

**THE REGULATIONS OF DIONYSIUS IN THE SO-CALLED *LEX SACRA* FROM
PHILADELPHIA IN LYDIA**

Elevated strict moral code or current civil behavioural norms?

Most of the evidence regarding associations or private cults in Lydia is not explicitly about norms or regulations imposed on their members. There is, however, a long and detailed regulation that is well known and which has often been analysed. The text was found in the wall of the church of Hagios Taxiarches in Alaşehir, ancient Philadelphia, and is usually dated to the second to first centuries BC based on palaeographic and linguistic grounds.¹

This document is 64 lines long and contains the norms that Zeus transmitted through a dream to a certain Dionysius, the founder or perhaps the president and reformer of an older private association or private cult.² The text begins with an introduction regarding the divine origin and transmission of the norms, their objective, and the names of the gods worshipped, who are Zeus *eumenes*,³ Hestia, the *theoi soterēs* in general and seven divine personifications of material and moral virtues that were desired by mortals (ll. 1–12). The central part of the text contains an order to celebrate purification and cathartic rites in the traditional way but with new changes, and a set of civil regulations (ll. 12–41). These concern treachery in general, use of harmful magic or enchantments, use of abortifacients, contraceptives and any other thing that may cause a child's death, and regulations on sexual behaviour. The norms affect not only the direct wrongdoer, but also the accomplices and even people who were aware of the violation, and required anyone who knew about any of these offences to make them public. By entering the association or cult enclosure, members had to swear that they would follow these norms. These members were explicitly defined as men, women, free persons and slaves (ll. 14–17). The

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1 TAM V 3, 1539, with references to previous editions. See also A. Chaniotis, *Reinheit des Körpers – Reinheit des Sinnes in den griechischen Kultgesetzen*, in J. Assmann – Th. Sundermeier (eds.), *Schuld, Gewissen und Person* (Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen, 9), Gütersloh 1997, 159–162, 172 f.; L. E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1999, 194–6 (on the relationship between the Phrygian Agdistis, guardianship of the community, and the aim to correct moral behaviour that is attested in Phrygia in the first three centuries AD); Ph. A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations. Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean*, Minneapolis 2003, 30–31, 33, 70–71 (for household connections in relationship to this and other associations). Cf. also *infra*, notes 3–6.

2 See Greek text and English translation by Harland in the annex at the end.

3 On the interpretation of εὐμενής here, and the possibility that it is a reference to the king Eumenes from Pergamon cf. Weinreich 1919, 9–10. I think that here it is not a cult epithet but a qualification of Zeus as giver of norms. This same qualification is attested in other instances of a judicial context: in the famous *lex sacra* from Selinus (SEG 46.1273, 4th c. BC) the main god is Zeus Meilichios, but at the beginning Zeus *eumenes* is mentioned together with the Eumenides; Zeus Larasios from Tralles is only once (*IK Tralleis* 23, 2nd c. BC) called *eumenes*, and this happens in an honorary decree for a foreign judge. Adjectives, substantives, or verbs with this root are also very common in relation to different gods in the Orphic hymns, in most cases as an expression by the initiated of the desire that the praised god is well disposed towards them. This sense fits very well with the text of Dionysius.

last part of the text presents an *imprecatio* against members who do not observe the rules (ll. 41–50); information about the place of erection of the stele near the image or altar of the goddess Agdistis, guardian of the association or the cult place (ll. 50–54); and a requirement for people entering the place to declare themselves as being observers of the rules (ll. 54–60). Worshipers made this declaration in the monthly and yearly ritual celebrations by touching the stele where the norms were written. The document closes with an invocation to the god, probably Zeus.

This text is quite unusual given the combination of items, and for that reason it has been studied in more or less detail from different points of view. Weinreich focused mainly on the Greek divinities and their similarity to those in the Orphic Hymns, the Demeter cult in Pergamon and certain philosophical schools.⁴ Barton and Horsley analysed its similarity to Christian doctrines.⁵ Kapparis, on the other hand, focused in the norms against abortion, attributing the regulations to the direct influence of the Hippocratic Oath.⁶ Most insist on the particularity of a *lex sacra* that imposes moral behaviour concerning abortion and adultery, and opens access also to slaves and women. It has been almost unanimously agreed that the text is the statute of a cult association. Stowers, denying its oddity, has interpreted the text as a normal regulation of a household cult that is basically Greek in its conception, and has drawn parallels from Attic classical literature.⁷

The aim of this paper is to study this inscription from a different point of view, and to analyse it as a statute in accordance with the concrete and real society in which it was situated. In that sense, my approach is close to Stowers' one, but the social background against which I analyse and interpret the inscription is a different one, closer to its geographic and chronological area.

1. I do not deny that Dionysius was an educated man with philosophical ambitions who wanted to make of his community a special group with an ἀρίστη δόξα (l. 3), probably aiming to serve as model in a world where not only cities and individuals of the elite competed against each other, but also associations and other kinds of communities. And I do not deny that some of the aforementioned interpretations played an important role in Dionysius' text, but I do not think we have to see in his regulations a strict sectarian moral code or a peculiar normative system directly and mainly motivated by philosophical or medical theoretical concerns. The philosophical and rhetorical component in the regulations can be ascribed to Dionysius' education and to the fact that he belonged to a time when the cultural elite was very much pervaded of rhetorical and philosophical ideas, as it can be seen in many other inscriptions with everyday and common social or religious concerns.

The behaviour that Dionysius wanted to regulate and the instruments he used for achieving his objectives are explainable within the society of Philadelphia and its environment in the time to which this inscription belongs, which probably corresponds to the first century BC or AD.⁸ I will focus on the elements of social context that are known to us and which can explain such a

4 Weinreich 1919.

5 Barton – Horsley 1981.

6 Kapparis 2002, 214–218. The relationship to the Hippocratic Oath was already stated by Ch. Singer, *Gesnerus* 8 (1951), 177–180. Cf. *contra* D. Gourevitch, *Le triangle hippocratique dans le monde gréco-romain: le malade, sa maladie et son médecin*, Rome 1984, 260–2.

7 Stowers 1998, 287–301.

8 It has been usually dated to the end of the 2nd or during the 1st c. BC. The reasons – which are palaeo- and orthographic (the iota adscriptum, no itacism, pi with a shorter right arm: Weinreich 1919, 4) and linguistic (the

regulation in the context of a private cult. Already Keil and von Premerstein, the first editors of the text, considered that this statute originated in popular religion.⁹ Popular religion certainly plays a central role in the creation of these regulations, but the basis of the text is to be found in the main social cohabitation problems, the civil laws of that time, and the way people usually handled both. Popular evidences provide a good view inside the “dark side” of people’s life in Greco-Roman society in general, and in Lydia particularly. I think a visit to that aspect of life is what may give us the clue to interpret these regulations, and I will try to get into it with the help of texts such as prayers for justice from all over the Greco-Roman world, a special type of prayers for justice conventionally called confessions from Lydia and Phrygia, and the *Interpretation of dreams* of Artemidorus Daldianus, who – by the way – was Lydian in origin, lived in Ephesus, and had mainly a Minor Asiatic society in mind.

