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Alexander Herda

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BURYING A SAGE: THE HEROON OF THALES IN THE AGORA OF MILETOS

With remarks on some other excavated *Heroa* and on cults and graves of the mythical founders of the city*

Alexander Herda
Rotdornstr. 1, 12161 Berlin
alexander.herda@web.de

for Josefine Schmitz (19.3.1919 - 9.4.2003)

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 ‘Ehrenggrab’ 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, Soï Agelidis, Christina Zoïga 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 *heros ktistes*, 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 *agorai* (§ 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 *asebema*, 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 308 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 Boulaios, 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 Thales'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-association. 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 *Neleidai*, 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 guaranty 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 times¹. However, it was never

¹ Forbeck 2001/2002; Forbeck 2002 and forthcoming; Forbeck/Heres 1997; grave inscriptions: Herrmann 1980; Herrmann 1995; Herrmann 1998, 159 no. 29, 145 f., 217 nos. 398 f.; Herrmann 1998, 1-88



Fig. 1:
City map with location of Milesian herooa: Heroon I (1), Heroon II (2), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrenggrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the bouleterion (5), subterranean chamber west of the bouleterion (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).

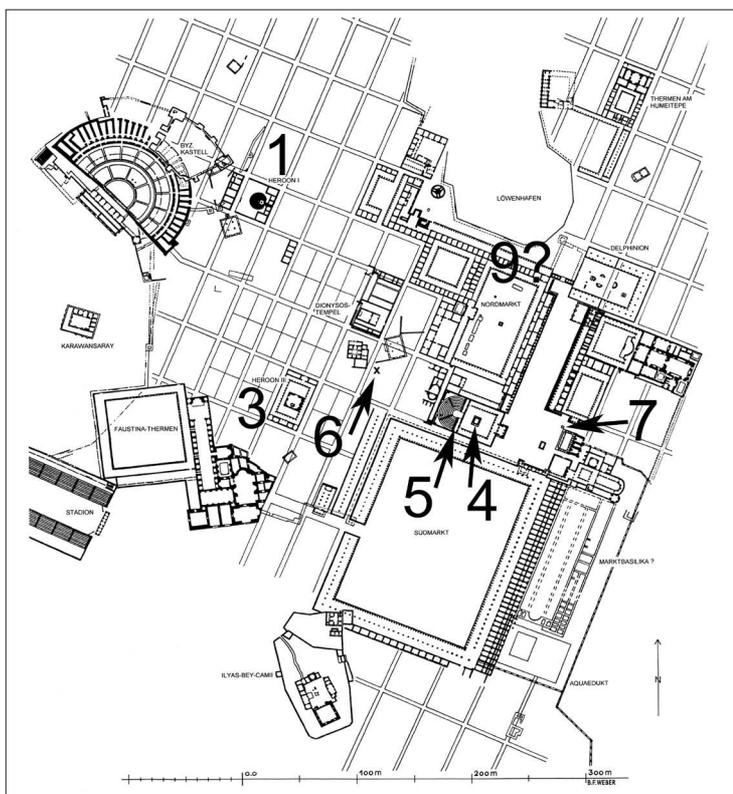


Fig. 2:
City center of Miletos with location of Heroon I (1), Heroon III (3), 'Ehrenggrab' (4), chamber in assembly hall of the bouleterion (5), subterranean chamber west of the bouleterion (6), statue basis of Neileos in front of nymphaeum (7), heroon of Thales (9, exact location unknown) (drawing author after Weber 2007, 352 fig. 17).

attempted to give a complete overview over the many intramural *heroa*², the excavations and studies in Miletos have revealed in the last 113 years of research³.

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*-grid⁴. 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)⁵. 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

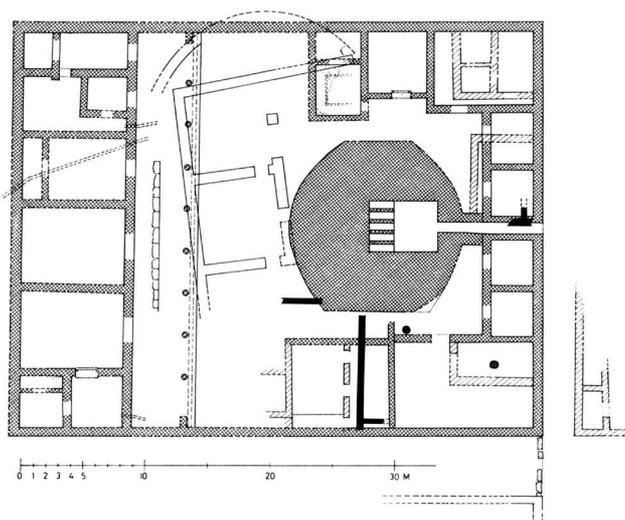


Fig. 3 : Heroon I, ground plan; black: phase I (Early Hellenistic), cross-hatched: phase II (Hellenistic), hatched: phase III (Roman Imperial), empty: phase IV (Early Byzantine). Note that the street, separating the western row of rooms and the Heroon-*insula*, is not designated (from W. Müller-Wiener, *MDAI(I)* 35, 1985, 19 fig. 1).



Fig. 4 : Heroon I. View from SE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).



Fig. 5 : Heroon I. Chamber with central cavern (now sealed) in paving and *loculi* in western wall. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

nos. 407-786; Herrmann *et al.* 2006, 247-250 nos. 1404-1418; Ehrhardt/Günther 2010; Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming. On the *basileion/archaeion/grammatophylakion* as archive of Miletos, where the common and individual grave regulations as well as the grave register were kept (the archive was not located in the Delphinion): Herda 2006a, 233 f., 434 and 2011, 67.

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 divided from it by a 4 m broad North-South-street: see Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.

⁵ Weber 2007, 352 f. fig. 17.

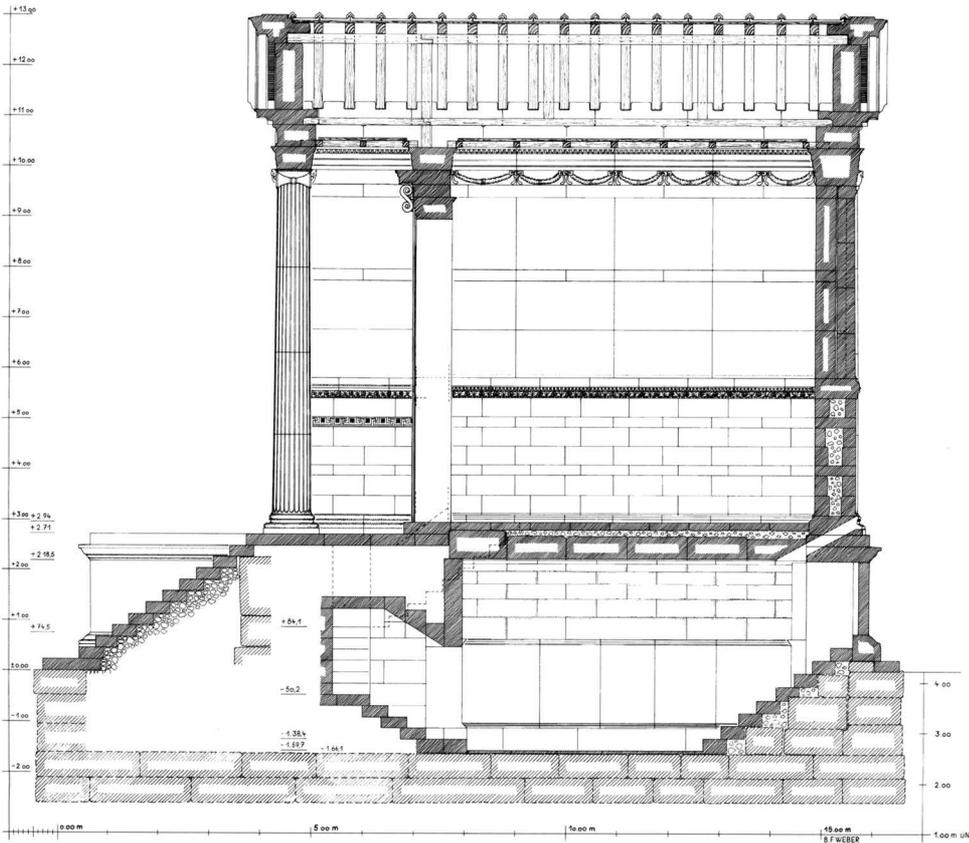


Fig. 6 : Heroon II. Roman phase with podium temple on top of the Hellenistic chamber tomb. Reconstruction of longitudinal section, view to E (from Weber 2004, 69 fig. 59).

Dionysos⁶, and that of the city districts north of Dionysos, on the Kale Tepe (Theatre Hill) and the Humei Tepe, defined by the Delphinion-*insula*⁷.

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.

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 *cella*, leading down into the grave chamber⁹.

6 Weber 2007, 353. The strip of shorter *insulae* continues also east of the agora, directly south of the Delphinion. There the baths and the *palaestra* of Capito cover the smaller *insula* plus the street in the South, extending 40 m from North to South: Kleiner 1968, 91-97 figs. 63, 65-68; Weber 2004a, 148.

7 Weber 2004a, 145-150 fig. 87; Herda 2005, 272-285 figs. 25, 29-30.

8 B.F. Weber announced the final publication of his researches on Heroon I, conducted from the 1980's until his death in 2005, as volume I.11 of the Milet-series in his posthumously published article on the city map (Weber 2007, 353, n. 107). It remains open, if and

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, glas 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*.

9 Kleiner 1968, 131 f. fig. 91; Cormack 2004, 39, 243 f. figs. 117-119; Köster 2004, 85-98 figs 13 f., pls. 49-58, 59.1-4, 143, 144.1; Weber 2004a, 3-100, 153-156 figs. 56-73, pls. 1-25; Schörner 2007, 253 f. A26



Fig. 7 : Heroon II. View from NE with marble foot profile of Roman podium front overbuilt by a medieval tower. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

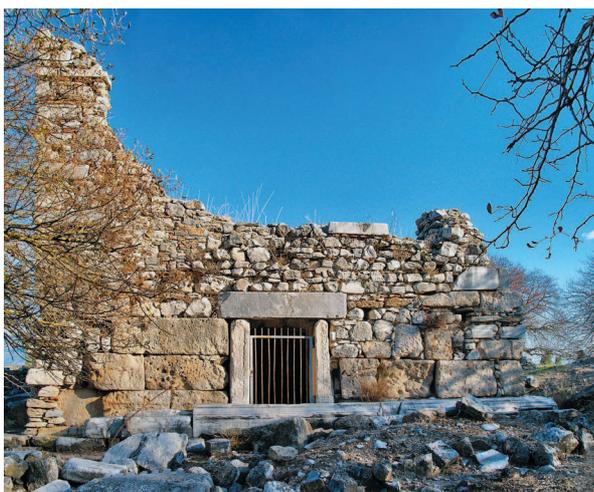


Fig. 8 : Heroon II. View from S with entrance to Hellenistic chamber tomb. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

Heroon III (figs. 9-10)

Heroon III is, like Heroon I, integrated in the street-*insula*-grid. The peristyl-building fills exactly one *insula* of 28.60 by 50.27 m¹⁰. In the court stands a square-shaped central building with an entrance to the North and West, including a girland-sarcophagus on a high altar-like podium. The style of the architectural ornamentation as well as the stratigraphy date the building complex to the

figs. 149-154. For the Eroses-frieze see now Bol/Weber 2011; von Mangoldt 2012, 360-363 (“B 192. Milet III”) pls. 139 f.

¹⁰ Weber 2004a, 145-150 fig. 87; Weber 2004b, 231-234, fig. 2; Herda/Sauter 2009, 84 f., fig. 9.

beginning 3rd century AD. Fragments of a second sarcophagus speak for a secondary burial in the central *cella*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 *demoi* in the late 1st century BC with the manufacture of golden *kolossoi* (cult statuettes/‘Voodoo Dolls’/magic images)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 Miletos¹³.

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 4th or early 3rd century BC¹⁴. 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

¹¹ Kleiner 1968, 132-134, figs. 100-102; Weber 2004a, 101-150, 153-156 figs. 79-81, pls. 26-48; Schörner 2007, 258 f. A29 figs. 168-173.

¹² Herrmann 1998, 68 f. no. 735.3 f. ὁ χρυσεῖοις κολοσσοῖς ἰτιμαθεῖς, πάτρας δ’ ἐντός ἔχων κτέρεα. 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 *kolosoi*, first receive “hospitality and a portion from everthing” (ὑποδεξάμενον παρτιθ[έ]μεν τὸ μέρος παντῶν) and are afterwards deposited in an “unworked wood”, together with the offerings (φέροντα ἐς ἔλαν ἀεργόν ἐρε[ι]σαι τὰς κολοσσὸς καὶ τὰ μέρη). This magic serves to heal a house from a “hostile visitant” (ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός), 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 *kolosoi* and made of wax, is burnt: Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 59, no. 5 ll. 44 f.; Burkert 1984, 68 with n. 29. On *kolossoi* as Voodoo Dolls/magic images see: Ogden 2002, 245-260.

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.

¹⁴ von Mangoldt 2012, 357-359 (“B 190. Milet I”), pls. 138.6-8. The original location of the 3rd/2nd century BC amphiglyphic 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.

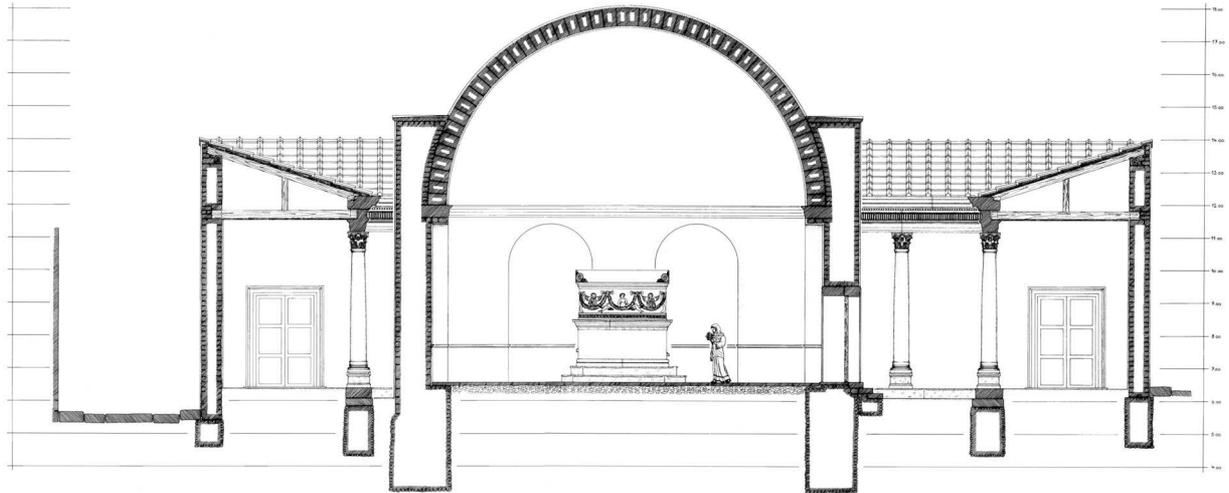


Fig. 9 : Heroon III. Reconstruction of E-W cross-section with sarcophagus in the central vaulted chamber (from Weber 2004, fig. 80).



Fig. 10 : Heroon III. View from NE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

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” (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα), 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 today's 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 *phourarchs*¹⁵.

¹⁵ Thucydides 8.84–85 (Tissaphernes' φρούριον); 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 Ἀσανδρος Ἀγάθ[ω]νος; for the corrected dating in 313/2 BC see Herrmann 1997, 166 on nos. 122 and 123; for Asandros see also Badian

Looking for a candidate¹⁶, 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 democracy¹⁷. 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 (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα), restored the constitution to autonomy”¹⁸. In the eyes of the Milesians this deed was definitely worth an intramural hero cult, and more exactly: a founder cult. One only has to think of Spartan general

1997; Descat 2010, 139 f., 141 f. Diodorus 19.75 (φρουρουμένη ἄκρα 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 ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη.

¹⁸ Diodorus 19.75.3–4: τοὺς τε πολίτας ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ φρουρουμένην ἄκραν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες εἰς αὐτονομίαν ἀποκατέστησαν τὸ πολίτευμα.

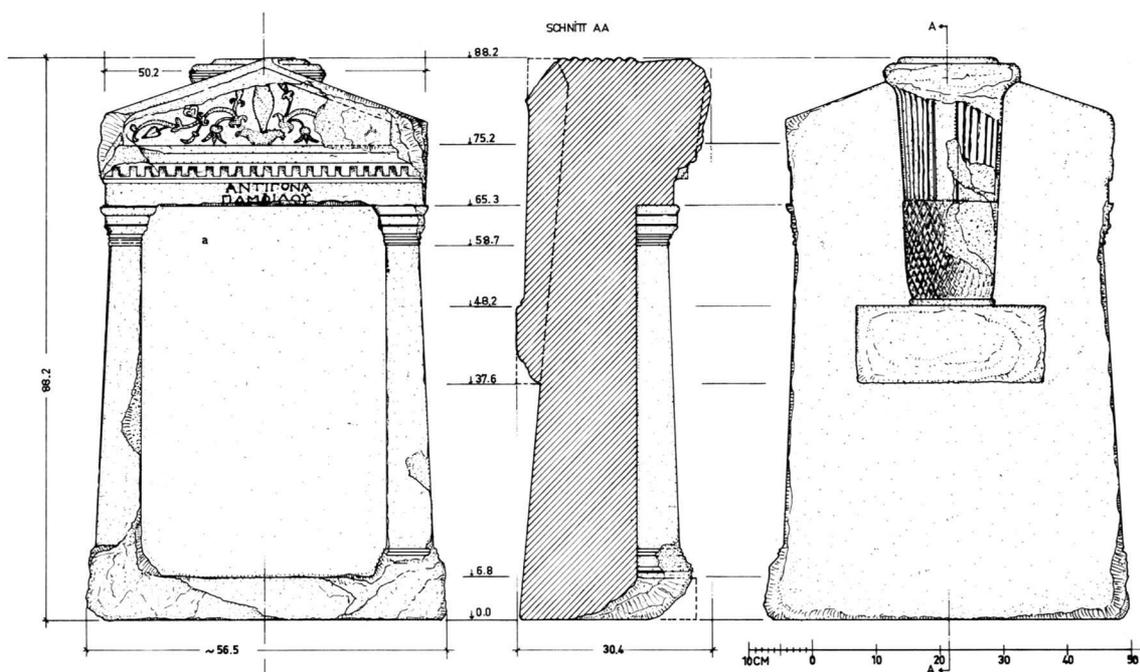


Fig. 11 : Amphiglyphic grave stele of Antigona, daughter of Pamphilos, from Heroon I (heroon of Dokimos?), 3rd/2nd century BC (sketch W. Müller-Wiener, in Graeve 1986, 9 fig. 1).

