

ses and tensions are the stuff of ritual—hence, individual rituals cannot be explained by their momentary aims; rather, we must understand them in the larger context. Not just the religious cult, but the order of society itself takes shape in sacrifice.

1. *Lykaia and Lykaion*

When the wave of Sea Peoples and Dorian migrations destroyed Mycenaean culture, only the mountainous region of Arcadia was able, as a retreat, to assert its pre-Dorian individuality. Later, too, it was slow to join in the rise of the city cultures; it developed an urban center only after 371, at the newly founded city of Megalopolis. The Arcadians themselves were as aware of the antiquity of their race and customs as were their neighbors: long before the Hellenistic Age discovered pastoral Arcadia as the setting for its romantic yearnings, the Arcadians had been known as “acorn eaters” and “older than the moon.”¹

Rumors of terrible, primitive activity especially surrounded the main Arcadian festival to Zeus,² celebrated in the mountains of Lykaion in the heart of Arcadia. There were tales of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and werewolves. Plato is the first source we know who mentions this as a current story (*mýthos*) “that is told of the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus in Arcadia, namely, that he who tastes of one bit of human entrails minced up with those of other victims is inevitably transformed into a wolf.”³ Plato compares this eerie metamorphosis with the development of a tyrant who, once having killed, can no longer stop. Bloodshed has its consequences. The pseudo-Platonic

¹ *Βαλανηράγοι*: see the oracle (#31 Parke and Wormell [1958]) in Hdt. 1.66; *ἄκρον χεῖμα* Lyk. 483 with Schol.; Verg. *Ecl.* 10.20; Plut. *Es. carn.* indicates a festival: *ἐχορεύσαμεν ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς*. Προσέληνος: see Hippys, *FGrHist* 554 F 7; Eudoxos fr. 41 Gisinger = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.264; Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 397; Callim. fr. 191.56 and Pfeiffer *ad loc.*; Lyk. 482 with Schol.; etc.

² W. Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* (1891), 1–24; Nilsson (1906) 8–10; (1955) 397–401; Farnell I (1894) 41–42, 144–46; Cook I (1914) 63–99; Schwenn (1915) 20–25; Joh. Schmidt, *RE XIII* (1927), 2248–52; G. Piccaluga, *Lykaion, un tema mitico* (1968).

³ *Resp.* 565d.

*Minos*⁴ mentions human sacrifice at the “Lykaia festival” as certain fact, and Theophrastus⁵ compares the sacrifice “at the Lykaia in Arcadia” with Carthaginian sacrifices to Moloch.

Pausanias saw and described the altar of Zeus at the summit of Mount Lykaion, but he did not participate in the festival, for the sacrifice there took place “in secret.” To this Pausanias remarks: “I could see no pleasure in delving into this sacrifice; let it be as it is and as it was from the beginning.”⁶ Pausanias also named and described the other cult sites of Zeus Lykaios: the mysterious precinct where none may enter, on the mountain slope somewhat below the summit—anyone going in would have to die,⁷ and inside he would cast no shadow; then the Cave of Rhea and the precinct called Kretaia on the mountain where, it was told, Zeus was born, and fed and cared for by the Arcadian nymphs;⁸ finally, the Stadium, the Hippodrome, and the sanctuary of Pan further down the mountain.⁹ This is where the athletic competitions took place during the Lykaia festival. Other literary sources supplement Pausanias’ indications, and excavations have confirmed and expanded our knowledge. Votive offerings dating back to the seventh century B.C. have come to light near the altar of Zeus, a simple mound of earth and ash.¹⁰

But what Pausanias piously concealed in his description of the altar of Zeus, he mentioned in relating the story of Damarchos of Parhasia, who won the boxing competition at Olympia in about 400 B.C.¹¹ It was claimed that he “turned into a wolf at the sacrifice to Zeus

⁴ 315c.

⁵ In Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.

⁶ 8.38.7; cf. 8.2.6, 4.22.7; Kallisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F 23; Pind. *Ol.* 13.108.