2. The first term referring to a prohibited behaviour is δόλος, a term which comprises all other prohibited acts that are listed below. δόλος is treachery, is every sort of harmful action that is carried out secretly against another person. It is a sort of offence that frequently didn’t bring the offended person to the civil court and from which the offended one could rest even unaware. The notion of concealment is important in the regulations of Dionysius as we will see later. We are especially well informed about this sort of behaviour through the so-called judicial prayers or prayers for justice found throughout the whole Mediterranean in Hellenistic and Roman times. People injured by others, normally familiars, friends or neighbours, who suffered offences such as theft, the neglect to repay a debt, cheating, insult, slander, injury, adultery or sorcery, simply wrote tablets asking the gods for reparation and revenge.¹⁰ It is precisely from Lydia that we have especially good evidence of these judicial prayers through some of the so-called confessions, where the offender records his sin and makes public the punishment and forgiveness of the god because the offended person has made a judicial prayer.¹¹ This sort of offence was especially worrisome in society because they were easily committed without consequences, even without notice. They were not usually handled through official methods, which is evident in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus. It is significant how often does the term δόλος, sometimes together with terms like ἐνέδρα (2.14), ἐπιβουλή (2.14) or ἀπάτα (2.38), appear in Artemidorus describing this sort of offences, and how often he interprets a dream as an indication that secret, hidden or concealed things will come to light.¹² A case concerning some of the δόλοι included in the regulations of Dionysius is a dream (4.71) where a man is told that his wife was going to give him a poison (φάρμακον) through a known and familiar person. The man was not poisoned but his wife committed adultery with that relative and Artemidorus explains that both things – adultery as well as poisoning – are carried out secretly (λάθρα) and that both of them are plots

verb ὄραω instead of βλέπειν: Barton – Horsley 1981, 11) –, could nevertheless fit also within the first two centuries AD, since they are archaic features in a text with literary and even rhetoric aspirations.

9 J. Keil – A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien* (= Denkschr. d. Österr. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 55,1, 1914), 20.

10 See Versnel 1991 and 2010.

11 G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (Epigr. Anat. 22), Bonn 1994 (from now on quoted as *BI*). They are also the offences attested in enquiries to oracles, prophetai or foreseeers, and sometimes even in funerary inscriptions.

12 Artem. *Onir.* 1.44, 1.51.30 f., 1.52.15 f., 2.14.18, etc. Cf. *BI* 35 (against orphans); other forms of mistreatment in *BI* 68, 79.

(ἐπιβουλαί).¹³ These types of offences are carried out in the dreams of Artemidorus as well as in confessions and in other judicial prayers conducted by men, women, free persons, and slaves. The norms of Dionysius are precisely conceived for all these people.

Of all possible *doloi*, the regulations of the *oikos* mention explicitly those that have to do with harmful magic, abortifacients and contraceptives, and with adultery.

2.1 The use of φάρμακα πονηρά, [ἐπωι]δαὶ πονηραὶ and φίλτρα (ll. 18–20) in the normal life of Hellenistic and Roman communities is well attested. A confession inscription in Lydia tells that a man went mad and everybody said it was because his mother in law had given him a φάρμακον.¹⁴ Similar problems have motivated curses of women in Cnidus.¹⁵ Artemidorus Daldianus again provides many instances of the use of *pharmaka* and particularly *philtera* or erotic potions, and enchantments (2.32.29, 4.71.17, 5.33 etc.).¹⁶

Though there are many literary attestations of problems in court to know if a *pharmakon* that has led to death was a love charm or a poison, and although the difference between a beneficial and a harmful *pharmakon* is already seen in Homer, there is almost no evidence that would suggest that magic was a concern to Greek law in Classical Athens. Allusions in legal writings are only made when its effects result in injury or death.¹⁷

On the contrary, in Republican Rome there is an increasing interest in regulating magical activities.¹⁸ The increasing use of *pharmaka* and magical actions probably led to the enactment of the Cornelian Law on assassins and poisoners (*Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*) in 81 BC. All subsequent legislation against magic was related to this law, and always included new suspicious behaviours. Collins affirms that what we see in the subsequent revisions of the Cornelian law and cases prosecuted under its precepts is an attempt by Roman authorities to rein in behaviours that threatened the tranquillity of the state.¹⁹ And we know from the work of Paulus, *Opiniones* (5.23.14–19), written in the third century AD, that in subsequent laws to the Cornelian law, abortifacients and contraceptives are mentioned in addition to love philtres. It is uncertain if in the times of Dionysius those products were already legally prohibited, but by his time the use of magic was already officially regulated.

13 The fear to acts of *dolos* appears in other everyday sources like funerary imprecations. Cf. *IK Kyz* 83, ll. 4–7: εἰ δέ τις ἀνύξας ἕτερον βαλῆ [νεκρόν τινα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ] ἢ συνβουλεύσῃ ἢ προξενήσῃ ἢ ἀγοράσῃ ἢ πωλήσῃ τὸν τόπον] ἢ δόλον πονηρὸν ποιήσῃ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖο[ν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος γενήσεται μανεῖς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου (cf. *IK Iznik* 87).

14 *BI* 69. For other attestations of confessions regarding the use of magic, though not to harm other persons, cf. *BI* 55 and 59.

15 *IK Knidos* I 147, 150. The Cnidian plates (*IK Knidos* I 147–159) are a good collection of judicial prayers from the 1st c. BC, where offended women ask Demeter and Kore to make the culprit “burn” and confess publicly his offence.

16 There is a good deal of evidence that from the Classical period through late antiquity wives, mistresses and prostitutes used love potions and other aphrodisiacs to retain or strengthen the affection of their male companions and clients (Collins 2008, 136).

17 Cf. the law against manufacture of harmful drugs in Teos, already in the 5th c. BC (Syll.³ 37–8). It was concerned with protecting state interests.

18 Collins 2008, 141.

19 Not only was the practice of this art prohibited, but also its knowledge (*scientia*). Cf. Collins 2008, 160.

2.2 Abortion, contraception and maybe the killing of an undesired or unhealthy child once it was born were often carried out with products of the so-called harmful magic. They are mentioned together with *philtr*a in the regulations of Dionysius. From a religious point of view, abortion as a practice is not considered an offence to the gods. There are many attestations of sacred laws (4th c. BC–3rd c. AD) where a period of purification before entering a temple is prescribed for those who have had or have been connected to an abortion. It is always a question of the physical sacral pollution imputed to abortion, as well as to any other forms of death or to birth, menstruation, or sexual intercourse.²⁰ There is no mention of a difference between natural or induced abortion.

