

V. On the Lex Sacra of Tymnos

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P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean have recently published an interesting inscription of religious content which they found at Tymnos during their travels and studies in the Peraea of Rhodes.¹ The first publication, of course, could not provide a full commentary and interpretation of the text, and consequently their explanations were limited to concise notes.² L. and J. Robert in their *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1955 discuss this *lex sacra* of Tymnos and quote analogous documents relating to the care and safeguarding of cult installations.³ Especially the setting of a fire is prohibited, lest it endanger the buildings. One could add to this list of ordinances the regulations concerning the use of cult facilities in sanctuaries and public edifices.⁴ We know that in addition to offerings and prayers the banquet after sacrifice usually took place in the temples. For this reason halls where the people displayed public and private hospitality were exposed to the danger of damage.

According to our *lex sacra* the authorities of Tymnos grant certain cult facilities to the people. The magistrate called *hierothytēs* is authorized to allow the use of the stoa in the market-place for the holding of the banquet after the sacrifice.⁵ At the same time the populace is admonished not to damage the building and its equipment. The lighting of wood-fires for other than religious purposes is forbidden. The care of the roof, of the architraves, and of the statues is particularly stressed. If anyone notices an abuse or an instance of negligence on the part of the people using the stoa, he is

¹ *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954) 39, no. 26.

² *Ibid.* 40.

³ In *REG* 68 (1955) 265; cf. *SIG*³ 523.7; A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 8 (1908) 12–13; Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* 2, no. 108 (= *IG* XII 5, 126), no. 95 (= *IG* XII 7, 2), no. 62, 20 (= *IG* V 2, 3), no. 1 (= *IG* I² 4); Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) no. 5.25–26; Milet, *Das Delphinion*, no. 32; *Annuario* 29 (1953) 152, no. 112.

⁴ Ziehen, *Leg. Gr. Sacr.* 2, no. 144 C.10 ff. (= *SIG*³ 1106 = Herzog, *Heil. Ges. Kos*, no. 10), no. 111 (= *Athena* 21 [1909] 465–66), no. 96 (= *SIG*³ 981); Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées*, nos. 55, 68, 74; Wilcken, *Festgabe Deissmann* (Tübingen 1927) 15; *SEG* 11.244, 314.

⁵ Cf. *Inscr. v. Priene*, no. 113.58: κατακλίνας πάντας τοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐπὶ τὰ δέλπνα κληθέντας ἐν τῇ λερᾷ στοᾷ . . . τῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

to report it to the authorities. The guilty person will be fined 100 drachmas and the cost of repairs. The care of the edifice is stressed once more at the end of the document: the statues of the gods must be kept clean and unspoiled as long as possible. The repeated injunction seems to indicate that no banquets had taken place in the stoa before.

Aside from these general features, we find in our document information concerning the exact occasion for the gathering in the stoa. At the beginning we read the following phrase (4-7):

ὅπως δὲ [καὶ]
[τοῖ] προθύοντες περί τε τὰν κτοίαν καὶ περὶ τὸν [. . .]
[. . .]ν τῶι [Δ]ι καὶ τῶι Ἡραὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβ[. . .]ων τῶν ἐν [τῶι]
[ἀγο]ρῶι ἔ[χ]ωντι τὰ ποτὶ τὰν χρεῖαν . . .

Fraser and Bean think that the prefix *pro-* in the verb *prothyein* means "on behalf of," i.e. the same as *hyper-*. Accordingly the expression would be understood: "The persons sacrificing on behalf of the *ktoina* and of the . . ." I admit that the verb does in certain cases mean "sacrifice on behalf of,"⁶ but in our text I am inclined to assign it a more special significance. The mention of Hera and Zeus seems to indicate that the ceremony in question was performed on the occasion of a wedding. We know that during the wedding rites a ceremony called *προτέλεια γάμων* was performed to Zeus and Hera.⁷ For this reason these gods bore in some places the epithet *Teleioi*.⁸ Indeed Diodorus (5.72.4) reports from a reliable source that in Crete the *prothysia* was offered to Zeus and Hera before the wedding: καὶ προθύουσιν δὲ πάντες πρότερον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τελείᾳ . . . We may safely conclude, I think, that the verb *prothyein* in the *lex sacra* of Tymnos means "perform a preliminary ceremony before the wedding." I should like therefore to read in lines 5/6 of our text τὸν [γά/μο]ν, and not [δᾱ/μο]ν, as the editors hesitantly suggest.

The expression *προθύειν περὶ τὰν κτοίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον* is somewhat embarrassing. What is the relation between a wedding and the subdivision of people known as *ktoina*? What is the meaning here of the preposition *peri*? Were there two distinct cult performances

⁶ Cf. *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 47 (1954) 165 ff.

⁷ Poll. 3.38, 42; Hesych. s.v. γάμων ἔθῃ; Plato, *Rep.* 461A, *Leg.* 774B; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 27.