⁷ Paus. 8.38.6; cf. Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F 343 = Polyb. 16.12.7; Architimos, *FGrHist* 315 F 1 (cf. Jacoby III B Notes p. 48 n. 8) = Plut. *Q. Gr.* 300a–c; Schol. Callim. *Hy. Zeus* 13; Strabo 8 p. 388; Pliny *NH* 4.21; n.33 below; Schol. Theocr. 1.123e–f *τὰ εἰσερχόμενα ζῶα ἀγωνα γίνεσθαι*, and cf. Schol. Callim. *Hy. Zeus* 13. On the results of the excavations see *RE XIII* 2240–41; Cook I (1914) 83; the measurements are approx. 60 × 130 m.

⁸ *Κρηταια*: Paus. 8.38.2. *Σπήλαιον τῆς Πέρας*: Paus. 8.36.3; cf. 8.31.4; Callim. *Hy. Zeus* 10–14 (the scholion confuses the precinct of Rhea with the *ἄβατον*: see n. 7 above). Cf. *RE XIII* 2243. On the spring, Hagno, and rain-magic see Paus. 8.38.3–4.

⁹ Paus. 8.38.5; *RE XIII* 2237–40; Cook I (1914) 82.

¹⁰ K. Kourouniotis, *Eph. Arch.* (1904), 153–214; (1905), 161–78; *Praktika* (1909), 64, 185–200; Cook I (1914) 63–99; cf. E. Meyer, *RE XIII* (1927), 2235–44; G. Mylonas, *Classical Studies in Honour of W. A. Oldfather* (1943), 122–33. On the type see W. Krämer, “Prähistorische Brandopferplätze,” in *Helvetica antiqua* (1966), 111–22.

¹¹ 6.8.2; L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (Rome, 1957), #359. The name appears as Demainetos (i.e., Damainetos) in Skopas (?), *FGrHist* 413 = Varro in Pliny *NH* 8.82; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 18.17.

Lykaios, and changed back into a man again in the tenth year thereafter." The condition for being transformed and changed back is just that: "someone was always turned into a wolf at the sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios, but not for his whole life; if he refrained from eating human flesh while he was a wolf, they say he would turn back into a man in the tenth year; but if he ate it, he remained a beast forever."¹² Pausanias probably found the legend of Damarchos in a local Hellenistic history; but if it is tied to the victory at Olympia, it goes back beyond Plato.

The accompanying myth is found already in the Hesiodic catalogues¹³ and reflects the ritual in a particularly transparent way. What was only a vague rumor among Plato's contemporaries is told here as the crime of the ancestral king of the Arcadians; he is related to the wolf even in his name, Lykaon. Once upon a time, the gods, including Zeus himself, came to visit him and be entertained in a common sacrificial meal. But the sacred meal turned into cannibalism, for Lykaon slaughtered a young boy upon the altar at the summit and poured out his blood on that altar; then he and his helper "mixed the boy's entrails in with the sacrificial meat and brought it to the table."¹⁴ Of course, divine punishment followed. Zeus overturned the table, graphically putting an end to the newly formed community, and hurled a bolt of lightning into Lykaon's house; most importantly, Lykaon himself turned into a wolf. In another, frequently told version, the gruesome sacrifice was followed by a flood that destroyed most of the human race,¹⁵ yet Lykaon's descendants, the Arcadians, survived to come together at the altar again and again for secret sacrifice.

Opinions differed as to the identity of the boy whose entrails were sliced into the sacrificial meat. The *Library* of Apollodoros speaks of an anonymous "native" boy; Ovid calls him a "hostage"; Lycophron gives him the name "Nyktimos," the "night-like,"¹⁶ and makes him Lykaon's own son; the Eratosthenic *Katasterismoi*, by contrast, invoking Hesiod as its precedent,¹⁷ say that he was "Arkas," the eponymous hero of the Arcadians, who was Lykaon's grandson. His mother was

¹²Paus. 8.2.6.

¹³Hes. fr. 163 M.-W., and cf. fr. 354; Apollod. 3.96-97; Eumelos, *FGrHist* 451 F 8 = Apollod. 3.100; Lyk. 480-81 with Schol.; a tragedy by Xenokles, *TGF* p. 770; Ov. *Met.* 1.198-239; Clem. *Pr.* 2.36.5; Nonnus 18.20-24; *RML* II 2165-68; *PR* I 127-29; Piccaluga, *Lykaon*, 29-98.

