Υάκινθος και Απόλλων των Αμυκλών: Ταυτότητα και λατρείες. Η επανεξέταση των γραπτών μαρτυριών

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http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/benaki.17805

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To cite this article:

that shed light on the identities and cults of Hyakinthos and Apollo worshipped at Amyklai, which have been studied in connection with all previous research, the first phase of a project focusing on their worship, that forms part of the research programme Amykles, reaches completion. Interest in the Spartan Hyakinthia has remained unabated for 137 years.1 Yet we know very little with certainty about Hyakinthos and Apollo, whom the Hyakinthia honoured annually at the Amyclaean shrine. The article draws mostly on the scrappy extant testimonia to deal with the components of the early identities and cults of Hyakinthos and Apollo of Amyklai. The evidence shows, as we shall argue, that the basic features of the identities and cults of the divine pair had taken shape already by the time the so-called “Throne” of Apollo was constructed, i.e. about the mid sixth c. BC, or by the end of the archaic period.

There is no doubt that the cult of Hyakinthos took root on the hill of Agia Kyriaki, before Apollo settled there;2 and that the components of Hyakinthos’s heroic cult consisted of mourning for his violent death at a young age, propitiatory offerings at his tomb, and the cultic feast of the community in his honour.3 The earliest version of Hyakinthos’s genealogy and death appears in the Catalogue of Women, attributed to Hesiod. A papyrus fragment4 refers to Amyklas and Diomede, the daughter of the chthonian Lapith, who gave birth to a noble and mighty young man killed, it would seem, by a discus. The names of the young man and the thrower of the discus have been lost. They have been, however, securely restored in the lacunae as follows: Ἡ δ’ Ὑάκινθον ἔτικεν ἀμύμωνα τε κρατερόν τε κατε[...]. Numerous mythological versions dating from the fifth c. BC onwards show that Apollo unintentionally killed Hyakinthos with a fatal throw of his discus.5

The above genealogy is properly regarded by West6 as Amyclaean, “dating from the time of Amyclea’s independence, before its annexation by Sparta c. 760.” Thus Hyakinthos had evidently been incorporated into the Amyclaean myth as a local hero prior to the mid eighth c. According to West, the Amyclaean genealogy was adapted, in the eighth century, to reflect the dominance of Sparta who became the wife of Lakedaimon and mother of Amyklas (Apollod. Bibliotheca 3.10.3). As a matter of fact, with regard to the cult of Hyakinthos on the hill of Agia Kyriaki, Calligas7 has argued that it was established sometime around or after c. 800 BC, and that it was not connected with preceding Mycenaean cults. In his view, the inauguration of Hyakinthos’ cult is marked by the appearance of the first identifiable dedications on the Amyclaean hill, namely the miniature clay votive vases, the hydrias and the skyphoi which are dated to the transitional period from PG to MG II. It should be noted that such vessels, appropriate for drinking or holding water, are often deposited as gifts to heroes worshipped in tombs or shrines already by the end of the eighth c. BC.8

The festival bearing the name of Hyakinthos is first attested in connection with the conspiracy of the Partheni and the foundation of Taras, i.e. historical events of the late eighth c. BC, which are described by Antiochus of Syracuse.9 The signal for the attack of the conspirators...
was to be given at the ἄγων of the Ἰακύνθεια, because the whole population of Ἀρχαῖα (at τοῦ λόγου) was present at that time, but the conspiracy was revealed. Thanks to a Delphic oracle, Sparta got itself out of the conspirators, who then sought their fortune at Taras. The foundation of Ταρας, which was the only colony of Sparta, is traditionally dated to 706 BC, and this date, in the last decade of the eighth century BC, agrees with the excavated earliest Greek pottery on the site of the Spartan colony. It is therefore very likely that the athletic games of the Ἰακύνθεια, which are attested for the first time in the late Archaic period, go back to the end of the eighth c. BC. The ἄγων in question is the oldest known cultic event of the Ἰακύνθεια in connection with the place where Hyakinthos had been supposedly buried, i.e. under the (colossal) statue of Apollo (Paus. 3.1.3) on the hill of Αγία Κυριάκη.

In contrast to the cult of Hyakinthos, that of Apollo on the hill of Agia Kyriaki is not attested until the end of the seventh c. BC. The oldest evidence at our disposal is an inscription incised on the handle of a now lost bronze object dedicated to Apollo by a person named Δορκονίδα. Jeffery has dated the inscribed letters to c. 600. This is the earliest indication that the god Apollo is a recipient of cult at the shrine of Amyklai, where his colossal statue had perhaps already been erected. At about the same period (650-600 BC) Alcman composed choral poetry in Sparta, and Calame has attributed to him a couple of lines containing an hypomnema. The relevant poem was probably sung by a chorus of “young girls” that might have been situated at Amyklai. The chorus “might be describing its own activity there, or it might be describing another female chorus singing at Amyklai”, ἄροιαν τοῦ ἄγωντος συν Εὐρώπη. Immediately after and further on in the text appear the words Ἀμύκλα and the ethnic Αμύκλαια respectively. According to Calame, the commentator certainly used these lines as proof of the compatibility of Alcman’s foreign origin (from the Atarneus of Aiolis) and his activity as a chorus master of the girls and boys of Sparta. In the hypomnema the festival is named Ἰακύνθεια. To judge from the choruses of young boys (Ath. 4.139 c) described by Polycrates, which sang on the second day of the Ἰακύνθεια, choruses of young girls probably similarly sang on the same day as early as the second half of the seventh c. BC.