⁸ Roscher, s.v. Τέλειοι, p. 257; A. Klinz, 'Ἰερὸς γάμος, diss. Hal. (1933) 96 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. gr. Rel.* I² 429.

or one? I should like to distinguish two different, though closely connected and perhaps simultaneous ceremonies. Plato informs us (*Leg.* 6.774B) that a variety of rites and formalities was observed on the occasion of a wedding: ὅσα προτέλεια γάμων ἢ τις ἄλλη περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱερουργία . . . μετρίως χρῆ γίγνεσθαι. The lexicographers and orators report that usually two ceremonies characterized a wedding: (1) the religious act itself, (2) the introduction of the bride into the new family group.⁹ These two ceremonies are, I think, mentioned in our *lex sacra*. The meaning of the word *ktoina* is not absolutely sure. Fraser and Bean, following Swoboda, see in it a geographical and not a family subdivision of the people of Tymnos and of other lands under Rhodian domination.¹⁰ Momigliano thinks that the term in question denotes the local division of the people before the *synoikismos* of Rhodes.¹¹ But Hesychius declares that it was a subdivision of the *progonika hiera*. If we look at the documents in which the word figures we see that it is nearly always linked with matters of cult. Each *ktoina* had a central temple called *hagiōtaton hieron*.¹² The representatives of these groups met to discuss problems of temple management.¹³ The members of the group sacrificed certain *thysiai* and elected a deputy to organize the ceremony. They had a special hall, called *andrôn*, for the meetings.¹⁴ I should like, therefore, following the opinion of Guarducci,^{14a} to see in *ktoina* a term for a subdivision of the people based on a cult distinction. In the case of a marriage between members of different groups the introduction into a new *ktoina* was linked with a ceremony, more or less religious in character. It could be a simple reception on the occasion of the wedding. We know that in different associations a banquet was offered to the members at such an event.¹⁵ It could be an admission to a new cult, too. One can be certain only that on the occasion of a marriage the members of the group were offered a banquet. For this the authorities of Tymnos allow the use of the stoa and of its equipment on the market-place.

⁹ Poll. 3.42, 8.107; Isaeus 2.67, 8.18; Dem. 57.43. Cf. W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland* (MBPR 20, 1934) 136.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (above, note 1) 95, note 2.

¹¹ *RFIC* 14 (1936) 57–60.

¹² *SIG*³ 339.

¹³ *IG* XII 1.746. Cf. *BCH* 4 (1880) 143.

¹⁴ *BCH* 10 (1886) 262.

^{14a} *Historia* 9 (1935) 420–430.

¹⁵ Ziehen, *Leg. Gr. Sacr.* 2, no. 46.130 (= *IG* II² 1378); *PMich.* 5.96, no. 245.5.

The festivals mentioned in the *lex sacra* were celebrated at some place in the agora. Unfortunately the text in this passage essential to our question cannot be read surely. The *prothysia* to Zeus and Hera is performed ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβ[...].ων. The editors suggest ἐπιβωμίων or ἐπιβάθρων. But the first word, they remark, means rather an object on an altar than the altar itself on which sacrifice was to be made. The second word is still less probable. One could think that the preposition *epi* is an erroneous repetition by the stonemason and that the right reading should be {ἐπι}β[ωμ]ῶν. But the word is too short to fill the gap. The expression ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβ[...].ων, I think, should be linked not with the participle *προθύοντες* but with the verb ἔχωντι. In such a connection the word ἐπιβώμια, meaning the victims formally offered on an altar, seems to be right. Indeed, in several texts the word in question (in opposition to *parabōmia*, *apobōmia*) denotes primarily the victims duly offered and available for ritual consumption, secondarily the consumption itself.¹⁶ Consequently, the debated expression can mean "at the (consumption of the offered) victims in the agora."

We do not know if there was a temple of Zeus and Hera in the agora of Tymnos, but it would be quite natural that the wedding festival should be celebrated in the precinct of a sanctuary. We have some information on this point. Religious marriages were performed in the temple of Nike in Cos.¹⁷ The same was done in the Museion built by Epicteta in Thera.¹⁸ The family of Diomedon of Cos celebrated their wedding festivals in the temple of Heracles and two halls called *andreia* and *gynaikeia* were prepared for that purpose.¹⁹

I propose therefore to read lines 5–7 of the *lex sacra* of Tymnos as follows:

ὅπως δὲ [καὶ]
[τοῖ] προθύοντες περὶ τε τὰν κτοίναν καὶ περὶ τὸν [γά-]
[μο]ν τῶι Διὶ καὶ τῶι Ἡραὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβ[ωμί]ων τῶν ἐν [τῶι]
[ἀγο]ρᾷ ἔ[χ]ωντι τὰ ποτὶ τὰν χρείαν . . .

¹⁶ Apoll. Rhod. 4.1126; Ziehen, *Leg. Gr. Sacr.* 2, no. 119.

¹⁷ *Nuova Silloge*, no. 441.

¹⁸ *IG XII* 3.330.1,50.

¹⁹ Ziehen, *Leg. Gr. Sacr.* 2, no. 144 C.20 ff. (= *SIG³ 1106* = Herzog, *Heil. Ges. Kos*, no. 10).