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# 413 'Skopas'

by Matteo Zaccarini (Bologna)

Brill's New Jacoby, Second Edition

## About this Historian

Historian: Skopas(?)

Historian's number: 413

Attested works: *Olympic Victors*

Historian's date: unknown

Historical topic:

Place of origin: unknown

## BNJ 413 T 1

Source: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 1.8

Work mentioned: *Olympic Victors*

Source date: 1st century AD

Source language: Latin

Source genre: History, Ancient; Geography, Ancient; Natural history

Fragment subject: Animals; Literature, Ancient--History and criticism

Textual base: adjusted from J. Beaujeu (ed.), Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire naturelle* 1 (Paris 1950)

## Source

Libro viii continentvr [...].

De lupis. Unde fabula uersipellium (34) [...]

Ex auctoribus [...] externis [...]

Euanthe. Scopa<sup>1</sup> qui Ὀλυμπιονίκας.

## Apparatus criticus

<sup>1</sup> apoca *codd.*

## Translation

Contents of Book 8: [...]

On wolves. Origins of the story ~~on~~ *about* shapeshifters (34). - [...]

From foreign authors: [...] Euanthes. Scopas(?) who [wrote] *Olympic Victors*.

## Commentary on the Text

As highlighted by the simplified Apparatus Criticus above, all manuscripts here give the unintelligible *apoca* (not “Agrippa” as reported by D. Ogden, *The Werewolf in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2021), 182). ~~But~~ Apokas is unattested as a Greek personal name: the only possibly compatible alternative is the – itself puzzling – Apokias, *apparently* attested *just once, only on-by* a 3rd-century BC inscription (CID 4.27 l. 4 Ἀποκία (?), an Aitolian).

As unsatisfactory as it is, therefore, we must *crux* the name in Pliny and assume a textual corruption. As a working hypothesis, ‘Scopas’ (Gr. Skopas) is restored from a later passage, *Natural History* 8.82 which, however, is itself corrupted: see below, Commentary on F 1.

## Commentary on T 1

See below, Commentary on F 1.

## BNJ 413 F 1

Source: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 8.82 (34)

Work mentioned: *Olympic Victors*

Source date: 1st century AD

Source language: Latin

Source genre: History, Ancient; Geography, Ancient; Natural history

Fragment subject: Animals; Mythology, Greek; Olympic games (Ancient); Sports; Sacrifice; Ritual

Textual base: adjusted from A. Ernout (ed.), Pline l’Ancien, *Histoire naturelle* 8 (Paris 1952)

## Source

Mirum est quo procedat Graeca credulitas. Nullum tam inpudens mendacium est ut teste careat. Ita <S>copas<sup>1</sup>, qui Olympionicas scripsit, narrat Demaenetum Parrhasium in sacrificio quod Arcades Ioui Lycaeo humana etiamtum hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse et in lupum se conuertisse, eundem X anno restitutum athleticae se exercuisse in pugilatu uictoremque Olympia reuersum.

## Apparatus criticus

<sup>1</sup> ita copas *codd.* (item *F*<sup>2</sup>) acopas *R*<sup>2</sup>.

## Translation

[BNJ 320 F 1 precedes] It is amazing to what length Greek credulity would go: there is no falsehood so shameless as to lack a supporter. Thus Scopas(?), who wrote *Olympic Victors*, narrates that Demaenetus the Parrhasian, in the sacrifice which the Arkadians even then used to perform with a human victim for Jupiter Lycaeus, tasted the organs of a sacrificed boy and turned himself into a wolf; and the same man, restored [into a human] in the tenth year, trained in athletics and returned from Olympia victorious in boxing.

## Commentary on the Text

In this section Pliny deals with many beliefs about wolves. A good part of his treatment is dedicated to refuting the numerous and ancient fabulous tales (8.80 *omnia quae fabulosa tot saeculis* etc.) regarding the transformation of humans into wolves. Pliny announces his intention to trace the origins (*unde*) of the rooted, widespread belief (*uolgo infixi*) in shapeshifters (*uersipelles*, lit. ‘skin-changers’: cfr. the story in Petronius, *Satyricon* 62), specifically meaning what we would call werewolves: it turns out that such origins were to be found in a pair of Arkadian tales.

The first tale, immediately before our fragment, is attributed to the otherwise unknown Euanthes, acknowledged as an author ~~not despised of some repute~~ (8.81 *non spretus*) among the Greeks. Since Euanthes reported an unattributed Arkadian tradition (*scribit Arcadas tradere* etc.), he is an intermediate source for Pliny: the testimony is therefore registered as Anonymous (BNJ 320: see M. Jost and J. Roy’s Commentary on BNJ 320 F 1; sometimes, following Jacoby’s hypothesis, the F is assigned to the *dubia* of Neanthes: see BNJ 84 F 41; and see D. Ogden, *The Werewolf in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2021), 181-2, for this and other possible emendations; Euanthes-Anonymous and our own BNJ 413 F 1 are discussed together by M.E. De Luna (ed.), *Arkadika. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Tivoli 2017), 46-59, as her T 1), and henceforth I will refer to its author as such. The story which Anonymous handed down to Euanthes is that of an Arkadian man, chosen by lot from a certain family (*ex gente Anthi cuiusdam sorte familiae lectum*), who, ~~after~~ leaving his clothes and swimming across a certain marsh, turned into a wolf for nine years and then back into a human (on the episode, often interpreted as a recurring ritual possibly related to wearing wolf-skin clothing, see R. Buxton, ‘Wolves and werewolves in Greek thought’, in Id., *Myths and Tragedies in their Ancient Greek Contexts* (Oxford 2013), 60-79, 69-71; on nine years as a formular period related to remote initiation rites see J.N. Bremmer, ‘Myth and ritual in Greek human sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the case of the Rhodian criminal’, in Id. (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice* (Leuven et al. 2007), 55-79, 73-

4; for a useful discussion see Ogden, *The Werewolf*, 184-96). Pliny then mocks Greek **gullibility** **credulity** (cfr. the *non spretus* above for Euanthes) **for falsehood**, as he **often likes to does elsewhere** (cfr. e.g. 5.4 on the *portentosa Graeciae mendacia*; see also 12.11 on *Graeciae fabulositas*), and next provides a second, related (*ita*) story from a work titled *Olympic Victors*, whose author's name is not preserved clearly in the manuscripts (neither here nor in the *index* of Book 1: see *BNJ* 413 T 1).

