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Diana and Actaeon: Metamorphoses of a Myth

LUCIUS, AT THE beginning of Book II of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, meets his aunt Byrrhaena and visits her opulent home. He sees there, in the center of the atrium, a sculptural group situated in a pool. We are given a full rhetorical description of the work (2.4). It represents Diana, vigorously stepping forward, her tunic blown backward, with dogs leaping by her sides. Amid the foliage that covers the rocky cave behind her is the horned head of Actaeon, waiting for the goddess to bathe.

Ekphrases are not infrequent in the *Metamorphoses*, but this is the only one in which the subject is specifically identified as a work of art. Others—such as the account of Venus escorted over the waves by a marine cortege (4.31), or of Isis, envisioned by the Ass in a dream (11.3–4)—clearly describe well-known artistic types extant in numerous examples, but the pleasure of grasping that a work of art is being described is left to the reader to discover. The Diana with Actaeon, on the other hand, specifically identified as statuary, corresponds to no known work of art.

The story of Artemis and Actaeon is widely attested in Greece in both art and literature beginning with the archaic period. The kernel of the story, stable throughout its history, is the transformation of Actaeon into a stag through the agency of Artemis and his being killed by his hounds. There were, however, significant changes in the story over the course of antiquity. That the hunter was destroyed because he gazed on the goddess naked in the bath is first attested in Callimachus, *Hymn V* and later became standard in the Ovidian account. In this version, moreover, Actaeon comes upon the goddess by accident and is destroyed for an innocent trespass. The archaic and classical Greek evidence, on

the other hand, gives no hint of the Bath but presents Actaeon as punished for an act of *hybris*. Apuleius refers to the Bath but makes Actaeon a guilty intruder. The later Greek poet Nonnus gives us the fullest presentation of this version.

I propose here to use the questions raised by the Apuleian ekphrasis as a stepping-stone to an examination of the broad range of ancient literary and artistic treatments of the story. Important studies have been devoted to parts of both traditions, but they are widely scattered and often difficult of access.¹ Moreover, a comprehensive examination may serve, somewhat like a geological cut, to reveal patterns both of continuity and of change. Consideration of some issues in the history of art and literature, and of the interplay among expressions in different media, is essential to this approach, and yet must here be severely limited. Following the fortunes of this pair of figures over the span of historical antiquity can nevertheless be illuminating.

THE OLDER STORIES OF ACTAEON'S DEATH

The story of Actaeon in archaic literature had Artemis carry out vengeance for Zeus, angry at the hunter for trying to make love to Semele. Stesichorus, a lyric poet of the mid-sixth century B.C., is our earliest source for this.² It was included in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, a work put in its final form in the late archaic period, and by Acusilaus, a logographer who paraphrased Hesiodic epic in prose.³ In the archaic version not only was Actaeon transformed

1. *LIMC: Akt* (1981) now provides a catalogue of 140 entries—under some of which a number of related works are grouped—of representations of Actaeon in all media from the whole span of classical antiquity. It includes a major bibliography, and fine plates (indicated here by an asterisk) illustrate over a third of the entries.

The overall plan of the catalogue, however, does not serve to enhance an historical understanding of the iconography. In particular the division of category F, “Châtiment d’Aktaeon et allusions à la nature de la faute,” are largely a reflection of the literary tradition, without acknowledgment of the problems involved in interpreting these monuments. Items 122–25 should not be classed in I, “Ensevelissement et survie.”

There has been interesting speculation on the connections of Actaeon and his family with Near Eastern legends, as well as efforts to place him in a larger structure of hunting myths, but these issues must remain outside our purview here. See, e.g., L. Malten, *Kyrene* (Berlin 1911) 85–93; R. Barnett, “Ancient Oriental Influence on Archaic Greece,” in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to H. Goldman* (Locust Valley, NY 1956) 222–25; R. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician* (Amsterdam 1979) 21, 141; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin 1972) 125–33.

2. Stesichorus, fr. 236 Page, is preserved in Pausanias 9.2.3 (ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, LoebCL 4 [1935]): “Stesichorus of Himera says that the goddess cast a deer-skin round Actaeon to make sure that his hounds would kill him, so as to prevent his taking Semele to wife.” This has sometimes been taken to be evidence of an alternative version in which the hero is disguised rather than transformed and which would be an example of Stesichorus’ rationalization of myth. H. J. Rose, “De Actaeone Stesichorio,” *Mnemosyne* 59 (1931) 431–32, and G. Nagy, “On the Death of Actaeon,” *HSCP* 77 (1973) 189–90, show convincingly that the verb περιβάλλω is to be taken metaphorically as “to transform.” Schefold (1981) 138 suggests that the Stesichorus fragment may be evidence of an early ritual or dramatic enactment of the story.

3. Explicit testimony that the story was included in the *Ehoiai*, or *Catalogue of Women*, is provided by a fragment, *PMich* inv. 1447 verso, published by T. Renner, “A Papyrus Dictionary

into a deer, but madness was said to be imposed on his hounds, that they might devour their master.⁴ The tradition included a catalogue of names of the dogs⁵ and a sequel in which their madness was removed and their future provided for.⁶

Among the several fifth-century tragedies that dramatized the story of

of Metamorphoses," *HSCP* 82 (1978) 277ff., esp. 282–87, including a fine review of the literary treatment of the myth in the early period. Renner translates his reconstruction of the fragment as follows: "Actaeon, the son of Aristaeus and Autonoe, desiring marriage with Semele, . . . his mother's father . . . he was transformed to the appearance of a stag through the design of Artemis and was torn apart by his own dogs, as Hesiod says in the *Catalogue of Women*." This evidence confirms the previously doubted reference, fr. 346 Merkelbach-West¹ (1967). Acusilaus is cited by (Pseudo-) Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.4.4 (ed. and trans. J. Frazer, LoebCL 1 [1921]) as explaining that Actaeon was devoured on Cithaeron by his own dogs "because Zeus was angry at him for wooing Semele."

4. The account in Apollodorus (supra n.3), after giving the Bath as the alternative to Acusilaus' explanation of the death of Actaeon, seems to follow the archaic version: "And they say that the goddess at once transformed him into a deer, and drove mad the fifty dogs in his pack, which devoured him unwittingly." Pausanias, after his report of Stesichorus cited above, comments: "My own view is that without divine interference the hounds of Actaeon were smitten with madness, and so they were sure to tear to pieces without distinction everybody they chanced to meet." This rationalistic criticism implies that in Stesichorus the goddess was said to have imposed madness on the dogs. This supports our understanding of the Apollodorus text as also reflecting an archaic tradition. The poetic fragment preserved in *POxy* 2509 (infra n.6) gives further evidence on this point. After the goddess delivers her prophecy to Charon, "she removes the dread madness from the terrible dogs," which then feel intense grief for their former master.

5. Some ten or eleven hexameter verses dealing with the names of Actaeon's dogs follow the prose summary of the story in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4 (supra n.3). Frazer brackets the passage as probably an interpolation but gives no reason why the author of the *Bibliotheca* should not have quoted a poetic source here, as he does elsewhere. The lines may be quoted from the Hesiodic *Catalogue* or at least be the work of an archaizing poet working closely in that tradition. Cirio (1977) 44–49 provides, with full bibliography, a more unified and intelligible text, and one indeed closer to the manuscript tradition. I append an English translation of Cirio's text:

Now, indeed, surrounding his fair body, like wild beasts
 The dogs tore this mighty one apart; close to his gleaming back comes
 Alkaina first; after her, her mighty brood,
 Lynkeus and Balios, famed for his feet, and Amarynthos,
 If you would give them by name in order,
 So that Actaeon would be killed by the bidding of Zeus.
 The black blood of their master first
 Spartos and Omargos and Bores, swift in passage,
 These first fed on Actaeon and consumed his blood.
 Behind them all the others rushed eagerly.

A fragmentary listing of the names of Actaeon's dogs is preserved in *PMed* inv. 123, published by S. Daris, *Proc. XIIth Intern. Congr. of Papyrology* (Amsterdam 1970) 97–102; see further A. Grilli, "I cani d'Atteone, Igino e il P. Med. inv. 123: la tradizione poetica," *PP* 26 (1971) 354–67, and Cirio (1977) 46. It is a bare listing of names, divided into male and female, which are stated to be twenty-nine and eighteen in number, but only about half of these survive. The listing probably comes from a handbook, though it may reflect even in order, a poetic catalogue, perhaps of a Hellenistic epyllion. All the names would fit the hexameter verse. The names listed are clearly related to the second list preserved, in Latin, in Hyginus 181; see infra n.69.

6. The prose summary in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4 (supra n.3) concludes with a sequel to the hero's death in which Chiron comforts the grief-stricken dogs by showing them a likeness of their former master. Chiron, who had been Actaeon's tutor, and the grieving dogs also appear in some twenty-one lines of hexameters preserved in *POxy* 2509. Lobel first published this as possibly a fragment

Actaeon⁷ was the *Toxotides* by Aeschylus, the title of which refers to the huntress-nymphs, attendants of Artemis, who made up the chorus. We cannot be certain from the surviving scraps of the text⁸ whether the crime of Actaeon in the Aeschylean play was the pursuit of Semele or arrogance directed at Artemis herself.⁹ A tableau of the destruction of the hero would have been presented,

from the *Catalogue*. The Michigan papyrus published by Renner (supra n.3) strengthens the argument for its Hesiodic origin. It gives a fuller picture of the literary sequel going back to the archaic period and reflected in the prose summary of the *Bibliotheca*. In these verses a goddess comes to Chiron and delivers a prophecy that Dionysus will possess for a time the dogs of the murdered Actaeon but that they will later return to Chiron. A. Casanova, "Il mito di Ateone nel Catalogo esiodico," *RFIC* 97 (1969) 31–46, identifies the speaker as Artemis and proposes readings which provide reasonable sense to the passage. Cirio (1977) 46–47 further emended the text slightly; I give a translation of this version:

Quickly she darted through the fruitless air
And came to the large cave where Chiron lived,
Having the nymph, Nais, as a wife who pleased his heart.
Then she spoke winged words to Phillyridas:
Chiron, you yourself know that just as the immortal gods
So will be the glorious son of famous Semele
And aegis-bearing Zeus, Dionysus of great joy,
Who will sometime have pleasure possessing these dogs
On Mount Parnassus. And when the father of gods and men
Leads him to among the race of the gods who exist forever,
The dogs will come back again to this place by themselves
And will be yours forever.

Thus the daughter of great Zeus, the aegis-bearer, spoke,
And took away the mighty madness from the wretched dogs.
And she went then toward Olympus, away from the earth of the wide ways
To among the race of the immortal gods who live forever.
And at once grief for their dead master, Actaeon, seized the dogs,
And they recognized the murder of their lord.
They all filled the cave with barking, and, one after another,
With dust raised by their feet; and all shed hot tears,
Making the place resound with divine lamentation.

Casanova makes the plausible suggestion that Artemis is intervening as Chiron is about to kill the dogs in vengeance. The account in the *Bibliotheca* concerns the last stage of this narrative. We may posit that Dionysus will have enjoyment of these hounds because they were the instrument to avenge an act of hubris against this mother Semele. The narrative would thus conform to the archaic version of Actaeon's fate. It probably belonged to a sequential account of Theban legends, dealing with the daughters of Cadmos and their progeny, in which diverse stories were put in a genealogical structure. Kossatz (1978) 143–45 argues that the story of Actaeon was from its very beginning closely tied to Dionysus.

