Burying a sage: the heroon of Thales in the agora of Miletos
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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the heroon of Thales in the agora of Miletos, so far only literarily attested (§§ IV, VII). The sage was worshiped as secondary founder, having the status of a ‘cultural hero’, an age-old Indo-European concept. Graves of founders are typically placed on the agora (§ V), but not those of the mythical founders of Miletos, Asterios, Miletos and Kelados or Ionian Neileos (§ VI). Of the intramural heroa excavated in Miletos none can claim to be that of Thales: Neither ‘Heroon I (the grave of the Macedonian general Dokimos?), II and III’ (§ I), nor the ‘Ehrengrab’ in the courtyard of the Hellenistic bouleuterion, which is most likely an altar (§ II). Instead, a thesauros in the assembly hall may have served as a heroon (§ III), and the philosopher Anaximander may also have received cult in the bouleuterion (§ VIII). Finally, a chamber tomb slightly west of the bouleuterion is discussed (§ IX). At the end some general remarks on Greek hero cults are added, stressing the common concept of the immortal divine soul, again an Indo-European heritage, manifest for example in the apotheosis of the Hittite kings as well as that of the Roman emperors (§ X).

* Countless thanks go to Olivier Henry for having organized the conference, giving me many advices, being a perfect host and staying so patient with authors who need more time to finish their articles.

This piece is devoted to the memory of my grandaunt Josefine Schmitz, teacher and friend, who always encouraged me to study archaeology and history and ask what’s behind human beliefs and knowledge. It was written in the inspiring atmosphere of the library of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens to whose always helpful staff, Soi Agelidis, Christina Zoiga and Katharina Brandt, are addressed my warmest thanks. The English was corrected by Robert Hahn, of whose keen insight into early Ionian philosophy I profit a lot. The figures were improved with the ingenious skills of Stefan Gräbener.

Summary

The ancient Greek city of Miletos on the western coast of Asia Minor was famous for her philosophers. The first and most famous of them was Thales, who – according to the common tradition starting in the 6th century BC – even won the Panhellenic contest of the Seven Sages. His grave is only known from literary sources, describing its location, appearance and inscriptions (§§ IV, VII). Nevertheless, recent research has revealed new data on the geoarchaeology and townplanning of Miletos that provokes a first attempt to locate and reconstruct the grave. The myth goes that Thales, who died in the mid 6th century BC, himself choose the place. Later on, it happened that his grave became located in the agora (Plutarch, Solon 12). In ancient times, this prominent place was reserved for the heroes kistites, the heroic founder of a city, as Pindar (Pythian 5.93) has pointed it out for Battos in Kyrene. It is argued that Thales was indeed venerated as a kind of secondary founder in the sense that he achieved the status of a ‘cultural hero’, a concept long-established in the Indo-European tradition. His heroon is expected to be found somewhere in the area of the so-called North Market, the political agora of Miletos, which was included in the 6th century BC public building programme. The whole northern city-half around the Lion Harbour and the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios was re-organized in an orthogonal street-insula-grid. It is tempting to suppose that Thales himself took part in its planning. After all is he the archetype for the geometer Meton in Aristophanes Birds of 414 BC, who creates ‘Cloudcuckouville’, the phantastic new town of the birds in the sky, round in shape with an inscribed square and an agora in the centre, reachable via radiating streets; Aristophanes lampoons Meton as taking the set square and squaring the circle! The response is that this man is a veritable Thales! Later in the 4th century BC an honorary statue may have been added to the heroon of Thales, of which a copy of the head may have survived on the famous double herm with Bias in the Vatican. The inscription, cited by Diogenes Laertius (1.34), stresses Miletos’ claim for being the “ornament of Ionia” (Herodotus 5.28), offering its ‘crown jewel’, Thales, to the goddess of wisdom, Sophia.

An extra chapter is devoted to the graves of founders (heroes ktistai) on Greek agora (§ V). The examples of Battos in Kyrene, Pammilos and Euthydamos in Selinous, and Aratus in Sikyon show that the grave of a city founder, as well as that of other kinds of heroes, was exempted from the idea of ritual pollution (mysos, miasma). Instead it counted for being katharos, “pure”, or an asbema, an “impious”, “profane” location and equally the festivities for founders are designated as hosia, “profane”, meaning that they were not forbidden by divine, and in consequence, by human law. Also evident from these examples is the connection of ancestor cult to hero cult: in Kyrene as well as in Selinous and perhaps also in Athens, the cult of the founders is tied to the cult of the anonymous, collective ancestors of the polis, the Tritopatores.

Looking aside, the intra-mural heroa excavated so far in Miletos, ‘Heroon I, II and III’, are briefly analysed (§ I). A special focus lies also on the Hellenistic bouleuterion. It included the ‘Ehrengrab’ in its courtyard (§ II), an underground chamber in its assembly hall (§ III), and an Archaic votive statue of one Anaximander, presumably the pupil of Thales (§ VIII). Finally, a subterranean chamber tomb slightly west of the bouleuterion is discussed (§ IX). None of these can claim to be the heroon of Thales, which has yet to be found. ‘Heroon I’ is a Macedonian chamber tomb in its earliest phase and likely the grave of the Antigonid general Dokimos and his family, who had reinstated Miletos’ autonomy and democracy in 312 BC, and after whom the close by Lion Harbour got the name ‘Harbour of Dokimos’. The Hellenistic-Roman ‘Heroon II’ is situated close to the largest gymnasium of Miletos, where a famous Milesian athlete may be the owner. We know for example of a certain Antenor, Olympic champion of 208 BC in pankration, who got a heroon in the middle of the gymnasium of the neoi. 2nd/3rd century AD ‘Heroon III’ also lacks clear epigraphical evidence of an owner. Its Classical-Hellenistic forerunner seems to have been the club-house of a religious association for Apollo Didymeus.

A critical amendment of the Augustan so-called Ehrengrab in the courtyard of the bouleuterion reveals the first interpretation by excavator Th. Wiegand as an altar of Artemis Boulaia the most likely. Artemis will have been joined by Apollo Didymeus and Zeus Boulaios. The typological proximity to the Ara Pacis Augusti in Rome as well as the presence of two Imperial priests in the honorary inscriptions on the bouleuterion walls...
indicate that the altar also served the Imperial cult. According to the situation in Athens, Augustus will have been paired with Zeus Boulaioi, while Livia equated Artemis Boulaia. The priests, Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son, Gaius Iulius Epikrates, stemming from one of the first families of Miletos with close contacts to the Iulii since Caesar’s times, are honored as heroes in the wall inscriptions. It is proposed that an underground chamber in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall, originally a thesauros, served as their heroon. The situation is compared with the former city thesauros in the agora of Messene, which was transformed in a heroon of Philopoimen, after he had been locked and died within it.

Another find in the bouleuterion is an Archaic female statue, dedicated by one Anaximander. Having in mind the importance of bouleuteria for the self-conception of Greek cities and the fact that they often serve as location of hero cults, as well as the role Anaximander played as Thale’s closest pupil and figurehead of the Milesian school of philosophers, we may assume a hero cult of Anaximander in the Hellenistic bouleuterion. Comparable to this situation is the location of the heroon of the sage Bias in the Prytaneion of Priene.

The subterranean chamber, recently suggested to be the Archaic grave of some Milesian founder and located in the assumed agora of that time, is neither Archaic, nor located in the agora (§ IX). Instead, the chamber is dated Hellenistic and overbuilt by a house complex, presumably the local of a burial- and cult-assocation. Such associations are attested in several Hellenistic inscriptions from the necropoleis of Miletos as well as from the city itself. They are called temenitai or temenizontes and were, at least partly, non-citizens, metoikoi.

The graves of the mythical founders of Miletos are also discussed (§ VI). Only that of Minoan Miletos was located within the city, though its exact place is unknown. In contrast is the grave of indigenous giant Asterios to be found on an island called ‘Asteria’ north of Miletos, while Kelados, the son of Miletos, is most likely an immortal river god without a grave, having his sanctuary at the processional road to Didyma. The grave of Ionian Neileos was shown outside the city walls, close to the ‘Sacred Gate’. Its position in the necropolis can best be explained by assuming an old family grave of the Neileidai, the descendants of Neileos. A late Hellenistic monumental marble cuirass may be ascribed to this heroon, while a statue of Neileos stood in the agora in front of the bouleuterion.

At the end of this paper, some general remarks on Greek hero cults are added (§ X). To my mind essential is the origin in the Indo-European believe of the immortal, divine soul, connecting the humans with their gods. By means of the separating and purifying ritual of cremation, the soul of the heroes could get in direct contact with the gods after apotheosis, and join them on Olympus like Herakles did, or being visited in the Elysion resp. ‘island of the Blessed’ like Achilles or the Pythagorean or Bacchic-Orphic Mystai. The re-unification with the gods, reconstructing the very beginning of the cosmic order, when gods and humankind lived together in the ‘Golden Age’, can be seen as main aim of this eschatological believe. We therefore find impressive correlations with the apotheosis of Imperial Hittite and Roman funeral rituals. In both latter cases the aspect of the divine souls as ‘minor gods’, interacting with the living people by protecting them and garanty their reproduction, becomes clearer. Therefore the cult of the dead ancestors cannot be separated from the cult of the heroes, both are aspects of the same phenomenon. This becomes most evident, when something new is created: the cult of the founder, the heros ktistes of a Greek polis state, is commonly combined with the cult of the Tritopatores, the anonymous, collective ancestors of the polis.

Of course the belief in the immortal divine soul was always doubted by clever people. Aristophanes in his comedy Birds was one of them, Seneca in his satire Apocolocyntosis another.

I. The heroa in the city, other than that of Thales

The extramural necropoleis of Miletos have been the subject of different recent studies, including the, so far, unpublished PhD-thesis of Elke Forbeck, the edition of the grave inscriptions within the corpus of the Milesian inscriptions by Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther and Norbert Ehrhardt, and an upcoming article of Kaja Harter-Uibopuu and Karin Wiedergut on the measures to protect the graves in Roman Imperial times. However, it was never

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Fig. 1: City map with location of Milesian herae: Heroon I (1), Heroon II (2), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrengrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the bouleuterion (5), subterranean chamber west of the bouleuterion (6), statue basis of Neileos in front of nymphaeum (7), grave of Neileos at Sacred Gate (8, exact location unknown), heroon of Thales (9, exact location unknown), heroon of Miletos (10, exact location unknown) (drawing author after Weber 2007, Beilage 3).

Fig. 2: City center of Miletos with location of Heroon I (1), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrengrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the bouleuterion (5), subterranean chamber west of the bouleuterion (6), statue basis of Neileos in front of nymphaeum (7), heroon of Thales (9, exact location unknown) (drawing author after Weber 2007, 352 fig. 17).
attempted to give a complete overview over the many intramural heroa, the excavations and studies in Miletos have revealed in the last 113 years of research.

Before I deal with the intramural grave of Thales in Miletos, let me therefore start with some other graves within this city which are much better known and which have the great advantage that we know at least how they looked like. I refer to the so-called Heroa I, II and III, as well as to the so-called ‘Ehrengrab’ in the Hellenistic bouleuterion (see § II), and the underground chamber in the assembly hall of the bouleuterion (see § III). They are all located around the city center (figs. 1-2).

**Heroon I (figs. 3-5, 11)**

Heroon I is located on the slope east of the theatre and covers a whole insula of the street-insula-grid. This insula is not as long as the other insulae: in the North and South it measures 33.90 m instead of c. 52 m, while the West-East width of 28.20 m is regular (fig. 2, 1). Perhaps the stripe of shorter insulae was originally left free from buildings, connecting the northern agora and the Delphinion with the area of the prominent Theatre Hill top, where we have to assume a fortress (phrourion) since at least Classical times (see below). This open space also helped to mediate between the street-insula-grid systems west of the agora, possibly determined by the position of the sanctuary of

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2 The most recent and complete is Schörner 2007 on Heroa I, II and III (see § I) and the Ehrengrab in the court of the Hellenistic bouleuterion (see § II). But missing are the heroa of Thales (see §§ IV, VII), the underground chamber in the assembly hall of the Hellenistic bouleuterion (see § III), Anaximander in the bouleuterion (see § VIII), and the subterranean chamber tomb west of the bouleuterion (see § IX).

3 German excavations in Miletos started in 1899. Let us hope that they can be continued in an intelligent collaboration with our Turkish hosts and international colleagues!

4 Kleiner 1968, 129-131 figs. 96-98; Schörner 2007, 237 f. A16 figs. 86-94. The reconstructions of Kleiner 1968, 130 fig. 97; Müller-Wiener, MDAI(I) 35, 1985, 19 fig. 1 (= here fig. 3); Kader 1995, 227 figs. 3, 6 and Schörner 2007, figs. 87-88 are incorrect as the row of chambers in the west is not part of the Heroon-I-insula but part of the next insula to the West and devided from it by a 4 m broad North-South-street: see Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.

5 Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.
Dionysos⁶, and that of the city districts north of Dionysos, on the Kale Tepe (Theatre Hill) and the Humei Tepe, defined by the Delphinion-insula⁷.

Heroon I consists of a tumulus of pebble stones, c. 15 m in diameter, covering a vaulted dromos and chamber, made of marble ashlar blocks. The chamber has a central sunken cavern of square form, covered by a slab. Five additional loculi are integrated into its back wall, signalling a multiple burial. The tumulus is surrounded by an open-court with a row of chambers to the lower eastern street, where the entrance was also located. The masonry as well as few finds speak for a Hellenistic date of the grave, which still awaits a proper investigation⁸.

When this publication will appear. The loculi were already robbed when excavated, but in the central cavern in the floor were found several bones, a well preserved skull, a silver ring, a golden sheet, glass paste and a bone plaque with an ionic capital scratched in (part of a furniture, e.g. a kline?): Schörner 2007, 237 f. These finds may belong to the original burial of Heroon I and were put here when the chamber was additionally furnished with the loculi.

Fig. 6: Heroon II. Roman phase with podium temple on top of the Hellenistic chamber tomb. Reconstruction of longitudinal section, view to E (from Weber 2004, 69 fig. 59).

Heroon II (figs. 6-8)

Heroon II was situated in the extrem Northwest of the city, north of the so-called West Market, on a small hill above the sea. It lies close to the city-wall, which surrounds it on three sides. The vaulted grave chamber was originally approachable from the south and may date to the Hellenistic period. In the time of Trajan or Hadrian, this entrance was closed and a templum in antis in Ionic order was built on top, this time oriented to the north. This podium temple, decorated with a frieze of Erotes, had a staircase in the northeast corner of the cela, leading down into the grave chamber⁹.
beginning 3rd century AD. Fragments of a second sarcophagus speak for a secondary burial in the central cella\textsuperscript{11}.

There are commonalities with all three Heroa: We do not know for whom they were built as there are missing significant inscriptions found in them, except from the grave stele of Antigona in Heroon I (fig. 11, see below). The grave epigram of a certain Aristeas, son of Aristeas, who was honoured by the Milesian demos in the late 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC with the manufacture of golden kolossoi (cult statuettes/‘Voodoo Dolls’/magic images)\textsuperscript{12} and a grave within his hometown, was found reused in the Late Roman city-wall and cannot be attributed to any of the known intramural graves in Miletos\textsuperscript{13}.

At least the dating and type give some clue for Heroon I, which is, according to Hans von Mangoldt, a typical Macedonian chamber tomb of the late 4\textsuperscript{th} or early 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC\textsuperscript{14}. Gerhard Kleiner was right when he supposed in 1968, that the grave was related to the Macedonian occupation after the conquest of Miletus by Alexander the Great in 334/33 BC: Convincingly, he located the fortress (φρούριον), the Persian satrap Tissaphernes had

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\textsuperscript{12} Herrmann 1998, 68 f. no. 735.3 f. ὁ χρυσοσκευασμένος κολοσσός ἔμεινε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ. The term kolossoi does not mean ‘colossi’, ‘large statues’ here (so Herrmann 1998, 68 f., who translates: “der durch goldene Kolosse geehrt wurde”), but small figurines, used as cult statues or ‘Voodoo Dolls’, where the soul of the dead hero (or an evil daemon) could settle during the rituals, e.g. a theoxenia or a purificatory magic. Cf. the famous sacred law from Kyrene: Burkert 1984, 69 with n. 69; Faraone 1992, 82-84; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 494-505, no. 97 ll. B 111-121: two small figurines, a male and a female, made of wood or clay and named kolossoi, first receive “hospitality and a portion from everything” (κοιμηθεὶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) and are afterwards deposited in an “unworked wood”, together with the offerings (ἵπποι αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς κοιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὰ μένη). This magic serves to heal a house from a “hostile visitant” (ἰέσως ἐπιστούς), the bad spirit of a dead person; cf. Ogden 2002, 163 f. no. 124; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 505 on § 18. Also, in the oath of the founders of Kyrene, a figurine, labeled kolossoi and made of wax, is burnt: Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 59, § 5 II. 44 f.; Burkert 1984, 68 with n. 29. On kolossoi as Voodoo Dolls/magic images see: Ogden 2002, 245-260.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. Herrmann 1998, 68 f. in his commentary: “aber die Zuweisung einer der drei aufgedeckten derartigen Anlagen (…) an ihn wird kaum möglich sein”; see also Herrmann 1995, 194.
\textsuperscript{14} von Mangoldt 2012, 357-359 (“B 190. Milet I”), pls. 138.6-8. The original location of the 3\textsuperscript{rd}/2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC amphiphyllic grave stele of Antigona, daughter of Pamphilos (fig. 11), which was found in the area of Heroon I (Herrmann 1998, § 5 no. 421), is uncertain: Graeve 1986, 8 f.; Schörner 2007, 237 figs. 93 f.; but to me its affiliation to Heroon I seems highly reasonable. I will refer to this matter in a separate publication; see also below.
Looking for a candidate, Asandros is hardly a hot one: He had ruled Karia autocratically and when in 312 he was disposed by Antigonos Monophthalmos, Miletos celebrated the Antigonid as ‘liberator’, who re-installed democracy. Actually it was not Antigonos, but his two generals, Medios and Dokimos, who freed the city. While Medios attacked Asandros and his forces by sea, Dokimos did so by land. He invaded the city, ‘summoned the citizens to freedom and after taking by storm the fortified hill (φυσσωμμένη ἁρμα), restored the constitution to autonomy’. In the eyes of the Milesians this deed was definitively worth an intramural hero cult, and more exactly: a founder cult. One only has to think of Spartan general built in Miletos in 412, on the Theatre Hill, protecting the Lion and Theatre Harbours, seat of the Persian fleet. In consequence, Kleiner equated this fortress with the “fortified hill” (φυσσωμμένη ἁρμα), Asandros, installed by Alexander as satrap of Karia c. 324/23 BC, held when he was eponymous aisymnetes of the city in 313/12 BC. The strategical importance of the site is still manifest in todays Byzantine-Turkish castle, which also supplied the name Palatia-Balat for medieval and modern Miletos. Taking into consideration the alleged proximity between fortress and Heroon I, Kleiner finally attributed the grave to one of the Macedonian phrourarchs.

15 Thucydides 8.84–85 (Tissaphernes’ φροίσεως); Diodorus 18.3.1 (Asandros as satrap); cf. Marcellesi 2004, 76-81. Asandros as eponymous: cf. A. Rehm in Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 258, no. 122.II 101 Αυσινδρος Ἀγιθδύμης; for the corrected dating in 313/2 BC see Herrmann 1997, 166 on nos. 122 and 123; for Asandros see also Badian 1997; Descat 2010, 139 f., 141 f. Diodorus 19.75 (φυσσωμμένη ἁρμα of Asandros); cf. Kleiner 1968, 17 f., 27, 129.

