

THE CULT OF PAN IN ANCIENT GREECE

Philippe Borgeaud



Translated by

Kathleen Atlass & James Redfield

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TRANSLATORS' FOREWORD

Recherches sur le dieu Pan began as a *thèse*; such a work is not really addressed to the public but to the examiners. A young scholar claims a place among scholars by a display of competence, of an ability to master the material and make some kind of argument about it. If the reader finds in the present work certain passages where the detail seems crushingly present, the argument fine-spun, it is as well to remember that in history of religions as applied to antiquity the competences required are extraordinarily various and slowly earned: languages, ancient and modern, and a command of iconography and of the scholarly apparatus involved with all this, as well as a sure historical sense which can bring together material from different periods with delicate discrimination of those features proper only to that phase, in contrast to those representing persisting structures and traditions.

Surely this work as a display of competence is a stunning success; that its author went beyond the scholarship to capture a historical reality is in a way a work of supererogation, although this alone makes him worth translating. As he worked he had an idea: Pan, whom we still know as god of woods and rocky desert places, is nevertheless—because he is known to us—a god of the city; since the fifth century B.C. city people have symbolized by Pan everything they took to be far from their civic and civil order. The work therefore became historical: how did this symbol first coalesce in the classical city?

In itself this idea was enough to make a book. To make *this* book something else was required: the author found in the material a personal resonance, found that Pan spoke to him of certain mysteries, and indeed provoked him—in the midst of his scholarly apparatus—to poetry. In his book the contrast between city and country is reevaluated as a contrast internal to the self; Pan's music evokes the wild places of the spirit, everything that in us is animal, mad, undifferentiated and undeveloped, the primal source of terror and creative power. And this religious meaning—for such it is—Pan still has for all of us, from Hawthorne's

Marble Faun to Forster and Picasso, and even (if one reads the original text) the Peter Pan of J. M. Barrie.

Translation, we are told, is a labor of love; in our case we were sustained equally by admiration for the work and affection for its author. In his preface to this edition he thanks us for our patience; he should rather thank us for our persistence, while we thank him for his patience. The translation took over six years, as we found odd moments to work on it amid the contingencies of life and art. Even more than an original work a translation is always half-achieved—"not finished but abandoned" as someone has said; it is a series of provisional solutions, all too many of which could have been improved upon. The collaboration between the translators was complex and can no longer be disentangled. As far as possible the references and Greek quotations were transferred directly from the original edition. Translations from the Greek, unless otherwise noted, are by Redfield.

KATHLEEN ATLASS
JAMES M. REDFIELD

University of Chicago
January 1988

PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The god Pan is not a new topic; historians of ancient Greek religion have in the past talked about him in various ways, but always with an effort to show his connections with the world, or what they supposed to be the world, of shepherds and other herdsmen and breeders. It fell to W. H. Roscher, our great forebear in the study of Greek mythology, to disentangle Pan from the chief hermeneutical modes of the nineteenth century: the symbolist mode inspired by Creuzer, who revived in mystical garb the stoic and allegoristic interpretations of Late Antiquity, and the naturalistic mode, represented by Welker, which treated the goat-god as an avatar of the sun. Roscher's great merit—besides that of bringing together the evidence in a series of publications which are still useful (see the "Select Bibliography" appended to this book)—was that he freed Pan from the recurrent efforts to find some secret meaning in him. However, his interpretation (which, insofar as it concerned Pan, has up to the present remained undisputed) is founded on an unalloyed positivism: Pan is only a projection or an idealization of the "real" herdsman, the goatherd still in our own time to be found wandering the Greek landscape. Such has been the fundamental hermeneutic premise of succeeding research; I refer particularly to R. Herbig, F. Brommer, and (most recently) H. Walter, all archaeologists. They have given us an expanded documentation and have developed our sense of the problem, but it remains unquestioned that Pan belongs to the simple world of petty herdsmen and huntsmen, that all explanation should begin and end with this world. Nor have the classic manuals of Greek religion gone beyond this point; the deified shepherd, the theological naïveté of the petty stock breeder—these are always taken as explanatory of a figure who in his actual appearances is so complicated and various: master of terror in war and of desire among the animals, lord of various forms of possession, called the Great, the All. Yet one point, familiar enough and forcefully made by Brommer, should have sufficed to reveal the inadequacy of this interpretation: Pan is not (as we know him) a timeless,

permanent figure. He shows up at a particular moment in Greek history, and arrives from a place which is both central and significant. Pan is an Arcadian, and he arrives in Athens immediately after Marathon (490 B.C.)—and it is just at this time that his cult spreads throughout the Greek world. In other words—and this is the essential point which must be kept in mind—Pan comes into view only when he is uprooted from his own soil. This deracination brought with it a secondary elaboration of symbols with further historic and social implications.

The general history of Pan remains to be written; this book makes no claim to fill that gap. It does claim to examine the first observable crystallization, the classic image of Pan, which is the beginning of the transformations of Pan in our sequential cultural history. In so doing it has perhaps opened the way to further explorations, generally in the mode of historical anthropology. Here we have worked past the most insidious obstacle to our understanding of the goat-god, namely the obvious. Who is Pan? A pastoral god, certainly, speaking to a bundle of anxieties characteristic of pastoral societies, embodying the solitude of the shepherd grappling with the vitality of the animal world, with the immensity of nature and with his own sexuality; also guarantor of a specific type of cultural and psychic equilibrium, and thus securing the reproduction of the flocks: such, at first glance, is the double task of Pan, who must sustain both an economy and an ideology. Quite possibly this is the angle from which to understand the original form of the god. However, from the beginning of the fifth century B.C.—that is, from the moment he first begins to appear in our evidence—Pan can no longer be restricted to this context. Arcadia at that moment became a representation. What did the Greeks, then and thereafter, mean by the pastoral as they imagined it? This question cannot be answered by the shepherd; we must look at those who looked at him. Seen from Athens, Arcadia came to be a place symbolizing both the frontiers and the origins of civil life. In Arcadian terms the city could be contrasted with that which it was not, with (in Jungian terms) its Shadow; such terms are adopted in order to express the fragility of all culture, of all equilibrium, psychological or social, whether the motive is the fear of losing this precarious equilibrium, or the joy of its recovery (after a crisis). Panic terror, panic laughter—these often go together.

No change has been made in the form or content of this book for the American edition. Some new references have, however, been added to the notes and bibliography, only in order to point out important work which has been done in this field since the appearance of the Swiss edition. Kathleen Atlass and James Redfield have produced a translation

which is faithful in the only meaningful sense—that is, they have not merely translated, they have written out ideas which for that moment they made their own. I thank them for their patience and their friendship. I also thank the publishers for having accepted this work of the Geneva school for publication at the University of Chicago, where it has been my privilege to spend two extended periods, and to which I owe so much.

Geneva
September 1987

PART ONE
THE GREEK IMAGE OF
ARCADIA

*

O N E
THE SETTING

*

Pan is an Arcadian. Apollo and Dionysus may originate in distant, indefinite, mythical places (Hyperborea, Nysa), but Pan is firmly located in an actual familiar landscape; all the ancient sources call him Arcadian. Even in cults practiced at Athens or Thebes, Pan remains linked with Arcadia.¹ The “official” meeting between the god and the Athenians took place (through the mediation of a herald)² near Tegea; Pindar,³ referring to a Boeotian cult, speaks of Pan as “lord of Arcadia.” Our earliest evidence for the cult of Pan, furthermore, comes from the Peloponnese, and in particular from Arcadia.⁴

This mythological origin of the god, apparently confirmed by archaeology, may seem at first completely unproblematic—to such an extent that Pan has long been thought of as the complete product of the Arcadian mountains and pastures, the divine projection of their shepherds and goatherds.⁵ Evidently everything follows from this: Pan’s music (the pastoral syrinx); his activity as a huntsman; his erotic solitude (and the perversion it induces); the distance he keeps from urban life. Equally easy to explain are his love affairs with the moon (the shepherd’s preferred companion—flocks are easier to keep when they can be seen by the full moon) and panic fear (terrifying noises amid the immobility of cliffs and gullies). As for his love affairs with Echo, evidently no commentary is required. In him, through his primitive homeland, the original life of the Greek countryside speaks to us, and Pan in the end touches on something universal. The Greek peasant is still latent in each of us; his “experience” is not extinct. Thus R. Herbig can allude to Heidegger on Pan, and use Böcklin for his representation.⁶

Has the time not come to ask if it is really enough to detach ourselves from our technological life and “let the god appear” in all his various aspects for him to become immediately recognizable? The Arcadian Pan is perhaps not so obvious. To borrow a phrase from Heidegger, what is Arcadian about him anyway?

A mountainous country, hard to reach, Arcadia was a veritable store-

house of archaism in politics, language, and religion. The dialect spoken there in classical times was the one closest to the Greek of the Mycenaeans,⁷ and strange divinities other than Pan were venerated there, often with secret names and bestial shapes. Pausanias, even in the age of the Antonines, strove in vain to assimilate them to the gods of Eleusis.⁸

Huntsman and at the same time protector of game, keeper of goats, one who made fertile the little flocks, Pan seems in this land dominated by a pastoral economy, where hunting had not been reduced to the level of a sport, to have had a function much like that of the Master of Animals, a figure well known among hunting peoples and those in the early stages of herding.⁹ “Most ancient and most honored”—so he appears to us, at least in his homeland, where his sanctuaries were real temples or even whole mountains not, as in Attica and the rest of the Greek world, simple caves, which he had to share with other divinities.¹⁰ Arcadian Pan seems at first sight to bring before us (as do the whole history and culture of Arcadia) a universe radically different from that of the Greece we call classical. It will thereupon be difficult to understand him while clinging to a humanistic phenomenology that assumes a continuous inheritance from ancient Greece to the people of our times. There is an inheritance, surely, but in this new perspective it runs from the Master of Animals to Pan, from hunting to herding, and not simply from Arcadian Pan to the Pan of Böcklin. Arcadian Pan suddenly turned to face his own past, his distant origins, takes on a kind of otherness. Our confidence is shaken; we cannot begin to understand him without a long detour through comparativism. Shall we have to call upon what we know of hunting peoples, bring to our aid the ethnology of the Desana, of the Kwakiutl, of the Proto-Siberians?

Comparison, surely, will help us better grasp the specificity of Greek myth, but it would be useless to start there, awarding a privileged position within the total set of Greek data to certain elements stipulated as archaic (that is, authentically Arcadian) because they seem naturally to separate themselves off within a comparative framework. Such a method would offer no opportunities for verification. Archaeology itself rejects it: where are the sites, where are the “strata” where one could hope to find evidence for a purely Arcadian culture, protected from historical variation? We cannot place the originality of the Arcadians, any more than their conservatism, earlier than the arrival in the Peloponnese of the Indo-Europeans. The Arcadians are Greeks; from their arrival in Greece they shared with the rest knowledge and techniques beyond those of hunting peoples. In the course of Greek history—not because of some prehistory of which we know nothing—they for some reason

acquire the originality we find in them. Above all, they define themselves in relation to other Greeks. If they are a hidden and primitive people, they are so relative to the rest of the Greek world, and within that world. Arcadia is the result of a dialectic where the role of one party is incomprehensible without that of the others. Consequently, even though Pan actually originates in Arcadia, this origin has from the outset the standing of a representation accompanied by a point of view always exterior to it. This leaves absolutely no place for conjectures that base themselves on a “reconstruction of the facts”: after all, *we* know of Arcadian reality what Greeks in general saw and remembered. Every ethnology of ancient Arcadia must include this point of view as part of its object. When we believe that we can pick out in the archive of tradition a specifically Arcadian voice, this voice is still too much like the others for us not to suspect that it is an integral and authentic part of the Panhellenic canon, even at the very moment when it pretends to oppose that canon.

God of little flocks, and also of hunting, the “normal” place for Pan seems to be a region where the herding economy is particularly developed and hunting is more important than elsewhere in Greece. There he takes his place beside divinities linked to other aspects of herding: Poseidon Hippios, Hermes, and Apollo, to whom Artemis, goddess of hunting, should be added. When the Greeks speak of the Arcadian origin of Pan, when they repeat that the Arcadians honor him among the greatest gods, and when they style him sovereign of Arcadia, this does not only mean that according to the myth, the name and cult of Pan spread to the rest of Greece from a well-known region; it simultaneously implies a certain affinity between the powers of Pan and all that this region represented for the Greeks. Through all that they tell us, they invite us to inquire into their special sense of Arcadia, which remains a particular case, and not simply to rely on some general and universal experience of pastoral life. Something recurrent is at issue here, but we would be wrong to believe that we should come to terms with it in the light of something earlier than the Greeks’ own vision. Rather, Arcadian uniqueness helped constitute that vision. We are right to inquire into “received wisdom” generally ignored by essays on Pan and to begin with a reformulation of our first question: what is Arcadia for the Greeks?

The Arcadia of the poets—that happy, free Arcadia caressed by zephyrs, where the love songs of the goatherds waft—is a Roman invention, part and parcel of a meditation on the theme of the origins of Rome. The bucolic landscape of Vergil, set in Arcadia, is a kind of stage

set.¹¹ The poet dramatizes an original happiness prior to the city's foundation, that which Evander and his companions arriving as they did from Palantian Arcadia must have enjoyed in a time before they settled at the foot of the Palatine in Rome. Alexandrian idyll, which served the Latin poets as their model, did not locate these shepherd-poets in Arcadia, but elsewhere. It is all the more striking that those Alexandrian poets chose precisely the god Pan as the countryman's divine model for the amorous singer. Arcadia, furthermore, turns up numerous times in the works of Theocritus and Callimachus. The erudition of these Alexandrians allowed them to state exactly certain ethnographic details relative to the homeland of the god with the syrinx; they were, however, careful not to place their bucolic scenes there. They rather remained faithful to another tradition, the Greek, for which Arcadia—far from being an idyllic place—is a barren and forbidding land inhabited by rude, almost wild primitives, a place where music primarily has the function of softening manners.¹²

In antiquity the Arcadians were often called *proselēnoi*, “those who preceded the moon.” We owe the introduction of this word into the Greek language to a historian of the fifth century B.C., Hippys of Rhegium.¹³ An unidentified, but ancient, lyric poet (Bergk thinks it might even be Pindar)¹⁴ applies to Pelasgos, first king of Arcadia, the epithet *proselēnaios*. These “pre-Selenians” were greatly in favor with the Alexandrian poets and their Latin successors. They also aroused the curiosity of the erudite. Aristotle produced an early exegesis in his *Constitution of Tegea*.¹⁵ He explains that the very first inhabitants of the country were barbarians: the Arcadians drove them out by an attack launched before the rising of the moon. It has been sometimes thought that Aristotle refers here to a myth, no trace of which persists elsewhere, according to which the Arcadians owed their victory and the conquest of their country to a trick: they made a surprise attack and took advantage of a moonless night. This explanation, already put forward in the eighteenth century (Larcher)¹⁶ and recently taken up by F. Vian,¹⁷ is unconvincing. Ovid,¹⁸ who uses and comments on Greek sources, says that the Arcadians are “older than Jupiter and the moon”; Statius, who also draws on a Greek model, claims they are “prior to the moon and stars.”¹⁹ We know that mythology placed the birth of Zeus²⁰ and the origin of the constellations the Great Bear and her guardian, the Drover (Arctophylax), in Arcadia.²¹ The formulae of Ovid and Statius, symmetrical as they are, seem to suggest that myth also placed the birth of Selene here. When Aristotle asserts that the Arcadians took possession of their country before the rising of the moon, surely this means that they were al-

ready established there when the moon rose for the first time. So if the term *proselēnoi* goes back to a myth, it must be a myth of origin, rather than referring to some banal and quotidian event (a moonless night). An Arcadian Selene, born in an already inhabited Arcadia, is not impossible. Pan himself, lord of Arcadia, had a mortal mother; an important genealogy calls him great-grandson of Pelasgos.²² Pan and Selene belong to the same spatio-temporal environment. Porphyry tells us that they had a joint cult in Arcadia,²³ and we know the story of their love affair.²⁴ These traditions, transmitted to us through the transformations of Hellenistic scholarship, quite probably go back to a mythology concerning the origins of Arcadia. One Greek historian places the appearance of the moon shortly prior to the war of the gods against the Giants.²⁵ Vian has stressed the importance of the Giants in Arcadian mythology.²⁶ Arcadia itself is called “land of the Giants” (*Gigantis*)²⁷ and was the stage on which the gigantomachia took place according to a local tradition reported by Pausanias.²⁸

Apollonius Rhodios mentions that the Apidanean Arcadians, who were said to have lived before the moon, lived on acorns in the mountains in an age before the deluge (literally: before the descendants of Deucalion reigned in Thessaly).²⁹ “Apidanean” takes us back to a time when the Peloponnese, which had not yet that name, was the land of Apis,³⁰ son of Phoroneus, (“the father of mortals”).³¹ The historian Aristippus, author of *Inquiry on Arcadia*, suggests that the history of the Peloponnese was comparable to that of Egypt,³² the place of origins par excellence. According to Aristippus, King Apis, ancestor of the Apidaneans actually took himself over to Egypt, where he founded Memphis and was later honored under the name Serapis. The poet Lycophron also takes us back into the immemorial past when he evokes the oak-born Arcadians, eaters of acorns and older than the moon.³³ For Lycophron the Arcadians descended from Dryops. This Dryops, son of Lykaon and Dia according to some, son of Apollo and Lykaon’s daughter (also called Dia) according to others,³⁴ gave his name to the Dryopes (those who have faces of oak) who, driven by Heracles from Parnassus into the Peloponnese, came to join the previous Arcadians, born from the earth.³⁵ The Dryopes were mythical brigands, outlaws.³⁶ Their “naturalization” contributed to the reputation for unruliness that hung about the *proselēnoi*. The ancients actually sometimes derived the expression *proselēnoi* from *προσελεῖν* (“to attack”) and gave it the sense of *hubristai* (“the violent ones”).³⁷ My aim here is not, however, to unravel the skein of traditions. We know that the Dryopes of Parnassus, refugees in the Peloponnese, are more often placed in the Argolid (in

the region of Asine) than in Arcadia. They came there along with Phoroneus and Apis. It is probable that the people of Argos, wishing to assert their antiquity, discovered a certain (jealous) relationship to the Arcadians, those most ancient of men, and tried to connect their own traditions with those of their near neighbors. Amid all the speculations of the historiographers, the essential theme remains the immemorial antiquity of Arcadia, and the fact that for the Greeks this antiquity suggested the notion of hubris. The pre-Selenians, violent men of blackest night, who dwell in the anonymity of a collective name, suggest other figures in Arcadian mythology (individualized in this case), who bear the names Lykaon ("wolfman") and Nyktimos ("nocturnal").³⁸ Their original night, peopled by outlaws, is prelude to myths, including the crime of the wolves of Mount Lykaion; from it "civilized" Arcadia will emerge.

Given that the crime of the wolfmen was (as we shall see) periodically reenacted in ritual, it seems appropriate to ask whether the pre-lunar epoch of Arcadian history ever altogether passed away. In fact, the first Arcadians, those of the origin, were not the only ones called "pre-Selenians." The "pre-Selenians" were not an extinct species; their linear descendants were the contemporary Arcadians known to our sources. More generally, this term and the periphrases that replace it come to signify prodigious antiquity and are generally so understood by the Greeks. Certain authors consider "pre-Selenian" equivalent to that which preceded human observation of the phases of the moon. Such observation is supposed to have been "invented" by mythical figures often bound up with Arcadia: Endymion, Atlas, or even Pan.³⁹ This last, styled honorably, but with firm naturalism, "king of Arcadia," appears before us as the first astrologer, inventor of the calendar (he defined the year, the months, and the equinoxes). We have here probably an allegorical and euhemerist development of the myth of his love affair with the moon. But this development signals something else: since the principal function of the moon was to measure time, "pre-Selenian" came to mean the time that stands before all sense of time.

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The Arcadians claimed to be the oldest inhabitants of the Peloponnese, and other Greeks did not contradict them.⁴⁰ They are authentic Pelasgians: the genealogy handed down by Pausanias makes of Lykaon, founder in Arcadia of the world's first city (Lykosoura), a son of Pelasgos, who was himself born of the earth.⁴¹ The Arcadians are autochthonous, earth-born, and share this special status in the eyes of the other Greeks with the Athenians alone.⁴² Like these latter, they remain

integrally connected with the earth from which they were born. According to Herodotus, the Arcadians always lived in Arcadia.⁴³ They are a given, just as their territory is a given. As a consequence, it is hard to give a historical account of them. Their history is not revealed, except by contrast, in its relation to the adventures of other human groups. They take almost no part in the game of conflict and migrations of which Greek historiography is so fond. Autochthonous or, if Aristotle's interpretation is preferred, from elsewhere, but before the moon, the Arcadians never separate themselves from the place where they made their temporal appearance. As compared with their neighbors, they are consequently equivocal beings, at once in time and timeless. Whether they assimilate alien things or keep them out, they are very little affected. The Dorian invasion, that descent of the Heraclidae on the Peloponnese, which fed numberless local traditions, concerned them very little. They remembered that they had joined the mass of the Peloponnesians in a momentarily successful attempt at resistance.⁴⁴ Furthermore, when the second wave of invaders had succeeded in breaching the isthmus of Corinth, they managed to get the Heraclidae to spare them by means of a "diplomatic" marriage;⁴⁵ they alone among all the Peloponnesians were neither overrun nor even contaminated. This stability, asserted by legendary tradition, corresponds only partially with what we can make out of this region's history in the first half of the first millennium B.C.⁴⁶ In fact, everything suggests that there was serious trouble, which did not perhaps affect Arcadia as a whole but nevertheless threw it acutely on the defensive, forcing it to set up stout barricades against its neighbors.

Heraia (facing Elis) and Tegea and Mantinea (facing Sparta and Argos) are cities of great antiquity, whose importance at the end of the archaic period is all the more striking in that they were built on the borders of a land of villages and little settlements. In the west toward Triphylia, and in the north on the Achaean border, we find Arcadia's frontiers still ill-defined at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. But this lack of definition, appropriate to regions not yet defined into a political system, contrasts with what we can observe in the south and east, toward Sparta and Argos. There we have evidence of incidents that led the borders to be drawn as we find them in the fifth century B.C. Relevant incidents concern first of all the separation of Messenia from Arcadia; these are linked to the aggressive politics of the young Spartan state. Before falling under Spartan domination, Messenia was, in fact, if not Arcadian, at least closely related to Arcadia; the Arcadians remembered this, and when Messene was founded they played the role of veritable liberators.⁴⁷ Beyond this contested territory, Arcadia and Sparta

quarreled more seriously about still another matter. Although naturally defined by the watershed, the frontier between these two countries is nonetheless easily passable. The territories of Mantinea and Tegea that face this frontier represented for Sparta the easiest route to communication with the north (the Argolid or Corinth). Sparta's (and Argos's) intervention in these regions must consequently have begun very early; the conflicts between the Arcadian cities and Sparta during the fifth and fourth centuries were thus surely deeply rooted, even if for modern historians their earliest phases are wrapped in myth.

Herodotus tells us that shortly after the death of the legendary Lycurgus, the Spartans

developed rapidly and flourished; so they were no longer content to live in peace but, believing themselves superior to the Arcadians, consulted Delphi about the conquest of all Arcadia. The Pythia gave them this oracle: "You ask me for Arcadia? It is a great thing that you ask me; I will not give it you. There are in Arcadia many acorn-eating men who will stand in your way. But I will not begrudge you. I will give you to dance on Tegea where feet strike noisily and her fine plain to measure with cords." When this answer was brought to the Lacedemonians and they had heard it, they abstained from attacking the other Arcadians; but bringing with them fetters, they marched against the Tegeans; trusting a deceptive oracle, they imagined they were going to reduce the Tegeans to slavery. But they had the worst of the encounter; and all those among them who were taken alive, laden with the fetters they themselves had brought, having measured it by the cord worked the Tegean plain. The very fetters that had served to chain them still existed in my time at Tegea, hung around the temple of Athena Alca.⁴⁸

The essential meaning of this tangle of myth and history is that Arcadia is primitive but strong (the warriors eat acorns) and its integrity cannot be lightly challenged.

Although important towns appeared relatively early in Arcadia, the civic system, in the classical sense, long remained unknown there. In the fifth century the region still consisted essentially of villages; these were not grouped around urban centers of power but were linked more or less closely to one another; the wider communities can be called tribal, and within them each village continued to enjoy considerable autonomy.⁴⁹ The name and geographic division of a number of these communities is known: Parrhasia, Cynuria, Eutresia, and Menalia in the

southwest; Azania in the north, a particularly backward district that seems the quintessential Arcadia. The tribal system seems to have been far better established in the southwest than in the north, a fact consistent with the fact noted above concerning the frontier: Azania, which was not troubled by its neighbors, felt less need of cohesion and could allow itself to relax “tribal” bonds to the advantage of “small separate communities”; often, though, it is difficult to tell to which collectivity these smaller communities belong. The “tribal” communities, which may possibly have continued a system tied to kingship (abolished in Arcadia from the sixth century B.C. on), gradually were abraded, until they were completely broken up at the end of the fourth century B.C. They no longer met the demands of a history that first drew Arcadia into the conflicts between Sparta and its Peloponnesian competitors and then gradually into other conflicts further off, until Thebes and Epaminondas intervened.⁵⁰ After the development of urban centers came cities of the classic type. Tegea and Mantinea were the first Arcadian towns to carry out the city’s constitutive act: synoecism, or political unification. The exact date of this double event is much debated but ranges between the end of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth.⁵¹ The political structure characteristic of classical Greece appeared in Arcadia only when urged by powerful neighbors—the Argives, who felt threatened by Sparta.⁵² The synoecisms of Tegea and Mantinea remained isolated cases, and exceptional. We must wait a century to observe the transformation of Heraia (the first Arcadian town to issue coinage, in the sixth century B.C.) into a city. Heraia also was synoecized (between 380 and 371) by a foreign power, the Spartans, as it happened, acting through king Cleombrotus.⁵³ Arcadian “civilization” was late, hasty, only partial, and as imposed by history. Shortly after the synoecism of Heraia, and at the instigation this time of the Thebans entering into the Peloponnese to confront the power of Sparta, the famous Arcadian League was formed;⁵⁴ this provided itself with Megalopolis, a city created at a stroke to be its capital. This league was the only Arcadian attempt at political unity crowned with any success, yet even its existence was ephemeral.

The Arcadian *koinon* (community) formed around Megalopolis had been preceded by other attempts at federation, attested by fifth-century coins.⁵⁵ From 490 to 418, a whole series of issues, coming from different mints and struck on different occasions, were in circulation with the image of Zeus seated on a throne, holding his scepter in one hand and stretching out the other, on which an eagle is perched. On the reverse, the head of a goddess is associated with the label ARKADIKON or its abbreviation. Possibly, as R. T. Williams suggests, these coins were struck

to pay the wages of the soldiers engaged when this or that town or coalition in turn claimed a position of leadership. But we know nothing certain save that Arcadian political unity still remained to be achieved, and that it was preceded by an "Arcadian consciousness," which made it possible to think of achieving it.⁵⁶ At the beginning of the fifth century (toward 490), the Spartan king Cleomenes, convicted of conspiracy against the state, had to go into exile: "He became afraid of the Spartans," Herodotus tells us, "and went off secretly to Thessaly. From there he came to Arcadia, where he tried to stir up trouble, drawing together the Arcadians against Sparta, making them promise under oath (among other things) to follow him wherever he would take them; in particular, he tried hard to get those who were at the head of the country to come to the town of Nonakris so that they could swear by the waters of the Styx. In the territory of this town, according to the Arcadians, are the waters of the Styx; it is actually like this: a little stream of water appears coming out of a rock; it falls drop by drop down into a pool; all around this pool there runs in a circle a wall of rough stones. Nonakris, where this spring is found, is an Arcadian town near Pheneos."⁵⁷ Cleomenes' attempt failed: he was, in fact, soon recalled by his compatriots to Sparta, where he went mad and killed himself. However, the mention of the Styx, which carries us into the northern mountains of Azania, to the most Arcadian and traditional region of Arcadia, is very interesting. If Cleomenes had succeeded in joining the Arcadians by an oath on the waters of the Styx, he would perhaps have achieved his project by unifying Arcadia against Sparta. The Arcadians, after all, although dispersed and without political unity, were nonetheless equipped with the strongest surety a Greek could think of to secure an alliance: they had in their own country the sacred waters that sealed the union of the gods against the Titans.⁵⁸

Shortly before the battle of Salamis, threatened by a Persian invasion of the Peloponnese, the Arcadians ("all the Arcadians," says Herodotus, as if to stress their exceptional unity)⁵⁹ joined up with the Peloponnesian forces prepared at Corinth to defend the isthmus. Their intervention, like the unity it displayed, was short-lived and compelled by the threat to their separate autonomies. All the same, it clearly displayed the existence, behind the political atomization of Arcadia, of a sense of communality that could, in certain cases, take the form of concrete solidarity. There is further evidence for such solidarity in Herodotus; it came to the surface when the Arcadians opposed the Lacedaemonian hegemony.⁶⁰ At Dipaea, in the district of Menalia, all Arcadians (with the sole exception of the Mantineans) took part in a battle against the Spar-

tans. They were, however, defeated, and this probably prevented their solidarity (dangerous to the Spartans) from taking the form of a unified confederation.

