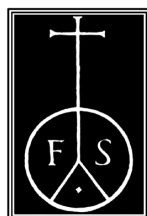


STUDI ELLENISTICI

XXXI · 2017

OFFPRINT



PISA · ROMA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE
MMXVII

STUDI ELLENISTICI

Fondati e diretti da

BIAGIO VIRGILIO

★

XXXI · 2017

ON THE EARLY *TECHNITAI* OF DIONYSUS

KENT J. RIGSBY

A DIAMOND in the epigraphy of Euboea is the decree of the Euboean League, inscribed at Eretria, concerning the festivals of the island's four cities.¹ The League regulates schedules, terms of work, the value of prizes, and the recruitment of the needed *technitai* of Dionysus, the professionals who performed in the dramatic and dithyrambic contests.²

Since its publication by Kourouniotis in 1911, the decree has been dated to the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes, 304-288. Wilamowitz in *IG* (1915) specified 294-288, and this has become standard.³ This gives the decree a special primacy, for our earliest certain reference to a theatrical guild (the Athenian guild) is in the Amphictyonic decree *CIDelphes* IV 12 – the spring of 278 or 277. Kourouniotis offered several reasons for dating the Euboean decree under Poliorcetes: the required payment in Demetrieian drachmas; the festival *Demetrieia*; the festival *Aristonikeia* at Carystos; the month name *Demetrian*; and palaeography.

The Euboean cities were to pay the performers in drachmas «of Demetrieian coin», νομίματα Δημητριείου (l. 21). Concerning the silver drachmas issued by Poliorcetes, only one dated reference survives: in 208 BC Gonnoi in Thessaly voted to give visiting *theoroi* twenty Demetrieian drachmas, δραχμάς Δημητριείους εἴκοσιν.⁴ Other mentions are only approximate in date: at Arcesine on Amorgos around 300 BC, νόμισμα Ἐλευθέρικόν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἢ Δημητρίειον;⁵ at Beroea

¹ K. KOUROUNIOTIS, «ArchEph» (1911), 1-9, with photograph, pin. 1; E. ZIEBARTH, *IG XII 9 207* (1915), with comments of WILAMOWITZ; B. LE GUEN, *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques*, I, Nancy, 2001, no. 1. Very likely originally from the theater of Eretria: H. P. ISLER, *Das Theater* («Eretria», XVIII), Lausanne, 2007, p. 32. On the text see I. E. STEPHANIS, «EThess», 22 (1984), pp. 499-564 (SEG XXXIV 896); D. KNOEPFLER, *Le calendrier des Chalcidiens de Thrace*, «JSav» (1989), p. 41, n. 74 and pp. 51-52 (SEG XXXIX 936). On *realien* see W. J. SLATER, *Paying the Pipers*, in B. Le Guen (éd.), *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec*, Saint-Denis, 2010, pp. 249-281.

² For top-down regulation of civic festival schedules we now have a rich parallel in the edicts of Hadrian: G. PETZL, E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler* («Asia Minor Studien», 58, 2006) («AnEpigt» [2006], 1403; SEG LVI 1359).

³ For 294-288/287: e.g., GEYER, «RE», Suppl. 4 (1924), 442; HILLER, *IG XII, Suppl.* (1940), p. 178. More recently, A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², Oxford, 1968, p. 306; R. BILLOWS, *Antigonus the One-Eyed*, Berkeley, 1990, p. 445 («late 290's»); J. MIKALSON, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, Berkeley, 1998, p. 121; B. LE GUEN, *Les associations*, cit., p. 32; S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten*, Stuttgart, 2003, p. 284 («ca. 294-288»); D. BUSSIÈRES, *Les Associations des Technites dionysiaques*, M.A. thesis, Université de Laval, 2010, pp. 11, 32; J. HANINK, *Lycurgan Athens and the Making of Classical Tragedy*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 231. An exception: C. TRÜMPY, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, Heidelberg, 1997, pp. 40-41 briefly urged the late third century BC on the grounds of the letter forms. For Euboea under Demetrius see the careful assessment by O. PICARD, *Chalcis et la Confédération eubéenne*, Athens, 1979, pp. 261-267; as he remarks, p. 264, n. 3, the *terminus post quem* 294 reflects the questionable theory that in that year Euboea was recaptured after an interruption of Antigonid rule.

