? Some rare and valuable documents provide indications for the composition of such associations, since they comprise lists of members with foreign ethnics. Some of these documents record internal subscriptions (*epidoseis*). One example concerns the subscription solicited by an unknown *koinon* to finance the repair of the common cemeteries;¹⁹ a second concerns the subscription solicited by the *Samothraikiastai Aristobouliastai Hermaïstai Panathenaïstai hoi syn Ktesiphonti* (i.e. ‘those together with Ktesiphon from Chersonesos’) for the acquisition of a plot of land.²⁰ To these we should add an inscription

18. *IG XII 1*, 162 (2nd cent. BC). See Morelli 1959.

19. Konstantinopoulos 1966, 56 (195 BC, cf.), ll. 1-16: ‘In the priesthood of Sodamos, the twelfth of the month Hyakinthios, when Xouthos of Antiocheia was *archeranistes*, the following have been elected to be in charge of the building of the enclosure of the graves: Dionysos of Ephesos, Zoilos of Gargaron, Matrodoros of Ephesos; they wrote up the names of those who promised to give money and have given it. The following, willing to participate to the construction of the enclosure of the graves and its gates, in accordance with the decree of the *koinon*, have promised to give money’ (there follow the names of eight erantists from Antioch, Ephesos, Ilion, Cappadocia, Sicyon and Gargaron).

20. Kontorini 1989, 73, no. 10 (172/170 BC). Of the 32 contributors attested in this list, 24 have an ethnic from another city (Athens, Cyzicus, Amisos, Ephesos, Miletus, Halicarnassos, Herakleia, Phaselis, Etenna in Pisidia, Selge, Chios, Samos, Thera, Laodiceia, Alexandria) or another region (Cilicia, Pisidia, Lucania and Armenia). Seven have the ethnic *Rhodios/Rhodia*. This does not mean that the civic rights of these individuals were recently acquired, or restricted (so Hiller von Gærtringen 1941, 731-840; Meyer 1937, 560-582). The use of the ethnic *Rhodios/Rhodia* was not a means through which Rhodian citizens reaffirmed their legal status in contexts where foreigners are the majority (so Pugliese Carratelli 1953; Kontorini 1989), but probably an indication – self-consciously and voluntarily provided by the persons concerned – of belonging to the socio-professional group of the sculptors working in Rhodes: see Gabrielsen 1994b, who shows that *Rhodios/Rhodia* is attested only in sculptor signatures and in connection with members of *koina* – two groups that overlap in our inscriptions. Other examples of subscription documents, in which the list of contributors is not preserved, are: *IG XII 1*, 9, an unknown *koinon* headed by an

of a peculiar type: a list of the *agonothetai* and *gymnasiarchoi* who had presided over the organization of internal competitions of the *koinon* of *Asklapiastai Nikasioneioi Olympiastai*, an association founded by one Nikasion from Cyzicus; the document includes also a list of the *euergetai* and *euergétides* of the *koinon*.²¹

At this point one should also mention a few lists of foreigners and subscriptions by foreigners, which may or may not have been issued by associations,²² as well as an interesting subscription list for a public purpose, in which the majority of contributors are foreigners.²³ There is a mention of one Philocrates from Ilion who in an-

individual from Kibyra; Maiuri 1925-1926, no. 5 (1st cent. BC), an unknown *koinon*, headed by an individual from Laodikeia and presumably including among its members A Laodikean and an Ephesian; *IG XII* 1, 937, the *koinon* of the *Dionysiastai Athanaïstai Dios Atabyriastai Euphranôrëioi hoi syn Athenaioi Knidioi* (Lindos, 1st cent. AD), whose head Athenaios comes from Cnidus.

21. *IG XII* 1, 127 (beginning of the 2nd cent. BC). The name of the *koinon* can be deduced from another document: Hiller von Gaertringen and Saridakis 1900, no. 108. *IG XII* 1, 127 comprises 43 names of which 28 have a foreign ethnic (7 from Antioch, 4 from Soli, 2 from Alexandria; other cities or regions are Cyzicus, Ilion, Lysimacheia or Alexandria in the Troad, Chios, Cnidus, Symbra, Phaselis, Selge); 10 persons carry the ethnic *Rhodos*, of which 5 are known as sculptors from other texts.

22. The list of foreigners, *Suppl. Epigr. Rhod.* I, no. 63 (Jones 1992, 124-25; end of 2nd - beg. of 1st cent. BC) mentions 35 foreigners, from Asia Minor (Halicarnassos, Aphrodisias, Stratoniceia, Nysa, Antiocheia on the Maeander, Caunos, Tabai, Herakleia, Termessos, Rhodiapolis), Phrygia (Epictetos, Dara, Apamea Kibotos), Greece and the islands (Athens, Megalopolis, Cos, Paros) and Syria (Damas, Seleucia on the Tigris). Subscription list of foreigners: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21 (1st cent. BC) has at least 164 foreigners (21 metics, 3 persons in possession of *epidamia* [see p. 154], 4 public slaves). Of these 164 persons, 36 are women coming from Asia Minor (Smyrna, Ephesos, Sardeis, Myndos, Cnidus, Halicarnassos, Mylasa, Alabanda, Caunos, Herakleia, Phaselis, Perge, Soli), the islands (Cos, Samos, Paros), the Black sea region (Cyzicus, Nicomedia), continental Greece (Athens, Argos), Syria and Phoenicia (Antioch, Laodikeia, Apameia), Egypt (Philadelphia, Alexandria) and the West (Rome, Tyndaris). Subscription list of foreigners, perhaps slaves: Papachristodoulou 1989, 134, no. 10 (1st cent. BC). Dedications put up by groups of foreigners: Maiuri, *NS* 8 (2nd cent. - 1st cent. BC) and 37 (1st cent. BC). Subscription-list of foreign women: Maiuri 1916, 134-135, no. 1 (Migeotte 1993; end of 2nd - begin. of 1st cent BC), with 21 contributors: 12 foreigners and 9 citizens.

23. Jacopi 1932, no. 6 (beg. of 1st cent. BC). The list comprises 21 subscribers, of whom 8 have foreign ethnics, 7 are metics and 6 are citizens from Camiran demes.

other inscription is mentioned as an *euergetes* of the *Isiastai*, the *synthytai Rhodiaistai epidamiastai*, the *Hermaistai Thesmophoriastai* and the *Matioti ktoinetai eranistai Philokrateioi*.²⁴

Other criteria indicate that most members of a given association were foreigners, even when no list of members is preserved. The following categories probably comprise associations of foreigners.

1. Associations bearing the name of a foreigner and being structured around him. They use his name in two ways, either in the formula *hoi syn* (+ name), or as the basis for an adjectival derivation. The case of the *eranistai Samothraikiastai Aristobouliastai Hermaistai Panathenaïstai hoi syn Ktesiphon* (i.e. those assembled around one Ktesiphon from Chersonesos) has already been mentioned. We can add the *Soteriastai hoi syn Damatrioi Selgei*,²⁵ the *Dionysiastai Athanaïstai Dios Atabyraïstai Euphranoreioi hoi syn Athenaioi Knidioi*,²⁶ the *Sylleioi Lolleioi paideutai hoi syn Syllai*,²⁷ the *Dios Xeniaistai [Pan]athanaïstai Lindiastai hoi syn Gai[o]i*,²⁸ and the *koinon of the Aphrodisiastai Hermogeneioi*, which is known from a decree honouring the founder, Hermogenes of Phaselis, and an exceptional document listing the land-property titles of the *koinon*.²⁹

2. Associations which have a foreigner as their main magistrate. A famous example is Dionysodoros of Alexandria, who was *archeranistes* of the *koinon* of *Haliadai kai Haliastai* for twenty-three years (and an *euergetes*-member for no less than thirty-five years) and *archeranistes* of the *koinon* of the *Paniastai* for 18 years.³⁰

The citizens give a total of 20,000 drachmas, the foreigners a total of 4,700 drachmas (at a maximum), but the second biggest amount in the list (3,000 drachmas) comes from an individual from Antioch; the estimated grand-total, including now lost amounts, is estimated at 35,000 drachmas.

24. *IG XII 1*, 157 (beg. of 1st cent. BC).

25. *AD 23 B* (1968) 445.

26. *IG XII 1*, 937 (1st cent. BC).

27. *IG XII 1*, 918 (1st cent. AD).

28. *IG XII 1*, 161.

29. Jacopi 1932, 214, no. 53 and Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 18 (120 BC, cf. Finkielsztejn 2001a). The *Hermogeneioi* appear also without the mention *Aphrodisiastai* in Maiuri, *NS* 28. See below note 109.

30. *IG XII 1*, 155 (159/8 BC, cf. Finkielsztejn 2001a). See Gabrielsen 1994a.

3. Associations honouring their *euergetai* members who are also foreigners. For instance Dionysodoros of Alexandria, who was honoured as *euergetes* by the *Dionysiastai*, the metic Charixenos of Andros, *euergetes* of the *Aphrodiastai Hermaistai*,³¹ Sosikles of Crete, *euergetes* of the *eranistai Adoniazontes*,³² Ariston of Syracuse, *euergetes* of the *koinon of Sabaziastai*,³³ Stratonika of Halicarnassos, *euergetes* of the *Haliadai Haliastai*, probably the same association as the one who honours Dionysodoros of Alexandria,³⁴ Protimos of Sidon and Doros of Media, *euergetai* of a unknown *koinon*,³⁵ the Galatian Karpos, *euergetes* of an unknown *koinon*.³⁶ These inscriptions are quite numerous.

What do these documents tell us about the nature and workings of associations of foreigners? First of all, these groups are not based on an exclusive ethnic criterion: members may have immigrated from all parts of the ancient world, thought often from the southern part of Asia Minor, of course, but also from the northern part (Troas, Bithynia, Pontus), Syria and Phoenicia, continental Greece, the islands and even from some more remote regions (the West, Africa, Arabia, Armenia). This ethnic mix is comparable, in every detail, to the composition of the whole population of foreigners attested at Rhodes in the last three centuries BC. More than 1085 foreigners bearing some 214 different ethnic names can be recorded in the epigraphical sources.³⁷

Of course we find persons of the same origin in the same association, be they linked by family ties or not,³⁸ but more important, it

31. Maiuri, *NS* 42.

32. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 1 (2nd cent. BC).

33. Kontorini 1983 no. 8 (end of 2nd - beg. of 1st cent. BC).

34. *IG XII* 1, 156 (mid-2nd cent. BC).

35. Maiuri, *NS* 192-193.

36. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 11 (1st cent. BC).

37. About 600 persons are mentioned in Morelli's list (1955), subsequently enlarged by Sacco (1980). On the importance of foreigners in Rhodes, some comparisons are possible with Delos: 1,626 persons with 254 ethnic names in Tréheux's list (1992); or with Athens: 1,259 foreigners bearing 197 ethnic names attested in 3,300 funerary inscriptions covering 800 years: Vestergaard 2000.

