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## Hyakinthos and Apollo of Amyklai: Identities and Cults A Reconsideration of the Written Evidence

WITH THE COLLECTION OF TESTIMONY 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.<sup>1</sup> Yet we know very little with certainty about Hyakinthos and Apollo, whom the *Hyakinthia* honoured annually at the Amyclaeon 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;<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest version of Hyakinthos’s genealogy and death appears in the *Catalogue of Women*, attributed to Hesiod. A papyrus fragment<sup>4</sup> refers to Amyklas and Diomedes, 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: ἦ δ’

Ἰακινθὸν ἔτικτεν ἀμύ]μονά τε κρατερὸν τε] α, τὸν ῥά ποτ’ αὐτὸς! Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης ἀέκων κτάνε νηλέ]ϊ δίσκῳ (vv. 6-8). Numerous mythological versions dating from the fifth c. BC onwards show that Apollo unintentionally killed Hyakinthos with a fatal throw of his discus.<sup>5</sup>

The above genealogy is properly regarded by West<sup>6</sup> as *Amyclaeon*, “dating from the time of Amyclae’s independence, before its annexation by Sparta c. 760.” Thus Hyakinthos had evidently been incorporated into the Amyclaeon myth as a *local* hero prior to the mid eighth c. According to West, the Amyclaeon 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, Calligas<sup>7</sup> 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 Amyclaeon 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.<sup>8</sup>

The festival bearing the name of Hyakinthos is first attested in connection with the conspiracy of the *Partheniai* and the foundation of Taras, i.e. historical events of the late eighth c. BC, which are described by Antiochus of Syracuse.<sup>9</sup> The signal for the attack of the conspirators

was to be given at the *ἄγων* of the *Hyakinthia*, because the whole population of Sparta (*οἱ τοῦ δήμου*) was present at that time,<sup>10</sup> but the conspiracy was revealed. Thanks to a Delphic oracle, Sparta got rid itself of the conspirators, who then sought their fortune at Taras.<sup>11</sup> The foundation of Taras,<sup>12</sup> which was the only colony of Sparta, is traditionally dated to 706 BC,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> It is therefore very likely that the athletic games of the *Hyakinthia*, which are attested for the first time in the late Archaic period, go back to the end of the eighth c. BC.<sup>15</sup> The *ἄγων* in question is the oldest known cultic event of the *Hyakinthia* in connection with the place where Hyakinthos had been supposedly buried,<sup>16</sup> i.e. under the (colossal) statue of Apollo (Paus. 3.1.3) on the hill of Agia Kyriaki.

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<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> At about the same period (650-600 BC) Alcman composed choral poetry in Sparta, and Calame has attributed to him a couple of lines contained in a papyrus fragment of an *hypomnema*.<sup>20</sup> 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”, *ἄκουσα ταν ἀνδ[ρόνων] παρ’ Εὐρώτα*. Immediately after and further on in the text appear the words *Ἀμύκλα* and the ethnic *Ἀταρνίδα* respectively. According to Calame,<sup>21</sup> 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 *Hyakinthia*. To judge from the choruses of young boys (Ath. 4.139 e) described by Polycrates, which sang on the second day of the *Hyakinthia*, 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 *Hyakinthia*

and of Hyakinthos’s death are described for the first time in the surviving literature in Euripides’s *Helen* (1471-73). Apollo killed Hyakinthos having exerted himself with the wheel edge of the discus, *ὃν ἐξαμιλλησάμενος/τροχῶ τέρμονα δίσκον/ἔκανε Φοῖβος*.<sup>22</sup> The story is inserted between the description of Helen (vv. 1468-70), who is participating (in the chorus’s imagination) in dances or revels for Hyakinthos at a nightlong celebration, *χοροῖς/ἢ κῶμοις Ὑακίνθου/νύχιον ἐς εὐφρο<σύ>ναν*, and the so-called *βούδυτον ἀμέραν* (vv. 1473-75) on which Apollo ordained that the Lacedaemonians honour Hyakinthos with a *βουδυσία*. 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 *raison d’être* of the *βουδυσία*, which is none other than Hyakinthos’ *apotheosis*.<sup>23</sup>