16 Another (less probable) candidate could be Philoxenos, who was the first Macedonian satrap of Karia after the death of the last Hecatomnid, Ada, daughter of Maussollos. Philoxenos immediately preceded Asandros, but the existing sources do not mention his presence in Miletos: Aristotle, Oikonomia 2.31; for Philoxenos see now Descat 2010, 139 f., 143. The strategically important harbour town changed its owner more often: In 302 BC it came under the control of Lysimachos, in 295/94 Demetrios Poliorketes was eponymous. Antigonids, Seleukids and Ptolemies, all struggled for Karia in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC, a lot of opportunities for a Macedonian to die in Miletos; cf. Kleiner 1968, 17-19; Marcellesi 2004, 72-88.

17 See the prescript of the second preserved eponymic list of Miletos, starting with the year of liberation by Antigonos, A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 241 f., 259 f., no. 123.1-4 ἀπο τοῦτο οἱ πάλαι ἐλευθερίαι καὶ αὐτόνομας ἑγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη.

18 Diodorus 19.75-3:4: tois τε πολίταις ἐκάλουν ἐπί τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ φυσσωμμένην ἁρμαιν ἐπολεμοχθέειται εἰς αὐτόνομα ᾅποκείστηκαν τὸ πολέμημα.
Brasidas, who had conquered Athenian Amphipolis. When he in 422 BC died in a battle where he successfully repelled the counter attack, he got a founder cult in the agora\textsuperscript{19}. The alleged founder cult of Dokimos in Heroon I, close to the castle he had conquered, finds another strong argument in the fact that the ancient name of the Lion Harbour, which is commanded by castle and grave, is ‘Harbour of Dokimos’. Mid-1\textsuperscript{st} century AD love novelist Chariton of Aphrodisias has his heroine Kallirhoë in late 5\textsuperscript{th} century BC (anachronistically) landing in ὁ λιμὴν ὁ Δοκίμου λεγόμενος, “the harbour called that of Dokimos”. The whole Milesian people is at present, cheering. No other harbour than the Lion Harbour comes into consideration for such a representative event. The circle of arguments is closed by the observation that Kallirhoë’s father, the famous Syracusan general Hermocrates, who had repelled Athens’ attack on his hometown in 413 BC, in 411 conquered the very castle of Tissaphernes above the Lion Harbour, Dokimos one hundred years later should also take\textsuperscript{20}.

\textsuperscript{19} Thucydides 5.11; see below § V.
\textsuperscript{20} Thucydides 8.84.5; Chariton, Chaireas and Kallirhoë 3.2.10–17; cf. Jones 1992, 101 (Lion Harbour is Harbour of Dokimos); on the Lion Harbour and Heroon I as heroon of Dokimos see A. Herda in: Brückner et al. forthcoming, § 3.1.

Another detail supports our reconstruction: if we assume Heroon I to be erected for the Macedonian general Dokimos, why do we find not only a central burial in the floor of the chamber, but also five loculi in its back wall (fig. 5)? This clearly hints at a multiple burial, typical for a family grave\textsuperscript{21}. Either Heroon I was from the beginning planned as family grave, or there was a single grave in the tumulus chamber, later transformed into a multiple burial by adding the loculi in the chamber and the rooms around the tumulus. In regard to the archaeological and prosopographical evidence, the latter solution seems the most likely to me. The existence of descendants of Dokimos, using Heroon I as their family grave, can be backed by the observation that several persons of this name held the office of eponymous aisymnetes in 69/68, 55/54 and 54/53 BC, suggesting the high social rank of his family still in Late Hellenistic Miletos, when the grave saw substantial rebuilding. Another, 3\textsuperscript{rd}/2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC family member will have been Antigona, whose exceptional amphiblyphic grave stele was found in Heroon I (fig. 11). Her name, new in Miletos, is clearly a Macedonian dynastic name and refers to Antigonos, the lord of her assumed

\textsuperscript{21} Kader 1995, 209-211; Berns 2003, 16 f.
ancestor Dokimos. Similarly does the special type of her grave stele hint at Macedonia22. Heron II may have been another intramural ‘Macedonian’ chamber tomb in its first phase23. The Roman temple on top can signal a transformation into a sanctuary, but again we have no clear clue for its function. It may also have been still an intramural heroon in its second usage24. At least its location on top of a small hill only 10 m north of the Hellenistic ‘West Market’ may give a hint at its designation: the West Market is actually not a market but a double xystos (roofed race course of one stadium length) and as such part of the largest gymnasia complex in Mileto, most probably the gymnasia of the neoī, the ‘new’ citizens. Located west of the late Classical stadium, it was enlarged by Eumenes II of Pergamon before 167 BC, presumably by donating the xystos25. Because of this spatial closeness, the owner of Heroon II is likely to be somehow connected to the gymnasia of the neoī. So, Antenor, son of Xenares, a Milesian pankration victor at the 108th Olympic Games of 308 BC, who died ca. 250 BC, was honoured by the polis with an intramural grave for him and his progenies “in the middle of the gymnasia of the neoī”. The position of his heroon is mentioned in an inscription of one of his descendants of the early 1st century AD, a certain Eudemos, son of Leon. He proudly lists his ancestors, leading back to Antenor26. May Heroon II be the grave of Antenor and his family, or of another famous Milesian sportsman? Heroon III is clearly a Roman intramural heroon. But the name of its owner is unknown. The only inscription found is the dedication of an altar to the “Goddesses of Good Hope” (Ἐλπίδες Ἀγαθῳᾶ), dating to around 200 AD27. They also had a cult in Didyma at the same time. Perhaps their Milesian cult was practised in one of the rooms in the northern or southern part of the insula-size building28. The preserved structures of Hellenistic and Classical times under Heroon III, including marble architecture and wall paintings with griffons and a tripod, as well as high amounts of tableware, suggests a cultic function, perhaps as a club-house of a religious association for Apollo as well as some other gods. This club-house had then been transformed into a heroon in the second century AD29.
II. The ‘Ehrengrab’ in the courtyard of the Hellenistic bouleuterion: an altar for Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaiia and Zeus Boulaios, as well as for Livia and Augustus?

Before I finally move to Thales, I should also mention a structure in the inner court (peristyle) of the Hellenistic bouleuterion. It is a square shaped structure of 7 to 9 m decorated with a girlland-frieze with bull skulls and lion heads as well as a second frieze with mythological scenes, most probably of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as well as some other local gods (figs. 12-14). The style of the sculptures as well as the architectural ornaments suggest a dating in the early 1st century AD. Because of fragments of sarcophagi found close by, the monument was interpreted as ‘Ehrengrab’, heroon. Louis Robert and Peter Herrmann additionally took into account decrees of Augustean times on the walls of the bouleuterion peristyle, mentioning the Milesian citizens Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son Gaius Iulius Epikrates. Both were honoured by the people of Miletos as “heroes”.

Following this line, the ‘Ehrengrab’ has in recent years been interpreted as grave of a Milesian citizen who had been venerated as a kind of νέος κτίτορος, “new founder”.

But already in 1975, Klaus Tuchelt stressed that the fragments of sarcophagi, found in the peristyle,
should not be attributed to the ‘Ehrengrab’. It is even uncertain if they formed an original part of the bouleuterion’s inventory. Instead it is reasonable that they were brought there from outside at a later date, probably in the early Byzantine period34. Tuchelt has also convincingly argued for a roofless, hypaethral construction of the ‘Ehrengrab’. According to him, this strongly speaks for the interpretation as a monumental altar of a type, common in Ionia since the late Archaic period35. Taking into account inscriptions from the bouleuterion, honouring a priest of the Milesian cult of emperor Augustus, the very Gaius Iulius Epikrates, he proposed to identify the ‘Ehrengrab’ as an Ara Augusti, an altar for the living Augustus, comparing it to the famous predecessor, the Ara Pacis Augusti, in Rome, dedicated not to the living Augustus but to the peace he brought, on 1st of September 9 BC.36

While Tuchelt’s hypaethral reconstruction of the building and its interpretation as an altar is absolutely convincing37, his attribution to the cult of Augustus is not so compelling: There are no inscriptions from the bouleuterion, which directly testify to the cult of Augustus within the bouleuterion38. This lack of evidence led Tuchelt to modify his attribution. In 1981 he proposed the altar to be not for Augustus alone, but also for the other gods venerated in the bouleuterion, first of all Apollo Didymus and Hestia Boulai, who are mentioned in addition to the Milesian Demos in the dedicatory inscriptions on the propylon and the assembly hall39. This assumption makes perfect sense at least in the case of Apollo Didymus and leads us back to a proposal Theodor Wiegand had already made in 1901, when the ‘Ehrengrab’ had just been discovered. Before the heroon-theory succeeded and was promoted by the influential publication of Hubert Knackfuß in 190840, he came up with the idea of an altar for Artemis Boulai as a typical “Rathsgöttin”41. Wiegand backed up this idea with the observation that Artemis was, besides Apollo, also depicted three times in the relief frieze of the altar42. Strangely, he omitted the strongest argument of all: the attestation of a “lifelong” (Δια ζωής) priestess of Artemis Boulai in a contemporary early Imperial inscription from Miletos43. According

34 Cf. Tuchelt 1975, 97, 129 hints at 3rd century AD grave inscriptions found in the courtyard, which were brought there “erst in nachantiker Zeit”: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 122 nos. 28-30.
35 Tuchelt 1975, 128-140 figs. 12-13, 15 Beilage 12, pls. 21-30; cf. Köster 2004, 15 n. 108. Against a hypaethral reconstruction: Schörner 2007, 179 f. The two fragments, Schörner 2007, 180 n. 1562 is claiming for being part of the roof, are too small and were therefore more convincingly attributed to a sarcophagus lid by Knackfuß 1908, 78 f. fig. 88. Schollmeyer 2011, 20 seems to follow Tuchelt but reprints the wrong reconstruction of Knackfuß (ibid. 21 fig. 4), showing the ‘Ehrengrab’ with a flat roof.
36 So Tuchelt 1975, 97 f., 156 who deduces from the installation of Herrmann 1997, 156 nos. 4, 6-7 (List of donations inter alia of Gaius Iulius Epikrates for the temple of Augustus) on the inner side of the northern wall of the bouleuterion peristyle (no. 6) that the altar in the peristyle was for Augustus. He argued against C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 111 f., who instead located the two inscriptions on the outer northern side of the wall. Fredrich suspected the Sebasteion, mentioned in no. 7.8 18-20, in the area north of the bouleuterion. On the whole argumentation and its critics see Herrmann 1994, 229-234 who at least seems to follow Tuchelt in his conclusion that the Ehrengrab is an Ara Augusti. See also Herrmann 1998, 156 on no. 4. The Milesian Sebasteion for Augustus was most probably located in the temple of Apollo in Didyma, where Augustus was synnos theos, “a god sharing the temple” (with Apollo): Tuchelt 1975, 97 with n. 33; Günther 1989, 175 f.; sceptical: Herrmann 1989, 195 n. 24; indifferent: Herrmann 1998, 156.
37 See already Wiegand 1902, 151 fig. 9, and the reconstruction of H. Knackfuß ibid. 154 fig. 10.
38 The “Ehreninschrift für Kaiser Augustus”, said to have come from the bouleuterion (C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 107 no. 5 fig. 101) instead originates from the scena frons of the Milesian theatre and is a dedicatory inscription for emperor Nero: Herrmann 1998, 156 no. 5. C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 103-104 no. 4 (”Liste von Schenkungen und Vermächtnissen”), written on the outer antae of the propylon, was attributed by Fredrich to the Imperial cult, too. Again, this is only a hypothesis: Herrmann 1994, 230 n. 126; Herrmann 1998, 156 on no. 5. A small round altar of Augustus was found in the peristyle of the Baths of Capito: A. Rehm in: Herrmann 1997, 110, no. 335 (wrongly identified as basis of an Augustus-statue); cf. Herrmann 1997, 212 no. 335, pl. 23.3. It may have been originating from there, or more probably from the adjacent Delphinion.
39 Tuchelt 181, 180 Anm. 75; cf. Herrmann 1994, 229 n. 120; Schollmeyer 2011, 20 n. 189. The dedicatory inscription of c. 175-163 BC is placed on the bouleuterion twice (on the epistle of the assembly hall and the architrave of the propylon): Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 95-99; C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 100 nos. 1-2; Herrmann 1997, 155 nos. 12; Schollmeyer 1998, 156 no. 5. C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 103-104 no. 4 (“Liste von Schenkungen und Vermächtnissen”), written on the outer antae of the propylon, was attributed by Fredrich to the Imperial cult, too. According, this is only a hypothesis: Herrmann 1994, 230 n. 126; Herrmann 1998, 156 on no. 5. A small round altar of Augustus was found in the peristyle of the Baths of Capito: A. Rehm in: Herrmann 1997, 110, no. 335 (wrongly identified as basis of an Augustus-statue); cf. Herrmann 1997, 212 no. 335, pl. 23.3. It may have been originating from there, or more probably from the adjacent Delphinion.
40 Besides the finds of sarcophagus–fragments, Knackfuß 1908, 78 aduced for his refusal of the altar theory that the ‘Ehrengrab’ is only of early Roman times, wherefore the altar of the Hellenistic bouleuterion would lack. See also Schörner 2007, 178. But the original altar of the bouleuterion, the Hestia Boulai, is to be expected within the assembly hall, see already Tuchelt 1975, 129 with n. 163. The altar in the courtyard of the peristyle is therefore a secondary altar.
41 Kekule 1900, 109 f. fig. 2; Wiegand 1901a, 906; Wiegand 1901b, 195; Wiegand 1902, 151 fig. 9, 154 fig. 10 (both reconstructions as hypaethral altar are made by Knackfuß); mentioned by Schörner 2007, 177 with n. 1537, 178 with n. 1544.
42 Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 87-90, pls. 16.1, 17.1-2, 18.2; Schollmeyer 2011, 21, 23 f. II.1, 3-4, pls. 22a, 3b.
43 Honorary inscription for Iulia Artemo, daughter of Antipatros, erected by the boule and the demos of Miletos in the early Roman period: Rehm/Harder 1958, 214 no. 330 (found in Miletos “prope theatrum ad marmoream basim” and copied by Cyriacus of Ancona during his visit in Miletos in 1412, now lost). Rehm commented ibid.: “Vom Kulte der Boulilai [Artema] wissen wir nichts (die Boulilaios Σώρας SIG 660, braucht mit ihr nichts zu tun zu
to the priestess’ name, Iulia Artemo, she was a member of the Gaii Iulii, the very family, which had close ties to the Roman gens Iulii from the time Epikrates, son of Apollonios, had freed young Cesar in 220 BC from the Cilician pirates\(^4\). This Epikrates was the father resp. grandfather of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates, who were honored and designated as “heroes” in the bouleuterion inscriptions mentioned above\(^5\), Iulia (Artemo) is known from another inscription, the dedication of a small round altar, perhaps erected by her and her husband Sextus (Caelius?) for Artemis Boulaia in the bouleuterion. In this dedication Sextus boasts to stem from Timarchos, one of the builders of the bouleuterion more than 250 years ago\(^6\).

As a third deity honoured at the monumental altar we have to expect Zeus Boulaio, while the hearth-altar of Hestia Boulaia has to be located within the assembly hall, not outside\(^7\). Zeus Boulaio is mentioned in two inscriptions of the later 3\(^\text{rd}\) century BC, predating the construction date of the bouleuterion of Timarchos and Herakleides. They therefore refer to an older Classical or early Hellenistic bouleuterion, otherwise unknown\(^8\). The honorary statue for a certain Lichas was according to its secondary inscription re-erected “at the propylon of Boulaio” of the new bouleuterion\(^9\).

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\(^4\) See above n. 40 for Hestia Boulaia. The lower part of a clothed female statue, found in the assembly hall by the excavators, was interpreted as cult statue of Hestia: Kleiner 1968, 79; Nawotka 1999, 156. Unfortunately, the torso is not preserved, at least it is not mentioned in Bol. See above n. 64 for Hestia Boulaia. The lower part of a clothed female statue, found in the assembly hall by the excavators, was interpreted as cult statue of Hestia: Kleiner 1968, 79; Nawotka 1999, 156. 

\(^5\) Polybius 8.23.4; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.


\(^7\) Polybius 8.23.4; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.

\(^8\) Polybius 8.23.4; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.

\(^9\) Polybius 8.23.4; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.
This Boulaios is not to be identified with Apollo\textsuperscript{50}, but with Zeus\textsuperscript{51} as becomes clear from another inscription, a psephisma regulating the integration of new citizens from Crete, inscribed in the walls of the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in 229/8 BC. It orders sacrifices of the priest, the prytanes and the ones in charge of the protection of the city, to Hestia Boulai and Zeus Boulaios\textsuperscript{52}.

In summary, then: the altar in the bouleuterion is likely a joined altar of Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulai and Zeus Boulaios. This would fit with the theme of the altar-frieze (fig. 13) and, independently, the situation in Athens where, from the mid-3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC on, the prytanes had to sacrifice to Apollo Prostaterios, Artemis Boulai and the other ancestral gods “for the health and safety of the boule, the Demos, and the children and women”. The altar stood in the agora, close to the Tholos and the bouleuterion\textsuperscript{53}. In this area was also found the basis of an honorary statue for Augustus’ wife Livia, put up by the Athenian Demos and the boule. In the inscription, which dates to the time of Tiberius (14-19 AD), Livia Augusta/Sebaste is assimilated with a goddess whose name is not preserved but who is bearing the epithet Boulai. It makes most sense, then, to suppose Artemis Boulai, since her altar stood close by\textsuperscript{54}. Taking into account that Augustus was venerated in Eleusis as Zeus Boulaios also, we detect the assimilation of the first Iulio-Claudians to the political deities of Athens\textsuperscript{55}. We may therefore assume a similar situation in Miletos: Augustus could have been equated with Zeus Boulaios, and Livia Augusta/Sebaste with Artemis Boulaios\textsuperscript{56}. The Milesian altar was then dedicated to the divine triple (Artemis Boulai, Zeus Boulaios, Apollo Didymeus) as well as to the Imperial couple.

It has become quite clear now that the ‘Ehrengrab’ cannot be the heroon of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and/or Gaius Iulius Epikrates. Where do we have to look for it instead? Peter Herrmann proposed the area directly north of the bouleuterion, which had previously – but without any clear evidence – been identified as Sebasteion for the cult of the Roman Emperors\textsuperscript{57}. Also possible is one of the Milesian gymnasia. At least was a honorary statue of the heros C. Iulius Epikrates mentioning his merits as “gymnasiarh of all gymnasia”, “restored in the gymnasium” in the mid-1\textsuperscript{st} century AD\textsuperscript{58}. Which of the three Milesian gymnasia it was, remains open\textsuperscript{59}. Maybe we can identify it with the one of the Neoi, which was definitely the most important, and where the heroon of Olympic victor Antenor and his family was already situated, as mentioned above\textsuperscript{60}. The placing of heroa in gymnasia is significantly frequent\textsuperscript{61}.

But, we should not leave aside the bouleuterion as a potential place of hero cults too hastily. I want to point out an important finding that has escaped the attention of scholars so far:

\textsuperscript{50} Compare also Thera, where Germanicus was equaled with Zeus Boulaios and Agrippina with Hestia Boulai: Hahn 1994, 15, 49, 138, 340 no. 134.