There seems to be some confusion as to this passage of Pliny's text in the critical editions. (I am indebted to Fabio Guidetti (Univ. Pisa) for his **invaluable** assistance with this **topic**.) According to Mayhoff's most recent edition (Teubner, 1906, repr. 1967; *post von Jan*, on whom see below), still widely used, all mss. have *acopas* (except for F which has the damaged //co). In the text, Mayhoff prints *Apollas*, following the proposal of A. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget* (Berlin 1886), 105), i.e. the 3rd(?) century author Apollas of Pontos, *BNJ* 266. Although Apollas, among other topics, wrote about the Peloponnese and treated the celebrated boxer and multiple **times** Olympic victor Diagoras of Rhodes (*BNJ* 266 F 7), no work devoted specifically to Olympic victors is known **for from him** Apollas, and the restoration of his name in Pliny's passages seems difficult in paleographical terms.

**More importantly**, Mayhoff's 1906 apparatus, **however**, seems to be mistaken about our passage. In the earlier version of the volume (Teubner, 1875) Mayhoff had printed *Scopas*, accepting a conjecture first proposed by von Jan (Teubner, 1856) and reporting in the apparatus that all mss. have *copas*. The most recent critical edition, by Ernout (Les Belles Lettres, 1952) writes that all mss. have *copas*, except for one, the Florentinus Riccardianus (R, c. 11th century), where a later hand (thus R<sup>2</sup>) has corrected the word into *acopas*. The same was reported by Sillig (Hamburg and Gotha 1852<sup>2</sup>), who printed *Agriopas* following an unexplained reading (or perhaps emendation) by Gelenius (Basel 1539), now hardly acceptable. A survey of some of the **digitally accessible** mss. **available online** seems to confirm that Mayhoff's 1906 apparatus is wrong: Vaticanus Latinus 3861 (D, 11th century) has *copas* (f. 58v: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3861](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3861)), and Parisinus Latinus 6795 (E, 10th-11th century) has the same, clearly corrected into *agriopas* by a later hand which must have followed Gelenius (f. 90v: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90769859/f94.item.r=latin%206795.zoom>). **But a** later Florentine manuscript, BL Harley 2676 (dated 1465-7), not included in the editions here examined, has *Acopas* (f. 89r: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley\\_ms\\_2676\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_2676_fs001r)), likely derived from R (*post*-correction). It seems, therefore, that the earlier mss. give *copas* which, compared with the equally troublesome *apoca* of the *index* (see T 1), clearly needs a *crux* and must be emended in order to make sense as a Greek personal name. I am unable to find the source of the "Euagropas" which Ogden, *The Werewolf*, 182, reports as the reading of the mss. and emends into "Euagoras".

The conjecture proposed originally by von Jan, accepted by Ernout (and, among others, by Jacoby), which gives the name of our author as 'Scopas' (Gr. Skopas) remains the most credible (if still far from secure) option on paleographical grounds and as a common Greek name.

## Commentary on F 1

Pliny informs us that, apparently as part of **the a** work on Olympic victors, 'Skopas' recorded the peculiar story of the athlete Demaenetus (Gr. Demainetos, but see below), who became a wolf and regained his human form in the tenth year (which, with an inclusive count, means he remained a wolf for nine years). The common themes between the stories of Anonymous and 'Skopas' are the transformation of an Arkadian man into a wolf and his reversal into a human in the tenth year. Apart from this, the two tales definitely seem to deal with distinct episodes (cfr. M. Jost and J. Roy's Commentary on *BNJ* 320 F 1; De Luna, *Arkadika*, 49-53) and dynamics: only 'Skopas' mentions human sacrifice and cannibalism related to Zeus Lykaios (below). The isolation from humans in the story from Anonymous (consistent with the figure of the 'lone-wolf' as a metaphor for an outcast,

perhaps found already in Alkaios, fr. 130 l. 25 L.-P.: on this and other sources see Buxton, 'Wolves and werewolves', 63), however, is likely meant **by Pliny** to clarify how the protagonist of the story from 'Skopas' regained his form, i.e. by abstaining from **eating** human flesh, and ~~in therefore these~~ the two stories were probably read as complementary.

Augustine, *The City of God* 18.17, a section dealing with the transformation of men into animals, is the most important parallel source. In Book 18 Augustine often relies on M. Varro (1st century BC), regarding him as an authoritative and learned source. From Augustine we learn that Varro (*De gente populi Romani*, HRF fr. 17) reported various stories about human **transformations/shapeshifting**, including **those of** Kirke (on whom see below) and **of** the Arkadians. From Varro, Augustine reports two Arkadian stories which are essentially the same – and in the same order – **which** we find in Pliny's passage (as Anonymous and 'Skopas' **respectively**), with the notable difference that Augustine cites no **authority** other than Varro. Furthermore, in Augustine the stories have some minor differences compared to Pliny: in the first story, Augustine does not mention the Arkadian **Anthos**-family nor the man's clothes, while in the second, **although he confirms the name of the protagonist as Demaenetus**, he does not state that **Demaenetus** he was a Parrhasian. At the same time, Augustine also reports from Varro information which is not found in Pliny, such as the derivation of the Roman *Luperci* from the Arkadian cult.

Overall, we are unable to verify the – **still** reasonable – assumption that Pliny and Augustine shared a source in Varro (as Jacoby, *FGrHist* 320, thought; Varro is often mentioned in the *Natural History*) and summarised it differently: in theory, **it seems just as possible that** Pliny and Varro **might have** used an earlier common source. However, the fact that Varro already reported the two stories together and in the same order strongly suggest that they circulated in the 1st century BC as related Arkadian legends, and therefore Anonymous (or, possibly, Euanthes himself) and 'Skopas' should be treated as a pair in the tradition. We shall go back to this issue in the Biographical Essay.

