

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ
ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ
11-12, 2011-2012

AMYKLES RESEARCH PROJECT:

Works 2005-2010

Α Ν Α Τ Υ Π Ο



ΑΘΗΝΑ 2015

Το κόστος του τόμου κάλυψαν
τα Μέλη του Μουσείου Μπενάκη
οι ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ Ν. ΜΕΝΕΓΑΣ
& ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑ

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Χωρίς την οικονομική συνδρομή όλων
των παραπάνω η έκδοση δεν θα μπορούσε
να πραγματοποιηθεί.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ
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AMYKLES
RESEARCH PROJECT:
WORKS 2005-2010

ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORKSHOP

Athens 26th May 2011, Benaki Museum, 1 Koumbari Street, Athens

- 09:15-09:30 Opening, Angelos Delivorrias.
- 09:30-09:55 “The Old and the New Excavations”, Stavros Vlivos.
- 09:55-10:00 “The Access to the Amyklaion”, Eleni Kourinou, Yanis A. Pikoulas.
- 10:00-10:30 “The Architecture of the Bathron of theThronos”, Manolis Korres.
- 10:30-10:55 “The Reconstruction of the Monuments at the Sanctuary”, Themis Bilis.
- 10:55-11:15 “The Reconstruction of the Throne”, Maria Magnisali.
- 11:15-11:30 “The Origin of the Marble and the Quarries”, Georgia Kokkorou-Aletras.
- 11:30-11:50 “The Early Cult at the Amyklaion: The Mycenaean Sanctuary”, Katie Demakopoulou.
- 11:50-12:10 “Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery”, Vicky Vlachou.
- 12:10-13:00 Discussion, break
- 15:00-15:20 “Inscriptions – Epigraphical Evidence”, Athanassios Themou, Elena Zavvou.
- 15:20-15:40 “The Contribution of Coins”, Vasiliki Penna.
- 15:40-16:10 “Hyakinthos and Apollo of Amyklai: Identities and Cults. A Reconsideration of the Written Evidence”, Angeliki Petropoulou.
- 16:10-17:00 Discussion, Coffee break
- 17:00-17:20 “The ‘Discovery’ of the Fate of the Amyklaion in the Posterior Years”, Paraskevas Matalas.
- 17:20-17:40 “The Planning of the New Archaeological Park”, Themis Bilis, Maria Magnisali.
- 17:40-18:00 “The Final Configuration of the Archaeological Site”, Stavros Vlivos.
- 18:00-18:30 Final discussion

Introduction

SCHOLARS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY aware of the importance of regional character in the interpretation of sanctuaries of all periods. In this context the Spartan sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios was one of the first classical sites to attract attention in the vicinity of Sparta. On the hill of Agia Kyriaki at the east bank of the river Eurotas, five kilometres south of modern Sparta the first archaeological works started by Christos Tsountas in 1890. The Amykles Research Project was initiated in 2005 aiming at the resolution of various problems that continue to cloud the image of the sanctuary, despite the analytic description by Pausanias (3.18.9-19.1). It also aims at the complete revelation of the precinct wall, as well as the surface investigation of sections that have not been explored in the past, the increase in architectural features, the overall publication of conclusions and the final configuration of the archaeological site.

The project, supported by grants from the A.S. Onassis Foundation, Dean Menegas and Family, and the I.F. Costopoulos Foundation, has been directed by A. Delivorrias, assisted in particular by S. Vlizo. The excavation has been conducted in collaboration with the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and in accordance with the terms of an annually renewed permit granted by the Archaeological Service (Ministry of Culture and Athletics).

After five successful years since launching the project a workshop entitled “The Amykles Research Project: Works 2005-2010” was organized, in order to present new evidence of the research that is being carried out so

far. The conference was hosted by the Benaki Museum and concerned the following topics: archaeological field-work during seasons 2006-2010 and importance of the sanctuary, architecture, pottery, epigraphy, religion and the final configuration of the archeological site. To ensure fruitful discussions on the derived data and in-depth analysis of the material that was presented, the event took place in a small circle with the participation of experts.

The following is a summary and provisional account of these presentations. Much of the material and data is presented here for the first time. Architecture and geometric pottery retain pride of place in this publication. New evidence from the Mycenaean era throws light on the first open air sanctuary. Information and analysis regarding the provenance of the building material and quarries are here collected for the first time. Of particular importance concerning the history of religion is the re-examination of the testimonia shedding light on the early cults of Hyakinthos and Apollo. Various methodological approaches, possibilities and limitations of the readability were discussed in detail, as well as jointly discoursed questions of possible relationships and interactions with other sanctuaries.

Sincere acknowledgments are directed first to the speakers of the workshop as well as to everyone else who contributed to the subsequent intensive discussions. We especially thank the colleagues who have further elaborated their contribution and made it available for this publication.

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ABBREVIATIONS – BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA*: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.
- AJA*: *American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*.
- AM*: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
- ArchEph*: *Archaiologike Ephemeris*.
- ASAtene*: *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*.
- BCH*: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.
- BICS*: *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*.
- BSA*: *Annual of the British School at Athens*.
- Hesperia*: *Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*.
- Historia*: *Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*.
- JdI*: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
- JHS*: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- Philologus*: *Philologus. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*.
- Prakt*: *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias*.
- ProcPhilSoc*: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.
- RA*: *Revue archéologique*.
- ZPE*: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.
- LIMC*: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich – Munich 1974-).

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STAVROS VLIZOS

Amykles Research Project: Excavation Works 2005-2010

IN SEPTEMBER 2005, STUDIES AND RESEARCH in the Spartan Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios commenced (fig. 1). One of the urgent tasks of the project was to survey the Agia Kyriaki hill and the surrounding area in detail and to record in the new plans the evidence surviving from previous research carried out by Ch. Tsountas (1890/91), A. Furtwängler (1904), E. Fiechter (1907) and E. Buschor (1925). The existing condition of the archaeological site was mapped and the surviving parts of the krepis of the temple/Throne, of the Peribolos as well as the later church of St Kyriaki were documented by measured drawings.

Most of the in-situ architectural members of the temple/Throne and the Altar, which were either stacked in a pile of stones or dispersed in various places and on the slopes of the hill, were drawn, studied, photographed and identified.

All the architectural members from the monuments of the Sanctuary were gathered, sorted into categories and fenced inside the archaeological site and the already expropriated area (fig. 2). Thus, any further deterioration of the marbles' surface had been avoided and their protection was secured.

Many architectural members of the temple/Throne and the Altar, which were incorporated in the fabric of the churches in modern Amykles, as well as in the nearby communities, were located, photographed and temporarily recorded.

Lastly, photographing, drawing and studying those architectural members originating mainly from the temple/Throne presently kept in the internal courtyard of the Sparta Archaeological Museum began.

Although the timeframe of the first phase of research was limited, the results can be characterised as absolutely positive. Needless to say that, apart from the protection of the material in situ, many members from the upper structure of the buildings of the Sanctuary, which were not included in the publications of E. Fiechter [Fiechter 1918] and W. von Massow [Buschor – von Massow 1927], were discussed.

In 2006 the continuation of the Peribolos was sought in the north and the southwest part of the Sanctuary, with the cleaning and the investigation of three trenches opened in sectors A2, B2, N8 (see map 1) by E. Fiechter (1907) and E. Buschor (1925). During this work it was confirmed that the function of the Peribolos was essentially that of a retaining wall. It was constructed to a height of approximately 7 m, in order to retain the large fills of the hill so as to facilitate the construction of the temple/Throne of Apollo at the top. With regard to the continuation of the course of the Peribolos to the southwest (A2), the conclusions of earlier excavations were confirmed. At this point, roughly 5 m to the north (B2), the west end of a probably previous wall was revealed, a precinct wall perhaps, with parallel direction and corresponding orientation. The investigation of the north part to the west (N8) confirmed the continuity of its course, but the direction it followed was still to be determined.

The built bench in the portico of the hilltop church of St Kyriaki was dismantled and 20 architectural members of the Throne and the Altar were retrieved, which were transported to the fenced space for protection. The dismantling of the bench revealed a large number of architec-





Fig. 1. Airphoto of the hill of Agia Kyriaki
(photo: K. Xenikakis).



Fig. 2. Fenced area with architectural members (photo: S. Vlizos).

tural members in the lower part of the wall of the church, built into the masonry in a second use. This called for the removal of the plaster and the careful cleaning of the exterior surface. The church of St Kyriaki was built in the 1920's, with many of the marbles uncovered in Fiechter's excavations (1904 and 1907), after the demolition of the earlier church, which covered the surviving part of the Throne's crepis. The documentation, photography and drawing of all the architectural members incorporated in the wall commenced.

The new architectural members located and assembled during the works of 2006 fill-in, together with the already studied material, the drawings of the circular stepped construction of the Altar, which Manolis Korres had led during the first phase of research in 2005 when less material was available.

The systematic documentation, measurement of drawings and photographing the architectural members from the Throne and the Altar, gathered by now in the fenced

area on Agia Kyriaki hill and in the internal courtyard of the Sparta Archaeological Museum, was continued.

Manolis Korres located and made measured drawings of two monumental bases from the Throne in the form of a lion's paw, which supported the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the garden of the Sparta Archaeological Museum (fig. 3). These new discoveries reinforced the indications deduced from other architectural members that the temple/Throne designed by Bathykles was in the form of a monumental seat.

The search for other architectural members from the monuments of the Sanctuary continued in the wider area of Sparta as well as in the storerooms of the archaeological site of Mystras.

In 2007 the entire course of the monumental retaining wall ("Peribolos") was revealed on the south side of the Sanctuary (see map 1). Its east side was cleaned and its end was sought at the north side (Sector Ε7), where, however the excavation was not completed. Concurrently,



Fig. 3. Bases in the form of a lion's paw (photo: S. Vlizo).

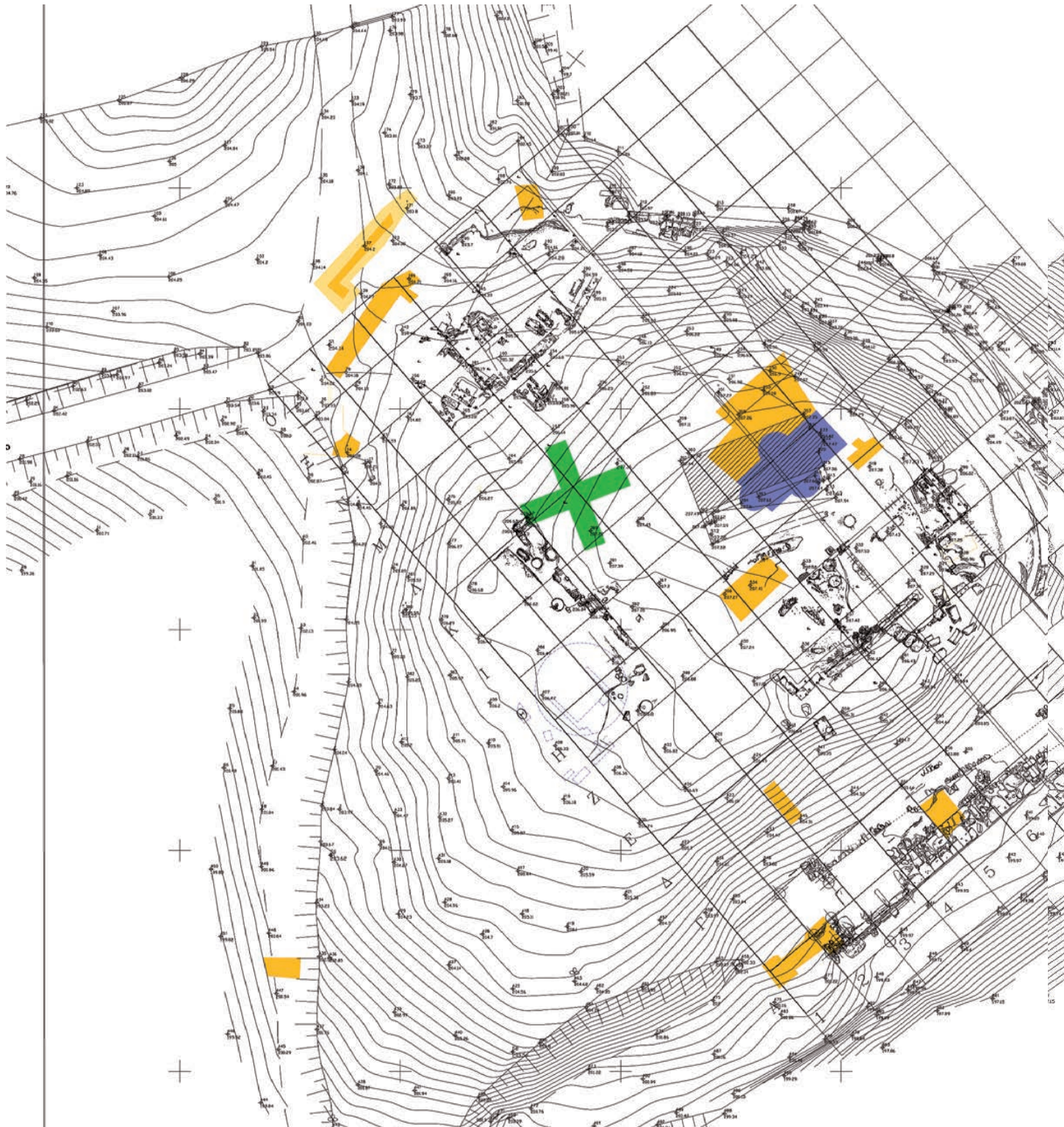
the thickness and structure of this wall in its upper courses was revealed in sectors A3-A8. In the course of removing the landfill at this point, copious sherds of pottery, mainly of the Geometric period, were found, as well as two bronze statuettes of a standing male figure, of the same period. It was confirmed that later repairs had been made on the east side of the Peribolos, using lime plaster, clay and small stones.

During investigation of sectors B3, Γ2-3 and B5, the existence of a hitherto unknown retaining wall was confirmed. Built of rude stones and 1.80-2.00 m in depth, it probably dates back to the late Geometric period, as this is deduced from the large quantities of sherds found in its fill. Its west end had been uncovered for a length of 1.50 m in 2006. The large quantity of stones found on both its inner and outer faces indicates that it was a sizeable construction. As investigations in sector B5 have shown, its course slightly curves at this point in order to end at the southeast corner of the outer "Archaic" Peribolos.

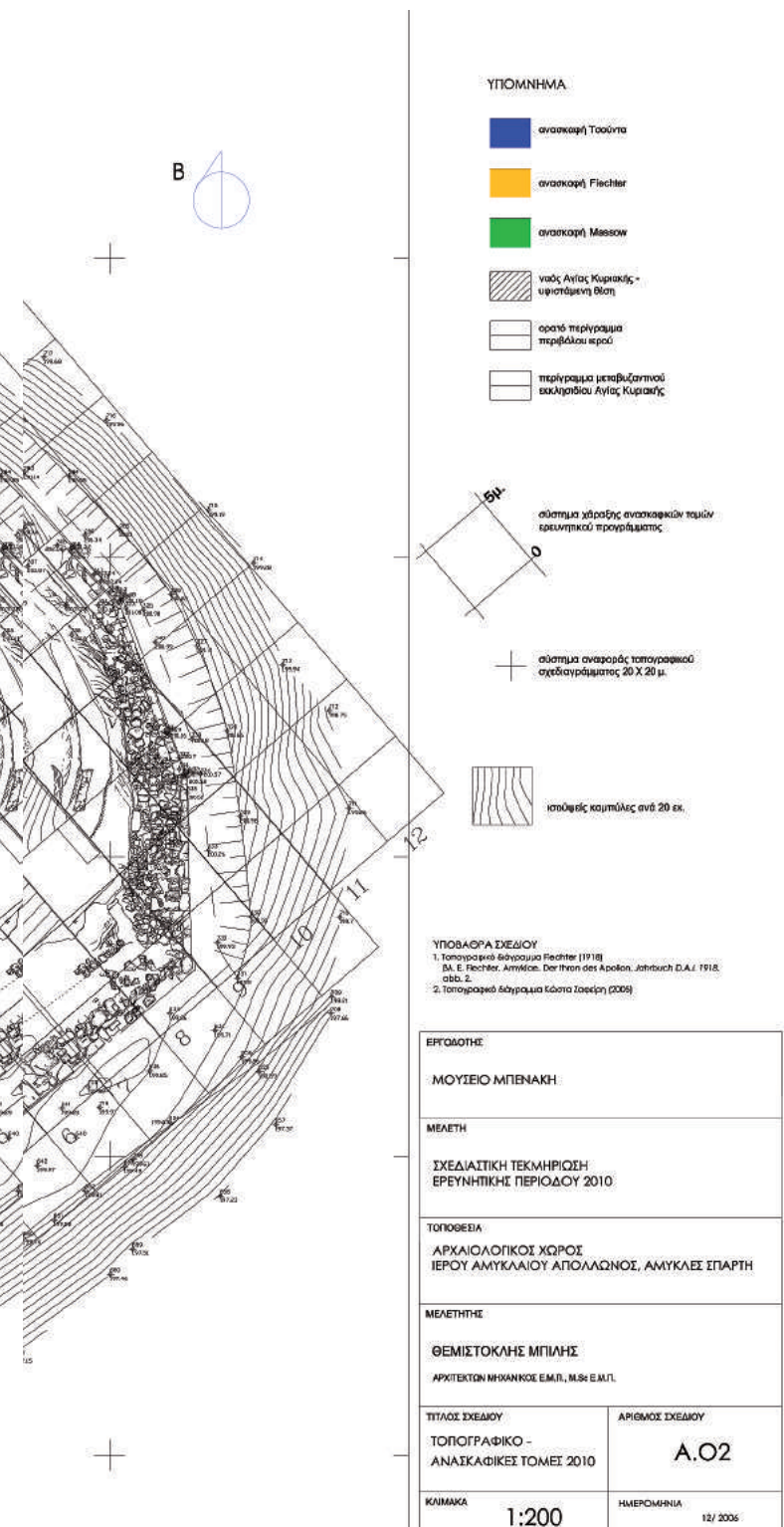
The documenting, photographing and measured drawing of the architectural members incorporated in the fabric of the church of St Kyriaki, as well as of architectural material from the monuments of the Sanctuary, residing now in the Sparta Archaeological Museum, continued. Photographing of the bronze findings from earlier excavations was completed both in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, and the Sparta Archaeological Museum.

A collaboration began with Professor Yannis Pikoulas on searching for the access route and road that connected the Sanctuary with ancient Sparta.

In 2008 the measured drawing and the architectural study of the so far excavated part of the monumental external Peribolos was completed. The aim of these works was, inter alia, the possibility of a future partial restoration, and the detailed architectural study. Concurrently, excavations to find the northwest end of this wall continued. In this sector (Ξ7), the last surviving course of stones was put back in place on the preserved part of the foundation.



Map 1. The Sanctuary in 2010 (drawing: T. Bilis – M. Magnisali).



Located in the same area (Sectors N3, E3-4) were traces from later constructions (see map 1), a cistern and a drain in which the lower half of a Late Roman inscribed herm had been used as building material, and part of the stylobate of an Archaic Doric colonnade, from the architectural members of the temple/Throne of Apollo.

The excavation was completed on the south side of the Sanctuary, aimed at revealing the previous, also monumental, internal retaining wall of the Geometric period, of length 30 m and thickness 1.80-2.00 m. During removal of the fill, apart from the abundance of pottery, mainly of the Geometric period, a large number of bronze objects of the same period were found (e.g. idols of a female figure and a bull, a miniature axe and a pin).

Systematic checking of the dump from Tsountas's excavations, which ran along the east side of Agia Kyriaki hill, at a distance of 5 m from the external Peribolos, was completed. With these works, a path 3.00-8.00 m wide was formed, suitable even for the occasional visit and tour of the archaeological site. From the sieving of the soil, several finds were retrieved, among them a bronze bowl (phiale), fragments of roof tiles with stamped inscriptions in which traces of the words ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ EN ΑΜΥΚΛΑΙΟΙ can be detected, as well as parts of glass vessels from the Roman period.

The measured drawing, photographing and documenting of the architectural members incorporated in the fabric of the church of St Kyriaki and deposited in the courtyard of the Sparta Archaeological Museum continued.

The works on locating and identifying the quarries from which the marble structural elements of the buildings in the Sanctuary came were completed under the supervision of Prof. G. Kokkorou-Alevras. Specifically, there were two quarries on Mt Taygetos, at the localities "Gynaika" and "Platyvouni".

The works carried out in 2009 were focused on locating possible traces (cuttings) of the foundation of the Throne of Bathykles in sectors E, H 4-9 (see map 1). Due to the particularly disturbed area and the absence of thick deposits, the survey was exceptionally careful, in order to locate and investigate the earlier excavation trenches opened by Ch. Tsountas (1890) and E. Fiechter (1907). Six shallow, unfurnished pit graves were found, of dimensions approximately 1.75 x 0.55 m. Two likewise unfurnished tombs of dimensions 3.00 x 2.30 m

were also found, each comprising two chambers, as well as a further six empty circular pits of dimensions 1.20 x 0.60 m, in two of which two obsidian flakes were found. An intact Early Helladic vase was collected from the fill and without context.

Investigations were continued in the northwest part of the hill and in sectors M4, N3-7, Ξ3, Ξ5, with the further excavation of the remains from Late Antique constructions brought to light the previous year (see map 1). Traces of walls and of later constructions were revealed, along with two unfurnished cist graves, of dimensions 1.70 x 0.55m. The capstone and the walls of one grave consisted of parts of architectural members from the Throne of Apollo, from which resulted, for the first time, two intact architectural members of the monument (one dokis and one voluminous orthostat). Bones from eight skeletons were found inside the grave and permission was requested to transport these to the Archaeometry laboratory in Kalamata, in order to acquire anthropological and other information under the supervision of Prof. N. Zacharias.

The conservation and repair of broken parts from five architectural members of the Throne gathered at the archaeological site was completed. At the same time a programme of test placements of the architectural members in certain ensembles of the monument was initiated. The aim of this work was the certain identification of the scattered material and its correlation with the extant ruin of the Throne. This work resulted in new data for the study of the representation of the Throne. Members from the steps of a colonnade and the floor of the pteron were placed in groups, as well as of one wall of the monument with its euthynteria. Also, a test placement was made of correlated stones of the circular stepped altar. Lastly, a model of the profile of the bases in the form of a lion's foot was made and thus these particular architectural members were correlated with the steps of the Throne.

The programme of immediate measures of preventive conservation of the Geometric Peribolos was completed. This was mandatory for the direct protection of the ruin, which was frail and exposed to the environmental conditions of the area because of its construction and its position on the hill slope.

The documenting, measured drawing and photographing of the new excavation trenches, of the architectural members as well as of this season's finds continued along with the digitalisation of architectural drawings.

A geodetic or total station was used to create a dense network of benchmarks on the revealed remains, and the grid of the excavation sectors was applied in the field.

During the study of the limestone blocks of the colossal pedestal that supported the 13m-high cult statue of Apollo which had been reused in a later building (Sectors Δ-E 4, 6-7), bronze nails that held in place the metal plates which adorned the exterior of the construction were located. The stones were drawn in large scale, resulting in the more detailed approach to the form of the dismembered pedestal of the cult statue (fig. 4).

The measured drawing, photographing and documenting of architectural members incorporated in the fabric of the church of St Kyriaki, as well as of the members in the storeroom of the Sparta Archaeological Museum, continued. For the church in particular, it should be noted that there are over 60 fragments in its walls. Many of them had been measured by E. Fiechter, the first scholar involved with the Throne, and had been included in his study of its representation.

A cadastral table, essential for buying the properties surrounding the archaeological site today, was compiled, aimed at the new mapping of the limits of the archaeological site, its protection and its enhancement. Steps were taken to purchase two properties, approximately 5 acres in total, which border the archaeological site to the northeast.

In the framework of research aimed at locating further architectural members from the buildings of the Sanctuary, visits to sites of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments in the wider area continued. In accordance with the decision of the Ministry of Culture regarding this year's work, the plaster from the small church of St Nicholas at Amykles was removed and repositioned again, leaving visible only the architectural members certainly from the monuments of the Sanctuary. Stones from the Throne and the Peribolos of the Sanctuary were located and documented, and measured drawings were made of the outside of the small church.

In 2010 the surface of the top of Agia Kyriaki hill was surveyed systematically in sectors H-Θ 1-2, with the aim of locating possible cuttings for the foundation of the circular stepped Altar (see map 1). As in the case of the temple/Throne the stratigraphy of the area was also badly disturbed, due to the earlier excavations by Ch. Tsountas and Ernst Fiechter. The volume of soil removed, ranging in thickness from 0.20 m to 1.00 m, belonged entirely to a



Fig. 4. Limestone blocks of the colossal pedestal of the cult statue of Apollo (photo: S. Vlizon).

layer of more recent fill, with many modern objects, such as nails, fragments of roof tiles, pieces of lime plaster and shells from bullets. Under this fill and over the whole excavated area, a compact layer of pebbles was revealed, in which no traces from the foundation of the altar are preserved. However, just as in the area of the temple/Throne, which was investigated last year, it was ascertained that this layer represents the upper level of the bedrock of the hill. Nonetheless, for the present the thickness of the overlying layer has not been verified. Along the east limit of sectors H-Θ 1-2 and at a distance of roughly 0.20 m to the west, some of the lowest courses of stones and traces of the foundation of a wall orientated north-south were found.¹ Its construction with large limestone blocks in second use and lime plaster as mortar, suggests a dating in the Byzantine period. The north end was located in the northeast corner of sector K2, where the excavation was extended to include also sector I2. As was verified in sector K2, this wall is founded on two of the three empty circular pits that

were found there, together with an empty cist grave. The excavated part of the wall is 20 m long, 0.40-0.60 m wide and of maximum preserved height 1.10 m.

Between this wall and the east edge of sectors H-Θ2, three destroyed burials were located, of which only one partly preserves walls of rude stones. A little further to the west, two more circular empty pits were excavated, similar to the seven that had been found between the crepis of the Throne and the church of St Kyriaki during the works in the last few years. A fragment of an ivory plaque with representation of a female figure, of the Archaic period, was recovered from the recent fill of the southernmost pit. This is an exceptionally important find, the first known one of this category, which obviously had been an oversight of the previous excavations. In the southwest corner of sector I3 and at the level of the foundation of the later wall, two intact architectural members from the Throne building were found, part of an entablature and a threshold, which were transported to the area where the architectural material is gathered.

In order to unify the areas in which the two most significant buildings of the Sanctuary stood, the Throne and the Altar, as well as to continue the investigation of the hill top, the excavation was extended in sectors H-Θ3 and Z-H4 (see map 1). After the modern fill was removed, approx. 0.20 m thick, the same compact layer of pebbles was revealed here too, with no traces of the foundation of any construction.

In order to locate parts of the recently-found earlier Peribolos—retaining wall—of rude stones, as well as to answer questions regarding the dating of the already known Peribolos of big conglomerate blocks, the continuation of these walls was sought to the east, in sectors Γ 8-10, Δ9-10 (see map 1). Due to the nature of the terrain, that is the steep east slope of the hill, excavation was by no means easy. After the removal of the modern fill, the artificially levelled surface of the poros bedrock was revealed for a length of 25 m and a width of 15 m.

The construction of the two Periboloi at the lower level of the hill should be linked with all the interventions made in Antiquity, in order to create terraces, which are connected with its similarly formed south side (fig. 5). The two terraces surrounding the hill in a semicircle from south and east to north are approx. 5 m. wide and the maximum difference in height is 2 m. On the lower is the foundation of the later Peribolos with conglomerate blocks. Along the upper terrace ran a shallow ditch, 0.40m. wide and 0.17m. deep, from where a thin layer of yellowish grey clayey soil was removed, along with a large quantity of Early Helladic pottery and one intact, two-handled cup of the same period. The remaining excavated area was covered by a layer of contemporary fill, with characteristic sherds of Late Geometric pottery decorated with representations of human figures, a fragment of an Archaic cup with incised letters, an Archaic bas-relief ivory leg of a male figure with groove and holes for its attachment to a wooden surface, terracotta figurines of animals and other objects.

On the northwest part of the hill, in sectors N3-4, investigation of the remains of Late Antique constructions revealed in the years of 2008-2009 continued. The destruction layer, approximately 0.20 m thick, with a host of fragments of roof tiles and some sherds of undecorated pottery, was removed from the west part of sector N4. The revealed remains can be attributed to two buildings of unspecified shape and different chronological periods. What appears to be the earlier one, which is totally covered by

the destruction layer, is founded on the bedrock of the hill. Indeed, it seems that it extended more to the west of the wall that crosses sectors N-Ξ4 from south to north as central axis. During works in sector Ξ4, in 2009, part of the north section of the excavated building and the wall had appeared, on the bedding surface of which sporadic traces of hydraulic plaster were preserved. Above the destruction layer, a floor was uncovered with square terracotta tiles and lime plaster, which must be related to the small, brick-built rectangular cistern and the drain in sector Ξ4. This floor appears to belong to a second building, which extends into sectors N-Ξ 4-5 and which, according to the inscribed herm of early 4th century AD found incorporated in the drain, is dated after the mid-4th century AD. On present evidence, such as the hydraulic plaster, the floor with terracotta tiles and the brick-built cistern with the drain, it may be assumed that there were water-collecting installations in this area in Late Antiquity.

Directly westward in sector N3, a tomb was revealed, comprising two chambers of dimensions 2.00 m x 1.30 m and approximately 0.70 m deep, the outline of which had already appeared in 2009. In the lower part of its walls is a zone of medium-size and large rude stones, 0.40m high, above which are successive courses of bricks, stone slabs and lime plaster. This last material has also been used to cover the whole surface of the floor. Dark soft soil mixed with small and big stones, crumbled bones and many fragments of roof tiles were removed from the interior of the tomb, confirming that it had been excavated in the past.

During 2010, the mending of fragments from architectural members of the Throne (orthostat, cornice sima) continued both at the archaeological site and in the storerooms of the 5th EPCA. The aim of this work was to restore the structural independence of the monument's components. Titanium coils of different thickness were used, along with white cement (Portland type) and fine-grained quartz sand, while, wherever necessary, some plaster casts were made in order to complete the missing parts with new marble.

In addition, one stone from the circular stepped Altar was restored partially with the necessary completion in new material and the two parts of the herm were joined, the lower part of which had been found in the 2008 excavations and the upper part was identified in the storeroom of the Sparta Archaeological Museum.

The test placements of architectural members in certain



Fig. 5. The terraces at the SE corner of the hill (photo: K. Xenikakis).

groups from the structural elements of the Throne and Altar continued, to ascertain what, among others, could be used for the suggestive enhancement of these monuments in the final configuration of the archaeological site. This work and the study of the relevant material yielded new data not only for the identification of scattered architectural members, but also for the representation of the monuments. In order to facilitate the works, two (2) flat platforms of dimensions 5 m x 5 m were created in the site.

Gathered on one platform was material that constituted the temple/Throne (fig. 6). Placed on the same platform were stones from an entrance, from the steps of a stylobate with the contiguous internal floor, and from a wall with its echynteria. The restoration of a wall entablature comprising numerous stones, most probably from the east wall of the Throne, took place in the storeroom of the 5th EPCA. In order to correlate the walls and the colonnades of the Throne's wings (ptera), the traces from the contact of the small beams with the wall entablature and the cornices

were detected, investigated and interpreted. This work will allow us to calculate the width of one of the wings of the Throne, as well as to proceed to the graphic restoration of at least one of the groups of small beams, for which we do not have the initial length. Gathered on the second platform and assembled in test placement were some of the correlated stones of the circular stepped altar (fig. 7).

Progress was made in the photographing, measured drawing and documenting of the architectural members incorporated in the fabric of the church of St Kyriaki, as well as of those in the Sparta Archaeological Museum and the storage of the 5th EPCA. The study of the conglomerate stones composing the niche of the earlier church of St Kyriaki continued. Indeed, the hypothesis that they might have initially constituted a continuous foundation in the internal structure of the Throne, for the bearing elements of its walls and the pedestal of the cult statue, is being investigated. These stones were scattered when the later buildings revealed in sectors Θ-I 2 and Ν-Ξ 3-6 were



Fig. 6. The Throne-Platform (photo: S. Vlizon).

Fig. 7. The Altar-Platform (photo: S. Vlizon).

constructed. Based on their difficult interpretation and the even more difficult interpretation and dating of the niche, some data may emerge on the destruction of the Throne and the pedestal of the cult statue.

For a more integrated mapping of the archaeological site and the works completed so far, the aerial photographing of Agia Kyriaki hill and the surrounding area was carried out by the photographer Kostas Xenikakis (see fig. 1).

In February 2010, the process of purchasing two proper-

ties (fields), of total area 5 acres, was completed; these are adjacent to each other to the east of the site. Concurrently, all required actions for their transfer and donation through the 5th EPCA to the Ministry of Culture were completed, while the process of purchasing an area bordering the archaeological site to the west and south also began.

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ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΒΛΙΖΟΣ

Ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα Αμυκλών: Εργασίες 2005-2010

Ο λόφος της Αγίας Κυριακής είχε διερευνηθεί ανασκαφικά σχεδόν στο σύνολό του κατά τις εργασίες των Χρ. Τσουντα, Ε. Fiechter και Ε. Buschor, το διάστημα 1890-1925, με αποτέλεσμα η στρωματογραφία στο μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του χώρου να είναι διαταραγμένη (ανάποδη).

Στο πλαίσιο των εργασιών του νέου ερευνητικού προγράμματος κατά το διάστημα 2005-2010 αποκαλύφθηκαν κατασκευές που δεν αναφέρονται στις παλαιότερες δημοσιεύσεις, όπως: α) ο πρωιμότερος περίβολος (πρώτη μνημειακή φάση) και β) τα οικοδομήματα της ύστερης αρχαιότητας στο βόρειο τμήμα του ιερού (τελευταία μνημειακή φάση).

Από τα σημαντικότερα αποτελέσματα των νέων ερευνών είναι η διαπίστωση ότι το σωζόμενο στην κορυφή του λόφου ερείπιο της κρηπίδας ανήκει πράγματι στον “Θρόνο” και ότι η θέση του μνημείου είναι πια βεβαιωμένη. Η αποκάλυψη καθαρού στρώματος κατά μήκος της ανατολικής πλευράς του περιβόλου επικυρώνει την παλαιότερη θεωρία πως η πρωιμότερη φάση χρήσης του λόφου ανάγεται στην Πρωτοελλαδική εποχή. Στην ίδια ανατολική πλευρά του λόφου αποκαλύφθηκε και η τεχνητά διαμορφωμένη επιφάνεια του φυσικού πορώ-

δους πετρώματος όπου σχηματίζονται δύο άνδηρα.

Από το περίπου 50% του ανεσκαμμένου σήμερα χώρου τα 2/3 των κινητών ευρημάτων είναι όστρακα γεωμετρικών χρόνων. Αποτυπώθηκαν όλα τα μνημεία και το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του αρχιτεκτονικού υλικού και συντηρήθηκε το σύνολο των μεταλλικών ευρημάτων και της κεραμικής στα εργαστήρια συντήρησης της Ε’ ΕΠΚΑ και του Μουσείου Μπενάκη αντίστοιχα.

