

AKTAION AND A LOST ‘BATH OF ARTEMIS’★

AKTAION’S own hounds devoured him, convinced by Artemis that he was a deer. This grim reversal, the great hunter who dies like a hunted beast, was the strongest element of the mythic tradition associated with the Boiotian hero and inspired numerous scenes in Greek art.¹ Aktaion’s offense, on the other hand, received little iconographic attention before the imperial era,² and Greek literature accounted for Artemis’ hostility in a variety of ways. The chronology of the extant sources suggests a neat sequence of misdeeds, and the resulting succession of versions is the object of a well-established scholarly consensus. The information which survives is actually too scant and too fragmentary to bear so straightforward a reading, but a critical approach can suggest the outlines of a more plausible, if less neat, picture.

SOURCES

The myth of Aktaion seems to have enjoyed constant literary attention at least through the late fourth century BC. The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, a poem by Stesichoros, perhaps his *Europeia*, and the prose *Genealogiai* by Akousilaos of Argos cover the archaic period down to the Persian Wars.³ Four Attic tragedies then take us well into the fourth century, the *Aktaion* of Phrynichos and the *Toxotides* of Aeschylus followed by two more plays entitled *Aktaion*, by Iophon and Kleophon.⁴ A Dionysiac

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Kossatz A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (Mainz 1978) 142–65, ‘Toxotides’.

Leach E. W. Leach, ‘Metamorphoses of the Acteon Myth in Campanian Painting’ *Röm. Mitt* lxxxviii (1981) 307–27.

LIMC L. Guimond, *LIMC* i (1981) Aktaion s.v. ‘Aktaion’.

LIMC L. Kahil, *LIMC* ii (1984) Artemis s.v. ‘Artemis’, *Catalogue* with I. Icard.

Schlam C. C. Schlam, ‘Diana and Actaeon: metamorphoses of a myth’ *ClAnt* iii (1984) 82–109.

Studies L. R. Lacy, ‘The myth of Aktaion. Literary and iconographic studies’ (Diss. Bryn Mawr College 1984, Ann Arbor 1985).

¹ On iconography, *LIMC* Aktaion, with bibl.; Leach *passim*; Trendall/Cambitoglou *BICS* Suppl. xlii (London 1983) 104 no. 59a; Schlam 87–95, 98–

105; M. Davies, *JHS* cvi (1986) 182–3.

² Acknowledged pre-Roman representations of the offense decorate Hellenistic relief bowls, G. Siebert, *Recherches sur les ateliers de bols à reliefs du Péloponnèse à l’époque hellénistique* (Paris 1978) 248–50; and a 1st-century BC gem, *LIMC* Aktaion, no. 115a, p. 464, pl. 362; and Schlam 98–9 and n. 73; but for a Roman date, K. Schefold, *Die Göttersagen in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 144 and n. 43.

³ Hesiod: *fr.* 217A, M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of women* (Oxford 1985) 87–8, 178; first published by T. Renner, *HSCP* lxxxiii (1978) 277–93. Probably also the *fr.* Apollod. *bibl.* iii 4.4; *POxy* 2509; and possibly Hes. *fr.* 346; see esp. A. Casanova, *RivFil* xcvi (1969) 31–46; A. M. Cirio, ‘Fonti letterarie ed iconografiche del mito di Atteone’ *BPEC* xxv (1977) 44–60; R. Janko, *Phoenix* xxxviii (1984) 299–307. Stesichoros: *PMG* 236; for the attribution to the *Europeia*, C. M. Bowra, *Greek lyric poetry*² (Oxford 1961) 99; *Studies* 16. Akousilaos: *FGrH* 2 F 33; on Akousilaos generally, *ibid.* 47–58, 375–86; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (New York 1951) 448–50; D. Bower, *Who was who in the Greek world* (Oxford 1982) s.v. ‘Acusilaus’.

⁴ Phrynichos: *Suda* s.v. Φρύνιχος. Aeschylus: *fr.* 417–24 Mette; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926) 132–8; H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 134–6; Kossatz *passim*; T. Gantz, *AJPh* ci (1980) 147, 156–8. Iophon: *Suda* s.v. Ἰοφῶν. Kleophon: *Suda*, s.v. Κλεοφῶν.

epic by Deinarchos was composed not long before the advent of Alexander.⁵ We possess none of these texts, and what we know about their accounts of Aktaion is extremely fragmentary and usually second hand. Learned sources of the second century AD attribute the same offense to the three known archaic works. A papyrus dictionary of mythic metamorphoses notes that Aktaion wooed Semele, and the end of the Aktaion entry refers the reader to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.⁶ Pausanias writes that according to Stesichoros Artemis arranged Aktaion's death 'lest he should take Semele to wife'.⁷ Apollodoros, in his *Library*, notes the courtship of Semele as an alternate offense and cites Akousilaos.⁸ Nothing is known of Aktaion's crime in the treatments composed after the Persian Wars, but two brief allusions appear in works not concerned with Aktaion *per se*. In Euripides' *Bacchae*, when Pentheus confronts Kadmos with his intransigent opposition to Dionysos, the old man warns his grandson to beware the fate of Aktaion, torn apart by his own dogs because 'he boasted in the mountain glens that he was better in the chase than Artemis'.⁹ In his *Fifth hymn*, the *Bath of Pallas*, Kallimachos tells how the young Teiresias was struck blind when he caught sight of Athena bathing with her companion Chariklo, the youth's own mother. Not unmoved by Chariklo's lamentations, Pallas consoles her friend, citing the far more horrible fate that awaits Artemis' companion Aktaion 'when unwitting he sees the beauteous bath of the divinity'.¹⁰ Another reason for Aktaion's death deserves consideration, though it appears only once, and relatively late. Diodoros of Sicily records that when Aktaion had dedicated the spoils of a hunt to Artemis he attempted to marry her right there in the sanctuary.¹¹ This range of Greek explanations for Aktaion's death is thus culled from a group of references each of which is in some sense removed from a lost literary tradition.

CONSENSUS

A longstanding *communis opinio* gives Aktaion's offenses a definite order of appearance.¹² The archaic Aktaion courts Semele. The classical Aktaion boasts, though he may also continue, for a time, to court.¹³ The Hellenistic Aktaion first glimpses

⁵ Deinarchos: *FGrH* 399 F 1. Some scholars postulate a Hellenistic *epyllion* to explain the Apollodoran *fr.* (n. 3) and P. Med. inv. 123, also to provide a Greek model for Ovid's account; J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 71–2 (Apollod.); S. Daris, in *Proc 12 Intern Cong Pap* (Toronto 1970) 99–111; B. Otis, *Ovid as an epic poet* (Cambridge 1966) 396–98; Schlam 84 n. 5, 97; esp. A. Grilli, *PP* xxvi (1971) 366–7, suggesting attribution to Nikandros, who identified dogs of the 'Indian' breed as descendants of Aktaion's pack (Pollux v 38 = Nik. *fr.* 7 Schn.), no guarantee that he actually told the story; A. S. F. Gow and A. Scholfield, *Nicander. The poems and poetical fragments* (Cambridge 1953) 215.

⁶ P. Mich. inv. 1447, *verso*, col. II. 1–6 (= Hesiod *fr.* 217A, [n. 3]:

Ἄκταιων ὁ Ἀρισταί[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ[τονό]ης, τῶν
Σεμέ-
λης ἐφιέμενος γάμων αὐτ[ca. 14]
το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορος ca. 6 μετεμορ-]
φώθη εἰ[ς] ἐλάφου δόκησιν διὰ βο[υλ]ήν] Ἀρτέμ[ι]-
δος καὶ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ ἐ[α]υτ[οῦ] κυνῶν,
ᾧ[ς]
φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Κα[τ]α[λό]γῳ.

⁷ ... ἵνα δὴ μὴ γυναῖκα Σεμέλην λάβοι; Paus. ix 2.3 (= Stes. *PMG* 236 [n. 3], trans. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece* i–vi (London 1913).

⁸ ... ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο Σεμέλην; Apollod. *bibl.* iii 4.4 (= Akous. *FGrH* 2 F 33).

⁹ *Bacchae* 337–41:

ὄρας τὸν Ἀκτέωνος ἄθλιον μόνον,
ὄν ὠμόσιτοι σκύλακες ἄς ἐθρέψατο
διεσπάσαντο, κρείσσον' ἐν κυναγίαις
Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι κομπάσαντ', ἐν
ὄργασιν.
ὃ μὴ πάθης σύ·

Cf. 228–30; 1227–8; 1290–2. On Aktaion in the *Bacchae*, *Studies* 102–80.

¹⁰ *Kall. Hy.* v. 113–14, trans. Bulloch.

¹¹ *Diod.* iv 81.4.

¹² Early: E. Schartz, *Annali dell'Ist. di Corr. Arch.* liv (1882) 295–6; Preller/Robert *GrMyth* i (1894) 459. Recent: *LIMC* Aktaion 454; Leach 309–12; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* ciii (1983) 99; Janko (n. 3) 300–1, 306; Schlam (1984) 83–7, 95–7.

¹³ Arguments for the wooing of Semele in fifth-century Athens: H. Hoffmann, *JbHamburg* xii (1967) 9–34; Kossatz 142–50; Gantz (n. 4) 147, 156–8; see esp. Renner (n. 3) 284–5.

Artemis' bath, probably the invention of Kallimachos. Diodoros' explanation, sometimes noted as a fourth version, normally receives little, if any, attention. The surviving Greek *testimonia* are thus accepted as a representative sample of the periods to which they belong despite the almost total literary blackout. Moreover, these references are accepted as fully representative of distinct versions of the myth despite their fragmentary or abbreviated form. Recent studies leave this picture unchallenged and even offer fresh rationalizations of it, either in literary historical or broader cultural terms.¹⁴ Implicit in the *communis opinio* are two basic assumptions. First, the archaic tradition knew only the courtship of Semele, which was therefore the original version.¹⁵ Second, Euripides' and Kallimachos' references mirror, and so reveal, the crime's development in the course of the fifth, fourth and third centuries. The first notion is improbable on purely mythological grounds. The second overlooks the highly problematic relationship of three lines from the *Bacchae* and ten lines from the *Bath of Pallas* to a largely unknown literary mainstream ranging from Hesiod to Deinarchos and probably beyond.

