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LYKAON AND KYKNOS

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1. Lykaon

In the *Alcestis* of Euripides Herakles complains of the hard fate that has brought him into conflict with so many sons of Ares, first Lykaon, then Kyknos, and now Diomedes (499 f.):

καὶ τόνδε τοῦμοῦ δαίμονος πόνον λέγεις
(σκληρὸς γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς αἶπος ἔρχεται)
εἰ χρὴ με παισὶν οὖς Ἄρης ἐγείνατο
μάχην συνάψαι, πρῶτα μὲν Λυκάονι,
αὐθις δὲ Κύκνωι, τόνδε δ' ἔρχομαι τρίτον
ἀγῶνα πάλοις δεσπότηι τε συμβαλῶν.

This is the only mention of this Lykaon in classical literature. However, an entry in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, transcribed by E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (1868), p. 258, under the name Πυρήνη, throws some light on him. Thanks to the kindness of Professor Klaus Alpers, I am able to offer a text that has been checked from codd. A and B; Alpers informs us that Ada Adler, whose edition of the *Et. Gen.* he is engaged in completing, suggested that the note came from the *Περὶ ἔθνικῶν* of Oros (see C. Wendel in *RE* XVIII 1 (1939) 1181):

Πυρήνη ἀπὸ Πυρήνης τῆς Ἰμέρου τοῦ Εὐρώπος (Εὐρώπος A), ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἄλσος καλεῖται Πυρήνη. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Πυρήνη μιγεῖσα Ἄρει (Ἄρεα A) ἐγέννησε Λυκάονα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Κρηστώνων (Κρητῶν codd.: corr. O. Höfer, in Roscher's *Lexikon* s. v. Πυρήνη (III 3341f.)), ὃς ἰδὼν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπιόντα μόνον ἐπὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ (χρυσᾶ codd.) μῆλα καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ (om. B) ἄλσει τῇ Πυρήνῃ προκαλεῖται (προσκαλεῖται A) μονομαχῆσαι καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Crestonia is in western Thrace, between the Strymon and the Axios; see N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia, vol. i: Historical Geography and Prehistory* (1972), 179f., with Maps 14 and 17. Not far west of it, beyond the Axios, is the Macedonian town of Europe or Europos; see Hammond, *op. cit.*, 167f. The note in the *Et. Gen.* makes Pyrene the daughter of Himeros son of Europs. According to Tzetzes on Lycophron 1283 (ed. Scheer, p. 362, 22f.) some people derived the name of the continent of Europe ἀπὸ τινος Εὐρωποῦ (Εὐρώπου codd.) υἱοῦ Ἰμέρου. Justin vii 1,6, after mentioning Paeonia, says *ex alio latere in Europa regnum Europus nomine tenuit*. *GDI* 2745 = *SIG* 269 records a grant of proxeny and other privileges Μαχάτα[ι] Σαβατταρᾶ Εὐρωπαϊῶι Μακεδόνι. Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. Εὐρωπός (p. 287, l. 14 Meineke) calls this place πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ Εὐρωποῦ (R: Εὐρώπου A) τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ. In another place, s. v. Ὀρωπός (p. 710 Meineke) – Oropus is a real place, and not a mistake for Europos, south of Europos and just north-east of Pella (Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 168, with Map 14) – Stephanus writes κέκληται ἀπὸ Ὀρωποῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ τοῦ Λυκάονοϋ. It would seem that according to the received genealogy the father of Makedon and grandfather of Europos and Oropos was Lykaon.

Apollodorus ii 114 (ii 5,11,3) describes a battle between Herakles and a son of Pyrene who has challenged him to single combat. The fight takes place while Herakles is on the way to the far north (and not the far west, as in the usual version) to bring back the golden apples of the Hesperides, near the river Echedorus; that river's basin is Crestonia (Herodotus 7,124 and 127; see Hammond, *op. cit.*, index s. v. Echedoros), so that this must be the encounter described in the note in the Etymologicum.