Given that the *Hyakinthia* lasted three days,<sup>24</sup> the nightlong revelry (*νύχιον ἐς εὐφρο<σύ>ναν*)<sup>25</sup> or else *παννυχίς*, cannot but be placed between the second and third day.<sup>26</sup> For it was on the second day that a Spartan *πανήγυρις* 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<sup>27</sup> or the *ἐναγίζειν*<sup>28</sup> in the altar shaped base, within which Hyakinthos was assumed to have been buried. The revels were, instead, related to Hyakinthos’s subsequent *apotheosis*, which had been depicted on the exterior of this altar in the last quarter of sixth c. BC.<sup>29</sup> The *κῶμοι* concluded with a short song of which the brevity was characterized by Nonnus as being in the “Amyclaeon style”. At the end were sung the words, “Apollo restored to life the long-haired Hyakinthos, and Dionysus will make Staphylos live for ever”.<sup>30</sup> Hyakinthos’s “restoration to life” seems to echo his pre-heroic identity as an old dying and reborn nature divinity of the Dorians.<sup>31</sup> The *κῶμοι* possibly go back to a period older than the one in which Hyakinthos was led to Olympus by Demeter, Kore, Plouto, and other divinities.<sup>32</sup>

The female dances and the male *κῶμοι* suggest that Dionysus was also present, albeit invisible, in the joyfyl celebration of *Hyakinthia*. 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 *Hyakinthia* have been pointed out recently by Richer.<sup>33</sup> The ivy wreaths worn by the

worshippers certainly form one of these aspects.<sup>34</sup>

The order in which Euripides mentions the nightlong revelry and the *βούδντον ἀμέραν* suggests that the *βουδυσία* for Hyakinthos was performed on the day after the revelry, i.e. on the third day of the *Hyakinthia*.<sup>35</sup> In the text quoted by Athenaeus, which ultimately goes back to Polycrates *via* Didymus, there is no description of this day. Mellink,<sup>36</sup> however, rightly places the athletic contests on the third day of the *Hyakinthia*. The *βουδυσία* 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.<sup>37</sup> After mourning for Hyakinthos’s 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 Lakeldaimonia.<sup>38</sup> The *βουδυσία* 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 reconstructed as a circular stepped altar probably with a cylindrical wall on top, which surrounded a burning place.<sup>39</sup> 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 *Hyakinthia*. Besides, two scenes carved on a dedicatory stele from the third c. BC,<sup>40</sup> which was found at the shrine of Amyklai, have also been linked to the *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 *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.<sup>41</sup>

At the shrine of Amyklai a feast was held during the *Hyakinthia*, which is first described and defined by the Laconian term *κοπις* by three poets of the Attic comedy, i.e. Eupolis,<sup>42</sup> Cratinus<sup>43</sup> and Epilycus.<sup>44</sup> As Bruit and Pettersson have shown, the *κοπίδες* 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 *φιδίτια*. In contrast however, to these latter “closed” meals, in which only Spartan citizens participated, dining in “a common hall”, at the *κοπίδες* 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.<sup>45</sup> The *κοπις* of the *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.<sup>46</sup> Given that bread was not served at the dinners offered on the first day, on which the death of Hyakinthos was mourned,<sup>47</sup> the *κοπις* is placed by the majority of scholars on the second day of the *Hyakinthia*.<sup>48</sup> On this day, we are told by Polycrates,<sup>49</sup> a great number of victims were sacrificed.

The kind of animals sacrificed at the *kopides* of the *Hyakinthia* and the manner in which the participants feasted, are known from a lost work of Polemon, *Τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κἀναδρον* (Athen. 4.138e-f).<sup>50</sup> At the *κοπίδες* 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 *κοπις* 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 *par excellence* the sacrificial victim for Apollo.<sup>51</sup> In the *Iliad*, they are never absent from the bull sacrifices offered to the god.<sup>52</sup> Before the archery contest in the *Odyssey*, Antinous suggests sacrificing some goats to Apollo,<sup>53</sup> evidently because the latter is a god *κλυτότοξος*.<sup>54</sup> In his capacity as *Ἀλεξίκακος* or Pythios, Apollo becomes the recipient of goat sacrifices in order to avert the plague<sup>55</sup> and for oracular response respectively.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> At Marathon<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