7. The *Suda* φ 762, I 451, K 1730 records *Actaeon* as the name of plays by Phrynichos, Iophon, and Kleophon.

8. H. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin 1959) fr. 417–24, cf. Séchan (1926) 132–36.

9. In fr. 420–21 Actaeon seems to accuse the chorus of lustful desires. The hero may have been presented as a chaste hunter, for whom we might look to the Euripidean Hippolytus for a comparison. Schefold (1981) 142 maintains that Actaeon's crime in the *Toxotides* was a boast of excelling Artemis in hunting.

H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 134–36, explicates the play as a dramatization of the pursuit of Semele. The inclusion of Zeus on the Boston vase of the Lykaon Painter (36) is taken by Kossatz (1978) 148–49 to be conclusive evidence of this, but it remains speculative. Kossatz argues that the comparable picturing of Apollo on the Louvre volute-krater (34) need not

in accordance with usual practice, in a messenger speech. There was some catalogue of the dogs, for we have the names of four cited as from Aeschylus.¹⁰ The exodos would surely have included lament and burial,¹¹ and perhaps something on the fate of the hounds.

The motif of madness appears to have continued to be important in the dramatic versions of the story. A personified Lyssa is pictured in vase-paintings which probably reflect staged versions,¹² though we cannot know which, or whether she appeared as a character or was merely spoken of.¹³

The word *lyssa*, in origin some kind of lupine rage, and its derivatives came, like the Latin *rabies*, to be applied specifically to the madness of dogs,¹⁴ and as a personification, Lyssa was sometimes imagined as a huntress with a pack of hounds.¹⁵ Such associations must have contributed to her being assigned, in the story of Actaeon, the role of inspiring frenzy in his dogs. Pollux 4.141–42 reports, in a list of special masks, one of Lyssa and one of a horned Actaeon, though we are unable to connect either with a particular play. Actaeon can only have been so presented in a scene in which he reappears after his punishment as a phantom, as he does in the late epic account by Nonnus.¹⁶

Euripides in the *Bacchae* has Cadmos warn Pentheus against hybris by citing the destruction of his other grandson, Actaeon (11.337–40):

You see the miserable fate of Actaeon
Whom the hounds, fed on raw meat, which he had raised
Tore apart in the upland groves, when he boasted
To be better at hunting than Artemis.

It is likely that Euripides is not here coining a new version of the story of Actaeon but, rather, is drawing an existing alternative, in which the hybris of the hunter

exclude the story of Semele, but likewise the presence of Zeus cannot necessitate it. Either divinity may sanction divine punishment without a direct interest in the crime; cf. below p. 91.

10. Fr. 423a = Pollux 5.47. One of these, Harpyia, also appears in *PMed.* inv. 123 and the second list in Hyginus 181, and there seem to be variants or confusion of two of the others. The coincidence of the names does not imply that the Bath may have been part of the plot of this play, as Trendall-Webster (1971) 5 suggest.

11. A messenger going off to Aristaios and Autoñoë, included in a Death of Actaeon on the volute-krater in Paris (34), most likely reflects such a dramatic exodos.

12. Lys(s)a is shown in the Death of Actaeon on an Attic bell-krater in Boston (36) and on two Apulian vases (54). Trendall-Webster (1971) 5 discusses the Boston vase as illustrating the *Toxotides*, but Séchan (1926) 135 notes the need for caution.

13. Aeschylus introduced Lyssa as a stage figure in the *Xantriai*, a play on the death of Pentheus, in which she inspired a demonic frenzy in the Bacchantes, fr. 368 Mette. The ironic role Lyssa plays in Euripides' *Heracles*, in which she argues for moderation, depends for its effectiveness on her having an established stage tradition. On the other hand, Lyssa also occurs as a personification in dramatic speech. Ajax, for example, in an unidentified fragment which may be attributed to an Aeschylean drama, spoke of himself as "driven mad by the bitter goads of Madness": Mette (supra n.8) 124.

14. S.v. in P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1974).

15. The chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae* 977, for example, invoke "the swift hounds of Madness" to sting the daughters of Cadmos into frenzy.

16. Nonnus *Dionysiaca*, ed. and trans. F. Vian and P. Chuin, vol. 2 (Budé, Paris 1976) 103^a.

is directed against the goddess who takes vengeance on him. The name of Actaeon is repeated several times in the play, which serves to reinforce his significance as a precedent.¹⁷ His death, like that of Pentheus, is a *σπαραγμός*, albeit by hounds.

Diodorus Siculus, writing in the late first century B.C., reports, without citing sources, that the reason for Actaeon being torn to pieces by his own dogs “as some people explain it, was that, presuming upon his dedication to Artemis of the first fruits of his hunting, he proposed to consummate marriage with Artemis at the temple of the goddess, but according to others, it was because he represented himself as superior to Artemis in skill as a hunter.”¹⁸

The sexual pursuit of Artemis, a redirection of that of Semele, may go back to the classical period or earlier.¹⁹ It could well have been the subject of the *Toxotides* or of another tragic drama. Boasting of excelling the goddess in hunting seems akin to claiming her as a bride on the basis of the spoils of the hunt, even though Diodorus presents them as contrasting alternatives. Indeed, the boast may be Euripides’ modulation of the assault of Artemis to heighten the analogy between Actaeon and the chaste Hippolytus. Actaeon in archaic and classical literature, despite the variations in the specifics of his crime, is a tragic hero who suffers the consequences of his guilty excess.

THE DEATH OF ACTAEON ON THE MONUMENTS

Numerous works of art from the archaic and classical periods present the figure of Actaeon attacked by hounds, but there are no representations of his crime. Although the hero is sometimes shown at a moment of vigorous struggle, Jacobsthal’s label for this subject, the Death of Actaeon, is still useful. Artemis the Huntress, the avenging deity, is often included.

Some six black-figured vases present, with minor variations, a single artistic type of Actaeon attacked by hounds. The earliest is an Attic cup²⁰ (Fig. 1), now lost, dated to before the middle of the sixth century B.C. It shows a mature and fully bearded Actaeon in a typically archaic bent-knee running pose. Seven dogs are pictured, placed around the figure in a pattern which seems to have been designed to fill such a circular field inside a cup.²¹ It became a pattern regularly used in the archaic period and occasionally afterward. On four black-

17. Eur. *Bacch.* 230 (possibly interpolated); 1227, 1291.

18. Diodorus Siculus 4.81.4, ed. and trans. C. H. Oldfather (LoebCL 3 [1939]).

19. While the pursuit of Artemis, in the light of new evidence, cannot be attributed to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, there may still be some force in the suggestion, made by E. R. Dodds in his commentary to Euripides’ *Bacchae* (Oxford 1943) 108, that the love of Artemis was an alternative conceived because the genealogical organization of Theban myths made Semele Actaeon’s aunt. Incest had no part in this story.

20. *Cat.* 1; Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 2 = Lenormant and De Witte, *Elite des monuments céramiques* (Paris 1844–61) II, pl. 103c = here, Fig. 1. The drawing given in *Cat.* 1 is mistakenly taken from Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 3 = *Cat.* 2*.

21. Cf. T. B. L. Webster, “Tondo Composition in Greek Art,” *JHS* 59 (1939) 103–23.

figured lekythoi this scene is flanked by two fully draped female figures, who face the action with outstretched arms but have no identifying features.²² On archaic red-figured vases, however, the female figure stepping toward the action is clearly marked by her attributes as Artemis, and the transformation of the hero comes to be suggested visually by a deer-skin and/or stag's horns.²³

The death of Actaeon appears on some eleven red-figured Attic vases, which extend in time from the late archaic period to the third quarter of the fifth century.²⁴ They well illustrate the extraordinary artistic development of the early decades of the fifth century. In what is probably the earliest, a figurative scene on the neck of a red-figured amphora by the Eucharides Painter (dated to the first decade of the fifth century and now in Hamburg),²⁵ Artemis, stepping from the left, holds a bow in her extended left hand. The body of Actaeon, fallen onto both knees, is shown largely from the front. Actaeon is wearing a deer-skin—rather like Heracles wearing a lion-skin—draped and tied over his shoulders, a feature that will appear on some other vases and on the metope from Selinus. This visual conception may be connected with Stesichorus' statement that "the goddess threw a deer-skin around Actaeon," but neither should be interpreted as evidence of a distinctive version of the story. If the pictorial scheme is derived from portrayal of a hunter, it is adapted here as a means of narrating the metamorphosis of the hero.

Fragments of a volute-krater, one of at least two representations of the Death of Actaeon by the Pan Painter, have been recovered from the Acropolis in Athens.²⁶ The Pan Painter, "a backward-looking genius,"²⁷ drew much upon established archaic types, but redrew them with new elegance and startling dramatic effect. The volute-krater, an early work of this master, presents Artemis on the right and Actaeon on the left, the reverse of the pattern in the previous examples. Such reversals are common in all media throughout antiquity²⁸ and are variations within the same stable scheme. Here the figures are stepping away from the center, holding their heads turned back to face each other. Artemis,

22. *Cat.* 2*, 3*, 4, 5.

23. A black-figured alabastron, *Cat.* 6*, Athens NM12767, that shows Artemis with a bow and quiver is later in date, ca. 470–60 B.C., than the archaic red-figured vases decorated with the Death of Actaeon. A fragmentary black-figured kothon in Würzburg, H5356, *Cat.* 33a, dated to ca. 490 B.C., shows a sketched figure of Actaeon, not running but in a seated pose, encircled by dogs. No Artemis is shown. E. Simon, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz 1975) 135, interprets dark markings on Actaeon's chest and belly as fur, indicating metamorphosis. The fragments do not allow us to tell whether he was shown as horned.

24. Attic red-figured vases presenting the Death of Actaeon, roughly in chronological order: *Cat.* 27*, 29, 30*, 26*, 15*, 28, 16*, 81*, 83a*, 8, 17.

25. *Cat.* 27*; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1966.34; H. Hoffman, *JbHamb* 12 (1967) 9–34; J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 347.

26. *Cat.* 26*; Athens, NM Ak. 760; *ARV²* 522, 20; Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 9; Caskey (1954) 47–48; J. D. Beazley, *The Pan Painter* (Mainz 1974) 7, pl. 12.2.

27. M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva 1959) 120.

28. C. C. Vermeule III, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Ann Arbor 1977) 3–5.

with her right arm held straight out from the shoulder, points toward the hero. Actaeon is on a rocky incline, an indication of the landscape of Cithairon, which comes to be a regular feature of this scene. He is past the point of struggle. His arms are outstretched, the left passing below that of Artemis in the center of the picture. With his left hand he makes a gesture of appeal. The two figures are thus interrelated both emotionally and in visual design, a suggestion, perhaps, of an erotic element in the story.²⁹ Actaeon is wearing a deer-skin, but in a style unparalleled in representations of this subject. It is fitted around his torso like a closed shirt with long sleeves. Its hornless head encloses his own. Jacobsthal aptly suggests that it reflects a stage costume.

A bell-krater in Boston,³⁰ the name-piece of the Pan Painter and a work of his maturity (dated to ca. 470 B.C.), presents the Death of Actaeon with even more expressive refinement (Fig. 2). The overall composition is close to that on the amphora in Hamburg. Artemis, on the left, is, as in the earlier piece in Athens, stepping away from the action, with her head and torso turned back toward Actaeon. Her character as the huntress is emphasized by the deer-skin she wears over her garments and the quiver visible above her shoulder. She aims her bow and arrow at Actaeon, who has fallen to his knees and is surrounded by four dogs. She is scarcely to be thought of as shooting him, but the action presents her dramatically as the bringer of death, the divine agent of the dogs' attack. Actaeon is shown in taut helplessness. His face is young and beardless, as it seems to be also on the earlier piece by this painter. Actaeon is usually pictured either in flight or fighting against the dogs. The Pan Painter has modified the traditional forms to create a powerful image of the hero at the moment of death.