F. Jacoby has stressed that the ancient genealogies found in Hellanicus that make a political unity of Arcadia are at odds with the historical reality of the earliest period known to us.⁶¹ Prior to Jacoby, Hiller von Gaertringen and Ed. Meyer had conceded that Arcadia was atomized into numerous small communities, but they thought that memories of ancient unity (genealogically supported) were kept alive by certain institutions involving Arcadia as a whole, for example, the cult of Zeus Lykaios, under whose patronage, they suggest, the coins labeled ARKADIKON were struck.⁶² Jacoby suggests that we should be cautious and reminds us that we have no properly historical evidence for Arcadia's unity. We can perhaps then put the problem in different terms: rather than referring to an earlier (and clearly hypothetical) state of affairs, we can ask ourselves what it meant to those who told the stories when they spoke of the ancient kings of all Arcadia and insisted on Arcadian community as a current fact. Such themes begin in the early fifth century B.C., as do the notions of an Arcadia born from the earth or prior to the moon—exactly at the point when history begins to force upon Arcadia the discovery of a political identity it had not previously had. The assertion of unity in myth precedes its realization in practice. The myth of origins could even be a means to propagandistic ends, urging the creation of a league.⁶³ Genealogies and myths of autochthony are not, of course, suddenly invented out of nothing, but they were put to service to meet the apparent problems of a critical epoch in Arcadia, an epoch characterized by the problem of reconciling the traditional state of things (atomization) with the need for something like national unity if Sparta were to be resisted, a need that became more and more apparent. Unity and the achievement of a political condition like that of the classical Greek states were made necessary by exterior forces; in Arcadia, this need flew in the face of custom. With few exceptions, pluralism remained the rule until the Megalopolitan League was created. Synoecism, and then sympolity, the union of states (the Arcadian League was a sympolity), appeared only late, and these remained fragile institutions, ill-fitted to local tradition. Individuals certainly felt themselves Arcadians, but this feeling was secondary to more circumscribed loyalties. In the fifth century, the descendants of Arcas identified themselves with a town or village, and after that with a somewhat larger community (Parrhasia, Cynuria, Menalia, Eutresia, Azania), and finally, without thinking of it as a state, with Arcadia as a whole.⁶⁴

What then did it mean to feel oneself Arcadian? At first glance the answer seems simple. We could use an analogy and say that a man of Tegea or Psophis was Arcadian in the same way in which an Athenian, a Boeotian, or a Corinthian were Greeks. But “national consciousness” did not, in Greece, presuppose any functioning political unity. It did not even embody a hope or a claim that such unity could exist.⁶⁵ Alliances between states were things that appeared and disappeared. Pluralism was an essential element of Greekness and even sustained the common actions of the Greeks—for example, in the Persian Wars. But what applied to Greece taken as a whole did not apply to Attica, to Boeotia, to the Argolid, or to Laconia taken separately. Arcadia was thus an exception. To say that one was Arcadian in the sense in which a Greek said that he was Greek came down to an assertion that local pluralism was nowhere more at home than in Arcadia; these Arcadians, the most ancient of the Greeks, reproduced among themselves (and in an archaic form) an image of the Greek system taken as a whole. In political terms, they were the ancestors.

* * *

Primitivism and a strategy of staying out of trouble were linked in the Greek view to the condition of the land. A land badly adapted to agriculture attracts no conquerors; no one disputes it with those who are born there, the autochthons. Rather it attracts refugees, as the need arises, from places overrun by violence. On this point, Thucydides compares Arcadia with Attica: in both regions autochthony was integrally bound up with the difficulties of cultivating infertile land. This comparison, which Pausanias would develop to another purpose,⁶⁶ brings into relief the glory of the Athenians as agents of civilization. Starting from the same point, they have had a very different destiny: Attica saw commercial development and imported grain; Arcadia, lacking access to the sea, remained a country of poor farmers working a thin and sterile soil. The Greeks, playfully denying a well-established tradition, even liked to think that Azania (for them synonymous with Arcadia) did not take its name from King Azan but from the fact that it was an “Azalia” (with a play of words on the adjective *azaleos*), a dry and arid country.⁶⁷ Here one had to cultivate the stones, a little as at Phyle in Attica, itself a district sacred to Arcadian Pan, where Cnemon the peasant struggled against poverty.⁶⁸ Those crushed by trouble were said to have encountered “the sorrows of Azania.”⁶⁹ This Arcadian agricultural poverty receives a sort of comment in a traditional epithet: the Arcadians, for the Greeks, are “acorn-eaters” (*balanēphagoi*). This expression, which turns up verbatim or in paraphrase in Herodotus, Apollonius Rhodios, Ly-

cophon, Plutarch, Pausanias, Aelian, and Nonnos of Panopolis, corresponds to an observed fact: the Arcadians ate the acorns produced by the *phēgos* (*quercus aegilops*), a variety of oak (*drus*).⁷⁰ They were not the only ones to recognize the nutritive properties of this plant,⁷¹ but generally only poverty could force people to live off it⁷²—poverty or, at the other extreme, gluttony. Roasted *phēgoi* actually turn up as a delicacy (*tragēma*) in Aristophanes and Plato.⁷³ For the other Greeks an atypical food, acorns were one of the principal elements of the Arcadian cuisine.⁷⁴ This deviant culinary behavior corresponded not only to the agricultural problems of the Arcadians but also to their antiquity. The poets who mention “pro-Selenians” are likely to call them “acorn-eaters.” The acorn stands to Demeter’s grain as an unrefined life stands to a civilized existence. *Βαλανίτης βίος* and *ἀλληλεσμένος βίος*, “an existence fed by acorns” and “an existence fed by milled grain” formed a contrast familiar to Greek thought.⁷⁵ A passage in Galen tells us that originally all men lived on acorns; the author adds that the Arcadians stayed faithful to this custom, which was abandoned by the other Greeks when they received the gifts of Demeter. Apollodorus of Athens tells us that the oak was sacred to old Rhea, wife of Cronos; this tree and the fruits it puts forth in such wild abundance thus recalled a vanished age.⁷⁶ In calling the Arcadians “acorn-eaters,” in a text I shall soon discuss, the oracle of Delphi quite consistently points to a fact about them that linked them to a time before Zeus reigned and the earth was cultivated; this fact seemed to the Greeks a survival from the savage state.⁷⁷

The Arcadian economy should not, however, be reduced to this tableau of poverty. The dryness of the soil, after all, affected only the domains of Demeter and Dionysus and the activities that concerned them.⁷⁸ The cultivation of the soil was far from being the principal resource of the country. Herding had great importance there. The Greeks admired the great herds of horses grazing in Arcadia.⁷⁹ Its wealth in flocks and goats is implied by some archaeological evidence: the extended ring-walls that can still be seen at Mantinea and Phigalia would be disproportionate if we thought of the human population only; they are likely also to have sheltered a multitude of flocks.⁸⁰ Furthermore, a special type of little bronze from the archaic period onward turns up around the sanctuaries sacred to divinities like Pan. The shepherds evidently came there to offer images of themselves; they appear in the kind of hat called a *pilos*, wrapped in their “cloak of rough wool.”⁸¹ The Arcadian shepherd who was rich enough to offer as an *ex-voto* these works of art was not a marginal man restricted to his pasture. These bronzes, along with certain epigraphic documents and the leading position given to

the gods of herding in official cult, show us that in Arcadia the shepherd held a central position—which he did not hold in Greece generally.⁸²

Tradition tells us that at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. a ritual error caused the region of Phigalia to be struck with sterility: the Phigalians had not only failed to replace the ancient xoanon worshipped in the cave of Black Demeter after its destruction by fire, they had neglected the cult of the goddess altogether. The response attributed to the Pythia, who was then consulted, brings before us the connection in Arcadia of agriculture (and urbanism) with herding:

Arkadian, Azanian acorn-eaters
people of Phigalia, O, people
of stallion-mated Deo's hidden cave,
you came for a cure of painful famine
in exile twice, living wild twice,
no one but you: and Deo took you home,
made you sheaf-carriers and oatcake-eaters,
makes you live wild now, because you stopped
your fathers' worship, her ancient honours.
You shall consume yourselves, be child-eaters
if your whole people will not soothe her spleen,
and dress the deep cave in divine honours.⁸³

The threat to the Phigalians is not exactly that of becoming shepherds once again (that is what most of them were at the time); it is that of again becoming nomadic shepherds, deprived of a center, pushed back into savagery. The center in this case is defined by agricultural labor, which requires a settled condition of life. In Greek stories about the invention of culture, nomadic herding is proper to man's life before the invention of the city and the gifts of Demeter. It is a dispersed, asocial life, still to be seen among savages and barbarians, which Aristotle describes in terms that bring to the surface the contrasts with Demeter: "The idlest are the nomads; they feed off domesticated animals without trouble and quite at ease, but as their flocks are forced to move about from pasture to pasture, they also must go with them as if they were cultivating a living field."⁸⁴ Greek herding was not nomadic. Even if the shepherds wandered, even if they practised transhumance, they remained integrally connected with an urban center surrounded by cultivated fields.⁸⁵ They were mobile, but relative to that center; to lose it would cast them loose from civilized humanity. Then they might even be capable of renewing the cannibalistic practices characteristic of their original bestial way of life (*θηριώδης βίος*).

That loss of the center that here threatened certain Arcadians can be

understood all the better because their relation to the land was weak. Demeter's civilizing influence had to work upon these acorn-eaters in spite of the imperfection of their agriculture. They had to enact their relationship with the goddess with little or no support from the activities she came to teach mankind. From the beginning agriculture here lacked a real infrastructure.

Aridity is not the only obstacle to agriculture in Arcadia. Another theme appears with equal frequency: water, which makes the plains swampy. In the district of Mantinea, near Nestane, the name of the periodically flooded plain Argon means, according to the Arcadians, "uncultivable."⁸⁶ Further south, toward Tegea, Lake Taka had to be ringed with dykes if the fields were to be protected.⁸⁷ This problem, which received some attention from the ancients, turns up mainly in the northern part of the country (in Azania proper).⁸⁸ This region is at once the most cut off and the most typically Arcadian in its roughness. Northern Arcadia is divided into a series of basins completely separated from one another by rings of mountains; the water that flows from the crests finds no outlet toward the sea. The sun must be left to evaporate it, and, where it cannot run away into certain fissures in the ground the Greeks called *barathra*, it accumulates in lakes and impermanent marshes. One can trace through history an unpredictable and irregular alternation between lakes and cultivable land in the basins of Pheneos and Stymphalia.⁸⁹ Heracles, who built the first dykes there, is considered the culture hero of Pheneos. However, the hero's exemplary efforts failed to secure the harvest indefinitely. In Plutarch's day, Apollo still punished the Pheneans for Heracles' theft of his tripod; in spite of the dykes, there were frequent floods.⁹⁰ That an everyday problem as material as drainage was treated in a myth is no playful transformation, but means that the problem had implications beyond mere technical inadequacy. It involved a relationship with the gods and, through that relationship, the cultural status of mankind. At Stymphalia, in the basin neighboring Pheneos, this becomes evident. The inhabitants of Stymphalia told Pausanias that shortly before his visit they had neglected the cult of Artemis.⁹¹ A tree trunk had fallen in the *barathron* and blocked it up so that the waters could not drain and covered the plain instead. This state of things went on until one day a hunter, incautiously following a deer, went after the animal into the *barathron* and disappeared. The waters were sucked down into the fissure along with the man, so that the plain once again became dry. This event recalled the inhabitants of Stymphalia to their obligation to Artemis; they redoubled their ardor in serving the goddess.

As we know from epigraphy, Artemis was one of the principal di-

vinities of Stymphalia.⁹² But what does the myth tell us? For, clearly, this *is* a myth, disguised as a recent event. It tells us two things at once: first of all, when water covered the plain (as it doubtless frequently did), the Stymphalians felt guilty of wronging Artemis; second, this wrongdoing caused the death of a hunter.⁹³ This strange story tells us something about the role of Artemis and hunting at Stymphalia. The goddess punishes those who neglect her by in effect recreating the landscape she likes best: a marshy lake instead of an agricultural plain. To appease her, a man directly linked to her must die, a deer hunter, not a farmer. Does this mean that at Stymphalia Artemis was worshipped in order to keep at a distance the environment proper to the goddess and so protect mankind (as farmer or herdsman) from a misfortune that would mean returning to the hunter's life? At the very least we can say that the hunter appears in a negative light; his hunting involves him in something very like a sacrifice, in which he is himself the victim.

Another story also connected with Stymphalian waters offers an image of hunting not simply negative but completely inverted: the famous birds Heracles drove from the lake were carnivorous, certain versions even describing them as using their feathers as arrows to shoot at men.⁹⁴ The lake at Stymphalia signals an inverted world where animals hunt men, who themselves appear with animal traits: the murderous birds in the version of the myth told in Pseudo-Apollodorus's *Library* had escaped into the Stymphalian plain when pursued by wolves.⁹⁵ We can hardly speak of these latter in Arcadia without thinking of Lykaon and his sons, those antediluvian men transformed into wolves. When Heracles drove the murderous birds from Stymphalia, he certainly lessened the horror (a horror attached by conversion to the lake) that clung around the memory of this distant mythical past. But the threat of a regression persisted, linked to Artemis. The birds have not completely disappeared; they survive in the entourage and under the protection of the goddess. As Pausanias describes it, behind Artemis's sanctuary at Stymphalia, there were some sculptures in white marble representing "young girls with birds' legs."⁹⁶ The uncontrollable waters of Stymphalia, the standing threat of flooded agricultural land, call to mind, even in the imperial age, the uncertainty of human achievements and the ever-possible return to those times when man and animal could still be confused. The huntsman's death signifies *this* danger, and not a simple condemnation of hunting in general.

The Arcadians of the classical period were still huntsmen. Hunting was in high favor among them, but it was practiced by "eaters of bread," whose humanity clearly divided them from their savage origins. Ar-

temis, patroness of hunting, but also Mistress of Animals, stands at the meeting point of these two worlds; therefore the rules and prohibitions she has imposed on mankind must be carefully observed. Uncontrolled hunting, out of touch with agriculture, could become as inhuman as nomadic herding. In Arcadia, herding and hunting provide a context for an agricultural economy that is at once theoretically central (this is Greece, these people are Greeks) and in practice uncertain (the terrain is harsh, unyielding).

We can consider these Phigalian and Stymphalian anecdotes as expressive of a specific cultural condition. In fact, these stories can best be understood in connection with the previous discussion of Arcadian “society” and its ever-provisional and mobile character. There emerges from all this a picture of a Greek population who live in the Greek way, but whose Greekness, dare it be said, is essentially fragile. Humankind in Arcadia has not yet completely broken its links with its savage and nomadic origins. The *θηριώδης βίος*, the bestial life, endures like a nearby frontier of sinister memory, which requires only some transgression to be revived. The threat that hangs over the Phigalians and Stymphalians if they neglect certain cult practices can be compared to what really happened (in the third century B.C.) to the inhabitants of Kynai-tha according to the Arcadian Polybius. A civil war of unexampled savagery and bestiality broke out in this little town of northern Arcadia “because they had neglected the laws relative to the education of the young.” Polybius gives a close analysis of this episode of Hellenistic history. He insists above all on this paradox of the return to the savage state (*agriotēs*):

Since the Arcadian nation on the whole has a very high reputation for virtue among the Greeks, due not only to their humane and hospitable character and usages, but especially to their piety to the gods, it is worthwhile to give a moment’s consideration to the question of the savagery of the Cynaethans, and ask ourselves why, though unquestionably of Arcadian stock, they so far surpassed all other Greeks at this period in cruelty and wickedness.

Polybius explains the contrast between the Kynaithians and other Arcadians in the light of a more general contrast concerning the Arcadians as a whole—that is to say, an opposition between their natural simplicity and the exceptional rudeness of their character, on the one hand, and the civilizing and moderating effect of their institutions, on the other. Arcadian character is shaped by the harshness of the environment: the

climate is cold, the landscape hostile. The setting, furthermore, has implications for social life: it compels the Arcadians to live separated from one another, each at his own task. Institutions, for their part, work to make pleasant the character of individuals and to join them together in bonds of society in spite of the difficulties inherent in the natural environment and in the way of life that springs from it (the allusion here is probably to transhumance). Thus Polybius explains the importance of music in Arcadian education:

For it is a well-known fact, familiar to all, that it is hardly known except in Arcadia, that in the first place the boys from their earliest childhood are trained to sing in measure the hymns and paeans in which by traditional usage they celebrate the heroes and gods of each particular place: later they learn the measures of Philoxenus and Timotheus, and every year in the theatre they compete keenly in choral singing to the accompaniment of professional flute-players, the boys in the contest proper to them and the young men in what is called the men's contest. And not only this, but through their whole life they entertain themselves at banquets not by listening to hired musicians but by their own efforts, calling for a song from each in turn.

Polybius comments:

The primitive Arcadians, therefore, with the view of softening and tempering the stubbornness and harshness of nature, introduced all the practices I mentioned, and in addition accustomed the people, both men and women, to frequent festivals and general sacrifices, and dances of young men and maidens, and in fact resorted to every contrivance to render more gentle and mild, by the influence of the customs they instituted, the extreme hardness of the national character. The Cynaethans, by entirely neglecting these institutions, though in special need of such influences, as their country is the most rugged and their climate the most inclement in Arcadia, and by devoting themselves exclusively to their local affairs and political rivalries, finally became so savage that in no city of Greece were greater and more constant crimes committed.⁹⁷

Society in Arcadia attempted a difficult balance. It tried to unite elements naturally at odds by force of institutions and to appease a latent violence through music. This is all the more remarkable in that the Arcadians had not only long possessed cities with democratic constitu-

tions (in contrast to Sparta) but also found themselves sometimes called upon to give other Greeks a model of government. Thus in the mid-sixth century B.C., distant Cyrene, wishing to exchange its monarchy for a democratic constitution, called upon Demonax, a citizen of Mantinea.⁹⁸ Direct heir of Old Night, the Arcadian is privileged with the power of assisting at any moment at the rebirth of humankind. He stands upon the cultural threshold. One step forward and he is your complete Greek and (more important to the eye of history), a democrat; one step back and before your eyes he becomes again a savage. This liminal position entitles him to a certain prestige. Ardor (*thumos*) is the quality Pausanias praises when he compares the character of the best of the Arcadians, Philopoemen, to the balanced mastery of an Epaminondas.⁹⁹ But this ardor is not without excess, and one feels in Plutarch an undertone of reproach beneath his admiration of this same Philopoemen.¹⁰⁰ Ardor, violence—and also awkwardness, which sometimes caused the Greeks to smile: they enjoyed reporting the coarse behavior of an Arcadian delegation at the Macedonian court, who were unable to restrain themselves at the sight of Thracian dancing girls.¹⁰¹

This ardor is reported primarily in the sphere of war. According to Ephorus, the combativeness inherited from their Arcadian origin secured the Pelasgians their expansion and their glory.¹⁰² From the time of Homer the Arcadians had a firm reputation as warriors: they know how to make war and are specialists in close combat.¹⁰³ Xenophon describes them on the way to battle: nothing held them back, “neither bad weather, nor the length of the journey, nor the mountains in their way.”¹⁰⁴ Lykomedes of Mantinea in 368 B.C. proudly reminds us that the Arcadians alone could call the Peloponnese a fatherland: they are the only autochthonous inhabitants, and from this it follows not only that they form the most important Greek population, but also that they are gifted with the greatest physical strength and are the most courageous.¹⁰⁵ This patriot finds his proof in the fact that as long as men have needed auxiliary troops, the Arcadians have been called on first. Hermippos, a comic poet of the fifth century B.C., closes a list of products imported from all different countries—papyrus from Egypt, incense from Syria, cheese from Syracuse, ivory from Libya, raisins from Rhodes—by mentioning Arcadian auxiliaries.¹⁰⁶ Although the historical importance of these mercenary troops is unquestionable, it evokes, one may be sure, some distrust.¹⁰⁷ The young Arcadian warrior Parthenopaeus, son of Atalanta, one of the seven against Thebes, is described with disdain by Eteocles as a metic in the pay of Argos.¹⁰⁸ The Greeks said of those who struggled for others with success but harvested at home

nothing but defeat that they “imitated the Arcadians”; although of great help to so many foreign armies, this people did not always know how to defend its own fatherland.¹⁰⁹

Ephorus places the appearance of the first military formations in Arcadia, and also the art of hoplite combat.¹¹⁰ In his view, the Arcadians not only fought with the same arms as other Greeks but actually invented techniques the others borrowed from them. This does not prevent them from being sometimes described in myth with the traits of ferocious warriors, dressed in bearskins and carrying monstrous arms, a huge double-bladed ax like that of Ancaeus,¹¹¹ or a gigantic mass of iron like the one carried by Ereuthalion.¹¹² This depiction belongs alongside those of the pre-Selenians and the acorn-eaters in what we can now see as the reflection of a classical ideology projected onto the screen of origins.

T W O
THE FIRST ARCADIAN

*

In the form in which the traveller Pausanias collected it from his oral informants (and also in his own comments), the Arcadian myth of the origins of mankind and of human culture appears integrally linked with the religious traditions of Mount Lykaion:

The Arkadians say the first inhabitant of this country was Pelasgos. But it seems likelier that there were other people with him and not just Pelasgos by himself, or else who could Pelasgos have ruled over? But Pelasgos was taller and stronger and more beautiful and cleverer than the others, and in my opinion that was why they picked him to be king. Asios has written this about him:

And black earth produced god-equalling Pelasgos
in mountains with long hair of tall trees
that a mortal race might come to be.

When Pelasgos was king he thought of making huts, so that the people should not be shivering with cold or dripping with rain or suffering in the heat, and it was Pelasgos who invented sheep-skin tunics, which poor people still wear now around Euboia and in Phokis. And it was Pelasgos who stopped the people eating fresh leaves and grasses and inedible roots some of which were poisonous, and he discovered that the fruit of oak-trees was a food, not of all oak-trees but only the acorn of Dodona oaks, and that same diet has survived in some places from the time of Pelasgos to this day; so that when the Pythian priestess forbade the Lakonians to lay hands on Arkadian land, these verses were part of what she said:

There are many acorn-fed Arkadians
to stop you: though I do not grudge it to you.

And they say in the reign of Pelasgos the country came to be called Pelasgia.

Pelasgos's son Lykaon made as many inventions even cleverer than his father's. He founded the city of Lykosoura on Mount Lykaion and named Lykaian Zeus and instituted the Lykaian games. My considered judgement is that the Panathenian games at Athens had not been instituted at this date: they were called the Athenian games, and they got the name Panathenian only under Theseus, because he held the games after he had collected all the Athenians into one city. They trace back the Olympic games to before the beginning of the human race, with the legend that Kronos and Zeus wrestled there and the Kouretes ran the first race, so of course I am excluding the Olympics from this argument. But I believe Kekrops king of Athens and Lykaon were contemporaries, though they were not equally gifted with religious wisdom. Kekrops first named Zeus the Supreme, and decided to offer him no slaughtered sacrifices but to incinerate on the altar those local honey-cakes the Athenians today still call oatmeals, but Lykaon brought a human child to the altar of Lykaian Zeus, slaughtered it and poured its blood on the altar, and they say at that sacrifice he was suddenly turned into a wolf. And I believe this legend, which has been told in Arkadia from ancient times and has likelihood on its side. Because of their justice and their religion the people of that time entertained gods and sat at table with them, and the gods visibly rewarded their goodness with favour and their wickedness with wrath: and in those days certain human beings were turned into gods and are still honoured, like Aristaios and Britomartis of Crete, Herakles son of Alkmene and Amphiaraos son of Oikles, and Polydeukes and Kastor as well. So one may well believe that Lykaon was turned into a wild beast and Tantalos's daughter Niobe was turned to stone. But in my time when wickedness has increased to the last degree, and populates the whole world and all its cities, no human being ever becomes a god, except by a verbal convention and to flatter authority, and the curse of the gods is a long time falling on the wicked, and is stored away for those who have departed from the world. Those who have added so many constructions of lies on to truthful foundations have made a lot of things in the history of the world, things that happened in antiquity and things that still happen now, seem incredible to the majority of mankind. For example, they say that after Lykaon someone was always turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lykaian Zeus, but not for his whole life, because if he kept off hu-

man meat when he was a wolf he turned back into a man after nine years, though if he tasted man he stayed a wild beast for ever. And they say Niobe on Mount Sipylos weeps in the summer. And there are other stories I have heard told: that griffins have spots like leopards and tritons speak in human voices, and some people say they blow through a pierced conch. People who enjoy listening to mythical stories are inclined to add even more wonders of their own, and in this way they have done injuries to the truth which they have mixed up with a lot of rubbish.

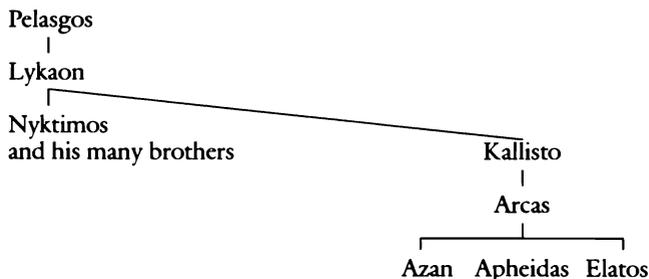
In the second generation after Pelasgos the country increased its number of cities and its human population. Nyktimos was the eldest son and all power was in his hands, but Lykaon's other sons founded cities wherever each of them preferred. [There follows a list of the sons of Lycaon and of the towns they founded.] In addition to all these boys Lykaon had a daughter Kallisto with whom, according to the Greek legend, which I am simply repeating, Zeus fell in love; Hera caught him as he lay with her and turned Kallisto into a bear, and then Artemis shot her dead to please Hera, but Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save his son, who was in Kallisto's belly. He turned Kallisto into the constellation of stars called the Great Bear. . . . And apart from this these stars are perhaps named in honour of Kallisto, whose grave the Arkadians can show you. . . .

After the death of Nyktimos, Arkas son of Kallisto came to power: he introduced cultivated crops which Triptolemos taught him, and showed people how to make bread and weave cloth and so on; he learnt wool-spinning from Adristas. It was his reign that gave the people their name of Arkadians instead of Pelasgians. He was supposed to have married no mortal woman, but the nymph Dryas. . . . Arkas's nymph was called Erato, and they say she bore Arkas's children—Azan and Aphcidas and Elatos.¹

The history of Arcadia in Pausanias's version—from the origins down to the founding of Arcadia proper—can be schematized as in figure 2.1. Between the reign of Pelasgos and the reign of Arkas we pass from a proto-humanity, scarcely separated from the animals and at the same time still close to the gods, to a fully civilized humanity. Pelasgos achieved essentially a gathering-together of persons: the first Arkadians. He is the first king, the first authority. His reign is further marked by the acquisition of certain techniques each appearing as the prototype or

FIGURE 2.1

The Pelasgians



The Arcadians

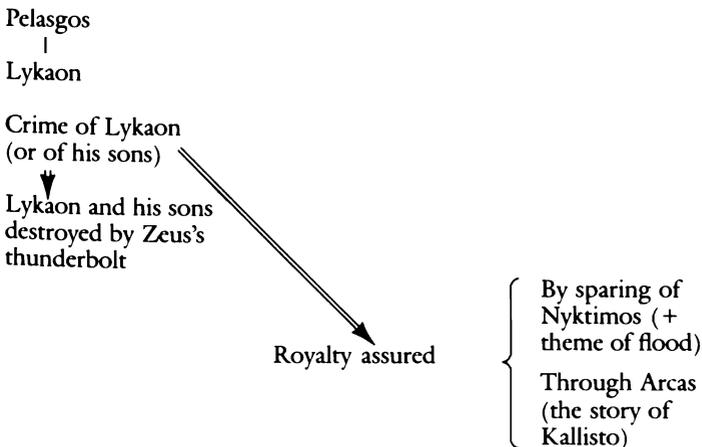
prefiguration of a constituent element of civilization: the hut prefigures the house; the sheepskin, woven garments; acorns, the cultivation of grain. We must await the reign of Arcas for the arrival of fully human “eaters of bread,” initiated by Triptolemos and dressed in woven garments. The passage from proto-humanity to full humanity takes place, in the version of Pausanias, through a crisis corresponding to the reigns of Lykaon and Nyktimos as well as to the legend of Kallisto. A glance at our schema will justify the word *crisis*: Lykaon has a great many sons. The corrupt text of Pausanias names twenty-three out of the fifty listed by tradition. But of all this superabundant male progeny, only one heir seems to survive, and he furthermore obtains a throne without succession. The other sons were founders who gave their names to various towns in Arcadia, but no one of them reigned there; their evanescent appearance on the mythical scene seems fundamentally to serve to underline the break marked by the end of Lykaon’s reign, and perhaps also to formulate the problem posed in Arcadia by the dispersion of population and the absence of central power. The succession, paradoxically, falls to the son of the only daughter, Arcas, son of Kallisto. The authority of this indirect successor, something unexpected in a country already civilized, is sanctioned by the divine sovereignty of his father, Zeus, the king par excellence.

The *Library* of Pseudo-Apollodoros gives the story in briefer summary, but is more precise on one point: that the crisis of succession left implicit by Pausanias was directly caused by the ghastly meal offered Zeus.² Lykaon, son of Pelasgos, has fifty sons who surpass all men in pride and impiety. Zeus wants to put their evil ways to the test. Disguising himself as a poor man,³ he gets himself taken in by them as their

guest. Having cut the throat of a child of the country, the sons of Lykaon mix its entrails (*τὰ σπλάγχνα*) with the sacrificial meat (*τοῖς ἱεροῖς*). They offer this meal to Zeus on the advice of the eldest among them, Menalos; but Zeus kicks over the table (*τράπεζα*) in the place called Trapezon, and strikes Lykaon and his sons with lightning. Gaia (Earth), however, restrains his anger, holding his right hand, and gets him to spare Nyktimos, the youngest. Nyktimos succeeds Lykaon; during his reign Deucalion's deluge takes place and, pseudo-Apollodorus tells us, some think it was caused by the impiety of Lykaon's sons. In this version Arcas does not appear. However, the same author reports yet a second tradition, clearly distinct from the first, where Arcas, son of Kallisto (herself the daughter of Lykaon), replaces Nyktimos as successor to the throne of Lykaon. We thus obtain the schema in figure 2.2. In the play of variants, Arcas and Nyktimos are interchangeable. The former, however, comes too late for the deluge, while the latter appears as Lykaon's direct successor, spared by the lightning of Zeus.