We conclude with a treatment of the earliest cults of Apollo at Amyklai. In connection with the proverb «ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσερα ὦτα ἔχοντος», Zenobius<sup>60</sup> quotes from Sosibius to the effect that the Lacedaimonians set up a statue of «Τετράχειρ καὶ Τετράωτος» Apollo, because the god appeared in this form to those besieging Amyklai. The story is probably drawn from Sosibius<sup>61</sup> chronicle *Χρόνων Αναγραφὴ*. From the same source is drawn Pausanias' (3.2.6) account of the Spartan conquest of Amyklai in the reign of Teleklos.<sup>62</sup> According to Pausanias, the Amyclaeans 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 Τετράωτος», which evidently triggered a cult, given that the Dorians set up the god's statue.<sup>63</sup> The location of this primitive statue is not mentioned, but it is reasonable to assume with Kennel<sup>64</sup> and others before him that it was erected in Amyklai town. The epithet «Τετράχειρ» refers to the god's *omnipotence*.<sup>65</sup> 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 inscription.<sup>66</sup> Cultic parallels to "Four-Eared" Apollo are "Zeus *Tetraōtos*" worshipped in Phrygia and an unknown "*Tetraōtos*" divinity at Gela.<sup>67</sup>

On the other hand, a couple of glosses in Hesychius,<sup>68</sup> drawn from Sosibius' *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυνσιῶν*,<sup>69</sup> and an inscribed epigram from the Antonine age refer merely to Apollo "Tetracheir". The glosses, are: 1) *κουρίδιον*, a word used by the Laconians for the *παρθένιον* (youthful) Apollo whom they called «τετράχειρα», and 2) *κυνάκτας*, a Laconian term for the leather straps given as a prize to the boxers from the bull sacrificed to *Τετράχειρα Απόλλωνα*. The Laconians called "*kouridios*" the above Apollo *Tetracheir* 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 *Hyakinthia* which are the only athletic games known for Amyklai. This latter point is actually the strongest argument in favour of the view that Apollo *Τετράχειρ* 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.<sup>70</sup>

The sophist Libanius mentions the statue of *Απόλλων Τετράχειρ* in his oration in praise of Antioch, which is dated to 360 A.D.<sup>71</sup> Libanius compares four pairs of stoas 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 *Απόλλων Τετράχειρ*.<sup>72</sup> 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,<sup>73</sup> at the age of 22.<sup>74</sup> 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,<sup>75</sup> 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 Tetraōtos"<sup>76</sup> in Amyklai town had perished. In fact, Romano<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> The Spartans evidently used this colossal statue to promote the image of an *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 Diomedes 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 *ἀγών* of the *Hyakinthia*, which is first attested in connection with the *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 *Hyakinthia*, which are known from a papyrus fragment of

an *hymnema*. Besides, we have argued that the nightlong revelry involving female dances and male *kômoi* 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 *kôpis*, 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 Tetraôtos*,” which was set up by the Spartans in Amyklai town after its conquest, and the colossal statue of Apollo at Amyklaion 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 Kallikrates (Antonine Age) is presenting himself as a priest of Apollo *Tetracheir* on an inscribed stele, while the colossal statue of Apollo *Tetracheir* was probably seen by Libanius on his visit to Sparta.

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#### i NOTES

1. Unger 1877, 1-42; W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 1. 2 (1886-1890) 2761-62, III. Das Fest (D. Greve); DarSag 3A (1899) 304-306 s.v. Hyacinthia (G. Fougères); Nilsson 1906, 129-40; Farnell 1907, 264-67; Swindler 1913, 38-41; *RE* 9 (1914) 1-2 s.v. *Yakíndia* (P. Stengel); *ibid.* 13-15, V. Religiöser Charakter (S. Eitrem); *ibid.* 3A (1929) 1518-20 s.v. *Yakíndia* (L. Ziehen); F. Bölte, Zu lakonischen Festen, *RhM* 78 (1929) 132-40; Mellink 1943, 5-46; Jeanmaire 1939, 526-31; Piccirilli 1967, 99-116; Brelich 1969, 177-79; Dietrich 1975, 133-42; *Kl. Pauly* 2 (1979) 1253-54 s.v. Hyacinthia (W. Pötscher); Sergent 1984, 113-17; Bruit 1990, 162-74; Brulé 1992, 13-38; Pettersson 1992, 9-41; Calame 1997, 174-85; *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998) 765-66 s.v. Hyakinthos (F. Graf); Richer 2004, 77-102; Larson 2007, 91; Moreno Conde 2008, 13-59; Graf 2009, 40-41; Parker 2011, 188-90; Petropoulou 2015 (in press); Petropoulou, forthcoming (2015).