\textsuperscript{51} Herrmann 1994, 233 f.; idem in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 85. A small architrave with an inscription, naming Iulius Apollonios in the genitive, may have been part of the heroon architecture. Unfortunately its findspot is unknown: Herrmann 1994, 234 f. fig. 3. The statue basis was found SW of the theatre, re-used in the foundation of a Turkish caravansary: Herrmann 1996; P. Herrmann in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 82-85 no. 1131. In ll. 17-20 it says: Μίνιαν ιολίκαν Δαιμόνιον τὸν ἀνθέχαντα εἰς εἰρήμην διαμιμήθη ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκεπθέντας ἐποιεῖσθαι (“Gaius Iulius Diademenum restored the statue which had been destroyed by fire in the gymnasium”). C. Iulius Diademenum is probably a most probable descendant of C. Iulius Epikrates.

\textsuperscript{52} Cf. Herrmann 1994, 28.

\textsuperscript{53} Cf. Herrmann 1994, 24. The μέγα γυμνασίου, mentioned in an inscription from Didyma (A. Rehm in: Rehm/Harder 1958, 114 f. no. 84), besides the Faustineion and the Capitoline (see Herrmann 1994, 218) is most probably the gymnasium of the Neoi. As the latter two are identifiable (Kleiner 1968, 89-109, “the ‘Great Gymnasion’” or gymnasium of the Neoi respectively is the one including the “West Market” (= xystos) and the stadium; see above with n. 25.

\textsuperscript{54} Schörner 2007, 134 f. with other examples in n. 1128, see also ibid. 200.
III. The chamber in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall of the bouleuterion: a thesaurus or/and a heroon of the builders Timarchos and Herakleides or/ and the heroes Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates?

At the southern end of the eastern corridor in the assembly hall of the bouleuterion of Miletos is a subterranean chamber (figs. 15-16). Its dimensions are 1.80 m in length, 1.68 m in width and 1.59 m in depth and it is accurately made of large marble slabs. It was closed with 2.00 m long and 0.35 m thick slabs, the northern one of which has a hole for lifting it up. The slabs were originally fixed with melted lead and integrated into the pavement of the corridor. Within the chamber were found 10 to 13 skeletons, piled along the northern wall by medieval looters who had approached it from the south end. Some of the skulls were well preserved and showed 'Mongolian' features. The excavators believe the skeletons to be secondarily stored in the chamber by the medieval Turkish looters who had approached it from the north end. Some of the skulls were well preserved and showed 'Mongolian' features. The excavators believe the skeletons to be secondarily stored in the chamber by the medieval Turkish looters. In the final publication Hubert Knackfuß interpreted the chamber as thesaurus, a built ‘treasure-chamber’ with a locking system to store large amounts of money and other worthy things, comparing it with such an installation in Temple B of the Asklepieion of Kos. One may also compare the so-called thesauri in the agora of Messene, found in 2006 only. Inside this room, the Achaean general Philopoimen may have been locked and poisoned 183 BC, as we known from Plutarch. It seems as if this subterranean chamber had later served as a heroon of Philopoimen in Messene, since two curse tablets were found in the filling; they are typical indicators of magic at graves, especially at graves of persons who died a violent death.

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62 Knackfuß 1908, 34, pls. 1 (stone plan) and 4 (reconstruction of assembly hall with position of chamber and its measures).
64 Knackfuß 1908, 34 fig. 7 (Kos); cf. Kleiner 1968, 78 f. For Kos and comparable installations, which are no ‘pour-boxes’, as otherwise meant with the term thesaurus, see: Kamiski 1991, 133-145; Riethmüller 2005, 1, 217.
65 For the spatial closeness of a public thesaurus with a bouleuterion see Vitruve, de architectura 5.2.12: Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniugenda (“Thesaurus, prison, council hall shall be located together in the agora”); cf. Themelis 2006, 51 and 2010, 122.
66 Plutarch, Philopoimen 19-20 explicitly speaks of a “so-called Thesaurus” (καλούμενον θησαυρόν) and describes it as “a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door, but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about” (οὐκέτα κατάγειν οὐτε πνεύμα λαμβάνειν οὐτε φῶς εξεδέχεται οὐτε φύρρεις έχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ προετρεμμένῳ καταστελλόμενον, εντοίχθη κατέθετο, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπηρείζομεν ενέδρας ἐνώπιος κύκλῳ περιέστρωσαν).
67 Cf. Themelis 2006, 51 f. and 2010, 122 f. Themelis assumes that the thesaurus was left in ruin immediately after the death of Philopoimen, kept as a ‘place of superstition and magic’ by the Messenians. As the place is located in the middle of the agora, it seems more likely to me that the Messenians installed a kind of hero shrine at the historical spot. It would have been abandoned only when the cult had been of no interest any more or had fallen victim to Christianity. A hint at the point in time of abandonment will give the disturbed filling of the structure, whose finds and dating is not published so far. From Diodorus 29.18, Livy 39.50.9 and Plutarch, Philopoimen 21.3-9 we know that Philopoimen was cremated in Messene (we may assume that this took place close to his place of death, in the agora) and that the urn with the burnt remains was immediately translated by the Achaean League in a procession from Messene to his hometown Megalopolis. There, a mnema and an altar were erected in the agora where he received a hero cult with games: cf. also IG V 2, 432; cf. Schörner 2007, 76, 274 f. fig. 175 (“B 17”).
68 Kurtz/Boardman 1985, 259 f. In the case, where a hero’s grave does not include his bones or ashes, Rohde 1925, 163 with n. 2 thought of a magic calling and binding (σύνολισμος) of the hero’s
Having Messene in mind, we may assume a similar re-dedication of the _thesauros_ chamber in the Milesian bouleuterion, if it was not a grave from the very beginning; this has been assumed by Theodor Wiegand in the excavation report of 1902.69

Who may have been buried there we do not know. At least is the chamber of the same date as the whole building that is between 175 and 163 BC. Was it therefore intended to hold the remains of the dedicators of the _bouleuterion_ after their death, the brothers Timarchos and Herakleides?70

It is even possible that Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates came to rest here later on. This is suggested by two monumental votive inscriptions, ingeniously restored by Peter Herrmann in 1994 (figs. 17a-b). The dedications, delivered by the Milesian demos, adress the heroes Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son Gaius Iulius Epikrates.71 As both dedications were inscribed in the walls of the assembly hall, the assumption is compelling that the hero cult of Apollonios as well as the future(? ) cult of Epikrates were incorporated within exactly this building, at their possible grave in the ‘thesauros’.

Burials in _bouleuteria_ and other public buildings are a rare honour, comparable to a grave in the agora, often reserved only for a _heros_ _ktistes_, a heroic founder (see below § V, VIII). One of the best-known examples come from Megara, where we have plenty of information thanks to Pausanias. In Megara, the public buildings were erected in a former burial ground, incorporating the graves of local heroes: in the _bouleuterion_ was buried Timalkos, the son of the eponymous hero Megareus, in the _prytaneion_ lay his brother Euhippos, together with Ischepolis, son of Alkathoos. The hero of

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69 Cf. Wiegand 1902, 151, 154. The large ‘lewis hole’ in the northern covering slab, mentioned by Knackfuß 1908, 34 (“die nördliche der beiden großen Deckplatten zeigt auf ihrer Oberfläche ein großes Wolfsloch, ein Beweis, dass diese Platte als Verschlüsslplatte von oben eingesenkt worden ist”) may be used for libations, depending on whether the hole goes through the slab or not. The whole matter deserves further investigation.


71 C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 107 f. no. 6, 118 no. 15; corrected reading: Herrmann 1994, 229-234 figs. 1-2 and 1997, 156 no. 6 (C. Iulii Epikrates, son of heros Iulius Apollonios), 159 no. 15 (heros C. Iulius Apollonios, father of Epikrates). See especially Herrmann 1994, 233 with n. 130 on the formulation σαβαποσει with dative, used in both inscriptions.

72 In no. 6 Epikrates is not addressed as heros but as son of a heros. This results in two assumptions: 1. Epikrates is not a heros yet, 2. he is still alive. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that he receives a dedicatory inscription by his fellow citizens. The heroiylation of living persons is a phaenomenon appearing since the 5th century BC, see below § X with n. 267.
Alkathoos itself was used as archeion73. The reason for the Megarians to integrate the hero-graves into their buildings was not a mere matter of lacking space in the course of progressing urbanisation or out of pure respect for the dead. Instead Pausanias was told that the hero Aisyminios, the “judge”, obviously the eponym of the political office of aisyminia and later to be buried in his office building, the Aisyminion, received an oracle in Delphi “that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to “that they would fare well if they took counsel with the grave of their heroes” in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it”74. In this regard they were also able to protect the political assemblies of the Megarians – or that of the Milesians75.

An essential aspect of Greek hero cult consequently becomes clearer: heroes are presumed to be actively involved in the matters of the living, acting as supernatural powers “out of their graves”76. Another important aspect is the linking of the hero’s power to his grave and his dead body. Bones or ashes of heroes, taken to another place (translatio), can evoke the hero’s supernatural powers in the interest of its new owners, while the former owners are weakened. A famous case in point is delivered by the Spartans in the time of Lydian king Kroisos (first half of 6th century BC).

73 Pausanias 1.42.4, 1.43.2 f., 1.43.4; cf. Curtiivan Bremen 1999, 25; Burkert 2011: 293 with n. B. Schörner ommits Megara, “da die Gräber für mythische Heroen in dieser Untersuchung keine Rolle spielen” (Schörner 2007, 109 n. 940).

74 Pausanias 1.43.3 (transl. W.H.S. Jones). On the difficulties with differentiating the pyrteteion from the Aisyminion and bouleuteron see Hightberger 1927, 17 f.; Hanell 1934, 146 f. with n. 6. To me it seems likely to equate the Aisyminion with the pyrteteion of Megara, as the office of the alysemenes is equal with that of the archpyrtetes, e.g. in Miletos, which delivers the closest resemblance to the political structure of Megara; see Herda forthcoming c. On the urbanization of Megara see now Mertens 2011, 56-60 with fig. 1.

75 Bohringer 1980; Hölscher 1998, 34 f., 44, 120 fig. 11. See the striking characterization by Curtiivan Bremen 1999, 25: “Both the city’s boundaries and the area inside the walls are physically – and ideologically – marked in an almost obsessive way by a series of funerary monuments, heroes; even political buildings like the bouleuteron and the civic archive are built over tombs known to Pausanias as those of mythical heroes. Literally underlying the archaic city is an early geometric necropolis, whose tombs obviously acquired their specific heroic identity over time. The result was a city where the funerary world was enlisted to define the world of the living, and in particular that of politics. The various mythical and mythistorical heroes mark the civic space, providing a guarantee for the function and the validity of the main infrastructure of the polis”.

76 Cf. queen Atossa in the Persians (II. 598 ff.) of Aischylos, where she asks the soul of her dead husband Dareios to help the Persians against the Greeks: cf. Herda 1998, 43 ff. During the Anthestheria the dead souls climb up to the surface and move around in the city: Burkert 2011a, 296, 360. See below §§ VI and X.

They stole the bones of Orestes from Tegea and brought them to Sparta, in preparation of their war against Tegea77. Another striking case, this time to the disadvantage of the Spartans, is the foundation of the city of Messene in 370/69 BC. One of the rituals performed by the Messenians was to “summon the heroes to return and dwell with them” in the new city78, building up a special class of ‘patriotic heroes’79. The contemporaneous increase of the bringing of offerings to Mycenaean graves in the region of Messenia again exemplifies the socio-political function of hero cults as “foci of Messenian nationalism”80.

A very special instance of bone-translation can be seen in the treatment of Solon’s remains: the Athenians scattered his ashes all around Salamis. With this symbolic act they made the heroized sage and statesman, who had gained the island for Athens and could not be removed from this land again, an eternal guarantor of the new possession81.


78 Pausanias 4.27.6: ἐπακολουθεῖ δὲ ἐν λαῷ καὶ ἱεροὶ ὁμοίων ἑαυτῶν συναγωγαί; cf. Burkert 2010, 314 f.

79 For this term see Kran 1999.


81 Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, Aelian, Varia historia, 16 f. Against this stands the 2nd/3rd century AD tradition, preserved in Aelian, Varia historia 8.16 that Solon had a public grave encircled by a wall, close by the city gates of Athens, on the right side when one enters the city (αὐτῇ καὶ θεῖαι ἵνα διδόσαι πώς τὰς πόλεως πρὸς τὸ τέλειον δεῖξαι καὶ συνεχῶς ἄνεμον ὁ τόπος). But how did the Athenians later collect the ashes of Solon in Salamis? Ignoring the Aristotelian tradition, Kübler 1973, 190 tracked the Aelian-story down to 4th/3rd century BC Phanias, a pupil of Aristotle, and subsequently wanted to identify a mid-6th century BC grave stele, depicting a young warrior and found near Tumulus G’ in the Kerameikos, with the grave of Solon. This was declined by Knigge 2006, 128-135, who instead proposed an early Classical tumulus north of the Dipylion Gate and close to the Demosion Sema (ibid. 129, fig. 1 “Tumulus am Dromos”; cf. Knigge 1988, 159, no. 59 figs. 154, 165) as Solon’s grave. But as Knigge 2006, 134 n. 20 herself stresses, this tumulus was hidden under an earth filling of some meters height already in the early 3rd century BC, 500 years before Aelian wrote. Also a bronze urn including ashes was found in the tumulus (Knigge 1988, 160 fig. 154). Knigge 2006, 132 with n. 14 believes the ashes to be that of Solon, collected by Themistocles in
A final argument for searching the heroon of Gaius Iulius Apollonios and Gaius Iulius Epikrates within the bouleuterion of Miletos is given by the fact that the cult of heroic ancestors is closely associated with the sacred hearth of public buildings as well as private houses. As already mentioned was the hearth of Hestia Boulaia located in the assembly hall of the Milesian bouleuterion. The same spatial closeness has to be assumed for the graves of mythical heroes such as Timalkos in the ktiste rare cases of a Mantineans to found their city, delivers one of the daughter of Kepheus, who had helped the assembly hall of the Milesian was the hearth of Hestia Boulaia located in the central sanctuary of Miletos, the Delphinion, we got our investigations regarding the early history of the fact that the cult of heroic ancestors is closely

IV. The heroon of Thales, act 1: Geoarchaeology meets Greek myth

My approach to the grave of Thales is the result of geoarchaeological research, conducted in Miletos together with Helmut Brückner and Marc Müllenhoff since the last decade. In the course of our investigations regarding the early history of the central sanctuary of Miletos, the Delphinion, we got more and more involved in the palaeogeography of the city centre and, finally, of the whole city. It turned out that large parts of the late Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic city ground were originally marine and made dry by filling in a mixture of stone, earth and artefacts. It can be detected for part of the Delphinion, of the southern Lion Harbour and of the North Market. The finds in our corings hint at a date of the fillings in the 6th to early 5th century BC (fig. 18).

These results were really exciting and called into my mind a passage in Plutarch’s life of Solon, where he was talking about one of the other Seven Sages, the famous Milesian Philosopher Thales (Plutarch, Solon 12.11.1-12.1):

“…ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in a cheap and disregarded place of the Milesian territory, predicting that it would one day be the agora of Miletos.”

[slightly changed trans. by B. Perrin]

Certainly, this is a late anecdote about a sage, of whose sayings we have nearly no direct testimonium preserved, except inter alia perhaps πάντα τλήμερον θεών, “All is full of gods”, repeated by Aristotle. But as in most anecdotes there is a hidden historical core. And this core is two- if not three-fold in the case of Thales’ grave: During Thales’ livetime – he died in the mid-6th century BC – his city of Miletos was totally replanned in

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84 Aristotle, de anima 1.5,411a 8 (= 11 A 22 Diels/Kranz); cf. Betegh 2002, 237; Burkert 2011, 462. Despite modern ‘wishful thinking’ the Ionian ‘Presocratics’ (as also Socrates, the alleged asbes!) never doubted the existence of the gods resp. a divine principle.

85 According to the Hellenistic chronographer Apollodoros (Apollodor FGrHist 244 F 28 = Diogenes Laertius 1.57 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 1) was Thales born in the 35th Olympiad (640-637 BC) and died at the age of 78, resulting in a date between 562 and 559 BC. This date is too high, as we known from Herodotus (1.75 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 6) that Thales took part in the campaign of the Lydian king Kroisos against the Persian king Kyros in 546 BC. Diels/Kranz 1974, 72 in a note on 11 A 2.27 on Suidas s.v. 6θώλη, where the same high birth date in the 35th Olympiad is given, therefore remarked: “Ol. 35 stammt aus der korrupten Quelle des Dio[genes, A.]H.1 [...] wie Euseb. A 7 (175, 17).” They correct the birth date to Ol. 39 (624-621 BC) assuming that Thales had his akme with 40 years in May 28 of 584 BC, when he predicted a solar eclipse to the ionians during the war of Lydian king Alyattes against Median king Kyaxes (Herodotus 1.74 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 5; see: Hahn 2001, 253 f. n. 45;
a street-insula-grid system. This system was first realized in newly developed districts, for example the areas south of the Lion Harbour and northeast of Kalabak Tepe, while the old districts kept their traditional appearance of an irregular, ‘grown’ street-net, until the Persians destroyed the city in 494 BC. The only important exception was made with the late Archaic temple of Athena, whose construction necessitated the demolishing of a whole district in the oldest settlement core. This system was first realized in newly developed districts, for example the areas south of the Lion Harbour and northeast of Kalabak Tepe88, while the old districts kept their traditional appearance of an irregular, ‘grown’ street-net, until the Persians destroyed the city in 494 BC. The only important exception was made with the late Archaic temple of Athena, whose construction necessitated the demolishing of a whole district in the oldest settlement core89.

88 Herda 2005, 281-285 fig. 30; Herda in preparation. For the Archaic districts NO of Kalabak Tepe with a grid system see Graeve 2006, 258-261, 257 fig. 8; Graeve 2009, 26 fig. 1. It is detected via geophysics (Stümpel/Erkul 2008, 18 f. fig. 4), but one of the 4.30 m broad North-South-streets of the grid was already excavated by Armin von Gerkan in 1908/9: Gerkan 1925, 39-44 figs. 29-30 Beilage 1 (see in trenches IV–VI, but the position of the trenches is not exactly rendered, the street has the deviation of 24° clockwise from geographical North as also the Late Archaic temple of Athena).

The agora of this new Miletos can be located between the Archaic sanctuaries of Dionysos and Apollo Delphinios, serving as space for religious as well as political assemblies, with the hieros kyklos, the “sacred circle” in its center. The Delphinion incorporated not only the main city cult, controlling citizenship, but also the prytaneion, the governmental seat of the polis state, usually to be expected close to the agora (fig. 19).  

The deep drillings detected an extension of the agora to the north, made possible by draining the marshy southern extension of the Lion harbour. Is this also the area, where we have to search for the grave of Thales, the τόπος τῆς Μιλησίας, which is described as being originally φαύλος καὶ παραφοριστόν, “cheap and disregarded”, by Plutarch? This assumption has a high probability to me.  


V. The cult of the founder in Greek agora

Locating a grave in an agora is very exceptional. Actually the agora is the most prominent place for a grave, restricted only to very few persons, to whom it is the highest honour, a polis can give.

Very typical recipients of this honour are the founders, the heroes ktistai, who “were buried in the middle of the cities by habbit”94. Probably the best-known example is that of Aristoteles in Kyrene, a 7th century BC colony of Thera. Aristoteles, son of Polynestos from Thera, who had the nickname Battos, “the stammerer”, got a grave as well as a hero-cult in the agora, while his royal successors were buried “far away in front of their houses”. This is described by Pindar in the fifth Pythian Ode (ll. 93-98) for Arkesilas of Kyrene.

