

“ὥς νόμος οἰκιστῆ”: Oikist Cults at Cyrene, Delos, and Eretria

The 8th and 7th centuries BCE saw the initial attempts of mainland Greek communities to establish colonies beyond their immediate borders¹, and since, as Plutarch writes, “ἀρχὴ μὲν δὴ μέγιστον ἐν παντί, μάλιστα δ’ ἐν ἰδρύσει καὶ κτίσει πόλεως” (Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 8.321AB), it is hardly surprising that there arose a concomitant ktistic cult to celebrate the founder of the colony as a hero. The founder, however, was not only honoured as the οἰκιστής, but also worshipped as the ἀρχηγέτης – the communal ancestor, and a link to the ancestral homeland. As a wholly endemic cult, the protective figure of the oikist formed the basis of a new civic identity for the settlers that was distinct from the land of emigration, but which maintained a sense of lineage and tradition. This shall be seen below in a comparative analysis of literary and archaeological evidence of the development of the ktistic hero cult and its implementation at Cyrene, Delos, and Eretria.

In Bronze Age Greece, we find a tradition of ancestral tomb cults practised by the Mycenaeans, honouring mythical and historical individuals from the ancestry of the *wa-na-ka*²; after a long interlude, the Greeks of the mid-8th century became conscious of the distance between them and the Mycenaean past, and sought to re-establish their connection by honouring those same ancestral heroes. This urge was felt most strongly in areas which could not readily point to a continuity of civilisation between the Bronze and Iron Ages³, and where rulers needed to establish a divine or heroic ancestry to consolidate their position of power. As much as local heroes were important for the nascent πόλεις of the 8th and 7th century mainland, they were vital for those cities’ colonies in the 7th and 6th centuries, as “the sooner the political community had a common *heros* as the focus of its

¹ Antonaccio 1995a, 111.

² 𐀆𐀚𐀓, Linear B form of Greek φάναξ / ἄναξ

³ Mazarakis-Ainian 1995, 34.

worship, the sooner that community's identity could acquire a life of its own"⁴. No-one would be more appropriate as the *laudandus* of this initial cult than the oikist, the very progenitor of the city, and it is for that reason that the ktistic hero cult was “universally practised in Greek colonies”⁵; the cult is a religious expression of the colony’s connection with the new land, and the oikist’s tomb, its physical manifestation, represents the moment of transition from colony to independent πόλις – the death of the oikist⁶.

Colonisation and hero cults are attested, or at least alluded to, from the very beginning of Greek literature - Hesiod’s fourth race of men receive “τιμὴ καὶ κῦδος” (Hes. *Op.* 169β), implying a c. 700 BCE interest in a glorious past populated by heroes who were to be honoured by the contemporary “γένος σιδήρεον” (Hes. *Op.* 176). Currie claims that “there is near total silence on hero cult in Homer”⁷, but even the specific form that is the ktistic hero cult is alluded to in a brief mention of Erechtheus, founder of Athens:

οἳ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθήνας εἶχον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον
 δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ’ Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα·
 καὶ δ’ ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν ἑὼ ἐν πίονι νηῶ·
 ἔνθα δὲ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνειοῖς ἰλάονται
 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·

(Hom. *Il.* 2.546-551)

There are also further references to both hero cults⁸ and colonisation⁹ in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In his *Histories*, Herodotus censures the Spartan Doreius for leading colonists without “consulting at the oracle in Delphi to which land he should go to settle, nor doing

⁴ Hall 1995, 50.

⁵ Malkin 1987, 11.

⁶ Dougherty 1993, 24.

⁷ Currie 2005, 47.

⁸ *Il.* 2.604, *Il.* 2.786-7, *Il.* 10.414-15, *Il.* 11.166-8; *Od.* 7.80-1, *Od.* 10.516-37.

⁹ *Il.* 2.625-630, *Il.* 2.661-669, *Il.* 6.7-10.

any of the other customary things" (Hdt. 5.42.2), while Aristophanes's *Birds* presents a parody of colonisation in which the duties of the oikist are represented by a succession of characters who offer their services in assisting with the founding of "Cloudcuckooland". One of the clearest references comes from Diodorus Siculus, who relates the expected customs of a ktistic hero cult when he describes Hieron founding Aetna with the intention of receiving posthumous heroic honours: "τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε σπεύδων [...] ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάδου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς." (Diod. Sic. 11.49.2).

Archaeological evidence for the development of the ktistic hero cult is scarce, and the understanding of the physical evidence that we do have, such as altars and ἡρώα, is based on linking such material to the textual evidence, and most identifications of oikists' tombs are uncertain and conjectural¹⁰. The single relatively unambiguous piece of archaeological evidence for a ktistic hero cult is a 5th century Attic kylix found at Gela, in Sicily; an archaic graffito inscription on the base reads: ΜΝΑΣΙΘΑΛΕΣ Α[Ν]ΕΘΕΚΕ ΑΝΤΙΦΑΜΟΙ¹¹ (Fig. 1). This dedicatory message to Antiphemos, the founder of Gela, as well as its discovery in a building known as the Heroön of Antiphemos¹², strongly indicates a ktistic cult.

Cyrene, on the Mediterranean coast of Libya, "exemplifies the kind of oikist cult one would expect to find in a Greek colony"¹³. The circumstances of the city's foundation in c.630 BCE are recorded by Herodotus and are not germane to the discussion at hand, but a seventh century proclamation on a fourth century stele outlines thus:

Ὅρκιον τῶν οἰκιστῆρων.

[Ἔ]δοξε ταῖ ἐκκλησίαι · ἐπεὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτομάτιξεν Β[άτ]
τωι καὶ Θηραίοις ἀποι[κίξαι] Κυράναν, ὀριστὸν δοκεῖ Θη[ραί]
ο]ις ἀποπέμπεν ἐς τὰν [Λιβ]ύαν Βάττομ μὲν ἀρχαγέτα[ν]

¹⁰ Malkin 1987, 190.

¹¹ Malkin 1987, 190; Walters 1901, 192.

¹² Walters 1901, 192.

¹³ Malkin 1987, 206.