A further important parallel, as problematic as it is, is provided by Pausanias' *Periegesis*. While describing statues of victorious athletes in Olympia, Pausanias mentions the statue of a Parrhasian boxer, Damarchos (6.8.2). Pausanias refuses to believe what is said by braggers about this athlete (ὅπόσα ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν ἀλαζόνων ἐστὶν εἰρημένα), namely that he had turned into a wolf during a sacrifice to Zeus Lykaïos and **became-reverted to** a man **again** in the tenth year. **In order to** support his own skepticism and to prove that the Arkadians do not seem to tell such a story, Pausanias quotes in full the epigram under Damarchos' statue: "The son of Dinytas, Damarchos, by birth a Parrhasian from Arkadia, dedicated this statue" (υἱὸς Δινύτα Δάμαρχος τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν / εἰκόν' ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν; Page, *FGE* nr 138). On the one hand, Damarchos' athletic discipline, **birthplace**, and supernatural episode certainly seem the same of those of the athlete we find in 'Skopas'. On the other, there are different details, **apart from such as** the name of the athlete (for other remarks see D. Ogden, *The Werewolf in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2021), 182-3); **and the Pausanias' alleged-reported** denial of **his-the** shapeshifting by 'the Arkadians' is somewhat problematic **as well**, given that both Pliny and Varro/Augustine refer to Arkadian traditions. Despite Pausanias' certainties, however, Arkadian legends did not form one coherent *corpus* but rather a group of (often mutually inconsistent) stories, and not necessarily in written form only: Polybios already reported that the Arkadians were known for teaching by law to their boys songs "in which each one, **according to the traditional customs**, celebrates the local heroes and gods **according to the traditional customs**" (4.20.8 οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι), which strongly suggests the circulation of **different-independent** stories at the same time (cfr. M. Jost and J. Roy on *BNJ* 322; for another example of a local vs 'pan-Arkadian' tradition cfr. De Luna, *Arkadika*, 305-15). Pausanias himself knows a different tradition on Arkadian heroes compared to the Pelasgos-Lykaon ascendancy found in Book 8 (cfr. 10.9.5, with the comments of U. Bultrighini and M. Torelli (eds), Pausania, *Guida della Grecia* 10, *Delfi e Focide* (Milan 2017), 285; on the Arkadian heroes see below).

As for the name of our werewolf boxer, the difference between Varro/[Augustine](#) and [Skopas](#)/Pliny ([Demaenetus, Gr. Demainetos](#)) on the one side, and Pausanias ([Damarchos](#)) on the other, remains a significant issue. The name Damarchos (Δάμαρχος) found in Pausanias is common in the Peloponnese and reasonably attested in Arkadia (see esp., from Mantinea: *SEG* 31.348 l. 24, 5th or 4th century; *IG* V.2 323B.31, 3rd century; a Tegeatan: *IG* V.2 368 l. 73, 3rd-2nd century?). The name, as (twice) reported in the *Periegesis*, stands as perfectly believable (unlike perhaps the unusual name of his father, variously emended by the editors), and it is tempting, since Pausanias saw ‘his’ statue, to resolve to emend Varro’s and Pliny’s texts (or their common source?) and just call our athlete Damarchos. Yet, we cannot exclude that the werewolf legend was applied to more than one athlete by different Arkadian traditions. And while Demainetos is rare in the Peloponnese, the spelling Damainetos is widely attested, though mostly from the Hellenistic period and, in Arkadia, only found [on epigraphically inscriptions from in](#) Tegea (*LGPN*, s.v. Δαμαίνετος): a good parallel is provided e.g. by *IG* V.2 39 l. 5 (4th century) and 36 ll. 53, 64, and 119 (3rd century). If we want to stick to the name provided by Varro and Pliny, then Damainetos is the form we should prefer (despite the fact that Pausanias himself elsewhere provides a local attestation for a certain Demainetos, founder of a temple of Asklepios near the border between Elis and Arkadia: 6.21.4; for the *demos-/damos-derived* part of the name, possibly consider also the ...]e(?)mos of Parrhasia, 468 BC, on a list preserved by the 3rd-century AD papyrus *P.Oxy.* 2.222, col. 1, l. 41 . . . ]ημος; see L. Rocchi on *BNJ* 2 415 F 1).

Finally, the chronology of our werewolf Olympic victor. In Pliny’s passage the story is set in an undefined, but apparently distant past (*etiamtum*). As a *terminus post*, besides the obvious and purely conventional date of 776 for the first Olympiad, we should remember that the first editions of the games were not recorded precisely (Eusebios of Caesarea, *Chronicle* (Armenian) 1 p. 90.18 Karst) and that, at best, incomplete records were available from the early 6th century BC (P. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (New York 2007), ch. 2). The statue seen by Pausanias does not seem that old, anyway: this is certainly not one of those cases in which Pausanias notes a particularly ancient statue of an athlete and signals it clearly (cfr. 6.15.8: Ol. 38 = 628 BC; apparently contradicted by the 6th-century statues in 6.18.7). On the basis of the style of its epigram, and of the date attributed to the other statues seen by Pausanias in its environs, Damarchos’ statue has been tentatively [dated-assigned](#) to the 5th century (W. Hyde, *De Olympionicarum statu a Pausania commemoratis* (Halle 1903), nr 74; Ogden, *The Werewolf*, 198-204, favours the early 5th century due to thematic comparisons between the feats of Damarchos and those of other athletes of the time), or to ca. 400 (= Ol. 95; L. Moretti, *Olympionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (Rome 1957), 112, nr 359; cfr. Page, *FGE*, 446, who assigns ‘Apollas’ to the 3rd or 2nd century BC). Not much else can be said: the fact that Parrhasia contributed to form Megalopolis (see below) does not rule out that a local athlete could still call himself a Parrhasian regardless of the political status of his birthplace, so for a *terminus ante* we must use the date assigned to ‘Skopas’, itself extremely uncertain (see Biographical Essay).