But Apollodorus does not call Herakles' antagonist Lykaon; he calls him Kyknos. The battle is described in these words:

Κύκνος δὲ Ἄρεος καὶ Πυρήνης εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκαλείτο. Ἄρεος δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδικοῦντος καὶ συνιστάντος μονομαχίαν, βληθεὶς κεραυνὸς μέσος ἀμφοτέρων διαλύει τὴν μάχην.

Sir James Frazer in his Loeb edition of Apollodorus of 1921 translates the first clause of the second sentence by 'Ares championed the cause of Cynus and marshalled the combat'. The words are taken in the same way by the two recent American translators of Apollodorus; K. Aldrich in *Apollodorus: The Library of Greek Mythology* (1975), p. 46 translates 'Ares seconded Cynus and got the match going' and M. Simpson in *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks: The Library of Apollodorus* (1976), p. 98 says 'Ares joined the combat on his son's side, but Zeus hurled a thunderbolt among them'.

But this rendering contains two mistakes. First, Ἄρεος . . . τοῦτον ἐκδικοῦντος *could* mean 'Ares championed the cause of Cynus', but it could also mean 'Ares tried to avenge Cynus'. Joseph Fontenrose, *Python* (1959), 31, n. 131, n. 1 rightly observes that 'Apollodorus says that Ares fought Herakles to exact justice for his son, which seems to imply that Herakles had killed him'. He accounts for the apparent obscurity by suggesting that 'probably a clause has dropped out of the text'. But Ἄρεος . . . τοῦτον ἐκδικοῦντος is not the only part of the sentence which Frazer and his followers have mistranslated. For συνιστάντος μονομαχίαν cannot mean 'marshalling the combat', which is indeed an absurd idea, since in all versions of the story Ares does what one would expect him to do, which is to support his son. It must mean 'Ares joined single combat' (with Herakles); compare Demosthenes, 15,3: Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι . . . συνέστησαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πόλεμον. This brings the account of the battle into line with that of Hyginus, *fab.* 31,3: *Cygnus Martis filium armis superatum occidit. quo cum Mars venisset et armis propter filium contendere uellet cum eo, Iouis inter eos fulmen misit.* So in the account of Hyginus as well as that of Apollodorus Herakles killed Kyknos, and the combat which Zeus interrupted with his thunderbolt was between his two sons, Herakles and Ares. But as Fontenrose saw it was not Kyknos who was killed in this encounter, but Lykaon.

Thrace is an area where we may well expect Ares to be active; Lycophron 937–938 calls him Κρηστώνης θεός, and indicates that he was identified with a local deity called Kandaon. K. Dilthey in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 53 (1873), 42 suggested that Lykaon was 'vielleicht nach einem alten Beinamen des Ares selbst genannt'; and as Höfer, *op. cit.*, 3345 remarks, Pyrene is a good name for a consort of the πυρφόρος θεός (Sophocles, *O.T.* 27) whose corresponding planet is called Πυρόεις. This Pyrene may well be the one who figured in a Hellenistic poem; see Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 953 and Lloyd-Jones,

Gnomon 31 (1959) 109 = *Academic Papers* ii (1990) 354–355. Like Atalanta she hunted in the mountains in the company of Artemis.

2. Kyknos

Apollodorus ii 155 (ii 7,7) describes also the encounter of Herakles with another Kyknos, the son of Ares by a different mother. Frazer, i 221, n. 3 thought that the contest in Thrace must be distinguished from a contest in Thessaly with ‘another son of Ares, also called Cycnus’. The Cyclic *Thebaid* (fr. 6c Davies, on which see R. Janko, *Cl. Qu.* 36 (1986), 51f.) made Herakles defeat Kyknos in a horse-race near in the precinct of Apollo at Pagasai, on the northern shore of the Gulf of Pagasai, now the Gulf of Volos; on this place see Pfeiffer on Callimachus, fr. 18,13. In the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (58,70) Heracles with his nephew Iolaos on his way to visit his friend Keyx in Trachis finds his way blocked by Kyknos, who is accompanied by his father Ares, in the precinct of Apollo Pagasaios. Zeus encourages Herakles by thundering and raining bloody rain (383f.), but takes no further part in the proceedings, though Athena is present to encourage and assist Herakles. Herakles kills Kyknos, and then wounds Ares in the thigh, but is deterred by Athena from pressing home the attack.

