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## Inscribing Death in Southern Aeolis. Remarks on the Funerary Inscriptions from Kyme and Myrina

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# Inscribing Death in Southern Aeolis. Remarks on the Funerary Inscriptions from Kyme and Myrina

*Claudio Biagetti*

The coastal sites of Kyme and Myrina have yielded ample and diversified funerary evidence that includes a number of inscribed items in stone, ceramic and metal. Even though such materials have been collected and published in reference works devoted to these ancient Aeolic sites, they have not yet been studied in depth, particularly in terms of prosopography, typology and – more broadly – in terms of demography. Recent surveys and excavations have consider-

ably increased the number of funerary inscriptions from Kyme, whereas the same cannot be said for Myrina, whose documentation is today not much larger than that published by Salomon Reinach and Edmond Pottier at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address all the historical questions behind the text of each stone. Its aim is rather to provide an updated overview on the funerary epigraphy of Kyme, Myrina and their territories<sup>2</sup>.

## 1. Kyme and Its Territory

In the last fifteen years, the archaeological investigations at the necropoleis of Namurt Limanı have significantly improved our knowledge on the topography and funerary customs of ancient Kyme (fig. 1). Due to the strong development of industrial plants in the area around Namurt Limanı, rescue excavations of the Kymaeen necropoleis became more and more necessary and they were eventually carried out through the joint efforts of the Italian and Turkish archaeological teams<sup>3</sup>. During the most recent investigations, new inscriptions were brought to light<sup>4</sup>, which are

going to become part of a new epigraphic collection by Giuseppe Ragone (‘Roma Tre’ University). Pending the publication of the updated corpus<sup>5</sup>, the evidence that can be safely attributed to Kyme consists, so far, of over fifty inscriptions ranging from the late archaic age to the Roman imperial times. The earliest piece of evidence is an inscribed stele with a ‘man-and-dog’ relief, which was meant to mark the tomb of a Samian citizen<sup>6</sup>. The stele preserves two different texts (SEG 47, 1663 A. B), the former mentioning the Parian craftsman Xenophon who moulded the relief and en-

1 Pottier – Reinach 1887. The results of the latest archaeological surveys on the territory of Myrina are collected in Çekilmez – Dereboyu Poulain 2017 and Çekilmez – Dereboyu Poulain – Erdan 2018. – An earlier version of this text was presented at the International Workshop ‘NekroPergEol. The Second Year of Research. The Archaeology of Death in the Light of Epigraphy and Ancient History: Pergamon and the Aiolis in the Hellenistic Period’, held at the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) on November 30<sup>th</sup> / December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. My gratitude goes to Stéphane Verger and Rossella Pace (AoRoC – ENS / EPHE, Paris), who gave me the opportunity to take part in the activities of the DFG-CNRS Project ‘NekroPergEol. From Monumental Grave Mounds to Urban Necropoleis’, led by Stéphane Verger (AoRoC – ENS / EPHE, Paris) and Felix Pirson (DAI Istanbul).

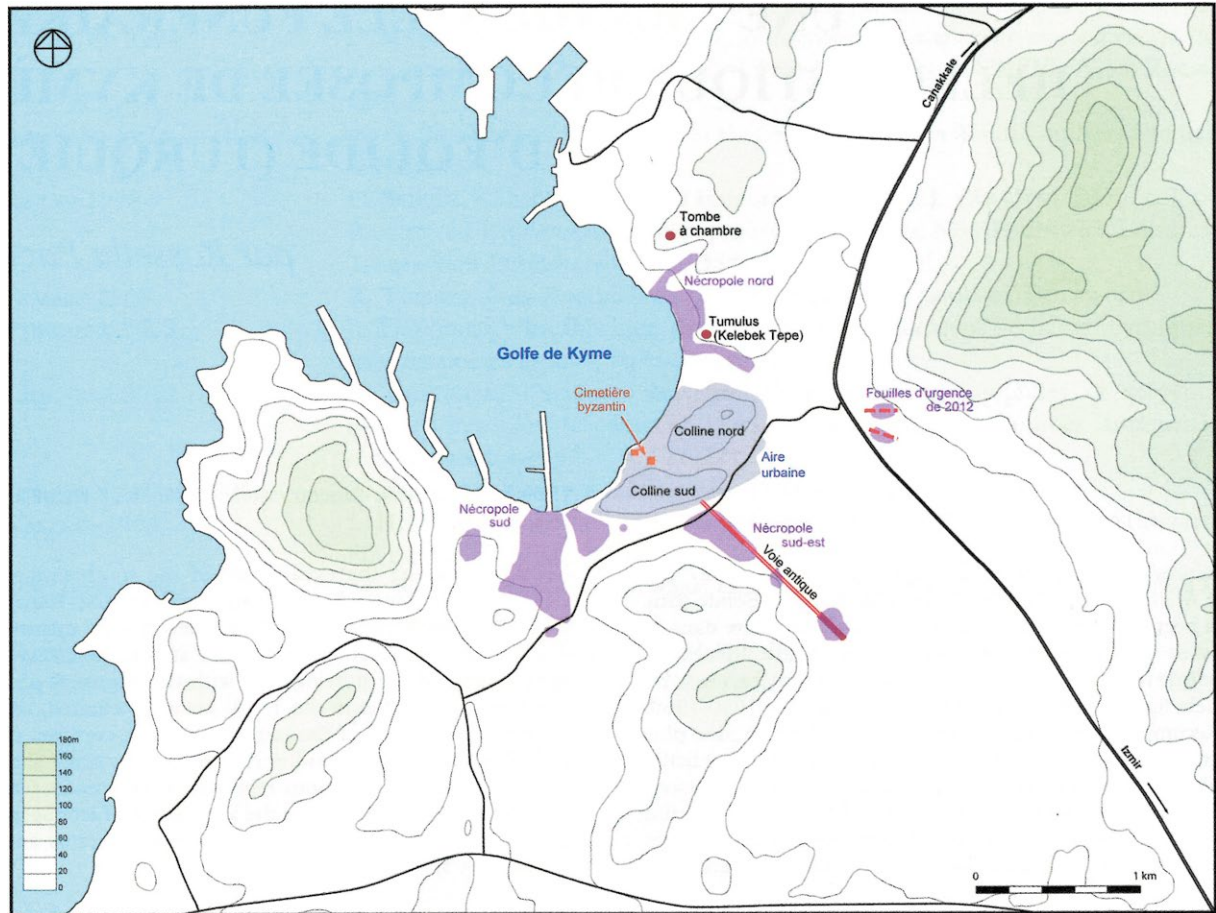
2 On the history of Kyme, see Hošek 1974; Mele 2005a; Mele 2005b; Mele 2005c; Ragone 2005; Ragone 2009; Ragone 2013. – On Myrina, see Kassab 1987.

3 Çırak – Kaya 2010; Korkmaz – Gürman 2011; Atıcı – Karakaş 2013; La Marca 2014; Korkmaz – Küçüküney – Doğu 2015; Atıcı – Beyazçam 2015; Pace 2016. – On the findings from the excavated necropoleis, see also İren 2008; Scatozza Höricht 2010; Verger – Pace – Jolivet 2013.

4 See, for example, Korkmaz – Gürman 2011, 76 f. 91 fig. 6; Bru – Laflı 2011, 196–199 no. 4; Bağdatlı Çam 2012; Selçuk 2016, 273 f. 294 fig. 2; 296 fig. 11.

5 The epigraphical collection that Helmut Engelmann published more than forty years ago is now outdated (Engelmann 1976 = I.Kyme).

6 On the typology and iconography of the Kymaeen ‘man-and-dog’ stele, see Taliano Grasso 2012b (second half of 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC).