The crime of Lykaon and his sons marks the end of an epoch, that of the Pelasgian "regime"⁴ and of meals shared with the gods; it results in a catastrophe that the myth describes sometimes in terms of the annihilation of a race (by lightning or the deluge) and sometimes in terms of animal metamorphosis. Besides the accounts of Apollodoros and Pausanias, numerous variants have been preserved.⁵ Some tell us that Lykaon was turned into a wolf at the time his sons were struck by lightning; others speak simply of transformation into wolves, or of death by lightning. In either case, animal metamorphosis remains fundamental. By

FIGURE 2.2



offering Zeus an infant's flesh, Lykaon in effect unveils his true nature; he shows himself the wolf whose name he bears (Lykaon = *lukos*).⁶ His transformation into an animal is evidently overdetermined in the psychoanalytic sense. As for the cannibalistic meal, the myth asserts that its purpose was to test the divinity of Zeus⁷ while simultaneously giving the god a chance to evaluate the injustice of the "men":⁸ our authors especially insist on this motif;⁹ the table (*trapeza*) that brings together Zeus and Lykaon is the location of a basic confrontation between human and divine, the first desiring to judge the clairvoyance of the second, the second wishing to see the first as he is. But this double ordeal results in an exaggerated categorization. Lykaon's regression to the animal condition displays an excess of separation. The problem raised by the myth through this "crisis of succession" is basically that of justly defining differences, between men and animals certainly, but secondarily also between men and gods. By kicking over the dinner table, Zeus marks the end of that sharing of meals which up to that time, Pausanias tells us, had united man with god.¹⁰ The violence of this separation, this affirmation of the difference, the gap, is underlined in the language of the myth by two splendid and indivisible images: the retreat of the king who becomes a beast corresponds to the unveiling on Zeus's part of his absolute divinity, an unveiling symbolized by the bolt that strikes the palace and in some versions annihilates the fifty sons of Lykaon.¹¹ All communication is thus broken off, and there is to be no future. It seems that at this stage in the history of origins, we have reached a dead end. Between beast and god there is no place anymore for mankind.

Mythical thought evidently intended a significant connection between the story of Lykaon and the story of the deluge; this latter also marks a breakdown in relations with the divine, while at the same time threatening to annihilate the human race. When the deluge is made the consequence of Lykaon's crime,¹² there is a mythical assertion of the deep homology between the fates of Arcas and Nyktimos, successors of Lykaon, and the fate of Deucalion, son of Prometheus. J. Rudhardt points out that in the mythic stories centering on Prometheus, it is not he who inaugurates the fundamental ritual of Greek religion (the *thusia*), but rather his son Deucalion, after the deluge.¹³ The well-known encounter of gods and men that Hesiod places at Mecone, and the deceitful meal organized by Prometheus, form only a nonsacrificial and criminal prefiguration of the *thusia*.¹⁴ Olympian sacrifice, which after the cataclysm repeats Prometheus's act, has consequently two correlative functions: it commemorates the ancient deception and recalls the event that marked the separation of men and gods; simultaneously it re-

establishes (this time at a safe distance) a communication that might have been broken off forever.

Deucalion, son of Prometheus, owes his escape from the cataclysm that annihilates the human race to a device of his father's.¹⁵ Similarly, Arcas, the unexpected and savage son of Lykaon's only daughter, or Nyktimos, the youngest child, spared as a consequence of Gaia's intervention, miraculously make up for the crowd of heirs slain by Zeus. Finally, Arcas, like Deucalion, becomes the founder of definitively humanized culture. This culture is characterized, on the side of Prometheus's son, by the inauguration of a just sacrificial relation with the gods; on the side of Kallisto's son, by an alimentary regime based on grain. Succeeding to Pelasgos's reign over a humanity still too close both to the gods and to savagery, the royal power of Lykaon corresponds to the development of a civilization only apparently civilized; the wolf-king, by founding Lykosoura and inaugurating the cult of Zeus Lykaios, has created only the facade of a civilization. The bestial meal he offers Zeus gives evidence that his transitory reign is not yet free of the *θηριώδης βίος*, the "bestial way of life" that defined our original existence for a whole current of Greek thought.¹⁶ Arcas, his successor, appears to be the first real human being in Arcadia, the first "cater of bread." Although the myth (in the form in which we have it) does not say so explicitly, the parallel with Deucalion suggests that the reign of Kallisto's son, just as it brought a proper human diet, also brought the first properly ordered sacrifices; the meal offered to Zeus, by confusing human and animal, had been only a ghastly prefiguration.

Arcas, in Greek, means "the Arcadian" (*Arkas*) and evokes the name of the bear (*arktos*) who was his mother.¹⁷ A sculptural group put up at Delphi in 369 B.C. by the Megalopolitan league leaves no doubt as to which version of the origin myth was officially accepted by the Arcadians in the classical period: it showed Arcas along with his mother Kallisto and his sons Azan, Apheidas, and Elatos.¹⁸ The legend of this common ancestor, very early connected by genealogy to the Lykaean group of myths and rituals (where he gradually supplanted Nyktimos) survives in a great number of versions. These may be divided into two principal groups. In the first group Kallisto, a nymph devoted to Artemis, is seduced by Zeus; changed into a bear, she is pregnant with Arcas when Artemis kills her with an arrow.¹⁹ Hermes is sent by Zeus to rescue the infant; he turns him over to Maia, who brings him up. Zeus puts among the stars an image of Kallisto, who becomes the constellation of the Great Bear. In the variants of the second group the basic scenario is fuller; this allows room for the stories to be elaborated.²⁰

Daughter of Lykaon, Kallisto devotes herself to Artemis. Seduced by Zeus, she becomes a bear and mother of the ancestor; she is in this case not killed by the goddess, but rather continues her animal existence, while her son is rescued by goatherds. Once grown up, Arcas pursues the bear Kallisto, whom he does not recognize as his mother; this pursuit takes them into a forbidden enclosure, an *abaton* consecrated to Zeus on Mount Lykaion. The people who live around it wish to kill the mother and son, whom Zeus transforms there respectively into the constellation of the Great Bear and of the Herdsman (Arctophylax, the Guardian of the Bear). In other versions, the transformation takes place not to avoid the punishment fixed by law, but simply to prevent Arcas from committing a crime against his mother. The second group of variants, even though it is transmitted to us only by Ovid and some others paraphrasing or commenting upon a lost poem by the Alexandrian Eratosthenes,²¹ reveals (in a derivative and reworked condition) a tradition known to go back to Hesiod.²² The mention of Lykaon and of the *abaton* bring us right back to Mount Lykaion and the cult of Zeus Lykaios. The variants of the first group, on the other hand, are not always attached to Mount Lykaion: the intervention of Hermes and Maia suggests that these originated in the northern part of Arcadia, where those divinities were the object of an important cult.²³ Images of Kallisto struck by Artemis's arrow and of Hermes rescuing the infant Arcas appear on coins of Orchomenos and Pheneos.²⁴ In this tradition, which was originally independent of Lykaion, Kallisto (sometimes called Megisto)²⁵ is not daughter of Lykaon but of Ceteus, according to a genealogy already known to Pherecydes;²⁶ according to Asios, she is daughter of Nykteus;²⁷ Ariaitchos of Tegea places the story of her adventure on Mount Nonakris, near Kyllene.²⁸ From all this it is probable that the second group of variants resulted from a classical reworking of Arcadian mythology that aimed to connect the legend of Arcas, which originated in the north, with the traditions of Mount Lykaion, now accepted as the religious center of all Arcadia. This project of mythological synthesis achieved its perfected expression in the "constellation" stories where Arcas, rescued by goatherds and brought to the palace of Lykaon, became the victim of the ghastly meal offered to Zeus. In these versions, after he has kicked over the table, turned the king into a wolf, and annihilated the sons with lightning, Zeus reassembles the body of Arcas.²⁹ Kallisto's son, once "reconstructed," leads the life of a huntsman and meets his mother, the bear, who leads him inside the *abaton*. This story of the "passion" of Arcas, whatever its antiquity, has the advantage over the others in that it gives a name to the victim of the ghastly meal; fur-

thermore, it respects the logic of a narrative system.³⁰ Lykaon's successor, in order to succeed to kingly authority over a humanity by this time safely separated from both animals and gods, must escape a catastrophe that annihilates the rest of his kindred. The fate of the "resurrected" Arcas thus corresponds exactly to the privileged position of Nyktimos (who escapes the anger of Zeus): the myth further compares his fate to that of Deucalion (who survives the deluge).³¹ In order to become king of the country to which he gives his name, Kallisto's son thus goes through a double experience of death: his own and that of his mother, Lykaon's direct successor. It remains only to add that his birth itself identifies him for us as a survivor, sprung from a transgression.

KALLISTO'S CRIME

Close to Artemis through the similarity of their natural dispositions,³² the nymph Kallisto,³³ before she becomes mother of the ancestor, appears very similar to the goddess from whose cult-epithet her name is derived.³⁴ The two wear the same clothes, and both devote themselves to hunting and swear to remain virgin.³⁵ According to the different versions of the myth, Kallisto is transformed into a bear either because, in the first group

—Zeus makes her one in order to make possible a forbidden seduction³⁶ or after the seduction to protect the nymph from Hera's jealousy;³⁷

—or Hera makes her one after discovering Zeus's amour, which she desires to avenge;³⁸

or because, in the second group

—Artemis makes her one, having discovered the pregnancy of Kallisto while they are bathing.³⁹

In the first group of versions, Artemis hunts and kills the bear; the story ends with this death, which coincides with the birth of Arcas: Kallisto, turned into prey, dies in childbirth. Her fate, is, in fact, determined by her crime against Artemis (Hera's jealousy, present in certain versions, is only a secondary cause),⁴⁰ as we can infer from the manner of her death: Artemis, goddess of hunting and wild animals, midwife and protector of the newborn, but also capable of sending to women in labor the easy death of her arrows, focuses practically all of her powers on Kallisto.⁴¹

In the versions of the second group, the nymph turned into a bear by Artemis is pursued by her son while hunting. To die in childbed hunted by Artemis or to disappear while pursued by her huntsman-son—these present themselves as two formulations of the same mythic proposition.

From this point of view, the versions of the second group only develop a theme presented in the first group in a more “condensed” manner. In fact, in all the versions, Kallisto’s fate appears determined by her crime against Artemis; she dies as someone’s prey and is hunted because she is a mother. Her metamorphosis into a bear, although the various versions propose different agents and reasons, is always by implication related to the theme of sexual seduction and to the pregnancy that breaks Kallisto’s bond with Artemis. The version reported by the scholiast on Germanicus’s *Aratea* is particularly explicit on this point: Artemis “in order to hasten the childbed ordains that she become a beast.”⁴² In Greece the bear was the leading symbol of motherhood, as was admirably demonstrated in a study published by J. J. Bachofen a century ago.⁴³ Kallisto, having become a bear, becomes a mother; or vice versa; the order does not matter. The play of variants, which depart from the fundamental myth by elaboration, is a function of sheer literary poetizing and does not concern us here.

The bear Kallisto is swept away to Artemis. The nymph’s voluntary abstinence, far from her father’s palace, in the company of the goddess, has the qualities of true consecration. Greek tradition styles this retreat an *agōgē*,⁴⁴ using a term that elsewhere designates the system of rites of passage that secure for a young man access to the responsibilities of adulthood.⁴⁵ Kallisto’s stay with the goddess has the character of a female initiation; this point is reinforced by the allusion made by several authors to the homosexual aspect of their relationship; in order to seduce the nymph, it is enough for Zeus to disguise himself as Artemis.⁴⁶ The importance of homosexuality in the context of Greek masculine education is well known.⁴⁷ Perhaps this sort of erotic behavior also characterized certain female initiatory rites, as, for example, in Sappho’s well-known school; a more explicit attestation of this phenomenon has been recently studied by C. Calame in connection with the *Partheneion* of Alcman, which describes an early Spartan institution.⁴⁸ We do not know if the myth of Kallisto referred to a real institution in Arcadia comparable to the Laconian one, but we do know of an important and contrasting Attic ritual, that of Brauron, which supplies an interesting point of comparison: Athenian little girls, in anticipation of their marriage,⁴⁹ had to take part in a retreat with Artemis at her sanctuary of Brauron or of Mounychia, during which they were called “bears” (*arktoi*).⁵⁰

The *agōgē* of Kallisto should not, however, be reduced to a description of an initiatory institution. It is a myth. In this myth, the transition to motherhood, far from appearing to be the object for which the *agōgē*

is preparation, is presented as a transgression violently imposed by Zeus on a heroine whose whole attitude betrays her denial of the feminine condition. It is to be noted that in this myth, the transformation into an animal is not the mark of a period of withdrawal from the human world (along with Artemis, Mistress of Animals), but rather of a break with the goddess, and of the moment when Kallisto is about to send the first civilized man, Arcas, into the world. The transformation from virgin into bear—in contrast to the apparent meaning of the (Athenian) rite—corresponds in the (Arcadian) myth to a transgression against the world of Artemis. But it coincides with the consummation of the union that will bring to birth the infant Arcas. At the moment when Kallisto becomes a mother and thus should also appear, in Arcadia, as the mythic model of a young woman returned from the savage universe ruled by Artemis, the animal shape that afflicts her comes to remind us how uncertain is the borderline between savagery and culture: Kallisto, a young girl with Artemis, and a bear with mankind, crosses this line in both directions. In her, the human and the animal remain confused. This confusion rebounds on Arcas; although his animal mother is called Kallisto, that is to say, “entirely beautiful” (the nominalized form of the superlative *καλλίστη*), the human ancestor has the name of the bear: *arcas* is cognate with *ἄρκος-ἄρκτος*, “bear.”⁵¹

An ambiguity of the same type, which also showed up in a name, is at work in the myth of Lykaon, the wolf-king. In his case, the ambiguity took on a criminal character and found its expression in a mode of sacrifice. In the case of the bear-cub Arcas, the crime becomes an involuntary error. His confusion is, however, fatal, as we have just learned from our stories about the invasion of the *abaton*: for the third time in this myth of origins, too little attention, as it were, is paid to the difference between man and animal. Arcas’s error consists either in failing to recognize that the animal he intends to kill is his mother or else in animalistic behavior of his own: his pursuit of the bear intending to couple with her. In connection with this last variant, we may well remember that an analogy between hunting and sex has a recognized importance in many cultures.⁵² Often a single word simultaneously means “hunting an animal” and “sexual coupling”;⁵³ in his study of the symbolism of ritual hunting among the Ndembu of North Rhodesia, V. Turner has shown that the same ritual symbol (a plant in this case) could represent “restoration of female fertility” and “successful hunting,” or in turn “discovery of children” and “discovery of animals.”⁵⁴ In the Greek context also, erotic metaphors drawn from hunting are not only frequent but also patterned in a precise and coherent symbolic structure, to

which M. Detienne has recently drawn our attention.⁵⁵ In the Arcadian myth, everything happens as if incest (a sociological crime) were homologous to the crime of a huntsman. Arcas's error, whether his pursuit is sexual or not, leads him to cross a limit forbidden to mankind.

THE FORBIDDEN PLACE

The *abatón* on Mount Lykaion survived into the time of Pausanias. It was a sacred enclosure, a *temenos* whose primary function was tied to hunting. A man who observed the law would not pursue game that took sanctuary there. The Arcadians had or pretended to have on this topic certain beliefs fit to engage the Greek imagination:

There are some amazing things on Mount Lykaion but the most astounding of all was this. There is a PRECINCT OF LYKAIAN ZEUS on the mountain, which no person is allowed to enter. If you disregard this law and go in it is absolutely certain you will die within the year. And there was a further story they told, that things inside the precinct, man and beast alike, cast no shadow; so when a hunted beast takes refuge there the hunter refuses to jump in with it but stops outside watching the beast, and sees no shadow from it.⁵⁶ As long as the sun is in the Crab in heaven, no tree and no living creature casts a shadow at Syene below Aithiopia, but the precinct on Mount Lykaion is always the same for shadows at any season.⁵⁷

Polybius, an Arcadian, makes fun of Theopompos for being foolish enough to believe this story about the missing shadows.⁵⁸ Plutarch, one of whose *Greek Questions* is devoted to the *abatón* of Mount Lykaion is careful to make clear that he does not believe the story, but nevertheless offers three hypotheses as to how the superstition originated.⁵⁹ According to the first, the air condenses as a cloud and shades those who enter: the probable source of this explanation is a ritual (mentioned by others) that summoned the rain and was carried out on Mount Lykaion by the priest of Zeus.⁶⁰ The second hypothesis is more abstract; it suggests that the guilty man condemned to death is depicted as the Pythagoreans depicted the souls of the dead, without shadows. The third and final hypothesis is based on folk etymology and introduces a new, important element: the Arcadians called a man who had violated the *abatón* an *elaphos* ("stag"); this title, according to Plutarch, could be derived from *hēlion aphaireisthai*, the "stag" becoming "he from whom the law takes the sunlight."

Who enters the *abatón* dies within the year, says Pausanias. He does

not tell us how. Plutarch informs us of the exact ritual prescribed. The law condemned every offender to death by stoning if the transgression was voluntary; if one went in by accident, it was enough, he says, "to send him to Eleutherai." Voluntary entrance of the *abaton* had the force of a consecration, and human law would uphold it: stoning was, then, the means of permanent delivery to the god of that which belonged to him, but had escaped from his domain. This was surely the fate of the Arcadian Cantharion set before us by Plutarch: "He deserted to the Eleans while they were at war with the Arcadians, and with his booty, crossed the inviolate sanctuary; even though he fled to Sparta after peace had been made, the Spartans surrendered him to the Arcadians, since the god ordered them to give back 'the deer'" (trans. F. C. Babbitt). In Greek symbolism the stag represents the fugitive or exile. Cantharion, turned over to Arcadia and to the god, was the victim of a double extradition. The fate of this traitor paradoxically echoes that of Arcas and of Kallisto; the transformation of these mythical ancestors into stars confirmed the sole rights to the *abaton* of Zeus Lykaios, husband and father.

As for the involuntary transgressor, what did it mean to be "sent to Eleutherai"? Plutarch offers two interpretations for this curious expression. It could mean "to free," make *eleutheros*;⁶¹ and in this case we should surely understand "free from the god," release the guilty party from the status of *elaphos*.⁶² This interpretation is probably correct. All the same, in order to understand its meaning and make sure of its basis, we should first take a closer look at the second explanation.

The author of the *Greek Questions* suggests that those whose fault was involuntary were sent to the town of Eleutherai: in memory of Lykaon's sons, Eleuther and Lebeados, who survived the anger of Zeus and became exiles in Boeotia. Lebeados gave his name to Lebadea,⁶³ while his brother became founder of Eleutherai, a Boeotian town that belonged to Attica from the late sixth century B.C.⁶⁴ Nor can we exclude the possibility that Arcadian law literally required of one who ignorantly entered the *abaton* that he travel to Boeotia in fulfillment of some old ritual that had survived the vagaries of history. Eleutherai was, in fact, thought to be the town where the cult of Dionysus Eleuthereus originated.⁶⁵ The term is a noun rather than an adjective and signifies "liberator"; this name for Dionysus is semantically equivalent to the Latin *Liber*, which proves its antiquity. In Boeotian story the hero Eleuther turns up as a son of Apollo and founds the ritual of Dionysus.⁶⁶ It is reasonable to suppose that an Arcadian of the same name played the same role in some variant of the same myth. This reference to Diony-

sus's town in connection with the ritual of Mount Lykaion belongs to a set of relations that join Arcadia and Boeotia on the mythical and proper-name levels.⁶⁷ These relations, some of which concern figures as archaic as the Demeter of Thelphousa, are so frequent as to suggest the reconstruction of a very early common source, to which these two regions of the Greek world seem to have remained particularly attached. However, prudence is in order when one evaluates this inheritance. The traces memory preserved of it were certainly emphasized, amplified, and perhaps reconstructed under the influence of political history. In particular, Boeotia's designs on the Peloponnese, which culminated in an alliance with Arcadia and in the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas, probably inspired a reinterpretation of every mythical element that could provide a source of legitimacy.⁶⁸ Let us remember that Plutarch, the chronicler of Epaminondas, was himself Boeotian; this point should make us somewhat suspicious of his attempt to connect the ritual of the *abaton* with the cult of a god, Dionysus, whose presence is nowhere attested on Mount Lykaion.⁶⁹ Furthermore, whatever in history or pre-history may be brought to bear to support this theory, the modalities of the myth remain unexplained, as does the rite. Such explanations can only supply an extraneous commentary on a symbolic complexity whose meaning as a whole escapes them.

The expression "sent to Eleutherai," whether or not its primary or secondary reference is to the Boeotian town, suggests the idea of liberation. Plutarch himself brings out this point in the first part of his account when he explains *Eleutherai* by *eleutherousthai*. The first to be "liberated" in Arcadian myth are the sons of Lykaon who in contrast to their brothers (we are told) were not destroyed by Zeus. Eleuther and Lebeados, that is, survived the thunderbolt that obliterated their brothers and the palace of the wolf-king. Although the myth as transmitted only hints at the point, it nonetheless suggests a connection between the *abaton* and the thunderbolt that cut short the ghastly feast. This connection emphasizes a fundamental point about the forbidden space: the *abaton* recalls, on the ritual and spatial level, the transgression of Lykaon and his sons and the reduction to ashes of their palace.

In general, the ancients treated places struck by lightning as particularly sacred. They often thought of them as natural sanctuaries of Zeus Kataibatēs ("he who descends"), and named them *enēlusia* ("places of his coming").⁷⁰ It was forbidden to enter any *enēlusia* where Zeus had revealed himself; a note in the *Etymologicon Magnum*,⁷¹ confirmed by inscriptions from Athens⁷² and Epidaurus,⁷³ tells us that such a place was called an *abaton*.⁷⁴ The *abaton* on Mount Lykaion quite certainly

represents the exact place where Zeus Lykaios by his thunderbolt revealed his godhead. Trespass within the *abaton*, we are told, entailed the loss of one's shadow, and death; one might say a transformation into animality and a translation into divinity. This uncertainty returns on a mythical level, where death and metamorphosis alternate or coincide, as does reprobation with consecration; when Lykaon becomes a wolf, his sons are struck by lightning; at the moment when crime is about to unite hero with heroine and their death appears certain, Zeus raises Arcas and Kallisto to the stars.

The lightning of Zeus consecrates as it kills. When it strikes a man, he does not really die, or at least his death looks different from others. Capaneus's corpse is *hieron*, "sacred."⁷⁵ Such an "end" can even conclude with an apotheosis, as in the cases of Semele and Asclepius. Walter Burkert, from whom this line of thought is borrowed, has shown that the famous Eleusinian plain, resting place of the Blessed, was originally integrally connected with religious representations linked to the *enēlusion* that lent it its name.⁷⁶ Once struck by lightning, a man is carried off by Zeus to another existence. We may therefore ask if the lack of shadows in the *abaton* (which Plutarch explicitly connects, moreover, with a belief of the Pythagoreans about death) signifies that this space sacred to Zeus is in some way connected with a representation of the other world. Placed in this context, the expression "sent to Eleutherai," as well as the name of Eleuther, survivor of the lightning, takes on a specific significance. *Hoi keraunōthentes* (the "lightning-struck"), according to a tradition reported by Artemidoros of Ephesus, were synonymous with *hoi eleutherōthentes* (the "liberated"): slaves who survived a lightning stroke were, in fact, assimilated to liberated slaves, dressed in white and thought of as honored by Zeus.⁷⁷ The passage from one condition to the other on the sociological level is described in terms that make it analogous to an eschatological passing out of the human condition. Let us remember that Zeus Eleutherios appears in Lucian as death's companion on his journey to the Isles of the Blessed or to the pathways of the sky;⁷⁸ and he is also, according to Hesychius,⁷⁹ god of the *ekphugontes*, of those "fugitives" whose symbol, we are told elsewhere, is the stag, the *elaphos*.⁸⁰ Finally, Eleuther (also called Eleutherios) is named as father of Elysios, after whom the Elysian Fields are named.⁸¹

The myths of Mount Lykaion jointly enter into the traditions about the *abaton*. In this place, mother and son were snatched away from the law of man by Zeus and placed among the stars. Their disappearance here harks back to the crime of Lykaon and sanctions the establishment

FIGURE 2.3
The Play of Variants Recapitulated

<p>Kallisto consecrated to Artemis Zeus seduces Kallisto Kallisto transformed into a bear Kallisto gives birth to Arcas [Kallisto dies Arcas given into the care of Maia]</p>	<p>[Child (and bear) turn up at Lykaon's court]</p>
<p>Lykaon invites Zeus Lykaon offers the god human flesh mixed with animal flesh Zeus overturns the table Zeus annihilates (Lykaon, his sons) Zeus transforms (Lykaon, his sons) into wolves</p>	
<p>Zeus spares Nyktimos refashions Arcas</p>	
<p>Arcas pursues bear <i>abaton</i> transgressed</p>	

of new connections between men, gods, and beasts. We can now see the real meaning of trespass within the forbidden space: it brings about metamorphosis and a certain kind of immortality. At the origins of Arcadia's human history stand the ancestors: Lykaon, Kallisto, and Arcas. Their threefold crime marks three fundamental moments of a single crisis: the end of a condition that did not yet sufficiently distinguish man, animal, and god. Trespass, metamorphosis, and consecration repeat themselves as stages in each of the three episodes of this origin myth, all tracing the symbolic arc: having become a wolf, Lykaon is then closer than ever to Zeus Lykaios; Kallisto, the bear, although rejected by Artemis, has a definitive place in the sphere of this goddess since her tomb (near Mantinea) overlooked Artemis's sanctuary;⁸² Arcas and Kallisto, lastly, changed into stars that never set (the polar constellations), become eternal signs that Arcadia belongs to Zeus.

THE WOLVES OF LYKAION

To the spatial reminder constituted by the *abaton* there corresponded a temporal persistence in ritual. Carried out on the altar of Zeus atop Mount Lykaion, a famous sacrifice to which Plato alludes, which was evidently still performed in Pausanias's time, constituted a recurrent extension into the history of Lykaon's crime. At the conclusion of this secret rite (*θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ*), a man turned into a wolf.⁸⁴ Pausanias

prefers to say nothing about the sacrifice. His silence, however, is not compelled by his usual respect for cultic secrecy; he in fact says: "I do not care to concern myself with it; let it be as it is and as it always was."⁸⁵ The obvious distaste displayed by this remark has nothing to do with lycanthropy (in which, Pausanias tells us, he does not believe).⁸⁶ It has to do with the supposed sacrificial object. Greek writers do speak of a human victim.⁸⁷ Plato, who gives the most detail, reports a tradition according to which a piece of human entrail was cut up and slipped into the sacrificial meal; participants who ate of this single entrail (*ἐνὸς σπλάγγχνου*) mixed in with the animal offerings became wolves (chosen in this way by lot).⁸⁸ The Arcadians claimed that they did not stay wolves forever but recovered their human form after nine years, providing only that they had abstained from eating human flesh during their animal existence.⁸⁹ We are told that the Arcadian boxer Damarchos, Olympic victor in 400 B.C., arrived directly from such an experience to enter the Games.⁹⁰ We cannot reconstruct the precise details of this ritual, but Burkert has shown it to have taken the shape of an initiation.⁹¹ All that our authorities have to tell us, always by hearsay, hangs together for us in the form of a myth, or a mythical exegesis. Plato moreover speaks of a *logos*.⁹² It is as well to stress that no trace of human remains has been found among the extensive animal remnants discovered in the excavations that laid bare the altar of Zeus Lykaios:⁹³ human sacrifice, consequently, was more likely symbolic there than real.⁹⁴ Pliny the Elder tells us that

Evanthes, who holds no contemptible position among the authors of Greece, writes that the Arcadians have a tradition that someone chosen out of the clan of a certain Anthus by casting lots among the family is taken to a certain marsh in that region, and hanging his clothes on an oak-tree swims across the water and goes away into a desolate place and is transformed into a wolf and herds with the others of the same kind for nine years: and that if in that period he has refrained from touching a human being he returns to the same marsh, swims across it and recovers his shape, with nine years added to his former appearance; Evanthes (var. loc. "Fabius") also adds the more fabulous detail that he gets back the same clothes!⁹⁵

This version of the "facts," although it appears quite different from other accounts, does not contradict them at all.⁹⁶ It tells us in the first place that the enactment of the ritual was passed down to the descen-

dants of a certain Anthos. There is nothing puzzling in this: many cult practices, including some of the most important, were maintained in Greece by families, the descendants of an ancestor who was the first initiate.⁹⁷ There is no question here of human sacrifice but the choice by lot is an exact substitute for the chance that determined who would become a wolf (in the *logos* reported by Plato) according to who got the human portion hidden in the animal meal. Here the emphasis is shifted to the technical mode of transformation, which appears as a true rite of passage; concerning this the other versions—perhaps because they come from authors less well informed—keep their silence.⁹⁸ It is as well to bring in a distinction between the esoteric practices of the ritual—Euanthes' testimony gives us the most plausible information about these—and the exoteric discourse built up around the same rite by the Arcadians and the rest of the Greeks. The transformation into a wolf, we should notice, does not take place where the participants can see it; they are present only where one of their company leaves his human clothes and sets off across a lake. The "wolf" becomes a wolf where men are not and must quite probably take care that he comes into no contact with them. As for the human sacrifice of which our authorities speak with such horror, but by hearsay, it can in a certain sense have existed without having actually taken place; "real" or not, it is a necessary element on the symbolic level of a rite founded on the ghastly feast offered by Lykaon to Zeus, a rite in which the lycanthropy of a descendant of Arcas's inescapably evokes the metamorphosis of the antediluvian king. All the same, even if it explicitly insists on the myth, the rite does not repeat it. The crime of Lykaon marked a break, the end of an epoch in which man and animal were still confused. The ritual of Mount Lykaion, for its part, seems to define a space organized around the opposition between man and animal. If the "human victim" of this sacrifice looks back to the myth of Arcas, to this special ancestry restored by Zeus, the exclusion of the lycanthrope, who must shun human society, helps define the limits of the social sphere.

