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. 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.

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The above genealogy is properly regarded by West as Amyclaean, “dating from the time of Amyclae’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, Calligas 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.

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. The signal for the attack of the conspirators...
was to be given at the ἀγών of the Hyakinthia, because the whole population of Sparta (οἱ τοῦ δήμου) was present at that time, but the conspiracy was revealed. Thanks to a Delphic oracle, Sparta got rid itself of the conspirators, who then sought their fortune at Taras. The foundation of Taras, 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 Hyakinthia, which are attested for the first time in the late Archaic period, go back to the end of the eighth c. BC. The ἀγών in question is the oldest known cultic event of the Hyakinthia 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 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 on the handle of a now lost bronze object dedicated to Apollo by a person named Ὁρκονίδα. 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 a papyrus fragment of 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?”, ἀκονα ταν ἄνδρον μή τοι Ἐφύρα. Immediately after and further on in the text appear the words Ἀμύκλα and the ethnic Ἀμυκλαῖα respectively. According to Calame, the commentator certainly used these lines as proof of the compatibility of Alcman’s foreign origin (from the Atarneus of Attica) 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, θυσία διὸ κόσμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Ὑακίνθου/νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν, and the so-called βούθυναι ἀμέραν (vv. 1473-75) on which Apollo ordained that the Lacedaemonians honour Hyakinthos with a βούθυναι. 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 βούθυναι, which is none other than Hyakinthos’ apotheosis.

Given that the Hyakinthia lasted three days, the night-long revelry (νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν) or else παννύχις, cannot but be placed between the second and third day. 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 or the εἰκονιέναι 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. The κάμοι 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’s “restoration to life” seems to echo his pre-heroic identity as an old dying and reborn nature divinity of the Dorians.

The κάμοι possibly go back to a period older than the one in which Hyakinthos was led to Olympus by Demeter, Kore, Plouto, and other divinities.

The female dances and the male κάμοι suggest that Dionysus was also present, albeit invisible, in the joyous 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. The ivy wreaths worn by the...
worshippers certainly form one of these aspects. The order in which Euripides mentions the nightlong revelry and the βούθυσία for Hyakinthos was performed on the day after the revelry, i.e. on the third day of the Hyakinthia. In the text quoted by Athenaeus, which ultimately goes back to Polycrates via Didymus, there is no description of this day. Mellink, however, rightly places the athletic contests on the third day of the Hyakinthia. The βούθυσία 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. 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 Lakedaimonia. The βούθυσία 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. 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 bed 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, 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.

At the shrine of Amyklai a feast was held during the Hyakinthia, which is first described and defined by the Laconian term κοπίς by three poets of the Attic comedy, i.e. Eupolis, Cratinus and Epilycus. As Bruiit and Petersson 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 θυσία. 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. The κοπίς 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. Given that bread was not served at the dinners offered on the first day, on which the death of Hyakinthos was mourned, the κοπίς is placed by the majority of scholars on the second day of the Hyakinthia. On this day, we are told by Polycrates, a great number of victims were sacrificed.

The kind of animals sacrificed at the κοπίδες of the Hyakinthia and the manner in which the participants feasted, are known from a lost work of Poseidon, Τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κάναθρον (Athen. 4.138e-f). 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 κοπίς was held, tents were erected and inside the tents 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. In the Iliad, they are never absent from the bull sacrifices offered to the god. Before the archery contest in the Odyssey, Antinous suggests sacrificing some goats to Apollo, evidently because the latter is a god κλείστος in his capacity as Αλεξίκακος or Pythios, Apollo becomes the recipient of goat sacrifices in order to avert the plague and for oracular response respectively. 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.57 At Marathon,58 and probably at Amyklai, the goat sacrifices are associated with divine assistance in war, which should not forget that Apollo of Amyklai was presented armed.59

We conclude with a treatment of the earliest cults of Apollo at Amyklai. In connection with the proverb «ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσερα ὄντον ταῖς ἑκονισοῖς», Zeno60 quotes from Sosibius to the effect that the Lacedaemonians set up a statue of Tetraχειρ και Τετράστος Apollo, because, as the god appeared in this form to those besieging Amyklai. The story is probably drawn from Sosibius'61 chronicler Χρόνων Ἀναγραφή. From the same source is drawn Pausanias' (3.2.6) account of the Spartan conquest of Amyklai in the reign of Teleklos.62 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 και Τετράστος», which evidently triggered a cult, given that the Dorians set up the god's statue.63 The location of this primitive statue is not mentioned, but it is reasonable to assume with Kennel64 and others before him that it was erected in Amyklai town. The epithet «Τετράχειρ» refers to the god's omnipotence.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 attributes in her arms, including "an olive sprig, opposite to which a snake rears up", on the relief of a lost Laconian relief.66 Cultic parallels to “Four-Eared” Apollo are Zeus Tetraχών, worshipped in Phrygia and an unknown “Tetraχών” divinity at Gela.67