1 Kyme. Position of the ancient necropoleis

graved the text, the latter commemorating the Samian Astyanax son of Hyblesios, who was likely buried at Kyme around 500 BC (fig. 2)<sup>7</sup>. The stone was removed from its original context probably during the Middle Ages and relocated to the seafront of the city in order to reinforce a rampart of the medieval castle<sup>8</sup>. Regrettably, it is almost impossible today to retrace its primary location.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a great number of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions were found in the estates of the wealthy Greco-Venetian Baltazzi family, who had acquired a large portion of the area around Aliaga in the early 1840s<sup>9</sup>. The chronology of these texts is largely that of Reinach, and cannot be ful-

ly verified today, either because some stones are lost or because they are now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir, whose storage cannot be easily accessed. Nevertheless, the use of Aeolic dialect can be assumed as a rough chronological indication for a group of stones coming from the territory of Kyme<sup>10</sup>: as pointed out by René Hodot, more than eighty percent of the funerary inscriptions presenting dialectal forms are likely to predate the Roman imperial age<sup>11</sup>. It is therefore no mere coincidence that Kymaeian texts preserving Aeolic nuances have been assigned to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>12</sup>. The epigraphic formula of Kymaeian epitaphs is usually straightforward and rather conventional: many stones present only the name and patro-

<sup>7</sup> Manganaro 1997, 1 f. (ca. 500 BC; see also Tandy 2016); Savalli-Lestrade 2013 (ca. 520–500 BC).

<sup>8</sup> The stele was found in 1991 in the southeastern rampart of the medieval castle (Talano Grasso 2012b, 11 f.). – On the medieval castle of Kyme, see Patitucci – Uggeri 1999/2000.

<sup>9</sup> Baltazzi 2013.

<sup>10</sup> I.Kyme 46. 67. 72. 78. 81; SEG 33, 1043; 61, 1001.

<sup>11</sup> Hodot 1990, 20 and Hodot 2004, 249 f.; see also Bubenik 1989, 150 f.

<sup>12</sup> I.Kyme 78 (Engelmann 1976, 130: »Frühestens 2. Jhd. v. Chr.«); I.Kyme 81 (Engelmann 1976, 132: »hellenistisch«); SEG 33, 1033 (Drew-Bear 1983, 89 f.: »a date not too late in the Hellenistic period«); SEG 61, 1001 (Bru – Laflı 2011, 198: »la morphologie des lettres gravées semble indiquer une date assez haute [fin IV<sup>e</sup> ou III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.]«); Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 49 f. (no. 2: »Schriftbild des 2. oder 1. Jhs. v. Chr.«); 52 f. (no. 8: »Schrift des 2. oder 1. Jhs. v. Chr.«); 53 f. (no. 10: »Buchstaben wohl des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.«).



nymic of the deceased, which are sometimes associated with the ritual greeting formula *χαῖρε* or *χαίρετε*. However, seven inscriptions bear more complex epitaphs, celebrating at length the qualities of the deceased and their deeds in life. We learn for instance that Tellon was appointed as leader of the ephebes and youth and later became a judge in the athletic contests held at Kyme (SEG 26, 1301); we also learn of both the victory obtained by Damodika in a chariot race and, quite unexpectedly, the mission of her husband in Rome at the time she died (I.Kyme 46). The longer texts were typically arranged metrically: six of them contain elegiac couplets, whereas only one consists of iambic trimeters. Their contents are for the most part ordinary and the themes are also traditional. References to lower deities and the afterlife are commonplaces, as the mentions of Hades (I.Kyme 49 and 51), Hermes (SEG 26, 1301 and SEG 29, 1218) and Moira (I.Kyme 49) demonstrate. There are frequent references to the civic community, not only as beneficiary of the deceased's public engagement, but also as collective entity that honours the deceased with every expression of gratitude. By way of example, one may again consider the case of Tellon, who is said to have given *δῶρα ἀγλαά* to the polis by holding public offices (SEG 26, 1301); or even the case of Mentor, who was honoured by the demos with a crown (I.Kyme 49). Another feature of the longer epitaphs from Kyme is the fictitious interaction between the deceased and the passers-by. Again, the inscriptions for Mentor and Tellon provide good examples for this sort of imaginary exchange: one of them invites those who walk by to look at the image of Mentor, which was arguably depicted on the stele itself; the other encourages wayfarers to greet Tellon before proceeding on their own way.

From a demographical point of view, the deceased commemorated by Kymaeian inscriptions are mostly men (over thirty individuals) and three or four of them were of a non-local origin<sup>13</sup>. The age of the deceased can be sometimes inferred from the content of longer texts, as those commemorating Mentor (who died at the age of 25) and Philomousos (who died at the age of 18 or 19: SEG 29, 1218). Although the epigraphic documentation from Kyme does not allow us to retrace family connections on a large scale, in the local prosopography it is nevertheless possible to appreciate the typical Greek fashion of maintaining names or significant parts of them within the same family: according to this custom, we learn of a Μητρόδωρος son of Ἡρακλεοδῶρος (I.Kyme 72) or similarly of a Μηνᾶς son



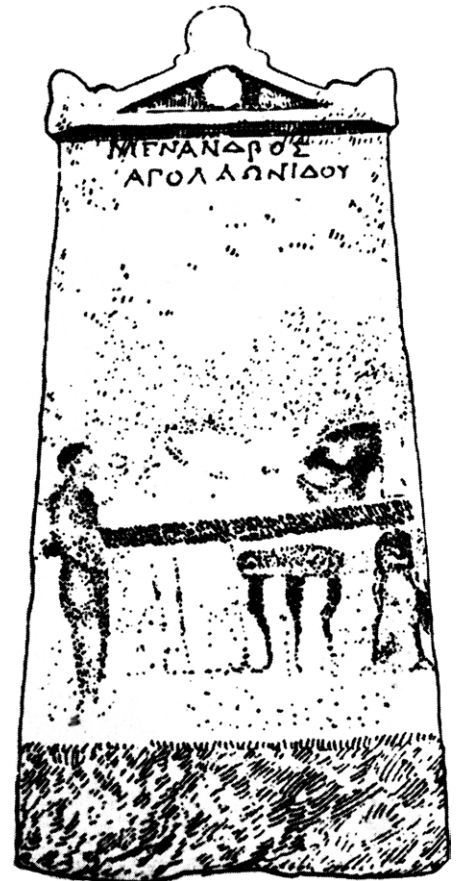
2 Kyme. Stele of Astyanax, son of Hyblesios (SEG 47, 1663). Tarih ve Sanat Museum, Izmir

of Μηνογένης (I.Kyme 73). On a different level, funerary evidence shows a large use of theophoric names, most of which are either pure adjectival forms as Δημήτριος/Δημητρία (five occurrences) and Διονύσιος (three or four occurrences), or anthroponymic compounds related to the semanteme *-δωρ-* (‘gift’) as Μητρόδωρος (three occurrences) and Ἡρακλεοδῶρος/Ἡρακλεοδώρα (one or two occurrences). Regional names such as Διοδαίικας are also attested, together with other rare anthroponyms which do not have a strictly local origin such as Χώταριον and Βουλομάγα. The anhellénic names Ὑβλήσιος (SEG 47, 1663 B) and

<sup>13</sup> On the contribution made by the funerary epigraphy to the demographic study of the ancient world, see Scheidel 2012.