Details of the joyful cultic events of the Ἰακύνθεια and of Hyakinthos’ death are described for the first time in the surviving literature in Euripides’ Helen (1471-73). Apollo killed Hyakinthos having exerted himself with the wheel edge of the discus, ὁ ἔμμηκτον μενεοντος κόρον ἐκτικὰ νόστες Κορώνης Φαιήματος. The story is inserted between the description of Helen (vv. 1468-70), who is participating (in the chorus’ imagination) in dances or revels for Hyakinthos at a nightlong celebration, καροῖς ἡ κόρη Ἰακύνθου/νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν, and the so-called βούθυναν ἁμέραν (vv. 1473-75) on which Apollo ordained that the Lacedaemonians honour Hyakinthos with a βούθυνα. Verses 1471-75 are actually an etiological cultic myth. As we shall see, however, this myth explains not simply the common festival of Apollo and Hyakinthos but the ρατίον d’être of the βούθυνα, which is none other than Hyakinthos’ apathetos.

Given that the Ἰακύνθεια lasted three days, the night-long revelry (νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν) or else πανηγύρις, cannot but be placed between the second and third day. For it was on the second day that a Spartan πανηγύρις involving joyful celebration was held at Amyklai in sharp contrast to the proceedings of the previous day which was merely dedicated to mourning. The revels in honour of Hyakinthos bore no relation to his death, in contrast to the sober dinners on the first day or the ἐναγγείλατα in the altar shaped base, within which Hyakinthos was assumed to have been buried. The revels were, instead, related to Hyakinthos’ subsequent apathetos, which had been depicted on the exterior of this altar in the last quarter of sixth c. BC. The κώμοι concluded with a short song of which the brevity was characterized by Nonnus as being in the “Amyclaean style”. At the end were sung the words, “Apollo restored to life the long-haired Hyakinthos, and Dionysus will make Staphylus live for ever.” Hyakinthos’ “restoration to life” seems to echo his pre-heroic identity as an old dying and reborn nature divinity of the Dorians.

The κώμοι possibly go back to a period older than the one in which Hyakinthos was led to Olympia by Demeter, Kore, Plouto, and other divinities. The female dances and the male κώμοι suggest that Dionysus was also present, albeit invisible, in the joyful celebration of Ἰακύνθεια. Except for Apollo, he was the only god worshipped (Paus. 3.19.6) at Amyklai, although it is not known exactly where and when his worship began. Dionysiac aspects of the Ἰακύνθεια have been pointed out recently by Richer. The ivy wreaths worn by the

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worshippers certainly form one of these aspects.\textsuperscript{34}

The order in which Euripides mentions the nightlong revelry and the \textit{bouθύτον ἁμέραν} suggests that the \textit{bouθύτωσις} for Hyakinthos was performed on the day after the revelry, i.e. on the third day of the \textit{Hyakinthia}.\textsuperscript{35} In the text quoted by Athenaeus, which ultimately goes back to Polycrates via Didymus, there is no description of this day. Mellink,\textsuperscript{36} however, rightly places the athletic contests on the third day of the \textit{Hyakinthia}. The \textit{bouθύτωσις} for Hyakinthos, which is indicative of his new immortal status, should be placed on the third day too. Oxen are costly victims, the bull being the most "noble" sacrificial animal.\textsuperscript{37} After mourning for Hyakinthos' death and making a propitiatory sacrifice at his tomb, they honoured him with a bull sacrificed as if to a god. Yet the geographical range in which he was regarded as god was rather circumscribed and did not spread beyond the borders of Lakedaimonia.\textsuperscript{38} The \textit{bouθύτωσις} for Hyakinthos would have been instituted after the construction of the altar on which Apollo received sacrifices; for the only altar excavated, in an area filled with remnants of burnt sacrifices, is attributed to Apollo. It is re-constructed as a circular stepped altar probably with a cylindrical wall on top, which surrounded a burning place.\textsuperscript{39} It is assumed to be archaic.