τ]ε καὶ βασιλῆα · ἑταίρους δὲ τοὺς Θηραίους πλέν ·

(SEG IX 3)¹⁴

Being so far from the Greek homeland, the new city needed a common identity and tradition, and that was found in the heroic figure of the founder Battos and manifested physically in his tomb, located at the heart of the city.

Pindar, specifically his fifth Pythian ode, is “notre source principale”¹⁵ for the cult of Battos at Cyrene and is probably the “earliest explicit historical mention of an oikist buried in the *agora*”¹⁶. Celebrating the chariot victory of the Cyrenaean king Arkesilas IV at the 31st Pythian festival (466/462 BCE), the ode links Arkesilas’ victory with the foundation of the city undertaken by his ancestor Battos. Apollo is the common thread here – founder of the Pythian games, sponsor of the oracle at Delphi who sent Battos to Cyrene as oikist, and *laudandus* of the “Karneia” festival at which the ode was performed and which “may have encompassed the cults of all of Apollo, Battos, the Antenoridai [descendants of Antenor, the mythical founder of an earlier settlement on the site of Cyrene] and the dead Battiad kings”¹⁷. The festival, mentioned in lines 79-81: “Ἀπολλον, τεᾶ, | Καρνῆϊ, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν | Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν” (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.79-81), was a Doric harvest festival which originally celebrated the founding of Sparta (Pindar firmly declares the Cyrenaeans’ origins as “ἄπὸ Σπάρτας” (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.73), reinforced by the long alpha of his Doric dialect), but was appropriated by the Cyrenaeans to celebrate the founding of their own city; a city’s foundation would be celebrated through the cult of its founder¹⁸, and “ἦρωσ δ’ ἔπειτα λαοσεβῆς” (Pind., *Pyth.* 5.95) indicates a public cult for Battos, which was customary for a dead founder, as Herodotus confirms: “(sc. Μιλτιάδῃ) τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ” (Hdt. 6.38.1). Also customary was that oikists “ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν

¹⁴ Graham (1960) describes and analyses the stele in detail.

¹⁵ Chamoux 1953, 285.

¹⁶ Malkin 1987, 204.

¹⁷ Currie 2005, 229.

¹⁸ Currie 2005, 229.

ἐθάπτοντο ἐχ' ἔθους” (Σ Pind. *Oly.* 1.149), and Battos was no exception as “πρυμοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κείται θανών” (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.93); the burial in the agora is accorded considerable dignity and solemnity by the phrase “πρυμοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι”, comparable to the “πρύμναν πολέως” described by Pindar’s contemporary Aeschylus (*Aesch. Supp.* 345). Battos’ posthumous cult appears to have been adumbrated by the esteem bestowed upon him while alive - Pindar twice calls Battos μάκαρ¹⁹, an adjective customarily reserved for gods and heroes and even specifically proscribed for mortals by Solon: “οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός” (Solon fr. 14.1 West, *IE*²). Elsewhere in literature, the scholiast at Aristophanes’ *Plutus* line 925 remarks that “τιμῶντες οὖν αὐτόν [Battos] οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ὡς ἀρχηγέτην”, and even Catullus (7.6) mentions *Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum*. Thus a survey of ancient literary sources reveals that Battos was honoured while alive and then worshipped after death through a founder’s cult at his tomb in the agora, which was celebrated with sacrifices and games alongside Apollo at the Karneia festival; these heroic honours were the culmination of his duties and responsibilities as oikist.

In 1962, Italian excavations²⁰ in the Cyrenaean agora uncovered a tomb and sacred area at the eastern end of the agora, corresponding to Pindar’s description. The agora, measuring 105 m x 125 m, contains remains spanning almost a millennium from the seventh century BCE to the sixth century AD, of which the oldest are those at the eastern edge (*Fig. 2*). The remains consist of a circular burial tumulus at the edge of a *temenos* surrounding a sacred precinct (10 m x 16 m) which houses a small three-room shrine, in front of which were found ashes and sacrificial remains (*Fig. 3*). A graffito on a pottery fragment, ΟΦΕΛΕΙ, has led some to consider the temple to be dedicated to Opheles, a variant for Ephialtes, an assistant of Asclepius; another possibility²¹ is that it is not a noun, but rather a form of the verb ὀφέλλειν (to increase, strengthen or help), and that the temple was dedicated to Apollo in

¹⁹ “μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα | ἔναιεν” (*Pyth.* 5.94-5); “ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου” (*Pyth.* 4.59).

²⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, site reports in Stucchi 1965, 1967, 1975 are the sources of data referred to herein.

²¹ Büsing 1978, 70.

his capacity as patron deity of colonisation who “ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ | κτιζομένησ’ ” (Callim. *Hymn* 2.56-7). The tomb nearby underwent several transformations, but the earliest form was a mound of earth surrounded by stones (6.2 m in diameter and 1.5 m in height), covering an ash heap which in turn covered more ash, earth and burnt remains; such is to be expected as the remnants of the elaborate funeral worthy of the founder of a city. In the fifth century BCE, the agora’s ground level changed and the tomb was rebuilt six metres to the east²²; the below-ground remains were left *in situ*, but a cenotaph was built around a stone coffin (2.86 m x 1.14 m x 1.10 m) in the fifth century BCE, and may have been an open tholos housing a statue base and an altar²³ (Fig. 4). The cenotaph was renovated in the fourth century BCE with a roof and new walls, but was finally destroyed in the rebellion of 117 CE²⁴. While this is consistent with the information provided by Pindar, and supported by the ash and bones, there is no definitive evidence to conclusively prove it to be Battos’ tomb.

One piece of evidence that lends great credence to that identification, and which appears to have been overlooked by many, is what Chamoux calls “un curieux dispositif qui est peut-être oraculaire”²⁵ – a βόθρος, an opening for the pouring of libations directly into an area of the tomb. This oracular aspect of Battos’ tomb is supported by a ritual inscription found at Cyrene, comprising several sacred laws; due to the condition of the inscription and illegibility of some words, the precise meaning is ambiguous. The relevant passage, as inscribed, is as follows:

ΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΩΝΟΣΙΑΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΙΑΓΝΩΙΚΑΙΒΑΒΑΛΩ

ΠΛΑΝΑΠΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΒΑΤΤ[Ω]ΤΩΤΩΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ ²⁶

The ambiguity centres on ΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΩΝ, which can be interpreted in three ways: αἷ κα

²² Bacchielli (1985, 10) suggests civil strife led to the destruction of the tomb.

