

KYLE W. MAHONEY

THE NEW ARCADIAN FESTIVAL CALENDAR  
AND ILIAD 7 ON LYKOURGOS AND AREITHOOS

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The recent publication of a late sixth or early fifth century B.C. festival calendar from Arcadia presents fascinating new data for students of Greek religion and Arcadian history, including attestations of previously unknown festivals, sanctuaries, and rituals. Altogether, these new data offer insights into the connections that linked different communities of Arcadia with one another and Olympia.<sup>1</sup> Since its publication in 2015, studies of the inscription have proceeded rapidly.<sup>2</sup> In the present paper, I interpret one of the rituals and an associated toponym, the Κορυνῆτιον, with reference to Nestor's account of the combat that pitted Areithoos Κορυνήτης ('Club-wielder') against Lykourgos of Arcadia in Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>3</sup> I suggest that this story contains the etiology of the ritual, a point that illustrates the dynamic interplay between local religious rites and the epic tradition.

1. Overview of the Text (Carbon and Clackson 2016) with Some Interpretative Notes

The bronze tablet is now in five pieces and broken to left and right.<sup>4</sup> Although broken at bottom, the final line is the last inscribed.<sup>5</sup> More is missing to the left than to the right, with at least ten and perhaps more than twenty letters obliterated, depending upon the line.<sup>6</sup> The *editio princeps* of Heinrichs has been significantly improved upon by Carbon and Clackson. The dialect and script point towards southwestern Arcadia, and the details of the text support this supposition.<sup>7</sup> The overall structure of the inscription is clear enough: we are dealing with a calendar that prescribes offerings at certain times and places,<sup>8</sup> but the format is marked by irregularities in the organization of the individual entries.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heinrichs 2015; Carbon and Clackson 2016; Dubois 2016 and 2017; Minon 2017. See Appendix for a text and translation of the inscription. I thank Dustin Dixon, Jake Nabel, Simon Oswald, and Caroline Carter for their comments; any errors are my own. I thank especially Prof. Dr. Georg Petzl for his most helpful corrections and suggestions. Abbreviations follow *L'Année philologique* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, with the following additions: *CGRN* (J.-M. Carbon – S. Peels – V. Pirenne-Delforge, *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/>)) and *BNJ* (I. Worthington (ed.), *Brill's New Jacoby*, Brill Online).

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Sophie Minon, who discussed with me her forthcoming article (S. Minon, Letter Forms and Distinctive Spellings: Date and Context of the 'New Festival Calendar from Arkadia' (J.-M. Carbon – J. P. T. Clackson, *Kernos* 29 (2016), 119–158) and new readings). I am also aware of two other forthcoming treatments by Laurent Dubois and Madeleine Jost, both of which are eagerly anticipated. I thank Professor Dubois for corresponding with me about the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 7.132–157.

<sup>4</sup> It emerged on the antiquities markets of London and Munich in 2010 but had previously been acquired in a London flea market sometime around 1965; Heinrichs 2015, p. 3, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Heinrichs 2015, pp. 4–5. The tablet measures 46 cm × 32.5 cm. For photographs, see Heinrichs 2015, p. 14 (partial, lines 6–7) and Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 121, figs. 1–2; for a drawing, see Heinrichs 2015, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Dubois 2016, p. 457; Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 140–143. The letter tsan was probably used for the sound *tʰ*. It is also found at Mantinea (*IPark* 8, c. 460 B.C.) and was used for the outcome of the labiovelar stops (*\*kʷ*, *\*gʷ*, *\*khʷ*) before ε and ι; σϛ in ἑεσϛῶρον is the outcome of *\*tʷ*; Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 140–141.

<sup>8</sup> Note the calendars from Attica: *NGSL* 1 (= *CGRN* 32) (Thorikos, 440–430 B.C.), *CGRN* 52 (Erchia, 375–350 B.C.), *CGRN* 56 (Marathonian Tetrapolis, 375–350 B.C.), *CGRN* 84 (Salaminiói, 363/2 B.C.); also, *NGSL* 23 (= *CGRN* 210) (Eleutherna, 150–100 B.C.) and *NGSL* 27 (= *CGRN* 13) (Selinous, 500–450 B.C.). The *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* has collected the following calendars: *CGRN* 1 (Corinth, 600–575 B.C.), *CGRN* 2 (Gortyn, 600–525 B.C.), *CGRN* 6 (Miletos, 525–500 B.C.), *CGRN* 20 (Athens, 475–450 B.C.), *CGRN* 21 (Athens, 475–450 B.C.), *CGRN* 45 (Athens, 403/2–400/399 B.C. [A] and ca. 410–404 B.C. [B]), *CGRN* 47 (Thera, 400–375 B.C.), *CGRN* 55 (Teithras [Attica], 400–350 B.C.), *CGRN* 62 (Lindos, 400 B.C. [A] and 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. [B]), *CGRN* 83 (Miletupolis, 350–250 B.C.), *CGRN* 94 (Eleusis, 330–270 B.C.), *CGRN* 109–114, 130, 149, 158 (Kamiroi, 300–200 B.C., with 149 and 158 dating from 50 B.C.–A.D. 50), *CGRN* 115–117, 141, 179 (Lindos, 300–200 B.C., with 179 dating to 200–175 B.C.), *CGRN* 146 (Phyxa [Kos], 250–200 B.C.), *CGRN* 151 (Halasarna [Kos], 225–200 B.C.), *CGRN* 154 (Ialysos, 200 B.C.), *CGRN* 156 (Mykonos, 230–200 B.C.).

<sup>9</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 145–146. The Arcadian text has been compared with the festival calendar on a ritual tablet from Selinous (*CGRN* 13 = *NGSL* 27, 500–450 B.C.), which similarly describes offerings to be made in different years of a ritual cycle associated with the Olympia.

The text documents three days of rituals. The eighth and ninth days of an unknown month are noted in lines 14 and 22, respectively, while the seventh day is reasonably restored at the beginning of the text.<sup>10</sup> The inscription envisages yearly, trieteric, and enneateric rites. The trieteric festival was called the Τριανβρίς or Τριπανάγορις.<sup>11</sup> Τριανβρίς has been interpreted by Clackson to mean the ‘three-day festival’.<sup>12</sup> A yearly festival may be inferred from lines 16, 17, and 19, where reference is made to τᾶτέροι φέτει/τῶι δ’ ἄτέροι φέτε(ι) (‘during the other year’). A festival held every eight years on the same three days was called the Ὀπλόδμια, which is clearly related to Ὀπλόσμιος, an epithet of Zeus known at Methydrion. There was also a civic tribe at Mantinea called Ὀπλοδμία, and Pausanias tells a story about the giant Ὀπλόδαμος who defended Rhea before the birth of Zeus on Mt. Thaumasion, itself located near Methydrion.<sup>13</sup> This has led Carbon to suggest that the enneateric festival was held in honor of Zeus to commemorate his birth and arming.<sup>14</sup>

Entries on the text are divided by triple interpuncts, and each entry contains an offering with a place-name and/or divinity, the latter always in the dative. At times a temporal specification is included, but this is not invariably the case.<sup>15</sup> Place names are found expressed in five different ways: dative without preposition, ἰν + dative, ἰν + genitive, ἰν + accusative, and the allative suffix -δε.<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that these discrepancies may indicate relative distances, with Κλετορόδε of line 21 referring to the most distant place from the perspective of the authors, but we cannot be certain of this.<sup>17</sup>

Many divinities can be recognized: we see the Alpheios river in southwestern Arcadia;<sup>18</sup> Alea, typically identified with Athena;<sup>19</sup> Keraunos, certainly referring to Zeus;<sup>20</sup> Theretas, an epithet of Ares or Enyalios;<sup>21</sup> Hermes, himself born in Arcadia on Mt. Kyllene (l. 14); Dionysus (l. 15); and Herakles.<sup>22</sup> Place names are plentiful, but most are unfortunately obscure. The two exceptions are the Alpheios river, which, as noted above, is mentioned in the preserved text three times as the recipient of offerings, and Kletor, a polis located in Azania in northern Arcadia (l. 21). Alea could refer to the famous sanctuary at Tegea, but we cannot exclude other sanctuaries of Alea or the polis called Alea.<sup>23</sup> A male deity was worshipped at

<sup>10</sup> Carbon and Clackson, p. 146, who note that it is possible that the Τριανβρίς took place from the fifth to the seventh of the month, with different rites on the eighth and the ninth, but this seems less plausible.