These are the main elements we can analyse in the fragment of ‘Skopas’ from Pliny. However, to further clarify the complexity of the topic, it is useful to touch on a few additional [topiesthemes](#): these are treated by a wide number of sources which form different traditions, and I will only aim to cover the fundamental points. In addition to referring to the studies mentioned, other fragments are best discussed in their proper context within each author’s entry in the *BNJ*: for further details see especially A. Paradiso’s Commentary on *BNJ* 90 F 38; G. Squillace on *BNJ* 103 F 15; M. Jost and J. Roy on *BNJ* 315 F 1. For a convenient list of many relevant sources see <http://lykaionexcavation.org/resources/literary-references#human-sacrifice>.

## Parrhasia and Arkadia

According to ‘Skopas’, our athlete was from Parrhasia, a region in south-western Arkadia mentioned as early as Homer (*Iliad* 2.608) and characterized by a strong, ‘sub-ethnic’ federal identity within Arkadia (T.H. Nielsen, ‘The Arkadian ~~Confederacy~~ confederacy’, in H. Beck and P. Funke (eds), *Federalism in Greek antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015), 250-268, 256-7). Parrhasia was important both as a strategic area, due to its proximity to Lakonia (Thuc. 5.33), and as a religious place, regarded by local traditions as open to all Arkadians after the rest of Arkadia was divided in mythical times (see scholion on Dionysios the Periegete 415, ll. 7-8 GGM): the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios (see below) on Mt Lykaion in Parrhasia was considered the ~~true~~ birthplace of Zeus (cfr. Kallimachos, *Hymn 1 (To Zeus)* v. 10) and was sacred also to Pan and to Apollo (Pausanias 8.32.2-4; on Apollo’s ties to the wolf imagery possibly cfr. *Il.* 4.101, 119, and Aristotle, *History of Animals* 6.35).

As one of the Arkadian *ethne* (Strabo 8.8.1), Parrhasia comprised several settlements. Their status was substantially altered when Megalopolis was ~~founded-created~~ around 370 BC: diverging accounts are given by Diodoros of Sicily, who states that the city was founded from twenty Parrhasian and Mainalian villages (15.72.4 κῶμαι), and Pausanias, who lists thirty-nine *poleis*, eight of which were Parrhasian, as participating in the synoecism (8.27.2-4; see *IACP* nr. 82). If we follow Pausanias, all the involved *poleis* were abandoned (8.27.3 ἐκλιπεῖν; cfr. Str. 8.8.1), but it is hard to believe that they disappeared altogether (cfr. *IACP*, 521): furthermore, Pausanias himself attests that one former Parrhasian *polis*, Thesoia, became a village in the territory of Megalopolis (8.38.3 τὰ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ μοίρας τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος ἔστιν ἡ Θεισοῖα κῶμη), and Pliny already lists both Parrhasia and Megalopolis among the Arkadian *oppida* (4.20). Early 4th-century epigraphic record from Mantinea attests that an Arkadian synoecism could employ both ‘village’ and ‘polis’ for the same community, in this case Helisson, in (likely) a variety of meanings (see Rhodes-Osborne, *GHI* 14, ll. 6-8, and discussion there; *IACP*, 41). In addition, it was common to preserve one’s local identification in addition to the ~~federal~~ affiliation ~~to a wider organization~~, even before the establishment of the Arkadian *koinon*, as attested e.g. by a ~~fifth~~5th-century inscription for an ‘Arkadian from Oresthasion’ who won at Olympia (*IvO* 147 and 148) (cfr. Nielsen, ‘The Arkadian ~~c~~Confederacy’, 251 and esp. 256, and see below on the *koinon*). It is reasonable, therefore, that an athlete could still define himself a Parrhasian even after Megalopolis unified most communities in the area, ~~so therefore~~ the ethnic provides no help in trying to ~~set-establish~~ a chronology.

## Arkadia, wolves, Zeus Lykaios and the Lykaia

At the core of the many traditions related to our werewolf story are various elements, centred on the area of Parrhasia, built on more or less artificial etymologies and association with the word *lykos* (λύκος), ‘wolf’ (see e.g. Paus. 8.2.1). The main topics we shall review are the mythical figure of Lykaon, the cult of Zeus Lykaios on Mt Lykaion, and the *Lykaia* festival and games (for a recent treatment and ~~an~~ extensive bibliography see Ogden, *The Werewolf*, ch. 6).

The wolf, along with the bear, is traditionally found as an animal-symbol of Arkadia, strongly connected with its imagery and traditions. According to Pausanias, in the first Messenian war a number of Peloponnesian skirmishers used animal skins for protection, and some, “in particular the Arkadian mountaineers” wore the hide of wolves and bears (4.11.3 μάλιστα οἱ ὄρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων; see H.T.N. Tran, *Athletes, Werewolves, and Zeus Lykaios: Primitives and Civilized in Arkadian Myth and Cult*, Doctoral Diss. (Univ. California, Berkley 2006), 54-5, and generally §2.4 on the bear, connected with Kallisto and Arkas which, in turn, were combined with Lykaon and wolves to shape Arkadian identity: Bremmer, ‘Myth and ritual’, 75-6). For wolf skin used as light armour cfr. Dolon’s outfit in *Iliad* 10 (334, 459), which becomes a disguise proper with additional feral traits in the Euripidean version (*Rhesos* 201-15: wolf-head cap, quadrupedal stance, etc.); also consider the

ambiguous title of “wolf-feet” (λυκόποδες) for the tyrants’ bodyguard found in a fragment of Aristotle (fr. 394 R., from a scholion to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 665, itself often emended *desperatione* into λευκόποδες).