The wolf is placed in a peripheral space. This zone around the edges, which the myth refers to the ancestral expulsion of Lykaon by Zeus, can be seen as a spatialization of the time before time; the borders where the wolf prowls signify an origin.⁹⁹ The liminal is the proper home of beginnings, and this point is stressed by an apparent ambiguity in the shift from myth to rite. As interpreted by the myth, the lycanthrope of the rite recalls not only an original horror, the criminal ancestor who is outcast and hunted from the human world; he also signifies the repulsion this horror provokes in mankind. Witnessing such a crime (the feast of

Atreus), the sun recoiled.¹⁰⁰ And so the lycanthrope recoils; he leaves his ghastly meal and is required, even though he is now a wolf, to abstain from human flesh.¹⁰¹ He goes away, as Zeus went away, and as Lykaon went away. In contrast to the god, he is expelled horizontally and stays within reach; his territory intersects that of hunting and herding. On the other hand, in contrast to the god, who saw it all and kicked over the table, he has let himself be tricked and has tasted of human flesh: one single human morsel slipped in among a quantity of animal food. To divine omniscience corresponds human fallibility, subject to the chances imposed by the ritual. To anger and the lightning correspond horror and flight. To transcendence finally corresponds spatial departure. Anteriority (the reign of Lykaon, characterized at the same time by bestiality and by the sharing of meals with the gods) turns into a spatial exteriority where an initiation takes place. Antediluvian time marked by the abundance *and* the disorder of a “golden age” is replaced in the rite of passage by the “wilderness” where roams the wolf.¹⁰² After enduring an experience like that of the Spartan *krupteia*, the “wolf” comes back from this liminal space after a period of nine years.¹⁰³ As Burkert has well shown, this return is equivalent to an integration into adult society: the wolf who recovers his human clothes is from that time on an Arcadian, an *arcas*.

Let us remember that the myth sometimes confuses the son who is spared with the sacrificial victim, Arcas being substituted for Nyktimos. Now only *one* of those who take part in the sacrifice is turned into a wolf: this detail shows that there is also some relation between the fate of the lycanthrope and the *one* son of Lykaon who escaped the lightning of Zeus. The ritual of Mount Lykaion recalls (all at one time) the child’s murder, Lykaon’s metamorphosis, and the mercy shown one of his sons. Thus we can understand why there is no trace of human sacrifice; the lycanthrope, in the rite, simultaneously played three roles, which are kept distinct in the myth: the ancestral criminal (Lykaon), the son who is spared (Nyktimos), and the victim (Arcas). Such semantic condensation of ritual in relation to myth also appears outside of Greece. Let us remember, in conclusion, that the “human” sacrifice on Mount Lykaion took place as part of a secret rite (*ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ*). It is perhaps worth mentioning, in this connection, the testimony of an early eighteenth-century traveller, who in his observation of an Amerindian initiatory ritual evidently got to the heart of the matter: “These Indians have altars, and places set apart for sacrifice. It is said that they sometimes sacrifice young children; but they deny it, and assert that they only cast them out from society to consecrate them to the service of their God”

(the author of the *Histoire de Virginie* [Orleans, 1707], cited by J. F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* [Paris, 1724], I, 283). All the hostility of the colonists and missionaries of the New World was required to draw back the screen of denial and pretence from what in ancient Greece remained forever unspoken and inviolate.

* * *

The scholiast tells us that Aeschylus believed in two gods Pan: the first was son of Zeus and the nymph Kallisto and twin (*didumos*) of Arcas, eponymous ancestor of the Arcadians; the second was son of Cronos, and thus evidently contemporary with Zeus.¹⁰⁴ This double genealogy, which presents us with a doubling of the god, has nothing to do with the indefinite plurality Pan comes to share with the satyrs and the silenoi when he joins the Dionysiac thiasos, or band of revellers. Nor is it a sign of any hesitation on the part of Aeschylus himself, but evidently corresponds to an ancient and fundamental mythical datum. A related version comes before us in a poem attributed to Epimenides, several fragments of which survive in paraphrase in learned texts of the late period: the *Kretika* describes Pan sometimes as the twin of Arcas, son of Zeus and Kallisto,¹⁰⁵ sometimes as the love-child of Zeus's Cretan nurse, the monstrous Aix, or she-goat, who was later assimilated to Amalthea.¹⁰⁶ Foster-brother (*suntrophos*) of the future lord of Olympos, Epimenides' second Pan appears as the source of that "panic" fear with whose aid he helped the gods in their war against the Titans. Aeschylus names only the father of this second Pan; Epimenides only his mother. But we have sufficient reason to understand that the son of the she-goat was none other than the son of Cronos.¹⁰⁷ Both are held to have the same power: fifth-century Athenian tradition, in fact, tells us explicitly that panic fear belonged to Pan, son of Cronos. On the other side, an Arcadian genealogy transmitted by the historian Ariaithos of Tegea makes Pan the son of Oinoe and Aither.¹⁰⁸ Now Oinoe, as we know from Pausanias, was the name the people of Tegea (Ariaithos among them) gave to a nurse of Zeus.¹⁰⁹ As for Aither, the theologians cited by Cicero, Clement of Alexandria, Ampelius, Lactantius, Arnobius, and still others are explicit: this was a name given in Arcadia to the father of Zeus.¹¹⁰ The genealogy of this second Pan, whether he was son of Cronos, as Aeschylus says, or of the goat who nursed Zeus, as Epimenides says, evidently in these sources obeyed a mythic scheme, also known in Arcadia, according to which Pan was simultaneously half-brother and foster-brother of Zeus. The doubly close relation of this Pan with Zeus is, if one believes Aeschylus and Epimenides, part and parcel with the even closer relationship that joins the other Pan, son of

Zeus and Kallisto, to his twin, the Arcadian ancestor. Now the myth of Arcas carries us back to the mythico-ritual system of Mount Lykaion, where the Arcadians also placed the birth of Zeus in a place called Kretea.¹¹¹ Arcadian tradition on this last point competes with Cretan tradition, which placed the birth of Zeus on Ida, or at Dicte.¹¹²

Pan is thus sometimes son of Cronos and of Zeus's nurse, sometimes son of Zeus (and Arcas's twin); the most probable mythological source for this alternation in Aeschylus and the *Kretika* is Arcadian. On Lykaion, in fact, Pan occupies a position fundamentally conditioned by a double relation to the origins of the cultural order: at the side of the god who guarantees cosmic balance (Zeus), he is at the same time integrally linked with the founder of civilized Arcadia (Arcas, son of Zeus). The goat-god's importance on Lykaion is confirmed by the presence of a sanctuary adjoining that of Zeus Lykaios. Surrounded by a sacred wood, this temple rose by the stadium where, probably as early as the fifth century, the Arcadians gathered for the games called the Lykaia.¹¹³ The inscriptions of Lykaion show that the priest of Pan enjoyed there a prestige equal to that of Zeus, since the two alternated in giving their names to the festival year.¹¹⁴ On the coinage of the Arcadian league, finally, Pan Lykaios occupies the reverse, while the image of Zeus Lykaios adorns the obverse.¹¹⁵

Although there can be no doubt of his importance there, we have no explicit testimony as to the role played by Pan in the traditions of Lykaion. We are, however, told that he was active on this mountain as an oracle and that his first prophetess was the nymph Erato, wife of Arcas.¹¹⁶ Arcas is evidently very close to his twin, the goat-god—his childhood is in the wild (he is picked up by goatherds) and all we hear of him later is that he is a hunter.¹¹⁷ Quite possibly their twinship states (on the mythical level) the proximity of man and animal. This proximity, after all, appears in the mythical systems of Lykaion as a recurrent problem, and is only transformed into a clear distinction after a crisis of which the pursuit of the bear by Arcas, now represented in the stars, forms the final episode. We remember that the *abaton* where this final metamorphosis took place was evidently sacred to Pan as well as Zeus.¹¹⁸

The meaning of Pan's double genealogy can perhaps be understood in terms of the relationship between Zeus, lord of the Olympian order, and Arcas, founder of human culture. Like Arcas, Zeus grows up in the wild and is an abandoned foundling. Like him, he escapes the destruction of his kindred.¹¹⁹ As the only Olympian not swallowed by Cronos, his fate, *mutatis mutandis*, is homologous to that of the first Arcadian, spared the bolt that annihilates Lykaion's sons. The birth of Zeus on

Mount Lykaion was linked to a sanctuary called “Rhea’s cave”; here was enacted a secret ritual and here only women sacred to the mother of the god had the right to enter.¹²⁰ This Arcadian cave has an interesting parallel in the Cretan cave called “of bees” where Rhea bore Zeus, where “no one has the right to enter, neither god nor mortal.”¹²¹ The “bees” in Crete are the nurses of the god.¹²² Marked by a period of abandonment in the wilderness, the childhood of Zeus, like that of Arcas, prefigures the ordeals of the initiate. The myths of the birth and education of Rhea’s son were explicitly referred by the Cretans to an initiatory ritual: the kouretic (young men’s) mysteries where Zeus appeared as the prince of initiates, “the greatest of the *kouroi*.”¹²³ Extraordinarily enough, Cretan Zeus dies; his tomb in a Cretan cave could be visited, and there kouretic mysteries took place.¹²⁴ Greek mythology suggests an analogy between this “death” in Crete of the future ruler of Olympus and the fate of the father of a humanized Arcadia. Let us remember that there were two stories explaining the origin of the Great Bear; the first told of Kallisto, Arcas’s mother; the second of Zeus’s nurse on Ida.¹²⁵ This double explanation, whether it is ancient or derives from a Greek commentary of the Hellenistic period, indicates a real structural link between the Cretan and Arcadian traditions: the threats to Zeus in childhood and his “death” form a paradigm for the childhood and “passion” of Arcas, the ancestor. We have seen that in Crete, Pan was considered the son of an animal protective of Zeus: the goat; through his birth, he is thus directly linked to a nurse before becoming the ally of Zeus. Does he not have an analogous function in Arcadia—where he is god of the goatherds who rescue Arcas, and where he inspires Erato—but on behalf of his twin and, through this ancestor, of the young initiate who becomes a wolf in his territory for nine years? In his care for animal reproduction (game and small herd animals), Pan has his own link with the survival of human society. In the following chapter we shall see his concern become more direct through a rite enacted by the *paides*—young Arcadians who prepared themselves through hunting and music for the condition of citizens.

PART TWO
TALES OF PAN

*

T H R E E

GROTTO AND LANDSCAPE,
HUNTING AND HERDING

*

Greek mythology was a medium of communication, and therefore could not consist of distinct traditional stories proper to various locations, with elements and narrative structures handed down from age to age unchanged, each within its small community. It is no museum, where such invariables could at most be combined in a complex, but static, system: a simple set of correlations and correspondences. Perhaps one or another story emerged from the boundless variety and was generally understood as a Hellenistic myth; this is a further development of a mythology already a dynamic system (of transformations and in transformation) within which the traditions of, say, Athens spoke to those of Arcadia, each changing the other, and at the same time catching echoes from Boeotia, Sparta, or any city where Greek is spoken. There is no point in asking what, in local tradition or the system as a whole, attracts or repels a given element. Tales of the Arcadians as acorn-eaters born before the moon belong to the common stock of Greece—which does not imply that the Arcadians themselves rejected them; on the contrary, they were proud of them. Similarly, the legend of the origin of Arcadia (from Pelasgos to the race of Kallisto) comes before us as a set of myths coherent with the general Greek system and at the same time as Arcadian mythical self-presentation, peculiar to them. We can conclude from this interrelation that the stories analyzed above, as they are known to us, not only gave the Greeks a representation of Arcadia but also provided the Arcadians with a manner of representing their (own) humanness—that is, of saying just what kind of Greeks they were.

We must keep in mind this participation of local traditions in a whole that goes beyond them as we commence more detailed inquiry into the figure of the god Pan. Arcadia was called “land of Pan” (*Pania*).¹ The goat-god was its lord and so linked to the soil of his fatherland that myths sometimes represent him as born from the earth, *autochthōn* or *gēgenēs*,² in the image of the first human king, Pelasgos, born from the earth. Other versions of his birth, with very few exceptions, attach him

also to the land of the acorn-eaters.³ The League of Megalopolis chose him as the emblem of Arcadian unity, next to Zeus Lykaios.⁴ Of one thing there is no doubt: all the Greeks thought Pan an Arcadian.

Down to the beginning of the fifth century, his cult did not travel beyond the Peloponnese.⁵ Only after his introduction into Athens, soon after Marathon, do we find an increase in Attica,⁶ and slightly later in Boeotia,⁷ of evidence for a non-Arcadian piety concerned with Pan. Then the cult rapidly diffuses over nearly the whole Greek world: to Illyria (Apollonia)⁸ and the Ionian islands (Cephalonia—see plate 1)⁹ and as far as Thrace (Ainos),¹⁰ not forgetting the important cults of Delphi (the Corycian cave),¹¹ Macedonia,¹² and Thasos.¹³ Pan impressed himself on the Hellenic consciousness in the image of this goat-footed monster with his sweet smile, at once animal and goatherd, with his active and unlucky sexuality, a musician able absolutely to disrupt the psycho-physiological balance of an individual by possession and the cohesion of a human group by panic. The religion of Pan that grew up in the classical period legitimized on the margins of the city—with a more than marginal impact on social behavior—the presence of a hybrid figure who joined the satyrs, the silenoi, and the centaurs.¹⁴ Pan was, however, of more importance because, in contrast to these creatures, who existed only in myth or in the theater, he was a true god who received a cult.

From the start, the Athenians and the Greeks in general set up this cult in grottoes,¹⁵ natural sanctuaries actually or symbolically¹⁶ at some distance from the urban centers. Pan joined the other gods, proper to a pastoral religion, thought of as already present in these places: Hermes and the nymphs,¹⁷ Apollo Nomios,¹⁸ sometimes also Achelōos¹⁹ or Dionysus.²⁰ A dozen of these grottoes could be found in Attica alone; the Greeks, in reference to their principal occupants, called them *nymphaea* (τὰ νυμφαῖα).²¹ Soon Pan became so important that they could be called grottoes of Pan as easily as of the nymphs. The image of the cave stayed with Pan throughout antiquity. No buildings were constructed for this wild creature; even at Athens, the city gave the god a plain crack in the rock of the Acropolis as his sanctuary.²² It was better to cut into the rock rather than build a temple, however small. That is what they did at Thasos, for example, probably wishing to imitate Athens. It is not hard to understand this preference, because one thinks of Pan as a goatherd with his flock around him, tucked in the shadow of a rock; this is how from the end of the fifth century the votive reliefs placed in the *nymphaea* represent him; Euripides, speaking of the sanctuary on the Acropolis, evokes the music of this god who plays his syrinx deep in shade.²³ Near Marathon, the stalactites and stalagmites of the grotto at

Oinoe, sacred to the Arcadian god from the beginning of the fifth century, were still famous in the time of Pausanias (although the site was then deserted) for their resemblance to the goats of the divine flock.²⁴

The grotto evokes the goatherd and shepherd all the more naturally in that, here and there in Greece, grottoes serve even in our own time to shelter sheep and goats. The grotto should not, however, be confused with the shepherd's residence. The natural refuge where the Homeric shepherd drives his flock in haste to protect them from the storm is a strictly temporary dwelling.²⁵ To make of it a regular barn, to live there, would be to come down to the savage level of the monstrous Cyclops in the *Odyssey*. A centaur, as a rule, can be satisfied with life in a grotto (cf. Chiron), but a civilized man cannot. One would dwell there only under compulsion. In Democritus the *spēlaion*, the cave, is one of the principal elements that symbolically define savage original existence;²⁶ the cavern is the first dwelling of mankind—and even the place of human origin, if one thinks of Plato—but is properly later replaced by the house. And for the Greek imagination, the cave is something negative: a space where culture is refused or for those rejected by culture. When Demeter retires to the Phigalian grotto, she sentences mankind to the return of savagery;²⁷ something similar appears in the myth of baby Ion, abandoned in Apollo's grotto on the slope of the Acropolis;²⁸ and in the story of Atalanta's withdrawal, when she is looked after by bears in an Arcadian grotto, far from human community and marriage.²⁹ But retreat and rejection in a grotto generally signal a return, or at least the possibility of a new arrival. This place has the ambiguity proper to regression. We there meet the very forces that have created us. If Polyphemus is a savage, Chiron is an educator. We should remember in this connection the famous cave of Ithaca, sacred to Hermes and the nymphs: the *Odyssey* tells us that it had two entries, one for men, the other for gods.³⁰ Withdrawal, abandonment, and rejection are actually positions from which to return. Demeter will be soothed, Ion adopted, and Atalanta married; the grotto, which collects what has been rejected, is also a sacred space where things begin.³¹ The people of Delphi, when the Medes attacked, hid in the Corycian cave.³² In so doing they placed themselves under divine protection (the Corycian cave was primarily a place of cult sacred to Dionysus, Pan, and the nymphs); at the same time they regressed to a condition close to original savagery (thus anticipating the condition threatened by barbarian victory). The Argive fleet, according to one myth, was shipwrecked along Euboea on its return from Troy: the survivors who reached the shore were hungry and thirsty; they prayed to the gods, asking that some god rescue them from

their present distress. Immediately they saw before them a grotto of Dionysus fitted out with an image of the god. It was full of wild goats, which had sheltered there against the bad weather. The Argives slaughtered these animals, made a meal of their flesh, and dressed themselves in their skins. When the bad weather was over and they had recovered their ships, they went home, taking with them the xoanon they had found in the grotto, and set up a cult of Dionysus. These Greek Robinson Crusoes, whose legend is told us by Pausanias, demonstrate that the symbolic implications of the cave extend far beyond the sphere of pastoralism.³³ Surely the pastoralist is of all cultured creatures closest to the caveman; but the shepherd, though like the savage, is no savage: he normally lives in a hut, a lean-to, or a shelter made of branches joined to the sheepfold.³⁴ The dwelling his hands have built is not completely natural, even if it sometimes fades into the landscape. In comparison with the shepherd's hut, the cave represents a condition of mankind at once more savage and closer to the gods.

We should notice that Pausanias, who speaks enthusiastically about the rock sanctuaries of Marathon (the grotto of Oinoe)³⁵ and of Parnassus (the Corycian cave)³⁶ mentions no grotto sacred to Pan in Arcadia. In his book devoted to this region, he mentions a number of sanctuaries of the god; he calls them *hiera*.³⁷ This general term can be used for any kind of building or sacred place. But sometimes Pausanias is more precise: we then learn that the *hieron* of Pan, so far from being restricted to a grotto, spread over a whole mountain or, by contrast, consisted of a building put up by human hands: it is a *naos*, a temple. Mount Lampeia, where the Erymanthos rises, is a natural sanctuary of Pan;³⁸ so is Menale, where the god's syrinx can be heard.³⁹ The Arcadians worshipped Pan on these mountains, and otherwise in temples in no way inferior to those of other gods.⁴⁰ These could be in town, as for example at Heraia⁴¹ and Lykosoura.⁴² In this last place, access to Pan's sanctuary was by a staircase from the territory of two goddesses; it was marked off with a colonnade, and the god had there a little statue next to an altar where burned an eternal flame.⁴³ One *naos* was on Mount Lykaion. There also we are asked to picture no deserted landscape (from the fifth century on at least) but a range of sacred buildings: several temples, a gate, housing for the priests, a stadium, a gymnasium, and baths.⁴⁴ Not far from the summit, which served as altar for the lycanthropic sacrifice offered to Zeus Lykaios, the *hieron* of Pan stood in a sacred wood;⁴⁵ the numerous traces of buildings that have come to light where Pausanias locates this sanctuary may well belong to it.⁴⁶ In any case, we must be talking about a temple (*naos*), since there are no grot-

toes on this part of the mountain. At Megalopolis, Pan's cult found a place in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios: it seems that the sacred ensemble of Mount Lykaion, where Pan and Zeus were closely linked in ritual, was here reproduced on a smaller scale.⁴⁷ Twenty kilometers north of Megalopolis on the Chrysovitsi road, Greek archaeologists have brought to light some traces of a sanctuary of Pan on a hill, including several buildings and a colonnade.⁴⁸ Elsewhere in Arcadia, Pausanias mentions two other ruined temples that had belonged to Pan: one in Peraitheis, a town abandoned in his time;⁴⁹ the other in open country along the road from Tegea to Laconia.⁵⁰ Then there are three other *hierai*; we cannot be absolutely sure that they were not grottoes, but at least Pausanias does not explicitly call them that: these are on Mount Parthenion, the *hieron* where Pan appeared to Philippides;⁵¹ on Mount Nomia (not far from Lykosoura), a *hieron* at the place called Melpēia, legendary site of his invention of the syrinx;⁵² and finally, between Tegea and Laconia, a *hieron* next to an oak sacred to the god.⁵³

We are not claiming that the Arcadians never placed Pan in a grotto. Even if they sometimes did so, however, we can be sure that in their eyes this location did not reveal the essential nature of the god. The Pan-grotto connection, to the (very slight) extent it manifests itself in Arcadia, was not basic.⁵⁴ We thus encounter a paradox: from the fifth century onward, and throughout Greece, dozens of grottoes welcomed the cult of Pan, whereas we can hardly identify any sacred to him in Arcadia. Conversely, while we can draw up a list of temples built to Pan in Arcadia, no sanctuary put up by human hands was dedicated to him outside his homeland.⁵⁵ In connection with Pan, the grotto has thus, for Greece in general, a specific symbolic function; it means something Pan does not need in Arcadia, where he is everywhere at home; outside of Arcadia, it is evident that the grotto, as Pan's proper environment, stands for Arcadia itself.

By welcoming Pan into a rock sanctuary, the Athenians, and the other Greeks after them, brought to the surface the rough and primitive character of this god. This choice corresponds exactly to the tone of astonishment with which they describe the leading role played by Pan in his original homeland.⁵⁶ The importance the Arcadians gave the goat-god (whom they thought a major god and whom they honored in true sanctuaries) was the inverse of the (minor) role the Greeks in general allotted to the same god (honored along with other divinities in grottoes). It should be stressed that these contrasting attitudes are contemporary. On the historical level where we encounter it, this contrast is not the sign of any "real" difference; it is only the sign of an *asserted*

difference, asserted as much by the Arcadians as by the rest of the Greeks, and this is something quite different. Whether the Greeks speak of Pan's importance in Arcadia or describe the savage nature of the Arcadians, the sense of astonishment is evidently the same. That Pan should be honored in a temple (*naos*) is for them an aspect of that savage nature; the Arcadians themselves no doubt assert their nature in this way. It would therefore be wrong to contrast Pan's cult in Arcadia and the cult he received outside Arcadia as two phenomena independent of each other. We should rather grasp the logic of the Greek system, a system that included Arcadia. Everything suggests that the cult of Pan in Arcadia increased (and acquired national importance) correlatively with his success in the rest of Greece: this success coincides with the arrival of Arcadia on the political scene. The religion of Pan was, then, reinstitutionalized simultaneously in his original homeland (where temples were built to the god) and in Greece as a whole (where he was accepted only in grottoes). As for what came before this reinstitutionalization, we do not really know. We can add that, in accepting the cult of Pan, the Athenians admitted that they themselves also had an "Arcadian" aspect—at the very moment when the Arcadians rediscovered that they were Greeks.

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The Arcadian conception of Pan prior to the fifth century can be reconstructed only on the most general lines and in the aspects least likely to be transformed. As a god protective of herding,⁵⁷ himself at once animal and shepherd,⁵⁸ Pan must have watched his own flocks far from mankind⁵⁹ in the mountain places that were his realm, of which some were his sanctuaries.⁶⁰ Through the mysterious and uneasy noises of the desert, people thought to hear the music of this savage herdsman,⁶¹ whose acts (kind or unkind) mainly affected shepherds with their flocks and the huntsmen who entered his realm.⁶² Pan's activity had to do first of all with the reproduction of animals.⁶³

We know of no pictures or statues of the god preceding the diffusion of his cult outside of Arcadia.⁶⁴ But it is hardly to be doubted that from a much earlier period his appearance was primarily that of an animal: a slightly humanized goat, probably on his hind legs. That is, in fact, the form of the first images—in particular, a mid-fifth-century bronze from his Arcadian homeland (Lousoi).⁶⁵ This Pan is an animal in the form of his hooves, his genitals, his little tail, the arrangement of his coat, and his head; from man he borrows only his upright posture, his torso, and his hands; one of these probably held a *lagobolon*, a throwing stick,⁶⁶

while the other, shading his eyes, gives the god a characteristic watching attitude, like a huntsman stalking or a goatherd tending his flock. In the oldest vase painting in which he appears—Athenian, from the very beginning of the fifth century—nothing distinguishes the god from a goat except that he is on his hind legs dancing with a maenad.⁶⁷ F. Brommer has done a fine study of the iconographic evolution that gradually departs from this nearly complete animal shape in the direction of steady humanization of the torso, the legs, and even of the face (see plates 2 and 3), such that Greek artists could soon play infinite variations on two concurrent ideal images: that of the bearded goat with his great horns, often equipped with a tail and cloven hooves, whose human shape appears only in his posture and the general structure of his body; and that of the young Pan, where, by contrast, the animal traits are suppressed and appear only in the form of two little horns or of pointed ears glimpsed through the hair that falls elegantly across an adolescent forehead.⁶⁸ The completely human body of this young Pan, one of whose finest representations belongs to the school of Polycleitos, is quite attractive.⁶⁹ From the fifth century the artists sometimes amused themselves by bringing together within the same group these two contrasting expressions of the fusion in Pan of man and animal.⁷⁰ For the history of this complex and constantly varied pantheistic art, I refer the reader to the studies of the archaeologist.⁷¹ Here it is enough to stress how recent it was. Pan was still unknown to archaic art. The elaboration of his iconography was a task of the classical period (the fifth and fourth centuries). This fact is not without importance.

The rapid diffusion of the cult of Pan, beginning in the early fifth century B.C., brought with it certain inevitable readjustments, if not a metamorphosis. For this god, who until then had been confined to the mountainous center of the Peloponnese, to become universally known in Greece, his image had to be remade, readjusted so as to fit comfortably in the iconographic canon and at last become recognizable. This was the task of fifth- and fourth-century artists, and was an aspect of a more general process, which can properly be styled theological. The goat-god had no sooner been promoted to the rank of Arcadia's official divinity and integrated (albeit as a secondary, minor divinity) in a Panhellenic religious system than it became necessary to explain exactly what relations he was to have with the other gods and to specify at least approximately his theological position. On this point the Greeks had some difficulty in reaching agreement. If they concurred, as Herodotus says, in seeing him as a very young god (born after the Trojan War),⁷²

they knew his genealogy in at least fourteen different versions.⁷³ The uncertainty was already there in the fifth century and got worse as time went on.⁷⁴ It was only after the most painstaking research that the numerous scholars who were asked about the origin of the Great Pan whose death had been mourned under Tiberius came round to the most common opinion (that of Herodotus): Pan was the child of Hermes and Penelope.⁷⁵ This was the version officially accepted in Athens;⁷⁶ without doubt, it went back to Arcadian tradition. Penelope's connections with Arcadia are well documented, and Pan has too close a kinship with Hermes, god of Mount Kyllene, for anyone to doubt the antiquity of this version;⁷⁷ all the same, we have seen that even in Arcadia there were other versions, especially around Mount Lykaion.⁷⁸

This doubt about Pan's genealogy goes with an almost complete absence of mythology. Between the god officially welcomed at Athens around 490 B.C. and his "origins," there stands a break. Herodotus says that in his time, the Greeks had forgotten where Pan was reared (*καὶ Πανός γε περί οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος*).⁷⁹ The opinion reported here is not merely the historian's own; the Hymn to Pan supports him. This text, which is at least as old as the fifth century B.C., is content to describe the god (as a huntsman) and the landscape he haunts; he has here only one adventure, that of his birth; and this is furthermore presented through a hymn within the hymn addressed to Hermes by his son and the nymphs.⁸⁰ This inner story is a plain tale: the myth of Hermes' goatlike progeny fades out on Pan's mother running away in terror at the newborn infant's appearance and the joyful welcome awaiting the monster on Olympus. No other myth is thought worthy of mention. This narrative, however, although it stands alone, is nonetheless essential: it takes into account, among other things, Pan's elusive and unstable character. This god makes his way to the Greeks from Arcadia certainly—on this point, tradition is unanimous—but at the same time, from no place. Hermes' son is rejected by his mortal mother, but no mischief or evil intention of his own brings on his abandonment; he is cast out because he frightens people, because he is disgusting. The infant Pan, a shaggy, bearded baby with horns, who laughs, is repellent.⁸¹ But we must go on to stress that he is repellent only to humans: the gods, and especially Dionysus, for their part find him charming.⁸² Pan is evidently the symbolic embodiment of the repressed. But everything man flees and rejects in order to distinguish himself from the animals makes him like to the gods. The myth seems to say: if we refuse the beast, we shall never know how to resemble a god. A double and liminal figure, always transformed already, Pan meets man

only to leave him at the precise spot where animality corresponds to the divine.

