

New inscriptions in the Bodrum Museum

A Hellenistic foundation from the area of Mylasa

Abstract*

This article presents two hitherto unknown Hellenistic inscriptions, both of which are fragmentary. They are inscribed on two sides of a stone which is now in the Museum of Underwater Archaeology in Bodrum (inv. no. 6651) but probably originated from the area of Mylasa. Both inscriptions concern a private foundation that is referred to as the *syngeneia* in inscription A. The foundation seems to be of a type already known from Halikarnassos, Kos and Thera, for example. This article aims to make the two inscriptions available not least to the many scholars studying associations and foundations.

Keywords: Inscription, foundation, association, Hellenistic, *syngeneia*, *eisiteria*

This article is focused on a stone in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology (inv. no. 6651). According to the inventory book, the stone was brought to the Museum in 1972 from the Sakarya İllkokul of Milas and bears two Hellenistic inscriptions.¹ Both inscriptions are fragmentary but probably concern one and the same foundation. This article does not offer new conclusions on foundations or associations. Its aim is to make the two inscriptions available for other scholars

through publication.² The inscriptions document the existence of a hitherto unknown foundation, which is probably from the area of Mylasa.

The stone is a large block of greyish fine-grained marble with bad-quality veins (*Fig. 1*).³ Its face and right short side carry inscriptions. Part of the original surface is preserved on the face, both short sides, and the bottom. The back seems to be one large fracture. The top was worked with a point-chisel to serve a secondary use and there are remains of (chalk) mortar both on top- and the underside, also from secondary use. The face also has small spots of lime or mortar. The total width is 68.1 cm, the max. preserved height is *c.* 32 cm and the max. preserved depth is *c.* 25.2 cm. The original surface, where preserved, is smoothed and has a good finish. The right short side has traces of a fine tooth-chisel. Poul Pedersen suggests that the work is Hellenistic. There is no *anathyrosis*. The stone is an end block and could be an anta block. It is also possible that it once formed part of a monument.

* For my friend and colleague Berit Wells.

¹ It should not be confused with Rumscheid 2004, 55–56, no. 12, which also has the number 6651 on the stone. We found no explanation for that, but the text of the latter leaves no doubt that Rumscheid is right in stating that no. 12 is from Olymos wherefore there is no reason to doubt that it was brought to Bodrum from Milas, like Rumscheid has it in his notes. Bahadır Berkaya, of Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology, kindly helped to identify the stone with inscriptions published here as inv. no. 6651, brought in from Milas.

² Research on foundations and associations is ongoing on a large scale. The Copenhagen Associations Project directed by Vincent Gabrielsen, besides the many individual projects, will establish an inventory of all known private associations and make it available in the form of an electronic database. I have not been able to take Frölich & Hammon 2013 nor Carbon & Pirenne-Delforge 2013 into account in this article. On Parker 2010, see below.

³ I thank Poul Pedersen for kindly letting me use his description of the stone.

The inscription on the face of the stone (A)

The face of the stone is badly worn and only the right part of its inscription is clearly legible.⁴ Too little is preserved of the first line to allow a reconstruction, but it is without doubt a continuation of an inscription, which began on another stone that was probably placed above and is now lost. The inscription stops *c.* 9 cm from the bottom. The letters are *c.* 1 cm high and are generally broad, with serifs. They are Hellenistic and seem to date to the second half of the 2nd century BC. Iota adscriptum is used.

Alpha: The crossbar broken.

Epsilon: The central horizontal is slightly shorter than the other two.

Theta: The central point appears marked with a dot. Since the stone is worn it cannot be excluded that the dot is what is left of a triangle like the ones in inscription B (below).

Pi: The horizontal extends beyond both verticals, the second of which is the shorter.

Phi: The vertical keeps within normal letter-space.

Omega: The rounded part is not quite closed at the bottom. It has the same height as the other letters. It is characterized by large and heavy serifs.