Για τις ανάγκες των άμεσων επεμβάσεων συντήρησης και στήριξης των μνημείων αλλά και του σχεδιασμού για ένα μελλοντικό αρχαιολογικό πάρκο, ο χώρος διευρύνθηκε προς τα ανατολικά μέσω της αγοράς αγροτεμαχίων συνολικής έκτασης 5 στρεμμάτων υπέρ του δημοσίου/ΥΠΠΟΑ.

Τέλος, άρχισε η ψηφιοποίηση του υλικού το οποίο θα ενσωματωθεί σταδιακά στη νέα βάση δεδομένων, που θα αποτελέσει μια βασική μονάδα στην υπό διαμόρφωση εφαρμογή γεωγραφικών συστημάτων πληροφοριών (GIS). Στόχος είναι όλες αυτές οι πληροφορίες να είναι προσβάσιμες στο ερευνητικό κοινό μέσω της ιστοσελίδας του ερευνητικού προγράμματος.

KATIE DEMAKOPOULOU

The Early Cult at the Amyklaion The Mycenaean Sanctuary

AT AMYKLAE, ON THE HILL OF AGIA KYRIAKI, the location of the well known Archaic Apollo sanctuary, an earlier cult has been attested. Since the late 13th century BC there was at this site one of the most significant sanctuaries of Mycenaean Greece that was in use for almost two centuries. The excavations conducted by Christos Tsountas in 1890¹ and later by German archaeologists² brought to light a large number of terracotta human and animal figures and figurines, which firmly established the existence of a Mycenaean sanctuary on the hill. This material has been increased with more terracottas from the recent excavations, a project of the Benaki Museum under Prof. A. Delivorrias and Dr S. Vlizos.

Although a large Early and Middle Helladic Bronze Age settlement was located on the southeast slopes of the hill, there are no buildings associated with Mycenaean pottery. The pottery itself is not plentiful and was recovered from disturbed deposits both in the old and recent excavations. From the Mycenaean sanctuary, which seems to have been isolated on the hill, no structural remains have been preserved. Ritual activity is attested only by the abundance of the clay figures and figurines found at the site.³

The Mycenaean finds were discovered with Protogeometric and Geometric pottery in unstratified deposits and were scattered in a large area.⁴ They are all of clay, mostly terracottas and some fragmentary pottery. From the old excavations there are about 150 figures and figurines in total, most of them fragmentary.⁵ A few, however, are intact or almost so. They comprise two fragments of exceptionally large terracotta human figures (as distinct from figurines), 74 handmade Psi-type figurines, two figurines of horse

riders, four bird figurines, 35 small handmade animal figurines and 33 large wheelmade animal figures, which were probably intended to be bovinds or bulls. From the recent excavations come some more fragments of handmade human and animal figurines, as well as parts of wheelmade animal figures.

Of the entire group most important are the two fragments of large wheelmade figures: one is the upper part of the head of an almost life-size female figure wearing a polos⁶ (fig. 1); the brow and parts of both eyebrows are preserved. There is a continuous moulded wave around the polos, possibly a snake. Traces of brown paint are visible. The head could belong to a cult statue. The other fragment is a hand holding a kylix⁷ (fig. 2). Large parts of the hand are monochrome. On the hand is a part of an applied snake. Both these remarkable works can be dated to the advanced Late Helladic IIIB period (13th century BC). This date is based on the shape of the kylix and the similarity of the head with the female painted plaster head of a goddess⁸ and other clay cult figures from the Cult Centre at Mycenae.⁹ The Amyklaion fragments may well represent divinities, as is suggested by the polos and the snakes. Terracotta snake figures were found at Mycenae together with wheelmade figures of female divinities.¹⁰

The small handmade human figurines (as distinct from figures) from the Amyklaion consist of a considerable number of type Psi figurines, most of them of the late types B and C and with one or two of D, as defined by E. French.¹¹ Many of them are decorated with linear or more elaborate motifs, such as wavy lines and tassels (figs 3, 4, 5). They are datable to the Late Helladic IIIB2-IIIC periods



Fig. 1. Upper part of head of an almost life-size terracotta figure, from Tsountas excavations.



Fig. 2a-b. Hand of a large terracotta figure holding a kylix, from Tsountas excavations.



Fig. 3. Handmade figurine of type Psi with elaborate decoration, from Tsountas excavations.

(late 13th-mid 11th centuries BC) and they have affinities with the Late Psi figurines from the Syringes and the Sanctuary on the Lower Citadel of Tiryns.¹² Their decoration is similar to that used for the pottery of these periods.

The group of handmade human figurines from the Amyklaion includes two horse riders,¹³ both fragmentary. One is a head with a pointed conical helmet, typical of rider figurines; preserved from the other is the body of the horse with part of the lower body of the rider. Figurines of horsemen have also been found in other Mycenaean sanctuaries, such as those at Methana and Epidauros (Apollo Maleatas).¹⁴

Of the four bird figurines found in the old excavations, only one is preserved.¹⁵ It is complete, handmade, with an oval body, rounded tail and open narrow wings with linear decoration. It is reminiscent of the bird figurine from the



Fig. 4. Fragmentary handmade figurines of type Psi, from the recent excavations.



Fig. 5. Polos heads of type Psi figurines, from the recent excavations.



Fig. 6. Handmade plain quadruped figurine, from the recent excavations.

sanctuary of House G at Asine¹⁶ and can likewise be dated to the late 12th century BC. Bird figurines are less common than the animal figurines. The bird, however, is a frequent motif in Creto-Mycenaean iconography (on pottery, seal stones, wall paintings) and often has a religious significance, symbolizing the epiphany of a divinity.

The group of small handmade animal figurines is plentiful. They represent various quadrupeds, such as bovinds, horses, dogs, pigs, sheep and goats.¹⁷ Some have a linear decoration, while others are monochrome or plain (fig. 6). They are dated to the Late Helladic IIIB2-IIIC periods (late 13th-mid 11th centuries BC), like the handmade human figurines. They can be paralleled with the handmade animal figurines from the Syringes of Tiryns.¹⁸

Most important are the large wheelmade animal figures.¹⁹ Most of them are fragmentary, but their height can be estimated from 0.25 to 0.30 m. About thirty represent bovinds or bulls and two are horses. The figures of this type, which originated in Minoan prototypes, are not as common as the small handmade human and animal figurines of mass production. Their body is hollow, barrel-shaped, while their head and feet are either solid or hollow. They usually have a linear decoration, but there are quite a few with elaborate patterns.

Some of the wheelmade bovid figures from the Amyklaion are finely decorated.²⁰ There is an almost whole bull figure (fig. 7) and some fragments from other bovinds, which are richly decorated with typical motifs of

the Late Helladic IIIC Middle phase (mid-12th century BC), such as fringed semi-circles, zigzags and elaborate triangles with bird heads. There is also a bull fragment decorated in the Close Style with rosettes and triangular patch, reminiscent of another bovid figure with rosettes from the Syringes of Tiryns.²¹ It is noteworthy that these elaborate motifs were used not only for the decoration of vases, but also for terracotta figures.

A number of pieces of wheelmade bovine figures, such as some solid heads and various body fragments might belong to a later phase, the Late Helladic IIIC Late phase or even to Submycenaean (11th century BC). This is suggested by their darkground decoration, including typical designs of these periods, such as isolated semicircles with fringe and vertical wiggly lines.²² Noteworthy is a solid, plain head with applied eyes of a large bovine figure (fig. 8). Of considerable interest is a large part of the rear of the hollow body of a bull figure showing also the genitals, which are applied.²³ It is darkground with a reserved zone bearing zigzags on a double line. This decoration suggests Submycenaean as a date. To the same period belong two more bovine figures, one partly restored from fragments²⁴ (fig. 9). Their decoration of large isolated semicircles, chevrons with fringe, net and wiggly fine lines resembles the motifs on Submycenaean vases. Furthermore, the short barrel-like body of both figures and their decoration are reminiscent of the wheelmade Protogeometric stag from Kerameikos, which, as has been suggested, has artistic affinities with Mycenaean animal figures.²⁵

In addition to the terracotta figures and figurines, fragmentary pottery was found, comprising some sherds of plain vases, mostly kylikes, of the Late Helladic IIIB2 period and fragments of open vases of Late Helladic IIIC. Noteworthy is the fragment of a deep bowl decorated in the Close Style.²⁶ The fine decoration, which recalls that on Close Style deep bowls from Mycenae, as well as the good fabric suggest that the original vase could have been imported from the Argolid. There are also fragments from ring-based kraters; one has a pictorial decoration with a battle scene.²⁷ The pottery of Late Helladic IIIC Late/Submycenaean includes some kylix stems, ribbed or with linear decoration.²⁸ This category of kylikes is known from other sites, notably in West Greece.²⁹

After the description and analysis of the finds from the old and recent excavations at Amyklae, we may come to some conclusions. The Mycenaean sanctuary was estab-



Fig. 7. Wheelmade bull figure with elaborate decoration, from Tsountas excavations.



Fig. 8. Solid plain head of a large bovine figure, from the recent excavations.

lished in Late Helladic IIIB2 (second half of 13th century BC), a little before the demise of the palatial centres in the Mainland, and continued to prosper during the Post-palatial period throughout the entire Late Helladic IIIC and Submycenaean periods, until some time in the second half of the 11th century BC. Evidence for religious activity is attested by the large number of terracotta human and animal figures and figurines, especially by the two human figures on a much larger scale. The latter evidently served as cult figures in the sanctuary. Large human cult figures have been found in the great Mycenaean sanctuaries, at Mycenae,³⁰ Tiryns,³¹ and Phylakopi on Melos.³² The large wheelmade animal figures, bovid and equid, constitute a significant group and most probably were offerings to the sanctuary from members of the upper social classes. Animal figures of this type have been found in the sanctuaries at Tiryns,³³ Phylakopi,³⁴ Kea (Agia Irini, Temple),³⁵ Epi-



Fig. 9a-b. Wheelmade bovine figure with linear decoration, from Tsountas excavations.

dauros (Apollo Maleatas),³⁶ Kalapodi³⁷ and Methana.³⁸ The ordinary handmade animal figurines could be offerings of lower social classes, most probably from the farmers of the region. The abundance of all these figures and figurines demonstrates that the sanctuary can be included in the category of the great Mycenaean cult centres.

The structure of the sanctuary has not been preserved. It may have been destroyed by the extensive building activities for the establishment of the Archaic sanctuary. This would explain the scattering and the fragmentary condition of the finds. It has been suggested, however, that the Mycenaean sanctuary was an open-air shrine with a simple enclosure like the shrines at Epidauros and Aigina (Aphaia).³⁹

As at other Mycenaean sanctuaries, at the Amyklaion there is the problem of its association with some centre. The absence of Mycenaean structural remains shows that this centre could not have been on the Agia Kyriaki hill. It may have been at the site recently discovered at Agios Vasileios near the Amyklaion.⁴⁰ Linear B tablets and other important finds have shown that this is indeed a major

Mycenaean administrative centre. The sanctuary that was established in the late 13th century BC could well be associated with this centre. In the Postpalatial period, however, with the collapse of the strong centres, the sanctuary might be connected as a common cult place with a group of communities in the region.

There is also the question of the continuing use of the site as a sacred place through the succeeding Early Iron Age. It is noteworthy that the deposition of terracotta animal figures in the sanctuary continued during the Submycenaean phase with a number of figures decorated with motifs typical of this style. This provides strong evidence for the existence of ritual practices at the site to the very end of the Bronze Age. The abundance of the Protoegeometric and Geometric pottery indicates that cult activity continued through the succeeding Early Iron Age into Protoegeometric and Early Geometric times. The offerings, however, changed. They are now chiefly bronzes: pins, spearheads and an iron sword of type II,⁴¹ together with some small clay drinking vessels.⁴²

It was believed in the past that there was a chronological gap between the Mycenaean and the Protogeometric sanctuaries at Amyklæ. Yet it is possible that the cult continued at the site without interruption until the appearance of the Protogeometric pottery. In the new sanctuary, however, a change is evident in both ritual practices and cult, most probably with the introduction of a different deity or deities. This is a matter of continuity that has occupied

scholars extensively over time.⁴³ It is indeed unfortunate for research on the chronological sequence of the sanctuaries that the Mycenaean figures and figurines retrieved from the old and the recent excavations did not come from stratified deposits.

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NOTES

* The finds of figs 1-9 were photographed by a) I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti (Tsountas excavations) and b) L. Kourgian-takis (recent excavations).

1. Tsountas 1892, 1-18.
2. Fiechter 1918, 107-245; Buschor – von Massow 1927, 1-85.
3. Demakopoulou 1982, 36-42, 80-82.
4. Demakopoulou 1982, 37, 79; Tsountas 1892, 12-16; Buschor – von Massow 1927, 33.
5. Demakopoulou 1982, 43-68.
6. Demakopoulou 1982, 54-55, pl. 25; Demakopoulou 2009b, 96, fig. 10.1.
7. Demakopoulou 1982, 55-56, pl. 26; Demakopoulou 2009b, 97, fig. 10.2a-b.
8. Tsountas 1902, 1-10, pls 1-2.
9. Moore – Taylour 1999, 46-47, pl. 12.
10. Moore – Taylour 1999, 63-66, pls 23-25.
11. French 1971, 139-40, pls 21-22: a-d; Demakopoulou 1982, 44-50, pls 2-24; Demakopoulou 2009b, 97-98, figs 10.3-4.
12. Weber-Hiden 1990, 45-53, pls 37-40.
13. Demakopoulou 1982, 53-54, pl. 24: 65a, 66.
14. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999, 227-33, pls 54-55.
15. Demakopoulou 1982, 66-67, pl. 49.
16. Frödin-Persson 1938, 310, fig. 213.
17. Demakopoulou 1982, 63-66, pls 40-48.
18. Weber-Hiden 1990, 57-76, pls 41-47.
19. Demakopoulou 1982, 57-63, pls 27-39; Guggisberg 1996, 54-60, pls 10-12; Demakopoulou 2009b, 98-100, figs 10.5-11.
20. Demakopoulou 2007, 165.
21. Demakopoulou 1982, 59, pl. 34:79; Weber-Hiden 1990,

82, no. 169, pl. 51:169.

22. Demakopoulou 2009a, 120-21, figs 15-22.
23. Demakopoulou 2009a, 120, fig. 18.
24. Demakopoulou 2009a, 120-21, figs 19-22.
25. Nicholls 1970, 13, 15, pl. 2c; Snodgrass 1971, 401, fig. 119; Guggisberg 1996, 72, no. 221, pl. 15:9.
26. Demakopoulou 1982, 68, pl. 51:119.
27. Demakopoulou 1982, 69-70, pl. 50:116.
28. Demakopoulou 1982, 71-72, pl. 52; Demakopoulou 2009a, 121.
29. Eder 2006, 141-246.
30. Moore – Taylour 1999, 46-50, pls 11-12.
31. Kilian 1978, 461-65, figs 17, 20-21, 23.
32. French 1985, 209-22, pl. 31, fig. 6:3-8.
33. Kilian 1992, 21, pl. 3.
34. French 1985, 236-52, pls 32b, 39-42, fig. 6:15-24.
35. Caskey 2009, 155, fig. 20.
36. Lambrinoudakis 1981, 63, fig. 8.
37. Felsch 1999, 165-66.
38. Konsolaki 2002, 34, fig. 13.
39. Pilafidis-Williams 1998.
40. Vasilogambrou 2012, 544-47. See also *Ergon* 2011, 29-31; *Ergon* 2012, 50-53.
41. Demakopoulou 1982, 73-76, 93; Desborough 1972, 241; Snodgrass 1971, 245-46, fig. 88; Calligas 1992, 41-42.
42. Demakopoulou 2009b, 103; Dickinson 2006, 232.
43. For these topics, see among others Nicholls 1970, 10; Desborough 1972, 240-41, 280; Demakopoulou 1982, 90-96; Demakopoulou 2009a, 123; Wright 1994, 65; Eder 1998, 99-100, 136-37; Morgan 1999, 371, 382-84, 390; Dickinson 2006, 232.

ΚΑΙΤΗ ΔΗΜΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

Η πρόιμη λατρεία στις Αμύκλες: το Μυκηναϊκό Ιερό

Το Αμυκλαϊόν, στον λόφο της Αγίας Κυριακής στο κέντρο της σπαρτιατικής πεδιάδας, στη δυτική όχθη του Ευρώτα, είναι μία από τις σπουδαιότερες αρχαίες λακωνικές θέσεις. Μεγάλα πήλινα τροχήλατα ανθρωπόμορφα και ζωόμορφα ειδώλια, ακέραια ή σε θραύσματα, καθώς και πολυάριθμα άλλα μικρότερα χειροποίητα, μαρτυρούν την ύπαρξη, στον χώρο του φημισμένου αρχαϊκού Ιερού του Απόλλωνος και του Υακίνθου, ενός σημαντικού Μυκηναϊκού Ιερού που χρονολογείται από

την ΥΕ ΙΙΒ2 έως την Υπομυκηναϊκή περίοδο (τέλος 13ου -11ος αι. π.Χ.). Υπάρχουν αρκετές ενδείξεις ότι η θρησκευτική χρήση του χώρου συνεχίστηκε χωρίς διακοπή κατά τη διάρκεια της Πρόιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου. Εξετάζονται ο χαρακτήρας και η σημασία του ιερού σε σύγκριση με άλλα μεγάλα μυκηναϊκά ιερά, με αναφορά στο πρόβλημα της σύνδεσής του με ένα ισχυρό κέντρο ή με μια ομάδα γειτονικών οικισμών.

VICKY VLACHOU

The Spartan Amyklaion: the Early Iron Age Pottery from the Sanctuary

THE SANCTUARY OF *Apollonos en Amyklaioi* [*Ἀπόλλων(ος) ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοις*] (IG V 1.823)¹ is located on the low hill of Agia Kyriaki roughly 600 m to the east of the modern village of Amykles (Sklavochori or Slavochori).² The sanctuary was famous for the imposing throne of Apollo that dominated the hilltop³ and the celebrated Hyakinthia, a three-day festival described at length in *Deipnosophistai* by Athenaios (4. 138f-140a). Despite the importance of the sanctuary in the history of Sparta and Laconia, its early history and the beginnings of the cult are far from clear. Excavations undertaken in four distinct periods between 1890 and 1925⁴ brought to light Early Iron Age material, mainly pottery, abundant enough to demonstrate the originality of the local style. Recent works at the Amyklaion, under the joined direction of the Benaki Museum and the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, were successful in revealing for the first time architectural remains associated with the layout and organization of the Geometric sanctuary. The significant quantity of the Early Iron Age pottery that came to light in relation to the number of votive offerings provides new evidence for the development of the Laconian Proto-geometric and Geometric style and throws much light on the progressive organization of the sanctuary area and the consolidation of the festival, presumably established already by the second half of the 8th century BC.

During the first excavations on the hill, Tsountas⁵ investigated close to the west end the remains of ancient constructions that he considered as the earliest remains and were later identified by Furtwängler and Fiechter⁶ as the altar of the sanctuary. Pottery, terracotta and metal items

were recovered from a mixture of ash, charcoal, animal bones, sheep horns and bovine teeth—the debris of many centuries of sacrificial activities. The material spread in the wider area in and around the constructions, as well as to the north and mainly to the south and east, was much disturbed and not chronologically homogeneous. The largest corpus of the Early Iron Age material seems to have been deposited along the peribolos wall of the sanctuary possibly representing secondary deposits from the top of the hill. The area had been partly investigated already in the 1920s; it is however during the most recent works that an earlier enclosure wall was revealed 6.5 m to the north of the classical monumental peribolos of the sanctuary. The wall is 30 m in length and ca. 2.10 m in width and can be dated on the basis of the pottery that was found at its foundation level to the late 8th century BC. This is the first documented attempt of a better organisation of the space, possibly an effort to create more space on the top of the hill by retaining the large hill bank and at the same time marking the space of the sanctuary.⁷

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC POTTERY

Pottery forms the main corpus of evidence for the EIA activities on the hill. The transition to the Early Iron Age⁸ and the dating of the PG style in Laconia⁹ have been much debated in scholarly research, mainly in the absence of stratified deposits¹⁰ and any architectural remains. Arguments have been focused on the numerous pottery assemblages from the excavations of the late 19th and early 20th cen-



turies at the Amyklaion, mainly because of the rarity of contemporary material from the rest of Laconia. Early Laconian pottery displays an originality of shapes and decorative motives almost unparalleled to the prevailing Attic PG style. Nonetheless, the development of the PG style in Laconia and the much discussed chronological ‘hiatus’ between the Mycenaean and EIA material need to be reconsidered upon the new evidence.

The provenance of several Laconian shapes from the preceding Mycenaean repertory has been convincingly demonstrated by W. D. E. Coulson,¹¹ who also emphasized the strong connections between the pottery productions of Laconia and Messenia during the same period. Although the beginnings of this production were traditionally placed with a delay in relation to the Attic PG series in the middle of the 10th century BC, there seems to exist enough evidence to uphold a continuity of the PG series from the late 11th century BC. If there was a gap on the Amyklaian hill, this should certainly have been narrow and the frequentation of the area would have very soon resumed.

The latest examples in the series of the LH IIIC wheel-made bulls are decorated with superimposed triangles and semi-circles executed free hand, cross-hatching and vertical zigzags in between vertical straps.¹² All motifs belong to a local Sub-Mycenaean style, also evident on contemporary pottery of a Sub-Mycenaean phase that enters the 11th century BC.¹³ Few pottery sherds found at the Amyklaion seem to belong to a transitional phase and are decorated

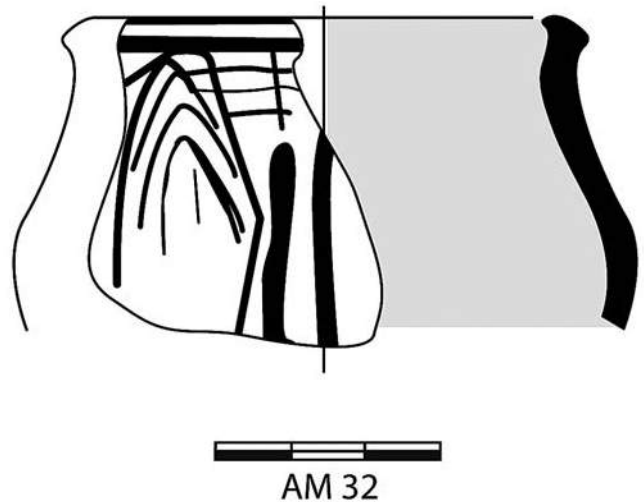


Fig. 1a. Sherds of PG skyphoi.

Fig. 1b. Drawing of the first left sherd in fig. 1a.

with Sub-Mycenaean motifs, although in a different matter, almost exclusively from small open vessels. Although the earliest pieces are few in number, they mark the beginning of a remarkable consistency in the series of the PG pottery found at Amykles. The earliest examples are characterised by the rough and sketchy execution of the decoration (figs 1a-b), as well as the horizontal grooving of the surface of the vessels that is characteristic of the local PG style. Few pieces of Sub-Mycenaean and EPG style display strong similarities to the Attic and Argive series, and a provenance

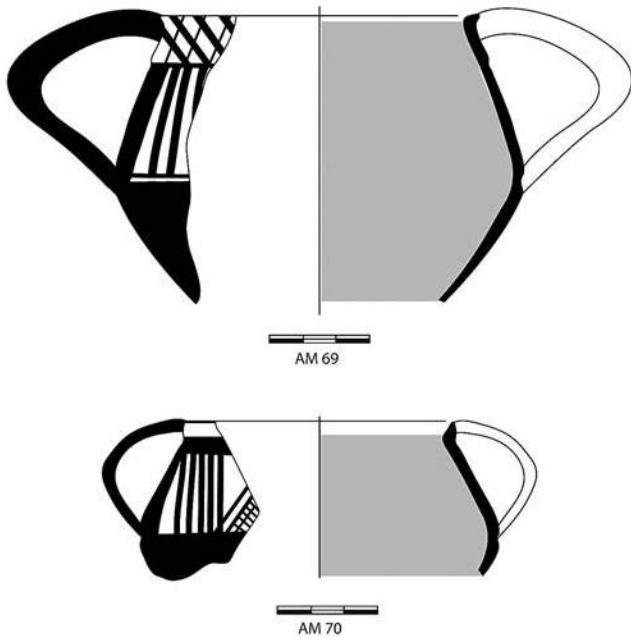


Fig. 2. Drawing of PG fragmentary kantharoi from the Amyklaion.

from those regions seems quite possible. A continuity in the ritual activities during the same period is suggested by the presence of a small number of ribbed stems of early PG kylikes; the shape seems to survive during this period in Western Greece (Ithaka, Tiryns, Olympia, Amyklai) and Crete (Faistos)¹⁴ demonstrating a continuity in the ritual symbolism and use of this certain type of pottery.

Following these early developments, activity on the hill amplifies from the 10th century BC onwards and the first important phase spanned the LPG period and the early years of the Geometric. In this framework, we are more inclined to use the terms of Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric for the continuation of the PG style in the first half of the 8th century than the term Dark Age pottery suggested in the '80s by Coulson. The large corpus of the Protogeometric pottery is easily distinguishable by the hard fired fabric that varies in colour from light brown to red and the good quality of the black paint that gives a metallic shiny impression, possibly due to the high firing conditions.¹⁵ For the black monochrome wares this metallic impression of the black paint is displayed on the exterior and the interior surface. It should be noted however that not all pieces give this metallic impression of the black paint, while the colour of the clay that is usually for these pieces

lighter and buff in colour possibly indicates a different pottery production, although not necessarily a non-Spartan one. PG pottery lacks any trace of slip, and the surface of the vessels is smooth and very well polished.

Although a statistical analysis of the pottery is in progress but not yet completed, the fragments of small open vessels form by far the largest part of the pottery assemblages. Skyphoi and cups are the commonest forms of small open vessels. Two types were distinguished by Coldstream; the flaring skyphos, with rather shallow profile and lip that overhangs the body, and the bellied skyphos, a type better defined later by Coulson, who also added the deep and the carinated type.¹⁶ The deep skyphos is the least represented in the Amyklaion assemblages and the type of the decoration displayed on the skyphos from the Heron¹⁷ can only be seen on few skyphoi of MG date and also to few sherds of early lakainas¹⁸ possibly of the same date. The carinated skyphos is one of the most characteristic types of Laconian PG, with a narrow rim and a diameter reaching usually between 8 and 12 cm. A high conical foot has been restored for this type of skyphos that would match the numerous conical feet found at Amyklai.¹⁹ It seems however that the same carinated profile is not restricted only to skyphoi, but is equally shared by kantharoi.

A substantial number of kantharoi has been identified in the material from the most recent excavations that contradicts older remarks on the absence of the type from the Laconian PG series, while its development shows many similarities with the specimens found in Aitolia, Elis, Achaea and the Ionian islands. The surface of the lower body is always covered with black paint and decoration is restricted on the lip and the handle zone (fig. 2). Horizontal grooving seems a standard element for this class of kantharoi, and a conical foot may also be restored, similar to that of the skyphoi. An intact kantharos, rather late-in-date, was found in gr. 7 at Amykles.²⁰

Large open vessels are the least represented among the open shapes in the assemblages from the Amyklaion. Two profile shapes predominate; the first follows the shape of the skyphos, although in larger dimensions and a diameter at the lip that reaches 42 cm for the largest example.²¹ The second type has a deeper profile shape and a fragment recovered from the rim of a PG krater preserves part of the attached vertical strap handle. The largest examples dated in the LPG reach a lip diameter of 40 cm.

Closed shapes are less frequent. The much fragmentary

material consists mainly of small slow pouring vessels such as lekythoi, trefoil oinochoe and hydriae.²² A substantial number of fragments from the shoulder and body of small hydriae and possibly oinochoe follow a biconical profile of the body.²³ The complete oinochoe from Heroon at Sparta²⁴ finds no close parallels in the material from the Amyklaion. The rarity of large closed vessels in the PG ceramic assemblages may be compared with contemporary assemblages from other Greek mainland sanctuaries, notably the Pelopion material at Olympia, Isthmia in Corinthia and Kalapodi in Central Greece.²⁵

The only evidence of a large closed vessel that does not relate to any feasting activities consists of a few joining sherds of an unidentified shape that looks early in date. The sides are only slightly convex, while the shape and decoration seem better matched to the shape of a clay box or the so-called stamnos pyxis of the PG period.²⁶ Although the shape has not been previously attested in the Laconian repertory, a small number of sherds dated to the LPG and the EG period can be now identified in the Amyklaian assemblages. The distribution of the type in the Greek mainland during the PG period is limited, while few examples are known from Argos and Tiryns dated to the LPG.²⁷ A single extremely fragmentary example is reported from Asine, associated with phase 1 or 4 of the Karmaniola settlement.²⁸ The later, along with the pyxis from Argos, share common decorative elements, namely the use of cross-hatching. The Amyklaian specimen seems to follow the Argive examples, while the EG pyxides found at Amyklai show similar inspiration.

Contacts with the Argolid may be demonstrated on pottery evidence, already from an early period. Laconian pottery has been reported at Asine already from phase 1.²⁹ Among the earliest Laconian sherds from the area³⁰ is a body sherd of a skyphos is decorated with a cross-hatched butterfly motif and interlocking cross-hatched standing triangle.³¹ This motif is quite popular in both Amykles and Asine and despite the limitations posed by the disturbed PG layers at Asine³² an early date, possibly in the second quarter of the 10th century BC should be suggested for these pieces. The motif is frequently used for the decoration of small open and closed vessels in the LPG.³³ The earliest imported sherds from the Argolis, presumably from Asine, should be dated at around the same period: MPG late/LPG.³⁴ Laconian pottery is attested in almost all the phases of the Karmaniola settlement at Asine.³⁵

PG sherds of the 'Amyklaian style' have been found at Tegea, inside the deposit revealed under the pronaos of the later 4th century BC temple and below the metal workshop of the late 8th century BC, also located in the same area.³⁶ Laconian PG sherds were identified in most of the stratified layers of the above deposit of mixed Mycenaean, EG and MG sherds. The situation described is very similar to that of the deposits from the Amyklaion and in this respect does not provide any solid evidence as to the chronological succession of the pottery. The deposit in the area of the later sanctuary has been associated with a presumably open-air shrine at the site. The presence of Laconian pottery in this early cult place demonstrates the connections with the Eurotas plain and namely with Amykles, while M. Voyatzis has argued for an extension of the 'Laconian territory' as far to the north as Tegea.

Within Sparta, only a few sherds of PG style have so far been found at the most important cult places—the Acropolis, the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the Heroon, the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia³⁷ and further to the south of Sparta on the West of the Eurotas plain in the area of Anthochori, where the Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus has been identified.³⁸ However those specimens, cannot be compared with the large quantities revealed at the Amyklaion, and it may be suggested that the area of the Amyklaion was functioning as the most important cult center of the Spartan plain during this time.

THE GEOMETRIC POTTERY

While Sub-PG style seems to continue at Amyklai as far as the middle of the 8th century BC,³⁹ Argive and in a lesser degree Corinthian influences penetrate the strong local pottery production. Droop and consequently Coldstream⁴⁰ detected an intervening stage between the Sub-PG and the LG Laconian style in the use of circle motifs; those seem to enter the local repertoire possibly in the LPG. They become a popular decorative motif for both open and closed vessels of Sub-PG style and continue in the Late Geometric period. The transition to the LG style is better illustrated in a number of small open vessels, mainly skyphoi, that draw their shape from the MG Attic, Argive and Corinthian repertoire, while their decoration from the strong Laconian tradition. The shape seems foreign to the local repertory, with a low vertical or slightly



Fig. 3. Fragments of MG and early LG skyphoi from the Amyklaion.

off-set lip, shallow body with accentuated shoulders and a low ring foot. Most of those skyphoi are decorated with superimposed triangles placed in rows in the zone between the handles, while the rest of the surface is covered in paint (fig. 3).⁴¹ The choice of triangles as a decorative motif lies entirely in the PG Laconian pottery tradition. The latest in the series are covered with a nice light coloured slip, indicative of the pottery production of the LG period (fig. 3, second row, right end). Alternatively to the triangles, horizontal parallel lines or single zigzags, horizontal lozenge chains and vertical bars are also shown, probably deriving from contemporary Attic and Argive models. The latter examples are all of small size; the diameter of the lip ranges between 5 and 10 cm. Meanders with diagonal hatching and the steep single zigzag seem to have been introduced

under MG Attic influence, however their popularity during the LG period seem closer to the Argive LG.

A new form, the globular pyxis appears during this period, possibly under a strong Argive influence and fades away soon afterwards.⁴² Only a few fragments of pyxides were found in the Amyklaion assemblages, all sharing the tiny everted rim, while the larger specimens preserve the suspension lugs closely placed to the rim. The decoration of the surface for this presumably earlier example is limited to triangles and rectangles filled with cross-hatching, which although consistent with the local tradition, is close to the Argive specimens as well. Those from Amykles are very fragmentary and there is no evidence as to the profile of the lower body and base. A low ring base may presumably be restored, following the example

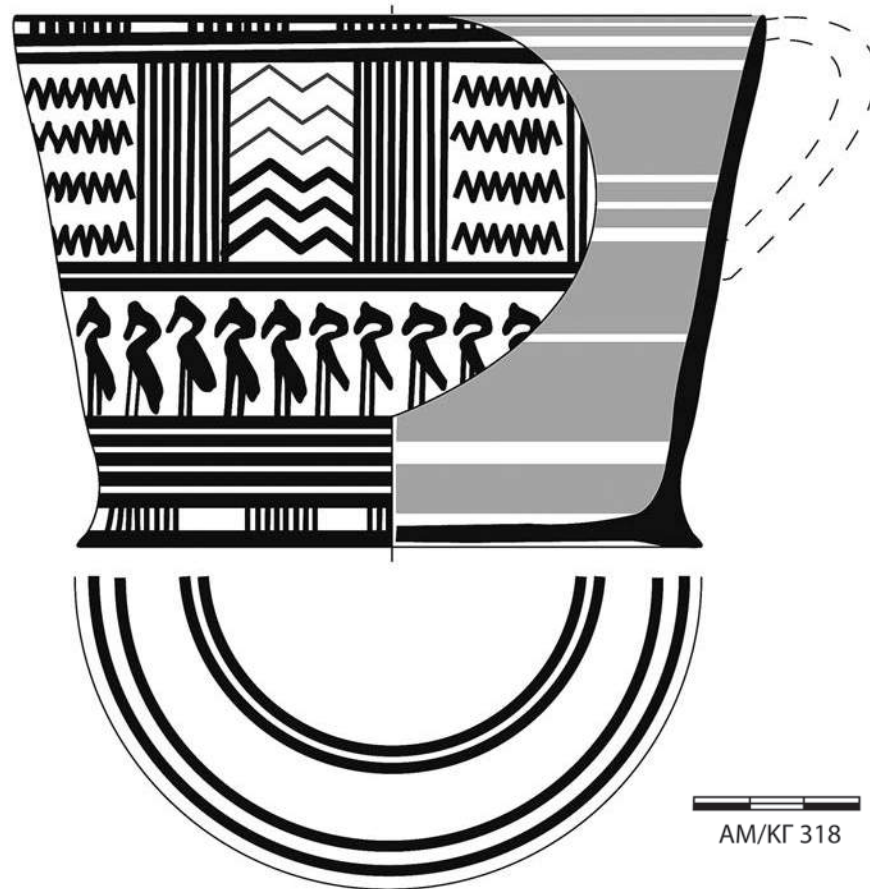


Fig. 4. Drawing of a LG deep cup from the Amyklaion.

from Kalapodi⁴³ which also shares with the Amyklaian specimens common decorative motifs.

The middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the LG period at Amykles is marked by major changes in the material culture that is also reflected in the ritual practices. An influx of imported pottery should be associated with a possible amplification of the cult and the attraction of worshippers on the hill, while votive offerings such as clay and bronze tripods, arms and pieces of armour⁴⁴ are consistent with the deployment of games possibly within the festival.

New pottery shapes and a variety of decorative motifs mark the beginning of the LG and persist until the end of the period. A thick light coloured slip is now applied on the surface of most vessels. Although the largest corpus of the material seems to belong to a local production, a substantial number of different fabrics seem to point to imports and possibly different workshops active in the wider

area. Skyphoi with tall slightly off-set lip and one handled deep cups are among the most popular shapes. Skyphoi are distinguished by their tall lip which forms a gentle convex curve and full shoulders, where the horizontal handles are attached.⁴⁵ A characteristic horizontal grooving at the outer rim may be seen in almost all the specimens, while the decoration of the surface is limited to horizontal wavy lines and lozenge chains placed in the handle zone. The lower part of the body cannot be safely restored, although it seems that the walls turn inwards, more or less abruptly just below the handles.⁴⁶ The diameter of the lip is rather fixed around 9-10 cm. The origin of this type of skyphos may be traced in the carinated skyphoi of PG and Sub-PG style⁴⁷ and seems to develop entirely in the local style, independently from parallel forms in Attica and Boeotia during the LG period.⁴⁸ The invention of the Laconian lakaina has been traced in the LG period⁴⁹ and it is possible that the shape developed from the form of

the high-rimmed skyphos of the LG period. The shape is inextricably related to the Laconian pottery repertoire, developed specifically in the local workshops as one of the most typical shapes of the Archaic period.⁵⁰ The earliest examples of the shape do not seem to predate the late 8th century BC;⁵¹ the lip is tall and slightly convex, the body almost biconical with two horizontal handles attached at the wider diameter and a flat base. The decoration of the surface is very close to that of the high-rimmed skyphoi of the LG, with horizontal straps on the lip and short vertical bars on the outer rim. A few fragments of the lower body and base found at the Amyklaion seem to belong to small and miniature *lakainai*.

The profile shape of the deep cup is best provided by a quite fragmentary example (fig. 4); its walls are almost vertical, slightly converging towards the low disc base, the diameter of the lip does not exceed 14 cm. The vertical loop handle is attached to the lip and the middle of the body. The multiple zigzags placed in panels on the upper part of the body and the zone of stylised soldier birds on the lower body offer a date late in the last quarter of the 8th century BC. Close in date should be the two almost complete examples from the excavations of Tsountas in the area of the sanctuary,⁵² which have been seen as either pyxides or cups. Both vases have the characteristic grooving on the outer rim and slightly convex walls which better match with the profile shape of deep cups.⁵³ The decoration develops in successive zones, while nude males seem to perform a circular dance on the large upper zone of the deep cup, today in the National Museum at Athens. The type persists into the early Archaic period, usually with an off-set lip, flat base and a smaller loop handle.⁵⁴

One-handled monochrome cups continue in the 8th century BC, and cups decorated with vertical and oblique lines either until the middle of the body, leaving the rest painted black or reaching all the way until the flat base. Among the less common open vessels are few skyphoi with short offset lips and shallow bodies. A few *kantharoi* may be distinguished from the fragmentary high strap handles. An addition of the late 8th century BC is the broad shallow dish, usually with two horizontal handles attached at the rim and a low ring base. The large size of certain specimens and the fine decoration of their surface seem in favour of a ritual use or a votive character of these plates. Thick light coloured slip is applied on the surface of most examples. Shape and decoration are very close to those from the sanc-

tuary of Artemis Orthia⁵⁵ and Argos.⁵⁶

LG kraters are quite numerous during this period from Amykles, however extremely fragmentary and thus a reconstruction of the entire profile remains tentative. The decoration of the surface displays the strong Argive influence, while the shape should be of local inspiration and does not match the shape of Argive or Corinthian kraters. The typical horizontal grooving on the outer rim may be seen in most of the examples, and the walls are almost vertical. The diameter of the rim rarely exceeds 20 cm. The profile shape seems to match with a type already distinguished by Droop from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia⁵⁷ and a further development is demonstrated by a later specimen, very close to a krater from Menelaion.⁵⁸ Few kraters of this type, although burnt and thus badly preserved, seem to have been coated with a thick slip, typical of the local production; decoration varies from panelled geometric motifs to figured decoration. The deep body with a gentle convex profile persists in the 7th century BC and it is only the lip that develops in a more articulated form. The diameter of the rim reaches ca. 36 cm which indicates a vessel significantly larger than its Geometric predecessors. Imported Argive kraters and Laconian imitations are also of medium size and the diameter of the lip reaches ca. 20 cm.

A clear difference in the LG ceramic repertoire with that of the earlier period is the presence of closed shapes, namely amphorae. Belly-handled amphorae with tall necks and groups of concentric circles for the decoration of the surface⁵⁹ that are quite common in the Spartan sanctuaries, are also represented in the Amyklaian material, although in a much fragmentary state.

One more addition in the LG local repertoire is represented by the globular aryballos at the end of the 8th century BC, which developed into the typical clay offering at the sanctuary from this period onwards. The earliest examples are imported Corinthian. A large number of painted globular aryballoi have so far been found, very few intact, while an enormous amount of handmade miniature aryballoi were dedicated to the sanctuary presumably from the late 8th century onwards. The shape seems to replace the small-sized *lekythoi* and *hydriae* of the PG and EG period, presumably related to the ritual activities.

The appearance of a figured style in the second half of the 8th century BC reflects the early elaboration of the fine pottery decoration. Whether this class of fine pottery



Fig. 5. Fragmentary LG krater with figured decoration.

was made for specific cultic use or not, figured scenes are usually shown on the surface of skyphoi and kraters and only rarely on amphorae. A number of fragmentary pieces from the most recent excavations may be added to the figured repertory from Amykles, demonstrating a strong local taste. Male dancers are the most frequent and typical representations at Amykles.⁶⁰ A pair of dancers or possibly athletes are shown on the surface of a small krater moving to the right (fig. 5); the fine drawing, the unusual posture of the two figures and their placement in a panel find no close parallels in the material from Sparta, revealing presumably the inspiration of an individual artist.⁶¹ Depictions of female dancers and horses display strong Argive influences, while some fragmentary kraters may have actually arrived from the Argolid. Other iconographical themes involve battle scenes and armed men, as well as rarer representations of lions and centaurs,⁶² so far unparalleled in the material from the other Spartan sanctuaries.

One large category of clay dedications to the Geometric shrine consists of a few loomweights and miniature vessels mostly handmade bowls and cups, frequently decorated with incised motifs (fig. 6). This is a common class of finds found in most of the Peloponnesian sanctuaries during the Geometric and Archaic period.⁶³ Lastly, although clay figurines are rather rare in the Geometric material from the sanctuary, two terracotta heads of a helmeted warrior

and a female figurine were found close to the altar during Tsountas' excavations. Few more fragments from the recent excavations may also come from clay figurines.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Ceramic assemblages reveal a continuity in the use of the area from the late 11th/early 10th century BC onwards. Pottery is consistent with small gatherings that would initially have taken place on the hill. The use of table wares, mainly small drinking vessels and the presence of larger kraters indicate that drinking and presumably dining would have formed the nucleus of those collective activities during the EIA. Larger quantities of pottery should equate to a larger number of people that would have gathered on the hill progressively until the late 8th century BC. Coarse and culinary wares are extremely fragmentary and difficult to date without any stratigraphical evidence; it seems however that few should be dated in this period, while the presence of some miniature cooking wares provide some additional evidence.

The 8th century BC demonstrates an increased range of votives suggesting an apparent escalation in the activities. From around the middle of the 8th century BC alternations and variations of the material record may be taken as indicative of transformations of the ritual practices. Although the nature and basic function of the greatest amount of pottery did not change, the increased elaboration of the drinking and dining sets, as well as the imported wares, suggest a differential investment by the participants in the basic feasting equipment.

Large amphorae that appear for the first time in the LG period may possibly be associated with a need of transportation and storage of the goods, presumably indicating a longer stay of the worshipers on the hill, as it is known in later times during the three day celebration of Hyakinthia. Among the dedicated clay objects, the aryballos constitutes since the late 8th century BC the commonest offering at the sanctuary; either wheel-made and painted or miniature handmade ones. Figured pottery displays the deployment of dances and athletic contests probably during a festival, and the dedication of tripods strengthens this suggestion. During the same period the sanctuary area is delimited by a large enclosure wall, while more space seems to have been gained on the hill-top, possibly to accommodate the in-



Fig. 6. Handmade miniature offerings from the Amyklaion.

creasing crowd and the various stages of the rituals. Lavish dedications of material wealth and status that appear at the same time are consistent with the performance of games and dance or athletic contests within a festival. Moreover, if we accept a certain reality of the tradition that associates the Hyakinthia festival with the events that led to the foundation of Taras at the late 8th century BC,⁶⁴ then the festival should have already had a more definite form by that time.

On the above preliminary considerations it becomes evident that the early beginnings and progressive consolidation of collective activities performed at the Amyklaion by the small communities of the Spartan plain led to one of the most important religious festivals of the Spartans. In this perspective, it may be possible to associate the im-

portance of the Amyklaion sanctuary with the seniority of the shrine and the continuity of the collective and ritual activities in this same area during the centuries. Whether activities initiated around a cult of the dead buried on the hill, as it has been already suggested,⁶⁵ is difficult to demonstrate on archaeological evidence. Nonetheless, the quantity, quality and diversity of the EIA material from the Amyklaion, unparalleled so far to the other Spartan sanctuaries, offers a prominent case of a Bronze Age background for the Early Iron Age cult in the same area.

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NOTES

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1. The site was first identified by Leake 1830, 144 and confirmed by the discovery of stamped tiles with the name of Apollo Amyklaios and by epigraphical evidence. Tsountas 1892, 3; Fiechter 1918, 223 nos 11, 12; Buschor – von Massow 1927, 61-64 nos 1-16; Vlizon 2009, 11-13. For a detailed treatment of the literary and epigraphical evidence, *cf.* Pettersson 1992; Moreno-Conde 2008.

2. In the modern village of Amykles, a burial group with 12 PG graves was investigated and a substantial quantity of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery reinforces the identification of the EIA settlement on the same area. E. Zavvou, *AD* 51 (1996), *Chronika* B1, (D. Konidaris plot) 129-31, pl. 45a-b; *ead.*, *AD* 53 (1998), *Chronika* B1, 172-73.

3. For a short treatment of the bibliography on the throne of Apollo, *cf.* Vlizon 2009, 12-13; Delivorrias 2009.

4. Tsountas 1982; Fiechter 1918; Skias 1907, 104-07; Buschor – von Massow 1927; for a short history of the excavations in the sanctuary area, *cf.* Demakopoulou 1982, 29-42; Calligas 1992, 31-33; Pettersson 1992, 92-99; Moreno-Conde 2008, 61-69.

5. Tsountas 1892, 1, 7-8, 11-12.

6. Fiechter 1918, 162-65; Calligas 1992, 33-35.

7. Vlizon 2009, 14.

8. Desborough 1952, 283-90; Demakopoulou 1982; 2009a; 2009b; Snodgrass 2000, 130-31, 395; Eder 1998, 97-111; Pettersson 1992, 91-100; Cartledge 2002², 70-80.

9. The chronology of the pottery had to be established by means of stylistical analysis alone. Desborough 1952, 283-90; Coulson 1985; 1988a; 1988b; 1991; Margreiter 1988; Eder 1998, 99-113; Cartledge 2002², 70-80.

10. Evidence for stratigraphy is far from safe, as pottery was found outside and below the terrace wall; Buschor – von Massow 1927, 24-33; Coulson 1985, 63-64.

11. A provenance from the preceding Mycenaean repertory has been demonstrated for several Laconian shapes, such as the carinated skyphos, the flaring skyphos, the krater and certain types of cups, *cf.* Coulson 1985, 38-39, 44-45, 57-58, 61-66; 1986, 35-48, 55-56; 1988b; for the Laconian isolation as a reason for the late occurrence of the PG style in the region, *cf.* Desborough 1952, 284, 287-88; 1968, 243; Cartledge 2002², 70-80; *contra* Pettersson 1992, 97-100.

12. Buschor – von Massow 1927, 38, fig. 6.14-15; Dema-

kopoulou 1982, 57-58, pls 28.70, 29.10a-b, 30.72, 36.84; Demakopoulou 2009b, 100-01, figs 10.10a-b, 10.11; Guggisberg 1996, 55-57, nos 159, 164, 169-71, 173-76, pls 11-12. For similar types from Cos and Kalymnos, *cf.* Skerlou 2004.

13. Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 62:140; Demakopoulou 2009b, 119-121; *AD* 53 (1998), *Chronika*, 174-76, pl. 81b, 232 pl. 97a (8052); *AD* 55 (2000), *Chronika*, 272, figs 7, 10; for similar motifs in the decoration of the latest figurines of the Psi type, *cf.* Alram-Stern – Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 113-14, no. 44, pl. 26.44; the shape of the Amyklaian skyphoi is close to some contemporary examples from Tiryns, *cf.* Stockhammer 2009, 357 fig. 4.2-4.

14. Eder 1998, 97-107, 127-30, 136-38; 2001, 206-208; Morgan 2006, 244-45; Demakopoulou 2009a, 121.

15. For chemical analysis of few Laconian pieces from Asine, *cf.* Wells 1983, 64, 85.

16. Coldstream 1968, 212-14; Coulson 1985, 34-49.

17. Coldstream 1968, pl. 46c; Coulson 1985, 35 fig. 1 (no. 13).

18. For an early type of lakaina, Coulson 1985, 36 fig. 2 (no. 53). A larger number of fragments of this type have been identified in the material from the recent excavation at the site.

19. Coulson's type C1 (1985, 36 fig. 2, no. 39-41) is only rarely represented in the material from Amykles. For the origin of the shape in the LBA stemmed bowls, *cf.* Coulson 1983b, 66-67.

20. E. Zavvou, *AD* 51 (1996), *Chronika* B1, 130 pl. 45a; Kyrieleis suggests a date for the kantharos in late 10th/9th c. BC, *cf.* Kyrieleis 2006, 156-57 no. 69.

21. Coulson 1985, 54-55, fig. 9.

22. Coulson 1985, 62; for a complete profile of a small hydria *cf.* Buschor – von Massow 1927, 47 fig. 27; Margreiter 1988, pl. 1:5.

23. For similar profile although earlier in date, *cf.* Kyrieleis 2006, 187, pl. 71.337.

24. Coldstream 1968, pl. 46b.

25. Olympia: Eder 2009, 205; Isthmia: Morgan 1999, 266-71; Kalapodi: Nitsche 1987, 35-49; Felsch 1980, 47-54.

26. Desborough 1952, 112-113, pl. 13; Bohlen 1988, 13-18, pl. 1:3, 4.44; Lemos 2002, figs 2.1, 3.2, 4.3, 10.6.

27. Lemos 2002, 79; Argos: G. Roux, *BCH* 81 (1957), 653-54, fig. 30; Tiryns: P. Aupert, *BCH* 99 (1975), 613-15, fig. 56.

28. Wells 1983, 105-06, 256 fig. 194.761.

29. Wells 1983, 19, 64, 83; Langdon 1985; Coldstream 1985.

30. Wells 1983, fig. 147.345-346.

31. Lemos 2002, fig. 28.1; Wells 1983, fig. 224.285 (PG grave 25).

32. Wells 1983, 19.

33. A fragment with similar decoration from phase 3 at Asine, *cf.* Wells 1983, 247 fig. 188.692.
34. The fragmentary skyphos from Heroon seems of Argive inspiration and demonstrates early contacts between the two areas. Wells 1983, 122; Desborough 1952, 289.
35. Wells 1983, 83 fig. 61, 230 fig. 173.526.
36. Voyatzis 1990, 269-73; 1995; 2004, 188-90, fig. 2; 2005; Østby *et al.* 1994, 134.
37. Cartledge 1992; Eder 1998, 107-09; Kōiv 2003, 63-66.
38. Zavvou 2009, 29-31, fig. 4.7.
39. A similar classification has also been made for the pottery assemblages of Lefkandi (Euboea), where also a strong local tradition persists in the earlier stages of the Geometric period. For EG and MG material along with that of the Sub-PG period, *cf.* Margreiter 1988, 27-40. For similarities in the development of the local style, *cf.* Cos; Morricone 1972-1973.
40. Droop 1929, 60-63; Coldstream 1968, 214-15 pls 46e-g. The fragment that appears in pl. 46f is said to be from Chalkioikos, however in the Sparta museum it is placed with the old material of the German excavations at the Amyklaion hill.
41. Buschor – von Massow 1927, pl. 3.19; Margreiter 1988, fig. 4.20, pl. 9. 99-104.
42. The type of the small globular pyxis has been seen as an Argive invention of the early EG period, with Attic affinities and possible prehistoric origins. Coldstream 1968, 114, 116, pls 22e-f, 23h, 25d; Desborough 1973, pl. 31c; Courbin 1966, pl. 77.
43. Nitsche 1987, 44-45 fig. 62.2.
44. Tsountas 1892, 12; Demakopoulou 1982, 73-78; Calligas 1992, 41-44. For clay tripods, *cf.* Margreiter 1988, pl. 29.343.
45. Lane 1933-34, fig. 2 a-b; Coldstream 1968, 215-16; Stibbe 1994, 21.
46. A similar type from the area of Sparta, *cf.* Zavvou, *AD* 52 (1997), *Chronika* B1, pl. 71d.
47. Coulson 1985, 36 fig. 2 (Type C2, no. 53).
48. Descoeudres 1976, 42-44; *AD* 20 (1965), *Chronika* B1, pl. 87a; Ruckert 1976, pl. 28:6; Paspalas 2006-2007, 43 pl. 1; Vlachou 2010, 254-61; E. Zavvou, *AD* 52 (1997), *Chronika* B1, 162 pl. 71d.
49. Coldstream 1968, 215-16; Stibbe 1994, 21-24.
50. Droop 1908, 31 no. 3; Lane 1933-34, 102-04; Coldstream 1968, 215-16; Stibbe 1989, 73-113; 1994, 19-24.
51. Lane 1933-34, 102-03, figs 2c-d, pl. 20e; Coldstream 1968, pl. 46m; Stibbe 1990, 75-76, 87-88, figs 39-47; Stibbe 1994, 23, 99-100 no. A1-A7.
52. Tsountas 1892, pl. 4.1-2; Coldstream 1968, 215-16.
53. Coldstream has already noted the absence of lids for those examples. Coldstream 1968, 216; one more fragmentary example, possibly also a deep cup, *cf.* Zavvou, *AD* 52 (1997), *Chronika* B1, pl. 71c.
54. For an intact example from Sparta, *cf.* Themis, *AD* 51 (1996), *Chronika* B1, 109 drawing 4.
55. Droop 1929, 59 fig. 33, 61 fig. 34.
56. Courbin 1966, pl. 67 C.2570, C.4128.
57. Droop 1929, 57 fig. 31 b.
58. Stibbe 1994, 22-23, fig. A.
59. Spyropoulos, *AD* 36 (1981), *Chronika* B1, pl. 58; Zavvou – Themis 2009, 113 fig. 11.13.
60. Tsountas 1892, pl. 4.2; Buschor – von Massow 1927, pl. 4; Tölle – Kastenbein 1964, 48-50; Margreiter 1988, 52-55, pls 26, 40; Pettersson 1992, 52; Langdon 2008, 277-79.
61. A close parallel for the posture of the two males is offered by a largely contemporary Attic clay lebes in the National Museum at Athens (NM 810). Pernice 1892, 203-28, pl. 10; Hampe 1960, 54 fig. 38; Coulié 2013, 90-91 fig. 63.
62. Buschor – von Massow 1927, pl. 5.
63. Casckey – Amandry 1952, 194, pl. 52:185; Ekroth 2003; Hammond 2005, 416-33.
64. Strabo VI. 3,2-3; Moreno-Conde 2008, 19, 23-24.
65. Pettersson 1992, 96-97.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΒΛΑΧΟΥ

Η κεραμική των Πρώιμων Ιστορικών Χρόνων από το ιερό των Αμυκλών στη Σπάρτη

Η μεγάλη ποσότητα των κεραμικών ευρημάτων από τον χαμηλό λόφο της Αγίας Κυριακής στις Αμύκλες παραμένει η σημαντικότερη μαρτυρία για τη χρήση του χώρου και τις δραστηριότητες, που λάμβαναν χώρα κατά τη μακρά περίοδο που προηγήθηκε της κατασκευής του μνημειακού Θρόνου του Απόλλωνα στο ίδιο σημείο. Η μελέτη της κεραμικής από τις νεότερες έρευνες που διεξάγονται συστηματικά από το 2006 και εξής από το Μουσείο Μπενάκη και την Ε' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, σε συνδυασμό με την εκ νέου μελέτη των ευρημάτων των παλαιότερων ανασκαφών, μπορεί να συμβάλει στη σαφέστερη διάκριση των διαδοχικών φάσεων χρήσης του χώρου και της σταδιακής αποκρυστάλλωσης των δραστηριοτήτων και τελετουργιών έως και τον πρώιμο 7ο αιώνα π.Χ., όταν πλέον οι εορταστικές εκδηλώσεις φαίνεται ότι είχαν αποκτήσει συγκεκριμένη μορφή.

Ιδιαίτερος σημαντική είναι η ταύτιση για πρώτη φορά στο Αμυκλαίο ορισμένων οστράκων κλειστών και ανοι-

χτών αγγείων που φαίνεται να ανήκουν σε μια μεταβατική Υπο-μυκηναϊκή/Πρωτογεωμετρική φάση, σύγχρονη με τα τελευταία τροχήλατα ειδώλια από τον ίδιο χώρο. Οι δραστηριότητες στον χώρο του ιερού κλιμακώνονται σταδιακά ήδη από τα μέσα του 10ου αιώνα π.Χ., σε αναλογία με την αυξανόμενη ποσότητα των κεραμικών ευρημάτων. Τα περιορισμένα ευρήματα από τα υπόλοιπα σπαρτιατικά ιερά, σε σύγκριση με τις μεγάλες ποσότητες από το Αμυκλαίο, αποτελούν σημαντική ένδειξη της σπουδαιότητας του χώρου, ήδη από την περίοδο αυτή.

Τα αγγεία για κατανάλωση φαγητού και ποτού υπερτερούν στα κεραμικά σύνολα και αποτελούν ισχυρή ένδειξη των δραστηριοτήτων κατά την εποχή αυτή. Ο 9ος αιώνας φαίνεται να αποτελεί μια περίοδο σημαντικών κοινωνικών αλλαγών, όπως αντανακλάται στα ευρήματα από το Αμυκλαίο. Έως το τέλος του 8ου αιώνα π.Χ. εικονιστικές παραστάσεις χορού, μάχης, αθλητών, άγριων ζώων και μειζογενών όντων εμφανίζονται στην επιφάνεια κυρίως μεγάλων κρατήρων.

Issues Concerning the Architectural Reconstruction of the Monuments of the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios

WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD many famous buildings were destroyed, ransacked and ultimately lost, whether completely or in part, leaving a vacuum, which in many cases now excites considerable historical curiosity and elicits research. As a part of history, archaeology makes strenuous efforts to reconstruct a picture of these lost monuments and the Throne of Apollo at Amyklai is just such a case. The objectives of this article are on the one hand to present the facts relating to the problem of reconstructing the buildings in the sanctuary and on the other to analyze the problem-solving methodology that we are using in the programme. Within the constraints of this article some basic issues, arising not only from reading Pausanias's text but also from the current interpretation of the evidence provided by the site and the ruins, will be discussed.

The ruins located today on the archaeological site of the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios make up a large-scale complex consisting of individual monuments from different periods. The extent of the sanctuary is defined partly by a monumental retaining wall, which constituted its *peribolos* (enceinte).¹ Within the enceinte and more or less in the middle one can see the part of the structure's foundations that was uncovered in the well-known excavations of the German Archaeological Institute and which was thought to be part of the crepidoma of the Throne. The remains of structures from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages with successive phases and repairs and evidence of tombs from various periods cover a large part of the sanctuary. Different carvings on the rock render the picture of the archaeological site even more complex. Stones of various kinds are

scattered around.² Prominent among these is a group of marbles that have been identified as belonging to the altar, which was probably a round-shaped structure.³ In terms of size the limestone blocks which have been adapted to fit a structure that postdates the Throne are imposing; they are thought to come from the cult statue of Apollo.⁴ The expanse of time covered by the monuments reveals the profound history attached to the site of the ancient sanctuary, while the imaginative way in which the figures have been treated and the impressive stone-carving technique used in creating these reliefs reveal the artistic status of the structures that made up the sanctuary.

Despite the fact that the site attracted scholarly interest from an early stage, on account of the many references in the ancient authors and the importance the celebrated cult centre had for the ancient Spartans,⁵ the puzzle as to the original form of the buildings in the sanctuary has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. It is clear that any attempt to reconstruct the original form of the buildings faces an exceptionally complicated state of affairs. In the middle ages,⁶ as all the excavation findings indicate, the ancient buildings of the sanctuary or what was left of them were completely dismantled. Indicatively, according to reliable calculations, the *peribolos* wall was despoiled of about 90% of its overall material (fig. 1). The built structures of the sanctuary were systematically stripped of their stone, which was re-used in buildings that could be a considerable distance away.⁷ Remains that survived by chance became buried in the sloping ground. Anything that survived from the Throne structure was incorporated into the post-Byzantine chapel of St Kyriaki.⁸ There were

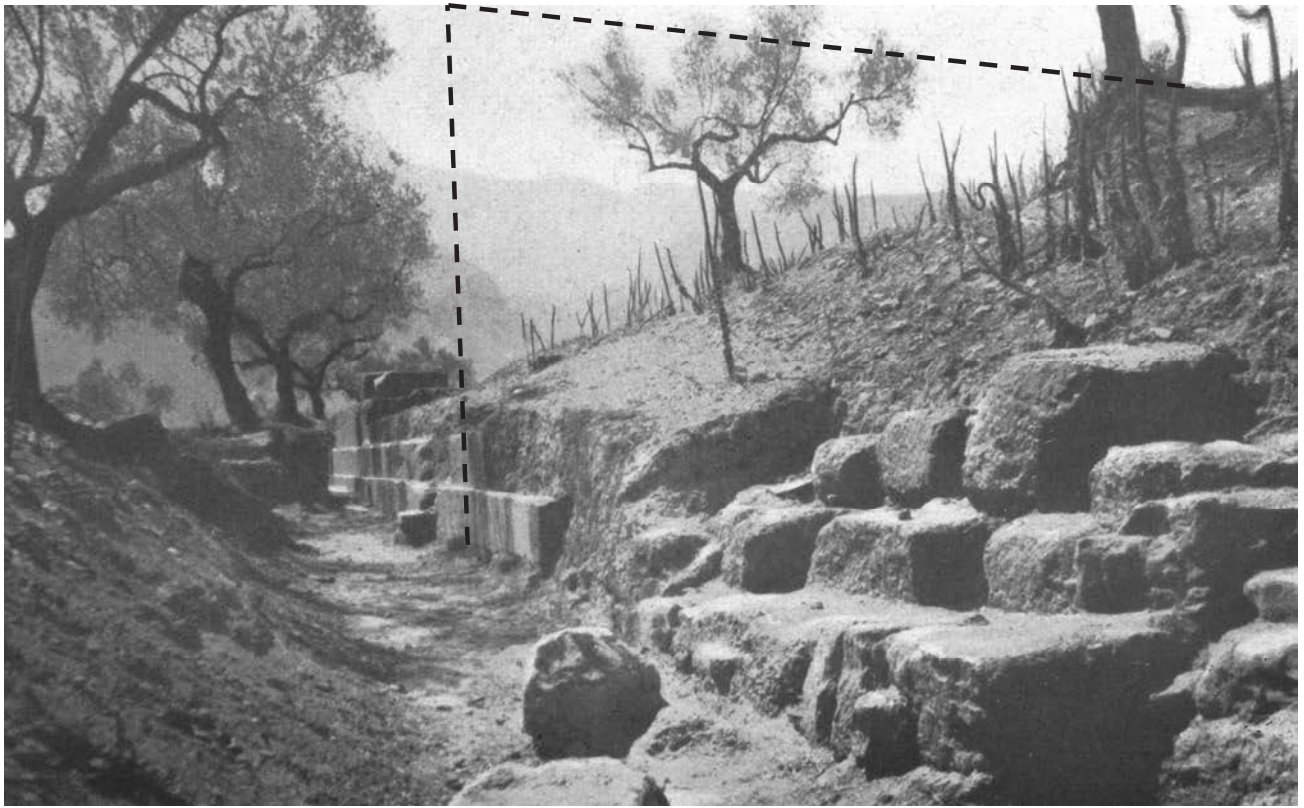


Fig. 1. Amykles, Apollo Sanctuary, *peribolos* (view from south), 1920.
The black dot line indicates the height of the structure during antiquity.

many reasons for the extent of the destruction. The construction was situated on the top of a hill, so there would in any case have been no silting up if the site were abandoned, leaving the remaining parts exposed. Moreover, proximity to medieval settlements (Sklavochori, Tsaousi etc.) and ease of access exacerbated the damage. Similarly the presence of lead and iron in the joints of the superstructure and of valuable tufa⁹ in the foundation of the Throne was partly responsible for the way it was plundered for spolia. The fact that the site was in continuous use and the ongoing process of alterations made to the various structures resulted in a continual recycling of the stone material. Most of the marble architectural members are in fragmentary condition, requiring careful handling, and making it time-consuming work to compare them. Although the overall dimensions of the Throne are still a matter of conjecture for reasons that will be explained below, there is no doubt that only a very small amount of the architectural members have been preserved. Another

real problem faced by archaeological research is the fact that the pieces are scattered.¹⁰ The Amyklaion marbles are currently either in storerooms, or somewhere on the site or even immured in churches. This dispersal makes it difficult to assemble, record and compare the pieces with one another. The problems are getting worse by the unusual structure of the Throne (a building in the form of a seat). Clearly a construction such as this is not subject to the well-known typological rules that govern, for example, a peripteral temple. Its form was unique. This hypothesis is supported moreover by the acknowledged rarity of the form of the architectural members. However, there are problems associated both with the history of research into the site and the issue of the protection of the remains in the previous century. Famous archaeologists (Tsountas, Furtwängler, Fiechter, Massow, etc.) have laboured to save this renowned sanctuary from oblivion, coming to some striking, if not always entirely safe conclusions. Acknowledging the circumstances of what was an early period in

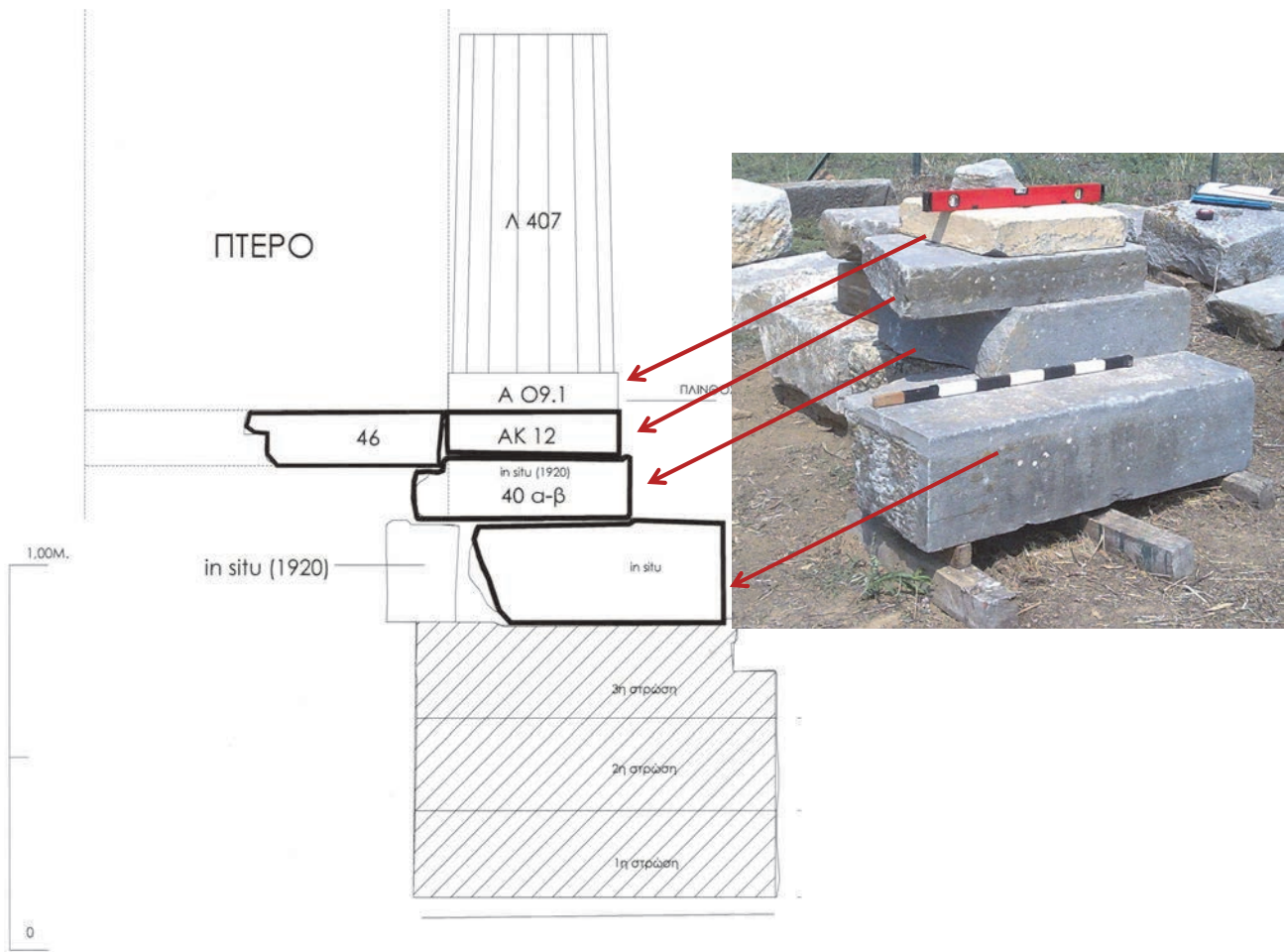


Fig. 2. Amykles, Apollo Sanctuary.