Another hymn, inscribed on a stele at Epidaurus, confines itself to a description of the wonderful music and dancing of the god.⁸³ Neither here nor anywhere in classical literature does Pan appear as a character in a plot.⁸⁴ The poets allude to his powers of possession,⁸⁵ panic,⁸⁶ and seduction;⁸⁷ they speak of his music⁸⁸ and his dancing;⁸⁹ they talk of his lustfulness⁹⁰ and violent sexuality,⁹¹ and of the rocky landscape where he leads his flocks;⁹² for all that, even though they associate him with other divinities—the Mother of the Gods,⁹³ Hecate,⁹⁴ Artemis,⁹⁵ Hermes and the nymphs,⁹⁶ Apollo⁹⁷—Pan is in the scene at most as an extra. Euripides thus shows him in the *Iphigenia in Taurus* joining the voyage that brings the statue of Artemis from Taurus to Attica,⁹⁸ when the same poet in *Electra* represents him bringing to Atreus the golden fleece, badge of royalty, he presents Pan as a shepherd following the track of transhumance from the Arcadian mountains to the Argive plain.⁹⁹ It is much the same in the representations on pottery. Readily included in the Dionysiac thiasos,¹⁰⁰ Pan plays a supernumery role in scenes of this type: he is a musician at the banquet¹⁰¹ or a dancer with the maenads.¹⁰² Outside of the Dionysiac context, when Pan is the main subject of his pictures, the artist does not illustrate a myth but some quality of the god's, displaying one or another of his powers: he makes a sudden, terrifying appearance (see plate 4),¹⁰³ he couples with goats;¹⁰⁴ he brings his unwarlike homage to the rustic herm (stone column sacred to peaceful Hermes—see plate 5),¹⁰⁵ he is in sexual pursuit,¹⁰⁶ he dances.¹⁰⁷ The pictures on pottery that show the goat-god at the *anodos*, or emergence from the ground, of a goddess¹⁰⁸ are no exception to the rule: if Pan takes active part by his dance in bringing forth the goddess, in making her rise from the earth, he still has only an auxiliary function, as the agent of a transfer from one world to the other (a part befitting Hermes' son): he never becomes a character in the play.

The lack of mythology in the classical period should not deceive us. It is made up for in the Hellenistic period, when many stories about Pan come to the surface, telling in full detail of his love affairs with Echo,¹⁰⁹ Syrinx,¹¹⁰ Pitys;¹¹¹ his seduction of Selene (the moon);¹¹² and also his important role at Zeus's side against the Titans and Typhon.¹¹³ Evidently it is not Pan's nature to be without legend. The silence of fifth- and fourth-century authors probably results from their ignorance about the traditions proper to this Arcadian, or, more simply, from their indifference. They were interested in the powers of Pan and his vivid personality. With a greater tendency to erudition, and curious as

they were about the most marginal traditions, Hellenistic authors set themselves to sorting out panic mythology, tracing it back to its various sources. The story told by Nikander that links Pan with Selene very probably goes back to an old source in Arcadian myths, or at very least was suggested by them; those who made Pan the adversary of the Titans and of Typhon referred in the one case to Cretan myths about Zeus and in the other to traditions connected with the Corycian cave in Cilicia. The rest of the stories, in particular those about Echo and Syrinx, defy all attempts to place them. Nevertheless, it is impossible to believe that they were made up out of whole cloth, so many and various are the cultures with legends about the echo (very often linking this acoustic phenomenon with some "master spirit" of wild nature).¹¹⁴ We are compelled to believe that the myth of Pan's love affair with the nymph Echo was rooted in Greek popular tradition. As for Syrinx, let us remember that the most probable (Indo-European) etymology of her name clarifies a detail in the myth.¹¹⁵ The erudite poets of the Hellenistic age certainly base their stories on collective memory. Probably they freely rework the narrative elements they had received, ascribing to Pan things that one local tradition or another ascribed to some other related divinity. But it makes little difference: they did not work at random, and the legends they tell, in the form they give them, provide us with a valuable commentary on the classical image of the goat-god. The "Alexandrian" myth of Echo, which some call a delicate and naive invention, provides one key to the symbolism of panic and permits an exact statement of the relation between panic and another of Pan's powers, seduction. The myth of Syrinx, in turn, brings to the surface a network of relations, otherwise hidden, that link panic music with the sexuality of the yet-to-be-married; one of the latest versions (which turns up in Achilles Tatius) helps us to understand the relations Pan had established in fifth-century Attica (and certainly earlier in Arcadia) with Artemis.¹¹⁶

Only in the myths of Syrinx, Echo, and Selene, and in that of Pitys, does Pan play a leading role. Although they clarify the image of this god, his powers and his way of acting, they are hardly adequate to place him in the general framework of classical mythology. Syrinx (nymph of Artemis) and Echo (daughter of the rock)¹¹⁷ have no known genealogy and do not reappear in any other story. Selene, the moon, remains a very marginal figure in urban religion. In spite of the effort of erudite Alexandrians and the probable existence of traditional stories that brought him in, the goat-god thus always remains somewhat left out of that vast system of Panhellenic communication that was the mythologi-

concealed. And then Pan arrives in Arcadia, drawn from mountain to mountain by the hunt, and sees the goddess. He notes her condition, the clothes she is wearing, and brings a report to Zeus; Zeus in his turn sends the Moirai, who persuade the goddess to forget her anger and overcome her grief. The ancient cult statue placed in the cave (a wooden xoanon, long destroyed in Pausanias's time but still remembered in tradition) exactly portrayed what Pan had seen: Demeter angry and grief-stricken, sitting on a rock in the cave, dressed in a tunic that came down to her feet. She had a woman's body but a mare's head and mane; serpents and other creatures came from her head. She held a dolphin in one hand and a dove in the other.¹²³ Here we are concerned with Pan's function in this myth. The cave where he finds Demeter is a place of fasting and grief, a negative sterile space, out of sight of the Olympians. Pan's role in the crisis is to reestablish the broken communication between Zeus (guarantor of cultural and cosmic equilibrium) and the divinity charged with nourishing mankind. Demeter, hidden in the huntsman's territory, condemns agricultural land to absolute sterility. As a consequence of her withdrawal, mankind is pushed back toward savagery and again becomes a nomad and a carnivore. Pan is the ideal mediator precisely because he is at home in the space of her concealment, since this space forms part of the territory where he hunts. He intervenes to evict her from a place where, in terms of her proper function, there is nothing for her to do.

"Guardian of the venerable Arcadian sanctuaries,"¹²⁴ a god who treads the heights,¹²⁵ Pan first intervenes as an observer, a privileged witness of all that happens far from the protected space where mankind lives and works.¹²⁶ In this connection, it is worth noticing the degree to which he haunts fourth-century Italian ceramics.¹²⁷ It is a paradox that the goat-god, of whose cult in southern Italy we hear almost nothing, asserts himself in images from the region as the god most frequently represented. He is iconographically a mere sign and takes no part (with rare exceptions) in the action described by the painter; his presence in the margin of a mythological scene seems to have no function save to mark the landscape where the drama takes place as both out of the way and supernatural. Cadmus's battle with Ares' son the dragon,¹²⁸ the death of Actaeon, eaten by his dogs,¹²⁹ the massacre of Niobe's children,¹³⁰ the torture of Marsyas,¹³¹ the judgment of Paris,¹³² the exploits of Bellerophon,¹³³ to mention only a few examples, are various actions that take place in savage places where one could expect to meet with Pan. Cadmus kills the dragon near a spring in a cave in the virgin territory he will colonize;¹³⁴ Actaeon meets his death in the heart of the

forest in a space belonging to Artemis and her nymphs, marked in this case also by the inclusion of a spring and a grotto.¹³⁵ When Niobe is turned to stone, her tears become eternal in a spring that flows near the top of Mount Sipylus in Lydia.¹³⁶ Shepherd Paris comes upon the three goddesses in a desert landscape.¹³⁷ The adventures of Bellerophon take place at the ends of the earth, near the East.¹³⁸ The artists liked to think of Pan as present in the farthest West too, near the source of the Hesperides.¹³⁹ As hunter and herdsman, the goat-god was used to watching and waiting; he comes upon scenes played out in the theater of nature, the sphere proper to his motion, at the limits of human territory. But we should not reduce his contact with the fringes of the event to a simple allegory, “representing free nature.”¹⁴⁰ When Pan, on Italian ceramics, serves as a sign, the sign is not univocal. He is the reflex of a landscape that means more than mere locality. The maddened dogs who take the huntsman Actaeon for their prey are victims of an illusion like that produced in other contexts by Pan’s anger.¹⁴¹ When Pan looks on at such a scene, he reflects by his presence not only a placement in “geographical” space but also a classification of the phenomenon (as a liminal experience) to which he is spectator; its meaning thus becomes clearer. The same point holds for those frequent images in which the goat-god, himself often cause of passion or subject to desire, watches an erotic adventure: the appropriation of Chrysippe by Laios,¹⁴² of Hippodamia by Pelops,¹⁴³ of Europa by Zeus,¹⁴⁴ of Amymone by Poseidon,¹⁴⁵ the judgment of Paris.¹⁴⁶

Pan undeniably identifies a landscape, but one that is more than a spatial location. He is, after all, a god, and a sign not of the picturesque but of the supernatural. The panical landscape is a space where strange phenomena take place, irrespective of human will and power. The point is already in Plato, although not at all mythologically expressed. In the *Phaedrus* Socrates is described as threatened by delirium; the scene unfolds on the banks of the Ilissos; we are at the very gates of Athens, but the landscape, characterized by water and shade, is sacred to Pan and the nymphs, and it is the hour of Pan (noon).¹⁴⁷ On Hymettos (at Vari) and on Cithaeron, the caves sacred to the goat-god seemed to the ancients places that lent themselves to the experience of possession.¹⁴⁸ Aeschylus, describing the little island of Psyttaleia, says that this rocky spot, a bare and difficult landfall, was inhabited only by Pan.¹⁴⁹ He thus specified a type of landscape well known to the Greeks, a little island with goats, of a kind common in the Mediterranean—but his reference to the goat-god certainly has a further meaning: his mention of this island, occupied by the Persian elite, opens his account of an army in

flight. His Athenian spectators would most probably have recognized here an allusion to panic, that is to say, a power proper to the god of the rocks, with its part to play in the destruction of the barbarian fleet.¹⁵⁰

Pan's landscape, although familiar to the Greeks, is all the same identified as supernatural. These arid districts, where goatherds and huntsmen move about at a distance from the cultivated fields, on the mountain or along rocky shores, represent the limits beyond which human expertise, *techne* or *sophia*, loses its hold on reality. This marginal land is ambiguous: people here surrender themselves to activities that are at best of doubtful value, or dangerous; they are exposed here to powers greater than themselves and must respect a multitude of ritual precautions. Pan, god of mountains,¹⁵¹ of snow,¹⁵² of forests,¹⁵³ or, on the other hand, of the rocky coast and even of the sea,¹⁵⁴ rules the frontier of human space. To speak of his landscape is, in effect, to define a limit. To Pan belongs all that the Greeks call the *eschatiai*, the "edges." The meaning of this term, applied in the *Odyssey* to the part of Ithaca where Odysseus's goats,¹⁵⁵ closely tended, are put to pasture, has been well explicated by Louis Robert:

The *eschatiai* of a Greek city are the region outside culture, beyond the properties and farms that occupy the plains or little valleys; this is the "back country"; these are districts with poor communications, exploited with difficulty, sometimes shading into or including the mountain that always borders the territory of a Greek city; they adjoin the frontier or are based on it, upon the mountain and forest region that separates two civic territories and is left to the shepherds, the woodcutters, and the charcoal burners.¹⁵⁶

We may add that the *eschatiai*, according to the scholion to Aeschines cited by the same scholar,¹⁵⁷ can be a coastal region or shoreline as well as a mountain. Such territories generally belong to no one. Not part of one community or another, they are not included among spaces controlled by mankind. As A. Motte puts it, they are "open spaces"¹⁵⁸ and thus have a tendency to belong to the gods, or even to be explicitly consecrated: as, for example, the mountain sanctuaries of Arcadia, whose sacred character is sometimes further marked by the existence of an area where men have no right to enter (the *abaton* of Mount Lykaion).¹⁵⁹

Pan's violent antipathy to civic space is amusingly expressed in an epigram from the Greek Anthology, where the god in spite threatens to come to town. Nothing could have brought him to such an extreme resolution except his despair at the death of his lover, the cowherd

Daphnis.¹⁶⁰ The goat-god, whose resorts must seem doubly divided from the city (by his supernatural standing, as much as by his spatial distance), could bring there nothing but disorder. Artemidoros in the *Oneirocriticus* insistently makes the point that to dream of Pan dressed as a city dweller appearing in public space means nothing but catastrophe and upheaval, while his appearance in the natural wilderness betokens success and happiness.¹⁶¹ To some degree, the disorder provoked by Pan (whether it troubles individuals with possession or collectivities with tumultuous panic) is directly the effect of a simple displacement. Pan brings with him into the political universe the properties of the space where he is at home. As a setting for wanderings that are agitated, uncertain, and unstable, this space slips out of proportion. Huntsmen and herdsman are led about there in response to the movement of animals as much as by their own cunning. This movement, these arcs, which are more or less irrational and uncertainly related to their center, find more explicit expression in the chase, and also in dancing, which is typical of the divinities found there: Hecate, Artemis and the nymphs, the Mother of the Mountains with her corybantes, Dionysus and the maenads. The Homeric Hymn to Pan describes the restless mobility of the goat-god: "He wanders this way and that through the thick copses, sometimes trailing along the delicate brooklets; sometimes in turn he wanders the rocks where the sun climbs, making his way up to the highest peak, a watcher of flocks. Often he runs across the great white mountains, often he drives his beasts through the dales and kills them; he is quick to fix his gaze."¹⁶²

While the stress here is on Pan as huntsman, the Homeric Hymn does not pass over his role of herdsman: well acquainted with rocky paths,¹⁶³ the god rises to the peak whence flocks are observed (*ἀκροτάτην κορυφήν μηλοσκόπον εισαναβαίνων*).¹⁶⁴ As the guard of little flocks, Pan is a guide (an inscription from Tegea calls him *prokathēgētēs*)¹⁶⁵ who knows how to lead the beasts from summer grazing to winter pastures. Euripides takes note of his knowledge of the routes that lead from mountain to plain when he describes him driving the golden ram, a royal badge for Thyestes, from Arcadia to Argos.¹⁶⁶ A Thessalian legend told how the herdsman Kerambos, because he refused to pay attention to Pan's advice when told to bring his flocks down from the mountain before the coming of winter, lost his sheep and was himself turned into an insect (the Cerambyx, a great scarab beetle with pincers shaped like the pastoral lyre).¹⁶⁷ Transhumance is evidently the necessary condition for bringing order to a territory that human beings can occupy only provisionally. In taking charge of pas-

toral space and of the periodic rhythm of its exploitation, it grants herding a standing among civilized activities. Thanks to transhumance, the herdsman escapes the nomadic life—which (for the Greeks) would cut him off from humanity.¹⁶⁸ To refuse transhumance would be to give oneself up to disorder, without recourse. The Thessalian shepherd who insists on staying in the mountains for the bad weather sees the snow cover his sheep and his paths vanish.¹⁶⁹ In this formless and confused landscape, he can no longer find his way, nor any solid ground.¹⁷⁰ The directionless snow comes before him as the mark of Pan's hostile power. We can already see that this disorientation, and the unheralded death it brings on the shepherd and his flocks, in a small way echoes the tumult and murderous imbalance that on a grand scale overtakes an army subject to the god. In our study of panic properly so-called, we shall see more clearly how readily Pan's hallucinatory powers interact with the effect of snow.¹⁷¹

On the level of pastoral activity, the snow has the effect of turning the mountain over to Pan. He is left sole master of the peaks, along with his nymphs, whom the people of Delphi called "white young girls";¹⁷² the god then "traverses peaks struck by winter."¹⁷³ Pastoral activity thus turns out to be ambiguous; it places mankind in a space bordering this sterile whiteness, and makes him neighbor to the nomad, damned to wandering. Let us remember that the goats who make up the flocks of Pan are themselves ambivalent animals, on the borderline between wild and domesticated.¹⁷⁴ Yet for all this, pastoral activity is defined as an activity of civilization: the cycle of return (transhumance) comes to call him back. And Pan himself oversees the enactment of this cycle, he who never comes down to the city of men, unless to confound them.

* * *

In Arcadia more than anywhere, Pan is lord of mountains. He does not live in a cave; rather his premises are called (by those few authors who describe them) *kaliē*, *aulis*, or *aulē*.¹⁷⁵ All three terms have to do with Pan as a herdsman. *Kaliē* means a hut made of boughs that shelters the shepherd beside the sheepfold (*aulis*) that protects the flock against wild beasts. *Aulē* is another word for fold; Aelian speaks of it as an actual place on Mount Lykaion; it is sacred to Pan and, he tells us, no wolf dares enter it; goats and sheep may shelter in this sanctuary, as may any animal pursued by a wild beast.¹⁷⁶ Thus we see how in the care of this god the pastoral function (protection and increase) overflows and extends beyond the sphere of the human shepherd. Pan is the herdsman par excellence, even among undomesticated creatures. Callimachus describes Artemis visiting the shepherd-god at home:

Quickly you went to get dogs, and so came to the Arcadian camp of Pan. He was butchering the flesh of a Maenalian lynx, so that his fertile bitches could have it for food. To you the bearded one gave two half-black dogs, three with spotted ears, and one spotted all over, who could pull down even lions, when they clutched their throats and dragged them still alive to the camp. He gave seven others, seven bitches of Cynosuria, swifter than the wind, none quicker to pursue deer and the unblinking hare, quick also to signal the bed of the deer, and the burrow of the porcupine, and to lead us along the track of the gazelle.¹⁷⁷

This mythic episode is placed by Callimachus just after the birth of Artemis, at the moment when she receives her attributes of power. The goddess meets Pan within a sheepfold, and he gives the future huntress her pack of hounds. The god is described as just returned from the hunt; he is butchering a lynx. But primarily he is seen as one who keeps and feeds; surrounded by his little flocks (implied by the notion of a sheepfold), he here also undertakes to raise dogs and particularly protects the females with their puppies. He has killed a lynx, a wild predator from which a shepherd does well to protect his goats and sheep.¹⁷⁸

Pan's sacred enclosure on Mount Lykaion, an asylum where he protects any animal pursued by a wolf, attests the survival of old beliefs in which Pan was divine master of the animal world, wild as well as domesticated.¹⁷⁹ This sanctuary, which sets an inviolable limit to the murderous power of the wolf (and surely also of the huntsman), guarantees the survival of wild game and is an extension of Pan's power over animal fertility; we shall see that the Arcadians thought Pan responsible for the abundance, and correspondingly for the scarcity, of meat, whether obtained by hunting or by herding.¹⁸⁰ Walter Burkert makes the very plausible suggestion that Pan's enclosure is none other than the famous *abaton* of Mt. Lykaion, which no huntsman had the right to enter in pursuit of his game under penalty of death or exile.¹⁸¹ We know of similar places of refuge sacred to divinities close to Pan Lykaios (Apollo and Artemis) in other (equally conservative) regions of the ancient world: that is to say, on Cyprus (Curium),¹⁸² and at Colophon on the banks of the Timiavo, in the marches of Venetia and Istria.¹⁸³

The goatlike traits of the god Pan are in no way inappropriate to his protection of wild animals. In ancient Greece, the goat was not solely a domesticated animal; there are wild goats also, the familiar and favorite sport of the huntsman in the mountains and desert districts.¹⁸⁴ Ulysses and his comrades, we remember, hunt them on the little island offshore

from the land of Cyclopes.¹⁸⁵ The landscape of choice for these savage goats was Crete; there was a story that Cretan goats knew how to cure arrow wounds and so taught mankind the use of the famous medicinal plant called *diktamon*.¹⁸⁶ Pausanias mentions wild goats on the mainland, particularly on the heights of Taygetus¹⁸⁷ and on the coastal mountains;¹⁸⁸ he surely also thought these animals at home in the fierce landscape of Arcadia. The flocks the goat-god pastured on the mountain sanctuaries of his homeland must have been made up of these beasts. The poet Castorion calls Pan *thēronomos* (herdsman of wild animals) and thus shifts his work of herding, whereby the god extends his protection to all potential victims of the wolf, into the savage sphere.¹⁸⁹

The goat-god, who is protector and especially herdsman of animals, also hunts.¹⁹⁰ We see him sometimes playing relaxedly with a hare¹⁹¹ but his most frequent attribute after the syrinx is the throwing stick, the *lagobolon* used to kill these animals.¹⁹² The Homeric Hymn to Pan describes him in motion as “slayer of beasts” with a huntsman’s keen eyesight.¹⁹³ Herding and hunting are two aspects of one function; this god who protects the balance of nature in the animal sphere also has in his care the limits set on activities that might threaten that balance. Artemis, prototypical huntress, is also mistress of animals, and knows how to punish men who go too far in killing, as in the case of Orion. There is also scattered evidence for a cult of Pan among huntsmen. Arrian warns them against forgetting Pan, Artemis, and the other divinities of wild nature. If these are not invoked before setting out, there may be malign consequences, described in an archaic curse formula: “For then the dogs hurt themselves, the horses pull up lame, and the men stumble” (*καὶ γὰρ αἱ κύνες βλάπτονται καὶ οἱ ἵπποι χωλεύονται καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι σφάλλονται*).¹⁹⁴

The elder Apollodorus tells us that in Attica Pan was particularly honored as god of the hunt.¹⁹⁵ It is not irrelevant that Sostratus in Menander’s *Dyscolos* comes into the power of Pan when out for a day’s hunting.¹⁹⁶ Quite a few epigrams in the Palatine Anthology mention offerings made to this god by huntsmen: *lagobola*, snares, clubs, the syrinx.¹⁹⁷ We should not, however, conclude that Pan was typically the god of hunting. In this sphere, he remains subordinate to Artemis, Mistress of Wild Beasts (*potnia thērōn*), who was unquestionably the paradigmatic hunter. When it comes to hunting, Pan represents something more modest, more rough-and-ready, and possibly also more primitive. Although he introduces Artemis to hunting and provides her with her pack, he himself is never joined by more than one dog, and makes no use of bow or spear.¹⁹⁸ He kills his rabbits with a stick and pursues no

other prey—except for the enemies of his flock (the wolf, the lynx). He has so little skill in the great matters of the hunt that one Attic vase painter shows him accidentally caught in a snare.¹⁹⁹ Pan would like to be a huntsman, but does not quite succeed. Similarly, the animal whose form he takes is not quite wild. For the ancients, the goat was midway between the wild and the domesticated. Pan is, then, just this side of the animal sphere where Artemis has full power: the sphere of the bear, the stag, the lion, and the wild boar. Conversely, the hunt of the wild goat was not proper to Artemis: the Cretans of the archaic period consecrated their handsome reliefs that portrayed this kind of hunting to Hermes and Aphrodite.²⁰⁰ Surely huntsmen must not forget the goat-god, but that is because he belongs to the landscape they explore, to the open country, the mountains, the marshes; similarly, fishermen honor Pan Aktios as god of river banks and ocean promontories where the goats come for fresh water and salt.²⁰¹

The sphere of Pan thus overlaps with that of Artemis, whom the Greeks saw as nourisher of wild game and goddess of hunting—but only partially, and his mode of action in this limited sphere coincides only partially with that of the Mistress of Animals. On the other hand, the goat-god has in one respect power where she has not. While she has to do only with wild animals, his dominion is over both wild and domesticated beasts, and the frontier between them. He is the unassuming patron of the huntsman and his game and also patronizes the shepherd's care of small flocks.²⁰²

Pan rules Arcadia, and Arcadia is first and foremost a land fit for herding. In the version of the story prevalent throughout antiquity, the goat-footed god was son of Hermes, god of Mount Kyllene, and in the religious universe of the north Arcadian shepherds, this Hermes was the leading god.²⁰³ The Hymn to Hermes, one of the oldest in the collection we call "Homeric," tells us that this father of Pan rules over all the beasts of the earth, both wild and domesticated.

"Maia's son, keep the cattle that roam in the wild
And tend the horses and hard-laboring mules"

. . .

Gleaming-eyed lions also, and sharp-tusked boars
And dogs and sheep, such as the earth nurtures—
Glorious Hermes is lord of all the flocks.²⁰⁴

The word here translated as "flocks," *probata*, is used in a sense reflecting its etymology; the Hymn speaks of moveables, of animate property, and thus of animal stock in general. This explication draws on Ben-

veniste, and deserves emphasis.²⁰⁵ Hesiod actually says that Hermes regulates the quantity of domesticated animals, in other words, the wealth of the herdsman. He speaks of Hecate as the goddess “honored with all marks of privilege”; she derives this status particularly from Hermes:

She is good in the steadings with Hermes to increase the stock:
The herds of cattle and broad droves of goats
And flocks of wooly sheep, when her spirit wills it,
She makes thrive from a few, and from many makes them less.²⁰⁶

In the *Iliad*, this same conception of Hermes' role turns up in connection with Phorbas, who possessed enormous flocks because Hermes loved him more than any other Trojan and increased his riches.²⁰⁷ Pausanias later cites these verses from Homer when explaining that “Hermes is thought more than any god to watch over and increase the flocks.”²⁰⁸ Reading the Homeric Hymn in the manner of Benveniste, we can be more exact about this divine function: Hermes, who later became the god of trade, is manager of flocks. He makes them prosper; without him the herdsman faces poverty. We might call this an administrative function; obviously it implicitly involves a control over fertility. The Greeks liked to represent Hermes in the guise of a shepherd;²⁰⁹ he could also borrow metamorphically the features of a goat,²¹⁰ and one of the oldest images of the god, on Mount Kyllene, represented him simply as a phallus.²¹¹ But the complex personality of this god cannot be captured in one image or represented simply as a goat; similarly, although he sometimes appears as a herdsman in this or that story about him,²¹² that is only one aspect among many. Although the Greeks saw him as a god responsible for animal fecundity, it is crucial to notice that they give us no exact amount of his involvement in this sphere. The relation between phallus and shepherd, a relation best mediated by the image of the goat, remains implicit. This suggestion can be brought clearly to light only by the appearance of another figure; when he borrows the form of a goat, Hermes brings forth Pan.²¹³ The function of genealogy here is precise: symbolic elements that had remained latent and unarticulated in his father come rudely to the surface in Pan.²¹⁴

In many respects, Pan is Hermes, only more so, and more exactly so. We shall come back to this point more than once.²¹⁵ Here let us compare him with Hermes in relation to the flocks. In comparison to his father, Pan's sphere of action may appear somewhat limited. He concerns himself (among domesticated animals) only with goats, and sometimes with sheep. With horses and cattle he has nothing to do,²¹⁶ but if

his sphere of action is limited, his function within it is both more specific and more forceful: Hermes' son is a shepherd and goatherd; we hear of his flocks;²¹⁷ he appears guiding his creatures to the note of the syrinx²¹⁸ and leading them to their seasonal pasture.²¹⁹ Pan is himself a he-goat, actually and not metamorphically; he is thus a divine version of the animal the Greeks call "husband of goats"²²⁰ and leader of the flock.²²¹ Pan can act as he does in the pastoral world because the god and the beast merge in him. The god becomes a he-goat; he couples with goats. This coupling is an element in fifth-century iconography,²²² and is referred to also by the epithet *aigibatēs* (literally "who mounts the goats"),²²³ which is often applied to Pan in poetic texts and to him alone.²²⁴ Divine-he-goat-shepherd, Pan among the flocks of goats is the literal source of that fertility and that protection Hermes secures to all flocks, but indirectly and symbolically.

Obviously the fecundity of this god, as it becomes active in the pastoral world of men, uses symbolic means as well. One of these is music. Furthermore, the phallic power of the god and his music can be properly communicated to the shepherd and his flocks only through the mediation of a ritual. Certain dedications found in Arcadia, at Olympia, and in Attica provide us with direct evidence for the pastoral cult of Pan; we find small, inscribed objects (a knife, some statuettes) placed in a sanctuary, and other inscriptions on the wall of a grotto.²²⁵ More extensive information can be derived from the Palatine Anthology. Although this collection is late and rather literary, it is an important source of traditions current among huntsmen and herdsmen. Let us begin with an epigram that is in a style so archaic that it was once attributed (wrongly but not implausibly) to a poet of the sixth century B.C.²²⁶ This poem is an invocation that concludes by promising a sacrifice. The spirit of this text is remarkably close to passages in Homer and Hesiod that speak of Hermes: "Pan, speak to the flocks, as they graze, your divine message, in your curved lip the golden reeds, so that they may bear an abundant gift of white milk thick in their udders to the house of Clymenos and for you it shall be well when the husband of goats stands by your altar and pours from his shaggy chest his life's blood."²²⁷ The poet here attributes to the god's music a power elsewhere expressed in the image of a sexual union with animals. The "divine message" (or "sacred voice": *hieron phatin*) of the syrinx brings about an abundance of milk. The herdsman responds to this music by sacrificing a he-goat; this is precisely a sign that he understands its meaning and recognizes its effect. Another epigram, by Philippus of Thessaloniki (beginning of the first century B.C.) also mentions the sacrifice of a he-goat; without say-

love; an epigram in the Palatine Anthology makes it poetically parallel with fire and with a swarm of bees;²³³ the verb *knizdō*, etymologically linked with *knidē*,²³⁴ and which means literally “itch” or “tickle,” is used in Herodotus for the feeling of amorous excitement.²³⁵ But along with this erotic implication, which is probably also latent in the notion of transhumance, the picture painted by Theocritus brings before us yet another pastoral practice: “The people in the region of Oeta,” Aristotle tells us, “when their goats will not accept the erect phallus, take nettles and forcefully rub the udders, since this causes pain. At the first treatment a bloody liquid is produced, then a liquid mixed with pus, and finally a milk as fine as any produced by impregnated females.”²³⁶ If Pan is reluctant, he must be treated like a she-goat who refuses to breed.