Neither the papyrus dictionary nor Pausanias nor Apollodoros explains why wooing Semele was a crime in the archaic accounts they name, and this question remains inadequately addressed. Aktaion's father was the priestly herdsman Aristaion, but through his mother, Autonoe, he belonged to the House of Kadmos. It has been postulated that a marriage between Aktaion and Semele would have spoilt dynastic plans on the part of Kadmos.¹⁶ Semele was Aktaion's aunt, but she was also the beloved of Zeus. Some have recognized the importance of this rivalry but not its logical consequence: Aktaion was thus an obstacle to the birth of Dionysos.¹⁷ Archaic genealogical literature actually made the story of Aktaion one element of a larger saga in which the step-by-step destruction of the Theban house—Aktaion, Semele, Ino and Melikertes, and Pentheus—is instrumental in the birth and establishment of Dionysos, a structure to which Pindar and Nonnos allude.¹⁸ Indeed, the association of Aktaion with the birth of Dionysos becomes a feature of the myth independent of any particular

¹⁴ Literary-historical: Guimond *LIMC* 454, who links the poet Stesichoros and the logographer Akousilaos (archaic sources) then attributes the boast to 'les tragiques... et... les historiens' (i.e. Eur. and Diod.), the bath to 'les poètes Alexandriens', then notes the Diodoran story, though Diodoros alone represents 'les historiens'. Intellectual-historical: Leach 309–11.

¹⁵ Explicit, Cirio (n. 3) 44, 45; Lloyd-Jones (n. 12); cf. Kossatz 142–3, 148, who considers the courtship of Semele the earliest 'historic' version but postulates a lost 'pre-historic' version concerned with the hunt.

¹⁶ See the tentative restoration of lines 2 and 3 of the Michigan Papyrus entry (see n. 6) in Renner (n. 3) 286; and Leach 309, who calls it 'a scrap of a plot' based on the 'transgression of paternal authority', and asserts that 'Zeus' summoning of his virgin daughter as avenger is appropriate to the sexual politics of the family'. In Greek society the very displeasure of such a patriarch would have been enough to forestall the event (cf. the impunity with which Hippodameia's father narrowed her matrimonial options). Janko (n. 3) 301 emphasizes 'the element of incest'; however, as Kossatz notes, one would not necessarily frown upon such a match, since such intra-familial marriages are attested; 144 and n. 838. Also, it is clear from

Pausanias' understanding of Stesichoros that Zeus was constrained to step in and prevent marriage, not the simple intent to marry; it looks as though they were betrothed. A. Brelich attributes Aktaion's death to Artemis' resentment of the hunter's desire to marry Semele, an interpretation contradicted by the anger of Zeus emphasized by Apollodoros/Akousilaos; *Gli eroi greci* (Rome 1958) 252 n. 83.

¹⁷ *LIMC* Aktaion 454 (rivalry with Zeus); cf. Casanova (n. 3) 43–6, who rightly explains *POxy* 2509's reference to the birth of Dionysos as an indication that in that version Aktaion had died for wooing Semele; followed by Cirio (n. 3) 47, and Janko (n. 3) 301. To Kossatz, 145, the Deinarchos *fr.* suggests that Aktaion was an opponent like Pentheus and Lykourgos; if so, we may be dealing with the Attic king Aktaion and not the Boiotian hero. Wilamowitz, and now Janko, suggest a lost version of the death of Semele analogous to the story of Koronis and Ischys, with a pregnant Semele betraying Zeus; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* ii (Berlin 1924) 23 n. 2; Janko (n. 3) 301 n. 12.

¹⁸ Pind. *P.* III 96–9, *O.* II 22–34; and cf. e.g. Nonn. *Dion.* xlvi 289–303; *Studies* 7–21.

offense and traceable well into the imperial era.¹⁹ It is improbable that the myth of the hunter killed as a hunted beast originated as a component of this elaborate Kadmeid-Dionysiac saga.²⁰ However, the wooing of Semele is punishable only in this context.²¹ That offense could have been predominant in archaic literature, but it is almost certainly not the hunter's earliest transgression.

The usefulness of the Euripidean and Kallimachean passages is severely limited by their function as *paradeigmata* in larger, alien narratives. Neither allusion gives Aktaion's offense much more than one line,²² and the nature of the misdeed is dictated not by contemporary developments in the myth's treatment but by another transgression. Pentheus' open opposition to a god makes the boast Aktaion's most serviceable offense. *Hymn v* celebrates the ritual bath of Pallas Athena's image and recounts Teiresias' fateful vision of that goddess's real-life bath. Aktaion's sight of the bathing Artemis is a natural choice.

Closer scrutiny has given rise to the notion that the very similarity of *paradeigma* to context means that the poet must have invented the story to make his comparison. On Aktaion's boast in the *Bacchae* a recent examination of the myth notes that 'its analogy with Pentheus' own fate gives it the ring of a playwright's invention'.²³ The bath is particularly susceptible to this interpretation. While no pre-Kallimachean source refers to Aktaion's visual incursion, there was a precedent for the future seer's glimpse of Athena in the work of Pherekydes.²⁴ Consequently, scholars have long held that the bath of Artemis is a product of Alexandrian poetry inspired by the interrupted bath of Athena, and it was soon argued specifically that in *Hymn v* Kallimachos rewrites the myth of Aktaion to parallel that of Teiresias.²⁵ The bold objections of Castiglioni and Wilamowitz were definitively overruled by Kleinknecht, whose interpretation is still upheld.²⁶

The reverse reading has been suggested by Roux, for the *Bacchae*, and by Blome, for *Hymn v*, on the grounds that the brevity of the *exemplum* in question is incompatible with the creation of a new version.²⁷ In fact, Pausanias, after citing a reference to a myth in one of the tragedies of Phrynichos, observes, 'but Phrynichus, as we see, has not worked out the story in detail as an author would do with a creation of his own: he has

¹⁹ *Studies* 21–2, 161–3.

²⁰ Aktaion's death is not intrinsically Dionysiac, though the analogy was exploited, e.g. *Bacchae* 339 (διεσπάρσαντο). Reference to this sort of punishment is made in the Sumerian tale of the shepherd Dumuzi (S. N. Kramer, *The sacred marriage rite* [Bloomington, Ind. 1969] 124), as David Halperin has kindly pointed out to me. Aktaion is traditionally devoured, as by wild beasts; cf. [Hes.] *fr. ap. Apollod.* (n. 3) and the predatory kill of *Il.* xvi 156–62; on the background of the canine attack in Greek ritual, W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley 1983) 83–130.

²¹ Cf. Dodds, *infra* n. 97.

²² Eur. *Bacchae* 339–40; Kall. *Hy. v* 113–14.

²³ Leach 309–10; also E. Mercanti, *Neapolis* ii (1914) 131 n. 1; Wilamowitz (n. 17); Th. Zieliński, *Eos* xxix (1926) 4–5.

²⁴ *FGrH* 3 F 92.

²⁵ Schwartz (n. 12); J. Ziehen, in *Bonner Studien Reinhard Kekulé gewidmet* (Berlin 1890) 184; Preller/Robert *GrMyth* ii 1 (1920) 128 and n. 3.

²⁶ L. Castiglioni cites the essentially antiquarian stance of the Hellenistic poets and hypothesizes that *Hy. v* first versifies an older mythographic tradition; 'Studi alessandrini II—Atteone e Artemis', in

Studi critici offerti da antichi discepoli a Carlo Pascal nel suo XXV anno di insegnamento (Catania 1913) 63–9; cf. Otis (n. 5) 397–8. For Wilamowitz, (n. 17) 22–4, the strongly Artemisian character of the Teiresias story in *Hy. v* reflects Pherekydes' creation of Teiresias' intrusion on the analogy of Aktaion's discovery. H. Kleinknecht, 'ΛΟΥΤΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΟΣ', *Hermes* lxxiv (1939) 334–9; followed by K. J. McKay, *The poet at play. Kallimachos: The bath of Pallas* (Leiden 1962) 45; A. W. Bulloch, *Callimachos: The fifth hymn* (Cambridge 1985) 19; cf. Casanova (n. 3) 44 and n. 2. Zieliński (n. 23) 1–7, and now Schlam, 96, argue that Kallimachos recasts both myths, making Athena, Chariklo and Teiresias hunters as he makes Aktaion see Artemis. The brief but cogent remarks of E. Cahen seem to have gone unnoticed; *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique* (Paris 1929) 359; *Les Hymnes de Callimaque* (Paris 1930) 238–9.

²⁷ J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes* ii (Paris 1972) 361; P. Blome, *AK* xx (1977) 43. M. W. Haslam has also maintained the pre-Kallimachean origin of Artemis' bath in his paper 'The baths of Pallas: *callida iunctura* in Callimachus *Hymn 5*', delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, Washington, D.C., 30 Dec. 1985.

merely touched on it as a story famous all over Greece'.²⁸ Three considerations substantiate this approach:

1. The notion that mythological *exempla* are routinely made up is inherently problematic.²⁹ As the two Aktaion *exempla* illustrate, whole-cloth invention of so vital an element would undermine any ethical authority the writer intends to give it. If Kadmos warns the miscreant Pentheus with a mythic precedent no one has ever heard of, that warning will seem hollow. Pallas' consolation of her comrade with a parallel situation she seems to have made up on the spot would not exemplify, but mock, the absolute truthfulness and wisdom attributed to the poem's *laudanda* in the verses which follow (131–6).