Lykaon, son of Pelasgos (Hesiod, fr. 161 M.-W.), is a central figure in ~~the~~ Arkadian myths. A very ancient tradition regarded Pelasgos as the first inhabitant of (what would become) Arkadia: from Pseudo-Apollodoros (*Library* 2.1.1 and esp. 3.8.1) we learn that Pelasgos was either one of the first sons of Zeus (Akousilaos of Argos, *BNJ* 2 FF 25a-b) or directly born from the soil (Hesiod, fr. 160 M.-W.). According to Pausanias, the Arkadians claimed that their region was originally named Pelasgia, and later became Arkadia from Arkas (8.1.4; cfr. 8.2.4 and below; cfr. Charax of Pergamon, *BNJ* 103 F 15): among the civilizing inventions introduced by Arkas was the dietary ‘reform’ connected with agriculture and bread-making (Paus. 8.4.1), which make Arkas the culture-hero allowing his people to depart from the primitive customs of the time of Lykaon and his sons (Tran, *Athletes, Werewolves*, 52-3, with bibliography; see below).

The origins of the cult of Zeus Lykaios, which go back to a remote ~~antiquity~~ ~~past~~, feature gruesome details which form the basis for the shapeshifting stories (see D.G. Romano and M.E. Voyatzis, ‘Mt. Lykaion excavation and survey project, part 1: the upper sanctuary’, *Hesperia* 83.4 (2014), 569-652, 571; for an hypothesis on the origins and association with a local ‘wolf-deity’ see O. Zolotnikova, ‘The cult of Zeus Lykaios’, in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the Third International Seminar on Ancient Arcadia* (Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002) (Bergen 2005), 105-19; for a comprehensive analysis of the tradition see M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d’Arcadie* (Paris 1985), 179-87; D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York 1991), 96-107; Bremmer, ‘Myth and ritual’, 74-5; De Luna, *Arkadika*, 53-9). Sources report an act of sacrilege committed by Lykaon and/or his sons: a human child was sacrificed and deceptively offered to Zeus, who in anger killed some of the responsible and turned others into wolves. The main differences among the various accounts concern two details: the identity of the child, ~~which~~ ~~who~~ mainly ranges from a generic local youth to Lykaon’s ~~own~~ youngest son, Nyktimos; and the role of Lykaon, who shifts from an innocent, pious ruler to the ultimate responsible for the sacrilege (as early as Hesiod, fr. astron. 6 ll. 14-8 D.-K. = fr. 163 M.-W., in which Lykaon sacrifices Arkas) and therefore is himself turned into a wolf. For an extensive survey of sources refer to J.G. Frazer, *Apollodoros. The Library* 1 (Cambridge, MA and London 1921), 390-1 n. 1; A. Paradiso’s Commentary on *BNJ* 90 F 38; and now Ogden, *The Werewolf*, ch. 6, esp. 166-77. I only report here some of the sources in order to illustrate the main elements.

Stephanos of Byzantium (*Ethnika*, s.v. Παρρασία), states that the *polis* of Parrhasia was named after Parrhasos, one of the sons of Lykaon. Then, Stephanos reports a version provided by some Nikanor (according to Müller, the 2nd-century AD Alexandrine grammarian: *FHG* III 633 F 9; Jacoby, however, did not include this passage in *FGrHist* 628), according to whom the name (of the city?) was Parbasia (Παρβασία) after Lykaon’s transgression (παρανομία) against Zeus. The statement is left unexplained: perhaps a way to make sense of it is to assume that Stephanos (or his source) misparaphrased Nikanor’s etymology, which might have been based on the assumption that the city’s name had been modelled on παρά-βαίνειν, ‘to overstep’, ‘transgress’, in reference to divine laws (cfr. Euripides, *Ion* 230-1 θεοῦ δὲ νόμον / οὐ παραβαίνομεν). In fact, Pseudo-Apollodoros insists on the exceptional arrogance and impiety (3.8.1 ἀσέβεια) of Lykaon’s many sons: following the advice of their elder brother (Mainalos), they presented Zeus with a sacrifice made of the inner parts (σπλάγχνα) of a local child, slaughtered for the occasion and mixed with ~~the~~ ordinary animal victims. In response, a disgusted Zeus blasted with thunderbolts Lykaon and all of his sons, except for the youngest, Nyktimos. This version is found already in the 1st century BC-early 1st century AD in Nikolaos of Damaskos, *BNJ* 90 F 38, who, however, clarifies that Lykaon was innocent and rather presents him as a ruler concerned with righteousness (δικαιοσύνη, just like his father).

Pausanias (8.1-3) certainly follows (also) a different tradition from most other sources mentioned so far (see J. Roy, ‘The sons of Lycaon in Pausanias’ Arcadian king-list’, *ABSA* 63 (1968), 287-92; De Luna,

Arkadika, App. 3): his list of Lykaon's sons is different, Nyktimos is the eldest (and **designated** heir) instead of the youngest, and Lykaon himself is responsible for the sacrifice of a child (here an infant, βρέφος), **which becomes** the reason for his transformation into a wolf (8.2.3). While Pausanias finds this account, as reported by the Arkadians, believable (8.2.4), he then dismisses as a lie what seems **like** a shorter version of the story found in Anonymous: after Lykaon's time, at every sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios a man was changed into a wolf, but would regain his form in the tenth year provided he abstained from eating human flesh (8.2.6; see Biographical Essay).

Regardless of the **men** responsible(s) **of for** the sacrilege, the rationale of the story might be related thematically to the notorious piety (εὐσέβεια) of the Arkadians, their chief virtue according to Polybios (4.20.1). The connection of the wolf with the infringement of both human and divine norms is also attested in antiquity: an early example can be found in the fragmentary Hittite law assimilating a criminal to a wolf (M.R. Gerstein, 'Germanic warg: the outlaw as werewolf', in G.J. Larson, C.S. Littleton, and J. Puhbel (eds), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA 1974), 131-56, 133-4; see also Bremmer, 'Myth and ritual', 72 and n. 100). In turn, the violence of the myth is consistent with the bloodthirsty fame of the wolf in Greek literature (e.g. *Iliad* 16.155-9, 352-4).