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 agora¹⁹. 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-1st century AD love novelist Chariton of Aphrodisias has his heroine Kallirhoë in late 5th 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 Hermokrates, 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 take²⁰.

¹⁹ Thucydides 5.11; see below § V.

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 grave²¹. 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, 3rd/2nd century BC family member will have been Antigona, whose exceptional amphiglyphic 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

²¹ Kader 1995, 209-211; Berns 2003, 16 f.

ancestor Dokimos. Similarly does the special type of her grave stele hint at Macedonia²².

Heroon 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 gymnasium complex in Miletos, most probably the gymnasium of the *neoi*, 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 *xystos*²⁵. Because of this spatial

closeness, the owner of Heroon II is likely to be somehow connected to the gymnasium of the *neoi*. 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 gymnasium of the *neoi*”. 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” (Ἐλπιδεῖς Ἀγαθαί), 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.

22 On the stele see above n. 14. R. Posamentir points me to the fact that the floral decoration of the pediment resembles that of Macedonian grave reliefs, e.g. in the large tumulus of Vergina. He prefers to date the stele rather to the 3rd than to the 2nd century BC (personal communication, 30.12.2012). For Antigonos’s family see Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 267-269 no. 125.28 (Δόκιμος Ἀντιφώντος, 69/68 BC), 46 (Ἀντιφών Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφώντος, 55/54 BC), 47 (Μολπλαγόρας Δοκίμου τοῦ Ἀντιφώντος, 54/53 BC); cf. Jones 1992, 95 f. The rooms grouped around the tumulus, one of them a dining room with a floor mosaïque, date to the late 2nd or early 1st century BC: Kader 1999, 210. They could have been part of a re-arrangement of the older burial place in the time of Dokimos or his father Antiphon. For Antigonos’s stele see above n. 14. For the diffusion of the names Antigonos, Antigonos, Antigone especially in Macedonia compare the occurrences in the different volumes of LGPN: they are most frequent in vol. IV (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea).

23 See now on the construction and dating of the vaulted grave chamber: von Mangoldt 2012, 360-363 (“B 192. Milet III”) pls. 139 f.

24 Weber 2004a, 154 misses an altar as well as a cult statue wherefore he favours a function as grave. But graves often have altars, too, where heroic honours could be paid to the deceased, besides the regular libations into the ground (*choai*). They included dining at the grave: Burkert 2011a, 296 f. For that one only has to think of the countless round altars and *trapezai* in the Hellenistic necropoleis of Kos, Rhodes, the Rhodian *peraia* and the Knidia, sometimes combined with *exedrai* with benches for seating: Berges 1986 and 1996; for Miletos see for example the round altar and *exedra* in the necropolis south of the Sacred Gate: Forbeck 2002, 99-103 figs. 6-13 (she assumes the *exedra* to be originally a honorary monument and only secondarily used as grave monument by adding a round altar, reworked into an urn).

25 On the Eumenes II-gymnasium: Kleiner 1968, 89-91; Schaaf 1992, 62-72; Bringmann/von Steuben 1995, 346-349 no. 284 figs. 140-145. It is mentioned in the honorary decree for the Milesian citizen Eirenia of c. 167/6-164 BC: W. Günther in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 2022 no. 1039.6-8, where Eumenes II donated 160.000 *medimnoi* of grain (c. 6.000-7.000 t) as well as “timber in a sufficient amount” for the construction work. The timber was especially important when we understand the double *xystos* of the ‘West Market’ as part of the building program of Eumenes II: the two stadium-long halls required a large amount of timber for the roof construction. Additionally, its architectural details, especially the Doric columns which are faceted in their lower part were already recognized as being close

to Pergamian architecture; Gerkan 1925, 103 fig. 52, p. 105; see Brückner et al. forthcoming, § 4.4 with n. 219.

At least in the 1st century BC, Miletos had three Gymnasias, one for the *paides*, one for the *epheboi* and the *neoi*, and one for the citizens: Herrmann 1994, 218; Herda 2006a, 92 f. As the status/age-class of the *neoi* was introduced in the Archaic period (cf. Herda 2006a, 92-96 and 2011, 63 n. 37), we have to assume a gymnasium of the *neoi* from at least late Archaic times on. Therefore Eumenes II did not build the gymnasium from the start, but expanded its building facilities. The Eumenes-gymnasium is to be located west of the stadium, because the Milesian honorary decree for Eumenes (Herrmann 1997, 98 f., 210 no. 307, pl. 22.2) was written on the *anta* of the so-called Stadiontor, which stood west of the stadium: Günther *ibid.* 22. On the gymnasium of the *Neoi* as being the “Great Gymnasium”: see below n. 60.

26 Inscription from Didyma: Rehm/Harder 1958, 183-185 no. 259.25-30 ἐντε[θαμ-] | μὲνων δὲ τῶν προγόνων μου ἐμ μέ[σοι τῶ] | [πρ]-ότερον τῶν νέων γυμνασίου Ἀ[ντήνορος] | [τοῦ] Ξενάρου καὶ Ξενάρου τοῦ Ἀντήνορος καὶ | [Ἀλ.]κμάχου τοῦ Ἀντήνορος καὶ | [τοῦ] Εὐανδοῦ; cf. Herrmann 1995, 195 with n. 32; Habicht 1995, 91 with n. 19; Schörner 2007, 75, 114, 271 f. B 15. Antenor won the *pankration* in Ol. 118: Eusebios, *Chronical I* 205-207; cf. Sextus Iulius Africanus, Ὀλυμπιαδῶν ἀναγράφη, ol. 118.

27 Weber 2004a, 120 f. fig. 78.

28 Herda/Sauter 2009, 92. On their cult in Didyma see Weber 2008 (foundation-oracle on an altar of ca. 200 AD, wrongly attributed to the *Horai*, see Herda/Sauter 2009, 92 n. 236).

29 Herda/Sauter 2009, 86 with n. 199, pp. 93-94; see below § IX.

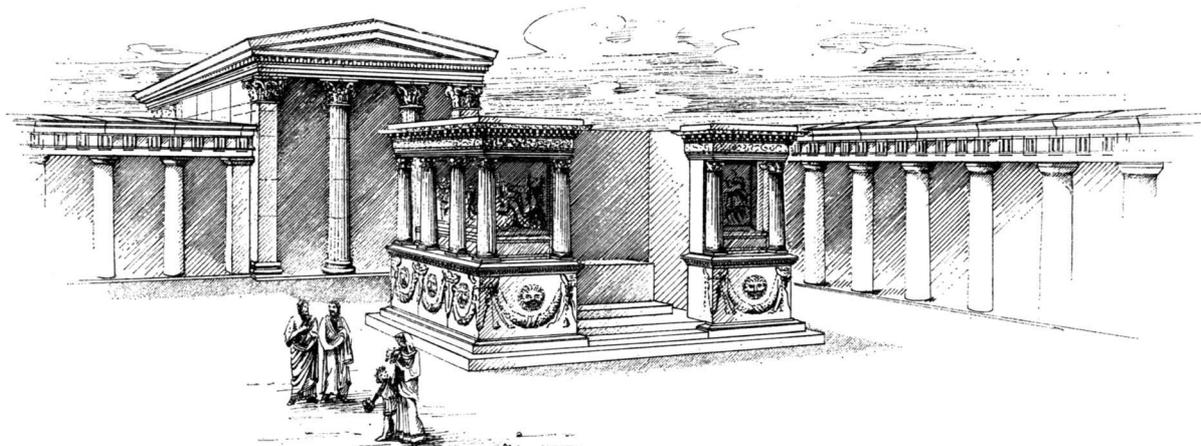


Fig. 12 : Reconstruction of the early Imperial altar for Artemis Boulaia, Apollo Didymeus, Zeus Boulaios, and Augustus and Livia(?) (so-called Ehrenggrab) in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. View from W (sketch W. Kunz in Tuchelt 1975, 138 fig. 15).

II. The 'Ehrenggrab' in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*: an altar for Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia 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 girland-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 AD³⁰. Because of fragments of *sarcophagi* found close by, the monument was interpreted as 'Ehrenggrab', *heroon*³¹. 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



Fig. 13 : Altar in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. Relief with Leto (left, seated on throne), two nymphs (of the Mykale Mountain?), and Artemis and Apollo standing to right. Early 1st century AD. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2019 (photo Knackfuß 1908 pl. 17, 1).

of Miletos as "heroes"³². Following this line, the 'Ehrenggrab' has in recent years been interpreted as grave of a Milesian citizen who had been venerated as a kind of νέος κτίστης, "new founder"³³.

But already in 1975, Klaus Tuchelt stressed that the fragments of *sarcophagi*, found in the peristyle,

³⁰ On the dating of the reliefs see most recently Schollmeyer 2011, 19 f. On the dating of the architectural ornaments in Augustan times see Köster 2004, 15 n. 108; p. 29 (first third of 1st century BC).

³¹ Knackfuß 1908, 49-55, 63-66 figs. 79-88, pls. 13-14, 16-18; Cormack 2004, 150 f., 245 f.; Köster 2004, 15-31 figs. 2-5, pls. 8-13, 14.1-4, 138.6-8; Schörner 2007, 177-181 figs. 198-199; Schollmeyer 2011.

³² L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 96 (= OMS IV 103); Günther 1989, 174 f.; Herrmann 1994, 229-234 and 1995, 197 with n. 39; Herrmann 1997, 156 nos. 6-7 (no. 7 dated to 6/5 BC), 159 no. 15; Herda 2006a, 296 n. 211. See also the honorary decrees for C. Iulius Epikrates, Herrmann et al. 2006, 82-85 nos. 1130-1131.

³³ Cormack 2004, 150 f.; Schörner 2007, 181; Schollmeyer 2011, 10; R. Bol in: Bol 2011, 10 with n. 120.

should not be attributed to the ‘Ehrenggrab’. 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, hypæthral construction of the ‘Ehrenggrab’. 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 ‘Ehrenggrab’ 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 BC³⁶.

While Tuchelt’s hypæthral 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 *bouleuterion*³⁸. 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 Didymeus and Hestia Boulaia, 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 Didymeus and leads us back to a proposal Theodor Wiegand had already made in 1901, when the ‘Ehrenggrab’ 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 Boulaia 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” (διὰ βίου) priestess of Artemis Boulaia 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 1-2, pls. 21-30; cf. Köster 2004, 15 n. 108. Against a hypæthral 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 ‘Ehrenggrab’ with a flat roof.

36 So Tuchelt 1975, 97 f., 136. 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.B 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 Ehrenggrab 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 *synnaos 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 *scenae frons* of the Milesian theatre and is a dedicatory inscription for emperor Nero: Herrmann 1998, 156 no. 5. C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 103-106 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 1981, 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 epistyle 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. 1-2; Schollmeyer 2011, 18 f.

40 Besides the finds of sarcophagus-fragments, Knackfuß 1908, 78 adduced for his refusal of the altar theory that the ‘Ehrenggrab’ 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 Boulaia, 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 hypæthral 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. 2a, 3a-b.

43 Honorary inscription for Iulia Artemo, daughter of Antipatros, erected by the *boule* and the *demios* 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 Βουλαία Ἀρτεμις wissen wir nichts (die Βουληφόρος Σκιρξ SIG² 660, braucht mit ihr nichts zu tun zu

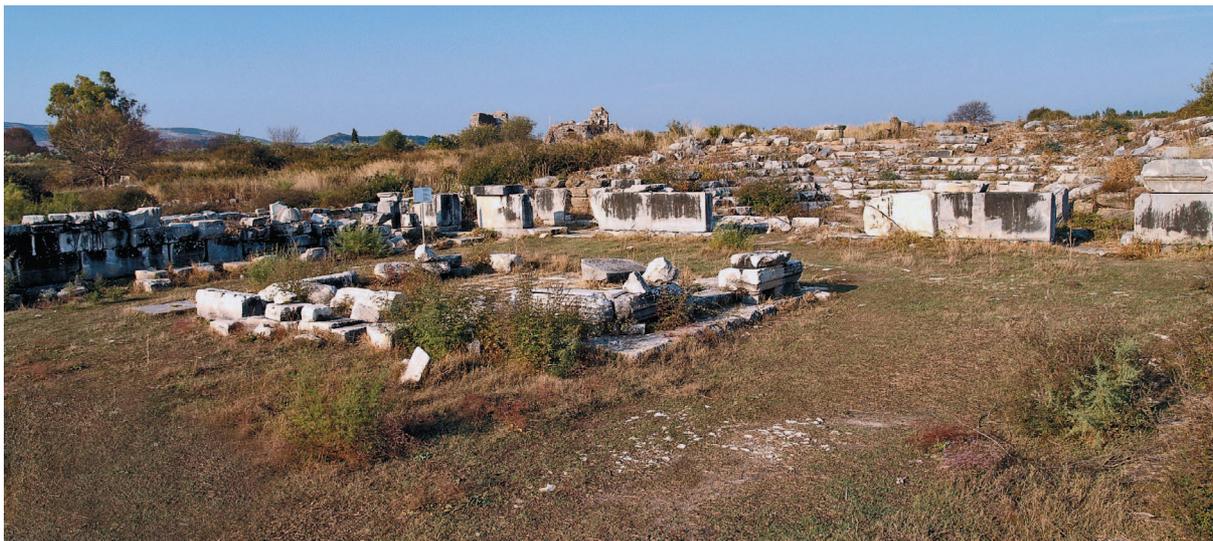


Fig. 14 : Altar in the courtyard of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. View from NE. Current state of preservation (photo author 10/2011).

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 75 BC from the Cilician pirates⁴⁴. 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 above⁴⁵. 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 ago⁴⁶.

As a third deity honoured at the monumental altar we have to expect Zeus Boulaios, while the hearth-altar of Hestia Boulaia has to be located

within the assembly hall, not outside⁴⁷. Zeus Boulaios is mentioned in two inscriptions of the later 3rd 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 unknown⁴⁸. The honorary statue for a certain Lichas was according to its secondary inscription re-erected "at the *propylon* of Boulaios" of the new *bouleuterion*⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ 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 is it not mentioned in Bol 2011. Cult statues of Hestia are rather rare. In the *prytaneion* at the old agora of Athens (for the location NE of the Acropolis see Herda 2005, 274 f. fig. 26), an agalma of Hestia was shown: Pausanias 1.18.2-4; cf. Miller 1978, 15, 17, 173 f. no. 221. Other statues are mentioned for Paros and Delos: Miller 1978, 15 with n. 25.

⁴⁸ Nawotka 1999, 152 f. In the mid-6th century BC, Thales advised the Ionians to build a common *bouleuterion* in Teos: Herodotus 1.170; cf. § VII. If this can serve as an indication for a *bouleuterion* in Miletos already in the mid-6th century BC is an open question.

⁴⁹ C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12a, l. 12: ἔχτισε Βουλαίου τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλων; cf. Herrmann 1998, 158 n. 12. Line 1-4 are the original inscription of before c. 220 BC, completed in the first half of the 2nd century BC by the epigramm ll. 5-16 below. A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 246 n. 1 dated the epigram shortly after 200 BC, before the construction of the *bouleuterion*. But this makes no sense, as the *propylon* mentioned in l. 12 is supposedly that of the new, not the old *bouleuterion*. The area directly east of the former *propylon* is at least the place, where the basis was found during excavations. The building inscriptions of c. 175-163 BC therefore deliver a *terminus post quem* for the Lichas-epigram. For the the paleography: Herrmann 1997, pl. 2.1-2. In the late 1st century BC the basis was re-dedicated for L. Domitius Cn. f. Ahenobarbus, consul in 16 BC, this time the inscription was written

haben), er muß aber doch lange vor der Kaiserzeit bestanden haben". The inscription was first published in BCH 1, 1877, 287 f. no. 64 and is also cited by Wernicke 1896, 1381. Wiegand may have referred to it in the preliminary report, though he gave no citation. In the final publication (Knackfuß 1908) it is not mentioned at all.

⁴⁴ Polyaeus 8.23.1; Plutarchus, Caesar 1-2; cf. Günther 1989, 174.

⁴⁵ On the family see Günther 1989; Herrmann 1994 and 1998, 156; W. Günther in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 82-85. For Iulia Artemo's *stemma* see: Hommel 1976, 327.

⁴⁶ Hommel 1976; N. Ehrhardt, in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 154 no. 1242, pl. 25 (dated to the early 2nd century AD, found reused in a Turkish house in Balat-Miletos).

This Boulaios is not to be identified with Apollo⁵⁰, but with Zeus⁵¹ 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 Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios⁵².

In summary, then: the altar in the *bouleuterion* court is likely a joined altar of Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia 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-3rd century BC on, the *prytaneis* had to sacrifice to Apollo Prostatérios, Artemis Boulaia 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*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 Boulaia. It makes most sense, then, to suppose Artemis Boulaia, since her altar stood close by⁵⁴. Taking into account that Augustus was venerated in Eleusis as Zeus Boulaios also, we detect the assimilation of the first Julio-Claudians to the political deities of Athens⁵⁵. We may therefore assume a similar

situation in Miletos: Augustus could have been equated with Zeus Boulaios, and Livia Augusta/Sebaste with Artemis Boulaia⁵⁶. The Milesian altar was then dedicated to the divine tripple (Artemis Boulaia, 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 Emperors⁵⁷. Also possible is one of the Milesian *gymnasia*. At least was a honorary statue of the *heros* C. Iulius Epikrates mentioning his merits as “*gymnasiarch* of all *gymnasia*”, “restored in the *gymnasium*” in the mid-1st century AD⁵⁸. Which of the three Milesian *gymnasia* it was, remains open⁵⁹. 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 above⁶⁰. The placing of *heroa* in *gymnasia* is significantly frequent⁶¹.