The drawings of the architectural reconstruction are based upon assembling members of the ancient building in the site.

the history of archaeology, we can only say that in the end there was insufficient documentation of what went on, on the site.¹¹ Nevertheless, we must acknowledge the value of the German scholars' work. They tried to resist the lure of a one-dimensional theoretical approach, something which still seems to hold sway nowadays in many ambitious reconstruction projects relating to the monument, complicating the Amyklaion question with a vast mass of data. The length of time that has passed since the excavations and the lack of any real protection have undermined the general state of preservation of the site even more.¹² It seems that the ruins uncovered by Tsountas were plundered to supply material for an extension to the first church of St Kyriaki, depriving later scholarship of some important evidence. Many of the marbles that

Fiechter found intact¹³ are now in fragmentary condition. And there is a number of examples of architectural members, which had either been left on site¹⁴ or were found in the settlement of Sklavochori, being completely lost.¹⁵

The in situ finds from the material of the Throne resulting from the excavations are limited. We shall attempt to overcome the lack of a baseline, which the discovery of foundations would have provided, by making use of the architectural members and taking a more detailed look at the other evidence. This way of working means not relying on a one-dimensional approach, i.e. just making drawings, to create a graphic reconstruction. Tasks such as the stripping of plaster from surfaces,¹⁶ removing architectural members from walls,¹⁷ the lifting of stones,¹⁸ transportation and re-assembly of fragments are being carried out

Βωμός

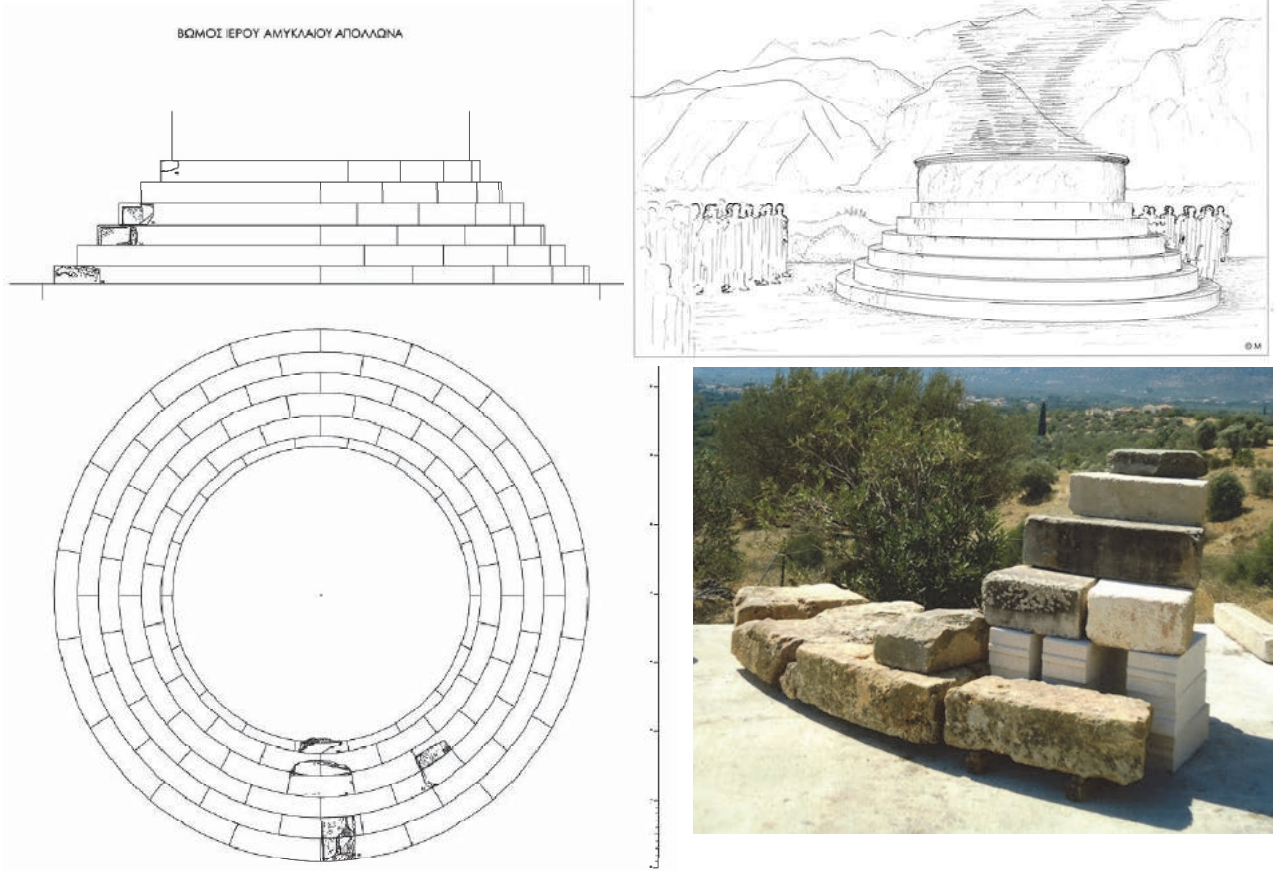


Fig. 3. Amykles, Apollo Sanctuary, *bomos* (drawings and a view of an initial arrangement of the structure).

with scrupulous attention to detail and a view to making as careful a study of the marble surfaces as possible. The process of defining the developmental stages includes documenting architectural members, comparing architectural forms on plan, putting together small architectural elements (steps, columns, entablatures, door frames), and the redrawing of a definitive or approximate reconstruction plan. The aim of the operation is to assemble larger units from the individual architectural members, allowing a partial reconstruction of the buildings (figs 2, 3). The form and dimensions of these units must be reliable. To this end some typical stones, capable of representing specific groups of architectural members, have been assembled, conserved and finally put into some initial arrangements or experimental compositions, so as to determine

the relative positions of architectural members on the site. Identification of the architectural members from the sanctuary has been confirmed by the documentation project that was carried out beforehand as part of the programme. These pieces are categorized according to type of material, the working of the surfaces and any special morphological or constructional details.¹⁹

Even in recent times there has been a tendency to rely on theoretical interpretations of Pausanias's text. This has yielded a vast amount of information and led to some rather contradictory conclusions. The variety of conclusions that have emerged from this line of enquiry bear witness to the folly of basing an investigation on interpretations of this in any case enigmatic text. Some great philologists have interpreted Pausanias in entirely different

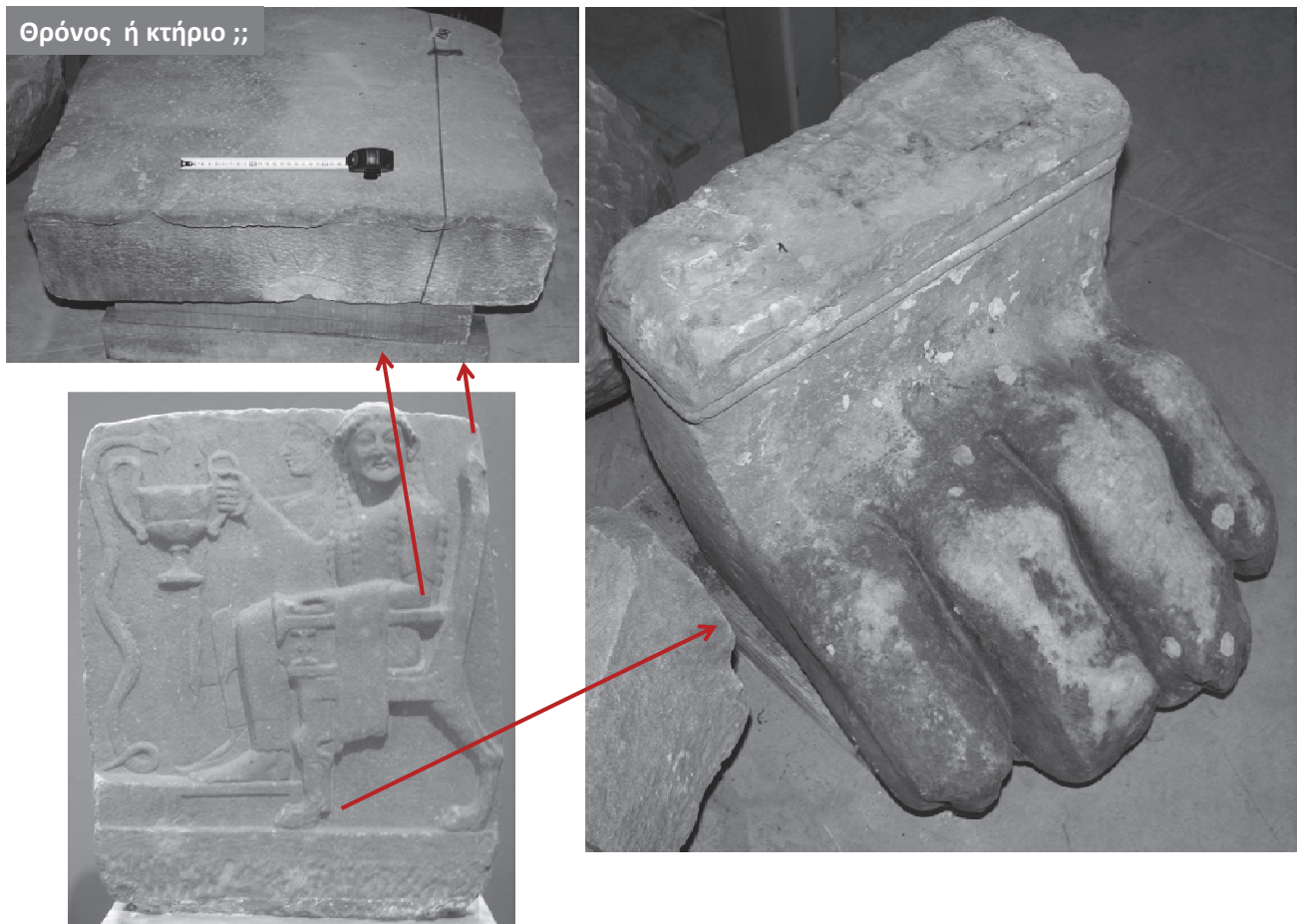


Fig. 4. Marble lion foot and cushion formed marble covers. Sparta, Ardamis Storeroom.

ways.²⁰ In most reconstructions, because they were based exclusively on the ancient traveller's account, the role of decoration has been most definitely "over emphasized". It is well known that Pausanias focused on the mythological and symbolic content of the buildings and paid much less attention to the architectural aspects of the structures that had such content. Without doubt the tendency in earlier research to take the easy way out and rely over much on theories and imaginative reconstructions was encouraged by the lack of sufficient ruined foundations to provide strong and fixed Geometric evidence. Moreover the ambiguous words used by Pausanias (*thronos*, *taphos*, *bomos*, *eurychoria*, etc.) have been interpreted accordingly, leading to different models of reconstruction. Even nowadays those interpretations are given equal status as sources of

"inspiration"; they cannot constitute the sole means of arriving at a correct, scholarly reconstruction.

Pausanias describes what we might describe as a "speaking" building; a building which depicts many figures and describes many myths through its decoration. That is what impresses him. He describes the figures in detail and with an eye to the art, yet without giving any specific facts about the building. There is no information on the materials. Any information on the building emerges indirectly and in relation to the description of the figures. Thus interpreting Pausanias's phrases and descriptions turns out to be a risky business. We could divide up the information his text provides into details about the arrangement of space²¹ and details about the figures and scenes.²² From reading the text it emerges that the Throne had four sup-

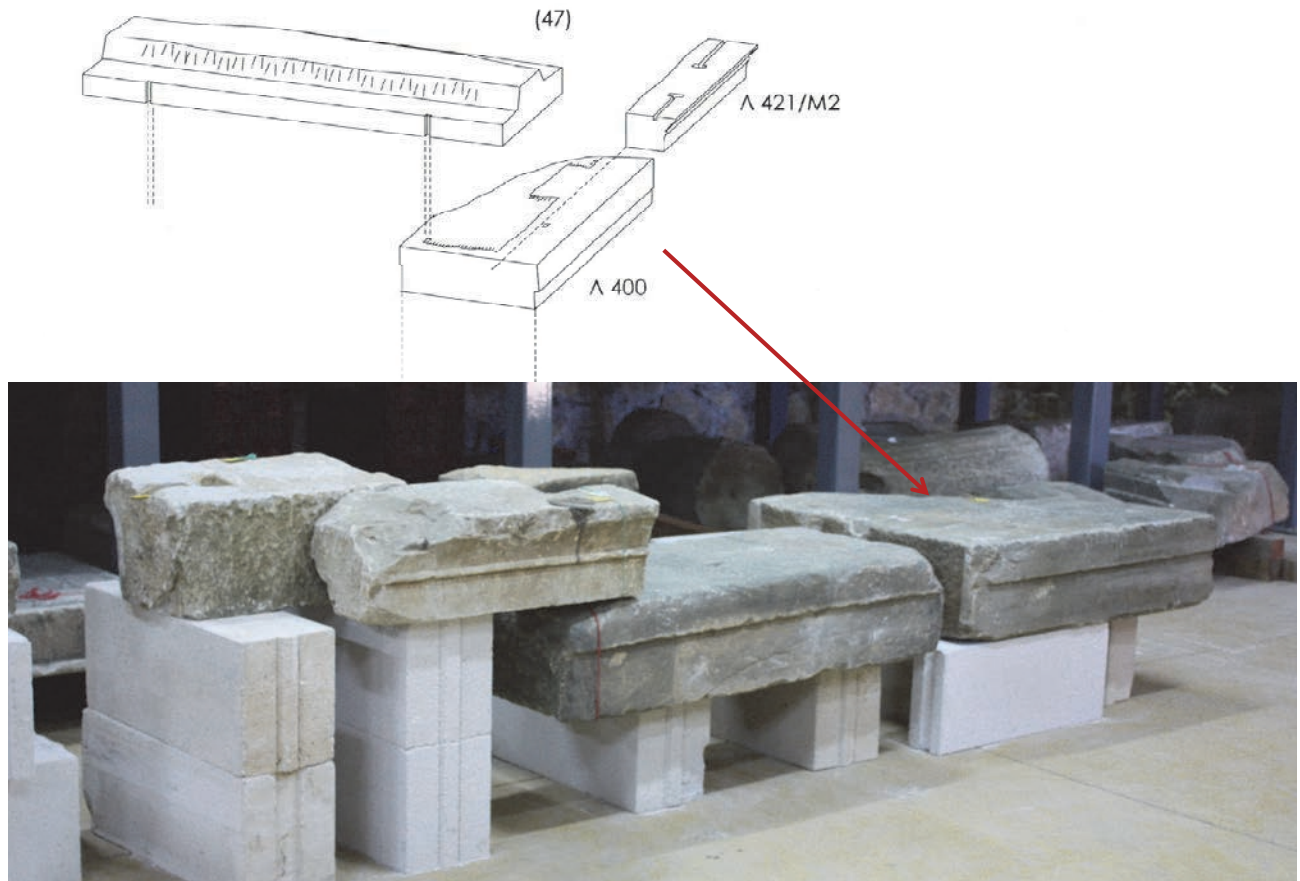


Fig. 5. Marble elements of the upper part of a wall with enormous thick indicate a multiple-storey structure. Sparta, Ardamis Storeroom.

ports, i.e. pilasters or piers. Then, counting up the figures mentioned, it can be ascertained that the Throne was decorated with 28 figures²³ on the outside and 14 on the inside. The “upper limits of the Throne” had two registers and on “the very top of the Throne” there was yet another. From the description of the parts where “the god would sit” it emerges that there was a symmetrical, probably broad-fronted, arrangement with spaces between the seats, with the central (or middle) seat being the widest. It is not clear whether the seat surrounds the god. Moreover, since Pausanias mentions that the statue is “ancient”, it follows that its base must also be old. Thus Vathykles was not starting from scratch.²⁴ The statue was a wooden abstract depiction clad in bronze. It is clear that Pausanias is appraising the figures aesthetically and he categorizes them

chronologically. Moreover, in noting that: “the base of the statue looks like an altar” and that “Hyakinthos is said to be buried there” it transpires that the statue’s pedestal was probably a structure made up of a base, the main part and an upper part, was cube-shaped or a parallelepiped, large enough to support the statue both in terms of weight and proportions, and big enough to accommodate a funerary chamber, i.e. with an empty space inside the base.

To make sense of the one basic fact Pausanias gives us, i.e. that he was confronted with a throne and one which resembled the throne of Olympian Zeus, it is necessary to analyze the basic elements that characterize a structure of this type. A throne is a cube with a back, with or without arms. An invariable feature of this sort of item of furniture are the zoomorphic terminals on the supports or the

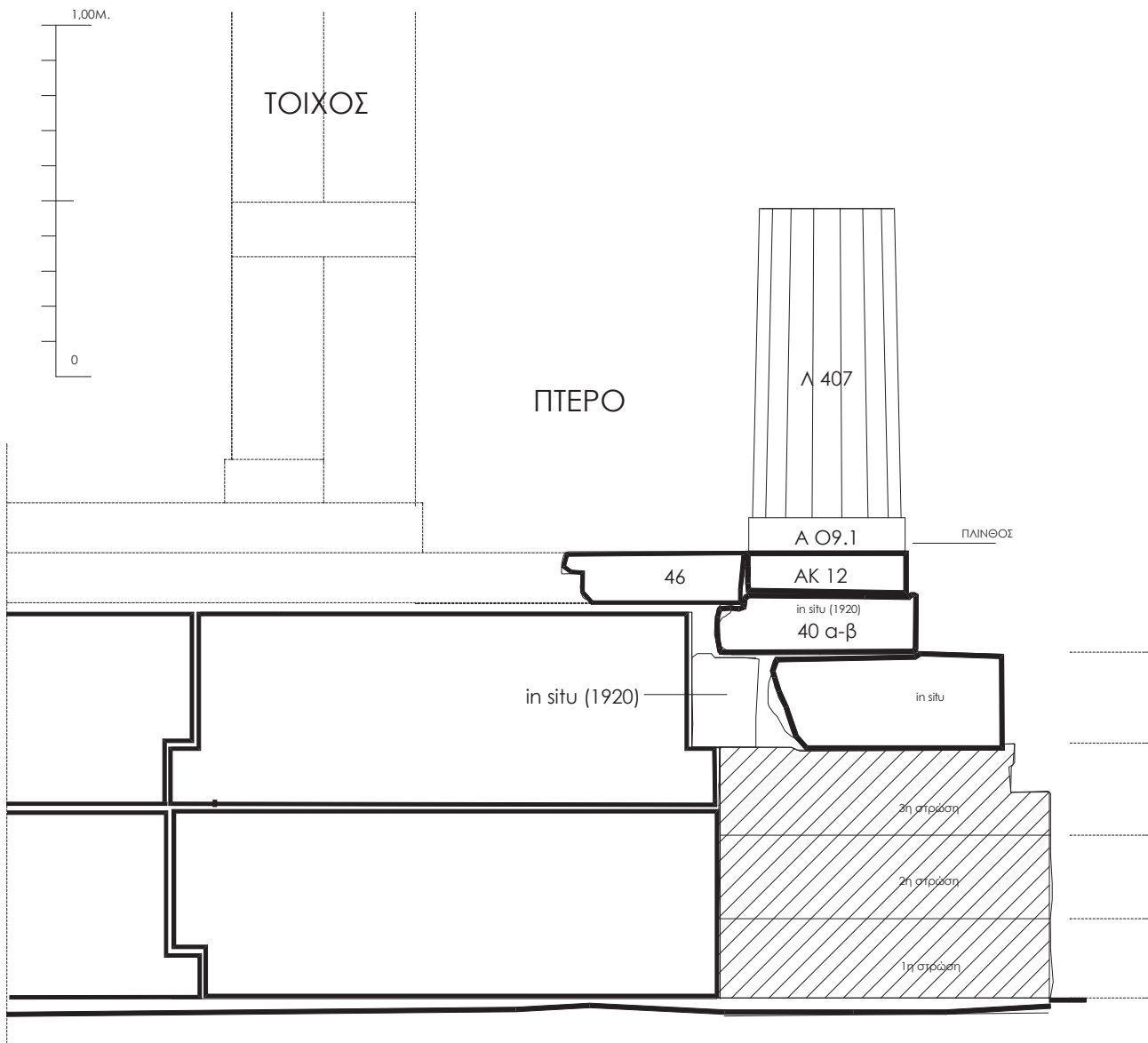


Fig. 6. The Apollo “Throne” (architectural reconstruction of a narrow *pteron*, elevation).

lower edges. There are an infinite number of variations on this basic formal composition. The cube and the back or arms can be openwork with a great many vertical supports or just a few, or it may be solid. There may be a footrest. The sides of the seat are divided into at least two or three parts. Pausanias states quite clearly that he is looking at a Throne. He is not talking about a functional building. It is a Throne for an upright figure. He states clearly that the god could sit on it. Constructing some initial premises

as to what at least the scale of this structure might be, let us start from the only measurement Pausanias gives us: i.e. the height of the cult statue of the god, given as 30 cubits,²⁵ approx. 13.30 m. Based on the usual relative proportions of a chair to its occupant the height of the seat would be about 3.50 m.²⁶ We should stress that the height of the base must be added to the chair, suitably proportioned to give a natural look to the final result. We should also stress that Pausanias emphasizes that it disturbs the

naturalness of the figure.²⁷ Martin says that Pausanias's descriptions are neither systematic, nor strictly logical and that he is working on first impressions and a succession of images.²⁸ But could it also be that the structure does not help him organize his description? Might its unusual form and its surprising resemblance to a throne hinder the describing? In commenting on Pausanias's description of the reliefs Martin firstly suggests that he is not writing about the whole composition and that the scenes he describes are part of a continuous frieze. And this is not a random judgement but part of a more general attempt to set the Throne in a particular context on the basis of certain Ionian influences on the Throne, which proceed from the "position that [...] the Throne is entirely Ionian in conception and is directly comparable with constructions such as the Pergamum altar". Yet Pausanias states: "[...] If I were to talk about each of the reliefs in detail, I would tire my readers [so] I will mention them briefly [...]". This could very well mean that he describes them all but with no further analysis. Moreover, we would point out that he refers to the scenes sequentially, in other words he does not relate the depictions one to another or put them together, as would be the case with a frieze or the way he usually describes the compositions on a pediment. Pausanias described a throne, but what do the architectural members suggest? The architectural elements of the Throne (columns, cornices, entablatures, doors, orthostates) are elements that play an entirely functional role in an Archaic building. However, in this building there are some parts that have a visual connection with the components of a 'seat'. These are the lions' feet²⁹ and other components.³⁰ In this respect many people have thought that the consoles are part of the elements associated with the arms.³¹

Another issue at the heart of the debate is whether or not the Throne was more than one storey high. Usually in buildings with several storeys we see a proportional reduction in the size of similar architectural members.³² There are few exceptions. Massow and Delivorrias have described the in situ foundation as "inadequate" to support a series of floors in that particular part of the structure. Massow thinks that the delicate members belonging to the Throne suggest a single-storey structure, while he also notes that certain cornices³³ can be supposed to belong to an upper storey. Buschor juxtaposes a reconstruction of an one-storey Throne with an elevation of the entablature. Martin also suggests an one-storey Throne.

Fiechter depicts a two-storey Throne. The double skin wall is 72-78 cm thick, i.e. it exceeds the usual weight-bearing requirements of a conventional, one-storey, stone structure and points to the construction being considerably higher.³⁴ There is another marble stone from the top of a wall which supported beams and is ca 60 cm thick, the back of which is unworked. From this we can conclude that it was part of a wall with a minimum thickness of over 70 cm. We think this wall could have been the 'back' of the Throne. Based on this information and the fact that reference is made to a 'high rise' Throne, it can be deduced with relative certainty that there were levels of the construction above the ground floor. From another fragment of a cornice, which has been discussed in the past, we know there was a small internal open-air space, i.e. a courtyard. Moreover in the 2009 excavations two fragments were found from a small beam which gives us the exact width of a narrow side chamber or passageway: 95 cm. Furthermore, inside the Throne structure, according to Pausanias's account, was the base of the cult statue, which we can assert with relative confidence measured 3.00 m x 3.00 m.³⁵ And because we know that there was a corner colonette, which must have been in a different place from the lions' feet, which occupied the outer edges of a built structure, it transpires that in addition to the outer shell there was another internal one that surrounded a courtyard, an inner chamber and, of course, the base of the cult statue. The idea of a double shell is entirely in accordance with Pausanias's descriptions of the figures.³⁶ From them it can be concluded that Fiechter's suggestion that the Throne measured ca 6 m x 6 m does not stand up to scrutiny. Valuable evidence is derived from an accurate assessment of the present site of later buildings which are continuations of or at right-angles to the ruined foundations of the Throne. In the middle ages an apse was fitted into the ancient foundation.³⁷ The axis of the apse was at right-angles to the foundation and the lowest extant part of it is made up of conglomerate, which probably came from the underpinnings of the central part of the Throne.³⁸ At the north west of the continuation of the line of the foundations the massive stones of the base form a right angle on the ground plan.³⁹ To the east and at right angles to the extant part of the foundations a tomb has been placed at some unknown later period, consisting of two rectangular chambers. To the north there are the foundations of a strong wall which is also built of con-

glomerate, of the same kind as that in the apse. It is clear that these remains, like others from later buildings to the north or parts of the *peribolos* to the south and east follow a regular system of alignment based on the Throne, as can be deduced from the direction of the surviving part of the *crepidoma*. In other words, when these later additions to the Throne were built, the remains of the *crepidoma* were still standing and were important factors in the alignment of the new structures. The extent and form of the existing ruins are due largely to the fact that the church of St Kyriaki was built over them. By careful scrutiny it can be ascertained that the width of the church was determined precisely by the length of the extant ancient structure. This clearly shows that the fitting together of the various phases of construction is to some extent a determining factor in what will be preserved over time.⁴⁰ The most likely scenario is that the ruins of the Throne were dismantled bit by bit in order to build later structures. The process of dismantling of the structure was dictated by what the structure offered at that time, both in terms of its material and its general form. The building that replaced the Throne, which according to Tsountas was a basilica,

though this has not yet been confirmed, seems at least in part to have been fitted into the ruins of the Throne, which was at the same time supplying its partial extension with building materials. A later wall, which at one point consisted of stones from the base of the cult statue, was aligned with the pre-existing line of the *crepidoma*. The suggestion that the *crepidoma* extended as far as the spot where the recycled stones from the base of the statue were set in the rebuilding establishes the maximum extent of the Throne at the time of the conversion. Furthermore the site of the later tomb, set at right angles to the ruined *crepidoma*, marks the eastern limit for the development of the original Throne structure.

Subsequent research is required to show if these boundary lines are firm indications of the total area occupied by the Throne structure.⁴¹

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NOTES

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1. The wall that surrounds and defines the boundaries of an ancient sanctuary. When there is no *peribolos* the extent of the sanctuary is marked with stone boundary markers. Up to now no such markers have been found at the Amyklaion nor at any monumental structures in the wider area, so this strong wall must be assumed to be the sanctuary's *enceinte*. See entries A. Orlandos – I. Travlos, *Λεξικὸν ἀρχαίων ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ὄρων* (Athens 1986), *s.v.* Περίβολος, Ὀρος.

2. A petrographic survey is being carried out by the Stone Centre of the Ministry of Culture.

3. The foundations of this structure were discovered by

Tsountas in the 1890 excavation. See Tsountas 1892, 15. In 1894 Prof. P. Wolters made a printed sketch of this foundation, which was subsequently published by Fiechter, see Fiechter 1918, 132. The remains of the foundation must have been dismantled to get material for the construction of a bench in the church of St Kyriaki, which, as can be deduced from the sequence of published photographs, was built a few years later.

4. See the article by M. Korres in this volume.

5. On the sanctuary's importance, see Delivorrias 2009, 133-35.

6. A number of cases of stones from the Amyklaion being used in neighbouring monuments are attested, mainly after the 11th c.

7. In Sparta (7 Othonos Str.) fragments were identified by Fiechter (inv. no. Fiechter 55a) built into a house. There is evidence that even at a distance of 15 km stones from the Amyklaion have been found.

8. The chapel was demolished in the early 20th c. to facilitate the archaeological research being carried out by the German Archaeological Institute, see Fiechter 1918, 119 fig. 12.

9. A light, malleable material, highly prized for the construction of vaults and semi-domes in Christian buildings.

10. The numbers are revealing. To date the number of marbles from the Amyklaion preserved intact or in fragmentary condition is as follows: 28 on display in the Archaeological Museum of Sparta, 83 in the Ardamis archaeological store-room, 60 scattered on the archaeological site, more than 64 built into the church of St Kyriaki, more than 25 immured in the church of Prophitis Ilias, 4 in the church of the Sts Theodore, 10 in the church of St Nicholas and about 20 built into other sites. From the 2009 and 2010 excavations another 9 and 7 marbles respectively emerged.

11. Excavation has shown that the areas that had been dug in the past were more extensive than it would appear from the excavation reports.

12. The removal of marble blocks from one whole course of a step from the only uncovered part of the foundations is a typical example. Massow also looked for these stones. See Buschor – von Massow 1927, 65.

13. E.g. an orthostat (inv. no. Fiechter 27), found broken into two fragments, which were subsequently put back together (no. in Research Programme 27+53).

14. Massow mentioned this phenomenon. A typical example is a capital with a relief scene. Of the 16 stones from steps that Fiechter identified only 5 have been found. The rest were broken up and used as building materials in the new church of St Kyriaki.

15. E.g. a stone outside St Nikon (inv. no. Fiechter 63).

16. To date work has been carried out to remove plaster from the church of St Nicholas in Amykles and St Kyriaki on the archaeological site.

17. This includes the proposed work to remove stones from the walls of churches in Sklavochori. See Bilis – Magnisali 2009.

18. E.g. taking up stones from the permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Sparta to examine and document hitherto hidden sides.

19. E.g. the use of stone gudgeons.

20. E.g. there is still no agreement as to the host of figures Pausanias enumerates.

21. E.g. “[...] at the upper limits of the Throne”, “[...] on the very top of Throne”, “[...] if one goes underneath the Throne”, “at the end there is ...” “[...] Where the god would sit the Throne is not continuous but has a number of parts for seating and next to each there is some space while the middle part is the widest and that is where the statue stands upright [...]”, “[...] a statue of 30 cubits”, “[...] on one side”, “[...] and on the other”, “[...] under their horses”, “[...] on Castor’s side”.

22. “[...] Excluding the face, the hands and feet it is shaped like a bronze column [...]” “There is a helmet on the head and a lance and bow in the hands [...]”, etc.

23. There are even different interpretations on the mass of

figures. Martin thinks that the decoration is part of a continuous frieze.

24. Massow made the same observation. See Buschor – von Massow 1927, 75.

25. According to Pausanias the statue had a height of 30 cubits. See Paus., 384, 387. On the basis of this information the height can be calculated as 13.30 m (30 x 44.355 cm [= a cubit]). For ways of measuring in Pausanias’s time, see Adam 1989, 43.

26. Without backs. So the cube would have 3.50 m sides.

27. A typical example is his aside on the width of the seat, which he is at pains to point out distinguishes the Throne he is looking at from a ‘normal’ throne.

28. Martin 1976, 205-18.

29. Korres located the lions’ feet in the courtyard of the Museum of Sparta. The details of their construction and the type of marble link them with the stones from the Amyklaion.

30. Imitation of a pillow. The way these stones are arranged to fit the projections and corresponding recesses, paying special attention to sealing the joints, and the fact that their arrangement corresponds to the signs of thrust from vertical surfaces does not support the hypothesis that these stones were part of the crowning of the *peribolos*.

31. Prückner 1992, 123-30.

32. Only in stage scenery can the order of an upper storey consist of larger-scale elements than that of the ground floor.

33. Buschor – von Massow 1927, 117-18.

34. Moreover we should not overlook the fact that Pausanias’s use of the word “uppermost” in connection with this structure points to vertical growth.

35. See M. Korres’s contribution to this volume.

36. Twenty-four of these figures would be on the outside and twelve on the inner shell, probably representing half the composition.

37. Which can be ascertained from a macroscopic inspection of the plaster used in the construction.

38. These particular stones were attributed to the *peribolos* in the past. The system of grooves seen on the stones from the foundations and on the marble slabs of the floor is also seen on the stones found built into the apse-shaped later addition to the south face of the *crepidoma*. We had already asserted that the conglomerate stones that made up the apse in the vicinity of the Throne did not belong to the *peribolos*, as earlier scholars had asserted. We had ascertained that these stones displayed certain Geometric characteristics, such as their height, which shows that they belonged to a construction that had been dismantled in order to build the apse. Moreover the grooves on these particular stones turned out to be additions and not the same sort of grooves as those found in the system employed in the southern part of the *peribolos*. In other words these stones, which all have the same height and the same construction details, are a distinct group.

39. It remains to be demonstrated whether the apse and this corner belong to the same historical phase, though we believe that to be the case.

40. Unsurprisingly when the ruins were uncovered after the church was demolished quite a lot of material was lost.

41. The same phenomenon, i.e. a building being adapted to a pre-existing system of alignment in a structure whose dis-

mantling provided the material for a new arrangement, is seen in the church at Gyroulas on Naxos. In that case the basilica followed the outline of the original building. If for any reason only the ruins of the later development survived, that would establish the limits of the pre-existing structure or at least the framework within which it should be sought. At Amyklai this was simply because the massive stones from the base were used in the later development.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΜΠΙΛΗΣ – ΜΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΑΛΗ

Ζητήματα της αρχιτεκτονικής αναπαράστασης των μνημείων στο ιερό του Αμυκλαίου Απόλλωνα

Με την κατάρρευση του αρχαίου κόσμου πολλά φημισμένα αρχιτεκτονήματα καταστράφηκαν, ληλατήθηκαν και τελικά χάθηκαν, είτε ολοσχερώς είτε εν μέρει, αφήνοντας ένα κενό που πολλές φορές πυροδοτεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό την ιστορική περιέργεια και αναζήτηση. Μια τέτοια περίπτωση είναι και ο Θρόνος του Απόλλωνα στις Αμύκλες. Στο άρθρο παρουσιάζονται αφενός τα δεδομένα σχετικά

με το πρόβλημα της αναπαράστασης των κατασκευών που συνέθεταν το ιερό και αφετέρου η μεθοδολογία που ακολουθείται για την επίλυσή του. Στο πλαίσιο της περιορισμένης έκτασης του άρθρου σχολιάζονται βασικά θέματα που προκύπτουν τόσο από την ανάγνωση του κειμένου του Πausανία, όσο και από τη σημερινή νέα θεώρηση της εικόνας του ερειπίου.

MANOLIS KORRES

The Pediment of the Statue

THE STONE BLOCKS FROM THE PEDIMENT are clearly distinguishable from those of the Throne itself because: 1) they are much larger; 2) their geological structure is different; 3) the working of all the surfaces is identical, something that only happens on very early works, making it very difficult to distinguish between the various faces, i.e. to tell the top from the bottom; 4) there are no contact bands (*anathyrosis*) or clamps. The statue was undoubtedly there long before the Throne was built around it.

At some point in time (fig. 2), the pediment underwent substantial modification as a result of which stone β_4 , originally on the outside, assumed a new, decidedly slanting position on the inside, got shorter—going from 88 cm to 72 cm—, was joined to the outer stones with double-T metal clamps (a type which first appeared around 30 BC) and acquired the characteristic ~50 cm-wide opening. Traces of copper oxide are preserved on the stone from this phase, marking the precise outline (fig. 2) of the back of the lower part of the wooden statue of Apollo, that resembled a bronze column (*ἡ ἀλλοτρίωτος ἐἰκασμῆνος*).

On the left side of stone β_4 are minute, barely visible holes with traces of the copper-alloy nails used to attach the bronze plaques, which probably predate the alterations. Similar ones are also visible on stone β_5 (and some were observed by Buschor). The joint facades of stones β_4 and β_5 , ca 3 m long (i.e. 10 Ionic feet), being the only

side with holes (for fixing a total of seven plaques), must have formed part of the pediment's front face (fig. 1).