The references to abortion in law had to do with questions of inheritance and offspring, and with the rights of the father, not of the foetus.²¹ Attitudes seem to change at the end of the Hellenistic period. As Parker affirms, purity norms after an abortion got stricter in later antiquity and texts of sympathy towards the foetus as a human potentia already began to appear in the late republic (Ovide and Chariton). In fact, previous studies of the regulations of Dionysius mention the concern regarding abortion already in the Hippocratic Oath, and they see a direct influence of this medical and philosophical concern in the regulations of Dionysius.²² But it is not until a rescript of Septimius and Caracalla (198–211 AD) that we have the first evidence for a moral legal concern on abortion.²³

The fact that in the Philadelphian text it is the abortive product (φθορεῖον) and not the act (φθορά) that is mentioned, and that it is listed together with contraceptives and with philtres probably means that what is not allowed is again the use of magic, specifically products that aim to harm another woman by impeding her begetting or having children. Curses of women desiring their rivals not to beget or to give birth are well known. The main concern in relation to abortion was, in popular contexts as well as in legal ones, the offspring and the inheritance. Offspring and inheritance are also a great concern in the dreams of Artemidorus and in curses of all kind. Musonius Rufus (p. 77 Hense), who has been quoted by Weinreich in relation to this precept, is in fact a parallel not for a moral attitude towards abortion, but for the social idea that it was necessary to have many children in order to increase the population. He says that this is the reason why the gods interdicted women the practice of abortion, and the use of contraceptives and impediments to pregnancy; furthermore, they made having many children a sign of honour for the man as well as for the woman while the lack of children was deemed as something harmful.

20 See Parker 1983, p. 50, n. 67. In later sacred laws the period increases to 40 days typically. Thus in most cases it far exceeds the periods specified after a birth or death (*op. cit.* 354–356). Cf. for instance Xanthos the Lykian in Laurion (*IG II²* 1365, 1366 = J. S. Kloppenborg – R. S. Ascough, *Greco-Roman associations: texts, translations, and commentary* I, Berlin, New York 2011, no. 53, II–III AD): “one must be purified from an abortion on the fortieth day”; the same norm in *IG XII*, 1 789 (Lindos, ca. 117–138 AD).

21 Different jurists deal with the question concerning concrete cases where emperors have established temporary exile for the woman. All of them have to do with an offended father (Kapparis 2002, 182). Abortion was perceived as an individual or family issue, not a public one.

22 Ch. Singer, *Gesnerus* 8 (1951), 177–180, Kapparis 2002. See Weinreich 1919, 56–7 for references to this matter in gynaecological medicine such as the one we find in Soranus of Ephesus, and in philosophical authors like Musonius Rufus.

23 Kapparis 2002, 182.

2.3 Clauses on sexual offences are the most explicit and detailed ones in the regulations of Dionysius. Mention of explicit regulation for men as well as for women has been interpreted as evidence of an advanced moral code, though still not totally equal for men and women because of the far more strict conditions and penalties for women than for men. These clauses are nevertheless a mirror of social ideas and behaviour concerning sexual offences and of the conception of adultery in the Roman law. Following Dionysius' regulations, a man is not permitted to have sexual relations with a married woman, free or slave, besides his own, neither is it permitted to a free woman to have extra marital relations in any situation. Penalty for the women includes exclusion of all sacral celebrations.

Adultery is a main theme in the dreams of Artemidorus and it is also well attested in popular inscriptions that offer prayers to the gods for punishment or revenge, such as the first or second century AD funerary appeal to Zeus in Alexandria Troas by the husband of an adulteress, who had been murdered by the adulterer: ll. 3–9 [θν]ήσκω δ' οἰκτροτάτῳ θα/νάτῳ διὰ τὴν ἄλοχόν μου, | / [κ]λεψίγαμον μιεράν, / ἦν περι Ζεὺς ὀλέσει· | / ταύτη<ς> γὰρ λάθριος γαμέτης / κάμὸν γένος, Λύχων, σφάξ[ε] με κάφ' ὕψους δισκοβόλησε νέον· I die a most wretched death because of my wife, the dirty adulteress, whom Zeus will destroy. Her secret lover, a member of my own family, Lychon, slaughtered me and threw me from the heights like a discus, still a young man.²⁴

As very often in Artemidorus, the adulterer is here a relative of the offended and, also often in those parallels, there is a mention to the concealed character of the offence, in this case through the expression λάθριος γαμέτης (“secret illegal lover”). The woman is called κλεψίγαμον μιεράν (someone abominable who seeks illicit love), an expression that reminds the one in the regulations of Dionysius [μεμιασμέ]νη καὶ μύσο[υ]ς ἐμφυλίου πλή[ρ]ης (ll. 37 f.). Her moral impurity is dangerous for the whole community, and that is the reason why she must abstain from all sacred participation, as stated in ll. 38–41.²⁵ Already in classical Athens, an adulteress, unlike an adulterer, was permanently excluded from sanctuaries and deprived of all her citizen rights, not because she is considered polluted and dangerous in a sacral way, but because her immoral behavior subverts the basic moral fundamentals of the society.²⁶ The adulterer had legal penalties

24 *IK AlexTroas* 90. The Greek text presented here is the one in *SGO 07/05/04* but with the modifications of A. Chaniotis (Moving Stones: The Study of Emotions in Greek Inscriptions, in id. (ed.), *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, Stuttgart 2012, 104–05, n. 62. The English translation is by Chaniotis (*op. cit.* 104). See also I. Salvo, Sweet Revenge. Emotional Factors in ‘Prayers for Justice’, in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *op. cit.*, 249–50.

25 There are cases of sexual transgression in the confessions, though they are all related to cult personnel. A man is punished by the god for having sexual intercourse once with a married slave, and twice with a single woman (*BI* 5). In the first case the real problem was to commit the act in a sacred place, in the other two the problem was that the offence was committed while he was a *hierodoulos* of the god. In another confession a man had sexual intercourse with a woman in the temple (*BI* 110); the mention of adultery in another confession concerns also sacred offence (*BI* 111). Cf. also the *lex sacra* from Andania (*LSCG* 65, ll. 7–8; 91 BC or maybe 23 AD) where it is stated that the sacred women in the sanctuary of Karneios have to swear that they have acted purely and properly in marriage with their husband.

26 Parker 1983, 94–6. Cf. Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 2.291e–f) on public humiliation of adulterers in Cyme. On Athenian laws for sexual offences see A. R. V. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, vol. 1: *The Family and Property*, London, Indianapolis 1998 (= 1968), 32–8; on the Athenian law of adultery, D. Cohen, *Law, Sexuality and Society. The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1991, 98–132. On sexual activity as something incompatible with the sacred for the Greeks, and the necessity of regulating access to temples “by a woman” or similar, see Parker 1983, 74–75. Adultery is not a question of pollution or ritual, but a question of morality, and is subject

and moral disapproval, but he was free of ritual disabilities.²⁷ That seems to be the case in the regulations of Dionysius, which further fits Roman law.