Stesichorus (fr. 207 *PMG*, ap. Schol. on Pindar, Ol. 10,19f., ed. Drachmann, i 315, l. 22f.) also placed the encounter of Herakles and Kyknos in Thessaly, though we do not know where (ἐν παρόδῳ τῆς Θεσσαλίας οἰκῶν, one of the commentators says of Kyknos). Kyknos used to behead passing strangers, in order to make a temple made of heads for Phobos, a minor deity attendant on Ares (see R. D.Dawe, *PCPS* 18 [1972], 28f.). At first Ares helped Kyknos, and Heracles retreated, but later when Kyknos was alone Heracles defeated him.

Euripides, *Heracles* 389f. locates the killing of Kyknos ἄν . . . Πηλιάδ’ ἄκτᾶν Ἀναύρου παρὰ παγᾶς. He makes Kyknos live in Amphanaia. Scylax 64, Müller, *GGM* i, p. 50) speaks of a place called Ἀμφαναῖον, by the sea, near Pagasai; and we learn from Stephanus s. v. Ἀμφαναί (p. 89 Meineke) that Hecataeus (1 *FGrH* 3) speaks of Ἀμφαναί as a πόλις Δωρική, which Theopompus (115 *FGrH* 54) calls Ἀμφαναία. Evidently these were three different forms of the name of the same place. The words πόλις Δωρική seem to locate the place in Doris, which borders on Malis, where Keyx lived, and also on both Opuntian and Ozolian Locris, and since Kyknos would indeed have found it easier to vex travellers on the way to Delphi from a base further south than Pagasai, Hermann emended Πηλιάδ’ to Μηλιάδ’, a conjecture adopted by J. Diggle in his Oxford text (ii, 1981). But G. W. Bond, in his commentary of 1981, follows Wilamowitz in defending the manuscript reading; ‘Δωρική’, wrote Jacoby on the Hecataeus fragment (I a, p. 319), ‘weil das Δωρικὸν γένος zur zeit Deukalions in Phthiotis (Herod. i 56) oder Pelasgiotis (Dikaiarch. bei Steph. Byz. s. v. Δόριον) wohnt’. The mention in Euripides of the river Anauros does not help us to decide this question; the word, like English ‘Ouse’ and ‘Avon’, can be simply a name for ‘river’ (see W. Bühler, in *Hermes Einzelschrift* 13 [1960] 81f. on Moschus, *Europa* 31, as well as Wilamowitz and Bond on the Euripidean passage, and C. F. Russo on *Aspis* 477). We shall return to this problem later. This Kyknos, as Apollodorus tells us, is a son of Ares by Pelopia, daughter of Pelias, so that the Euripidean Herakles is not very tactful when he reminds

Admetus that he has killed his wife's nephew. For a full account of the myth of Kyknos, see the article of Janko already referred to, which is entitled 'The Shield of Heracles and the Legend of Cynus' (*Cl. Qu.* 36 [1986], 38–59, especially pp. 48ff.), and H. A. Shapiro, 'Herakles and Kyknos' (*AJA* 88 [1984], 523–529); and see now the article 'Kyknos I', by A. Cambitoglou and S. A. Paspalas, *LIMC* vii I, 970–991 (held over from vol. vi), with bibliography.

Pindar, following Stesichorus, made Herakles for a time get the worst of it. In the Tenth Olympian, written for Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Locri, he writes (13ff.):

νέμει γὰρ Ἀτρέκεια πόλιν Λοκρῶν Ζεφυρίων,
 μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα
 καὶ χάλκεος Ἴαρος, τράπε δὲ Κύκνεια μάχα καὶ ὑπέρβιον
 Ἡρακλέα. πύκτας δ' ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι νικῶν
 Ἴλαι φερέτω χάριν
 Ἀγησίδαμος, ὡς
 Ἀχιλεὶ Πάτροκλος.