3 Kyme. Funerary stele (I.Kyme 82)



4 Kyme. Stele of Menandros, son of Apollonidas (I.Kyme 71)

Αρίβαζος (Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 47) deserve a mention too. Roman onomastics is nearly unattested, with the exceptions of a woman named Ἀφρία (D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 241–244 no. 8) and, perhaps, a man named Μᾶρκος (I.Kyme 91). The artistic value of some of the stones sheds light on the social status of their dedicates: it is likely that wealthy families commissioned refined works as that for Philomousos or that for another deceased whose name is now lost (I. Kyme 82; fig. 3). Common stelae with pediment, acroteria and stylised rosettes allow us to assume that they had been commissioned by well-off clients: illuminating examples of these artefacts are the funerary stones for Mentor and Chotarion, which also preserve more elaborate texts; one could also mention the stelae for Menandros (I.Kyme 71; fig. 4) and Menophila (SEG 33, 1043), whose epitaphs consists of only the deceased's

name and patronymic. Finally, the presence (and death) of foreigners at Kyme and, vice versa, of Kymaeans in foreign lands is of a great importance for our understanding of the human mobility and the international network of the city<sup>14</sup>. The late-archaic case of the Samian Astyanax has been recalled above, but Kymaeian evidence also preserves memory of Parmeniskos from Lampsacus who came to Kyme in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (I.Kyme 76) and young Mentor from Chios who was perhaps buried in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in the same spot as his mother (I.Kyme 49). According to a reading by Charles Picard and André Plassart, another non-Kymaeian deceased might be Dionysios, a man who could have come to Kyme from the Thessalian city of Demetrias (I.Kyme 65)<sup>15</sup>. As for Kymaeans buried far from their homeland, the interchangeable and undifferentiated use of the ethnic Κυμαῖος for both Kymae-

<sup>14</sup> An increasing number of books and papers is devoted to the concept of network in its diverse declinations. On the inter-civic networks in Graeco-Roman antiquity, see esp. the papers collected in Malkin – Constantakopoulou – Panagopoulou 2009 and in Dana – Savalli-Lestrade 2019.

<sup>15</sup> Picard – Plassart 1913, 181 no. 13 b. – The man commemorated in I.Kyme 65 was probably a citizen of the Thessalian Demetrias founded by Demetrius Poliorketes at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC (see e. g. Kravaritou 2011). Some inscriptions from Demetrias make reference to citizens who are simply recognised

ans of Aeolis and Magna Graecia makes it impossible to ascertain the real provenance of the individuals mentioned in a number of sepulchral inscriptions<sup>16</sup>. Criteria such as geographical proximity or prosopography are not always reliable in determining the origin of a deceased. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed with full certainty that Κυμαῖοι as Zoilos son of Zoilos (IG II<sup>2</sup> 9116)<sup>17</sup> and Hedeia (IG II<sup>2</sup> 9117), who passed away in Athens between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, came to Attica from Asia Minor, nor that Olympiodorus son of Euxenos who died in Sinope in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (I.Sinope 55) was a native of the Aeolis<sup>18</sup>. A slightly different case is that of Lysanias Κυμαῖος who was buried in Rhodes during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (IG XII 1, 436), since the use of his name is well attested in Aeolic Kyme, whereas it is unknown for Cumae in Opicia<sup>19</sup>.

Alongside inscriptions coming from the Kymae-an necropoleis, a number of other funerary stones have been tentatively assigned to Kyme. Many of

them were seen and transcribed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in the town of Yenifoça, located about 15 km westwards of Namurt Limanı on the road to Eski Foça (the old Phocaea). In most cases, it is the Aeolic nuances of the epitaphs and/or the anthroponymy used in them that suggest a Kymaeian provenance. Indeed, the attribution to Kyme is conceivable for those inscriptions presenting forms of Aeolic genitive as Ἀπολλωνίω and (τῷ) Φανναγόρα (I.Kyme 69 and 66), or even Aeolic onomastics as in the case of the names Φανναγόρας and Ἀμαλῶχος (I.Kyme 66 and 52). On the other hand, for two metrical texts found in Yenifoça, the attempt to determine their origin is quite unrealistic, as one can only rely on their *Kunstsprache* (I.Kyme 48 and 50). All in all, the Aeolic traits preserved in these texts are not enough to rule out the possibility that these inscriptions were engraved in a place other than Kyme, for example one of the many unidentified settlements lying on the plain of the Hermos river<sup>20</sup>.

## 2. Myrina and Its Territory

Epigraphical evidence from Myrina, on the other hand, consists of about a hundred texts encompassing more than sixty men and over twenty women<sup>21</sup>. Funerary stones and stelae came to light during the pioneering investigations of Reinach and Pottier, who had undertaken excavations in the plain between the hills that are now called Andız Tepe and Beriki Tepe, about 5 km north-east of the modern city of Aliğa (fig. 5)<sup>22</sup>. There, the French archaeologists collected a large number of funerary artefacts, the most famous

of which are probably the terracotta statuettes signed by the moulders<sup>23</sup>. Though a small body of evidence exhibits palaeographical features that seem to date back to early Hellenistic times (namely, nos. 16, 20, 28, 44 amongst the texts on stone recorded by Pottier and Reinach [henceforth Myr. Inscr. Cat.]<sup>24</sup>, the majority of inscriptions probably belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Accordingly, Aeolic nuances uphold this chronology, even though a complete tracking and a new examination of the stones must be carried out to

through the general ethnic of Αἰολεῖς: as recently suggested by Bruno Helly, this ethnic could be connected to groups of Aeolic inhabitants of Anatolian origin who settled in Thessaly after the synoecism of Demetrius (Helly 2016).

<sup>16</sup> The ethnic Κυμεύς for the inhabitants of the Opician Cumae is mentioned in an entry of Stephanus of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. s. v. Κύμη [κ 261 Billerbeck]), but its use does not seem to have been very widespread.

<sup>17</sup> The name Ζωῖλος is of frequent use all over the Greek world. It is well attested in Aeolic Kyme (see e. g. I.Kyme 8, l. 9 [3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC]; I.Kyme 12, l. 18 [2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC]) and also known for Cumae and Pithecussa (IG XIV 860 [Hellenistic]; SEG 51, 1418 [4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC]).

<sup>18</sup> It is not clear whether the fragmentary inscription from Pholegandros that mentions Leucippus son of Leucippus Κυμαῖος can be identified as a gravestone (IG XII, 3 \*1057, 6).

<sup>19</sup> The name Ἀσσανίας occurs on the Kymaeian coinage of early Hellenistic age (Masson 1986, 60) and in a decree honouring

Philetairos that probably dates back to 280/270 BC (SEG 51, 1195, ll. 11, 13); cf. LGPN Va s. v. Ἀσσανίας (2–4).

<sup>20</sup> See now Ragone 2016, 126–138.