38. See for example the *koinon* of *Asklapiastai Nikasioneioi Olympiastai*, founded by Nikasion of Cyzicus, *IG XII* 1, 127 (with note 21 above): in this list of *euergetai* appear Nikasion's wife Olympias of Soli, his sons Dion and Demetrios (both Rhodian

seems, is the phenomenon of mixed marriages. On fifty funerary monuments for couples of foreigners where the husband is a member of a *koinon* – as in most of the cases – twelve attest to mixed marriages.³⁹ These facts surely show that such unions were crafted in Rhodes and are a sign as well as a result of the numerical importance of foreigners living in the city and the integration between foreigners of diverse origin. I think therefore that we must underline the ethnic mix of Rhodian associations, thereby adding to the social mix known from other Hellenistic associations: i.e. the inclusion of women and children, free men, freedmen and slaves. Some associations include Rhodian citizens, as shown by the use of the demotic or the ethnic *Rhodios* (see p. 140 above). The majority, however, are foreigners.⁴⁰

Members of associations do not claim a common origin they do not have. This is probably the reason why they worship an impressive number of divinities, some of which are specifically Rhodian. Even when common origin forms part of the name used by an association in official documents, a closer look reveals that it does not constitute a grounds for exclusion: for instance, the association of *Herakleotai* is known, among other documents, from the funerary stele of a member who came from Phaselis.⁴¹ Nor do members of (Rhodian) associations in general proclaim a common profession either. Prosopography is often the only way to detect any common professional activity by the members: that the association founded

citizens), his daughter Olympias and Basilis, his granddaughter or daughter-in-law. The *koinon* is organized in three *phylai* called *Nikasioneis*, *Olympeis* and *Basileis*; the origin of these names is quite clear. See Maillot 2009.

39. *IG XII 1*, 157 and Jacopi, 1932, 214, no. 6 (see above notes 22, 23); *IG XII 1*, 158; 164; 165; 384; 385 (end of the Hell. period); *I.Lindos II*, 683 (1st cent. BC); Maiuri, *NS* 41, 46; Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 19 (*I.Rhod.Per.* 169 (2nd cent. BC); *I.Rhod.Per.* 57 (two cases, end of 1st-beg. of 1st cent. AD)). We must also take into account the inscriptions that permit us to establish family alliances through onomastics and prosopography: we have found more than 33 mixed marriages for 64 couples of foreigners. See Maillot 2005.

40. This kind of mix is also attested in Athens, another cosmopolitan centre: Ismard 2010, 348-352. There is, however, no comparable use there of an ethnic like *Rhodios* in a context of predominantly foreign members.

41. *IG XII 1*, 158.

by Nikasion of Cyzicus, the *Asklapiastai Nikasioneioi Olympiastai*, has many members who were sculptors is something known from other texts (see note 21 above).

It is impossible to apply to the associations of Rhodes the model devised by M.-F. Baslez for Delos. Baslez holds that the primary function of the associations of foreigners, at Delos as elsewhere in the Greek world, was to introduce foreign cults and thus make their diffusion easier.⁴² But as has been demonstrated, associations of foreigners at Rhodes are not based on a common ethnic origin, expressed through cults or by any other means, which then would allow us to speak about *communautarisme* or religious sects. Foreigners are all non-Rhodians, in a strictly juridical sense, and this fact does not have any consequence in terms of ethnic or cultural homogeneity. The level to which non-Greek foreigners were also foreigners in a cultural sense is very difficult to establish. This is possible only through case studies taking into account all aspects of the Hellenization of the communities they came from, among which the degree of adaptation of social and political institutions of Greek origin, what some called 'poliadization'.⁴³ Foreigners associations at Rhodes do not privilege the original culture of their members, but are based on the common experience of expatriation on arrival in a new society, at Rhodes itself. Accordingly, one should expect them to rest on multiple networks – geographical, familial, or professional.⁴⁴ Such associations, uniting as they did people from different parts of the Greek world and the hellenized (or non-hellenized) *ethne* of the eastern Mediterranean, were the products of the very society they formed. Therefore, they can be seen as representing, not so much international, wide-ranging networks, but rather local networks in big exchange centers – their aim being to ease their members' establishment and integration in the Greek world. On the other hand, and even though there is as yet no clear proof of it at Rhodes, it is quite probable that some among these mixed and multiethnic

42. Baslez 1977, 197.

43. On the notion of 'poliadisation' as the adoption of institutions characteristic of the civic institutions see Couvenhes and Heller, 2006.

44. Maillot 2009.

groups, constitute the formal side (i.e. the institutionalization) of international exchange networks.⁴⁵ However, many of them probably comprised not only merchants, but also representatives of various other professions, nationalities and statuses, probably including not a few freedmen.

These findings from Rhodes invite us to pursue further the modification of Baslez's 'Delian model', which has been initiated by Monika Trümper.⁴⁶ They suggest that we should radically change our view about the juridical, political and psychological aspects of the relationship between *privaste* associations and the state.

3. The internal organization of associations

Many aspects of the internal organization of associations of foreigners confirm what has just been said about their composition. Here again they do not follow the path of particularism but imitate the organisation and institutions of the city-state.

At the head of the *koinon* we find a magistrate bearing the title *archeranistes*, i.e. President of the association. Texts do not say anything about the mode of selection, but he can stay in office for several years. Dionysodoros of Alexandria was *archeranistes* of the *koinon* of *Haliadai kai Haliastai* for twenty-three years and held the same office in the *koinon* of the *Paniastai* for eighteen years.⁴⁷ Whatever the mode of selection, the fact that an *archeranistes* could remain in office for so many years leads to the conclusion that this post was held by

45. See Vlassopoulos 2009.

46. Trümper 2006, 117: 'The picture which emerges from the epigraphic evidence is that of a thoroughly hellenized Phoenician association: in their epigraphic habit, exclusive use of the Greek language, organization, interpretatio Graeca of their patron god Poseidon, and cult and honorific practices, the Poseidoniasts betray a comprehensive knowledge of and adaptation to Greek-Hellenistic customs and culture. This can even be seen in the earliest datable inscription. There was obviously a certain permeability in membership and an opening to ethnic and professional outsiders, but the extent of outside membership cannot be determined. (...) Therefore, not only the association itself, but also its clubhouse (...) would have been far less secluded than was often suggested in literature.'

47. *IG XII 1*, 155, l. 83 and 108.

important members and was less accessible to modest members of the association, who are called *idiotai*. The President of the association was assisted by *archontes* (officials). These were probably elected, as suggested by the use of such formulas as the one in the decree of the *Haliadai kai Haliastai*: *kai toi archontes oi te enestakotes kai oi meta tauta aei airoumenoi*.⁴⁸ According to the same document, the officials could propose decrees (which perhaps reveals a probouleutic function), and they presided over official ceremonies at which members were honoured. An *epistates* (superintendent), helped by *logistai* (accountants), functioned as a treasurer: together, these officials were responsible for purchasing the crowns for the *euergetai* and for looking after the finances of the *koinon* in general. The *grammateus* (secretary) was responsible for writing up the decrees and for recording the dealings of the association. A *hierokaryx* (sacred herald) was in charge of the official proclamations during assemblies, called *sylogoi*. There is not any attestation of a Council, whether termed *boule* or something else. It is possible to see the *archontes* (officials) themselves as a Council, especially if they had probouleumatic functions, and if the *epistates* can (as his title seems to indicate) be seen as their head. In that case, the institutions of *koina* would indeed be very similar to those of the *polis*. This general picture is above all based on the decree of the *Haliadai kai Haliastai* for Dionysodoros of Alexandria (*IG XII 1, 155*). Other documents attest to magistracies named *epimenioi*⁴⁹ and *episkopoi*,⁵⁰ but we are not able to say anything about their functions. The distribution of particular tasks was not very strict, however, as the same task could be performed by different officials. The official proclamation of honours, for instance, could be the responsibility of the *epistates* or the *hierokaryx*;⁵¹ so, too, the purchase of honorific crowns could be done by the *archeranites*, or the *logistai*, or again the *epistates*.⁵²

The decrees issued by *koina* are called *psephismata* and in all respects imitate the formulae of civic decrees. They are ratified by the whole

48. ll. 20-21.

49. See the decree of the *Sabaziastai* for Ariston of Syracuse: Kontorini 1983, no. 8.

50. See the decree of the *Diosoteriastai Zenoniastai*: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 2 (2nd-1st cent. BC).

51. *IG XII 1, 155*, ll. 30-31.

52. *IG XII 1, 155*, ll. 52-55.

membership, the *eranistai*, who are also called *to plethos* (the multitude).⁵³ Any member of the association, *archon* (official) or *idiotes* (private individual), is entitled, in writing, to propose resolutions.⁵⁴ Decrees are clearly distinguished from *nomoi* (laws), which are the statutory law, ‘the highest law’ (*megistos nomos*), or ‘the unchanged law’ (*akinetos nomos*).⁵⁵ No inscription with the text of such an ‘unchanged law’ of a *koinon* has been discovered to date. Thus we can only surmise that, among other things, it determined the nature of honorary crowns to be awarded in accordance with the nature of the acts to be recompensed by such honours; additionally, it presumably prescribed the penalties to be meted out for transgressing the law. Essentially, these penalties seem to have been of a financial nature.⁵⁶

Decrees of associations are dated with reference to the Rhodian eponymous magistrate, the priest of Halios. Whenever the name of this eponymous magistrate is known, we can date the decrees with precision.⁵⁷ It is therefore the civic calendar of Rhodes, which constitutes the official frame in which the assemblies and festivities of our groups are inscribed: these are deliberative assemblies (*syllogoi*), and the religious gatherings (*synodoi*), which can last for several days. During the *synodoi*, the sacrifices are performed, the *evergetai* (living or dead) are crowned, honours are officially proclaimed and the monetary contributions to be paid by the *eranistai* to the finance these honours are collected.⁵⁸

Associations not only adopt the institutions and practices of the city, but also its system of values. They reward with symbolic or material honours such personal qualities as *arete* (excellence) *eunoia* (benevolence) and *philodoxia* (love of glory). Heading the material

53. *IG XII 1*, 155, l. 6.

54. *IG XII 1*, 155, ll. 97-98.

55. See the formulas *kata tode to psaphisma kai kata tous nomous* (ibid., ll. 25-26), and *toi ek tou nomou megistoi* (ibid. l. 103).

56. See ibid. ll. 101-3.

57. By contrast, the inscription of the *koinon* of the *thiasos* of *Atargatis* and the ancestral gods at *Astypalaia* is dated by the name of the priest of the *koinon*: *IG XII 3*, 178. In this case, a priesthood internal to the *koinon* is attested, which is never the case in the Rhodian *koina*.