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:

on the opposite side: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12b; Tuchelt 1979, 190 (L 79), pl. 4.2-3.

50 Th. Wiegand in: Knackfuß 1908, 96.

51 Herrmann 1998, 158 in his translation: “(Zeus) Boulaios”, referring to A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 246 n. 1; cf. also Wiegand 1901b, 196; Knackfuß 1908, 124, index III: “Βουλαῖος (Zeus)”.

52 A. Rehm in: Kawerau/Rehm 1914, 183 no. 37c, ll. 42-44: τὸν δι[ε] ἱερέα καὶ τοὺς ἰ πρυτάνειες καὶ τοὺς ἡμερομένους ἐπὶ τῆι φυλ[.]-ακῆι τῆι τε Ἐοστίαι τῆι Ἰουλαία καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βουλαίωι ἐπευχο[μένου]; cf. Herrmann 1997, 162 f. no. 37.

53 Altar: Wycherley 1957, 55 no. 118 (c. 220 BC); sacrifices: Wycherley 1957, 56 f. nos. 119-121; Meritt/Traill 1974, 97-99 no. 89.7-11 (254/3 BC), 108 no. 111.2-7 (c. 240 BC), 109-111 no. 115.9-17 (235/4 BC); and more often; cf. Mikalson 1998, 112 f., 115 f., 181, 194 f., 255, 268, 295. For the Tholos being the *prytanikon*, where the council of the 50 prytanes hold their office after the reforms of Ephialtes in 462 BC: Herda 2011, 71 f. n. 92.

54 SEG 22, 1967, 152: Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστήν [...] Ἰουλαί[ζ]αν Τιβερίου [Καίσαρος] Ἰ Σεβαστοῦ μητέρα [ὁ δῆμος καὶ] ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου π[ά]γου (dated to 14-29 AD); cf. Hahn 1994, 49, 327 no. 56; Kantiréa 2007, 113 f.; Camia 2011, 198 f.; Geagan 2011, 144, 148 no. H254, p. 294.

55 SEG 47, 1997, 218: [Σεβαστὸν Καίσα]ρα Δία Βουλαί[ον, --- ἰ ---] (...); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 114.

56 Compare also Thera, where Germanicus was equated with Zeus Boulaios and Agrippina with Hestia Boulaia: Hahn 1994, 15, 49, 138, 340 no. 134.

57 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.

58 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: Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διαδοῦμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐμπροσημῶ διαφορηθέντα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκευάσας ἀποκατέστησε (“Gaius Iulius Diadumenos restored the statue which had been destroyed by fire in the *gymnasium*”). C. Iulius Diadumenos is most probably a descendent of C. Iulius Epikrates.

59 Cf. Herrmann 1994, 28.

60 The μέγα γυμνάσιον, mentioned in an inscription from Didyma (A. Rehm in: Rehm/Harder 1958, 114 f. no. 84), besides the *Faustineion* and the *Capitoneion* (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.

61 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 *thesauros* 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 up⁶². 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 looters⁶³. In the final publication Hubert Knackfuß interpreted the chamber as *thesauros*, 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 Kos⁶⁴. One may also compare the so-called *thesauros* in the agora of Messene, found in 2006 only⁶⁵. Inside this room, the Achaean general Philopoimen may have been locked and poisoned 183 BC, as

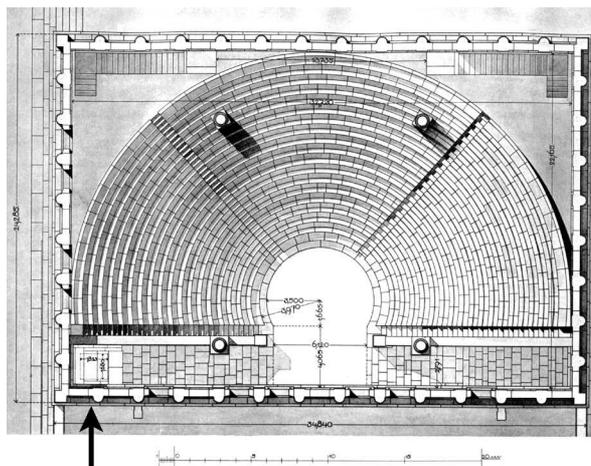


Fig. 15 : Underground chamber (*thesauros*, later on *heroon*?) in the eastern corridor of the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. Ground plan of the hall (N is to the right) with marked location of chamber in the SE-corner (from Knackfuß 1908, pl. 4).

we known from Plutarch⁶⁶. 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 filling⁶⁷; they are typical indicators of magic at graves, especially at graves of persons who died a violent death⁶⁸.

62 Knackfuß 1908, 34, pls. 1 (stone plan) and 4 (reconstruction of assembly hall with position of chamber and its measures).

63 Knackfuß 1908, 34; Kleiner 1968, 78 f.; Wiegand 1902, 154 added: “Es [the chamber, A.H.] hat im Mittelalter als Bestattungsort für 13 Leichen gedient, deren Schädel mongolischen Typus zeigen”.

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 *thesauros*, see: Kamiski 1991, 133-145; Riethmüller 2005, I 217.

For the spatial closeness of a public *thesauros* with a *bouleuterion* see Vitruve, *de architectura* 5.2.12: Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniugenda (“Treasure, prison, council hall shall be located together in the agora”); cf. Themelis 2006, 51 and 2010, 122.

65 Themelis 2006, 49-52, pls. 40-42a and 2010, 122 f., pls. 53.4 and 54.2.

66 Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 19-20 explicitly speaks of a “so-called *Thesauros*” (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” (οἴκημα κατάγειον οὔτε πνεῦμα λαμβάνον οὔτε φῶς ἔξωθεν οὔτε θύρας ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλη λίθῳ προσαγομένῳ κατακλειόμενον, ἐνταῦθα κατέθεντο, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπιρράξαντες ἄνδρας ἐνόπλιους κύκλῳ περιέστησαν).

67 Cf. Themelis 2006, 51 f. and 2010, 122 f. Themelis assumes that the *thesauros* 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, I 163 with n. 2 thought of a magic calling and binding (ἀνάκλησις) of the hero’s

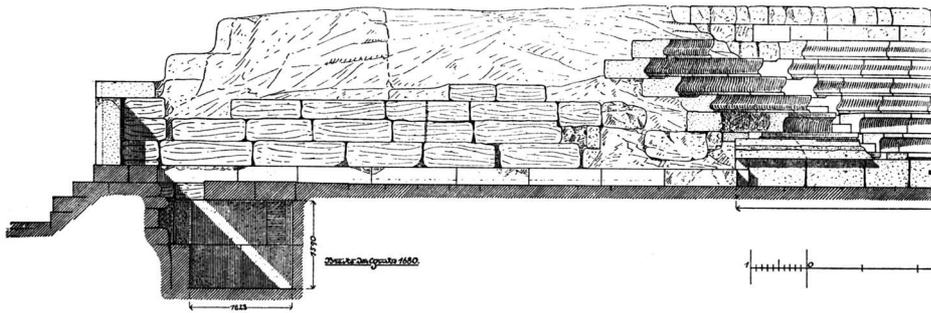


Fig. 16 :
Underground chamber
(*thesauros*, later on
heroon?) in the southern
corridor of the assembly
hall of the Hellenistic
bouleuterion.
Section through the
south end of the eastern
corridor with chamber
at left, view from E
(from Knackfuß 1908,
pl. 3, 6, detail).

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 had been assumed by Theodor Wiegand in the excavation report of 1902⁶⁹.

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 Herakleides⁷⁰?

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*, address the heroes Gaius Iulius Apollonios and his son Gaius Iulius Epikrates⁷¹. 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 Epikrates⁷² were incorporated

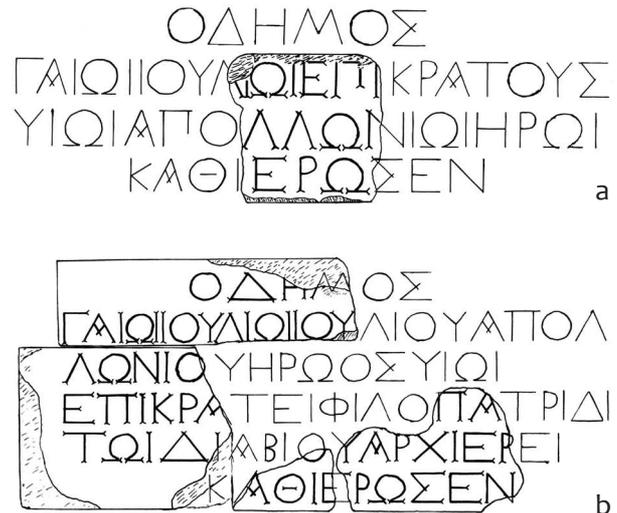


Fig. 17a-b : Reconstructed monumental votive inscriptions from the inner wall of the assembly hall of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*. Height of letters 9-12 cm.
a. for heros Gaius Iulius Apollonios (Herrmann 1997 no. 15), b. for Gaius Iulius Epikrates, son of heros Iulius Apollonios (Herrmann 1997 no. 6), length c. 1.8 m (from Herrmann 1994, 231 f. figs. 1-2).

soul and compared this with how the Messenians asked their heroes to return, when founding the city in 370/69 BC: Pausanias 4.27.6; see below.

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 Verschlussplatte von oben eingesetzt worden ist") may be used for libations, depending on whether the hole goes through the slab or not. The whole matter deserves further investigation.

70 On both see Hommel 1976; Herrmann 1987; Schaaf 1992, 53 f., 59 f.; Herrmann 1997, 155; Nawotka 1999, 153 f.; N. Ehrhardt in: Herrmann et al. 2006, 154; Schollmeyer 2011, 19; Bol 2011, 7.

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. Iulius 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 καθιέρωσεν 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 heroization of living persons is

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 *heroon* of

a phenomenon appearing since the 5th century BC, see below § X with n. 267.

Alkathoos itself was used as *archeion*⁷³. 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 *Aisymnios*, the “judge”, obviously the eponym of the political office of *aisymnetia* and later to be buried in his office building, the *Aisymnion*, received an oracle in Delphi “that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber (*bouleuterion*) 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).

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 “focuses 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.

73 Pausanias 1.42.4, 1.43.2 f., 1.43.4; cf. Curti/van Bremen 1999, 25; Burkert 2011: 293 with n. 8. Schörner omits Megara, “da die Gräber für mythische Heroen in dieser Untersuchung keine Rolle spielen” (Schörner 2007, 109 n. 904).

74 Pausanias 1.43.3 (transl. W.H.S. Jones). On the difficulties with differentiating the *prytaneion* from the *Aisymnion* and *bouleuterion* see Highbarger 1927, 17 f.; Hanell 1934, 146 f. with n. 6. To me it seems likely to equate the *Aisymnion* with the *prytaneion* of Megara, as the office of the *aisymnetes* is equal with that of the *archprytanis*, 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 2010, 56–60 with fig. 1.

75 Bohringer 1980; Hölscher 1998, 34 f., 44, 120 fig. 11. See the striking characterization by Curti/van 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, *heroa*; even political buildings like the *bouleuterion* 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 mythohistorical 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* (ll. 598 ff.) of Aeschylus, where she asks the soul of her dead husband Darius to help the Persians against the Greeks; cf. Herda 1998, 43 f. During the *Anthesteria* the dead souls climb up to the surface and move around in the city; Burkert 2011a, 296, 360. See below §§ VI and X.

77 Herodotus 1.67–68; cf. Pfister 1909, 76 f., 196 f.; McCauley 1999; Parker 2011, 117 f., 121.

78 Pausanias 4.27.6: ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἡρώας σφίαιν ἐπανήκειν συνοίκους; cf. Burkert 2011a, 314 f.

79 For this term see Kron 1999.

80 Antonaccio 1995, 70–102; Boehringer 2001, 243–371; Parker 2011, 119. A critical revision of the evidence is now presented in Mangoldt forthcoming. *Secure hero-cults*: Mangoldt forthcoming, catalogue nos. A5 (Antheia, Mycenaean *tholos* grave, cult: early 3rd century BC), A27 (Voidokolia, ‘grave of Thrasymedes’, Middel Helladic tumulus, cult: 4th/3rd century BC); *supposable*: B11 (Kopanaki, Mycenaean *tholos*, cult: Classical-Hellenistic?), B19 (Kremmidia, *tholos* grave 3, Mycenaean, cult: Late Classical-Early Hellenistic), B22 (Nichoria, LH III A/B *tholos*, cult: 5th/4th century BC), B24 (Peristeria, *tholos* grave 1, LH III A/B, cult: 4th/3rd century BC), B27 (Volimidia, grave Angelopoulos 6, Mycenaean, cult: Geometric and Hellenistic-Roman); *insecure*: C 19 (Soulinari, Mycenaean *tholos*, cult: Archaic and Hellenistic?), C29 (Tragana, *tholos* grave 2, LH I, cult: Hellenistic and Late Roman?), C30 (Vathirema, rock-cut chamber tomb, Mycenaean?, cult: Classical?).
81 Aristotle fr. 392 R; Diogenes Laertius 1.62; Plutarch, *Solon* 32.4; Farnell 1921, 361; Malkin 1987, 83, 218; see below § VII with nn. 174 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 (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τὰς πύλας πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντων, καὶ περιφοδοῦμετο αὐτῷ ὁ τάφος). 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 Dipylon 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 houses⁸². As already mentioned was the hearth of Hestia Boulaia located in the assembly hall of the Milesian *bouleuterion*⁸³. The same spatial closeness has to be assumed for the graves of mythical heroes such as Timalkos in the *bouleuterion* of Megara or Euhippos, Ischepolis and Aisymnos in the Megarian *prytaneion*. Antinoe, the daughter of Kepheus, who had helped the Mantineans to found their city, delivers one of the rare cases of a *heroine*, being venerated as *heroine ktiste*. Her grave was located in the agora, had a round shape and was significantly called Κοινὴ Ἐστία⁸⁴.

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 decade⁸⁵. 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):

ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεύσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλήσιας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θεῖναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορὰ ποτε τοῦτο Μιλήσιων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον.

“A similar insight into futurity is 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 πλήρη θεῶν, “All is full of gods”, repeated by Aristotle⁸⁶. 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' lifetime – he died in the mid-6th century BC –⁸⁷ the city of Miletos was totally replanned in

Salamis and re-buried at the Dipylon. This is highly speculative, to put it mildly. When we at least accept the reliability of Aelian, we have to assume in the 2nd century AD a grave precinct, enclosed within a wall, perhaps including also a cenotaph, while the ashes of Solon stay in Salamis.

⁸² Pfister 1909, 460 (he compares it with the cult of the Roman *Lares*); Farnell 1921, 356. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.2 in accordance equates the ὁ κατ' οἰκίαν ἦρωες with the *lar familiaris*, and in 4.14 he speaks of ἦρωαι προνομήσις when meaning the *lares compitales*. See also the cult of the Roman *Penates* at the hearth, or that of the Etruscan *dii animales*: below n. 263. For the purifying function of the fire in hero cults see n. 229.

⁸³ See above § II with nn. 40 and 47. The most sacred hearth of the polis, that of Hestia Prytaneia, was to be found in the *Molpon*, the house of the cult association of Apollo Delphinios in the Delphinion, see below with n. 91; § VII with n. 172.

⁸⁴ Pausanias 8.9.5; cf. Fougères 1898, 316; Pfister 1909, 460; Farnell 1921, 356a, 358, 414 n. 127a. The grave is identified with a free-standing circular stepped stone monument, 6,10 m in diameter, with a “mill-stone” (Fougères 1898, 194 “meule”) in the center. It is located west of the theater and directly in front of the northern stoa of the agora: Fougères 1898, 180 fig. 44 (“Foyer commun?”), pp. 193 f. (because of the small diameter he reconstructs a round altar, surrounded by a balustrade, not a *tholos* with columns and a roof).

⁸⁵ Herda 2005, 250-258 figs. 5-10; Brückner et al. 2006; Müllenhoff et al. 2009a and 2009b; Brückner et al. forthcoming.

⁸⁶ 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 *asebes!*) never doubted the existence of the gods resp. a divine principle.

⁸⁷ According to the Hellenistic chronographer Apollodoros (Apollodor *FGrHist* 244 F 28 = Diogenes Laertius 1.37 = 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 know 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. Θαλῆς, where the same high birth date in the 35th Olympiad is given, therefore remarked: “Ol. 35 stammt aus der korrupten Quelle des Diog[enes, A.H.] (...), wie Euseb. A 7 (1 75, 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 Kyaxares (Herodotus 1.74 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 5; see: Hahn 2001, 253 f. n. 45;



Fig. 18 : Palaeogeographic map of Miletos with building phases in relation to the shorelines (Marc Müllenhoff, author, and Helmut Brückner).

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 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.

Graham/Hintz 2007, 331). Sosikrates instead (fr. 10 FGH IV 501 = Diogenes Laertius 1.38 = Diels/Kranz 11 A 1) kept the 35th Olympiad but prolonged the lifetime of Thales from 78 to 90 years, because he knew of Thales dying in Ol. 58 (548-545 BC). This seems less convincing as we know that Thales had his *akme* (in the age of c. 40) in the year of the Athenian *archon* Damasias (582/1 BC): Diogenes Laertius I.22 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A 1); cf. Kirk et al. 2001, 84 n. 1.

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, 258-262, 257 fig. 8; Grave 2009, 26 fig. 1. It is detected via geophysics (Stümpel/Erkul 2008, 28 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).