From the fifty years between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars there survive an abundance of terra-cotta Melian reliefs, cast in molds. They are square plaques, ca. 20 cm x 20 cm, and some have holes so that they could be hung as wall decorations. Three basic types of these reliefs present the Death of Actaeon, extant in some half dozen examples.

The earliest, a beautiful work in the late archaic style (Fig. 3),³¹ shows Actaeon, on the left, kneeling. He appears vigorous, though there is no strong visual expression of struggle. The Artemis, holding a bow downward in her

29. Schefold (1981) 139.

30. *Cat.* 15*, Boston, MFA 10.185 (here Fig. 2); *ARV²* 550.1; Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 10; Caskey (1954) 45–48, pl. 47–49; Beazley (supra n.26) 1–2, pl. 1, 3. *Cat.* 28, a kalpis in Padua, is reported to be attributed to the Pan Painter and dated to ca. 470 B.C., but has not yet been fully published. It is mentioned without comment by Schauenburg (1969) 29n.2.

31. The major study of Melian reliefs is Jacobsthal (1931). J. W. Graham, "The Ransom of Hector on a New Melian Relief," *AJP* 62 (1958) 313–19, provides an illuminating discussion of the genre and a demonstration of how such plaques were used.

These are three examples of the earliest type: *Cat.* 18a, Naples, MusNaz, Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 24, Taf. 13; *Cat.* 18b, Dresden, Museum Albertinum, Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 25; *Cat.* 18c*, Paris, Louvre 4447 (here Fig. 3), Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 26, Taf. 14, from the Coll. Compagna, as cited by Cirio (1977) 58.

relaxed left hand, recalls the figures of the goddess on the earlier krater of the Pan Painter, though the relief shows her in less elegant garb.

The later two types, like the works of the Pan Painter, portray Actaeon dying, rather than in active combat against his dogs. On the second type, of which we have only a single example,³² rather poorly preserved, Actaeon lies fallen, attacked by three dogs. The most unusual feature of this relief is that the upper portion of the head of Actaeon has the shape, eyes, and ears of a deer. Of the latest type of Melian relief of Actaeon we have two copies, but both are fragmentary.³³ The overall composition resembles the second type, reversed. The copy in London shows, as token of his transformation, branching antlers sprouting from Actaeon's forehead and a deer's tail at the base of his spine. On the fragment in Athens, although cast from the same mold, these animal features have been cut away.

We have no direct evidence of Greek mural painting that portrayed the death of Actaeon. On some vases, however, of the third quarter of the fifth century and later, the scene is of an enlarged scope and stylistic character that may reflect monumental painting. A red-figured volute-krater now in the Louvre,³⁴ a work of the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs and dated to ca. 450 B.C., presents several unusual features. Even the placement of the figurative decoration on the vase is distinctive, for it runs in a fairly narrow band rather like a frieze, around the top of the belly of the pot (Fig. 4). On one side is the story of Actaeon, on the other a well-spaced series of five men and women, unrelated to the narrative scene. The narrative painting, while somewhat awkwardly drawn, presents an extended group of characters, with indications of varying depths of space. In the center Actaeon is shown falling backward in a running position, attacked by two dogs. Rocks, pictured behind his body, are an indication of the landscape. A third dog, behind Actaeon's right leg, quietly follows a figure to the right, away from the action. To the left of Actaeon, Artemis is shown in a chariot drawn by a pair of dappled hinds, tilted at an angle to the base line, as if the goddess were driving into the scene. At the left end Apollo calmly looks out over the scene. Between the two divinities there is a representation of the omphalos designating the shrine at Delphi.

To the right of the principal action a figure of a messenger, in boots and a cap, rushes off, with his right arm stretched out toward the old man and seated woman, Aristaios and Autoñoë, who close the representation at the right. The artist would be thus painting, in a form of continuous narrative, three stages (reading from the left): Apollo at the shrine at Delphi; Artemis overseeing from her chariot the attack of the dogs on Actaeon at Mount Cith-

32. *Cat.* 76*, Reggio, Museo Civico. from Locri; Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 60, Taf. 27.

33. *Cat.* 40; London, BritMus B375, Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 97, Taf. 56; Athens, NM 5906; Jacobsthal (1931) Nr. 98, Taf. 43. *Cat.* 39*, Athens, NM from Thasos, is a variant of this third type, of inferior workmanship; P. Jacobsthal, *JHS* 59 (1939) 65-66, pl. VIIa.

34. *Cat.* 16*, Paris, Louvre CA 3482 (here Fig. 4); *ARV*² 613.3; P. Devambez, *Mon Piot* 55 (1967) 77-104, pl. III and fig. 6; Schauenburg (1969) Abb. 1, 3.

airon; and the messenger bringing the woeful news to the parents at Thebes. It seems unlikely that this elaborate sequence would have been worked out simply as a vase-painting. The forms of the decorative frieze and handling of space, Devambez argues convincingly, point to a mural painting as a model. Such expanded treatment of the story also reflects the literary versions, which, both in archaic poetry and in tragedy, included some sequel to the death of the hero. The inclusion of a messenger bearing news to his parents suggests a dramatic treatment of the story. Apollo's support of his sister in punishing Actaeon reinforces the theme of Olympian justice, which was surely part of such a tragedy. It need not mean that he was a character in the action.

A Boeotian black-figured pyxis in Athens,³⁵ dated to not more than a decade earlier, also portrays a sequel to Actaeon's death and may further reflect the literary treatment of the story. It represents, not the attack of the dogs, but the burial of the hero. The corpse, laid out prone in the center of the picture, is attended by two women. The old man on the far right, who may be identified as Cadmos, is preceded by a younger man with a petasus, perhaps a shepherd who reported the catastrophe. Ahead of them, a draped woman holding a lekythos may represent Autoñoë. Between the two additional attendants at the right of the corpse, there are three dogs seated on a rocky eminence. Their presence identifies the burial as that of Actaeon.

A bell-krater in Boston by the Lykaon Painter,³⁶ dated to ca. 440 B.C., also presents the death of Actaeon with an extended cast. The likelihood that it reflects a dramatic version of the story is supported by the name Euaion, inscribed above the figure of Actaeon. Euaion, as known from other vases, was the son of Aeschylus and a celebrated actor.³⁷ The painting is focused on Actaeon, pictured at a moment of fierce struggle, with a pair of spears raised in his right hand. Actaeon's head has the ears of a deer, short horns rising straight from his forehead, and painted markings of fur. This is the earliest vase-painting in which the metamorphosis of Actaeon is indicated with sprouting horns, comparable to the approximately contemporary images on the later types of Melian reliefs.

Artemis the Huntress, with her bow and quiver, stands to the right, a calm figure holding a torch. To the left, a female figure inscribed *Lysa*³⁸ steps, with arms extended, toward the central action. Her sleeved garment and boots suggest a stage figure.³⁹ The image of Madness gives clear emphasis to her close connection with hounds, for a small head of a dog is shown emerging from the top of

35. *Cat.* 121*, Athens, NM 3554, Jacobsthal (1929) 21, Abb. 31.

36. *Cat.* 81*, Boston, MFA 00.346; *ARV*³ 1045.7; Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 12; Caskey (1954) 83–85, pl. 62; J. Henle, *Greek Myths: A Vase Painter's Notebook* (Bloomington 1973) 40–42. A fragment of calyx-krater Oxford 289 presents part of a free replica of the picture by the same artist; *ARV*² 1046.11, *CVA* Oxford 1, pl. 25.6.

37. Trendall-Webster (1971) 4–5; Kossatz (1978) 147.

38. The Ionic form of the inscription, rather than the Attic *Lyssa*, suggests a written work of, perhaps, a mythographer, more than a direct dramatic source; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Heracles*² (Berlin 1895) II, 123.

39. Trendall-Webster (1971) 5.

her head. Behind Lys(s)a, closing the scene on the left, is the figure of Zeus, calmly surveying the action. His inclusion in a picture of Actaeon's death is almost unique,⁴⁰ but it is striking that his pose is very close to that of Apollo on the krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (34), filling an identical place in the overall design. They may both reflect the same monumental painting. Either Zeus or Apollo could well accord with a fifth-century tragic vision of Nemesis visiting a man of excess. The artist may have chosen to alter the figure to represent one or the other, but we have no grounds for establishing priority, or that the fresco was at Delphi, or that either god was a character in any particular play.

The standard archaic scheme in which Artemis presides over Actaeon attacked by his dogs appears on a famous metope from temple E at Selinus,⁴¹ a work of the second quarter of the fifth century. The goddess, standing calmly to the left with her arms relaxed, originally held a bow, at attachment made of other materials. The center and right of the panel are filled with Actaeon, attacked by three hounds. He is shown standing, as distinct from the earlier vase-paintings in which he is running or kneeling. His right hand, held over his head, grasps a sword-handle to which a metal blade would have been attached.

This metope was no doubt part of a general scheme of decoration, as on other temples, but its nature is now obscure.⁴² In general, the art of the early classical period brings out a contrast both visually, between quiet and animation, and ethically, between the violence of human excess and a divinely imposed order. Even within this metope the calm of the goddess is juxtaposed to the strain of Actaeon's struggle.

The portrayal of Actaeon dying, as by the Pan Painter and on the later Melian reliefs, does not persist on later monuments. It is the standing type seen on the Selinuntine metope that by the Roman period becomes standard for the Death of Actaeon. Such a figure was probably also the subject of free-standing sculpture.⁴³ Four Roman copies have been traced back to an original of the mid fifth century.⁴⁴ A similar image of Actaeon appears on Sicilian relief bowls⁴⁵

40. A fragment of an Agrigentine relief vessel (45) may include Zeus in a representation of the Death of Actaeon.

41. *Cat.* 31*, Palermo, MusNaz; E. Langlotz, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily* (New York 1965) 280-81; M. Santangelo, *Selinunte*, trans. G. Railsback (Rome 1953) 34.

42. W. Fuchs, *RM* 63 (1956) 102-21, develops a view of the scheme based on a speculative reconstruction of a metope of the Moirai, which he would place between the one of Zeus and Hera and that of Artemis and Actaeon.

43. Fr. Willemsen, "Aktaionbilder," *JDAI* 71 (1956) 29-58, is the fullest study of the statues of Actaeon. He makes a major, if not completely successful, attempt to classify all the classical representations into several figurative types. Pausanias 9.38.5 records seeing a bronze statue of Actaeon, set up by the Orchomenians, to which yearly sacrifice was made.

44. *Cat.* 9a*, Paris, Louvre; *Cat.* 9b, Izmir, Asariat Muzesi 45; *Cat.* 9c, Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino 1869; *Cat.* 9d*, Florence, Boboli torso.

45. Of fragments of Sicilian relief bowls presenting the Death of Actaeon, *Cat.* 77, the oldest piece, shows just Actaeon attacked by two dogs. *Cat.* 34*, Copenhagen, from Agrigento, N. Breiten-

of the late fifth century and a small bronze relief⁴⁶ of ca. 400 B.C., probably of Peloponnesian origin. A number of marble statuettes give us evidence of a more dramatic Hellenistic version, probably of the third century.⁴⁷ In these sculptures the hunter is standing braced for combat, usually against two dogs, with a weapon raised in one hand. The sculptural Actaeon and the attacking dogs may have been set together with a statue of Artemis the Huntress to form a group.

Polygnotus, in his famous mid-fifth-century painting of the Underworld in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, described for us by Pausanias, included Actaeon seated beside his mother. This is not, of course, a Death of Actaeon, but there were clear references to the story:⁴⁸

Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, together with the mother of Actaeon; they hold in their hands a young deer, and are sitting on a deer's skin. A hunting dog lies stretched out beside them, an allusion to Actaeon's mode of life and to the manner of his death.