¹⁴Apollod. 3.98; cf. Nikolaos, *FGrHist* 90 F 38.

¹⁵Apollod. 3.98-99; Tzetz. ad Lyk. 481; Ov. *Met.* 1.240 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 176.

¹⁶Apollod. 3.98; Ov. *Met.* 1.227; Lyk. 481.

¹⁷Fr. 163 M.-W. = "Eratosth." *Catast. Fragmenta Vaticana*, ed. Rehm (1899), p. 2.

Kallisto, Lykaon's daughter, who during her amorous encounter with Zeus was turned into a bear.¹⁸ Thus, the Arcadian par excellence is the "son of a bear," on the one hand, and a victim at the altar of Zeus, on the other. This death does not end the story, for both Arkas and Nyktimos were included in the genealogies as ancestral Arcadian kings.¹⁹ Zeus brought his victim back to life,²⁰ according to the myth, only to have him come full circle and return to the sacrificial situation: Arkas was brought up by a goatherd, but upon becoming an ephebe he turned to hunting. Once, while in the region of Mount Lykaion, he came on the track of his own mother. According to one text, he hunted her down; according to another, they mated.²¹ These mythical variants attest once more to the ambivalence of weapons and sexuality in hunting behavior. The gruesome act occurred in that very precinct on the mountain into which none could enter. For this reason, Arkas and the bear had to be sacrificed again "according to the custom" at the altar of Zeus Lykaios. At this point the myth fades, allowing the victims to be translated to heaven as stars. The ritual, however, goes on in the same place, and in the circuit of time, it is to form an important junction in the lives of the Arcadians.

Some curious details were reported by a Hellenistic author called Euanthes,²² who was read by Varro. Admittedly, his concern is not with the Arcadians as a whole but with a single family descended from Anthos, whom the author seems to count as one of his own ancestors. A young boy of the family would regularly be selected by lot and led to a lake. He had to strip, hang his clothes on an oak tree, and swim across the lake; thereupon he would disappear in the wilderness and turn into a wolf. He would have to live as a wolf among wolves for eight years, after which time, if he had abstained from human meat, he could return to the lake, swim across it, take down his clothes from the oak tree, and turn into a human again, though he was now nine years older and a grown man. Thus far, Euanthes. This

¹⁸R. Franz, "De Callistis fabula," *Leipzig Stud.* 12 (1890), 235-365; *RML* II 931-35; *RE* X 1726-29; W. Sale, *RhM* 105 (1962), 133-41; 108 (1965), 11-35.

¹⁹Paus. 8.3-4, 8.24.1.

²⁰"Eratosth." *Catast.*: πάλιν ἀναπλάσας ἄρτιον ἔθηκεν.

²¹"Erat." *Cat.* 1 pp. 52-53 Robert ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ διωκομένην . . . ; ἀγνοήσας τὴν μητέρα γῆμαι in *Fragmenta Vaticana* (see n. 17), where the last word is written between the lines; *matri inscius vim ferre voluit* Schol. Germ. p. 64.21 Breysig.

²²*FGrHist* 320 = Varro in Pliny *N.H.* 8.81; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 18.17. For the Arcadians being descended from the oak see Lyk. 480; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 286a; for Dryas as the wife of Arkas see Paus. 8.4.2.

is not identical with the versions reported by the earlier authors.²³ Any link with the pan-Arcadian festival, the Lykaia, is missing; there is selection by lot instead of the sacrificial meal. But the combination of a transformation into a wolf, a nine-year period, and an injunction to abstain makes the connection very close. Did pan-Arcadian werewolf practices and familial customs run a parallel course? It is more likely that some sort of development took place. With the founding of Megalopolis, urban culture arrived in Arcadia, and there in the agora Zeus Lykaios was given the most prominent temple.²⁴ Thus, the Lykaia festival was now organized here, and although, as Pausanias tells us, the Arcadians still sacrificed upon the altar on the mountain, it is safe to assume that some aspects of the cult were changed at that time and, to some extent, civilized. After this reform, the old ways could no longer be carried on officially, but only in the tradition of a particularly conservative family. Plato's testimony comes from before this time, as does the legend of the boxer Damarchos. Regardless of how we conceive of the relationship between family customs and pan-Arcadian rituals, Euanthes' report at least gives us some idea of how such wolf-metamorphoses were accomplished.