58. *IG XII 1*, 155, ll. 20-38.

honours is exemption of an *eranistes* from the *eranos*, the annual contribution to the *koinon*. Such exemption can be granted several times, and sometimes it is given for life.⁵⁹ Then come the crowns, the value of each standing in equal proportion to the acts for which the individual is honoured, and probably also to his wealth; simultaneously, the value of crowns reveals the financial capabilities of a *koinon*: a golden crown, for instance, can cost as much as ten gold staters.⁶⁰ A Heracleot who had performed a *choregia* (probably a public liturgy rather than one internal to the association) was honoured with seven gold crowns by four different *koina*,⁶¹ but crowns of foliage are profusely attested, too.⁶² The award of crowns was a standard honour inspired from the public area. The frequency of the practice was such that in one instance complex mechanisms for selling the crown, after it had been awarded at annual ceremonies, were set up by the *koinon of the Haliadai kai Haliastai*.⁶³ The wealthiest *koina* also honoured their honorands with one or more bronze statues, which probably were to be seen within their cemeteries or houses.⁶⁴

59. Maiuri, *NS* 46 (funerary monument of Dionysodoros of Alexandria and his brother Iakchos, mid-2nd cent. BC).

60. This is the value of the crown awarded by the the *Pamiastai* to Dionysodoros of Alexandria: *IG XII 1*, 155, ll. 77-78, and also that of the crown offered by the *Syllioi Lolleioi paidoutai hoi syn Syllai* to Apollonios of Pergamon: *IG XII 1*, 918.

61. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 6 (1st cent. BC), see appendix, no. 38. The most striking example are the 29 gold crowns and 5 foliage crowns given by 26 different associations of various categories (military groups, civic subdivisions, private associations, etc.) to a single person, probably a citizen, whose name is not preserved: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 19 (1st half of the 2nd cent. BC). On crowns see Appendix.

62. We find regularly specification of the leaves (ivy, oak, poplar, myrtle), which are often depicted on the rectangular funerary altars: Fraser 1977, 27, 68. Several golden crowns have been found in the Rhodian necropoleis: Kaninia 1994-95, who offers a typology of crowns, and a hypothesis about the possible relationship of ivy crowns and chthonic aspects of the Dionysiac cult. See also Filimonos and Giannikouri 1999. A very interesting document is the list of crowns attributed to at least seven foreigners from different cities (Ephesos, Antioch, Halicarnassos, Alexandria), discovered in the eastern part of the Rhodian necropolis: Maiuri, *NS* 45. This document can be interpreted as the register of crowns for *euergetai* of associations.

63. *IG XII 1*, 155, ll. 53-66.

64. Plutarchos of Apameia received a bronze statue from the *Aphrodisiastai Soteriastai*:

Among symbolic honours, the most important is that of *euergesia*, the official title of *euergetes* of the *koinon*. This title and other honours are officially proclaimed (through the act of *anagoreusis*) at various festive occasions,⁶⁵ or during the *synodoi*. This *anagoreusis tan timan* (proclamation of the honours) took place during the honorand's lifetime and after his death. The honours awarded by the *koina* were therefore to a high degree symbolic in character. Their posthumous proclamation at ceremonies expressed the desire to create a common history for the *koinon* and to ensure its continuity 'for ever' (*eis ton aei chronon*).

Is there something specifically Rhodian here? The code of honours and the attending agonistic spirit were common to all ancient Greek cities; additionally, the political vocabulary used by associations of foreigners belonged to a cultural *koine*, since many associates were of Greek origin. Two features nevertheless stand out and must be stressed: the use of the Rhodian civic calendar by the associations; and the importance of the title of *euergetes* in the Rhodian *koina*. Leaving aside such very prominent figures as the Hellenistic monarchs and the Roman emperors, we know of twenty cases of *euergetai* in the Rhodian epigraphic corpus, all of which appear in non-civic – that is non-state – inscriptions, and none in public decrees. Of those twenty cases, eighteen are foreigners and seven concern *euergetai* of *koina*; and both of the two Rhodian citizens honoured in this way receive their titles from associations.⁶⁶ By

see appendix no. 1; an Herakleot received two from the *koinon of the Aristobouliastai Soteriastai Hephaiastiastai Agathodaimoniastai Menekrateioi hoi syn Menekratei*: see appendix no. 38; Hermogenes of Phaselis received one from the *Aphrodisiastai Hermogeneioi*: appendix no. 3.

65. For example, at the celebration of the *Adonia* festival (*kath' hekasta Adonia*) for the *koinon of the eranistai Adoniazontes*: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 1.

66. These citizens are the priest of Athana Lindia, Mikythos son of Mikythos, *euergetes* of the *Hermaistai Alkimedonteioi* (*I.Lindos* II, 251: 115 BC), who probably are named after the *stratagos* Alkimedon son of Alkistratos: *IG* XII 1, 50, l. 1; and the priestess of Athana Lindia, Nikassa daughter of Myonides, wife of the priest of Athana Lapheides son of Lapheides. Nikassa is titled *euergetes* and *soter* in the dedication of her bronze statue by a group of foreigners, the *katoikeutes en Lindia polei*: *I.Lindos* II, 394 (the bronze statue of Nikassa is also mentioned in *I.Lindos* II 392a).

comparison, the epigraphic corpus of Athenian cult associations offers not a single reference to the term *euergetes*.⁶⁷

The frequent use of the title *euergetes* by the Rhodian *koina* of foreigners may be explained in three ways. Firstly, it can be an example of the more general theory, put forth by Gauthier, according to which Greek city-states awarded the title *euergētēs* only to foreigners, never to their own citizens.⁶⁸ Secondly, the Rhodian practices may be interpreted as an additional indication of the 'personalization' (understood as the creation of personal distinctions) characterizing the associative phenomenon in Rhodes. These groupings were certainly very far from the experience of egalitarianism typifying the (Athenian-style) radical democracy: while we do not know how the principal magistrate of an association was appointed, we do know that he sometimes is also both the founder and an *euergetes* of the association, and that he can remain in office for many years. Many of these associations must have been something akin to clientela-groupings, or groupings led by a charismatic figure (in the Weberian sense), as is shown by the use of a personal name in the name of some associations. This is not to say that the personal qualities of *arete* (excellence) and *eunoia* (benevolence) are by nature aristocratic rather than democratic,⁶⁹ for birth has nothing to do with the title of *euergetes*. On the other hand, wealth and integration in the Rhodian society are doubtless the foundations of this associational 'meritocracy', which has a strong oligarchic flavour.

Thirdly (and finally), an explanation of Rhodian practices ought to take into account two remarkable circumstances: that some *euergetai* are the recipients of honours from both private and public bodies, that is, from private associations and subdivisions of the state, respectively; and that, while some of those honoured with the title *euergetes* clearly are members of the associations honouring them, others are not necessarily members of these particular bodies. This is, for instance, the case with the metic Philokrates of Ilion (appendix no. 10), the metic Euphrosynos of Idyma (appendix no. 37) and,

67. Arnaoutoglou 2003, 149-150.

68. Gauthier 1985, 27-30.

69. See the remarks of Gauthier 1985, 129 n. 1.

in a most impressive way, of a person whose name is not preserved, but who received at least thirty-one golden crowns and five foliage crowns from twenty-four bodies of both public and private nature (appendix no. 39). This, however, is not something peculiar to foreign *euergetai*, for the same practice can be observed with some high-ranking officers of the Rhodian navy who are also patrons of associations.⁷⁰ Therefore, the phenomenon described here does not fit in the notion of what French scholarship calls 'évergétisme de relai'; the central idea behind this notion being that those unable to become part of the *state-managed* memory by receiving the official title of *euergetes* from the *polis* would turn to the *privately-managed* memory, i.e. primarily the family and the association.⁷¹ These features rather pertain to a political and social mode of participation that is not adequately captured by our traditional vocabulary of 'public' and 'private', since it occurs in a different space, one which V. Gabrielsen and C.A. Thomsen have labeled 'the fourth space' (see Introduction to this volume).

4. The legal framing of associations and their recognition by the law of the *polis*

What institutions were set up by the city-state of Rhodess to deal with the remarkable development of associations of foreigners? Certainly, the public associations, which were exclusive to citizens, were under state control, and the foreign population was subject to some form of supervision; on arrival to Rhodes, foreigners were under an obligation to register as such. The existence of different terms for foreigners residing in Rhodes must reflect different statuses: metics (*metoikoi*), those with a foreign mother (*matroxenoi*), those in possession of *epidamia* and those simply called residents (*ka-toikountes*).

The *metoikos* status appears frequently in inscriptions (66 persons use the term *metoikos*) but not in any systematic way. We know of

70. See below notes 130, 131.

71. On 'évergétisme de relai', see Schmitt-Pantel, 1982.

persons who, like Damo of Perge,⁷² had received the right to own realty (*enktesis*), but who are not called *metoikoi*. No *metoikos* is recorded with the name of his deme of residence, and most foreigners are distinguished as such through mention of their ethnic, even when it is clear that they are permanent residents, rather than itinerant foreigners. This must be compared to the probable disappearance from Athens of the juridical status of the metic after the end of the third century,⁷³ an evolution presumably linked to the decline of Attic demes as the fundamental units of Athens' public organization, and probably also the loci for the collection of the *metoikion*.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, we do not know of any *metoikos* in Rhodes who was registered in a deme, and this leads to the conclusion that demes were not involved in the registration of foreigners. This may be confirmed by the expression *metoikos apo Rhodou*, which appears only once in the Rhodian epigraphic corpus, and which could suggest that *metoikoi* were registered by a central *polis* institution.⁷⁵ Moreover, the great number of foreigners who do not have the status of *metoikos* could indicate the existence of a different mode of registration from that based on the deme as the unit in which the *metoikion* was collected.

Some *metoikoi* mention their *prostates*. Four documents present the formula using the verb *prostatego*.⁷⁶ This institution remains obscure. The non-systematic mention of the *prostates* has been interpreted by K.M. Kolobova as indicating that membership of an association exempted one from the obligation to have a *prostates*.⁷⁷ The official membership lists of associations would have been a satisfactory instrument of control for the state. However, there is not one single document from an association which could be characterized as an

72. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21 AIII, l. 11.

73. The last explicit mention of the *metoikos* status in the Athenian epigraphic record is in IGII² 554, l. 11 (306/305 BC).

74. Whitehead 1977, 77. On the declining importance of the Attic demes: Ismard 2010, 338-43.

75. Kontorini 1989, no. 16.

76. Jacopi 1932, no. 6 (left column), ll. 17-18, and (right column) ll. 21-23, 31-36.; Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21 AIII, ll. 31-32.