Locating a grave in an agora is very exceptional.

A sacred law from Kyrene, relating to taking part in sacrifices “for Battos the first leader” (Βαττῶ τῶ ἄρχοντα)95, as well as for “Onymastos the Delphian” and the Tritopateres, makes clear that the grave of a city founder or hero was exempted from the idea of ritual pollution (myos, miasma) and could therefore be placed within the city96.

A striking other example is the grave of the Sikyonian general Aratos, who died in 213 BC. The Sikyoniens, who wanted to bury him in their city, most probably in the agora, could not do so because of an “ancient law”, forbidding to bury “within the city walls” of Sikyon. This law obviously protected the ritual purity of the city, as similar laws did in other cities97, with the striking exception of Sparta, where Lykurgos allowed the Spartans to “bury their dead in the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places”98. The Sikyoniens solved the problem by asking the oracle in Delphi for permission. Apollo, the divine authority of cleaning and purity, “the purest of gods”99, who was also prominent as protector from plagues in the


95 Stuchi 1965, 33-85 figs. 11 f., 100 f. figs. 50 f., 111-115 figs. 58-61, 122 f. fig. 64, 128 f. fig. 66, 139-142 figs. 74 f., 143 fig. 76, pl. 15.2, 20.5-6, 21.13, 24.2-4; Büsing 1978; Malkin 1987, 204-216; Schörner 2007, 21 f., 42 f., 85 f., 150, 213-216 A3 figs. 15-23. The connection between the tumulus grave and the adjacent sanctuary to the south (e.g. Schörner 2007, 22, 43, speaks of “Kultstätte (Oikos)”, but see ibidem 150, where she treats it as separate sanctuary of a triad?), seems not very convincing to me. First of all, the sanctuary has a different orientation (at least from the second half of the 5th century BC toward the South). The temenos wall, which excludes the tumulus grave (Schörner 2007, fig. 18), includes three altars (Schörner 2007, fig. 21 f.), hinting at the cult of three deities being practised within it. This corresponds with the three-partite structure of the oikos in the first phase (Schörner 2007, figs. 18, 20). Stuchi 1965, 34-58 thinks of a heroon for the daimon Ephaiotes (Opheles, because of a graffito: Stuchi 1965, 46-48, pl. 10, 10 a-b = Σχήμα Θεοῦ), Schörner 2007, 86 favours a sanctuary of Apollo. I wonder if the sanctuary was dedicated to the Tritopateres, “the fathers in the third generation”, who received cult together with Battos according to the famous 4th century BC sacred law from Kyrene, referring to the foundation oracle of Delphian Apollo for Kyrene: Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 494-505 no. 97.22 f.; see Leschhorn 1984, 68, 102, who addresses the Tritopateres as “alte Stammväter der Kyrenier”; see also Rhodes/ Osborne 2003, 503 f.; see below n. 246.

96 The title archagetas, the “first leader”, instead of oikistes, oikíster, keístes, “founder”, here given to Battos, was usually attributed to the oracle god Apollo Pythios, sanctioning the Greek colonial enterprises: Malkin 1987, 241-250; Schörner 2007, 135 f. The title is also an epithet of Apollo Didymeus, the oracle god sanctioning the Milesian colonisation, e.g. of Kyzikos: Aelius Aristides, Orations 16.237; cf. Herda 2008, 28-30, 55 with n. 325, p. 57, 59, 61, 62. Only attributed to gods seems to be the alternative title hegeomèn, “leader”: Herda 2008, 28 with n. 117.

97 SEG IX 72; Parker 1983, 336-339; Malkin 1987, 206-212; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 494-505 no. 97, esp. pp. 502 f. on § 3 of the law (ll. 21-25), which is very difficult to understand. Besides Battos are mentioned the Akamantai(ies), “Onymastos the Delphian” and the Tritopateres. Jameson et al. 1993, 110 remark, to my mind convincingly, that “they alone among the dead carry no danger of pollution (literally, ‘there is oia for everyone!’); cf. Parker 1983, 42 n. 39, p. 338; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 503. Compare also the “pure” Tritopateres in the lex sacra from Selinous, where they are supposed to get sacrifices in the agora, too, see below n. 110.

98 Plutarch, Aratus 53; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 326-331; Malkin 1987, 233-237; Schörner 2007, 14 f., 121 f. 272-274 (B 10); Parker 2011, 104 n. 4. Death causes ritual impurity, a pollution (myos, miasma), which calls for ritual cleaning. Therefore death-related things are regularly excluded from sanctuaries and the city: Parker 1983, 32-73, 338; Burkert 2011, 125 f., 138, 293. See on related funeral laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.

99 Plutarch, Lykurgos 27.1 (trans. B. Perrin); cf. Schörner 2007, 6 n. 38, 12 f., 202; Frisone 2011, 190 f. According to Plutarch, Lykurgos did so “thrust making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, that they were not confused by them, and had no horror of death as polling those who touched a corpse or walked among graves” (συνήχοροι πώς τα τουχθήσαν ὑπὸ καὶ συνήχοις τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑπὸ μικροτέρων αἱματηρὰς τοῦ θανατοῦ ὡς μακροναῖς τούτους ὑψώσαντας σάφεις ὁμοίως ζῶντας τοῖς συμφέροντις ὑπὸ διά τόν ἀντίκειται εὐθείαν. ἀλλὰ ἐν φονικοὶ καὶ φύλλοις ἑλλὰς δένεται τοῦ σώματος περίστερόν.). For graves within the city of Sparta: Schörner 2007, 289-297 (A17, B 18). McCauley 1999, 86 n. remarks, that “there is no indication that they [the Spartans, A.H.] allowed burial of ordinary persons within the precincts of the agora itself”.

100 Parker 1983, 67. See ibid. 313 where Parker hints especially at Apollo’s role in the cathartic law of Kyrene. He explains Apollo’s and his sister Artemis’ role as cathartic gods with their “(...) role as senders and healers of plague. (...) The connection of thought becomes almost explicit when the Athenians purify Delos in response to plague.”
agora of Sikyon itself\(^\text{101}\), sanctioned their project by declaring\(^\text{102}\):

> 
> bouleitēn, Σικύων, ζωάγγιον αἰὲν Ἀράτου ἀμφ’ οὐή βασιλὲ τε κυτωχομένου ἀνάκτος, ὥς τὸ βαρυμνόμενον τῷ δ’ ἀνέφ οὗ τὸ βαρύνων γαῖς ἐότ’ ἀξοβῆμα καὶ σύρανοι Ἡδὲ ὑκαλάσης.

“Wouldʼst thou, O Sikyon, pay Aratos lasting honour for the lives he saved, And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed lord? Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by him Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea”[transl. B. Perrin]

Decisive here is Apollo declaring the place of burial as ἀξοβῆμα, “impius”, “profane”\(^\text{103}\), exempting it from matters of ritual impurity. Also, he calls the festivities for Aratus οὐή ὑκαλ., “profane festivities”, stressing that they are ‘allowed’ and not forbidden by divine law\(^\text{104}\). The Sikyonians immediately reacted by “choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city”\(^\text{105}\).

Yearly sacrifices ( thờια) took place at the heroon, called Arateion, for Zeus Soter and Aratus at the date he had saved the city from tyranny. Another yearly sacrifice was offered to Aratos at his birthday by his own priest\(^\text{106}\).

Graves as well as cenotaphs, empty ‘symbolic’ graves, of other founders were discovered, as in the agora of Poseidonia-Paestum, a colony of Sybaris in southern Italy\(^\text{107}\).

Most recently a cist grave of the 7th century BC within a small precinct, found in 2003 in the middle of the agora of Selinous-Selinunte in Sicily, a joint colony of Megara and its colony Megara Hyblea, has been identified as heroon of the Megarian oikistes Pamnilos\(^\text{108}\). To me, a connection with the hero Eurymachos, mentioned in the famous 5th century BC lex sacra from Selinous as being venerated by the Selinuntians together with Zeus Melilchios and the “pure” Tritopaters, the “fathers in the third generation”, or ‘collective ancestors’ of the polis\(^\text{109}\),

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\(^{101}\) Pausanias 2.7.8: procession to remember the return of Apollo and Artemis to Sikyon for healing the city from plague, starting from the temple of Peitho (the gods had to be “convinced” to come back) in the agora of Sikyon to the Sythas river and back; cf. Lolos 2011, 379 f. The two gods had left Sikyon in mythical times, when it was still an indigenous settlement called Aigialeia: Pausanias 2.5.6; cf. Lolos 2011, 379 f., 384. The cult of Apollo as well as the procession seem to be at least of Archaic age. The Aristotelian Corpus mentions an old temple of Apollo, which was in ruins in the time of Pausanias: [Aristotelles], Mir. ausc. 834b24; Pausanias 2.7.8; cf. Lolos 2011, 380 f. fig. 6.1. Identifying a temple in the agora, having an Archaic and a Hellenistic phase, as the old temple of Apollo. \(^{102}\) Plutarch, Aratus 53.3. \(^{103}\) Cf. LSC s.v. ἀξοβῆμα: “impious or profane act, sacrilege, opp. ἀξοβήμα”. \(^{104}\) On hosios as exact complement to hieros: Burkert 2011, 403 f. \(^{105}\) Plutarch, Aratus 53.3: καὶ τοὺς ἐξελύμονες περίπτοντο ὀψής οἰκίας καὶ συμπτὸς τῆς πύλης συμφερέων. The place of the heroon is described as τοὺς περίπτοντο, “to be seen all round”, what implies a location on a large, empty space, presumably the agora of Sikyon. This is confirmed by Pausanias who describes the heroon as being placed in front of the house of the tyrant Kleon at the agora: Pausanias 2.8.1; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 328; Malkin 1987, 234f. thought of a newly established and therefore so far ‘graveless’ agora of Sikyon as the place of the heroon, which then had caused the Sikyonians to consult Delphi. But there is no hint at an old and a new agora in Sikyon. In 303 BC Demetrios Poliorketes had only relocated the settlement to the acropolis out of security reasons (Diodorus 20.102.3; see Malkin 1987, 233). This does not imply that he also relocated the old, Archaic agora, where the graves of the heroes Adrastos and Melanippos were located: Herodotus 5.67; cf. Malkin 1987, 235, 237.

\(^{106}\) Cult of Aratos: Plutarch, Aratus 53; see Leschhorn 1984, 326-331 who attributes the birthday festival to the cult of the founder Aratos, though he thinks that birthday festivals are not typical for a founder cult (ibid. 329; see also Malkin 1987, 236). The heroon of Aratos has not been found so far: Lolos 2011, 382.

\(^{107}\) Kron 1971 (interpreted as a sanctuary of a female chthonic deity), Greco/Theodorescu 1983, 28-33, 74-79, 139-145, 175 f. figs. 9-20; Pedley 1990, 36-39 figs. 11-13; Rausch 2000 (interpreted as Tritopatrien); Mertens 2006, 166 f. figs. 288 f.; Schörmer 2007, 152-167 figs. 194-197 (cenophath); see below § IX.

\(^{108}\) Mertens 2006, 177 figs. 308, 305 fig. 310; Mertens 2010, 80-84 fig. 12, esp. 83 f. on Pamnillos of Megara (Thucydides 6.4.2). A second, much more destroyed burial directly south of the grave is connected by Mertens to a second hero kistis originating from Megara’s colony Megara Hyblea. He is supposed to have joined Pamnillos but was, according to Mertens, later on forgotten, his grave was left devastated: Mertens 2010, 80 f. fig. 11, p. 82-84.


The Tritopaters are probably depicted in one of the pediments of the so-called Ur-Parthenon on the Akropolis: A. Furtwängler, B. Schweitzer and others have identified them with the so-called Typhon or Bluebeard, a figure with three upper parts of humans and a snake-like lower part, three times intertwined. The figures, dated c. 570/60 BC, hold a bird, and wavy things (water and fire or winds?): Furtwängler 1905, 452-458 figs. pp. 446-447; Schweitzer 1912, 72-83; cf. Weinreich 1973, 77 f.; Jameson et al. 1993, 12 n. 37;Martini 1990, 235 f. fig. 7 (stresses that the middle body is hit by arrows, he leaves...
seems also possible”. The ritual delivers an exact

the identification open; Karanastasis 2002, 220 fig. 30A (Typhon?); Stroszek 2010, 58 n. 24 (refers to the observation of Martini and remarks: “Diese Interpretation des Dreigestalten gießt als überhängt gelten.”); Icard-Cianlois 1994, 561 no. 7 (identified with Proteus). Another early depiction of the Tritopatres, this time as wind-gods, may be found on a Laconian bowl of the so-called Naukratis Painter (c. 560 BC) from Naukratis, now in the British Museum, depicting the nymph Kyrene holding a Siphon plant and a branch of the tree of the Hesperids, surrounded by winged female (on the left) and male (on the right) genii: Studniczka 1890, 15-27; Harrison 1908, 180 fig. 22 (three figures with beards, wings and winged shoes in right lower corner, interpreted by Studniczka and Harrison as the Boreads). However, this identification is questioned by some scholars: Pipili 1987, 40-44 fig. 54 no. 101 (Artemis Ortheia and winds or less probable: Aphrodite with Erotes, but in the latter case she cannot explain the different sex of the winged figures). See now also Thomsen 2011, 118-122 figs. 51a-b (goddess of fertility with her entourage), 157-142 (winged male figures are no Boreads).

110 Mertens 2010, 80 f. mentions the iex sacra (Jameson et al. 1993 = SEG XLIII 630 = Lupu 2005, 359-387 no. 17) but does not go into details. To me, the differing preservation of the two graves seems a matter of later accidental stone extraction. It does not imply that the southern one was devastated earlier. A contrario: The southern temenos-wall around the northern grave clearly respects the southern grave. The southern temenos-wall comes closer to the northern grave than to the southern. The first lies remarkably excentrical within the temenos: Mertens 2008, 475-481 figs. 3-7; Mertens 2010, 81 fig. 12. Maybe the southern grave is the one of Pamilos, while the northern one in the temenos is that of Euthydamos. Euthydamos, “the one beneficial to the demos”, and Mykos, “the ritually polluted” (cf. Ingeniously Curti/van Bremen 1999, 30 referring to Hesychus s.v. μέθυσα: κηρώσα, χηρώσα), had their own hero and received public sacrifices together with Zeus Meilichios and the impure (Mykos) and pure (Euthydamos) Tritopatres: Jameson et al. 1993, 14 f. line A 9 in Μύσκος Α 7 in Ευθυδάμος cf. ibid. pp. 28 f. 52, 121; Clinton 1996, 163, 165, 172; Curti/van Bremen 1999, 27-30; Lupu 2005, 367 f. The sacrifice of wine for the “Impure Tritopatres as to the heroes” (A 9.1 to Τριτοπατρεία ταυ διαφόρια των θεών: cf. Jameson et al. 1993, 29 f., 63-67) had to be “poured through the roof” (ll. A 10 f., πέντε αυξάνει — ις πεπέρασα). The location was the grave of Mykos, which was probably situated in the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary on the Gaggera Hill outside the city according to Jameson et al. 1993, 30 f., 64, 70-73, 112, 134 and Curti/van Bremen 1999, 30-32 figs. 47 (grave of Mykos with installation for libation); but see Vonderstein 2006, 212: simple wells); cf. Lupu 2005, 368 n. 30. Instead, the libation of a honey mixture (A 13 f.) to the “pure” Tritopatres (A 13 τας θυσίας των θεών), performed “as to the gods” (A 17 ἐφεδρον τοῖς θεῖοις), will have been poured in the grave of Euthydamos in the agora of Selinous, where Curti/van Bremen 1999, 28 rightly assume also another sanctuary for Zeus Meilichios. Mertens 2010, 81 f. mentions a structure SE of the two graves, 4 x 6 m in dimension, with a kind of rampart in the North. He interprets it as the altar of Zeus Agoraioi, where the tyrant Euryleion was killed (Herodotus 5.46; Polyaenus 1.28.2). Could it instead be a Sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios or/and the “pure” Tritopatres, which are to be expected close to the hero of Euthydamos, or does the sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios in the sanctuary of Euthydamos (ll. A 17-21) imply that the sanctuary of Zeus was incorporated in that of the hero? In Athens, it seems to have also existed a Zeus Meilichios sanctuary in the ‘new’ agora in the Kerameikos: several dedications were found between the Hill of the Nymphs and the new agora: Jameson et al. 1993, 82. That the Archaic-Classical Tritopatres in the Kerameikos necropolis of Athens was a state sanctuary of the Tritopatres of the Athenian people, as supposed by some scholars (cf. Jameson et al. 1993, 107 f.; Lupu 2005, 371; Vonderstein 2006, 210 n. 1601; Stroszek 2010, 56, 67, fig. 12) rests only on the inscriptions of the boundary markers: They do not specify any group-relation. But what speaks analogy to the sacrifices for Battos, Onymastos and the Tritopatres at Battos’ heroon in the agora of Kyrene, mentioned above111.

In the agora(?) of Amphipolis a Classical cist grave with an urn made of silver was found. Most probably it kept the ashes of the Spartan general Brasidas, who first conquered the Athenian foundation in Thrace and then successfully defended it against the Athenians in 422 BC, but died during the battle. For that he was honoured by the citizens with a hero-cult in the agora, according to Thucydides (5.11), as if to say as a second founder, replacing the Athenian Hagnon112.

Neither a grave, nor a cenotaph, but a mnem, a monument of remembrance, was posthumously erected for Glaukos, the co-founder of the Parian colony Thasos, in the northeastern corner of the cities agora in the late 7th century BC at the earliest. It consisted of a two-stepped basis of an

against this assumption is that the sanctuary was destroyed in the later 4th century BC and never again restored: Stroszek 2010, 68 f. This rather hints at a Tritopatreion of a smaller kinship group (genos or prfreytry), which got out of function with the termination of this group. J. Stroszek now assumes the ending of the state cult of the Tritopatres in the Kerameikos in the course of wider historical changes in Athens under Macedonian rule (I thank her very much for discussing these issues with me in Dec 2012). Another argument for the latter interpretation is the presence of a large multi-burial tumulus of ca. 560 BC close by to the West, where the entrance to the Tritopatreion was placed (so-called Tumulus/Hügel G; cf. Knigge 1988, 103-105 with figs. 97-99 no. 14 = Tritopatreion and 15 = Tumulus, compare figs. 17 and 165 for a site plan; entrance of Tritopatreion: Stroszek 2010, 62, pl. 29, 1-3), as well as a small tumulus to the east: Stroszek 2010, 65 f., pls. 25.1, 32.1. This had led Kübler 1973, 189 f., 192 (cf. Stroszek 2010, 66 f.) to assume a Tritopatreion built by Solon, and Knigge 1988, 104 f. to assume a sanctuary of a kinship group, an interpretation Knigge 2006 further developed, where she identified the Tritopatreion as that of the Alkmoneida; cf. Stroszek 2010, 55 f. To my mind, the state Tritopatreion of democratic Athens should be expected in the new agora, close to the collective sanctuary of the ten Eponymous Heroes and not far away from the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary. The extant monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the SW corner of the agora is of the late 4th century BC (cf. Camp 1986, 97-100 figs. 72-74), but a formerer of the time of Kleisthenes is to be expected close by: Mattusch 1994, 76 with fig. 4. Antonacico 1995, 125 has proposed the so-called triangular sanctuary in the SW-corner of the agora to be a Tritopatreion: Camp 1986, 78 fig. 54, 142 fig. 120, 155 fig. 129. But the preserved boundary marker misses a specification of the cult and the triangular form of the precinct is no forcible argument: Georgioudi 2001, 154 with n. 11; Stroszek 2010, 65 with n. 70. 111 Before the graves in the agora of Selinous were found, Vonderstein 2006, 212 (see also ibid. 213) already assumed: “Gut möglich ist, dass sich sämtliche Fußstelen, diejenigen für die Tritopatoren und die für Mykos und Euthydamos, auf der Agora der Stadt befanden, vergleichbar mit dem Befund in Kyrene.” For the consequences of this situation on the ritual purity of the agora see below n. 243. 112 Lazares 1993, 97 fig. 49; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2002, 66-72, pls. 1A/B, 11B; Schörner 2007, 73 f., 264 f. BB; cf. M. Mangold forthcoming, catalogue no. A1.
VI. Miletos’ many mythical founders, their graves, and the heroon of Neileos

In Miletos, the situation is more complicated as for example in the much younger colony Selinous. Because of its high age, the city had a whole sequence of founders, beginning with Anax and Asterios in prehistory, Miletos, Sarpedon and Keladon in Minoan times, Herakles and Achilles in Mycenaean times, Nomion, Nastes and Amphimachos in Karian times, and finally Neileos.