The mural included many heroes and heroines, some punished for great crimes, but many with quite different stories. Pausanias' description does not allow us to understand the principles of their selection or arrangement.

One of the four hunters pictured on a bell-krater by the Dinos Painter, ca. 420 B.C., is inscribed with the name Actaeon.⁴⁹ He is pictured seated calmly, but a dog shown below may be an allusion to his story. Two southern Italian vases also present Actaeon as a calm seated figure, in these cases with a friendly dog beside him.⁵⁰ The head of the hunter, however, bears horns, and the pictures include the figure of Artemis. These vases strengthen the suggestion of Walters that the seated figure with a dog on the reverse of a Lucanian Nestoris in London be identified as Actaeon.⁵¹

This London Nestoris by the Dolon Painter is perhaps the earliest of a dozen

stein, *ActaA* 16 (1945) 140–43, fig. 61, presents Actaeon attacked by dogs with two figures to the right. The seated male may be identified as Zeus. The female figure with billowing drapery standing behind him was identified by Breitenstein as Lyssa. It is unlike, however, known types for Madness, and Kossatz (1978) 160 argues that she is Semele, uniquely preserved here in a representation of the Death of Actaeon. The figure may, however, be, not a persona in the story, but a visual balance to the standing Artemis who closes the scene on the left. The Artemis is preserved on a second exemplar, a smaller fragment from Gela, Jacobsthal (1929) Abb. 16, Breitenstein fig. 62.

46. *Cat.* 35*, Munich, inv. 4309.

47. *Cat.* 36*, Rome, MusNazRom (Terme) 115171; *Cat.* 37, Stockholm, Carl Milles Collection; *Cat.* 38*, London, BritMus.

48. Pausanias 10.30.5, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones (supra n.2).

49. *Cat.* 122, New York, Coll. Bastis; *ARV*² 1154: D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York 1961) no. 230, pl. 86. The others are inscribed with the names Theseus, Tydeus, and Castor. Guimond, *Cat.* 122, interprets the scene as a conversation in the afterlife.

50. *Cat.* 111, 112.

51. *Cat.* 48a*; H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Vases* IV, 90; Lenormant and De Witte (supra n. 20) II, pl. 103.

southern Italian vases from the fourth century B.C. that present the Death of Actaeon.⁵² The metope from Selinus and fragments of relief pottery show us that this subject was treated earlier in the art of Magna Graeca. A number of the Attic vases we have considered had been exported to the west. The southern Italian vases, while they exhibit a clear continuity in conception of the scene and in artistic type, evidence characteristic stylistic differences and often make the scene part of a more elaborate figurative decoration. Many give indication of landscape, and there is often included a figure of Pan, who can be readily associated with woodlands and hunting.

The significance of theater for southern Italian vase-painting is brought out by the inclusion of Lyssa in several representations of the Death of Actaeon, though in a type different from the figure of Madness on the Lykaon vase in Boston (36). On an Apulian bell-krater in Göteborg a familiar type of Fury, with snakes in her hair and holding out a torch and animal-skin, urging on the dogs, should be identified as Lyssa.⁵³ On an Apulian amphora in Berlin Lyssa is shown as a winged female, to the left of Actaeon,⁵⁴ in the position and pose of Artemis on the London Nestoris. Here, Artemis is shown seated behind Lyssa, closing the scene on the left. To the right are the figures of Eros and Aphrodite. This is the clearest suggestion we find in art of the classical period that the crime of Actaeon was one of sexual passion. The vase provides no evidence, however, as to whether he pursued Semele or Artemis herself. A figure of a woman, turning away but pointing back at the action, closes the scene on the right.

An alternative version of the crime of Actaeon is suggested by an Apulian volute-krater in Naples,⁵⁵ which portrays him slaying a hind, a scene outside the established iconography of the Death of Actaeon. This can best be interpreted as occasioning his hybristic boast of excelling the goddess in hunting. The curb of a spring pictured below sets the action in open landscape, probably of Mount Cithairon. Large antlers identify the figure as Actaeon and suggest his punishment, but no dogs are pictured. The figures of Artemis, Hermes, and a satyr frame the action.

Actaeon with his dogs is part of the Etruscan repertory, and they appear in various media.⁵⁶ While the iconographic continuity allows us to name the figure thus, many of the works give no indication of struggle and appear to use the design in a purely decorative manner. Only one, a Faliscan oinochoe of the

52. *Cat.* 44–51, 83b*, 88*, 126, 127.

53. *Cat.* 44*; Göteborg, Rohsska Konstslodmuseet; A. D. Trendall, *JbBerlMus* 12 (1970) 188; Leach (1981) 323, pl. 137, 2.

54. *Cat.* 88*; Berlin F. 3239; Schauenberg (1969) Abb. 9, 10. Fragments of an oinochoe, *Cat.* 48b, Boston MFA 03.839, include a female figure in a short chiton who can be identified as Lyssa.

55. *Cat.* 110*, Naples MusNaz SA 31; T. Dohrn, "Antike Flussgötter," *Mouseion, Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für O. H. Forster* (Köln 1960) 69–72. An older interpretation, that this vase-painting illustrated an alternative story in which Actaeon slew a sacred deer at an altar, has been disproved by Dohrn's identification of the spring.

56. *Cat.* 10, 11*, 19–23, 32*, 33*, 52–54*, 124*.

late fourth or early third century,⁵⁷ includes Artemis. A scarab with an untraditional rendering of a youth and a dog bears the inscription ATAIUM.⁵⁸

Expansions and variations on the Death of Actaeon, such as we have encountered in art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., do not continue in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. From the classical representations there emerges a type of the standing hunter, marked with horns, braced in combat against attacking dogs. This remains a stable type abundantly represented throughout subsequent antiquity. When Actaeon is shown with Artemis, it is the Huntress, fully clothed and bearing weapons, who presides in the Death of Actaeon.

THE BATH

That Actaeon was transformed and killed because he came by chance upon Artemis bathing appears first in Callimachus' *Hymn V*, the Bath of Pallas.⁵⁹ The speaker of the *Hymn* is unidentified but is presumably a priest or priestess officiating at a festival of Athena in Argos. At the outset the goddess is summoned to approach and the women who attend her bath are urged to carry out their preparations quickly. A warning is given that no one not specially allowed should view the goddess bathing, lest he be deprived of his sight. The official had earlier proclaimed that he had heard the whinnying of Athena's horses and the creaking of the axle of her chariot, but there is a long delay, for the goddess attends first, as always, to the proper washing of her team. The speaker in the meantime tells the mythos of Teiresias blinded upon seeing Athena bathe, which illustrates his warning. Within this narrative, lines 107–118 are given to the story of the death of Actaeon, told by Athena to comfort Chariclo, the grieving mother of Teiresias. Stress is put on the great grief of Autoñoë, Actaeon's mother, who will envy Chariclo the milder punishment of her son. While the nature of Actaeon's offense is new, the mourning of his mother is a motif that belonged to the older Greek tradition. The mythos concludes with Athena's promise to reward Teiresias by making him a mighty seer who will be honored even among the dead. After this long narrative, the hymn closes with the arrival of Athena, hailed with prayers and jubilation.

Hymn V, as Wilamowitz has shown,⁶⁰ is related to a festival of Athena, known, if only barely so, to have been celebrated at Argos: τὰ ἐνδυμάτια, the Festival of Robing. The ritual probably corresponded to the Attic Πλυντήρια, in which a statue of Athena was washed and given fresh robes. In Athens the old

57. *Cat.* 33*, Rome, Villa Giulia inv. 1601; M. Moretti, *Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia* (Rome 1962) 168–69.

58. *Cat.* 124*, Boston MFA 98.730; P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz 1968) Nr. 341.

59. The text and an English translation are included in the study of *Hymn V* by K. J. McKay, *The Poet at Play—Kallimachus: The Bath of Pallas*, *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 6 (1962). An important earlier study is H. Kleinknecht, *Hermes* 74 (1939) 230–50, reprinted in *WdF* 296, *Kallimachos*, ed. A. Skiadas (Darmstadt 1975) 207–275.

60. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin 1924) 2, 23.

wooden statue, enshrined in the Erectheum, was escorted in solemn procession to the sea. In Argos the statue was taken to the river Inachus (1.49–51). There were special taboos against any male intruder seeing the goddess *en déshabillé*. The hymn gives, however, no primeval myth conforming to any theory of ties between myth and ritual, but is a sophisticated play on the established ceremonies. The poet tells, not of a procession bearing a statue to the river, but of the epiphany of the goddess, coming in a chariot to the temple for her bath.

The official introduces the narrative with the statement that the mythos is not his own but others': μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμὸς ἀλλ' ἐτέρων (1.56). This is generally taken as an acknowledgment by Callimachus of an ancient source, identified elsewhere as Pherekydes of Athens, a mythographer of the early fifth century. The prevailing view is that the Alexandrian poet follows his source fairly closely for the story of Teiresias but has reshaped the story of Actaeon to fit this context. The evidence for Pherekydes' version is, however, late and lacunose: a report in (Pseudo-) Apollodorus 3.6.7 and the Townleian Scholiast on *Odyssey* 10.493.⁶¹ The ascription to Pherekydes in these sources is, I suggest, merely a response to Callimachus' statement that it is a story of others.

Wilamowitz argued that Pherekydes, whom he accepted as the source for the blinding of Teiresias, had formed this story on the model of the tale of Actaeon. Scholars have since rejected this interpretation on the grounds that the story of Actaeon seeing Artemis bathe cannot be shown to be earlier than Callimachus. This criticism does not, however, weaken the force of Wilamowitz's observations on the Callimachean text. Uncharacteristic motifs are given to both Athena and Teiresias. The attachment for Chariclo (1.57–67) seems to befit Artemis more than Athena. The goddess takes the nymph as her constant companion in her chariot, and she finds the talk and dances of the nymphs delightful only when Chariclo leads them. Only here does Teiresias range on a mountain with his hounds and come thirsty to a spring at high noon. These features are better suited to Actaeon, the hunter and devotee of the goddess of the hunt.

I think we have here a Hellenistic recasting of both legends, in the creation of which, as Wilamowitz's observations suggest, the story of Artemis and Actaeon had a primary role. The recasting was quite possibly done by Callimachus himself. The statement that the story is not his own, if it is to be applied to the poet rather than the speaker, may be merely a topos ironically emphasizing the contrary. Even if Callimachus did not invent this version of the story of Actaeon, it can be securely regarded as a Hellenistic creation, for there is no hint of it in the abundant tradition of the preceding centuries. The Bath becomes the standard cause for the death of Actaeon in subsequent art and literature.

In Callimachus, Actaeon violates a taboo in all innocence. He is a companion of Artemis, but their shared racing and casting of arrows in the mountains will not save him when, although he does not wish it (οὐκ ἐθέλων περ), he sees

61. McKay (supra n.59) 26.

the lovely bath of the goddess (5.113). In some later versions of the Bath, however, both literary and visual, Actaeon is presented as a willful intruder. It is probable that there was at least one Hellenistic epyllion that told the story of Actaeon more fully than Callimachus does. It is likely that it included a catalogue of the dogs and some sequel, parts of both the earlier and later tradition.⁶² It may have presented the Bath as a reworking of the crime of sexual assault, attested from the archaic period on.⁶³ The parallel to Pentheus, emphasized by Euripides, may have influenced the characterization of Actaeon as a voyeur.

Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses* 3.138–252, gives a full account of the Callimachean story of the Bath.⁶⁴ In conformity, however, with the archaic and mythographic tradition, Ovid tells the fate of Actaeon in a Theban cycle built around Cadmus and his descendants. The harshness of divine vengeance is an important organizing motif in this section of the *Metamorphoses*. After the story of Actaeon, Ovid tells how Juno plotted to destroy Semele. He then weaves in an account of Juno's blinding of Teiresias. That a sharp contrast to Callimachus *Hymn V* is intended is suggested by its closeness to the Actaeon story.

Several descriptive passages in the Ovidian account reflect the pictorial schemes established by the Augustan period and can be identified as ekphrases. The scene of the bath is an *antrum nemorale*, with a stone arch artfully shaped by nature (157–62).⁶⁵ Here a flowing spring spreads into a pool girded by a grassy bank. The representations of the Bath fit this description well. The goddess is here attended by nymphs, as we see on the mosaics.⁶⁶ Most of the representations long post-date the poet, but they derive from an earlier scheme. The influence of Ovid's account on artistic representations can be clearly identified only in post-classical art.⁶⁷

The lines describing the transformation (194–97) also recall, in part, the monuments. The goddess puts horns of a deer on his head, lengthens his neck, makes his ears peaked, and covers his body with a dappled skin. The poet includes the change of his arms and legs and emphasizes the completeness of his transformation: the new stag sees his horns reflected in the water (200). This motif is shared with some monuments of Actaeon but also recurs in Ovidian

62. On fragments possibly from such a Hellenistic epyllion see above nn. 5, 6.

63. Otis (1966) 367–71.

64. F. Bomer, *P. Ovidius Naso Metamorphosen, Kommentar, Buch I–III* (Heidelberg 1969) 487–514; Otis (1966) 132–37.

65. Bomer (supra n.64) labels the preceding lines 143–54 an ekphrasis of Actaeon at the hunt, but this must be taken in a looser sense of the term. The action is placed on a mountain, but there is no visualization of the scene. The lines describe the noontime and the decision to stop hunting.

66. Two nymphs are usual on the monuments. Otis (1966) 134 maintains that Ovid's details of the duties of ten nymphs suggests a Roman *matrona* at her toilet.

67. The gesture of the goddess, for example, scattering water as a means of effecting Actaeon's transformation is a visual detail that appears in Titian's *Diana and Actaeon*, in Edinburgh; cf. M. Tanner, *Art Bulletin* 56 (1977) 535–50. Ovid's description of this act may, however, be his interpretation of the artistic image of the hand of the goddess raised in surprise.

accounts of other metamorphoses.⁶⁸ The account of Actaeon attacked by the dogs, one of whom latches onto his shoulder (232–33), seems to reflect the artistic pattern of encirclement. Here, however, the loss of human limbs precludes the traditional fight.

The literary traditions provided an abundance of motifs out of which the poet has chosen to elaborate some and omit others. A catalogue of the dogs was a feature of both archaic and Hellenistic accounts.⁶⁹ Ovid ironically closes twenty lines giving the names of the dogs with the remark *quosque referre mora est* (225). He had earlier given another, briefer, listing, one of names of the nymphs attending Diana at the bath. We have no parallel for this. It could be either an adaptation of or a play upon a traditional topos.

The traditional site for the action was Mount Cithairon. Ovid specifies the locale of the Bath as the valley of Gargaphie, near Plataea.⁷⁰ That the encounter was at the noontime break in hunting, both by the goddess and the mortal, while not explicit in Callimachus, is strongly suggested by the parallel to Athena and Teiresias. The innocence of Actaeon's trespass, mentioned by Callimachus, is given repeated emphasis by Ovid.⁷¹ There is similar repeated mention of the transformed Actaeon's lack of human voice, a distinctive Ovidian feature of the passage.⁷²

Ovid omits all of the traditional sequel to the death of the hero. In place of mourning by his parents or divine care for the fate of his dogs, the pathos of the hero's death is enhanced by his huntsmen calling for him and regretting his absence from the kill. The stag's last thoughts on his inability to speak are in response to their words. The sequel to his death in Ovid is the statement that reports over the justice of Diana's vengeance differed, which the poet uses as a link to the story of Juno's cruel pursuit of Semele.

With the spread of the Bath story in the Hellenistic period, a new artistic conception was developed. This second subject centers on the nude figure of Artemis in a pool, sometimes in the company of nymphs. Only the bust of Actaeon appears in this scheme, peering down over the rocks at the goddess.

Our earliest example, a Greek gem dated to the first century B.C.,⁷³ shows

68. A reflection of Actaeon is represented on two mosaics (94.4 and 5) and on a figured glass bowl (104). It is emphasized in the Apuleian ekphrasis. The motif appears in Ovid *Met.* 1.670, 15.565.

69. Hyginus 181 gives two independent lists of the names of Actaeon's dogs. The first is clearly related to the poetic catalogue in the Ovidian account, 1.206–25. The second is in the tradition of the Greek listing we have in *PMed* inv. 123 (supra n.5). In the text of Hyginus as it has been handed down, both lists have been garbled; see C. Gallovotti, *BPEC* 17 (1969) 81–91; A. Grilli, *PP* 26 (1971) 354–67.

70. While not on Cithairon, this spring was not too distant, perhaps, from the viewpoint of a Roman poet.

71. Lines 141–43, 175–76.

72. Lines 192–93, 201–02, 229–31, 237–39.

73. *Cat.* 115a*; Berlin, inv. FG 6435; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* II (Berlin 1969) 371, Taf. 66; Blome (1977) 43.

Artemis from the back, standing nude before a wall of rock. A half-figure of Actaeon, wearing a deer-skin with its horns fitted over his head, looks down at her from above the rocks. This general conception, of Hellenistic origin, persists over the centuries of the Roman empire in different media, though handled freely with considerable variation in style and in detail of the poses of the figures.

Of Roman narrative painting from Campania, those of Diana and Actaeon are the most numerous; twenty-one examples are known.⁷⁴ Four present the death of Actaeon as their sole subject, of which three include the clothed figure of Diana the huntress.⁷⁵ Representations of the Bath predominate. It is the sole subject of five paintings⁷⁶ but is most often combined with a second figure of Actaeon attacked by his hounds,⁷⁷ in the form of continuous narrative, expressing successive events of the story (e.g., Fig. 5).

Among the frescoes presenting the Bath we can distinguish two principal formats. Four works in the third style place the subject in a spacious sacral-idyllic landscape.⁷⁸ The sources of this setting, while not beyond controversy,

74. Leach (1981) is a recent, important, and well-illustrated study of these monuments. Her n.26, pp. 312–13, gives a full listing with bibliography and I follow her enumeration. For convenience I give below brief identifications, including a few corrections and additions:

1. Casa del Frutteto, I 9, 5, *Cat.* 95*
2. Casa del Menandro, I 10, 4; Leach (1981) Taf. 132, 1, *Cat.* 84
3. Casa di Venere in Bikini, I 11, 7
4. Casa di Loreio Tiburtino, II 2, 2–5; *Cat.* 98
5. Casa di Loreio Tiburtino, Dawson (1944) no. 76; *Cat.* 98
6. Casa degli Epigrammi, V 1, 18, Schefold (1957) 65
7. Casa di Sallustio, VI 2, 4 (here Fig. 5); *Cat.* 94a; Leach (1981) Taf. 137.1 is a detail
8. VI, 13, 19; *Cat.* 114b
9. Casa degli Amorini dorati, VI 16,7; *Cat.* 114d
10. Casa della Caccia antica, VII 4, 48; *Cat.* 114a
11. VII 7, 19, Schefold (1957) 195
12. Casa del Marinatio, VII 15, 2, Schefold (1957) 206
13. Casa di Championner, VIII 2, 1
14. Casa di Epidio Sabino, IX 1, 22; *Cat.* 93
15. Domus T. Dentati Pantherae, IX 2, 16; *Cat.* 90
16. IX 6?
17. IX 7, 12, Dawson (1944) no. 8, pl. 2; *Cat.* 114c
18. IX 7, 16, Dawson (1944) no. 5, pl. 1; *Cat.* 96*
19. Casa di Fabio Rufo
20. Naples Mus. 9413; *Cat.* 113
21. Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, Herculaneum; *Cat.* 94b

Of these we must omit from further consideration nos. 16 and 17, about which we have only vague and uncertain information.

75. 74.2, 15, and 20 show Actaeon attacked and Diana the Huntress in three different formats. Of the fourth, 74.13, we have only the report that it showed Actaeon attacked by hounds in an architectural landscape; Schefold (1951) 210.

76. 74.8, 9, 10, 18, 19.

77. 74.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 21.

78. 74.1, 11, 12, 14. Leach (1981), in a detailed analysis of these works, shows how the conception of landscape in them develops from the earliest Actaeon fresco, 74.20, in the late second style, presenting the Death of Actaeon, in which the figures are shown on opposite sides of a *baetylus*.

seem to be Alexandrian.⁷⁹ The characteristic setting in examples in the fourth style, in which the proportionately larger figures dominate, is a massive grotto with a natural stone arch.⁸⁰ The goddess stands or, more often, kneels in a pool in front of this grotto, and a half-figure of Actaeon appears above the rocks.

As Leach maintains, the diversity among the panels is too great to reconstruct from them one or two models, as has been done for pictures of some other subjects. There is, however, a certain stability in the general scheme both for the Death of Actaeon and for the Bath. In the repeated patterns we can see, I believe, alternative elements passed down in the tradition.

At least two frescoes show the nude goddess standing in the pose of the *Venus pudica*, comparable to that on the earlier gem presenting the Bath.⁸¹ In nine cases Diana appears crouching or kneeling, in a range of variations of the Doidalsos type, viewed from various angles.⁸² In some of both the standing and crouching figures one hand is raised toward Actaeon.

The presentation of Actaeon as he looks on the goddess also varies. In two of the third-style sacral-idyllic landscapes,⁸³ this Actaeon is positioned in the rocky hillside above the goddess. In the fresco from the Casa di Epidio Sabino (74.14), however, Actaeon the viewer is placed in a fountain house, marked with a statue as sacred to the goddess and from which the water for her bath descends. This has been aptly interpreted by Leach as presenting Actaeon as a waiting spy rather than as an accidental intruder. Furthermore, this is the only picture presenting a second Diana, the fully robed and armed Huntress, as well as a second Actaeon attacked by his hounds. In six of the representations of the goddess bathing before a grotto, the viewing hunter is positioned above the

79. Cf. P. H. von Blanckenhagen, *RM* 70 (1963) 135–46 and *RM* 75 (1968) 135–36; Blome (1977).

80. 74.3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 21. The grotto setting appears only once in a third-style fresco (74.18). Leach argues that Ovid's poetic description of the scene gave rise to this visual conception and there is, certainly, a clear correspondence between the poet's account and the pictures of the grotto. The arch design, however, also appears on mosaics and the sarcophagus relief presenting the Bath. This correspondence between Ovid and the monuments may well reflect a shared Hellenistic tradition.

81. The fresco 74.9 shows the goddess in the same pose as the gem (73), but from the front. 74.5 also has a standing Diana, seen from the rear but standing somewhat straighter. This variation in the pose may be due to the relatively tall and narrow area being decorated. The examples from the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino, 74.4 and 5, are unusual in that in each case Diana bathing, pictured alone, and Actaeon attacked are in separate panels. The former pair flanked, on the outside, the entrance to a sacellum of Isis; the latter are on either side of a fountain on the lower level of a building at the juncture of the two canals in the garden.

82. 74.3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 14, 18, 21. In 74.19 the bathing Diana is crouching, but in a different, more rounded pose. The description of 74.11 does not permit us to identify the pose of Diana or to determine whether this Bath scene included the viewing Actaeon.