⁸⁹ Weber 2004a, 145 and 2004b, 235-237; Herda 2005, 282-284, 291 f.; Weber 2007, 355-359.

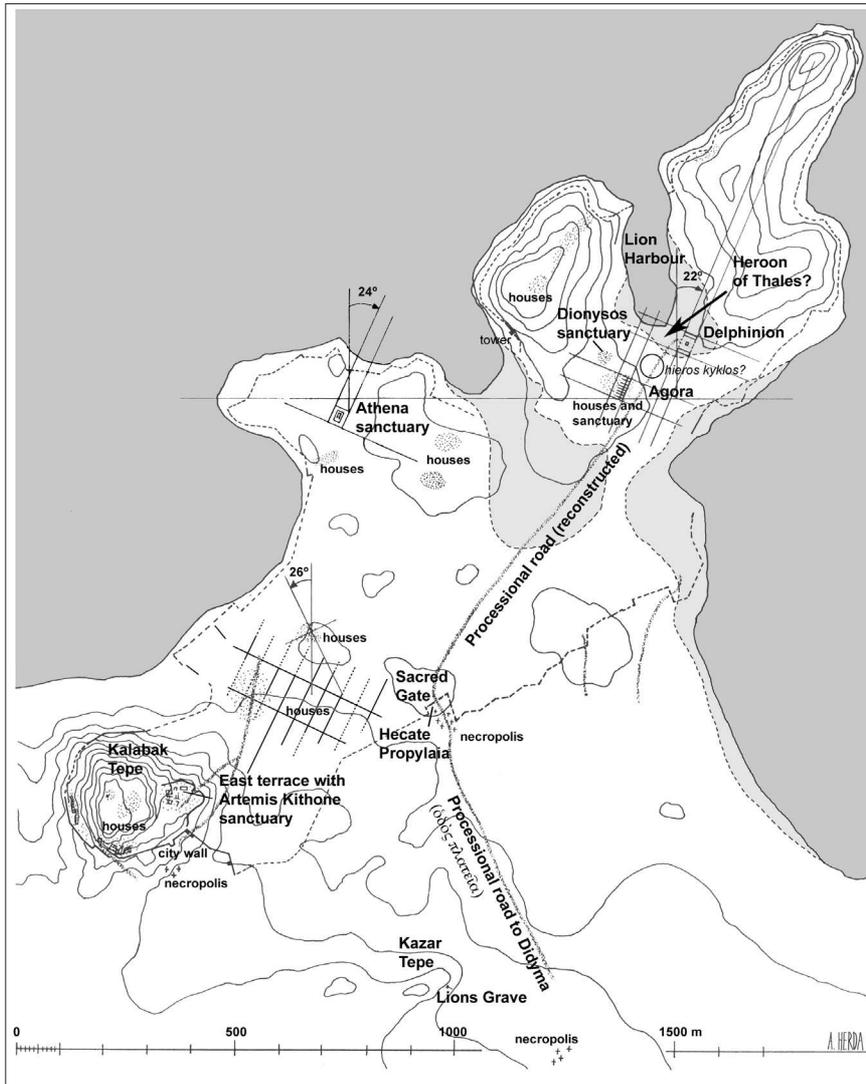


Fig. 19 : City map of Archaic Miletos with detected Archaic street-*insula*-grid, maximum extension of sea in Early Archaic times (light grey), and assumed position of Thales' grave in area of artificial drainage (drawing author).

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 center⁹⁰. 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)⁹¹.

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 φαῦλος καὶ παρορῶμενος, “cheap and disregarded”⁹², by Plutarch? This assumption has a high probability to me⁹³.

⁹⁰ Herda 2005, 272-279 figs. 25, 29 and 2011, 70-74, 64 fig. 2.

⁹¹ Herda 2005, 247-250 and 2011, 62-70. I hold the southern hall of the Delphinion for the *Molpon-prytaneion*.

⁹² For φαῦλος see LSc s.v.: “cheap, easy, slight, paltry”, I. of things, 1. “easy, slight”, 2. “simple, ordinary”, 3. “mean, bad”. For παρορῶμενος in the sense of “disregarded, neglected” see LSc s.v. παροράω II.1. “look past, i.e. overlook a thing”, 2. “disregard”, 3. “neglect”.

⁹³ Cf. Herda 2005, 278-280; Müllenhoff et al. 2009, 108.

V. The cult of the founder in Greek *agorai*

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 habit”⁹⁴. Probably the best-known example is that of Aristoteles in Kyrene, a 7th century BC colony of Thera. Aristoteles, son of Polymnestos 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. The heroon of Battos was found by the Italian excavators on the eastern end of the agora, consisting of a tumulus grave and less probably also a separate sanctuary⁹⁵. A sacred law from Kyrene, relating to taking part in sacrifices “for Battos the first leader” (Βάττω τῷ ἀρχαγέτῃ)⁹⁶, 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 (*mysos*, *miasma*) and could therefore be placed within the city⁹⁷.

A striking other example is the grave of the Sikyonian general Aratos, who died in 213 BC. The Sikyonians, 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 cities⁹⁸, 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”⁹⁹. The Sikyonians solved the problem by asking the oracle in Delphi for permission. Apollo, the divine authority of cleaning and purity, “the purest of gods”¹⁰⁰, who was also prominent as protector from plagues in the

94 Scholium Pindar, *Olympic Ode* 1.149b: Οἱ γὰρ οἰκιστῆαι ἐν μέσῃσι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐθάπτοντο ἐξ ἕθους; Leschhorn 1984, 67, 98-105; Malkin 1987, 200-216, 237-240; Schörner 2007, 118 f., 196 f., 206 f.; Cordano 2009.

95 Stucchi 1965, 33-65 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, pls. 13, 2, 20, 5-6, 21.1-3, 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 (so e.g. Schörner 2007, 22, 43, speaks of “Kultstätte (Oikos)”, but see *ibidem* 150, where she treats it as separate sanctuary of a trias!), 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). Stucchi 1965, 34-58 thinks of a heroon for the *daemon* Ephialtes Ophelus (because of a graffito: Stucchi 1965, 46-48, pl. 10, 10.a-b –[λ]πὸ Ὀφέλει), 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 Kyrener”; see also Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 502 f.; see below n. 246.

96 The title *archagetes*, the “first leader”, instead of *oikistes*, *oikister*, *ktistes*, “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 *epitheton* of Apollo Didymeus, the oracle god sanctioning the Milesian colonisation, e.g. of Kyzikos: Aelius

Aristeides, *Orationes* 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 *hegemon*, “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 § 5 of the law (ll. 21-25), which is very difficult to understand. Besides Battos are mentioned the Akamant(i)es, “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 *ὄσια* for everyone’)”; cf. Parker 1983, 42 n. 39, p. 338; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 503. Compare also the “pure” *Tritopateres* in the *lex sacra* from Selinus, 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 16); Parker 2011, 104 n. 4. 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 2011a, 125 f., 138, 293. See on related funeral laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.

99 Plutarch, *Lykurgos* 27.1 (transl. B. Perrin); cf. Schörner 2007, 6 n. 38, 12 f., 202; Frisone 2011, 190 f. According to Plutarch, Lykurgos did so “thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves” (συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσιν καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ’ ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μαίνοντα τοὺς ἀψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τᾶφων διελθόντας. ἐπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον.). For graves within the city of Sparta: Schörner 2007, 289-297 (A1-7, B 1-8). 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.* 393 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 itself¹⁰¹, sanctioned their project by declaring¹⁰²:

βουλευή, Σικυῶν, ζώαργιον αἰὲν Ἀράτου
ἀμφ’ ὀσίη θαλίη τε κατοικομένοιο ἄνακτος;
ὥς τὸ βαρυνόμενον τῷδ’ ἀνέρι καὶ τὸ
βαρῦνον
γαίης ἔστ’ ἀσέβημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἡδὲ
θαλάσσης.

“Would’st 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 ἀσέβημα, “impious”, “profane”¹⁰³,
exempting it from matters of ritual impurity.
Also, he calls the festivities for Aratos ὀσίη θαλίη,
“profane festivities”, stressing that they are
‘allowed’ and not forbidden by divine law¹⁰⁴.

The Sikyonians immediately reacted by
“choosing out a commanding place, they buried him
there, calling him founder and saviour of the city”¹⁰⁵.

Yearly sacrifices (θυσία) took place at the heroon,
called *Arateion*, for Zeus Soter and Aratos at the
date he had saved the city from tyranny. Another
yearly sacrifice was offered to Aratos at his birthday
by his own priest¹⁰⁶.

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 Italy¹⁰⁷.

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*
Pammilos¹⁰⁸. To me, a connection with the hero
Euthydamos, mentioned in the famous 5th century
BC *lex sacra* from Selinous as being venerated by
the Selinuntians together with Zeus Meilichios and
the “pure” *Tritopateres*, the “fathers in the third
generation”, or ‘collective ancestors’ of the polis¹⁰⁹,

heroes Adrastos and Melanippos were located: Herodotus 5.67;
cf. Malkin 1987, 235, 237.

106 Cult of Aratos: Plutarch, *Aratos* 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, 176 f. figs. 9-20; Pedley 1990, 36-39 figs. 11-13; Rausch 2000 (interpreted as *Tritopatreion*); Mertens 2006, 166 f. figs. 288 f.; Schörner 2007, 152-167 figs. 194-197 (cenotaph); see below § IX.

108 Mertens 2006, 177 fig. 308, 178 fig. 310; Mertens 2010, 80-84 fig. 12, esp. 83 f. on Pammilos of Megara (Thucydides 6.4.2). A second, much more destroyed burial directly south of the grave is connected by Mertens to a second heros *ktistes* originating from Megara’s colony Megara Hyblaea. He is supposed to have joined Pammilos but was, according to Mertens, later on forgotten, his grave was left devastated: Mertens 2010, 80 f. fig. 12, p. 82-84.

109 The most instructive ancient text on the *Tritopateres* is Harpokration, *Lexikon* s.v. *Tritopateres* (Keaney, p. 253) = Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F6 / Demon *FGrHist* 327 F2 / Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F182; cf. Jameson et al. 1993, 107-116; Georgoudi 2001, 155 f.; Gagné 2007 (critical on all sources, incl. Orpheus, *Physika* F 803 Bernabé = 318 Kern); Higgins 2008, 17 f. On the *Tritopateres* as collective ancestors of smaller kinship groups (gene, phratries, demes) as well as of the whole polis see Clinton 1996; Iles-Johnston 1999, 51 f.; Rausch 2000, 111-116; Georgoudi 2001; Gagné 2007, 2 with n. 5, p. 16; Higgins 2008, 18. On the etymology (composite of *τρίτος*, “three”, and *πατήρ*, “father”): Farnell 1921, 355; Schweitzer 1922, 75 f.; Wüst 1939, 324 f.; Georgoudi 2001, 156; see next note and n. 238.

The *Tritopateres* 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 interwined. 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 1922, 72-83; cf. Weinreich 1973, 77 f.; Jameson et al. 1993, 112 n. 37; Martini 1990, 235 f. fig. 71 (stresses that the middle body is hit by arrows, he leaves

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: [Aristoteles], *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, *Aratos* 53.3.

103 Cf. LSc s.v. ἀσέβημα: “impious or profane act, sacrilege, opp. ἀδίκημα”.

104 On *hosios* as exact complement to *hieros*: Burkert 2011, 403 f.

105 Plutarch, *Aratos* 53.3: καὶ τόπον ἐξελλόμενοι περίοπτον ὡσπερ οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. The place of the heroon is described as τόπον περίοπτον, “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, 234 f. 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 Sicily. 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

seems also possible¹¹⁰. The ritual delivers an exact

the identification open); Karanastassis 2002, 220 fig. 304b (Typhon?); Stroszeck 2010, 58 n. 24 (refers to the observation of Martini and remarks: “Diese Interpretation des Dreigestaltigen muss als überholt gelten.”); Icard-Gianolio 1994, 561 no. 3 (identified with Proteus). Another early depiction of the *Tritopatores*, 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 Silphion 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 Eros, 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), 137-142 (winged male figures are no Boreads).

¹¹⁰ Mertens 2010, 80 f. mentions the *lex sacra* (Jameson et al. 1993 = SEG XLIII 630 = Lupu 2005, 359-387 no. 27) 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 excentric within the *temenos*: Mertens 2008, 475-481 figs. 3-7; Mertens 2010, 81 fig. 12. Maybe the southern grave is the one of Pammilos, while the northern one in the *temenos* is that of Euthydamos. Euthydamos, “the one beneficial to the demos”, and Myskos, “the ritually polluted” (cf. ingeniously Curti/van Bremen 1999, 30 referring to Hesychius s.v. μύσκος: μιάσμα, κήδος), had their own *heroa* and received public sacrifices together with Zeus Meilichios and the impure (Myskos) and pure (Euthydamos) *Tritopatores*: Jameson et al. 1993, 14 f. line A 9 ἐν Μύσσοις Α 17 ἐν Εὐθυδάμο; 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 *Tritopatores* as to the heroes” (A 9 f. τοῖς Τριτοπατρῆσι τοῖς μαρτοῖς ἡσπερ τοῖς ἡρώεσι; cf. Jameson et al. 1993, 29 f., 63-67) had to be “poured through the roof” (Il. A 10 f. ροῖνον ὑπολθεῖ-ι ψαν δι ὀρόφο). The location was the grave of Myskos, 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. 4-7 (grave of Myskos 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” *Tritopatores* (A 13 τοῖς κ<α>θαροῖς), performed “as to the gods” (A 17 ἡσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς), 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 Agoraios, where the tyrant Euryleon was killed (Herodotus 5.46; Polyaeus 1.28.2). Could it instead be a Sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios or/and the “pure” *Tritopatores*, which are to be expected close to the *heroon* of Euthydamos, or does the sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios in the sanctuary of Euthydamos (Il. 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 *Tritopatreion* in the Kerameikos necropolis of Athens was a state sanctuary of the *Tritopatores* of the Athenian people, as supposed by some scholars (cf. Jameson et al. 1993, 107 f.; Lupu 2005, 371; Vonderstein 2006, 210 n. 1601; Stroszeck 2010, 56, 67, 71 f.), 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 *Tritopateres* 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 *mnema*, 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: Stroszeck 2010, 68 f. This rather hints at a *Tritopatreion* of a smaller kinship group (*genos* or *phratry*), which got out of function with the termination of this group. J. Stroszeck now assumes the ending of the state cult of the *Tritopatores* 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*: Stroszeck 2010, 62, pl. 29, 1-3), as well as a small tumulus to the east: Stroszeck 2010, 65 f., pls. 25-1, 32.1-2. This had led Kübler 1973, 189 f., 192 (cf. Stroszeck 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 *Alkmaeonidai*; cf. Stroszeck 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 to 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 forerunner of the time of Kleisthenes is to be expected close by: Mattusch 1994, 76 with fig. 4. Antonaccio 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: Georgoudi 2001, 154 with n. 11; Stroszeck 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 Kultstellen, diejenigen für die *Tritopatores* und die für Myskos 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 Lazarides 1993, 97 fig. 49; Koukoul-Chrysantaki 2002, 66-72, pls. 10A-B, 11B; Schörner 2007, 72 f., 264 f. B8; cf. B. Mangoldt forthcoming, catalogue-no. A1.

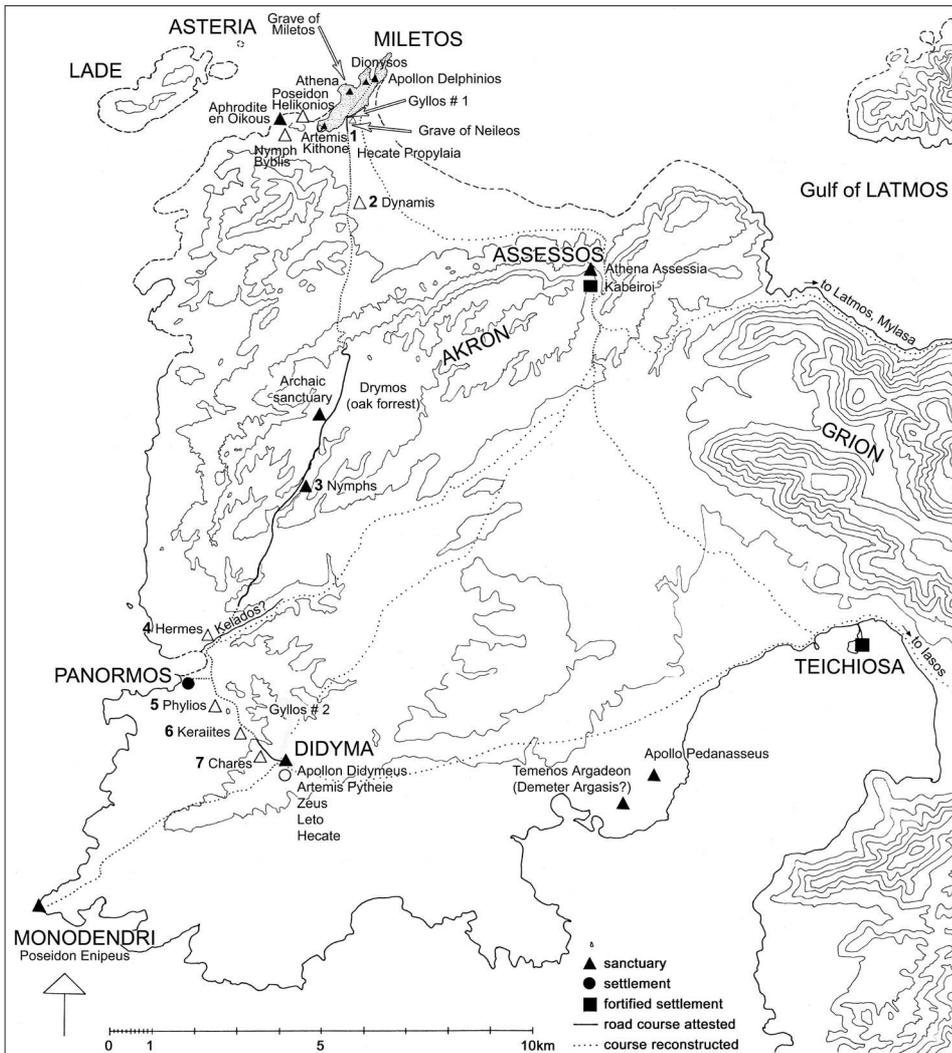


Fig. 20 : Map of Miletos with important cult places and processional road to Didyma (drawing author).

altar(?) made of mica-shist and poros blocks, in whose lower step an inscribed marble slab was integrated¹¹³.