THE TEXT

κατα[λύ]ο[ν]τας τὴν [δια]θήκην καὶ μὴ συνά[γο]ντας [ς τὰς]
 συνόδους ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διατεταγμέ-
 ναις ἢ μὴ ποιούντας ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ[φ]ων τὰ ἐπιτεταγμέ-
 να ἢ τοῦ περιβόλου μὴ προνοούντας ἢ εἰς διαίρεσιν ἄ-
 5 γοντας τὴν πρόσσοδον καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν καταδαπανών-
 τας εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ συνόδους τῶν συγγενῶν ἢ
 τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἄ[γο]ντας εἰς διαίρεσιν καὶ μὴ μίαν
 ἑῶντας εἶναι συγγέν[ε]ϊαν καθότι ἐγὼ διατέθει-
 μαί ἢ τὰ εἰσιτήρια συνκόπτοντας ἢ ἐν ἑτέρω τόπωι
 10 συνάγοντας κα[ὶ] μὴ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ
 [-]Ω[Ι] καθότι [δια]τέθειμαι περὶ τῶν ὀρίων, καταρά-
 τους αὐτοὺς εἶναι [καὶ] γένος] τὸ ἐκείνων καὶ μὴ φέρειν
 γῆν αὐτοῖς καρποὺς καὶ ἐγγύων στέρεσ[ι]ν αὐτοῖς εἶναι

⁴ I am indebted to Ch. Kritzas for kindly discussing the fainter traces of letters with me.

TRANSLATION

... omit to respect the testament and neglect to
 hold the gatherings
 on the days stipulated by me
 or neglect to perform at the tombs what has been ordered
 or omit to take care of the peribolos
 5 or cause the income to be split instead of using it all
 on the sacrifices and the meetings of the *syngeneis*
 or cause the *syngeneis* to be split instead of
 letting it remain one single *syngeneia*, following my
 directions in my testament
 or ? stop performing the *eisiteria* ? or
 10 hold the gatherings in another place instead of in the
 grove of Athena and
 , following my stipulations concerning
 the boundaries
 may they themselves and their family be cursed and may
 the earth bear them no fruit and may they be deprived
 of descendants.

Line 1. For the expression *καταλύοντας*, cf. *IKos S ED* 149, 130–134.

Line 3. τὰ[φ]ων: a fissure runs through the second letter, which seems to be an alpha. cf. *IG XII* 1 155. Τόπων, the less likely alternative, would probably have the same meaning.⁵

Line 4. Διαίρεσις: cf. on Phainippos' foundation for gymnasium of *presbuteroi*: ἐὰν δε. . . διέλωσιν τὴν πρόσ[οδ]ον τοῦ διαφόρου ἢ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, *Ilasos* 245, ll. 5–6, an inscription of Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial date.

Line 9. τὰ εἰσιτήρια συνκόπτοντας: The Greek text is legible, but the translation presents some difficulties. The beginning of the document, which is now lost, would have held the key to what was meant. The verb *συνκόπτειν/συγκόπτειν* is rarely used, especially so in inscriptions, and one should think that something specific was meant by using it here. The word occurs, it seems, only once in the database of PHI, in a decree concerning the Amphiareion at Oropos: τάδε συνεκόπη τῶν ἀναθημάτων νν/κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὃ ἔγραψε Πίργης. νν.⁶ This sentence follows a decree in 52 lines,⁷ and it introduces a list of all those of the sanctuary's votive gifts in precious metal which in accordance with the foregoing 52-line decree, had

⁵ Fraser 1975, 63 and n. 359; Bilde 1999.

⁶ "The following votive gifts *συνεκόπη* in accordance with the decree proposed by Pigres", Petrakos 1997, 233, no. 324. 53–54. This inscription is thought to be from the late third century BC.

⁷ The 52-line decree was cut on the face of the stele, the list on its back, Petrakos 1997, 234 ad no. 324.



Fig. 1. The founding document (A). Photo by The Danish Halikarnassos Project.

been melted down⁸ because they could no longer be used nor repaired. In inscriptions, κόπτειν alone or in (other) combinations nearly always, like in the inscription from Oropos, refers to a physical action on something solid,⁹ e.g. wood or metal.¹⁰ The prefix συν- would, in our case, point to metal, and, it follows, the *eisiteria* must be metal. If εἰσιτήρια can be understood as σύμβολα εἰσιτήρια, the expression could mean smelting down the tokens that gave access to the association (the *syngeneia*).¹¹ It might also simply refer to a fee in precious metal (a vessel? coins?) paid at the adoption into the *syngeneia*.¹²

⁸ Perhaps literally: squashed (beyond recognition) so as to form a mass. It appears from the decree that the objects were melted down, lines 15–16.

⁹ Two exceptions are προκόπτειν, to make progress, and ἀπρόσκοπτος, without offence.

¹⁰ Cf. *IG I³* 1453 E, line 5: ἐὰν τις κόπτῃ νόμισ[μα];

¹¹ One could think of many sinister motives, of which the founder would not approve: e.g. a change of course, a revision of the list of members, raising money. For tokens of lead and bronze used in sanctuaries see Petrakos 1997, nos. 750–753.