77. Kolobova 1966, 65-72, on which see Gauthier 1972, 132 n. 85.

official list of members. It seems therefore possible to advance another hypothesis: possibly, usage of the verb *prostateuo*, instead of the substantive *prostates*, aimed at indicating that the *prostates* had a permanent responsibility for the *metoikos*, and that this responsibility fell onto a *polis* magistracy.⁷⁸

Those in possession of *epidamia* deserve special mention. As recipients of *epidamia*, an institution peculiar to Rhodes,⁷⁹ these foreigners were privileged with the right of residence in Rhodian territory. This right seems to have been granted to a limited number of foreigners, the majority of whom are attested as members of associations. We know of thirty-one grants of *epidamia* from exclusively private inscriptions; no public decrees attest to this institution. Since an Ephesian is recorded in possession of both *epidamia* and *enktesis*, we can infer that the *epidamia* status in itself did not include the right to own realty (*enktesis*). This status was obviously superior to that of *metoikos*: on his funerary inscription, Philokrates of Ilion is described as possessing *epidamia*, whereas in an earlier subscription list he features simply as a *metoikos*.⁸⁰ The same funerary inscription reveals also the existence of an association of *epidamiastai*, the *koinon synthytan Rhodiastan Epidamiastan*, which confirms the importance attached to being granted that status. The members of this association united around the cult of the goddesses *Rhodos* and *Epidamia*, the personification of the privilege they had been granted.⁸¹ Whenever

78. This magistracy need not necessarily have had a commercial function in the *emporion* of Rhodes, as Rauh (1993, 36-37, 125) suggests on the basis of a comparison with the *prostatai emporiou* in Naukratis.

79. In these cases, the word always appears in the formula: '(proper name), ὅτι ἡ ἐπίδαμια δέδοται' ('to whom *epidamia* has been granted'). In other cases, the word appears as the object of the verb *ποιεῖν* and has the non-technical meaning 'to stay for a brief time': see Lévy 1987, 47-67, 54 n. 38.

80. *IG XII 1*, 157; Jacopi 1932, 214, no. 6.

81. The cult of the goddess *Rhodos* is well attested: a document from Cos ordains that tax-farmers should sacrifice to Aphrodite, Poseidon, Kos and Rhodos (*Syll.*³ 1000; Vreken 1953). In the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna (ca. 200 BC), there is a provision about a sacrifice to Halios and Rhodos (*Syll.*³ 581; *IC III*, 3, A1, l. 3). An altar of Halios and Rhodos has been found in Lindos (*I. Lindos II*, no. 140). On the hypothesis of a personified goddess *Epidamia* and the importance of political personifications in Hellenistic times, see Robert 1967, 12.

the social position of the persons possessing the *epidamia* can be established, it is seen to be rather high (a *proxenos*, a banker, three sculptors, a wealthy contributor). Three of them are members of the same *koinon*: Nikasion of Cyzicus, Satyros of Ephesos and Theon of Antiocheia;⁸² two appear in the same list of foreigners: Mnaseas of Chios and Apollonios of Alexandria;⁸³ two partake in the same dedication;⁸⁴ four feature as contributors to the same public subscription, in which foreigners abound;⁸⁵ and three of them appear in another subscription.⁸⁶ Fourteen among them knew one or more of the other *epidamia*-holders and belonged to the same social circles. This 'little world' has been materialized into associations, a suggestion supported partly by the fact that two of the relevant documents were issued by *koina*,⁸⁷ partly by the possibility that one of the three subscriptions belonged to a *koinon*.⁸⁸

What can be concluded from all this? Associations enabled some of their members to make themselves known, thus functioning as a mechanism of societal integration. Alternatively, by honouring particularly those among their members who already had an important position in Rhodian society, they helped these individuals to enhance even more their social standing: proof of this 'inequality' is provided by the disparity of the amounts given by contributors to the two subscriptions mentioned above.⁸⁹ This second possibility

82. *IG XII 1*, 127 (beg. of the 2nd cent. BC).

83. Maiuri, *NS* no. 8. The editor takes this document to be a subscription list, but no monetarty contributions are recorded.

84. *I.Lindos II*, no. 130.

85. Jacopi 1932, no. 6. There are two lost names with the ethnics *Antiocheus* and *Astypalaieus*, in addition to Menis of Oroanda and Philinos son of Nikomedes from Megara. The *Antiocheus* paid the sum of 3,000 dr., the second largest on the list, on his own behalf and on behalf of his daughter and wife.

86. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21. The purpose of the subscription is unknown. The persons concerned are an Ephesian, Timotheos of Soli and Simalos of Mylasa.

87. *IG XII 1*, 157 and 127.

88. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21.

89. In Jacopi 1932, no. 6: whereas the *epidamia*-holder from Antiocheia (as also another Antiochean) paid 3,000 dr., most of the other foreigners gave less than 300 dr.; the largest sum (10,000 dr.) comes from an individual who might be a foreigner. In the subscription of the *eranistai Samothraikiastai Aristobouliastai Hermaistai Panathenaistai hoi syn*

seems more probable. Well-established foreigners had the opportunity to form associations thereby creating an organizational framework of social life which they could share with newly arrived or less well-established foreigners.

Some foreigners attained a *de facto* privileged personal status, which subsequently could become visible in the role they played within *koina*. But did the Rhodian state recognize and interact with these groups? Was there any authority specifically charged with the control of associations of foreigners? It has been suggested that such control was exercised by a board of magistrates attested only at Rhodes, the *epimeletai* of foreigners.⁹⁰ Many hypotheses have been proposed for this poorly known function. M. Launey thought the *epimeletai* of foreigners were in charge of the recruitment of mercenaries.⁹¹ Others, notably G. van Gelder and D. Morelli, thought they were judiciary magistrates acting as judges for foreigners.⁹² According to L. Criscuolo, they were in charge of the grant of the public honour of *xenia* to important foreigners.⁹³ K. M. Kolobova⁹⁴ holds that every *metoikos*-member of an officially recognized association would have been automatically placed under the jurisdiction of this board of magistrates, which consequently was in charge of establishing the official list of associations and perhaps of their members, too. This last hypothesis is attractive but very difficult to substantiate.

Ktesiphonti, which aimed at the purchase of a plot of land, three persons (Kallipos of Athens, Ktesiphon of Chersonesos and Thyrsos of Cyzicus) gave 680 dr. out of a total of 930 dr., while most of the other contributors gave 5 dr.: Kontorini 1989, no. 10.

90. This magistracy is attested in two documents: a list of magistrates with the entry *epimetaitonxe[non]*, followed by the names of 5 persons, *IG XII 1, 49 (Syll.³ 619: (188/187 BC, cf. Schmidt 1957, 182, for the date); and a dedication for Ploutarchos son of Heliodoros, mentioning that he had been in charge of the *epimeleia ton xenon*: Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 7, l. 9 (beg. of 1st cent. BC). Plutarchos is also known as a sculptor originating from Apameia (see appendix no. 1), and as holder of quite many other offices.*

91. Launey 1987, 27 n. 7.

92. van Gelder 1900, 231-32; Morelli 1955, 132; Oehler 1907, 167. *Contra*: Criscuolo 1982, 135-47; Gauthier 1972, 151-52.

93. Criscuolo 1982, 145-47.

94. Kolobova 1966, 65-72.

Most scholars, though, support a general interpretation, which actually seems more plausible: these *epimeletai* were magistrates controlling the foreigners and their possessions, notably imports, investments, and realty.⁹⁵ From this point of view an interesting parallel is to be found in the magistracy of the *metoikophylakes* proposed by Xenophon, when he deals with the care which the Athenians ought to take of their metics (*ton metoikon epimeleia*: Xen. *Vect.* 2.1).⁹⁶ Each of these *metoikophylakes* should – according to Xenophon – draw up lists of *metoikoi*, and the city would honour those with the longest lists. Probably, Xenophon thinks of a kind of test (*dokimasia*) used for deciding who is to be awarded the right of residence,⁹⁷ since these magistrates would be responsible for registering the foreigners, protect them and support their establishment in Athens, particularly through grants of *enktesis*.

Additionally, one may point out the following. Firstly, there is one text, which is not taken into account by any of the studies mentioned above: it is the Rhodian copy of a Samian decree honouring a Rhodian, Akamas son of Damonikos, for having been in charge of the *epimeleia* of the Samian refugees in Rhodes in 366, that is, after the founding of an Athenian clerouchy on Samos.⁹⁸ This shows that the *epimeleia* of the foreigners must be attributed a wide significance, and not be limited to a particular privilege or a particular judiciary procedure.

Secondly, whichever their exact functions, the *epimeletai* of the foreigners in Rhodes had strong links with the associations. Two

95. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, 197; Gauthier 1972, 254 n. 126. Préaux 1958, 185: 'L'existence de magistrats civils [*i.e.* les épimélètes des étrangers] spécialement chargés des problèmes relatifs aux étrangers (on songe au polémarque d'Athènes et au préteur pérégrin de Rome que les documents grecs appellent στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων prouve tout à la fois l'importance de ceux-ci au sein de la ville de Rhodes et le soin que mettait la cité à leur assurer elle-même, mais en dehors d'elle, une organisation.'

96. Whitehead 1977, 125-29.

97. A *dokimasia* of citizenship by public courts is attested at Athens: Osborne 1976; Osborne 1981-1983 vol. 1, 151-163. Xenophon compares *metoikophylakes* with *orphanophylakes*, who are not documented by other sources. On *dokimasiai* in Hellenistic times see Feyel 2009.

98. Maiuri, *NS* 1.

epimeletai have integrated *koina* into their circle of ‘clients’. The one, Aristombrotidas son of Aristombrotidas,⁹⁹ belongs to a famous family from Camiros. He is attested as taking part in a public subscription together with a *koinon* of *Sarapiastai* from *Camiros*,¹⁰⁰ and another text attests to his being honoured with golden crowns by several associations: the *Asklapiastai* of *Camiros*, the *Hermaistai* of *Camiros*, the *Sarapiastai* of *Camiros*, the *Kouraistai* of *Kytelos* and the *Triktoinoi hoi en Leloi*.¹⁰¹ The other *epimeletes* is a very active sculptor, Ploutarchos son of Heliodoros, originally from Apamea. He received many honours from the *koinon* of the *Aphrodisiastai Soteriastai*, of which he was an *eu-ergetes* and probably also a member.¹⁰²

These documents do not allow us to say anything about the function of *epimeletai*, but they emphasize the mediatory role played by associations—and the framework they provided—in the relations between foreigners, the city and its most important figures. In any case, associations of foreigners were among the close relations of important civic magistrates, some of whom might (like Ploutarchos mentioned above) themselves be of foreign origin.