The still-ongoing survey and excavations in the sacred area on Mt Lykaion suggest that human presence might date back to the late Neolithic (Romano and Voyatzis, 'Mt. Lykaion, part 1, 581-5, 614-5). Regular ritual activity at **the-an** ash altar is attested for the Mycenaean period, with possible traces of worship of Zeus as early as the 16th century BC, i.e. indeed among the earliest in Greece, likely in contact with several other important Peloponnesian cult sites (D.G. Romano and M.E. Voyatzis, 'Sanctuaries of Zeus: Mt. Lykaion and Olympia in the Early Iron Age', *Hesperia* 90.1 (2021), 1-25, with the hypothesis that cult on Mt. Lykaion influenced the development of the later site of Olympia; **a broader discussion in K. Mahoney, 'Mycenaean Mt. Lykaion and the Linear B documents', in K. Tausend (ed.), *Arkadien im Altertum / Ancient Arcadia (Graz 2018), 11-35***). No clear attestation of human sacrifice (see below) has been found, but in 2016 one human burial has been uncovered within the area of the altar: it contained the intact skeleton of a young boy, **allegedly** dated to the 11th century (see <http://lykaionexcavation.org/site/research-highlights>), which may provide further testimony as to the rites held there (but the nature of the burial seems controversial: cfr. Ogden, *The Werewolf*, 197 n. 93). Literary sources on Zeus's epithet Lykaios go back at least to the 7th century (Alkman fr. 24 Davies). As happened with many other cults, that of Zeus Lykaios was connected with a festival which featured athletic contests, in this case called *Lykaia* (on which see K.W. Mahoney, *The Royal Lykaian Altar Shall Bear Witness: History and Religion in Southwestern Arcadia*, Doctoral Diss. (Univ. Pennsylvania 2016), 286-93, ch. 4). Depending on the source, the *Lykaia* could claim the title of the oldest (Plin. 7.205) or one among the oldest (Aristotle fr. 637 R.; Paus. 8.2.1-2) **among** Greek festivals. Literary evidence for the *Lykaia* games goes back to the first half of the fifth century (Pindar, *Nemean* 10.48 which, however, implies the existence of the games for the 6th century; *Olympian* 9.95-6 and 13.107-8; a recently published, 5th-century sacrificial calendar from Arkadia might have been issued by our sanctuary: J.-M. Carbon and J.P.T. Clackson, 'Arms and the boy: on the new festival calendar from Arkadia', *Kernos* 29 (2016), 119-58; **for further discussion and an alternative see now I. Bianchi, V.L. Navarro Martínez, and M. Tentori Montalto, 'Calendario sacrificale dall'Arcadia' *Axon* 6.1 (2022), 7-46, esp. 26**). The shared administration of the games by the local communities probably explains the **fifth**5th-century ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ ("of the Arkadians") coinage, itself no proof of an early *koinon* (T.H. Nielsen, 'Was there an Arkadian confederacy in the fifth century B.C.?', in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 1996), 39-61; Nielsen, 'The Arkadian confederacy', 250-2). In 401, at the beginning of the expedition of the Ten Thousand, a Parrhasian commander held a sumptuous 'travel' version of the *Lykaia* (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.1.2 and esp. 1.2.10). The games seem to have reached their peak in the 4th century, most likely in conjunction with the foundation of Megalopolis: surviving epigraphic evidence records the victors of the last decades of the century (*IG* V.2 549-550): these *Lykaionikai* lists prove the complexity and importance of the games, as well as a certain panhellenic participation (Lagos, son of Ptolemy I, seems to have taken part: *IG* V.2 550 ll. 8-9, and see L. Criscuolo, 'Agoni e politica alla corte di Alessandria. Riflessioni su alcuni epigrammi di Posidippo',

*Chiron* 33 (2003), 311-32, 312 and n. 4), although the vast majority of victors came from the Peloponnese, and many ~~were~~ from Arkadia (cfr. Z. Papakonstantinou, 'Athletics, memory, and community in Hellenistic and Roman Messene', *BICS* 61.1 (2018), 64-78, 71-2). Note that local athletes only defined themselves as Arkadians on these lists (likely a sign of the 'national' character of the games: cfr. Bremmer, 'Myth and ritual', 67-8), with no record of their city ethnics – a marked difference from our werewolf-athlete who, as a victor in Olympia, was registered as a Parrhasian (and an Arkadian, in the epigram quoted by Pausanias: see above).

It seems that the festival and games ceased after the 4th century and that a part of the sanctuary on Mt Lykaion was abandoned during the Hellenistic period; when, possibly at the end of the 3rd century BC, the games were re-~~founded-established~~ (*IG* II<sup>3</sup>.1 1184), they might have been moved to Megalopolis, destroyed by Kleomenes III but soon reconstructed after the battle of Sellasia in 222 (S. Dow, 'Athenian decrees of 216-212 BC', *HSCP* 48 (1937), 105-26, 120-6; see now D.G. Romano and M.E. Voyatzis, 'Mt. Lykaion excavation and survey project, part 2: the lower sanctuary', *Hesperia* 84.2 (2015), 207-76, 216-28, 258, 263-4). Epigraphic record for the games continues in the 2nd century BC but seems to attest only local or regional ~~participants-participation~~ (Papakonstantinou, 'Athletics, memory, and community' 67-8 and 70): as a result of a long, slow decline, at the time of Strabo the sanctuary was "honoured to a slight extent" (Str. 8.8.2 τιμᾶται δ' ἐπὶ μικρόν), which likely means it maintained some local importance only. By Pausanias' time the cult on Mt Lykaion was still active (8.38.5): from Augustus' period ~~they-the Lykaia~~ had been paired with games honouring the emperor (*Kaisareia*), and in this form they seem to have survived until at least the early 3rd century AD (Mahoney, *The Royal Lykaian Altar*, 286-93).