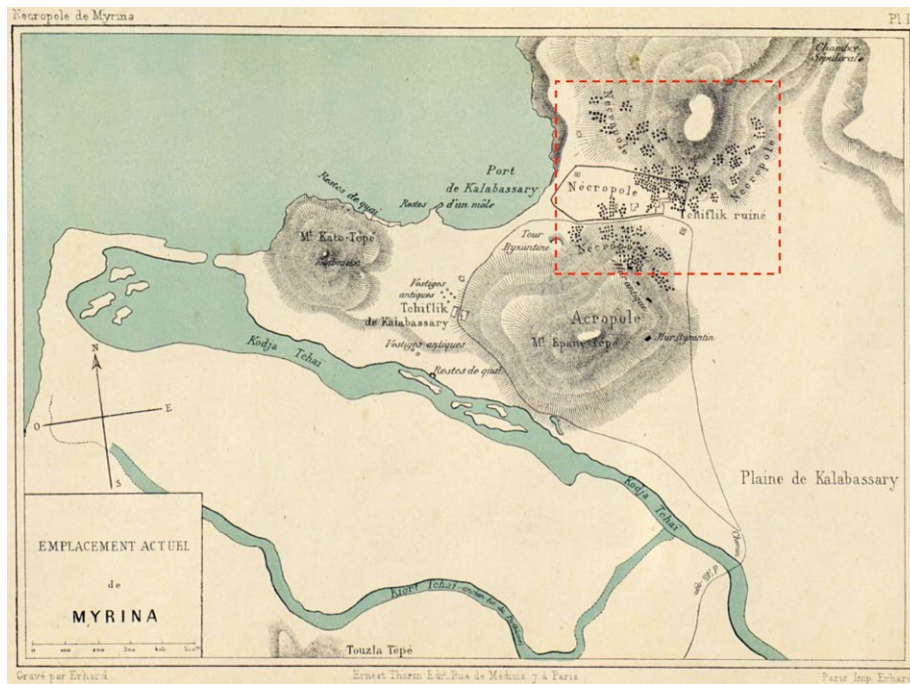
<sup>21</sup> Pottier – Reinach 1887, 111–124. The Turkish archaeological team working at Myrina announced the discovery of two new inscriptions, one of which is supposed to preserve a funerary text (Çekilmez 2018, 200, 203). Apparently, the stones are now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir. So far (July 2020), these texts seem to be still unpublished.

<sup>22</sup> The topographic limits of the investigated area are clearly marked out in a map included in the second volume of *La nécropole de Myrina* (Pottier – Reinach 1887, pl. 1).

<sup>23</sup> Pottier – Reinach 1887, 125–196.

<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions on stone are collected in Pottier – Reinach 1887, 113–124. – For Myrinean inscriptions on clay figurines see Pottier – Reinach 1887, 175–186, henceforth Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.). – For Myrinean inscriptions on metal plates see Pottier – Reinach 1887, 206–208, henceforth Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates).





5 Myrina. Area of the necropolis

confirm or reject these dates. Broadly speaking, the structure of these texts is rather simple, consisting of only the deceased's name and patronymic. Family relationships are often highlighted, especially when the deceased is a woman<sup>25</sup>. In more than thirty inscriptions the greeting formula χαῖρε precedes or follows the deceased's name. A single stele contains a longer text in elegiac couplets and commemorates a certain Aglaophon, who passed away at the age of 90 (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 3; fig. 6)<sup>26</sup>. Interestingly, the demos of Myrina honoured their citizens Ἀθάναος and Δινύκας by consecrating tombstones adorned with crowns (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 5 and 26). The stele of Demetrios son of Bardylis attests the same honour: this stone is usually assigned to Kyme (it is published as I.Kyme 63), although it was in fact found along the bank of the Koça River (today known as Güzelhisar Çay, ancient Titnaios/Pythikos), close to the urban area of Myrina<sup>27</sup>. Furthermore, a couple of Myrinaean inscriptions record the dedication of a funerary monument by one or more demoi: in the first case, the

demos of Pitane (and probably that of Myrina as well) commemorates the death of an individual, whose name is unfortunately lost (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 63); in the second case, the demos of Myrina celebrates its citizen named Heraios, emphasising the crowns bestowed on him by the demoi of Pergamon, Pitane, Elaia and Aigai (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 35). At the present time, only two tombstones of foreigners are known, the one of Theoxenos from Knidos (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 41) and that of Dionysodoros, who was most likely a Theban citizen (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 28). Anhellenic patronymics are represented by the names Βαρδίλης, father of Demetrius, and Σεύθης, father of Bacchios (I. Kyme 63 and Myr. Inscr. Cat. 21). Two texts produce Roman onomastics, namely the epitaph for Furiana by her husband Nikephoros, and the inscription for Varidia daughter of Stephanus (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 50 and 55). On the other hand, local anthroponymy survives in the geminated hypocoristics Ἀγίττα and Δινύκας (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 2 and 26), and in the epichoric Γρυνεύς (33). Other names attested in Myrina are

<sup>25</sup> Myr. Inscr. Cat. 8. 12. 13. 15. 17. 25. 31. 34. 42. 49. 50. 54. 57 and Reinach 1888, 384 no. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 566 no. 05/04/02; Pfuhl – Möbius 1977, 86 f. no. 142 fig. 6. For other cases of individuals passed away at a venerable age, see one of the contributions by Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen in this volume: »Demography and health status of Hellenistic people from Pergamon, Elaia and Aigai« (esp. the chapter »Mortality«).

<sup>27</sup> About the findspot of the present I.Kyme 63, Demosthenes Baltazzi wrote: »Dans un cimetière turc, à l'est des ruines du pont sur le Kodja-tchai« (Baltazzi 1888, 370 f. no. 21). Similarly, Helmut Engelmann records: »In einem türkischen Friedhof östlich der zerstörten Brücke über den Kodscha-cay« (Engelmann 1976, 122).



6 Myrina. Stele of Aglaophon (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 3)

common throughout the region, such as Διαφένης (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 18) and Μοιρέας (16)<sup>28</sup>. Predictably, a large amount of theophoric anthroponymy occurs in the evidence from Myrina, where Ἀθήναιος and Ἡραῖος are the more frequently attested names (five and three occurrences)<sup>29</sup>. So far, epigraphy does not shed much light on the social structure of Myrina and

not even on the family relationships amongst individuals. However, a text commemorating Heraios son of Diophantos mentions the crowns consecrated to him by the συγγένες Πλευρεάδαι (Reinach 1888, 384 no. 2), an otherwise unknown group or association who probably gathered around a local, unidentified cult. A link with the Samian genos of Βουπλευράδαι

<sup>28</sup> Διαφένης: LGPN Va s. v. Διαφένης (1, 3–4). – Μοιρέας: LGPN Va s. v. Μοιρέας (2).

<sup>29</sup> Ἀθήναιος: Myr. Inscr. Cat. 5. 7. 11. 25. 29. – Ἡραῖος: Myr. Inscr. Cat. 15. 35 and Reinach 1888, 384 no. 2.





7 Myrina. Plate of Theodoros, son of Damanthes (Myr. Inscr. Cat. [Plates] 15)

(IG XII 6, 1, 187) is undoubtedly attractive, but totally elusive<sup>30</sup>. Only a couple of inscribed stelae were adorned with reliefs: the funerary monument for Aglaophon, which bears the figure of a man standing (Myr. Inscr. Cat. 3), and the one for Isias daughter of Menophilos, which preserves a relief with a woman standing (31). As in some examples from Kyme, it can be assumed that both gravestones were commissioned by wealthy members of Myrinaean society.