2. The mythic segment of *Hymn v* opens with the phrase μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἔμός, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων (56), echoing the poet's familiar ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰίδω.³⁰ This forceful insistence on mythological pedigree would make so striking a novelty as the bath of Artemis highly inappropriate.³¹

3. The closeness of *paradeigma* to major myth is best explained not by invention but by skillful adaptation based on extreme selectivity. Neither Kallimachos' Athena nor Euripides' Kadmos gives a full account of the myth of Aktaion. Both poets leave out traditional material which is superfluous to their analogies and emphasize that which is useful. Both omit the catalogue of Aktaion's hounds and the dogs' wanderings after their master's death.³² On the other hand, the horror of Aktaion's singular fate is crucial to the threatening comparison of Kadmos and the consoling contrast of Pallas.³³ The canine attack is thus indispensable, but the cervine ruse that unleashes it is eliminated despite the iconographic ubiquity of Aktaion's metamorphosis by about 440 BC.³⁴ If we relied on Euripides and Kallimachos and had no iconographic evidence, we would have to consider the hunter's transformation a Roman invention: Aktaion suffers no preserved literary metamorphosis before those of Diodoros and Ovid. Kallimachos does dwell upon the aftermath of Aktaion's death from his parents' point of view. Athena addresses the myth of Aktaion to the mother of Teiresias, contrasting her friend's misfortune with that of Autonoe. The goddess can thus utter her *exemplum* in the future tense as an event foretold³⁵ and transform the catastrophe before them into a (future) paradigm of good fortune! She enframes the story as follows:

²⁸ Paus. x 31.4, trans. Frazer.

²⁹ The creation of paradigmatic myths is well-documented for Homer; M. M. Willcock, *CQ* xiv (1964) 144–54. Also documented, however, is the strict relationship of this invention to the technique of oral composition, which tends to elaborate a comparison by progressively modifying the main story as well as a selectively presented tradition adduced; *ibid.*, *HSCP* lxxxii (1977) 41–54; M. L. Lang, in *Approaches to Homer* (Austin 1983) 140–64.

³⁰ For the expression and its history, Eur. *fr.* 484; cf. Kleinknecht (n. 26) 323–4, 334, who asserts that the creation of a new offense does not violate the principle ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰίδω because only one element is altered, not the whole tale; and Bulloch (n. 26) 161–2.

³¹ It is sometimes suggested that the statement is made ironically to cloak the creation of a new version, e.g. Schlam 96.

³² The dogs' aftermath is attested both earlier and later than the *exempla*: *POxy* 2509 (Hes. *Ehoiai* [?]); Nik. *fr.* 97; Apollod. *bibl.* iii 4.4; Pollux v 38 (= Nik.); and cf. the Boiotian pyxis, *infra* n. 37. Dog catalogue: [Hes.] *fr. ap.* Apollod. (n. 3);

Aischyl. *fr.* 423 Mette; P. Med. inv. 123; Ov. *met.* iii 206–36; Pollux v 47 (= Aischyl.). On canine problems, Casanova (n. 3); Grilli (n. 5) 354–67; A. Colonna, *Sileno* i (1975) 297–300; Janko (n. 3); and esp. Cirio (n. 3), with further bibliography.

³³ ὄραϊς τὸν Ἀκτέωνος ἄθλιον μόρον . . . ὃ μὴ πάθης σύ, says Kadmos (*Bacchae* 337, 341); on consolation, e.g. Kleinknecht (n. 26) 338.

³⁴ Cf. McKay (n. 26) 46 n. 13: 'The real reason [that there is no metamorphosis] is that he is not telling the story for its own sake'. Transformation first appears in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the fifth century on a South Italian terracotta relief and relief vessel, in a series of Kyzikene coins and on the Attic Lykaon Painter's splendid red-figured bell-krater in Boston; *LIMC* Aktaion no. 76, p. 461, pl. 356 (relief); no. 77, p. 461 (vessel *fr.*); nos 41 and 42, pp. 458–9, pl. 353 (coins); no. 81, p. 462, pl. 357 (krater). See *Studies* 232–3.

³⁵ Cf. R. Öhler, *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (Diss. Basel 1925) 121; R. Pfeiffer, *SB München* (1934 Heft 10) 34 and n. 3; Bulloch (n. 26) 218.

πόσσα μὲν ἅ Καδμηῖς ἐς ὕστερον ἔμπυρα καυσεῖ,
 πόσσα δ' Ἀρισταῖος, τὸν μόνον εὐχόμενοι
 παῖδα, τὸν ἀβατὰν Ἀκταίονα, τυφλὸν ἰδέσθαι.

... τὰ δ' υἱέος ὄστ' ἔα μήτηρ
 λεξεῖται δρυμῶς πάντας ἐπερχομένα·
 ὀλβίσταν ἔρει σε καὶ εὐαίωνα γενέσθαι,
 ἐξ ὀρέων ἀλαὸν παῖδ' ὑποδεξαμέναν. (107–9, 115–18)

Kallimachos may have modified the details of the parents' actions, but the parental aftermath known to later mythographers and poets was already an integral part of the myth.³⁶ Kadmos' warning, logically enough, ignores this tradition. Since the hearer will die at the hands of his own mother, Euripides stresses the reversal of Aktaion's bond not with Artemis, but with the σκύλακες ἅς ἐθρέψατο (338).³⁷

Both the Euripidean and Kallimachean offenses should belong to pre-existing versions of the myth and may even antedate the courtship of Semele, but each *exemplum* provides no more than a *terminus ante quem*, and one is left with a previously unexplored question: what else has the poet omitted?

By privileging allusive but extant citations over a lost body of poetic treatments and over the information Diodoros furnishes in retrospect, the *communis opinio* may seriously distort the myth's shape and development. Particularly questionable are the exclusion of Artemis' bath from pre-Hellenistic literature, characterized instead by the wooing of Semele and the boast; and the inadequate attention given to Aktaion's anomalous attempted marriage. Examination of the Kallimachean and Diodoran passages will help reformulate the questions they raise, and some misunderstood iconographic evidence will suggest a solution.

KALLIMACHOS AND APOLLODOROS

Analysis of Kallimachos' paradigmatic use of Aktaion does not reveal the literary horizon of the bath of Artemis, be it Hellenistic, classical or archaic. It does yield a significant pattern of poetic omission. Indeed, the reference is so spare that it gives an inadequate picture of the story behind it:

καὶ τῆνος μεγάλας σύνδρομος Ἀρτέμιδος
 ἔσσειτ'· ἄλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν ὃ τε δρόμος αἶ τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι
 ῥυσεῦνται ξυναὶ τᾶμος ἑκαβολίαι,
 ὀππὸκ' ἄν οὐκ ἐθέλων περ ἴδη χαρίεντα λοετρά
 δαίμονος· ἄλλ' αὐταὶ τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες
 τουτάκι δειπνησεῦντι. (110–15)

The scant information provided neatly serves the desired equation, of the two offenses, and the desired contrast, between one goddess's brutality and another's generosity. As a result only four bits of information describe Aktaion's relationship to Artemis and how

³⁶ A Boiotian pyxis, dated c. 470, depicts the recovery of Aktaion's body by his family as Artemis departs and the dogs search (Athens, National Museum 437 [or 3554]); *LIMC* Aktaion no. 121, p. 465, pl. 363; and esp. E. Bethe, *AthMitt* xv (1890) 240–2, pl. 8; cf. also Séchan (n. 4) 138. On a volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolley Satyrs the bad tidings are borne to Autonoe and Aristaios (Louvre CA 3482); *LIMC* Aktaion no. 16, p. 456, pl. 348; and esp. P. Devambez, *MonPiot* lv (1967) 77–104; K. Schauenburg sees Kadmos

rather than Aristaios, 'Aktaion in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei', *JDAI* lxxxiv (1969) 35. See also *Studies* 14–15 and (on the sacrifices offered in *Hg.* v) 11 n. 10

³⁷ The bond of affection emerges from the dogs' search for their master, their lamentations at the news of his fate and the solace found in the image of Aktaion made by Cheiron ([Hes.] *fr.* POxy 2509; Apollod. [n. 8]); also fifth- and fourth-century iconography (n. 63 and *LIMC* Aktaion no. 122, p. 465; no. 124, p. 465, pl. 363).

it turned bad: Aktaion was Artemis' hunting companion (as Chariklo was Athena's; 110-11, *cf.* 57-67); Aktaion saw Artemis' bath (as Teiresias saw Athena's; 113-14, *cf.* 70-81); the sight was unintentional (like that of Teiresias; 113, *cf.* 79); and the punishment violently flouts former companionship (whereas Athena, forced by divine law to blind the intruder, actually honored hers with Chariklo, conferring a blessing which far outweighed the punishment; 111-12, *cf.* 85-104, 119-30). The companionship of Aktaion and Artemis is the only element elaborated upon to some extent. The only detail given concerning Aktaion's sight is the loveliness of what he saw.

There is no indication of where or on what occasion Aktaion happened upon Artemis, which suggests that in these particulars the story differed from that of Teiresias, who stumbled upon Athena on Mount Helikon while hunting, driven by thirst.³⁸ The place is readily identifiable: subsequent authors name a spring sanctuary of Artemis near Plataiai and in a glen among the foothills of Mount Kithairon.³⁹ The glen and sanctuary are called Gargaphia, the spring *fons Parthenius* (i.e. παρθενίη πηγή).⁴⁰ The question of how the hero came to see the goddess bathing can also be addressed by means of later sources, but the information to be gleaned directly from the Aktaion-*exemplum* of the *Fifth hymn* is thus exhausted.

The question remains of the age of Artemis' bath, and mythographers of the Roman period give the most useful indications of when it was current in Greek literature. Hyginus has already been enlisted to help reconstruct something of the bath's pre-Kallimachean history. Blome suggests that Kallimachos' sources were theatrical, since Hyginus gives the bath incident and is often indebted to the stage, but, he continues, these plays must postdate the fourth-century Italiote depictions, which, it is thought, show no awareness of the bath episode.⁴¹ Trendall and Webster, on the other hand, had suggested that Hyginus' account is most congruent with the fragments of Aeschylus' *Toxotides*, which therefore may have told the bath story.⁴²

Especially useful is the account of Apollodoros. His comprehensive *Library* of Greek mythology, organized regionally and genealogically, belongs to the first or second century AD, but Apollodoros typically cites early, pre-Hellenistic sources, when he makes citations.⁴³ In fact, his narrative seems to consist largely of digests, whose accuracy is demonstrated by comparison with those works we recognize and still possess. These range from the *Odyssey* to Apollonios Rhodios with strong emphasis on tragic poetry. Apollodoros also draws heavily upon early efforts to collect and systematize mythic material from poetic sources. Pherekydes is especially important, also Akousilaos, whom he cites in connection with Aktaion, and Asklepiades of Tragila,

³⁸ *Cf.* Kleinknecht (n. 26) 335: 'Der Ort, wo den Aktaion sein Verhängnis ereilt, ist ganz unbestimmt gelassen'. It is sometimes assumed that the circumstances corresponded to those surrounding Teiresias' sight, e.g. *RE* i 1 (1893) s.v. 'Aktaion' 1210; Leach 310.