Pindar's words about Herakles are explained in the scholia as relating to what follows in Pindar's poem; the victor Hagesidamos was at first unsuccessful but was then encouraged by his trainer Ias and was victorious; he should be grateful to Ias as Patroklos was grateful to Achilles. Most commentators have accepted this explanation. T. L. F. Tafel, *Dilucidationum Pindaricarum volumina duo*, vol. 1 (1824–27) 391 suggested that the passage referred to the rescue of Lokroi from Anaxilas of Rhegium in about 477; W. Christ in his commentary of 1896 (p. 81), who also took this view, remarks of the explanation given in the scholia 'temere ficta ista a grammaticis videntur'. That opinion regarding the grammarians is put forward with much cogency by H. J. Rose, *Mnemosyne* ser. iv, 10 (1957) 110f., who argues that the sentence about Herakles relates not to what follows it in Pindar's poem, but to what precedes it. It is preceded by the praise of Lokroi, the victor's country, for its justice, its poetry and its valour; but Rose was hard put to it to show how the sentence about Herakles might be regarded as continuing the praise of Lokroi. He could only suggest that Pindar had in mind Locrian worship of Ares; but we have no record of such worship, none being mentioned even by W. A. Oldfather in his exhaustive articles on Lokris and Lokroi in *R.E.* xiii 1, 1135ff. and 2, 1289ff., and when Pindar says μέλει δὲ σφισι Καλλιόπα καὶ χάλκεος Ἴαρος, he was thinking not of Locrian cults of the Muses or of Ares, but of the Locrians' achievements in war and poetry. The mysterious sentence would suit the context perfectly, if only it could be shown that Kyknos could somehow be regarded as a Locrian.

The author of the *Aspis* makes Kyknos block Herakles' path while he is on his way to the home of his friend Keyx in Trachis (353f.), and tells us that Keyx, who happened to be father-in-law to Kyknos, gave burial to his body (472f.). That gives Kyknos a connection considerably further south than Pagasai. Further, Apollodorus, *Diodorus* iv 37,4 and Nicolaus of Damascus 90 *FGrH* 54 all make Heracles kill Cynus near Itonos, which is a good way south-west of Pagasai, being in Achaia Phthiotis, west of the southern point of the Gulf of Pagasai. We have seen that Euripides, *Herakles* 392 says that Kyknos lived in Amphanaia, and that that was called by Stephanus a Δωρικὴ πόλις, which might seem to support

Hermann's emendation in Euripides, mentioned above. Fontenrose, *op. cit.*, p. 53 argued that if located in Doris Kyknos would certainly have found it easier to vex travellers going along the Sacred Way to Delphi than it would have been from Pagasai, and would be likelier to have encountered Herakles coming from the south or the south-west on his way to Keyx. Kyknos' marriage to Keyx' daughter Themistonoe is easily explained if he was a neighbour. The evidence seems to indicate that Kyknos was thought to have encountered Herakles at Pagasai, but to live much further south; it may well be that in the original story the battle was located not at Pagasai or even Itonos, but nearer to Trachis. Neither Trachis nor Doris is very far from Lokroi, and these facts might encourage one to suspect that Kyknos may have had a Locrian connection. Stesichorus was born in the Locrian colony of Matauros, and may well have been glad to give a Locrian credit for having at first gained an advantage over Heracles, and Pindar will then have added this achievement to his list of Locrian achievements.

In one version of the legend Herakles was not heading south, but was heading north and making for the neighbourhood of Pagasai when he encountered Kyknos. In Apollodorus ii 155 = ii 7,7 he goes from the home of Keyx at Trachis to conquer the Dryopes, who 'were said to have lived originally in Central Greece, in a district variously defined as the neighbourhood of Parnassos, of Delphi, of Oita, of the Spercheios, and so perhaps embracing all of them' (W. S. Barrett, *Hermes* 82 [1954], 427). From there he goes north, and while passing by Itonos he is attacked by and kills Kyknos at Itonos. He next proceeds to Ormenion, west of Iolkos and north of Pagasai, where he kills the king Amyntor and carries off his daughter Astydameia; in Diodorus the girl's father is called Ormenios. It may well be that in a version of the story that lies behind Diodorus and Apollodorus he was on his way to Ormenion in pursuit of Astydameia when Kyknos barred his path. But even in this version he appears to have started from the home of Keyx in Trachis.