In addition to tombstones, other inscribed findings may relate to Myrinaean deceased. First, a small number of statuettes found in the necropolis of Myrina bear graffiti that have been interpreted as the names of the deceased. These graffiti cover the bases of the statuettes and display names in the nominative or dative case (Myr. Inscr. Cat. [Clay Figur.] 238–242; Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀριάδνη, Ἀρτέμωνι, Διοκλῆς, Χρυσ [- -])<sup>31</sup>. Similarly, names of buried people can be identified in the inscriptions made on the outer surface of two vases: on the one hand, a pyxis with a dedication to Nise, whose burial abounded with female objects; on the other hand, a one-handle vessel displaying on its body the deceased's name and patronymics in painted letters (Τέρ[ω]ν Διοφάν[- -])<sup>32</sup>. Another class of inscribed objects consists of drilled bronze plates bearing the name and patronymic of male individuals<sup>33</sup>. Their width varied from 7 to 13 cm, their height from 2 to 5 cm, and their thickness is about 1 mm. According to the records of Reinach and Pottier, the plates were found inside the burials and hung on the body of the deceased by

means of strings passing through the holes made on the plates (fig. 7). These plates were also brought to light in 19<sup>th</sup>-century excavations in Kyme and Pitane, and they were ascribed to necropolis contexts just like those from Myrina<sup>34</sup>. As for the plates from Kyme, their provenance from funerary contexts was proven in recent years thanks to the rescue excavations in the southern necropolis of the city<sup>35</sup>. According to Reinach and Pottier, the use of these plates was not merely confined to the funerary domain, but it also fulfilled a political function during the lifetime of their owners<sup>36</sup>. In a brief note published in the late sixties, John H. Kroll suggested that these items should be identified as *pinakia*, i. e. the voting ballots employed by citizens at the public assemblies<sup>37</sup>. Margherita Guarducci was sceptical about this explanation and argued instead that these plates served merely as non-visible identifying markers of the deceased<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, she dated the Myrinaean plates to a time span between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC on palaeographical grounds. Although this matter cannot be decided unequivocally, it is worth observing *inter alia* that no deceased is commemorated at the same time both in a stone inscription and in a metal plate; additionally, in contrast to the other findings, a single plate from Myrina shows two names, one for each side, whereas some plates found by Baltazzi had a circular or semi-circular (and not rectangular) form<sup>39</sup>. Indeed, these and other inconsistencies need to be accounted for in future studies on these plates and their function.

30 As in the case of Myrina, in the Carian sanctuary of Sinuri the συγγένεια of Pormounos and Pelekys apparently had the power to bestow honours on worthy individuals (Robert 1945, 25–56. 94–97).

31 Pottier – Reinach 1887, 183.

32 Pottier – Reinach 1887, 230. 241.

33 Pottier – Reinach 1887, 206–208.

34 Kyme: Joubin 1898, 59 no. 425; La Marca 2013, 311. 318 fig. 15. – Pitane: Joubin 1898, 59 no. 423. No clear indication about

the findspot is available for other items collected by André Joubin in the fourth part of the Catalogue (Joubin 1898, 58 f. nos. 422. 424. 426–428).

35 La Marca 2013, 311.

36 Pottier – Reinach 1887, 209 f.

37 Kroll 1969.

38 Guarducci 1974, 141 f.

39 Pottier – Reinach 1887, 581 f. nos. 498–501.

Scholarly attention has been paid first and foremost to the evidence coming from the urban sites of Kyme and Myrina, though minor discoveries had also taken place in the valley of the Koça River, south-east of Myrina. In 1880 Salomon Reinach and Demosthenes Baltazzi explored some heights in the hinterland of Myrina together with the Orientalist Archibald H. Sayce, who later wrote a note in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* about that two-day survey<sup>40</sup>. In his report, Sayce gave an account of the ancient structures he saw and recorded some graves found along the way.

In one case, he reported the fragmentary text of a Greek inscription that was cut into the rock just above a tomb<sup>41</sup>. According to his description, the graves lay on the north-western slopes of the Dumanlı Dağ (ancient Mount Sardene), in a plot of land between Güzelhisar and Uzunhasanlar. A number of funerary inscriptions from the *Corpus* of Kyme supposedly come from this territory (namely I.Kyme 57, 61 and 64) thus indicating that their provenience from Kyme or Myrina should not be assumed.

### 3. A New Beginning?

This overview is just a starting point for a broader reconsideration of Aeolic funerary epigraphy. Admittedly, one of the main problems in studying these materials is that they are hardly accessible. This hinders a thorough re-examination of the inscriptions and a satisfactory re-assessment of their chronology. First, however, it would be useful to track again – and conduct a new examination of – the whole body of evidence, which is now scattered across many different museums in Turkey and Europe.

Difficulties notwithstanding, an approach to the funerary epigraphy of Kyme, Myrina and their environs demonstrates that the evidence is generally consistent in terms of formulary and prosopography. The scrutiny of the onomastics shows a rather recurring selection of names, to the extent that very rare names attested in Kyme find a parallel almost exclusively in Myrina (and vice-versa)<sup>42</sup>. After all, the proximity between the two settlements indeed fostered a process of population mixing, establishing a local onomastic *koine*.

As for the social status of the deceased, the features of the inscriptions and the materiality of the grave-stones point to individuals belonging to the upper middle classes. On the one hand, longer and shorter texts were mostly engraved with a good degree of accuracy, and their lettering was often embellished with ornamental serifs. As compared with other funerary inscriptions consisting of a straightforward formulary

(name, patronymic, farewell formula), well-developed metrical epitaphs contributed to emphasising the high rank of an individual and the standing of their family. On the other hand, the material qualities of a stone also prove to be crucial in identifying the social position of the deceased<sup>43</sup>: in this respect, the purchase of a stele bearing painted images or finely moulded reliefs might have required more considerable economic means, suggesting that these stelae were undoubtedly not accessible to all members of the civic body.

As the outcomes of the Project NekroPergEol demonstrate, the 'archaeology of death' contributes to highlighting cultural similarities and differences on a regional and supraregional scale<sup>44</sup>. Evidence shows, for example, a significant connection of Kyme and Myrina with the other Aeolic polis of Pitane, lying on the northern shore of the Gulf of Elaia (modern Çandarlı Körfezi). Relations emerge not only from the shared onomastics and the mutual granting of honours to their citizens, but also from shared funerary customs, such as that of attaching inscribed metal plates to the bodies of the deceased. To be sure, future excavations might further improve our knowledge about the funerary practices of the Aeolic communities. In this regard, however, a persisting concern lies in the aggressive enlargement of the plants around Namurt Limanı and in the construction of the new İzmir-Çanakkale highway, which are leading rather quickly to the almost complete destruction of the ne-

<sup>40</sup> Sayce 1882.

<sup>41</sup> Sayce 1882, 221.

<sup>42</sup> In addition to the name Διαφένης attested all over Aeolis (see above n. 28), another exemplary case might be Ἡρία (I.Kyme 81: γύνα δ' Ἡρία; Hellenistic) and Ἀρία (Myr. Inscr. Cat. [Plates] 27. 29 = Dain 1933, 52).

<sup>43</sup> On the high artistic quality of some funerary stelae from Kyme, see esp. the contribution by Ute Kelp and Rossella Pace in this volume.

<sup>44</sup> See once more Kelp – Pace in this volume.

cropoleis of Kyme. During the rescue excavations conducted by the archaeologists of the Archaeological Museum of Izmir in the Southern necropolis, the Turkish teams carefully recorded valuable excavation data, saving important information and – of course – archaeological findings which would otherwise have been lost. Unlike Kyme/Namurt Limanı, the site of Myrina is apparently far from industrial destruction, but still draws the interest of the nearby villagers, who

often plunder the ruins in order to adorn their houses with ancient artefacts. In the past ten years, two different teams from the University of Erzurum and the University of Aydın have undertaken archaeological surveys in Myrina, Gryneion and their surroundings, raising a new scientific interest in this ancient polis<sup>45</sup>. Renewed archaeological activity at this site is likely very promising and could shed more light on the life and death of its ancient inhabitants.

## Abstract

This paper provides an updated overview of the epigraphical evidence from the necropoleis of the Aeolic sites of Kyme and Myrina. A fresh approach to the available funerary texts gives inter alia a number of new insights into the prosopography of this part of

the Aeolis and the social position of both dedicants and dedicatees.