2. A conjecture that goes back to Rohde and unanimously accepted thereafter, see E. Rohde, *Psyche. The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Ancient Greeks*, trans. (from the 8th ed.) W. B. Hillis (London – New York 1925) 99 and n. 46 (p. 113). Nilsson 1906, 130, remarks that the festival at Amyklai is older than the cult of Apollo. On Rohde and Nilsson, see W. W. Briggs – W. M. Calder III (eds), *Classical Scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia* (New York – London 1990) 395-404 (H. Cancik: text trans. in English M. Armstrong); 335-40 (J. Mejer).

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 Polycrates in Ath. 4.139 d; for the mourning on a

mythical level, see Nic. *Ther.* 902-903, *καρπὸν τε πολυδρόνου ὑακίνθου, / ὃν Φοῖβος δρόνησεν ἐπεὶ ρ' ἀεκούσιος ἔκτα*. Athenaeus' description is drawn from a lost work of Didymos quoting from Polycrates's book *Λακωνικά*, who is regarded by J. Blomqvist (*OpAth* 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 Ekroth 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.

4. See Merkelbach – West 1967, 83, fr. 171; Gantz 1993, 94.

5. See Forbes Irving 1990, 281; M. Moreno-Conde, Une promenade à travers les sources littéraires. Le cas d'Hyacinthos, in: *Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων. Mythes et cultes: Études d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kabil, 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-Conde, *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-Conde 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 *hydrias* 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 Antiochus' work *Περὶ Ἰταλίας* in the volume *Πολιτεῖαι*). Cf. Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F 216; D.S. 8.21.

10. According to the interpretation of the passage in Calame 1997, 179.

11. See Forrest 1957, 168.

12. On the *Partheniai* and the foundation of Taras, see mainly Kōiv 2003, 108-18; Nafissi 1999, especially 254-58; cf. Cartledge 2002<sup>2</sup>, 106-07; Luraghi 2003, 115-17; Kennell 2010, 35-36.

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

14. See Coldstream 2003, 163, 239; Boardman 1964, 194-95; cf. Kōiv 2003, 117; Cartledge 2002<sup>2</sup>, 106, and Nafissi 1999, 256.

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 Amyklaion (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 Hodgkinson 1999, 155-56 and pl. 5-6. The earliest *ἀγών* with prizes are the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, see *Il.* 23.257-897; Nestor, too old to compete, was given a prize as a memento of Patroclus' funeral. See *Il.* 23.615-23. Contest prizes were given throughout antiquity at Amyklai. See the mention of an *ἀεθλοθέτης* 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 Amyclae, 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-Conde 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) 1-228 (equestrian types of silver coins).

16. As were the funeral games (*ὁ ἀγών*) in honour of Patroklos in the *Il.* 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 ἐπιτάφιος* for Python; Lactantius Placidus in Sta. *Theb.* 4.223 also has in mind an *ἀγών ἐπιτάφιος* for Hyakinthos.

17. See *SEG* 11 (1954) 129, no. 689.

18. See Jeffery 1990<sup>2</sup>, 198, no. 5.

19. See p. 156.

20. Davies 1991, fr. 10=P. Oxy. 2506, ed. Page (comment. in melicos): (a) fr. 1, col. ii. See argument for the attribution of lines 6-7 to Alcman in Calame 1997, 184-85.

21. See Calame 1997, 184 and n. 297, 185 and n. 298.

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

23. Kannicht 1969, II, 384 takes the Euripidean myth as an "aitiologische Kultlegende 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 *ἡμίθεος*, 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 κάμοις Υακίνθον liegt ein unüberhörbarer Hinweis darauf, dass sich der Chor den heiteren zweiten Tag der Hyakinthien vorstellt". Others, instead, place the κάμοι or the παννυχίς 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 *apotheosis* scene, see *LIMC* V, 1 (1990) 547 (L. and F. Villard).