## Shapeshifting, human sacrifice, and cannibalism

The kind of shapeshifting described by our sources is that of a werewolf, which should be ~~regarded as~~ distinct from a person affected by lycanthropy. ~~Despite our tendency to regard the two as synonyms,~~ originally, *lykanthropia*, a rare and late Greek word, ~~mostly-mainly~~ defines a psychiatric condition (i.e. the *delusion* to be a wolf, normally regarded and treated as a form of melancholy: see e.g. Oribasios, *Synopsis* 8.9) rather than an 'actual' physical transformation (N. Metzger, 'Battling demons with medical authority: werewolves, physicians and rationalization', *History of Psychiatry* 24.3, 341-55, with many later examples). The earliest transformation of a human into a wolf seems to be found in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* ('standard' Babylonian version, tablet 6: a punishment issued by the goddess Ishtar). In Greek culture, shapeshifting of humans into animals is attested as early as the ~~Odyssey with the~~ famous ~~Homeric~~ episode of Kirke: when they approached her house, which was surrounded by wild animals, including wolves (*Od.* 10.210 ff.), Kirke turned Odysseus' companions into swine (10.237-42) by a mixture of food, drugs, and magic. In later ~~sources/accounts~~, Kirke turns Odysseus' men not only into swine, but in a variety of animals including wolves (Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Library (Epitome)* 7.15).

The tradition on human sacrifices connected with the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios ~~dates to the Classical period, but not is unattested~~ before the 4th century. Plato employs as a political metaphor (on which see C. Arruzza, 'The lion and the wolf: the tyrant's spirit in Plato's *Republic*', *AncPhil* 38 (2018), 47-67, 54-5) a *mythos* about the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia: there, ~~he-a man~~ who tasted human entrails mixed with other victims would become a wolf (*Republic* 565d-e; ~~cfr. above on the origins of the myth~~). Theophrastos mentioned human sacrifices (ἄνθρωποθυστοῦσιν) at the *Lykaia* in Arkadia (*On Piety* fr. 13 Pötscher, ll. 22-3), and similarly the (possibly later) Platonic *Minos* cites *Lykaia* (~~city~~, along with Alos, on which see below) as ~~one place-a city~~ in Greece where human sacrifices were legal (315c). Some modern scholars accept the historicity of this practice (P. Bonnechere, *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne* (Liège 1994), ch. 4.1, § 124), while many others are sceptical (Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*; cfr. A. Paradiso's Commentary on *BNJ* 90 F 38).

One way or another, the cult of Zeus Lykaios goes back to an act of human sacrifice, an unusual but certainly not unknown concept in Greece, although its actual practice is a matter of discussion (Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*). ~~Human sacrifice~~ is quite common in myth, with the most famous case probably being that of Iphigeneia: it was to her, in turn, that the Skythian Tauri used to perform gruesome human sacrifices, according to Herodotus (4.103; for other barbarian rites see Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 8-10, and below). Another case is Menelaos' impious sacrifice of two Egyptian youths (Hdt. 2.119). In historical times, ~~a-Greeks community~~ known for performing elaborate human sacrifices, besides the Arkadians, were the Achaians of Alos (Hdt. 7.197, again to Zeus, there Λαφύστιος, "Devourer"; see Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 92-6, for the problems raised by the episode, set in 480). Another possibly relevant parallel is the cult of Dionysos Omestes ("Eater of raw flesh"), to whom Themistokles allegedly sacrificed three Asian youths, according to Plutarch on the authority of Phantias of Lesbos (Plutarch, *Themistokles* 13.3, with *FGrHistCont* 1012 F 19; cfr. Plutarch, *Aristeides* 9.1). Dionysos' epithet is archaic (cfr. Alkaios fr. 129.8 v. 9 V.; see C. Catenacci, 'Dioniso κερμήλιος (Alceo, fr. 129, 8 V.)', *QUCC* n.s. 85.1 (2007), 37-9), but the cult and practice seem out of place in the context reported by Plutarch and his account is not ~~considered~~ credible (F. Muccioli in B. Scardigli (a c. di), Plutarco. *Temistocle e Camillo. Vite parallele* (Milan 2013), 277 n. 107, discussing other Plutarchean parallels; see also J. Engels' Commentary on *FGrHistCont* 1012 F 19). Furthermore, the flesh in question for Dionysos is not necessarily meant to be human, despite the fact that the god was sometimes associated with other epithets dealing with violence on humans, such as Ἀνθρωπορραΐστης, "Human-destroyer", on Tenedos: note, however, that the ritual there prescribed to sacrifice a calf, while the man who performed the rite was only driven away by the community (Ailianos, *On the Nature of Animals* 12.34).

Relevant parallels for the sacrifice of children ~~in the late Bronze Age~~ might be found in Knossos. Literary tradition reports the (mythical) practice of sacrificing children to Zeus (mainly Istros, *BNJ* 334 F 48; see Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 128; Bremmer, 'Myth and ritual', 57-8), while ~~(debated)~~ archaeological evidence ~~seems to might~~ point to sacrifice and ritual consumption of children around 1450 BC: however, the evidence is not conclusive and other interpretations are possible (Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 18-24). About this last element of the *Lykaia* stories, cannibalism, the best parallels are, again, those dealing with myths: a most famous example is obviously that of Kronos, father of Zeus, who might have played a part in the cults connected with Zeus himself (cfr. Bremmer, 'Myth and ritual', 58, and ff. with further parallels). Among other examples of ritual cannibalism, one is certainly to be found in the Arkadian cult of Demeter Melaine ("~~Black~~" ~~Demeter~~) at Phigaleia, in relation to which a Delphic oracle threatened to return the Arkadians to a feral state in which they used to eat each other and their own children: Paus. 8.42.6, with E. Aston, *Mixanthrōpoi. Animal-Human Hybrid Deities in Greek Religion* (Liège 2011), ch. 2.1).