The phrase "the god of Amyklai" is used for the first time by Aristophanes (Lys. 1299-1302). The poet calls upon the Laconian Muse to praise the god of Amyklai along with other two Spartan divinities, the Athena Chalkioikos and the Tyndarids. The god in question is obviously Apollo who dominated the shrine on the hill of Agia Kyriaki. The bacchic dances (vv. 1303-1315) of young women at the head of whom is again Helen, as is the case in Eur. Helen, are related to the \textit{Hyakinthia}. Besides, two scenes carved on a dedicatory stele from the third c. BC,\textsuperscript{40} which was found at the shrine of Amyklai, have also been linked to the \textit{Hyakinthia}. The scene above shows the statue of Apollo, who is helmeted and holds a spear and bow, and an altar in front of him to which is being dragged a bull. Below, there is a scene of five women: the first (from l.) is dancing, the second and the third are probably dancers resting, the fourth is a lyre player, also resting, and the fifth is a flute player. Evidently female dances were a pre-eminent feature of the \textit{Hyakinthia}. The dances performed to the accompaniment of lyre seem to belong to an older cultic tradition of Amyklai. Lyres are also depicted on a fragment of a geometric vase presenting a male, round dance.\textsuperscript{41}

At the shrine of Amyklai a feast was held during the \textit{Hyakinthia}, which is first described and defined by the Laconian term \textit{konis} by three poets of the Attic comedy, i.e. Eupolis,\textsuperscript{42} Cratinus\textsuperscript{43} and Epilicus.\textsuperscript{44} As Bruit and Pettersson have shown, the \textit{kones} were ritual meals connected with Spartan cults at which portions of meat and bread were distributed equally to all, just as was done in the \textit{φιδίτια}. In contrast however, to these latter "closed" meals, in which only Spartan citizens participated, dining in "a common hall", at the \textit{kones} the city opened itself up to strangers. The citizens went to the country and provided a feast accessible to all, including slaves and passing strangers.\textsuperscript{45} The \textit{konis} of the \textit{Hyakinthia} was a special meal at which they consumed not only meat and bread but also various other dishes and food in abundance, such as sausages, broth and small cakes.\textsuperscript{46} Given that bread was not served at the dinners offered on the first day, on which the death of Hyakinthos was mourned,\textsuperscript{47} the \textit{konis} is placed by the majority of scholars on the second day of the \textit{Hyakinthia}.\textsuperscript{48} On this day, we are told by Polycrates,\textsuperscript{49} a great number of victims were sacrificed.

The kind of animals sacrificed at the \textit{kopides} of the \textit{Hyakinthia} and the manner in which the participants feasted, are known from a lost work of Polemon, \textit{Tὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κάναθρον} (Athen. 4.138e-f).\textsuperscript{50} At the \textit{kopides} only goats were sacrificed and portions of the meats were given to all. Though the divine recipient of these sacrifices is not mentioned, it was undoubtedly Apollo. Whenever a \textit{konis} was held, tents were erected and inside the tents beds of brushwood covered with carpets were constructed. There a feast was provided for all those reclining on the beds, including any foreigners who happened to be present, rather than merely for visitors from the country. It is reasonable to assume that the erection of tents and the sacrifices of goats were established when Apollo became the master of the shrine.

Goats are \textit{par excellence} the sacrificial victim for Apollo.\textsuperscript{51} In the \textit{Iliad}, they are never absent from the bull sacrifices offered to the god.\textsuperscript{52} Before the archery contest in the \textit{Odyssey}, Antinous suggests sacrificing some goats to Apollo,\textsuperscript{53} evidently because the latter is a god \textit{kλινώτοξος}.\textsuperscript{54} In his capacity as \textit{Αλεξίπτωτος} or Pythios, Apollo becomes the recipient of goat sacrifices in order to avert the plague\textsuperscript{55} and for oracular response respectively.\textsuperscript{56} The considerable number of goats, and goats alone, sacrificed to Apollo of Amyklai can only be compared to the 500 goats offered
annually to Artemis Agrotera after the victory at the battle of Marathon.\textsuperscript{57} At Marathon\textsuperscript{58} and probably at Amyklai the goat sacrifices are connected with divine assistance in war, we should not forget that Apollo of Amyklai was presented armed.\textsuperscript{59}

We conclude with a treatment of the earliest cults of Apollo at Amyklai. In connection with the proverb «ἀκών τοῦ ἱδί τέσσερα ὕπα τετράχειρα», Zenobius\textsuperscript{60} quotes from Sosibius to the effect that the Lacedaemonians set up a statue of «Τετράχειρ καὶ Τετράοτος» Apollo, because the god appeared in this form to those besieging Amyklai. The story is probably drawn from Sosibius'\textsuperscript{61} chronicle Χρόνων Ἀναγραφή. From the same source is drawn Pausanias'\textsuperscript{62} (3.2.6) account of the Spartan conquest of Amyklai in the reign of Teleklos. According to Pausanias, the Amycleans were not expelled by the Spartans so easily as others, since they offered a long and not inglorious resistance; after the conquest of Amyklai the Dorians erected a trophy which implied that they regarded this victory as the proudest triumph of their arms. The Spartan victory was portended by the epiphany of Apollo «Τετράχειρ καὶ Τετράοτος», which evidently triggered a cult, given that the Dorians set up the god's statue.\textsuperscript{63} The location of this primitive statue is not mentioned, but it is reasonable to assume with Kennel\textsuperscript{64} and others before him that it was erected in Amyklai town. The epithet «Τετράχειρ» refers to the god's omnipotence.\textsuperscript{65} Apollo's "four-armed" image has a parallel in a female goddess holding four different attributes in her arms, including "an olive sprig, opposite to which a snake rears up", on the relief of a lost Laconian primitive statue of Apollo "Tetracheir and Tetraôtos".\textsuperscript{66} A couple of glosses in Hesychius,\textsuperscript{67} perhaps in order to distinguish him from Apollo Karneios, who helped them to conquer Sparta (Paus. 3.13.3). The contests at which leather straps were given as a prize from the bull sacrificed to Apollo "Tetracheir" were undoubtedly those of the \textit{Hyakinthia} which are the only athletic games known for Amyklai. This last point is actually the strongest argument in favour of the view that Apollo "Tetracheir" was indeed the Apollo worshipped on the hill of Agia Kyriaki. In fact, both glosses in question refer to the Apollo who dominates Amyklai through his colossal statue. It is evidently to this same Apollo that the inscribed stele dedicated by the ephebe Kallikrates (Antonine Age) who presents himself as the priest of "Apollo Tetracheir" refers.\textsuperscript{70}