30. Nonn. *D.* 19.102-105, *δίστιχον ἁρμονίην ἀνεβάλλετο Φοιβάδι μολπῇ, / πανροεπῆς, λιγύνθος, Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ θεομῶ- / Εὐχαίτην Υακίνθον ἀνεζώγησεν Ἀπόλλων / καὶ Στάφυλον Διόνυσος ἀεὶ ζῶντα τελέσσει*. This "rinascita olimpica" 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 Dietrich 1975, 141 and 137. See also the *OCD* 3rd ed. (1996) 734 s.v. Hyacinthus (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 \**suo-ġen-to-s* = selfborn, see *K-Pauly* II (1979) 1253 s.v. Hyakinthia (W. Pötscher).

32. See above, n. 29.

33. See Richer 2004, 84-85, and earlier, Calame 1997, 176 and Farnell 1907, 267.

34. Macr. *Sat.* 1.18.2.

35. Calame 1997, 176, places the sacrifice for Apollo and *kopis* 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 regarded 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. Eitrem (n. 1) 13. The statue of Sparta holding a lyre, a work of Aristander of Paros, stood under one of the bronze tripods dedicated to Amyklaion, see Paus. 3.18.8.

42. See Kassel – Austin 1986, 376, fr. 147. Trans. by J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, I (Leiden 1957) 366, fr. 138.

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 *φιδίτια*, see Bruit 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 *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία* by the Laconian Molpis (2nd-1st c. BC): *μᾶζα, ἄρτος, κρέας, λάχανον ὠμόν, ζᾶμός, σῦκον, τράχημα, δέρμος* (FGrH 590 F1; Hesychius, s.v. *κοπίς*, II, no. 3558). For the “sausages” see above Cratinus (n. 43).

47. See Athen. 4.139d, whose text is ultimately derived from Polycrates, see above, n. 3.

48. See Eitrem (n. 1) 14; Mellink 1943, 12; Pettersson 1992, 17 and Moreno-Conde 2008, 31.

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 παύσαιτο τῆς θυσίας ταύτης καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνηδες αἶγας αὐτῷ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς ἱερεύσει<ε>*.” This order of victims is reversed in sacrifices offered by *reasons of prestige*, as the one Jason of Pherai intended to do at the Pythia, see X. HG 6.4.29. On the choice of costly victims for this kind of sacrifice, see Georgoudi 2010, 100. On goats as favoured sacrificial victims of Apollo, see Burkert 1985, 65 (without citing any example).

52. See *Il.* 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 *Il.* 4.101, 119; 15.55. The connection between *wild* goat and archer is illustrated in *Il.* 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 *ἐκρηβόλος* as in *Il.* 1.48-52. Cf. Burkert 1985, 146.

55. See *Il.* 1.65-67; Cf. Paus. 10.11.5. Epigraphical evidence for goat sacrifices to Apollo *Apotropaios* is in Sokolowski 1962, no. 18, A 32-36 (in Erchia, Attica), Γ 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 Rougemont 1977, no. 13, 124-29; Amandry 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 Amandry 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; Ael. *Var. hist.* 2.25. It is *χαριστήρια 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 *Hyakinthia*); 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, *ἔτι νῦν τῇ ἑκτῇ χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἐορτάζοντες*.

59. See Paus. 3.19.1-2. On the iconography of Apollo's statue, see LIMC II, 1 (1984) 196, no. 55 (O. Palagia); and, recently, Burton 2011, 26-27, <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csp/open-source/hounouring-the-dead.aspx>

60. See FGrHist 595 F25. See also Tresp 1914, 136, V (=FHG II 627, fr. 11).

61. On the Laconian antiquarian Sosibius (250-150 B.C.), see F. Jacoby in FGrHist IIIb Kommen. (text) 595, 635-37. See also *Der Neue Pauly* 11 (2001) 742-43 (S. Matthaios). On Sosibius's works, see E. Lacqueur in RE IIIA (1927) 1146-49.