¹² Cf. *eiselusion* or *eisodion*, “Eintrittsgeld”, on which see Poland 1909, 492–493, 547. *Eisagogion* is used of offerings consisting of meat and everything else pertaining to a celebration, when a child of a member is born, *ibid.* 299.

On the other hand, *eisiteria* most often means offerings given at the beginning of something, like when *ephebes* entered the ranks of the citizens, e.g. *IG II²* 1011, 5–6, or magistrates began their year of office, e.g. *Agora* 16, 270 [2], 5¹³, D.H. 10.48.2.¹⁴ The *eisiteria* of our inscription could be such offerings, which were to be performed on a certain day, e.g. the day new members were adopted, or perhaps the birthday of the founder. Hence, the preferred translation is: to stop performing the *eisiteria*, the initiatory rituals.

Line 10: Alpha and lambda overlap a little in the word ἄλσει.

Line 12: cf. McCabe *Teos* 41.50.

What we have here must be the last part of a founding document. It is written in the first person singular and sets up the founder's rules for a private association of *syngeneis*—a *syngeneis*

¹³ The verb used is θύειν.

¹⁴ On the *Isiteria* for Artemis Leukophryene see *IMagn* 100a + p. 296 (= McCabe *Magnesia* 3).

neia.¹⁵ Since we only have the last part of the document we cannot know if other names were also used for the association. In a parallel document from Thera, Epikteta, the founder, describes the new association as an association of male members of the family, *κοινὸν ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν*.¹⁶

The name *syngeneia* indicates that the members are/are considered a family group.¹⁷ As emphasized by Gabrielsen, there is every reason to avoid “the unacceptably simplistic *Namen-Arten-Zweck* formula”, but an expressed purpose of this *syngeneia* is to hold regular gatherings and perform offerings on the days stipulated. The offerings specified in the preserved part of the inscription are for the dead at their tombs—perhaps only those pertaining to the founder and his/her closest family,¹⁸ perhaps for all members if they too were allowed to be buried in the fenced funerary complex.¹⁹ Offerings were probably made to Athena and possibly other gods as well.²⁰ The place for gatherings of the *syngeneia* is a grove dedicated to a god, and this is in keeping with the practice of private associations.²¹ To finance the activities of the *syngeneia* there would have been an income from the foundation, be it from capital (in cash), or perhaps from landed property, or a combination of both. If it is accepted that the inscription on the right side of the stone (B) also concerns the foundation, then a house was included in the property that was dedicated.

The founding document ends in an imprecation threatening any person trying to violate the stipulations set by the founder. Similar imprecations are more often found on Greek pagan tombstones. They are especially common in Asia Minor and are rarely found on “the mainland”.²² Johan Strubbe has catalogued about 400 pagan funerary imprecations in the Greek epitaphs of Asia Minor and categorized them according to the formula used. He includes only a “specific” type of imprecation, where the owner of the grave specified in some detail what would happen to an eventual wrong-doer.²³ Even if it is likely that the stone with the founding document (A)

belongs to a monument or a building erected in a private necropolis of some sort, and its imprecation is of this specific type, it would not qualify for adoption in Stubbe’s catalogue of imprecations since the inscription would be classified as belonging instead to the sphere of non-public associations. Founding documents often have clauses stating what will happen to the person who breaks the rules or laws of the foundation, and imprecations are not unheard of.²⁴ Any imprecation implies, even if not directly stated, a blessing of those who observe the rules. While this blessing is very seldom expressed in the funerary imprecations from Asia Minor,²⁵ we meet them in two foundations which in other respects are comparable with the one here published (A): In the foundation of Diomedon from Kos all who abide by the rules are blessed, both themselves and their descendents.²⁶ If on the contrary someone should break the rules, the descendents of Diomedon are obliged to see that he is punished.²⁷ Poseidonios from Halikarnassos builds his foundation on an oracle which he had asked for and received from Apollo. He echoes and augments the words of Apollo in wishing for those who observe the rules of his foundation that they fare better in relation to both god and man.²⁸ We hear of no imprecation nor of any other penalty clause in this case.

The inscription on the right side (B)

This side of the stone was broken to the right, and a substantial part of its inscription is consequently missing (Fig. 2). The left margin of the inscription is intact and, apart from the first and the last line, the fragment is much better preserved than the main part of the inscription on the front. The stone has clearly been well protected at the corner where the two inscriptions meet.