The sophist Libanius mentions the statue of Αὐτάλλων Τετράχειρ in his oration in praise of Antioch, which is dated to 360 A.D.\textsuperscript{71} Libanius compares four pairs of stoa which divide Antioch and stretch out toward each quarter of the heavens, proceeding outwards, as they do, as if from an omphalos, with the statue of Αὐτάλλων Τετράχειρ.\textsuperscript{72} His comparison is probably based on personal experience, given that he visited Sparta "to see the festival of the whips" during the time he was studying in Athens,\textsuperscript{73} at the age of 22.\textsuperscript{74} Libanius is perhaps the last notable traveller known to us who saw the colossal statue of the god on his "Throne" at Amyklai.

Apollo's statue was probably erected on the hill of Agia Kyriaki after the subjugation of Messenia,\textsuperscript{75} perhaps towards the end of the seventh c. BC. Probably by that time, when Sparta was the most powerful state in the area, the primitive statue of Apollo "Tetracheir and Tetraôtos"\textsuperscript{76} in Amyklai town had perished. In fact, Romano\textsuperscript{77} places the possibility of the construction of Apollo's colossal statue at Amyklai at the end of the seventh c. This date is also in harmony with the earliest evidence for the cult of Apollo at the shrine of Amyklai.\textsuperscript{78} The Spartans evidently used this colossal statue to promote the image of an \textit{all-powerful} Sparta on the now subjugated Messenia, situated on the other side of Taygetus Mt.

To sum up: we have shown that the earliest genealogy and cult of Hyakinthos, as a son of Amyklas and Diomede who was killed by Apollo's discus, can be assumed to go back to c. 800 or the first half of the eighth c. and have argued that the \textit{ἀγὼν} of the \textit{Hyakinthia}, which is first attested in connection with the \textit{Partheniai} and the foundation of Taras, goes back to the late eighth c. Apollo's cult, however, is not attested until the end of the seventh c. In this period were probably composed by Alcman verses to be sung by a chorus of young girls, perhaps on the second day of the \textit{Hyakinthia}, which are known from a papyrus fragment of...
an hypomnema. Besides, we have argued that the nautical revelry involving female dances and male kômeni in honour of Hyakinthos (Eur. Hel. 1468-75) can only be placed between the second and third day of the Hyakinthia, and that the bull sacrifice, on a day ordained by Apollo, was actually offered to Hyakinthos, on the third day of the Hyakinthia, as if to a god. We have further pointed out that the female dances, performed to the accompaniment of lyre and flute, which are depicted on a third c. BC dedicatory stele, were a pre-eminent feature of the Hyakinthia. In addition, we have drawn a parallel between the numerous goats sacrificed for Apollo on the second day of the Hyakinthia, of which the meat was consumed at the kopis, and the 500 goats slaughtered annually for Artemis Agrotera in commemoration of the battle of Marathon. Finally, we have made a distinction between the statue of Apollo "Tetracheir and Tetraktos," which was set up by the Spartans in Amyklai town after its conquest, and the colossal statue of Apollo at Amyklaios which was probably erected after the subjugation of Messenia, towards the end of the seventh c. The latter Apollo was simply called "Tetracheir" or "kouridios." From the bull sacrificed to Apollo Tetracheir leather straps were given as a prize for boxing at the Hyakinthia. The ephebe Kalikrates (Antonine Age) is presenting himself as a priest of Apollo Tetracheir on an inscribed stele, while the colossal statue of Apollo Tetrakeiros was probably seen by Libanius on his visit to Sparta.