³⁹ Kithairon is named as the site of Aktaion's death, presumably after his flight from the hounds, Eur. *Bacchae* 1290-2; Apollod. *bibl.* iii 4.4; Philostr.iun. *im.* 1.14.

⁴⁰ Gargaphia, Ov. *met.* iii 155; Hyg. *fab.* 181 (with *fons Parthenius*). Perhaps the original setting was the spring shown to Paus. at 'Aktaion's Bed' (Ἀκταίωνος κοίτη, ix 2.3). If so, poetic tradition may have transferred the myth to the much more widely known sanctuary because of the role both Aktaion and Gargaphia played in the conflict which culminated in the battle of Plataiai; G.

Spano, *Atti dell' Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* x (1928) 34-5; Kossatz 152; *Studies* 82-3. On Aktaion's Bed, C. N. Edmondson, *JHS* lxxxiv (1964) 153-5.

⁴¹ Blome (n. 28) 43.

⁴² A. D. Trendall and T. B. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek drama* (London 1971) 62, probably based on the interpretation given by Mette to *fr.* 420-1, concerned with the virtue of certain women, and to *fr.* 423, with four of the dogs' names attributed to Aeschylus by Pollux repeated or echoed in Hyginus' much longer list; Mette *Verlorene* (n. 4) 134-6. See also Kossatz 145 and n. 851; Gantz (n. 4) 157 and n. 88; Schlam 85 n. 9.

⁴³ On Apollod. and his sources, J. G. Frazer, *Apollodoros. The Library* (Cambridge, Mass. 1921) ix-xx.

who dealt with the stories of tragic poetry in a fourth-century treatise.⁴⁴ The section on Aktaion begins as follows:

Αὐτονόης δὲ καὶ Ἀρισταίου παῖς Ἀκταίων ἐγένετο, ὃς τραφεὶς παρὰ Χείρωνι κυνηγὸς ἐδιδάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι κατεβρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν. καὶ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον, ὡς μὲν Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, μηνίσαντος τοῦ Διὸς ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο Σεμέλην, ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείονες, ὅτι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λουομένην εἶδε.

Apollodoros presents the hunter's offense as a pair of alternatives: first, the anger of Zeus with a suitor of Semele according to Akousilaos; then, according to the majority of the sources (ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείονες), the sight of Artemis' bath. Since οἱ πλείονες does not provide a fragment of anyone, scholars have given the reference little weight.⁴⁵ Once we understand the kind of distinction Apollodoros intends to draw between Akousilaos and 'the majority', the reference assumes the importance it deserves. Akousilaos occurs first because he is a foil to those sources. A specific citation is made precisely because the story of Zeus and Semele is in Apollodoros' view an exception to a rule. The generalized citation, of οἱ πλείονες, has two implications, one qualitative and the other chronological. First, this distinction one *versus* many (as opposed to 'some say' *versus* 'others say') is best explained as justifying a preference for the bath espied as being more authoritative, a choice evident in the way Apollodoros continues:

καὶ φασὶ τὴν θεὸν παραχρῆμα αὐτοῦ τὴν μορφήν εἰς ἔλαφον ἀλλάξαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα κυσὶν ἐμβαλεῖν λύσσαν, ὕφ' ὧν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐβρώθη.

The author emphasizes the agency of Artemis with no indication of any delegation of the task to her on the part of Zeus, as would be appropriate to the wooing of Semele. Also, as Malten notes, the punishment is inflicted as an immediate response (παραχρῆμα), presumably to a distinct act committed in a distinct moment, at or near Kithairon and with the dogs nearby, a situation appropriate to the bath of Artemis and not the courtship of Semele.⁴⁶ Second, with the late archaic mythographer representing the minority view, it is improbable that Apollodoros' 'majority' should exclude the rest of the literary mainstream.⁴⁷ Even a reference to οἱ πλείονες, nameless though they are, is a strong suggestion that the bath incident is offered not simply as the version well known to his imperial readers, but one already predominant among the sources he is digesting for them. The story of Artemis' bath could be at least as early as its archaic foil. Each known archaic source is associated with the wooing of Semele; on the other hand, two of the three archaic accounts are attested only because they illustrated an unusual alternative to Artemis' bath for authorities of the Roman era. Consequently, the fatal glimpse attested in *Hymn ν* may belong to an early, perhaps even the earliest, tale concerning the Boiotian hunter. Especially probable, however, is attribution to fifth- and fourth-century literature, to which five works, mainly tragedies, can be assigned, and to which we know Apollodoros is most apt to refer.

⁴⁴ On Asklepiades, *RE* ii 2 (1896) s.v. 'Asklepiades (27)' 1628.

⁴⁵ Cf. Frazer's 'the more general opinion'. Only L. Malten deals with the Apollodoran passage *per se* and not just the *fr.* of Akousilaos; *Kyrene, Sagen-geschichtliche und historische Untersuchungen*, *Philolog. Untersuch.* xx (1911) 19 and n. 1. While his discussion of its structure is sound, that of its implications is not, so strong is his desire to establish the archaic exclusivity of the story of

Semele, thus making it the inevitable Hesiodic choice: 'Zwei Versionen werden hier geschieden, ein älterer des Akousilaos, und eine vulgäre'; so also Mette *Verlorene* (n. 4) 134.

⁴⁶ Malten (n. 45), who identifies οἱ πλείονες with the subject of καὶ φασί, again, as late sources, 'in erster Linie Kallimachos'.

⁴⁷ Also Cahen (*Hymnes*, n. 26) 238–9; cf. Wilamowitz (n. 26) 23 and n. 2; Colonna (n. 32) 298.

A number of factors seem to explain the lack of scholarly interest in Diodoros' account. The Sicilian historian is readily isolated from Greek tradition not only because of the relatively late date and the lack of citations, but also the apparently idiosyncratic offenses presented in place of the wooing of Semele and the bath of Artemis noted by later authorities. The best explanation, however, probably lies in the inscrutability of the passage, and one must therefore begin with context, translation and reconstruction as a story before attempting to suggest a historical relationship to other versions.

The myth is part of Diodoros' exhaustive history of the heroic age. The hunter's crime and punishment are preceded by the courtship of Apollo and Kyrene, and the birth and marriage of their son Aristaios (iv 81.1-3). It is followed by the bereaved father's wanderings to Keos, Libya and Sardinia (82.1-6). The discussion of Aktaion's crime begins as follows:

τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἀποδιδόασι τῆς ἀτυχίας οἱ μὲν ὅτι κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν διὰ τῶν ἀναπιθεμένων ἀκροθινίων ἐκ τῶν κυνηγίων προηρεῖτο τὸν γάμον κατεργάσασθαι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οἱ δ' ὅτι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος αὐτὸν πρωτεύειν ταῖς κυνηγίαις ἀπεφίνατο.

To explain this misfortune some tell how, at the sanctuary of Artemis, taking advantage of the prime spoils of his hunting that he had set up as dedications, he undertook to accomplish a marriage to Artemis; others that he declared that he excelled Artemis in the chase.

Diodoros is explicitly a compiler of earlier treatments.⁴⁸ That he alone repeats the crime noted in the *Bacchae* suggests the depth of his acquaintance with the literature. The two causes detailed in his sources represent not an interesting exception and a more authoritative rule, as in the case of Apollodoros, but two acceptable alternatives that give a balanced account of the tradition. The relative obscurity of Aktaion's connection with Semele may explain her exclusion, as it explains the citations of Akousilaos and Stesichoros in later authors. In addition, the paternal, rather than maternal, context indicates that Diodoros is following a tradition distinct from the Kadmeid-Dionysiac saga to which the wooing of Semele is inextricably bound. The exclusion of the bath incident is more difficult to fathom. Artemis' ablutions have been seen in *Hymn v*, its lost antecedents (οἱ πλείονες), and Hellenistic minor arts. Moreover, Diodoros writes at a time when Aktaion's illicit glimpse is immortalized for us by Ovid and Campanian wall-painting.⁴⁹

The opening contains an implicit disclaimer: Diodoros' sources recounted the offenses (ἀποδιδόασι); he simply refers to them, compressing both into a single sentence. In the case of the attempted marriage a fairly complex tale has been condensed almost beyond recognition. Like Kallimachos' *paradeigma*, this reference is not only brief but tendentious, conditioned by a strong personal point of view which emerges in the discussion that follows:

οὐκ ἀπίθανον δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις μηνῖσαι τὴν θεόν· εἴτε γὰρ τοῖς ἀλισκομένοις πρὸς τὴν ἀκοινώνητον τοῖς γάμοις κατεχρήτο πρὸς τὸ συντελέσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιθυμίαν, εἴτε καὶ ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν αἰρετώτερον αὐτὸν εἶναι κυνηγόν ἢ καὶ θεοὶ παρακεχωρήκασιν τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀμίλλης, ὁμολογουμένην καὶ δικαίαν ὄργην ἔσχε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ θεός. καθόλου δὲ πιθανῶς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀλισκομένων θηρίων μεταμορφωθεὶς ἰδέαν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία χειρουμένων κυνῶν διεφθάρη.

⁴⁸ On sources, C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily* (New York 1933) i, pp. xvi-xxiii; ii, pp. viii-x; L. Canfora, *Diodoro Siculo, Biblioteca storica*

(Palermo 1986) pp. ix-xxv.

⁴⁹ On the myth in Campanian wall-painting, Leach *passim*; LIMC Aktaion 469.

However, it is not implausible that the goddess was enraged at both of these actions, for whether he (mis?)used those [beasts] he had captured for her who has no dealings with weddings toward the fulfillment of his personal desire, or whether he dared say that he was a more outstanding hunter than she before whom even the gods retire from competition in these pursuits, the wrath of the goddess toward him was commendable and just. It is also plausible, all things considered, that with his appearance changed to the semblance of the beasts he had captured, he was destroyed by the dogs who had subdued those beasts as well.