Theocritus’s first allusion requires a longer commentary.²³⁷ The scholiast interprets this Arcadian custom as a huntsman’s ritual. “When the Arcadians go hunting, if they are successful, they honor Pan, but if not, they wantonly attack him with squill, inasmuch as being at home on the mountain, he is patron of the hunt.”²³⁸ We remember that Pan is intimately involved with huntsmen.²³⁹ Probably he is also to some degree responsible for the increase of game.²⁴⁰ Therefore the scholiast gives us information that is neither improbable nor irrelevant. But his commentary on Theocritus is indirect and incomplete; the poet speaks of “young men” (*paides*) and not just of Arcadians; these *paides* lash the god with squill, which indicates a ritual going beyond simple wanton behavior; and this occurs (to follow the text literally) “when the pieces of meat are small,”²⁴¹ which is to say, on the occasion of a meal. A meal partaken of by *paides* (that is to say, by young people undergoing initiation to civic status) is almost certainly a ceremonial meal. These points should lead us to give full weight to the conclusion of the note where the scholiast brings in another interpretation of this passage of Theocritus; this second commentary, which draws at least in part on a scholar of the Roman period, differs from the first on two essential points. It shows that the ritual aspect of the Arcadian custom is linked to a festival: “But Mounatios²⁴² says that there is an Arcadian festival [*heortē*] during which the *paides* strike Pan with squill. The people of Chios do the same thing when the choregos sacrifices a lean victim that will not go around the guests at the meal; that is why he [Theocritus] says *κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη*.”²⁴³ Mounatios’s use of the term *heortē* (festival) obviously implies a regularity that contradicts Theocritus’s “when the pieces of meat are small.” This difficulty probably proposed to the scholiast (or one of his sources) the problem of reconciling what they knew of a ceremony during which the *paides* struck the god with squill with the unam-

ambiguous meaning of Theocritus's text: that the ritual takes place only under particular circumstances, when the provision of meat falls short. Probably they brought in the ritual from Chios in order to solve this problem. We have no evidence for a cult of Pan on that island, but to whatever god the rite there was addressed, the scholiast evidently gives us crucial information: the cult statue of this divinity was struck with squill only if, during a certain festival (otherwise unknown), the sacrificial meat was insufficient for the meal. This detail, which is intended to explain the Arcadian ritual by comparison with an analogous ritual elsewhere, suggests a likely solution to our problem: the ritual flagellation with squill that takes place in connection with a sacrifice is only *one* (occasional) element of a complex ceremony (the *heortē*); this ceremony (which brought together the *paidēs* of Arcadia) surely took place periodically, but the special ritual of the squill was added only during periods of animal sterility, a sterility evidenced by the smallness of the portions of sacrificial meat. We may suppose that the ritual of the squill belonged to an Arcadian festival of the type described by Polybius. These periodically assembled a community otherwise dispersed by pastoral life under geographical conditions in which individuals became isolated.²⁴⁴ Youth formed the core of these assemblies. Choruses of young boys and girls were essential to them.²⁴⁵ This explains why the *paidēs*, and no one else, were responsible for the ritual of the squill. The animal fecundity called forth by the ritual is somehow connected with the institution and recreation of human community. A symbolic relationship between the animal world and human youth is recurrent in Greek thought, most notably in the traditional understanding of Artemis, Mistress of Beasts and goddess of childbirth.²⁴⁶

The scholiast refers to a ritual of hunting. Talk of festivals and communal sacrifice seems at first sight alien to this context: the huntsman's prey is hardly ever sacrificed, and we never hear of Pan in this connection.²⁴⁷ However, it is possible that this ceremony brought together the *paidēs* as the conclusion of a phase of hunting during which the Arcadian young men went through a form of training, parallel to that required of their Cretan and Spartan cousins. In these latter institutions, we can see traces of an initiatory pattern. Cretan education in particular was evidently built around hunting. The young man's apprenticeship was handled by an adult, who became his lover and temporarily took him from the city.²⁴⁸ There was at Sparta an *agōn*—which A. Brelich suggests had once been an aspect of education there—called, significantly enough, a “hunting contest” (*kaththēratorion*).²⁴⁹ It does not really make much difference whether the animals sacrificed in the Arca-

dian ritual were captured by this sort of hunting or were taken from the herds. Let us remember that the fertility of wild animals and of flocks is the province of the goat-god (as of his father Hermes). The custom (of which we are informed by the scholiast) of insulting the god when the hunt was bad could well have coexisted with a ritual belonging to a pastoral context. So far from contradicting each other, these two practices seem closely linked and correspond to two fundamental aspects of Pan: the hunter and the shepherd. A shortage of meat, whether owing to hunting or to herding, was a matter with which this god must be involved.

The ritual of the squill (brought to bear on the god's statue) aimed to induce Pan to resume his benevolence, since its interruption had brought about a disturbing decrease in livestock or game. The scapegoat, an Old Testament parallel that bedevils certain modern commentators on Theocritus, is at once helpful and deceptive. It is doubly deceptive because Pan is not a negative figure, and the young Arcadians do not exclude him from their territory; it is hard to see why they would, since the rite opposed itself to animal sterility and was addressed to a god of fertility. Nevertheless, the parallel is helpful because it points us toward another ritual scenario, that of the *pharmakos*, which presents certain definite parallels with the Arcadian custom.²⁵⁰ It is true that the arguments against thinking of Pan as a kind of scapegoat apply equally well to thinking of him as a *pharmakos*, a person chosen at regular intervals, or as a consequence of some catastrophic epidemic or famine, who was ritually burdened with the impurities of the entire community and then driven across the frontier—if he was not actually killed and his ashes thrown in the sea.²⁵¹ No god could be treated thus. All the same, the comparison has a certain relevance. Even though Pan is a figure of too high a status to permit us to identify the ritual of the squill with the *pharmakos* ritual as described by Hipponax, or as the Athenians enacted it at the Thargelia, we should nevertheless recognize certain important analogies between the two. The Arcadian and Attic-Ionian enactments not only have certain symbolic elements in common (which in itself need not mean much) but also have parallel functions. The ritual of the squill, like that of the *pharmakos*, seeks to drive away a threat to the whole community; it does not make much difference whether this threat is thought of as something permanent, requiring a recurrent ritual, or as a sudden emergency, an epidemic or a famine to be exorcized by this *same* ritual, which is in this case episodic. In either case, the fundamental structure is the same: an individual is chosen and the impurities of the community are attributed or transferred to him; this

individual, the *pharmakos*, is thought of as both the source of the trouble and (as the name itself makes clear) the *pharmakos*, i.e., the medicine, the curative charm.²⁵² The *pharmakos* is thus an ambiguous figure, simultaneously impure and exceptionally sacred. In the Arcadian rītūāl, Pan has the same paradoxical status: the god is struck and insulted, and is at the same time a powerful source of fertility. Let us notice that the *pharmakos* was picked not only for his low *social* status; they also chose, as Tzetzes says, “the ugliest available.”²⁵³ A scholiast on Aristophanes says that he might even be someone deformed (*παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιβουλευομένου*).²⁵⁴

As the *pharmakos* is a human monster, so also Pan is a monster among the gods. The *pharmakos* described by Hipponax is struck with squill upon his private parts, and thus becomes a source of benevolent power.²⁵⁵ Pan is also struck with squill. The effect of this plant is purgative (which is to say, for the Greeks, cathartic). It was used in various rituals of purification. We have plenty of evidence that it was used to drive away impurity.²⁵⁶ Evidently the ritual of violence against the god was intended to make him resume some activity he had interrupted; everything happens as if Pan had ceased to act, so that the blows falling upon his motionless statue were to recall him to motion and action. The choice of squill further suggests that this inactivity is metaphorically related to the impurities transferred to the *pharmakos*. The contrast between animal sterility and fecundity is transformed into the contrast between Pan’s action and inaction through an “overdetermination” dictated by a second contrast: that between the pure and the impure. The ritual of the squill, by stimulating Pan to act on behalf of fertility, in a certain sense “purifies” the god.

Once again, Pan is not to be equated with the *pharmakos*. The distinction between god and man makes such an equation impossible. To human impurity corresponds divine inactivity; Pan is not impure, he is absent. However, this absence of his is complained of as a cause of misfortune. Thus inactivity turns out to be something active; when he interrupts his benevolent action, the god turns himself into a source of animal sterility. That is why he is insulted. The best parallel for this way the Arcadian *paides* had of calling the goat-god to order can be found in Arcadian traditions relating to Demeter. The power of this goddess extends to the whole sphere of plants, and she may suddenly cease to act. The consequence is famine, which lasts until some neglected ritual is identified and restored.²⁵⁷ Theocritus, his scholiast, and the learned Mounatios depict the same, characteristically Arcadian, anxiety about the sphere of animals and the nourishment men procure through Pan.

Even though ritual relations with Demeter are quite different, even though the god is treated aggressively, whereas the goddess is approached with repentance, fundamentally things are much the same: the Arcadians evidently interpreted vegetable or animal sterility as the consequence of the powerful action of an angry deity and not simply as caused by the withdrawal of a friendly god. This treatment of absence as an unfriendly form of action, a treatment that comes to the surface when Demeter is represented as an angry and "impure" being (as Erinyes or Melaina)²⁵⁸ becomes more explicit in the relation between Pan and panic: here again we have a disorder involving a human group that is taken both as caused by the particular power of the god and also as an effect of his absence.²⁵⁹

From hunting and herding, which have involved us in an ethnological context particular to Arcadia and to the Greek shepherd, we can thus pass on to the image of Pan as it forms part of a more general symbolic system. For example, the scourging of Pan by the young Arcadians most probably had an erotic implication for Theocritus. This hypothesis is suggested by the iconographic motif of the "scourging" of Pan done by young satyrs, or *erotes*, a motif found on various Roman sarcophagi, which may go back to a Hellenistic original.²⁶⁰ We cannot simply dismiss the suggestions of various archaeologists that Pan is here being "disciplined" for some erotic crime.²⁶¹ Is Pan not "guilty" of various pederastic excesses? Unquestionably he is attracted to young men. We cannot exclude the possibility that he went so far as to use force (cf. the Boston vase).²⁶² However there is no need to raise the question of this kind of guilt, hardly appropriate to ancient morals, in order to explain what is happening to the god, even if the ancients have elsewhere interpreted flogging erotically. The "punishment" of Pan on the sarcophagi forms a concluding scene in the depiction of the struggle of Pan with Eros, a struggle in which Pan is the loser (*Amor omnia vincit*, with a pun in which Pan is equivalent to "everything").²⁶³ Should we not recognize in this apparently playful scene (which is, however, found on sarcophagi) a distant echo of the ritual performed by the young Arcadians? Although taken from its context, the enactment does present a renewal of Pan's fertilizing power. In a funerary context, the image suggests a promise of survival. The allegorical scene thus restates a semantic level already present in the rite. We can understand the flogging of Pan's statue in Arcadia only in terms of the fertilizing power of this god; on this power depends the future of the human community, as represented by its *paides*.²⁶⁴

F O U R

FROM LANDSCAPE TO
SEXUALITY AND MUSIC

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The goat-god makes one of his earliest appearances upon the well-known crater in Boston that shows him leaping from an ithyphallic herm and throwing himself (evidently with intent to rape) on a young goatherd, who is running away (see plate 4).¹ The god's hands are outstretched, his member at the ready. Set to seize his prey, Pan seems to emerge from the herm; he hurls himself at the goatherd. This latter has no refuge except flight; he is looking back and his expression makes it clear that he is terrified of his divine patron. The god, who (we should note) is exactly the same size as the young man, appears partly human, partly beast. His torso and legs are entirely human, but his head is that of a goat, as are his little tail and hooves. In contrast to the youth, who springs away with his left foot on the ground, Pan does not touch the earth; this difference adds to our sense of a supernaturally swift assault. The god turns up in very much the same pose (running with his arms extended) on another slightly later Attic vase, where Pan is the only figure.² The similarity is striking—so striking in fact that we may wonder (from a purely iconographic point of view, ignoring stylistic differences) if two details are not particularly important, in that they alone differ: on the Boston crater Pan is aggressively ithyphallic, but his mouth is shut; on the alabastron, published by Brommer, the treatment of the member, by contrast, is remarkably discreet, while Pan's open mouth calls or cries out. Perhaps this difference signifies two different aspects of Pan's intervention: in the former instance, an erotic threat, in the latter an estranging fear. In any case, both images clearly represent the abrupt arrival of a god who hurtles into our awareness. Other vase painters and sculptors represent the abruptness of his arrival by showing him only from the waist up; he is still half invisible and watches or even leaps up from behind a fold in the earth.³

Callimachus, who clearly means us to think of the erotic threat, has invented (or transmitted?) a striking phrase: Πὰν ὁ Μαλειήτης τρύπανον αἰπολικόν ("Pan of Malca, *trypanon* of the goatherd").⁴ The

trupanon, generally, is a tool that spins in order to make a hole: a drill, in other words.⁵ More particularly, it is the active piece of wood (*poiētikon*) that spins within a slot (*eschara*) in a passive (*pathētikos*) piece of wood and so spins off sparks to start a fire.⁶ This mode of fire making was the invention of Pan's father, the pastoral Hermes, in connection with whom it had a definite sexual significance, and its symbolism, shared by many cultures, did not escape the Greeks.⁷ *Trupanon* means among other things the phallus, just as *eschara* means, according to Hesychius, the female organ (*αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν φύσεις*).⁸ Theocritus to describe the coupling of a buck with goats employs the verb *trupāō*, formed on the same root as *trupanon*: *καὶ ὁ τράγος αὐτὰς ἐτρύπη* ("and the buck drilled them").⁹ To call Pan *τρύπανον αἰπολικόν* is a way of saying that the god is trying to do to the goatherd what the buck does to the goat.¹⁰ Pan's pederastic rape, crudely phrased by Callimachus and figured on the Boston vase, is evidently a serious threat, and popular belief thought it sufficiently real to use the expression *τὸν Πάνα τιμᾶν* ("to honor Pan") for male homosexual practices.¹¹

The protection and fertility that Pan provides (or denies) to animals relate to Aphrodite's mode of action as much as to those of Hermes and Artemis. The god Pan, a repulsive monster whose passions are nevertheless equal to those of the goat he resembles,¹² is joined with Aphrodite through their common powers and interests, and at the same time by a contrast (*avant la lettre*) between Beauty and the Beast.¹³ Their interaction is a favorite theme of art from the fifth century onward; the most striking instances are a fourth-century Corinthian mirror showing the goat-god playing at dice with the goddess¹⁴ and a Hellenistic sculpture from Delos that groups Pan, Eros, and Aphrodite (see plate 6).¹⁵ The two were also sometimes joined in religious rite.¹⁶ Very early the Greeks saw that the religious prerogatives of Pan brought him into Aphrodite's sphere of action and gave him functions like those of the mistress of seduction. Like her, he is good at treachery and at rousing the passions; he presides over sexual union. But when transferred by Pan to his own terrain, the world of pastoral with its attendant symbolism, Aphrodite's powers change character and acquire a strange, paradoxical garb.

The goat-god is the indispensable patron of the fertility of small flocks. Given his potency in the animal sphere, we are surprised to find how disordered, how lacking in assurance, and how ultimately sterile are his own sexual adventures, which resemble those of the goatherd as much as those of the goat.¹⁷ We find in Pseudo-Heraclitus's collection of *Incredible Stories* that the phrase "we acted like Pan to those women"

was used when women offered their bodies to several lovers at once, “because Pan and the satyrs, living in the mountains removed from women, when a woman does come into sight make use of her in common.”¹⁸ A scene decorating an Etruscan mirror in the Villa Giulia fully supports Pseudo-Heracleitus (who is himself a very late source). Aphrodite is here seen stretched out on a bed in her room being assaulted by two “wild men,” who are shaggy and crowned with leaves; the presence of the goat-god, who looks on, makes clear the intention of these intruders; they wish “to act like Pan” to the goddess of desire.¹⁹ That Aphrodite should have been asleep when these satyrs burst upon her is surely no casual detail. We shall have occasion to note that Pan’s power often surfaces during sleep.²⁰ The Romans recollected this fact when they identified the Greek god with a kind of incubus, Inuus.²¹

The mirror of the Villa Giulia belongs to the Hellenistic period. Contemporary literature provides a homosexual variant of the same motif: Pan and Priapus, in an epigram attributed to Theocritus, creep toward the bed of the cowherd Daphnis, who sleeps too soundly to know his danger.²² The underlying theme of these representations—made all the more vivid by the plurality of assailants—is that panic love is something violent, a sudden and unforeseen attack. Euripides speaks of the plaintive cry of a nymph undergoing “panic marriage” (Πανὸς γάμος) on a desolate shore.²³ A fourth-century B.C. mirror shows the god catching a nymph while she is bathing in a spring.²⁴ On a medallion in relief reproduced by Herbig, a satyr grabs Pan by the foot just as he is about to seize a maenad.²⁵ Ovid probably borrowed another version of the same motif from an Alexandrian source: Pan (Faunus), lover of Omphale, has a sad misadventure. The god, eager to couple with the Lydian queen during her sleep, creeps into the cave where she is asleep next to Heracles (Hercules); because he does not know that the two lovers have exchanged clothes, he mistakes his prey, wakes the terrible hero, and is left with no recourse but flight.²⁶

Goats seen in a dream, Artemidorus of Ephesus tells us, “do not predict marriages or friendships or partnerships nor do they secure those that exist, for such goats do not run in a flock, but rather pasture separately from one another; among the peaks and rocks they have trouble themselves and make trouble for the shepherd.”²⁷ The interpreter of dreams finds in the goat an implication explicit in the goat-god. “Panic marriage,” to use Euripides’ phrase, is a violent coupling, to the last degree extramarital. Two terra-cottas, one from Boeotia,²⁸ the other from Asia Minor,²⁹ show Pan sleeping with a nymph. But this god’s experiences of women, although they cover quite a range, are generally ephem-

eral and most frequently unfortunate. In the Homeric Hymn, he is a lonely god.³⁰ The nymphs perhaps call to him, but down from a rock “which the goat cannot reach” (*aigilips*).³¹ The poet seems to suggest that the goat-footed god cannot reach it either: the nymphs are mocking him. When Pan and the nymphs do come together, in the evening, after the hunt, it is only to dance and to sing.³² Passion surely draws Pan to the nymphs and animates their dance, but detachment is preserved. This god, who has so much in common with Aphrodite, succeeds only at *musical* performance.

The isolated haunts of Pan, a territory devoted to the hunt and to the rearing of goats and sheep, are in principle closed to women.³³ Pseudo-Heracleitus has it exactly right: this is a sphere of frustration.³⁴ This landscape has been set aside for strictly masculine projects—except that the maenads sacred to Dionysus can enter it, and the nymphs of Artemis. The ritual practices of these creatures, midway between myth and social actuality, are marked by a steady opposition to normal feminine behavior. The maenads, like the nymphs, flourish outside of social space. The nymphs have nothing at all to do with the city, while Dionysus’s female companions, who are often wives and mothers, cut themselves off for a time from the cultural order to which they normally belong: Dionysiac frenzy tears them from the familial hearth and their marital duties and drives them for a time from the city, toward the wilderness, far from men.³⁵ The nymphs, who live in caves, are at home in a landscape visited by the maenads; their kinship is with Artemis, and they are thus cut off from everything male—which does not prevent occasional contact when the chance is offered; in their transitory love affairs with shepherds and huntsmen, they are the aggressors.³⁶ Not uncommonly, in fact, they employ violence and carry off the object of their desire; rape, in that case, is a kind of death.³⁷

Aphrodite’s powers, when mediated by Pan, are thus placed in an environment that negates their ultimate purpose: marriage. Pan’s sexuality seizes whatever is available, or becomes perverted. It is by definition nonfamilial and wild. The poets like to call Pan *duserōs* (“unlucky in love”).³⁸ In this he is like Theocritus’s goatherd, whose eyes mist over when he sees a buck coupling a goat.³⁹ The shepherds practice two expedients that they share with Pan, who may even have invented them: onanism and bestiality. Dio Chrysostomus transmits a tradition that onanism was taught Pan by Hermes, who “seeing his son astray day and night upon the mountain, in love with Echo and unable to secure her, had pity on his distress.”⁴⁰ As for bestiality, the god’s animal traits probably made instruction otiose. Certain euhemerists asserted that he

was himself sprung from a goat and a goatherd.⁴¹ His poetic epithet *aigibatēs*, “treader of goats,” and the depictions of him coupling with goats⁴² unite in a single image Pan’s role as fertilizer of flocks and his erotic disorientation.⁴³

From the Hellenistic period onward we hear a variety of mythical stories concerning the god’s love life (see plate 7). Theocritus, Propertius, Lucian, and Longus make some reference to Pan’s unsuccessful passion for the nymph Pitys (whose name means “pine”).⁴⁴ Only the versions in Nonnus⁴⁵ and a late compilation, the *Geoponica*, transmit a reasonably coherent account of this adventure, which was probably invented by some poet in order to connect Pan with the Dionysiac thiasos. (The story explains Pan’s connection with the pinecone, which does not appear as one of his attributes before the fourth century B.C.) Literary creation or not, however, the story is worth repeating; it was not made up out of nothing. The *Geoponica* tells us:

Pitys was formerly a girl; the transformation of her nature originated in an erotic triangle. Pan loved the girl, and Boreas (the North Wind) competed with him in his love for her; as each tried to win the girl over, she rather inclined to Pan. Boreas was struck by jealousy and pushed her off a crag, delivering her to death. Earth in compassion for her misfortune put forth a plant bearing the name of the child. Although her life has been transformed, she holds the same relation to them as before: she crowns Pan with her branch, but the tree moans when Boreas blows upon it.⁴⁶

The other version, that in Nonnus, arranges its elements differently: “Pitys sings, she who fled marriage, and joins the breezes of the mountain in their motion: she wished to escape Pan and his impossible marriage [Πανὸς ἀλυσκάζουσσαν ἀννμφεύτους ὑμεναίους, literally “avoiding the wedding songs of Pan, which lead to no marriage”]; she sings of the fate that made spring from the earth that which had perished.” In this version, where Pan is the rejected lover, Boreas does not appear, but in order to compensate for his absence, Pitys becomes companion of the breezes. This detail shows that Nonnus, when he wrote, had in mind a version like that quoted earlier; in spite of the fact that he had left out one character (Boreas), he managed to include all the narrative elements. The more explicit text of the *Geoponica*, with its girl pursued by two lovers, probably goes back to an Alexandrian poet. In telling how Boreas loved Pitys, who in the end loved Pan, it reverses (to Pan’s advantage) a better-known pattern: that displayed in Pan’s unsuccess-

cessful love of the nymph Echo, who loved Narcissus (as in Ovid),⁴⁷ or in Pan's love for Echo, who loved Satyros, who in his turn loved Lyde (as in Moschus).⁴⁸ Parallel with the myth of Pan and Echo, which in turn is structurally related to that of Pan and Syrinx, the story of Pitys thus can be placed in a coherent set of stories. Boreas's violence, which blows down and kills the girl as the north wind breaks off a pine, would seem to be borrowed from Pan's violence, a well-established theme basic to the myths of Echo and Syrinx.

The legend of Echo exists in a number of variants.⁴⁹ All of them emphasize the futility of panic desire, which pursues an unobtainable object. According to Ptolemy Hephaestion, this hopeless passion was inflicted on Pan as a punishment; Aphrodite was furious with the goat-god for preferring the beauty of Achilles to that of Adonis.⁵⁰ Pan's failure here is typical (as we shall see) of a group of stories in which various characters are linked each to another by unreciprocated passion. The explanation of Nonnos of Panopolis is simpler and perhaps closer to the ancient mythical source: Echo escapes because it is her nature to cling wildly to her virginity and refuse the bond of marriage.⁵¹ The poet no doubt has in mind a version much like that reported by Longus in the *Pastorals*. Echo is a nymph and a musician:

She fled from all males, whether men or Gods, because she loved virginity. Pan sees that, and takes occasion to be angry at the maid, and to envy her music because he could not come at her beauty. Therefore he sends a madness among the shepherds and goatherds,⁵² and they in a desperate fury, like so many dogs and wolves, tore her all to pieces and flung about them all over the earth her yet singing limbs. The Earth in observance of the Nymphs buried them all, preserving to them still their music.⁵³

In this version the wrath of Pan brings down on the girl in mid-performance a fate (at the hands of the shepherds) strikingly like a ritual murder, similar to the Dionysiac *diasparagmos* ("tearing apart"). The ending is provided by the intervention of Gaia (Earth); she collects the "parts" of Echo, and the nymph does not die.⁵⁴ Although she is in pieces, she continues to live, "imitating voices and sounds."

Hopeless desire, rage, murder, and metamorphosis: these succeed each other also in the story of Pitys and recur in that of Syrinx. Herbig thinks the myth of Syrinx too sweetly sentimental to go back to a time when the god was still true to himself and his original rustic character.⁵⁵ One should, however, try the experiment of rereading all the versions

and teasing out the structure of the invariant elements: once the embellishments are stripped off, Pan is revealed in the myth of Syrinx, just as in that of Echo, as savage and violent.⁵⁶ Pan's anger (*orgē*) is not an extraneous character touch; it is the direct cause of the young girl's murder, which is another sort of *diasparagmos*, mediated in this case by the reeds. The plot may be summarized as follows: the nymph Syrinx, pursued by Pan, escapes by being swallowed by Earth; some reeds come up where she disappears; Pan in his fury tears them up and breaks them. Then as he understands what has happened, his breath (his sighs) activate the pipes so formed, and he invents the syrinx. A tradition of Asia Minor reported by Achilles Tatius links the myth of Syrinx to a wedding ritual similar to the ancient ordeal of Lanuvium made famous by Propertius.⁵⁷ The god, he tells us, having invented the syrinx as described above, puts it away out of sight in a cave; he consecrates this cave to Artemis, forbidding any woman not a virgin to enter it. When they are uncertain of a girl's virginity, the people of the district (near Ephesus) make her undergo the judgment of the syrinx:

She is sent by public decree to the door of the grotto; . . . she goes in, clad in the proper dress, and the doors are closed behind her. If she is in reality a virgin a clear and divine note is heard, either because there is some breeze in the place which enters the pipes and makes a musical sound, or possibly because it is Pan himself that is piping; and after a short time the doors of the grotto open of their own accord, and out comes the virgin with a wreath of the foliage of the pine upon her head. But if she has lied about her virginity, the pan-pipes are silent, and a groan comes forth from the cave instead of a musical sound; the people go away and leave the woman inside. On the third day after, the virgin priestess of the spot comes and finds the pan-pipes lying on the ground, but there is no trace of the woman.⁵⁸

The fundamental symbolism here is evidently a double equation: since a marriageable girl who has kept her virginity is identified with a nymph who rejects Pan's advances, she who has lost her virginity before marriage is identified with a nymph ravished by the same god. In the first case, the music that makes itself heard stands for that produced by Pan as a substitute for erotic fulfillment—and this very same music traditionally accompanied the dance of the nymphs. In the second case, the cry heard within the cave sounds the same note of distress as that of Euripides' naiad—the naiad who is caught and undergoes "panic marriage" against her will.⁵⁹ The syrinx therefore has no reason for exist-

tence and falls neglected on the ground. As for the girl, she is “seduced” by Pan and disappears. To be carried off by Pan here turns out to be the alternative to keeping one’s virginity until marriage. Pan asserts himself among girls as the embodiment of premarital passion, something negative if they succumb, but something positive (turned into music and charm) if they hold him off. We remember that Pan’s nymphs are the companions of Artemis. Their “service” to the goddess, as we have already noted with respect to Kallisto, is a mythical comment on an important aspect of the education received by Greek girls in preparation for marriage. We should note a semantic ambiguity: while “nymph” (*numphē*) in the common language means a young wife, a woman who has just entered the sphere of marriage, the same word in the language of myth applies to girls who are wholly devoted to Artemis. The mythical “nymph” consecrates herself to chastity and hunting; the latter is, par excellence, a masculine activity, which further signifies her distance from (and refusal of) the feminine roles of wife and mother. This double meaning of *nymph* suggests that a girl who marries behaves like a companion of Artemis who cuts herself off from the chorus conducted by the goddess. She is a “seduced” nymph and is snatched away from Artemis’s authority. But in this case, violence is ordained by a social institution. It is not Pan’s fault. From this we can conclude that the judgment of the syrinx cannot be reduced to an ordeal based on a simple opposition between a negative element (loss of virginity) and a positive element (chastity). It is prenuptial and follows the pattern of a rite of passage.⁶⁰ The real problem, beyond that of finding out if the girl is really a virgin, is to determine whose wife she will be and to what world she will belong: the savage apolitical world ruled by Artemis and the goat-god, or else the world where men define themselves as social animals. Human marriage contrasts with “panic marriage” as civilization contrasts with savagery. In this story, Pan appears as a savage and dangerous rival of man.