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3. For his violent death at a young age, see E. Hel. 1471-73 and Paus. 3.1.3 (he was survived by his father); cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.162-64. For the Spartan mourning for his death and the feast, see Polykrates in Ath. 4.139 d; for the mourning on a mythical level, see Nic. *Ther.* 902-903, καρπόν τε πολεμήσαν ταυτίς, ὅ τι Φοῖβος δριόττησεν ἐπεί ὧ ἀεικούσιος ἔκτα. Athenaeus’ description is drawn from a lost work of Didymos quoting from Polychrates’s book Λακωνικά, who is regarded by J. Blomqvist (*Opitz 20 [1994] 284) as a “local” historian “of uncertain but certainly Hellenistic date”. For the expiatory offering (ἐναγίζειν) at his tomb, which was under the (colossal) statue of Apollo at Amyklai, see Paus. 3.19.3. On the heroes who had died violently and prematurely and so needed propitiation, see Eroth 2007, 105-06. On the cultic feast in honour of the hero, which was a major event, see Burkert 1985, 205. From a hero who has been cultically appeased, assistance is hoped for, mainly in battle, see Burkert 1985, 207.


5. See Forbes Irving 1990, 281; M. Moreno-Condé, Une promenade à travers les sources littéraires. Le cas d’Hyacinthos, in: *Ayakoù δαίμονα. Mythes et cultes: Études d’iconographie en l’honneur de Lilly Kahil*, BCH Suppl. 38 (2000) 101-09. Zephyrus as Apollo’s jealous rival causing the discus to swerve is first found in Palaeph. *De incred.* 46. See Gantz 1993, 94; Moreno-Condé, *ibid.*, 103, argues that the notion of Apollo’s involuntary murder of Hyakinthos is first expressly introduced by Nicander; however, the honours ordained by Apollo after Hyakinthos’s death in Euripides’s *Hel.* (see p. 154) rather imply that Apollo unintentionally killed Hyakinthos. See also Moreno-Condé 2008, 10.

6. West 1985, 156; cf. ibid., 95 no. 3, and 180.

7. See Calligas 1992, 46. The older thesis that Hyakinthos’ worship at Amyklai is a survival of an original Bronze Age cult, is no longer tenable. See Kennell 2010, 31. On the rise of
concept of hero and the existence of hero cults in some form in the late Early Iron Age, see Ekroth 2007, 102.

8. See Hägg 1987, especially 96 and 98. The hydriae were perhaps used for the preparation of the bath often found in connection with hero cults, see Hägg 1987, 98 and Burkert 1985, 205.

9. Str. 6.3.2 = FGrH 555 F 13 (from Anthicus’ work Περὶ Ταξίαν in the volume Πολείται). Cf. Ephor. FGrH 70 F 216; D.S. 8.21.


13. It is dated to the 18th Olympiad in Eus. Chron. II, 85 (Schoene).


15. Calame 1997, 178-79, places the permanent establishment of Hyakinthia by the end of the 8th c. BC. See an inscribed bronze disc excavated at Amyklaiion (probably manufactured as a prize of contest and memento of the game won) in SEG 11 (1954) 130, no. 697 (dating from the 6th or 5th c. BC). For more evidence, see Hodkinson 1999, 155-56 and pl. 5-6. The earliest ἀγών with prizes are the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, see II. 25.257-897; Nestor, too old to compete, was given a prize as a memento of Patroclus’ funeral. See II. 23.615-23. Contest prizes were given throughout antiquity at Amyklai. See the mention of an αἰθέριος in IG V1 455, 13 (4th c. A.D.). See also the dedication (4th c. B.C.) by a victor (boxer?) at games in honour of Apollo, which was found at Amyklai, in SEG 1 (1923) 19, no. 87. The main evidence for games comes from the Antonine period. See IG V 1 586-87 and Philostr. VS 2.593. See also Moreno-Comdu 2008, 33-34. Evidence for horse races comes from Taras, where the Hyakinthia seem to have been celebrated in the Classical period, see Mellink 1943, 23, n. 1; A. J. Evans, The “Horsemen” of Tarentum, NC (1889) 228 (equestrian types of silver coins).

16. As were the funeral games (ὁ ἀγών) in honour of Patroclus in the II. 23.257-897. In Philostr. VS 2.593 the Spartan Hyakinthia are put on a level with the Isthmia and the Pythia which was an ἀγών εἰσάγων for Python; Laestynius Placidus in Sta. Théb. 4.223 also has in mind an ἀγών εἰσάγων for Hyakinthos.


18. See Jeffery 19902, 198, no. 5.

19. See p. 156.


22. The text is by Kannicht 1969, 1, 177. The unparalleled strength with which Apollo threw his discus was the cause of Hyakinthos’ death, see Kannicht 1969, II, 384.

23. Kannicht 1960, II, 384 takes the Euripidean myth as an “altitologische Kultlegenden des Apollon-Hyakinthos-Festes.” We believe, however, that it is rather used as a scenario for a specific ritual act (bull sacrifice), through which Hyakinthos was unusually honoured as a Spartan ἀγών, albeit only a local hero. On the relation between myth and ritual, i.e. unusual ritual acts, see Graf 1993, 110-18; Bremmer 1999, 61.

24. The festival’s description at Athen. 4.139d-f is ultimately derived from the local Hellenistic historian Polycrates. On the date of Polycrates, see above, n. 3.