²³ Chamoux 1953, 285-286

²⁴ Büsing 1978, 75.

²⁵ Chamoux 1953, 131.

²⁶ Ferri 1927, facsimile; reproduced as Figure 5.

μαντίων, Ἀκαμαντίων, and ἄ κα μαντίων. The first can be discarded, as there is physically no space for the posited iota. The second suggests a regulation about ritual cleanliness with regard to the dead (ἀκάμαντες, “the unwearied ones”), or another cult, this time to the Ἀκαμαντες, referring to Akamas, his father Antenor, and Antenor's other descendants. It makes little sense to specifically use Akamas as the synecdochic representative of the family, and particularly instead of his far more important father, especially when Pindar uses “Antenoridai” for that dynasty. Future evidence may establish this interpretation as correct, but for now it is both inconclusive and irrelevant to the cult of Battos. The third interpretation, ἄ κα μαντίων, suggests that there was an oracle at Battos' tomb, beginning the passage: “as for oracles, sanction [to consult them] belongs to everyone, both the holy and the profane - except for those from Battos the Founder...”. A tomb oracle, a form of νέκυσια, was common practice among the local Libyan tribes, who, according to Herodotus, “μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται: τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδη ἐν τῇ, ὄψι ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται.” (Hdt. 4.172.3); while no parallels exist for historical Greek founders, the mythical founder (who was worshipped by an historical oikist cult) Autolykos of Sinope “did enjoy an active cult and an oracle in his name was active down to the 1st century B.C.”²⁷, as Appian concurs: “Αὐτόλυκόν φασι, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι: ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα...” (App. Mith. 83). While only one interpretation extends the nature of the Battos cult, both interpretations confirm the location of the tomb as found in the archaeological excavations, and all the physical evidence corroborates the details found in Pindar and the rest of the literary record.

Unlike Cyrene, which is “perhaps the best-documented colonization that we have”²⁸ and about whose cult there is extensive literary evidence, Delos has little literary evidence to indicate the presence of an oikist cult; fortunately, however, the archaeological evidence is so substantial as to obviate the need for literary corroboration almost entirely. The

²⁷ Malkin 1987, 208.

²⁸ Antonaccio 1995a, 112.

mythological history of Delos is well attested in literature²⁹—Anios, son of Apollo and Rhoëo, was born on Delos after his mother was cast by her father into the sea in a chest, became a priest of his father Apollo, from whom he inherited the gift of prophecy, and received the Greeks and Aeneas before and after the Trojan War, respectively—but the dearth of material regarding the cult honouring him is perhaps due to two factors. First, the cult of Anios was, as was typical of oikist cults, a purely local one which not only had little significance to poets and historians from elsewhere but which also was closed to foreigners³⁰; in any case, it would have been overshadowed for foreigners by the cult of the Apolline triad, whose cult centre the island was, as the birth place of both Apollo and Artemis³¹. The second factor is the disruption caused by Athens' periodic “cleansing” of the island and the designation of the island as home of the Delian League; by the Hellenistic era, the cult had waned to near non-existence, and even the island's period of independence (314–166 BCE) has yielded no dedicatory artefacts³².

A complex of buildings was discovered in 1921 between the Sanctuary of Apollo and the Gymnasium, and subsequently excavated by Fernand Robert³³ in the 1930s (*Fig. 6*, *Fig. 7*); three long rectangular buildings formed a line of 8 rooms on a north-south axis, measuring approximately 53 m x 6.5 m in total, and a roughly square open-air courtyard, measuring 21 m x 18.5 m, was located to the west (*Fig. 8*). A wall dating from the sixth century BCE, now partly hidden under the pavement, formed a smaller square inside this sanctuary and delineated a court that is the oldest form of the shrine, and which was surrounded by a wooden peristyle colonnade. Epigraphic evidence³⁴ referring to “τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου” has identified the square building as the Archegesion, the sanctuary of the Archegetes, but

²⁹ Bruneau (1970, 413–417) provides an comprehensive catalogue of the literary references.

³⁰ Bruneau 1970, 413.

³¹ Catling (*OCD*³).

³² Bruneau 1970, 430.

³³ Unless otherwise indicated, site reports in Robert 1953 are the sources of data referred to herein.

³⁴ Bruneau (1970, 420–421) reproduces the relevant inscriptions.

this evidence alone proves neither the existence of a cult nor that the Archegetes is Anios. Examining the approximately 300 inscribed potsherds, however, yields four types of dedication: θεοῦ, Ἀρχηγέτηι or Ἀρχ(ηγέτου), Βασιλέος, and Ἄνιο; the large number of fragments bearing the name and titles of Anios, which correspond with the titles accorded to him in the literary sources, make the identification of the building as the Archegeion “incontestable”³⁵. As for cultic activity, the centre of the courtyard held an ash-heap, 9 m x 6 m, containing inscribed potsherds and animal bones (predominantly sheep), which was clearly an ash-altar of the ἐσχάρα type³⁶, used for holocaustic sacrifice and typical of the hero-cult ritual (Fig. 9); furthermore, this supported by an inscription “τ]οῦ ἐσχαρῶνος τοῦ ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου” (IG XI:2, 156A.23), in which the form “ἐσχαρῶν” refers to the area housing the ἐσχάρα. Despite the scarcity of ancient written sources regarding the cult of Anios at Delos, epigraphic and structural evidence is in such great supply that one can definitively conclude that a ktistic hero cult did indeed take place there.

At Eretria, an oikist’s ἡρώων has been proposed as the function of a triangular structure by the West Gate since its excavation by Claude Bérard in the late 1960s³⁷. This identification remains problematic due to the lack of both specific archaeological evidence to identify the *laudandus*, and literary evidence to describe the nature of the associated cult; the only possible evidence from literature is by analogy with Hesiod’s description of funeral games at the neighbouring town of Chalcis: “ἔνθα δ’ ἐγὼν ἐπ’ ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος Χαλκίδα τ’ εἰς ἐπέρησα” (Hes. Op. 654-655), and such a vague connection is hardly an adequate source. The archaeological evidence does suggest tomb-cult activity: the triangular structure, 9.2 m on each side, was built over a grave-group in approximately 680 BCE, and three large pits to its south contain ashes, bones (mainly sheep), lamps, pottery fragments, and figurines of females and riders; some small buildings, possibly a shrine and dining area, were added in about 625 BCE. The structure’s age, however, contradicts Bérard’s theory that

³⁵ Bruneau 1970, 422.