Both Pausanias and Pliny considered these werewolf stories to be clear examples of shameless braggadocio and the shameful gullibility of the masses,²⁵ and when Plato uses the word *mýthos* he is already expressing a certain skepticism. Paradoxically, the modern researcher cannot assume the same critical, enlightened stance. There is no doubt that werewolves existed, just like leopard men and tiger men, as a clandestine *Männerbund*, a secret society, wavering between demonic possession and horseplay, as is common in such a *Männerbund*. In Europe, there is at least one case of a "werewolf" on record in sixteenth-century Livland. There, the werewolvish activity consisted for the most part of breaking into other people's cellars at night and drinking any beer found there.²⁶ More dangerous and perhaps more ancient were the bands of leopard men in Africa, who conspired to assassinate others and practice cannibalism. Leopard men appear on the

²³ Stressed by Nilsson (1906) 9, (1955) 400; cf. Cook I (1914) 73.

²⁴ Paus. 8.30.2.

²⁵ Paus. 8.2.6; Pliny *N.H.* 8.80.

²⁶ Höfler (1934) 315ff.; L. Gernet, "Dolon le loup," *Mél. Cumont* (1936), 189–208 = *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (1968), 154–71; W. E. Peuckert, *Geheimkulte* (1961), 100–117; R. Eisler, *Man into Wolf* (1951); I.2 above. See also B. Lindskog, *African Leopard Men* (Uppsala, 1954). For werewolves in Wallis still in the eighteenth century see H. G. Wackernagel, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volkskunde* 35 (1936), 1–12; 46 (1949), 74. For "dog-men" in Hittite ritual texts see *ANET* 360. On the *Hirpi Sorani* see Serv. *Aen.* 11.785.

murals in Çatal Hüyük as well,²⁷ and their costumes recall those of the later Greek centaurs and satyrs, those "wild men" who fell upon wine jars much like the werewolves in Livland. The leopard, one of the great cats and a climber, was the primate's arch-enemy. By training himself in the ways of the wolf, man became a hunter and lord of the earth. Could it be that these bands of leopard men and wolf men were the direct result of this decisive step? Werewolves are, in any case, attested in antiquity not only in fairytales but in a doctor's clinical report. Markellos of Sidon treated cases of "lykanthropy" as a mental disorder,²⁸ a special form of melancholy, by the cure-all of letting blood. He knew patients who "run out at night imitating wolves and dogs in every way and gadding about for the most part in cemeteries until dawn." Their legs usually bore the scars of dog bites. Strangely, these fits of madness occurred with great regularity, according to the calendar, in February, the month of the Lupercalia: even in late antiquity, then, the so-called mental disorder was regulated through ritual.

By combining rumors about Arcadian sacrifice with local mythology, we arrive at a description of an entirely real, institutionalized ritual. At its center was the secret sacrificial festival at the ash-altar of Zeus Lykaios. We gather from the name, *Nyktimos*, that it occurred at night. The entrails of many sacrificial animals were, so they say, sliced in together with those of a man, so that what each person ate was seemingly a matter of chance. Apparently, everything would be stirred together in a large tripod kettle²⁹ and each person had to fish

²⁷ See I.2.n.19 above; I.8.n.28. For Indians hunting in wolf's clothing see F. E. Zeuner, *Geschichte der Haustiere* (1967), 54.

²⁸ In *Aët. Amid.* 6.11 (Oribas. 8.9; Paul. *Aeg.* 3.16; *Physiognom. Graeci* II 282), cf. W. H. Roscher, *Das von der Kynanthropie handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side*, *Abh. Leipzig* 17.3 (1897); Galen XIX 719 Kühn; *περί Λυκάουος ἢ λυκανθρώπου* Paul. *Aeg.* 3.16. "Lykanthropy" no longer plays a role in modern psychiatry (*contra* Piccaluga, *Lykaion*, 58): it was culturally determined.