In 18/17 BC the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* was enacted. Adulterium is the offence committed by a man, married or unmarried, having sexual intercourse with another man's wife. A married woman might commit adultery in any case, whether she was *iusta uxor sive iniusta* (*Digestum* 48.5.13).

In Greece and Rome the difference between the norms for the man and the woman are based on the concept of marriage as the way to produce legitimate heirs.²⁸ Female sexual activity outside marriage affected the entire household and the community, and was thus sexual transgression.

It has been proposed that the term *eleuthera* in the regulation of Dionysius has the sense of "married woman".²⁹ This sense is attested in Athenaios and in late papyri – but not before the 2nd century AD –, and there are some attestations that speak to the fact that the adultery law for women concerned only free women. In the novel of Chariton of Aphrodisias for instance, where adultery is an important topic, it is said (5.7.3): ὁ δὲ τῆς μοιχείας νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ δούλων ("the law on adultery does not concern slaves").³⁰ This would support the idea that Dionysius is concerned with current laws and society norms.

The norms on sexual behaviour in the statute of Dionysius were probably intended to avoid not only problems of spurious children coming into the agnatic line, but also possible consequences of adultery, such as the banning of the woman or even the killing of the adulterer by the offended husband or father, and subsequent scandals. The aforementioned inscription of Alexandria Troas is evidence of the consequences that adultery could have, including even the murder of one of the implicated persons.

2.4 Beside the types of offences mentioned in the text, there is an aspect that receives much emphasis in the regulations of Dionysius. Offences are not only not to be carried out, but neither to be planned (ἐπιβουλεύειν). Accomplices (συμβουλεύειν), on the other hand, are also offenders, and anyone who is aware of the offences (συνιστορεῖν) must bring them to light (ἐμφανιεῖν, μὴ παρασιωπήσειν) and reject them (ἀμύνεσθαι) (ll. 19, 21–22, 24–25, 27–31). These clauses are not known in Greek *hieroi nomoi*, and again the best parallels are to be found in private popular attestations. The fact that public record is ordered by the god to the sinner in this area in order to achieve reconciliation has much to do with the temple's desire to propagate the name and power of the divinity, but it was at the same time a very effective way of exercising social control,

to legal penalties and moral disapproval as we can see in classical sources from Athens, cf. id. 94–97. For sexual intercourse and abortion in sacral regulations see Chaniotis 1997, 146, n. 2.

27 Parker 1983, 75: "Sacred rules concerning sexual intercourse have nothing directly to do with morality. Later sacred laws do try to assimilate them to moral sanctions by distinguishing in point of purity between licit and illicit intercourse and excluding the worshipper from the shrine for a period of days after illicit contacts; but the early texts speak merely of purity 'of a woman'."

28 In Greece and in Rome, people from the upper class were horrified at the idea of having spurious children into the agnatic line (S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: iusti coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 264–98; J. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, Bloomington 1986, 127–36, quoted by A. Glazetlock and K. Olson, Greek and Roman Marriage, in Th. K. Hubbard (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, 2014, 69–82).

29 Barton – Horsley 1981, 20, n. 62.

30 Cf. E. Karabélias, *Le roman de Chariton d'Aphrodisias*, *Symposion* 1988, 380–1.

an aspect that has been thoroughly analysed by R. Gordon.³¹ Making human and sacral offences public was an effective way of preventing further offences by other members of the community. It is a question of public pressure of a face to face society.³² A good example of a sin consisting in knowing and being silent is the confession of a woman from whom a hyacinth had been stolen. When she knew who had stolen it, she didn't make it public by petition of the thief's mother (BI 59): περικρυβούσης (περικρυπτούσης) τε αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ ἠρωτῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς παρθένου, ἵνα σειγῆσι ... (concealing the power of the god because the mother of the girl had asked her to be silent ...). The offence here is that the woman did not make the proper *eulogia* of the god letting everybody know that he had found the stone and punished the thief. But behind this lies the fact that the human offence, the theft, has been hushed up.³³ The verb ἐπιβουλεύειν denoting the planning of an offence in the regulations of Dionysius is the same we find in another confession that relates to people plotting against some orphans of the *katoikia* (BI 35). The plotting here is also related to concealed acts (ἀρόντων ἔνγραφα καὶ ἕτερα εἶδη ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶν λαθραίως ... “taking away from the house some documents and other objects secretly ...”). The same verb and the substantive ἐπιβουλή are very often attested in Artemidorus to denote actions like the plotting which wealthy people are subjected to (1.50.40, 4.17.6), or, as we have already seen, acts like adultery or poisoning. Artemidorus says they are both called plots because they are secretly committed (4.71.18). The relation between this verb and concealed offences is expressed in other places of the work of Artemidorus (4.56.22), where the use of the verb κρύπτειν or the mention of things and actions that are κρυπτά seem to reveal that concealed actions and thefts were one of the main fears of people. Having knowledge of an offence (συνιστορεῖν) is also forbidden.³⁴ The same refusal against people who know about an offence is found in Greek and, especially, Latin curses or prayers for justice.³⁵ A *defixio* from Delos addressed to the gods Sykoniai and the goddess Syria, against the thief of a necklace curses τοὺς συνιδόντας, τοὺς μέρος λαβόντες, “those who have knowledge of it, those who have taken part in it” (A 6–7, cf. B 5–6, 9–10, and 17–18, where the expression is repeated).³⁶ συνείδησις is also mentioned as offence in confessions (BI 69, 107), and unconsciousness is appealed to as extenuating circumstances (BI 95).

31 R. Gordon, Social control in the Lydian and Phrygian ‘confession’ texts, in L. Hernández Guerra – J. Alvar Ezquerro (eds.), *Jerarquías religiosas y control social en el mundo antiguo. Actas del XXVII Congreso Internacional Girea-Arys IX, Valladolid 2002*, Valladolid 2004.

32 Chaniotis 2004, 13.

33 Cf. the tablet, probably from Asia Minor, where the Mother of the gods is asked to bring an offence to light (Versnel 1991, 74); and the lead tablets from Cnidus where the goddess Demeter shall let the offender “burn” and publicly confess (*IK Knidos* I 147–159).

34 ἐπιβουλεύειν is also an especially common verb in Minor Asiatic epitaphs meaning an offence against graves that will normally be punished by the gods (cf. *IK Smyrna* 243; *TAM V* 1, 626 [Daldis, Lydia]; *SEG* 37.1072 [Nikomedeia]; *MAMA VI* 603, VI List 150.180, 151.210, 211 [Phrygia]; *IK Kibyra* 351, etc.).