A question central for the status of foreigners is their access to ownership of property, particularly land and buildings. Besides elucidating the relationship between associations and the state, this question brings to the fore the intricate issue of property owned collectively by a private body. According to our evidence, foreigners associations do not have to ask their host state for an authorization to exist, but they do have to ask for permission to own land or houses.¹⁰³ At Rhodes, inscriptions show that the greatest concern was

99. *IG XII* 1, 49, l. 51. The military career of Aristombrotidas appears in Pugliese Carratelli 1986-1987, no. 1, while his prestigious religious offices are listed in Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 3 (*Tit Cam.* 84 and 3 E c, l. 3r).

100. *Tit. Cam. Suppl* 157b B.III, 7-13: Ἀριστομβροτίδας [Α]ριστομβροτίδα Ἀ[ρ]ιο[ς] (...) καὶ Σαρα[πι]αστῶν τῶν ἐγ Κα[μίρωι] κοινόν. Here *kai* means ‘together with’.

101. *Tit. Cam.* 84.

102. See appendix, no. 1.

103. Examples from elsewhere include the Egyptians and the traders from Kition (Cyprus) who were granted permission by the Athenian Assembly to own land at Athens, on which to build a sanctuary of Isis and a sanctuary of Aphrodite, respectively: *IG II²* 337 (333/2 BC); and the separate grants of *enktesis* to the Thracians

possession of a common cemetery, the *koinoi topoï* or *koinoi taphoi*. This concern had both psychological and practical sides. While we know too little about the religious aspirations, cultural practices and economic activities of associations, we do know for certain they all showed great concern with the acquisition and maintenance of a common cemetery. The number of funerary monuments of *eranistai*, references to the location of cemeteries in their decrees, the frequent appearance of tombs as the purpose of subscriptions and not least the archaeological remains associated with such cemeteries – all go to show just how important they were thought to be.¹⁰⁴ Of the fifty-two documents attesting to one or more associations in the capital city of Rhodes, twenty-five are funerary inscriptions,¹⁰⁵ four are subscription lists with a clear funerary purpose¹⁰⁶ and five are decrees

(*IG* II²1283) and the Sidonians (Baslez-Briquel-Chatonnet 1991, 229-240) in the Piraeus. The petition made by the association of the *Tyrioi Herakleistai emporoi kai naukleroi* on Delos to the Athenian Assembly and Council concerned the donation to the association of a plot of land, on which to construct a *temenos* of Herakles: *ID* 1519 (153/2 BC), esp. l. 13. The petition was brought to Athens by the association's ambassador, Patron son of Dorotheos (ibid. l. 16).

104. On the Rhodian necropoleis, see Fraser 1977; Patsiada 1996, 14-22; Fabricius 1999, 165-196.

105. Hiller von Gaertringen 1896, 43, no. 12; *IG* XII 1, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 384, 385; Maiuri 1916, 127, no. 4; Maiuri, *NS* no. 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 192, 193; Maiuri 1925-1926, no. 6; *Suppl. Epigr. Rhod.* I no. 17; Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, nos. 8, 11; Pugliese Carratelli 1986-1987, no. 12; *I. Lindos* II, 683. We should also that funerary monuments were especially popular among the foreign population: of the ca. 100 inscribed round altars from Rhodes registered by Berges (1996), 49 can be attributed to foreigners or slaves; the majority of the rectangular altar, too, belong to foreigners (Fabricius 1999, 180-181).

106. (1) An unknown *koinon* for the enclosure of the cemetery (Konstantinopoulos 1966). (2) The *eranistai Samothraikiastai Aristobouliastai Hermaistai Panathenaistai hoi syn Ktesiphonti*: since the stone was found in the ancient necropolis, the purpose of the subscription was probably the purchase of a plot to be used as cemetery (Kontorini 1989, no. 10). (3) An unknown *koinon* for the repair of the enclosure and the *mnameia*, which had been damaged during an earthquake (*IG* XII 1, 9). (4) An unknown *koinon*: Maiuri 1925-1926, no. 5. To this group of documents belongs also *IG* XII 1, 937 (Lindos), of the *koinon* of the *Dionysiastai Athanaistai Dios Atabyriastai Euphranoreioi hoi syn Athenaioi Knidioi*.

showing the importance of cemeteries;¹⁰⁷ thirty-nine of these have been found in the necropoleis of the capital city of Rhodos. The common cemeteries were also places of assembly, religious ceremonies (during which the monuments of *euergetai* were crowned) and feasts; there, too, the associations displayed decrees and honorary funerary monuments.¹⁰⁸

Here one may raise the question about the legal status of the association: was it regarded as a corporation, i.e. a body possessing juristic personality, and by extension, did the concept of collective property exist? This question has been at the center of a long debate (see also Introduction in this volume).¹⁰⁹ A particularly interesting

107. (1) Decree of the *Sabaziastai* for Ariston of Syracuse 'who had taken care of the *taphoi*' (Kontorini 1983, no. 8). (2) Honours by the *Artemisiastai* to Chrysippos of Merops for helping to bury a dead member (Peek 1969, no. 2). (3) Decree of the *Haliadai kai Haliastai* for Dionysodoros of Alexandria, which details the honours to be accorded to him posthumously at his tomb (*IG XII 1*, 155). (4) Decree of the *Aphrodisiastai Hermogeneioi* for Hermogenes of Selge about the land plots and the cemetery of the *koinon*. (5) Decree of the *Diosoteriastai Zenoniastai*, which mentions their tombs (*taphiai*) (Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 2).

108. The crowning of the funerary monuments is attested by the decree for Dionysodoros of Alexandria, *IG XII 1*, 155, ll. 88-89. This ritual is confirmed by the 'bosses' (round projections) on the upper surface of some funerary monuments, on which the crowns were placed, cf. Fraser 1977, 15-16, 19-24, 42, 68; figs. 37 a-d, 38, a-d. Among 75 rectangular altars, 28 have two bosses, 6 one, while one monument has three bosses.

109. See Arnaoutoglou 2003, 119-144, with exhaustive bibliography on the question of property (pp. 120-23, 133-38), and the conclusion that 'property matters are an indecisive factor in our attempt to assess the juristic personality of the ancient Athenian association'. Against the idea of collective property see: Ustinova 2005, 177-190; Ismard 2010, 141-185. More recent studies see a form of juristic recognition which does not correspond to modern conceptions of a legal entity. Hatzopoulos (1973) hypothesizes a recognition of associative property through a divinity, i.e. the property in question belongs to a deity. Arnaoutoglou (2003) rejects the possibility of an explicit juristic recognition and, on the analogy of public associations, thinks that the recognition was *de facto*: associations would be a quasi-legal phenomenon. Ismard (2010, 141-185) bases his view on an examination of the *hekatoste* inscriptions, which record the tax on sales of land by some associations in the second half of the 4th century BC (Lambert 1997); *contra* Arnaoutoglou (2003, 136), he holds that the land of associations was alienable, and that associations were the real owners and managers of public land at Athens. The Athenian *polis* would never have existed as a juristic

Rhodian inscription sheds some light on the issue. It is the decree of the *Aphrodisiastai Hermogeneioi*, which ordains the writing up of the *amphouriasmoi ton eggaion ton hyparchonton toi koinoi*, 'the land property titles possessed by the *koinon*'. On the reverse (face B) of the stele one of these *amphouriasmoi* (property titles) is detailed.¹¹⁰ This *koinon* was probably founded by the metic Hermogenes of Phaselis, from whom it took its name, and is administrated by three *archontes*: Hermogenes himself, the metic Menogenes of Galatia and Theudotos of Arabia. The real property of the *koinon* consists of land plots, a house (worth 12,000 dr.) located in the capital city of Rhodos, and a common cemetery. The *amphouriasmos* on face B of the stele is a very difficult text, but the following seems reasonably clear. The *koinon*, represented by its treasurer Nikasion of Lindos, has made three payments to Sostratos of the deme Brygindarioi. Theaidetos from the deme of Astypalaea guarantees that the *amphouriasmos* will be surrendered to Perdiccas of Argos, a member of the *koinon*. In all operations, the name of the *koinon* is associated with some of the officials with a part in the operation, whether the three *archontes*¹¹¹ or the treasurer Nikasion of Lindos.¹¹²

The presence of these persons – significantly, mentioned in a strictly juridical context – is probably justified by the role they assumed during the acquisition of property, particularly so the treasurer who is a citizen. The *koina* of foreigners had to find ways in which to include among their memberships persons with real property rights. This perhaps explains the position of Nikasion of Lin-

person (a *personne morale*, according to French law), its mode of existence being simply the plurality of its subdivisions; associations would have been recognized through an 'imperfect fiction' by which an association was linked to one of its members (Ismard 2010, 159). A parallel to this form of recognition is seen in the boards of magistracies, where the name of a magistrate sometimes is heading the name of the whole board.

110. Maiuri 1921-1922, 223-232 (SEG 3.674; Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, 158-161, no. 18, fig. 13, with a juridical commentary by V. Arangio-Ruiz, pp. 161-165; cf. Fraser 1977, 60-61.

111. Lines 1-2, and esp. 19-20: Ἀφροδισιαστῶν Ἑρμογενείων κοινῶι Ἑρμο[γ]ῆ[νει] Φασηλίται μετοίκωι καὶ Μηνογένει Γαλάται μετοί/κωι καὶ Θευδότωι Ἀραβί: ἔ[χ]ετε. Cf II. 6-7: Ἑρμογένης καὶ Μηνογένης καὶ Θεύδοτος καὶ Ἀφροδισιαστῶν/ Ἑρμογενείων κοινόν.

112. Lines 20-21: Νικασί/ων Νικασίωνος Λινδοπολίτας καὶ Ἀφροδισιαστῶν Ἑρμογενείων κοινόν.

dos as a treasurer. The fundamental fact is that a *koinon* had to transact jointly with one or more of its members in order to have access to real property.¹¹³

5. The integration of *koina* into civic and political life

Integration of the *koina* of foreigners can be initially examined by looking at their relation to the *polis* subdivisions, especially the *ktoina*. At Rhodes, the *ktoina* seems to be a public unit of a territorial character. Additionally, it has a religious function, which is pronounced in the evidence from Kamiros.¹¹⁴ The *ktoina* has probably also a role in the defense of the territory, which is supervised by an *epistates*.¹¹⁵

From the first century BC onwards, foreigners honoured by associations of the *eranos* type are also honoured by *ktoinai*, of which they sometimes are members. Philokrates of Ilion, already mentioned above, appears as *metoikos* in a first-century subscription, as *epidamia*-holder, and member of many *koina*, one of which is a *koinon* of *epidamiastai*. Moreover, he was the founder of a the *Matioi ktoinetai eranistai Philokrateioi*, that is, *eranistai* who belong to the *ktoina* of the *Matioi*. Two other occurrences are relevant. In an inscription from Syme (from the first century BC or first century AD) a *metoikos* from Idyma in Caria is honoured by two *koina* (the *Samothraikiastai Aphrodisaistai Borboritai* and the *Adoniastai Aphrodisiastai Syroi*) and by two *ktoinai*.¹¹⁶ In an inscription of a later date (151-300 AD) from Phoinix in the Peraea, the *metoikos* Philoumenos is honored by the *koinon* of the *ptoina* (i.e. *ktoina*), of which he has been *epistates*.¹¹⁷ All

113. This conclusion is in line with the hypothesis of Ismard (2010, 145) about a 'forme de responsabilité collective sous la forme d'un sujet irréductiblement pluriel'.