²⁹ Because Homeric descriptions of sacrifice, and most depictions on vases, present only the act of roasting on a spit, boiling has gone largely unnoticed; there is nothing about it, e.g., in Stengel (1910; 1920). On the other hand, the significance of the sacred tripod has been studied (K. Schwendemann, *Jdl* 36 [1921], 151–85; P. Guillon, *Les trépieds du Ptoion* [1943], 87–174), but without considering its use as a pot for cooking. Both roasting with spits and cooking in a kettle are represented on the Acaetan hydria, Villa Giulia, *ASAA* 24/26 (1946/48) pl. 4, Detienne and Vernant (1979) pl. I–IV; cf. a fragment from the Acropolis, Graef and Langlotz nr. 654. Ὀπτησις σπλάγγων, κρεῶν ἔψησις in the decree of the Milesian *Molpoi SIG³ 57 = LSAM 50.35*; for boiling at the sacrifice to the Horai see Philochoros 328 F 173. "Partially boiling and partially roasting" is a standard motif in stories of gruesome banquets: Lykaon, *Ov. Met.* 1.228–29; Thyestes, Accius 220–22, Sen. *Thy.* 765–67; Harpagos, *Hdt.* 1.119; Tereus, *Ov. Met.* 6.645–46; Dionysus, *OF* 35 = Clem. *Pr.* 2.18; Eur. *Cyclops* 243–46, 358, 403–404. Cf. the Orphic taboo ἐφθόν

out his portion with the sacred fork (the trident?) (see Figure 4).³⁰ For all must partake of the sacred object; no participant was allowed to decline. The sacrificial meal separated the "wolves" from the "sons of the bear," the Arcadians, just as Lykaon had divorced himself from the circle of the gods. Excavators at Mount Lykaion, however, have discovered no human bones among the sacrificial detritus. Yet, even by daylight it is hard to distinguish a piece of human heart, liver, or kidney from that of an equally large mammal; modern surgeons have even pondered the feasibility of transplants. In the flickering flames at night, only the innermost circle of sacrificial servants could know what was really floating about in the kettle. The power of suggestion comes from tradition, from social constraints. Human entrails may well have been thought to be present. The proof lay in their effects on the participants: each time one or more would be struck with "wolf's frenzy," whether spontaneously or because they were somehow manipulated. The "eaters" and the "slaughterers" were not the same. The "wolves" disappeared into the dark and had to avoid human settlements for years. By the time the dawning rays of sunlight hit the golden eagles on top of the columns east of the altar, the sacrifice was long over.

The wolf metamorphosis, as described by Euanthes, can easily be seen as an initiation ritual, for stripping off one's clothes and swimming across a lake are clearly rites of passage. If Damarchos won an Olympic victory after his time as a wolf, he could have been no older than 16 at the time of his transformation. Now it is surely the novice, the first-time participant in the nocturnal festivities, who would be most susceptible to suggestion, and hence to the shocking realization that he had eaten human flesh. From this we surmise that the separation of the "wolves" from the "sons of the bear" reflected a division according to age. The myth always speaks of a "young boy" to be sacrificed, that is, a representative of precisely that age-class which the

μη ὀπιτάν, Arist. *Probl. ined.* 3.43 Bussemaker (Paris, 1857), and cf. *Iambl. V. Pyth.* 154; *Ath.* 656b; *Detienne* (1977) 163–217. For boiling a ram see *IG XII 7*, 515.78; for its place in Roman ritual see *Varro LI.* 5.98; for the boiling of meat in Germanic sacrifices see *J. de Vries, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte I* (1956²), 416–20; for the Hittites see *ANET* 348/49; for reference in the OT see n. 30 below. It is not certain whether the invention of boiling presupposes the invention of ceramics; boiling is also possible in stretched-out hides, into which hot stones would be thrown to heat the water.