³⁶ Ekroth 1998, 117.

³⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, site reports in Bérard 1970 are the sources of data referred to herein.

the graves are those of the city's founding family – even the earliest tomb dates to several generations after the founding of Eretria³⁸.

The combination of the cultic activity and the structure's age, shape and location bears out the competing hypothesis that it is a Tritopatreion – a shrine to the Tritopatores, one's anonymous ancestors. Literally 'third father' or great-grandfather, the τριτοπάτωρ represents the limit of genealogical memory where individual ancestors become blurred, and this separation is represented by the triangular form in which each side represents a past generation. Similar structures have been found throughout the Greek world³⁹, such as the Athenian Tritopatreion between the Street of Tombs and the road to Eleusis, whose location "is significant: at a crossroads and not far from the city's entrance"⁴⁰. The Eretrian structure is likewise positioned at an intersection and at the main gate, located not just for its usual protective powers, but also with the added symbolism of being near the West Gate which faces towards Chalcis, against whom Eretria was fighting the Lelantine War at the time of the Tritopatreion's construction. The structure was indeed a cult centre, but not one for a known oikist; rather, a locus for the worship of ancestors and perhaps even an individual but generic, archetypal archegetes who functioned not just as a founder but as a shared connection to the heroic past, buried as he was with a Bronze Age spear-tip, an insignia of power and a tangible symbol of the age of heroes. Thus at Eretria, the absence of both literary and specific archaeological evidence has complicated the determination of the nature of the site, but by examining the remains in comparison with similar structures it is possible to ascertain the historical facts.

For the Greek colonists, "Eine neue Stadt war eine neue Welt"⁴¹, so it is little wonder that they chose to honour their leader, the founder of this new world, with monuments and

³⁸ Mazarakis-Ainian 1995, 25.

³⁹ Bourriot 1976, 1126-1178.

⁴⁰ Malkin 1987, 261.

⁴¹ Büsing 1978, 51.

rituals. Evidence of this is recorded, codified and passed down in the words of the historians and the poets, “the unacknowledged legislators of the world” (Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry* (48)); integrated with archaeological evidence, it is possible to reconstruct the original circumstances. Three situations have been considered herein – at Cyrene, abundant literary and physical evidence cohered and complemented each other; at Delos, clear archaeological evidence compensated for a lack of specific literary chronicles; at Eretria, it was demonstrated how an absence of corroborating literature combined with extrapolations from insufficient physical remains could yield inaccurate results, but that a judicious re-examination and comparison with analogous and better-documented sites could produce a more credible resolution of the evidence.

Figures



Figure 1 – Fifth century Attic kylix bearing inscription “Μνασιθάλες ἀνέθεκε Ἀντιφάμοι” (Malkin 1987, frontispiece).

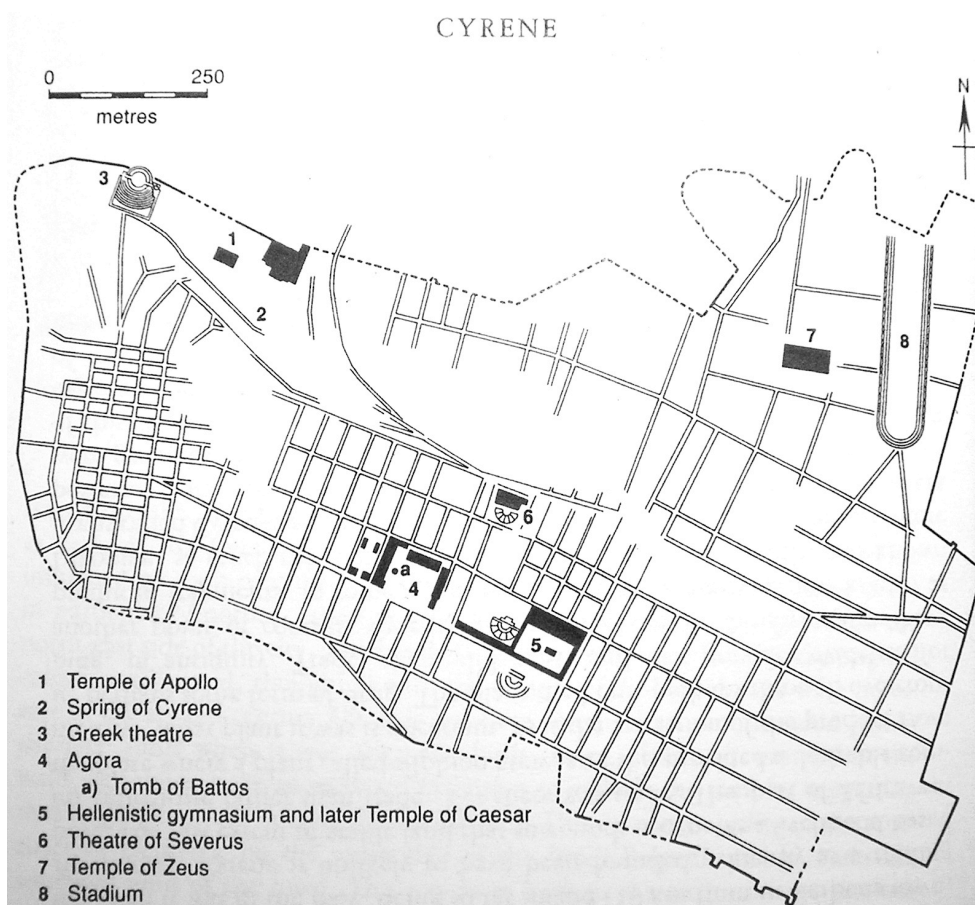


Figure 2 – Plan of Cyrene (Tomlinson 1992, 128).