35 For instance in a *defixio* of Corsica (Versnel 1991, 82): ... cumque alis, et si Pollio conscius est et illum persequaris (“and whoever else – for instance, if Pollio is an accomplice, persecute him, as well”); or in one from Britannia (*Britannia* 14, 1983, 338, no. 3, quoted by Versnel, 89): si sevus si liber t<a>mdu siluerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit ... is qui anilum involavit vel qui medius fuerit. Cf. *SEG* 30.326, Athens 1st c. AD, ll. 14–16: ἔτι κατατίθεμε κὲ τοὺς συνειδότας τῆ κλέψει κὲ ἀρν[ουμ]ένους.

36 D. Jordan, Une prière de vengeance sur une tablette de plomb à Délos, *RA* (2002), p. 55–60, text in p. 56–7. The author dates the inscription in the first–second century AD. See *SEG* 53.813 for other editions and other dating proposals from the first century BC onwards.

The requirement of conscious reflexion on moral and immoral attitude is also implicit in the petition to the goddess Agdistis (ll. 52–55) to inspire men, women, free persons, and slaves to harbour good intentions: ἦτις ἀγαθὰ] διανοίας ποιείτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναίξιν [ἐλευθέροις καὶ] δούλοις.

3. Persons entering the association/cult place have to make an oath declaring that they will observe the regulations, but their behaviour will be tested regularly through a peculiar ritual.³⁷ Members who consider themselves pure and obedient of the regulations will demonstrate publicly that they are observers of the precepts. They will do so by touching the stele where the regulations are written on occasion of the monthly and yearly rituals. Members who are not observers will refrain from touching the stele. This is a public statement of behaviour that reminds of the public records attested in Lydian and Phrygian sanctuaries. Through these confessions the sinners will come to light. There is nevertheless a great difference between this ritual and the confessions. In the confessions the sinner is the protagonist. Here, as in the honorific decrees, it is the person with εὐνοία and ἀγαθὰ δianoία who will be exposed to the eyes of the community. Through touching of the stele with the regulations, all members will know who has respected the regulations and who has not.³⁸ Touching the stele is a confession and at the same time confirmation of the initial oath, but touching it without having observed the norms would be perjury. The written word has a symbolic value such as the sceptres or curse tablets placed in sanctuaries to appeal for justice. The ritual of Dionysius reminds also of the Oriental practice of ordeal or similar practices attested for instance in the curse tablets of Cnidus, where an offended person prays for the culprit to burn with fever or in shame until he feels obliged to confess publicly;³⁹ or the ordeal that took place in Cappadocian Tyana, where there was a fountain – of Zeus Horkios – where good persons could get inside but bad ones would immediately suffer terribly (Philostratos VA 1.6).⁴⁰ All these cases are appealing to the individual conscience. This is a feature we find in sacral norms from late Hellenistic times onwards, mostly Minor Asiatic or related to Oriental gods. In a *lex sacra* from Lindos (IG XII,1 789; 117–138 AD), for instance, people shall enter the sanctuary μηδὲν αὐτοῖς δεινὸν συνειδότας. In a Christian epitaph of Thyateira the hypothetic transgressor would suffer not only the wrath of God, but also his own conscience (TAM V 2, 1157, ll. 3 ff.): εἰ δέ τις ἐναντίον ποιήσῃ τούτων, / τὸν κρείνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς θεὸν κεχολωμένον / ἔχοιτο καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν.

The effectiveness of the ritual of Dionysius lies in the Greek and Oriental idea of perjury as one of the most offensive and impure sins against divinity. Perjury is in fact the most frequent

37 On the oath mentioned in the *lex sacra* from Andania and other oaths taken in religious contexts see L. Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary*, Berlin, Boston 2012, 99–102.

38 There are instances already in Classical Athens of oaths on moral behaviour, sometimes touching the sacral victim: J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill 1983, 31–38, cited by Stowers, p. 299, who also quotes Xe. *Oec.* 7.7–8 for a woman who frequently swears in sacrifices that she is going to be the wife she must be while she is next to her husband.

39 On the sense of πεπρημένος in the Cnidian tablets see W. Blümel in *IK Knidos* I, p. 85; H. Versnel, Pepremenos. The Cnidian curse tablets and 'ordeal by fire', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphic Evidence*, Stockholm 1994, 150–4 ("ordeal by fire"); id., Kolasai tous emas toioutous hedeos blepontes 'Punish those who rejoice in our misery': On curse texts and Schadenfreude, in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen (eds.), *The world of ancient magic: papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997*, Bergen 1999, 154 ("burning in shame"); Chaniotis 2004, 7.

40 Cf. the ordeal that took place in the temple of the Palikoi gods in Sicily (DS XI 89, quoted by Ricl, 1995, 70).

sin attested in the Anatolian confessions (cf. *BI* 2, 15, 27, 34, 52, 53, 54, 58, 110 (indirect), 120).⁴¹ But it lies also in the absolute confidence that the gods can examine everything and see who transgresses the norm (ll. 33 f.: θεοὶ ... μεγάλοι καὶ τ[αῦτα ἐπισκοποῦ]σιν), and that they will take revenge on the transgressors (ll. 34 f.: καὶ τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ παραγ[γέλματα οὐκ ἀνέ]-ξονται; ll. 48–50: [ἐὰν δέ τι]νες παραβαίνωσιν, τοὺς τοιούτους [μισήσουσι καὶ με]γάλας αὐτοῖς τιμωρίας περιθήσου[σιν]). In the confession texts and in prayers for justice, the gods also look out for the sinners (ἐπιζητέω), give satisfaction to the offended (ἱκανοποιέω *BI* 47, 59, 69) and punish the aggressors (κολάζω, νεμεσάω).⁴²

The effectiveness of the regulations lies also in the human necessity of divine gifts. Members who respect the regulations will gain the favour of the gods and will benefit from all the good things that gods give to the persons they love (ll. 46–48); they will get health, salvation, peace, safe passage through land and sea (ll. 62–64); they will get all those beneficial things, both physical and material, as well as intellectual and moral, that are represented by the divine personifications whose altars or *hiera sacra* are established in the *oikos* and for whom the initial oath must be made: Happiness, Wealth, Virtue, Health, Fortune, Good spirit, Memory, Grace, Victory.⁴³

The merit of Dionysius is to use popular religion and traditional practices, common Mediterranean as well as local Oriental, to control and regulate basic offences in the face-to-face society that affected honour, prestige and peaceful cohabitation. These offences were contemplated in civic laws, but usually did not come to civil court because they could be solved with curses and prayers for justice without losing money and time. As Ricl said speaking about confessions, there was a strong tendency among these people of Lydia to settle their conflicts without interference by the state authorities and in a manner inherited from their forefathers, which was probably considered more effective than secular justice.⁴⁴

4. The regulations imposed by Dionysius are certainly not what could be expected in sacred laws, but they are not surprising as civil regulations of a community. Members are asked for *eunoia* towards the community like citizens of a polis, and, like in a polis, certain offences against fellow citizens are regulated by civil norms. There are samples of norms in associations that aim to impulse a good mutual behaviour between members and to prevent scandals and injuries.⁴⁵

From all parallels that have been adduced in previous studies of this text – that is, Pithagoreanism, Orphism, Stoicism, the Hippocratic Oath, and medical ethics –, it is in Christian texts where the most similar combination of items is found. The explanation lies in the fact that both Christian texts and the statutes of Dionysius are dedicated to regulate the daily life of a community. None of them are *leges sacrae* in the strict sense that they regulate the purity of persons in the sacral place, or at least that is not their main function. They regulate the ordinary life of

41 In some cases a false oath must be undone in order to get the forgiveness of the god (*BI* 34, 54). As sacrilegious as a false oath is the not justified use of scepters or of written curses (for the use of these elements as judicial appeals cf. *BI* 17, 20, 44, 58, 69).