If Kyknos could be thought of as a Locrian, a native of the mother city of the city of Hagesidamos, Pindar's reference to him in this context, over which the commentators have made such heavy weather, would be readily intelligible. Since I believe that this explanation of Pindar's words, though not certain, is likelier than the others, I should alter the colon which stands after Ἡρακλέα at *Ol.* 10,15 in modern texts of Pindar to a full-stop.

The tale of Herakles' temporary discomfiture may also have been told in connection with the Lykaon story. Servius on Aen. 3, 552 tells of one Lacinius, *cui dabat superbiam mater Pyrene* (Höfer: *Cyrene* codd.) *et Hercules fugatus*. The name Lacinius, borne by a son of Pyrene in conflict with Herakles, may well be a distortion of the name Lycaon.

In Apollodorus' account of Herakles' encounter with the Thracian Diomedes, king of the Bistones, who lived some way east of the Crestonians, not far from Abdera (ii 96f. = ii 5,7; see Lloyd-Jones, *HSCP* 76 [1972] 50 = *Academic Papers* i 159f., where at p. 160, l. 2 read not *Cyllene*, but *Cyrene*, the name given by the *codex unicus* of Apollodorus). Janko, *op. cit.* p. 42, n. 28 should not have doubted that L. Malten (*Kyrene* [1911], p. 65) was right in emending this to *Pyrene*. Did Pyrene have *two* sons by Ares? She was, indeed, a Thracian; but since she belongs to Crestonia and not to Bistonia, it seems likelier that she was transferred in error to Diomedes.

Can we guess at any of the poetical sources from which the story of Lykaon's battle with Herakles was derived? Archilochus fr. 18 West mentioned 'a son of bloody Ares', but we cannot tell which one. Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. Κρηστών (p. 383 Meineke; Stephanus' paroxytone accent has to be corrected), following Hecataeus (1 *FGrH* 153) tells us that Pindar used the ethnic adjective Κρηστωνάιος (fr. 309 Snell–Maehler). Meineke in his apparatus suggested that Πινδάρῳι might be corrupt for Πεισάνδρῳι, thinking, presumably, that that poet's *Herakleia* was a likelier source for the Lykaon story than Pindar. Bergk approved this conjecture, but Schroeder (on p. 493 of his editio maior of 1900) demurred; '*Crestonam Diomedis Marte et Cyrena parentibus sororem esse si meminervis, manum cohibebis.*' Schroeder's reason for hesitating was that he was aware, even before the publication of P. Oxy. 2450 (see fr. 169 Snell–Maehler), that Pindar had written about Diomedes (see his fr. 316). But Diomedes, as we have seen, is located a long way east of Crestonia, and in fact no one tells us that Krestone was a sister of Diomedes; Schroeder is thinking of the statement of Tzetzes on Lycophron 499 (ed. Scheer, ii p. 181) that Krestone got its name ἀπὸ τῆς Κρηστώνης ἸΑρεος καὶ Πυρήνης (Κυρήνης codd.) θυγατρὸς. Diomedes is indeed said by Apollodorus ii 96 = ii 5,8 to have been son of Ares and Cyrene, but as we have seen Malten was certainly right in emending Κυρήνης to Πυρήνης. So what we learn from Tzetzes is that Krestone was a daughter of Ares and Pyrene, and therefore sister of Lykaon. There is no reason to believe that Pindar mentioned Krestone in the poem about Diomedes, but it is possible that he used the word Κρηστωνάιος in a poem in which he mentioned the story of Herakles' battle with Lykaon.

3. Lykaon and Kyknos in Art

Cambitoglou and Papalas in the article in *LIMC* mentioned above list 176 Greek, Roman, Etruscan and Coptic works of art which have been thought to depict the battle between Herakles and Kyknos. The subject was depicted on the Amyclae Throne (Pausanias iii 18,10), on a metope of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (K. Hoffelner, *Ath. Mitt.* 103 [1988] 95–98, fig. 21), and in a group on the archaic Acropolis (Pausanias, i 27,6), and it was one of the most popular Herakles episodes in Greek vases during the archaic period. It occurs first early in the sixth century, to whose second half most of the vases that show it belong.