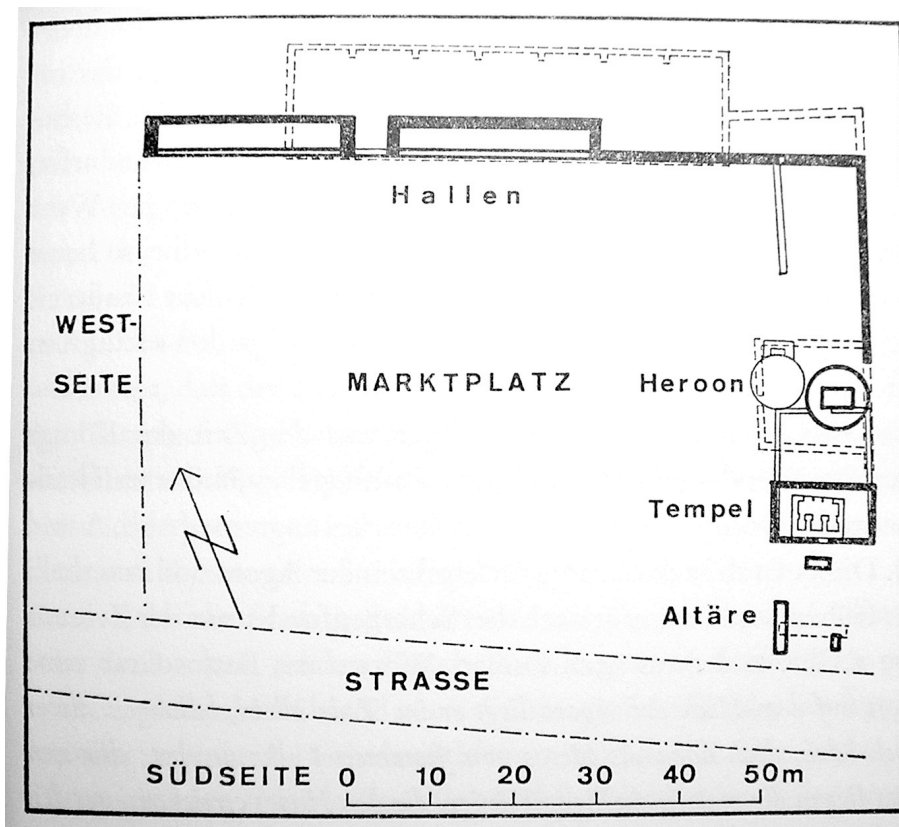


Figure 3 – Plan of the agora of Cyrene, indicating three phases; the thin line dates from the sixth century BCE, thick line from the second half of the fifth century BCE, and the dashed line from the second half of the fourth century BCE (Büsing 1978, 69).

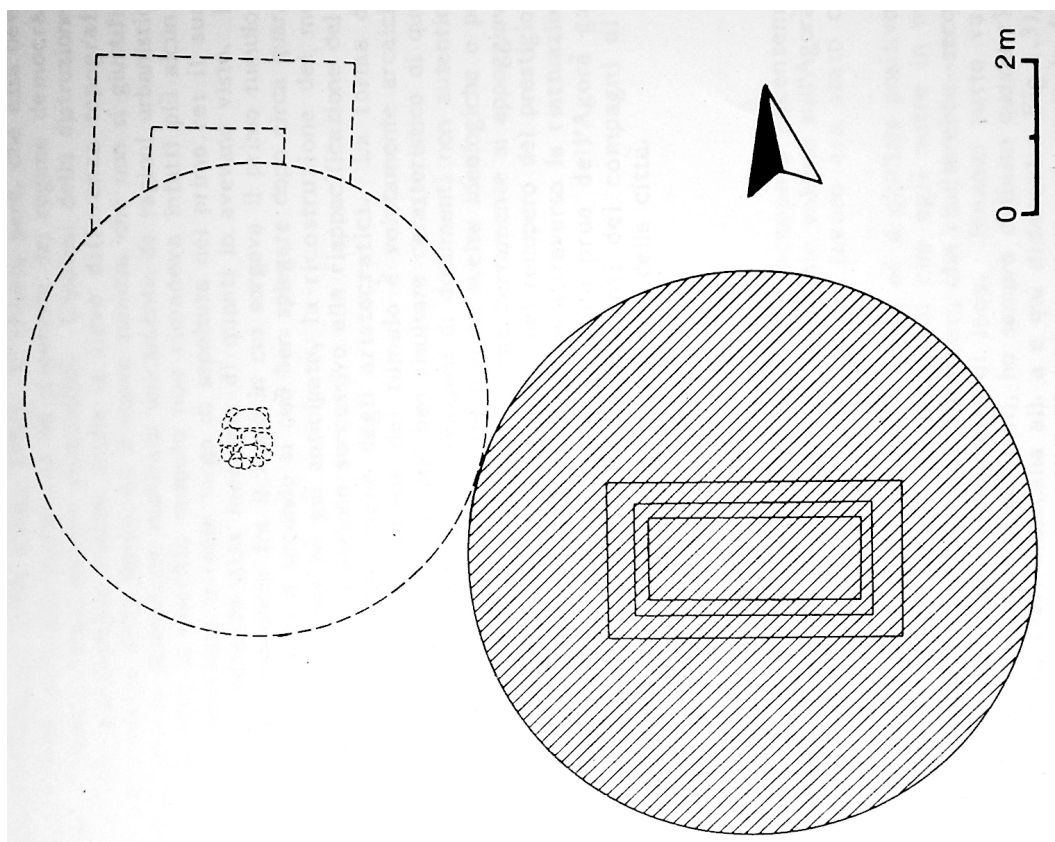


Figure 4 – Plan of Battos' tomb; the dashed line indicates the original tomb, the hachured area is the second construction (Bacchielli 1985, 11).

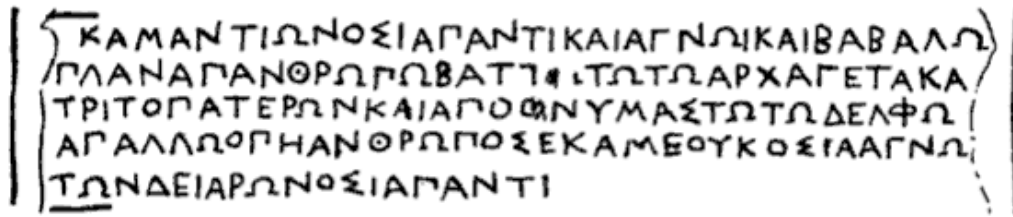


Figure 5 – Facsimile of the “Lex Cathartica” stele found in Cyrene (Ferri 1927, facsimile).