Diodoros' account is shaped by a particular notion of what is historically acceptable, and his criterion is the justice of Artemis.⁵⁰ Both explanations are credible, first, because the offenses are heinous enough to call for so dreadful a punishment, and second, because their violation of the hunter's deference to Artemis with respect to his catch makes his death as a hunted beast exquisitely apt.

For the matrimonial transgression we can reconstruct only the bare framework of a story. Aktaion had hunted and caught a number of animals, presumably deer, with dedication to Artemis in mind (τοῖς ἀλίσκομένοις πρὸς τὴν . . .). Accordingly, he had then taken the beasts to a sanctuary of the goddess and set up some portion of them to her, the paws and heads (ἄκρωτήρια) or the combination of skin and head, more readily designated ἀκροθίνια, the reading preferred by the editors over the former.⁵¹ Whether these dedications represent one occasion or a longstanding practice, after his last expedition, the hunter encountered Artemis in the sanctuary and violated its sanctity by enlisting these spoils in an attempt to violate her chastity, presumably because he was possessed by desire (the ἰδίᾳ ἐπιθυμία which is the focus of the reiteration). His was not, however, a simple offer of violence, as is sometimes asserted.⁵² For Diodoros, προηρεῖτο τὸν γάμον κατεργάσασθαι is unequivocal: Aktaion's goal was marriage, and therefore a ceremonially sanctioned union.⁵³ The enraged goddess transformed her suitor into one of the deer he had captured and dedicated, and the very hounds who had subdued these beasts for him now destroyed him.

The conversion of devotional thoughts and deeds to an egocentric and hybriatic desire, of good relations to divine wrath, recalls the change from companionship to hostility so strongly emphasized by Kallimachos. However, whether or not Diodoros had *Hymn ν* in mind, his allusive account reads like a rebuttal. All of the information furnished is there simply to define Aktaion's hybris: the outrageous goal, which justifies his death; the sacred setting and occasion together with the previous harmony of devoted man and no doubt benign goddess, whose violation underlines his sinfulness; and the abuse of the dedications, reiterated to justify the peculiar punishment inflicted. Like the maker of *paradeigmata*, Diodoros has omitted important elements that do not serve his purpose. We are thus left with three major questions: 1. how Aktaion sought to establish wedlock; 2. how he used the dedications; and 3. how the huntsman's righteous behaviour was subverted by so impious a desire.

⁵⁰ On the ethical orientation of Diodoros, Oldfather (n. 48) i, pp. xx–xxi; Canfora (n. 48).

⁵¹ On the nailing up of spoils to trees or posts for divinities, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* i. 1 (1879) s.v. 'agroteras thysia' 168; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings* (Cambridge 1902) 50–1; P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 200–1; K. Meuli, in *Phyllobolia für Peter Von der Mühl* (Basel 1946) 262–4 and n. 5, 263; *ibid.*, 'AntK Beih. iv (1967) 159–61. Cf. the mural in the 'House of Livia', E. Simon and G. Bauchhens, *LIMC* ii (1984) s.v. 'Artemis/Diana' no. 39, 810, pl. 579.

⁵² As rape, e.g. Renner (n. 3) 283; Oldfather (n. 48) iii 75, is closer with the translation, 'consummate'.

⁵³ J. I. MacDougall, *Lexicon in Diodorum Siculum* (Hildesheim 1983) s.v. γάμος; the use of κατεργάσασθαι, rather than ποιεῖν, expresses the intent to complete the union but in particular the loftiness of Aktaion's aspiration (refs. s.v. κατεργάσασθαι); for sex, s.v. μιγνύειν, ἐπιπλοκή; for rape, s.v. βιάζεσθαι, ὕβριζειν. The case of Ixion is instructive; cf. iv 69.3 (marriage) and iv 69.5 (propositioning of Hera). Canfora, (n. 48) 242, rightly translates, 'realizzare il connubio'.

Most of those who deal with the passage implicitly combine game and Greek wedding ritual and arrive at a wedding feast.⁵⁴ This sort of interpretation may have contributed to the editors' preference for ἀκροθινίων over the alternative (and more difficult) reading ἀκρωτηρίων. However, what Aktaion misused was what he had set up as a dedication, not meat reserved for human consumption. On the other hand, the animal parts must be more a point of departure than a direct instrument in the attempted union, as Diodoros confirms when he reformulates his thought (κατεχρήτο πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖσαι). A possible explanation lies in the conflict of interest latent in the ancient hunter's spoils. Dedication is an act of pious deference, but as personal trophies, displayed ἀκροθίνια legitimately advertise the prowess of mythic, as well as real-life, hunters.⁵⁵ However, the magnificent catch of Agamemnon spurs him to boast his superiority to Artemis, and this conviction leads the hunter in one of Kallimachos' *Aitiai* to sacrilegiously set up a boar's head to himself.⁵⁶ Both are severely punished.

Aktaion not only avoids these sins of excess but reverently dedicates his spoils. Subsequent misuse to gain Artemis' hand suggests a demonstration of his worthiness. Perhaps he too was convinced he had bettered the goddess.⁵⁷ This idea seems to explain Oldfather's translation of διὰ τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ἀκροθινίων ἐκ τῶν κυνηγίων as 'presuming upon the first-fruits of his hunting', and some scholars repeat this phraseology in referring to Diodoros.⁵⁸ Was the historian's second offense, the boast, also a part of the first? His οὐκ ἀπίθανον δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις μνηῖσαι τὴν θεόν confirms this potential association and suggests that the historian in fact offers two explanations of Artemis' wrath rather than two necessarily distinct versions of the myth. However, the closing εἶτε γὰρ . . . εἶτε καὶ . . . must reflect the eventual literary autonomy of the boast. Euripides' *exemplum* could illustrate the promotion of this rivalry to an offense in its own right.

To determine what nuptial ceremony Aktaion tried to celebrate, and to explain the brusque transition from devotion to desire we must turn to some misunderstood iconographic evidence.

A KRATER IN NAPLES

An Apulian volute-krater in Naples once dubbed '*passablement énigmatique*' and still subject to a variety of readings actually presents the same story as Diodoros (PLATE I(a)).⁵⁹ Its decorator, associated with the Ilioupersis Painter, has shown the antlered hero killing

⁵⁴ A. L. Millin, *Monuments antiques inédits ou nouvellement expliqués* i (Paris 1802) 33; Th. Panofka *Archäol. Zeitung* (Feb. 1848) 221–2; W. Nestle, *ARW* xxxiii (1936) 251; Kleinknecht (n. 26) 336–7; F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen* i (Heidelberg 1969) 487; *LIMC* Aktaion 454.

⁵⁵ The commemorative epigrams of the Palatine anthology testify to the pride with which the ancient hunter would point to his dedicated *akrothinia*; discussed by Meuli, (n. 51) 263 n. 5. As private trophies, *vs.* dedications: Euripides' Agaue, in her euphoria, plans to nail the head of her prey to the triglyphs of her own house (*Bacchae* 1233–43); for cynegetic parallels, E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae*² (Oxford 1960) 226–7. Herakles wears the skin of the Nemean lion, his first great kill; K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* ii (Munich 1978) 89. Peleus and Atalanta wrestle to possess the skin and head of

the Kalydonian boar, which they both helped slay, on a Chalkidian hydria of c. 540; E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) 62–3, pl. 39.

⁵⁶ *Kypria fr.* 1 (= Proklos 1); *Kall. fr.* 6 Pf., and *Diod.* iv 22.3

⁵⁷ Cf. Atalanta's requirement that she be beaten at her own game, for Apollod. a footrace with cynegetic overtones: the suitor was pursued and speared; *bibl.* iii 9.2; and *Hyg. fab.* 185.

⁵⁸ Oldfather (n. 48) iii 75; Leach 312 n. 25; Schlam 87 and n. 18. Cf. E. Vinet, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* i (1877) s.v. 'Actaeon' 52: '... pour lui avoir offert les prémices de la chasse en prétendant la contraindre à l'épouser . . .'; J. Fontenrose, *Orion: the myth of the hunter and the huntress*, (Berkeley 1981) 36.

⁵⁹ Naples SA 31; *LIMC* Aktaion no. 110, p. 464, pl. 361. Enigmatic: Séchan (n. 4) 136.

a stag in the presence of Artemis, who sits nearby on a large rock. The goddess turns round to watch the slaughter from above right, her bow and arrow in hand. A young satyr kneels to the lower right, and to the left Hermes, posing languidly against a tree, turns away from Aktaion to face Pan, who approaches from further left. Below the central group of man and beast there is a spring, whose waters gush from two spouts into a squared basin. A widely accepted interpretation identifies the scene with the hunter's reckless boast.⁶⁰ Euripides locates the vaunt in the wilds, but this vase would record a particular circumstance: reveling in the magnificence of his catch, he utters his fateful claim; Artemis hears and instantly sets in motion the metamorphosis that will deceive his hounds. Three recent discussions of the myth dissent. Two revive the early identification of the vase with a lost tale in which Aktaion slew a stag sacred to Artemis.⁶¹ Another argues that the unspecified offending deed is already done and the punishing metamorphosis is beginning, but the hero is still oblivious.⁶² Two more Apulian vases are cited in support of the latter view, a stamnos in the Bibliothèque Nationale and a situla in Bloomington.⁶³ Both show an antlered Aktaion with hounds that are not yet hostile.