¹¹³ Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 3 f. no. 3; Schörner 2007, 21, 42, 84 f., 149 f., 212 f. A2 figs. 9-14. 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: Γλαύφο εἰμι μνή- Ι μα το Δελπίνοῦ ἔ- Ι θεσαν δέ με οἱ Βορέντ- Ι εω παῖδες. 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. 131?) to the agora, where it was integrated into the altar(?). A translocation would lower the date for the erection of

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 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)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", still too small for a giant in his opinion¹¹⁵. The background for this story may have been a special attraction, shown to tourist like Pausanias by the locals. One may think of gigantic Miocene marine or animal fossils, the area around Miletos was rich of and 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 River¹¹⁶. 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 2nd century BC *gymnasion*-library of Tauromenion-Taormina on Sicily, listing his text¹¹⁷.

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 Ottoman times, from which it got the name 'Mezar Tepe': "Hill of the Graves"¹¹⁸.

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 there¹¹⁹. 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' (Παλαιμύλητος), which according to Strabo, citing Ephoros, was founded by Sarpedon 'above the sea' (ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης)¹²⁰. The name of this settlement is mentioned in Hittite texts as *Mil(l)awanda* or *Mil(l)awata*, originating perhaps from the Minoan place name *Mil(l)atos*¹²¹.

The cult of *heros ktistes* Miletos, securely attested since the 5th century BC, but likely much older¹²², is surprisingly resilient: it is still alive in early Byzantine times (5th century AD)¹²³.

114 Herda 1998 (grave of Neileos, Poseidon Enipeus at Poseidon-Monodendri, Artemis Kithone on Kalabak Tepe); Herda 2006a, 259-385, 436-442, 447-449 fig. 17 (stations of the state procession to Didyma); Herda, 2011, 74 f. fig. 6; Herda forthcoming a (founders of Miletos).

115 Pausanias 1.35.67: ἔστι δὲ Μιλήσιοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Λάδι νήσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νησίδες· Ἀστερίου τὴν ἔτε' ἄν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἀστερίον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἀστερίον μὲν Ἄνακτος, Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα· ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδὲν τι μείον πηχῶν δέκα. ("Before the city of the Milesians 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 5.13.11; cf. Herda 2006a, 354 f. and 2011, 61 f. n. 22.

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 fossilized mammoth bones, see Pausanias 8.29.2-4; Mayor 2000, 73, 293 n. 18. Xenophanes of Colophon, Anaximander's pupil, is directly referring to his theory: Diels/Kranz 21A 33.5-6; cf. Naddaf 2003, 38.

117 Blanck 1997a; Blanck 1997b, visible is the heading and few letters beneath: Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξι - Ἰάδου Μιλήσιος | ἐγγεγετομέν Θ[αλ] ἔω; cf. Couprie 2003, 253 n. 220. Photo techniques like infra-red and ultra-violet would help to make more text readable. This effort is definitely worth it.

118 For Mezar Tepe see: Wilski 1906, map C 3 ("Mesartepe"); Philippson 1936, map ("Mesartepe", 2.5 km W of the Theatre Hill and less than 1 km north of the small village of "Patriotiko" which is located on the eastern side of ancient Lade); on Asterios see Wernicke 1896; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.1.1 with fig. 2.

119 *Scholium* on Dionysius Periegeta 825.

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

121 Herda/Sauter 2009, 57 with n. 41; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.4.

122 Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1-2.2.2.

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 5th century AD, sculpture possibly older): Μητέρα Μιλήτιοιο Τύχη τε πό[λιος] Ἄρειαι, "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. 2192; 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 newyears 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 personifications of their successful occupation of and subsequent rooting in the new lands in Asia Minor (fig. 20)¹²⁴.

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)¹²⁵. The ‘Sacred Gate’ with the beginning of the extra-urban processional road is located¹²⁶, 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 founder¹²⁷. The *Neleidai* still existed in late Hellenistic times, as we know from a Didymæan inscription¹²⁸. They may have acted as *basileis*, “kings”, representing the city in the league of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, assembling in



Fig. 21 : Late Hellenistic over life size marble cuirass, found in 1903 near the Sacred Gate. Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. SK 1983 (photo Johannes Laurentius, Staatliche Museen Berlin).

the *Panionion* at the northern foot of the Mykale Mountains from Geometric times on¹²⁹.

The public founder cult at the grave of Neileos 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 Neileos”, supposedly the one from Miletos, dedicated a miniature bronze vessel to Hera c. 575-550 BC¹³⁰.

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 Eretria¹³¹. Pausanias describes a similar

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 Gerkan 1935, 12-37 figs. 3-14, pls. 1-13 (“das Heilige Tor”). Before the procession started from the Delphinion in Miletos, one *Gyllos*, a sacred boundary marker, was placed at the Sacred Gate. A second *Gyllos* was erected “at the doors” of the Apollo-temple in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 249-256 figs. 9, 12, 17, 22; Herda 2011, 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, 17 and 2011, 69 n. 70 figs. 2, 6.

127 Herda 1998, 16-19, 42-47 and 2006a, 131 n. 911, p. 348.

128 Rehm/Harder 1958, 170 no. 229 II.3: πατριάς Νειλείδῶ[ν], dated to 66 BC; cf. Herda 1998, 19 with n. 137 and 2006a, 348, 350 n. 2506.

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. 1-2; 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: Bérard 1970; Polignac 1995, 130-137; Herda 1998, 42-47; Schörner 2007, 206 f., 209-212 (A1) 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 (in: 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: Mazerakis 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

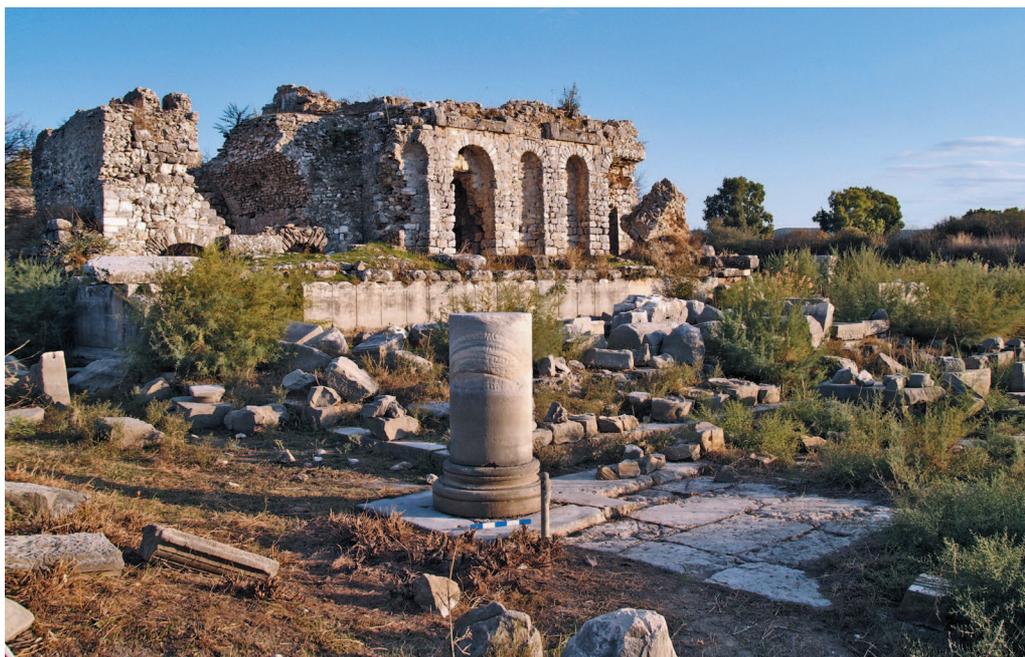


Fig. 22 :
Basis for Neileos-
statue in front
of *nymphaeum*,
restored in
mid-3rd century AD
(photo author
10/2011).

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” (ἀνὴρ ὀπλισμένος) stood on the grave¹³². 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 armour¹³³. A late Hellenistic, over life size marble cuirass, entwined by a snake and found in 1903 close to the Sacred Gate¹³⁴, may therefore originate from the Neileos *heroon* (fig. 21)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 period¹³⁶. The lower basis of the monument survived with a mid-3rd century AD inscription on a column drum, mentioning that the statue on top, now lost together with its basis, had been “restored” (ἀποκατέστησεν) by the Milesian *demos* (figs. 2, 7; 22). The term implies the repairing of an older monument, perhaps also a statue¹³⁷. 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

7th century BC. The graveyard at the West Gate was built over by housing in the late 5th century BC, after Athens had subdued Eretria in 424 BC. The reason may have been that the hero cult had ceased to exist after the conquest by the Persians in 490 BC or only in 424.

¹³² Andraimon: Pausanias 7.3.5; cf. Herda 1998, 44. Androklos: Pausanias 7.2.9; cf. Herda 1998, 6 f.; for the assumed location cf. Herda 1998, 6 with n. 31; Sokolicek 2009, 328.

¹³³ Herda 2006a, 308 n. 2192; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.2.1.

¹³⁴ Rabe 2008, 186 no. 61 pl. 62.

¹³⁵ Cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6.

¹³⁶ For this part of the agora: Cain/Pfanner 2009.

¹³⁷ Herrmann 1997, 72, 207 no. 269; ὁ δήμος Νειλέα τὸν κτίστην ἀποκατέστησεν; cf. Herda 1998, 22 with n. 156; Bol 2011, 67 f. no. III.4.1 fig. 31, pl. 27h; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.6; for the exact position compare: Cain/Pfanner 2009, 91-92 fig. 11. Because of the deviation of the basis from the orthogonal street-*insula*-grid as well as the closeness to the NW-corner of the *Nymphaeum* they assume the monument to be older than the *Nymphaeum* (late 1st century AD).

in front of the statue may have taken place during certain public festivals, converting it into a temporal cult statue¹³⁸.

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 (προειπών) where the agora of Miletos would be one day. I think, this story does not serve simply to demonstrate the philosopher's ability to predict what happens in the future¹³⁹. 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 shadow¹⁴⁰. It is also possible that he saw there samples of regular town

planning, as the Egyptians practiced since the early IInd millenium BC¹⁴¹.

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 channeled it in two streams, which were smaller, and by means of this facilitated Kroisos' army to cross over¹⁴². 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 Nile¹⁴³. 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 men¹⁴⁴. In the famous description of the shield of Achilles, Homer also delivers the first abstract model of the *kosmos*, the existing world in its given order¹⁴⁵. Hephaestus, 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'¹⁴⁶. From this model Thales deduced his prime theory that water is "the principle of all" (*arche*) and that "the earth lies on water"¹⁴⁷. Via Thales' teaching, Hephaestus' map also got the archetype of Anaximander's and Hekataios' maps of the world¹⁴⁸.

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 Neileos *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 *Nymphaeum*, *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 Boulaia, 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 inscription for Lichas, which was erected in the *propylon* of the *Bouleuterion* right opposite the statue of Neileos: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 115-117 no. 12, l. 7: ξυνὰ δὲ Νηλεΐδαισιν ὁμαίχμα πρότος Ἴωνων, "First of the Ionians, you elected the tribes of the Cretans as allies for the Neleidai"; cf. Herrmann 1998, 158 n. 12; cf. Herda 1998, 22 f. n. 155; see above n. 49.

139 So e.g. Classen 1965, 93f.

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.

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

142 Herodotus 1.75; cf. Hahn 2001, 56, 254 nn. 50 f.

143 Cf. Haider 2004, 468-470.

144 Homer, *Iliad* 14.246 (all things, implicating also of all gods and men: Nagy 2011b, 267), 14.201, 302 (all gods) and Hesiod, *Theogony* 337-388 (river gods and nymphs).

145 Philipp 1984, 3 f.; Herda 2012.

146 Homer, *Iliad* 18.478-609; cf. Hardie 1985; Nagy 2011b, 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.

147 Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1. 983b, 6-24 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A12).

148 Strabo 1.1.11 (= Kirk et al. 2001, 113 f. no. 99): νυνὶ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ὀμηρος τῆς γεωγραφίας ἤρξεν, ἀρκεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα. φανεροί

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 graben as well as the sedimentation activity of the Maeander river, caused the rise or decline of the sea level, transforming land into sea and *vice versa*¹⁴⁹. 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 engineering¹⁵⁰. 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 water as the principle of all being by the *apeiron*, the "Boundless/Infinite", and postulated an alternate drying out of the sea by the sun, followed by a flooding, arguing with the existence of marine fossils in inland sites¹⁵¹. Anaximenes, pupil of

Anaximander, explained water, earth and stones as differently compacted forms of the principle cosmic material, air, which constantly changes its condition of aggregation¹⁵². Xenophanes of Kolophon thought of a periodical mixing of earth and water, being the reason for the growing and decline of living species, finally resulting in a total dissolution of earth in water. Like Anaximander, he argued with the appearance of fossils¹⁵³. Herakleitos of Ephesos instead believed the cosmic fire to be the true reason for the transformation of earth into water¹⁵⁴.

Thales' competence in political matters is to be mentioned, too. He advised the Ionians to build a common assembly hall, a *bouleuterion*, in the city of Teos in the middle of Ionia for that they could better concentrate their political and military power against the Lydians and Persians¹⁵⁵. Therefore, he may very well have participated not only in the implementation of the orthogonal grid-system in the beginning 6th century, but also in the enlargement and reorganisation of the Milesian agora around the mid-6th century, creating a space suitable to the demands of the growing body of citizens taking part in the political decision-making. With the help of arbitrators from Paros, Miletos had at that time managed to suppress a severe civil strife and had installed a moderate oligarchy which was in good terms with the new dominant power in Asia Minor, the Persians. The growing body of proud and wealthy polis citizens engaged in politics could be responsible for the development of the agora

δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπακολούθησαντες αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἀξιόλογοι καὶ οἰκτεῖοι φιλοσοφίας, ὧν τοὺς πρῶτους μεθ' Ὀμηρον δύο φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης, Ἀναξίμανδρον τε Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γνῶριμον καὶ πολίτην καὶ Ἐκαταῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦνα πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πῖνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἐκαταῖον καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. "What we have already advanced is sufficient to prove Homer the father of geography. Those who followed in his track are also well-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 Hecataios. So will have had Herodotus c. 200 years earlier in Athens, when he ridiculed the maps showing a flat discoid world, still the dominant imagination in his time: Herodotus 4.36; Kirk *et al.* 2001, 113 f. no. 100; Naddaf 2003, 34, 63 n. 87, 54 fig. 1.1; Couprie 2003, 196 fig. 3.16; Hahn 2010, 153.

149 Müllenhoff *et al.* 2009a, 106. On the harbours of Miletos see Brückner *et al.* forthcoming.

150 One may compare the contemporaneous efforts of Greek engineers to ensure the water supply of cities, for example the tunnel of Eupalinos of Megara in Samos (Kienast 1995; Hahn 2001, 114-116; most lately Olson 2012), the water system of Athens (Tölle-Kastenbein 1994) or the 'krene of Theagenes' in Megara (Hellner 2004). At that time, Miletos seemed to have run her water supply only by ground water wells and small water pipelines: Tuttahs 2007, 5, 67 f., 74 f.

151 Aristotle, *Meteorologica* B1, 353b6; cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 151-156 on nos. 132-137: see above § VI.1 with n. 116 on the (fossilized?) bones of the giant Asterios near Miletos.

152 Kirk *et al.* 2001, 158-162 on nos. 140 f.

153 Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.14.5-6 (=Kirk *et al.* 2001, 193 no. 184); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 192-195 on nos. 181-185 and p. 153 on Anaximander; Naddaf 2003, 38.

154 Herakleitos, fr. 31 (= Clemens, *Strom.* 5.104.3+5 = Diels/Kranz 22 B 31); cf. Kirk *et al.* 2001, 216-218 on no. 218.

155 Herodotus 1.170 (= Diels/Kranz 11 A 4); cf. Naddaf 2003, 31 (he mixes up the Ionian city of Teos with the island of Telos; but on p. 35 he correctly has Teos!). Gorman 2001, 125 f. unnecessarily doubts the historicity of Thales' proposal. The statement of Socrates in Plato's *Hippias maior* 281C3-D8 that most of the earlier philosophers, e.g. Pittakos, Bias, Thales, did not take part in politics is pure irony to ridicule the sophist Hippias, being politically very active. Compare Diogenes Laertius 1.23 where it is said that Thales was first involved in politics, before he started with studying nature (Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικά τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας). When Cicero, *De oratore* 3.137 declares that all of the Seven Sages were leading politicians in their polis states, with the exception of Thales (*hi omnes praeter Milesium Thalen civitatibus suis praefuerunt*), this does not exclude that Thales was politically active. Cicero only says that Thales was not the leading magistrate of the Milesian state, who was called *aisymnetes-stephanephoros* since the later 7th century BC, cf. Herda 2005, 289 f. and 2011, 60-62 on the eponymous office.

and lots of other construction projects, such as the Delphinion¹⁵⁶.

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” (ἄνθρωπος Θαλής)¹⁵⁷. This saying is no exaggeration: The map scetched by Meton is a perfect copy of Anaximander’s cosmological map of the world with the inhabited zone (*oikumene*) of squared shape in the center¹⁵⁸, 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 sundial¹⁵⁹, lastly grounded on Thales’ theories, who combined Homer’s map of the world placed on the shield of Achilles, with Egyptian and Babylonian knowledge¹⁶⁰. 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 Pytheos¹⁶¹.