On the other hand, a couple of glosses in Hesychius,68 drawn from Sosibius' Περί τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονία διατύπων,69 and an inscribed epigram from the Antonine age refer merely to Apollo “Tetraχειρ”. The glosses, are: 1) Κοστίδων, a word used by the Laconians for the parθένον (youthful) Apollo whom they called «τετράχειρ», and 2) Κυνάκτας, a Laconian term for the leather straps given as a prize to the boxers from the bull sacrificed to Tetraχέιρ Απόλλων. The Laconians called “κουρίδιον” the above Apollo Tetraχειρ 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 Tetraχειρ 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 Tetraχειρ 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 Tetraχειρ” refers.70

The sophist Libanius mentions the statue of Αpolloν Τετράχειρ in his oration in praise of Antioch, which is dated to 360 A.D.71 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 omphalus, with the statue of Αpolloν Τετράχειρ.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,73 at the age of 22.74 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,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 “Tetraχειρ and Tetraχώτος”76 in Amyklai town had perished. In fact, Romano77 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.78 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 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 άγών 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 ἕπομμενα. Besides, we have argued that the nghtlong revelry involving female dances and male ᾠκοῦ in honour of Hyakinthos (Eur. Hel. 1468-75) can only be placed between the second and third day of the Ὑακίνθιαi and that the bull sacrifice, on a day ordained by Apollo, was actually offered to Hyakinthos, on the third day of the Ὑακίνθια, 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 Ὑακίνθια. In addition, we have drawn a parallel between the numerous goats sacrificed for Apollo on the second day of the Ὑακίνθια, of which the meat was consumed at the κόπις, 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 Tetrátoς,” which was set up by the Spartans in Amyklai town after its conquest, and the colossal statue of Apollo at Amykaion 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 Ὑακίνθια. 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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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, καρνὸν τε πολυθρήνου ἕακίνθων ὃν Φοῖβος δράγησεν ἐπεί ῥ᾽ ἀεκόφυσιος ἔκτα. Athenaeus’ description is drawn from a lost work of Didymos quoting from Polycrates’s book Ἀκκονία, who is regarded by J. Blomqvist (OpAth 20 [1994] 284) as a “local” historian “of uncertain but certainly Hellenistic date”. For the expiatory offering (ἐναγίςει) 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 appealed, assistance is hoped for, mainly in battle, see Burkert 1985, 207.


5. See Forbes Irving 1990, 281; M. Moreno-Conde, Une promenade à travers les sources littéraires. Le cas d’Hyakinthos, in: Ἀγάθος δαίμων. Mythes et cultes: Études d’iconographie en l’honneur de Lily 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-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’ 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 hydriai 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 Ταύτας in the volume Πολιτικιαν. 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 Amyklai (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 αγών with prizes are the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, see II, 23.257-897; 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 αἰσθετής in IG VI 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 J.GV, 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) 228 (equestrian types of silver coins).

16. As were the funeral games (α λαγών) 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 α λαγών ἐπιτάφως for Python; Lactantius Placidus in Sta. Thes. 4.223 also has in mind an α λαγών ἐπιτάφως for Hyakinthos.


18. See Jeffery 19906, 198, no. 5.

19. See p. 156.


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-ε 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 periplus, see Kannicht 1969, II, 384.

26. Cf. ibid., 383, “In κόρους Ὑακίνθου και λογίς τινα ἵππους πανεράζοισθαι” or simply “πανεράζοισθαι” 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 apotheseis scene, see LIMC V, 1 (1990) 547 (L. and F. Villard).

30. Nonn. D, 19.102-105, διάτοι τὸν ἄρμουνον ἀνεβάλλετο Φιλίδας και ὕπερ και ἀναψήφησεν Ἀριστοκράτηρθεο/ και Ἰακύανον ἀνεμάζατο Ἀράχνη, ἔργῳ ἰδιοποιημένῳ ἡμοῦ/ Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἀνέμαζεν Ἀράχνης ἀναψήφησεν Ἀράχνης/ δὲν ἀνέμαζεν Ἀράχνης ἀναψήφησεν Ἀράχνης. 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. Hyakinthos (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 ’ια-κύ-ν-θος = “selfborn, see K-Pauls II (1979) 1253 s.v. Hyakinthia (W. Pötscher).