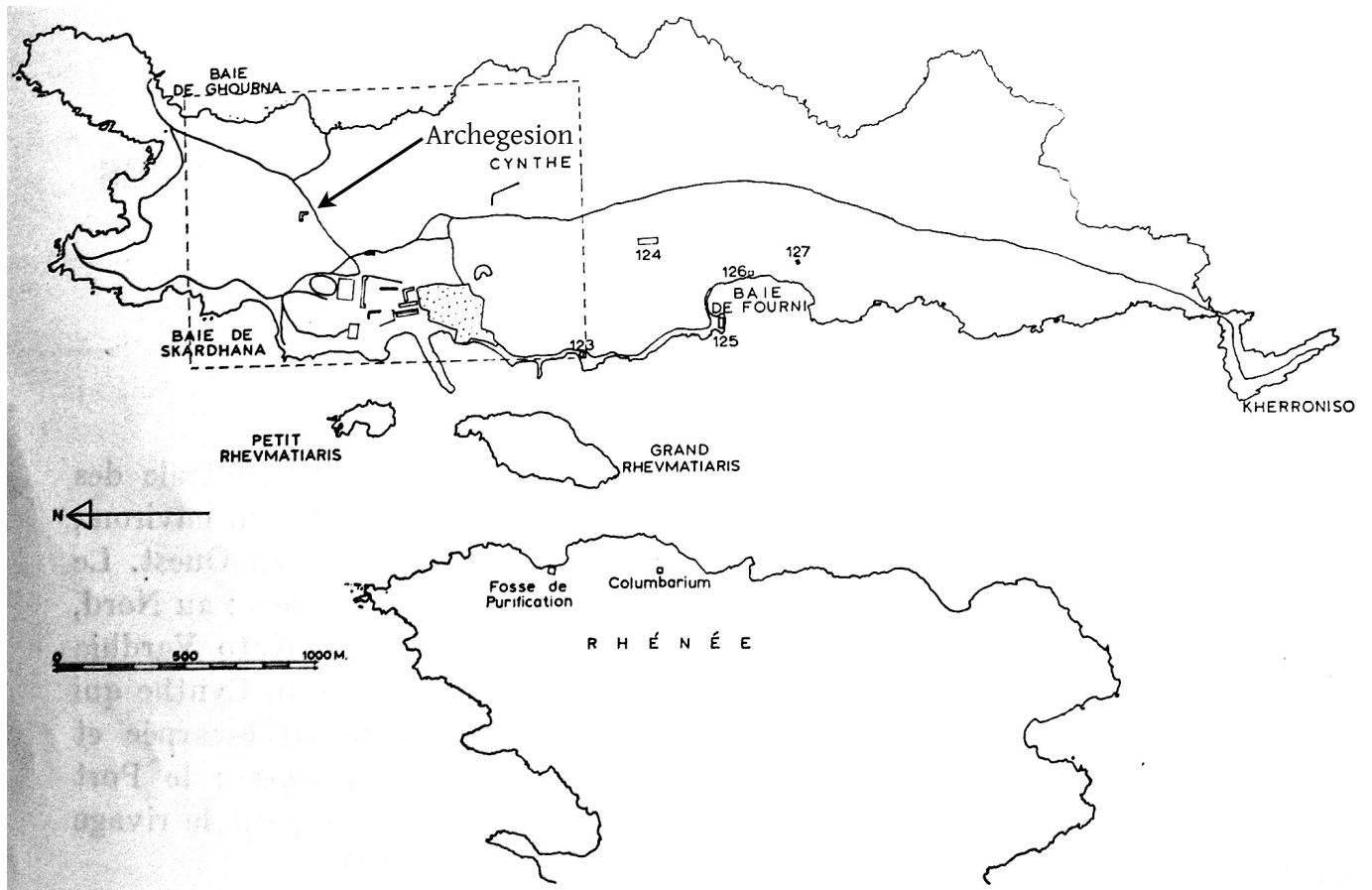


Figure 6 – Map of Delos; the Archegesion is indicated (Bruneau and Ducat 1966, 14).