The poacher theory founders on the lack of evidence for such a story. The boast would best explain a hunter's *aristeia* and Artemis' resulting hostility, but these are not depicted. The ancient deer hunt was an animated chase that made canine collaboration essential, and Greek representations normally show the deer fleeing before hunter, hounds or both.⁶⁴ An Attic red-figured cup and the lid of the Ficorini cista, both in the Villa Giulia, exceptionally portray a hunter who holds a deer as he kills it, but also show him with one of the dogs that have presumably immobilized the quarry for him.⁶⁵ If a huntsman's bravado were intended, the traditional role of dogs in the Hellenic deer hunt and the particular bond broken to effect Artemis' swift reprisal would have made Aktaion's pack indispensable. Instead, the hounds are conspicuous by their absence.⁶⁶

Each of the current interpretations assumes that a crime has been committed and that punishment has begun. However, Aktaion's antlers may be an attribute rather than a sign of punishment in progress, a reading confirmed by the vases in Paris and Bloomington. On the stamnos, a seated Aktaion reaches to pet a dog, who looks affectionately up at his master (PLATE I(b)). Artemis looks on, lounging against a post. On the situla, Aktaion sits amidst his hounds and turns to watch as one of them leaps playfully upon the goddess. Artemis leans on her hunting spears, and Aktaion holds a pair as well. As Leach has noted, this scene recalls the Kallimachean picture of Aktaion

⁶⁰ Mercanti (n. 23) 131–4, esp. 134; followed by Séchan (n. 4) 136–7; Schauenburg (n. 36) 41; Kossatz 152; Schlam 94 and n. 55.

⁶¹ Fontenrose (n. 58) 36 n. 7; *LIMC* Artemis 733. Early: K. O. Müller and F. Wieseler, *Denkmäler des alten Kunst* ii (Göttingen 1877) 261; and S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* iii (Paris 1908) 26–8, whose ritual-oriented treatment of the myth underlies Zieliński's reading of Kallimachos (n. 26) and is followed by P. Jacobsthal, 'Aktaions Tod', *MarJbKW* v (1929) 18.

⁶² *LIMC* Aktaion 468–9.

⁶³ Stamnos, *Bibl. Nat.* 949, *LIMC* Aktaion no. 112, p. 464, pl. 361; Trendall/Cambitoglou *BICS* Supp. xlii 428–9 no. 71, pls 158.3–4, 159.3. Situla, Bloomington 70–97–1, *LIMC* Aktaion no. 111 p. 464, pl. 361.

⁶⁴ H.-G. Buchholz, 'Jagd', in *Jagd und Fischfang*, *Arch. Hom.* 2J (1973) J44–55, J73–4; J. K. Anderson,

Hunting in the ancient world (Berkeley 1985) 48–51; K. Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Hamburg and Berlin 1969) 15–18; M. Bizzari, *StEtr* xxxiv (1966) pl. 8a–b; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian white lekythoi* (Oxford 1975) pls 58.1a–c, 67.4b; H. P. Isler, *JDAI* xcvi (1983) 19–23, 35–7.

⁶⁵ Schauenburg (n. 64) pl. 16 (cup); G. Proietti, *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia* (Rome 1980) fig. 409 (cista).

⁶⁶ The Naples krater in fact gives the only Hellenic depiction of Aktaion without his hounds, excepting coins and a plastic vase, which show only the hero's head, and the gem (n. 51), which shows him catching sight of the bathing Artemis inside the spring sanctuary; *LIMC* Aktaion nos 41–3, p. 458, pl. 353 (coins); M.-O. Jentel, *Les gutti et askoi à reliefs étrusques et apuliens* (Leiden 1976) 268 and n. 9; *LIMC* Aktaion no. 51a (rhyton).

and Artemis as hunting companions.⁶⁷ Stamnos and situla both portray the camaraderie of the hero with his hunting dogs and with Artemis. More than an attribute, the antlers foretell the way Aktaion will die and thus the fatal rupture of this idyllic association.⁶⁸

The Naples krater emphasizes a specific event prior to the offense, not the general state of things. The mastering of the stag recalls that of the captured Keryneian hind,⁶⁹ but animals killed in this way belong to scenes of sacrifice.⁷⁰ A compositional parallel comes from the same Apulian workshop. On a volute-krater in Ruvo a Nike offers a ram as Athena sits above right on a rock, and a second goddess, perhaps Artemis, stands in the upper right-hand corner (PLATE II(a)).⁷¹ Herakles' hunt is in fact a prelude to ritual slaughter, and he kills the legendary doe for Artemis in a temple sanctuary on a late fifth-century Attic calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter (PLATE II(b)).⁷² Aktaion, like Herakles, holds his quarry toward the goddess. His divine friend and patroness turns to accept his offering.⁷³ The javelin suits the relatively *ad hoc* rite of the hunter. In fact this deer-slaying Aktaion is the human counterpart of a typically fourth-century type of Artemis, shown sacrificing a captured deer with a javelin or torch as well as the more predictable knife.⁷⁴ No altar marks the consecrated point, but the spring gives a focus to Aktaion's gesture.⁷⁵ That Artemis sits nearby suggests that the place is sacred to her.⁷⁶ Elements of landscape evoke the wild setting traditional to the myth. The position and attention of the goddess, as well as the relative positions of man, stag and spring, suggest a hunter's sacrifice to Artemis at a rustic spring sanctuary. Aktaion's antlers thus identify him with an animal he both hunts and sacrifices.

A rather systematic use of prolepsis also distinguishes the krater in Naples from the Paris stamnos and the Bloomington situla. The hero's antlers are not the only sign of

⁶⁷ Leach 310, associating the scene with Aktaion's boast. Cf. the useful discussions of Schauenburg (n. 36) 35–42 and of Kossatz, 155–6, who dismiss the reading proposed here and interpret the scenes as tableaux of tragic *dramatis personae*.

⁶⁸ The woman who addresses the hunter on both vases must evoke some incident—admonition or persuasion—prior to the offense; cf. Schauenburg 38–41; Kossatz 155–7; *LIMC* Aktaion 464, 468.

⁶⁹ On this iconography, Schefold (n. 55) 100–2, fig. 125.

⁷⁰ E.g. the Attic red-figured cup, Cleveland 26.242, *CVA* Cleveland i, (U.S.A. xv, 1971) 23–4, pl. 37.1; and the relief in Chalkis, G. Rodenwaldt, *JDAI* xxviii (1913) 326–9, pl. 27, with *comparanda*; both illus. in *Aspects of ancient Greece* (Allentown, Pa. 1979) ed. B. S. Ridgway and G. Pinney, no. 35, 76–7.

⁷¹ H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (Tübingen 1966) K53, 42, pl. 86.

⁷² Bologna 303, *CVA* Bologna iv (Italy xxvii, 1957) 15–16, pls 82, 83, 94.9; *ARV*² 1184–1185.6. The same hero sacrifices a bull on an Apulian vase in London, BM F66; Trendall/Cambitoglou *BICS* Supp. xlii 195 no. 18. Cf. the Attic red-figured cup Ferrara T 559 showing a crowned, nude youth who has brought a large deer to an altar; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Pfeil und Bogen* (Bochum 1980) 94–5, pl. 18.

⁷³ Were the goddess's hostility depicted, she would have been shown taking aim or drawing an

arrow from her quiver; cf. e.g. *LIMC* Artemis nos. 1053, 1346–51, in which she does react to a hybridic boast. As Mercanti herself observes, (n. 23) 133, the bow and arrows are simply attributes, held in a variety of pacific situations, including sacrifices (e.g. *LIMC* Artemis nos 81, 113, 113a, 618, 619, 674, 967, 968, 970, 974, 1037, 1039, 1069).

⁷⁴ A. H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen*, *Röm. Mitt.* suppl. xiv (1968) 50–3; *LIMC* Artemis 653–4, nos 396–401, pl. 479, and esp. p. 748. Cf. esp. the coin type *ibid.* no. 400, pl. 478; Borbein 63 n. 299. The vase in Ruvo (n. 71) is tentatively included in the group by Borbein, 50–1 and n. 247. On a bronze handle relief, *LIMC* Artemis no. 403a, she seems to master a captured animal prior to sacrifice, and she brings a deer to the altar on *ibid.* nos 1025, 1026 and 1036, pl. 526.

⁷⁵ As such springs can play the role of altar; *RE*² iii 2 (1929) s.v. 'sphagia' 1669–79; but here it probably serves simply to characterize the place.

⁷⁶ Late fifth- to fourth-century Attic votive reliefs sometimes show Artemis seated on a rock, from which she may receive worshippers (*LIMC* Artemis nos 671–4); on two non-Attic examples deer are led to sacrifice before her (Stengel [n. 51] 200). The rock could represent Kithairon, as suggested to me by Erika Simon; cf. the lekythos, E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) 137–8, pls XLIV, XLV. We would thus see the moment in which Artemis perceives Aktaion's gesture, perhaps just before a descent to receive his offering.

what is to come. Hermes, as *psychopompos*, foreshadows Aktaion's death. The youthful satyr may allude to Dionysos, the long-term beneficiary. If Hermes is here waiting, Aktaion's offering must lead directly to his crime and punishment, as in the story of the hunter's attempted *theogamia* reported by Diodoros. Vinet, who first published the vase in 1848, identified this scene with the Diodoran story, but his reading rested upon the mistaken identification of the spring as an altar and was never accepted.⁷⁷ The depiction exhibits two vital points of contact with Diodoros' account: first, Aktaion comes to a sanctuary of the goddess and offers the spoils of his hunt to her; and second, the hero assumes the form not simply of an animal he might hunt but of an animal he actually hunts, sacrifices and dedicates in the course of the tale.⁷⁸ The hunter is made the hunted, but also the sacrificer is identified with his victim.

Of particular interest is the setting. The spring is rightly identified as that at Gargaphia, the *fons Parthenius* of the Roman accounts of Artemis' bath. Two more Italiote depictions appear to locate Aktaion's death at Gargaphia, but with a personifying nymph.⁷⁹ One, an Apulian bell-krater in Gothenburg, adds a *boukranion*, suggesting a sanctuary, and a grotto, which recalls the springs of the Campanian wall-paintings of Artemis' bath, as well as Ovid's *antrum nemorale* (PLATE II(c)).⁸⁰ The conclusion drawn, however, is that the 'early' versions, the wooing of Semele as well as the boast, were connected with this spot before the bath incident was made up.⁸¹ Neither of those stories has any use for this topographic feature, whereas the Naples krater uses the spring to locate Aktaion's slaughter. We should conclude instead that the place belonged to Diodoros' story as the Ἄρτεμιδος ἱερόν where Aktaion dedicated his trophies and tried to marry the goddess.