62. See F. Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta. Untersuchungen zur ethnischen Struktur und zur politischen Entwicklung Lakoniens und Spartas bis zum Ende der archaischen Zeit* (Münich – Berlin 1963) 63; Kōiv 2003, 82-83. The conquest of Amyklai (or, according to Cartledge, its incorporation into Sparta) is dated c. 750. See Cartledge 2002<sup>2</sup>, 93.



63. Neither this epiphany nor the cult it triggers is mentioned by W. Kendrick-Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, pt. III (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1979) 12, n. 10, and 19-39 (list of epiphanies). On the trophy raised by the Dorians, see *ibid.*, pt. II (1974) 250-51.

64. See Kennell 1995, 162-63, 215, n. 8, although he speaks simply of “*Tetracheir*” not of “*Tetracheir and Tetraôtos*” who is the earliest Apollo worshipped at Amyklai; cf. A. Hupfloher, *Kulte in kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter* (Berlin 2000) 68-69, 177-78.

65. Cf. B. Kruse, *RE* 5A (1934) 1070. For an Indo-European parallel to Apollo *Tetracheir* 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 “*Tetracheir*” is “Four-Armed” not “Four-Handed” (in ancient/modern Greek *χείρ/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, *RhM* 8 (1853) 128-29; *AM* 2 (1877) 382, no. 200). His text is translated in English by Kennell 1995, 162; Kennell endorses 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 Peloponnēso, in: H. R. Goette – O. Palagia (eds), *Ludwig Ross und Griechenland, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Athen, 2-3. Oktober 2002* (Rahden/Westf. 2005) 240. The inscribed text is in *IG* V,1, 683 (dated to the early 3rd c. AD).

67. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* II (Cambridge 1925) 322, n. 5, 6; cf. B. Sergent, Svantovit et

l’Apollon d’Amyklai, *RHR* 211 (1994) 15-58; cf. also F. E. Brenk, Zeus’ Missing Ears, *Kernos* 20 (2007) 213-15.

68. See Hsch. (Latte) *s.v. κουριδίων*, II, no. 3853; *s.v. κυνάκτας*, *ibid.* 4558. Both glasses are connected with Apollo *Tetracheir*, not with Apollo *Tetracheir* and *Tetraôtos* with whom Apollo *Kouridios* is occasionally associated, see, e.g. *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) 189, no. 4 (W. Lambrinoudakis).

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

70. See *IG* V 1, 259. See also Spawforth in: Cartledge – Spawforth 2002<sup>2</sup>, 167, 261 n. 10.

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

72. Ἐκ δὲ ἀψίδων τεττάρων ἀλλήλαις σνηρημοσμένων εἰς τετράγωνον τύπον ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀμφαλοῦ τέτταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ’ ἕκαστον τμήμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται, οἷον ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τετράχειρος ἀγάλματι.

73. See Lib. *Or.* 1.23. On Libanius’ visit to Sparta and his Spartan friends, see Cartledge – Spawforth 2002<sup>2</sup>, 124 and n. 7 (p. 254).

74. See A. F. Norman, *Libanius’ Autobiography (Oration I). The Greek Text. Edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes* (London – New York – Toronto 1965) vii.

75. Broadly interpreted by Cartledge 2002<sup>2</sup>, 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* (Swansea 2004) 6.

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

78. See above, p. 154.

## ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΠΕΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

Υάκινθος και Απόλλων των Αμυκλών: Ταυτότητα και λατρείες.

Η επανεξέταση των γραπτών μαρτυριών

Στην εργασία αυτή, που αντλεί κυρίως από αποσπασματικές γραπτές μαρτυρίες, δείχνουμε ότι τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της ταυτότητας και της λατρείας του Υάκινθου και του Απόλλωνος στις Αμύκλες είχαν ήδη λάβει μορφή όταν κατασκευάσθηκε ο “Θρόνος” του Απόλλωνος ή έως το τέλος της αρχαϊκής εποχής. Η πρωιμότερη γενεαλογία και λατρεία του Υάκινθου, γιου του Αμύκλα και της Διομήδης, που βρήκε τον θάνατο από τον δίσκο του Απόλλωνος, μπορεί να αναχθεί γύρω