⁴ *I. Magnesia* 33.20 (= *I. Gonnoi* 111, *Asylia* 83).

⁵ *IG XII 7 69.22*, with PH. GAUTHIER, *Études sur des inscriptions d'Amorgos*, «BCH», 104 (1980), pp. 205-210.

in the accounts of Asclepius, 2nd half of the the 3rd century BC, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ Δημητρίεια. ⁶The hoard evidence shows that Demetrius' silver circulated throughout the third century: examples are found as late as c. 190 BC. ⁷ That is, his issues were current in Euboea for as long as Antigonid rule lasted there (down to 197). Mention of such coins in the League's decree cannot serve to date the text more narrowly.

The *technitai* perform at festivals named τὰ Διονύσια καὶ Δημητρία or simply τὰ Δημητρία in the Euboean cities. The title Δημητρία is attested only here in Euboean inscriptions, but as with the coins, we would expect that honorific name to endure throughout the period of Antigonid rule in Euboea. ⁸ So the Demetria cannot help us narrow the date of the League decree within Antigonid rule.

The decree reveals that a festival called the *Aristonikeia* was celebrated at Carystos: ⁹ Καρυστιοὺς δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τεχνίταις εἰς τὰ Ἀριστονίξι[ει]α (l. 41). It was Wilamowitz (in *IG*) who identified Alexander's courtier Aristonicus of Carystos as the man for whom the festival was named; and Osborne has argued from *IG* II² 385 (307-302 BC) that Aristonicus went on to be a courtier of Demetrius. ¹⁰ Whether or not this is so, and however the festival was funded (e.g., a permanent foundation endowed by Aristonicus?), this festival too offers us no chronological constraint: the Carystians need not have abolished it on the death of either Demetrius or Aristonicus, and we can assume that it too continued at least as long as Antigonid rule in Euboea.

The same, finally, can be surmised of the month name *Demetria* at Oreos (l. 37, ἐν Ὁρεῶι τοῦ Δημητριῶνος μη[νός]). Although again this is attested only here in Euboea, there are no grounds to think that the name was abolished before the end of Antigonid rule.

In short, the only guide for dating the decree more narrowly within the period of Antigonid rule, the third century BC, is palaeography – a weak reed. Kourouniotis of course knew the stone at first hand; Ziebarth had a squeeze, which Hiller will have studied; Stephanis too examined a squeeze. Kourouniotis (pp. 8-9) judged the script to be close to that of the Chaerephanes decree, which is now dated soon after 318, ¹¹ and also that for Glaucippus and his brothers (c. 300 BC). But we now have as a resource Professor Knoepfler's *corpus* and photographic record of Eretrian honorific decrees, with his meticulous study of their chronology and palaeography. ¹²

⁶ M. HATZOPOULOS, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, Athens, 1996, II, no. 82.II.13 (= *SEG* XL 530).

⁷ M. THOMPSON et al., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1973, nos. 1410, 1450, 1535; «Coin Hoards», 5 (1979), no. 42. The lone specimen deposited c. 86 BC (*Inventory*, no. 342) should be reckoned aberrant, a relic.

⁸ This point is already made by C. TRÜMPY, *Untersuchungen*, cit., p. 40.

⁹ Mistakenly attributed to Eretria by M. J. OSBORNE, *Naturalization in Athens* II, Brussels, 1982, p. 129, and R. BILLOWS, *Antigonos*, cit., p. 445.

¹⁰ M. J. OSBORNE, *Naturalization*, cit., pp. 127-129.