The recognition Thales had gained as a kind of ‘cultural founder’, respectively hero of Miletos, is

reflected in the anachronistic myth that he came to the town from “Phoenicia”, joining Ionian *heros ktistes* Neileos¹⁶². The story, given in Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, is a complete construct, mixing up the facts¹⁶³. Thales was no ‘Phoenician’ in the literal sense. Instead he was a *meixobarbaros*, of half Karian, half Greek offspring: His father *Examyas* bears a clear Karian name, while his mother Kleobouline descended from one of the oldest Milesian 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 ancestors¹⁶⁴. Their descendants, not Thales, came to Miletos joining Neileos’ colonization adventure some four hundred years before Thales was born¹⁶⁵. Also, they did not come from Phoenicia, but from ‘Phoenician’ *Kadmeia*-Thebes. By making Thales a companion of Neileos, the most important of all founders of Miletos, the tradition obviously stressed his role as a *heros ktistes*¹⁶⁶.

His recognition culminates in his alleged victory in the Panhellenic competition of the Seven Sages¹⁶⁷. This story must have spread already shortly after his death, because Hipponax of Ephesos

156 Herodotus 5.28 f.; cf. Gorman 2001, 52, 110-113, 118, 120 (early 7th century BC); Naddaf 2003, 29 f. (after 546 BC); Herda 2005, 292 (before 560 BC); Herda in preparation.

157 Aristophanes, *Birds* 1009; for Aristophanes’ comparison Meton/Hippodamos/Thales see ingeniously Haselberger 1999. Another comparison of a person with Thales is found in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 180 (geometry). For Meton of Kolonos cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 122 with commentary; Hübner 2000.

158 For Anaximander’s map cf. Couprie 2003, 194.

159 Diogenes Laertius 2.1 (= Diels/Kranz 12 A 1); cf. Hahn 2001, 61, 206 f. fig. 4.12, 255 n. 70; Naddaf 2003, 52 (taken over from the Babylonians via the Egyptians); Hahn 2010, 145-176.

160 Couprie 2003, 195-201 figs. 3.16-19; see above with nn. 145-148. Philipp 1984, 2 f. especially convincingly that it was already Homer and his Ionian contemporaries who adopted Babylonian models like the famous map of the world from 7th/6th century BC Sippar, today in the British Museum (BM 92687): Gehrke 2007, 22 f. figs. 4-5.

161 Hahn 2001; Hahn 2003, Hahn 2010; on Hippodamos as townplanner, meteorologist and social utopist see Hellmann 2001; Herda in preparation; on Pytheos as omnipotent sculptor, architect and townplanner see Herda forthcoming b, § 6.3.

162 On Neileos and the Ionian migration see Herda 1998 and 2009, 28, 33-41, 91; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.

163 Diogenes Laertius 1.22 (= Diels/Kranz 11A1).

164 Cf. Herodotus 1.170 (Thales is a “Phoenician”), 5.57 f. (the *Kadmeioi* of Thebes are “Phoenicians”); cf. Herda 2009, 77 with n. 284 f., 79 with nn. 300 f.; Herda/Sauter 2009, 77 f., 105; Herda forthcoming b, §§ 5, 6.5.

165 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.

166 The anachronistic combination of Thales with Neileos in Diogenes Laertius 1.22 may be stimulated by the wording of Thales dedication of his winner price in the Seven Sages-contest to the Apollo Didymeus in Didyma or Apollo Delphinios in Miletos, also cited by Diogenes Laertius 1.29, referring to Callimachus, *lambus* 1 (fr. 191 Pfeiffer): Θαλής με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νεϊλεῶ δῆμου ἰ δίδωσι, τούτο δις λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον (“Thales brings me, the price he won twice, to the lord of Neileus folk”). Instead, Kirk *et al.* 2001, 84 f. on no. 62 let the couple of Neileos and Agenor arrive in Miletos, as the name of Neileos companion is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertius 1.22 (cf. Classen 1965, 930 who thinks not of Agenor alone, but of the *Thelidai* as family). That Agenor was rewarded with Milesian citizenship by publishing his name on a citizens list inscribed in stone (ἐπολιθογραφῆθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ) 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 Neileos was expelled from Phoenicia/Thebes together with Agenor or Thales (ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νεϊλεῶ ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης) 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.

167 Diogenes Laertius 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 ‘mythoritualistic’ 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 feasting, formed an ideal location¹⁷².

The *heroon* of a third member of the Seven Sages, Chilon, is known in Sparta¹⁷³. And already mentioned was the cremation 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 *heros ktistes* 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 *heroon*¹⁷⁶. 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, 123 (West), see below with n. 178. Alcaeus fr 448 Lobell/Page (= Himerios, *Orationes* 28.7 Colonna) may already refer to the story of the Seven Sages. Xenophanes (Diels/Kranz 21 B 19) stresses Thales’ astronomical achievements as Heraclit 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 ἀγῶν στεφανίτης 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 2005, 300 f. But Martin 1993, 121 alludes besides the Seven Ṛṣis of the Sanskrit Veda (c. 1000 BC) also to the seven wise men building the walls of Uruk in the IInd 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 Maeander. 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; Diodorus 21.58a; Plutarch, *Themistocles* 32.3; Pausanias 1.1.2; Nepos, *Themistocles* 10.5; cf. Malkin 1987, 223-228; Krumeich 1997, 72 with n. 176.

172 Miller 1978, 4-13, 130 (dining, *xenia*), 17 (heroes in *prytaneia*), Ekroth 2002, 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.

176 Cf. von Gerkan 1922, 41 f. figs. 53 f.; A. Rehm in: von Gerkan 1922, 100-104 no. 187 fig. 98 pl. 12 f.; Herrmann 1998, 197 n. 187 pl. 15, 1; Gorman 2001, 230-234; Herda 2005, 272 f. fig. 25. The decree is now redated to shortly before the Persian conquest of 494 BC by Slawisch 2011; I will refer to her unconvincing arguments in: Herda in preparation.

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 fr. 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” (τῷ Διδυμεί Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν), obviously combining two contradictory versions.

Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι
Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δις λαβών.

“Thales the Milesian, son of Examyes [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 Iambus, letting him narrate the story a second time¹⁷⁸. Callimachus’ Hipponax gives another striking detail of the story: When Bathycles’ son Amphalces 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. Kerkhecker have ingeniously pointed out, Euphorbos 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. fr. 63 and 123, where he refers to the ἐπὶ σοφοί; parodied in Callimachus, *Iambus* 1 fr. 191 (Pfeiffer); cf. Kerkhecker 1999, 29-44, esp. 30: “This line is not original Hipponax, but Hipponactean pastiche. The concentration of mannerism is too good to be true. Callimachus parodies the father of parody, Ἴππωνακτίζων κρεισσόνως Ἴππωνάκτος.” Diogenes Laertius 1.28 instead cites the local historian Maeandrius/Laeandrius of Miletos (FGrHist 492 F 18) as model for Callimachus’ Bathycles story.

¹⁷⁹ Callimachus, *Iambus* 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.

¹⁸⁰ Schmidt 1990, 126 f.; Kerkhecker 1999, 42-44; Herda 2012.

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 Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἴαξ θρέψασ’ ἀνέδειξεν
ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον Σοφίαι.

“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”, *Sophia*¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸² Diogenes Laertius 1.34 (= Diels/Kranz 11 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 unbearded!) Thales is depicted in the wall painting from the ‘Palazzo dei Cesari’ in Ostia from Hadrianic times: Richter 1965, I 81, 83 fig. 325; Richter/Smith 1984, 209 fig. 171. The portrait is named in Greek: Θαλῆς Μελήσιος. 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.

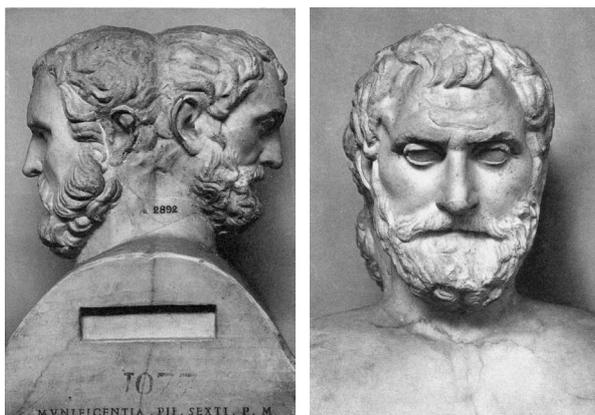


Fig. 23a-b : Unnamed bearded head of Thales(?), arranged with that of Bias of Priene in a double herm. Roman copy of a 4th century BC Greek original. Vatican, Galleria Geografica Inv. 2892 (photo G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* III 2, Berlin, 1956, pl. 198, 18 [right]).

The formulation ἀνέδειξεν ... Σοφία resembles that of sacrificial regulations: The mothercity sacrificed her *sophos* metaphorically to *Sophia* like a bull¹⁸⁷. Additionally, Miletos shows off with her cultural leadership in Ionia by stressing Thales' achievements as 'first' astronomer: The rare feminine adjective Ἴαξ for "Ionian" is first to be found in Herodotus¹⁸⁸, and the very same Herodotus also coined the phrase of Miletos being the "ornament of Ionia" (τῆς Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα)¹⁸⁹. 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 era¹⁹⁰:

ἦ ὀλίγον τόδε σᾶμα τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμακες
τῷ πολυφροντίστῳ τοῦτο Θάλητος ὄρη.

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

¹⁸⁷ For ἀνέδειξεν plus dative in the sense of "dedicate" see LSc s.v. ἀναδείκνυμι, referring to SIG 589.6, 21 τῷ Διὶ ταύρον (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 ἀναδείκνυσθα.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. LSc s.v. Ἴαξ; Herodotus 5.33 στρατιή, 5.87 ἐσθής, 1.92 [γυνή].

¹⁸⁹ Herodotus 5.28; compare Pliny, *naturalis historia* 5.112: *caput Ioniae*; cf. Herda forthcoming a, § 2.6.

¹⁹⁰ Diogenes Laertius 1.39 (= *Anthologia Palatina* 7.84; Diels/Kranz 11 A 1.39).

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 contexts¹⁹¹.

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*¹⁹². The dedicatory inscription on the plinthe below the feet identifies it as a dedication of Anaximander¹⁹³. From its first discovery onwards, the statue has been connected to the famous philosopher, pupil of Thales. Anaximander died in the same 58th Olympiad as Thales (c. 547/6 BC), but was c. 14 years younger¹⁹⁴. 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-mantle'¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹¹ For example: Archaic female seated statues in Miletos: Dally/Scholl 2009; Bumke 2009; lion in Baths of Faustina: Dally/Scholl 2009, 151 f. figs. 8-9; S.F. Meynensen, in: Bol 2011, 110-113 fig. 45 pl. 52 (VI.23); kouros in the theatre: R. Bol in: Bol 2011, 131-134 fig. 52 (supposedly cult statue of Apollo Terminus from Myous, which is not convincing to me); seated statues of 'Branchids' and Chares along the sacred road in Didyma: Herda 2006a, 327-350 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. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112 no. 8 fig. 103 (height 0.79 m); Darsow 1954 fig. 1-5; Jeffery 1990, 334, 342, no. 26 pl. 64; Herrmann 1997, 156 f. no. 8; Agelidis 2009, 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 1); cf. Kirk et al. 2001, 109 f. with n. 1 f.

¹⁹⁵ C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 112; followed by Diels 1914, 5; contra: Darsow 1954; Herrmann 1997, 156 f.; Karakasi 2001, 44, 48, 167 pl. 36 ("M 1"). On the clothing see Darsow 1954, 106-110; Kriegenherdt 1995. Kriegenherdt 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-mantle



Fig. 24 :
Archaic female
votive statue of one
Anaximander, found in the
Hellenistic *bouleuterion*,
c. 570/60 BC.
Berlin, Antikensammlung
Staatliche Museen
Berlin Inv. SK 1599
(photo Agelidis 2009, 190)



Fig. 25 :
Relief with seated
Anaximander from Rome,
Via delle Sette Sale,
2nd century BC. Rome,
Terme Museum Inv. 506
(photo Richter/Smith
1984, 97 fig. 50)

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, geometers, 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 inscriptions¹⁹⁷, an identification of the dedicator Anaximander, with the famous Milesian philosopher, was likely intended¹⁹⁸. 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 fire 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

stuck under the belt in the front of female Ionian statues of Archaic times see Herda-Sauter 2009, 72-77 figs. 4-7 (interpreted as 'Karian' costume).

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 1999, 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 Kriegengerdt 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 ashlar blocks, not rubblestone.

¹⁹⁸ Dally/Scholl 2009, 147, who stress the uniqueness of the piece. But compare also the lower part of another lifesize 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 26.1-5; cf. Hahn 2001, 182 f. (referring to Th. Gomperz, 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 Teichiussa, a Milesian *phourion*, whose portrait statue formed the seventh station of the New Year procession to Didyma²⁰⁰. 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*²⁰¹. One may finally hint at the practice of erecting honorary statues in public buildings²⁰².

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 agora²⁰³. 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

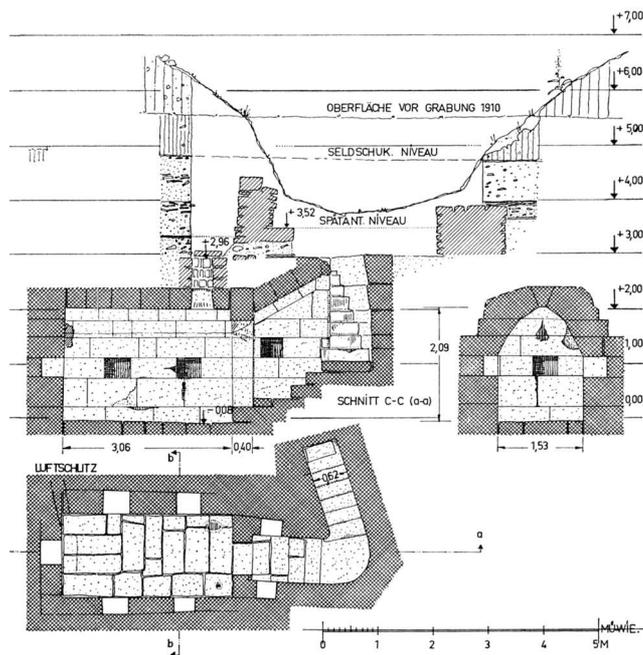


Fig. 26 : Subterranean chamber west of the *bouleuterion*, Hellenistic(?), groundplan, longitudinal and cross section (sketch W. Müller-Wiener in: Müller-Wiener 1972, Beilage 6).

seven niches in the walls. A staircase of ten steps led to the antechamber²⁰⁴. 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 missing²⁰⁵.

(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 Lybia, as counted by the Ionian philosophers: Herodotus 2.16; cf. Naddaf 2003, 35 f.

²⁰⁰ Herda 2006a, 327-350, 440 f. figs. 9, 17-18, 20, 22.

²⁰¹ Miller 1978, 16 f. (Athens, Solonian law code; Cyzicus, anchor of Argonauts).

²⁰² Miller 178, 17 again for *prytaneia*.

²⁰³ Hoepfner 2011, 74 f. with fig. 35; cf. 72 fig. 34 "Heroon?".

²⁰⁴ G. Kleiner in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 54; W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener, 1972, 69-71 Beilage 1, 4, 6, pls. 18, 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.

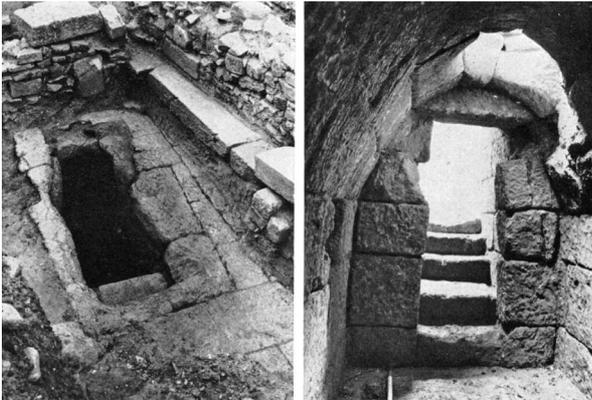


Fig. 27a-b : Subterranean chamber west of the *bouleuterion*, Hellenistic(?), a. entrance from outside, b. door from inside (photos Müller-Wiener 1972, pl. 18, 2-3).

Hoepfner's proposal seems very attractive at first sight. However, neither is the chamber located in the agora, nor is a dating likely to the Archaic period. To begin with the dating: The pottery finds behind the walls flanking the staircase were predominantly Archaic, but included some later material²⁰⁶. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener therefore dated the whole structure to the Hellenistic period, also taking into account the vaulted roof of the antechamber and the 'mixed' construction of a corbel-vaulted roof with a closing keystone in the main chamber²⁰⁷. The pavement surrounding the mouth of the staircase seems to have been installed not before the Roman Imperial period, judging by the pottery found under it²⁰⁸. In the last period of use, in Late Roman or early Byzantine times, an opening was cut into the roof of the main chamber, which was now used as a cistern²⁰⁹.

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

²⁰⁷ W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70: "Nach der in Milet üblichen Material-Chronologie sowie nach den Mauerwerksformen zögert 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".

²⁰⁸ G. Kleiner in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 54 mentions only Archaic to Hellenistic finds under the pavement, but W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70 n. 27 explicitly refers to the rim fragment of a Roman Imperial Period *sigillata* bowl.

²⁰⁹ Müller-Wiener in Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 70 Beilage 6; Tuttahs 2007, 53 f. figs. 38–39. Tuttahs' positioning in 44 fig. 28 "8", compare p. 53 "an der Südostecke des Bouleuterions" is incorrect.

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)²¹⁰. This place was not an open space, but covered with the building structures of an *insula*²¹¹. 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 district²¹².

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)²¹³. 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 impurity²¹⁴, 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

²¹⁰ Herda 2005, 279 fig. 29 (Archaic), 273 fig. 25 (Classical). Most recent map of the grid, though diachronic: Graeve 2006, 258-262, 257 fig. 8; only Archaic: Graeve 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: Müllenhoff et al. 2009, 20 Abb. 1.