The upper part of the monument is not preserved as it was demolished when it was overbuilt by a stoa in the 1st century AD. Polignac 1995, 148 n. 55 speaks of a “cenotaph”, Jeffery 1990, 300 thought of an altar, Schörner 2007, 212 assumes a third step as plinthe for a statue, stele or some votives. Remarkable is that the marble slab with the inscription does not fit well to the basis made of mica shist and poros. The monument in its present state seems to be a re-arrangement. Also, the inscription was not erected by the polis, but by the sons of a certain Brentes. This implies an originally ‘private’ monument, which was later transformed into a public one, maybe by translocating the stone with the inscription from another place (an extramural cemetery: Schörner 2007, 21 n. 1317) to the agora, where it was integrated into the altar(?) of Neileos. A translocation would lower the date for the erection of the inscription on the agora of Thasos. Its dating is therefore only a terminus post quem.
in Ionic-Greek times. This history was remembered through myths and related rituals located at many places within the territory of the city-state (fig. 20)\textsuperscript{114}. In only three cases we have information regarding these founders’ graves:

**Asterios**

According to Pausanias, the grave of ‘autochthonous’, earth-borne giant Asterios, son of Anax, was shown on an islet called ‘Asteria’, situated in the Maeander Bay. It lay close by the famous island of Lade, wherefore Asterios’ heroon was located extra-urban. Pausanias, who seems to have visited the site personally, ironically notes the remarkable curiosity that Asterios’ corpse was “not less than ten cubits (c. 5 m) tall”\textsuperscript{115}, still too small for a giant in his opinion\textsuperscript{116}. The background for this story may have been a special attraction, shown to Pausanias around Miletos was rich of which may already have led Anaximander to his theory that humankind was originally stemming from sea creatures. Pausanias knew this theory of Anaximander and alluded to it when discussing giant mammal bones found in the Orontes River\textsuperscript{117}. This is not surprising since Anaximander’s writings were available in every good library all over the Mediterranean, one has only to think of the sensational find of the catalogue fragment of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC gymnasion-library of Tauromenion-Taormina on Sicily, listing his text\textsuperscript{118}.

The island of Asteria can probably be identified with a small 22 m high rocky hill, only c. 2.5 km NE of Miletos, and now embedded in the accumulated sediments of the Maeander. It served as burial ground in Late Osmanic times, from which it got the name ‘Mezar Tepe’; “Hill of the Graves”\textsuperscript{119}.

**Miletos**

Eponymous heros Miletos, who came to Miletos from Minoan Crete together with Sarpedon, was buried on an island by his son Kelados, who also named the island after his father and settled there\textsuperscript{120}. We may assume that the heroon of Miletos was shown somewhere within the old center of the city, around the temple of Athena, where a Minoan and subsequent Mycenaean settlement have been excavated (fig. 1, 10). This area may be identical with ‘Old-Miletos’ (Παλαιόλιμνος), which according to Strabo, citing Ephoros, was founded by Sarpedon ‘above the sea’ (ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπαλάττης)\textsuperscript{121}. The name of this settlement is mentioned in Hittite texts as **Mii(l)awanda or Mi(l)awata**, originating perhaps from the Minoan place name **Mii(l)atos**\textsuperscript{122}.

The cult of heros *ktistes* Miletos, securely attested since the 5\textsuperscript{th} century BC, but likely much older\textsuperscript{123}, is surprisingly resilient: it is still alive in early Byzantine times (5\textsuperscript{th} century AD)\textsuperscript{124}.

\textsuperscript{114} Herda 1998 (grave of Nelleos, Poseidon Enipeus at Posideon-Monodendri, Artemis Kithone on Kalabak Tepe); Herda 2006a, 259-385, 436-442, 447-449 fig. 12 (stations of the state procession to Didyma); Herda, 2011, 74 f. fig. 6; Herda forthcoming a (founders of Miletos).

\textsuperscript{115} Pausanias 1.35,67: ἐστὶ δὲ Μίλησιος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λίαδος νῆσος, ἀπεφύγει δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς της νησίδος: Ἀστερίος τὴν ἐτέραν ὕψος μείζονα καὶ τὸν Ἀστερίον ἐν αὐτὴ τῷραν Λέσσιον, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστερίῳ μὲν Ἀνάκτος, Ἀνάκτος δὲ Γίς παῦλον ἐχεῖ δ’ ὅν ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν πνεύμα ποιησάντων ἔδει. (“Before the city of the Miletians is an island called Lade, and from it certain islets are detached. One of these they call the islet of Asterios, and say that Asterios was buried in it, and that Asterios was the son of Anax, and Anax the son of Earth. Now the corpse is not less than ten cubits.”) Pausanias makes a similar joke about the ash altar of Apollo in Didyma, which, though built by Herakles and since then constantly growing from the blood (and ashes) of the sacrifices, would be quite small for its age: Pausanias 5.13, cf. Herda 2006a, 354 f. and 2011, 61 f. n. 22.

\textsuperscript{116} Mayor 2000, 73 f., 214 f. On the fossils found by Roman emperor Tiberius(?) at the banks of the Orontes west of Antioch in Syria, most probably fossilised mammoth bones, see Pausanias 8.29,2-4; Mayor 2000, 73, 293 n. 18. Xenophanes of Colophon, Anaximander’s pupil, is directly refering to his theory: Diels/Kranz 214 A 33,5-6; cf. Naddaf 2003, 38.

\textsuperscript{117} Blanck 1997a; Blanck 1997b, visible is the heading and few letters beneath: Ἀγαθομενινὴς Πρασί - ἱδρῦς Μιλήσιος I ἐγείρετον θεῖολ [sic]. Cf. Coupric 2003, 233 n. 220. Photo techniques like infra-red and ultra-violet would help to make more text readable. This effort is definitely worth it.

\textsuperscript{118} For Miletos Tepe see: Wilski 1906, map C 3 (“Mesartepe”); Philippson 1936, map (“Mesartepe”); 2.5 km W of the Theatre Hill and less then 1 km north of the small village of “Patniotiko” which is located on the eastern side of ancient Lade); on Asterios see Wernicke 1896; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.1.1 with fig. 2.

\textsuperscript{119} Schollum on Dionysius Periegeta 835.

\textsuperscript{120} Ephorus FGrHist 70 F 127 (= Strabo 14.1.6); cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.3.

\textsuperscript{121} Herda/Sauter 2009, 57 with n. 45; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.4.

\textsuperscript{122} Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1-2.2.2.

\textsuperscript{123} Cf. the statue of his mother Areia: P. Herrmann in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 244 f. no. 1402, pl. 39; S. Frede in: Bol 2011, 170 XI,9, pl. 94e (inscription 5\textsuperscript{th} century AD, sculpture possibly older): Μήτηρ Μίλησιον Τύχη τοῦ πόλεως Ἀρεία, “mother of Miletos [the founder, A.H.], Tyche of the city, Areia”.

In the honorary inscription for Vitianus, the Consularis Cariae, the Demos of the city labels itself as “Demos of Miletos” [the founder, A.H.]:” Herda 2006a, 308 n. 2952; W. Günther in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 81 f. no. 1129, pl. 14.
Kelados

About Kelados’ grave we know nothing. According to the Milesian tradition, his mother was the nymph Doie, a daughter of the rivergod Maiandros. Kelados, or Keladon, the “clamorous”, was probably himself an immortal rivergod. This explains also the absence of a grave: there never existed one. Instead, his sanctuary was located close to Panormos, the harbour of Didyma, and formed one of the stops during the Milesian newyear’s procession to Apollo’s oracle since Archaic times at the latest. At Panormos a small river flows into the sea which the Ancients may have identified with Kelados, venerating him as one of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, assembling in the Panionion at the northern foot of the Mykale Mountains from Geometric times onwards.

The public founder cult at the grave of Kelados is to be expected already in late Geometric times. But the earliest attestation for the cult comes from the Heraion of Samos, where a “priest of Kelados”, supposedly the one from Miletos, dedicated a miniature bronze vessel to Hera c. 575-550 BC.

The position of the Neileos-heroon close to Miletos’ main city gate signals an important function the heros fulfilled: that of a protector of the city. One may compare the heroon close to the western city gate of Eretria. Pausanias describes a similar

Neileos

Most important of all founders, because the most recent, was the Ionian prince Neileos, son of king Kodros of Athens. Surprisingly his grave was not in the agora, but instead, as Pausanias described it, right outside the city gates of Miletos, on the left hand of the processional road to Didyma (figs. 1, 8). The ‘Sacred Gate’ with the beginning of the extra-urban processional road is located, but the grave is not. Its position outside the city can be explained by assuming that it was originally part of the family grave of the Neleidai, an old Milesian genos tracing itself back to the mythical Ionian founder. The Neleidai still existed in late Hellenistic times, as we know from a Didymaean inscription. They may have acted as basileis, “kings”, representing the city in the league of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, assembling in the agora, but instead, as Pausanias described it, close to the western city gate of Eretria.

The family graveyard around a Late Geometric warrior grave became an intramural heroon, when the city was fortified c. 680 BC: Béard 1970; Polignac 1995, 130-137; Herda 1998, 42-47; Schörmer 2007, 206 f., 209-211 (At) figs. 1-8. However, according to the new city wall reconstruction by Frederiksen 2011, 74 f. 138-142 figs. 33-36, the area of the graveyard remained outside the city wall until the mid 6th century BC, excluding the lower plain between the harbour and the acropolis area (cf. Ecole Suisse 2004, 26 f., 178 f. the existence of a city wall before c. 550 BC is even doubted at all). This is not convincing, as in plot 740 (for the location see Frederiksen 2011, 140 fig. 33) was found a fortification wall of the early seventh century BC, running NW-SE towards the central city area around the Apollo temple: Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 8 f. 12 f. figs. 6, 8 pl. 1, 6; Ecole Suisse 2004, 220 f. It suggests that Eretria had a fortification wall including the acropolis and the harbour already in the early

124 Scholium on Dionysius Periegeta 825; for Kelados, his sanctuary and the procession see Herda 2006a, 302-310, 448; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.2.
125 Pausanias 7.2.6; cf. Herda 1998, 3-10 fig. p. 5.
126 Gerkun 1935, 12-37 figs. 3-14, pls. 1-13 (“das Heilige Tor”). Before the procession started from the Delphinion in Miletos, one Gylos, a sacred boundary marker, was placed at the Sacred Gate. A second Gylos was erected “at the doors” of the Apollo-temple in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 249-256 figs. 9, 12, 17; Herda 2015, 74 fig. 6. Close by the Sacred Gate was also located a sanctuary of Hekate (Propylaia, Epiteicheia). It served as first stop during the procession to Didyma: Herda 2006a, 282-289 figs. 9, 12; Herda 2015, 74 fig. 6. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.
127 The family graveyard around a Late Geometric warrior grave became an intramural heroon, when the city was fortified c. 680 BC: Béard 1970; Polignac 1995, 130-137; Herda 1998, 42-47; Schörmer 2007, 206 f., 209-211 (At) figs. 1-8. However, according to the new city wall reconstruction by Frederiksen 2011, 74 f. 138-142 figs. 33-36, the area of the graveyard remained outside the city wall until the mid 6th century BC, excluding the lower plain between the harbour and the acropolis area (cf. Ecole Suisse 2004, 26 f., 178 f. the existence of a city wall before c. 550 BC is even doubted at all). This is not convincing, as in plot 740 (for the location see Frederiksen 2011, 140 fig. 33) was found a fortification wall of the early seventh century BC, running NW-SE towards the central city area around the Apollo temple: Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 8 f. 12 f. figs. 6, 8 pl. 1, 6; Ecole Suisse 2004, 220 f. It suggests that Eretria had a fortification wall including the acropolis and the harbour already in the early

129 Herodotus 1.147; Pausanias 7.2; Strabo 14.1.3; cf. Herda 2006b, 51, 61 and 2009, 40 n. 83, 59 n. 168; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.4.
130 SEG 28, 716; Herda 1998, 19-22 fig. 1; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.
131 The family graveyard around a Late Geometric warrior grave became an intramural heroon, when the city was fortified c. 680 BC: Béard 1970; Polignac 1995, 130-137; Herda 1998, 42-47; Schörmer 2007, 206 f., 209-211 (At) figs. 1-8. However, according to the new city wall reconstruction by Frederiksen 2011, 74 f. 138-142 figs. 33-36, the area of the graveyard remained outside the city wall until the mid 6th century BC, excluding the lower plain between the harbour and the acropolis area (cf. Ecole Suisse 2004, 26 f., 178 f. the existence of a city wall before c. 550 BC is even doubted at all). This is not convincing, as in plot 740 (for the location see Frederiksen 2011, 140 fig. 33) was found a fortification wall of the early seventh century BC, running NW-SE towards the central city area around the Apollo temple: Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 8 f. 12 f. figs. 6, 8 pl. 1, 6; Ecole Suisse 2004, 220 f. It suggests that Eretria had a fortification wall including the acropolis and the harbour already in the early
position for the heroa of the founders of two
other East Ionian cities, Kolophon and Ephesos.
Andraimon and Androklos were, like Neileos, killed
in combat with the indigenous Karians. In Ephesos,
where the heroon of Androklos was likewise located
at the processional road to the Artemision, close to
the main city gate, the so-called Magnesian Gate,
a “man in arms” (ἐνιχθος ὑπάλληλος) stood on the
grave\(^\text{132}\). In this manner, the protective role of the
heroon was manifest.

Perhaps, the heroon of Neileos in Miletos
looked the same. An indication can be bronze coins
issued by the city in the Imperial period, depicting
her Minoan eponymous heros ktistes Miletos,
wearing hoplite armour\(^\text{133}\). A late Hellenistic, over life
size marble cuirass, enwinded by a snake and found
in 1903 close to the Sacred Gate\(^\text{134}\), may therefore
originate from the Neileos heroon (fig. 21)\(^\text{135}\).

Nevertheless, the city of Miletos was also
not willing to abstain from Neileos in the city
center, where the cult of a Greek heros ktistes
was traditionally located: but instead of a heroon, a
statue was erected for the founder in the agora,
in front of the Roman nymphaeum and opposite
the Hellenistic bouleuterion. This place was quite
prominent in the Roman period\(^\text{136}\). The lower basis
of the monument survived with a mid-3\(^\text{rd}\) century AD
inscription on a column drum, mentioning that the
statue on top, now lost together with its basis, had
been “restored” (ὑποκατεύθυνα) by the Milesian
demos\(^\text{137}\).

It reminds us of the restored statue of the heros
C. Iulius Epikrates in one of the
gymnasia of Miletos,
which had been affected by fire (see § II).

The honorary statue of Neileos in the agora
obviously did not form part of a large-scale heroon,
but it could definitely have served his cult: sacrifices

\(^\text{132}\) Pausanias 7.2.5; cf. Herda 1998, 6 f.; for the assumed location cf.
Herda 1998, 6 with n. 31; Sokolicek 2009, 328.
\(^\text{133}\) Herda 2006a, 308 n. 2192; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1.
\(^\text{134}\) Rabe 2008, 186 no. 61 pl. 62.
\(^\text{135}\) Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.
in front of the statue may have taken place during certain public festivals, converting it into a temporal cult statue\textsuperscript{138}.

VII. The heroon of Thales, act 2: On Thales as first of the Seven Sages and ‘cultural hero’, where his heroon was located, and how it looked

But back to Thales now: The story given by Plutarch delivers the additional information that Thales had predicted (προεξέλθων) where the agora of Miletus would be one day. I think, this story does not serve simply to demonstrate the philosopher’s ability to predict what happens in the future\textsuperscript{139}. Instead, Thales did not foresee this by accident: As it was exactly in his lifetime, that the street-insula-grid system was introduced in his hometown (fig. 19), it seems only logical to assume his participation in the plannings.

Thales as founder of Ionian natural philosophy, or better to say, natural sciences as a whole, had many skills: He himself brought geometry and astronomy from Egypt, measuring the height of the pyramid with the help of its shadow\textsuperscript{140}. Furthermore, Thales had the practical skills of a hydraulic engineer: Herodotos describes how he mastered the river Halys, which hindered the Lydian king Kroisos and his army from advancing against the Persians c. 547 BC: He channelled it in two streams, which were smaller, and by means of this facilitated Kroisos’ army to cross over\textsuperscript{141}. Water also played an essential part in Thales’ cosmological ideas, which were likely influenced by Egypt – or at least in concert with them since life in Egypt was indeed the gift of the Nile\textsuperscript{142}. The importance of water is already present in Homer’s and Hesiod’s cosmological picture. They declared the “river Okeanos” as the origin of all things and even of the gods and men\textsuperscript{143}. In the famous description of the shield of Achilles, Homer also delivers the first abstract model of the cosmos, the existing world in its given order\textsuperscript{144}. Hephæstus, the divine smith, artfully incises the picture onto the round shield, producing the first ‘world map’: The earth (Gaia) is slightly vaulted, disc-shaped, consisting of several ‘rings’, picturing human life on the occupied land (oikumene) in several scenes. The earth is surrounded by the sky (Ouranos), the stars, the moon and the sun (in this order). Okeanos forms the outermost ‘ring’\textsuperscript{145}. From this model Thales deduced his prime theory that water is “the principle of all” (arche) and that “the earth lies on water”\textsuperscript{146}. Via Thales’ teaching, Hephæstus’ map also got the archetype of Anaximander’s and Hekataios’ maps of the world\textsuperscript{147}.

\textsuperscript{138} Compare statues of gods and emperors in Roman agorai. The best indicator for a cult statue is the presence of an altar: Witschel 1995, 361-367, esp. 365 n. 40. The altar where the Milesians sacrificed to Nelleos intra muros may have been a portable one, placed in front of the statue. Otherwise the large foundation in the middle of the square between Nymphæum, Bouleuterion and Market Gate may have served as altar: Cain/Pfanner 2009, 87-92 figs. 6, 8-11. Another opportunity is given, when we take the ‘Ehrengrab’ in the court of the bouleuterion as an altar (of Artemis Boulæa, Apollo Didymeus, Zeus Boulaios) (see above § II): One figure on the frieze has been interpreted as depiction of Tyro, the mother of Pylian Neleus, the very forefather of the Neileos and the Neleids: Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 88 pl. 16, 2; Schollmeyer 2011, 21 f. with n. 194; p. 23 II.3 pl. 2b. On Tyro see Herda 1998, 14. The Neleidai (= Milesians) are also mentioned in the honorary inscriptions for Lichas, which was erected in the propylon of the Bouleuterion right opposite the statue of Neleos: C. Fredich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12, l. 5: Σαῦρος ἰδεῖ Νελειδαίοις οἰμάχομεν θυρισμὸς “First of the Ionians, you elected the tribes of the Cretans as allies for the Neleidai”; cf. Hermann 1998, 138 n. 12; cf. Herda 1998, 22 f. n. 155; see above n. 49.