25. As it is called in a poetic periphrasis, see Kannicht 1969, II, 384.

26. Cf. ibid., 383, “In κώμοις Υακίνθου liegt ein unüberbärbare Hinweis darauf, dass sich der Chor den besten beiden Tagen der Hyakinthien vorstellt.” Others, instead, place the κώμος at the end of the first day of mourning, after the heroic sacrifice, without, however, offering any argumentation. See e.g. Brulé 1992, 35.

27. Athen. 4.139.d.

28. Paus. 3.19.3. See also Ekroth 2002, 103-04; Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 185-86.

29. See Paus. 3.19.4. On the date of the apathenoi scene, see LIMC V, 1 (1990) 547 (L. and F. Villard).

30. Nonn. D. 19.102-105, ἰδίᾳ τοις ἀρμοί νέον ἀνέβαλεν Φασίδι θυσίαν ἀποτυγχημένην, φωτισμόν ἀκούσας. Διός πέτωκε τις θυρή; “In κώμοις Ὑακίνθου νέον ἀνέβαλεν Παύρος Ἀμυκλαίῳ θυσίαν, ἀκούσας τις θυρή; This "reincita olimpic" appears at the centre of the version of sacred songs which were part of the ritual, as has been noted by Chirassi 1968, 164.

31. The view of Hyakinthos and the Hyakinthia as an old Dorian god and celebration respectively goes back to Diethrich 1975, 141 and 137. See also the OCD 3rd ed. (1996) 734 s.v. Hyakinthus (H. J. Rose – B. C. Dietrich) with earlier bibliography on the dying nature-god. In harmony with the notion of “reborn” deity is O. Haas’s etymology of “Hyakinthos” from su-ʝen-ʝo-s =selfborn, see K-Pauly II (1979) 1253 s.v. Hyakinthia (W. Pörschel).