On the statue of the bathing Aphrodite as a crouching figure, perhaps created by Doidalsas in the third century B.C., see M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955) 82–83. R. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (Munich 1954) 89, discusses representations of the bathing Artemis adapted from it.

83. 74.1, 12.

stone arch.⁸⁴ This Actaeon is usually shown as a half-figure. A work from Pompeii (74.8), however, presents him as a complete figure, stepping over the rocks, while on a fresco from the Casa di Fabio Rufo (74.19) all we see of him is a leering, satyr-like face. In both these cases there are no attributes identifying the narrative, but the conformity to the general scheme is perhaps sufficient.

The viewing Actaeon in the fresco from the Casa del Frutteto (74.1) has one hand raised to his brow, shielding his eyes. This gesture of *apokopein*, which appears also in the later work from the Casa di Sallustio (74.7, Fig. 5), marks the hunter as guilty of an intentional crime.⁸⁵ In other cases the raised hand expresses the surprise of an innocent trespasser,⁸⁶ the version known from Callimachus and Ovid.

Both the Bath and the Death of Actaeon continue to be subjects of Roman art throughout the period and extent of the empire.⁸⁷ A garland sarcophagus in the Louvre,⁸⁸ of Trajanic or Hadrianic date, is decorated with four figurative scenes. On its face, to the right, is the scene of Diana, in the Doidalsos pose, bathing; a horned bust of Actaeon, his hand raised in surprise, looks down from the upper right. The scene to the left shows Actaeon attacked by two dogs. On the left end of the sarcophagus is a scene of two women laying out a corpse and, on the right end, one of two men tending dogs, traditional scenes adapted here to the story of Actaeon.⁸⁹ Blome has shown that the landscape elements included in all four scenes reflect an Alexandrian sacral-ityllic tradition, of which there was a notable revival at this period.⁹⁰

The Bath scene on the Louvre sarcophagus includes figures other than the two principals. The crouching goddess is attended by two putti. One, standing to the right, pours water from an urn. The second, kneeling to the left, holds a conch. Water flows down into the shell from an urn on which a river god rests, in the upper left of the scene, balancing the bust of Actaeon in the upper right. Pairs of trees frame the scene on each side, which together with the representation of rocks form an arching pattern around the goddess and the putti. The design

84. 74.7, 8, 9, 10, 19, and 21. The three other Bath scenes before a grotto, 74.3.4, and 5, do not include a spying Actaeon.

85. I. Jucker, *Der Gestus des Apokopein* (Zurich 1956), traces the history of this gesture; on Actaeon see pp. 89–90; cf. Blome (1977) 75. Jucker wrote before the discovery of 74.1. He includes a panel from the Casa de Loreio Tiburtino (74.4), but the hand of the figure there is not raised above his brow.

86. 74.9, 12 and, perhaps, 8 and 21. In 74.18 Actaeon uses the raised hand to support himself against the rock.

87. In addition to the monuments discussed below, representations of Actaeon are found on numerous gems and lamps from the imperial period: *Cat.* 12b, 24*, 25, 56–58, 119; 14, 69–71, 80, 128a.

88. *Cat.* 106*, Paris, Louvre, Sarcophagus 459; Etienne (1953) pl. 3, 2, 10; Blome (1977).

89. Although the burial of Actaeon is represented on a black-figured pyxis (35), and both mourning over his death and tending of his dogs were part of the Greek literary tradition, there is no evidence of an iconographic tradition for these scenes.

90. Blome (1977) 45.

of this scene, with its additional figures, has parallels on other monuments of the empire presenting the Bath, on mosaics from Africa and the East and on reliefs in Italy and the northern European provinces. While none of the Roman frescoes shows these additional figures, the diversity of monuments that do suggests that they were part of an Alexandrian artistic tradition presenting the Bath. A fragment in the Vatican, the left corner of a sarcophagus relief, has a standing nymph holding some drapery with which to cover the goddess.⁹¹ A bust of Actaeon, with a fluttering chalmys and pedum above, over the rocks, makes clear the subject of the piece.

A now regular type of Actaeon, in a braced stance attacked by two hounds, occurs on Roman mosaics, without any representation of the punishing goddess.⁹² The Bath is portrayed on some half-dozen mosaics, five in North Africa and one in Syria, dated to from the third to perhaps the early fifth century.⁹³ These preserve the general scheme we have seen in the earlier paintings and sarcophagus relief. They show the goddess nude, kneeling or crouching in a pool before a rocky arch with indications of landscape, and a head or bust of Actaeon looking down at her. A medallion, one of four placed in a decorative field, from the caldarium of the Great Baths at Thae-nae (94.5), is limited to the two principals.⁹⁴ As in fourth-style frescoes, the goddess is large in the scale of the picture. Kneeling, she shields her pudenda with her left hand and raises her right toward the

91. *Cat.* 116c; Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti 329. *Cat.* 116e, a sarcophagus relief in Ostia, shows only Actaeon peering at a kneeling Diana.

92. *Cat.* 72, 73*, 82, 85. S. Reinach, *RPGR* 52, no. 8 (? = *Cat.* 78), is a drawing of a mosaic from Pompeii of Actaeon, kneeling on a rock and raising a pedum above his head, being attacked by two dogs. The figure is shown with a full stag's head. Since this is not a feature on any other classical Roman representation, it seems likely that the drawing is in error, and perhaps of a fragmentary work; cf. *infra* n.109.

A mosaic in Antioch of the mid-fifth century includes Actaeon fighting a brown bear as one of an inscribed series of hunters; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947) 338, pl. 78b; cf. *supra* n.49.

93. The mosaics are as follows:

1. *Cat.* 117d, Volubilis, Maison de Vénus; Dunbabin (1978) 277, no. 2.

2. *Cat.* 117e, Volubilis, Maison du Bain des Nymphes; Dunbabin (1978) 277, no. 8.

3. *Cat.* 117b, Chaba-Philippopolis, in Musée de Souweida; J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels 1977) 20–23; J. Lassus, "La transmission des schémas dans la peinture antique et chrétienne," *Atti del Conv. Intern. sul Tema: Tardo-antico e Altomedioevo* (Rome, Accad. Naz. dei Lincei 1968, Quaderno no. 105) 91–98, pl. 6.

4. *Cat.* 117c, Timgad (here Fig. 6); F. G. de Pachtère, *Inv. Mos.* III (Paris 1911) no. 133; Dunbabin (1978) 275, no. 2.

5. *Cat.* 117a*, Tunis, Bardo Mus. A293; from Thae-nae; P. Gauckler, *Inv. Mos.* II (Paris 1910) no. 18; Etienne (1953) pl. 5, 1; Dunbabin (1978) 273.

6. *Cat.* 117f, Tunis, private coll., from Oudna; A. Merlin, *Inv. Mos.* II *Supplement* (Paris 1915) 445a; no photograph has, to my knowledge, been published.

94. The unpublished mosaic from Oudna (93.6) is probably similarly limited. A second medallion in the mosaic from Thae-nae (93.5), which is placed symmetrically to that of the Bath, has sometimes been taken as a representation of the Death of Actaeon; Etienne (1953) pl. 82. It shows a nude male fallen to his knees, a pose not unlike that of Actaeon on some Greek vases but not attested in the Roman period. There are no dogs nor is the figure horned, and there are indications of water. The figure is probably to be identified as Narcissus looking in a pool, as it is in the *Inv. Mos.* and by Rebuffat (1965) 194.

intruder.⁹⁵ The horned head of Actaeon, placed directly above the center of the stone arch, is reflected in the water below.

Four mosaics (93.1, 2, 3, 4) present the bath in a scene expanded to include nymphs flanking the central figure of the crouching goddess. Despite the stylistic diversity among them, they provide clear evidence of stability in an artistic design transmitted over long time and distance. These four are elaborate emblemata, major scenic compositions, perhaps imported, placed within a more ordinary decorative setting of local workmanship.

Two mosaics from Volubilis (93.1. and 2), probably from the first half of the third century, are variant actualizations of the same model or cartoon.⁹⁶ The mosaic from the *Maison du Bain des Nymphes* has the bust of Actaeon above the rocks, which is largely lost in the example from the *Maison de Vénus*. The latter has the central figure of the goddess, seen from the rear in a kneeling pose, which is lost in the *Bain des Nymphes* mosaic. In both we see the nymph on the left, standing before a fountain-house marked by a statue of Pegasus on a high pedestal.⁹⁷ The nymph, who turns her head in surprise, is holding out some sort of drapery. A second nymph, seated on the right, seems to be unlacing her sandal. These attendant nymphs, not shown in the frescoes of the bath, were probably part of the Alexandrian tradition, reflected in the Ovidian catalogue and pictured on some sarcophagi and other reliefs.

A mosaic emblem of the mid third century, found at Chaba-Philippopolis in Syria (93.3), presents the bath in a comparable, expanded design, but the style is more Hellenistic and the names of the figures are inscribed. The goddess, crouching in the *Doidalsos* pose, raises her right arm toward Actaeon, who peers over the arching rocks, on the left. As before, one nymph stands to the left and a second sits on the right. The left figure, half-draped and resting her arm on an urn from which water flows, represents the spring. There are no indications of architecture. The nymph seated to the right guards the bow and quiver of the goddess.⁹⁸ In the upper right of the rocky landscape there are two female figures, inscribed AKTE,⁹⁹ the mountains. A deer is pictured in the lower right.

A mosaic found at Timgad (93.4, Fig. 6), dated to the later fourth or early

95. The three-quarters frontal view and the arrangement of the arms do not correspond precisely with the figure of the goddess on any of the frescoes, but more closely with that on the Syrian mosaic (93.3).

96. Rebuffat (1965) 198. The model may have been damaged or incomplete and, in any case, left the colors and some details open to the choice and resources of the compositor.

97. The fountain-house in the fresco from Pompeii IX, 1, 22, within which the spying Actaeon is placed, is also identified by a statue on a high pedestal, one of a deer. None of these statues, however, allows us, despite Etienne (1953) 354–55, to identify a specific spring. Helicon is mentioned only by Callimachus, *Hymn* 5.71, as the place of the Bath of Pallas. The Corinthian legend of an Actaeon, a youth torn apart by a drunken lover, gives no support for identifying the spring as Pirene; cf. A. Andrews, “The Corinthian Actaeon and Pheidon of Argos,” *CQ* 43 (1949) 70–78.

Corresponding to the Pegasus-fountain are the nymph to the left on the mosaics 94.3 and 4, and the god on the Louvre sarcophagus, all pictured with an urn from which water flows.

98. The inscription NYMΦAI, below the right figure, designates both. In the sarcophagus relief they are replaced by putti.

99. For ἀκταί.

fifth century, shows the same scheme of composition as the Syrian mosaic, though different in style and without the deer or the mountain nymphs.¹⁰⁰ The kneeling Diana holds out her right hand into the stream of water. The half-draped water nymph on the left, whose head and shoulders are lost, is very similar to the equivalent figure on the Syrian example. The nymph to the left, however, is pictured standing, holding a conch, into which a second stream of water descends and by which it is redirected into the pool. The lines of water reinforce the arching design composed, like that on the Louvre sarcophagus, of trees on the left and rocks above. The name of the artist, Selius, is inscribed at the top.¹⁰¹ Much of the head of Actaeon in the upper left is destroyed, but bits of an ear, hair, and chlamys are visible. Moreover, a reflection of his face, with antlers, in the pool is shown at the bottom of the scene.¹⁰² A similar reflection of Actaeon's antlered head is shown in the bath scene on a beautiful figured glass bowl in the British Museum.¹⁰³

Numerous stone reliefs further attest to the popularity of Actaeon as a subject in Roman art. Thirteen of these present just Actaeon attacked by his hounds, six just the Bath, while four pair or combine the two moments in the manner of some of the fresco paintings.¹⁰⁴ Several of the representations of the Bath include nymphs in the patterns we have seen in the mosaics. Two examples show a half-draped female, with her legs crossed and her bent arm resting on an urn, placed to the left of the goddess¹⁰⁵—the same figurative type as in the mosaics from Chaba and Timgad. Three reliefs show a nymph holding drapery with which to cover the exposed goddess, in varying types but recalling the motif on the sarcophagus fragment in the Vatican and on the Volubilis mosaics.¹⁰⁶

100. The depiction of the bodies is closer to the other African mosaics, and the treatment of the water is more schematic; cf. Balty (supra n.93).