114. *Tit. Cam.* 109 (*IG XII*, 1 694).

115. See, e.g., the second-century BC decree of the the *ktoina* of the *Potidaieis* on Karpathos, *I.Lindos II*, col. 1009 (Segre 1933, 379-82; *IG XII* 1, 1033). On the state subdivisions of Rhodes, see Gabrielsen 1994c, and 1997, 141-154, Appendix II, 'The *Patrai*, *Diagoniai*, and *Ktoina*'.

116. *IG XII* 3, 6; *SGDI* 4288: 1st cent. BC (Hiller von Gaertringen *apud IG XII* 3, 6; Guarducci 1935, 423 n. 8), but 1st cent. AD (Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, 185).

117. Durrbach and Radet 1886, 261 n. 10; *I.Rhod.Per.* 110; Bresson, *RecueilPéree* 159. On the form *ptoina*, see Robert 1978, 403, no. 64a.

this can be explained by the circumstance that after the first century BC the *ktoina* included foreigners residing in its territory, and also that some of its members formed private associations. They thereby took over a mode of association especially favoured by foreigners. This does not mean that the *ktoina* as an institution ceased to exist or that it transformed into an association of the *eranos* type. In fact, *ktoinai* and associations of *ktoinatai* are attested simultaneously.

Private associations were active in public life by participating in public subscriptions together with citizens. In the first part of the second century, the association of the *Sarapiastai* of Camiros contributed to a subscription together with Aristombrotidas son of Aristombrotidas, an important man from Camiros, who had held the most important civic and military offices, one of which was that of *epimeletes* of the foreigners.¹¹⁸ At Camiros we know also a public subscription by associations.¹¹⁹ At Lindos, a public subscription of 115 BC aimed at providing a dedicatory golden crown for Athana, Zeus Polieus and Nike and includes six associations subscribing with one Timapolis.¹²⁰ It is not sure that every association attested here is a group of foreigners but their importance in that part of public life is, indeed, noteworthy.

The important participation of foreigners in subscriptions in the capital city of Rhodes needs to be stressed as well. We already mentioned a public subscription of importance (one amounting to 35,000 dr.) in which we find six citizens from two demes of Camiros and at least fifteen foreigners: the largest single contribution (3,000 drachmas), among those that are preserved, is paid by a foreigner from Antioch who had received the *epidamia*; the highest contribution of a citizen reaches only 2,000 drachmas. Though probably not a subscription by an association, the *euergetes* and founder of a *koinon* Philokrates of Ilion is taking part in it (*IG XII 1*, 157).

Worth mentioning are also a subscription by women, the major-

118. *Tit. Cam. Suppl.* no. 157b, fig. 23. Cf. Migeotte 1992, no. 44. The aim of the operation was probably the construction or repair of a building.

119. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 4 with fig. VIII 1 (and *Tit. Cam.* no. 159a, fig. 119); Migeotte 1992, no. 46.

120. *I. Lindos* II, 2; see Migeotte 1992, no. 40, 117-121.

ity of whom are foreigners;¹²¹ a subscription by foreigners for a unknown purpose;¹²² and four subscriptions of *koina* of foreigners for funeral purposes.¹²³ These documents show sometimes very big differences between the financial capacities of contributors. But others reveal a more balanced situation: the already mentioned and very long list of foreign subscribers, mentioned above,¹²⁴ contains 74 sums; two are each of 100 drachmas, but the overwhelming majority differs from five to fifty drachmas, with an average amount of 23 drachmas. It is instructive to compare the sums relating to this subscription (the preserved total amount from which is 1,858 drachmas paid by 164 persons who made 74 contributions) with those relating to a subscription at Camiros, among the participants in which we find Aristombrotidas son of Aristombrotidas and other prominent citizens: the 1,200 drachmas collected were paid by 120 persons who belonged to 70 families, the individual contributions ranging from five and one hundred drachmas. Equally wide ranging contributions are observable in the Lindian public subscription solicited for the clothing and treasury of Athana Lindia: 1,445 drachmas were collected through 69 contributions amounting from five to two hundred drachmas.¹²⁵

Foreigners use the same financial means as citizens do, on a comparable scale and on the basis of a similar spectrum of fortunes. In some subscriptions, they give the most important sums.

It would be of considerable interest to define the role of associations of foreigners in the Rhodian army. We know numerous cases of military associations of *synstrateusamenoï* centred on military leaders.¹²⁶ A good example is provided by Theaidetos and his son Astymedes, who have both been admirals of the Rhodian fleet¹²⁷ and ambassadors to Rome on several occasions, notably during and af-

121. Migeotte 1993.

122. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21 (1st cent. BC).

123. See above note 106.

124. Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 21.

125. *I.Lindos* no 2; see Migeotte 1992, no. 40, 117-121.

126. Gabrielsen 1997, 94-97, 123-128; Gabrielsen 2013, 77-79.

127. Berthold 1984, 44.

ter the Third Macedonian War.¹²⁸ The two were the founders or Benefactors (*euergetai*) of the association of *Apolloniastai Theaideteioi Astymedeioi*.¹²⁹ We know that *Pausistrateioi* bears the name of an individual who had served as admiral of the Rhodian fleet approximately at the same time as Theaidetos:¹³⁰ Livy informs us that many young Rhodians took up military service because of their great prestige of Pausistratos. We also know of an *Apolloniastai Antiocheioi systrateusamenoï koinon*, founded by the commander of a squadron, Antiochos,¹³¹ and of the *Aphrodisiatai Halikiotai Polykleioi* and the *Polykleioi Boarsai*, founded by Polykles, the holder of important military and civic offices.¹³² The importance of the associative phenomenon in the naval forces is one of the bases of the analysis of Rhodian society provided by V. Gabrielsen's *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*. In this perspective, the Rhodian state would have been a *de facto* aristocracy dominated by great families, who had monopolized the most important priesthoods of Halios and of Athana Lindia, and who provided generals for the army and admirals for the navy. Military associations were part of this social network as a clientele to this 'aristocracy' and, apart from their psychological dimension as groups of comrades in arms, had a practical function of recruit-

128. Theaidetos was a priest of Halios: *IG XII 1*, 1135. In early 180 BC he led the Rhodian delegation sent to Rome to discuss the future of Lycia at the end of the Antiochic War (Polyb. 22.5); he led many delegations to Rome around 168, after the Third Macedonian War, at one of which he petitioned for Roman clemency towards Rhodes (Polyb. 28.2, 3; 16, 3; 29.11.2; 30.5.4 and 21.1-2, where Polybius says that Theaidetos was a *navarchos*). Astymedes was sent to Rome as a member of the delegation led by his father (Polyb. 30.4.1; 30.5.1; 30.22.3; 21.6.1; 21.72. 20); he was again sent to the senate in 164; he is attested as a priest of Athana Lindia in 154 (*I.Lindos II*, nos. 1 and 217); he was admiral and ambassador to Rome during the Second Cretan War (Polyb. 33.15.3).

129. *IG XII 1*, 163.

130. A fragment of Polybius (21.7.[5]), quoted by the *Souda*, s.v. 'Pyrphoros', informs us that he was a *navarchos* towards the end of the war against Antiochos in 190 BC. He was killed in Samos in the same year. He is supposedly the first military commander to have used a *pyrphoros* (a fire throwing device), which was a specifically Rhodian invention: Livy 37.11.13, 37.30.3. Cf. van Gelder, 1900, 138 ff.

131. *IG XII 1*, 43; Maiuri, *NS* 18, ll. 26-27.

132. Maiuri, *NS* 18, ll. 23-24, 27.

ment *milieux*.¹³³ This interpretation is indisputable, but it seems likely that foreigners participated in this phenomenon on a scale equal to their integration in the Rhodian army. Livy (33.18.3) tells us about the strong presence of foreigners in the Rhodian army and about what he calls ‘allied troops’; the treaties with Hierapytna and Olous of around 201 or 200 BC, after the First Cretan War, contain clauses about the organization of the recruitment of mercenaries.¹³⁴

But we must stress the difficulty of linking foreigners and their associations with the Rhodian army in the epigraphical corpus. No inscription allows us to link a foreigner firmly to an association of an explicitly military character, something which is usually indicated by the participial form *strateuomenoi*. The case of the *Panathenaistai* groups is a good example.¹³⁵ The *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi* correspond quite clearly to a ship’s crew¹³⁶ and appear in a number of inscriptions between 121 BC and the beginning of our era;¹³⁷ but this is done only in the context of honours given to civil or military mag-

133. Gabrielsen 1997, 126.

134. Treaty with Hierapytna: *ICIII*, 3, A1; treaty with Olous: *SEG* 23.547 and a similar treaty with Chersonesos, a city on the north coast of Crete: Chaniotis 1991, 258-60. Cf. Gabrielsen 1997, 54, 170-71, nn. 86-90.

135. These groups are named after the *Panathenaia*. It would be an exaggeration to suppose, following *I.Lindos* II, col. 797, that these are associations of seamen sent as *theoroi* to the Athenian *Panathenaia*. This is how Blinkenberg (*ibid.*) explains the non-doric form of the term. Reference to a local festival called *Panathenaia* is made in inscriptions from Camiros: *Tit.Cam.* 106, 110B, ll. 54-56 (194 BC), and 159, ll. 1-7 (1st half of 2nd cent. BC).

136. This is quite clear when the name appears in the formula *strateuomenoi en triemiolia ha onoma...* or ‘*enpleontes en...*’, or with a specification of the kind of the ship (*aphraktos* or *kataphraktos*): *I.Lindos* II, 420; Maiuri 1916, 142, no. 11; *AD* 18 A (1963) nos. 1 and 7.