¹¹ D. KNOEPLER, *Le contrat d'Érétie en Eubée pour le drainage*, in P. Briant (ed.), *Irrigation et drainage dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 2001, pp. 61-67.

¹² *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* («Eretria» XI), Lausanne, 2000.

Diagnostic features of the script of the League decree include: A with straight bar; O Θ Ω only slightly raised; right hasta of N and Π more than half-way descended; arms of Σ only slightly splayed; occasional tiny serifs. One or another of these traits, taken individually, can be found from the late fourth century to the mid third. But taken together, they suggest a narrower span. Of the texts in the photographic corpus of *Décrets érétriens*, the one that seems most to present these features together is the proxeny decree for Proteas (no. 15; Σ rather more splayed). D. Knoepfler estimated the writing to be 280-240 BC; his investigation of the historical circumstances led him to specify the late 250s. I would urge the same range for the League decree, 280-240 BC.

To claim that the Euboeans' decree can be as early as 280, while the traditional view has it no later than 288, may seem a trivial distinction. But to free the decree from the years of Poliorcetes and allow a later date addresses an important question.

Under Wilamowitz's direction and in the new light of the decree published in 1911, Klaffenbach wrote his dissertation on the *technitai*.¹³ In an influential judgment, he argued (pp. 11-12) that the League decree shows that at that date (under Poliorcetes) the theatrical guilds did not yet exist. If that is so, the decree is surely earlier than the early 270s and the first certain mention of a theatrical guild. Klaffenbach's view has been widely followed.¹⁴ He offered three arguments for the absence of a guild (which have since rarely been repeated): one sends «to the *Technitai*» and not the to the *koinon* or *synodos* of the *technitai*;¹⁵ each performer must supply sureties (l. 43), which would be unnecessary if there were a guild; and the performers are subject to the cities' discipline rather than the guild's.

The reasons that Klaffenbach urged for the non-existence of a theatrical guild are unconvincing. He was perhaps influenced by the view of Poland that *koinon* and *synodos* were technical terms referring to different groups (civic vs regional)¹⁶ – a claim that has been decisively refuted.¹⁷ In any case, his distinction between the *technitai* and the *koinon* of the *technitai* is similarly pedantic and uncogent. Shortened versions of the guild's name are abundant in the surviving documents. It is enough to cite an Amphictyonic decree for the Athenian branch, probably of 117 BC:¹⁸ the *technitai* have gathered as a *synodos* (l. 11, συνῆχθαι τεχνιτῶν σύ-

¹³ G. KLAFFENBACH, *Symbolae ad historiam collegiorum artificum Bacchiorum*, Berlin, 1914.

¹⁴ Recent instances: J. L. LIGHTFOOT, *Nothing to do with the technitai of Dionysus?*, in P. Easterling, E. Hall (eds), *Greek and Roman Actors*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 211, n. 4, «before the inceptions of the guilds c. 290 BC», p. 214, «just before»; LE GUEN, *Les associations*, cit., I, p. 49, «ce document ne traite pas d'une quelconque association»; ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine*, cit., pp. 52-53; ANEZIRI, *World Travellers*, in R. Hunter, I. Rutherford (eds), *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 225: the decree «does not yet speak of an association». But note the skeptical comment of W. J. SLATER, *Paying the Pipers*, cit., p. 265, n. 50.

¹⁵ On the same basis G. KLAFFENBACH, *Symbolae*, cit., 12, n. 2, dated IG IX 1² 798 to century III BC *init.*: the managers of this private fund on Corcyra are to «send to the *Technitai*» at the proper times. But Dittenberger's date, century II BC, has been almost universally preferred.

¹⁶ F. POLAND, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 134-135.

¹⁷ S. ANEZIRI, *Zwischen Muse und Hof*, «ZPE», 104 (1994), p. 193; cf. EAD., *Die Vereine*, cit., pp. 25-26; B. LE GUEN, *Les associations*, cit., I, pp. 28-29.

¹⁸ CIDelphes IV 117 (= Syll. 704E; B. LE GUEN, *Les associations*, cit., I, no. 11; S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine*, cit., no. C1).