Perhaps the closest parallels with the Arkadian myths can be found among the Skythians customs as extensively reported as early as Herodotus: ~~note that the tradition-topos of on~~ their ferocious practices likely originated in the later 5th century, in contrast to earlier traditions on the Skythians as mild, law-abiding people (see e.g. Strabo 7.3.7, and P. Ognibene, 'Sguardi incrociati greco-scitici', *Electrum* 24 (2017), esp. 11-9). Herodotus provides many literary accounts of cannibalism among different barbarians, but most cases are ~~sanctioned-regulated~~ by some form of normative social frame and therefore seem closer to a 'civilized', sanctioned practice than to a ~~monstrous-feral~~ feature (e.g. 3.38.4, 3.99, 4.26): however, the Skythian Androphagoi ("Men-eaters") know no law nor justice (4.106), just like the paradigmatic, lawless (*Odyssey* 9.106 ἀθεμίστων), man-eating (10.200 ἀνδροφάγοιο) Kyklops in the *Odyssey*. A perhaps closer parallel to Lykos' (sons') attempt ~~with-to~~ ~~deceive~~ Zeus can be ~~found-detected~~ in the gruesome dinner served to Kyaxares by the Skythians (Hdt. 1.73.4-6), and some similarities are also found in the custom of the Massagetai to sacrifice and consume their elders along with animal meat (216.2-3). Furthermore, ~~overall~~ there is ~~a~~ quite ~~a~~ wide attestation of wolf-imagery in Skythian culture both from the Greek point of view and in what we know of Skythian language (on 'wolf', *varka*, and ~~the~~ associated words in Skythian language cfr. V.I. Abaev, 'La lingua scitica [1949]', in P. Ognibene (ed. and tr.), *Scythica. Gli studi sugli Sciti in Russia fra Ottocento e Novecento* (Milan and Udine 2019), 331-446, 379-80, s.v.; also consider e.g. that Anacharsis'

grandfather was named Lykos: Hdt. 4.76.6). Finally, the power to shapeshift into a wolf was attributed also to the Skythian Neuroi: once per year, each one of them would become a wolf for a few days (4.105.2: ~~note that~~ the Neuroi are described just before the Androphagoi).

## Biographical Essay

Pliny is the only source ~~which might possibly~~ mentioning 'Skopas', a dubious name restored from two textually corrupted passages giving, respectively,  $\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\alpha$  (*Natural History* 1.8 = T 1) and  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\alpha\varsigma$  (*Natural History* 8.82 = F 1). In the latter passage, our F 1 is preceded by an anonymous Arkadian tradition, concerning the same subject (BNJ 320 F 1), reported by the unknown Euanthes.

The fact that Varro (as we learn from Augustine) already reported together, in the same order, the pair of stories which Pliny found in *Anonymous*/Euanthes and in 'Skopas', ~~strongly suggests~~ that the two accounts circulated together in the 1st century BC, perhaps within a collection of Arkadian legends. This is a safe *terminus ante* for 'Skopas'. Pausanias also seems to preserve ~~both the pair of~~ stories, ~~both uncredited~~, but in distant passages and with different *important* details: at 6.8.2 (*story by* 'Skopas') and at 8.2.6 (*story by* *Anonymous*/Euanthes); it is clear, however, that he used a vast number of Arkadian sources, in addition to Eleian records and 'guides' on Olympic victors (see e.g. 5.21.9; on Pausanias' guides see Commentary on BNJ 412 F 1), thus he must have followed a different tradition from Varro and Pliny. In fact, ~~it is clear that~~ the varied and popular 'genre' of Arkadian legends long circulated as a fluid, inconsistent group of often anonymous stories (cfr. e.g. Herodotus 6.127.3) in local, oral forms in addition to written accounts (Polybios 4.20.8; see above on F 1).

As a *terminus post* for 'Skopas', we should ~~remind take into consideration~~ that many authors wrote lists of Olympic victors, but none (and certainly not 'Skopas') was recorded before Hippias of Elis (BNJ 6), the alleged founder of the genre. Hippias worked from uncertain materials and in a "late" period (Plutarch, *Numa* 1.4  $\delta\psi\epsilon$ ), i.e. in the last quarter of the 5th century at the earliest (see M. Węcowski's Commentary on BNJ 6 F 2, and cfr. Biographical Essay there) or – perhaps more likely – the first decades of the 4th century BC (P. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (New York 2007), ch. 2). The work of 'Skopas' was certainly a later example of the genre.

It might be worth underlining that, except for the possible parallel provided by Pausanias (6.8.2), 'Skopas' is only known through Latin sources (Pliny, and indirectly Varro through Augustine) despite being the Greek author of a work on Olympic victors; furthermore, the only preserved section of his work deals mainly with an Arkadian legend on werewolves and only marginally with Olympic athletics. This latter detail is not particularly problematic, as the diversified genre on *Olympionikai* featured some works – as early as Hippias' – which included wider historical information beyond mere lists of athletes (Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists*, *passim*, e.g. ch. 1, esp. 21-44; note that at 47 he lists the work of 'Skopas' as one of the only two which cannot ~~be~~ classified). As for the kind of sources which preserves what we know of 'Skopas', in fact many Latin authors were interested in Arkadian legends, especially the cult of Zeus Lykaeos: the reason for such attention ~~probably~~ depends on the fact that, at some point, Arkadian traditions were connected with Italic ~~and specifically Roman~~ legends, as is already clear from Varro's reference to the origin of the *Luperci* (above, F 1). Other sources give an even closer connection between the *Lykaia* and the *Lupercalia* (e.g. Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.342-4; Plutarch, *Antony* 12.1 and *Romulus* 21.4; Livy 1.5.1-3), and the links between Arkadia and the remote history of Italy and Rome were manifold (e.g. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* 1.17; Paus. 8.3.5 on Oinotros, Lykaon's youngest son, settling in Italy; more in 43.1-2). For these connections see G. Squillace's Commentary on BNJ 103 F 15; K.W. Mahoney, *The Royal Lykaian Altar Shall Bear Witness: History and Religion in Southwestern Arcadia*, Doctoral Diss. (Univ. Pennsylvania 2016), ch. 5.

Varro might have been Pliny's source, but it seems just as likely that Varro and Pliny inherited, each in his own way, a pair of stories on werewolves from the same common source which collected Arkadian werewolf legends. The two stories are related by the fact that they complement each other, in the meaning that they illustrate different aspects of the legends and that the first (Anonymous) explains to some extent the second. Pliny attributes this second story to a work on Olympic victors, possibly written by some 'Skopas': such a name, however, is the product of modern textual emendation. If 'Skopas' ever existed, he must fall within the 4th (Hippias) and the 1st (Varro) century BC. His place of origin remains unknown: the few elements we have are insufficient to make him an Arkadian.

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