32. See above, n. 29.


34. Macr. Sat. 1.18.2.

35. Calame 1997, 176, places the sacrifice for Apollo and κόπις on the third day, but the majority of scholars connect them with the second day, see next note (n. 36). Piccirilli 1967, 112, argues that the second day they celebrated Hyakinthos’ resurrection, while the third day, his apotheosis and ascension to heaven, and that both these days have been erroneously attributed to Apollo. His view has not met with acceptance. See
criticism in Moreno-Conde 2008, 21.
36. See Mellink 1943, 23.
37. On the value of oxen, see Burkert 1985, 55.
38. In sharp contrast stand Heracles, the Dioscuri and Asclepius who also transgressed the status of heroes; they were revered or worshipped as both heroes and gods throughout the Greek world. See Ekroth 2007, 101; Burkert 1985, 208, 212-14.
39. See Fiechter 1918, 117 (from A. Furtwängler’s manuscript) 131-2, fig. 18 (P. Wolter’s groundplan); 162-5, fig. 36, cf. fig. 53 on p. 208.
40. The relief has been chipped off, probably by Christians, see Tod – Wace 1906, 202, no. 689. See also Mellink 1943, 19-20; Moreno-Conde 2008, 78-79.
41. See Tsountas 1892, 14 and pl. 4, 2; cf. Ettrem (n. 1) 13. The statue of Sparta holding a lyre, a work of Aristander of Paros, stood among one of the bronze tripods dedicated to Amykliai, see Paus. 3.18.8.
43. See Kassel – Austin 1983, 211, fr. 175; Edmonds (n. 42) 80, fr. 166.
44. Kassel – Austin 1986, 171, fr. 4; Edmonds, ibid., 945, fr. 3.
45. On the relation of κοπίδες to πολίτες, see Britu 1990, 163-64. On the sacred character of κοπίδες, in which took part also slaves and women, see Pettersson 1992, 16-17.
46. See Athen. 4.140b, ultimately derived from a ἀπελευθερωμένου πολιτεία by the Laconian Molips (2nd-1st c. BC): μάξα, ἄρμα, κρίτας, λατάνον ὅτινέν, ἕξις, σχενό, ἔκοπται, ἕθεμον (FGrHist 590 F1; Hesychius, s.v. κοπίδαι, II, no. 355b). For the “sausage” see above Cratinus (n. 43).
47. See Athen. 4.139d, whose text is ultimately derived from Polycrates, see above, n. 3.
49. See Athen. 4.139f.
50. See FHG III, 142-43, fr. 86.
51. In Ant.Lib. 20.2.2 Apollo threatened to kill a man sacrificing a hecatomb of asses, “εἰ μὴ παύσαι τῆς θυσίας ταύτης καὶ κατά τὸ σύνηθες αἴγας αὐτῷ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς ἱερεύσει.” This order of victims is reversed in sacrifices offered by Polycrates, see Britu 1990, 163-64. On the connection between wild goat and archer is illustrated in II. 4. 105-111: the horns of a wild goat that had been shot, each of which measured about four feet in length, were used for the construction of a bow, of composite type. See G. S. Kirk (ed., gen. ed.), The Iliad: A Commentary. I (Cambridge – New York – New Rochelle et. al. 1985) 341-42 ad 110. Apollo is famed for the bow, because he successfully strikes from afar, he is ἕκοπτας as in II. 1.48-52. Cf. Burkert 1985, 146.
52. See II. 1.40-41, 315-16. The question of the choice of sacrificial victims has been justly set recently by Georgoudi 2010, 97-100.
53. See Od. 21.266-68.
54. A property attested already in the II. 4.101, 119; 15.55. The connection between wild goat and archer is illustrated in II. 4. 105-111: the horns of a wild goat that had been shot, each of which measured about four feet in length, were used for the construction of a bow, of composite type. See G. S. Kirk (ed., gen. ed.), The Iliad: A Commentary. I (Cambridge – New York – New Rochelle et. al. 1985) 341-42 ad 110. Apollo is famed for the bow, because he successfully strikes from afar, he is ἕκοπτας as in II. 1.48-52. Cf. Burkert 1985, 146.
55. See II. 1.65-67; Cf. Paus. 10.11.5, Epigraphical evidence for goat sacrifices to Apollo Apatropoios in is Sokolowski 1962, no. 18, A 32-36 (in Erchia, Attica), Δ 33-35; no 20, A 26 (in Tetrapolis, Attica).
56. For the preliminary she-goat sacrifice and the billy-goat offered at the god’s sacred table at the Delphic oracle, see Plu. Moralia 437 A-B. See also Rougenmont 1977, no. 13, 124-29; Amdary 1950, 104-14 and Roux 1976, 82-89. For the role of goats in the discovery of the oracle, see D.S. 16.26.1-3. The she-goat and the he-goat figure often on Delphic coins, see Amdary 1950, 110. For the goat offered to Apollo Pythios elsewhere, see Sokolowski 1962, no. 18, B 49 (Erchia); Sokolowski 1969, no. 7, A 9 (Eleusis); Sokolowski 1955, no. 32, 50-51 (Magnesia).
57. See X. An. 3.2.11-12, Cf. Plu. Moralia 862 A-C; Ad. Var. hist. 2.25. It is χαρίστηρα τῆς νίκης (thank offering) on the occasion of a war threatening the survival of an entire human community, as was the battle of the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon. See the excellent source analysis by J.-P. Vernant (Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays, edited by F. I. Zeitlin [Princeton – New Jersey 1991] 244-50), elaborating on P. Ellinger’s treatment of the episode known from Plutarch as ‘Phocian Despair’. Henceforward a sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera was instituted annually and a public feast held, see Parker 1996, 153 (cf. the feast from the goat sacrifices to Apollo at the Ηυακινθία); Parker 2005, 461-62.
58. The original sacrifice was repeated every year on the 6th of Boedromion. For the date, see Plu. Moralia 862 A, ἐν τιν η χαρίστηρα τῆς νίκης υἱόκοινοι.
60. See FGrHist 595 F25. See also Tresp 1914, 136, V (=FHG II 627, fr. 11).
62. See F. Kiechle, Lakoniens und Sparta. Untersuchungen zur ethnischen Struktur und zur politischen Entwicklung Lakoniens und Spartas bis zum Ende der archaischen Zeit (Münich – Berlin 1963) 63; Köv 2003, 82-83. The conquest of Amyklai (or, according to Cartridge, its incorporation into Sparta) is dated c. 750. See Cartridge 2002, 93.


65. Cf. B. Kruse, *RE* SA (1934) 1070. For an Indo-European parallel to Apollo *Tetrachaer* and his fatal discus, see Moreau 1988, 11. The four-armed Vishnu has a murderous disc-like weapon made from the rays of Sūrya (the sun god). This parallel and a four-armed deity on a Laconian relief (see next note) indicate that the proper English translation of “Tetrachaer” is “Four-Armed” not “Four-Handed” (in ancient/modern Greek *χειρ/χέρι* denotes both the “hand” and the “arm”).

66. The relief is described by L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze* II (Leipzig 1861) 659, no. 21 (Epigraphische Nachlese, *RhB* 8 (1853) 128-29; *AM* 2 (1877) 382, no. 200). His text is translated in English by Kennell 1995, 162; Kennell endorse an older view that Roscher has mistakenly identified the relief divinity as a woman. See, however, L. Ziehen’s doubts in *RE* III A (1929) 1461. It should be noted that the olive twig and the snake are not among the attributes of Apollo. Ross describes statues and reliefs with impressive clarity, see A. Moustaka, O Ludwig Ross stin Peloponnêso, in: H. R. Goette (ed.), *Aufsätze von Eira in the second Messenian war*, see p. 167, 261 n. 10.


68. See Hsch. (Late) s.v. κουρίδιον, II, no. 3853; s.v. κουρίζειν, *ibid.* 4558. Both glasses are connected with Apollo *Tetrachaer*, not with Apollo *Tetraots* and *Tetraos* with whom Apollo Kouridios is occasionally associated, see, e.g. *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) 189, no. 4 (W. Lambrinidakis).