RECONSTRUCTION

The Naples krater therefore illustrates the tale partially summarized by Diodoros, but it also seems to refer, through the Boiotian spring, to the tradition first documented in *Hymn v*. Italiote vase-painting thus suggests the simplest possible restoration of the narrative lacunae noted in the Kallimachean and Diodoran allusions, that both refer to the same tale, which would run as follows: a companion in the chase to Artemis, Aktaion brings a hunted deer to the spring sanctuary and, as usual, dedicates its skin, or extremities, to her; he then discovers the goddess bathing in the spring itself, and, crazed with desire, claims her as his wife. The outraged Artemis gives Aktaion the outward appearance of his erstwhile quarry and offering and thereby instigates the hounds' aggression.

⁷⁷ E. Vinet, *Rev. Arch.* v (1848) 460–75, pl. 100, rejecting Gerhard's (verbal) identification of the object as a spring (reinstated definitively only by T. Dohrn, in *Museion. Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für O. H. Förster* [1960] 71); also Panofka (n. 54) 221 (recognizing the spring); Vinet (n. 58) 53.

⁷⁸ Cf. M. Schmidt, 'Medea und Herakles—zwei tragische Kindmörder' in *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg* (Mainz 1986) ed. E. Böhr and W. Martini, 169–74, documenting a similarly close correspondence in Apulian vase-painting with a mythic tradition known only from Diodoros.

⁷⁹ Fogg Art Museum 60.367, Choephoroi Ptr.; LIMC Aktaion no. 45, p. 458, pl. 353; identified as Gargaphia: G. de Witte, *Boll. dell'Ist. di Corr. Arch.*

(1869) 142–4; followed by M. Bock, *AA* (1935) 497–8; and Kossatz 154–5. Gothenburg, Röhss Museum RKM 13–71, Branca Ptr.; LIMC Aktaion no. 44, p. 459, pl. 353.

⁸⁰ E. Holmberg and I. Wehgartner, *Opusc. Athen* xiv (1982) 45–6 (Semele); Kossatz 155 (Gargaphia); Schauenburg (n. 64) 35 n. 25 ('Ortsnymphen'). Cf. *Ov. met.* iii 157–60; Leach, 323, sees the Pompeian grotto as a break with a traditional use of the rocky arch as a symbol of death (rather than a flexible scenic element), but as C. M. Dawson notes, the grotto-frame for a bathing figure is attested in a late fourth-century mirror; *Romano-Campanian mythological landscape painting* (Rome 1965) 140 and n. 29.

⁸¹ Kossatz 152, followed by Schefold (n. 2) 144.

Such a tale would allow Kallimachos to use Aktaion's essential innocence and the bath's one extenuating detail, its beauty, to suggest Artemis' cruelty.⁸² The missing circumstances surrounding Aktaion's sight would have been not only superfluous, but obfuscatory. For Diodoros, the nonetheless heinous assault upon a goddess' chastity by one who had come to set up a dedication, would make Artemis' punishment 'commendable and just'. Most important, this forbidden vision would also explain the hunter's passage from pious votary to reckless bridegroom. Insanity is the normal consequence of inadvertent 'visual trespass' upon divine images,⁸³ and that the fair goddess's undraped form should drive Aktaion to attempt *theogamia* finds confirmation in Hyginus: 'Actaeon . . . Dianam lauantes specularis est et eam uiolare uoluit' (180).⁸⁴ The *fabula* omits marital intent in favor of the underlying desire, but in the historian's sources the goddess's ablutions could have been transformed by the intruder's madness into the first and most important rite celebrated by the Greek bride.⁸⁵ If he boastfully adduced his ἀκροθίνια to justify his claim, perhaps this rivalry engendered the tradition upheld by Diodoros' other sources and by Euripides.⁸⁶ In any case, Diodoros' puzzling rejection of the ever-popular bath of Artemis becomes the understandable omission of an element that qualifies the hero's guilt and offers no thematic connection with his death. The Naples krater is now fully legible. The spring signifies the sacred place and how it will be profaned. Hermes awaits Aktaion's shade, but for now he defers to Pan.

⁸² On Aktaion's innocence in Kallimachos, McKay (n. 26) 46.

⁸³ Eurypolos the Thessalian (image of Dionysos; Paus. vii 19.6–10); Astrabakos and Alopekos of Sparta (image of Artemis Orthia; Paus. iii 16.6–9). I. D. Rowland discusses visual trespass as an instrument of heroization in 'Hieros Aner' (diss. Bryn Mawr College, Ann Arbor 1980) 59–60; see also J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos* (Heidelberg 1970) 44–5. Other sightings of bathing deities: Erymanthos (of Aphrodite; Ptol. *nov. hist.* 1, in A. Westermann, *Mythographi scriptores poeticae historiae graeci* (Brunswick 1843) 183.10–14; blinded); Siproites (of Artemis; [Nik.] *ap. Anton. Lib. met.* 17.5, Westermann, *Mythographi* 218.3–4; gets sex-change); Kalydon (of Artemis; Derkyllus, *FGrH* 288 F 1; made a rock and a mountain-eponym); as well as Teiresias, by far the most fortunate; *RE* suppl. iv (1924) s.v. 'Epiphanie' 320–1; L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen*² (Baden bei Wien and Leipzig 1938) 52; McKay (n. 26) 46.

⁸⁴ Cf. Leach 311–12: 'Diodorus omits the naked goddess [of Kall.] in favor of Euripides' tale of Acteon's boasting or Hyginus' lust . . .'. *Fab.* 180, together with other Roman evidence, has suggested that by the Augustan period a version was current in which the hunter hides himself at the spring in order to spy upon the goddess; Dawson (n. 80) 118; Otis (n. 5) 398–400; Leach 311–12, 321; Schlam 97, 101, 105–9. Castiglioni, relying mainly upon Ov. *Ibis* 479, *verecundae specularum labra Dianae*, and Nonn. *Dion.* v 287–300 (which has Aktaion climb a tree like Pentheus in the *Bacchae*

[1058–75]) as well as Hyg., argues that such a story emerges in Attic tragedy, with the learned Kall. *Hy.* v, and then Ov. *met.*, presenting an alternative tradition; (n. 26) 76–84. However, *speculari* can mean simply 'catch sight of'; it may suggest that Aktaion spied upon Artemis but not that his sight was premeditated; cf. Castiglioni 78. In Hyg. *specularis est* seems to explain *eam uiolare uoluit*: the rapt spectator becomes a frenzied masher. Consequently, the interpretation proposed here suffices to explain *fab.* 180 and *Ibis* 479.

⁸⁵ *RE* viii 2 (1913) s.v. 'Hochzeit' 2129: 'Die wichtigste Zeremonie war anscheinend das λουτρὸν νυμφικόν . . . Das wichtigere war das Brautbad . . .'. On weddings, E. Diehl, *Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums* (Mainz 1964) 180, 181–6, 192–3, 206; on Artemis and marriage, S. R. Roberts, *The Attic pyxis* (Chicago 1978) 5. The site is appropriate, since the bride must bathe in, or draw her water from, a sacred spring or stream. In Hom. *h. Aphr.* 56–7, a bath in a sanctuary is the prelude to a goddess's amorous encounter with a mortal.

⁸⁶ One could also hypothesize a more concrete, but equally problematic, misuse of the spoils. Fontenrose, (n. 58) 34–5, uses Arnob. iii 4 and Stat. *Theb.* iii 203 to postulate a version in which Aktaion disguises himself as a deer in order to peep undetected, and the first-century gem (n. 2) could reinforce this interpretation, since it shows the intruder not with the proleptic antlers of later representations, but wrapped, it seems, in a deer-skin. Voyeurism would thus lead to erotic madness.

Pan's arrival may represent the arrival of madness and unbridled lust.⁸⁷ Aktaion's antlers will be its wages. The imminent birth of Dionysos is the myth's one consolation.⁸⁸

Two more South Italian vases are best explained by a story like that reconstructed above. On an Apulian amphora in Berlin, the punishment of Aktaion is enframed to the right by Aphrodite and Eros and to the left by Pan and a female figure who could be Gargaphia (PLATES III(a) and (b)).⁸⁹ The *communis opinio* induces Kossatz to dismiss a reference to the bath episode in favor of the ill-starred love for Semele.⁹⁰ Guimond, on the other hand, sees a possible allusion to the Diodoran 'wedding', and even associates Artemis' bath with the erotic offense.⁹¹ However, he considers the crime of marital desire early, with the Berlin amphora, and the bath element later, a Kallimachean alteration. Similarly, Schlam, following Otis, has suggested that Kallimachos' possible antecedent—in any case Hellenistic—created the bath episode 'as a reworking of the crime of sexual assault, attested from the archaic period on', that is in the courtship of Semele and the attempted union with Artemis.⁹² With Artemis' bath not *a priori* Hellenistic, integration rather than accretion most plausibly reconciles its sight with Aktaion's desire.

On a polychrome Campanian pyxis of the early third century, a man appears to abduct a nude woman as a female attendant rushes away to either side (PLATE III(c)).⁹³ Two erotes approach, flying from above left and right. Below, two dogs are preserved; one appears to bite the man's (lost) leg, and the other lunges toward him. Consistently expressed doubts that the pyxis represents the myth of Aktaion have resulted in scholarly neglect of the scene. However, the woman's apparent nudity and the female attendants suggest a bath, the erotes erotic intent, and the two hostile dogs the man's identity.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ On Panic possession, Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, Bibl. Helv. Rom. xvii (1979) 156–75, and esp. 163 and 177–92, on lust; also Mattes (n. 83) 44 on the particular connection with the unexpected sight of a divinity. The Pan Painter's name vase shows the ithyphallic god's pursuit of a shepherd boy—with the death of Aktaion on the reverse; *ARV²* 550.1; *Paralipomena* 386; *LIMC* Aktaion no. 15, p. 456, pl. 348; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen²* (Munich 1980) figs 159–60. A bone relief in the Vatican (ML 1437) shows a shepherd(?) boy molesting a naked nymph(?) as she bathes in a rustic spring sanctuary; behind him a histrionic Pan; R. Herbig, *Pan* (Frankfort 1949) pl. 35.4. The hour of wilderness *panolepsis*, noon, recurs in Kall. *Hy.* v 72–4 (Teiresias) and in *Ov. met.* iii 144 (Aktaion). Borgeaud interprets the Italiote association of Pan with Aktaion as an indication of the hounds' madness (166–7), but this is traditionally Lyssa's role, as on the Gothenburg krater (n. 79), the Berlin amphora (*infra* n. 89), and probably *LIMC* Aktaion no. 48b; *Studies* 187, 228–9; also on Attic vases, *LIMC* Aktaion nos 2, 81, and *cf.* 83 (Hekate). Pan's recurrence, and especially his arrival on the Naples krater, better represents the desire that will possess the hunter as well as a noontime peril encountered in the wilds.