The tales of Pitys, Echo, and Syrinx form a coherent set of stories, which developed in the Hellenistic period. We move easily from one to another through the play of permutations of invariant elements (functions, to use V. Propp’s term). This little system of transformations operates on purely literary principles. All the same, in spite of certain details betraying its recent and somewhat artificial character, it remains for us valuable evidence: this is how the ancients thought that panic sexuality, so violent and unstable, could end in music and become an initiatory theme. We must remember that in developing these stories, the Alexandrian poets quite certainly relied upon ancient folk tradition.

The syrinx was already an attribute of Pan's in the fifth century.⁶¹ In the mythological great tradition, not he, but Hermes⁶² was the inventor of this instrument. It is, however, certain that the notes drawn from his flute by the goat-footed god were infused with the symbolism that at a very early period adhered to this instrument.

The Greek syrinx was made up of a row of parallel reeds, all of the same length, fastened together with beeswax; the whole was braced together with metal or wood.⁶³ Pitch was determined by plugs (of beeswax or the segments of the reeds themselves), which in each reed fixed the height of the column that gave the note.⁶⁴ Beeswax, which "binds" the reeds (hence the epithet *kērodetas* applied to the syrinx by Euripides), is not symbolically neutral. Its stiff consistency contrasts with the fluid sound, which the Greeks from Pindar onward compare with liquid honey; Pan "sprinkles his own sort of honey."⁶⁵ But if the music spread abroad by the flute is like the harvest of the bees, it is to an opposite purpose; honey carries here only its seductive qualities (it makes us drunk, we sink within its sweetness). Far from treasuring up goods in the manner of the chaste and laborious bee,⁶⁶ Pan squanders, "sheds" his sound; he drowns the world with a siren's music.⁶⁷ This seduction is first and foremost pastoral; the melodies sprung from the divine lips guide and fertilize the flocks.⁶⁸

The Alexandrians did not invent the erotic character of this music; it is already present in Euripides when he describes Apollo's service to Admetus; herding beasts among mortals, the god tunes his lyre to the shepherd's syrinx and plays pastoral wedding songs (*συριζων ποιμνιτας υμναίους*).⁶⁹ But the shrill whistle of the syrinx is not made only for love songs. There is something disturbing about it, even funereal. In the Homeric Hymn to Pan, it sounds at evening, plaintive and unending, when the god comes home alone from the hunt.⁷⁰ Later we shall return to the syrinx (whose music combines love and mourning) and to echo (whose deceitful sound combines music with noise).⁷¹ Let us here be content with one detail directly relevant to the Alexandrian stories just cited. When Pan pursues a girl, be she Echo or Syrinx, her song is preserved by Earth. It is the voice of one buried, which rises from a place beyond our reach, mediated by the echo or the reeds of the flute. Now the syrinx is sometimes an instrument that communicates with the other world: according to Euripides, the music of its mourning can reach as far as Hades.⁷² The Greek word *syrinx* can, however, mean any long, hollow object. Although the meaning "Pan's flute" is attested as Homeric,⁷³ the word is used in the *Iliad* to mean the sheath of a lance.⁷⁴ In tragedy it can mean the axle nave of a chariot,⁷⁵ in Polybius, a tunnel

You'll find this station fortunate. Here even Echo
May take delight, and marry you after all."⁸³

That the opposition between Pan's landscape and agricultural land is traditional is proved by the Arcadian myth of Demeter. When the goddess at Phigalia ceases to act and mourns her daughter, bringing sterility to the earth, she withdraws into the goat-god's territory, where he finds her hidden in the back of a cave.⁸⁴ The "marriage of Pan and Echo" occurs in this same kind of space, which from Demeter's point of view is sterile: it is unsown land, no longer cut by the plowshare. When the goat-god finds love, he is far from the cultivated soil. Nothing could be more different from the fertile union of Demeter and Iasion—their child was called Ploutus, or "riches"—in a thrice-plowed furrow.⁸⁵ "Panic marriage" is illegitimate, sterile, and violent like Pan's landscape; culture has abandoned this territory to the wanderings of the goatherd and huntsman.

At his birth Pan was rejected by his mother; this important element in the myth means a variety of things and should be analyzed from several points of view. On the most general level we can detect a fear linked to incest as latently expressed by the violence of this event—violence not marked by the playful tone of the Homeric Hymn.⁸⁶ If we take it that the prohibition of incest generally functions to make possible exchange and communication in the form of marriage, we can then say that Pan represents this exchange and communication in an exaggerated form. The restlessness of the goat-god and his sexual promiscuity are just as contrary to marriage as is the introversion that is incest. Thus Pan on the erotic level turns out to be an anti-Oedipus. It is perhaps worth noticing in this connection that the figure against whom he defines himself in order to claim his territory is Demeter, a mother who does not succeed in separating from her daughter!

In Pan's case, it is excessive desire that opposes him to marriage and leads to the fragmentation and dispersion of his erotic objects. Panic sexuality is crippled by glut; it is cut off from its object, which vanishes in the end (cf. Echo, Syrinx), by a desire so intense that it cannot establish a relationship with an objective purpose. We shall see that Greek accounts of panic eroticism bring us, very naturally, to the myth of Narcissus.⁸⁷ For now, let us continue to focus on this moment of extreme tension, which is typically panic: a one-sided eros that is violent but deprived of its object.

From the fifth century onward, the Greeks ascribed to this god the power of raising uncontrollable desire. According to one of Aristopha-

nes' characters, he could make the whole male population of a city ithyphallic.⁸⁸ In Menander's *Dyscolos*, the passion he inspires in young Sostratus for Cnemon's daughter has the look of an actual frenzy (supernatural possession).⁸⁹ When Theocritus's shepherd prays the god to put in Aratos's power the young man his friend loves, he knows whereof he speaks: not only is pederasty one way of sacrificing to Pan, but the god, who in myth is himself gripped by desire, also has the power to affect whom he will with the pangs he knows so well himself.⁹⁰ This power, whereby Pan shares the prerogatives of Aphrodite, allows him to be thought of as the father of Iynx, the personification of violent regret and unlimited desire. The daughter of Echo (or sometimes of Peitho, "persuasion") and of Pan, Iynx was a witch whose potions filled Zeus with a passion for Io, or else for herself.⁹¹ Hera therefore became angry. Pursued by the goddess, the girl was turned into a bird, the wryneck, which in Greek bears her name.⁹² This bird, although small, is impressive; it can turn its head backward without moving the rest of its body.⁹³ "As soon as it senses danger, when surprised on its nest, for example, its response is frightening: the neck lengthens and twists slowly like a snake; the head feathers bristle and the eyes half close; the bird swells and puffs abruptly, shrinks back, and then twists about. The effect is quite sufficient to frighten many an animal, including man."⁹⁴ This fowl, whose remarkable peculiarities are described by Aristotle,⁹⁵ gives a cry the ancients sometimes compare with the transverse flute, the *plagios aulos* or *plagiaulos*.⁹⁶ Now according to a tradition reported by the Alexandrian poet Bion, the inventor of the *plagiaulos* was none other than Pan.⁹⁷ Other authors compare the cry of Iynx to the sound of the lyre or the simple flute (Pan also plays these sometimes).⁹⁸ Let us remember that two elements are emphasized by the Greeks as fundamental to the symbolism of the wryneck: the motion of its neck, whereby the bird suggests a wheel, and the great musicality of its song. These two elements reappear in an object also called an *iynx*,⁹⁹ made famous by Theocritus's *Witches*: "Iynx, bring this man to my house, he is mine."¹⁰⁰ This instrument of erotic magic, a little wheel pulled by a string whose spinning and whistling were thought infallibly to draw the beloved to the lover, was evidently a sort of toy imitating the essential characteristics of the bird. The mythic model was provided by Aphrodite, who, according to Pindar, fastened the wryneck to a wheel: "Cyprogenia brought the bird of frenzy first to humankind, and taught wise Jason prayers that bind like spells—that he strip from Medea her respect for her parents, so that longed-for Hellas should set fire to her heart and she be driven with Persuasion's whip."¹⁰¹

stitutive compensation. It is infused with supernatural power and is that which it replaces; it has all the overpowering force of passion—and its reality: it is the divine word that in the pastoral world fertilizes the flocks, and in a wider symbolic universe leads mankind in a dance where, as Sophocles has it, we take wing under the sign of Eros and of Charis.

F I V E

PANIC AND POSSESSION

*

Nous avons eu de grandes terreurs; Dieu merci, elles sont devenues paniques.

Madame de Sévigné

Our earliest evidence for panic fear occurs toward the beginning of the *Rhesus* (attributed to Euripides). The scene is set at night, in the Trojan camp. There are noises off; the sentries leave their posts and bring ambiguous reports. Hector asks if they have been disturbed by Pan: “Your message is partly terror to the ear, partly reassurance, and nothing plain. Do you feel fear (*phobos*) under the dreadful lash of Pan, the son of Cronos? Abandoning the sentry-posts, you set the army in motion [*κινεῖς στρατιάν*].”¹ The specific situation is realistically described: we are with an army in the field, confronted by an enemy that might attack or infiltrate at any time. The preceding lines have told us that the troops sleep in arms² and that the sentinels require a password.³ As we review the principal texts concerned with panic, we shall find this military context evoked again and again.

Clearchus of Soli, a disciple of Aristotle’s, collected enough data on the topic to write a book *On Panic* (*Περὶ τοῦ Πανικοῦ*), but of this we know only the title, quoted by Athenaeus.⁴ Our earliest—and most systematic—account of panic remains chapter 27 of Aeneas Tacticus’s *Poliorketika*.⁵ Thanks to this account, and with the help of information gleaned from other military authors, as well as historians, scholiasts, and lexicographers, we can sketch the phenomenon in some detail. (The French call it *la panique*, translating into the feminine a Greek neuter. Aeneas calls it *paneion* or, in the plural, *paneia*; he tells us that his version of the term was Peloponnesian, and, more specifically, Arcadian.)⁶

The later sources speak of disturbances, fears, confusions, terrors, excitements, or tumults, which can be called, on this or that occasion, “panic.”⁷ Whatever the exact phrasing, a panic is always an irrational terror involving noise and confused disturbance that unexpectedly over-

takes a military encampment, usually at night. Its suddenness, its immediacy, is stressed; *ἐξαίφνης* and *αἰφνίδιον* recur frequently in our texts.⁸ Furthermore, there is a stress on the lack of any visible cause, a lack that leads to fantasy; the victims of panic are in the grip of the imagination, which is to say, of their worst fears.⁹ Any noise is immediately taken as the enemy in full attack. Aeneas suggests that a panic may be induced by sending into the enemy camp a herd of cows, complete with bells.¹⁰ Others recommend shouts redoubled by an echo.¹¹ Conversely certain strategists would prevent panic by insisting on its origin in something trivial: they promise a large reward for information leading to the apprehension of the soldier who let loose the horse or donkey . . . which, they imply, caused the noise that started the whole thing.¹²

Panic brings disorder. The soldiers may leave their posts and must be kept still. Aeneas advises that the men be ordered to sing the paean and keep still wherever they are.¹³ Better yet: if the alarm is raised at night, tell each man to take his arms and sit on his bed; anyone who gets up will be cut down like an enemy. (This device is attributed to the Spartan general Euphratas.) Alexander, we are told, had the wit to cut short a panic by making his army keep still and put down their arms. The ability to resist a panic is a mark of courage in a soldier; in order to distinguish the brave from the cowards, Iphicrates devised a form of training in *pseudopanica* ("false panics").¹⁴ Flavius Josephus gives this description in *The Jewish War* of the kind of disorder that could and did happen to armies camped by night:

On the ensuing night the Romans themselves were thrown into unexpected alarm. For Titus had given command for the construction of three towers, fifty cubits high, to be erected on the respective embankments, in order that from them he might repel the defenders of the ramparts; and one of these accidentally fell in the middle of the night. The crash was tremendous, and the terrified troops, supposing that the enemy were upon them, all rushed to arms. Alarm and confusion pervaded the legions. None being able to say what had happened, they scattered far and wide in their perplexity, and sighting no enemy became scared of one another, and each hurriedly asked his neighbour the password, as though the Jews had invaded their camps. In fact they behaved like men beset by panic fright, until Titus, having learnt what had happened, gave orders to make it generally known; and thus, though with difficulty, was the alarm allayed.¹⁵

Onosander the strategist warns against a different peril: an army on the march, he says, ought to be formed up together in a rectangle not much longer than it is wide; if the line of march is too strung out, conditions are favorable for a panic.¹⁶ The men at the front of the march may be deceived by the unevenness of the terrain and take those at the rear for enemies pursuing them. This observation is typical: the loss of the sense of belonging is, in fact, an essential aspect of the collective phenomenon known as panic. In chapter 21 of the *Poliorketikus*, Aeneas includes *panēia* in a list of topics also including signs and counter-signs. The connection becomes clear in chapter 25, where we learn that passwords (*sunthēmata*) should be doubled by counter-signs (*parasunthēmata*) in order to limit the possible effects of panic, by ensuring that the troops will be able to recognize their own men.

If all preventative measures fail, panic arrives full force; the leading example (history here shades into legend, but no matter) remains the experience of the Gauls after their defeat at Delphi. Pausanias tells us:

They camped where night overtook them retreating, but during the night they were seized by the Panic terror. (It is said that terror without reason comes from Pan.) The disturbance [*ταραχή*] broke out among the soldiers in the deepening dusk, and at first only a few were driven out of their minds; they thought they could hear an enemy attack and the hoof-beats of the horses coming for them. It was not long before madness [*ἡ ἄγνοια*] ran through the whole force. They snatched up arms and killed one another or were killed, without recognizing their own language or one another's faces or even the shape of their shields. They were so out of their minds that both sides thought the others were Greeks in Greek armour speaking Greek, and this madness from the god [*ἡ τε τοῦ θεοῦ μανία*] brought on a mutual massacre of the Gauls on a vast scale.¹⁷

The fact that a panic can be artificially produced does not mean that it does not originate with Pan. Son of Hermes according to the most prevalent tradition, Pan is well acquainted with cunning tricks.¹⁸ The origin myth of panic tells also of the invention of a strategem: Poly-aenus tells how Pan, when general of the army of Dionysus, invented panic while on campaign with Bacchos in India: "He passed the word by night to the army of Dionysus that they should cry out at the top of their voices; they cried out, and the rocks gave back the echo, and as the hollow of the glen echoed, their power appeared far greater to the enemy, who therefore, struck with terror, fled. Honoring this strategem

of Pan's, we sing of Echo's affection for Pan, and the common and nocturnal terrors of armies we call after Pan."¹⁹

However, the involvement of Pan with panic goes beyond the fact that he invented it as a trick. There are closer connections. A panic is not just any kind of trick.²⁰ It is a sudden and unpredictable condition. This unpredictability of Pan's action in panic reflects a characteristic of his father Hermes.²¹ In the *Iliad* the apparition of Hermes before Priam (whom he is to guide to Achilles) leaves the old king and his companion shocked and frightened—in spite of a dream the previous night that had let Priam know everything that would happen, including Hermes' part in it:

So he spoke, and the old man's mind collapsed; he was dread afraid.
The hairs stood straight upon his crooked limbs;
He stood amazed. [24.358–60]

The messenger-god appears and produces a sort of "panic" in the old man. F. Cassola links this suddenness, this unpredictability of Hermes' arrival, with the word *hermaion*, which means good luck. Hermes is god of the windfall or stroke of luck—and almost literally manifests himself in the *hermaion*.²² Similarly Pan, the son of Hermes, a god we hear but do not see, manifests in the *paneion* his ineluctable and disturbing presence.²³

Panic may also be understood as an attribute proper to the hermetic nature of Pan, a specialization of traits already present in his father Hermes. With Hermes, suddenness takes the form of a godsend or windfall. Hermes is a guide who puts us on the right road: to abundance (profit, or the fertility of flocks) or simply homeward (when we are lost). As ally or provider, Hermes is unexpected. In panic suddenness shows another face: it takes the form of surprise, a collision with an unfamiliar that remains unfamiliar, a sphere of pure conjecture. Pan, seen this way, is something latent in Hermes, or his dark side—and yet, like Hermes, Pan comes to help us. Pan is also an ally with his panic; he was, for instance, an ally of the Athenians at Marathon. But his action is negative; he helps those he loves by creating disorder among their enemies. Furthermore, he is an ally who does not show himself. After all, how can we say where he is? He remains ineluctable. When we begin to come upon images of Pan the warrior, Pan in arms, it is only as a token to signify that he has a military function, that he interferes with warriors.²⁴

His intervention is such, however, that it may easily be described in purely secular terms. Some descriptions of panic would lead us to be-

lieve that Pan had nothing to do with it. Aeneas, for instance, never mentions him explicitly, while the *Suda* for its part tells us of *panikon deima*: “This occurs in military encampments, when suddenly horse and foot fall into confusion, *for no evident reason*” (τοῦτο γίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἡνίκα αἰφνίδιον οἱ τε ἵπποι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκταραχθῶσι, μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας προφανείσης). The lexicographer is left with the problem of the relation between the god and his act; he tries to resolve it, in the rest of his note, by proposing two hypotheses. The first is suggested by an analogy between panic (which involves noise) and the rituals proper to Pan: “Women are accustomed to celebrate Pan with clamor [τῷ δὲ Πανὶ εἰώθεισαν ὀργιάζειν αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ κραυγῆς] and Menander in the *Dyscolus* says that one should not approach this god in silence [σιωπῇ φησι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ οὐ δεῖν προσιέναι].” His reasoning is evidently as follows: when the god Pan is approached by humans, they become noisy; when humans, under certain circumstances, become noisy for no evident reason, it is because Pan approaches them. The second hypothesis makes of Pan the god of all that is inexplicable: “what has no cause is ascribed to Pan” (τὰ ἄνευ αἰτίας τῷ Πανὶ ἀνετίθεσαν). Cornutus explains the “panic confusions, sudden and irrational” (πανικὰς ταραχὰς τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἀλόγους) that come upon armies by comparison with what happens to flocks and herds in wild places: “It is in some such way that the flocks and goats become excited when they hear some sound from the forest, or from caves and steep places” (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς καὶ αἱ ἀγέλαι καὶ τὰ αἰπόλια πτοεῖται ψόφου τινὸς ἐξ ὕλης ἢ τῶν ὑπάντρων καὶ φαραγωγῶν τόπων ἀκούσαντα).²⁵ As early as the fourth century B.C., Apollodorus of Athens made this comparison the basis of a theory:

The mountains, the glens, and all the grottoes of the mountains are liable to echo. There are all sorts of complicated noises in the mountains produced by dogs and wild and tame animals: their echoes become mixed together. So it often happens that people do not see the creatures making the noises, but hear only the disembodied voice by itself, and so say that Pan is sounding the flute and syrinx in the caves with the nymphs.²⁶

The scholiast whose note introduces this citation tells us that Apollodorus saw in these bodiless voices the cause of panic disturbance (τῶν Πανικῶν λεγομένων κινημάτων Ἀπολλόδωρος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκτίθησι ταύτην).

A noise whose origin is inexplicable, but which is nevertheless at-

tributed to Pan, provokes panic, which in its turn is characterized by a rumor that spreads among men without evident reason. The inexplicable divine noise is answered, through fear, by an inexplicable human noise or rumor.²⁷

Apollodorus's fragment makes a great point of the echo, a noise that comes we know not whence, but which we ascribe to Pan and the nymphs. The relation between panic and the echo is a fundamental theme. It brings into relief one way in which the Greeks felt the presence of the god Pan. The god is manifest in the echo. Pausanias writes that the people around Menalia in Arcadia could hear Pan play the flute.²⁸ More than one Greek mountain was haunted by Pan's music: Cythaeron (Euripides' *Bacchae*: 951 ff.), Lykaion (Pausanias 8.38.11); and also the vicinity of Apollonia in southern Illyria (Ampelius *Liber memorialis* 8.7.10). Pan is somewhere; he is very near, but invisible; he is a disembodied voice. A sound can be heard, but one cannot tell from where.

Folk traditions that connect the echo with wild nature and its god are not, of course, restricted to Greece. There is no shortage of parallels, which need not lead us to posit some kind of diffusion extending all the way to the peoples of Siberia.²⁹ When Lucretius speaks of the deceptive sounds heard in desert places among the rocks and mountains, he is quick to associate Pan with the old Roman god Faunus:

Such places the neighbours imagine to be haunted by goat-foot satyrs and nymphs, and they say there are fauns, by whose night-wandering noise and jocund play they commonly declare the voiceless silence to be broken, with the sound of strings and sweet plaintive notes, which the pipe sends forth touched by the player's fingers; they tell how the farmers' men all over the countryside listen, while Pan, shaking the pine leaves that cover his half-human head, often runs over the open reeds with curved lips, that the panpipes may never slacken in their flood of woodland music. All other signs and wonders of this sort they relate, that they may not perhaps be thought to inhabit a wilderness which even the gods have left. This is why they bandy about these miraculous tales, or they are led by some other reason, since all mankind are too greedy for ears to tickle.³⁰

Lucretius's description of these beliefs, especially the centrality he awards the music of the god, suggests that he is following a Greek model. Faunus is no musician. Only in Greece, so far as we know, is the echo held to be a form of music made by wild gods rather than simply noises

they stir up, or their voices. Furthermore, Lucretius describes the echo as originating in the “sweet mourning” (*dulcis querelas*) of divine flutes. This notion of mourning is also derived from a Greek model. In the Homeric Hymn to Pan, Echo answers with a sound like mourning (*peristenei*) when Pan and the nymphs sing and dance.³¹

For the Greeks, the echo brings to mind a quite specific meaning of music made by the gods of the wild: it suggests the hopeless love, mingled with jealousy and hatred, felt by Pan for the nymph Echo—a story we find told and retold in various forms from the Alexandrian period on down.³² Because it embodies Echo, the echo means failure, means that ineluctable sound, ever in motion, that is desired and slips away. As a result, the echo, as it seems to put the divine world (Pan and the nymphs) in communication with the human, no sooner mediates than it transforms. What entered the channel as music comes out, at the other end, as inarticulate sound. The echo begins to communicate, but vainly, and the result is illusion; the god does not appear, there merely lingers a disconcerting unexpectedly created opening to the unknown.³³

The Greeks never deny the relation between Pan and panic. The historians, it is true, usually speak only of immediate and naturalistic causes, but their recurrent use of such phrases as “the disorder ascribed to Pan” and “the fear we call panic” shows that their prudent rationalism was not generally shared and had to deal with widely held beliefs. Furthermore, a review of the panics they report reveals that most of them took place somewhere near a sacred cave of Pan.

Pan first becomes a factor in military history in the early fifth century. It was in 490 that the herald Philippides, or Pheidippides, was accosted by Pan while leaving Tegea on the heights of Mount Parthenion. The god promised to help the Athenians, and in a few days the battle of Marathon followed.³⁴ Unquestionably the Athenians were aware of his help; the cult they instituted in memory of his intervention is sufficient proof of that.³⁵ But it is equally certain that Pan made no appearance on the battlefield. Pausanias, in his description of the Painted Porch, does not mention him among the gods and heroes who fought beside the Athenians. Furthermore, Herodotus, who gives a long description of Pan’s meeting with Philippides, and who makes a point of the fact that the Athenians acknowledged their debt to the Arcadian god after the departure of the Medes, says not one word suggesting that he could have been present at the battle. The *Suda* (s.v. Hippias) tells us that some people eventually identified Pan with the mysterious *phasma* that appeared to the Athenian Polyzelos in the form of a being whose beard entirely covered his shield. But this identification is impossible for two

reasons: Herodotus, who has just spoken of Pan, also describes Polyzelos's experience but in no way relates it to the Arcadian god; furthermore, this *phasma* is hostile to the Athenians (he blinds Polyzelos and kills the soldier next to him), while Pan is their ally. Everything we know about Pan tells us that his involvement (which would not require him to be present) would affect not the Athenians but the Persians. Furthermore, in the Greek view, Pan must have acted *after* the battle, when the barbarians were overtaken by disarray, by panic. Panic fears, according to Aeneas, most frequently occur after a battle, among the vanquished (*μάχης δὲ γενομένης καὶ νικηθέντων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γίγνονται φόβοι*).³⁶ When exactly did Pan make himself felt at Marathon? No text tells us. We can only suggest a hypothesis, without being in any position to prove it. We know from Herodotus that after the battle the Medes regrouped their forces quickly and took ship in the hope of reaching Athens and taking it before the Greek army could get back.³⁷ This, then, was a moment of extreme danger. The Greek troops returned at a run, and even so barely preceded the arrival of the barbarian fleet—which came a bit too late. This “bit” (probably the disarray that overtook the Persians in their retreat and momentarily disordered their maneuvers) was Pan's contribution.

Not far from the field of Marathon there is a cave that housed a cult of Pan from the beginning of the fifth century B.C.³⁸ Another of these cult places is close to the location of the decisive naval engagement of the second Persian War: a company of picked Persian troops occupied the island of Psyttaleia, sacred to Pan, at the moment when the Greeks put to flight Xerxes' fleet in the bay of Salamis in 480 B.C.³⁹ At the end of the fifth century, panic overtook the army of the Thirty Tyrants at Phyle: once again a cave sacred to Pan was close by.⁴⁰ The army of the Thirty had just settled down to besiege Thrasybulus and his men in their temporary stronghold; according to Xenophon (*HG* 2.4.2–3), they were routed by the snow, which was completely unexpected—it was actually fine weather (*μάλ' εὐημερίας οὐσης*). They thus withdrew without a fight—except that the army in Phyle made a sortie against them while they were leaving. This odd defeat was inflicted as much by the power of Pan as by the storm, as we learn from the account of the event transmitted by Diodorus of Sicily: “But while they were encamped near Phylê there came a heavy snow, and when some set to work to shift their encampment, the majority of the soldiers assumed that they were taking to flight and that a hostile force was at hand; and the uproar which men call Panic struck the army and they removed their camp to another place.”⁴¹ Much later, in midwinter 279, when the

Gauls led by Brennos attacked Delphi and the Greeks defeated them, their retreat, also marked by panic, took place in a snowstorm.⁴² Pan was again close by; the Corycian cave belonged to his cult.⁴³ But on this occasion also, just as at Marathon and Phyle, his influence was felt elsewhere than the main battle, in which the heroes and other gods—Apollo, Artemis, Athena—fought in the Greek ranks. Certain panics of the Hellenistic period follow the same pattern. Polybius reports that during their war against the Actolians, “the Acarnanians made a counter-attack on the territory of Stratus and being overtaken by panic, effected a retreat, which if not honourable was at least unaccompanied by loss, as the garrison of Stratus were afraid of pursuing them since they suspected their retreat was a ruse to lead them into an ambush.”⁴⁴ During the siege of Megara, similarly, a panic overtook the Boeotians, who had actually put up ladders to attack the town; they left all their gear behind and went home.⁴⁵ (Pan had his cult at Megara also; it is attested by votive reliefs from the fourth century and was associated with Achelōos and the nymphs.)⁴⁶ Even a naval force might be overtaken by panic. In the case of the fleet lost at Salamis, this is only a guess, but from the Hellenistic period we have the example of the events of 189 B.C. near Apollonia in Illyria; Polybius is again the source: “Just as [Philip V of Macedon] was approaching the mouth of the river Aoüs, which runs past Apollonia, his fleet was seized by a panic such as sometimes overtakes land forces.”⁴⁷ Now the region of Apollonia was one of those special places where, we are told, the music of Pan could be heard.⁴⁸ Is it an accident, finally, that the night before the battle of Pharsalia, which took place in the neighborhood of one of Pan’s most famous caves, Pompey’s camp was, according to Plutarch, disrupted by noise and panic tumult?⁴⁹

Pan appears in this strictly military setting to spread confusion—and, in another sense, to confuse his interpreters. In the texts that depict it to us, panic belongs to the sphere of war and not at all, except in an occasional metaphor, to that of herding.⁵⁰ What has become of Arcadian Pan, the shepherd and huntsman?

In Longus’s *Pastorals* the god of shepherds is called *stratitotēs*, a soldier, when he comes to the defense of Daphnis, from whom pirates are stealing Chloe and his flocks: the nymphs appear to Daphnis in a dream to tell him that the god is quite at home with armies in the field, that he has often gone to war, leaving his home in the country (*τὴν ἀγροικίαν καταλιπών*).⁵¹ On the pirate ship Pan creates a confusion very like the panic that overtook the Gauls:

But the day being now spent and their mirth protracted to the night, on a sudden all the land seemed to be on fire; then anon their ears were struck with an impetuous clattering of oars as if a great navy were acoming. Some cried out the general must arm; some called this and others that; here some thought they were wounded, there others lay like dead men. A man would have thought he had seen a kind of nocturnal battle, when yet there was no enemy there.

The next day, strange signs and visions haunt this ship of thieves:

From that crag which lifted up itself over the promontory, was heard a strange sound of a pipe; yet it was pleasing as a pipe, but like a trumpet⁵² or a terrible cornet, which made them run to their arms and call those enemies whom they saw not at all.⁵³

Once Chloe has been turned loose along with the sheep, everything settles down again. Pan's flute is heard once more, but it is no longer warlike; it has again become pastoral and guides the flocks to their pasture.⁵⁴ Here Pan's function in war shows itself an integral part of his function as herdsman. The god goes to war against those who steal sheep. The herdsman turns himself into a warrior to protect his animals against rustlers. However, Longus's text does not reveal the true source of Pan's military function. This late narrative of the imperial period places the guardian of the flocks in a kind of war belonging to the distant past. He is made, not without humor, to play his part in warfare of the kind thought proper to ancient and heroic times: we think of the cattle raid carried out by young Nestor in the *Iliad* (11.670–84) against his neighbors in Elis; or more generally of Hesiod's account of the race of heroes, one part of whom died before the walls of Thebes, fighting for the beasts of Oedipus.⁵⁵ But this aspect of archaic war (the cattle raid) is completely absent from the historic, and also from the mythic, episodes where Pan acts through panic. Panic cannot be reduced to an intervention of the god come to defend the flocks.