101. He would be the artist who created the work, not necessarily the compositor of the specific mosaic. S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad* (Paris 1969) 21-22, observed that the name is not otherwise attested in Africa and that the work may have been imported from the East. Dunbabin (1978) 28⁶² thinks it more likely that Selius was brought to Timgad.

102. Etienne (1953) n.6 suggests that such a reflection may have been included in a now lost portion of 93.2.

103. *Cat.* 109a*, London, BritMus Slade 320, found in a Germanic grave at Leuna. Fragments of a companion piece by the same craftsman, decorated with the Death of Actaeon, were found at Dura-Europus: *Cat.* 109b. These pieces were probably made in Alexandria or Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

104. Roman stone reliefs presenting Actaeon attacked by dogs: *Cat.* 59*-65; presenting the Bath: *Cat.* 116a*-f; presenting both the Bath and Actaeon attacked: *Cat.* 100*-102, 105. Krüger (1929) is an important study of the northern monuments of the late Roman period that represent Actaeon. Its initial focus was a base, probably of a funeral monument, in Luxembourg, carved on three faces: *Cat.* 131a. The central relief, which shows three female figures around a basin, was interpreted by Krüger as The Bath of Diana, from which the bust of Actaeon had been deliberately chipped away. It is, however, unlike any other representation of the Bath and is probably a representation of the birth of Telephos; see W. Wilhelm, *Pierres sculptées et inscriptions de l'époque romaine: Catalogue, Musée d'Histoire et d'Art* (Luxembourg 1974) no. 281, pls. pp. 124-25.

105. *Cat.* 116a*, 100*.

106. *Cat.* 102; *Cat.* 116d, Etienne (1953) pl. 6, 2; *Cat.* 116e.

Sixteen reliefs are from the provinces north of the Alps, where many representations in other media have also been found.¹⁰⁷ Krüger has argued that the popularity of Actaeon in these areas reflects an identification of him with the Celtic Cernunnos, who is also represented as a horned male.¹⁰⁸ The rare late representations of Actaeon with a full stag's head may be a product of such syncretism.¹⁰⁹

APULEIUS AND NONNUS

Metamorphoses 2.4 is a fine example of Apuleian Latin style. In exuberant and polished phrases the novelist describes the atrium of Lucius' rich aunt Byrrhaena, a nice piece of evidence for interior decoration in the Antonine age. In each corner, mounted on a pillar, is a statue of winged victory, poised on a globe. In the center, there is a large group sculpture of Parian marble. It is of Diana vigorously stepping forward, her tunic blown backward, with dogs leaping at her sides. A rocky cave behind is covered with foliage, flowers, and fruit, and the whole is situated in a pool of water. As often in ancient ekphrases, the realism of the work is given emphasis. Were barking heard while you looked at the work, you would think it came from those dogs. The fruit appeared only to need ripening before being plucked to eat. If the water below rippled, you would suppose the fruit did not even lack motion.

Only the closing sentence of the passage describes Actaeon, extending his head in a curious glance (*curioso optutu*) toward the goddess; the Latin runs on in strikingly Apuleian style: *iam in cervum ferinus* (already bestial, in the form of a stag) *et in saxo simul in fonte loturam Dianam opperiens visitur* (he is seen both in the stone and in the water, waiting for Diana to bathe). The pun of *in fonte loturam* cannot be caught in English, since the ablative phrase, joined with *in saxo*, must be taken with *visitur* and refer to the reflection of Actaeon in the water. The animal transformation and the *curiosus optutus* provide clear thematic linkage to the surrounding context. The statue is one of a series of

107. For example metal relief, *Cat.* 13, 86, 118*; lamps, *Cat.* 69–71, 80; Gaulish terra sigillata, *Cat.* 75, 83, 87, 91, 92.

108. On Cernunnos see P. Bober, *AJA* 55 (1951) 13–51.

109. In classical Greek art the head of Actaeon is sometimes given some animal features in addition to horns, as on the vases by the Lykaon Painter, and is almost fully transformed on one of the Melian reliefs. Generally, however, he is portrayed with heroic, human features, and this is standard in Roman art.

A bronze statuette of Actaeon, with a stag's head, attacked by a dog (found at Etzhorn and now in Oldenburg, *Cat.* 137) is probably of Gallic workmanship; I. Jucker, *Der Gestus des Aposkopen* (Zurich 1956) 90²⁵. The bronze statuette in Trier, *Cat.* 139, of a standing figure in a sleeved, belted garment, whose head is animal-shaped and has branching antlers, being attacked by a dog on each side, has been shown to be a modern work; H. Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen in Deutschland II, Trier* (Mainz 1966) Nr. 318, Taf. 97. It may, however, have been modeled on an authentic find; cf. Krüger (1929) n.3, 106¹⁴. The dubious drawing of a mosaic from Pompeii with a stag's head (92) may reflect the reports of these statuettes. Representations of Actaeon with a stag's head are not uncommon in post-classical art; cf. E. Beilefeld, *Antike und Abendland* 14 (1968) 41–51.

implied warnings against curiosity, which Lucius ignores. To Byrrhena's final explicit admonition that he beware the witchcraft of his host's wife, he responds with aroused eagerness and determination to encounter magic.¹¹⁰

Apuleius is not describing a known type of Diana and Actaeon but is combining figures from two distinct artistic schemes. There is not here a pairing or repetition as in the examples of continuous narrative. The figure of Diana vigorously stepping forward, her tunic blown backward, with dogs leaping at her sides, is a well-attested type, probably going back to a fourth-century original, given greater movement in the Hellenistic period.¹¹¹ Such statues of the goddess, without any allusion to Actaeon, were popular in the second century of our era. A beautiful example was found in Tripoli (Fig. 7),¹¹² the Roman Oea, where Apuleius lived for a while, married, and was brought to trial. The figure of the armed Huntress was part of the Greek iconography for the Death of Actaeon and continued to be shown, if only occasionally, in Roman representations of the hunter being killed by his dogs.¹¹³ The Actaeon, however, as described in the ekphrasis—the horned visage peering over the rocks and reflected in the water—belongs to the artistic tradition of the Bath.

There could, of course, have been a sculptural work that combined these types, but the absence of any trace of such in the abundant tradition of the monuments makes it unlikely. Apuleius, on the other hand, is a master of contamination. In numerous stories we find the author has interpolated material to shape them to his own narrative purposes.¹¹⁴ The sculpture he describes is, I suggest, such an Apuleian creation. A traditional representation of Diana the Huntress is described with rhetorical artistry. A head of Actaeon from a different artistic tradition has been added to provide suitable links to the surrounding narrative.

To have Actaeon spy on the striding figure of a clothed Diana makes less sense visually. We are told, however, that he is waiting for her to bathe (*loturam Dianam opperiens*). Although in the standard Ovidian literary narrative it is by chance that the hunter encounters the goddess bathing, in the archaic and classical Greek tradition Actaeon was guilty of an intentional assault on the divine, one version of which was the erotic pursuit of Artemis herself. This guilt of the hero may have been tied to his viewing the goddess bathing in a Hellenistic

110. On the theme of curiosity in Apuleius' work see C. Schlam, *CJ* 64 (1968) 120–25; J. Tatum, *Apuleius and the Golden Ass* (Ithaca 1979) s.v. in index; R. Th. van der Paardt, "Various Aspects of Narrative Technique in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," in *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, ed. B. L. Hijmans, Jr., and R. Th. van der Paardt (Groningen 1978) 80–83.

The attempts to identify the Diana here with Isis, the saving goddess in the *Metamorphoses*, are open to serious question; see J. Gwyn Griffiths, in the *Aspects* volume cited, p. 141. The panels outside the Isiac sacellum in the Casa di Loreio Tiburtino (74.4), cited, for example, by A. Scobie, *Aspects*, pp. 51, 60⁷³, do not support this identification.

111. M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York 1977) 71–78.

112. Tripoli, MusArch, DAI neg. 61.1722 (here Fig. 7).

113. E.g., 74.14, 15.

114. Cf. B. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley 1967) 236–82.

version of which we have no literary evidence. The artistic tradition of the Bath, however, presents both alternatives. Actaeon is sometimes shown with his hand raised in surprise and in other cases with his hand over his brow in a gesture of spying. Apuleius chooses to give an intentional thrust to the curiosity of Actaeon and thus makes it more closely parallel to Lucius' willful drive to encounter magic, an illicit assault on the divine.

The guilt of Actaeon is basic to the last and longest ancient literary version of the story of Actaeon. It is told by the Greek poet Nonnus of Panopolis in upper Egypt, writing in the fifth century of our era, in his *Dionysiaca*.¹¹⁵ Nonnus composed his work in forty-eight books of strict and polished hexameters, to match the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined. The overall arrangement of material reflects the genre of encomium. The first twelve books tell of the family, birth, and childhood of Dionysus. Included in this part is the story of Actaeon, who, like Dionysus, is a grandson of Cadmos. The central sections tell of the battles of the god against the Indians. The concluding books recount his triumphal return.

Dionysus is a cult savior, wreaking havoc on the world-order to which he brings his saving gifts. The god is presented as a reincarnation of Zagreus, the son of Zeus and Persephone who was destroyed by the machinations of Hera. The work concludes with the birth of the mystic Inachus, a third Dionysus. These themes are played against something of a science-fiction war of the worlds, in which human life is an endless series of transformations. Both the erotic and the violent are much in evidence, as entertainment, doctrine, or some of each. Like the late Greek novelists, Nonnus uses classical materials in thoroughly unclassical ways.

Actaeon, according to Nonnus, accompanied Dionysus on the Indian campaign, and he takes part in the funeral games in Book 37. The story of Actaeon's death, however, is taken out of chronological order and told in book 5. It thus provides a chiasmic pendant, near the beginning of the work, for the death of Pentheus, another grandson of Cadmos, told in two of the closing books.¹¹⁶

Nonnus devotes some 260 lines to the death of Actaeon. He begins with a traditional picture of the hunter devoted to Artemis, but then describes him maddened with desire for the goddess. The portrait of the lover is in the Hellenistic manner, but we know of no model for its application to Actaeon. In order to spy on the goddess bathing, the hunter, like Pentheus, climbs a tree. He is then observed, transformed, and killed.

115. Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 5.287–551; the Vian and Chiun edition (supra n.16) includes a very full introduction and analysis of book 5. The text and English translation by W. H. D. Rouse are available in vol. 1 of the LoebCL edition (Cambridge, Mass. 1940). On the structure of the work see B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzähltaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfort 1977), and W. Fauth, *Eidos Poikilon: zu Thematik der Metamorphose und zum Prinzip der Wandlung aus dem Gegensatz in dem Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis, Hypomnemata 66* (Göttingen 1981).