The curved block (β_2), as part of an arched lintel, must have once been on the left-hand side of the pediment, which is where—according to Pausanias—the door to the tomb was. The other blocks (β_1), (β_3) and (β_6), being of the same height (83 cm), would all have belonged to the same course, immediately below the course occupied by blocks β_4 and β_5 .

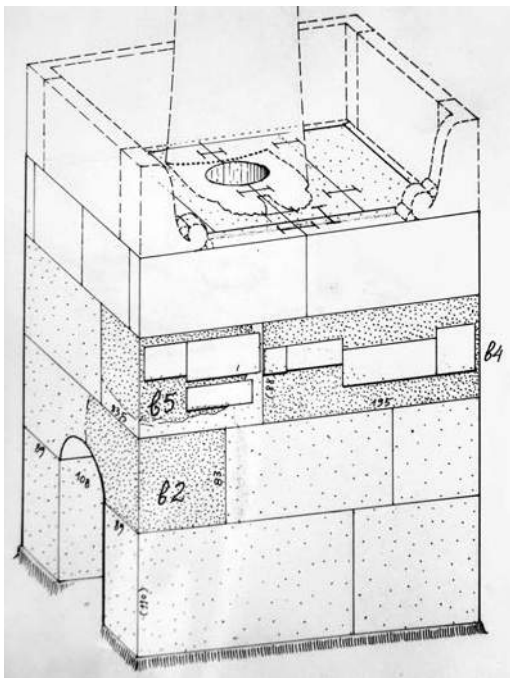
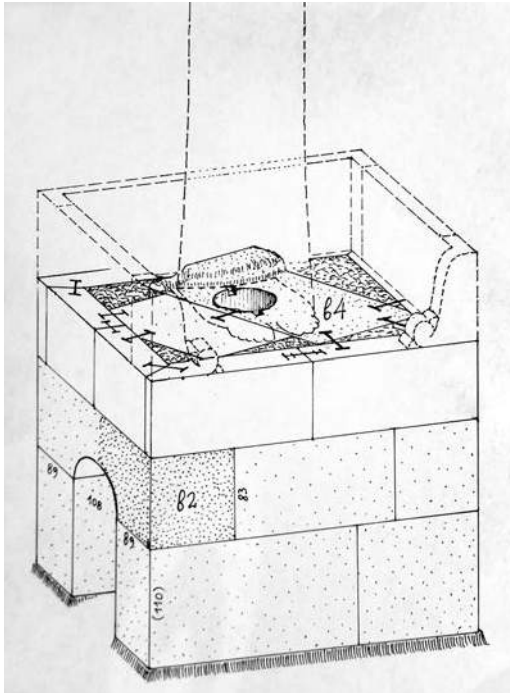
The alterations to the pediment must have been necessitated by the need to cut off the lower part of the central block of wood forming the cult statue (due to damage caused by a build-up of moisture). The new height of block β_4 (72 cm) in the third course must be the same as that of the (no longer extant) fourth course of stone blocks, which—because of the shortening of the timber (undoubtedly by the same amount)—must have had to be repositioned in the third course, though only on the exterior (as β_5 had been moved to the interior).

There is only one possible explanation for this very specific sequence of events: the fourth course must have been made up of decorated plaques (a frieze) on the outside, while a pediment placed on it (e.g. with spirals and figurative subjects in between) would account for Pausanias's assertion that the pediment resembled an altar.

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ΜΑΝΟΛΗΣ ΚΟΡΡΕΣ

Το βάθρο του αγάλματος



Εικ. 1. Το βάθρο μετά τη μετατροπή.

Εικ. 2. Το βάθρο στην αρχική του μορφή.

Οι λίθοι του βάθρου διακρίνονται σαφώς εκείνων του Θρόνου : 1) είναι πολύ μεγαλύτεροι, 2) έχουν διαφορετική γεωλογική σύσταση, 3) όπως μόνον σε πολύ πρώιμα έργα, η καταργασία όλων των επιφανειών είναι η αυτή –προς μεγάλη δυσκολία διάκρισης όψεων, εδρών ή επιφανειών ώσεως–, 4) ταινίες αναθυρώσεως και σύνδεσμοι απουσιάζουν. Ασφαλώς, το άγαλμα έστεκε εκεί, πολύ πριν κτιστεί γύρω του ο Θρόνος.

Σε κάποια χρονική στιγμή (εικ. 2), το βάθρο υπέστη μια ουσιώδη μεταβολή κατά την οποία ο λίθος β4, εξωτερικός αρχικά, έλαβε νέα, εμφανώς λοξή θέση στο μέσον, έχασε ύψος –από 88 εκ. ελαττώθηκε σε 72 εκ.–, συνδέθηκε με τους εξωτερικούς μέσω μεταλλικών συνδέσμων μορφής διπλού T (είδος μη εμφανιζόμενο μετά τον 3ο αι. π.Χ.) και απέκτησε τη χαρακτηριστική οπή πλάτους ~50 εκ. Από αυτή τη φάση διατηρείται επί του λίθου, ως συνεχής γραμμή ιχνών οξειδίου χαλκού, το ακριβές οπίσθιο κάτω περίγραμμα (εικ. 2) του *χαλκῶ κίονι εἰκασμένον* ξύλινου αγάλματος του Απόλλωνος.

Στην αριστερή πλευρά του λίθου β4 υπάρχουν δυοδιάκριτες μικρότατες οπές με λείψανα ορειχάλκινων καρφίδων στερεώσεως πινακίδων, προφανώς προγενεστέρων της μετατροπής. Τέτοιες υπάρχουν και στον λίθο β5 (κάποιες είχαν παρατηρηθεί και από τον Buschor). Το κοινό μέτωπο των λίθων β4 και β5, μήκους τριών σχεδόν μέτρων, δηλ. 10 ιωνικών ποδών, ως μόνο φέρον οπές (για τη στερέωση επτά συνολικώς πινακίδων), πρέπει να ανήκε στην πρόσοψη του βάθρου (εικ. 1).

Ο λίθος με καμπύλη απολάξευση (β2), ως μέρος τοξωτού ανωφλίου, πρέπει να βρισκόταν στην αριστερή πλευρά του βάθρου, όπου η κατά Πausanία θυρίς του τάφου. Ως ομοιούφεις αυτού (83 εκ.), οι λοιποί λίθοι (β1), (β3) και (β6) ανήκαν στην ίδια σειρά, αμέσως υποκείμενη της σειράς των β4 και β5.

Η μετατροπή του βάθρου πρέπει να υπαγορεύθηκε από την ανάγκη αποτμήσεως του κατώτερου άκρου του κεντρικού ξύλου του αγάλματος (μετά από φθορά εκ της συγκεντρωμένης υγρασίας). Το νέο ύψος του λίθου β4 (72 εκ.) της 3ης σειράς δεν πρέπει να είναι άλλο από εκείνο της (μη σωζόμενης) 4ης σειράς λίθων, η οποία λόγω της βραχύνσεως του ξύλου (ασφαλώς κατά το αυτό ποσόν) έπρεπε να ανατοποθετηθεί στην 3η σειρά, αλλά μόνον εξωτερικώς (καθόσον στο μέσον θα έμενε μετατοπισμένος ο β5).

Για την ειδικότατη αυτή διαδοχή εργασιών μόνον μια εξήγηση είναι δυνατή: Την 4η σειρά πρέπει εξωτερικώς να αποτελούσαν κοσμημένες πλάκες (ζωφόρος), ενώ μια επ' αυτής ιστάμενη επίστεψη (π.χ. έλικες και ενδιάμεσα εικονιστικά θέματα) θα δικαιολογούσε την κατά Pausanία ομοιότητα του βάθρου προς τους βωμούς.

GEORGIA KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS

“Throne” of Apollo Amyklaios Provenance of the Stones: Preliminary Conclusions

ONE OF THE ASPECTS that it was decided should be investigated in the research programme on the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios was above all the provenance of the marble used in the construction of the architectural members of the “Throne” (fig. 1). This programme, begun in 2008 in collaboration with Dr Y. Maniatis, Director of the Archaeometry Laboratory of the N.C.S.R. “Demokritos”, and his colleagues, seems to be producing some very interesting results.

It was also important to ascertain where the material came from that was used in the construction of other parts of the Throne, such as the crepis (fig. 2), as well as the round, stepped construction (= altar) (fig. 3) in which other types of stone have also been identified. Quite different stones have been used in the retaining walls of the hill, as we know from earlier research (figs 4-5).

More specifically, in Ernst Fiechter’s significant article of 1918,¹ marble (occasionally white) is noted as the material used for the composite capitals, the columns, the epistyle and the sima of the Throne, whereas grey stone—“bläulicher Stein”—is found in the bases and steps, the floor slabs, the ashlar blocks of the walls of the Throne and in the architectural members of the round altar. According to Fiechter poros has been used for the foundations of the Throne and the round altar, while the surviving superstructure is made of marble.

Simply by looking at the stone used to carve the architectural members of the Throne one can see that in fact it is made up of darker and lighter grey marble, which in certain members, such as the composite capital no. 929 in the Archaeological Museum in Sparta (fig. 6), is charac-

teristically shot through with very fine (2-5 mm) darker grey veins, running from top to bottom and parallel with one another, as shown at least in this particular capital. These veins are very unusual and therefore an important characteristic.

A simple visual examination of the material confirms its relationship with the marbles from the ancient quarries in “Gynaika” in the district of Goranoi (Lakonia) and at “Platyvouni” in the Taygetos, better known as the “Sochas quarries”, situated slightly further to the north (fig. 7). Therefore we took samples both from some of the architectural members of the Throne and from these two quarries, which are well known to scholars from a series of publications.²

They are the two quarries nearest to the Amyklaion Hill, which would have made it easier and cheaper to transport the quarried stone than bringing it from other quarries on Taygetos or even the Parnon mountain range. Moreover, testing samples of the grey marble quarried at “Gynaika” and samples of the marble from the well-known ancient *perirrhacteria* (lustral basins on stands) from the 7th c. BC, using the isotopic method of analysis, led Jane Burr Carter to suggest that the grey marble for all the Archaic *perirrhacteria* came from “Gynaika”³ and to attribute them to a Lakonian sculpture workshop despite the obvious stylistic differences between them.⁴

If this is, in fact, the case, then it can be safely assumed that the quarry was already in operation at such an early date, an assumption that significantly strengthens the likelihood that the marble for the Amyklaion Throne came from the same source. Yet it should be noted that this



Fig. 1. A recent attempt at reconstructing part of the Throne.



Fig. 2. The foundations and crepis of the Throne in situ (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 3. A recent attempt at reconstructing part of the "round altar".



Fig. 4. View of the retaining wall of the terrace (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 5. View of the retaining wall of the terrace (photo: G. Alevras).

quarry is a little farther away than the one at Platyvouni (Sochas quarries), which would have made it more difficult to transport the quarried material and consequently more expensive. On the other hand, however, there are as yet no indications that the Platyvouni quarry was operating in the Archaic period, though, of course, this does not mean that it could not have begun operating in this early period.

A recent simple visual inspection of the various architectural members of the Amyklaion led to the following preliminary conclusions (which have yet to be confirmed by tests in the Archaeometry Laboratory of the N.C.S.R. "Demokritos"). First of all the marble of the very well-known part of the sima of the Throne with the relief decoration of flowers and lotus buds, temp. inv. no. 482β (fig. 8), has a light, greyish white colour, the lightest colour of all the architectural members. The same applies to the part of the frieze with triglyph and metope, temp. inv. no. Λ 136 (fig. 9), in the Ardamis Storeroom of the 5th EPCA (Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) in Sparta, where the marble has also a light greyish white colour, and is as yet of unknown provenance. However, it is not certain that this architectural member belonged to the Throne, as the architect Themis Bilis has informed me. The marble of the mouldings, temp. inv. no. Λ 421 (fig. 10), is also greyish white, as are the sima, temp. inv. no. Λ 411 (fig. 11), re-used as a threshold, both in the Ardamis storeroom of the 5th EPCA of Lakonia. According to Y. Maniatis and D. Tsambakopoulos, it is likely that



Fig. 6. Composite capital from the Amyklaion. Archaeological Museum of Sparta, inv. no. 929 (photo: G. Alevras).

the marble for both these architectural members came from Doliana, but further confirmation from isotopic analysis is needed.

In any case white marble was extracted (fig. 7) from quarries at sites near Areopolis, and at Charouda,⁵ Meza-pos,⁶ and Marmari,⁷ as well as from Agios Menas to Porto Kayio in the Taenaron district.⁸ According to information received from Dr Y. Maniatis there is a small area with sites yielding white, fine-grained marble, which in any case clearly differs from the whitish marble of the above-mentioned architectural members. Moreover, a type of white marble was quarried near Vresthena and Chrysafa



Fig. 7. Map of Lakonia, marked with the most important quarry sites (map: A. Eustathopoulos).

"Throne" of Apollo Amyklaios Provenance of the Stones: Preliminary Conclusions



Fig. 8. Architectural members from the Amyklaion: sima, temp. no. Λ 482β (above), mouldings (middle), slab (below). Archaeological Museum of Sparta.



Fig. 9. Metope and triglyph, temp. no. Λ 136. Sparta, Ardamis Storeroom (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 10. Moulding, temp. no. Λ 421. Sparta, Ardamis Storeroom (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 11. Sima/threshold, temp. no. Α 411. Sparta, Ardamis Storeroom (photo: G. Alevras).

in the Parnon mountain (fig. 7).⁹ Then again, it is not impossible that the white marble used at the Amyklaion came from some other, closer, site in the Taygetos, which has perhaps not yet been identified, since all the above-mentioned sources of white marble are some distance away from Amyklai.

Despite the fact that isotopic analysis of the marble from these sites is not yet complete, we can make the preliminary observation that a provenance from the “Gynaika” quarry at Goranoi in the Taygetos, which as we have seen, was operating in the Archaic period, of all the material used on all the other architectural members appears to be confirmed.

Moreover, in the retaining wall that surrounded the hill of the Amyklaion, also built in the Archaic period, conglomerate, a sort of limestone with pebbles in it (figs 4-5), was used. This material must have been quarried somewhere close to the Amyklaion. However, we have not yet succeeded in identifying the quarrying site, though we searched for it in 2008 in collaboration with S. Vlizos, using information from local people. The 1990 IGME

geological map (fig. 12) shows a large concentration of conglomerate stone in the area facing the Amyklaion, i.e. modern Skoura and Platana, an area which, on account of its proximity to Amyklai, would have been a convenient source of the necessary materials. According to the geologist Stathis Chiotis both the Menelaion and the Leonidaion in Sparta were constructed of this same material (figs 14-15).¹⁰ In any case, both in the Evrotas region and quite close to the Amyklaion we discovered blocks of conglomerate the source of which has either been exhausted in the meantime or may now be covered with vegetation, but we did not find any clear signs of quarrying. Nor is there any mention of sites where conglomerate stone was quarried in this period in the publication of the systematic surface survey of Lakonia made between 1983 and 1989 and published in 1996 and 2002 by W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling and G. Shipley.¹¹ By contrast conglomerate was quarried at Agios Vasileios Xerokambi, where a very important Mycenaean site has been found.¹²

In any case, if the material for the most important and prominent part of the Throne was most probably sourced

“Throne” of Apollo Amyklaïos Provenance of the Stones: Preliminary Conclusions

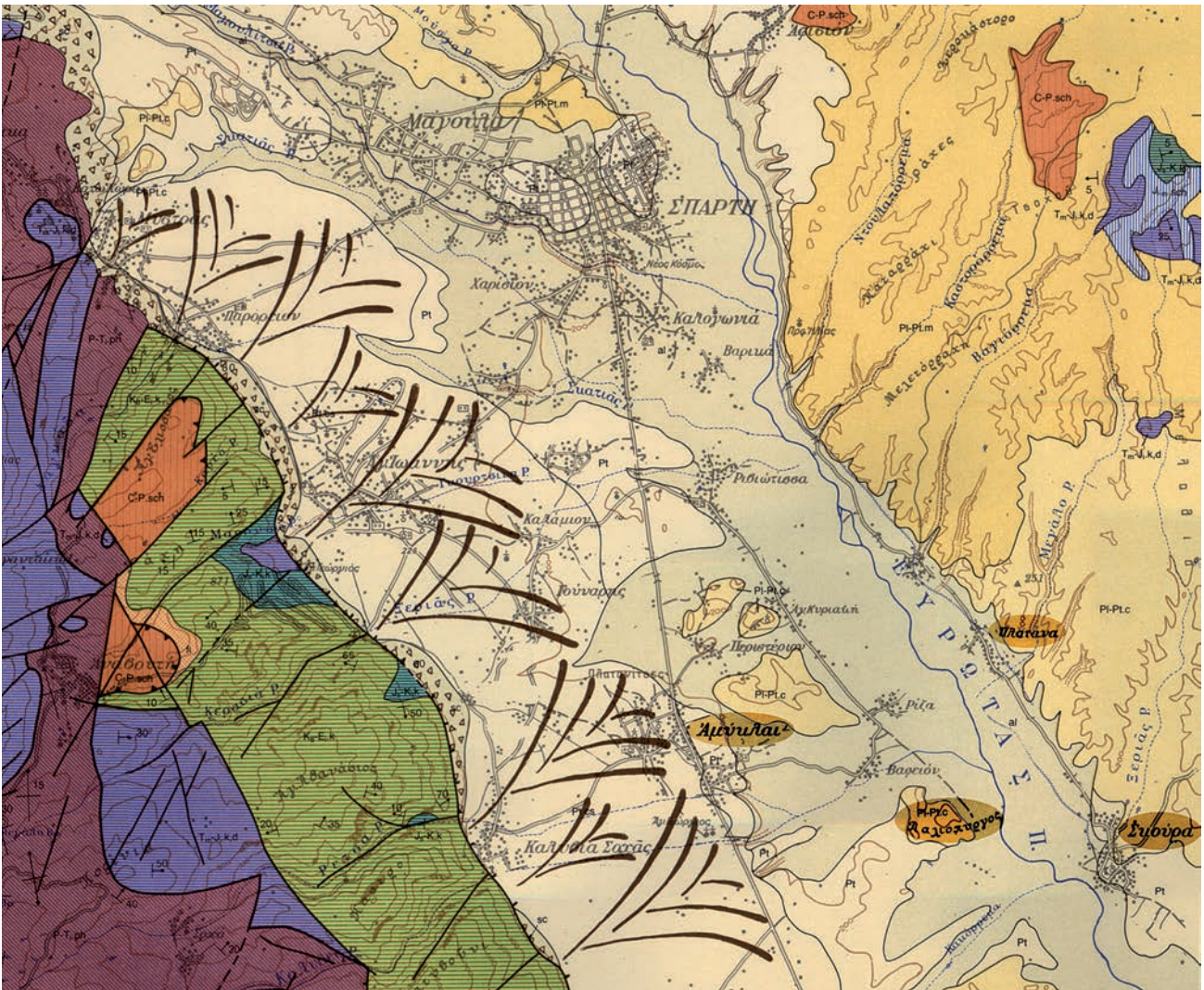


Fig. 12. Detail of IGME geological map Sparta-Amykles area (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 13. View of the Leonidaion (photo: G. Alevras).



Fig. 14. Detail of the Leonidaion (photo: G. Alevras).

from a nearby quarry or quarries in the Taygetos, as noted above, it is equally reasonable to assume that the materials for the less important parts of the monument would be brought from even closer sites, which would be even more convenient for the transportation of materials. According to Vlizon, the porous slabs of the crepis of the Throne could have been made from the rock of the very hill on which the Amyklaion sat, a theory which should be confirmed or refuted in the near future. In any event,

all these preliminary conclusions and working hypotheses can only be considered certain, having been confirmed or disproved, once the isotopic analysis by the Archaeometry unit of the N.C.S.R. “Demokritos” Laboratory and the relevant archaeological research has been completed.

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NOTES

* I am very grateful to my friend Y. Maniatis and to D. Tam-bakopoulos for our excellent and productive collaboration. Hearty congratulations to A. Delivorrias and S. Vlizon for their faultless and constructive organization of the colloquium. Many thanks too to them and to the architects T. Bilis and M. Magnisali for our fruitful exchange of opinions and information throughout the programme.

1. Fiechter 1918, 130-64.
2. For recent publications on these quarries see: G. Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2006, 109-21 (with bibliography).
3. Carter Burr 1988, 418-31, esp. 424-25.
4. On the different styles of the *perirrhacteria*, see: Kokkorou-Alevras 1986, 81-82 with earlier bibliography. See also: Sturgeon 1987, 52-53; Arapojanni 1996, 77; Kokkorou-Alevras 2012, 28-29.
5. Chiotis 2001, 561; Tsouli 2009, 397-99.
6. Gorgoni *et al.* 1992, 155-57; Higgins – Higgins 1996, 58; Bruno *et al.* 1998, 41; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2014, no. 678.
7. *RE* 2. Reihe, III A 2 (Stuttgart 1929) Sparta: Geographie 1347 (F. Bölte); Cooper 1981, 190-91; Herz – Cooper – Wenner 1982, 270; Cooper 1986, 1-27; Cooper 1988, 68; Cooper 1996,

107-19; Higgins – Higgins 1996, 57-58; Palagia 2002, 375-82.

8. On quarries producing white marble in Lakonia, see: Atanassio *et al.* 2006, 108-14. I am grateful to my friend Dr Y. Maniatis for bringing this publication to my notice. On other quarries in Lakonia, but of darker marble, see: Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2009, 169-79. On Lakonian quarries in general: Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2014, *s.v.* Lakonia, nos 661-702.

9. Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2009, 169.

10. The map was kindly put at our disposal by Dr Stathis Chiotis, who as a research geologist at IGME has been closely involved in the study of ancient quarries. Many thanks for his help.

11. Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, 288-93, esp. 290-91. For a conglomerate quarry very close to Amyklai, in Vapheio, Palaiopyrgi (Palaiopyrgos), dated in the Late Bronze period see: Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2014, no. 663. In my visit at the place in 2014 I found only two conglomerate blocks; the hill was covered by dense vegetation.

12. I am much indebted to Dr A. Vasilogambrou, former Ephor of the 5th EPCA of Lakonia, who is making a systematic excavation of the area and showed me the small area from which this stone, which was used on site, was quarried.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ

Το ιερό του Αμυκλαίου Απόλλωνα.

Η προέλευση του υλικού: προκαταρκτικά συμπεράσματα

Ένας από τους στόχους που τέθηκαν στο τρέχον ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα του ιερού του Αμυκλαίου Απόλλωνα που διεξάγεται με τη διεύθυνση του καθηγ. Α. Δεληβορριά, είναι η εξακρίβωση της προέλευσης των λίθων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στην ανέγερση των κτηρίων και των υπόλοιπων λίθινων κατασκευών –αναλημματικών τοίχων, θεμελιώσεων κ.ά.– του χώρου. Για τον ασφαλή προσδιορισμό του υλικού, κυρίως του μαρμάρου στο οποίο έχουν λαξευθεί τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη του "Θρόνου" του Απόλλωνα και του "Βωμού", ξεκίνησε συνεργασία με τον δρ Γιάννη Μανιάτη, διευθυντή του Εργαστηρίου Αρχαιομετρίας του Ε.Κ.Ε.Φ.Ε. «Δημόκριτος» και τον συνεργάτη του κ. Δ. Ταμπάκοπουλο. Τα προκαταρκτικά συμπεράσματα αυτής της συνεργασίας είναι τα ακόλουθα. Κατ' αρχάς από την απλή οπτική παρατήρηση των αρχιτεκτονικών μελών που βρίσκονται κατά χώραν ή φυλάσσονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Σπάρτης και στην αποθήκη Αρδάμη της Ε' ΕΠΚΑ, διαπιστώνεται η λάξευσή τους σε σκοτεινότερο και ανοικτότερο φαιό μαρμάρο, καθώς και σε λευκόφαιο (εικ. 1-3, 6, 8-11). Τα μάρμαρα αυτά φαίνονται συγγενή με εκείνα των γειτονικών λατομείων του Ταϊγέτου, στις θέσεις «Γυναίκα» και «Πλατυβούνι», και για τον λόγο αυτό έγινε δειγματοληψία, τόσο από τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη των οικοδομημάτων του Αμυκλαίου όσο και από θέσεις και των δύο αυτών λατομείων, προκειμένου να πραγματοποιηθεί ισοτοπική ανάλυση. Ιδιαίτερα πιθανή φαίνεται η προέλευση του μαρμάρου από το λατομείο στη θέση «Γυναίκα» που

σύμφωνα με ενδείξεις ήταν σε λειτουργία ήδη κατά τους αρχαϊκούς χρόνους. Μάλιστα, το μάρμαρο των σύνθετων κιονοκράνων, όπως π.χ. του κιονοκράνου αρ. ευρ. 929 στο Μουσείο της Σπάρτης (εικ. 6), είναι πολύ πιθανό να προέρχεται από το λατομείο στη «Γυναίκα», όπου εντοπίζεται μάρμαρο σκοτεινού φαιού χρώματος που διατρέχεται από λεπτότατες, παράλληλες, κατακόρυφες φλέβες ακόμη σκοτεινότερου φαιού χρώματος. Ωστόσο, παρόμοιο μάρμαρο υπάρχει και στο «Πλατυβούνι», λείπουν όμως οι ενδείξεις για τόσο πρόωμη λειτουργία των λατομείων αυτής της θέσης. Εξάλλου, άγνωστη είναι μέχρι στιγμής η προέλευση του ανοιχτού χρώματος, λευκόφαιου, μαρμάρου που απαντά σε μερικά από τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη του Αμυκλαίου, όπως το τμήμα σίμης αρ. ευρ. 482β (εικ. 8) και το τμήμα θριγκού με τρίγλυφο και μετόπη αρ. ευρ. Α 136 (εικ. 9). Τέλος το λευκόφαιο μάρμαρο των αρχιτεκτονικών μελών, όπως του κυματίου αρ. ευρ. Α 421 (εικ. 10) και της σίμης αρ. ευρ. Α 411 (εικ. 11), πιθανόν να προέρχεται από τα λατομεία των Δολιανών στην Αρκαδία. Ωστόσο, λατομεία λευκού μαρμάρου υπάρχουν και στη Μάνη, καθώς και στα Βρέσθαινα και στα Χρύσαφα της Λακωνίας. Μόνο όμως τα τελικά αποτελέσματα των ισοτοπικών αναλύσεων του «Δημόκριτου» θα μας δώσουν ασφαλείς απαντήσεις. Εξάλλου, στους αναλημματικούς τοίχους του ιερού έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί κροκαλοπαγής λίθος (εικ. 4-5) που απαντά στη γύρω περιοχή, αλλά το λατομείο εξόρυξής του δεν έχει ακόμη εντοπισθεί.

The Epigraphic Evidence of the Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios

THE PRESERVED EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE of the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios is not great in quantity,¹ but significant. The aim of our work² is to re-examine the inscriptions of the sanctuary and to find those which are published but we no longer know where they are located. The second aim is the collection and classification of the literary sources about the sanctuary and its operation.

The sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios was one of the most important cult centres of the Lacedaimonians. From Thucydides it is known that the sanctuary was a place for the erection of *stelai* with texts of political significance (Thuc. V.18.10), such as the *stèle* with the text of the Peace of Nicias in 422/1 BC (Thuc. V.23.4-5). The sanctuary and the festival of Hyakinthia were also chosen by Lacedaimonians as the venue for the exchange of the oaths with the Argives for the proposed treaty of 420 BC (Thuc. V.41.3). The same sanctuary is considered by Matthaïou and Pikoulas as the place for the erection of the *stèle* inscribed with a list of contributions to Sparta (*IG* V1, 1 + *SEG* XXXIX 370) either in money or in kind, made both by cities and individuals during the Peloponnesian war.³

Inscriptions that could be attributed to the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios were recorded by the French Abbé Michel Fourmont in the early 18th century. However, Fourmont, who did not know the exact location of the sanctuary of Apollo, attributed wrongly to it many inscriptions, such as *IG* V1 596 and 605, which seem to come from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Kalyvia Sochas.⁴ He also attributed to the Amyklaion an inscription (*IG* V1, 515) which is forged, as Spawforth proved.⁵ Few inscribed monuments were found during the first excava-

tions at the site and a short number of inscriptions were added in the latest years.

From the sanctuary of Apollo may have originated parts of catalogues of officials of the Roman period found by Fourmont (*IG* V 1, 40, 75 and perhaps 161) at the areas of Godena and Sklavochori. One of these is stored at the Sparta Archaeological Museum.⁶ Recent research of the architectural members of the sanctuary has proven that one more catalogue comes from it. It is a catalogue of *Gerontes* of the time of Antoninus Pius, written on a column (*IG* V 1, 112 = Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 208).⁷

Part of a catalogue is also preserved on a fragment of a Laconian roof tile with brown glaze, a surface find at the site of the Amyklaion.⁸ It can be dated perhaps to the second half of the 3th century BC and preserves parts of twelve female names, incised on the surface of the tile after its firing. According to Edmonson, editor of the inscription, the list of women's names could have had ritual or religious significance, since women played an important role in the festival of Hyakinthia⁹ as it is shown by the literary sources.¹⁰

Among the votive offerings of private or public character, dedicatory inscriptions cut on bronze¹¹ or stone objects are included. Among the dedications on stone there is a fragmentary *stèle* of 5th century BC dedicated perhaps by an athletic victor, bearing a list of the contests he won according to Jeffery's restoration.¹² There is also part of a dedication of the second half of the 4th century BC, the re-examination of which led to the conclusion that it could be attributed to the back of a throne dedicated to the sanctuary by a member of the gerousia of Classical Sparta.¹³

Finally, a base of a dedication of Roman times (1st c. AD?) is preserved.¹⁴

Two inscribed relief *stelai* come also from the sanctuary. One of them had two bands with relief decoration, completely chipped away since antiquity. The cult statue (*xoano*) of Apollo and a sacrifice of a bull on the altar was depicted at the upper band, and a chorus of women on the lower band.¹⁵ Two lines of an inscription are preserved below the lower band, mentioning names which are considered to be *στατοί*, officials of police function.¹⁶

The second fragmentary stele preserves the relief of a discus thrower from whom it is preserved part of his chest and his raised left hand (c. 470 BC).¹⁷ Von Massow identified the relief fragment as a part of the *stele* of Ainetos, a pentathlete who died while he was crowned for his victories at Olympia, seen by Pausanias at the sanctuary (Paus. III.18.7). The *stele* also preserves a part of a metrical inscription, which seems to refer to multiple victories.¹⁸

Honourary monuments for priests and priestesses and other members of the Spartan elite were erected at the site during the Roman period, showing the importance of the sanctuary and the festival of Hyakinthia, such as the honorary base for Πομπηία Πώλλα,¹⁹ who was ἀρχηγός and θεωρός of the Hyakinthia, and the honorary bases for Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Πρατόλαος,²⁰ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ρουφείνος, son of Ὑγεῖνος²¹ and a fragmentary honorary base with a metrical inscription.²² In one instance, honours were paid to Aelius Ceasar, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the younger, if it is true that the monument copied by Fourmont originated from Amyklaion.²³ Among the inscriptions of the Roman period there is also a commemorative inscription (*titulus memorialis*).²⁴

Another type of inscriptions are the graffiti of the end of the 6th century BC,²⁵ made on the architectural blocks from the throne of Apollo by masons, as it is conjectured by their location at the non visible parts of the blocks. Among them there are masons' names, such as Τέχναρχος²⁶ and Γλαῦχος.²⁷

A few graffiti on sherds and fragments of tiles have been published by Tsountas and Amyx.²⁸ Most of them preserve incised names such as Νικάσιππος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Καλλικράτης and Γνωθίλας, while some others are too fragmentary to distinguish the type of the inscriptions. Some of these graffiti belong to the 5th century BC²⁹ while the others to the Hellenistic period.

There is also a considerable number of stamped tiles³⁰ which led to the identification of the ancient remains with the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios.³¹

Among the 'new' finds³² of the sanctuary is the lower part of an inscription written probably on a herm³³ which we located during our work at the Museum of Sparta. The stone had been used as a pilaster of the entrance of the church of Agia Kyriaki and transferred to the Museum in 1907. It preserves the lower part of an honorary inscription and can be dated after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, as is evident from the *praenomina* and the *gentilicia* of the persons mentioned (Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Δαμοσθένης and Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Εὐτυχίδας) as well as the letter forms.

A new fragment was also added to a base copied by Leake at Agia Kyriaki.³⁴ It preserves a catalogue of officials of the 3rd century AD.

During the recent excavations at the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios, the lower part of a herm was found.³⁵ Its back side was cyclical shaped and we joined it with the already known part of the herm of the 3rd century AD, erected in honour of Sekstus Eudamus, son of Sekstus Pompeius Onasikrates, one of the latest members of the Spartan aristocracy.³⁶ The inscription preserves the *cursus honorum* of Sekstus Eudamus who had been high priest of the imperial cult, priest of Zeus and of many other gods, agonothetes of the Dioskouria and the Leonidaia festivals and xystarches of the Hyakinthia festival.

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NOTES

1. Inscribed monuments have been found during the excavations conducted in the area since late 19th century, while others found rebuilt in modern buildings around the hill.

2. Both of us would like to thank Angelos Delivorrias, the Director of the Benaki Museum, for entrusting us with this task and Mrs A. Panagiotoπούλου, A. Vasilogambrou, and A. Papademetriou, former Directors of the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for their help during our work. The present paper has been written by Eleni Zavvou.

3. Matthaïou – Pikoulas 1989, 115. S.M. no. 6656α+β.

4. See the paper of P. Matalas in the present volume.

5. Spawforth 1976, 139-45.

6. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1215a-b = *IG* V 1, 40 and *SEG* XI, 482. Among the names of the catalogue, the name of Ἀγαθοκλήης Ἀριστοκλέους with his *cursus honorum* is preserved.

7. See the paper of G. Kokkorou-Alevras in the present volume.

8. The tile fragment is kept at the Collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

9. Edmonson 1959, 162-64 (= *SEG* XVII, 187). For the participation of women in the Hyakinthia and the consideration of the festival as an initiatory rite see Calame 1997, 175-77; Pettersson 1992, 14, 38; Richer 2004b, 402-03.

10. Polycrates apud Athenaeus IV.139ff.

11. Bronze discus (National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. X8618 = *SEG* XI, 697): ἄε<θ>λον Ἀμυκλ<ι>αίοι. Bronze handle of vase, late 7th-early 6th c.? BC (*SEG* XI, 689; Jeffery 1990², 188, 198 no. 5): Ἀπέλωνι Δορκονίδα vel Δορκοιλίδα. Fragment of bronze helmet, 600-550? (*SEG* XI, 690; Jeffery 1990², 90, 199 no. 9): [Ἀμυκλαίοι]. Fragment of bronze strip (*SEG* XI, 691a): [Ἀμυκ]λαίοι. Fragment of bronze strip (*SEG* XI 691b): [- Ἀ]μυκλαίοι ἀνέθεκε. Bronze strip with the letters TPI (National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. X 8120 = Tsountas 1892, 17 (= *IG* VI, 846 and *SEG* XLII 301).

12. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2623 = Buschor – Von Massow 1927, 61 = *SEG* XI, 693. See also the restoration proposed by Jeffery 1990², 193 n. 4.

13. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 938, see Skias 1919, 34 no. 8 (= *SEG* I 87); Fiechter 1918, 223 no. 12. For the attribution of the marble fragment to the back of a throne, dedicated by a member of the Spartan gerousia see Zavvou 2013, 93-104.

14. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 942, see Skias 1919, 34 no. 9 (= *SEG* I, 88).

15. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 689 = 9101 (= *IG* VI, 145): [- - - - -]ἀρχου τῷ Ἀπέλλωνι καὶ τῶς στατῶς Α[ὐτ]οκλε[ί]δαν Αὐτοκλῆος, Δαϊοδάμαντα, Ἀντίμαχον Τάσκου. For the relief *stele* see Tsountas 1892, 8-9; Schröder 1904, 24-31; Tod-Wace 1906, 80, 202, no. 689; Metzger 1942-1943, 236; Calame 1997, 177 n. 274.275. The inscription had

at least one more line in the beginning which has been chipped away.

16. *Anecdota Graeca* (ed. I. Bekker), 305, no. 20: στατῶν-ἀρχοντές εἰσι παραπλησίαν ἔχοντες τοῖς ἀγαθοεργοῖς ἀρχήν.

17. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 940. The *stele* was revealed during the excavations conducted by Fiechter in 1907. It was mentioned by Versakis who considered it as part of the Throne of Apollo Amyklaios and identified the relief as the shoulder of an animal but he did not mention the inscription, see Versakis 1912, 188, fig. 16. The identification of Versakis was rejected by Skias who mentioned the inscription and read some of its letters, see Skias 1919, 32-33. A drawing of the inscription was given by Fiechter 1918, 220 no. 2 and abb. 74, 222, abb. 84. The identification with the *stele* of Ainetos was made by von Massow 1926, 41-47 = *SEG* XI, 696 = *BE* in *REG* 41 (1928), 368-69. For the *stele* see also Despinis 2013, 17-18.

18. According to Hiller von Gärtringen the *stele* preserves two verses with an exameter and a pentameter: [- -]ας δέκα) κα<ι> ηενατον | [- -] κε [- -]; the numerals δέκα and ἔνατος may refer to the value of the prizes, or the age of the athlete or the number of his victories. Gärtringen also proposed the restoration of the word [μν]ᾶς in the beginning of the inscription, see Hiller von Gärtringen apud von Massow 1926, 43. A list of victories (?) is also identified by Jeffery 1990², 195, 201 no. 51.

19. *IG* VI, 587. The base is still to be found in the area of the sanctuary.

20. *IG* VI, 497 (Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 691=10582).

21. Cook 1950, 281-82.

22. *IG* VI, 455 = *SEG* XI 772 (Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 690).

23. *IG* VI, 446 (Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1214).

24. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 879 = 945. *SEG* I 89.

25. For the date see Jeffery 1990², 194, 200 no. 32.

26. *IG* VI, 823.

27. *IG* VI, 832a (Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10561).

28. Tsountas 1892, 4 (= *IG* VI, 1574); Amyx 1957, 168-69 (= *SEG* XVII, 188). Some sherds, published by Tsountas, are considered as fragments of tiles by Amyx.

29. Tsountas 1892, 4; no. 3 because of the three-bar *sigma* and the closed type of the aspirate letter; no. 4 because it is written in retrograde with archaic looking letters and has a long-tailed *epsilon* and a closed aspirate. For the date of these sherds see also Amyx 1957, 169.

30. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. nos 635-646, 947, 948 = *IG* VI 863, *IG* VI 1515c and Krentz 1989, 315 n. 13 (= *SEG* XXXIX 371).

31. Tsountas 1890, 37.

32. All the 'new' inscriptions will be published soon.
33. Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 943.
34. *IG* V1, 523 = Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 941.
35. See the paper of S. Vlizon at the present volume.
36. *IG* V1, 559 = Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 544. New fragment: Sparta Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 16751. The two fragments were joined by E. Zavvou.

ΕΛΕΝΗ ΖΑΒΒΟΥ – ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΘΕΜΟΣ

Οι επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες του ιερού του Απόλλωνος Αμυκλαίου

Το ιερό του Απόλλωνος Αμυκλαίου ήταν ένα από τα σημαντικότερα λατρευτικά κέντρα των Λακεδαιμονίων και από τον Θουκυδίδη αναφέρεται ως χώρος ίδρυσης στηλών με κείμενα πολιτικής σημασίας (Θουκ. V.18.10, V.23.5).

Στις σωζόμενες επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες του ιερού περιλαμβάνονται αναθηματικές επιγραφές ιδιωτικού ή δημοσίου χαρακτήρα, χαραγμένες σε χάλκινα και λίθινα αναθήματα, δύο ανάγλυφες ενεπίγραφες στήλες, μία εκ των οποίων ταυτίζεται με τη στήλη του Αινήτου, που είδε ο Πausanias (III.18.7) στον χώρο του ιερού, και ένας κατάλογος ονομάτων γυναικών, οι οποίες πιθανώς συμμετείχαν στην εορτή των Υακινθίων, χαραγμένος σε τμήμα κεράμου κατά την ελληνιστική εποχή. Περιλαμβάνονται ακόμα κατάλογοι αρχόντων και τιμητικά μνημεία μελών της σπαρτιατικής αριστοκρατίας και ιερέων και ιερειών του Απόλλωνος Αμυκλαίου, καθώς και ένα τμήμα αναμνηστικής επιγραφής. Σημαντική κατηγορία επιγραφών είναι τα ονόματα των τεχνιτών, που χαραχθηκαν πάνω στα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη του Θρόνου. Σώζονται επίσης λίγα

χαράγματα ονομάτων πάνω σε όστρακα και τμήματα κεραμίδων, καθώς και ικανός αριθμός ενσφράγιστων κεράμων, που οδήγησαν ήδη από τον 19ο αι. στην ταύτιση των αρχαίων λειψάνων.

Στα “νέα” ευρήματα του ιερού, που εντοπίσαμε στις αποθήκες του Μουσείου Σπάρτης, όπου είχαν μεταφερθεί κατά το παρελθόν, περιλαμβάνεται τμήμα ερμαϊκής πιθανότατα στήλης, που σώζει το κατώτερο τμήμα τιμητικής επιγραφής και μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί μετά την *Constitutio Antoniniana*, καθώς και ένα τμήμα βάρου, που σώζει κατάλογο αρχόντων του 3ου αι. μ.Χ. και συγκολλήθηκε με γνωστό από το παρελθόν τμήμα επιγραφής (*IG* V1, 523).

Οι πρόσφατες ανασκαφικές έρευνες στο ιερό του Απόλλωνος Αμυκλαίου απέδωσαν ένα ακόμα τμήμα επιγραφής, το οποίο συγκολλήσαμε με το γνωστό τμήμα της ερμαϊκής στήλης, στην οποία είχε αναγραφεί το *cursus honorum* ενός από τα τελευταία γνωστά μέλη της σπαρτιατικής αριστοκρατίας, του Σέκστου Ευδάμου, υιού του Σέκστου Πομπήιου Ονασικράτους (*IG* V1, 559).

ANGELIKI PETROPOULOU

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

WITH THE COLLECTION OF *TESTIMONIA* 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 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;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 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 κρατερόν 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.⁵

The above genealogy is properly regarded by West⁶ 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, 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 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.⁸

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.⁹ 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,¹⁰ but the conspiracy was revealed. Thanks to a Delphic oracle, Sparta got rid itself of the conspirators, who then sought their fortune at Taras.¹¹ The foundation of Taras,¹² which was the only colony of Sparta, is traditionally dated to 706 BC,¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ The *ἄγων* in question is the oldest known cultic event of the *Hyakinthia* in connection with the place where Hyakinthos had been supposedly buried,¹⁶ 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 inscription¹⁷ 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. 600.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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*.²⁰ 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[όνων] παρ’ Εὐρώτα*. Immediately after and further on in the text appear the words *Ἀμύκλα* and the ethnic *Ἀταρνίδα* respectively. According to Calame,²¹ 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, *ὄν ἐξαμιλλησάμενος/τροχῶ τέρμονα δίσκου/ἔκανε Φοῖβος*.²² 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 Ἰακίνθου/νύχιον ἐς εὐφρο<σύ>ναν*, and the so-called *βουδνυτον ἀμέραν* (vv. 1473-75) on which Apollo ordained that the Lacedaemonians honour Hyakinthos with a *βουδνυσία*. 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 *βουδνυσία*, which is none other than Hyakinthos’ *apotheosis*.²³

Given that the *Hyakinthia* lasted three days,²⁴ the night-long revelry (*νύχιον ἐς εὐφρο<σύ>ναν*)²⁵ or else *παννυχίς*, cannot but be placed between the second and third day.²⁶ 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 day²⁷ or the *ἐναγίζειν*²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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”.³⁰ Hyakinthos’s “restoration to life” seems to echo his pre-heroic identity as an old dying and reborn nature divinity of the Dorians.³¹ The *κῶμοι* possibly go back to a period older than the one in which Hyakinthos was led to Olympus by Demeter, Kore, Pluto, and other divinities.³²

The female dances and the male *κῶμοι* suggest that Dionysus was also present, albeit invisible, in the joyful 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.³³ The ivy wreaths worn by the

worshippers certainly form one of these aspects.³⁴

The order in which Euripides mentions the nightlong revelry and the *βουθντον ἀμέραν* suggests that the *βουθνοσία* for Hyakinthos was performed on the day after the revelry, i.e. on the third day of the *Hyakinthia*.³⁵ In the text quoted by Athenaeus, which ultimately goes back to Polycrates *via* Didymus, there is no description of this day. Mellink,³⁶ however, rightly places the athletic contests on the third day of the *Hyakinthia*. The *βουθνοσία* 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.³⁷ 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.³⁸ The *βουθνοσία* 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.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 *Hyakinthia*. Besides, two scenes carved on a dedicatory stele from the third c. BC,⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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,⁴² Cratinus⁴³ and Epilycus.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ Given that bread was not served at the dinners offered on the first day, on which the death of Hyakinthos was mourned,⁴⁷ the *κοπις* is placed by the majority of scholars on the second day of the *Hyakinthia*.⁴⁸ On this day, we are told by Polycrates,⁴⁹ 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 Polemon, *Τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κἀναδρον* (Athen. 4.138e-f).⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ In the *Iliad*, they are never absent from the bull sacrifices offered to the god.⁵² Before the archery contest in the *Odyssey*, Antinous suggests sacrificing some goats to Apollo,⁵³ evidently because the latter is a god *κλυτότοξος*.⁵⁴ In his capacity as *Ἀλεξίκακος* or Pythios, Apollo becomes the recipient of goat sacrifices in order to avert the plague⁵⁵ and for oracular response respectively.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.⁵⁷ At Marathon⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

We conclude with a treatment of the earliest cults of Apollo at Amyklai. In connection with the proverb «ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσερα ὄτα ἔχοντος», Zenobius⁶⁰ 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 Sosibius⁶¹ chronicle *Χρόνων Αναγραφή*. 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 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.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 inscription.⁶⁶ Cultic parallels to "Four-Eared" Apollo are "Zeus *Tetraōtos*" worshipped in Phrygia and an unknown "*Tetraōtos*" divinity at Gela.⁶⁷

On the other hand, a couple of glosses in Hesychius,⁶⁸ drawn from Sosibius' *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θησιῶν*,⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

The sophist Libanius mentions the statue of *Απόλλων 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 *omphalos*, with the statue of *Απόλλων 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 "*Tetracheir* and *Tetraōtos*"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 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 *hypomnema*. 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 *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 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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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.* *Yakivndia* (P. Stengel); *ibid.* 13-15, V. Religiöser Charakter (S. Eitrem); *ibid.* 3A (1929) 1518-20 *s.v.* *Yakivndia* (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 (*ἐναγίζεν*) 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 *Περί Ήταλίας* in the volume *Πολιτεία*). 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 2002², 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 2002², 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 Hodkinson 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 1990², 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 Ἰακίνθον 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, *διστικὸν ἀρμονίην ἀνεβάλλετο Φοιβάδι μολπῆ, Πανροεπῆς, λιγύμυθος, Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ δεσμῶ-/Ἐνχαίτην Ἰακίνθον 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-ĝen-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): *μάζα, ἄρτος, κρέας, λάχανον ὠμόν, ζῶμος, 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 πάσαιτο τῆς θυσίας ταύτης καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύννηδες αἶγας ἀντὶ 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 *ἐκπηβόλος* 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 τῆ ἔκτη χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης εορτάζοντες*.

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* (München – Berlin 1963) 63; Köiv 2003, 82-83. The conquest of Amyklai (or, according to Cartledge, its incorporation into Sparta) is dated c. 750. See Cartledge 2002², 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 Tetraōtos*” 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 *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 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. κουριδιον*, II, no. 3853; *s.v. κινάκτας*, *ibid.* 4558. Both glasses are connected with Apollo *Tetracheir*, not with Apollo *Tetracheir* and *Tetraōtos* 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 2002², 167, 261 n. 10.

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

72. Ἐκ δὲ ἀψίδων τετάρων ἀλλήλαις συνηρμοσμένων εἰς τετραγώνων τύπον ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀμφαλοῦ τέταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ’ ἕκαστον τμήμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται, οἷον ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τετραχειρος ἀγάλματι.

73. See *Lib. Or.* 1.23. On Libanius’ visit to Sparta and his Spartan friends, see Cartledge – Spawforth 2002², 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 2002², 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 κατασκευάστηκε 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. *Ἐλένη* 1468 κ.ε.) με γυναικείους χορούς και ανδρικούς *κώμους* 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. *Ἐλένη* 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 Τετραώτου* 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 Τετραώτου* 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.

The Access to Amyklaion

IT IS MORE THAN APPROPRIATE that the preface to the brief paper that follows will be this clarification: This volume is the Proceedings of a meeting considering the activity records on Amyklaion, between the years 2005-2010. Arguably, our contribution could be thought to be rather odd, since it is in fact the preliminary and the announcement for a research that is going to take place. In reality, though, the realization of our project is based on the data of long-lasting research early on from the beginning of 1980s, when Pikoulas began the research of the road system of Sparta.¹ In this paper, however, we have included as well the results of the research that took place in the summer of 2011.²

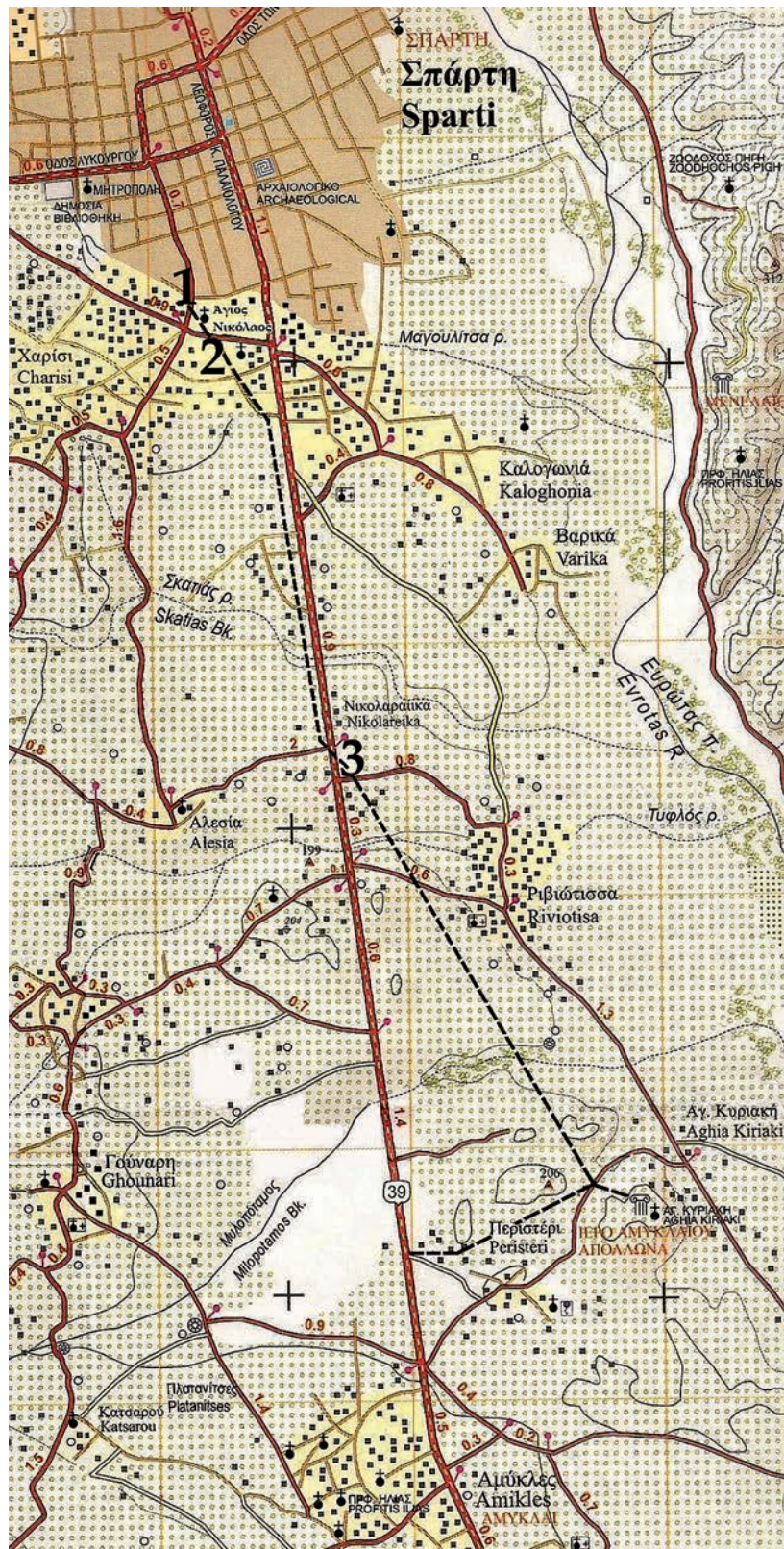
The subject of the research is the access to Amyklaion from the North, namely Sparta, which could be considered as “*iera odos*” (sacred road) and which is identical to the central cart-road that heads to the South. The southern axis was the natural extension of the *intra muros Aphetais* road, which was the most important road in Sparta. The road commenced from the Agora, at Palaiokastro plateau, on the eastern slopes of the Acropolis, it crossed the city and ended-up in the southern gate, at the left/northern bank of Magoulitsa torrent. After the results of Kourinou’s research, the identification of *Aphetais* became unquestionable;³ furthermore, the safe placement of Poseidon Tainarios’s sanctuary at the junction of Dioskouroi and Gortsologou streets,⁴ proved the fact that *Aphetais* coincided with Gortsologou street, which ends-up, just like its ancestor, at the modern bridge of St Nikolaos; the bridge of St Nikolaos is the same bridge that was described by Leake,⁵ while this is where we have

to place the ancient bridge-crossing of Magoulitsa—there are no remains nowadays, despite what C. M. Stibbe supported⁶—on the way to the southern suburbs of Sparta and *Koile Lakedaimon*.

However, the southern suburban part of modern Sparta, which is found at the right/southern bank of Magoulitsa, is characterized by dense urban construction, which in combination with the numerous distortions in the land, mostly alluvium, make it very difficult to research the route of the road.⁷ The two sole indications that exist until the present day came to the light after excavating research, while the soil-relief, and especially the riparian system of Eurotas river, offer some indications. Obviously, any future excavations will bring to the light more evidence. Additionally, it must be noted that the ancient literature provides us with no useful information. What is not to be neglected is the fact that when it comes to the early travellers’ written accounts, there is the danger of misinterpretation, because there was no (modern) Sparta at the time and most often the access to Amyklaion was done from Mystras.

EVIDENCE

The first one of the fixed sites that we can define in the route towards Amyklaion is that of the bridging of Magoulitsa close to St Nikolaos, namely the point where *Aphetais* road ended-up. The coordinates in the eastern parapet of the modern bridge are 37°E 04 094 - 022°E 25 746 (±199 m), while in the adjacent bridge of the provin-



Map 1. The access from Sparta to Amyklaion (1:25.000). Numbers 1, 2, 3 indicate the fixed points of the route of the road. The dotted line designates a possible route of the road.

cial road of Sparta - Gytheio (western parapet) they are 37°E 04 131 - 022°E 25 915 (±193 m). See map no. 1.

It was a matter of pure luck that a second fixed site of the route was located immediately south of St Nikolaos, approximately 250 m, as the result of a rescue excavation: The excavations in block Γ 256, the plot for the erecting of the new TEL (Technical High-School) of Sparta, brought to the light at least four chronological strata of a main road leading south, the latter of which the excavators correctly assumed that it must be identified with the route that led to Amyklaion.⁸ The width of the road ranges from 3.20 to 4.05 m, while that of the chronologically former stratum (unknown when) 2.16 m, with a much more elaborate construction. The photographs indicate that the alluvium is not great (approx. 1-1.50 m?). The coordinates are approximately: 37°E 03 921 - 022°E 25 902 (±187 m). See map no. 2.

The second evidence, which is the third fixed point in designating the route, also resulted from a rescue excavation in Riviotissa village: actually, there are two such points, in G. Demakou (north of the street that leads to the village)⁹ and Ch. Demetropoulou (south of the street)¹⁰ plots respectively. The ancient road was paved, with a width of 5.80 m, direction N-S and strong embankments. The depth of the alluvium ranged from 0.75-0.90 (E) to 1.10-1.40 m (W). It was difficult though to date it; the late Hellenistic period is perhaps the most probable date. The two plots are located respectively at the two sides of the road, which is the first (informal) access from Sparta to Riviotissa village, left/eastern junction opposite the abandoned Papadimitrakopoulos's juice-factory 'Sparta Hellas'. The coordinates are: 37°E 03 096 - 022°E 26 177 (±172 m). See map no. 3.

INDICATIONS

The soil-relief itself between Sparta and Amyklaion provides us with indications of the road, always western of Eurotas river, which are catalogued among the above mentioned evidence. The diverse riparian system of Eurotas, almost labyrinthine, consists of constant torrents. These begin from the foothills of Taygetos mountain and they merge at the right/western bank of the river. There are four main torrents, while the clarification of the modern names is quite difficult: from N to S these are 1) Trypi-

otiko/Magoulitsa torrent 2) Mystriotiko/Skatiás, which is united with Paroritiko¹¹ 3) Tyflos or Potami of Riviotissa, which merges with that of Marouso, Gourtšina (Ai-Yiannis's Kefalari) and Xeria¹² and 4) Mylopotamos torrent, which flows directly north of Amyklaion.¹³

The bridging and the crossing of these four torrents would definitely be the most difficult problem for the Lacedaimonian road-constructors (*hodoipoioi*).¹⁴ We re-researched thoroughly the torrent-beds—a repeated practice since the 1980s—,¹⁵ but with no results: we did not manage to locate any indication of their bridging, in order to make hypotheses for the point, where the street would cross over the torrents. Furthermore, it is noted that the nature of the soil, lowland and alluvial, with not even limestone islets, did not favour the preservation of wheel-ruts: for example, the first wheel-ruts towards the South in *Koile Lakedaimon* have been traced in Dafni.¹⁶

Thus, before defining the route of the road, it is essential to clarify some points. First of all, the road from Sparta towards Amyklaion could have multiple access choices: it could either be identical with the axis towards the South that crossed *Koile Lakedaimon*, or it could be independent from the latter, so that there would be two roads leading south, almost parallel. With respect, though, to the indications that we have obtained for the work of the Lakedaimonian road-constructors, the second hypothesis must be excluded, because in such a case it would be necessary to have the double number of bridges for the four torrents. The road towards Amyklaion and the one leading towards southern Lakonike must have been identical at the greater part of the first one, securing thus the same bridging for at least the three first torrents. If they were to be divided, this would happen very close to the sanctuary, so that only Mylopotamos torrent would have two bridges. In fact, it would not be the dividing of the road towards Amyklaion, but a diversion/junction (ancient Greek term: *ektrope*) to the SE, namely the sanctuary, from the main road leading south. Apparently, there would be a corresponding *ektrope* in the main road in the SW, for those coming from the South and heading towards the sanctuary (see map). In both diversions the newly-arrived would come to the sanctuary from the soft neck, which is formed by the two peaks of the low hillside—the easternmost is occupied by the sanctuary—almost WNW of the shrine-throne of Apollo, in such a way to justify the corresponding location of the latter, with a fa-

cade towards Taygetos mountain and the West.

The route, thus, of the road from Sparta towards Amyklaion left Sparta behind at the end of Aphetais road, most probably bridge-crossed the Trypiotiko/Magoulitsa torrent in St Nikolaos Chatipi, went by 1st TEL of Sparta (point 2), crossed Mystriotiko/Skatia approximately at the same point with the modern provincial road towards Gytheio, probably with a bridge, slightly deviated SE from the latter in the entrance of Riviotissa (point 3), immediately south crossed Tyflo/Potami of Riviotissa (perhaps from the torrent-bed), west of the homonym village and with south-eastern direction it reached Mylopotamos (maybe here was the diversion from the main road), the crossing of which designated the beginning of the ascent towards the hillside of the sanctuary (see map).

As it has already been mentioned, the ancient literature does not provide any information—at least such that we would wish for—for the specific road. Furthermore, we avoided any reference to ancient hydronyms and we made use of the more recent ones. Indeed, the most difficult subject for the experts of the Laconian topography is exactly

the identification of the ancient hydronyms. There have been many suggestions and every possible combination has been suggested: all of them, though, remain verisimilar, even if they are not documented. The two hydronyms that Pausanias mentions, Tiassa (III 18, 6) and Fellia (III 20, 3) are both female names. They are still controversially identified, the first with Trypiotiko/Magoulitsa, because of the proximity to Sparta and the second with Tyflo/Potami of Riviotissa, or most likely with Mylopotamos, because it is the closest one to Amyklaion. On the other hand, the case of the road towards Amyklaion having a known name would be a great appeal, or better, it would be more appealing for us to provide it with the name *Hyakinthis* that was once noted (Athen. IV 173f): *εν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς οδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ἰακινθίδος...* In this case, *Hyakinthis* would be the name of the *extra muros* road, as a continuation of *Aphetais* road.

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NOTES

1. See Pikoulas 2012.

2. In order to avoid the time consuming procedure of getting permission from the Ministry of Culture for field research between Sparta and Amyklaion, we used the previously existing data base of Pikoulas and we confined ourselves in ‘*ergasia kafeneiou*’ for recording minor hydronyms of Eurotas’s wider valley, in the receipt of electronical coordinates (GPS) as well as the in the photography. We are deeply thankful for the kind help of the former director of 5th EPCA Mrs Adamantia Vasilogambrou. The research took place in 1-3.7.2011.

3. See Kourinou 2000, 131-39.

4. See Kourinou 2000, 185-92.

5. See. Kourinou 2000, 84-88.

6. See Kourinou 2000, 85-86.

7. On the contrary, the northern suburban part of Sparta, which is found at the left/northern bank of Eurotas river, is absolutely different and almost intact. The best indication for that were the impressive findings at Kladas region (2010 onwards: discovery in many spots of road constructions of

the ancient wheel-rut road), which came to the light with the construction of the new highway between Sparta and Leuktron.

8. See Zavvou *et al.* 2006, 412-14.

9. See. E. Kountouri, *AD* 51 (1996) B1, 128 (the excavator did not realize that this was a road; it was E. Zavvou that correctly interpreted it, see next note).

10. See E. Zavvou, *AD* 53 (1998) B1, 172.

11. In Nikolaraika there is the merging of Paroritiko torrent and Skatias, between Charissio/Chatipi and Alessia/Lele. Skatias is also referred to as Messiano Potami (in Gavvaris’s tennary in Chatipi), as it flows in the middle between Magoulitsa and Paroritiko. It is considered to be the greatest river and crosses the provincial road of Sparta - Gytheio, approximately 150 m before Panagiotopoulos’ supermarket (37E 03 370 - 022E 26 066, ±175 m). The river-bed is deep and wide. The flow in 1.7.11 was minimum.

12. Tyflos torrent has the most complex water basin: Roudas (Kanellaki’s quarry) becomes Xerias torrent with the wide bed and merges in Alessia/Lele with Marouso Rema (or

Mproussos) from kalderimi (cobble-road) Anavrytis, which has already included Gourtsina (or St Yiannis's Kefalari), and then, known as Tyflos or Potami of Riviotissa crosses the provincial road of Sparta - Gytheio, 200m before Lidl supermarket and the ascent towards Kourkoules (37Æ 02 955 - 022Æ 26 147, ±174 m). The bed is narrow and shallow, with minimum water in 1.7.11. Exactly because of the width of the basin and the narrow bed, the torrent floods after Kourkoules every decade and drowns Riviotissa; recently, the flood was so big, that the torrent merged with Mystriotiko/Skatia (bed-width ±1km!).

13. It crosses the provincial road of Sparta - Gytheio, just before the enclosure of the juice-factory 'Laconia' (37Æ 02 405 - 022Æ 26 251, ±175 m). The bed is now an artificial one; it is narrow (±3m) and shallow (±2.5 m), minimum water in 1.7.11.

14. The Lacedaimonians, and in general Greeks, road-constructors avoided river-bridges and preferred the crossing of a torrent from its bed: there are many examples of roads, whose wheel-ruts are preserved inside the river-bed, so that this suggestion is well supported. The construction of a river-bridge (most often made of wood and rarely stone-built) was common in the exit and the suburbs of a city. In the case of the road towards Amyklaion, because of its importance and the great use of it, we consider the bridge-crossing more possible than the crossing through the river-bed.

15. Only once did we come across a stone-built bridge in the suburbs of Sparta, see Kourinou – Pikoulas 2009.

16. See Pikoulas 2012, str. no. 50. The vague (usual phenomenon) reference of Komnenos to Amykles (38: "ἐχούσας δύο περιβόλους Πελασγικούς καὶ ἴγνη ἀμαξοτροχιῶν καὶ ἀπεχούσας τῆς Σπάρτης στάδια τριάκοντα...") is not confirmed.

ΕΛΕΝΗ ΚΟΥΡΙΝΟΥ – ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ Α. ΠΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ

Η πρόσβαση του Αμυκλαίου

Στο άρθρο μας παραθέτουμε τα δεδομένα για την πρόσβαση από τη Σπάρτη στο Αμυκλαίον. Θεωρούμε ότι η διάβαση της Μαγουλίτσας γινόταν σχεδόν στη σημερινή γέφυρα του Αγίου Νικολάου στο Χατίπι, όπου κατέληγε η περίφημη *Αφεταιῖς* οδός· η τελευταία ταυτίζεται ασφαλώς με την οδό Γκορτσολόγου, μετά τον εντοπισμό του ιερού του Ταιναρίου Ποσειδώνος στη συμβολή Διοσκούρων και Γκορτσολόγου.

Στη χάραξη της διαδρομής της προς Αμυκλαίον «ιεράς οδού» δόθηκε ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στη διάσχιση των

από τον Ταῦγετο (δυτικά) παραπόταμων του Ευρώτα, που δημιουργούν ένα πολυσχιδές σύστημα, επιβάλλοντας αντίστοιχες ζεύξεις-γέφυρες. Η αρχαία οδός διεσώθη σε δύο σημεία, όπως απέδειξαν σωστικές ανασκαφές της οικείας Εφορείας, στο ΟΤΓ 256 (νέο ΤΕΛ Σπάρτης) και στις παρυφές του οικισμού της Ριβιώτισσας (σε δύο παρακείμενα οικόπεδα).

Τέλος, πιθανολογούμε ότι θα μπορούσε η προς Αμυκλαίον, εκ Σπάρτης, οδός να ταυτισθεί με την *Υακινθίδα* (Αθην. IV 173f).

PARASKEVAS MATALAS

Searching for the Amyklaion: For a History of the ‘Discovery’ of the Sanctuary in the Modern Era

THE END OF ANTIQUITY meant the complete oblivion regarding the actual location of Amykles and Amyklaion. The state of confusion that prevailed around these names was not to end until the 19th century, and decidedly only in 1890. What follows is a small selection of elements for a history—or rather a ‘prehistory’—of this discovery, that is a quest full of mysteries, misunderstandings, misconceptions, and fabrications. The chronological table of the writers-travellers (see following page) who pass through the region and mention «Amykles» serves as a sort of diagram for this story.

A WANDERING TOPONYM

The destruction of the sanctuary was followed by the destruction of the very memory of it. The name of Amykles was preserved in the scholarly tradition, but as a mere word, deviated from its initial meaning. At some time during the Middle Ages (perhaps in the 9th century), the name *Amykles* or *Amyklion* appears as synonymous with the Arcadian Nikli, successor of the ancient city of Tegea.

At this point, I should make reference to the *Life* of St Nikon, since it is argued that the *Amyklion* mentioned there was indeed the original Amyklaion.¹ Indeed, in the *Life* and in the *Testament* of Nikon, is mentioned the *Σθλαβοχώριον* (the ‘Village of the Slavs’), where Nikon built churches-*metochia*. And in the same texts we see that Nikon, coming from Corinth to Sparta, stops at *Amyklion* or *Amykles*.² This *Amyklion*, however, had no relation either to the medieval *Sthlavochorion* or the

classical Amykles. When, in the year 1082, the Diocese of Lacedaemon was promoted to a Metropolis, was also established the «Diocese of Amykles», dependent to Lacedaemon. The seat of the Diocese was already known as *Amyklion*, and to this place refers, of course, the *Testament* (circa 1000) and the *Life* (1042) of St Nikon. The area of Tegea belonged to the Bishop of Lacedaemon at least since 903, as indicated by epigraphical evidence; and as it was a bone of contention between Lacedaemon and Patras, we could suppose that an ancient Laconic toponyme served to emphasize its subjection to the former.

This «Diocese of Amykles» could not be located in the original Amykles, in such a small distance from the Metropolis; nor exists any relevant archaeology there. In contrast, at Tegea there is a large Middle Byzantine church, known until now as *Παλαιά Επισκοπή*. In the Chronicle of the Morea the names of *Amyklion* and *Nikli* are appearing alternately, depending on the needs of the lyrics, sometimes within the same sentence. In 1296, when, according to the Aragonese Chronicle, the Byzantines recaptured Nikli by the Franks, destroyed it and built the castle of Mouchli, a few kilometers further north, the diocese of «Amykles», ‘moved’ also in Mouchli, together with the inhabitants. And when, in the Ottoman era, the castle of Mouchli was destroyed in his turn, the Diocese seat moved again, to Tripolitsa, preserving always the title of «Amykles».