νοδον; cf. 16), the Amphictyons have often honored the *technitai* of Dionysus in Athens (20, τοῦ[ς] περὶ τὸν] Διόνυσον τεχνίτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις; cf. 26, 31, 44), the Athens *technitai* are worthy (22, [τ]οὺς Ἀθήνησι[ν] τεχνίτας; cf. 25), the *synodos* (22) has now sent a decree, traditional privileges apply to τοῖς τεχνιταῖς (27), and finally (35) τ]ὰ πρὸς τοῦ[ς] τεχνίτας δι[α]μένηι κύρια· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν] Ἀθήναις. In this last, the Amphictyons shift from less formal mention of the guild to more formal when they quote their intended proclamation of praise. Throughout, it is one and the same guild. The Euboean League decree is not an act of or about the *technitai*, and its several references to them are incidental and brief.

As to guarantors/sureties, the League merely stipulates that the guarantors as well as the performers are subject to fine for failing to appear as contracted: ἡ δὲ π]ρᾶξις ἔστω [ἐκ] τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ τοῦ ἐργολάβ[ου καὶ] τοῦ ἐγγύου καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐν αἷς ἂν λίπωσιν (43). This is ordinary contract law: the labor contract was between the city and the performer, whose sureties protected the city in case of breach of contract. This protection for the city carries no implication about whether or not a guild existed. That an organization of performers would have replaced such guarantors by taking over their fiscal responsibility is not attested or necessary. And it is inevitable that enforcement upon a performer and his sureties fell to each city, as the contracting partner; again, we have no reason to think that the guild ever undertook that responsibility for enforcement in place of the cities.

In my view, the question of the existence of a guild at the time of the League decree is answered by a matter of logistics. As in Corcyra in the second century BC, a city simply «sent to the Technitai», without specification or explanation. That is, the envoys who were sent by the Euboean cities to the *technitai* knew where they must go – wherever that was (Chalcis, Thebes?). If professional actors and other musical performers were scattered about the Greek world with no organization, where would the civic envoys travel to find them? To the contrary, their mission is treated in the decree as obvious and simple. This suggests that the guild is already well established, and headquartered in a known place, and the cities' procedures for approaching it to obtain performers did not need to be spelled out.

Accordingly, if my estimate of 280-240 BC for the League decree is correct, it may even be thought more likely to fall in the later part of that period – that is, toward the middle of the third century – rather than near the start.

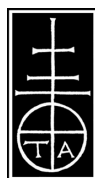
This suggestion of course carries no implication about when Greek theatrical guilds first came to exist; rather, it questions the traditional *terminus post quem* under Poliorcetes.

COMPOSTO IN CARATTERE SERRA DANTE DALLA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE, PISA · ROMA.
STAMPATO E RILEGATO NELLA
TIPOGRAFIA DI AGNANO, AGNANO PISANO (PISA).

★

Novembre 2017

(CZ 2 · FG 3)



*Tutte le riviste Online e le pubblicazioni delle nostre case editrici
(riviste, collane, varia, ecc.) possono essere ricercate bibliograficamente e richieste
(sottoscrizioni di abbonamenti, ordini di volumi, ecc.) presso il sito Internet :*

www.libraweb.net

*Per ricevere, tramite E-mail, periodicamente, la nostra newsletter/alert con l'elenco
delle novità e delle opere in preparazione, Vi invitiamo a sottoscriverla presso il nostro sito
Internet o a trasmettere i Vostri dati (Nominativo e indirizzo E-mail) all'indirizzo :*

newsletter@libraweb.net

★

*Computerized search operations allow bibliographical retrieval of the Publishers' works
(Online journals, journals subscriptions, orders for individual issues, series, books, etc.)
through the Internet website :*

www.libraweb.net

*If you wish to receive, by E-mail, our newsletter/alert with periodic information
on the list of new and forthcoming publications, you are kindly invited to subscribe it at our
web-site or to send your details (Name and E-mail address) to the following address :*

newsletter@libraweb.net

© Copyright by Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa · Roma.