<sup>11</sup> Τριανβρ[ί] is used as an adjective to describe παναγόρι in line 3. Τριανβρίς, however, is more often found alone (lines 1, 2, 7, and 16), and in one case (line 3) we get Τριπαναγόρι, undoubtedly referring to the same festival; cf. Τριπανάγορις from *IPArk 2* (Tegea, late 5<sup>th</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.); Dubois 2016, p. 456. On this form, see Jost 1985, pp. 383–384. The same inscription mentions a month called Παναγόριστος.

<sup>12</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 124.

<sup>13</sup> Mantinea: *IG V*, 2.271 (5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), with Jones 1987, p. 134; Methydrion: *IPArk 16* (234/3 B.C.). According to scholiasts on Lycophron’s *Alexandra* 613–614, 857–858, Hera and Athena were called Ὀπλοσμία in the Peloponnese. For Elis and Triphylia (Hera): Tzetz. In *Lyk. Al.* 858; Elis: Tzetz. In *Lyk. Al.* 614 (Athena); Argos: Tzetz. In *Lyk. Al.* 610; schol. *Lyk. Al.* 614 (Hera and Athena). On Hoplodamos, see Paus. 8.36.2–3, with Jost 1985, pp. 277–278. At 8.32.5 Pausanias notes that the bones of a comrade of Hoplodamos were in Megalopolis. A priest of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος in Arcadia is mentioned by Arist. *PA* 673a.

<sup>14</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 155. The dancing Kouretes in Crete may provide a parallel: Willetts 1976, pp. 200–202.

<sup>15</sup> It may be that, when not specified, we are dealing with yearly rites, although we cannot exclude the possibility that the rites of the most recently mentioned temporal marker are being continued in subsequent entries.

<sup>16</sup> It is clear that ἰν + genitive must connote ‘at the sanctuary/sacred area of’.

<sup>17</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 139, 144–145, 152. Dubois 2016, p. 456 suggests that ἰν + accusative is used for places to which offerings are sent, while ἰν + dative is used for sacrifices to be accomplished on the spot.

<sup>18</sup> Lines 1, 4, and 12.

<sup>19</sup> Line 4 (note that Alea here seems to be construed as a toponym and may not entail an offering to the goddess per se).

<sup>20</sup> Line 9. Cf. *IG V*, 2.37: a dedication to κεραινοβόλωι Διί (Tegea, after A.D. 131/2); *IG V*, 2.288: a dedication to Διὸς Κεραινοῦ (Mantinea, perhaps mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Note also that the southern part of Mt. Lykaion – where Zeus had his most important shrine in Arcadia – was called Κεραύσιον (Paus. 8.41.3).

<sup>21</sup> Line 12. Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 134. Cf. Paus. 3.19.8, who documents the shrine of Ares Θηρίτας in Laconia, deriving the epithet either from the name of his nurse, Θηρώ, or from his beastly nature. It seems more likely, however, that the epithet, which uses the agent suffix -τας, implies hunting (cf. Θηρατής, Θηρατήρ). See also Dubois 2016, p. 456.

<sup>22</sup> Line 19. Ζαπατέα τῶι ΠΑ[ ] in line 8 does indeed make one think of the Arcadian god Pan; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 131.

<sup>23</sup> On the goddess Alea, see McInerney 2013, pp. 7–12. For Alea at Mantinea: *IPArk 8* (c. 460 B.C.), *IG V*, 2.271 (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., tribal name), Paus. 8.9.6; at the polis of Alea: Paus. 8.23.1, with coins of the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (Jost 1985, p. 362); at

Σπέλαι,<sup>24</sup> which has been associated with a cave on Mt. Lykaion or Mt. Thaumasion,<sup>25</sup> but caves abound in the mountains of Arcadia. Κορυνίτιον,<sup>26</sup> Φελφειον (l. 4), Ζαπατέαι,<sup>27</sup> Κελεπρόδει (l. 9), Γενέσφαι,<sup>28</sup> (Ὶ)λασμο[ί]ς,<sup>29</sup> Καίται,<sup>30</sup> Σάμασι,<sup>31</sup> and Τετονάταν<sup>32</sup> are otherwise unknown but can be plausibly interpreted as local toponyms familiar to the authors of the inscription.<sup>33</sup>

Preserved offerings include 18 male and female sheep,<sup>34</sup> six piglets,<sup>35</sup> four oxen,<sup>36</sup> two rams,<sup>37</sup> a statue or statuette,<sup>38</sup> a male goat,<sup>39</sup> a cow,<sup>40</sup> three honeycombs,<sup>41</sup> incense,<sup>42</sup> three obols or spits,<sup>43</sup> a bull,<sup>44</sup> two

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Tegea: *IG V*, 2.75 (525–520 B.C.), *IPark 2* (late 5<sup>th</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), *IG V*, 2.50 (A.D. 165/6), *IG V*, 2.81 (1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.), Paus. 8.45.4–47.3, coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. through the Roman period (Jost 1985, p. 363), and, of course, the sanctuary, on which see Voyatzis 1990, Nordquist, Voyatzis, and Østby 2014, and Østby 2014. Alea was also worshipped at Sparta: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27, Paus. 3.19.7, *SEG* 46 400 (400–375 B.C.). Key is *IPark 2*, which identifies Alea as the name of a sacred area in Tegea. Alea is also a toponym on texts from Epidaurus: *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>, 1.103 (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.; associated with Tegeans); and Argos: *SEG* 23 189 (c. 330 B.C., catalogue of theorodokoi), both of which probably refer to the polis. At Tegea, games called the Aleaia were held in her honor: Nielsen 2018, pp. 414–415.

<sup>24</sup> Line 9. I cite these new place names in the forms found on the tablet, which are dative, genitive, or accusative.

<sup>25</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 150.

<sup>26</sup> Lines 3, 7; on this place, see below.

<sup>27</sup> Twice in line 8.

<sup>28</sup> Twice in line 14, once in 18.

<sup>29</sup> Line 15. The name is clearly connected to wood (Ὶλη) and thus presupposes a sylvan setting: Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 135–136, confirmed by Dubois 2017, p. 520. Note that Paus. 8.26.1 describes such a sylvan setting at Heraia on the banks of the Alpheios: Δρόμοι τε παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πεποιήνται μυρσίναις καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμέροις διακεκρμμένοι δένδροις, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ αὐτόθι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ ναοί.

<sup>30</sup> Line 16; Dubois 2017, p. 520 notes a connection with καίνυμαι and suggests ‘the victorious’.

<sup>31</sup> Line 17; the phrase ἰν Σάμασι may refer to tombs; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 137.

<sup>32</sup> Line 18. Minon (2017, p. 521), however, suggests that with Τετονάταν we are dealing with a god’s or hero’s name, τετ(όν)/τε(άν) Ὀνάταν (‘Helper’) or τετ(όν) Ἄταν (an epithet of Dionysus). This idea seems most reasonable, but it would demand that we take ἰν + acc. with a theonym, a construction which is not paralleled in the extant text unless we interpret Alea of line 4 in the same way. Two other place names are only partially preserved. Line 18 ends with ἰν OP[, which could conceivably be Ὀρχομενός or Ὀρεσθάσιον/Ὀρέστειον/Ὀρέσθειον. Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 138 read kappa or epsilon before the lacuna. If the latter is correct, Ὀρεσθάσιον/Ὀρέστειον/Ὀρέσθειον is tempting, as it was located along the Alpheios in the Megalopolis Basin. For the second fragmentary toponym, ἰν ΧΑΝΧ of line 22, see below, n. 87.