\textsuperscript{139} So e.g. Classen 1965, 931.

\textsuperscript{140} Diogenes Laertius 1.27; Aetius 1.3.1; Proclus in Euclidem 1.26 p. 352 Friedländer; cf. Herodotus 2.109; Kirk et al. 2001, 93 f. on nos. 79-80; Hahn 2001, 57-61; Hahn 2003, 73 f.

\textsuperscript{141} Cf. Castagnoli 1971, 57-59 figs. 22 (Kahun, village for workers of the pyramid of Sesostris II, c. 1897-1879 BC), 23 (Tel-el-Amarna, city of Akhenaten, 1396-1354 BC), but without any reference to Thales.

\textsuperscript{142} Herodotus 1.75; cf. Hahn 2001, 56, 254 nn. 50 f.

\textsuperscript{143} Cf. Haider 2004, 468-470.

\textsuperscript{144} Homer, Iliad 14.246 (all things, implicating also of all gods and men: Nagy 201b, 267), 14.201, 302 (all gods) and Hesiod, Theogony 335-338 (river gods and nymphs).

\textsuperscript{145} Philipp 1984, 3 f.; Herda 2012.

\textsuperscript{146} Homer, Iliad 18.478-609; cf. Hardie 1985; Nagy 201b, 268-276, 594-599. It is difficult if not impossible to translate Homer’s description into a two-, or even three-dimensional picture, but he must have had Phoenician metal bowls with concentric friezes in mind, when creating his shield of “unattainable complexity”, see Snodgrass 1998, 40-44 fig. 17. One of the best and most convincing attempts in arranging the concentric circles is given by Philipp 1984 (however without figure and very concise). Recent bibliography and further commentaries in: Aion 31, 2009. The reconstruction ibid. (Cerchiai 2009, 24 fig. 1) is misleading.

\textsuperscript{147} Aristotle, Metaphysics 1. 983b 6-24 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A12).

\textsuperscript{148} Strabo 1.1.11 (= Kirk et al. 2001, 113 f. no. 99): γῆν δὲ ὦς µὲν Ὠμήρος τῆς γενεακυρίας ἤχεν, ἀσκοῦτο τὰ κελέτα. φιλόνιο

Burying a Sage: The Heroon of Thales in the Agora of Miletos
Maybe Thales’ insights were at least partly provoked by his observation of the dynamic palæogeographic development of Miletos which, as a harbour town, had always been exposed to the impact of water. The constant change of landscape, resulting from tectonics of the Maeander river, caused the rise or decline of the sea level, transforming land into sea and vice versa. Thales’ special achievement is that he first identified the causes of these natural processes and successively developed methods to influence them to the advantage of humans, e.g. by involving hydraulic engineering. This is the message in the Kroisos-story as well as in that of Thales choosing the location of his own grave, later to be his heroon.

Thales’ ideas are further developed in the theories of his contemporaries and successors: Anaximander, his most important pupil, exchanged the theories of his contemporaries and successors: Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecatæus left a work on the same subject, which we can identify as his by the giant Asterios near Miletos. succeeded Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecataeus the Milesian. Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecataeus left a work on the same subject, which we can identify as his by means of his other writings. (transl. H.C. Hamilton).

As Eratosthenes (c. 276-194 BCE) was the head of the library of Alexandria, he likely had access to the maps of Anaximander and Hekataios. So will have had Herodotus. Thales’ ideas are further developed in the theories of his contemporaries and successors: Anaximander, his most important pupil, exchanged the theories of his contemporaries and successors: Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecatæus left a work on the same subject, which we can identify as his by the giant Asterios near Miletos. succeeded Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecataeus the Milesian. Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecataeus left a work on the same subject, which we can identify as his by means of his other writings. (transl. H.C. Hamilton).
and lots of other construction projects, such as the Delphinion. For this reconstruction I can refer to a very reliable source: the Athenian comedian Aristophanes. In the year 414 BC he parodied in his comedy *Birds* the Athenian geometrician and astronomer Meton of Kolonos alias Hippodamos, who wanted to “measure out the air” to build ‘Cloudcuckooville’, the new city of the birds, round in shape with an inscribed square and an agora in the centre, to which straight streets from every direction lead. For this achievement Aristophanes quips “the man is a Thales” (ἀνθύψωτος Ἡθᾶς). This saying is no exaggeration: The map sketched by Meton is a perfect copy of Anaximander’s cosmological map of the world with the inhabited zone (oikumene) of squared shape in the center, adjusted to the scale of a single polis state. Anaximander himself, who is said to have introduced the gnomon as important instrument for defining geographical North and producing a seasonal sundial, lastly grounded on Thales’ theories, who combined Homer’s map of the world placed on the shield of Achilles, with Egyptian and Babylonian knowledge. Additionally Robert Hahn has shown how closely Thales and Anaximander were connected to the theories as well as practices of contemporaneous architects whose creative work not only included the outline of buildings, but also the layout of whole cities according to social and meteorological preconditions, as it was the case with later ‘architects’ like Hippodamos or Pytheos.

The recognition Thales had gained as a kind of ‘cultural founder’, respectively hero of Milletos, is reflected in the anachronistic myth that he came to the town from “Phoenicia”, joining Ionian heros ktistes Nelleos. The story, given in Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, is a complete construct, mixing up the facts. Thales was no ‘Phoenician’ in the literal sense. Instead he was a meiobarbaros, of half Karian, half Greek offsprings: His father Examyes bears a clear Karian name, while his mother Kleobouline descended from one of the oldest Mileesian aristocratic families, the Thelidai. This clan traced themselves back in the time before the Ionian colonization and claimed Kadmos and Agenor, ‘Phoenician’ princess in Boeotian Thebes, for their ancestors. Their descendants, not Thales, came to Milletos joining Nelleos’ colonization adventure some four hundred years before Thales was born. Also, they did not come from Phoenicia, but from “Phoenician” Kadmeia-Thebes. By making Thales a companion of Nelleos, the most important of all founders of Milletos, the tradition obviously stressed his role as a heros ktistes.

His recognition culminates in his alleged victory in the Panhellenic competition of the Seven Sages. This story must have spread already shortly after his death, because Hipponax of Ephesos

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161 On Nelleos and the Ionian migration see Herda 1998 and 2009, 28, 33-41, 91; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.
162 Diogenes Laertios 1.22 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A1).
163 Cf. Herodotus 1.170 (Thales is a “Phoenician”), 5.57 f. (the Kadmeioi of Thebes are “Phoenicians”); cf. Herda 2009, 77 with nn. 284 f., 79 with nn. 302 f., Herda/Sauter 2009, 77 f., 105; Herda forthcoming b, §§ 5, 6.5.
164 According to the Hellenistic Marmor Parium (IG XII 5, 444 = FGrHist 239, 38; 264/3 BC), the Ionian Migration started 1086/85 or 1076/75 BC; cf. Herda 2009, 28; Herda, forthcoming b, § 2 with nn. 11 f.
165 The anachronistic combination of Thales with Nelleos in Diogenes Laertios 1.22 may be stimulated by the wording of Thales dedication of his winner price in the Seven Sages-contest to the Apollo Didymus in Didyma or Apollo Delphinios in Milletos, also cited by Diogenes Laertios 1.29, referring to Callimachus, Iambus 1 (fr. 191 Pfeiffer): Θαλές ἅμα τὸ μεθέντα ἅνεις δίκαιον, τούτο δὲ λαβὼν ἀφθονίαν (“Thales brings me, the price he won twice, to the lord of Nelleus folk”). Instead, Kirk et al. 2001, 84 f. on no. 62 let the couple of Nelleos and Agenor arrive in Milletos, as the name of Nelleos companion is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertios 1.22 (cf. Classen 1965, 930 who thinks not of Agenor alone, but of the Thelidai as family). That Agenor was rewarded with Mileesian citizenship by publishing his name on a citizens list inscribed in stone (ἐπολυκεφαλίας ἐν Μέλιτῳ) is another anachronism, which would better suit to Thales’ time or even later (the preserved citizen lists, written on the stone walls of the Delphinion, are Hellenistic). That Nelleos was expelled from Phoenicia/Thebes together with Agenor or Thales (ὃς ἦσσε σὺν Νέλειῳ ἐσχάτην Φοίνικαί) is attested nowhere else in the Ionian migration myths. Instead he came either directly from Pylos, or via Athens: Herda 2009, 33 f.; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5-2.
166 Diogenes Laertios 1.27-33.
(akme c. 540 BC) refers to it168 and the concept of the Seven Sages, itself an Indo-European legacy169, was propagated by the oracle in Delphi in the late 6th century BC. At that time the different home cities started to build up hero cults, to occupy their own sages and profit from their fame170. The myth of the competition therefore delivers the ‘mythicoritualistic’ background for the late Archaic cult of the Sages in their hometowns. We know of a heroon of Bias in Priene, called Bianteion. It also functioned as prytaneion and because of this should have been located close to the agora or in the agora of Archaic Priene, later to be relocated together with the whole city171. As the cult of heroes also included large-scale sacrifices with following dining (thysiai), a prytaneion, designed to house such ritual feastsings, formed an ideal location172.

The heroon of a third member of the Seven Sages, Chilon, is known in Sparta173. And already mentioned was the creation of Solon, following the tradition of the Homeric heroes. His ashes were scattered around Salamis, the island he had won for Athens174. This tradition implies a hero cult, but not so much as one of the Seven Sages than as heroes kistae of now Athenian Salamis, protecting the cities claim on the island for all times175.

Where do we have to look for the heroon of Thales? As stated above, its location is likely to be placed within the limits of the agora extensions of the 6th century BC. Recent geoarchaeological research has shown that these extensions were made not only in the southern fringes of the Lion Harbour, but also in the area of the Hellenistic South Market, including parts of the former Theatre Harbour in the West and of the Eastern Harbour (fig. 18). Theoretically speaking, the available space was therefore quite large. Nevertheless the analysis of the urban development in Late Archaic and Early Classical times does point to the region between the Delphinion in the East, the sanctuary of Dionysos in the Northwest and the Archaic insulae west of the Hellenistic bouleuterion. In this triangle was also found the only in situ inscription of the 5th century BC so far, a banishment decree of the polis, characterizing this part of the town as the political agora of post-Persian Miletos, a suitable place for a heroon176. The Late Archaic-Classical Delphinion, including the Molpon-prytaneion, is only 60 m away. It was in this very sanctuary that Thales dedicated the price he had won in the competition of the Seven Sages, at least according to one version of the story. On the golden bowl of the Arcadian Bathycles he is said to have placed the following prose inscription, which quite matches the standard form of Archaic dedications, though it scarcely has survived the Persian conquest and following plundering of Miletos177:

168 Hipponax fr. 4, 63, 133 (West), see below with n. 178. Alcaeus fr. 448 Lobel/Page (¼ Himerios, Orationes 28.7 Colonna) may already refer to the story of the Seven Sages. Xenophanes (Diels/Kranz 21 B 19) stresses Thales’ astronomic achievements as Herculis did (Diels/Kranz 22 B 38); Classen 1965, 931. According to Diogenes Laertius 1.22, quoting Demetrios of Phaleron (c. 350-280 BC) in his List of Archons, Thales was the first to be called ‘Sage’ in the year of the Athenian Archon Damasias (Olympiade 49.3 = 582 BC), exactly the year of the introduction of the Panhellenic .resume stoicheiés in Delphi: Marmor Parium, IG XII 5, 444 ep. 38 (= FGrHist 239, 38); Eusebius Chronicle p. 125. Kirk et al. 2001, 84 n. 1 assume that Damasias was the first who ‘canonized’ the Seven Sages.

169 Martin 1993, 121-123; Janda 2003, 300 f. But Martin 1993, 121 alludes besides the Seven Ëa of the Sanskrit Veda (c. 1000 BC) also to the seven wise men building the walls of Uruk in the IIth millennium BC epic of Gilgamesh.

170 Martin 1993; Christes 2001; Tell 2007, 258-260, 271

171 Diogenes Laertius 1.85, 88; on the relocation of Priene: Herda 2009, 61 n. 175; p. 66 with n. 210: Herda forthcoming b, § 6.3. The transfer of a hero cult in case of a city’s relocation is attested for Themistocles c. 400/399 BC, who had a heroon in the agora of old and new Magnesia on the Mæander. Before the transfer of his heroon, perhaps already shortly after his death in 459 BC, his bones had been brought to Athens, where he got a heroon in the Piraeus: Thucydides 1.138.5; Dio Chrys 21:582; Plutarch, Themistocles 32.3; Pausanias 1.12; Nepos, Themistocles 10.5; cf. Malkin 1987, 223-228; Krumelich 1997, 72 with n. 176.

172 Miller 1978, 4-13, 130 (dining, xenia), 17 (heroes in prytaneia), Ekroth 2003, 183. On dining in the Milesian prytaneion, otherwise called Molpon, which was located in the Delphinion: Herda 2005, 249 f., 263-268; Herda 2011, 68 f.

173 Pausanias 3.16.4 mentions the grave on his way from the building named ‘Chiton’, where the sacred chiton for Apollo Amyklaios was woven, to the city gate, leading to Amyklaia.

174 Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, Solon 32.4.

175 Farnell 1921, 361; Malkin 1987, 83, 218; see above § III with n. 81.


177 Diogenes Laertius 1.29. According to other versions, Thales dedicated the price, a tripod, or golden cup or bowl, to Apollo Didymeus in Didyma: Maeandrius FGrHist 492 F 18 (= Diogenes Laertius 1.28-29, 32); Callimachus, Jamb. 1 f. 191 (Pfeiffer); Diegesis 6.10-19; cf. Herda 1998, 22 f. on both versions and the wording of the dedications. The text, Kerkhecker 1999, 42 n. 196 gives for the prose inscription, is wrong: the addressee is Apollo Delphinios, not Didymeus, see Diogenes Laertius 1.29. The metric inscription, Diogenes Laertius also gives in 1.29, does not specify Apollo (see above n. 166). But Diogenes adds that Thales “send it to Apollo at Didyma” (= Διόνυσον Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπιτεπελεν), obviously combining two contradictory versions.
Miletos we have some further informations.

“Thales the Milesian, son of Examyæ [has dedicated this] to Apollo Delphinios, after twice winning the price from all the Greeks.”

[transl. R.D. Hicks]

Perhaps this wording is only a later forgery, but the Bathycles story itself is parodied already by Thales’ 6th century BC ‘neighbour’, the poet Hipponax of Ephesos, who was himself parodied by Callimachus (c. 310–240 BC) in his first lambus, letting him narrate the story a second time178. Callimachus’ Hipponax gives another striking detail of the story: When Bathycles’ son Amphilæces brings Thales the golden bowl for the first time, he finds him in the Apollo sanctuary in Didyma, deep in geometrical studies, more concrete, developing his theorem that any angle, inscribed in a semicircle, is always a right angle179. But the discovery is here attributed to the “Phrygian Euphorbus”, who anybody in the audience knew as being the earlier incarnation of Pythagoras. Callimachus thus (ritually) ridicules two sages alike, Thales and his pupil Pythagoras, but in the same time he hints at a quite serious aspect, that of the origin of all human wisdom. As E.A. Schmidt and A. Kerkhekeer have ingeniously pointed out, Euphorbus is finally to be identified with Apollo. Therefore does Thales’ (or Pythagoras’) theorem as well as his wisdom go back to Apollo himself, the god of σοφία180. The sage is an instrument of the god. As such he can, as any other sage, be venerated as a hero, even though, only after his death and for an achievement which is not his alone, at least in the eyes of Delphi181.

Regarding the heroon of Thales in the agora of Miletos we have some further informations.

178 Hipponax fr. 4 (West), cf. frs. 63 and 123, where he refers to the Ἐξαμύς parodied in Callimachus, lambus 1 fr. 191 (Pfeiffer); cf. Kerkhekeer 1999, 29-44, esp. 30: “This line is not original Hipponax, but Hipponacenean pastiche. The concentration of mannerism is too good to be true. Callimachus parodies the father of parody, Ἰσπυλοκόσμων χρειστός Ἰσπυλοκόσμων.” Diogenes Laertius 1.28 instead cites the local historian Maenandrus/Leandrus of Miletos (FGrHist 492 F 18) as model for Callimachus’ Bathycles story.

179 Callimachus, lambus 1 fr. 191 58-61 (Pfeiffer). The geometrical diagrams illustrating the four theorems of Thales can be found in: Hahn 2001, 58 fig. 2.2.


181 In one of the versions (Diogenes Laertius 1.28), the oracle of Apollo in Delphi itself is initiating the competition of the most wise man.

Diogenes Laertius resp. his source witnesses an honorary statue, erected for Thales and bearing the following inscription182.

τόνδε Θαλῆς Μιλήτων Ἰας θηέσας ἀνέδειξεν ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύττατον Σοφία.

“Ionian Miletos brought up Thales, and dedicated him, oldest of all astronomers, to Sophia.”

The statue was obviously a portrait statue. Perhaps the unnamed bearded head in the Vatican, Galleria Geografica, Inv. 2892, arranged with that of Bias of Priene in a double herm, belongs to the Milesian statue (figs. 23a-b)183. The style of the head would date it to the 4th century BC, long after Thales had died. In consequence it could only be a posthumous product of phantasy, no correct physiognomic rendering of the sage, as during his lifetime portrait sculpture was never realistic in the sense of physiognomic reliability184. The late Classical statue, presumably in a seated pose, typical for portraits of philosophers185, may well have been added to the older heroon as an honorary statue, erected by the city of Miletos. According to the inscription the statue was dedicated not to Apollo, but to the goddess of “Wisdom”, Sophia186.

182 Diogenes Laertius 1.34 (= Diels/Kranz A 1.34).

183 Richter 1965, I 81-83 esp. 83 fig. 321-322; Heintze 1977, pls. 44, 2; 45, 3; Richter/Smith 1984, 209 f. fig. 172. H. Heintze (Heintze 1977, pls. 44, 1, 45,1-2) wants to count an over life-size bearded head in a private collection for a portrait of Thales, but this is only hypothetical.

184 Richter 1965, I 81; see Fittschen 1988, 2-5 on ‘idealized’ and ‘individualized portraits’. Compare the statue of Chares and other seated statues of Milesian aristocrats along the sacred road between Miletos and Didyma: they are idealized portraits, representing certain types (men as aristocrats, participating in seated ritual dining; women depicted as sitting in the aristocratic oikos and ‘ruling’ over it), without clear signs of individuality of the depicted persons. This is only given by the name inscriptions, e.g. that of Chares: Herda 2006a, 332-342.

185 All the portraits of the Seven Sages, especially those in a group composition, repeated in Roman mosaics and wall paintings, show them seated. A seated (and bearded!) Thales is depicted in the wall painting from the ‘Palazzo dei Cersi’ in Ostia from Hadrianic times: Richter 1965, I 81, 83 fig. 325; Richter/Smith 1984, 209 fig. 171. The portrait is named in Greek: Ηρακλής Μιλήτων. Another named portrait is a bearded bust on a mosaic from Baalbek, of the 3rd century AD: Richter 1965, I 81 no. 4 fig. 314; Richter/Smith 1984, 197 f. no. 4 fig. 158.