42 The word τιμωρία in this sense can be found in the curse tablets from Cnidus: *IK Knidos* I 154, ll. 14–18: εἴ τι ἢ ἐμοὶ πεποῖκει φάρμ[α/κον] ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτὸν ... τιμ[ω]ρίας τύχοι.

43 As Weinreich already stated (1919, 51–4), six of these divine personifications appear as addressers of Orphic hymns that are supposed to be composed for a mystery group. The gods of these hymns represent the aims the initiated want to achieve, and are explicitly asked to provide the initiates with such virtues.

44 Ricl 1995, 69. On the relation between confessions and judicial practices see also Chaniotis 1997.

45 Most of them are Attic inscriptions from the 2nd c. AD.

the people using divine punishment and divine reward as an instrument. Both have the same public and the same aims. The public are all persons belonging to the community: men, women, free persons and slaves. That is the public to whom Artemidorus addresses his *Interpretation of dreams*, persons who are also the authors and addressers of judicial prayers and confession inscriptions, very often neighbours and relatives.⁴⁶

The fact that most parallels are to be found in Christian texts is probably due to the fact that those parallels have been written in papyri or parchment with much more details, and have been kept and transmitted as important behaviour models of the new religion that was expanding through the whole Greco-Roman world. Those texts have been mostly written by important Christian figures, like Paul, or attributed to him, like in the case of the so-called Pauline letters; figures that had a missionary and exemplary aim. Barton and Horsley have already highlighted the great affinities between the Philadelphian regulation and Christian texts: its voluntary character and the private initiative involved, divine inspiration, private places of meeting, access for women and slaves, interdiction of magical practices, abortion and deceit, rigorous sexual ethics, and commitment of the members by an oath or by a sacrament respectively.⁴⁷ They also point out the differences, mainly in cult practice and also in nuances and intensity in all other aspects. Former theories asserting a great difference between the first Christian communities and the Greco-Roman associations are being rejected now. It is now recognised that early Christian communities and voluntary Greco-Roman associations were two reflections of a common society, common needs and common problems.⁴⁸ They share terminology, conditions, norms of access and behaviour and expectations. Pagan voluntary associations are much more diverse in all aspects than Christian communities, but all elements to be found in Christian communities can be found in one or another voluntary association.

Parallels as regulation of a community are to be found also in Jewish sources that are probably contemporaneous with the Philadelphian text and that are said to have influenced strongly Christian communities, especially the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Document, both part of the Dead Sea scrolls of the Qumran community.⁴⁹ There we also find a strict moral code, and common features with the Philadelphian text, as the prayer to the God so that he brings intelligence and happiness, and imprecations to the transgressor of the norm, especially in the

46 Cf. expressions like “si servus, si liber, si baro si mulier (*Britannia* 14 (1983), 335 no. 5, cf. no. 6); si puella si mulier sive [ho]mo (J. Gil – J. M. Luzón, *Habis* 6 (1975), 117–33: Itálica, Spain), si mulier si masculus (P. Wright, *JRS* 48 (1958), 150 no. 3). Cf. *Britannia* 14 (1983), 338 no. 3: si servus si liber t<a>mdiu siluerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit ... is qui anulum involavit vel qui medius fuerit. In Greek, the judicial prayer of Delos addressed to the gods Sykoniai and the goddess Syria, against the thief of a necklace (supra n. 36): Α 1–8 Κύριοι θε<οι> οί Συκώνα οικρῶντε/ς, κυρί<α> θε<α> Συρία ή Συκώνα οίκ[ο]ῦ/σα, ἐκδικήσετε καὶ ἀρετήν γεννήσετε κὲ διοργιάσετε/ τὸν ἄραντα, τὸν κλέψαντα τὸ δρ/αύκιν, τοὺς συνιδόντας, τοὺς μέ/ρος λαβόντες, ἴδε γυνή ἴτε ἀ/νήρ.

47 Barton – Horsley 1981, 27–41. For comparison with Ps. Phokylides, the *Didache of the Apostles* and the *Epistola of Barnabas* see Weinreich 1919, 54–60, especially table in p. 59.

48 R. S. Ascough, Voluntary associations and the formation of Pauline Christian communities: overcoming the objections, in A. Gutsfeld – D.-A. Koch, *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 25), Tübingen 2006, 149–183, esp. 149–150 for a refusal of the earlier posed question of borrowing or inheritance by Christians from Pagans and Jewish people, 151–5 for earlier theories; Zamfir 2015, for earlier theories. Cf. Ascough, 163 f., n. 66 on a Christian “shared milieu with associations in which the pattern for communal organization was already in place”.

49 On the Damascus text see S. Walker-Ramisch, Graeco-Roman voluntary associations and the Damascus Document, in S. Kloppenborg – S. G. Wilson (eds.), *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, London 1996, 128–145.

Manual of Discipline; or the requirement from the members of swearing an oath of allegiance, and the examination by an overseer in the Damascus document (8.7–19). The great difference is that in these texts, the moral code is much stricter, much more detailed, and at least in the case of the Damascus Document, “it is characterised throughout by the language of separation”,⁵⁰ deviating from the legal code of the Greco-Roman world. In that sense, it belongs to a sect. That is not the case of the Philadelphia statute, that tries to avoid problems that usually escape the official law, but that are contemplated by it and do not deviate at all from it. In this aspect Christian communities are much more similar to the Philadelphian community. In the early Christian writings there is in fact a significant insistence on the deference to authorities (Rom 13, 1–8): respect for and submission to civil authorities (1 Tim 2, 1–2; Tit 3,1), and the necessity of a firm government securing order in the community (1 Tim 3, 4–5.12; 1 Tim 2, 11–15; 5, 3–16; 6, 1–2; Tit 2, 2–10).⁵¹ Like in the pagan voluntary associations and in the Philadelphian community, respect for authority is considered necessary to get social peace. There were surely many other Christian communities in West Asia Minor that had statutes similar to Philadelphia’s. In a letter to Trajan during his office in Bithynia (*Epist.* 10.96.7) Pliny the younger seems to be confused about how to deal with the Christian problem, since some persons accused of being Christians declared that their only fault had been to gather on a especial day of the week to sing hymns to Christ before dawn, and to be bound by an oath not in order to plot crimes but in order not to commit theft, *robbery*, adultery, not to break one’s word and to bring back a deposit if asked to.