32. See above, n. 29.


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 Amykliaon, 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 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. 4.1406b, ultimately derived from a Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία by the Laconian Molpis (2nd-1st c. BC): μένα, ἄρος, κρέας, λάχανον ἄφον, ζωμός, σύκον, τράγημα, δέρμως (FGrHist 590 F1; Hesychius, s.v. κοπίς, II, no. 3558). For the ‘sauages’ 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 παύσαιτο τῆς θυσίας ταύτης καὶ κατά τὸ σύνηθες αἶγας αὐτῷ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς ἱερεύσει” (thank offering’). This order of victims is reversed in sacrifices offered by the 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. Zeilin [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.

52. The original sacrifice was repeated every year on the 6th of Boedromion. For the date, see 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. Zeilin [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.

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 ἐκπυόλος 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 Apotropaios is in Sokolowski 1962, no. 18, A 32-36 (in Erchia, Attica)), I’ 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. Zeilin [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 ἑκὴ χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἐσφάζοντες.


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


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


65. Cf. B. Kruse, RE 5A (1934) 1070. For an Indo-European parallel to Apollo Tetrachern and his fatal discus, see Moreau 1988, 11. The four-armed Vishnu has a murderous disc-like weapon made from the rays of Sûrya (the sun god). This parallel and a four-armed deity on a Laconian relief (see next note) indicate that the proper English translation of "Tetrachern" 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, *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 Peloponéssio, in: H. R. Goette *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).


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

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, 167, 261 n. 10.

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

72. Έκ δὲ ἄφθονον τετάρχον αὖλλατις συνηρμοσμένον εἰς τεράγχων τὸν ἄσπιον ἐξ ἀρχαλίῳ τέταρτος σείστου συνήγαγε καθ’ ἐκάστοτε τρύμα τοῦ ὀφαγοῦ τέταρτος, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων τετράχερος 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 Messiene. 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 προϊστορική γενεαλογία και λατρεία του Υάκινθου, γου του Αμύκλα και της Διομήδης, που βρίσκει τον θάνατο από τον δίσκο του Απόλλωνος, μπορεί να αναχθεί γύρω στο 800 π.Χ. ή στο πρώτο ήμισυ του 8ου αι. Ο “Άγγελος των Υακίνθων”, που μαρτυρείται για πρώτη φορά σε σχέση με τους Παρθενίες και την ίδρυση του Τάραντα, ανάγεται στο τέλος του 8ου αι. Αντιθέτα η λατρεία του Απόλλωνος μαρτυρείται για πρώτη φορά στο τέλος του 7ου αι. Στην περίοδο αυτή συνέθεσε πιθανόν ο Αλκμάν ο Αμπλόνιος, που τους συνδέει με τα Υακίνθια. Χορωδίες κοριτσιών τραγουδούσαν.
ίσως προς τιμήν του Απόλλωνος τη δεύτερη μέρα των Ὑακινθίων ήδη από το τέλος του 7ου αι. Το ολοκληρώτικο ξεφάντωμα προς τιμήν του Υάκινθου (Ευρ. Ελένη 1468 κ.ε.) με γυναικείους χορούς και ανδρικούς κώμους μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί, όπως υποστηρίζουμε, μονάχα ανάμεσα στη δεύτερη και την τρίτη ημέρα των Ὑακινθίων. Σχετίζεται με την αποθέωση του Υάκινθου, η οποία απεικονίζόταν 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 Ὑακινθίων. Οι γυναικείοι χοροί με τη συνοδεία λύρας και αυλού σε σκηνή αναθηματική του 3ου αι., η οποία έχει σχετισθεί με τα Ὑακινθία, 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 Ὑακινθίων, ένα παράλληλο φαινόμενο είναι οι 500 αίγες που έσφαζαν για την Αγροτέρα Αρτέμιδα στον εντόσιο εορτασμό της μάχης του Μαραθώνα. Τέλος, διακρίνομαι το άγαλμα του λεγόμενου Απόλλωνος Τετράχειρος και Τετράώτου 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 Τετράώτου 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 μετά την άποψη της Μεσσηνίας, η οποία έναντι του ταύρου που θυσίαζαν στον Απόλλωνα Τετράχειρα έδιναν δερμάτινους ιμάντες ως έπαθλο για την πυγμαχία, αγώνισμα προφανώς των Ὑακινθίων. Ο ἐφήβος 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.