186 The goddess Sophia is first personified in Classical poetry (e.g. Euripides, Medea 843), depictions are attested from Hellenistic times on: Xagorari 1994.
The formulation ἐνέδειξεν ... Σοφία resembles that of sacrificial regulations: The mothercity sacrificed her sophos metaphorically to Sophia like a bull. Additionally, Miletos shows off with her cultural leadership in Ionia by stressing Thales’ achievements as ‘first’ astronomer: The rare feminine adjective Ἡις for “Ionician” is first to be found in Herodotus, and the very same Herodotus also coined the phrase of Miletos being the “ornament of Ionia” (τῆς Ἱωνίης πρόσχημα). Thales was certainly one of Ionia’s crown jewels.

Diogenes Laertius has also passed down the alleged grave inscription of Thales, most probably that of the post-Persian era:


\[ \text{η ὀλύον τόδε σάμα τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμαξε τὸ πολύφροντὶσσυ τοῦ Θάλλης ὀρν.} \]

“Here in a narrow tomb great Thales lies, yet his renown for wisdom reached the skies.” [English transl. R.D. Hicks]

Is the smallness, skillfully contrasted with Thales’ boundless mind, owing to the original grave built by the sage himself? And did this grave survive the destruction of Miletos by the Persians in 494 BC? We do not know as long as we have not found it, an adventure, which seems quite difficult to me, but nevertheless absolutely worth the effort!

VIII. Heros Anaximander in the bouleuterion?

That monuments of the Archaic past of Miletos survived into the Byzantine period, being reused in different functions, is documented by countless sculptures, found reused in Late Roman and Early/Middle Byzantine contexts.

One of the most remarkable is the lower part of a statue of a long-robed female, broken in two pieces and dated to around 570/60 BC (Fig. 24). It was found in the Hellenistic bouleuterion. The dedicatory inscription on the plinthe below the feet identifies it as a dedication of Anaximander. From its first discovery onwards, the statue has been connected to the famous philosopher, pupil of Thales. Anaximander died in the same 58 Olympiad as Thales (c. 547/6 BC), but was c. 14 years younger. At first, the statue was believed to be the depiction of a male and therefore mistaken as a life-size portrait statue of Anaximander. But this cannot be true as it is definitely a female, wearing a foot-long robe (chiton), most probably belted, and covered by a typical East Ionian ‘veil-mantele’.

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187 For ἐνέδειξεν plus dative in the sense of “dedicate” see LSc s.v. ἐνδείκνυμι, referring to SIG 589.6, 21 τῷ Λ. Δι ταύταν (regulation for the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeandrus, 185/4 BC); cf. Sokolowski 1955, 88-92 no. 32, esp. 91 with commentary on l. 21 ἐνδείκνυμινα. 188 Cf. LSc s.v. Ηης: Herodotus 5.33 ἐπηκαίρως, 5.87 ἐπιθήκη, 1.92 [vulci]. 189 Herodotus 5.28; compare Pliny, naturalis historia 5.112: caput Ioniae; cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.6. 190 Diogenes Laertius 1.39 (= Anthology Palatina 7.84; Diels/Kranz 11 A 1.39).

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191 For example: Archaic female seated statues in Miletus: Dally/Scholl 2009; Burnke 2009; lion in Baths of Faustina: Dally/Scholl 2009, 151 f. figs. 8-9; S.F. Meynerson, in: Bol 2011, 110-113 fig. 45 pl. 51 (VII.23); kōrous in the theatre: R. Bol in: Bol 2011, 131-134 f. 52 (supposedly cult statue of Apollo Terminthus from Myous, which is not convincing to me); seated statues of ‘Branchids’ and Chares along the sacred road in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 337-350 fig. 18, 20; Dally/Scholl 2009, 152 f. fig. 10; Archaic kore (Berlin Inv. 1740) dedicated to the nymphs: see below n. 198.

192 The exact find context is lost, see Darsow 1954, 102 with n. 5 (found in the peristyle or the assembly building).

193 C. Frederich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112 no. 8 fig. 103 (height 0.79 m); Darsow 1954 fig. 15; Jeffery 1990, 334, 342, no. 26 pl. 64; Herrmann 1997, 156 f. no. 8; Agelidis 2001, 190 f. with figs.; Dally/Scholl 2009, 146 f. fig. 3.

194 Apollodorus FGrHist 244 F 29 II 1028 (= Diogenes Laertius 2.12 = Diels/Kranz 12 A 13); cf. Kirk et al. 2001, 109 f. with n. 1 f.

195 C. Frederich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112; followed by Diels 1914, 5 contra: Darsow 1954; Herrmann 1997, 156 f.; Karakasi 2001, 44, 167 pl. 36 (“M 1”). On the clothing see Darsow 1954, 166-110; Kriegenerdert 1995. Kriegenerdert 1995 remarks that the left hand was originally raised in front of the trunk, holding a small votive, perhaps a bird. On the motive of the fringe-tip of the veil-mantele...
No Archaic portrait of Anaximander is known. The famous portrait on a relief, found in Rome, showing him seated and contemplating, is a Hellenistic phantasy and part of a series of portraits of Greek astronomers, geometricians, geographers etc. (fig. 25)\(^{196}\).

As the kore with Anaximander’s votive inscription was indeed re-erected in the bouleuterion in Hellenistic times, and not brought here in Late Antiquity or early Byzantine times, like for example the sarcophagus-fragments and the grave inscriptions\(^{197}\), an identification of the dedicatory Anaximander, with the famous Milesian philosopher, was likely intended\(^{198}\). We may then speculate about some kind of cultic veneration of Anaximander in the Hellenistic bouleuterion, which is not attested otherwise. Being the leading philosopher of the Milesian School, he could claim an importance as ‘cultural’ hero, similar to that of his teacher Thales. Like him he will also have been involved in the re-organisation of the urban planning of his hometown (see § IV, VII). From the preserved testimonia, Anaximander can be imagined as an utopist and visionary who tried to translate his idea of the cosmic structure into the spatial and political structure of his hometown. Like the earth forming the center of Anaximander’s kosmos, surrounded by three ‘rings’ (stars, moon, sun), defined by simple mathematical ratios and definite geometrical proportions, the space of the agora formed the spatial and political center of the polis, whose society was divided in three classes of citizens (aristocrats, middle class, poor), interacting according to the rule of oligarchic isonomia\(^{199}\). This may have qualified him sufficiently

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\(^{196}\) On the relief, found reused in a wall in the Via delle Sette Sale: Richter/Smith 1984, 86 f. fig. 50. On the dating in the 2nd century BC with the help of the name inscription and the series of reliefs with portraits of Greek scientists-philosophers from Rome: Blanck 1959, pl. 8.

\(^{197}\) See above § II for the sarcophagus fragments and grave inscriptions. The statue of Anaximander was deliberately broken in two pieces to use it as building material. Additionally, the vertical fringe of the veil along the left back side as well as the lower fringe of the robe covered by the veil in the back and on both sides were cut off. This led Darsow 1954, 102 to assume a re-use in the Hellenistic building or in the post-antique settlement covering the bouleuterion area, while Kriegenherdt 1995, 109 thought of a re-use already in the Hellenistic building. Alas, the Hellenistic building was constructed, at least in its upper parts, with large ashlars blocks, not rubblestone.

\(^{198}\) Daily/Scholl 2009, 147, who stress the uniqueness of the piece. But compare also the lower part of another life-size female statue of this type from Miletos of the same period with the votive inscription of a certain Mandrios to the Nymphs. The statue, now in Berlin (Inv. 1740) was until recently wrongly attributed to Samos: Karakasi 2001, 14 with n. 23, p. 48, 167 pl. 36 (“M 1A”). Instead, it was found in a modern wall within the ancient city of Miletos: Ehrhardt 1993, 3 f. 199 Aristotle, de caelo B 13.295b 10 = Diels/Kranz 12 A 26.15; cf. Hahn 2001, 182 f. (referring to Th. Comperz, J.-P. Vernant and G. Naddaf); Naddaf 2003, 31. For the tripartite structure of the Archaic Milesian society see Phocylides of Miletos, a contemporary of Anaximander, fr. 12 (Bergk): “Many things are good for men who are in the just middle. In the city, I want to be a man of the center.”; cf. Naddaf 2003, 30 f. The “ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menschheit”
for being a suitable hero in a bouleuterion. For this we can compare the heroon of Bias, located in the Prytaneion of Classical (?) Priene (see § VII).

The date of origin of Anaximander’s postulated hero cult is mere speculation: it can already have existed in the later 6th century BC, as is the case for the cult of Thales, or that of the Chares, commander of Teichiusa, a Milesian phrourion, whose portrait statue formed the seventh station of the New Year procession to Didyma. One may take these Milesian examples as an indicator for the growing body of official hero cults of recently deceased persons in the second half of the 6th century BC, adding new professions (athletes, philosophers, military, poets) to the most spread and earliest attested Greek hero cult of historical persons, that of the founders of colonies.

If we neglect a hero cult of Anaximander in the Hellenistic bouleuterion, the assumed presentation of an Archaic statue with dedicatory inscription of Anaximander at least hints at the possible function of the bouleuterion as a quasi archive for interesting memorabilia of Miletos’ great past, a function sometimes also assigned to Prytaneia. One may finally hint at the practice of erecting honorary statues in public buildings.

IX. A recent hypothesis on an intramural, subterranean chamber grave: heros ktistes versus temenitai

In a new book on Ionia, Wolfram Hoepfner has proposed to identify a subterranean chamber west of the Hellenistic Bouleuterion with the grave of a founder of Miletos (figs. 26, 27a-b). He dated it in the Archaic period and located it in the agora. The chamber is only 3.05 by 1.53 m and 2.09 m high, it was closed by a plug door. The chamber as well as a tiny antechamber on a slightly higher level had seven niches in the walls. A staircase of ten steps led to the antechamber. Hoepfner leaves open to which of the Milesian founders the grave may have belonged. He compared the structure with the Late Archaic subterranean grave in the agora of Poseidonia-Paestum in Italy. The latter grave consisted of a built-chamber without any entrance, having a gabled roof, on which an additional roof made of terracotta tiles was later placed, covered by a tumulus. The grave included several hydriai and amphorae made of bronze and terracotta, standing along the walls and filled with a brown sticky substance—the remains of a bed—as well as five iron spits lying on a central stone basis. It has been interpreted not as a grave, but as a cenotaph for the founder of Poseidonia, because bones or ashes of a cremation are missing.

(H. Usener), the number “3” (see below n. 238), may also stand behind Anaximander’s concept of the apeiron, “the Boundless, Infinite”, which is the arche, the ‘principle’ of all being. The “3” is also extant in the number of the three continents Europa, Asia and Libya, as counted by the Ionian philosophers: Herodotus 2.16; cf. Naddaf 2003, 35 f.

204 C. Kleiner in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 54; W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener, 1972, 69-71 Beilage 1, 4, 6, pls. 16, 1-3. Regarding the function as grave O. Henry kindly remarks in a letter of March 20, 2012: “As for the structure in Miletos, I would also think that it is a tomb. Mainly because of the door system: a plug door which is really hard to open and close again, especially since it is located on the staircase”. Another argument are the niches where urns could be placed. This implies a multiple use of the grave.

205 See above n. 107; an alternative interpretation as Tritopatreion: Rausch 2000; critical on Rausch: Stroszeck 2010, 73 n. 113.
Regarding the location of the grave: From the early 6th century BC on, the area where the grave is located forms part of the street-insula-grid system (figs. 2, 6; 19). This place was not an open space, but covered with the building structures of an insula. Nevertheless, the agora was close by, only one insula-block to the East, and the next insula to the Northwest housed the sanctuary of Dionysos, which is at least of Archaic age, marking the importance of this city district.

All in all, Hoepfner’s hypothesis of the chamber tomb being the Archaic grave of a Milesian founder hero (heros ktistes) has to be abandoned. Its position close to the city center is remarkable, being under one of the houses of an insula. What is also remarkable is the permanent accessibility of the complex via the staircase, as well as the seven niches, resembling the five additional loculi in ‘Heroon I’, the supposed grave of Dokimos (see § I). This is a clear hint of a multiple burial place used over a longer period, otherwise typical for family graves. But within the city wall, where – in contrast to heroa which were exempted from that rule (see § V) – regular family burials of citizens were unusual due to ritual impurity, another possibility seems more suitable to me: The burial ground of a burial-association, not organized according to family structures. This calls into mind a whole series of so-called temenitai-inscriptions from Hellenistic

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206 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70: “(…) in der darunter folgenden Auffüllung hinter den die Treppenwand bildenden Quadern dagengeb dominierte archaisches Scherbenmaterial (…)”.

207 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70: “Nach der in Milet üblichen Material-Chronologie sowie nach den Mauerwerkserformen zögt man freilich mit einer derart frühen [Archaic, A.H.] Ansetzung; die Grottenanlage wäre danach am ehesten in hellenistische Zeit zu setzen”. He also hinted at Bronze Age graves with a comparable roof construction in Ras Shamra-Ugarit, stressing that this has no implication for the dating of the Milesian grave. O. Henry kindly remarks in a letter of March, 20, 2012: “As for the date I would also think of the Hellenistic date for both the vault and the niches”.


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210 Herda 2005, 279 fig. 29 (Archaic), 273 fig. 25 (Classical). Most recent map of the grid, though diachronous: Greave 2006, 258-262; Burkert 2011, 226, 257 fig. 8, only Archaic: Greave 2009, 26 fig. 1. The map in: Hoepfner 2011, 72 fig. 34 for the early Classical city is misleading as it does not take into account the Archaic-Classical insulae west and southwest of the later Hellenistic bouleuterion (for an Archaic insula underneath Roman Heroon III see now: Herda/Sauter 2009, 86 f. n. 199 fig. 9).

Additionally, the shore line in the city center shows remarkable deviations from the older reconstructions Hoepfner is relying on, see now provisionally: Müllerhoff et al. 2009, 20 Abb. 1.


213 The niches are large enough (0.38-0.47 m broad, 0.36-0.38 m high, 0.25-0.43 m deep) to house ash-urns.

Beneath Heroon III there is also a small Hellenistic underground chamber (2 x 2 m), accessible via a staircase of eleven steps. But this chamber, which has a large niche (1.00 m broad, 0.75 m high, 0.50 m deep) in the west and a small lamp niche at its right side, seems to have been a storage room for wine amphoras as there was found a large amount of Hellenistic amphora sherds inside. Against its function as a grave also speaks the absence of a door: Weber 2004, 140 figs. 73, 86 pl. 43, 1 Beilage 1 ("Kellerraum").

214 Death causes ritual impurity, a pollution (mysos, miasma), which calls for ritual cleaning. Therefore death-related things are regularly excluded from sanctuaries and the city: Parker 1983, 32-73, 338; Burkert 2011, 125 f., 259, 359. See on related funerary laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.
Miletos. These attest several associations of temenitai or temenizontes, part of them metoikoi, non-citizens from abroad, venerating specific gods in their own sanctuaries (temene), where they, at least partly, also placed their collective burials. Most of the inscriptions were found close to the Değirmen Tepe in the south-western outskirts of the city, where part of the Hellenistic necropolis was located. But two were found within the city, one of them northwest of the Hellenistic bouleuterion, exactly in the area where our chamber tomb is located. It lists at least twelve persons, called temenizontes, and is dedicated to Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite. The list whose present whereabouts is not known, was dated to the 1st century BC out of prosopographical reasons.

Altogether we may suspect the subterranean chamber tomb to be part of a Hellenistic intramural grave-temenos, with a representative building on top, comparable to the peristyle structure of Heroon III or the well known (extramural) Heroon of Leon in K Alydon, both including rooms for ritual feasting. Maybe this is also true for Heroon I, as it also contained multiple burials and a dining room, at least in its last phase, dated to the Roman Imperial time (see above § I).

X. Some final remarks on Greek hero cults

Considering the evidence of countless mythical or mythistorical hero-cults in the growing city-states of mainland Greece, it seems illogical to assume that the “heroization of founders [in the Archaic colonies, A.H.] provides the earliest and clearest instances of hero cult in the Greek world”.

Instead, the cult of specific, personalized heroes of exceptional moral qualities as distinct part of the cult of the dead was always present in Greek culture as an Indo-European heritage from at least Bronze Age on, forming a difference to e.g. the Ancient Egyptian culture, which does not know half divine, half human heroes, but clearly separates gods from men without any intermingling – except the pharaoh –, so that gods “do not run into” humans.

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219 These Milesian temenitai-inscription attesting grave-associations beside the common family-structures are overseen in the otherwise excellent article of Harter-Ulboopau/Wiedenburg forthcoming.

220 Antonaccio 1995, 268; see also Antonaccio 1999 and 2011, 351. Bremmer 2006, 19 f. lowers the beginning of hero cults in Greece even more, to the late 6th century BC. Before, there had only been “tomb cults, cults of ancestors, and cults of founders of cities”. It remains open why he does not count founders for heroes.

221 The assumption of Habicht 1970, 263 that the divinized rulers received their honours only because of their political power, not because of their moral perfection (”sittliche Vollkommenheit”), is only functional and dismisses the immanent metaphysical and moral function of ancient (as well as modern) religion. The same is true for the comment of Himmelman 2009, 21 that the “Heroes ist ursprünglich ein Wesen jenseits von Gut und Böse. Er wird nicht verreht, weil er im Leben ein Tugendheld war, sondern weil er ein mächtiger Totengeist, ein gegenwärtiges Numen ist”. See now Anderson 2009 on heroes as moral agents and examples.

222 Farnell 1921, 358: “One has then the right to regard some form of ancestor-cult as of indefinite antiquity in Greece. We may believe on the analogy of other societies that it developed with the development of settled agricultural institutions, with the rights of property in land, the ancestral grave belonging to the family plot”. Mycenaean elite graves and funeral iconography show all elements typical for later ‘hero-cult’: animal sacrifices, libations, feasting, athletic contests, postfuneral rituals: Gallou 2005. That the Romans took over certain heroes from the Greeks while not distinguishing them from the gods (dei), as Graf 1998, 478 suppose, demands further research, but does not seem convincing to me. The myth that Roman culture lacked myths is a warning example. Also is ancestor cult, closely related to the hero cult, typical for the ancient Indian as well as Roman culture, suggesting Indo-European heritage: Hemberg 1954, 180. For ancestor cults in the Hittite and Near Eastern dynasties see Haas 1994, 239-248. For the Etruscan and Roman ancestor cults see Steingräber 2002 and below note 263.