In their 'Conclusions' (p. 988f.) the authors of the article distinguish nine versions of the picture that are found in the Attic representations. In Version C Zeus appears, as well as Athena and Ares and the two combatants. The authors argue that 'in most illustrations of Version C a synoptic account of the combat is presented, in which the chronological order of the participants' actions has been compressed into a single scene, so that Zeus may be seen in his role as the intervener between Herakles and Ares despite the fact that Kyknos is still alive'. 'There are only two representations', they add, 'which unequivocally correspond to the sources mentioned above in which Zeus appears separating Herakles from Ares, while Kyknos lies between them prostrate'. These are an oinochoe by Lydos (ABV 110, 37, no. 61 on p. 975 of the catalogue for Kyknos in *LIMC* = no. 42 in the catalogue for Ares, illustrated at vol. ii 2, p. 362) and a fragment of a bf. lid of the middle of the sixth century (no. 71 in the catalogue for Kyknos, illustrated at vol. vii 2, p. 696); on the oinochoe the name of

Kyknos is inscribed. Version D ‘may represent Herakles, Zeus and Kyknos, if it is an abbreviation of some variants of Version C, or Herakles, Zeus and Ares, if its scenes correspond with Apollodorus’ (ii 114) and Hyginus’ accounts; all four vases with Version D belong to the second half of the sixth century. Version G corresponds with the account in the *Aspis*, except that ‘the distinguishing feature of this version is the presence of Zeus’ thunderbolt, a detail only found in Apollodorus ii 114 and Hyginus, *fab.* 31,3’. ‘In a way’, the authors continue, ‘it corresponds more closely with Apollodorus’ (ii, 114) and Hyginus’ accounts than Version C, since Zeus’ intervention here consistently occurs after Kyknos’ collapse, and since in one case the picture may not include Kyknos at all, but simply Ares’. Three of the vases with this version are bf. and are dated in the last quarter of the sixth century or the first quarter of the fifth; the fourth, a rf. volute-krater by the Berlin Painter (early fifth century) in the Villa Giulia (ARV 206, 131, no. 118 in the Kyknos catalogue, and illustrated at vol. vii 2, p. 706) ‘may not include Kyknos at all, but only Ares’.

Shapiro, *op. cit.*, follows Frazer in thinking that Herakles fights against two different persons called Kyknos in two different localities. Cambitoglou and Papalás (*LIMC* vii 1, 990–991) think that there were two somewhat different accounts of the same battle; they find that it is ‘perhaps . . . unwise to put too much emphasis on the difference of localities and the different parentage of Kyknos given in the two passages of Apollodorus’ *Bibliothèque*. The evidence given above indicates that both Shapiro and the authors of the *LIMC* article are mistaken, since it shows that the adversary whom Herakles fought in Krestonia was originally not Kyknos but Lykaon.

Sir John Boardman in his article on Herakles lists only ‘one very uncertain representation’ (*LIMC* v 1, no. 2800 on p. 116) of Herakles’ encounter with Lykaon. This is on an rf. neck amphora in Dresden (ARV 19), dated between 510 and 500 B.C. Herakles, fully armed with club and bow is attacking a warrior with spear, falling back. Against Herakles is inscribed ΑΘΕΤΣ ΕΝΦΧΕΣ, evidently nonsense; against his adversary is inscribed ΝΟΑΧ. Beazley took the adversary to be Kyknos, but C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage* ii (1921), 512, n. 6 conjectured ΛΥ]ΚΑΟΝ. But nonsense in one place may well have been followed by nonsense in another.

However, in the light of the evidence above, it seems possible, and indeed likely, that some of the figures which have been assumed to be Kyknos are actually Lykaon. Several of the vases show female figures behind the combatants, and it has been suggested one of these is Pelopia; in a vase that showed Lykaon, a female figure might well be his mother, Pyrene. The task of trying to determine in how many cases an identification of Lykaon is probable or possible is one for an expert on Greek art, and I hope that it will be carried out by Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer, to whom I am grateful for having drawn my attention to the problem and given me valuable help. I must also thank Professor Rudolf Kassel for useful corrections.