This wandering toponym would give to the European antiquarians one more opportunity to laugh at the ignorant locals. In 1805 William Gell met the Bishop of Mis-

Chronological table
Writers-travellers who mention «Amykles» (1700-1900)

Date of the travel	Writer-traveller	he passes through :		identifies		
		Sclavochori	Agia Kyriaki	Amykles as	Amyklaion as	«Acropolis» (if mentioned specifically) as
10 th – 17 th cent.	(various sources)			Nikli-Amyklion (Tegea) Mouchli Vordonia		
1703	Pini			Mistra		
1730	Fourmont	+	+	Sclavochori	(Kalivia)	
1754	Le Roy	+		Sclavochori		
1787	Fauvel	+	?	Sclavochori		
1785	Villoison	+		Sclavochori		
1784 ?	Scrofani	?		Vordonia		
1795	Sibthorp	+		-		
1803	Aberdeen	+		Sclavochori		
	Bartholdy	+		Sclavochori		
1805	Leake	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	?	
	Gell	+	+	Sclavochori		Kalivia (castle)
1806	Dodwell	+		Sclavochori		Kalivia (castle)
	Chateaubriand	+		Sclavochori		
1811	Cockerell	+	+	-		
1812	Brøndsted	?	?	?		
1817 ?	Beaujour	+		Sclavochori (near to)		
1819	Széchenyi	+		Sclavochori		
1818-1819	Laurent	+		Sclavochori		
1820	Lebrun	+	+	Sclavochori		
1828	Post	+		Sclavochori		
1829	Anderson	+		Sclavochori		
	Quinet	+	+	Sclavochori		
1829	Lenormant	+	+	Sclavochori	Agia Kyriaki	Agia Kyriaki
	Bory	+		Sclavochori		
	Puillon Boblaye	+		Kalami - Gounari		
	Blouet	+		Sclavochori		
	Vietty	?	?	?		
1832	Thiersch	+	+		Agia Kyriaki ?	Agia Kyriaki
1834	Ross	+	+	-		
1836	Pückler-Muskau	+		closer to Sparta		
1837-1840	Curtius	+	+		Sclavochori ?	Agia Kyriaki ?
1838	Koepfen	+	+	Sclavochori		Agia Kyriaki
	Mure	+		Agia Kyriaki		
1841	Buchon	+		Sclavochori		
1842	Welcker	+	?	Agia Kyriaki		
1843	Le Bas	+		Sclavochori		
	Stauffert	+		Sclavochori		
1845	Phiraios	+		Sclavochori		
1849	Gandar	+	+	-		
1850	Mézières	+	+	Sclav. or Agia Kyriaki		
1856	Clark	+	+	Agia Kyriaki		
1853	Vischer	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Sclavochori	
1855-1856	Bursian	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Agia Kyriaki	
1856	Clark	+	+		near Sparta	Agia Kyriaki
1858	Wyse		+	Agia Kyriaki		
1860	Conze-Michaelis	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Godena	
1878	Furtwängler	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Agia Kyriaki	
1883	Sayce- Kastriotis	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Agia Kyriaki	
1890	Tsountas	+	+	Agia Kyriaki	Agia Kyriaki	

tra «who glories in the titles of Sparta and Amyclae, yet had so little idea of the spot whence he drew his second title, that he affirmed the little village of Mouchla, in the plain of Tripolitza, was the original seat of his bishopric. This sort of ignorance seems quite incredible to an English school-boy, particularly when the ruins of Amyclae are at so little a distance; but the fact is so».³

1730: 'DESTROYING' AMYKLAION

In the above excerpt the «ruins of Amyclae» are meant to be at Sklavochori. This was the common belief among the European travellers in the beginning of the 19th century. I suggest that this identification begins in 1730, which is the first important landmark in our history: Abbé Fourmont, an epigraphist sent by the King of France, proclaimed the spectacular 'discovery' and simultaneous 'destruction' of the Amyklaion at Sklavochori. In his letters from Sparta, Fourmont boasted that he was destroying, with dozens of workers, the sanctuary from its foundations:

«Amyclae estoit trop proche pour que je la néglige; j'y ay des ouvriers comme à Sparte, ils y démolissent les restes de ce fameux temple d'Apollon, ils y trouvent tous les jours. [...] Je suis actuellement occupé à détruire jusqu'à la pierre fondamentale du temple d'Apollon Amyclaeen; l'on y trouve tous les jours des choses qui vous feront bien plaisir à voir.»⁴

Back in Paris, in 1731, in a meeting of *Académie Royale des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, Fourmont, narrated: «Amyclae est trop proche de Sparte, et un lieu trop célèbre pour n'y pas fouiller aussi; M. Fourmont la chercha et la trouva, de même que le temple d'Apollon Amycléen, où il déterra plus de 40 inscriptions, dont une est le catalogue des prêtresses ou Pythies d'Apollon Amycléen.»⁵

Fourmont, in fact found and copied hundreds of inscriptions in the region of Sparta. However, on his return to France, he did not undertake to publish the authentic inscriptions, but rather to forge and publish his own 'inscriptions' and 'evidence'. And nearly all of them were 'discovered' in Amykles. Thereby, even before its actual discovery, Amykles was connected with a bizarre but important chapter in the early history of archaeology and epigraphy.

In 1740 Fourmont spoke at the Academy about some of these 'findings' («*Remarques sur trois inscriptions trouvées*



Fig. 1. One of the forged inscriptions «discovered in Amykles». According to Fourmont, «it was engraved to perpetuate the memory of the decisions of the General Council of the Laconian nation to revenge the death of King Teleklos» [after: Abbé Fourmont, *Remarques sur trois inscriptions trouvées dans la Grèce, Mémoires de Littérature tirés des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 5 (Paris 1743) 397].

dans la Grèce»). It was an imaginative story of a research tour, during which the pioneer archaeologist had the amazing chance to discover, in three different places, three similar ancient inscriptions with lists of Spartan kings and officials. The third, and the most important of these inscriptions was found near Amyklaion, in a very peculiar primeval building, the «temple of Onga» (fig. 1).

In 1742, in a new announcement about three more inscriptions he had found this time inside the Amyklaion («*Explication de trois anciennes Inscriptions qui ont été trouvées dans le Temple d'Apollon Amycléen*») (fig. 2), Fourmont gave more information about the site of the



Fig. 2. «Inscription discovered in Greece, in the Temple of Amykleaen Apollon, near to the altar». Fourmont explains that the kings of Lacedaemon «having achieved, thanks to the protection of Apollo, some victory», dedicated their shields in Amyklaion, and thereafter commended «to be carved in marble, in order to perpetuate their gratitude.» The shields have on them «the symbols of the Herakleid kings», this one a snake along with two falling foxes (symbol of the Messenian), thus symbolizing the conquest of Messenia [after: Abbé Fourmont, Explication de trois anciennes Inscriptions qui ont été trouvées dans le Temple d'Apollon Amycléen, *Mémoires de Littérature tirez des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, depuis l'année MDCCXXXVIII jusque & compris l'année MDCCXL 6* (Paris 1751) 104].

sanctuary: «Amycles, autrefois ville de la Laconie, située au pied du mont Taygète dans une plaine, à deux lieues au midi de Sparte, n'est plus qu'un village, que les Grecs appellent aujourd'hui Sclabochorion. M. Fourmont découvrit dans la place principale, devant la Lesché ou jurisdiction du lieu, les ruines du temple d'Apollon Amycléen, qui a été célèbre dans l'Antiquité, et parmi ces ruines trois pierres, sur chacune desquelles étaient gravées des lettres d'un caractère fort ancien et la figure d'un bouclier.»

When Michel Fourmont died in 1746, he left an archive containing not only the inscriptions he had copied but also those he had forged, some of which would be published by other scholars. One was published in 1750 in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, as the «earliest known Greek inscription». In 1756 Jean-Jacques Barthélemy identified it with the «*catalogue des prêtresses ou Pythies d'Apollon Amycléen*» mentioned by Fourmont in 1731, a full catalogue of the priestesses of Amyklaion, from the time of Amyclas to the Roman conquest. The *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* by Comte de Caylus (1752-1756), which was an important book regarding the history of the archaeology, included even more spectacular 'discoveries' by Fourmont from Amykles: two bas-reliefs 'representing' human sacrifices. All the above would be considered, for a fairly long period, very important evidence of early Greek history, and the Enlightenment's encyclopedias would repeat verbatim Fourmont's descriptions about Amykles and Amyklaion.

FOURMONT'S REAL AND INVENTED TOPOGRAPHY OF AMYKLES

However, Fourmont did not only forge false inscriptions, but he copied much more authentic ones, many of them in the area of Sklavochori. On every copy he noted its location, in some cases using the modern name of the village, church, etc., in other cases using the names of his own imaginary Amyclean topography. Several of these inscriptions would be found by subsequent travelers and archaeologists, and thus we can not only detect where Fourmont had actually gone and what he had seen, but also what was hiding behind his imaginative topography— that is, what he actually 'saw' as «temple

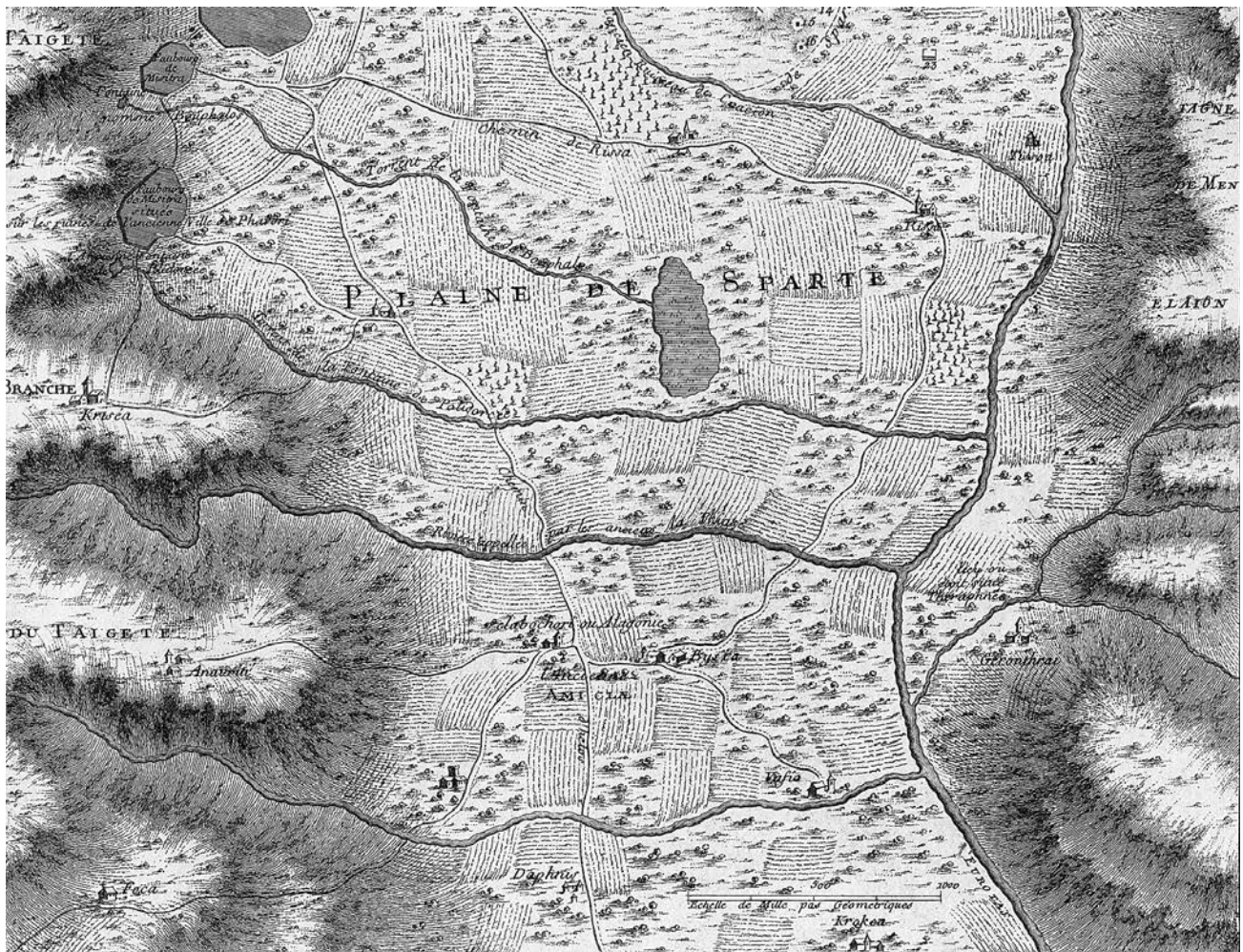


Fig. 3. Detail of the map of the valley of Sparta by Le Roy, who visited it in 1754. Following Fourmont, Amykles is identified with Sclavochori [after: J. D. Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (Paris 1758)].

of Apollo» or as «temple of Onga».

It is clear, for example, that Fourmont climbed the hill of Agia Kyriaki. In the chapel he copied an inscription (the I.G. VI 511, which later would be copied by Leake, Lenormant, Ross and others) and noted: «Στη Γουδένη in ecclesia D. Cyriacae». But it is equally clear that for him Agia Kyriaki was not connected in anyway to the Amyklaion or Amykles.

On the other hand, in the copies of several (authentic) inscriptions Fourmont has noted: «Στω Σκλαβοχωρίω in Apollonis», or «Στω Σκλαβοχωρίω in templo Apollonis», or «prope templum in Apollonis». Some of these inscriptions would be found in the end of 19th century in the village of Kalivia Sochas, in a ruined

church. We can thereby suppose that Fourmont ‘saw’ in Kalivia («au pied du mont Taygète»), perhaps in this church, the famous «temple of Apollo», that was allegedly destroyed from its foundations.

By the end of the 18th century the authenticity of the Amyclaeian ‘discoveries’ would be questioned and eventually, after some decades of typical Franco-British controversy, would be definitively refuted. Nevertheless, the identification of Amykles with Sclavochori would last much longer. This identification—reproduced even by travellers who pass through Agia Kyriaki, like William Gell—was fostered by the fact that the main road leading from Mistra to the sea passed closer to the foot of the Taygetos, westwards from Sclavochori.

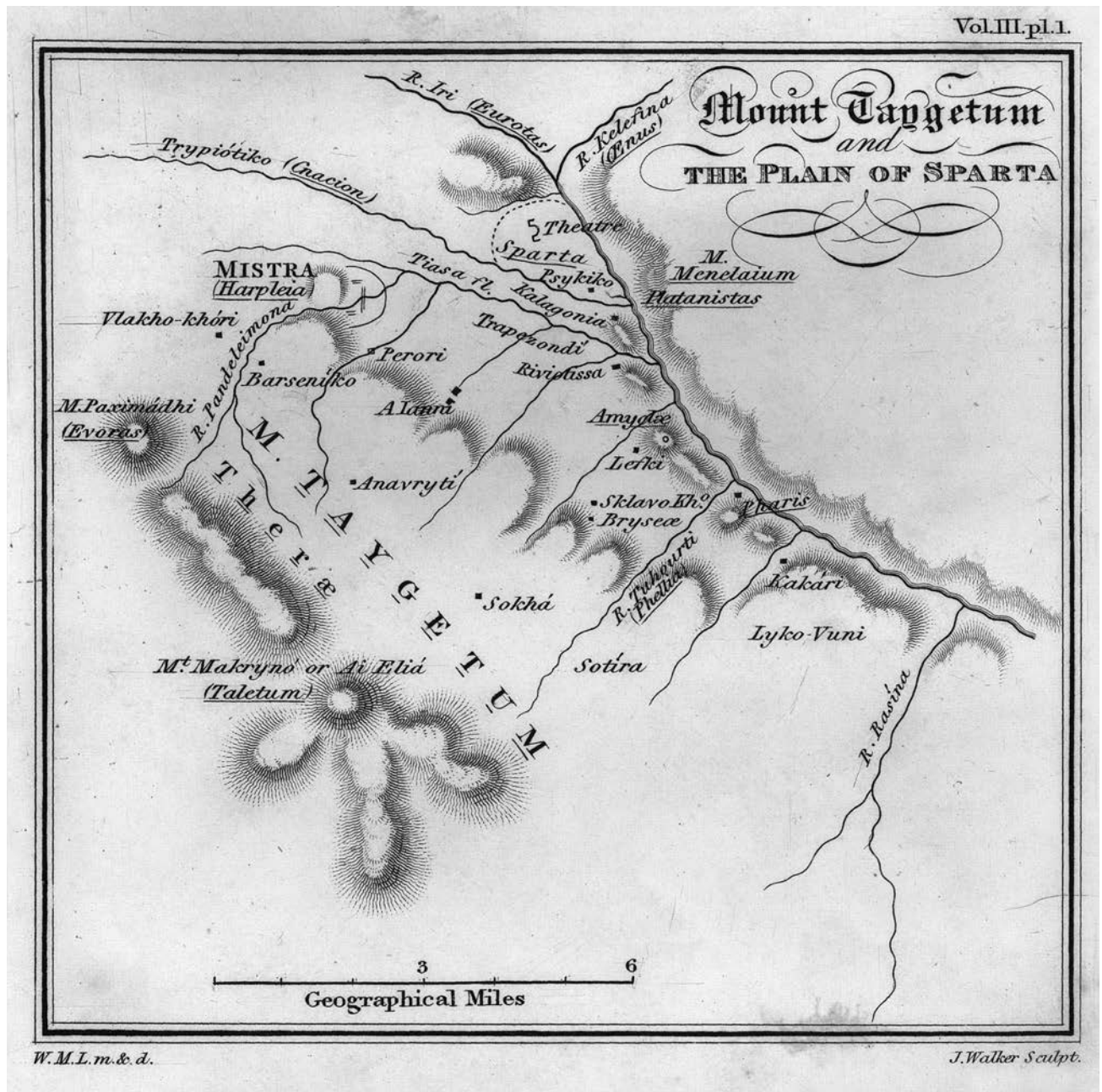


Fig. 4. The map of «Mount Taygetus and the Plain of Sparta» by William Martin Leake. He places Amykles on the hill of Agia Kyriaki (after: Leake 1830).

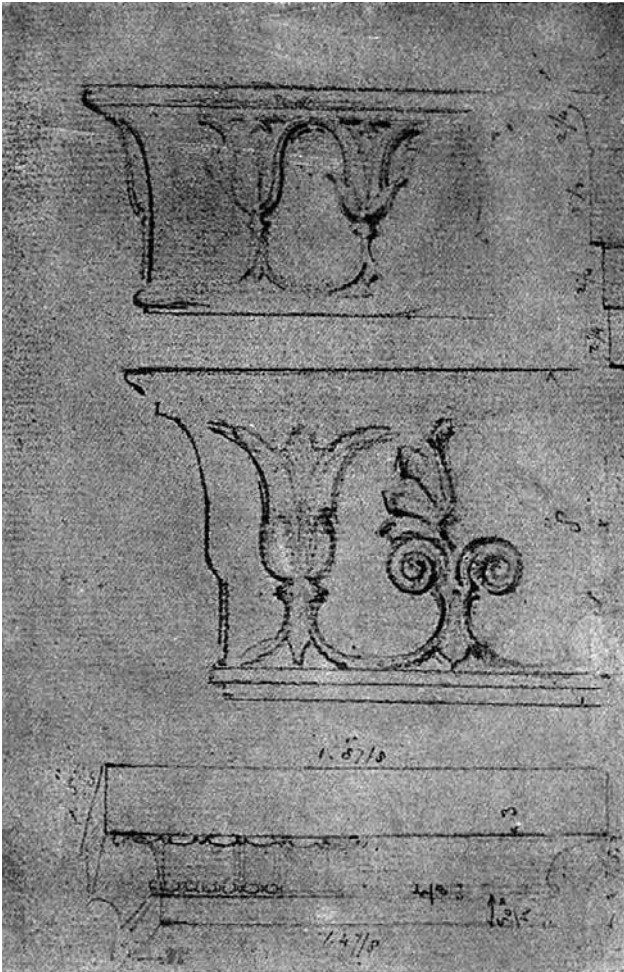
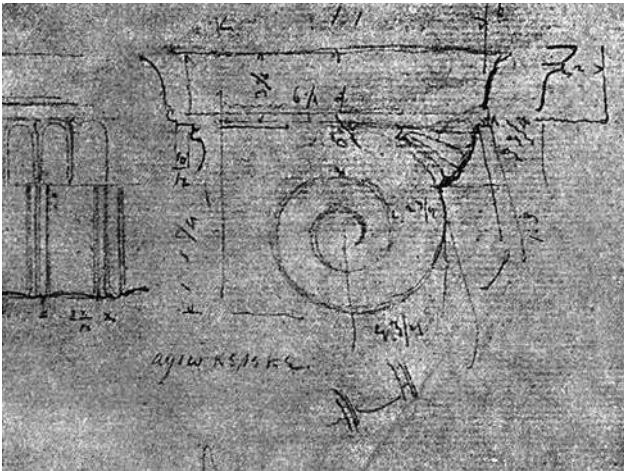


Fig. 5. C. R. Cockerell, *Agia Kyriaki*, 1811. The drawings were found in Cockerell's archive by Furtwängler (after: Fiechter 1918, 147, 155).

1806: LEAKE LOCATES AMYKLES IN AGIA KYRIAKI

The second important landmark in this history is the passage of William Martin Leake in 1805: «From Sklavokhori I ride to Aia Kyriaki, St Sunday, a church standing on a height half a mile from the Eurotas [...]. Nothing is now to be seen at Aia Kyriaki but two imperfect inscriptions, in one of which are the letters AMY following the name ΔΕΕΙΜΑΧΟΥ and leaving little doubt, that the incomplete word was AMYKAAIOY. As far as this evidence goes, therefore, St Kyriaki has as good pretensions to be considered the site of Amyclae as Sklavokhori.»⁶

Leake continues describing the view from Agia Kyriaki and correlating it with the ancient sources, mainly the narrative by Polybius of the Macedonian expedition against Sparta in 218 BC. Thanks to a combination of his historical-archaeological knowledge and his expertise as an artillery officer, Leake was able to 'read' the landscape and identify for the first time, the location of Amykles: «I think, therefore, that notwithstanding its distance, the hill of Aia Kyriaki, being such a commanding position as the early Greeks usually chose for their towns, may have been the site of the more ancient Amyclae.»⁷

Leake made these observations in 1805, but his book on the Morea would be published as late as 1830. So, as you can see in the table, the travellers of the first decades of 19th century would continue to identify Amykles with Sclavochori. Such as the British architect Charles Robert Cockerell, who, in October 1811, drew architectural members (a capital and a cornice) built-in at Agia Kyriaki, without realising their provenance (fig. 5).

It should also be noticed that although Leake locates Amykles in Agia Kyriaki, he nowhere says that the sanctuary of Amyklaion was on the hill. That is why some subsequent travellers and archaeologists, having read his book, would consider Agia Kyriaki as an archaic citadel of Amykles (and the visible remains of the peribolos as fortress walls) and would assume that the sanctuary of Apollo was lying somewhere in the plain (fig. 6).

The first one who places the Amyklaion at Agia Kyriaki is the French archaeologist Charles Lenormant, who passed through Sparta in May 1829. Lenormant was a member of the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, but he defected from the main body of the Expedition to browse alone in the region. The inscriptions copied by him were

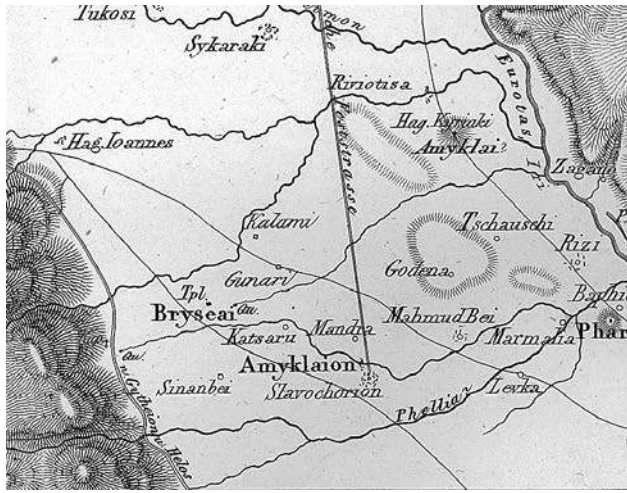


Fig. 6. Detail of the map of «Sparta and the middle of the Eurotas valley» by Curtius. It places Amykles in Agia Kyriaki, with a question mark, whereas Amyklaion in Slavochori, also with a question mark [after: E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel II* (Gotha 1852)].

published by Philippe Le Bas in 1836. Among them was the above mentioned inscription copied by Fourmont in Agia Kyriaki, accompanied by a note in which Lenormant explains how the view from the hill convinced him

that here was not only the «acropolis» of Amykles, but the Amyklaion: «Du haut de la colline isolée sur laquelle s'élève ce débris de monument, on découvre dans toutes les directions de petites églises ruinées [...]. La position de cette colline au milieu des ruines d'Amyclae rappelle d'une manière frappante la manière dont l'acropolis de Sparte s'élève au-dessus de la plaine lacédémonienne; c'est cette comparaison qui m'a fait donner, à la colline d'Amyclae, le nom d'acropolis de cette ville. Le temple de l'Apollon Amycléen devait se trouver sur l'acropolis de la ville d'Amyclae, de la même que celui d'Athéna Chalcioecos ornait celle de Sparte.»⁸

Lenormant was therefore the first to identify Agia Kyriaki as the location of the Amyklaion and without having knowledge of the text of Leake. This, however, would be ignored by all subsequent writers. The reason might be that this note was hidden in an epigraphical footnote, or that Agia Kyriaki is not mentioned verbatim.

Only in 1878, in his first visit in Agia Kyriaki, Adolf Furtwängler would recognise the built-in sculptures as belonging to the Throne. And in 1890, the excavations of Tsountas will prove decidedly that Amyklaion was on the hill, putting an end to the 'prehistory' of its discovery.

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NOTES

1. This was already believed by Furtwängler; it was recently argued in Armstrong 2008, 352-69.
2. Sullivan 1987, 110-11, 146-47.
3. Gell 1823, 335.
4. Omont 1902, 624, 620.

5. *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 4 (Amsterdam 1736) 561-62.

6. Leake 1830, 135-36.

7. Leake 1830, 145.

8. Le Bas 1836, 160-61.

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣ ΜΑΤΑΛΑΣ

Αναζητώντας το Αμυκλαίο: για μια ιστορία της “ανακάλυψης” του ιερού στα νεότερα χρόνια

Η ανασκαφή του Τσουντα στην Αγία Κυριακή, το 1890, δεν σήμανε μόνο το ξεκίνημα της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας του Αμυκλαίου, αλλά και τον τερματισμό μιας μακράς φάσης αναζήτησής του, μιας φάσης γεμάτης από μυστήρια, παρεξηγήσεις, παρανοήσεις και επινοήσεις. Το τέλος της αρχαιότητας είχε φέρει και την καταστροφή της ίδιας της μνήμης σχετικά με τη θέση των Αμυκλών και του Αμυκλαίου. Η λέξη διατηρήθηκε, στη λόγια παράδοση, αλλά αποκομμένη από το αρχικό της σημαίνόμενο. Σε κείμενα των μεσαιωνικών χρόνων, όπως στον *Bio* του Οσίου Νίκωνος, το όνομα *Αμύκλες* ή *Αμύκλιον* εμφανίζεται ταυτισμένο με το Νίκλι της Αρκαδίας, στην αρχαία Τεγέα. Στη συνέχεια, σαν έδρα επισκοπής, περιφερόμενη από την Τεγέα στο Μουχλί και στην Τριπολιτσά.

Ο Γάλλος επιγραφολόγος Abbé Fourmont, που ήρθε στην περιοχή της Σπάρτης την άνοιξη του 1730, ισχυρίστηκε ότι βρήκε το Αμυκλαίο στο Σκλαβοχώρι και ότι το «κατάστρεψε». Παρουσίασε επίσης δήθεν πανάρχαιες επιγραφές που «ανακάλυψε» στα ερείπια του ιερού, όπως έναν κατάλογο των ιερειών του Αμυκλαίου, τις οποίες είχε πλαστογραφήσει ο ίδιος. Αυτές οι επιγραφές θα θεωρούνταν αυθεντικές επί πολλές δεκαετίες.

Ο Fourmont πέρασε και από την Αγία Κυριακή, όπου

αντέγραφε μια πραγματική επιγραφή, χωρίς όμως να συνδέσει τη θέση της με το Αμυκλαίο ή τις Αμύκλες. Το δικό του «Αμυκλαίο» το “είδε” στον σημερινό οικισμό Καλύβια Σοχάς, δυτικά από το Σκλαβοχώρι, στη ρίζα του Ταΰγετου. Για ένα μεγάλο διάστημα οι Αμύκλες θα τοποθετούνταν, ασαφώς, κάπου στο Σκλαβοχώρι.

Ο επόμενος σημαντικός σταθμός της ιστορίας είναι το 1805, όταν πέρασε ο Βρετανός στρατιωτικός και αρχαιοδίφης William Martin Leake. Ο Leake, βασισμένος κυρίως στην ερμηνεία αρχαίων πηγών όπως ο Πολύβιος, ήταν ο πρώτος που πρότεινε ότι οι αρχαίες Αμύκλες βρίσκονταν στην Αγία Κυριακή. Παρουσίασε την επιχειρηματολογία στο βιβλίο του για την Πελοπόννησο που εξέδωσε το 1830.

Αλλά ο πρώτος που τοποθέτησε ρητώς το ιερό του Αμυκλαίου Απόλλωνα πάνω στον λόφο της Αγίας Κυριακής ήταν ο Γάλλος αρχαιολόγος Charles Lenormant, μέλος της Γαλλικής Επιστημονικής Αποστολής του Μοριά, που πέρασε από την περιοχή το 1829. Ωστόσο, αυτή η ταύτιση θα έμενε στην αφάνεια, μέχρι το καλοκαίρι του 1878, όταν επισκέφθηκε για πρώτη φορά την Αγία Κυριακή ο Adolf Furtwängler και αναγνώρισε τα εντοιχισμένα στην εκκλησία αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη ως κομμάτια του Θρόνου.

STAVROS VLIZOS

A Theoretical Approach to the Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites: The Case of the Spartan Sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios

IT IS NOW A COMMON PLACE that archaeological site today functions as an interpretative tool for approaching the past of a wider region and turns the monumental remains into readable and educative material with ramifications into sectors such as history, ideology, politics and religion.¹ The planning process for the conservation and presentation of an archaeological site should focus on discussions about restoration and management, as well as politics and ideology. However, along with the cultural characteristics, the environmental particularities of the landscape also define its new identity. Here exactly lies the singularity of the archaeological site of the Spartan sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios. The advantage of this site of exceptional natural beauty, overlooking the fertile vale of the Eurotas river, with the massif of Taygetos to the west and the Parnon mountain range to the east, is obvious to all. The picture of the area in antiquity, with its highly important monuments, is transferred to us today exclusively through the textual sources and not by the buildings, only scant remnants of which survive. So, *ipso facto* and occasioned by the views expressed by C. Tilley, S. Hamilton and B. Bender in 2000, namely that «Our work is our creative response to their creativity or, better, the ruins of their creativity»,² the creativity in the case of Amykles has to turn to other tools and methods.

According to the literary sources, during antiquity this site was the most important cult centre of the Lacedaemonians. The hill of Agia Kyriaki, where archaeological investigations, guided by the ancient sources, have located the site of the Apollo Amyklaios sanctuary, lies some 5 km south of Sparta, on the northeast outskirts of the

modern village of Amykles. Although Pausanias gives a detailed description of the sanctuary, it is very difficult to form a picture of the monuments.³ The central monument, the so-called *Thronos* or Throne, was a temple in the shape of an enormous chair, in the middle of which was the altar and tomb of Hyakinthos, which served as the base for the columnar effigy of Apollo. This surrounding superstructure, which should be dated in the third quarter of the sixth century BC at the latest, has stimulated intensive debate, both in ancient times and in modern research.

The twentieth century saw a growing scholarly interest in the Amyklaion. In the closing decades in particular, the site was a crucial point in research regarding issues such as diachronic development, the formation of identity and the emergence of the State, as well as the role of religion in this process.⁴ Systematic investigations on the hill, to bring to light and to document the basic monuments, were made in three periods of excavations. In 1889/90 and in 1904/07 under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society, directed by Christos Tsountas and by Ernst Fiechter, respectively, and in 1925 on behalf of the German Archaeological Institute by Ernst Buschor.⁵

In the framework of the Amykles Research Project, which commenced in 2005 under the direction of Professor Angelos Delivorrias and in collaboration with the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, a new exploration of the entire surface of the Agia Kyriaki hill is being conducted, aimed not only at carrying out restoration works and publishing the results of the excavations,

but also at delivering to the public an organized visitable archaeological site.⁶

The present picture of the site is unfortunately far from commensurate with its importance; quite the contrary, it is bedevilled by a host of problems. Neglect combined with a series of ill-targeted measures have resulted in the depreciation of the archaeological site and its environs. From the moment the aims of the research project were clarified, through the progress of works, it became obvious that any interventions at the site should be based on an interdisciplinary approach and broad-based synthesis. Primary and constant aim of the interdisciplinary team is the recognition of the historical value of the site and the monuments. One further factor in shaping the modern view of management of the monument is the confirmation of the significance of historical memory and experience in shaping everyday life today.⁷

According to the 1990 International Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage, the main actions that distinguish protection of monuments are conservation and consolidation, restoration-reconstruction (*anasteloses*) and enhancement.⁸ From the late 1990s onward, Archaeological Heritage Management is referred to as a subset of what is widely known as Cultural Resource Management and encompasses a broad range of issues relating to the protection, preservation and utilization of archaeological resources.⁹ Social, political, and economic concerns have generated new approaches and perspectives, and have brought Archaeological Heritage Management discourse into dialogue with academic archaeology as well as with allied disciplines. An extensive annotated bibliography relating to values in the context of cultural heritage explores these issues from diverse perspectives.¹⁰ The emphasis is on the meaning and practice of conservation, valorization and the need for a conceptual framework.

In Greece this approach had already been instituted by forming the first committee for the preservation of the monuments of the Acropolis of Athens, in 1975, as well as by the analogous committees for Bassae-Apollo Epikourios, Epidauros, Lindos, and so on, that followed. Culmination of this development was the setting up of the Management Fund for Archaeological Projects Execution, of the Ministry of Culture, in 1992.¹¹ The Greek bibliography on archaeological heritage includes a number

of publications¹² which, together with the study by Mas-trantonis (2008) on archaeological project management, recognize heritage management as a process that places management practice in its wider context and engages in a multidisciplinary approach.¹³

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION AND EVALUATION

In the new excavations and research activities in the Amyklaion, over the period 2005-2010, about 50% of the surface of Agia Kyriaki hill was surveyed and a corresponding percentage of architectural members processed.

According to the results of the works accomplished by 2010, the earliest human presence on the hill, most probably a settlement, is dated to the late Early Helladic period (EHII). It seems very possible that shallow round pits on the surface of the hilltop and the large quantity of EHII pottery, Middle Helladic (MH) Minyan ware, as well as fragments of obsidian should be correlated with a rural community during this period.

In the absence of architectural remains, the importance of the hill as a cult site from the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period into the Submycenaean is attested exclusively by the recently unearthed moveable finds, mainly figurines that had been dedicated as votive offerings to the still unknown deity who was worshipped in the sanctuary.¹⁴ In all probability, the settlement or synoecism at Amyklai had shifted further west and south, towards the modern village of Amykles and the Vapheio tholos tomb.

The abundance of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery from the Amyklaion indicates that cult activity of periodic character continued there into these periods. The new data show that the question of continuity in the use of the hill from the mid-eleventh to the tenth century BC is no longer open.¹⁵ From the numerous finds, especially pottery, it becomes apparent that from this period onwards the place attracted increasing numbers of devotees and was probably hosting bigger events.

The first monumental phase of the *locus sanctus* on top of Agia Kyriaki hill is dated to the late eighth and the early seventh century BC. There are two basic traits: first the construction of the Late Geometric/Early Archaic *peribolos* at the south and east, presumably because of the great-

er functional needs of the open-air sanctuary, and second the existence of a cult effigy-*xoanon* of large dimensions in the late seventh century BC.

