

ILIAS ARNAOUTOGLOU

ΑΡΧΕΡΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ AND ITS MEANING IN INSCRIPTIONS

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 104 (1994) 107–110

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

ΑΡΧΕΡΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ AND ITS MEANING IN INSCRIPTIONS

Associations of ἔραμισταὶ were quite widespread in the ancient Greek world but the office and title ἀρχεραμιστῆς appears in comparatively few documents mainly from Athens¹ and Rhodes.² The title appears not only in groups of ἔραμισταὶ but in two θιασῶται associations (IG II² 1297 and possibly 1319), in the association of the worshippers of Amphiaraios (IG II² 1322), in the association of Soteriastai (IG II² 1343) and in the cult association of Heroistai (IG II² 1339) but significantly enough it is lacking in one association of ἔραμισταὶ (IG II² 1291). In this brief note I would like to examine separately the relevant documents from Athens and Rhodes and to reconsider the proposed interpretations.

Several scholars³ maintained that ἀρχεραμιστῆς in Athenian associations was the actual leader or the head officer of the association, its most eminent official and sometimes the founder himself. Among them only Dow (above n.3) pp.193-94 tried to establish the reason for the primacy, whereas others like Poland (above n.3) p.353 took for granted his alleged eminence. In particular, Poland started from the assumption that "ἀρχεραμιστῆς is actually the natural head of the newest form of ancient associations, of Eranos". He attributes the gradual rise of ἀρχεραμιστῆς to the retreat of the religious element (and consequently of the priest) in the organisational structure of the association in favour of the economic element; IG II² 1297 preserves exactly this new, "wirtschaftlichen" spirit. Dow attributes the primacy of this official in the preserved documents and especially in IG II² 1297, 1319, 1322, 1339, 1343 and 2358 to the fact that in the lists the bearer of this office is mentioned

¹ IG II² 1297 (= Michel 1554, Poland A22A, 237/6 B.C.), IG II² 1322 (= Michel 1556, SEG XXXIII 145, XXXVIII 132, XL 139 and 295, 229/8 B.C.), IG II² 1319 (= Poland A22B, SEG XXVIII 356, 215 B.C.), IG II² 2358 (c. 150 B.C.), IG II² 1339 (= Michel 1326, Poland A46, 57/6 B.C.), SEG XXXVI 103 (52/1 B.C.), IG II² 1343 (= Michel 973, Poland A47a, SIG³ 1104, SEG XXXIX 311, 37/6 B.C.), IG II² 1345 (= Poland A49, A.D. 53/4), SEG XXXI 122 (= SEG XXXVI 198, XXXIX 311, A.D. 121/22), IG II² 1369 (= Michel 1563, Poland A50, LSCG 53, SEG XXV 175, XXIX 139, XXXI 122, second half of the 2nd century A.D.)

² SEG III 674: A.32 (Rhodes, 2nd century B.C.), IG XII.5 672 (= Michel 1167, Syros, 3rd century B.C.), IG XII.1 9 (Rhodes), IG XII:1 155 (= SEG XVII 361, XXXIII 639, XXXVIII 700, XL 667 and 1635, Rhodes, 1st century B.C.), *IK* 38 No 205, *ASAA* n.s. 1/2 (1939/40) p.147 no 1 (Rhodes, 2nd century B.C.) and p.195 n.2. I excluded the references to an ἀρχεραμιστῆς in IG XII 7 58 and 61 from Amorgos.