³⁰For the trident as a fork for meat see *I Sam* 2:13 (cf. *Exod.* 27.3); *E. D. van Buren, Symbols of the Gods* (1945), 138. The trident also appears as a harpoon: *Aesch. Sept.* 131; cf. *Bulle, RML III* 2855; *Simon* (1969) 82; *J. Boardman, CR* 21 (1971), 143; *III.8.n.21* below.

ephebes must leave. The boy must die if they are to enter the sphere of manhood. But expulsion has to precede inclusion. Life as a wolf in the wilderness, occurring, as we see, roughly between the ages of 16 and 25, was thus analogous to the Spartan *Krypteia* which, in turn, later corresponded to military service.³¹ According to Myron in his history of the Messenian War,³² Arcadian warriors carried the skins of wolves and bears instead of shields. This behavior, wild and primitive though it was, was enough to preserve Arcadian independence.

In discussing the preparations for the sacrificial festival, the myth makes mention of the precinct "that none may enter." Because both *Arkas* and the bear went in, they had to be sacrificed.³³ Those who break the tabu are damned and consecrated at once, destined for sacrifice. Predatory animals, it was said, would not follow their quarry past this line.³⁴ Thus, within this small area they were free although caught in an inescapable trap, for the wolves were waiting just outside. The tabu was evidently created only as an excuse and justification for the sacrificial killing. Presumably the sacrificial animals were set free only to be caught all the more certainly when they would cross the line "of their own free will." The Arcadians' own name may indicate a "bear festival," which would easily fit the well-known type.³⁵ It is, of course, doubtful whether bears still lived in Arcadia in historical times; perhaps a shaggy ram could have been used as a substitute quarry.

It is clear that women would have been excluded from the Arcadians' nocturnal sacrifices. Instead, there is a female realm that is closed to men. Only "consecrated women" could enter the cave where *Rhea bore Zeus*,³⁶ for they represented the Arcadian nymphs who took care of him. Whereas the men gathered for sacrifice, for the "act" of killing, the women attended to newborn life. Thus, the polarity of

³¹*Jeanmaire* (1939) 550–69. *Alcaeus*, in exile, calls himself *λυκαίμιας* (130.25 LP).

³²In *Paus.* 4.11.3; cf. *Verg. Aen.* 8.282, *Stat. Theb.* 4.303 f.

³³"*Erat.*" *Cat.* 1 pp. 52–53 Robert.

³⁴*Ael. Nat. an.* 11.6, who mentions an *Αὐλή* of *Pan* at Mount Lykaion; it is presumably identical with the *ἄβατον* nn. 7, 33 above, in accordance with the parallel of the sanctuary of *Apollo Hylatas* at *Kurion* (Cyprus). Cf. *Ael. Nat. an.* 11.7; there, too, the dogs do not pursue the *ἐλαφοί* into the sacred grove, and whoever touches *Apollo's* altar is thrown from a cliff; cf. *Strabo* 14 p. 683. Anyone who entered the precinct on Mount Lykaion was considered a "deer": see *Plut. Q. Gr.* 300a–c (n. 7 above).

³⁵See *I.2.n.5* above; *ἄρκος* rather than *ἄρκετος* already in *LSS* 115 B 16 (fourth century B.C.), not just since the *Septuagint* (thus *Frisk, Chantraine s.v.*).

³⁶*Paus.* 8.36.3 (n.8 above).

the sexes bound together the course of life and assured perpetuity in the face of death.

Thus, too, there must be a new unity corresponding to the rift in male society due to the sacrifice: following the sacrifice at the altar on the summit, there was the inevitable agon further down the mountain. According to Xenophon, Xenias the Arcadian "performed the Lykaion sacrifice and held an agon"³⁷ even in foreign lands. In enumerating the Greek agonistic festivals, Pindar mentions the "festive gathering of Zeus Lykaios," "the race-track of Zeus," several times.³⁸ It is even called the oldest of all Greek agons.³⁹ The prize there was a bronze implement, probably a tripod, a constant reminder of that nighttime festival. Those who had turned into "wolves" were of course not allowed to participate in the agon, but those who had returned after nine years' abstinence were permitted to enter. Thus, for Damarchos, his time as a wolf was a time of preparation for the agon, and even for the Olympic victory which he then won—the victory that lifted him out of his Arcadian context, bringing him pan-Hellenic fame. In the agon following the sacrifice, societal roles were re-assigned. The expulsion of some and the new start for others went together. The younger members of the rising generation had to be forced away into the wild "outdoors" while the twenty-five-year-olds, now marriageable, entered athletic competitions.⁴⁰ They were now true Arcadians, "acorn-eaters" as opposed to carnivorous beasts of prey. They had found their way and might now participate in the sacrifice without danger, taking their wreaths from the altar and dedicating their bronze tripods.