223 Herodotus 2.50.3: νομοί τι οὐκ άθροίοι όιδ’ ἔρημοι οἶνος (% “The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.” transl. A.D. Godley); cf. Parker 2011, 117, Assmann 2009, 12 misses any sign of herioc myths in Egypt: “In Egypt the gods do not run into you, and girls and boys can be as beautiful as they are, without being disturbed ever” (“In Ägypten laufen die Götter nicht über den Weg und man kann als Mädchen oder Jüngling noch so schön sein, ohne je belästigt zu werden”). However does Robert Hahn remind me of the fact that the pharaoh
The distinction between Greek hero cult and the cult of the dead ancestors seems likewise artificially overemphasized to me. Both are the outcome of the same inherited religious phenomenon in Indo-European cultures, “an Indo-European eschatology”\textsuperscript{223}: the belief of an afterlife of the soul (ψυχή) that can still intervene in favour of the living, when called in via sacrificial ritual\textsuperscript{226}. This is also why burning the dead corpse of Achilles and other heroes, or of ‘regular’ dead like Philipp II of Macedon, could not affect the potential power of their soul\textsuperscript{227}. Otherwise, the apotheosis of the Roman emperors would have made no sense: the divus, whose corpse had been burned on the rogor or pyra, the funerary pyre, was thought of as being a superhuman, indestructible, divine power, who had been lifted “up to the gods” in Olymp. Being a heroized ancestor, he could subsequently protect the imperial family as well as the Roman state – at least as long as he was asked for via executing his cult\textsuperscript{228}. One is strikingly remembered of the central separation ritual of Hittite imperial funerals: the immortal soul of the deceased emperor or empress, gift of the Sun-god, is liberated and cleaned by burning the mortal body on the pyre, because “to the gods belongs the soul”\textsuperscript{229}. The ‘dying’ of the king or queen is therefore called simply “become a god” (DINGIR\textsuperscript{226},\textsuperscript{230} kišår), and during the ritual the dead king is addressed “o god” and asked for protecting his children and grandchildren, while in texts of the New Kingdom (1400-1200 BC), written in Anatolian hieroglyphs, the dead: king is always designated with the logogram for the title HEROŠ, still in ‘archaizing’ use in the Luwian, ‘Neo-Hittite’ kingdoms of the 8th century BC\textsuperscript{231}. As the groups practicing a cult can differ widely, so also can the rituals of a hero cult\textsuperscript{231}. In this regard, the interpretation of archaeological finds

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**Notes:**

- \textsuperscript{224} So for example Antonaccio 1995; Böhringer 2001, 37-46; Ekroth 2002, 335-341; Antonaccio 2006, 383-394; Söldner 2009; critical: Deoudi 1999, 40: “Wichtig ist dabei, daß einem mythischen Heros die gleichen Ehrungen zuteil wurden, wie einem unbekannten Heros an einem bronzezeitlichen oder geometrischen Grab, so daß zwischen Heroen- und Grabkult nicht unterschieden werden kann”. See already Farnell 1925, 343, who warned: “The cult of heroes and the cult of ancestors frequently overlap, and the forms of ritual are mainly the same. But it is right to distinguish them, for there is a difference in the root-idea that affects their geographical distribution and the sentiment attaching to them”.
- \textsuperscript{225} Watkins 1995, 290.
- \textsuperscript{226} On heroes as ‘small-scale gods’, local gods, helpful powers: Parker 2011, 103-103. During the Hittite funerary ritual for the dead king or queen is their soul entertained and asked for protecting the dynasty: Otten 1958, 16, 136. When relocating his capital, king Muwattali II took with him not only the gods, but also the souls of his dead ancestors: see below n. 283.
- \textsuperscript{227} Burkert 2011, 292 f. against Rohde’s argumentation (Rohde 1925, 1-7-32), the burning of the corpse, a funerary ritual introduced only in late Mycenaean times in Greece, would serve the destruction of the corpse to break the power of the dead over the living and ban their souls. It is rightly argued by Burkert and others (Burkert 2011, 292 with n. 7) that only a part of burials included the burning of the corpse. On the function of the burning as separation ritual of the mortal body from the immortal, divine soul in the Hittite and Roman imperial funerals see below.
- \textsuperscript{229} KUB 43.60, 31-32; cf. KBo 22.718 - KUB 43.109; Watkins 1995, 277-291. The soul (Hittite ḫ-ana) is given to men by the Sun-god, see

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**RECONTRÉS**

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turns out to be very complicated: The phenomenon of Mycenaean tombs being reused for cult purposes in the 8th century BC does not mark the beginning of Greek hero cult as often believed, but instead signals a huge increase in its popularity out of different reasons, the most important being self-identification of social groups, their cohesion, the legitimation of their claim to power and territory. On the other hand, a clear distinction between tomb- and hero cult at a certain burial site is sometimes impossible.

It is the common Indo-European tradition that led Homer borrowing in Iliad 16.456 and 674 the verb ταρτήνουσαν (from Luwic tarh), "overcome", "vanquish", "revivify", the word-stem also behind the Luwian weathergod’s name ṭartu. Furthermore, the goddesses (as well as Herakles’) name itself means “he who has the glory (τιμή)” of Hera”. The goddesses (as well as Herakles’) name itself is etymologically related to the word ἵκος, “hero”.

The heroes, whether Panhellenic or local, form a welcome addition to the pantheon of the divinities and are ‘interwoven’ with them, maybe from the beginning of Indo-European thought. They are of relatively minor relevance. Nevertheless this matter is hotly discussed: Mazarakis-Ainian/Leventi 2009, 217. For a critical approach to the archaeological evidence of hero cults in the context of the funeral rituals, refering to the idea of an initial ‘Golden Age’, when gods and men had lived together in unity.

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The other indication is the wide distribution of the Tritopataires, who are not restricted to Attika, but appear also in Boeotia, in Phokis(?) as well as they spread over the central and western Aegean, implicating their early genesis. If we count the age-old Apatouria, the festival of a-patro-horia, “ensuring the common father” for one of the festivals where the Tritopataires received cult, we may also include the Greek East as their home, implicating a cult-transfer with the migrating Greeks in Protogeometric times or even earlier. Important to note is also that the Tritopataires as collective ancestors of the polis-states of Selinous and Kyrene have, like Panhellenic Herakles, a heroic, ‘impure’ as well as a divine, ‘pure’ aspect, stressed by the two kinds of sacrifices, ‘heroic’ and ‘olympic’, the latter at least offered to them in the city’s political heart, the agora. It may well be that Solon, in the context of his new funerary laws aiming at reducing the excessive public display of the aristocratic families during burials, transformed the traditional festival of the genesia, dedicated to the cult of the ancestors at the tombs of each Athenian family on a distinct date, into a yearly public festival. It makes good sense that these Solonian public genius also adressed the public Tritopataires as newly created communal ancestors of all Athenians at the state Tritopatreion. Comparable to the individual ancestors of each family, these public Tritopataires not only served for strengthening the identity and cohesion of the Athenian people and proofed their autochthonous offspring, but also acted as their protectors and guarantors of future procreation.

In the time of Homer, the cult of individual heroes has already a long tradition and is fully developed, best to be seen in the outcomes of the genre of epic poetry, and the fact that in Homeric epic the word heroes has a religious meaning. Iliad and Odyssey picture the heroes, male or – less often – female, as stemming from the gods, being “semi-divine” (ιμπυλίζος) or “like gods”
(ἰόνθεος)\textsuperscript{351}. Still alive, they already receive "godlike honours", as for example Aeneas, son of Aphrodite, from the Trojan people\textsuperscript{352}. Famous is Hesiod's saying about the fourth generation of mortal humans, the heroes, created by godfather Zeus and direct ancestors of the fifth, "Iron" generation, the poets own, he "wished he were not counted for but died before": ἄνδρων ἱμάθων θεῖον γένος, οἵ καλέσταται ἱμάθειοι, "they were the divine race of heroes, who are called demigods"\textsuperscript{353}. These heroes figure as a moral exemplum for the elite of the Iron race, being their semi-divine forefathers and as such adresses of cultic veneration\textsuperscript{354}. The best of them stay on the Isles of the Blest\textsuperscript{355}, or in the Eleusian Fields\textsuperscript{356}, living on forever, sometimes visited by the gods and dining with them. Erechtheus the Athenian even shares his cult place with the local goddess Athena on the Acropolis\textsuperscript{357}.

The heroes form a bridge between humankind and the divine, being always able to intervene for the fortunate or misfortune of men and a permanent promise for a happy afterlife\textsuperscript{358}. Robert Parker rightly stresses the "mixed character of the heroes, mortals by biography, small gods in power"\textsuperscript{359}.

It is nearly impossible for a human to become a god. Exceptions are rare and first restricted to mythical heroes like Herakles, Achilles and Asklepios\textsuperscript{360}. But in 414 BC, a certain Peithetarios manages, with the help of philanthropist Prometheus, to take over power from Zeus after building "Cloudcuckooville", the new 'Olymp' of the birds, which is cutting off the gods from their sacrifices resp. 'feeding' by the humans on earth. This is described with much humour by Aristophanes in his comedy Birds by referring to an ancient Indo-European myth, also present in the Hittite Kumbari myth\textsuperscript{361}. The triumphal advent of Peithetarios in Cloudcuckooville forms a model for the later deification of the Roman emperors via the process

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\textsuperscript{351} "According to West 1978, 131 ἱμάθειοι 'refers to parentage ... not to semi-divine status'; (...) But just as ἱππόκορος means both 'godlike race' and 'progeny of the gods', so too ἱμάθειοι surely means both 'demigod' as well as 'having a divine parent'. Not only is a ἱππόκορος, 'mule' (West's example), born of an ass, it is also a hybrid: half horse and half ass. Heroes likewise are hybrids, composites of man and god (...) ."

\textsuperscript{352} Cf. Homer, Iliad 5.565; Odyssey 1.3.24.

\textsuperscript{353} Homer, Iliad 5.568 Anivcios ο’ς ἢμερας ἤτοι τέκτον θύσαι. Hesiod, Erga 159 f. I doubt, that the fourth generation of the heroes is an invention of Hesiod, he himself added to the four metal generations (gold, silver, bronze, iron), and that this four-generation sequence can be traced back only to a 9th/8th century BC Aramaic oracular, 'Sibylline' text: so Burkert 2011b, 215-220. This assumption rests mainly on the hypothesis (see also next note) that the cult of heroes was invented in Greece only in the 8th century BC under the influence of the epic: Burkert 2011a, 312 f. and 2011b, 167; see the critics on this and other theories about the origin of hero cults: Parker 1996, 33-39 and 2011, 287-292. Regarding the metal ages-sequence does Burkert 2011b, 75, 215 n. 38 himself hint at a Bronze Age Hittite ritual text (ANET 356), listing silver, gold, iron, bronze (in this sequence) and some precious stones. This leaves open the opportunity of an IE tradition in the Hesiodic text. At least the Vedic tradition knows of a cycle of four ages corresponding the four seasons, called Yugas, and named by declining qualities, depicted as the colors of Vishnu (Krita/Satya Yuga = white = first, perfect age; red; yellow; black), in Iranian Zoroastrism do four up to seven metal seasons, called Panchas, and named by declining qualities, depicted as red, yellow, black, white, in the Indian tradition do four up to seven metal branches of the cosmic tree stand for subsequent declining ages (gold, silver, bronze, copper, tin, steel, 'mixed' iron). Sauzeau/Sauzeau 2002, 288-293. To it me it most logical to assume that the new in Hesiod is not the invention of the age of the heroes, but its arrangement, as fourth age, within the four metal ages. The clear distinction between the age of heroes and that of the "mortals as they are now" (ἰδίων ἄνδρων ἱμάθεων), is always present in the Homeric epics (cf. Homer, Iliad 5.304; 12.383, 449; 20.287), as they narrate the end of the Heroic Age: Haulbold 2005, 26, 37 f.

\textsuperscript{354} The assumption e.g. of West 1978, 190 on l. 159 ἱμάθειοι ἱμάθειοι is devoid of religious significance" (see also ibid. 191 on 160 ἱμάθειοι: "the word refers to their parentage (...), not their semi-divine status"; and pp. 366-375 Excursus I. Some Names and Epithets of Gods, was influential (see e.g. Boehringer 2001, 29; Peters 2001, 357 f.; Currie 2005, 60; Bremmer 2006, 17 f.; Seflert 2009, 352) but misleading, as West does not neglect the existence of hero cults per se before Homer and Hesiod: West 1978, 370-373; cf. Bravo 2009, 16, 18. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 52 likewise found it "extremely unlikely that the dualism common dead/Hades v. select few/paradise had existed in Mycenaean times" and assumed "the emergence and development of hero cults from the eighth century onwards". Cf. Mazarakis Ainian 2004, 131-133 who also dates the emergence of hero cults to the 8th century BC, "based on the archaeological record" and the historical model of "constant strife for power between social classes". On the ethnic aspect of ( Indo-European) hero cults see above n. 221.

\textsuperscript{355} Hesiod, Erga 170-173. The 'Islands of the Blest' where located in the extreme Northeast and Northwest of the Greek oikumene: Leuke in the Pontus was dedicated to hero Achilles, Palagrauža in the Adria to Diomedes: Parker 2011, 244-246. Both cults may have been invented in the course of the Greek colonization from the 8th/7th century BC on: Farnell 1921, 286 (Achilles), 290 (Diomedes).

\textsuperscript{356} Homer, Odyssey 4.561-569. On the etymology of Elysion as 'struck by lightning' see above n. 229.

\textsuperscript{357} Homer, Iliad 2.546-551; Odyssey 7.80-81; cf. Coldstream 1976, 16; Kron 1976, 33 (no later emendation of the Iliad-text); cf. Parker 1996, 19 f.

\textsuperscript{358} Opposite understanding by Morris 1987, 101: 'The hero was a liminal figure, characterised by the epithet 'god-like' and yet at every turn helping to create the boundary between men and the gods.'

\textsuperscript{359} Parker 2011, 292.


\textsuperscript{361} The cutting off of the gods from their sacrifices on earth is an old motive, appearing also in the myth of the Hittite gods Kumarbi, Ea and Lama, suggesting a common Indo-European heritage: Lesky 1954, 15 f.
of posthumous apotheosis\textsuperscript{262}. But again does the tradition lead back at least to the apotheosis of the Hittite emperors, with whom the Etruscan and Roman elites shared a common Indo-European origin from Asia Minor\textsuperscript{263}. From the beginning, this ‘theological speculation’ kept a certain weakness. The very Augustus, who had introduced the Roman ritual and the ‘believe’ in its validity, warns as divus inter deos in Seneca’s Apocolocyntosis, “the Pumkinification”, a satirical commentary on the apotheosis of emperor Claudius, who had killed part of his own family to gain power: “Who will worship this god, who will believe in him? Which you make gods of such as he, no one will believe you to be gods”\textsuperscript{264}.

The border between heroes and men is on the other hand much more floating, permeable in both directions. This is why, from Late Archaic times on, the number of public hero cults of recently deceased persons, first restricted mainly to founders, starts to grow significantly, now including athletes\textsuperscript{265}, Seven Sages (Sophoi) like Thales, statesmen like Chares in Miletos, or the poet Archilochos of Paros\textsuperscript{266}. In the 5\textsuperscript{th} century, the heroization of living persons is first occurring\textsuperscript{267}, reaching its zenith with the cult of Hellenistic rulers\textsuperscript{268}. Empedocles (c. 490-430 BC) was not ironical, when even calling himself an “immortal god, not longer mortal, held in honor among all”\textsuperscript{269}, Instead he can be understood as “unquestionable a man with a religious message”\textsuperscript{270}, who tried to
reunify gods and men, as they were in the beginning of time, the “Golden Age” of Hesiod, delivering four hundred years later a perfect model for the new Roman emperor Augustus, who – in the Greek East – received godlike honours already during his lifetime, for example in Miletos at the altar of Artemis Boulaiia, potentially an Ara Augusti.

In Bacchic-Orphic mystery cults, whose earliest testimonies stem from the main state sanctuary of the Miletian Black Sea colony Olbie Polis/Olbia, the Apollo Delphinios sanctuary, but which are usually downplayed by scholars as ‘subculture’, the divinization of the dead is only testified from the 5th century BC on and seems to remain an exception. But this is merely a matter of our preserved evidence. So does the Derveni-papyrus, completely published only in 1993 and dated around 420/400 BC, include a commentary of the ‘theogony of Orpheus’, which is therefore at least of the 5th, if not of the 6th century BC. The high age of this kind of eschatology is not least indicated by the amazing resemblance between the voyage of the Bacchic-Orphic soul and ‘the great voyage’ of the Hittite soul. Again, we may assume a common Indo-European tradition, speaking against the theory of the ‘un-Greekness’ of Orphism.

Finally, since Hellenistic times, the heroization of the average dead becomes a widespread custom, including the transfer of heroic iconography, e.g. that of the ‘totenmahlreliefs’, so also in Miletos. But this development is not to be mixed up with an invalidation of the titel heros, as it still keeps its religious connotation.

In the same sense we can interpret the iconographic assimilation of Roman emperors as well as grave portraits of average dead to that of gods like Jupiter, Venus, Mars, or heroes like Hercules not as ridiculing, or, in the opposite, as identifying them with these gods resp. heroes. This is only what Christian polemics want to make us believe. Instead they can be understood as

Menekrates, who appeared as Zeus in the 4th century BC as “fast schon ein klinischer Fall” (“already a clinical case”).


| 272 | In the Delphinion of Olbie Polis/Olbia were found bone tablets with short Bacchic-Orphic texts of the early 5th century BC: Burkert 2003, 84, 90 f.; Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 64 f., 163 f., 185-186 nos. 1-2; Coscia 2011. The Delphinion of Olbie Polis included, like the Delphinion in Miletos, the Prytanion of the polis and was the main sanctuary: Herda 2005, 275 f. fig. 27; Herda 2008, 32 with n. 141, p. 35; Herda 2011, 78. It is therefore problematic to view the Orphies of Olbie Polis as marginal ‘subculture’, as Burkert does (see next note).

| 273 | Cf. e.g. Burkert 2003, 87.

| 274 | Burkert 2011b, 167; Parker 2011, 123 with n. 49. The relation between hero-cult and cult of the dead is widely omitted in ThesCRA II (2004) 125-185 s.v. 3.d. ‘Heroisierung und Apotheose’.

| 275 | Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Parker 2011, 115 f. with n. 29. Nevertheless is the feasting of the average dead and their relatives a standard part of funeral and grave rites from at least Geometric times on: Burkert 2011, 293, 295 f. This is again a decisive argument for the close relationship between hero and ancestor cults.

| 276 | On hero as term for family graves in Imperial Miletian grave inscriptions: Harter-Ouroupoli/Wedgworth forthcoming.

| 277 | As regards the heroization of the dead in Hellenistic times Graf 1998, 477 stresses that this does not attest a “total invalidation of the term [heros]”; see already Rohde 1925, 361 f. and more recently Hughes 1999, 170 f. Instead, Fabricius 1999, 71, assumes an “Entwurfung” of the term. Kurtz/Boardman 1985, 356 even speak of a “courtesy phrase” (“Höflichkeitsfloskel”) regarding the usage of the term heroes in the Hellenistic grave inscriptions.

| 278 | So e.g. Wrede 1981, 158-175, who incorrectly speaks of “Privatdeifikationen” in case of themorphic depictions of average dead, mainly libertini.

| 279 | Cf. Tertullian, Ad nationes 1, 10, 26–27 (c. 200 AD) on the Roman grave cult: Quid enim omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortuis vestris ex acuo praebeteatis? Exulturn de templo: acue mortuis templo; extrulir aras deis: acue mortuis aras; estead titulus supersribitis litteras, estead statuas inducit in formas, ut cuique ars aut negotium aut eatasfuit: senex de Saturno, imberis de Apolline, virgo de Diana figuretur, et miles in Marte et in Vulcano faber ferri consecratur. (“Do you offer anything in their honor that you do not already confer upon your deceased in equal measure? You erect temples to your gods. You erect temples to your dead in equal measure. You build altars to your gods. The same for your dead. You confer the same titles on the gods as on dead. You raise statutes to them in the likeness of their talent, their occupation, or their age. Saturn appears as an old man; Apollo is clean-shaven; Diana is a virgin; Mars is a soldier and Vulcan is an iron smith. It is no wonder that you offer the same sacrifices to the divine and the dead and burn the same incense.” [transl. Q. Howe]).
allegorical depictions of the emperors and the dead, stressing their godlike qualities, they owe to the fact that they participate in the divine via their immortal, divine souls.

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