³ P.Foucart (1873) *Les associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p.27 Paris, L.Beauchet, (1897) *Histoire du droit privé de la république athénienne*, vol.4 p.356 Paris, F.Poland (1909) *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, pp.353-54 Leipzig, St.Dow (1937) "The Egyptian cults in Athens" *HTHR* 30, pp.183-232 especially p.194, J.Vondeling (1961) *Eranos*, p.148 Groningen, E.Ziebarth, (1896) *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, p.149 Leipzig, G.Maier (1969) *Eranos als kreditinstitut*, p.83 Diss. Erlangen, G.Pugliese-Carratelli (1939/40) "Per la storia delle associazioni in Rodi antica" *ASAA* n.s. 1/2 pp.147-200 especially p.190, A.E.Raubitschek (1981) "A new Attic club (eranos)" *The J.P.Getty Museum Journal* 9 pp.93-98 [now in Obbink, D. and P.A.Vander Waerdt (eds) (1990) *The School of Hellas*, 134-43, Oxford] p.98.

usually first. Although Dow expressed the hope to come back to this point, I am not aware of any further article.

A closer examination of the available documents, however, does not provide sufficient proof for this hypothesis. In IG II² 1297, Σώφρων, the honoured ἀρχεραμιστής, is mentioned first in the list of members while the priest, who is a citizen, is at the very end.⁴ In IG II² 1343:35-37 we read στεφανοῦσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καθ' ἕκα[σ]/τον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐσομένου ταμίου καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ ἀρχεραμιστής; so ἀρχεραμιστής is not sufficiently prominent in this group to support Dow's theory.⁵ In IG II² 1339.4-5 a ταμίας is mentioned first and not an ἀρχεραμιστής, also in IG II² 1369 an ἀρχεραμιστής is mentioned second after προστάτης and significantly is to be elected every year while προστάτης is exempted from this rule. SEG XXXVII 103:4, IG II² 1319:15-16 and 1345:3 are too fragmentary to prove anything more than the existence of such a title. In IG II² 1322 although the ἀρχεραμιστής is mentioned first in the list of those contributing to the restoration of the sanctuary, it is debatable whether this order is significant because the secretary Καλλιτέλης Καλλίου is mentioned in the third place, the treasurer Ἀρχέστρατος Αἰσχίνου is mentioned seventh and one of the contributors mentioned in the main body of the decree does not figure in the list. However, in IG II² 2358 ἀρχεραμιστής precedes all other officers and in SEG XXXI 122 he seems to have extensive authority.⁶ Therefore, the reviewed pieces of evidence revealed only two cases out of ten in which the predominant role attributed to ἀρχεραμιστής can be unequivocally asserted. I think that it would be difficult to apply such a formal criterion with rigidity in documents drawn with a certain degree of casualness by a wide variety of groups, whose commitment to formal expressions cannot be taken for granted.

It seems to me that the primacy of ἀρχεραμιστής is merely inferred from the form of the word. In the most complete case of honouring an (ex-)ἀρχεραμιστής, namely IG II² 1343, we can see that the contribution of the honoured did not result from holding the post of ἀρχεραμιστής⁷ as such. This office seems to be of less importance when compared with the treasurership (lines 13-24) and the priesthood (lines 24-27). Instead we have to take into

⁴ The existence of an ἀρχεραμιστής and not of an ἀρχιθιασίτης [for whom see Poland (above n.3) pp. 352-53] in connection with lines 3 to 6: ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ στήλην ὥστε ἀνατεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν βουλόμενος αὔξειν τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων imply that the contribution of Sophron was made in the context of an eranos, or a collection of funds for the association. In this respect ἀρχεραμιστής cannot signify the founder of the group but rather the leading contributor, the most generous associate.

⁵ Poland's claim that ἀρχεραμιστής in IG II² 1343 means the founder is contradicted by lines 35-37 where it is implied that the ἀρχεραμιστής is going to participate in the crowning of the honorand. If the honorand bears this title, how it would be possible to participate in crowning himself?

⁶ See for example SEG XXXI 122:3-5 ἔδοξεν τῷ ἀρχεραμιστῆτι [[Μάρκωι]] Αἰμιλίωι ... τάδε δοκματίσαι or 34-35 αἰρείσθω δὲ ὁ ἀρχεραμιστής οὐς ἂν βούληται ἐκ τῆς συνόδου.