⁸⁸ As it is for Kadmos, Pind. (n. 18); *cf.* the transitions, *Ov. met.* iii 131–7; Apollod. *bibl.* iii 4.4–5.1.

⁸⁹ Berlin, Pergamonmuseum F 3239, Darius

Ptr.; *LIMC* Aktaion no. 88, pl. 358, esp. p. 468; with the rape of Chrysis just above.

⁹⁰ Kossatz 164; similarly, Schauenburg (n. 36) 42.

⁹¹ *LIMC* Aktaion 468, following Kleinknecht (n. 26) 337, who, however, sees eroticism as a post-Kallimachean development. E. Bethe, in *Genethliakon Gottingense* (Halle 1888) 48 n. 2, and Nestle, (n. 54) 251, have also seen in the Diodoran 'wedding' a possibly early tale. For Cirio, (n. 3) 57, boast and attempted marriage both evolve from the Semele story 'attraverso un processo di semplificazione, e forse proprio per l'influenza delle fonti iconografiche'. Schauenburg (n. 36) 31–2, suggests that both bath and desire for Artemis emerge between the Greek and Roman iconographies, and *RE*, (n. 38) 1210, also links Diodoros with later stories of the hero's lust for Artemis.

⁹² Schlam 97 and n. 63.

⁹³ Naples 128525; E. Gabrici, *MonAnt* xxii 2 (1913) 735–9, pl. 120.2; rejected by Schauenburg (n. 36) 29 n. 5; 'incertaine' in *LIMC* Aktaion, no. 129, p. 466.

⁹⁴ *Cf.* the nymph attendants (perhaps the Aeschylean *toxotides*) of certain of the Roman depictions of Artemis' bath, e.g. *LIMC* Aktaion no. 117b, p. 475 and (s.v. 'Aktai') pl. 345; no. 118a, p. 465, pl. 362; and *Ov. met.* iii 165–72 (preparation) and 177–81 (reaction at intrusion). Eroses assist the goddess on the Louvre sarcophagus, *LIMC* Aktaion no. 106, 464, pl. 360.

CONCLUSION

The myth of Aktaion need not be seen as a kernel (the punishment) to which a range of motifs (the crimes) was attached in an order set by two *paradeigmata*. Early Greek poets may have inherited a fully developed tale thenceforth subject to more or less gradual expansion, dismemberment or modification. The formation and literary development of the myth as a whole—offense, punishment and aftermath—deserve systematic re-examination, but this consideration of Aktaion's offense suggests a tentative outline. The tale of the righteous hunter driven by the sight of his bathing mistress to try to make himself her consort is traceable to a spring sacred to Artemis at Plataiai, where Aktaion was a hero archegetes.⁹⁵ The boast is related. Here too deviation from the hunter's ritually enforced deference to Artemis neatly condemns the hero to death as a hunted deer. At some point this claim may even have justified the hunter's connubial presumption, but priority is conjectural.⁹⁶

The expansion of the tale, with the wanderings of Aktaion's dogs and of his father, probably reflects its telling within a genealogical narrative concerned with Aristaios, but its outcome, with the hero reconstituted in effigy for the distraught pack by Cheiron and a sacrifice to the Dog-star instituted by Aristaios, also plays upon a particular ritual matrix linked with Zeus.⁹⁷ Presentation of the wilderness wooing of Artemis in a maternal genealogical context then gave rise to the Theban wooing of Semele when that structure was tightened to create the saga of Kadmos, his four daughters and Dionysos.⁹⁸ Archaic poetry thus knew a matrimonial offense extraneous to Aktaion's cynegetic vocation and death, and primarily concerned not with Artemis but with Zeus as the father of a new god.

Tragic poets seem to have drawn upon all of this lore, though it is impossible to determine how elements were selected, combined and developed. Nonetheless, an important play probably gave the version legible by way of Diodoros in Italiote vase-painting, and echoed in Kallimachos, Apollodoros and Hyginus. This return to the spring could have been prompted by the Plataian hero's role in the Persian debacle.⁹⁹ On the other hand, Ovid embroiders upon a bath of Diana stripped of the ritual pretext and of the desire emphasized by Diodoros, and strong Dionysiac associations persist long after the courtship of Semele becomes a mythographer's curiosity.

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⁹⁵ Plut. *vit. Aristeid.* 11.3–4.

⁹⁶ For example, the bath story could be a local elaboration around an aboriginal notion of hybridic rivalry. Perhaps the boast began with the violent, rock-wielding Aktaion venerated at Orchomenos; his remains too were gathered and a simulacrum fashioned, but to pacify the hero; on the cult, F. Marx, *Berichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse* lviii (1906) 101–23. *Vice versa*, the 'Plataian' tale could be the context from which a primarily ethical, *versus* sacral, transgression is extracted. For Lloyd-Jones (n. 12), both are secondary, the vaunt based on those of Agamemnon and Orion, the bath of Artemis on that seen by Teiresias; conversely, to Radermacher (n. 83) the abundant parallels to the bath espied suggest extreme antiquity, and thus priority.

⁹⁷ Burkert (n. 20) and esp. 109–16, on the cults of Zeus at the Cave of Cheiron and on Keos; on the more specific connection with male initiation, see

also M. Broadbent, *Studies in Greek genealogy* (Leiden 1968) 41–51; Lloyd-Jones (n. 12); *Studies* 75–83. Cf. Casanova (n. 3) 45–6.

⁹⁸ Either one attempted marriage replaced another or the courtship of Semele was introduced as an explanation, with the fatal sight of Artemis arranged by the infuriated Zeus. This process may also account for a second reconstruction, Autonoe's collection of Aktaion's remains (n. 36), followed by her own wanderings (Paus. i 44.5). Adaptation of the canine *coda* to this tradition is legible in the Hesiodic *fr. POxy* 2509 (n. 3); Athena(?) arrives at Cheiron's cave to remove the pack's *lyssa*, making them aware of what they have done, but she also announces the birth of Dionysos, who will be their new master until his godhead is established. Cf. Dodds *Bacchae* 113; 'When Semele became Actaeon's aunt [his courtship of her] was no longer suitable, and he transferred his attentions to Artemis . . .'

⁹⁹ Plut. (n. 95); *Studies* 82–3, 241–2.



(a) Apulian red-figured volute-krater, Naples SA 31. Photo National Archaeological Museum neg. MN/B994.1928.



(b) Apulian red-figured stamnos, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 949. Photo from Kossatz pl. 30.2.

AKTAION AND A LOST 'BATH OF ARTEMIS'



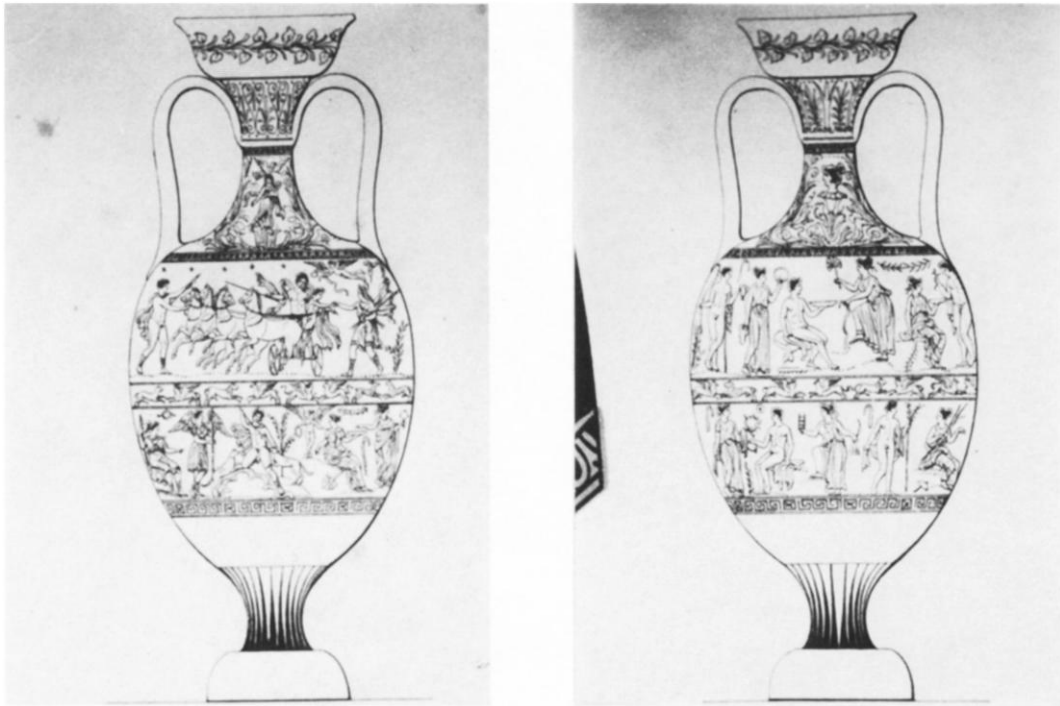
(b) Attic red-figured calyx-krater, Bologna 303.
Photo Musco Civico Archeologico neg.
M114/15147.



(c) Apulian red-figured bell-krater, Gothenburg
RKM 13-71. Photo from Kossatz pl. 31.1.



(a) Apulian red-figured volute-krater, Ruvo
K53 (Sichtermann). D.A.I. Rome. Inst. neg.
64.1198.



(a)

(b)

(a) & (b) Apulian red-figured amphora, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum F 3239. Photos from E. Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin 1845) pl. 6.



(c) Campanian pyxis, Naples 128525. Photo from *MonAnt* 22.2 (1913) pl. 120.2.