The letter-forms of this inscription are similar to those of the inscription at the front but appear a little less regular. The inscription was probably cut in the later part of the 2nd century. The central point of the theta is triangular and points directly upwards. The shape of the omega varies a great deal, and its serifs are sometimes even larger than the ones of the inscription on the front (A). The pi sometimes has a very long horizontal. Iota adscriptum is used.

¹⁵ For a recent and inspiring historical study on private associations and their function in the ancient Greek world see Gabrielsen 2007. Poland 1909 and Ziebarth 1896 still form the basis for studies of the Greek associations.

¹⁶ *JG XII 3 330* (= Laum 1914, II, no. 43), 30–32, c. 210–195 BC.

¹⁷ In the inscription from Thera (note 16) there is a list of the members, all of whom were men and not necessarily close relatives, appointed to the association, lines 80–94. There were special rules for the women. See also Poland 1909, 87–88.

¹⁸ Cf. Paton & Myres 1896, no. 36 (= McCabe *Halikarnassus* 188, *GIBM* 896), the foundation of Poseidonios in Halikarnassos (c. 300 BC).

¹⁹ Cf. Fraser 1977, 58–70.

²⁰ Cf. Paton & Myres 1896, no. 36.

²¹ Poland 1909, 468.

²² Strubbe 1991, 40. Funerary imprecations were also used by Christians and Jews, Strubbe 1991, 33, Ntantes 1983, 84–109, especially 95–96.

²³ Strubbe is, for good reason, far from happy with his distinction, but he retains it for practical reasons, Strubbe 1991, 36; 1997, XI–XII.

²⁴ Laum 1914, I, 193–211.

²⁵ Strubbe 1991, 42.

²⁶ *IKos S ED 149 (LSCG 177)*, 115–119.

²⁷ *Ibid.* II, 130–140.

²⁸ Paton & Myres 1896, 234–236, no. 36 (= McCabe *Halikarnassus* 188). The blessing by Apollo: *τοῖς δε ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν καὶ ποιούσιν ἀμεινον ἔσεσθαι*, II, 10–11. Poseidonios: *τοῖς δε ταῦτα διαφυλάσσουσιν καὶ ποιούσιν ἀμεινον γένοιτο ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*, II, 51–52.

THE TEXT

ἐμοὶ τῆ- [-----]
 σαν δὲ εἰς [-----]
 πρὸς τοῖς τα[μίαις?----- τὸ λοι-]
 πὸν τί δε μ[----- ?ἀλλ]
 5 λα πρὸς τοῖς [-----]
 τυθέντων ἱε[ρείων-----]
 ως καὶ τῶν ἐ[----- ἐπιμέ]
 λειαν τοῦ περι[βόλου-----]
 τοῦ προνο[ε]ίτω[σαν----- ἐν τό-]
 10 πωι ἐν ὧ[ι] [-]θη[----- καὶ ἡ γυ-]
 νῆ αὐτοῦ Μηνώ κα[-----]
 αὶ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτ[-----]
 τῆι οἰκίαι ἢ ἀνιέρ[ωται-----]
 οἰκίαι καὶ στεφ[αν-----]
 15 ὀγδοῖκοντ[α-----]
 τωσαν ὠμά[-----]
 ἈΛΛΕ[.]ΕΤΩ[-----]



Fig. 2 (right). Document concerning the foundation (B). Photo by The Danish Halikarnassos Project.

Line 2: ? ἀναλίσκῆτων δὲ εἰς ταῦτα, cf. *IMagn* 98 (= McCabe *Magnesia* 2), 66.

Line 4: or a dative, e.g. εἰ]πόντι, (παρα)λεῖ]ποντι, λι]πόντι).

Line 6: ἱερείων, cf. Paton & Myres 1896, no. 36 (= McCabe *Halicarnassus* 188), 39; *GIBM* 895 (= McCabe *Halicarnassus* 3), 10.

Line 10: There is room for one or, at maximum, two letters after ἐν ὧι. A vertical seems to follow the last legible letter of the line. For the lines 10–12 cf. *TAM* V, 2, 1090.

Line 11: The theophoric name Μηνώ is a name seldom met in inscriptions. Three women by the name of Meno were among

the Cretans adopted as citizens of Miletos in the 220s BC.²⁹ In Attica there is evidence for at least one: Meno from Herakleia Pontike.³⁰

Line 12: [οικί]αι? The suggested restoration follows the letter cutters preference for syllabic word division.