⁷ It is important to notice that this is described briefly as ἀρχεραμιστής ὑπέμεινε. The other two possibly helpful references to an ἀρχεραμιστής do not provide us with any specific piece of evidence of their activities.

account that since titles were an essential part in the accumulation of symbolic capital of an individual, then groups may manipulate the award of titles as well as their nomenclature.

An explanation along similar lines may apply to the unusual title προερανίστρια, a term appearing solely in the group of Sarapiastai (IG II² 1291:23 and 29-30). Dow (above n.3) p.195 considers, on the basis of the title she bears (and of her position in the list), that she was the head of the association. However, he quickly notes that this supremacy was nominal because that a woman should be the actual managing head of a Greek society containing men was probably unthinkable then or at any time. It is very well known that women usually are not attested as holders of any other office than *ἱέρεια* (IG II² 1314, 1315, 1316).⁸ The reason for Νικίππη's supremacy may lie in her past, present and future financial help to the group of Sarapiastai. In reward, the group decided to give to her this nominal headship.

Poland (above n.3) p.354 called Rhodes "das Land der ἔρανοι" and applied his assumption to Rhodian associations as well. Rhodes may have been the homeland of *eranoi* but the title ἀρχεραμιστής is preserved only in a handful of documents.⁹ In particular, IG XII.1 9 is a decree concerning the rebuilding of a wall and of monuments destroyed by an earthquake; the ἀρχεραμιστής is charged with the restoration (lines 7-8); more significantly the association dates its documents by the incumbent of the office of ἀρχεραμιστής.¹⁰ The verbal form ἠρχεράνιζε appears in IG XII.5 672, a dedication from Syros, in order to identify the dedicant group of ἔραμισταὶ. IG XII.1 155 preserves the most persuasive evidence of the predominant character of ἀρχεραμιστής; the ἀρχεραμιστής of the association of Haliastai-Haliadai, Διονυσόδωρος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, in addition to honours conferred by two other groups, is honoured by the group of Haliastai-Haliadai. In this document ἀρχεραμιστής appears always next to the general term οἱ ἄρχοντες (lines 20-21, 30, 71), which include several other officials like secretary (line 20 and 61), overseer (lines 55 and 60), ἱεροκάρυξ (line 31) λογισταὶ (line 55). This autonomy shows the outstanding character of the office of ἀρχεραμιστής. The title ἀρχεραμιστής is merely mentioned in SEG III 674A:32, ASAA 1/2 (1939/40) pp.147-8, and IK 38 No 205 ([Μου]σαῖος ἀρχεραμιστής).

In conclusion, we have seen the different function and place of ἀρχεραμιστής in Athenian and Rhodian associations. While in Rhodes the incumbent of this office was prominent, with authority and always among fellow ἔραμισταὶ, in Athens ἀρχεραμιστής appears mostly in groups which do not call themselves ἔραμισταὶ, and there are doubts

⁸ See IG II² 1314, 1315, 1316. For examples of prominent women in associations see P.Veyne (1976) *Le pain et le cirque*, p.357 n.261, Paris.

⁹ It does not appear in the following documents of Rhodian ἔραμισταὶ: SEG XXXIX 737, SEG XXXIII 639, SEG XXX 1004, IG XII.1 157, 736, 937, 938, ASAA n.s. 1/2 (1939/40) No 10 (1st century B.C.), No 19 (3rd century B.C.) and Rhodian Peraia: SIG³ 1113 (2nd/1st century B.C.), IK 38 No 12 and 155.

¹⁰ IG XII.1 9:1 Ἐπ' ἱερέως Θεοφάνεως, ἀρχεραμιστά Μενεκράτεως Κιβυράτα.

about his prominence in the associative context. The examination of the evidence has demonstrated that it would have been misleading to try to interpret the Athenian case on the basis of evidence from Rhodes or vice versa. Associations were not monolithic groupings, but groups which would adapt to new developments by transforming their structure, or more often, their nomenclature; the semantic variety of the term ἀρχερανιστής reveals that what is true for one region of the Greek world it is not necessarily valid for another.

Glasgow

Ilias Arnaoutoglou