²¹¹ W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner/Müller-Wiener 1972, 71, Beilage 1 ("unterirdischer Gewölberaum"), Beilage 4 ("unterird. Kammer").

²¹² Müller-Wiener 1977-78 and 1979 and 1988; Hirsch 2001, 218-228 figs. 1-3; Herda 2005, 272-278 and 2011, 73, 64 fig. 2.

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. 79, 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 2011a, 125 f., 138, 293. See on related funeral laws: Frisone 2011, 184, 186, 190, 194.

Miletos²¹⁵. 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 burials²¹⁶. 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 reasons²¹⁷.

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 III²¹⁸ or the well known (extramural) Heroon of Leon in Kalydon, both including rooms for ritual feasting²¹⁹. 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 § 1).

215 These Milesian *temenitai*-inscription attesting grave-associations beside the common family-structures are overseen in the otherwise excellent article of Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming.

216 Herrmann 1998, 93-97 nos. 795-804; cf. Herda 2006a, 197 n. 1382, p. 313, 348 f. with nn. 2496-2498, 2501. For a *temenos* separate from the burial ground see next note on nos. 797 and 798.

217 Herrmann 1998, 94 no. 797. According to Herrmann, the *grammateus* Andronikos, son of Myonides, mentioned in line 4, may be identical with a person of that name and patronymicon in Herrmann 1998, 95 no. 798, line 12. This *temenitai*-inscription, dated to the 40-ies of the 1st century BC, was instead found within a grave complex on Değirmen Tepe. If no. 797 also originates from there and was later brought to the area west of the *bouleuterion*, remains open. If this is not the case we have to assume that the association's *temenos* for Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite was located within the city, while their burial ground was in the Değirmen Tepe necropolis. The other *temenitai*-inscription from the city is Herrmann 1998, 96 no. 801, found 1905 "in den römischen Thermen im Bereich des Eumenes-Gymnasiums westlich vom Stadion". Not clearly belonging to the corpus is a list with female names which was attributed to a Dionysian *thiasos*: Herrmann 1998, 98 f. no. 809. It was found in the large Hellenistic magazine west of the South Market, which is not far from no. 797. A fourth name list was found west of the *bouleuterion*: C. Fredrich in: Knackfuß 1908, 117 f. no. 13; Herrmann 1997, 158 f. no. 13 (early 2nd century BC).

218 I have suspected Heroon III to be the *temenos* of a cult association, probably of Apollo Didymeus and the goddesses of Good Hope: Herda/Sauter 2009, 94 n. 252.

219 On Kalydon see: Dyggve et al. 1934; Kader 1995, 205-209, 221, 227 fig. 3:4-5.

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"²²⁰. Instead, the cult of specific, personalized heroes of exceptional moral qualities²²¹ 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 on²²², 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" humans²²³.

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, 269 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 Himmelmann 2009, 21 that the "Heros ist ursprünglich ein Wesen jenseits von Gut und Böse. Er wird nicht verehrt, 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 supposes, 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 Steingraber 2002 and below note 263.

223 Herodotus 2.50.3: νομίζουσι δ' ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἦηρωσαι οὐδέν ("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 einem 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 overemphasised to me²²⁴. Both are the outcome of the same inherited religious phenomenon in Indo-European cultures, “an Indo-European eschatology”²²⁵: the believe of an afterlife of the soul (ψυχή) that can still intervene in favour of the living, when called in via sacrificial ritual²²⁶. 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 soul²²⁷. Otherwise, the *apotheosis* of the Roman emperors would have made no sense: the *divus*, whose corpse had been burned on the *rogus* 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 cult²²⁸. 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”²²⁹. The ‘dying’ of the

king or queen is therefore called simply “become a god” (DINGIR^{LM}.iš *kišari*), 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 HEROS, still in ‘archaizing’ use in the Luwian, ‘Neo-Hittite’ kingdoms of the 8th century BC²³⁰.

As the groups practicing a cult can differ widely, so also can be the rituals of a hero cult²³¹. In this regard, the interpretation of archaeological finds

the 8th century BC funerary inscription of ‘Late Hittite’ king Ruwa of Tabala in Hieroglyphic Luwian: Hawkins 2000, 445 f. no. X.10 Kululu 4 §§ 1-9, esp. 446 with commentary on § 4; cf. Hutter 2003, 261. On parallels between the Hittite “Great voyage of the soul” and the Orphic voyage of the soul: Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 209-217, cf. esp. 211, 214 on the necessary destruction of the mortal body of the “Desired One” (the first borne man). Already Rhode 1925, I 30 f. stressed the cremation as means of dissolving the immortal soul from the dead body (see n. 227). Another aspect of the cremation will have been the purification of the soul by ‘going through a cleaning fire’ (contra Rohde 1925, I 31, who believed that the cathartic power of fire had no importance in Homeric Greece but only later. But see instead Rhode 1925, I 320-322, where he deals with the “Vernichtung und Läuterung im heiligen Blitzfeuer” of godfather Zeus, he holds for a very old heritage in Greek religion). One may compare the *apotheosis* of Herakles, whose cremation pyre is hit by Zeus lightning (Diodorus 4.38), or Asklepios, who is killed by Zeus’ ‘cleaning’ lightning, and the ancient saying that somebody who was struck by lightning is going to join the gods and heroes. Additionally, the term for the paradise, where the greatest heroes live, the *Elysion*, etymologically derives from ἐν ἡλύσειος, which means “struck by lightning”: Burkert 1961; Graf/Illes-Johnston 2007, 125 f., 206 n. 54. On “purifying fire” (Euripides, *Helena* 869 etc.) see Rhode 1925, I 320; Parker 1987, 227; Burkert 2011, 122 f. with n. 6. This is, by the way, why Empedocles jumped into the fire of Mount Etna, to become an immortal hero: Diogenes Laertius 8.75; cf. Kingsley 1995, 252-256. Also related is the phenomenon of ancestor and hero cults at the flame of the sacred hearth in the *prytaneion* as well as in the private houses; see above § III with n. 82.

230 Watkins 1995, 288 n. 18; cf. Otten 1958, 12 f., 17; Haas 1994, 216-229. The ‘average’ Hittite could be cremated or inhumated, the cemeteries show both customs at least from Middle Bronze Age on (early IInd millennium BC): Seeher 1993; Haas 1994, 233-237. The logogram for “heros” (Laroche 1960, no. 21) is used to designate the emperor in the Südburg - (Boğazköy 21), Yalbur, Kızıldağ- and Burunkaya-inscriptions: Hawkins 1995, 128. It is still in use as archaizing title of late rulers, e.g. in Karkemish (Hawkins 2000, 160 no. II.32 Karkamiš A21 § 1, c. 738-717 BC) and Bulgarmaden (Hawkins 2000, 523 no. X.45 § 1, c. 738-710 BC). However, Rostislav Oreshko remarks (letter of July 25, 2012) that according to his understanding the title HEROS can also designate the living emperor. The phonetic value of the logogram and its etymology is still discussed, see the forthcoming PhD of R. Oreshko (“Studies in Hieroglyphic Luwian: Towards a Philological and Historical Reinterpretation of the SÜDBURG inscription”, chapter. 3).

231 It makes sense to distinguish in the quality (olympic versus heroic/chthonic sacrifice; specific animals, cakes, plants, etc.; dining activities; dedication of figurines, weapons etc.) and quantity (small, large, single/temporal, periodically/long-term) of the rituals as well as the character of the location (reused older grave, grave, cenotaph, etc.) and the practicing groups (family, *genos*, *phratry*, polis etc.).

had to be ‘fathered’ by Amun Re to be legitimated. The title ‘son of Re’ is common since the fourth dynasty: Bickel 2009.

224 So for example Antonaccio 1995; Böhringer 2001, 37-46; Ekroth 2002, 335-341; Antonaccio 2006, 389-394; Söldner 2009; critical: Deoudi 1999, 40: “Wichtig ist dabei, daß einem mythischen Heros die gleichen Ehrungen zuteil wurden, wie einem unbekanntem Heros an einem bronzezeitlichen oder geometrischen Grab, so daß zwischen Heroen- und Grabkult nicht unterschieden werden kann”. See already Farnell 1921, 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”.

225 Watkins 1995, 290.

226 On heroes as ‘small-scale gods’, local gods, helpful powers: Parker 2011, 103-123. 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 Muwatalli II took with him not only the gods, but also the souls of his dead ancestors: see below n. 263.

227 Burkert 2011, 292 f. against Rohde’s argumentation (Rohde 1925, I 27-32), the burning of the corpse, a funeral 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 certain 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.

228 Hiller von Gaertringen 1896; Gradel 2002, 261-371; Zanker 2004.

229 KUB 43.60, 31-32; cf. KBo 22.178 + KUB 43.109; Watkins 1995, 277-291. The soul (Hittite *ZI-anza*) is given to men by the Sun-god, see

turns out to be very complicated: The phænomenon 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 territory²³². On the other hand, a clear distinction between tomb- and hero cult at a certain burial site is sometimes impossible²³³.

It is the common Indo-European tradition that led Homer borrowing in *Iliad* 16.456 and 674 the verb τὰρχύσουσι from Luwic *tarh-*, “overcome”, “vanquish”, “revivify”, the word-stem also behind the Luwian weathergod’s name *Tarhunt*, to designate the ritual of preparing the dead body of Lycian hero Sarpedon for a mystical “revivification” after death²³⁴. It is also important to stress the high age and important role of heroic figures like Herakles, the prototypic hero *per se*, whose two-folded, heroic and Olympic cult is Pan-Greek²³⁵. He is closely connected to the goddess Hera, as his name means “he who has the glory (κλέος) of Hera”. The goddesses (as well as Herakles’) name itself is etymologically related to the word ἦρωϝ, “hero”²³⁶.

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 and believe, referring to the idea of an initial ‘Golden Age’, when gods and men had lived together in unity.

The concept of the collective, anonymous family ancestors, the *Tritopatores*, may also be a Bronze Age tradition, and again an Indo-European heritage²³⁷. One argument is the appearance of a *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *Trisheros*, “Tripple Heros”, in two Linear B-texts from Pylos, where he receives one time rose-scented oil and another time a gold vessel²³⁸.

so far for ἦρωϝ. Peters 2002 deduces ἦρωϝ as well as ἦρωϝ from urgriechisch *sēr-, ‘gewaltsames Nehmen, Raub’ (“taking by force, rape”). For an alternative etymology of Herakles name, stemming from the Semitic god *Nergal*/Akkadian *Erragal*, wherefore Herakles is qualified as non-Greek in character and origin: Kingsley 1995, 275, 394.

237 Indo-European heritage: Hemberg 1954, 180 f., comparing the tripartite sacrifice to father, grand father and grand-grand father in Indian funeral rites as well as the Roman arch-ancestor *Tritauros* in Plautus, *Persa* 57. Kretschmer 1920, 43-45 thought that Latin *Tritauros* resp. *Tritavus* was copied from Greek *Tritopator*, long before Plautus: “ziemlich alte, d.h. vor-plautinische Wortschöpfung”. Why not imagine a common heritage, instead?

238 Pylos Fr 1204, 172 and Tn 316. Identified with the *Tritopatores*: Hemberg 1954; Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 289, 586; Chantraine 1968-1980, 417 s.v. ἦρωϝ; cf. also Burkert 2011a, 311 n. 2; *Tritopatores* developed out of *Trisheros*: Antonaccio 1995, 245 with n. 1; Antonaccio 2006, 384 f., 387 n. 9, 393; Antonaccio 2011, 351. On the contrary does Peters 2002, 358-361 neglect the connection of *Trisheros* in Py Tn 316 with the *Tritopatores*. He understands *Trisheros* as ‘Dreifachkrieger’ (“Tripple-warrior”) and identifies him with Triptolemos who is according to him a ‘hypostasis’ of Poseidon. Already fifty years before the encipherment of Linear B, Furtwängler 1905, 455 considered the *Tritopatores* as Mycenaean in origin: “Man möchte indes die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht in dem ersten Teile des Namens statt τρίτος vielmehr dasselbe verklungene Wort alter ‘mykenischer’ Epoche stecken könnte wie in dem Namen Τριτογένεια, den Athena führt und der den Späteren unverständlich war” (actually do *Trito-patores* and *Trito-geneia* have the same first component Τριτο-, “three”: Wüst 1939, 324 f.; Chantraine 1968-1980, 1138 s.v. Τριτογένεια: Bronze Age origin?). An age-old hexametric prayer for the sake of a legitimate, ‘true’ son (παῖς γνήσιος) is preserved in Scholium T on Homer, *Iliad* 9.39 and *Suda* s.v. τριτογένεια: Παιῖς μοι τριτογενῆς εἶη, μὴ τριτογένεια, cf. Gagné 2007, 3 with n. 11. If it is indeed addressed to the *Tritopatores*, the ‘legitimate ancestors’, the contrary connection between them and the term *tritogenes/eia* in the sense of ‘legitimately born’, becomes evident: cf. Lippold 1911; Kretschmer 1920; Chantraine *op. cit.* Usener 1903, 357-360 and Hahn 2003, 88 f. both suggest, in analogy to ethnological comparisons, that in Greek culture the number “3” was “absoluter Ausdruck der Vielheit” and could symbolize “the highest number and was the equivalent to ‘a lot’”, stemming from a time, when no one could count above three (the three joints of a finger). H. Diels first called the “3” in 1897 “die ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menschheit” (cf. Usener 1903, 362). Compare e.g. the still valid German saying: “Der kann nicht mal bis ‘Drei’ zählen”. In this sense the *Tritopatores* or *Tripatores* would have been the ‘very first ancestors’ with the highest thinkable number of generations leading back. See also Farnell 1921, 355: “early expression of an indefinite remoteness of ancestral affinity”.

232 Coldstream 1976; Snodgrass 1980, 37-40; Polignac 1995, 138-143; Parker 2011, 287 f. 290.

233 See Parker’s critical note (2011, 290): “Hero cult existed before the eighth century (...), but at this point assumed a new and for the first time archaeologically visible form, attaching itself to tombs. The difficulty here is obviously that of explaining the new form. But the uneven archaeological visibility of hero cult, typically conducted on a fairly small scale, is a complication that must always be taken very seriously.”

The long discussion, if the warrior of the famous Middle Protogeometric (c. 950 BC) burial in Lefkandi-Toumba is a hero or not (no hero but a ‘normal’ dead: e.g. Antonaccio 1995, 241; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 94, 116; Seiffert 2005 [not mentioned at all]; Antonaccio 2006; hero: e.g. Deoudi 1999, 62; undecided: Mazarakis Ainiian 2004, 136-138 no. 12; Bravo 2009, 18 f.), is fruitless: every dead is a potential hero. Therefore is the question, whether the house on top of the burial was formerly the dwelling place of the deceased or was only built later as a heroon in the context of the funeral rituals, of relatively minor relevance. Nevertheless this matter is hotly discussed: Mazarakis-Ainiian/Leventi 2009, 217.

For a critical approach to the archaeological evidence of hero cults in Classical and Hellenistic Greece see now Mangoldt forthcoming.

234 Nagy 2010, 337.

235 On the double character of Herakles, being hero and god: Herodotus 2.44; Pindar, *Nemean* 3.22; Kron 1971, 145; Parker 2005, 37 f.; Burkert 2011, 319-324; on the problematic distinction between ‘Chthonic’ and ‘Olympic’, which should be replaced by the distinction ‘Olympic’ / ‘Heroic’ see: Schlesier 1997, 1189; Ekroth 2002, 310-325 and 2009, 136 f.; Parker 2005; Henrichs 2005 (with reservations); Burkert 2011, 305-310.

236 Chantraine 1968-1980, 416 s.v. ἦρωϝ, 417 s.v. ἦρωϝ; Nordheider 1982, 938 s.v. ἦρωϝ; Nagy 2010, 335. There is no Greek etymology

The other indication is the wide distribution of the *Tritopatores*, 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 genesis²³⁹. If we count the age-old *Apatouria*, the festival of *a-patro-horia*, “ensuring the common father”²⁴⁰, for one of the festivals where the *Tritopatores* received cult²⁴¹, we may also include the Greek East as their home, implicating a cult-transfer with the migrating Greeks in Protogeometric times or even earlier²⁴². Important to note is also that the *Tritopateres* 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 agora²⁴³. 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-

ceremonies, transformed the traditional festival of the *genesis*, dedicated to the cult of the ancestors at the tombs of each Athenian family on a distinct date, into a yearly public festival²⁴⁴. It makes good sense that these Solonian public *genesis* also addressed the public *Tritopatores* as newly created communal ancestors of all Athenians at the state *Tritopatration*²⁴⁵. Comparable to the individual ancestors of each family, these public *Tritopatores* 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 procreation²⁴⁶.

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 poetry²⁴⁷, and the fact that in Homeric epic the word *heros* has a religious meaning²⁴⁸. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* picture the heroes, male or – less often – female²⁴⁹, as stemming from the gods, being “semi-divine” (ἡμίθεος)²⁵⁰, or “like gods”

239 Jameson et al. 1993, 111. *Tritopat(r)ees* of Arneion (= the *genos* of the Arneiadai?) in Thebes c. 400 BC: Kalliontzis/Papazarkadas 2013; *Tritopatores* of the Boiotoi in Archaic Delphi(?): SEG LVII 488; cf. Kalliontzis/Papazarkadas 2013, 170 with n. 33.

240 Lippold 1911, 105 f.; Burkert 2011, 384 n. 108.

241 See Harrison 1912, 498-500, though she doubted the high age of the patrilinear *Apatouria* because of her theory of a former matrilinear society (cf. Harrison 1908, 261, 273; Harrison 1912, 386). Referring to the etymology of *Tritopatores* and *Apatouria*, as well as to the fact that the concept of the *Tritopatores* also encounters in the Vedic *Sapinda*-fathers (see Rohde 1925, I 247 f. n. 4), speaking for their Indo-European root, we have to assume the patrilinear concept as Indo-European.