*Keywords: Greek Funerary Epigraphy, Prosopography, Southern Aeolis, Kyme, Myrina*

## Illustration Credits

**Fig. 1** From Pace 2013, 348

**Fig. 2** From Aybek – Tuna – Atıcı 2009, 133 (Photo: M. Özdoğan, O. N. Ersan)

**Fig. 3** From Engelmann 1976, 146

**Fig. 4** From Mendel 1912–1914, III, 324

**Fig. 5** From Pottier – Reinach 1887, pl. 1

**Fig. 6** From Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 87

**Fig. 7** From Pottier – Reinach 1887, 206

<sup>45</sup> 2011–2014: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Erzurum (Director: N. Öztürk); 2015–2019: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, Aydın (Director: M. Çekilmez).



## Appendix A

### The Funerary Inscriptions from Kyme

#### a. Funerary Inscriptions on Stone from Kyme

No.	Main Reference	Origin	Date	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
1	SEG 47, 1663 B	Namurt Limanı	520–500 BC	Ἀστυάναξ Ὑβλησίου (Σάμιος)	Manganaro 1997, 1 f. no. I = SEG 47, 1663; Taliano Grasso 2012b; Savalli-Le-strade 2013; Tandy 2016; SEG 62, 926
2	I.Kyme 76	Namurt Limanı	4 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	[Παρμ]ενίσκος [Θ]ερσίνου (Λαμψακηνός)	
3	SEG 63, 1003	Namurt Limanı	4 <sup>th</sup> –3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC	Ἀγέστρατος Δωματέρρω	Bru – Lafli 2011, 196–199 no. 4 = SEG 61, 1001; Dana 2016a, 155 f. no. 30 = SEG 66, 1318; Bru – Lafli 2017, 258
4	SEG 65, 1102	Samurlu	3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC	Βουλονόη Μενάνδρου	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 50 no. 3
5	I.Kyme 47	Karpuzoğlu (Samurlu)	3 <sup>rd</sup> –2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Διονύσιος Ἀρτέμωνος	Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 560 no. 05/03/04
6	SEG 62, 927	Namurt Limanı	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Ἀμαλῳῖος Ἡρακλείτου	Bağdatlı Çam 2012; D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 232–234 no. 2
7	SEG 66, 1316	Namurt Limanı	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Φιλαινίς Ἀξιόχου	Aybek – Tuna – Atıcı 2009, 140; Selçuk 2016; Bru – Lafli 2016a, 107 no. 3
8	SEG 65, 1103	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Λαμπρίς Τεισαμένω	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 53 f. no. 10
9	SEG 66, 1315	Namurt Limanı?	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Ἑρμαγόρας Διογένους	Bru – Lafli 2016b, 226 no. 2
10	I.Kyme 78	Namurt Limanı	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC?	Σάτυρος Ἡρακλήου	
11	SEG 65, 1107	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀθήναιος, Ποσιδίππης	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 52 no. 7
12	SEG 65, 1104	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἑρμαγόρας Διονυσικέτου	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 49 no. 1
13	SEG 65, 1108	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ζώπυρος Ἡροΐδα	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 52 f. no. 8
14	SEG 65, 1106	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Μηνογένης Ξένωνος	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 50 f. no. 5
15	I.Kyme 49	Namurt Limanı	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Μέντωρ Ποσειδονίου (Χῖος)	Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 560 f. no. 05/03/05
16	SEG 65, 1105	Samurlu	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Περιγένη Μενεκράτου	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 49 f. no. 2
17	SEG 29, 1218	Namurt Limanı	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Φιλόμουσος	Engelmann 1976, 251; Atalay – Voutiras 1979; J. and L. Robert in: BE 1979, no. 387; Merkelbach – Stauber 2001, 562 no. 05/03/06
18	Unpublished	Namurt Limanı?	Hellenistic	Apollonios son of Pyrrhos	Korkmaz – Gürman 2011, 76 f. 91 fig. 6; Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 47
19	I.Kyme 71	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίδου	
20	SEG 33, 1043	Çakmaklı	Hellenistic	Μηνοφίλα Παρμενίου	Drew-Bear 1983, 89 f. no. 1
21	Unpublished	Namurt Limanı?	Hellenistic	Metrodoros son of Aribazos	Korkmaz – Gürman 2011, 76 f. 91 fig. 6; Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 47
22	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 239 f. no. 6	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	Περιγένη[ς] Μενίσχ[ου]	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 239 f.
23	I.Kyme 81	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic (2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC?)	[- - - γ]έν[ε]ια Λυσ[α] [- - -]	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 304)

No.	Main Reference	Origin	Date	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
24	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 240 f. no. 7	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	[ - - ]δωρο[ς] [Μεν] εκράτο[υ(ς)]	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 240 f.
25	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 238–239 no. 5	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	[ - - ]ων [τοῦ δεῖνος], Μένεια Ζωπυρίωνος	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 238 f.
26	I.Kyme 82	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	[ - - ]	
27	I.Kyme 51	Namurt Limanı	Late Hellenistic	Ἄγριος	Peek 1979 = SEG 29, 1219; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 563 no.05/03/07
28	SEG 65, 1109	Samurlu	Late Hellenistic	Ἡγησώ Λυσανίου	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 50 no.4
29	SEG 33, 1042	Çakmaklı	Late Hellenistic	Καλλίνος Διονυσίου	Drew-Bear 1983, 93–101 no.3; Bousquet 1984, 157 no.I; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 565 no.05/03/10
30	SEG 65, 1110	Samurlu	Late Hellenistic	Πυρρίας, Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 51 no.6
31	SEG 26, 1301	Çakmaklı	Late Hellenistic	Τέλλω[ν]?	Drew-Bear 1975; Peek 1976, 91 f.; J. and L. Robert in: BE 1977, no.40; Drew-Bear 1980, 157–161 no.2 = SEG 31, 1053; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 564 no.05/03/09
32	SEG 33, 1044	Çakmaklı	Late Hellenistic – Early Imperial	Ὀλβία Νότου	Drew-Bear 1983, 90–93 no.2
33	SEG 65, 1111	Samurlu	(Late?) Hellenistic	Δ[ι]ονύσι[ος] Παισα[νίου]	Ürkmez – Adak 2015, 53 no.9
34	I.Kyme 46	Namurt Limanı	1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC – 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD	Δαμοδία Κράτητος	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 307); Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 560 no.05/03/03
35	I.Kyme 77	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic – Roman	Σαραπίων Διονυσοδώρου	
36	I.Kyme 80	Namurt Limanı	Roman	Χώταριον Ἱεροκλέους	Yenim – Petzl 1976 = SEG 26, 1326; Masson 1976
37	D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 241–244 no. 8	Namurt Limanı	Imperial	Ἀπφία	Manganaro 1993, 40 f. = SEG 47, 1665, 7; D'Antonio – Varotto 2017, 241–244
38	I.Kyme 59	Namurt Limanı	Imperial	Γεώργιος Ἑκατωκ[λ]έου	
39	I.Kyme 56	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Ἀσκληπιοδώρα Ἀπ[ολλ]---	
40	I.Kyme 58	Paşaçiftlik	Undated	Βουλομά[γα] Ἀθηναγ[όρα]	Masson 1984
41	SEG 29, 1221	Çakmaklı	Undated	Γνώμη Ζωσ[ίμου?]	Petzl – Pleket 1979, 73 n.3; J. and L. Robert, BE 1980, no.434
42	I.Kyme 60	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Γοργίας Δημητρίου	
43	I.Kyme 62	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Δημητρία [Φιλ]οξένου	
44	I.Kyme 65	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Διονύσιος (Δημητριεύς)	Picard – Plassart 1913, 181 no.13 b
45	I.Kyme 67	Namurt Limanı	Undated (2nd cent. BC?)	Εὐφροσύνη Διοδαΐκα	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 306)
46	I.Kyme 68	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Ἡροδότη Ἡρωΐδου, Ἡρωΐδ[ης] Μετροδ[ώρου]	
47	I.Kyme 70	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Ἰταλία Μόσχου, Λαΐς	
48	I.Kyme 72	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Μετρόδωρος Ἡρακλεοδώρου, Διογένους Διφίλου, Δημήτριος Ἀπολλᾶ	
49	I.Kyme 73	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Μηνᾶς Μηνογένους	
50	I.Kyme 75	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Πολυήρατος Δημητρίου	
51	I.Kyme 79	Namurt Limanı	Undated	Χιωνίδης Ἀδύμου	