Line 13: A house will be or has already been dedicated, cf. Herzog 1899, no. 168, possibly to be combined with *IKos* S

²⁹ *LGNP* I, s.v. Μηνώ. Crete: (1) 228/7 BC, *Milet* I (3) 34 e, 9 (and Miletos); (2) 223/2 BC *ibid.* 38 ff., 8 (and Miletos); (3) *ibid.* 38 v, 10 (and Miletos).

³⁰ *PAA* 12, no. 650535 (middle of the 4th century BC), *IG* II² 8725. It also occurs in an inscription on an undated architrave found in Aziziye, Bean 1959, 111, no. 82, *SEG* 19, 815. For names formed from that of the god Men see Parker 2000, 76–77.

ED 219 (3rd–2nd century BC), which has letters not unlike the ones in our inscriptions.

Line 15–16: “Eighty” might be part of the amount which the lessee must pay regularly, or the amount to be used on sacrifices etc. Line 16 might be about portions of raw meat (ὠμά),³¹ but other divisions between words are possible, e.g. τως ἀνωμα[λ- -].

Inscription B is too incomplete to permit restoration and translation. It seems to be written in the first person singular (line 1) just like inscription A. It concerns a house and maybe other property most probably included in the foundation document, which is partly preserved in A. The inscription B may specify the amount that was to be made available for the regular offerings, the conditions for a lease, and/or the duties of a priest (?). It might well have a parallel in a fragmentary inscription from Halikarnassos, which also concerns a private association in the form of a *syngeneia*.³²

Concluding remarks

The two inscriptions published here probably concern one and the same private foundation. The foundation resembles in character the well-known³³ foundations of Epikteta from Thera, Poseidonios from Halikarnassos, and Diomedon from Kos. To these should now be added that of Symmasis, which was established in Hellenistic Lykia, maybe in Thlos.³⁴ The long and detailed inscription (or set of inscriptions) on the foundation of Symmasis was treated thoroughly by Robert Parker, who also adduces the three abovementioned foundations for comparison.³⁵ As for provenance, our foundation does not seem to have an immediate parallel in the inscriptions from Mylasa. The term *syngeneia* occurs frequently in Mylasean inscriptions, but normally it refers to a more official civic subdivision, membership of such a *syngeneia* being one of the elements constituting citizenship in Mylasa.³⁶ In our inscriptions it is one person who, in a testament, sets up rules for the *syngeneia*, and this is proof of the more private character of the *syngeneia*. Three Mylasean inscriptions are known to concern private cults for the dead, but too little is preserved to allow for comparison.³⁷ It must be remembered that the block with the inscriptions was brought with some others from a school in Milas to the Museum in Bodrum. This means that its provenance need not be Mylasa proper.

SIGNE ISAGER
Department of History
University of Southern Denmark
Campusvej 55
DK-5230 Odense M
signe.isager@sdu.dk

³¹ For a thorough discussion of the nature of sacrificial rituals for heroes and how private foundations fit into the pattern see Ekroth 2002.

³² Robert 1937, 466–468 (McCabe *Halikarnassus* 118); Bérard 1891, no. 22.

³³ Evidence for these is not found in Athens and therefore are not represented in Arnaoutoglou 2003.

³⁴ Parker 2010.

³⁵ Parker 2010, 118–119.

³⁶ Jones 1991, 86–87.

³⁷ *IMylasa* 421–423.

Abbreviations

- IAsos* = Blümel, W. 1972. *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 28:1–2), Bonn.
- IKos* = Segre, S.M. 1993. *Iscrizioni di Cos* 1–2, Roma.
- IMagn* = Kern, O. 1900. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin.
- IMylasa* = Blümel, W. 1987–1988. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, 2 vols (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 34–35), Bonn.
- LGPN* = *A lexicon of Greek personal names* I, eds. P.M. Fraser & E. Matthews, Oxford 1987.
- PAA* = Traill, J. 2003. *Persons of ancient Athens* 12, Toronto.
- TAM V* = *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, ed. P. Hermann (Tituli Asiae Minoris, 5), Wien 1981–1989.
- ThesCRA* = *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum* I–V, Los Angeles 2004–2005.