116. J. Winkler, "In Pursuit of Nymphs" (diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1974) 126.

More than half the account is now given to the sequel: Autoño's vain search for her son's corpse; the appearance of Actaeon's ghost to his sleeping father; then a renewed search and burial. While neither Callimachus nor Ovid provides such a sequel, there is evidence that it was part of the older Greek poetic tradition.

The long speech of the mangled corpse to Aristaeus, full of literary echoes, is a characteristic Nonnian creation. The speech provides a full rehearsal of the crime of Actaeon. In the first account, in the poet's own voice, the passion of the voyeur is emphasized: he is "the insatiable viewer of the goddess not to be viewed" (5.305): θηητήρ δ' ἀκόρητος ἀθηήτοιο θεαίνης. This theme is elaborated in the ghost's narrative, with a fuller treatment of the dazzling beauty of the goddess's naked body in the water (475–88).

Both these aspects, the insatiable voyeur and the sensuous bather, are important elements in many other places in the *Dionysiaca*. The story of Actaeon seems to have provided Nonnus with a prototype for what John Winkler has termed *sexual ekphrases*.¹¹⁷ In the work as a whole there are some twenty-three descriptions of a passionate voyeur. The Artemis and Actaeon is the first of five major scenes of a nude female bathing, and a male observer (in the other cases, a god), struck with desire. There are also variations: Dionysus as passionate viewer of Ampelos, while the youth swims beside him, in book 11, and in book 48, Artemis, again in the bath, watched by the young huntress Aura, who dares to disparage her beauty. She mocks the goddess as too womanly. Aura then, made drunk by Dionysus, is made the mother of Inachus.

D'Ippolito suggests that these Nonnian scenes of bathing reflect late antique hydromimes,¹¹⁸ in which the water provided scarce cover for the display of naked flesh. Lucian mentions the story of Actaeon as among the subjects of dance.¹¹⁹ The Bath was, of course, well established in this story. Both Nonnus and the hydromimes, however, extended the situation to other stories, in which it had had no part in earlier versions.

Nonnus provides the only extant version in which the erotic desire of Actaeon for Artemis is fully and openly treated. In this and other bathing scenes, Nonnus poetically exploits the antithesis of blazing beauty and hot desire to the coolness of the water. The water is connected with overarching themes of the work. The god fights with fire against great rivers, in the manner of *Iliad* 21. He transforms water into wine, both as an engine of war and seduction and as a saving gift to humankind. The *Dionysiaca* is an intriguing work of, perhaps, the last poet of pagan antiquity. In it he provides the final ancient metamorphosis of Actaeon.

It is important to recognize both stability and change in the story of Actaeon. Its foundation is the death of a hunter through the agency of the Mistress of Animals. Our earliest literary evidence points to the pursuit of Semele as his

117. Winkler (supra n.116) 68; Winkler's first chapter, pp. 1–69, is a perceptive literary study of voyeurism in Nonnus' epic.

118. G. D'Ippolito, "Draconzio, Nonno e gli Idromimi," *Atene e Roma* n.s. 7 (1962) 1–14.

119. Lucian *De saltatione* 41; cf. *Cat.* 123.

crime, but the emphasis throughout the archaic and classical periods is on the destruction of the hero by his hounds. It is only in the Hellenistic period that the crime of Actaeon became that of seeing Artemis naked in the bath, and the tradition is divided between treating this as an innocent trespass and an intentional pursuit. The Death of Actaeon continues to be narrated and represented, but in both art and literature the violation comes to hold the central position. At each stage the literary and visual treatments of the story can only be fully understood in relationship to each other, and creativity cannot be assigned to any one place in the tradition. The Death and the Bath became types, endlessly referred to and reproduced, often with no special skill or meaning. We find greater writers and artists, however, selecting from the tradition, altering and enriching the stable types for their individual purposes.¹²⁰

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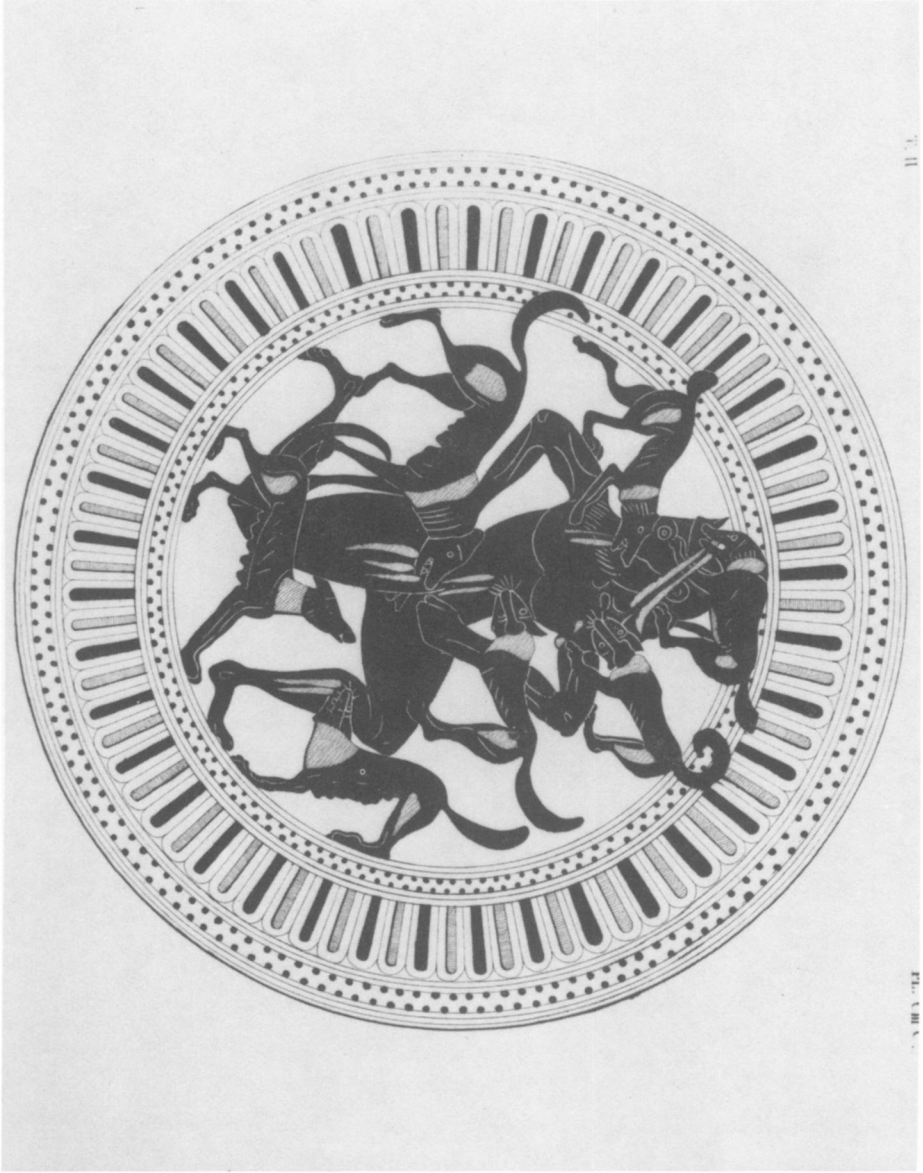
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120. I thank the American Academy in Rome and the College of Humanities and the Graduate School of the Ohio State University for enabling me to conduct research for this paper, and the readers and editors of *CA* whose comments led me to make numerous improvements in it.

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Reference to a monument, apart from the principal one, will consist of the footnote number followed, where appropriate, by the item number, in parentheses. Translations, where not otherwise acknowledged, are my own.



Attic black-figured plate, lost; see n. 20.



Bell crater, The Pan Painter; Boston MFA 10.185; C 30256.



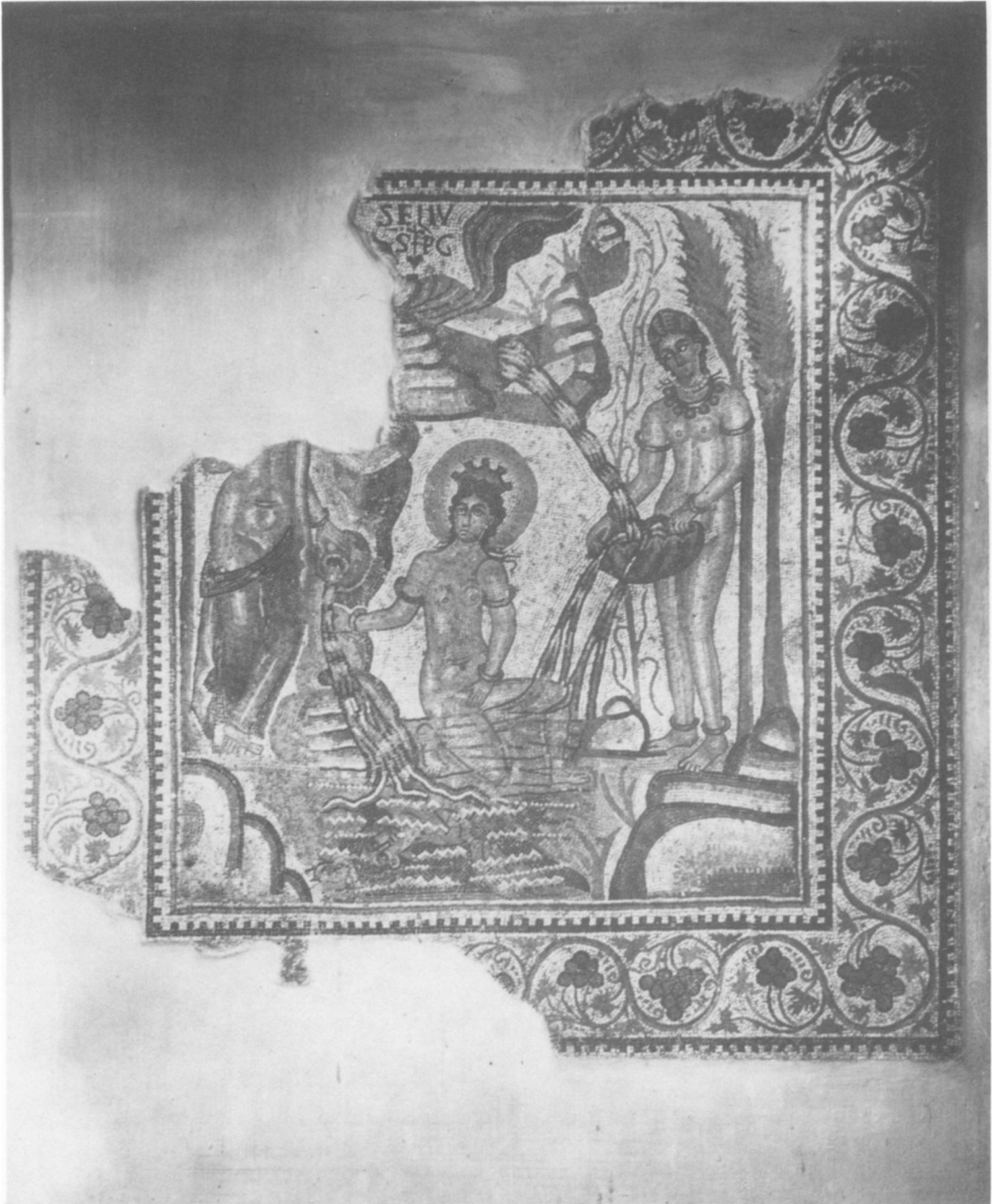
Melian relief; Paris, Louvre, Nr. 4447.



Volute Crater, The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs; Paris, Louvre, CA 3482.



Wall painting, Pompeii, Casa di Sallustio; Alinari 26449/Art Resource Inc.



Mosaic, Timgad; DAI Rome, neg. 79.1852.



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