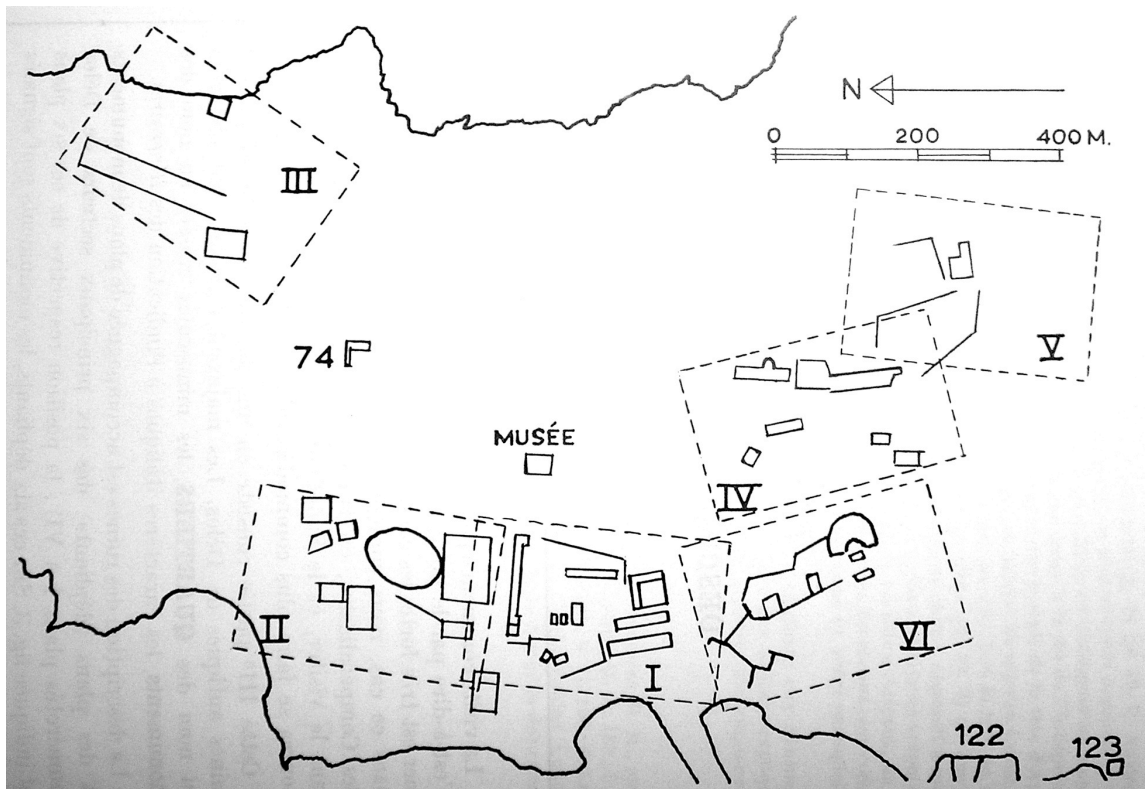


Figure 7 – Map of central Delos; the Archegesion is indicated as no. 74 (Bruneau and Ducat 1966, 72).

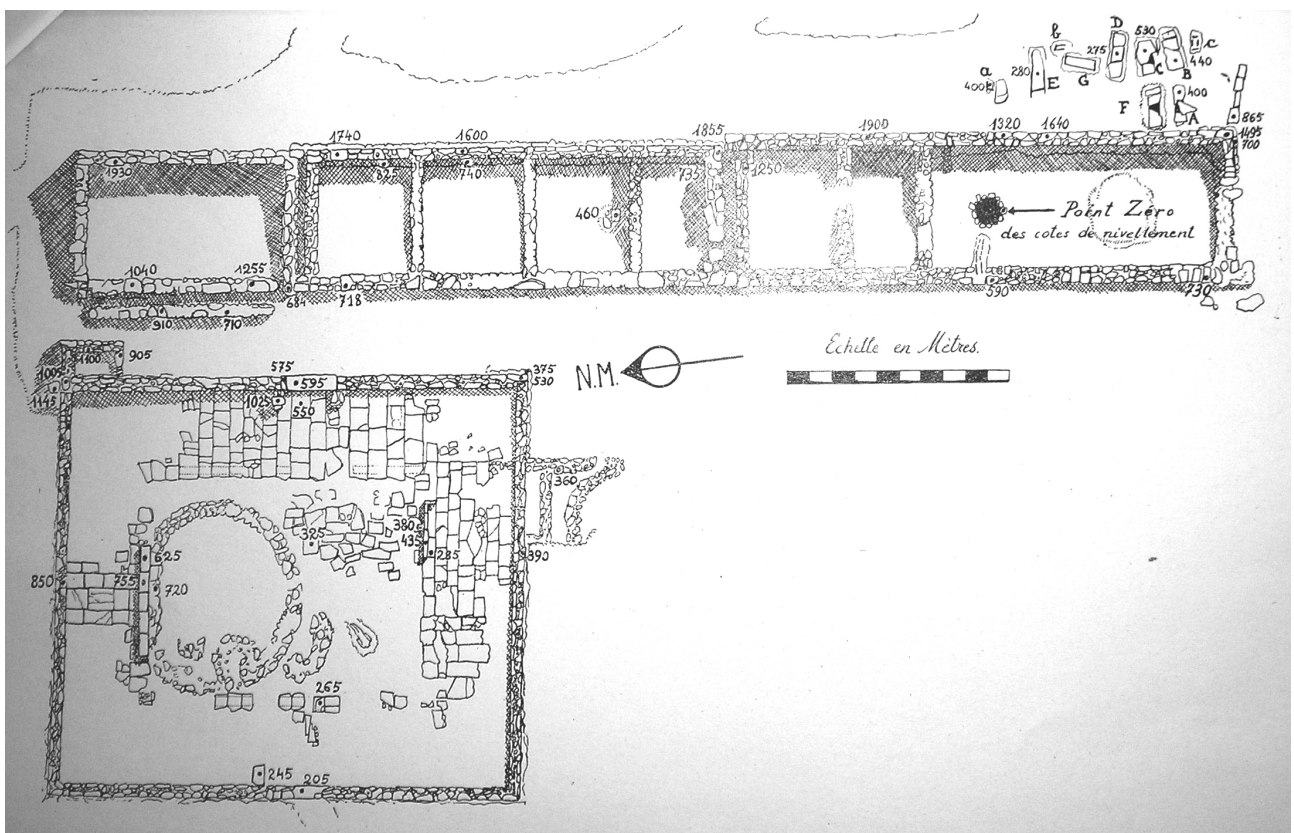


Figure 8 – Plan of the Archegesion (Robert 1953, 11).