Christian evidences are undoubtedly a very valuable instrument to better understand the internal life of Greco-Roman associations and other types of communities, of whom there is a lack of detailed information apart from concise and punctual epigraphic sources.

The main objective of Dionysius as an educated and influential person in his community was to contribute to society by creating a well-ordered community where respect for the gods and respecting civil laws went hand in hand under the assumption that, in words of Arnautoglou in reference to associations, “a good behaviour inside the association avoided problems with the community and increased its prestige”.⁵² This was also a main concern in Christian communities, as we have already seen. What Dionysius wanted to avoid was the commission of the offences that had been identified as being the main reason for disturbances in the life of the community. This is indicated in the interpretation of dreams by Artemidorus, and in all sort of curses and prayers offered by people to seek justice against these crimes. It may be possible to suggest that an especial scandal in the community or the enactment of a new law concerning adultery or magic triggered the reform of Dionysius, but that would be guessing too much.⁵³

50 S. Walker-Ramisch, *op. cit.*, 141.

51 Zamfir 2015, 15. Cf. W. A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians*, Philadelphia, Penn. 1986, 129.

52 Cf. I. Arnautoglou, Roman Law and Collegia in Asia Minor, *Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité*, 3. ser. 49 (2002), 27–44, esp. 42–43.

53 A similar reason has already been proposed by A. Chaniotis (Dynamic of Emotions and Dynamic of Rituals. Do Emotions Change Ritual Norms?, in C. Brosius and U. Hüsken (eds.), *Ritual Matters*, London 2010, 227–29), although based on a personal emotional situation of Dionysius: the possible adultery of his wife. The author considers this possible fact as one of the cases of emotional background that lead to private cult foundations. I think nevertheless that the argument based in the fact that there is an especially long and hard provision concerning women adultery can be challenged since this characteristic is easily explained through social and legal reasons (see *supra*, p. 98–99).

Annex

Greek text and English translation of Dionysius' regulations by Ph. Harland⁵⁴

- ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι].
 ἀνεγράφησαν ἐφ' ὑγίαια κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηρίαι (?)]
 καὶ δόξῃ τῆι ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέντα παραγγέλμα]-
 τα Διονυσίωι καθ' ὕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν]-
 5 τ' εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναῖξιν]
 ἔλευθέροις καὶ οἰκέταις. Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ]
 τοῦ Εὐμένους καὶ Ἑστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ]-
 τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων καὶ Εὐδαι]-
 μονίας καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ὑγείας]
 10 καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή]-
 μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἰσὶν ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί (?)].
 τούτ[ῳ] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλ[ματα τοὺς τε ἀ]-
 γνισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς κ[αὶ τὰ μυστήρια (?)] ἐπι]-
 τελεῖν κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [γέγραπται πορευ]-
 15 ὄμενοι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἀνδρε[ς καὶ γυναῖκες]
 ἔλευθεροὶ καὶ οἰκέται τοὺς θεοὺς [πάντας ὀρκούσ]-
 θωσαν δόλον μηθένα μήτε ἀνδρὶ μή[τε γυναικὶ εἰδό]-
 τες μὴ φάρμακον πονηρὸν πρὸς ἀνθ[ρώπους, μὴ ἐπι]-
 δὰς πονηρὰς μήτε γινώσκειν μή[τε ἐπιτελεῖν, μὴ]
 20 φίλτρον, μὴ φθορεῖον, μὴ [ἀτ]οκεῖον, μ[ὴ ἄλλο τι παιδο]-
 φόνον μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελεῖν μήτε [ἐτέρῳ συμβου]-
 λεύειν μηδὲ συνιστορεῖν, ἀποστερ[οῦντες (?)] δὲ μη]-
 δὲν εὐνοεῖν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷδε, καὶ ἔάν τ[ις τούτων τι πο]-
 ῆι ἢ ἐπιβο[υλε]ύῃ, μήτε ἐπιτρέψῃ μ[ὴ τε παρασιω]-
 25 [πήσ]ειν, [ἀλ]λ' ἐμφανιεῖν καὶ ἀμυνεῖσθ[αι. ἀνδρα παρὰ]
 [τὴν] ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀλλοτρίαν ἢ [ἐλευθέραν ἢ]
 δούλην ἀνδρα ἔχουσαν μὴ φθερε[ῖν μηδὲ παῖδα μη]-
 [δὲ] παρθένον μηδὲ ἐτέρῳ συμβουλ[εύσειν, ἀλλ' ἂν τι]-
 30 νι συνιστορήσῃ, τὸν τοιοῦτον φα[νερόν ποιήσῃν]
 καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ μ[ὴ ἀποκρύψῃν μη]-
 δὲ παρασιωπήσῃν· γυνὴ καὶ ἀνὴρ, ὅς ἂ[ν ποιῆι τι τῶν προ]-
 γεγραμμένων, εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον μ[ὴ εἰσπορευέσθω].
 θεοὶ γ[ὰρ] ἐν αὐτῷ ἴδρυνται μεγάλοι καὶ τ[αῦτα ἐπισκοποῦ]-
 35 σιν καὶ τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ παραγ[έλματα οὐκ ἀνέ]-
 ξονται· γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἀγνήν εἶν[αι καὶ μὴ γινώσκ]-
 εῖν ἄ[λλ]λου ἀνδρὸς πλην τοῦ ἰδίου εὐνή[ν ἢ συνουσίαν· ἐ]-
 ἂν δὲ γνῶι, τὴν τοιαύτην μὴ εἶναι ἀγ[ν]ή[ν, ἀλλὰ μεμιασμέ]-
 νην καὶ μύσο[υ]ς ἐμφυλίου πλη[ρ]ῆ καὶ σ[έβ]εσθαι ἀναξίαν]
 τὸν θεὸν τοῦ[το]ν [ο]ὔ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἴδρυ[ται, μηδὲ θυσίαις]

54 In R. A. Ascough, Ph. A. Harland, and J. S. Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*. Accessed 25/09/2016. <http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/> ID no. 141 (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/divine-instructions-for-the-household-association-of-dionysios/>).