στο 800 π.Χ. ή στο πρώτο ήμισυ του 8ου αι. Ο *ἀγών* των *Υακινθίων*, που μαρτυρείται για πρώτη φορά σε σχέση με τους *Παρθενίες* και την ίδρυση του Τάραντα, ανάγεται στο τέλος του 8ου αι. Αντίθετα η λατρεία του Απόλλωνος μαρτυρείται για πρώτη φορά στο τέλος του 7ου αι. Στην περίοδο αυτή συνέθεσε πιθανόν ο Αλκμάν στίχους για χορωδία νεαρών κοριτσιών, γνωστούς από παπυρικό απόσπασμα υπομνήματος που τους συνδέει με τα *Υακίνθια*. Χορωδίες κοριτσιών τραγουδούσαν

ίσως προς τιμήν του Απόλλωνος τη δεύτερη μέρα των *Ύακινθίων* ήδη από το τέλος του 7ου αι. Το ολονύκτιο ξεφάντωμα προς τιμήν του Υάκινθου (Ευρ. *Ἑλένη* 1468 κ.ε.) με γυναικείους χορούς και ανδρικούς *κῶμους* μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί, όπως υποστηρίζουμε, μονάχα ανάμεσα στη δεύτερη και την τρίτη ημέρα των *Ύακινθίων*. Σχετίζεται με την αποθέωση του Υάκινθου, η οποία απεικονιζόταν 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. *Ἑλένη* 1473-75) να τιμούν τον Υάκινθο με θυσία βοός, την οποία ταυτίζουμε με την τρίτη ημέρα των *Ύακινθίων*. Οι γυναικείοι χοροί με τη συνοδεία λύρας και αυλού σε σκηνή αναθηματικής στήλης του 3ου αι., η οποία έχει σχετισθεί με τα *Ύακινθια*, φαίνεται ότι ήταν εξέχον χαρακτηριστικό της εορτής προς τιμήν του Απόλλωνος. Όσο για τις πολυάριθμες αίγες που θυσίαζαν στον Απόλλωνα για το γεύμα (*κοπίδα*) της δεύτερης ημέρας των *Ύακινθίων*, ένα παράλληλο φαινόμενο είναι οι 500 αίγες που έσφαζαν για την Αγροτέρα Αρτέμιδα στον

ετήσιο εορτασμό της μάχης του Μαραθώνα. Τέλος, διακρίνουμε το άγαλμα του λεγόμενου Απόλλωνος *Τετράχειρος και Τετραώτον* από το κολοσσιαίο άγαλμα του Απόλλωνος στο Αμυκλαίο ιερό όχι μόνο ως προς την τοποθεσία όπου είχε πιθανόν ανεγερθεί αλλά και ως προς την επίκληση. Το άγαλμα του Απόλλωνος *Τετράχειρος και Τετραώτον* ιδρύθηκε μετά την κατάκτηση των Αμυκλών από τη Σπάρτη γύρω στα 750 και, όπως έχει υποστηριχθεί, βρισκόταν στην πόλη των Αμυκλών. Το κολοσσιαίο άγαλμα του Απόλλωνος, ο οποίος επονομαζόταν απλώς *Τετράχειρ* ή *κουρίδιος* όπως υποστηρίζουμε, ιδρύθηκε κατά την άποψή μας μετά την υποδούλωση της Μεσσηνίας, δηλ. προς το τέλος του 7ου αι. Από τον ταύρο που θυσίαζαν στον Απόλλωνα *Τετράχειρα* έδιναν δερμάτινους ιμάντες ως έπαθλο για την πυγμαχία, αγώνισμα προφανώς των *Ύακινθίων*. Ο έφηβος Καλλικράτης (εποχή Αντωνίων) παρουσιάζει τον εαυτό του ως ιερέα του Απόλλωνος *Τετράχειρος* σε ενεπίγραφη στήλη των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων, ενώ το κολοσσιαίο άγαλμα του Απόλλωνος *Τετράχειρος* είχε δει πιθανόν ο σοφιστής Λιβάνιος κατά την επίσκεψή του στη Σπάρτη στις αρχές του 4ου αι.