<sup>33</sup> At the very least, we can say that a male figure or figures were worshipped at Ζαπατέαι and Τετονάταν (if a place), male figures were worshipped at Σπέλαι and Σάμασι, Zeus was worshipped at Κελεπρόδει, Hermes at Γενέσφαι, Dionysus at (Ὶ)λασμο[ί]ς, and – perhaps in alternate years – a male and female figure at Καίται. The Alpheios may have been worshipped at Φελφειον, and a male figure was worshipped at Kletor. As I suggest below, it is most probable that Lykourgos and/or Areithoos were worshipped at Κορυνίτιον.

<sup>34</sup> To unclear recipients, lines 1 (female, most beautiful), 2 (female, most beautiful), 4 (male), 5 (designated as female, horned, most beautiful), 7 (male, notably at Κορυνίτιον), 8 (male), 10 (male, restored), 12 (male), 16 (male), 17 (male), 18 (male, examined), 20 (male, 2×), 21 (male), 22 (unspecified); perhaps to Hermes, lines 14 (presumably male), 18 (male); to Herakles, line 19 (male). We can say that male animals were offered to male gods, female animals to female gods.

<sup>35</sup> To the Alpheios, lines 1, 4; to unknown recipients, lines 5 (2×, most beautiful), 13 (2×), but in both cases probably to a goddess; Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 125, 134.

<sup>36</sup> To unclear recipients, lines 3 (2×), 7 (notably at Κορυνίτιον), 20 (never yoked).

<sup>37</sup> To Theretas, line 12; to Alpheios, line 12, where it is specified that the meat is to be divided in three shares.

<sup>38</sup> To Hermes, line 14.

<sup>39</sup> To Dionysus, line 15. The difference between the male goat and ram is probably that the latter was capable of reproducing; Dubois 2016, p. 455.

<sup>40</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 16.

<sup>41</sup> To unknown recipients, lines 17, 20 (2×).

<sup>42</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 19.

<sup>43</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 19; in line 13 the priestess receives two obols or spits.

<sup>44</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 21.

garments or skins,<sup>45</sup> a vessel,<sup>46</sup> and a wineskin.<sup>47</sup> A hecatomb seems to be prescribed at line 10, while the ἱερόντιον offered to Keraunos in line 9 is obscure but most probably refers to an animal or group of animals.<sup>48</sup> Four victims identifiable only as female are indicated at the end of line 11. The fact that the male goat is qualified as προτρύγιος associates the animal with the early grape harvest and thus places us in late summer.<sup>49</sup>

In the preserved text, places, deities, and heroes do not repeat from one day of the festival to the next, with the single exception of Olympia (lines 9 and 21). It would appear that, on the first day of festivities, activity was centered upon particular places and deities, including Alpheios, Zeus, Theretas, Lykourgos and his opponent Areithoos the Club-wielder, and perhaps Alea, while the second day references Dionysus, Hermes, and Herakles, all sons of Zeus.<sup>50</sup> The nature of the rituals seems to change as well: while all three days include the sacrifice of animals, the first day is characterized by rites with a martial nature and includes athletic contests and offerings to Zeus as wielder of lightning, to the war god as hunter, and, as we shall see, to the Arcadian warrior-hero Lykourgos and the Club-wielder Areithoos. If Alea is to be identified with Athena, she too has a martial guise. Even the Alpheios fits the paradigm: if – as I argue below – this day included initiation rites, it is noteworthy that river deities were typically offered locks of hair by youths when they came of age.<sup>51</sup> The second day is characterized by a sacrifice made for the early vine harvest and a number of bloodless offerings, including honeycombs, incense, a statue or statuette, a spit, and perhaps garments. The triple occurrence of the place name Γενέσφον – which must be connected with the idea of birth<sup>52</sup> – is noteworthy for the second day, and I suggest that at Σάμμοσι (‘Tombs’) we may

<sup>45</sup> To unknown recipients, lines 20, 21. Although note that Dubois 2017, p. 520 prefers to read κάς as the alternative form for καί.

<sup>46</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 22. On the vessel, a κάδιχος, see Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 139–140, who note that it may be a measurement.

<sup>47</sup> To an unknown recipient, line 22.

<sup>48</sup> Dubois 2016, p. 455; Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 131–132. Some other pertinent details: early in the text (lines 1–2), twice the meat from a choice ewe is to be set up as prizes for contests held on the first day of the Τριανβρίς. The phrases τὰ κ[ρ]έα ἄφεθλα θέναι and ἄφεθ(λα) τὰ κρέα θέναι are reminiscent of the situation found on *LSCG* Suppl. 61 (lines 74–83), a Hellenistic inscription from Amorgos that prescribes the boiled meat of a ram to be set up next to the cult statue of the heroized Aleximachos during a ritual of θεοξένια. This meat is then used as prizes for victors in athletic contests. Ekroth 2013, pp. 109–110 suggests that this cult was inspired by the Archaic cult of Pelops at Olympia. Could we be dealing with a θεοξένια in the early lines of the Arcadian text?

<sup>49</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 135–136, 148–149 who note the following: Hesychius, s.v. Προτρύγια associates a festival of this name with Dionysus and Poseidon, and προτρυγία, προτρύγησις both refer to the early vintage (*LSJ*, s.v.). Dubois 2016, p. 455 suggests ‘born before the harvest’. A number of problem areas remain. Τετονασία in line 7 is probably a neuter plural: Minon 2017, p. 521 suggests τε τονασία for τε τ(ὸ) ὄνάσια (adj.), while Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 128 tentatively associate it with Τετοναταν in line 18. TOTINIOI of line 7 is likewise obscure: Dubois 2017, p. 520 suggests crasis of \*τῶι φετινίῳ ‘during the yearly sacrifice’. ΤΑΣΧΑΛΟΕΜΙΑΙΟΝΙΠΥΝΙΠΑΙ of line 11 remains inscrutable. See Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 133 for some analysis, especially the tentative suggestion to take ὄν πυνπῶι as ἀνὰ πομπῶι. Dubois 2016, pp. 455–456 suggests that ΤΑΣΧΑ may be related to ὄσχη ‘scrotum’. References to Olympia are found in lines 9 and 21: ΟΛΥΝΠΙΑΙΟΣΤ and ΟΛΥΝΠΙΑΙΟΙΣ. The former could be analyzed as Ὀλυμπία ὡς τ’, which would imply a sacrifice made at Olympia, but the offering in question is already prescribed for Κελεπρόδει. Alternatively, Ὀλυμπία ὡστ’ could be something like ‘just as at Olympia’; Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 132, 141. Line 21 may be a reference to the Olympic festival, but it would be strange if the Arcadians scheduled their own rites to coincide with the Panhellenic Olympia; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 150, citing Robert Parker. Minon 2017, p. 521 suggests that ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΙΟΙΣ is for Ὀλυμπία ὄ(φ)ις, which seems reasonable. Hannah 2005, pp. 36–41 notes that the Olympiads were based on an 8-year cycle, according to which the games were held at alternating intervals of 49 and 50 months or 50 and 49 months. Perhaps this is the situation envisioned here – given that the Ὀπλόδμια were certainly on an enneateric cycle – but such precision is probably to be excluded; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 150, n. 28. Whatever the case, it is clear that the Arcadian calendar envisions multiple points of contact with the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.

<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the first day includes the offering of multiple female victims – including what seems to be a hecatomb – while for the second day only one cow is preserved.

<sup>51</sup> Burkert 1985, pp. 174–175; Jost 1985, p. 525. Indeed, the Alpheios has this role at Paus. 8.20.3: ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῶι Ἀλφειῶι.

<sup>52</sup> Dubois 2017, p. 520 notes that Minon has proposed a development from \*γένετυς and connected the place with the birth of Zeus. Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 135, 154–155 had already suggested a link with the birth of Zeus and also point to the Arcadian month Γενέσιος (Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 322–324, no. Att. Inc. 3) and gods and goddesses called Γενέθλιοι.

be dealing with ancestor worship. The short third day – the most poorly preserved but apparently taking up only one line – may imply drinking and libations, for we have mention of a wineskin and a vessel. I of course recognize that the document is fragmentary, but we are at least justified in supposing that each day had its own character and geographical foci. We now turn to look closer at one such locus.