137. See *I.Lindos* II, col. 796, appendix to the commentary of no. 420a; *I.Lindos* II, 300a, l. 7 (121 BC); 292, l. 7 (88-85 BC); 303, ll. 4, 11 (*ca.* 90-70 AD); 391, l. 32 (10 AD); no 392a, l. 13 and b, l. 6-7 (10 AD); 394, ll. 6-7 (10 AD.); 420 a, ll. 10-14 (23 AD); Jacopi 1932, 190, no. 19, l. 12 (*ca.* 100 BC); Maiuri, *NS* 18, l. 19 (*ca.* 80 B.C.); *IG XII* 1, 107, ll. 2-3 (*ca.* 50 AD); *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 161, l. 11 (Augustan era); *AE* 1913, 10, no. 9, l. 5 (Augustan era). We can add *AD* 18 A (1963), no. 1, l. 1 (*ca.* 50 BC) and no. 7, l. 11 (1st cent. BC); Maiuri 1916, 142, no. 11 = *SEG* 3.679; and without *strateuomenoi*, but with the mention of the military term *dekas*. Jacopi 1932, 210, no. 48; *SEG* 15.497 (*ca.* 100-50 BC). One of these texts gives the names of seven members of *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi syskanoi*, who call themselves *sysitoi*, all being citizens: *I.Lindos* II, 292.

istrates. On the other hand, they are known as associations that include some foreigners, but without the mention of *strateuomenoi*; in this latter case they often include cults of other divinities such as Herakles, Halios, Hermes, the Samothracian Gods and Zeus Xenios.¹³⁸ Most studies conclude that all *Panathenaistai* were in fact military groups,¹³⁹ while insisting on the exclusion of foreigners from the Rhodian naval forces. But if so, how are we to explain the presence of some foreigners in the membership of the *Panathenaistai*? Launey supposed that these groups assembled mercenaries fighting on land,¹⁴⁰ but it appears quite doubtful that the important Rhodian naval forces would not have included foreigners or even slaves. Another possible hypothesis, based on an observation by V. Gabrielsen, would be that foreigners constitute that part of a crew which is normally invisible in the surviving documents. Gabrielsen points out that the surviving inscribed lists of Rhodian crews are not official lists but parts of honorific/dedicatory texts, and therefore do not necessarily reflect the real composition of a crew—rowers, for instance, are never mentioned—but the personal and social ties of an elite.¹⁴¹ We could then suppose that the *Panathenaistai* honouring

138. In seven cases we find foreigners as members of an association called *Panathenaistai* or as the recipients of honours by such a group: Philiskos of Antioch was honoured by the *Panathenaistai Herakleistai* and the *Haliastai Panathenaistai* (Maiuri, *NS* 39); Moschion of Phaselis was honoured by the *Samothraikiastai*, the *Panathenaistai* and the *Aphrodisiastai* (Maiuri, *NS*, 43); Kratippos of Kyaneai made a dedication to the *koinon* of the *Panathenaistai kai Herakleistai* (*IG XII* 1, 36); Aphrodisios of Phaselis was honored by the *koinon* of the *Panathenaistai* (*IG XII* 1, 159); Ktesiphon of Chersonesos was *euergetes* of the *koinon* of the *eranistai Samothraikiastai Hermaistai Panathenaistai hoi syn Ktesiphonti* (Kontorini 1989, no. 10: 172/170 BC); Agathoboulos of Pladasa was honoured by the *Panathenaistai* in an inscription from Chalke (*IG XII* 3, 962); and one Gaius gave his name to the *koinon* of *Dios Xeniaistai Panathanaistai Lindiastai hoi syn Gaiou* (*IG XII* 1, 161): significantly, this *koinon* appears in a funerary inscription together with other *koina* as worshippers of *Apollon Stratagios*.

139. Gabrielsen 1997, 124; Launey 1987, 1018-1022; *I.Lindos* II, col. 796.

140. Launey 1987, 1018-1022.

141. Gabrielsen 1997, 96. Cf. the crew lists in Segre 1936, 227-44; *Suppl.Epigr.Rhod.* I 62 (3rd-2nd cent. BC); *NuovoSuppl.Epigr.Rhod.* I 4 (1st cent. BC); Pugliese Carratelli 1986-1987, no. 16; Jacopi 1932, no. 5 (probably 1st cent. BC); Maiuri, *NS* 5 (Hellenistic); *I.Lindos* II, 88 (265-260 BC) and 421a (25-30 AD); Kontorini 1983, no. 6 (2nd-1st cent. BC). A few foreigners are sometimes listed at the end of a document.

foreigners are groups parallel to those of citizen-soldiers, adopting a kind of sociability from which they are otherwise excluded. They would not mention their military function because they would not be allowed to do so, or at least would not have a legitimate right to do so, because they are not part of the fighting crew, but a merely a force of traction.¹⁴² On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that the *Panathenaistai* could be the crews of merchant ships, and not military.

One last possibility is that the absence of the title *strateuomenoi* could be the effect of an epigraphic habit. In fact, five of seven attestations of foreigners linked to *Panathenaistai* are funerary inscriptions, whereas the documents attesting *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi* are dedicatory inscriptions for citizens' statues. In this case a final remark is necessary: the aforementioned hypotheses do not really take into account the fact that these associations named themselves after a festival with competitions. It is probable that these groupings were based on a common participation to athletic contests named *Panathenaia* and therefore fostered a form of solidarity akin to that of the gymnasium. The crucial question is, however, whether in Rhodes foreigners had access to the gymnasium.¹⁴³ It should be noted that modern historians sometimes use the expressions 'foreign soldiers' and 'mercenaries' as equivalents.¹⁴⁴ But it is important to distinguish between foreign soldiers recruited for a specific task and foreign residents participating in the common war effort. If all *Panathenaistai* were soldiers, then we can safely assume that foreign residents were enlisted in the Rhodian army.

In contrast with the hypothetical military groups of foreigners, the relationship between prominent Rhodians and another type of groups of foreigners, 'those who live (*katoikeuntes*) in Lindos and

142. This hypothesis is nevertheless difficult to reconcile with the case of Ploutarchos of Apamea, honoured by *Aphrodisiastai Soteriastai* who mention all offices he assumed, civil or military, see above note 90.

143. On the participation of foreigners in Rhodian festival contests, see Maiuri, *NS* 35 (late 3rd cent. BC); Kontorini 1975. From Rhodes we do not have documents similar to the ephobic lists of Athens or to the dedications made by foreign ephebes on Delos.

144. Bettali 1995, 123-47.

farm (*georgeuntes*) in the Lindian countryside (*en tai Lindiai*), is more evident. They are attested through thirteen Lindian inscriptions,¹⁴⁵ one of which informs us that the group included also 'shippers' (*nauklareuntes*).¹⁴⁶ The dates of these inscriptions range from 137 BC to the end of the first century AD. The group of the *katoikeuntes georgeuntes kai nauklareuntes xenoi* is also attested by five inscriptions from the Lindian deme of *Physkioi* in the Peraia,¹⁴⁷ and one inscription from the island of Telos.¹⁴⁸ They appear always as dedicants of statues for Lindian notables alone;¹⁴⁹ they are also listed among various boards of religious magistrates, military associations, civic subdivisions and other *eranoi* associations. Are they really an association (*koinon*)? In one of the relevant inscriptions the word *koinon* is restored.¹⁵⁰ But the fact that the *katoikeuntes* of Lindos join other boards and associations in voting honours for the priests of Athana Lindia and their families – awarding golden statues and crowns, bronze statues and golden images – leads us to conclude that they possessed the organization required for engaging in such acts and therefore formed a *koinon*. Two inscriptions mention the honours granted by the *katoikeuntes* and 'all the other *eranoi*', which indicates that the *katoikeuntes*, too, are considered as an *eranos*.¹⁵¹

145. *I.Lindos* II, 229 (137 BC); 249 (117-116 BC); 264 (before the 1st cent. BC); Jacopi 1932, no. 48 (69 BC); *I.Lindos* II, 300a (121 BC); 349 (38 BC); 391 (10 AD); 392a-b (10 AD); 394 (10 AD); 420 (23 AD); 425 (1st cent. BC), and the decree *IG XII 1*, 762 (23 AD); *SGDI* 4155; Sokolowski 1969, 245, no. 20.

146. *I.Lindos* II, 384 (ca. 80 AD); Habicht, 1990. Cf. Bresson 2004.

147. Bresson, *RecueilPéris* 27, 28 and 29 (all three from the beg. of 1st cent. BC), 32 (97-150 AD), 35 = *I.Rhod.Per.* 514 (163 AD). These inscriptions are from the Roman imperial period.

148. Peek 1969, no. 48.

149. In the inscriptions of the Peraia and in *I.Lindos* II, no. 425 (1st cent. BC).

150. *I.Lindos* II, 300a (121 BC), where they are also called *Athanaistai*.

151. In the dedicatory inscription of a statue for Hieroboula, spouse of a priest of Athana Lindia (*I.Lindos* II, 420, of 23 AD), the last lines confirm that Hieroboula has received a crown from all *eranoi* existing when her husband Kallistratos was priest, and these are the groups mentioned in the preceding lines including the *katoikeuntes*; an unpublished inscription mentioned in a note by Pugliese Carratelli (1939-1940, 175, n. 4, 10 AD) is said to have recorded the honours granted to Nikassa priestess of Athana Lindia (on whom see *I.Lindos* II, 392a, 394, 10 AD), listing among the

Are they foreigners? Certainly, the word *katoikeutes* has several meanings.¹⁵² However, a Lindian decree of 23 AD, which aims at ‘augmenting the honors to Dionysos’ during *Dionysia* festival, mentions the appointment of six foreigners (*xenoi choregoi*), who are to be chosen ‘from among the *katoikeutes* and *georgeutes* in the city of Lindos (*ek ton katoikeunton kai georgeunton en Lindia polei*)’.¹⁵³ A list of *katoikoi* has also been discovered at Lindos.¹⁵⁴ Bresson has stressed that the names of the *katoikoi* attested at Lindos—as well as those of the *metoikoi* appearing on the same stone—have many common points both with the names of amphora producers attested on amphora stamps and with the ‘monétaires rhodiens’ at the end of the second century BC.¹⁵⁵ The city would have appealed to wealthy foreigners at this date, among which were some freedmen, to finance its monetary emissions either by way of performing a liturgy or by purchasing from the state the right to issue coins. The inscription regulating the appointment of *choregoi* for the *Sminthia* festival clearly indicates that some of these *xenoi katoikeutes* were wealthy. The case of Lindos does not seem to support the hypothesis of Papazoglou,¹⁵⁶ who contrasts the *enektemenoi* (foreigners having been granted the right of *enktesis*) and the *katoikeutes* (residents without that right): the fact that *choregoi* are taken among them goes against their identification as dependent labourers on the land owned by the citizens.

6. Conclusion

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the associative phenomenon to civic, social and political life of Rhodes. It is found among the citizen and foreign population. Associations formed by citizens are centred around an elite occupying the most prestigious and strategic functions, priestly as well as military,

honouring bodies ‘the *katoikeutes* and all other *eranoi*’.

152. See Hommel, 193; Papazoglou, 1997, 166.

153. *IG XII 1*, 762 (23 AD); *SGDI* 4155; Sokolowski, 1969, 245, no. 20.

154. *I.Lindos II* no. 278.