The second and the most important monumental phase of the sanctuary dates from the sixth century BC. It was then that the Spartans invited from Magnesia in Asia Minor the architect Bathykles to design and construct the monumental and enigmatic construction of the so-called Thronos, to surround the already existing *xoanon*. Additionally, a circular stepped altar and a new monumental precinct-cum-retaining wall were constructed.¹⁶ So, in its heyday, during the period of the Peloponnesian League and mainly towards the end of the sixth century BC, the strictly planned sanctuary should be envisaged as quite 'full'. Obviously, it had to respond to growing needs both with regard to rituals and to the larger number of devotees who came there.

Archaeological information on the use of Agia Kyriaki hill as a *locus sanctus* in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times is scant. The picture changes clearly in the late fourth/early fifth century AD, mainly because of the erection of a building of large dimensions with a cistern inside, at the north edge of the sanctuary.

The existence of a cemetery and another building at the top of the hill, from the Middle Byzantine period, was associated by Tsountas with a small chapel, which must have functioned as the cemetery church of Byzantine times.¹⁷ The incorporation of ancient architectural material (*spolia*) in Byzantine monuments in the wider area of Sparta, from Mystras to Xirokampi, with most characteristic the examples in modern Amykles, must have begun already in the fifteenth century AD and attests the use of the hill as a source of construction material.¹⁸ The hill's role as a place of pilgrimage of St Kyriaki goes back to the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, it is clear that only traces of the documentation of the chronological phases and interventions in the space can be distinguished. Furthermore, the creation of a tangible picture is hindered by the fact that only a small proportion of the authentic material has survived. Nevertheless, from works carried out so far conclusions can be drawn that will contribute to the debate on intervention measures. Despite the paucity of remains, the site has all the elements for enhancing its historical and environmental importance, the factor of diachronic usage, the educational value and the quest for the particularities of the space.

PRESENT STATE

The present state of preservation of the landscape, taking into account the degree of preservation of the structures and the functions, the threats, as well as the possibilities of improvement and rehabilitation, can be evaluated as comparatively good. The not unexpected alteration of the landscape over time is due mainly to human activities. On the contrary, the state of preservation of the monuments, which are the most important source of information on the cultural tradition of the space, can be characterized as unsatisfactory, since their architectural form and a significant percentage of their authentic material have not survived. The loss of stones is largely due to "quarrying" of the ruins to meet the needs of the local population and for building local churches, over the centuries that have elapsed since the end of the ancient world and the abolition of paganism until the last century.

Christos Tsountas's research showed that subsequent building interventions had seriously damaged the constructions of the sanctuary and that the ancient layers had to a great extent been stripped from the top of the hill. Furthermore, on account of works in connection with the investigations by Ernst Fiechter¹⁹ and Ernst Buschor,²⁰ the stratigraphy over almost the entire area of the sanctuary was disturbed to such a degree that it is now impossible to draw information on the site from this source.

In the course of these works, but mainly after them, ill-considered interventions were made in the site, such as:

- Building the church of St Kyriaki in the 1920s, with material deriving from researches till then and belonging in its entirety to the ancient monuments.
- Placing this church within the boundaries of the archaeological site and upon the foundations of an ancient building, with direct effect also on the inadequate guarding of the ruins.
- "Valorization" measures with ill-conceived actions that resulted either in further deterioration of the remains (e.g. planting cypress trees very close to the surviving crepis of the Throne) or the aesthetic downgrading of the site.
- The lack of a single policy of management planning for the area is related to the fact that the site was never included in a Special Protection Zone. To this day no measures have been taken for its partial or total protection and no interventions aimed at presenting an organ-

ized and visitable archaeological site have been made. Its asphyxiating limits, which are identified with the course of the *peribolos*, leave no leeway for the development of a programme of even partial restoration of the specific monument. At present organized group visits are not possible, because the road network barely serves the site and because there is no information material pointing out the importance of the site.

The hazards to which the site is exposed relate mainly to its security, the inclement weather in winter, the difficulty of dealing with vegetation and roots, and also with fire in the summer months. Other problems include seismicity, as well as the danger of landslides due to the unstable ground, the difficulty of removing excavation debris and of recruiting experienced technicians for works on site.

In the course of works conducted between 2005 and 2010, in the framework of the Amykles Research Project, direct interventions were made at the site, such as felling trees injurious to the monuments and installing a light fencing around those parts that are easily accessible. Moreover, all the dispersed architectural members were gathered together in one place inside the fence area, to facilitate monitoring, inventorying and studying the material. Last, in 2010 works were completed on consolidating the visible remains of the Geometric *peribolos* along the south side of the hill.

It becomes clear from the aforesaid that visitors to the Amyklaion can wander freely within a natural landscape of outstanding natural beauty. They can see the remains of the monumental construction of the horseshoe-shaped Archaic *peribolos* around the foot of the hill, as well as a very small part of the crepis of the temple, together with the church of St Kyriaki that was built on its upper level in recent times. However, there is no way they can understand what they see. Moreover, a sense of neglect and abandonment overshadows the picture the site presents.

Among the advantages of the archaeological site is its direct relation and connection with the present town of Sparta. Through the archaeological museum there and the finds from Amyklai exhibited in it, a channel of communication and correlation between these two poles is created. Both the moveable finds and the architectural members collected in the museum after the earlier excavations prepare visitors for the particularities of the sanctuary and

encourage them to visit the actual site. Nonetheless, the image the archaeological museum presents and the old-fashioned displays in the permanent exhibition regrettably give the impression, here too, that the management of the cultural wealth in Sparta falls short of expectations.

PROPOSALS

In an age of rapid spatial changes, the necessity of a more profound understanding of the multidimensional character of today's landscape and a more systematic action for the preservation and enhancement of its identity, inform our demand for an integrated approach to its management. Today people are increasingly aware of the necessity of the safeguarding and survival of natural resources and the natural environment.²¹ As noted already, the Amyklaion is a site that combines natural and monumental wealth of outstanding value, an image that was described vividly in antiquity²² and was extolled by European travelers in the nineteenth century.²³ All the manifestations of divine presence, the monuments linked with the cult of the mythical heroes, were constructed in their natural setting as continuation of nature and in absolute harmony with its canons.

The use of the hill over the millennia, as attested by the interventions in the terrain in all chronological periods, reveals the continuous interaction between man and nature. The coexistence of monuments and nature resulted in an aesthetic in which these elements are identified and implied as a unity. In antiquity, the location of the sanctuary was not fortuitous as it was determined not only by factors of sanctity, memory or landscape, but also by socio-political dynamics that reinforced ties between various regions of interest and their inhabitants.²⁴

Thus, the examination of this two-way relationship between archaeological sites and their natural environment from antiquity to the modern age is particularly interesting. Through studying the landscape in this perspective, specific proposals for the optimum management of the area that combines monumental and natural wealth can be formulated.²⁵ Having in mind the transformation of the area into a modern archaeological site worthy of its importance in antiquity, the aims of its presentation and enhancement should focus on respect of the aspect of the site through discreet and mild interventions, and the ra-

tional management of these, and on works of conservation and partial restoration of the monuments.²⁶

In order to achieve the understanding and readability of the future archaeological site of the Amyklaion it is essential to present and enhance its monuments. Due to the particular circumstances there, this can be achieved only through a limited and piece-by-piece restoration of the monuments, and concerns the partial *anasteloses* of the three basic units of the sanctuary: 1) the temple of Apollo, the so-called Throne, 2) the altar and 3) the *peribolos* of the two phases, the Geometric and the Archaic period. Last, the restoration of the morphology of the visible constructions includes the remains of a building of Late Antiquity in the north part of the sanctuary, as well as the church of St Kyriaki.

A. RESTORATIONS

Piece-by-piece restoration of monuments with limited-scale relocations and completions of structural material in order to reinforce the durability of the remains and to achieve their readability.²⁷

Partial reconstruction of the crepis of the Throne²⁸

The partial reconstruction of the only part of the Throne preserved *in situ*, that is the crepis, is intended to give a fuller picture of the structure of this particular part of the monument. Stone blocks of one step and of the base of the stylobate, a column plinth and the lower part of a column drum can be placed in their original positions. To this ensemble will be added a number of the dispersed architectural members, which recent research has identified and shown to belong together. For reasons of statics, this piece-by-piece reconstruction must of necessity be supported also by new material.

Piece-by-piece restoration of the circular altar

The architectural members of the circular stepped altar are already assembled in a partial trial arrangement inside the archaeological site. The aim of this is their permanent exhibition in combination with new and ancient material in the original position of the monument, which was verified by Tsountas's investigations.²⁹

Piece-by-piece restoration of the *peribolos*

It emerges from preceding research that the remains of the *peribolos* are identified as a strong stone retaining wall north, east and south of the ruins of the Throne. The *peribolos* is adapted absolutely to the configuration

of the ground and does not follow an arbitrary course. As its remains attest, it was built only where the ground slopes steeply, forming an open zigzag line describing a horseshoe shape. In order to understand the monumental unity of the *peribolos*, its protection and enhancement, the deposition of fill in the remains of the foundation is deemed essential.

Conservation of the remains of a Late Antique building
In parallel with the above works, a conservation programme must be drafted in order to deal with issues of the composition of the mortar and plaster of floor and walls of other constructions, such as the remains of a building of the fourth and fifth centuries AD at the north entrance to the sanctuary, a large space with a water cistern and a floor of stucco and terracotta tiles. In this way both the diachronic use of the sanctuary and its monumentality will be enhanced, and the modern archaeological site will acquire one more three-dimensional architectural ensemble.

Aesthetic restoration of the church of St Kyriaki

The church, a one-aisle basilica, was built in the 1920s close to the site of an earlier chapel that was pulled down in the early twentieth century to facilitate archaeological research.³⁰ The demolition of this earlier chapel yielded a host of architectural members of the Throne of Apollo and also freed the part of the crepis visible today. Unfortunately, the present church was also built with fragments of ancient marble blocks.

Interventions in keeping with the traditional architecture of the area will be made in both the masonry of the walls and the roof, aimed mainly at the aesthetic upgrading of the church, so as to fit in with the picture of a properly presented archaeological site. Such interventions are considered essential because the church is today the only complete monument in the archaeological site and its co-existence with the ancient remains documents historical continuity.

Enlarging the archaeological site, expropriations/
acquisitions of land

The Amykles Research Project has already purchased on behalf of the Greek State adjacent areas of land, tracts that have been annexed to the ownership of the archaeological site, along its east side, thus initiating the process that



Fig. 1. Proposed routes and vantage points (photo: K. Xenikakis).

must be continued. Concurrently, a cadastral table has been prepared, with the neighbouring properties and the parts of properties to south and west of the site, which will be purchased at the expenses of the Project on behalf of the Archaeological Service. Presently, the archaeological site occupies an area of 0.60 ha., whereas after completion of the proposed expropriations its area will be increased five-fold. The proposed enlargement of the site will enable implementation of the project for the restoration of the *peribolos* and its enhancement by constructing a walkway for visitors around the perimeter of the site.

B. INFRASTRUCTURE INSTALLATIONS

Due to the lack of even rudimentary infrastructure installations and the phenomena of vandalism in the past, both on the outside walls of the church and on ancient architectural members, visiting the archaeological site is difficult at present. Along with the new fencing, the construction of a guardhouse, a storeroom, a cistern and sanitary fa-

cilities is considered essential, of course in places where it is confirmed that there are no ancient remains. For the functioning of these infrastructure installations, as well as of the lighting and fire-safety systems which must be installed at the site, the creation of underground electricity, water-supply and telecommunications networks is essential. The fencing of the site should be unobtrusive, in keeping with the natural landscape.

The scattered architectural members should be presented impartial restorations of the character of a museum exhibit. Already for the needs of research many members have been correlated with one another, now constituting small ensembles. The materials will be classified appropriately and will be presented on a platform at the edge of the archaeological site, so as not to confuse the picture of the main part. Information panels will explain to visitors the original position and aspect of the monument to which the architectural members belonged.

C. ROUTES (fig. 1)

As noted above, the international conventions prescribe the linking of monumental ensembles with the natural environment.³¹ The master plan for the Amyklaion foresees two main routes for visitors, which will be concurrently of thematic and naturalist-rambler interest. The first route will be developed on the upper level of the hill with reference points to the space of the Throne with church of St Kyraki, the partially restored circular altar and the platform with the trial placements of stones from the Throne. The second route, as continuation of the first, will bring the visitor to the level of the *peribolos* around the perimeter of the hill, ending at the remains of the Late Antique building. A route of interest for naturalists-ramblers is opted for because the natural environment of the area is still virtually unspoiled and if enhanced will attract such visitors.

D. VANTAGE POINTS (see ⑤ in fig. 1)

Basic parameter of the intervention is to enhance alongside the antiquarian content also the qualities offered by the location of the archaeological site in the natural environment. The vista of the surrounding mountains and the River Eurotas is unique. Vantage points offering a panoramic prospect of the area are proposed, which will also serve as halting points where visitors can rest awhile and enjoy the view of the landscape from a distance.

E. ACCESS (fig. 2)

The experience of the archaeological site begins with a guided course of access to it, a route that reveals progressively to the visitor an unfolding vision. The course, simple and specific, is turned into an ascent that ends at the summit of the hill and the sanctuary. Even today, the access must inspire the sense of entering a sacred space. For this reason the upward path is understood as model of the spiritual ascent, evoking sentiments of uplifting and exaltation, expectancy and anticipation of the unknown. The visitor is immersed gradually into a numinous space, introvert and closed, as at every step he/she cuts off contact with the modern town.

In this framework, apart from conserving and restoring the existing access route from the west, and arranging a parking lot there, the possibility of charting a new route from the east, through the village of AgiaKyriaki and the olive groves, is being investigated. Furthermore, the

linking with the settlement and the local road between Sparta and Vapheio will strengthen the local population's relationship with the archaeological site and will offer in the long term diverse opportunities for mild economic development.³²

F. PLANTING OF GREENERY

The plantings are intended to create an entity friendly to and in harmony with the monuments and the visitors. The programme will include those plants already growing in the archaeological site, while a large surface it will be covered with new plants appropriate to the local conditions. Trees with spreading branches offering shade will be planted at the vantage points and in the parking lot, where, moreover, they will reduce the marring effect of the stationary vehicles. A row of cypress trees will be planted to the north, at a point where a visual screen is essential in order to "hide" the archaeological site from visitors approaching it along the path starting from the village of Agia Kyriaki and ending at the guardhouse.

G. INFORMATION PANELS

Decisive for achieving the enhancement of the site is the provision of correct information to visitors as well as to locals, and through this securing the connection of the Amyklaion with Sparta. Information panels along the routes and a map of the area inside the archaeological site, as well as material available at the entrance to it, will ensure the fullest possible visit to the site. The placement of these panels and the thematic information they give will correspond to the basic locations of the remains of the monuments and their particular characteristics: 1) entrance with a general introduction to the use of the hill over time and the topography of the area, as well as information on the enhancement project, 2) on the top of the hill, the church of St Kyriaki with information on the general arrangement of a sanctuary and the cult, as well as 3) the altar and the Throne of Apollo, while 4) on the lower level to the south, the *peribolos* of the sanctuary, and last, 5) the later phases of the sanctuary in its north part.

New technologies will be utilized in the sheltered area of the entrance to the archaeological site, with an info place and an integrated system of virtual interactive reconstruction, revival and projection of the Amyklaion. These applications are intended to offer the visitor a multifaceted cultural and educational experience through use of appro-



Fig. 2. Proposed access routes (photo: K. Xenikakis).

priately adapted innovative interactive experiential services, a temporal and spatial tour using 3D virtual reconstructions. The parallel projection of the material in the Sparta Archaeological Museum on the Internet is expected to attract a broader spectrum of visitors than today.

When we behold the site today, it is difficult to visu-

alize the sanctuary as it was. People want to experience more, and new technology is a tool that serves their needs. Sites will utilize new technology to enhance the visitor experience of having a personal guide. Such applications will help visitors to visualize the Amyklaion in its heyday, bringing to virtual life for them an ancient sanctuary, as

they walk among its monuments and see the reconstruction. It is an important instrument to help bridge the “imagination gap”, between what we can see and what lies behind the plain view.

Basic concern of all these interventions and of the enhancement of the archaeological site is the servicing of Individuals with Special Needs, which is possible also because of the nature of the terrain. Furthermore, all the restoration works comply with the principle of reversibility and the clear distinction between old and new material.

With regard to the sector of research and documentation, it is necessary to excavate further trenches in order to improve our picture of the Amyklaion, not only to expose the material remains but also to update the existing bibliography with new studies and data. Last, essential too is the ongoing updating of the digitized archive and the creation of the Geographical Information System (GIS).

Given the proximity of the village of Agia Kyriaki and of agricultural activities to the archaeological site, immediate measures for the protection of the site and the landscape are imperative. In the Zone of Absolute Protection, which will encompass the whole of Agia Kyriaki hill and inside which all building activity is prohibited, only uses compatible with the needs of protection of the area will be permitted, as well as those related to the enhancement of the protected area.

The integrated presentation and enhancement of the features that compose the historical and cultural identity of the Amyklaion demands the linking of it with a single network of environmental and cultural interest relating to Sparta generally. Central idea of the network should be the holistic interpretation of the cultural development of Sparta, which was dictated by its very identity, as this is an infrangible historical, ecological and aesthetic unity. The public will be encouraged to start their tour from the Archaeological Museum, at the heart of the historical centre of Sparta, which offers a comprehensive presentation of the antiquities of the region from prehistoric times into Late Antiquity. This broad-based management of the cultural heritage will include also tours of the sites of the acropolis, the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia and the Menealaion. Within this network the pole of the Amyklaion will be demarcated both by the proposed archaeological park and by the other sites at modern Amykles, such as the Vapheio tholos tomb, the sanctuary of Alexandra Kassandra and

the Byzantine churches. In conspicuous positions in the areas of the network there will be a map of the area, depicting the proposed network of cultural and environmental routes. The map will be accompanied by information on the possibilities of visiting the sites of Sparta, while the proposed thematic routes will be annotated.

A Centre of Environmental and Cultural Activity in Sparta could make an essential contribution to the systematic briefing, educating and heightening of the awareness of the local society and visitors with regard to the protection and rational management of the region's ecosystem and cultural heritage. Basic aim is the integrated approach to a complex of cultural, ecological and socio-economic factors, with guideline the presentation and enhancement of its inherent values and the formulation of a synthetic proposal for the management of the landscape and its rational development.

MANAGING THE SITE

With basic axes the monuments, the natural environment, the town of Sparta and the local community, a mode of management that concentrates on the social responsibility of all the agents can be elaborated.³³ For the organized and combined management of special natural-cultural sites, the creation of a local management team, the association “The Friends of the Amyklaion” was considered essential, which will co-ordinate all the agencies already active in these areas: environmental groups, representatives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, local people, representatives of the municipality, cultural associations. Its competence extends to submitting proposals and solutions to superior authorities. However, its role in site-protection matters must be immediate and direct.

The only way to ensure appropriate protection of the archaeological heritage in Greece is to acknowledge that this is a responsibility of a State-run public service.³⁴ Unfortunately, a gap exists between the Archaeological Service and the citizens,³⁵ because of the authoritarian methodology underlying the management of the archaeological heritage.³⁶ The over-centralization of the administrative system in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports is a disincentive for the involvement of local communities and non-governmental organizations in heritage management.³⁷ In some cases, this is seen as hindering innovation

at local and regional level, whereas, to the contrary, one of the broader trends of cultural heritage management at a global level is the emphasis on participatory and collaborative practice grounded in community involvement that is reciprocal, interactive and multi-vocal.³⁸

The model proposed for the Amyklaion focuses on alternative approaches, encompassing participatory, inclusive and innovative initiatives which can potentially render archaeological site management socially and economically sustainable. It is now accepted that the local administration, the local communities and the organizations are well aware of their role in a new system, of their potential contribution and of the connections and responsibilities they can assume.³⁹

This concept has been inherent in the Amykles Research Project from the outset, as evinced by the creation of a large team of scholars of all disciplines, a sponsorship policy for funding the project and, especially, the founding of the association “The Friends of the Amyklaion”, which will be directly involved in the implementation of a management and development plan for the site.

On the other hand, the lack of adequate funding and of long-term strategies impact on the quality and sustainability of certain interventions.⁴⁰ It is a fact that the turn towards the conservation and enhancement of monuments in recent decades has benefitted from the possibilities of funding through the various European operational programmes. The future economic viability of the operation of the archaeological site of the Amyklaion, through European programmes but also through funding from other agencies and individuals, can be secured first of all through the sponsorship policy of the research project and the association. In this way and on the basis of an established collaboration between these agencies, the efforts of the basic management agency of the site, namely the local Ephorate of Antiquities and the Ministry of Culture, is assisted.

POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

Greek and Roman antiquity hold pride of place in the imaginative world of every ideology, in the endeavour to forge a national identity.⁴¹ And this is result of a documented construct for which all the data of scholarship and propaganda from the nineteenth century onward have been utilized. The placing of antiquity in the service of

ideology is nuanced and is perceived correspondingly by archaeologists both of the Hellenic world and of mythicized Byzantium.⁴² In the case of the Amyklaion, memory and identity are considered in the context of multi-temporality and not of linear progression.⁴³

The mention of Amyklaion in the Homeric catalogue of ships (*Iliad* 2.584) reflects the settlement's distinct political status already during the Bronze Age. It is accepted that from the eighth century BC the *polis* put religion at its centre, and through religion forged its identity. Ancient literary sources and inscriptions bear witness to the great importance of the Amyklaian sanctuary of Apollo and the related Hyakinthia festival to the people of Laconia during Greek and Roman antiquity. It was the celebration of the cult of Apollo Amyklaios together with the other Spartan cults, those of Athena Chalkioikos and Artemis Ortheia, which provided Sparta with a Dorian identity and worldview. Although Laconia was a hub of culture and commerce during Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine times, it is to the Archaic and Classical Doric period that modern Laconians point today, when they wish to emphasize their homeland's particular contribution to the ancient past. The Dorians are thus both emblematic of local pride and yet ultimately seen as forerunners of the greatest flowering of Greek civilization.⁴⁴

The site of ancient Sparta may have claimed greater prestige than nearby Mystras in Greek and Western imagination, but it was poor in monuments. Disappointed by this lack, travellers would climb up to Mystras for some visual stimulation. Although physically towering over Sparta, Mystras was under the shadow of its ancient predecessor. For even those that correctly distinguished the two, the glory of Mystras was built on the downfall of Sparta and the demise of the ancient world.

In modern Laconia and Sparta, pride in the achievements of antiquity is merged with pride in the high level of cultural sophistication enjoyed in the Byzantine Age. Thanks to the importance of Mystras and Monemvasia, the region was home to artistic creativity and was involved in developments in politics, ethnicity and religion. Nevertheless, the great influence of the Byzantine Age led to the subordination of independent local pride to an empire-orientated nationalism. Mystras became Greece's idealized archaeological site for the consumption and representation of the Middle Ages. It was a unique source for constructing an ideological topos and a national discourse based on the

notion that the renaissance of the fifteenth century contained the early seeds of a Greek national consciousness.⁴⁵

Collapsing historical time in experiential space has been a component central to the enterprise of Modern Greece.⁴⁶ National narratives produced by State authorities were grounded in social processes and political ambitions: the nation's genealogical foundations, traced in the conflation of Greek antiquity and Byzantine Christianity that took place in the nineteenth century, were rewritten with reference to the new historical realities and the geopolitics of archaeology of the twentieth.⁴⁷

Through archaeology the Amykles Research Project can make a contribution to the broader discussions on ideology and memory, since engagement with the material world is the key to understanding how memory works. In our work we seek to define the relationship between past and present, calling for a political critique of nationalism promoted by a historiography that is as accurate, balanced and objective as possible. This approach is greatly advanced by the project's interdisciplinary perspective, which juxtaposes historical, anthropological and archaeological methods.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

The emergence of new disciplines and changes in the cultural environment of Greece has had a profound impact on site-management strategies, with archaeological heritage being considered a significant part of the country's

heritage industry.⁴⁹ New archaeology demands archaeological sites open to the public and focusing on knowledge, education, landscape experience and activities.⁵⁰ Archaeological projects have to explore the threats and propose a values-based approach to management planning for the site.

Research in the sanctuary of Apollo has resulted in one more cultural collectivity that is characteristic of Sparta and at the same time complements those of Artemis Ortheia and Athena Chalkioikos. The strategic goals for making the Amyklaion a modern, functional archaeological site accessible to all, are protection, documentation and research, and last, its enhancement. The long-term management of the site demands its inclusion in the wider cultural landscape of Sparta, through a network with cultural and environmental nodes, and the development of practices of experiential approach and appropriation by the local people and by visitors to the region. This also points out the need to promote an integrated treatment of the landscape as a social good by enhancing its multi-planar value.

The achievement of these goals and the prospects for development of the archaeological park demand fertile collaboration between local agencies and social partners, with prime movers the Amykles Research Project and the association "The Friends of the Amyklaion".

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NOTES

1. Hamilakis 2008, 274.
2. Tilley *et al.* 2000, 43-45 (35-62).
3. Pettersson 1992, 11.
4. Burkert 1985, 19; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 7-10; Marinatos 1993, 228-30; De Polignac 1995; Morgan 2009, 11-30.
5. Tsountas 1892; Fiechter 1918; Buschor – von Massow 1927.
6. Delivorrias 2009; Vlzos 2009.
7. Lambrinouidakis 2010.
8. Mallouchou-Tufano 2004, 7, 120-21. UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 08/01, Jan. 2008.
9. De la Torre 1997; Randall 1998; Avrami *et al.* 2000.
10. For the latest bibliography see Cleere 2010, 4-12.
11. Dimakopoulos 2000; Lambrinouidakis 2010.
12. See generally Kokkou 1977 and Petrakos 1982; Étienne 2000; Dimakopoulos 2000; Pantos 2001; Mallouchou-Tufano 1998; Voudouri 2003; Doukellis – Mendoni 2004; Lambrinouidakis 2006, 49-58; Stroulia – Sutton 2010.
13. Lambrinouidakis 2000, 363-70; Mastrantonis 2008; Mastrantonis 2009.
14. See Demakopoulou in this volume.
15. See Vlachou in this volume.
16. See Bilis – Magnisali in this volume for a detailed presentation of these monuments.
17. Tsountas 1892, 1, 9-10.
18. Bilis – Magnisali 2009, 9-10.
19. Fiechter 1918.
20. Buschor – von Massow 1927.
21. In antiquity man officially protected nature, when, on account of the sacred temene, the destructive action of man was comprehended, see McClure 1934, 109-24; Dillon 1997, 115; Anschuetz *et al.* 2001, 157-211.
22. In antiquity the wider area was densely vegetated, as stated by Polybius (*Hist.* 5.19,2: *Amyclae: a place in Laconia about twenty stades from Lacedaemon, exceedingly rich in forest and corn*).
23. George Hamilton Gordon Lord Aberdeen, Remarks on the Amyclean Marbles. Letter from Lord Aberdeen to the Editor, in: R. Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (London 1817) 446-52; Leake 1830, 134-47; Omont 1902, 616-33.
24. Pedley 2005, 39-40, 52-56.
25. As was observed early by Greeves 1989, 59-66.
26. Of interest is the view of Tilley *et al.* 2001, 156: “We have to keep in mind that our installations and images are valuable intellectual resources in that course of interpretation, which is always a contemporary act”.
27. For the technical details and the form of the monuments see analytically in the present volume Bilis – Magnisali.
28. For the ethical dimension of the proposal for the restoration of the Throne and the altar see analytically Bilis – Magnisali 2009.
29. Tsountas 1892; see also Fiechter 1918, 164 fig. 36.
30. Fiechter 1918, 110-22.
31. The ICOMOS CHARTER for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2007) article 3,4.
32. Lambrinouidakis 2000, 370.
33. See in general Cooper *et al.* 1995; Lambrinouidakis 2000, 366-67; McManamon – Hatton 2000; Ringbeck 2008.
34. See Archaeological Law, 2002.
35. Herzfeld 1991, 34.
36. Fouseki 2009, 49-65.
37. Herzfeld 1991, 193-96; Hamilakis 2007, 37; Loukaki 2008, 168-70.
38. Hodder 2003, 55-69; Hodder – Hutson 2003; Lekakis 2008, 308-19.
39. See e.g. Bertaux 1998; Chitty – Baker 1999; Grenville 1999; Sakellariadi 2008.
40. Lambrinouidakis 2000, 369.
41. Gazi 2008, 67-82.
42. Sakka 2002, 26-40, 74-81; Liakos 2007; Hamilakis 2007; D. Plantzos, Archaeology and Hellenic identity, 1896-2004: the frustrated vision, in: D. Damaskos - D. Plantzos (eds), *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (= *Mouseio Benaki*, 3rd Suppl, Athens 2008) 14.; Sakka 2012, 91-100.
43. R. M. Van Dyke – S. E. Alcock (eds), *Archaeologies of Memory* (Oxford 2003) and its review by Y. Hamilakis in: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12 (2006) 470-71.
44. Indicative is the example of Sparta and the discussion on the origin of the Dorians, from which emerges the enormous fascination Dorian Sparta held for the Nazis, in relation to Ionian Athens. The virtues of the pure race found their embodiment in Sparta, since eugenics satisfied the demands of the Nazis’ racial policy. In this period in particular, academic discourse was denuded of every ethical principle of scientific documentation and truth, and became loyal slave of an ideology that is ordered by a mythopoeic rhetoric beneath a veneer of scientific truth. See Chapoutot 2008.
45. Runciman 1980; Chatzidakis 1981; Kourelis 2011-2012, 331.
46. Kourelis 2011-2012, 298.
47. Foro – Rey 2008, 98; Hamilakis 2009; Gratziou 2012, 81-90.
48. Brown – Hamilakis 2003; Papadopoulos 2005.
49. Palumbo – Teutonico 2002.
50. Dyson 1993, 195-206; Renfrew – Bahn 2004.

ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΒΛΙΖΟΣ

Μια θεωρητική προσέγγιση για την ανάδειξη και διατήρηση αρχαιολογικών χώρων
Το παράδειγμα του ιερού του Απόλλωνα Αμυκλαίου στη Σπάρτη

Είναι πα κοινός τόπος στην έρευνα ότι ένας αρχαιολογικός χώρος σήμερα λειτουργεί ως ερμηνευτικό εργαλείο προσέγγισης του απώτερου παρελθόντος μιας ευρύτερης περιοχής και μετατρέπει τα μνημειακά κατάλοιπα σε αναγνώσιμο και διδακτικό υλικό, με προεκτάσεις σε τομείς όπως ιστορία, ιδεολογία, πολιτική και θρησκεία. Μαζί με τα πολιτιστικά και πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά είναι, όμως, και οι περιβαλλοντικές ιδιαιτερότητες του τοπίου αυτές που καθορίζουν τη νέα του ταυτότητα. Το Αμυκλαίο είναι χώρος που συνδυάζει φυσικό και μνημειακό πλούτο ιδιαίτερης αξίας, εικόνα που περιγράφεται παραστατικά κατά την αρχαιότητα και αντίκρισαν και οι Ευρωπαίοι περιηγητές του 19ου αι. Γεγονός, όμως, είναι δυστυχώς η έως τώρα έλλειψη μιας ενιαίας αντιμετώπισης της περιοχής σε επίπεδο διαχειριστικού σχεδιασμού που σχετίζεται και με το γεγονός ότι ο χώρος δεν εντάχθηκε ποτέ σε Ζώνη Ειδική Προστασίας. Δεν έχει ληφθεί έως τώρα μέριμνα για τη μερική ή ολοκληρωμένη προστασία του και δεν έχουν πραγματοποιηθεί επεμβάσεις για τη διαμόρφωση σε οργανωμένο και επισκέψιμο αρχαιολογικό χώρο. Όλα αυτά ενώ είναι γνωστό ότι η σημασία της θέσης έγκειται κυρίως στη διαχρονικότητα της χρήσης (από την ΠΕ εποχή έως σήμερα) και τη μοναδικότητα του “Θρόνου”. Επιπλέον συμπληρώνει την αρχαιολογική εικόνα της περιοχής (Σπάρτη, Μενελάιο, Βαφειό, Αγ. Βασίλειος) υπογραμμίζοντας παράλληλα την πραγματικότητα ότι ο χώρος αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της κοινωνικής ζωής του χωριού.

Για την κατανόηση και την αναγνωσιμότητα του μελλοντικού αρχαιολογικού χώρου στο Αμυκλαίο είναι απαραίτητη η παρουσίαση και ανάδειξη της μνημειακής του υπόστασης (Θρόνος, βωμός, περίβολος, τα κατάλοιπα ενός οικοδομήματος της ύστερης αρχαιότητας και η εκκλησία της Αγ. Κυριακής). Στις άμεσες ενέργειες

συγκαταλέγεται και η διεύρυνση του αρχαιολογικού χώρου με απαλλοτριώσεις και οι εγκαταστάσεις υποδομής. Ο σχεδιασμός στον χώρο προβλέπει δύο κύριες διαδρομές επίσκεψης που θα είναι παράλληλα θεματικές και φυσιολατρικές-περιπατητικές. Καθοριστικός παράγοντας για την επίτευξη της ανάδειξης είναι η σωστή πληροφόρηση των επισκεπτών αλλά και της τοπικής κοινωνίας, και –μέσω αυτής– η διασφάλιση της σύνδεσης του Αμυκλαίου με τη Σπάρτη. Οι νέες τεχνολογίες μπορούν να αξιοποιηθούν με ένα σημείο πληροφοριών και την ανάδειξη ενός ολοκληρωμένου συστήματος εικονικής και διαδραστικής αναπαράστασης.

Η ολοκληρωμένη ανάδειξη και προβολή των χαρακτηριστικών που συνθέτουν την ιστορική και πολιτιστική φυσιογνωμία του Αμυκλαίου, απαιτεί τη σύνδεσή του με ένα ενιαίο δίκτυο περιβαλλοντικού και πολιτιστικού ενδιαφέροντος της Σπάρτης γενικότερα. Κεντρική ιδέα της υποδομής πρέπει να είναι η ολιστική ερμηνεία της πολιτισμικής εξέλιξης της Σπάρτης που υπαγορεύτηκε από την ίδια τη φυσιογνωμία της, καθώς αποτελεί μια αδιάσπαστη ιστορική, οικολογική και αισθητική ενότητα. Με βασικούς άξονες λοιπόν τα μνημεία, τη φύση, την πόλη, αλλά και την τοπική κοινωνία, μπορεί να διαμορφωθεί ένας τρόπος διαχείρισης που θα επικεντρώνεται στην κοινωνική ευθύνη όλων των φορέων. Για την οργανωμένη και συνδυασμένη διαχείριση των ιδιαίτερων φυσικών-πολιτισμικών χώρων, κρίνεται απαραίτητη η δημιουργία μιας τοπικής ομάδας διαχείρισης, το σωματείο «Οι Φίλοι του Αμυκλαίου», που, μαζί με το Ερευνητικό Πρόγραμμα Αμυκλών, θα λειτουργεί ως φορέας συντονισμού όλων των δυνάμεων που ήδη δρουν στις περιοχές αυτές: περιβαλλοντικοί φορείς, εκπρόσωποι της αρμόδιας Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων, κάτοικοι, εκπρόσωποι του Δήμου, πολιτιστικοί σύλλογοι.