69. From which come all Laconian glasses of Hesychius, see *RE* 3A (1927) 1147 (R. Laqueur).

70. See *IG* V 1, 259. See also Spawforth in: *Cartledge – Spawforth* 20022, 167, 261 n. 10.

71. See Lib. Or. 11.204. See also Downey 1959, 652-53.

72. Εκ δὲ ἀρίθμου τεττάρων ἀλλήλαις συνηρμοσμένων εἰς τετράδιον τώνον ἀνωτέρω καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τμῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται, οἷον ἐν Ἀπόλλων τετράχειρι (in ancient/modern Greek *χειρος ἀγάλματι*).

73. See *Lib. Or.* 1.23. On Libanius’ visit to Sparta and his Spartan friends, see *Cartledge – Spawforth* 2002, 124 and n. 7 (p. 254).


75. Broadly interpreted by Cartledge 2002, 110 “as a gradual process of pacification [...] which may not have been completed much before the end of the seventh century”.

76. Amyklai was raided by the Messenians during the siege of Eira in the second Messenian war, see Paus. 4.18.3. On this phase of war, see D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene. Legends of Sparta’s Nemesis* (Swanns 2004) 6.

77. Or in the first half of the sixth c. BC, see Romano 1980, 104.

78. See above, p. 154.
ίσως προς τιμήν του Απόλλωνος τη δεύτερη μέρα των Υακινθίων ήδη από το τέλος του 7ου αι. Το άλογο κειμενο κεφάλαιο προς τιμήν του Υακινθίου (Ευρ. Ελένη 1468 κ.ε.) με γυναίκεια χορούς και ανδρικούς κώμους μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί, όπως υποστηρίζουμε, μονάχα ανάμεσα στη δεύτερη και την τρίτη ημέρα των Υακινθίων. Σχετίζεται με την αποθέωση του Υάκινθου, η οποία απεικονίζοταν πάνω στον “βωμό” μέσα στον οποίο έλεγαν ότι είχε ενταφιασθεί, οι χοροί όμως ανάγονται σε πολύ παλαιότερη λατρευτική παράδοση. Η αποθέωση ήταν ασφαλώς και η αιτία για την «βούθυτον» ημέρα κατά την οποία θέσπισε ο Απόλλων (Ευρ. Ελένη 1473-75) να τιμούν τον Υάκινθο με θυσία βοός, την οποία ταυτίζουμε με την τρίτη ημέρα των Υακινθίων. Οι γυναικείοι χοροί με τη συνοδεία λύρας και αυλού σε σκηνή αναθηματική της 3ης ημέρας των Υακινθίων, έχει σχετισθεί με τα Υακίνθια, φαίνεται ότι ήταν εξέχον χαρακτηριστικό της εποχής προς τιμήν του Απόλλωνος. Όσο για τις πολλές αίγες που θυσίαζαν στον Άμυκλαιο για το γεύμα (κοπίδα) της δεύτερης ημέρας των Υακινθίων, ένα παράλληλο φαινόμενο είναι οι 500 αίγες που έφοιταν για την Αγροτέρα Αρτέμιδα στον ετήσιο εορτασμό της μάχης του Μαραθώνα. Τέλος, διακρίνομαι το αγάλμα του λεγόμενου Απόλλωνος Τετράχειρος και Τετράχειρος από το κολοσσιαίο αγάλμα του Απόλλωνος στο Αμυκλαίο ιερό ήχο μόνο ως προς την τοποθεσία όπου είχε πιθανόν ανεγερθεί αλλά και ως προς την επίκληση. Το αγάλμα του Απόλλωνος Τετράχειρος και Τετράχειρος ήχενδο και Παράλληλης μετά την κατάκτηση των Αμυκλών από τη Σπάρτη γύρω στα 750 και, όπως έχει υποστηριχθεί, βρισκόταν στην πόλη των Αμυκλών.

Ως προς το πολύ πλούσιο φαινόμενο της πολυάριθμης αίγες που θυσίαζαν στον Απόλλωνα για το γεύμα (κοπίδα) της δεύτερης ημέρας των Υακινθίων, ένα παράλληλο φαινόμενο είναι οι 500 αίγες που έφοιταν για την Αγροτέρα Αρτέμιδα στον ετήσιο εορτασμό της μάχης του Μαραθώνα. Τέλος, διακρίνομαι το αγάλμα του λεγόμενου Απόλλωνος Τετράχειρος και Τετράχειρος από το κολοσσιαίο αγάλμα του Απόλλωνος στο Αμυκλαίο ιερό ήχο μόνο ως προς την τοποθεσία όπου είχε πιθανόν ανεγερθεί αλλά και ως προς την επίκληση. Το αγάλμα του Απόλλωνος Τετράχειρος και Τετράχειρος ήχενδο και Παράλληλης μετά την κατάκτηση των Αμυκλών από τη Σπάρτη γύρω στα 750 και, όπως έχει υποστηριχθεί, βρισκόταν στην πόλη των Αμυκλών.

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