## 2. The Κορυνίτιον (lines 3 and 7) and Iliad 7.132–157

On the first day of the enneateric festival, a young man brought out a shield, javelin, sword, red cloaks, and most probably other military gear no longer preserved on the tablet (line 6: [- - ]ΑΤΑΙ, κῶρρον, ἐνφότοι φέτει, ἐξάγεγ ἀσπίδα, ἀκόντιον, φοινικίς, ξίφος, κ[- -]).<sup>53</sup> This seems to imply a ceremony at which young men were acknowledged as warriors. We could be dealing with an arming ceremony, war dances (ὄπλομαχίαι),<sup>54</sup> a procession, or perhaps some combination of two or more of these elements. Dubois reached the same conclusion and notes that the plural accusative φοινικίς may imply more than one individual, and he suggests that a kind of ephebeia is referenced here.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know exactly where this ceremony took place, but the Κορυνίτιον – which is mentioned in the next line – is a plausible candidate (line 7: [- - ]ΙΑ Τετονασια : ἰν Κορυνίτιον τᾶι τριανβρι βῶν, τῶντιοί ὄφιν ὄρενα, τᾶ[ι - -]); also, line 3: τᾶι τριπαναγόρι, ἰν Κορυνίτιοι, τῶι [[- -]).<sup>56</sup> Line 11 also documents rituals of the first day, and, although much of the line is obscure, we can make out προστέθειον, a breastplate.<sup>57</sup>

The Κορυνίτιον was associated by Heinrichs with the Ash Altar of Zeus Lykaios due to its apparent similarity with κορυφή ‘peak’, while Carbon and Clackson took it as the ethnic of the southwestern Arcadian city Gortys.<sup>58</sup> The word, however, is derived from the agent noun Κορυνίτας, a variant of the form Κορυνήτης found in Homer.<sup>59</sup> Both are derived from κορύνη, ‘club’. The addition of the suffix -της or -ίτας makes ‘the man who uses the club’, while the subsequent addition of -ιον creates the substantive ‘place of the man who uses the club’.<sup>60</sup>

*Iliad* 7.132–157 tells Nestor’s story of Areithoos Κορυνήτης, which is reminiscent of the ceremony documented in line 6.<sup>61</sup> In Nestor’s words:

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Xen. *Const. Lac.* 11.3: εἷς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ’ ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικείαι κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ’ εἶναι, καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότατα ῥυπαίνεται.

<sup>54</sup> On Greek war dances, see Wheeler 1982, who finds their origins in Arcadia. Cf. *BNJ* 70 (Ephoros) F 54, which says that, according to Hermippos, the Mantineans under Demonax invented war dancing. They were imitated by the Cyreneans. Ephoros, however, says that the Mantineans and Arcadians practiced the arts of war and that the old-style military gear was called Mantinean. Moreover, the Mantineans, under Dameas, were the first to teach war dancing.

<sup>55</sup> Dubois 2016, p. 457. On the form, see Dubois 1986, vol. 1, pp. 112–113, § 63. Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 128 suggest the possibility of a shift to the nominative here.

<sup>56</sup> If we follow Dubois in interpreting τῶντιοί as \*τῶι φετινίοι ‘at the yearly festival’, then lines 6 and 7 can be taken together with a certain logic: line 6 prescribes an enneateric ritual at Κορυνίτιον, while line 7 gives the details for trieteric and yearly rites at the same site. It is also clear that, at the trieteric festival, a more costly offering was made (an ox), whereas at the yearly festival only a sheep was offered.

<sup>57</sup> Heinrichs 2015, p. 53 (“breast ornament”); Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 133 note the martial context, confirmed in Dubois 2017, p. 520.

<sup>58</sup> Heinrichs 2015, pp. 9, 43; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 126.

<sup>59</sup> The form Κορυνίτας was known to the compiler of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. ἐρίσχηλος, where we find the following phrase used by Parthenios in *Heracles* (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983, p. 304, no. 634): ἐρίσχηλος κορυνίταις. The only other times we find Κορυνήτης are Plut. *Thes.* 8.1 and Diod. Sic. 4.59.2 (applied to Peripheres).

<sup>60</sup> Compare, for example, Πελόπιον, Ἐρέχθειον, and Ἀρτεμίσιον. I was most pleased to learn that the linguist Sophie Minon – a specialist in the Arcadian dialect – independently reached the same conclusion: Minon 2017, pp. 520–521.

<sup>61</sup> On the story, see also: *Il.* 4.319 (Nestor wishes he were as young as when he slew Ereuthalion); 7.8–10 (Paris kills Menesthios, Areithoos’ son; Areithoos is said to have been from Arne). Studies: Fougères 1898, pp. 254–259 (combat between Light/Heat (Lyk-) and Water/Wet); von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1884, pp. 284–285 (associates Lykourgos with Mt. Lykaion in southwestern Arcadia), with whom *RE* XIII, 2, 1927, col. 2440, s.v. Lykurgos (2) (E. Marbach) and West 1985, p. 155, n. 63 agree; Lorimer 1950, pp. 119–120 (club presupposes a Cypriot tale dependent upon Assyrian influences); Kirk 1990,

- αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον  
 ἠβῶμι' ὡς ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκυρόωι Κελάδοντι μάχοντο  
 ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγγεσίμωροι  
 135 Φειᾶς παρ τείχεσσι, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.  
 τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευθαλίω προμός ἴστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,  
 τεύχε' ἔχων ὤμοισιν Ἀρηϊθόοιο ἄνακτος,  
 δίου Ἀρηϊθόου, τὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν κορυνήτην  
 ἄνδρες κίκλησκον καλλίζωνοί τε γυναῖκες,  
 140 οὔνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο δουρί τε μακρῶι,  
 ἀλλὰ σιδηρείη κορύνη ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.  
 τὸν Λυκόοργος ἔπεφνε δόλωι, οὐ τι κράτεί γε,  
 στεινωπῶι ἐν ὁδῶι ὅθ' ἄρ' οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὄλεθρον  
 χραῖσμε σιδηρείη· πρὶν γὰρ Λυκόοργος ὑποφθᾶς  
 145 δουρὶ μέσον περόνησεν, ὃ δ' ὑπτίος οὔδει ἐρείσθη·  
 τεύχεα δ' ἐξενάρηξε, τὰ οἱ πόρε χάλκεος Ἄρης.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπειτα φόρει μετὰ μῶλον Ἄρης·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Λυκόοργος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐγήρα,  
 δῶκε δ' Ἐρευθαλίωφι φίλωι θεράποντι φορῆναι.  
 150 τοῦ ὅ γε τεύχε' ἔχων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους·  
 οἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη.  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνήκε πολυτλήμων πολεμίζειν  
 θάρσει ὦι· γενεῆι δὲ νεώτατος ἔσκον ἀπάντων.  
 καὶ μαχόμεν οἱ ἐγώ, δῶκεν δέ μοι εὐχος Ἀθήνη.  
 155 τὸν δὴ μήκιστον καὶ κάρτιστον κτάνον ἄνδρα·  
 πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήγορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.  
 εἴθ' ὡς ἠβῶοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.<sup>62</sup>

The use of a trick by Lykourgos in combat is reminiscent of an *αἴτιον* for the Apatouria in Athens, which was supposed to commemorate the deceit (*ἀπάτη*) of the Athenian Melanthos against his Boeotian opponent Xanthos.<sup>63</sup> According to the story, Melanthos and Xanthos entered into single combat to settle a border dispute, and, during the course of the duel, Melanthos shouted to Xanthos that there was someone behind him. When Xanthos turned around, Melanthos cut him down, and the trick was ascribed to Dionysus *Μελάναιγις*, Zeus *Ἀπατήνωρ*, or Melanthos himself. The Apatouria was a festival shared by the Ionians, and at Athens ephebes of 16 offered locks of hair as a sign of their coming-of-age on the third day, the *Κουρεῶτις*. Two years later they began their military training, stationed on the borders of Attica until

pp. 232–233, 252–256 (suggests that Areithoos was an Arcadian brigand, and that this is an abbreviation of a longer version); Watkins 1995, pp. 383–390 (Lykourgos as an anti-hero).