40 παρατυγχ[άνει]ν μηδὲ τ[. . .]ΑΠΟΖΗΙΟΥ[]
 προσκόπτειν μηδὲ ὄραν ἐπιτελούμ[ενα τὰ μυστήρια (?)- ἐ]-
 ἀν δὲ ποῆι τι τούτων, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ παρα[γγέλματα εἰς τήν]-
 δε τήν ἀναγραφὴν ἤκουσιν, κακὰς [ἀράς παρὰ τῶν]
 θεῶν ἔξει [τὰ πα]ραγγέλματα ταῦτα [παρορῶσα ὁ θεὸς γὰρ]
 45 ταῦτα οὔτε βούλεται γίνεσθαι μηθ[αμῶς, οὔτε θέλει, ἀλ]-
 λὰ κατακολουθεῖν. οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς μέ[ν] ἀκολουθοῦσιν]-
 σονται ἴλεως καὶ δώσουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ πάντα τάγα]-
 θά, ὅσα θεοὶ ἀνθρώποις, οὓς φιλοῦσιν, [διδόασιν· ἐὰν δέ τι]-
 νες παραβαίνωσιν, τοὺς τοιούτους [μισήσουσι καὶ με]-
 50 γάλας αὐτοῖς τιμωρίας περιθήσου[σιν. τὰ παραγγέλμα]-
 τα ταῦτα ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἄγγιδιστιν [τὴν ἀγιωτάτην]
 φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποιναν τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου, ἥτις ἀγαθὰς
 διανοίας ποιεῖτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν [ἐλευθέρους καὶ]
 δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσιν τοῖς ὧδε γεγραμμένοις. ἐν δὲ]
 55 ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖς [κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν (?)-
 πτέσθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν ἐα[ν]τοῖς ἄνδρες τε καὶ]
 [γυ]ναῖκες τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν [ἧ] τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλ]-
 [μα]τά εἰσιν γεγραμμένα ἵνα φαν[εροὶ γίνωνται οἱ κατα]-
 [κολου]θοῦ[ν]τες τοῖς παραγγέλ[μα]σιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακολου]-
 60 [θοῦν]τες. [Ζεῦ] Σωτή[ρ], τὴν ΑΦΗ[]
 [εὐ]μεν[ῶς] προσδέχου καὶ προ[]
 [πάρ]εχ[ε] ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβάς, []
 [] ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης []
 [] μένοις ὁμοίως []
 vac.

To good fortune! For health, ... common salvation (?), and the best reputation, ... the instructions (?) ... which were given to Dionysios in his sleep were written down, ... giving access (?) ... into his house (oikos) to men ... and women (?), free people and household slaves ... For in this house altars (?) ... have been set up for Zeus Eumenes and Hestia ... his consort (?), for the other Saviour gods, and for Eudaimonia ("Prosperity"), Ploutos ("Wealth"), Arete ("Virtue"), ... Hygeia ("Health") (?), (10) Agathe Tyche ("Good Fortune"), Agathos ... Daimon ("Good Spirit") (?), Mneme ("Memory"), the Charitai ("the Graces"), and Nike ("Victory"). Zeus has given instructions to this man for the performance of the purifications, the cleansings, ... and the mysteries (?) ... in accordance with ancestral custom and in accordance with what has now ... been written here (?).

When entering (?) ... this house let men ... and women (?), free people and household slaves, ... swear by all (?) ... the gods that they do not know about any deceptive action against a man or ... a woman (?) ... or about any drug harmful to people, and that they neither know nor ... use (?) ... (20) harmful spells, a love charm, an abortive drug, or a contraceptive. Nor should they use any other thing fatal to children, or give advice or connive with another person about such things. Now no one should withdraw their goodwill towards this house, and if anyone should do any of these things or plan them, the others are neither to look the other way nor remain silent, but shall expose and avenge the violations.

Beyond his own wife, ... a man (?) ... is not to seduce someone else's wife, whether ... free or (?) ... slave, ... nor a boy (?), nor a virgin girl. Nor shall he advise someone else to do so. Should he connive at it with someone, ... they shall expose (?) ... such a person, (30) both the man and the woman, and ... not conceal (?) ... it or keep silent about it. Let the woman and the man, ... whoever does any (?) ... of the things written above, ... not enter this house (?). For the gods set up in it are great, and ... they watch over these things (?) ... and will not tolerate those who transgress ... the instructions (?).

A free woman is to be pure ... and not know (?) ... the bed of another man, ... nor have intercourse (?) ... with anyone except her own husband. But if she does know the bed of another man, such a woman is not pure, ... but defiled (?), full of endemic pollution, and ... unworthy to revere (?) ... this god whose sacred things have been established here. She is not to be present at ... the sacrifices (?), (40) nor cause offence..., nor see ... the mysteries (?) ... being performed. If she does any of these things after the instructions have been inscribed, she will have evil curses from the gods for disregarding these instructions. ... For the god (?) ... does not want these things to happen at all, ... nor does he wish it (?). Rather, he wants obedience.

The gods will be merciful to those ... who obey and will always give (?) ... them all good things, whatever things gods give to people whom they love. But if any transgress, the gods (50) ... will hate (?) ... such people and inflict upon them great punishments. These ... instructions (?) ... were stored with the goddess Angdistis, ... the holiest (?) ... guardian and mistress of this ... house. May she create good (?) ... thoughts in men and women, ... free people and (?) ... household slaves, so that they may obey the ... things written here. During the monthly (?) ... and annual sacrifices, may those ... men and (?) ... women who have confidence in themselves touch this stone on ... which the instructions of the god (?) ... have been written, so that those who obey these instructions ... and those who do not obey (?) ... these instructions may become evident. (60) Zeus (?) ... Soter ("Saviour"), the ... accept ... kindly (?), and ... Provide (?) ... good rewards, ... on land and sea ... likewise ...

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Özet

Yazara göre bu makalenin amacı, Dionysios adındaki birinin, Lydia'nın Philadelphia kentindeki bir özel dernek ve kült (TAM V, 3, 1539) üzerindeki çalışmalara yeni bir bakış açısı getirmektir. Makalede, bu düzenlemeler mezhepsel, sıkı ahlakî kodlar ya da felsefî veya tıbbî bazı teorik kaygılardan beslenen, kendine özgü kuralcı bir sistem olarak kabul edilmekten çok, kendi kültürel yapısı ve kendi ortak değerleri ile bir topluma empoze edilen bir kurallar bütünü olarak analiz edilmektedir. Ayrıca, büyü ilaçları, çocuk düşürme, zina yapma, suç işleme, suça göz yumma veya bu davranışları bilip de gizleme vb. ile ilişkili kurallar o devirde yürürlükte olan yasalarla karşılaştırılmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, bu kurallar ve dernek üyelerinin ya da kültün ahlakî arınmışlığını sağlamak amacı ile Dionysios'un uyguladığı dinsel yöntemler, aynı dönemin epigrafik ve edebî kaynakları ile karşılaştırılmaktadır. Tüm bunlardan çıkan sonuca göre, eğitilmiş ve nüfuzlu biri olarak Dionysios'un amacı, tanrılara saygı ile devletin yasalarına saygının birlikte yer aldığı düzenli bir cemaat oluşturarak topluma katkıda bulunmaktır.