## b. Inscribed Metal Plates from Kyme

No.	Main Reference	Chronology <sup>46</sup>	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
52	I.Kyme85	Hellenistic	Ἀλέξανδρος Κλεοφάνο(υ)	Joubin 1898, 59 no.425; Perdrizet 1902, 87 no.4; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 401)
53	Unpublished	Hellenistic	Ombrios son of Artemon	La Marca 2013, 311. 318 fig. 15

## c. Inscriptions on Stone of Uncertain Content

No.	Main Reference	Origin	Date	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
54	I.Kyme90	Namurt Limanı	Hellenistic	[- - -] [.]ος, Νεοφάνης, Ἡρακλεοδώρα	
55	I.Kyme91	Namurt Limanı	Roman	[- - - Μ]άρκου?	Picard – Plassart 1913, 181 no. 13a

<sup>46</sup> P. Perdrizet and M. Guarducci dated the Myrinaean plates to the 3rd or 2nd cent. BC according to palaeography (Perdrizet 1902, 87 f.; Guarducci 1974, 141).



## d. Inscriptions on Stone of Uncertain Provenance

No.	Main Reference	Origin	Date	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
56	SEG 66, 1317	Area of Menemen	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Φιττώ Δημητρίου	Selçuk 2016; Bru – Laflı 2016a, 107 no. 3
57	I.Kyme 54	Yenifoça	Hellenistic? (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	Ἄρις Λάριδος	Hodot 1990, 314 (KYM 301)
58	I.Kyme 64	Güzelhisar	Hellenistic? (2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC?)	Διονύσιος Ἀσλάπωνος	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 303)
59	I.Kyme 52	Unknown (now in Leiden)	Late Hellenistic (ca. 200 BC?)	Ἀμαλῶιχος Ἀστυκρίτου	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 302)
60	I.Kyme 50	Yenifoça	1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD	Τιμοκράτης	Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 563 no. 05/03/08
61	I.Kyme 48	Yenifoça	1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD?	Μενεκλῆς	Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 559 no. 05/03/02
62	I.Kyme 74	Yenifoça	Undated (after 212 AD?)	Αὐρηλία Πωλίττα, Αὐρήλιος Εὐτυχιανός, Αὐρήλιος Τρύφερος	
63	I.Kyme 53	Eski Foça	Undated	Ἀπελλῆς Μητροδώρου, Μητροδώρος Ἀπελλήους	
64	I.Kyme 55	Yenifoça	Undated	Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου	
65	I.Kyme 66	Yenifoça	Undated (2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC?)	Διονύσιος Ζευσιγένης	Hodot 1990, 315 (KYM 305)
66	I.Kyme 69	Aliağa	Undated (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	Θεόδοτος Ἀπολλωνίου	Plassart – Picard 1913, 182 no. 14; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 301)

e. Inscribed Metal Plates of Uncertain Provenance<sup>47</sup>

No.	Main Reference	Chronology <sup>48</sup>	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
67	I.Kyme 84	Hellenistic	Ἀντιγένης Ληναίω	Joubin 1898, 58 no. 422; Perdrizet 1902, 86 no. 1; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 402)
68	I.Kyme 86	Hellenistic	[Ἀσ]κληπιὸς Κλειτωνίδα	Joubin 1898, 59 no. 424; Perdrizet 1902, 86 no. 3; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 403)
69	I.Kyme 87	Hellenistic	Ἡρακλίδας Ἀθανάω	Joubin 1898, 59 no. 427; Perdrizet 1902, 87 no. 5; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 404)
70	I.Kyme 88	Hellenistic	Μνησίμαχος Δαμοφίλ[ω]	Joubin 1898, 59 no. 428; Perdrizet 1902, 87 no. 6; Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 405)

<sup>47</sup> In Joubin 1898, 58 f., where the plates were published for the first time, nothing is said about the origin of these items. The provenance from either Kyme or Pitane seems to be an inference of P. Perdrizet, who republished them about four years later (Perdrizet 1902).

<sup>48</sup> P. Perdrizet and M. Guarducci dated the Myrinaean plates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC according to palaeography (Perdrizet 1902, 87 f.; Guarducci 1974, 141).

## Appendix B

### The Funerary Inscriptions from Myrina

#### a. Catalogue of the Funerary Inscriptions on Stone from Myrina

No.	Main Reference	Chronology	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
1	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 20	Before 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	[Αρι]στούενης Βακχεῖος	Hodot 1990, 307 (MYR 302)
2	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 16	Before 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	Ἀριστοφάνης Μοιρέα	Hodot 1990, 307 (MYR 301)
3	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 28	Before 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	Διονυσόδωρος ([Θ]ηβαῖος?)	Hodot 1990, 307 (MYR 303)
4	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 44	Before 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC (3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC?)	Κάλλις or Καλλίς Θεοδότω	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 304)
5	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 43	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. BC	Ἰσόδιον Ἡροδότω	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 305)
6	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 3	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Ἀγλαοφῶν	Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 86 f. no. 142; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 566 no. 05/04/02
7	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 31	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC	Εἰσίας Μηνοφίλω	Holtzmann 1972, 92–94; Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 324)
8	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀβρώ Δαφναγόρα	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 310)
9	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀγίττα Διννύκα	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 308)
10	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 4	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀθαναγόρας Αμφικλείδα	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 331)
11	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 5	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀθάναος Ποσειδωνίω	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 326)
12	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 6	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀθηνάδης Ἀνχία	
13	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 7	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀθήναιος	
14	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 8	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Αἰσχυλὶς Ἀσκληπιάδεος	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 330)
15	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 9	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀντίπατρος Μηνοδώρω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 311)
16	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 10	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀπελλῆς Σατύρου	Picard – Plassart 1913, 181 no. 13 c
17	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 11	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀπολλωνί[- -] Ἀθηναίου	
18	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 12	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀρισστράχα	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 309)
19	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 15	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀριστόδικος Ἀριστοδίκω (φύσει Διονυσίω τῷ Ἡράω)	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 312)
20	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 17	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀρτεμιδώρα Μενοφίλου	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 313)
21	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 18	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀρτεμισία Διαφένου	
22	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 14	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀρ[- -]στ[- -]	
23	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 19	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἀσκληπίων Πύθεος (?) Λευκαίω	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 306)
24	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 21	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Βάκχιος Σεύθου	
25	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 22	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Βόα Ἑρμοκράτου	
26	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 23	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Δημητρία Πλεισθάρχου	Plassart – Picard 1913, 181 no. 13 d
27	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 24	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Δημήτριος Ἀπολλᾶ	
28	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 26	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Διννύκας Τηλεφάνου	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 315)
29	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 27	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Διονυσία Εἰρηναίω	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 321)
30	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 29	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Διονυσόδωρος Ἀθανάω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 332)
31	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 30	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Διόνυσοςδ[- -] Μενάνδρω	Plassart – Picard 1913, 181 f. no. 13 e; Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 316)
32	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 32	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἑρμαῖος Κέρδωνος	
33	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 33	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἑρμᾶς Γρύνεως	