<sup>62</sup> “Father Zeus and Athena and Apollo, if only I were as young as when, on the swift-flowing Keladon, the Pylians and Arcadians who fight with spears gathered to do battle near the walls of Pheia around the streams of Iardanos. For them, Ereuthalion, a godlike man, stood as foremost fighter, **having on his shoulders the armor of lord Areithoos, noble Areithoos, whom men and women with beautiful girdles called by the name Korynetes (Club-wielder)**, because he fought not with bow or long spear but broke phalanxes with an iron club. **Lykourgos slew him with a trick, not at all by strength**, in a narrow road where the iron club did not ward off his destruction. For, having anticipated beforehand, Lykourgos ran him through with a spear, and he was forced heavily to the ground upon his back. **Lykourgos stripped him of his armor, which brazen Ares had given him. And from that point on he wore it himself when in the toil of Ares; but when Lykourgos grew old in his halls, he gave it to his beloved servant Ereuthalion to wear.** Having this armor, he called out all of the best. They shook much in fear, and no one dared [to go forth]. But my much enduring spirit impelled me to fight in my boldness, even though I was the youngest of all. And I fought with him, and Athena gave me glory. Indeed, he was the tallest and strongest man I killed, and he lay stretched out broadly here and there. If only I were young like that, and my strength firm.”

<sup>63</sup> On this story and its relationship with the Athenian ephebeia, see Vidal-Naquet 1986, who assembles the sources at p. 123, n. 15. The oldest source is Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 125). The folk etymology is of course wrong: the festival name *Ἀπατούρια* actually refers to ‘those with the same fathers’.



the age of 20.<sup>64</sup> It is interesting that the battle of Nestor and Ereuthalion likewise took place on the borders, along the Alpheios river where the Pylian domain met western Arcadia. In a strange correspondence with the Athenian ἄϊτιον, Areithoos seems originally to have been a Boeotian from Arne.

Furthermore, the emphasis on age in the Homeric account is striking: Lykourgos takes the armor off Areithoos as a young man and then gives it to Ereuthalion when he grows old; Nestor then slays Ereuthalion when he is the youngest of all his companions. In addition to its martial connotations, Ὀπλόδμια also implies the age at which young men could bear arms: ὀπλότερος and ὀπλότατος ('younger' and 'youngest') seem to have connoted 'capable of bearing arms'.<sup>65</sup> Thus, in both the inscription and the story, we see an interest in the beginning of a warrior's career.<sup>66</sup>

There are Cretan parallels for arming ceremonies.<sup>67</sup> At Malla and Dreros, youths were called ἄζωστοι/πανάζωστοι ('unarmed') and ἐγδυόμενοι ('nude'), and in a Cretan ritual documented by Ephorus, an aristocratic youth called the παρασταθείς was abducted by an older man called the φιλήτωρ. For two months the couple remained in the wilderness hunting, and upon their return the φιλήτωρ gave his παρασταθείς a military tunic, an ox, and a drinking cup (στολήν πολεμικὴν καὶ βοῦν καὶ ποτήριον). After sacrificing the ox to Zeus, the youth became a κλεινός, or 'famous one'.<sup>68</sup> The upshot of such rites seems to have been the incorporation of the young man into the citizenry – and perhaps into the ranks of the hoplite phalanx – after a period of separation from the community.

If we rather wish to imagine a procession in which the arms were carried, Carbon and Clackson note that on *I.Eleusis* 638 (lines 25–27, c. AD 220) wreathed epebes are to process with a panoply.<sup>69</sup> An even closer parallel comes from the Spartan Hyakinthia: Aristotle (fr. 532 Rose) informs us that the bronze thorax of Timomachos, a Theban who had aided Sparta in battle against Amyklai, was 'put forth' at the festival.<sup>70</sup> In another curious coincidence, Timomachos was, like Areithoos and Xanthos, a Boeotian.

Accordingly, I suggest that the ritual or rituals that involved arms and occurred on the first day of the festival cycle – in which the Κορνύτιον features prominently – have some connection with the story of Areithoos, Lykourgos, and Ereuthalion, a version of which most probably served as its etiology.<sup>71</sup> Just as Lykourgos acquired his armor after slaying Areithoos through a trick and subsequently passed it on to his servant, so the young men were presented with a red military cloak, and at least one youth did something with arms and armor. Indeed, the list of arms and armor is cut off at the end of line 6 at κ[. It is not unreasonable to suggest the supplement of κ[ορύναν, the Arcadian form for 'club'.<sup>72</sup> The armor brought out may very well have been ascribed to Areithoos and Lykourgos, just as the breastplate at the Hyakinthia

<sup>64</sup> On the Apatouria, see Hdt. 1.147; Plat. *Euthyd.* 302d; schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146; *BNJ* 334 (Istros) F 2. The festival took place over three days in Pyanopsion (October/November) and featured feasting, sacrifice, and the offering of hair by epebes, who thus became adult members of the phratry. The classic study is Vidal-Naquet 1986, pp. 105–128 (on the military epebeia, see pp. 86–104); for a critique, see Polinskaya 2003. Such marginality or liminality – literal or metaphorical – has been linked with initiation rites, but the exact relationship between the two epebeias – the civic (age 18–20, military training) and the age-based one (Apatouria) is unclear. The Spartan krypteia – characterized as it was by treachery and hunting helots in the wild – has likewise been identified as initiatory; Vidal-Naquet 1986, pp. 112–114.

<sup>65</sup> *LSJ* and *LSJ* Suppl., s.v. ὀπλότερος; Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 155 associate the adjective with Zeus, the youngest of Kronos' sons. Note that Nestor calls himself νεώτατος before he defeats Ereuthalion. Perhaps, on defeating his opponent and stripping his arms, he was recognized as ὀπλότερος.

<sup>66</sup> See below, n. 90, for how κόρυον points in this same direction.

<sup>67</sup> *I.Cret.* I.ix.1 (Dreros, 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.: ἄζωστοις, πανάζωστοι, ἐγδυομένους), I.xviii.9 and I.xix.1 (Lyktos and Malla, 111/10 B.C. and 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.: ἐσδυόμενα); Ἐκδύσια (Phaistos, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 17); *BNJ* 70 (Ephorus) F 149: παρασταθείς/φιλήτωρ/κλεινός; Willetts 1955, pp. 119–120; Prent 2005, pp. 483–484.

<sup>68</sup> Also: Dowden 1992, pp. 112–117.

<sup>69</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 128.

<sup>70</sup> καὶ τοῖς Ἰακινθίοις δὲ ὁ χάλκεος αὐτοῦ θώραξ προτίθεται τοῦτον δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὄπλον ἐκάλουν. ταῦτα ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Λακόνων πολιτείᾳ.

<sup>71</sup> This is not to deny that other figures were absent from these rituals. It is not uncommon for one and the same ritual to have multiple points of contact with the myth tradition: see below, n. 75.

<sup>72</sup> It would be more of a stretch to supplement the beginning of line 6 with Κορνύ[ά]ται, which would be Arcadian for epic Κορνυήτη. The place name Κορνυτίον presupposes, however, Κορνυίας.

was said to have belonged to Timomachos. Carbon and Clackson have even suggested that the place name Ζαπατέαι – which also features prominently in the rituals of the first day – may contain the element ἀπάτη (‘trick’). This brings Lykourgos’ trick to mind, although other interpretations of the toponym are possible.<sup>73</sup> Whatever the case, tricks are often found in charter myths for rites of initiation, and the δόλος of Lykourgos fits the mold perfectly.<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, all of these elements taken together point towards a ritual of initiation at which young men were acknowledged as warriors.<sup>75</sup>

While we cannot be certain that the ritual or rituals with arms took place at the Κορυνίτιον, it presents us with the most likely possibility. At the very least, we can say that sacrifices were made – probably to Areithoos and/or Lykourgos – at the site during the day associated with martial rites. As Carbon has noted, when the cycles coincided, the rituals were cumulative, so that every eight years offerings were made for the Ὀπλόδμια, the Τριανβρίς, and the yearly festival at the same time.<sup>76</sup> The contests prescribed at the beginning of the text, which were most likely footraces, would pair well with martial ceremonies.<sup>77</sup> It is interesting that Ares, in his guise as hunter, features in the rituals of this day as well, for according to Nestor’s story this god originally gave the armor to Areithoos. It is also well known that hunting featured in many Greek initiation rituals, so Ares Θερέτας is appropriate for the context envisioned here.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Κεραννός, while of course referring to Zeus, is most literally the god’s weapon, which dovetails with the use of arms in a religious context. Furthermore, we know from a scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes that the Arcadians honored Lykourgos, and that a festival called the Μώλεια was celebrated to commemorate the combat between Lykourgos and Areithoos.<sup>79</sup> The name of this festival obviously presupposes the Homeric phrase μῶλος Ἄρηος: Μώλεια is an adjectival form derived from μῶλος, just as Κορυνίτιον derives from Κορυνήτης. We cannot be certain when the Μώλεια were instituted or if they have any direct connection with the new calendar. Nevertheless, a pattern emerges: in the names of the Κορυνίτιον and the Μώλεια, details from the epic tradition found their way into Arcadian religious toponymy and festival nomenclature. Indeed, Dubois even argued that the form of the Alpheios’ name seen here, Ἄλφεός, is due to the influence

<sup>73</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 129–130, where it is qualified as ‘remote’. It may also come from ζῶ + πατέω, in which case it would refer to treading grapes or grain.

<sup>74</sup> Dowden 1992, pp. 117–118.

<sup>75</sup> For an overview of the history of scholarship on initiation in Greek religion, see Graf 2003. In this connection, it is significant that Vian 1999, pp. 79–80 links the cult of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος, the giant Hoplodamos and his companions, and Lykourgos, Areithoos, and the Μώλεια (see below) with military fraternities charged with the education and initiation of young warriors. Hoplodamos and his giants, according to this view, were responsible for training Zeus in war dances. I would not disagree with the idea that the Hoplodmia was a complex festival at which not only Zeus but also Lykourgos, Areithoos, and indeed others were honored. See also Vian 1952, pp. 239, 242–243.

<sup>76</sup> Carbon and Clackson 2016, pp. 151–152.

<sup>77</sup> Note that, on the Gortyn code, δρομεύς ‘runner’ was a full-grown man, and ἀπόδρομος was a young man; at Lato, when one left the ἀγέλα to become a man, he ‘ran out’: ἐγδράμειν; Willetts 1955, pp. 11–14. It is also interesting that the Oschophoria of Athens and the Karneia at Sparta featured races of young men who in some way are associated with grapes. The Oschophoria, dedicated to Dionysus, Athena, and Theseus, featured a procession from the temple of Dionysus to the temple of Athena Skiras led by two youths (the ὠσχοφόροι) dressed as girls and carrying grape vines. The procession was followed by a race of epebes; Rutherford and Irvine 1988. At the Karneia, unmarried men called the σταφυλοδρόμοι (‘grape-runners’) chased a person draped in wool who must have been standing in for an animal; the σταφυλοδρόμοι were thus – in addition to athletes – hunters; Scanlon 2002, pp. 81–82. Burkert 1985, pp. 234–236 notes that the festival was too early for the true grape harvest, which offers another point of comparison with our inscription (line 15: προτρύγιος). It is also of interest that the Karneia included a martial component: nine tents were set up for nine groups of nine men to dine together as military companions.

<sup>78</sup> Barringer 2001, pp. 10–14, especially in Sparta and Crete.

<sup>79</sup> Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.164 (= *BNJ* 321 (Anonymous on Arcadia) F 1): τιμάται δὲ ὁ Λυκούργος παρ’ Ἀρκάσιν, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστομένης, μνημονεύει καὶ Ὅμηρος τούτου τοῦ Λυκούργου “τὸν Λυκούργος – ὑποφθᾶς δουρὶ μέσον περόνησε”. καὶ ἄγεται Μώλεια ἑορτὴ παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν, ἐπειδὴ Λυκούργος λοχίσσας κατὰ τὴν μάχην εἶλεν † Ἐρευθαλίωνα † (sc. Areithoos). μῶλος δὲ ἡ μάχη. Jost and Roy note that Ereuthalion is a mistake for Areithoos. Jost 1985, pp. 517–518 assigns the Μώλεια to Tegea, and she and Roy argue that “the legendary clash had its place within the framework of the age-old antagonism between Tegea and Mantinea”. The story, however, should originally have belonged to the southwest, on the border with the domain of Pylos. Paus. 5.18.6 says that some recognized a depiction of the battle at Pheia on the chest of Kypselos. Hesychius, s.v. Μωλύχιον, says that the battle happened at a place called Molychion, which is also derived from the word used in the *Iliad*.

of epic, as the epichoric form was Ἀλφιδός.<sup>80</sup> In this connection, it is intriguing that we find a sanctuary dedicated to an epic hero in late Archaic or early Classical Arcadia. I suggest we have here an Arcadian expression of the phenomenon – documented elsewhere in the Archaic period – of the emergence of such hero cults. As Gunnell Ekroth has noted, “The sixth century B.C. ... witnessed an intense increase in the number of hero cults.”<sup>81</sup>

Where was the text written down? Here we face a common problem: most of the literary sources at our disposal are much later than the inscription, and it is not at all clear that the Arcadian sacred landscape in the Hellenistic and Roman periods corresponded to that of the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. – especially with regard to small, local sites. For example, Pausanias noted a tomb of Areithoos Κορυνήτης on a narrow road that led from Mantinea to Tegea. It may be tempting to associate this monument with the Κορυνίτιον, but the date of the source demands caution.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, Pausanias also tells us that Lykourgos was buried at Lepreon. Lepreon was the Triphylian and at times Arcadian city west of Mt. Lykaion on the border with Elis, where Nestor fought Ereuthalion.<sup>83</sup> Then there are the Μαραθίδα(ι)ς/Μαραθίδα[v of lines 2 and 4. According to Pausanias, there was a Maratha between Gortys and Heraia along the Alpheios river.<sup>84</sup> This toponym could very well have been associated with the group named in the inscription, but we should again note that the attestation is late and the fennel plant gave its name to many places in Greece.<sup>85</sup>

The best indication of the tablet’s provenance are the three references to the Alpheios river, whose location is secure.<sup>86</sup> The presence of Olympia – located further down this same river to the west – points in the same direction. It is interesting that the epic story about Ereuthalion and Nestor belongs to this area as well, for the Arcadians marched down the Alpheios to face the Pyliaans at coastal Pheia, located only 16 km from the river’s mouth. Ariaitos of Tegea, a Hellenistic author on Arcadian antiquities, may even have set the battle of Ereuthalion and Nestor below Mt. Lykaion.<sup>87</sup> More interesting is the name of Lykourgos himself, which Wilamowitz, West, and Marbach all linked with Mt. Lykaion.<sup>88</sup> I therefore cautiously suggest that the

<sup>80</sup> Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 89–90, and note that the epichoric form is from Tegea. It is perhaps of interest that the Arcadian form Κορυνίτιον implies the agent noun Κορυνίτας rather than epic form Κορυνήτης. Redard 1949, p. 41 suggested that martial words with generalized -ίτης were made on analogy with ὀπλίτης, a post-Homeric word. Similarly, Κορυνίτιον resists the typical Arcadian assibilation of -τι- to -σι-, but this sound change is thought to have been completed in prehistory.

<sup>81</sup> Ekroth 2002, pp. 335–340; Ekroth 2013, p. 107 (source of quote). See also Antonaccio 1995, ch. 3.

<sup>82</sup> 8.11.4. In the same way, he made Lykourgos the son of Aleos, king of Tegea, and says that there was a spring called Arne near Mantinea: 8.4.10, 8.8.1; Pseud.-Apollod. 3.9.1–2 also makes Lykourgos a Tegean. All of this material is suspect because we know that the legendary king lists of Arcadia were synthesized multiple times, particularly in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. when the Arcadian League was established; Roy 1968.

<sup>83</sup> Paus. 5.5.5.

<sup>84</sup> 8.28.1. It has been identified with Agios Nikolaos; Jost 1999, pp. 197–198.

<sup>85</sup> Dubois 2016, p. 457 suggests that a gentilicial is also possible in the case of Μαραθίδα(ι)ς/Μαραθίδα[v. Similarly, Ὀπλόδμια can be associated in one way or another with Mantinea, Methydrion, and Megalopolis, and Alea with Tegea, Mantinea, and Alea. How are we to choose? There is also the issue of preservation: a significant proportion of the inscribed documents from Arcadia comes from Tegea and Mantinea, so the fact that we find epigraphic links with these two cities is not surprising (to give an idea of the situation: of the 559 documents in *IG V*, 2, 342 are from Tegea and Mantinea).

<sup>86</sup> Worship of the Alpheios is, admittedly, documented at Tegea (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.; Dubois 1986, vol. 2, pp. 89–90). There was a sanctuary of Alpheios at Heraia (Aelian *VH* 2.33), where the god was represented in human form; see Jost 1985, pp. 524–526. Alpheios was also worshipped at Olympia (Paus. 5.10.6, 5.14.6, 8.20.2) and Sparta (Paus. 3.12.8).

<sup>87</sup> *BNJ* 316 F 7a–b (= Eustathios on *Iliad* 4.319). According to this version of the story, the battle took place around the river Akidon or Mt. Ankaioi (Ἀγκάϊον is almost certainly a mistake for Λύκαιοι; Ἀγκάϊος was also the name of Lykourgos’ son). According to Strabo 8.3.21, the river Akidon was located north of the Neda river, on the border of Arcadia with Triphylia; apparently there was a sanctuary of Herakles nearby. Strabo says that some people replace Homer’s Pheia with a place called Χάα, which makes one think of the end of line 22: ἰν ΧΑΝΧ. Could this be ἰν Χᾶν χ[ῶρον? At any rate, Nestor won the duel, but in his joy he left the area designated for the fight, so the Arcadians attacked the Pyliaans, won the battle, and set up a tomb for Ereuthalion. It is also noteworthy that the Alpheios narrows to become a gorge as it turns west after Karytaina: this would be an acceptable location for Lykourgos’ ambush of Areithoos.

<sup>88</sup> Lykourgos, moreover, may have been a name typical of the Parrhasian aristocracy: when Kleisthenes of Sikyon held the contest for his daughter’s hand, one of Agariste’s suitors was the Parrhasian Amiantos, son of Lykourgos of Trapezous; *Hdt.* 6.127. Since the vine harvest is mentioned in our text, it is of interest that Heraia and Megalopolis both had vineyards, as did

calendar emanates from a community along the Alpheios, perhaps from one of the Parrhasian settlements, which were located on Mt. Lykaion and the western banks of the river.<sup>89</sup> Another potential point of origin is Heraia, located in the valley of the Alpheios and comprising the western border shared with Olympia.

To conclude: the new festival calendar from Arcadia offers fascinating insights into the religious life of the central Peloponnese in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. Interpretation of the inscription has only just begun, and my aim in this article has been to clarify one small point in the text by associating the Κορυνίτιον with the story of Areithoos, Lykourgos, and Ereuthalion. The rites documented on the first day of the festivals clearly have martial overtones: athletic contests, the presentation of red military cloaks, and the ritual use or presentation of arms and armor by a κόρφος, which need not refer to a young boy: as early as Homer we find the Greeks at Troy referred to as κούροι Ἀχαιῶν.<sup>90</sup> It seems reasonable to argue that there is some relationship between the story about Lykourgos obtaining the armor of Areithoos through a trick and passing it along to his servant Ereuthalion, on the one hand, and these rituals from the text, which are clearly associated with a martial ceremony, on the other. Exactly how the version told in the *Iliad* relates to the rituals will remain obscure for us, but the motifs of trickery and arming and the emphasis on age are all quite suggestive. We can imagine that a version of this story served as a charter myth for at least some of the rites of the first day. The provenance of the text remains opaque, but certain features of the inscription point towards a southwestern Arcadian setting.

Appendix: Text and Translation (following Carbon and Clackson 2016)

- [ - - - τὰ βδόμαι ἰσταμίνο (?) - - - ] τᾶι (τ)ριανβρῖ, ὄφιν καλιστεύφονσαν, τὰ κ[ρ]έα ἄφεθλα θῆναι :  
τάλφεδι χῶ[ρον - - - ]
- [ - - - ἰν/τοίς ] Μαραθίδα(ι)ς ὄφιν καλιστεύφονσα, τᾶι τριανβρῖ, κ' ἄφεθ(λα) τὰ κρέα θ[ῆναι] : - - - ]
- [ - - - ] βόε δύφο, τᾶι παναγόρι τᾶι τριανβρ[ί] : τᾶι τριπαναγόρι, ἰν Κορυνίτιοι, τῶι [ - - - ]
- [ - - - ὄφιν ὄρενα ἰν (omit.) : τάλφεδι χ[ι:]δρον ἰν Φελφειον (?) <sup>ννν</sup> ἰν Ἄλέαν τὸν Μαραθίδα[ - - - ]
- 5 [ - - - ] ὄφιν, ὄφιν κερὰς καλιστεύφονσα, χόρο δύφο καλιστ(ε)ύφοντε, ἄθεμιστία : [ - - - ]
- [ - - - ] ΑΤΑΙ, κόρφον, ἐνφότοι φέτει, ἐξάγεν ἀσπίδα, ἀκόντιον, φοινικίς, ξίφος, κ[ο]ρύναν (?) - - - ]
- [ - - - ] ΙΑ Τετονασια : ἰν Κορυνίτιον τᾶι τριανβρῖ βόν, τῶτινίοι ὄφιν ὄρενα, τὰ[ - - - ]
- [ - - - ἰν Ζα]πατέα ὄφιν ὄρενα, ἐνφότοι φέτει τοίπερ Ὀπλόδμια : Ζαπατέα τῶι ΠΑ[ - - - ]
- [ - - - ] ΟΝ : ἰν Κελεπρόδει τῶι Κεραυνῶι ἰερόνιον, Ὀλυνπιαῖος {Τ} : ἰν Σπέλαι τῶι [ - - - ]
- 10 [ - - - ὄφιν (?) ὄρενα, ἐνφότοι φέτει ὅτε περ Ὀπλόδμια : τᾶι παναγόρι τὰς ἐκοτὸν [ - - - ]
- [ - - - ] φα]κατέρας : ΤΑΣΧΑΛΟΕΜΙΛΑΙΟΝΙΠΥΝΙΠΡΑΙ προστέθειον, τᾶν ἕσ<sup>4</sup>άροϋ [ - - - ]
- [ - - - ] ΟΙ ὄφιν ὄρενα : τῶι Θερέται κριόν : τάλφεδι κριόν, τρεῖς αἶσαι τῶν<sup>1</sup>νυ : [ - - - ]
- [ - - - ] μεν χόρο δύφο, τᾶι ἱερέα ὄε<sup>4</sup>λδ δυό. <sup>vocat</sup>
- [ - - - ἰν Γεν]έσφον : ἰν Γενέσφον ὄφιν, τὰ γδόαι ἰσταμίνο, τὸρμᾶ ἄγαλμα, Π[ - - - ]
- 15 [ - - - ] ΕΥΣΙ : τῶι Διφονύσοι, ἰν Ὀυλασμο[ί]ς, αἰζ<sup>5</sup> ὄρεν προτρύγιος : τῶι ΚΕ[ - - - ]
- [ - - - ἐνφότοι φέτει τοίπερ (vel ὅτε περ) Ὀπλόδμια : ἰν Καίταυ βούς, τοία τριανβρῖς, τῶι δ' ἀτέροι  
φέτε(ι) ὄφιν ὄ[ρεν — — ]
- [ - - - ] Ν ἑμίταιαν, κερῶν : ἰν Σάμασι ὄφιν ὄρεν, τὰτέροι φέτ[ει - - - ]

Mantineia in the Roman period; Roy 1999, p. 329. The wine of Heraia was noted for its ability to make women fertile; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9.18.10; Athenaeus 1.31e–f; Aelian *VH* 13.6; Pliny *NH* 14.116.

<sup>89</sup> See Roy 2013. To suggest that the document is from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, while not unreasonable, seems to me a bit too bold. Although the inscription is admittedly fragmentary, no mention is made of the sanctuary, and any connections that can be adduced to link the tablet with what we know of Mt. Lykaion's traditions will inevitably involve special pleading. Keraunos is certainly Zeus, but Zeus was worshipped all over Arcadia; Jost 1985, p. 240. While it is reasonable to restore Pan's name at the end of line 8, Pan was – like Zeus – worshipped in every part of the region; Jost 1985, pp. 457–458. It is, moreover, striking that the Lykaia festival is nowhere mentioned or implied in the preserved text. For these reasons, the question must remain an open one.

<sup>90</sup> *Il.* 1.470, 1.473, 2.510, 3.82, 3.183, 4.316 (κουροτέροις), 4.393, 5.807, 9.68, 9.86, 9.175, 12.196, 13.95, 14.505, 15.284, 17.758, 22.391. Note also the study of Jeanmaire 1939, who discerned in Homer three age-classes: παῖδες, κούροι, and γέροντες. For Jeanmaire, the κούροι and κουρήτες made up the warrior class.

- 20 [- - -] ἰν Γ]ενέσφαν ὄφρις ὄρεν : ἰν Τετονάταν ὄφρις σκεπτός : ἰν ΟΡ[- - -]  
 [- - -] τὰ]τέροι φέτει, θυφέα, ὀελόν : τὸρακλεῖ ὄφιν ὄρεν[α - - -]  
 [- - -].Σ, βοῦς ἄφετος, ὄφιε δύφο ὄρενε, κερίο δύφο, κάσο[ς (?) - - -]  
 [- - -]ANTI ὄφρις ὄρεν, Ὀλυμπιαίσις : Κλετοράδε ταῦρον, κάσ[ον (?) vacat?]  
 [- - -] κἀδικον, ἄσκόν, ὄφιν, τάνφόται ἰσταμίνο, ἰν ΧΑΝΧ[- - -]  
 [- - -] vacat c. vv. 12

[On the seventh day of the month (?)] during the Trianbris, a ewe reckoned most beautiful, the meat is placed as prizes. To Alpheios, a piglet [- - - in/among] the Marathidai, a ewe reckoned most beautiful, during the Trianbris, and as prizes the meat is placed [- - -] two oxen, during the festival of the Trianbris. During the Tripanagoris, at Korynition, to (male figure) [- - -] a male sheep at (omitted). To Alpheios, a piglet, to Welweion (?). To Alea, the Marathidas [- - -] (5) a ewe, horned, reckoned most beautiful, two piglets reckoned most beautiful, what is customary. [- - -] a youth, in the ninth year, brings out a shield, javelin, red cloaks, a sword, c[lub (?) - - -] Tetonasia (or, benefits (?)). To Korynition, during the Trianbris, an ox, for (Atinios? Otinios?; or, in the other year?), a male sheep, to/during [- - -] at Zapatea, a male sheep, in the ninth year in which the Hoplodmia (occur). At Zapatea to PA- (male figure) [- - -]. At Keleprodos to Keraunos, an offering (?), as at Olympia/at Olympia. In Spela to (male figure) [- - -] (10) a male sheep (?), in the ninth year when the Hoplodmia (occur). During the festival/assembly, the hundred female [- - -] each of two parties ... a breastplate, of the four female [- - -] to (male figure), a male sheep. To Theretas, a ram. To Alpheios, a ram, three shares of these. [- - -] (verb) two piglets, to the priestess, two spits.

[- - -] To Geneswa. To Geneswa, a sheep, on the eighth day of the month, to Hermes, a statue/statuette [- - -] (15) To Dionysus, in Hylasmoi, a male goat as offering for the early grape harvest. For KE- (male figure) [- - -] in the ninth year, in which the Hoplo]dmia (occur). At the (sanctuary/sacred area) of Kaitas, a cow, such as for the Trianbris, and in the other year, a male sheep [- - -] a half-hekton<sup>91</sup> of (?), a honeycomb. In Samata, a male sheep, and in the other year [- - -] to Geneswa, a male sheep. To Tetonata (?), a male sheep, examined. At/To OR[- - -] in the other year, incense, a spit. To Herakles, a male sheep [- - -] (20) an ox, exempt from work, two male sheep, two honeycombs, a thick garment/skin (?) [- - -] for -as (?), a male sheep, during the Olympiada. To Kletor, a bull, a thick garment/skin (?) [- - -] a vessel, a wineskin, a sheep, on the ninth day of the month, to ΧΑΝΧ[- - -]

### Other Proposed Readings<sup>92</sup>

3 ἰν Κορυντίοι, τῷ Ἀ]ρειθόοι: 'at Korynition, for Areithoos' (Minon 2017, p. 521), although the photos offer very little evidence for the alpha; equally plausible, in this case, would be τῷ Ἀ]υκὸργοι. 4 τῶν Μαραθιδᾶ]ν: 'Alea of the Marathidai' (Dubois 2016, p. 457). 5 ἀ]θεμίστια: 'forbidden offerings' (Dubois 2017, p. 520). 6 κ[ό]ρον], κ[ρά]νον], or κ[υ]νέαν] 'helmet' or 'cap' (Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 128; already suggested by Heinrichs 2015, pp. 5, 10, 23, 24, n. 42). 7 τε] τονασια (for τε] τ(ὸ) ὀνάσια 'benefits' *vel sim.*: Minon 2017, p. 521). τῶ]ν τινῶ]ν: 'during the yearly sacrifice' (Dubois 2017, p. 520; this suggestion seems most convincing). 9 ἰε]ρόντων: 'victims purchased through an intermediary \*ἰε]ρώνης' (Dubois 2016, p. 455). Ὀ]λυμπία: at Olympia (Dubois 2016, p. 456). Ὀ]λυμπία ὅ]ς τ' ἰ]ν Σπ]έλαι: 'at Olympia and thus in Spela' (Minon 2017, p. 521). 17 ἐ]μίπειαν κερ]ιον: 'half-measure of wax' (Dubois 2016, p. 455). 18 τε] τ(ὸ]ν)/τ(ὸ]ν) Ὀ]νάταν or τε] τὸ]ν Ἄ]ταν (hero or god: Ἄ]της was an epithet of Dionysus; Minon 2017, p. 521). 20–21 κ]ά]ς 'and' instead of κ]ά]σος (Dubois 2017, p. 520). 21 Ὀ]λυμπία] ὄ]ις: 'a sheep at Olympia' (Minon 2017, p. 521). 22 For ΧΑΝΧ, I tentatively suggest ἰ]ν Χά]ν χ[ό]ρον, 'to Chaa, a piglet'. We know of a place called Chaa from Strabo 8.3.21, where it is suggested as the location for the battle between Nestor and his Pyliaans and Ereuthalion and the Arcadians.

<sup>91</sup> See Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 137, who suggest about 2 liters for the measurement.

<sup>92</sup> For full apparatus criticus, see Carbon and Clackson 2016, p. 122, which utilizes photographs from their article and the drawing in Heinrichs 2015, p. 31.

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Kyle W. Mahoney, Department of Classics, Trotter 204, Swarthmore College, 500 College Avenue,  
Swarthmore, PA 19081-1397  
Kmahone2@swarthmore.edu