242 On the *Apatouria* in Ionia: Herodotus 1.147; cf. Burkert 2011, 346; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.5.4, 2.5.6. Miletos is one of the few places in Asia Minor where Greeks were settling since the Late Bronze Age (settlement phases Miletos V-VII). This implicates the transfer of Greek cults into the region, where they could merge with indigenous beliefs: see e.g. Herda 2009; Herda/Sauter 2009; Herda forthcoming b. That the *Tritopatores* do not appear in Asia Minor so far seems a pure matter of accident to me. On Delos, an altar was dedicated to the *Tritopator* of the Attic *genos* of the Pyrrhakidai before 403 BC: IDélos I 66; cf. Gagné 2007, 2 with nn. 5, 7; Papazarkadas 2011, 294 f.

243 See above § V with n. 111. It remains possible still, that both cults of the impure and pure *Tritopatores* took place not at different places (so Curti/van Bremen 1999, whose argument I am following here), but at the same spot: Jameson et al. 1993; Vonderstein 2006, 212; Rausch 2000, 111 f. If this was in the agora of Selinous, it would imply the (at least temporal) presence of the impure *Tritopatores* in the city center. This is only imaginable when the sanctuary was a clearly marked *abaton* or *adyton*, an area “not to be entered”, like the one in the Athenian Kerameikos: Stroszeck 2010, 58-60, or the ‘crossroads shrine’ (= Leokoreion?) in the agora, which is surrounded by a parapet lacking an entrance: Kron 1999, 80 fig. 10. By this it could be avoided to spread the *miasma*, hold back within the limits of the *heroon* (or in the opposite case: to avoid violating the purity within a sanctuary by bringing in something impure: Parker 1983, 167).

244 For the public *genesis*, conducted on the fifth day of month Boedromion, see Jacoby 1944; Parker 1996, 48 f.; Iles-Johnston 1999, 43-46; Frisone 2011, 191 f. n. 67.

245 Compare the sacrifices on the birthday of *heros ktistes* Aratos in the agora of Sikyon: Plutarch, *Aratus* 53; see above n. 106.

246 Harding 2008, 17 f. Parker 2011, 291 tends to deny ancestor cult in Greek culture at all, though he remarks: “the closest Greek equivalents to ancestors, the *Tritopatores*, were not normally worshipped at tombs though they might be worshipped near them”. In the case of the family *Tritopatration* in the Athenian Kerameikos, the tight connection to a burial site is evident, the same is true for the state *Tritopatration* close by the grave of Battos in the agora of Kyrene; cf. Hemberg 1954, 176; see § V.

247 Nagy 1999; Watkins 1995, 483-487 esp. 486: “(...) but the underlying system which formulaically conveys the definition of HERO is a linguistic and socio-cultural inheritance from common Indo-European times”; etc. See also Meier-Brügger 2006, 424: “It cannot be denied that long before 700 BC singers already sang about heroes. It is also indisputable that individual elements of the epic dialect are old and may certainly be of Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean origin”.

248 Parker 2011, 288 n. 3 contra Bremmer 2006, 17 f. and others (see below n. 254). See also Nagy 2011a.

249 On heroines see Larson 1995; Lyons 1997; Parker 2011, 106. Bremmer 2006, 17 remarks: “(...) but these [the heroines, A.H.] are, I regret to say, clearly less important”. On the remarkable Leokorai, heroines of the Athenian *phyle* Leontis, serving as “role-models of patriotic behaviour for the men of the tribe”: Kron 1999, 81. On the daughters of king Kekrops, Aglauros, Pandrosos and Herse, occupying a prominent place in Athenian religion: *ibid.* 81 f. Farnell 1921, 358 explained the lower number of heroines (“scarcely a higher ratio than one to six”) with the connection of hero cult to ancestor cult and land ownership, claimed by the patrilinear Greek households.

250 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 12.23. I cannot follow the argument of West 1978, 191 and Bremmer 2006, 24 f. that ἡμίθεος means not “semi-divine” but “almost divine” without designating the half-divine offspring of the heroes. See also Bravo 2009, 14 f. with nn. 27, 30; Parker 2011, 288 f.; Nagy 2011a, 349 f.; and Currie 2005, 64 n. 38:

(ἰσόθεος)²⁵¹. Still alive, they already receive “godlike honours”, as for example Aeneas, son of Aphrodite, from the Trojan people²⁵². 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”: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἷ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι, “they were the divine race of heroes, who are called demigods”²⁵³. These heroes figure as a moral *exemplum* for the elite of the Iron race, being their semi-divine forefathers and as such addressees of cultic veneration²⁵⁴. The best of them

stay on the Isles of the Blest²⁵⁵, or in the Eleusian Fields²⁵⁶, 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 Acropolis²⁵⁷.

The heroes form a bridge between humankind and the divine, being always able to intervene for the fortune or misfortune of men and a permanent promise for a happy afterlife²⁵⁸. Robert Parker rightly stresses the “mixed character of the heroes, mortals by biography, small gods in power”²⁵⁹.

It is nearly impossible for a human to become a god. Exceptions are rare and first restricted to mythical heroes like Herakles, Achilles and Asklepios²⁶⁰. But in 414 BC, a certain Peithetairos 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 decribed with much humour by Aristophanes in his comedy *Birds* by refering to an ancient Indo-European myth, also present in the Hittite Kumarbi myth²⁶¹. The triumphal advent of Peithetairos in Cloudcuckooville forms a model for the later deification of the Roman emperors via the process

“According to West 1978, 191 ἡμίθεος ‘refers to parentage ... not to semi-divine status’, (...). But just as θεῖον γένος means both ‘godlike race’ and ‘progeny of the gods’, so too ἡμίθεος surely means both ‘demigod’ as well as ‘having a divine parent’. Not only is a ἡμίονος, ‘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 (...).”

251 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 2.565; *Odyssey* 1.324.

252 Homer, *Iliad* 11.58 Αἰνεῖαν θ’, ὅς Τρωαὶ θεὸς ὡς τίετο δῆμῳ.

253 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, 213-220. 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 epics: 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 *Yuga*, 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 branches of the cosmic tree stand for subsequent declining ages (gold, silver, bronze, copper, tin, steel, “mixed” iron): Sauzeau/Sauzeau 2002, 288-293. To me it seems 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” (οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσιν), 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: Haubold 2005, 26, 27 f.

254 The assumption e.g. of West 1978, 190 on l. 159 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων that in Hesiod “as in Homer the term ἡρώες is devoid of religious significance” (see also *ibid.* 191 on 160 ἡμίθεοι: “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, 25; Peters 2002, 357 f.; Currie 2005, 60; Bremmer 2006, 17 f.; Seiffert 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 Aninias

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 ethical aspect of (Indo-European) hero cults see above n. 221.

255 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 heros Achilles, Palagruža 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).

256 Homer, *Odyssey* 4.561-569. On the etymology of *Elysion* as ‘struck by lightning’ see above n. 229.

257 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.

258 Opposite understanding by Morris 1987, 201: “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.”

259 Parker 2011, 292.

260 See for the *apotheosis* of Herakles: Hesiod, Fr. 25, 20-33 (Merkelbach/West); cf. Calame 2005; Burkert 2011, 321. For Achilles see Burgess 2009; Herda forthcoming a, § 2.3.2. On the double character of Asklepios see Riethmüller 2005, 51-54; on the *apotheosis* of Asklepios: Riethmüller 2005, 48 f. On the divine side is only Dionysos called a *heros* by the women of Elis: Plutarch, *Questiones graecae* 299AB; cf. Brelich 1958, 362-372; Burkert 2011, 314 with n. 24.

261 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*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 Minor²⁶³. 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”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 athletes²⁶⁵, Seven Sages (*sophoi*) like Thales, statesmen like Chares in Miletos, or the poet Archilochos of Paros²⁶⁶. In the 5th century, the heroization of living persons is first occurring²⁶⁷, reaching its zenith with the cult of Hellenistic rulers²⁶⁸. Empedocles (c. 490-430 BC) was not ironical, when even calling himself an “immortal god, not longer mortal, held in honor among all”²⁶⁹. Instead he can be understood as “unquestionable a man with a religious message”²⁷⁰, who tried to

262 Aristophanes, *Birds* 1709-1717; cf. Kavoulaki 2004, 313-315, who interprets Peithetairos’ triumphal advent in Cloudcuckooville as first example of an *apotheosis* in Greek literature. On the Roman Imperial *apotheosis*: Hiller von Gaertringen 1896; Gradel 2002, 261-371; Zanker 2004. The term *apotheosis* is first attested only in Strabo 6.3.9 (for Diomedes) and Cicero, *Att.* 1.16.13, cf. LSc s.v.

263 The *apotheosis* of the Hittite and Roman emperors delivers an additional argument for the great impact, western Asia Minor had on the development of the Etruscan and subsequently Roman culture, especially that of the elites. The story of Trojan Aeneas founding Rome is a clear hint at people moving from Asia Minor to Italy in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. This can be backed up by the ancient literary tradition (e.g. Herodotus 1.94: *Tyrseñoi* coming from *Maionia/Lydia*), linguistics (Yakubovitch 2010, 128 f. n. 68, p. 159: connection between Etruscan and the language of an inscription found on the island of Lemnos in 1884), as well as recent DNA-analysis of cattle as well as humans: Pellecchia et al. 2007 (*Bos taurus*); Achilli et al. 2007 (humans from Tuscany); Stoddart 2009, 273-276. It is striking that in Etruscans art the ‘Greek’ heroes Ajax (*Aivas*), Achilles (*Achile/Achle*), Agamemnon (*Achmemrun*), Heracles (*Herkle*), Theseus (*These*) etc. are so popular (see e.g. Steingraber 2002; Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 192-213 and under the entries in LIMC). This strongly speaks for the existence of the concept of heroes also in the Etruscan culture resp. religion. This is indirectly attested by the Roman authors Servius, *Ad Aen.* 3.168 (quoting Cornelius Labeo) and Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2.62 who refer to the Etruscan *Libri Acheruntici*, where the deified souls of the dead (*dii animales*) receive animal sacrifices. The Roman authors compared these deified souls with the *Penates*, the ancestral gods of the Roman household, they traced back to Troy; cf. Krauskopf 2007, 66. Another association with Asia Minor is to be found in the *Manes paterni*, *di Manes*, the anonymous divine souls of the ancestors. The word is etymologically connected to Phrygian *Mḡn*, who originally meant the divine soul of a living person (*genius*): Latte 1960, 99 f. with n. 3. When the Hittite great king Muwatalli II (c. 1310-1282 BC) relocated his capital from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša, he took with him the gods as well as the *akkant*, the souls of his dead ancestors: CTH 81 I (§ 6) 75-76, II 1-2; CTH 81 II (§ 8) 52-63 (written with the ideogram GIDIM); cf. Doğan-Alparslan/Alparslan 2011, 91 f. with n. 29 (compared with the Roman *Manes*). For the presumably common origin of Greek *Tritopatores/Tritopator* and Roman *Tritauros* see n. 237.

264 Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 10-11: *hunc deum quis colet? quis credet? dum tales deos facitis, nome vos deos esse credet.* (transl. W.H.D. Rouse); cf. Gradel 2002, 325-336.

265 On the “idolization” of successful athletes see Parker 2011, 122 f.

266 Archilochos: Clay 2004.

267 Graf 1998, 477; Currie 2005, esp. 85-200; Jones 2010, 26 (Hagnon in Amphipolis, 5th century BC), 39 f. (Euthymos in Locri, 5th century BC), 93-96 (Dion in Syracuse, Bourichis, Adeimantos and Oxythemis, three of the “flatterers” of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens, 4th/3rd centuries BC; Diodoros Paspáros in Pergamon, Nikias in Kos, 1st century BC, etc.).

268 Habicht 1970. Habicht (1970, 198) stresses that though the living rulers got the title *θεός*, they never equaled the gods. Instead, it was believed that in a distinct situation a power similar to the divine power had manifested itself in the ruler. On the close connections between the cult of heroes and ancestors and that of living humans: Habicht 1970, 200-205. Nevertheless, he totally dismisses the idea of the immortal, divine soul as the main reason, why heroes, dead ancestors and living humans (including later the Roman emperors!) could be heroized/divinized. Instead, he stresses “einmalige Leistungen” (“solitary achievements”) in favour of Greek cities as main reason (Habicht 1970, 205 n. 51). In an addition to the second edition (Habicht 1970, 268) he adds also “daß die Schranken zwischen dem Göttlichen und dem Menschlichen nach griechischer Auffassung niedriger waren als nach unserem Empfinden und eben im besonderen Fall überschreitbar” (“that according to Greek experience the barriers between the divine and the human were lower than according to our experience, and therefore crossable in certain cases”). This I would certainly doubt. The reason is not that my thinking “entspringt, sicher unbewußt, modernem religiösem Empfinden, das von der monotheistischen Gottesvorstellung, dazu noch vom christlichen Erlösergedanken geprägt ist” (“stems, without doubt unconsciously, from a modern religious experience, coined by the monotheistic imagination of god, moreover by the Christian believe in the Saviour”, with these words Habicht 1970, 269 criticizes Ch. Edson). My doubt instead rests on my confidence in the clear Greek concept of the human soul as immanent divine in every human being.

269 Diogenes Laertius 8.62.3-4 ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἐστὶ θνητὸς πολέημαι μετὰ πάσι τετιμένος (= Diels/Kranz 31 B 112; Kirk et al. 2001, 344 f. no. 399); on the seriousness of Empedokles’ claim to be immortal see Kingsley 1995, 220; Tell, 2007, 256.

270 Parker 2011, 256 n. 85. But he values Empedocles and his teacher Pythagoras as “unimportant” for mainland Greece, as “freaks”, whose “great interest for the religious history of classical Greece lies perhaps in a negative” (ibid. 255 on Pythagoras). Burkert 2011, 286, in dealing with Empedocles, diagnoses a certain

reunify gods and men, as they were in the beginning of time, the “Golden Age” of Hesiod²⁷¹, 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 Boulaia, potentially an *Ara Augusti*.

In Bacchic-Orphic mystery cults, whose earliest testimonies stem from the main state sanctuary of the Milesian Black Sea colony Olbie Polis/Olbia, the Apollo Delphinios sanctuary²⁷², but which are usually downplayed by scholars as ‘subculture’²⁷³, the divinization of the dead is only testified from the 4th century BC on and seems to remain an exception. But this is merely a matter of our preserved evidence²⁷⁴. 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 BC²⁷⁵. 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 soul²⁷⁶. Again, we may assume a common Indo-European tradition, speaking against the theory of the ‘un-Greekness’ of Orphism²⁷⁷.

Finally, since Hellenistic times, the heroization (ἀφῆρωίσειν) of the average dead becomes a widespread custom²⁷⁸, including the transfer of heroic iconography, e.g. that of the ‘Totenmahlreliefs’²⁷⁹, so also in Miletos²⁸⁰. But this development is not to be mixed up with an invalidation of the titel *heros*, as it still keeps its religious connotation²⁸¹.

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 Iuppiter, Venus, Mars, or heroes like Hercules not as ridiculing, or, in the opposite, as identifying them with these gods resp. heroes²⁸². This is only what Christian polemics want to make us believe²⁸³. Instead they can be understood as

in the Bacchic-Orphic gold leaves, and the ‘dialogues of immortality’ of the Homeric heroes immediately before their duels. The parallels “suggest that the leaves are following the same poetic patterns that inspired the Homeric dialogues. The new ideas and experiences they contain, frequently thought to be un-Greek, will be shown to be shaped in the most traditional Greek formulations and categories.” (Herrero de Jáuregui 2011, 271 f.).

278 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’.

279 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.

280 On *heroon* as term for family graves in Imperial Milesian grave inscriptions: Harter-Uibopuu/Wiedergut forthcoming.

281 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 “Entwertung” of the term. Kurtz/Boardman 1985, 356 even speak of a “courtesy phrase” (“Höflichkeitsfloskel”) regarding the usage of the term *heros* in Hellenistic grave inscriptions.

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

283 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 aequo praebeatis? Extruitis dei templa: aequo mortuis templa; extruitis aras deis: aequo mortuis aras; easdem titulis superscribitis litteras, easdem statuis inducitis formas, ut cuique ars aut negotium aut eatasfuit: senex de Saturno, imberbis de Apolline, virgo de Diana figuratur, 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 statues 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]).

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

271 Empedokles: Diels/Kranz 21 B 115-147; cf. Burkert 2011, 445. Maybe this is the reason, why a deified dead is calling himself in a gold lamella from Thuriou “son of Heaven and Earth”, or in other words: “a Titan”, see S. Iles-Johnston in: Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 115; Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 187. Burkert 2011, 444 however sees no compelling reason to combine this with the myth of the Titans. But see his remarks in Burkert 2003, 38-40, where he hints at the role of the seven Titans of the Orphic tradition, sons of Heaven and Earth, banished in the underworld, comparable to the ‘old Gods’ in the Hurritic-Hittite Kumarbi myth, or to the followers of Tiamat, the bad ‘Seven’, in the Babylonian *Enuma elish*.

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., 185-188 nos. 1-2; Coscia 2011. The Delphinion of Olbie Polis included, like the Delphinion in Miletos, the *prytaneion* 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 Orphics of Olbie Polis as marginal ‘subculture’, as Burkert does (see next note).

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

274 Burkert 2011, 438 f. on the gold *lamellae* from Thuriou; see also Graf/Iles-Johnston 2007, 8-15, 114-116, 119, 123 f., 128 on nos. 3-7; Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 95-132. Empedocles’ doctrine suggests that this believe goes back to at least the 5th century BC.

275 Burkert 2003, 96 f. On the *Physika* of Orpheus for being a 5th century BC theogonic and anthropogonic text see Gagné 2007.

276 Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 209-217; cf. above n. 229.

277 Compare the structural and formal parallels between the dialogues of the souls and the guardians and gods of the underworld

allegorical depictions of the emperors and the dead, stressing their godlike qualities²⁸⁴, they owe to the fact that they participate in the divine via their immortal, divine souls.

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²⁸⁴ Zanker 2007, 98; Ritter 2009, 186 f.

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