No.	Main Reference	Chronology	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
34	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 34	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Εὐθυμία	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 322)
35	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 36	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ζηνᾶς Ἑρμεία	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 338)
36	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 37	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἡδίστη Μηνοδώρου	
37	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 35	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἡραῖος	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 327)
38	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 38	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ἡράκων Α[- - -], Μένισκος [- - -], Διονύσιος Μη[- - -]	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 333)
39	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 40	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Θεόδωρος Ἀμφίτα	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 336)
40	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 41	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Θεόξενος Πυλάδου (Κνίδιος)	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 319)
41	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 42	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Θεοφίλα Ἀγελόχω	
42	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 45	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Καλλισθένης Ἀσκαπίωνος	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 334)
43	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 46	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Κλευπάτρα	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 307); Masson 1997, 69
44	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 47	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Μεγίστα	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 323)
45	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 49	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Νεικασίς Θεωφίλω	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 329)
46	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 50	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Νίκανδρος Μοιραγένου	
47	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 52	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Νικάνωρ Μάτρωνος	
48	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 53	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Νικόδημος Θεοδώρῳ Ἀδύβιος	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 339)
49	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 54	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[Π]ρῆξις (or Νινεῖς: Pottier – Reinach) Ὀλύμπου, Μητροφίλη Τιμοδάμου, Τιμόδαμος Ἴθυσος (or Φίθυσος: Pot- tier – Reinach)	Plassart – Picard 1913, 181 no. 13 d; 182 no. 13 f
50	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 56	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Στράτων Φιλοξένου	
51	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 57	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Σωστράτα Κλιτόφ[ωντ]ος	Hodot 1990, 98, 310 (MYR 335)
52	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 58	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Σωσὼ Ἀντιγόνω	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 317)
53	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 59	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Τίμα Θεοδότῳ	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 337)
54	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 61	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[Φιλ]ήμων [Ἀμφι(?)]λόχῳ	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 318)
55	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 50	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Φουριανή	
56	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 55	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[- - -]Ἰμα Οὐαριδία Στεφάνου	
57	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 13	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[- - -]Ἀρίστα Ἀπολλωνίδα	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 320)
58	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 62	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	Ι[- - -]νου	
59	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 39	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[- - -] Ἡράκωνος	
60	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 48	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[- - - Μ]ητροδώρου	
61	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 63	2 <sup>nd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC	[- - -]	Hodot 1990, 317 (EOL 304)
62	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 25	Roman	Δικῆρχις Ἀθανίω, Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπολλωνίω	Hodot 1990, 308 (MYR 314)
63	Myr. Inscr. Cat. 60	Roman	[- - -]μάγορος or [- - -]μαγόρας [- - -] λλαίου, [Ζ]ώϊλος Τιμο[κρ]άτους	
64	Reinach 1888, 384 no. 1	Undated (ca. 200 BC?)	Ἡραίς	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 328)
65	Reinach 1888, 384 no. 2	Undated (2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. BC?)	Ἡραῖος Διοφάντου	Hodot 1990, 309 (MYR 325)
66	I.Kyme 63	Undated	Δημήτριος Βαρδίλεως	
67	Unpublished	Undated	Unknown	Çekilmez 2018, 200. 203
68?	Unpublished	Undated	Unknown	Çekilmez 2018, 200. 203



## b. Names of Deceased on Ceramic Artefacts from Myrina

No.	Main Reference	Chronology	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
69	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.) 238	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Ἀντίπατρος	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 195f.
70	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.) 239	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Ἀριάδνη	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 195f. n. 1
71	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.) 240	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Ἀρτέμωνι	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 195f.
72	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.) 241	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Διοκλῆς	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 195f.
73	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 241	Undated (Hellenistic?)	Ἰέρ[ω]ν Διοφαν[- - -]	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 83 no. 1
74	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 230f.	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Νύση	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 589 no. 590
75	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Clay Figur.) 242	Undated (Late Hellenistic?)	Χρυσ[- - -]	Pottier – Reinach 1887, 195f.

## c. Catalogue of the Names on Metal Plates from Myrina

No.	Main Reference	Chronology <sup>49</sup>	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
76	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 1	Hellenistic	Ἀθάναιος Διαγόρα	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.1)
77	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 2	Hellenistic	Ἀθανόδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.2)
78	Reinach 1888, 383–384	Hellenistic	Ἀναξίγνης Καίκω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.3)
79	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 3	Hellenistic	[Α]πέλλης Ἀθαναίω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.4)
80	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 4	Hellenistic	[Α]πελ[- - -] Ἡρακλείδα	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.5)
81	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 5	Hellenistic	Ἀπολλώνιος Κλέωνος	
82	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 6	Hellenistic	[Α]πολλώνιος Φιλοξένω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.6)
83	Dain 1933, 54 no. 47	Hellenistic	Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μενοφίλω, νεώτερος	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.7)
84	Dain 1933, 53 no. 45	Hellenistic	Ἀσκληπιάδης Στράτωνος	
85	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 8	Hellenistic	Δαμαν[- - -] Ἀπολλοῖ[- - -]	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.8)
86	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 9	Hellenistic	Διόδωρος Ποσειδίππω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.9)
87	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 10	Hellenistic	[- - -] αος [- - -] νώτω, Διονυσ[- - -] Ἡραίω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.10)
88	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 11	Hellenistic	Διονυ[- - -] Ἡραις [- - -]	
89	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 12	Hellenistic	Εἰκάδιος Ἀπολλωνίω	Dain 1933, 52f. no. 44; Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.11); Masson 1997, 71
90	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 13	Hellenistic	Εὐδαμος Ἀπολλωνίω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.12)
91	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 14	Hellenistic	Ἡροφάνης Ἀπολλοδώρω	Hodot 1990, 310 (MYR 401.13)
92	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 15	Hellenistic	Θεόδωρος Δαμάνθω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.17)
93	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 16	Hellenistic	Κριτόβουλος Ἀπολλωνίδου	
94	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 17	Hellenistic	Λευκαῖος Ἡροδότω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.14)
95	Dain 1933, 52	Hellenistic	Μαλούσιος Ἀνία	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 27. 29; Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.21)
96	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 18	Hellenistic	Μάτρων Χαιρέα	Dain 1933, 52 no. 43; Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.15)
97	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 19	Hellenistic	Μέδων Πύρρου	
98	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 20	Hellenistic	Μενιππ[- - -] Ματ[- - -]	
99	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 21	Hellenistic	Μη[- - -]ιοχος Πολ[- - -]υνικο	
100	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 23	Hellenistic	Πεισίας Δωροθέω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.16)

<sup>49</sup> P. Perdrizet and M. Guarducci dated the Myrinaean plates to the 3rd or 2nd cent. BC according to palaeography (Perdrizet 1902, 87 f.; Guarducci 1974, 141).

No.	Main Reference	Chronology	Deceased's Name(s)	Selected References
101	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 24	Hellenistic	Σωσίβιος Ποτάμωνος	
102	Dain 1933, 53 f. no. 46	Hellenistic	Χαιρή [μονος]	
103	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 26	Hellenistic	[- - -].έας [- - -]α	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.20)
104	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 22	Hellenistic	[- - -]Ρ[- - -]ΙΩ Ἀπ[- - -]λλεος	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.22)
105	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 7	Hellenistic	[- - -]ρίδας [- - -]υθεω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.18)
106	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 25	Hellenistic	[- - -]ξενος [- - -]λλω	Hodot 1990, 311 (MYR 401.19)
107	Myr. Inscr. Cat. (Plates) 28	Hellenistic	[- - -]ωνος	