Bibliography

- Arnaoutoglou, I.L. 2003. *Thusias heneka kai sunousias. Private religious associations in Hellenistic Athens* (Yearbook of the Research Centre for the History of Greek Law, 37, suppl. 4), Athens.
- Bean, G.E. 1959. 'Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia. Part I', *AS* 9, 67–117.
- Bean, G.E. & J.M. Cook 1955. 'The Halicarnassus peninsula', *BSA* 50, 85–171.
- Bérard, V. 1891. 'Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure. Halicarnasse', *BCH* 15, 548–551.
- Bilde, P.G. 1999. 'Dionysos among the tombs: Aspects of Rhodian tomb culture in the Hellenistic period', in *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, culture, and society* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, 9), eds. V. Gabrielsen, P. Bilde, T. Engberg Pedersen, L. Hannestad & J. Zahle, Aarhus, 227–246.
- Biliotti, G.M.A. 1991. 'Diary of the excavation on the site of the Mausoleum in 1865', in P. Pedersen, *The Mausoleion Terrace and accessory structures* (The Mausoleion at Halicarnassos, 3:1–2), Aarhus, 117–171.
- Carbon, J.-M. & V. Pirenne-Delforge 2013. 'Priests and cult personnel in three Hellenistic families', in *Cities and priests, cult personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period*, eds. M. Horster & A. Klöckner, Berlin/Boston, 65–119.
- Ekroth, G. 2002. *The sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cults* (Kernos Supplément, 12), Liège.
- Fröhlich, P. & P. Hamon, eds. 2013. *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.–IIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009* (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain, 49), Genève.
- Faraone, Ch. & D. Obbink, eds. 1991. *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek magic and religion*, Oxford.
- Fraser, P.M. 1975. *Rhodian funerary monuments*, Oxford.
- Gabrielsen, V. 2007. 'Brotherhoods of faith and provident planning: The nonpublic associations of the Greek world', *Mediterranean historical review* 22:2, 183–210.
- Gabrielsen, V. 2001. 'The Rhodian associations and economic activity', in *Hellenistic economies*, eds. Z.H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen & G.J. Oliver, London & New York, 215–244.
- Haussoullier, B. 1880. 'Inscriptions d'Halicarnasse', *BCH* 4, 295–320.
- Herzog, R. 1899. *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig.
- Laum, B. 1914. *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte* I–II, Berlin.
- McCabe, D.F. 1985. *Teos inscriptions. Texts and lists*, Princeton (Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991).
- McCabe, D.F. 1991. *Halicarnassus inscriptions. Texts and lists*, Princeton (Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991).
- McCabe, D.F. 1991. *Magnesia inscriptions. Texts and lists*, Princeton (Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991).
- van Nijf, O.M. 1997. *The civic world of professional associations in the Roman east*, Amsterdam.
- Ntantes, S.P. 1983. *Απειλητικά εκφράσεις εις τας ελληνικάς επιτυμβίους παλαιοχριστιανικάς επιγραφάς επιγραφική συμβολή εις την έρευναν πλευρών του παλαιοχριστιανικού βίου*, Athens.
- Parker, R. 2010. 'A funerary foundation from Hellenistic Lycia', *Chiron* 40, 103–121.

- Parker, R. 2000. 'Theophoric names and the history of Greek religion', in *Greek personal names. Their value as evidence*, eds. S. Hornblower & E. Matthews, Oxford, 53–79.
- Paton, W.R. & J.R. Myres 1896. 'Karian sites and inscriptions', *JHS* 16, 188–236.
- Petrakos, B.Ch. 1997. *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας, 170), Athens.
- Pedersen, P. 1991. *The Maussolleion Terrace* (The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos, 3:1–2), Aarhus.
- Poland, F. 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig.
- Robert, L. 1937. 'Inscriptions d'Halikarnasse et de Keramos', in *Études anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Études Orientales, 5), Paris, 466–471.
- Robert, L. 1948. 'Inscriptions de Magnésie du Sipyle', *HelLENICA* VI, 9–15.
- Robert, J. & L. Robert 1954. *La Carie II. Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs*, Paris.
- Robert, L. 1978. 'Malédiction funéraires grecques', *CRAI*, 241–289 (= *Opera Minora Selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques* 5, Amsterdam 1989, 697–746).
- Rumscheid, F. 2004. 'Inchriften aus Milas im Museum Bodrum', *EA* 37, 43–61.
- Strubbe, J.H.M. 1991. 'Cursed be he that moves my bones', in *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek magic and religion*, eds. Ch.A. Faraone & D. Obbink, Oxford.
- Strubbe, J.H.M. 1997. *Arai Epitymbioi: Imprecations against desecrators of the grave in the Greek epitaphs of Asia Minor. A catalogue* (Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 52), Bonn.
- Ziebarth, E.G.L. 1896. *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Leipzig.