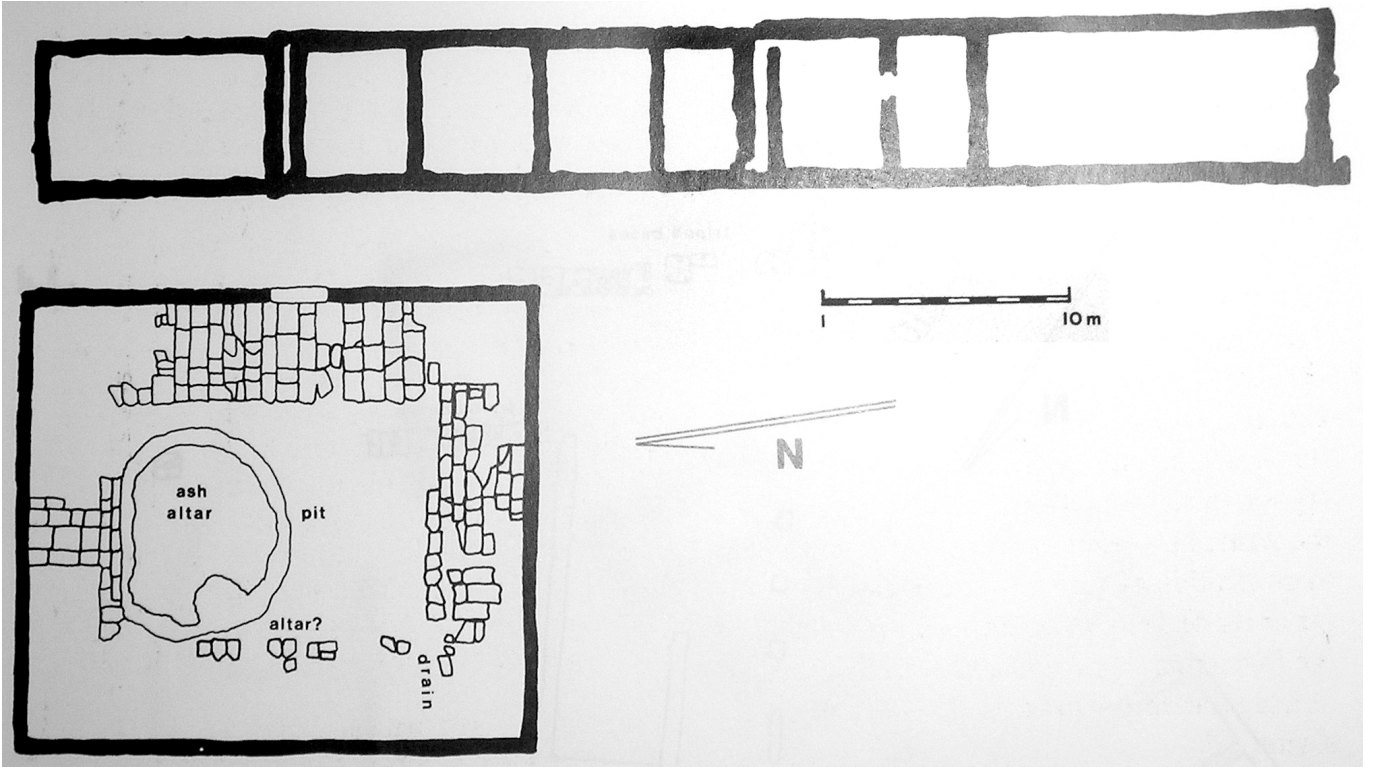


Figure 9 – Plan of the Archegesion (Ekroth 1998, 121).

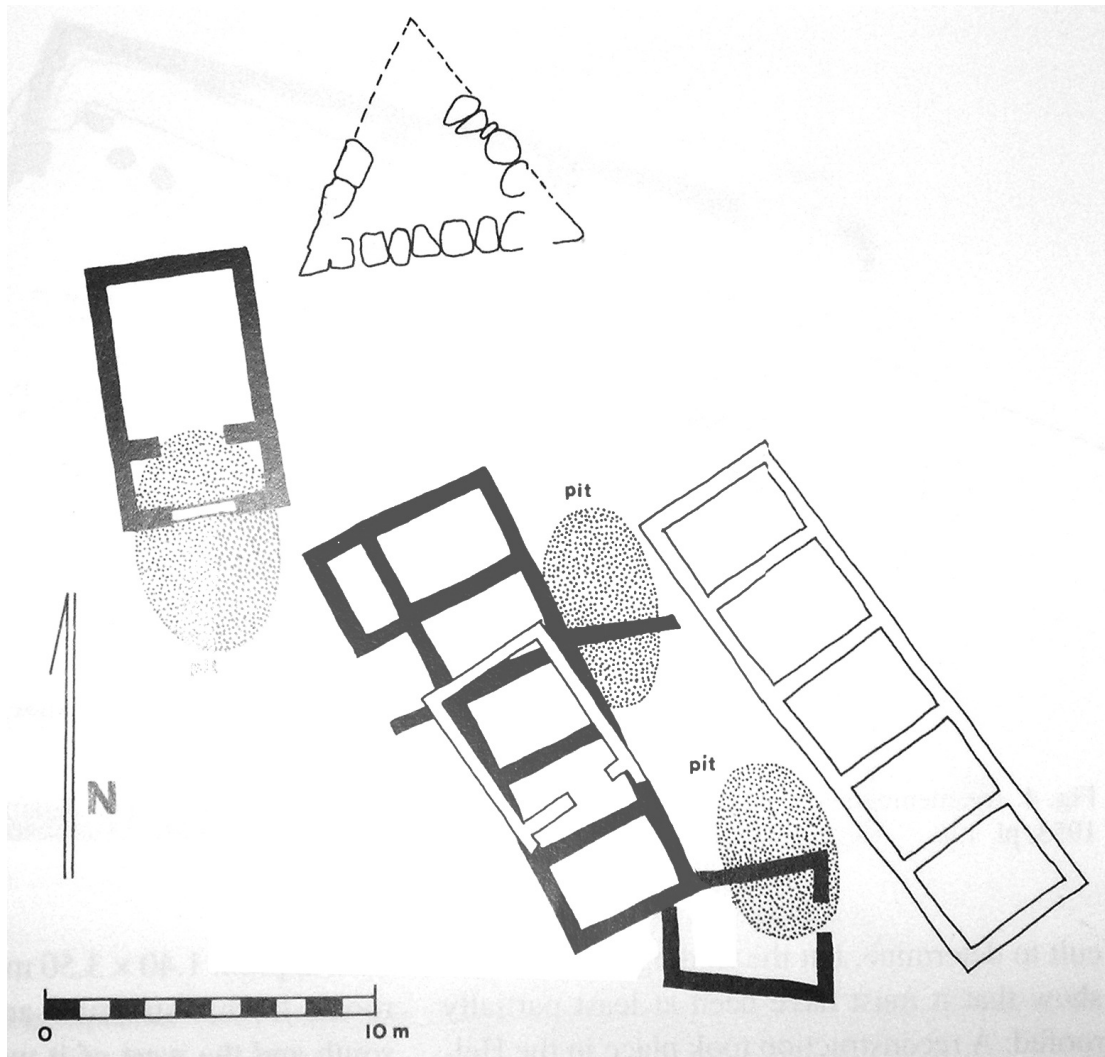


Figure 10 – Plan of the Eretrian Tritopatration (Ekroth 1998, 123).

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Abbreviations of the names of classical works, authors and anthologies are as listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition.