

that the initiatory pattern reduced to its most basic terms is essentially the pattern of most traditional stories: a boy or girl is removed from his or her home and undergoes a number of adventures before being restored to live happily ever after. With a certain amount of ingenuity almost any Greek myth can be made to reveal an initiatory structure (and any aberrant features can be explained away as imaginative extensions of the ritual motif). In short, the theory that such rituals gave rise to the transformation stories, or to any other group of myths, is almost impossible to prove or disprove.

In order to give the theory some useful explanatory role one would need to be able to look at a number of connected rites and myths and identify a common pattern of translation from ritual to myth. However, if we look at the stories told in connection with the historical ritual consecrations that we know of, it is very hard to produce such a scheme. In the most common pattern the consecration or service is an act of expiation for an earlier crime, usually an unlawful killing which has caused a plague or famine.<sup>59</sup> It makes little sense to talk here of translation from a ritual into a mythical structure. It is undoubtedly interesting that consecration is seen as an expiation for a death, but one should emphasize that such stories do not reflect the ritual structure of separation/marginalization/reintegration: myth is not here being used to give imaginative expression to the stages of the rite, but to establish an imaginative background against which the rite is set.

But this leads on to a third point, which applies as much to any ritual explanation as to the initiation theories. If the original appeal, and hence the origin, of these stories depends on their listeners' experience of certain rituals, why did the stories continue to appeal once the rituals had been forgotten? This is another form of the argument from redundancy. In so far as one can provide a coherent analysis of the stories in terms of their appeal to a classical listener, one may wonder why it is necessary to posit an entirely hypothetical ritual to explain their meaning for their original audience.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. the *aitia* for the *arkteia* in honour of Artemis Brauronia and Mounichia (in Brelich, *Paidés*, 248–9), or for the consecration of seven boys and girls in the shrine of Hera Akraia at Corinth (schol. on Eur. *Med.* 273) cf. the *aitia* in Paus. 7. 19. 1 (the shrine of Triklarian Artemis), and Paus. 3. 16. 9 (the shrine of Artemis Orthia).

Turning now to the particular stories that this theory has been applied to, I shall deal first, and fairly briefly, with Callisto. No source connects her with any ritual consecration or indeed with any rite at all. But it is claimed that she is a mythical parallel to the young girls at Brauron, who during their consecration were known as 'bears'.<sup>60</sup> As I pointed out above, one cannot prove that her story is not a mythical projection of such a ritual, and it is quite likely that some of the same attitudes to the wilds and to the goddess Artemis underlie the story of the transformation and the metaphorical description of young girls as bears; on the other hand Callisto's experiences are so far removed from such a ritual consecration that any direct influence of ritual on myth seems very implausible.

Callisto's transformation and exile is not a preparation for reintegration into society and a model marriage but a prelude to death (or catasterism); it follows rape by a married god and is closely linked with illegitimate childbirth. It is not connected with a period of devotion to the goddess, but rather with her expulsion from Artemis' band. There is a much more obvious episode in the story that does correspond to the initiatory exclusion, and that is when she joins the band of Artemis in the first place.

The theory is sufficiently flexible to get round all these points of difficulty. Callisto's death, it is said, is a symbolic one,<sup>61</sup> or her experiences are a warning of what can go wrong and illustrate the dangers of transition.<sup>62</sup> But since, as I shall argue in the next chapter, the story can be understood in terms of a purely mythical logic, there seems little incentive to try to force the myth into such a scheme. One may note finally that there is already a cult story attached to the Brauron *arkteia*; this belongs to the pattern noted above, in which the consecration becomes an expiation for a past death, and bears no resemblance at all to the story of Callisto.<sup>63</sup>

The story of Lyacon requires more detailed consideration. He is

<sup>60</sup> See the works cited in n. 56 above.

<sup>61</sup> See Brelich, *Paidés*, 263, and more generally in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honour of M. Eliade* (London, 1969), 195–207. Cf. R. Arena (arr. cit. n. 56). For the idea that rebirth inevitably involves death of the old self compare M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (Eng. tr. London, 1961), 13–14.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Calame, 270–2, on the 'plant' heroines.

<sup>63</sup> See above, n. 59.

an early king of Arcadia who entertained Zeus as a guest and served him up a human child (normally his grandson Arcas). Zeus turned him into a wolf. Unlike any of the stories we have considered so far, this myth is linked by an ancient source to a rite. 'They say', says Pausanias, 'that since the time of Lycaon a man always turns into a wolf at the sacrifice to Zeus Lycaeus, but not for life, for if he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year he changes back again.'<sup>64</sup> Earlier he has told us of Damarchus, an athlete who is supposed to have done this before becoming an Olympic victor.<sup>65</sup> He refuses to speak of the sacrifice itself, which he says is a secret, but Plato<sup>66</sup> tells us a *mythos* about the shrine of Zeus Lycaeus on Mount Lycaeon which has been thought to refer to it. Human flesh is mixed with the meat of other animals which is then shared out; whoever eats the human flesh becomes a wolf. There is also a report in Pliny and Augustine about an Arcadian werewolf custom:<sup>67</sup> a man from a certain family is chosen by lot and led to a pond; he hangs his clothes on an oak tree, swims across, and becomes a wolf. If he avoids human flesh for eight years he can swim back and become a man again. Some think that the same rite is being referred to, perhaps in a more developed form.

It has been suggested that the cannibal feast is the first step in an eight-year initiation ordeal for an Arcadian secret society.<sup>68</sup> The obvious models for this interpretation are African secret societies (e.g. the leopard men), but it is argued that a Greek parallel exists in the Spartan *krypteia*, the institution by which young Spartans spent a certain period in the wilds living virtually as outlaws. They would hide during the day, and at night would come out and murder passing helots. This was a preparation, it is argued, for joining an élite group of Spartan soldiers.

With regard to the legends of mount Lycaeon, it is thought to be significant first that Damarchus, the Olympic victor mentioned by Pausanias, spent eight years as a wolf before his victory; his period as

<sup>64</sup> 8. 2. 6.

<sup>65</sup> 6. 8. 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Resp.* 565 D.

<sup>67</sup> Pliny, *NH* 8. 81; Aug. *De Civ. D.* 18. 17.

<sup>68</sup> See Jeanmaire, *Couvoi*, 540–69; Burkert, *HN* 98–108; cf. R. J. A. Buxton, in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1987), ch. 4; Lloyd-Jones (art. cit. n. 53), 98.

a wolf is therefore a preparation for a successful reintegration into society as a highly honoured citizen. Secondly, it is argued that the werewolf story in Pliny and Augustine shows familiar rite of passage motifs (removing clothes, immersion in water, crossing a river), while the communal cannibal feast in Plato's story is a feature in ancient and modern secret societies.<sup>69</sup> (Note, however, that whereas in these the communal guilt from the shared cannibal feast seems to be an important binding factor, here we have a single cannibal isolated from his companions). The myth of Lycaon is therefore a mythical projection of this rite, and Lycaon is the mythical prototype of each of the wolf men.

There are two problems here, the first as to the historical existence of the initiation rite, the second as to Lycaon's connection with it.

There is no external archaeological evidence that people ate each other on Mount Lycaeon. All the reports of this feast in ancient writers appear to derive from the playful allusion in Plato (even the account of the Arcadian Polybius cites Plato).<sup>70</sup> In fact it seems likely that Pausanias did not regard it as a local story at all: he speaks of the werewolf tradition with contempt and contrasts it with the ancient Arcadian story of the transformation of Lycaon.<sup>71</sup>

One might well be sceptical therefore about the tradition of the cannibal feast, but to combine this with the story of Pliny and Augustine seems even more questionable. This latter story has no link with Mount Lycaeon or with any rite, and in particular it misses out the human sacrifice that is a vital part of the other story. Furthermore, the story shows the familiar motifs of later werewolf stories (most obviously in the removal and careful preservation of the werewolf's clothes).<sup>72</sup> This story perhaps only shows that there were in fact Arcadian werewolf stories which did originate in the sacrifice on Mount Lycaeon.

<sup>69</sup> See H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*<sup>2</sup> (New York, 1932), 35.

<sup>70</sup> Polyb. 7. 13. 7.

<sup>71</sup> Further, in his report of the werewolf athlete Damarchus he infers that the story of his transformation is not a tradition that the Arcadians held themselves since otherwise it would have been recorded on the inscription at Olympia. Whatever we may think of the grounds for this inference this at least shows that the story was not in Pausanias' time recognized as a local Arcadian one.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Petronius 62 and Aesop 301 (ed. A. Hausrath<sup>2</sup>, vol. ii, Leipzig, 1959).

In short, werewolf stories are a common feature in the European folk-tale; they are found frequently in late antiquity and probably existed in Arcadia. It may well be that one of these later became attached to the sacrifice on Mount Lycaeon, the secrecy of which may have encouraged dark rumours.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps the myth of Lycaon itself prompted such a development.

One may note further that there is no independent evidence for this secret society. The Spartan *krypteia* is perhaps not such a helpful parallel. Rather than a survival of primitive initiations it seems to have been an institution especially created or adapted for the Spartans' peculiar and relatively new problem of suppressing the helots.<sup>74</sup>

We clearly do not know enough to say that there could not have been such a rite or secret society. But their existence is at least highly questionable, and this means that rather more hangs on the second issue of the inherent suitability of Lycaon as an initiatory model. In fact it is extremely difficult to see how he could have been invented for such a purpose.

First of all, he is the wrong age. Those figures normally considered to be initiatory models are heroic or divine equivalents of the initiands, young men or women like Theseus, Apollo, Artemis, or the daughters of Cecrops.<sup>75</sup> But Lycaon is invariably an old or middle-aged man.<sup>76</sup>

Secondly, Lycaon's transformation is not a temporary prelude to reintegration or even to death. He is a permanent wolf, and his story belongs rather with the aetiological stories which explain animal characters in terms of past human crimes; we can compare the close parallel of the transformation of the savage Lyncus into a lynx. Lycaon is a real wolf, not a werewolf. It could of course be that the myth illustrates the dangers of what could go wrong at the rite, but this leads on to a third and most crucial point: Lycaon's crime is murder and abusing the rules of hospitality, never cannibalism; we

<sup>73</sup> See Nilsson, *GGR* 397–401; cf. Halliday on Plut. *GQ* 39.

<sup>74</sup> See P. Vidal-Naquet, in Gordon, 180–5.

<sup>75</sup> Or Pelops, Melikertes, Archemoros, the children of Medea, Iphigencia, Kaineus, or Achilles.

<sup>76</sup> Ovid speaks of his 'canities' persisting in the wolf, *Met.* 1. 238.

find the same pattern in the story of Tantalus, where the only cannibal is the goddess Demeter. It is difficult to see how Lycaon could be an imaginary archetype for the banqueters at Plato's cannibal feast, where it is eating rather than killing that is at issue.

The myth and cults of Mount Lycaeon do not, therefore, provide a clear example of how a mythical structure can be explained by that of a rite. Again one is forced to rely on the myth itself as evidence for the existence of the rite that is supposed to explain it, and again, on closer examination, the myth is not very helpful material for such a purpose.

source both of the prurient excitement of the story and of the triple resentment that brings Actaeon down.

#### LYCAON<sup>104</sup>

The myth of Lycaon has a key position for our understanding of the animal stories. It deals directly with the theme that underlies the other stories, the opposition of the house and the wilds. In the other stories this theme was the background or context given to a conflict of men and women; here it assumes a central and explicit role in the story of the original king and founder. He sets up the order that is undermined in the other stories.

That his function as a founder is central to his mythical character is suggested by his name, which connects him with Mount Lycaon and its holy grove, the ancient cult of Zeus Lycaeus, the Lycaean games, and the city of Lycosura.<sup>105</sup> These were all supposed to be of great antiquity and were treated with veneration by the Arcadians. They claimed that Lycosura was the oldest city in the world and the model for all other cities.<sup>106</sup> Pausanias in his history of Arcadia explicitly makes Lycaon the founder of these institutions, and further characterizes him as the son of Pelasgus, the first man, in whose time men fed on acorns, and as the father of Arcas who introduced cereal growing.<sup>107</sup>

It is in the light of his role as founder and creator of the present order of human culture that we should interpret his story. I shall argue that the details of his crime and punishment are dictated by, and help to define, the nature of the order with whose birth he is connected. It seems important that Lycaon's crime is connected by the myth both to the gods, as his victims, and to animals, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the relations of gods and men, and men and animals, are an important aspect of this new order.

<sup>104</sup> The myth is very fully discussed in G. Piccaluga, *Lycaon: un tema mitico* (Rome, 1968); cf. R. Merkelbach, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 182–5.

<sup>105</sup> He is also the founder of the cult of Hermes of Cyllene, and his sons are founders of the other cities of Arcadia: see *Cat.* 1*a* s.v.

<sup>106</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 1.

<sup>107</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 1.

Let us begin with the role of the gods, the abused guests of Lycaon. Lycaon's relation with the gods both in our tradition as a whole and within individual stories is an ambiguous one. Sometimes he is the pious and just king who receives the gods as friends and guests, and the crime is committed by his evil sons; sometimes he is the impious monster and enemy of the gods.<sup>108</sup> We may note that Lycaon and his sons have associations with the giants<sup>109</sup> and that the Arcadians as a whole, as the oldest men, are associated with primitive violence.<sup>110</sup>

However, this ambiguity is central to the historical perspective of the story. Lycaon's crime belongs to a familiar pattern of the original separation of men and gods.<sup>111</sup> That men and gods once shared the same table is a commonly expressed belief,<sup>112</sup> and various stories are concerned with the cause of this separation. Some speak of an abuse of the gods' hospitality by men. There is Ixion, who takes advantage of Zeus' hospitality and attempts to rape his wife, and Tantalus who in one story steals the food of the gods;<sup>113</sup> in another story, he is closer to Lycaon and serves the gods a cannibal feast. Some versions of Lycaon's story have his crime followed by the flood, and this serves to emphasize the break and new beginning in human history.<sup>114</sup> These versions and perhaps the whole tradition of the flood are late, but even so their invention takes its starting point from, and draws attention to, the perhaps older idea that the crime of Lycaon marks a new beginning for mankind.

It is in this context of the mixed attitude to the new age that we

<sup>108</sup> See *Cat.* 1*a* s.v. Tantalus has some of the same ambiguities: see Piccaluga, 186–9.

<sup>109</sup> See p. 217.

<sup>110</sup> See *Lyc.* 481 ff. and scholia, Borgeaud, 21–3. For primitive Arcadia as a land of cannibals see Paus. 8. 42. 6.

<sup>111</sup> This is one of the main themes of Piccaluga.

<sup>112</sup> e.g. *Hes. fr.* 1. 6.

<sup>113</sup> *Pind. Ol.* 1. 60 ff. See Piccaluga, 156–90.

<sup>114</sup> There is a similar tradition about Tantalus' feast: see schol. *Pind. Ol.* 9. 78, and Piccaluga, 156–90. Piccaluga makes the flood a central element in her analysis of the story, and sees Lycaon's role as the bringer of the fertilizing rain which makes Arcadia capable of growing crops. This seems to give the wrong emphasis to the myth. Even in Pausanias' account Lycaon is not an agricultural innovator like Pelasgus and Arcas, but a founder in a social and religious sense. The wolf he becomes is not a destroyer of crops but a predator on sheep. (For the view of the sacrifice as a rain rite cf. W. Sale, *RhM* 108 (1965), 11–35).

should see the ambiguities of Lycaon. The first men may be imagined as belonging to a golden age and to have deserved the favour of mixing with the gods;<sup>115</sup> the birth of the present age may then be seen as a decline. But secondly, there is also a tendency to see the past as a time of wildness and primitive barbarism, or at least of hardship. Men may have been closer to the gods, but often this took the form of rivalry, and the most characteristic figures of this period are the giants. Just as Prometheus and his innovations are seen in a very ambiguous light, so is Lycaon. On the one hand we have positive foundations and achievements, on the other the criminal act and its unintentional consequences. His crime may be seen as the aberration of a golden-age friend of the gods or as the reversion of a primitive giant to his true nature. (Thus Pausanias makes Lycaon a well-meaning but misguided religious innovator, the son of pious Pelasgus. In Ovid he is a criminal born from the blood of the giants, and all his race has to be destroyed.)

The relation to the gods is one defining feature of this new age, and this explains one aspect of Lycaon's crime. The shared table is at least partly a symbol of closeness to the gods, to which Zeus' action in turning this table over signals an end. But this explains only one aspect of the story and Lycaon's crime. Of more basic importance is the wolf: the story concerns man's relations not only to the gods but also to the animal world.

It is of course appropriate that a savage man should be transformed into a savage and greedy animal, the wolf. In particular the notorious hunger of the wolf (which can even extend to cannibalism)<sup>116</sup> seems particularly appropriate for the holder of cannibal feasts. In a similar way Tantalus endures perpetual hunger in Hades, while the cannibal Tereus becomes a bird of greed, the hawk or hoopoe.

But the wolf is not merely a savage and greedy animal; it has a more specific role in Greek and Near Eastern mythology as an outsider,<sup>117</sup> its defining characteristic being its opposition to human society. What we have here is the reversal of Lycaon's role, from being the king, a protector and ruler of society, to becoming its

<sup>115</sup> See Hes. *Op.* 109 ff. and fr. 1; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 54; Catull. 64.

<sup>116</sup> Ael. *NA* 7. 20.

<sup>117</sup> See above, n. 54.

enemy; the closest parallel is the story of Tamuz in the epic of Gilgamesh who changes from shepherd to the wolf, killer of the flocks.

One can take this further. The desecration of the table and Lycaon's greed can be seen in a wider and symbolic sense. Detienne and Vidal-Naquet<sup>118</sup> have shown that a distinction in terms of eating is one of the main ways of characterizing the social order of the community on the one hand and the world of primitive man and animals on the other: the latter are seen either in a positive way as vegetarians or a negative one as cannibals. Hesiod's attitude in the *Works and Days* is typical in the importance it attaches to eating:<sup>119</sup>

The son of Kronos laid down this law for men  
that fish and animals and winged beasts  
should eat each other, since there is no justice amongst them;  
but to men he gave justice.

According to this scheme Lycaon is a traditional figure who upsets the delicate balance of meat eating and the blood sacrifice as opposed to cannibalism, and when Zeus overturns the table at the end of the meal, in a gesture which has a symbolic and ritual significance,<sup>120</sup> he acknowledges not merely the end of the fellowship between men and gods, but the end of the human order of Lycaon's house.

It is in this context of the wider historical contrast of civilization and the wilds that the wolf should be seen, and not just as an expression of individual cruelty. If the myth in one sense marks a separation of men and gods, through the transformation it also marks the separation of men and animals. If the human order is defined or expressed on the one hand in its differences from the gods, so also, as we saw in the Hesiod passage quoted above, it may be defined in terms of differences from animals. From the historical perspective we find that early man is often thought of as living in an animal way

<sup>118</sup> See Detienne, *Diouysos Slain*, ch. 3; P. Vidal-Naquet, in Gordon, 163–85.

<sup>119</sup> 276 ff.

<sup>120</sup> It is a feature in the Stepterion at Delphi (see Burkert, *HN* 144–7). For the metaphorical significance of the overturned table as sign of animal disorder see Lyc. 137 f. A similar gesture follows the cannibal feasts of Thyestes (see Aesch. *Ag.* 1601–2) and Tereus.

or with close links with the animals just as he has close links with the gods.<sup>121</sup> Lycaon's building of the city sets men apart, and his flight as a wolf establishes a precedent for what is human and what is animal behaviour. Unlike the other transformation stories we have been considering this is an aetiological one, that is to say, it sets up distinctions between men and animals that still exist, and does not deal just with a temporary or isolated change. In this sense, therefore, Lycaon is both the first civilized man and also the first animal, and the wolf here is a symbol of one side of the animal world, its enmity and opposition to man and his institutions.

Compared with the myth of Tantalus, therefore, there is a difference of emphasis in Lycaon's story. Though both tell of a separation of gods and men and imply the birth of a new age Lycaon is much more closely associated with the foundation of human order and its opposite. Unlike Tantalus he is a founder and a civilizer, and although Tantalus' cannibal feast may suggest a metaphorical animal savagery it is only in the case of Lycaon that we have an actual change to a wolf. The motif of the animal balances and corresponds to Lycaon's role as a civilizer and must be seen and understood in this context.

That there is a close link and contrast between wild animals and social institutions in this story, rather than just a reflection of Lycaon's personal moral character and emotions, is suggested also by the other two stories of this type, those of Lyncus and the Cerastae,<sup>122</sup> which both also concern the abuse of hospitality. Lyncus was a king of Scythia who received Triptolemus as he was travelling all over the world offering the gifts of Demeter to men. During the night he attempted to kill him and take the gifts for himself, but Demeter transformed him into a lynx. Triptolemus is here opposed to the barbarian king as one of the great civilizers of men.<sup>123</sup> Ovid's account has much of the same symbolism as in the

<sup>121</sup> The animal life of early man is a basic feature in the historians of human progress (e.g. Archelaus T 4 (D.-K.); Moschion, *TGF* 97 F 6; DS 1. 8), but in a positive way and in a quite different context this is also the prehistory of Aesop's fables: see Babrius, *Fabulae Aesopeae*, Preamb. 1–13, which speaks of an original comradeship of men and animals and men and gods; cf. Cratinus, fr. 171. 13 PGG; Callim. fr. 192. 1 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Both under Cat. 1b.

<sup>123</sup> *Met.* 5. 656–7: he brings 'alimentaque mitia . . . Barbarus invidet . . .'

story of Lycaon's transformation; but the story of Lyncus does not have the full reversal that follows from Lycaon's role as a culture hero (Ovid's story of Lycaon too is simplified and he becomes simply an outrageous villain). The threat is not seen here to come from within the very institutions that the hero has set up, but has been externalized in the form of a savage outsider. The threat from inside is particularly clear in the sacrifice version of Lycaon's story, and we can compare it with various other stories, including several bird metamorphoses, that illustrate the dangers inherent in the violence of the sacrifice.<sup>124</sup>

This danger is also seen in the story of the Cerastae, horned and giant inhabitants of Cyprus, who sacrifice strangers to Zeus Xenios until Aphrodite turns them into bulls. A historical framework is given to this story first by their name (Cerastia was the ancient name of Cyprus),<sup>125</sup> and second by the persistent mythological and historical tradition connecting human sacrifices with ancient Cyprus.<sup>126</sup> Again, we have a pattern of bad old days in which wild men, whose animal-like nature is reinforced by their horns, abused human institutions until this was brought to an end in a new order indicated by a change in the name of the island, in which they become literal wild animals.

<sup>124</sup> See p. 110.

<sup>125</sup> See schol. Lyc. 447.

<sup>126</sup> e.g. the sacrifices of Teucer, or Aglauros and Diomedes. A seer from Cyprus was supposed to have advised Busiris on his human sacrifice.

scene is not clear. It does not seem to correspond to any of our literary versions.

Finally, two Pompeian wall-paintings show Io's arrival in Egypt (Engelmann, nos. 28 and 29). It is possible that this had become a popular Hellenistic *topos*, the subject perhaps of Callimachus' lost *Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις* (cf. Moschus 2. 44 ff.).

See further Cook, *Zeus* i. 437–57; F. Wehrli, *AK Suppl.* 4 (1967), 196–200; Burkert, *HN* 188–9; Otis, 350–60.

### Lycaon

Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, the first man, is an early king of Arcadia (see Hes. fr. 161 and most later writers; in *AL* 31 he is earthborn, in *Dion. Hal.* 1. 11 the son of Azcios). His name links him with Mount Lycaeon, the most important cult centre of the Arcadians. Pausanias (8. 2. 1) says that he founded the cult of Lycaeus, the Lycaean games, and the city of Lycosura (*Hyg. Fab.* 225 says that he founded the cult of Mercury of Cyllene). He is also from our earliest sources the father of a large number of sons who found the other cities of Arcadia (see Hes. fr. 161; Paus.; *Apollod.* 3. 8. 1). In particular he is the grandfather of Arcas, the eponym of the Arcadians (Hes. fr. 163). In later writers some of his sons become the ancestors of the various Italian peoples (see *Dion. Hal.* 1. 11; *AL* 31).

In spite of his general character as a founder and patriarch his myth tells of a striking breakdown of order when he receives Zeus as his guest and serves him a cannibal banquet. The story seems to have been told by Hesiod (frs. 161–4). Our main source for the Hesiodic version is in later adaptations of Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi* (see Hes. fr. 163), which tell how Lycaon in revenge for Zeus' seduction of his daughter served him up his child by her, Arcas. Zeus in anger turned over the table (a regular motif in such cannibal feasts), destroyed the house, and turned Lycaon into a wolf. He restored Arcas to life and gave him to goatherds to bring up. It seems unlikely that all this goes back to Hesiod (see W. Sale, *RhM* 105 (1962), 122–41). Perhaps the story originally included no more than the cannibal banquet and its punishment, the transformation to a wolf, and Arcas was introduced only to link the two Hesiodic stories of Callisto and Lycaon. It may be that the story of Arcas is an imitation of the death and rebirth of Pelops in the similar story of the feast of Tantalus.

We know very little of treatments of the story before the Alexandrian period. Lycaon presumably played an important part in the works of the genealogists. Pherecydes (*FGH* 3 F 156) apparently made him the son of Pelasgus and Deianira and gave him Cyllene as a wife. On a fourth-

century Arcadian inscription at Delphi (*ID* 3. 1, no. 3) he is the father of Callisto. *Lycaon* was the name of a tragedy of Xenocles (*TGF* 33 F 1), a contemporary of Euripides, and there was also possibly a *Lycaon* by Astydamos (*TGF* 60 F 4a). The story does not seem to appear in art at all.

Later on, the story was possibly treated by Eratosthenes in the version mentioned above (see Robert, *Eratosth.* 74–7). It is briefly referred to by Lycophron in his description of an Arcadian as a descendant of *λυκαινομόρφων Νυκτίμου κρεανόμων* (481). The victim is here Nyctimus, the son of Lycaon (cf. Nonn. 18. 20 ff.; *Clem. Protr.* 2. 36). It seems that there was more than one criminal and more than one transformation here; presumably, as in some later sources, it is the sons of Lycaon who commit the crime, but this and the more explicit account in the scholia on this passage are the only references to anyone other than Lycaon becoming a wolf. Perhaps we have here not so much an independent tradition as a merging of the fates of Lycaon and his sons in the interests of prophetic vagueness and obscurity.

It seems that there was in later writers a tendency to assume that Lycaon as a founder and a friend of the gods must have been a just man, and to transfer the crime and guilt to his sons. Thus Nicolaus Damascenus (*FGH* 90 F 38) in a partly rationalized version of the story told how Lycaon, in order to keep his people just, used to say that Zeus visited him. His sons, wishing to test this, killed a child and mixed its flesh with that of the sacrificial victim. Storms and lightning broke out and all the murderers perished. There is no mention of a punishment of Lycaon or of wolves (cf. *Suda* s.v. Lycaon). The account of Apollodorus (3. 8. 1) is similar, though it does not go so far. Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, had fifty sons who exceeded all men in arrogance and impiety. Zeus, to test them, visited them one day as a day-labourer. They offered him hospitality and having killed a local child, mixed its bowels with the sacrifice and set this before Zeus. Zeus overturned the table and struck Lycaon and his sons with thunderbolts until the earth, holding his right hand, persuaded him to spare the youngest, Nyctimus. This son succeeded Lycaon as king.

Some of Lycaon's sons have the names of giants. Also the earth's action in this story resembles that in artistic representations of the gigantomachy. This has led some to see a close connection between the primitive family of Lycaon and the giants (see F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants* (Paris, 1952), 238–46; G. W. Elderkin, *AJA* 44 (1940), 231). We cannot tell, however, whether this is an original connection or whether the sons of Lycaon have been assimilated later because of their similar role as early enemies of the gods.

Ovid's Lycaon (*Met.* 1. 218 ff.) is quite different from the pious king of Nicolaus. He is an archetypal sinner, an exaggerated villain whose race is born from the blood of the giants. His crime is the cause of the great flood (cf. Apollod., where the flood as a punishment for Lycaon is an alternative to the normal story that it happened during the reign of Nyctimus; Serv. *E* 6. 41; *Myth. Vat.* 2. 60, 1. 189; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 78). Ovid tells, like Apollodorus, how Zeus came to earth in human form to test mankind. The common people receive him with worship, but Lycaon merely laughs at this: 'Experiar deus hic discrimine aperto | an sit mortalis' (222 f.). He prepares to kill Zeus that night, and not content with this he kills a Molossian hostage and serves him at his table. Zeus overturns the house, and Lycaon flees into the wilds. It is in Ovid that we find our fullest animal *aition*: 'solitaeque cupidine caedis | vertitur in pecudes et nunc quoque sanguine gaudet...' (234–5). This is the only passage in our sources which explicitly sees the transformation into a wolf as an expression of moral depravity and savagery. It is in fact quite typical of Ovid to give a much stronger moral colouring to the story and its aetiological explanation (see Chapter 1); however, one suspects that some element of this must always underlie the transformation.

Finally, Pausanias mentions an 'ancient story of the Arcadians' that Lycaon, a founder and religious innovator, one day brought a baby to the altar of Zeus and sacrificed it; he immediately changed into a wolf. Pausanias later says that from this time on a man was supposed to change into a wolf at every sacrifice to Zeus (compare the various werewolf stories associated with Mount Lycaon: see pp. 53–4). It has been suggested that this is the original story of Lycaon, which was only later elaborated into the story of the feast of the gods. But it would be unwise to assume that what appeared to the locals of Pausanias' day to be an ancient story is older than a story which goes back to Hesiod (see Paus. 8. 2).

See further Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 4. 24; Ov. *Ibis* 431 f.; Plut. *GQ* 39 and note in Halliday; Piccaluga; Burkert, *HN* 98–108; Borgeaud, 41–69; Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, 540–69; Nilsson, *GGR* 397–401; Cook, *Zeus*, i. 63–99.

### Taygete

Taygete appears in the astronomical literature as one of the Pleiades (Hyg. *PA* 2. 21, cf. *Fab.* 192; this tradition goes back to Hellanicus, *FGH* 4 F 19, and perhaps to Hesiod, fr. 169). Here she is the daughter of Atlas and has a son Lakedaimon by Zeus (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 155). On the throne of Bathycles (Paus. 3. 18. 10) were represented Zeus and Poseidon taking up to heaven Taygete and her sister Alcyone (who also appears in the list of the

Pleiades). In Pausanias' history of Sparta (3. 1. 2) Lakedaimon is son of Taygete, though her own parentage is not stated and we cannot therefore be sure that she is here one of the Pleiades.

The first possible hint of her transformation story comes in Pindar, *Ol.* 3, where he says, that Heracles caught the golden-horned hind... *ἄν ποτε Ταυγέτα | ἀντιθείσ' Ὀρθωσίας ἔγραψεν ἱεράν* (29–30). The scholia have a confusing explanation for this. One says that when Zeus pursued Taygete, daughter of Atlas, Artemis turned her into a deer to save her and then turned her back again. In gratitude Taygete dedicated the golden-horned hind to Artemis. The second report begins in the same way, but concludes: *ὄθεν καὶ εἰς ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πραχθέντος τὴν ἔλαφον χρυσώσασα ἀνέθηκε γαμηθείσα Διί*. The first report appears to imply that Taygete escaped Zeus, the second that she was caught by him. We do not know whether Pindar in fact knew of either of these stories or whether the scholia simply made them up to explain this reference (they appear nowhere else). If they are old one may wonder how the story of the successful virgin was reconciled with the tradition which makes Taygete the mother of Lakedaimon.

A quite different story seems suggested by Euripides' *Helen* (381–3):

*ἄν τε ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο  
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν  
καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν.*

It is not clear, in the first place, that we have a reference to Taygete at all; even if Titanis is a description rather than a name her father is here not Atlas but Merops. Further differences are that the heroine of this story becomes the golden-horned hind rather than merely dedicates it, and that here she is expelled from Artemis' band in punishment rather than aided by her. What we seem to have here is the motif of the story of Callisto, in which Artemis expels a companion for being seduced by Zeus. Since these lines immediately follow a description of Callisto it seems possible that Euripides has distorted this story in imitation. On the other hand it may be that Pindar had deliberately avoided the transformation, making Taygete dedicate rather than become the golden-horned hind, and that the confusion of the scholia comes from trying to reconcile these Pindaric and Euripidean versions of the story.

Finally, we may note a story in Ps.-Plutarch (*Fluv.* 17) that Taygete, wife of Lakedaimon, killed herself in shame after being raped by Zeus.



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