Strange to say, there was another god besides Zeus who was involved in the agon—Pan, the lewd goat-like god. His sacred grove and sanctuary were next to the stadium,⁴¹ and the eponymous official organizing the Lykaia was alternately a priest of Zeus, then a priest of Pan.⁴² Arcadian coins, moreover, display Zeus's head on one side and

³⁷Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.10 τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε.

³⁸*Ol.* 9.96; *Nem.* 10.45–48; *Ol.* 7.83–84, 13.107–108.

³⁹Paus. 8.2.1; Pliny *NH* 7.205. For a prize of χαλκός see Pind. *Nem.* 10.45; Polemon Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153d (σκευή 153c); cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.84; Arist. fr. 637; *Marm. Par.*, *FGrHist* 239 A 17; Kleophanes, *Περὶ ἀγῶνων* Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.143a. For inscriptions see *IG V* 2.463, 549, 550, IV 428, 673, IV 1² 629, II/III² 993 (new foundation ca. 215 B.C.). For coins with the superscription ΛΥΚΑΙΑ see Imhoof-Blumer (1886) 105.

⁴⁰For agon and wedding see I.7.n.13 above.

⁴¹Paus. 8.38.5 ("Zufall," Nilsson [1906], 444.2); *μαιτεῖον* Πανός Schol. Theocr. 1.123c.

⁴²*IG V* 2, 550.

Pan's on the other.⁴³ In genealogical myths, Arcadian Pan is said to be the son of Zeus and, hence, the brother or half-brother of Arkas.⁴⁴ Similarly, when it is told that Arkas was raised by a "goatherd,"⁴⁵ it evidently reflects the role played by the cult of Pan in the life of a growing boy. It is thus the polar opposite of the world of the huntress Artemis, to which Arkas' mother, Kallisto, belongs. Zeus and Pan almost seem to embody the antithesis between aggression and sexuality, or at least between order and wild living. The serious sacrifice that divides the group is the antithesis of the unification during a period of license. But the details of the program, and its sequence in time, escape us.

A strange abundance of antitheses is thus impressed upon the celebrants at the Arcadian ritual: predatory animals/sacrificial animals, wolves/bears, wolves/stags, meat-eaters/acorn-eaters; night/day, sacrifice/agon, Zeus/Pan; the old/the young, men/women, killing/giving birth. Characteristically, these antitheses do not merely collapse into a uniform duality. They are, rather, generally transformed, each into the other, like night into day: the hunter becomes the hunted, the cannibal turns ascetic, the living are killed, the dead come back to life—the "secret sacrifice" reveals the primordial situation of the hunt.

2. Pelops at Olympia

Although they were of the greatest antiquity, the Lykaia remained a basically provincial, purely Arcadian event. They were clearly eclipsed by the Olympic games, held every four years on the banks of the Alpheios, at the foot of the Hill of Kronos, in the sacred grove of Zeus.¹

¹Cook I (1914) 68–70. On the statue of Pan in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios at Megalopolis see Paus. 8.30.2–3; for altars of Zeus Lykaios and Pan at Tegea see Paus. 8.53.11.

²Epimenides, *FGrHist* 457 F 9 = Schol. Theocr. 1.3–4c, and cf. Schol. Theocr. 1.123b; Aristippos, *FGrHist* 317 F 4. For Pan as the son of Aither, see Ariathos, *FGrHist* 316 F 4; as the son of Hermes, see Pind. fr. 100. For Pan as the inventor of astronomy, i.e., putting an end to the primitive *προσέληνοι* see Schol. Lyk. 482.

³"*Eratosth.*" *Catast.*, p. 2 = Hes. fr. 163; according to another version ("Erat." *Cat.* p. 52 Robert), the she-bear and her baby are caught by *αἰπόλοι*.

⁴E. N. Gardiner, *Olympia, Its History and Remains* (1925); W. Hege and E. Rodenwaldt,