155. Bresson 2001.

156. Papazoglou 1997, 167.

whereas foreigners group themselves in associations that are centred around persons who stand out not only for their wealth, but, to be sure, also for their integration into the economic networks of Rhodes. Even if professional activities remain very obscure, due to the nature of sources, one need only think of the large number of sculptors present at Rhodes.¹⁵⁷

The presence of associations with predominantly foreign members in the public life is an indisputable consequence of the state's favorable attitude towards foreigners. The social or 'societal'¹⁵⁸ integration of associations is caused, or facilitated, by their mixity and the juridical and social mobility of foreigners. This led to the formation of a new elite, which formalized existing networks into *koina*, took active part in civic life and remained close to Rhodian notables. A striking example of the integration of an elite of foreigners in Rhodes comes from the second-century BC: Dionysios of Arados, titled *euergetes*, was the son of the *proxenos* Zenon of Arados and his wife Astis of Sidon. Dionysios dedicated two statues of his mother, one to Athana Lindia on the acropolis of Lindos (a work executed by the sculptor Phyles of Halicarnassos, who himself had received the title of *euergetes*);¹⁵⁹ the other in the capital city of Rhodes on a monument on which also stood two statues of citizens' wives.¹⁶⁰

Among these well-established foreigners we find some figures known from diverse documents, some of them unparalleled in the Rhodian epigraphic *corpus* and indeed in our record on the Hellenistic *koina* as a whole: Ploutarchos of Apamea, a sculptor who had held the highest civic posts (one of which was the *epimeleia* of the foreigners); Nikasion of Cyzicus, father of naturalized Rhodian sculptors, who had assembled forty-six individuals around his family-like association; Philokrates of Ilion, holder *epidamia*, who gave his name to a group that corresponds to a civic subdivision, the

157. On the associations as economic networks, see Gabrielsen 2009.

158. See the Introduction of this volume.

159. *I.Lindos* II, 132.

160. *IG XII* I, 104; *I.Lindos* II, col. 376. The father Zenon, *proxenos* of Arados, is also known from a dedication to Zeus Soter (*IG XII* I, 32) and a dedication to Athana Lindia on behalf of his children: *I.Lindos* II, 120; his daughter was called *Rhodias*.

ktoinatai; Hermogenes of Phaselis, the founder of the association whose property titles are preserved in a separate inscriptions; and finally, Dionysodoros of Alexandria, President of several *koina* for over twenty years.

The members of *koina* have generally very different financial capacities. The concern with common cemeteries reflects one of their uses of common resources, and collective possession of property is, of course, fundamental for foreigners and slaves, since neither of these status categories, *as individuals*, had the right to right own realty. Associations of foreigners seem to have been part of the Rhodian *eunomia* ('good order') celebrated by Strabo (14.2.5 [652]) and have certainly played a role in the attempts at social regulation. For the Rhodian state they were a means of controlling different segments of the urban population, particularly of securing the stable supply of a foreign workforce. Moreover, they constituted a component of the elite's sphere of influence and at the same time the organizations encompassing a foreign 'aristocracy' settled at Rhodes. Associations were the centre of political practices that had adopted democratic procedures and values; they provided an institutionalized framework to different types of networks among the foreign population, whether professional or familial. All in all, they offered themselves as ideal places for foreigners to mingle with each other and with the citizen population. As such, they proved useful for the foreigners and for the Rhodian State.

Appendix :

Crowns in the context of foreigners' associations

1. The sculptor Ploutarchos son of Heliodoros, who first signed with the ethnic *Apameus* (*I.Lindos* II, 131d, before 91 BC) and then obtained Rhodian citizenship (*I.Lindos* II, 287, 131b, 197d; 308b; *IG XII* 1, 48, 108 and 844; Kontorini 1989, no. 2; Jacopi, 1932, 105, no. 2), received three golden crowns from the *Aphrodisiastai Soteriastai*: Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 7.
2. The metic Charixenos of Andros received a leaves crown from the *koinon* of the *Aphrodisiastai kai Hermaistai*: Maiuri, *NS* 42.
3. Hermogenes of Phaselis: a leaves crown and two golden crowns

from the *Aphrodisiastai Hermogeneioi*: Jacopi 1932, no. 53; Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, nos. 7, 19.

4. Sosikles from Crete: a leaves crown from the *eranistai Adoniazontes*: Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 1.

5. Ariston of Syracuse: a leaves crown from the *Sabaziastai*: Kontorini 1983, no. 8.

6. Chrysippos of Merops: a leaves crown from the *Artemisiastai*: Peek 1969, no. 2.

7. Dionysodoros of Alexandria: a golden crown, 'the biggest allowed by the law', from the *Haliadai kai Haliastai*; a golden crown from the *Dionysiastai*; and a white poplar leaves crown and a golden crown of ten staters from the *Paniastai*: IG XII 1, 155.

8. An unknown person: four golden crowns and two leaves crowns from six *koina*, the *Haliastai Athanaistai Hermaistai Aristedeioi*, the *Dios Soteriastai Sarapiastai*, the *Sarapiastai*, the *Meniastai Aphrodisiastai*, the *Soteriastai Asklapiastai Poseidaniastai Herakleistai Athanaistai Aphrodisiastai Hermaistai Matros Theon* and the *Hestiastai*: IG XII 1, 162.

9. Stratonika of Halicarnassos: a leaves crown by the *Haliadai and Haliastai*: IG XII 1, 156.

10. Philokrates of Ilion: two golden crowns from the *Hermaistai Thesmophoriastai* and from the *Matioi ktoimetai eranistai Philokrateioi*: IG XII 1, 157.

11. A foreigner from Phaselis: a golden crown from the *Herakleotai [---]oneioi*: IG XII 1, 158.

12. Aphrodisios of Phaselis: a leaves crown from the *Panathanaistai*: IG XII 1, 159.

13. Damas of Lydia: a leaves crown from an unknown *koinon*: IG XII 1, 160.

14. An unknown person: three golden crowns and two leaves crowns from various *koina*, the *Dios Xenistai Dionysiastai G[.]ioneioi*, the *Panathanaistai*, the *Soteriastai Dios Xenistai Panathanaistai Lindiastai hoi syn Gai[o]i*, the *[Dios]Atabyriastai Agathodaimoniastai Philonieoi*, the *Dionysiastai Chairemonieoi* and the *koinon of Apollon Stratagios*: IG XII 1, 161.

15. A foreigner married with Thallo of Syria: a golden crown from the *Poseidoniastai and Asklapiastai*: IG XII 1, 164.

16. A foreigner from Laodikeia: a leaves crown from the *Isiastai*: IG XII 1, 165.

17. Korinthos of Samos: a leaves crown from the *Diosatabyriastai Agathodaimoniastai Philoneioi*: *Suppl. Epigr. Rhod.* I no. 17.
18. Philiskos of Antiocheia: a leaves crown from the *Haliastai Panathenaistai* and a golden crown from the *Panathenaistai Herakleistai*: *NS* 39.
19. A foreigner: two golden crowns from the *Aphrodisiastai Basileias Aphroditas koinon* and the *Aphrodisiastai Theuphaneioi*: Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 8.
20. Karpos of Galatia: a golden crown from the *Diosoteriastai*: Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 11.
21. Chrysippos of Bargylia: a golden crown from the *Diosoteriastai*: *I. Lindos* II, 683.
22. Iakchos of Alexandria (brother of Dionysodoros of Alexandria): a leaves crown from an unspecified *koinon*: Maiuri, *NS* 46.
23. Marsyas of Ephesos: a leaves crown from the *Herakleistai Poseidonaistai*: Maiuri, 1925-1926, no. 6.
24. Isidoros of Antiocheia: a leaves crown from the *Athanaistai Lindiastai Diodoreioi*: Maiuri, *NS*, 41.
25. Protos of Perinthios: two golden crown from the *Diodoreioi* and the *Diophanteioi*: Maiuri, *NS* 40 (on the correction Περιθίου, see Hiller von Gaertringen 1926, 197; De Sanctis 1926, 59).
26. Moschion of Phaselis: a golden crown from the *Samothraikiastai* and two leaves crowns from the *Panathenaistai* and the *Aphrodisiastai*: Maiuri, *NS* 43, 1st cent. BC.
27. Ktesiphon of Chersonesos: a golden crown from the *eranistai Samothraikiastai Aristobouliastai Hermaistai Panathenaistai hoi syn Ktesiphonti*: Kontorini 1989, 73, 10.
28. Hephaistion of Antiocheia: a leave crown from the *Meniastai*: *IG XII* 1, 917.
29. An unknown person: a golden crown from the *Dionysiastai Athanaistai Dios Atabyriastai Euphranoreioi hoi syn Athenaioi Knidioi*: *IG XII* 1, 937 (1st cent. BC).
30. Apollonios of Pergamon: a golden crown of ten staters from the *Sylleioi Lolleioi paideutai hoi syn Syllai*: *IG XII* 1, 918 (1st cent. BC).
31. An unknown person: a golden crown from an unnamed *koinon*, one of whose magistrates comes from Cyrene: *I. Rhod. Per.* 128 (120-51 BC).

32. Zenon of Selge: two golden crowns and two leaves crowns from the *Asklapiastai Theoneioi*: *I.Rhod.Per.* 169 (2nd cent. BC).
33. Alexandros of Kephallenia: a golden crown from the *Adoniastai Aphrodeisiastai Asklapiastai en Aulais*: *I.Rhod.Per.* 57 (2nd half of the 2nd cent. BC-1st half of the 1st cent. BC).
34. Epaphrodeitos of Cos: a golden crown from the *Heroistai Samothraikiastai*: *I.Rhod.Per.* 57 (2nd half of the 2nd cent. BC-1st half of the 1st cent. BC).
35. A foreigner from Pladasa: crowns from the *Aphrodisiastai* and the *Panathenaistai*: *IG XII 3*, 962 (Chalke).
36. An unknown person: a crown from the *Herakleotai* and the *Xouriastai*: *IG XII 3*, 963 (Chalke).
37. the metic Euphrosynos of Idyma: three golden crown from the *Samothraikiastai Aphrodisiastai Borboritai*, a golden crown from the *Adoniastai [Aphrodisiastai] Asklapiastai Syroi*: *IG XII 3*, 6 (Syme, 1st cent. BC).
38. An Herakleot: a crown from the *koinon of the Aristobouliastai Soteriastai Hephaiastiastai Agathodaimoniastai Menekrateioi hoi syn Menekratei*, the *Diosoteriastai Zenoniastai*, the *Aphrodisiastai Epitynchanonteioi kai Aphrodisiastai Meneteioi* and the *Hermaistai Athanaistai Haliadai Haliastai*: Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 6 (1st cent. BC).
39. An unknown person: 31 golden crowns and 5 leaves crowns from at least 24 associations, private as well as and 'public': Pugliesse Carratelli 1939-1940, no. 19 (1st half of the 2nd cent. BC).

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