Rivista annuale · *A Yearly Journal*

*

Amministrazione e abbonamenti

FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE

Casella postale n. 1, succursale n. 8, I 56123 Pisa,
tel. +39 050 542332, fax +39 050 574888, fse@libraweb.net

Abbonamenti

I prezzi ufficiali di abbonamento cartaceo e/o *Online* sono consultabili
presso il sito Internet della casa editrice www.libraweb.net

*Print and/or Online official subscription rates are available
at Publisher's web-site www.libraweb.net.*

I pagamenti possono essere effettuati tramite versamento su c.c.p. n. 17154550
o tramite carta di credito (*American Express, Visa, Eurocard, Mastercard*).

*

Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Pisa n. 13 del 15 aprile 2005

Direttore responsabile: FABRIZIO SERRA

*

A norma del codice civile italiano, è vietata la riproduzione, totale o parziale
(compresi estratti, ecc.), di questa pubblicazione in qualsiasi forma e versione
(comprese bozze, ecc.), originale o derivata, e con qualsiasi mezzo a stampa o internet
(compresi siti web personali e istituzionali, academia.edu, ecc.), elettronico, digitale, meccanico,
per mezzo di fotocopie, pdf, microfilm, film, scanner o altro, senza il permesso scritto
della casa editrice.

*Under Italian civil law this publication cannot be reproduced, wholly or in part
(included offprints, etc.), in any form (included proofs, etc.), original or derived, or by any means:
print, internet (included personal and institutional web sites, academia.edu, etc.), electronic,
digital, mechanical, including photocopy, pdf, microfilm, film, scanner or any other medium,
without permission in writing from the publisher.*

*

Proprietà riservata · All rights reserved

© Copyright 2017 by *Fabrizio Serra editore*, Pisa · Roma.

Fabrizio Serra editore incorporates the Imprints *Accademia editoriale*,
Edizioni dell'Ateneo, *Fabrizio Serra editore*, *Giardini editori e stampatori in Pisa*,
Gruppo editoriale internazionale and *Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali*.

www.libraweb.net

*

Stampato in Italia · Printed in Italy

ISSN 1828-5864

ISSN ELETTRONICO 2039-9111

SOMMARIO

Avvertenza	7
SYLVIE LE BOHEC-BOUHET, <i>La mousikè (poésie, chant, musique et danse) en Macédoine aux époques classique et hellénistique</i>	9
SILVIA BARBANTANI, «His σῆμα are both continents». <i>Alexander the Great in Hellenistic Poetry</i>	51
BIAGIO VIRGILIO, <i>Per il testo dell'arbitrato di Pergamo fra Pitane e Mytilene</i>	129
ROBERTA FABIANI, <i>Suddivisioni civiche: organizzazione, magistrature e culti. Un nuovo decreto di una phylé di Iasos</i>	165
DAMIEN AUBRIET, <i>Helenistik dönemde Mylasa'nın limanı: Passala. Passala and Mylasa's Harbour in Hellenistic Times</i>	205
RIET VAN BREMEN, <i>Labraunda and the Ptolemies: a reinterpretation of three documents from the Sanctuary of Zeus (I.Labraunda 51, 45 and 44)</i>	223
THIBAUT BOULAY, <i>Cn. Manlius Vulso dans la vallée du Méandre en 189: à propos de Tite-Live, xxxviii, 12, 8-13, 4</i>	261
KENT J. RIGSBY, <i>On the Early Technitai of Dionysus</i>	283
EDWARD DĄBROWA, <i>Sacral Kingship in Parthia</i>	287
SILVIA BUSSI, <i>Les prêtresses des cultes autochtones dans la société et l'économie de l'Égypte hellénistique</i>	297
GAIA ASPESI, <i>Greci e non Greci nella produzione tessile di età tolemaica: riflessioni</i>	317