Roscher makes a quite different suggestion concerning Pan's action in war and his importance in the world of herdsmen and huntsmen.⁵⁶ He cites texts from Xenophon and Aristotle that identify huntsmen and herdsmen as potentially good soldiers. Hunting, herding, and war do, in fact, have some things in common. The *Iliad* repeatedly compares the army in the field to a flock and the warrior prince to its shepherd, and Aeschylus treats the expedition against Troy as a metaphorical hunt.

Agamemnon's warriors are called *πολύανδροί τε φεράσπιδες κυναγοί*.⁵⁷ This "band of huntsmen provided with shields" follows the spoor of the ship that brought Helen to Troy. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, from whom I derive this last reference, has stressed how often descriptions of military training in the classical period are drawn from metaphors employing the language of the hunt.⁵⁸ Soldiers on patrol share a landscape with herdsmen and huntsmen, and they get in each other's way. Votive inscriptions going back to the fourth century establish a certain respect for Pan by soldiers on patrol, if not an actual cult.⁵⁹ Pan, furthermore, is the particular god of the Arcadians, and the Arcadians were in high repute as warriors; they were often called from their pastures and forests to service abroad as mercenaries.⁶⁰ But when Pan himself goes to war, he fights with weapons that are completely unmilitary. War, herding, and hunting intersect, and the interaction of these three activities within their common landscape no doubt makes it easy for Pan to show up in a military context. But panic is not to be explained in this way. We still have to take account of the god's strange ways of acting. Claude Meillier provides an analysis of panic as a psychological-religious phenomenon consisting of hallucinations linked either to a state of exhaustion and excitement or to a deprivation of environmental stimuli.⁶¹ Without exhausting the complex (polysemic) symbolism of the event, his observation, which is supported by clinical work, does bring out a possible relation between panic and the particular type of environment where it most often occurs. If we are to believe Clara Gallini, panic fear originates in the psychology of the huntsman. It occurs as a result of the weakness or exhaustion that overtakes a man at risk in the forest, one who is not up to confronting its hidden perils. Panic is a condition of alienation resulting from this *stanchezza* and breaks in as if nature were taking her revenge.⁶² Military panic was connected with Pan at a relatively late date, and this secondary connection, which was derived from the god's role in the hunt, could come about only through the gradual elimination of another god, Phobos, an obscure divinity to whom the power of fear and battle properly belonged. Gallini accepts the thesis of E. Bernert, that Phobos's proper function was taken over by Pan as Phobos himself tended to become more and more a mere wraith, lingering on in folk belief.⁶³ It is true that the figure of Phobos, an actual god, son of Ares, when we encounter him in Homer and Hesiod, tends to fade in classical literature. He does not, however, disappear, and on the ritual level it is just at the beginning of the fifth century that we are able to follow his traces. An inscription from Selinunte dating from the fifth century gives evidence of his lively and active presence, as well as of

his importance (he is named immediately after Zeus): "These gods gave the people of Selinunte the victory; we were victorious through Zeus, through Phobos, through Heracles, through Apollo, through Poseidon" (*Syll.* 3.11.22). A text of Aeschylus also shows how important Phobos could be in military ritual of the same period. The Seven, before setting out against Thebes, take an oath by Ares, Enyo, and Phobos, plunging their hands in the blood of a sacrificed bull (Aeschylus *Septem* 42 ff.). Phobos maintained his ritual importance through the fourth century and beyond. We learn from Plutarch (*Alexander* 31) that the night before the battle of Arbela, Alexander, alone except for a seer, sacrificed to him according to some secret ritual (*ἱερουργίας τιὰς ἀπορρήτους ἱερουργοῦμενος καὶ τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος*). The same author (*Cleomenes* 8 ff.) mentions a cult of Phobos at Sparta, where the sanctuary of the god was kept closed in time of peace.

Thus the cult of Phobos is well attested for the period when Pan interfered in history as a cause of military panic. It is thus hard to see how we can say that one supplanted the other. As for Phobos's transformation into a wraith, much the same thing also happened to Pan. In fact, Pan does not replace Phobos; rather, in panic, he produces a special version of him. Panic, after all, is *phobos*—*phobos panikos*, as Poly-aenus has it.

Phobos, son of Ares, is first and foremost a specialist in war. Pan is a pastoral divinity, son of the peaceful Hermes. I have already mapped out some ways in which Pan can be involved in the sphere of the warrior, but these are insufficient to explain the specific character of panic. Up to now we have seen these relations as constituted by a landscape, a background. We need to go further: Pan differs from Phobos entirely in his style of action. Pan may be some kind of warrior, but he never takes part in combat. That is the difference between him and Phobos. Phobos, Ares' son, shows himself in the broil of battle; he puts to flight; he embodies our fear of the enemy. Pan, by contrast, acts at a distance. He does not actually know how to fight; rather, he helps his friends by means alien to war. He intervenes to replace combat by a bloody parodic mockery of itself. He comes before, or after, Phobos: when he interferes, the warrior is cut off from war and in fact knocked loose from all contact with reality.

Pan's position on the fringe of combat is significant; it probably, in fact, provides the key to the meaning of panic. This god, whose eyesight is excellent, looks on from afar: he is often represented as an *aposkopos*, a lookout.⁶⁴ Early in the *Oresteia* the chorus compares Agamemnon and Menelaus in their quarrel with Troy to a pair of eagles who find

their nest empty and their chicks gone: “Some high one hears—some Apollo or Pan or Zeus—the shrill mourning bird cry of these who share that realm and, that vengeance follow transgression, send the Fury.”⁶⁵ Aeschylus, the veteran of Marathon, speaks of Pan as a high god, a *hupatos*, the peer of Apollo or even of Zeus. He is a lookout, stationed on the heights or on the edge of a cliff; here he looks out for justice and proportion.

One chapter of Pseudo-Eratosthenes’ *Catasterisms*, which in turn refers to an ancient source (he cites Epimenides), tells us that Pan, son of the goat (Aix) and foster-brother of Zeus, helped the latter in his struggle against the Titans. The passage explains the mythical origin of the constellation of Capricorn:

Capricorn is in form like Aegipan, from whom he derives. His lower members are animal, as are the horns on his head. He was honored [by catasterism] as foster-brother of Zeus. Epimenides, author of the *Cretan History*, says that he was with him on Ida when he made war on the Titans. He is thought to have discovered the salt-water conch, thanks to which he provided his allies with what is called “Panic noise,” which put the Titans to flight. Once Zeus had seized power, he placed Aegipan among the stars, along with the goat his mother.⁶⁶

The alliance between Pan and Zeus is linked to the theme of the childhood of Zeus and to the story of how Zeus secured the heavenly power. Pseudo-Eratosthenes’ myth belongs to a group of myths connected with Crete; Pan is here treated as son of the monstrous Aix, the solar goat too bright to look at, whom the terrified Titans hid in a cave, where she was kept by (or equated with) Amalthea, the nurse of Zeus. Cronos’s son, once he had secured his power, made the skin of this goat into his aegis, an instrument of terror.⁶⁷

Another story, which we have already met with in Polyaeus, is probably derived from this ancient motif of Pan’s alliance with Zeus in his battle with the Titans; this is the story of Pan’s alliance with Dionysus in his conquest of the Indies. Polyaeus styles Pan *στρατηγὸς Διονύσου*—“Dionysus’s general.”⁶⁸ This story probably got started at the time of Alexander’s expedition; its most completely developed version is found in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnos of Panopolis. In this work we can follow the adventures of a whole bunch of Pans, who take the field along with the god. However, even in Nonnos the fundamental theme remains Pan’s alliance with Zeus in the war against the Titans. In canto

27 of the *Dionysiaca*, Zeus speaks to Athena, telling her to go to the help of Bacchus's army:

The god of countrymen himself, lord of the shepherd's pipes, goatfoot Pan, needs your aegis-cape. He once helped to defend my inviolable sceptre and fought against the Titans, he once was mountain-ranging shepherd of the goat Amaltheia my nurse, who gave me milk; save him, for he in the aftertime shall help the Athenian battle, he shall slay the Medes and save shaken Marathon.⁶⁹

For Nonnos, Pan's alliance with Zeus provides the model. The first panic, where Pan intervenes to help the Olympians conquer certain reactionary forces, sets the pattern for all later cases of panic down to historical times—that is to say, at Marathon.

If we now pass in review Pan's interventions in military history, we observe that panic either makes battle impossible (at Phyle, Stratos, Megara, Apollonia) or else follows the battle and falls upon an enemy already vanquished; in these latter cases, the victims are barbarians (Persians or Gauls). When the Greeks find themselves victims of panic, they withdraw and go home, as though the battle they had planned has turned out to be something quite unfitting. Panic, in other words, is equivalent to a bad omen. Plutarch actually says exactly this, in connection with Pompey, who at Pharsalia went on anyway and was defeated.⁷⁰ Panic overtakes a special, artificial human community: the army in the field. It suggests the standing possibility of regression to a stage of cultural development prior to the balanced condition secured by the power of Zeus. The soldier will cease to recognize his fellows. Panic dissolves the bonds of a little society characterized by a high degree of reinforcement and involution, placed as it is outside the territory proper to the city. The most likely victim of panic is the military camp as it sleeps motionless in the silence of the night, animated only by the secret whispers of the sentinels and pickets, by passwords and counter-signs. Panic thus typically attacks a model of order and disrupts it.

In the Homeric Hymn to Pan the young god's appearance at his birth is so frightful that it makes his nurse run away.⁷¹ But there is flight in two directions. The human nurse (Pan's mother is a mortal) takes to her heels; the departure in the other direction is that of Hermes, who receives the infant, wraps him in the skin of a mountain hare, and hurries with him to Olympus, where the gods find the newborn creature

quite charming. That Pan should thus be withdrawn, brutally separated, from the human sphere is evidently an anomaly. Pan is generally a close neighbor to mankind, with whom he not infrequently enters into familiar relations. Certain human activities, proper to the edges of our landscape—hunting, herding of small flocks, and sometimes also war—take place in the same territory where the god roams about. The double withdrawal (human terror, departure of the god for Olympus) that marks Pan's very first appearance among men in the Homeric Hymn clarifies the meaning of panic; the disorder there created results from an excess of distance between the divine and the human, a discontinuity that causes men to miss their footing,⁷² lose contact with reality, and succumb to the god's hallucinations: τῶν φαντασιῶν αἴτιος ὁ Πάν, says Photios's dictionary.⁷³

Panic is a collective disorder: essentially, a breakdown in communication. Pan keeps his distance. One may, however, also have the opposite problem. We learn from various texts that there is also danger in exaggerated closeness between Pan and mankind. When distance is insufficiently maintained, another sort of madness lies in wait: a man may be invaded by the god and become deranged. In that case it is a matter of individual disorder.

Pan's powers of derangement alternate between one of these poles and the other. In panic, Pan seems to evade all apprehension. In possession, by contrast, he makes himself known, he reveals himself; someone possessed by Pan (inspired by Pan—the panoleptic) actually borrows his behavior from the god who invades him.

At the beginning of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, everyone is worrying about Phaedra. The young queen has changed color; she is extremely weak and can no longer stand; she stays flat on her back in the palace, refusing to eat, talking only of how she longs for the mountains and far-off meadows.⁷⁴ Actually she is the victim of Aphrodite and sick with love for Hippolytus; the landscape she longs for is, in fact, that where he hunts. But the chorus does not know this, and is thrown back on guesswork. From its observation of the symptoms, it hazards a diagnosis:

Are you possessed [ἐνθεος], young woman, either by Pan or Hecate, or do the dread corybantes make you stray about, or the Mother of the Mountains? Or do you wear yourself out unhallowed through failure to offer the sacred meal to Dicytnna the huntress?⁷⁵

Phaedra's condition is like that of a person possessed by some god of wild nature, probably as a consequence of some wrongdoing or ritual

omission. The term *entheos*, possessed, whether one understands it (with Dodds) as “containing a god” or (with Jeanmaire) as “in the hands of a god,” signifies that a person is as close to the divine as one can be.⁷⁶ This closeness is disturbing. A god invades or takes over a man only when angry. One of Euripides’ other female characters, the young wife of Jason, poisoned by the veil sent by Medea, is suddenly dreadful to look upon (δεινὸν ἦν θέαμ’ ἰδεῖν): she changes color, begins to tremble, falls.⁷⁷ A servant thinks the poor girl must be subject to the anger of Pan or some other divinity (δόξασα που ἢ Πανὸς ὀργὰς ἢ τινος Θεῶν μολεῖν) and raises the *ololujē* (ἀνωλόλυξε): this ritual cry, which is proper to women attending a sacrifice, marks the moment when the victim, now consecrated (*ιερόν*), is invaded by the god.⁷⁸ These two examples illustrate folk belief of the fifth century B.C. and show us that under certain circumstances, Pan could take control of an individual, invade him, and impose upon him a condition that is psycho-physiologically abnormal, and also sacred. He shares this power with a whole group of divinities: Hecate, the corybantes, the Mountain Mother, Dictynna.

Hecate and the Mother are gods to whom (among others) folk belief attributed epilepsy, called by the Greeks a “sacred disease” (*hiera nosos*). The Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease* collects superstitions related to this mysterious sickness, and tells us that “if the patient imitate a goat, if he roar, or suffer convulsions in the right side, they say the Mother of the Gods is to blame. . . . When at night occur fears and terrors, delirium, jumpings from the bed and rushings out of doors, they say that Hecate is attacking or that heroes are attacking.”⁷⁹ According to the scholiast on the passage in Euripides describing the moment when Medea’s victim becomes “dreadful to look upon,” “the ancients believed that those who suddenly fall are struck in their wits by Pan or Hecate.”⁸⁰ “Those who suddenly fall” are epileptics. And in fact the development of the “fit” in Euripides’ description of it fully bears out the commentary of the scholiast: white foam dribbles from the queen’s mouth, her eyes roll back, her skin becomes bloodless.⁸¹ The servant thinks she is witnessing an acute attack and concludes that the young woman has fallen victim to the anger of Pan or some other divinity. The epileptic is invaded by a god; surely this is because the god is angry. To cure this shameful sickness, folk tradition made use of purification and incantations (*καθαρμοῖσί τε χρέονται καὶ ἐπαιδιῆσι*) as in cases involving people “polluted, blood-guilty, bewitched by men, or [having] committed some unholy act.”⁸²

The connection between epilepsy and Pan, a connection that springs

to the servant's mind, is clarified for us by a set of common Greek beliefs according to which small livestock (*probata*) and especially goats are particularly subject to the sacred disease.⁸³ It was generally thought that too much goat's meat and also clothes made of goatskin encouraged the development of this sickness; conversely, and by the logic of homeopathy, epileptics were instructed to sleep on goatskins and to eat the flesh of this animal. It is thus hardly surprising that the goat-god, patron of goatherds and lover of goats, should have some rights with respect to epilepsy. Hippocratic medicine, which set out to construct a rational science, was elaborately critical of any belief that sickness came from the gods. In the case of epilepsy, it had its work cut out for it.⁸⁴ In fact, even the terms for the "sacred disease" that we might think of as "secular" are religious in origin: *epileptos* and *epileptikos* mean "one who is grasped, carried off" and belong to a group of words formed on the model of *theoleptos* "grasped, carried off by a god."⁸⁵ Thus we find *numpholeptos*, *phoiboleptos* (or *phoibolamptos*), *putholeptos*, *metroleptos*, *mousoleptos*, *erotoleptos*, and finally *panoleptos* (or *panolemptos*). Epilepsy is only a particular version of theolepsy. It can be caused by Pan, by the Mother, or by other gods, but it is never ascribed to Apollo, the muses, Eros, or the nymphs. And when the gods (Pan and the Mother included) take over someone, the result need not look like an epileptic fit. Phaedra is also possessed by Pan, and her condition is quite different from that of Jason's young wife.

Before considering panolepsy, we may find it useful to glance at what we know about the best known of these "seizures by a god," nympholepsy.⁸⁶ Pan's grotto at Vari in Attica has yielded fifth-century B.C. evidence for nympholepsy: a group of six votive dedications attributed to a certain Archedemos of Thera, who put the cave in order and planted a garden for the nymphs.⁸⁷ N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz has been able to show on epigraphic grounds that only two of these dedications were actually made by Archedemos; the rest, which are at least a generation or two later, show us that this man from Thera, once he had restored the cult of the nymphs at Vari, was treated as a *ktistēs*, a "founder," and himself received a cult in these terms.⁸⁸ Now among these later inscriptions, which address a person become heroic or sacred, there is one that styles Archedemos a nympholeptic (*νυμφόληπτος*). What is the meaning of this word in the Greek religious vocabulary?

First of all, nympholepsy is a specific type of inspiration. Socrates, who finds himself in Phaedrus's company on the banks of the Ilissos, in a district sacred to the nymphs, Pan, and Achelōs,⁸⁹ and who is about to give a speech on madness, warns his friend: "Hear me out in silence.

The place seems to be really divine, so that you need not be surprised if in the course of my speech I am subject to recurrent attacks of nympholepsy. Just now my utterance nearly broke into dithyrambics” (Plato *Phaedrus* 258c–d). For Plato, as we know, inspiration is a form of dissociation whereby the speaker is no longer responsible for what he says (cf. *Ion*, passim).⁹⁰ So is nympholepsy. Confirmation comes from Aristotle: in the *Eudemian Ethics* the philosopher reviews a number of hypothetical explanations of happiness. Happiness may be by nature (like skin color), it can be learned or acquired by practice—unless someone is happy “like people who are nympholeptic or theoleptic, as if their inspiration is initiated by something supernatural” (καθάπερ οἱ νυμφόληπτοι καὶ θεόληπτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιπνοίᾳ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὡσπερ ἐνθουσιάζοντες).⁹¹ In this case happiness would be a kind of *gift*, like the gift of Melesagoras as reported by Athenian tradition: “A man of Eleusis came to Athens, Melesagoras by name. He had not learned the art, but was possessed by the nymphs [ἀλλ’ ἐκ νυμφῶν κάτοχος] and by divine dispensation was wise and prophetic.”⁹² Maximus of Tyre, our source for this legend, compares Melesagoras to the famous Epimenides, son of a nymph, who derived his wisdom from dreams.⁹³

Being possessed by the nymphs, since it was a form of inspiration, could confer the gift of divination. Nympholepsy probably had a role at certain prophetic sanctuaries; Plutarch tells us that many nympholeptics could be found in that part of Cithaeron where the cave of Pan and the nymphs served as a sanctuary for divination.⁹⁴ The Boeotian seer Tiresias, like the Cretan Epimenides, was child of a nymph. In the archaic period there was even a whole class of seers, the Bakides, known by tradition as nympholeptics.⁹⁵

However nympholepsy is not always linked with possession and enthusiasm as a form of inspiration. It can also take the form of a literal rapture; there is a whole group of myths about young people rapt or carried off by the nymphs. The best known is Hylas, Heracles’s young lover. While looking for spring water, he came upon the choir of nymphs; they drew him deep into the water, where he disappeared for ever.⁹⁶ Some rationalizer cited by the scholiast on Theocritus (ad 13.48) claimed that Hylas was drunk and simply fell into the spring. Thus demystified, the story would be stripped of its rich symbolism. To be carried off by the nymphs, even though in the Greek religious understanding it is very much like dying (the person involved disappears from the world of the living) is also something more: the nymphs carry their victim into a situation that looks like death only to those who remain

behind; the missing person enters a new mode of existence, becomes *hieros*. Callimachus's twenty-fourth epigram is explicit on the point:

Astakides of Crete, goatherd, was snatched by a nymph
From the mountain; he is sacred now, is Astakides.
No more under Dicte's oaks, no more of Daphnis
Our shepherds' song, but ever of Astakides.

A Greek epitaph from the vicinity of Rome adorning the tomb of a little girl of five still insists upon this distinction: "This fine child was stolen for their delights by the naiads, not by death" (*παῖδα γὰρ ἔσθλην ἤρπασαν ὡς τερπνὴν Ναίδες, οὐ Θάνατος*).⁹⁷ Other late funerary inscriptions suggest that young children who fall into wells, victims of their own heedlessness, have been chosen by the nymphs.⁹⁸

The notion is gradually becoming a commonplace, but the underlying idea remains abduction, not death: Hylas, Astakides, and the vanished children (whose beauty is not irrelevant) have been carried off, ravished by the nymphs. Is this representation of nympholepsy, which cannot be traced back before the Alexandrian period, incompatible with the earlier description of the nympholept as someone inspired, carried away by a prophetic frenzy? The evidence relative to nympholepsy proper is too incomplete to be sure. But the Greeks do tell us of one example of theolepsy that combines inspiration with literal rapture, one case of "transport" in every sense of the term: Aristaeas of Proconnesus, according to Herodotus, wrote his poem on the Arimaspoi on his return from Hyperborea, the land of Apollo, whither the god had carried him (he was *phoibolamptos*); in his poem he described the experiences of his "voyage."⁹⁹

Theocritus calls the nymphs "dread divinities" (*deinai theai*). The scholiast adds: "Dread, because of the fear that seizes those who meet them; this fear causes nympholepsy."¹⁰⁰ In this sense, nympholepsy means neither inspiration nor rapture. The term here names the madness of those unhinged by fear. Such madness threatens those who see the reflection of a nymph while leaning over a spring.¹⁰¹ Nympholeptic, in this case, still means "seized or struck by the nymphs," but in the sense in which we say someone is struck or stunned by some impressive experience. To be struck in this way implies a different kind of immediacy from inspiration or rapture. The victim is neither invaded by the nymphs nor carried off by them. He remains out of contact, but stupefied, and cut off from any other interest.

To sum up: whether he is inspired, disappears, or goes mad, a man seized by the nymphs leaves the normal world and goes beyond the lim-

its of human life. The nympholept is transported elsewhere and becomes a supercultural, superhuman creature, whom the Greeks could style *hieros*. Thus we can understand why Archedemos of Thera, who furnished up the cave at Vari, did not himself claim to be nympholeptic: this trance, this death, this frenzy can hardly declare itself while it is going on; it requires an interpreter.

This digression on nympholepsy will help us come to terms with certain aspects of panic possession. The two phenomena are, in fact, closely related. The nymphs occupy the same landscape as Pan and share with him their cult places: the banks of the Ilissos (where Socrates fears an attack of nympholepsy) and the caves at Vari and on Cithaeron (also known for their nympholeptics) were sacred to Pan as well as to the nymphs. Restricting ourselves to the issue of possession, let us note that the danger of nympholepsy is particularly great at noon, which is also the hour specially set aside for Pan's appearance and his anger.¹⁰² The word *panoleptos*, formed in imitation of the better-known *nympholeptos*, confirms this relationship on the level of vocabulary.

In surviving Greek texts, the word *panoleptos* appears only twice. The Neoplatonist Hermias, in his *Commentary on the Phaedrus*, draws a parallel between the panolept and the nympholept and matrolept in the course of a more general discussion of inspiration and possession.¹⁰³ The other example comes from a second-century A.D. papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus. It contains a fragment of a mime in which an unsatisfied wife is putting together a complicated scheme for poisoning her husband. Suddenly one of her accomplices (the Parasite) begins to laugh:

- Oh dear, the Parasite is getting to look like a panolept
[πανόληπτος].
- Oh dear, he is laughing.¹⁰⁴

Considering the importance of laughter in the Greek understanding of Pan, it is hardly surprising that unreasonable or mad laughter should be a symptom of panic possession: one laughs at Pan's festival, he himself laughs, the gods are charmed by his laughter.¹⁰⁵ The laughter of Pan, among the gods or at his festival, expresses fertility, joy, pleasure. Taken out of context, it may well seem crazy and worrisome. This tiny fragment, although it is very late and comes from no great work, provides an important bit of information. It seems that while Pan and the nymphs were very close, panolepsy and nympholepsy were not confused. The two forms of possession derived from related gods, but the Greeks could distinguish them (most probably) by visible signs and unambiguous symptoms. Laughter was very probably one of those signs, in

direct reference to an aspect of the god who sent the fit. Another possible sign indicating Pan's influence, if we are to believe Aristophanes in the *Lysistrata*, was ithyphallicism.¹⁰⁶ The "possessed," who is being subjected to systematic sexual frustration, seems to feel in his own person the torments of the god Pan, who lives among the nymphs, but is unlucky in love. Epileptic symptoms, finally, also seem to belong to Pan rather than to the nymphs.¹⁰⁷

Behind this distribution of signs and attributes can be perceived a symbolism conditioning actual experience. Unfortunately the state of our evidence does not permit us to inquire very far in this direction. We may observe that in descriptions of panolepsy, physiological abnormalities are stressed; we hear nothing of this in connection with nympholeptics. In the latter cases, the stress is rather on what *cannot* be observed; they are sometimes even snatched away from the sensible world. This opposition, however, should not cause us to forget the close relationship between Pan and the nymphs. A nympholeptic is first and foremost someone inspired, and Pan, as the *Phaedrus* tells us, is at least as inspirational as the nymphs. Legend tells us that Pindar's encounter with Pan (in a musical context) led the poet to establish a cult for him, in association with the Mother of the Mountains.¹⁰⁸ Plutarch even tells a story according to which the god fell in love with the Boeotian poet, or with his verses (*Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα μυθολογοῦσιν*).¹⁰⁹ Alexandrian idyll, and later the poets of the Greek Anthology, take Pan as the divine archetype of singer and musician. These are no doubt secondary developments; nevertheless, these variations on the syrinx are evidence for the importance of inspiration among the god's attributes.

More basic, evidently, is Pan's connection with prophecy. We do not know of any panoleptic seer, but panolepsy appears as a latent image or metaphor beneath the surface of certain types of divination. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary in Arcadia at Lykosoura where Pan prophesied, taking (originally) as his medium Erato, the wife of Arcas.¹¹⁰ According to a Delphic tradition, Pan taught prophecy to Apollo.¹¹¹ The legend of the goatherd Coretas, which brings us to the prime source of inspiration, the mysterious *chasma* of Delphi, perhaps explains the connections between the goat-god and prophecy. Coretas discovered both the location of the oracular sanctuary and the technique of divination by observing the strange behavior of his goats when they breathed the vapor rising from a certain fissure in the ground. They stood as if entranced, trembling and rapt. H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell observe that the goats in the myth behave like the goat who was actually

sacrificed every time the oracle was consulted: if this goat would not tremble of her own accord, her face was sprinkled with ice water.¹¹² The relationship of the goats with a prophetic trance (at least as people imagined it) may correspond to the links between Pan and the prophetic type of divination, just as the goat's relationship to epilepsy corresponds to Pan's relation to the sickness of Jason's young wife. However, it seems that Pan looked after quite a different type of divination at Delphi. The French excavations of the Corycian cave have brought to light the fact that in this place—sacred to Pan and nymphs—divination was carried out with dice.¹¹³

The nymphs carry off to their world (which is elsewhere) the beautiful young people whom they seize. No known case of panolepsy involves an abduction of this type, resulting in the physical disappearance of the subject. Pan is often enough enraptured by masculine or feminine beauty, but the Greeks then thought of the result as a pursuit or a rape.¹¹⁴ The god does not take his victim home with him. He may nonetheless invade someone, take possession of him (which is to say, dispossess him) to such a degree that this person's communication with his fellows is radically disrupted. Panolepsy in its epileptic form, as one can reconstruct it from a reading of Euripides, is quick and violent. It is a whole-body condition that leaves the victim no energy to fantasize. We have, however, noticed that the "fit" that overtakes Jason's young wife is in certain respects not unlike the much less spectacular illness that afflicts the amorous Phaedra. Phaedra displays the same preliminary symptoms (change of color, great weakness of the body), but in her case, they are less violent. And in her case, fantasy begins its work. It carries the heroine off to mountain landscapes and distant meadows. The queen, whose bodily form is shut up in the palace, in the dark, seems to wander through the domain of the god who has invaded her; she strays about. She roams, as does Pan (as does Hippolytus, actually, but her companions do not know that) when the hunt leads him up hill and down dale. She behaves exactly like the nympholepts or panolepts described by Iamblichus, who seem at certain moments constrained, and at other moments wander the mountains.¹¹⁵

Jason's young wife undergoes the attack of the god in the shape of an epileptic fit; the amorous Phaedra displays the symptoms of deep melancholy.¹¹⁶ Whereas the nymphs cause their victims to disappear, panic "rapture" can be specified in Greek medical terms as a range of effects from epilepsy, which is a complete derangement, to melancholy, which is an estrangement rendering the victim inaccessible to his companions. From the point of view of ancient medicine, this range of effects is quite

natural. In the Hippocratic treatise on *Epidemics*, we find an explicit statement that “melancholics regularly become epileptics, and epileptics melancholics; as between these two conditions, it all depends on the direction of the illness: if it affects the body, it is epilepsy; if the mind, it is melancholy.”¹¹⁷

Certain texts show us a Pan capable not only of derangement but also of radical transformation, whereby the victim changes his nature. Nonnos mentions a Pan *lussōōn*, “mad,” who can shatter an enemy fleet with his sharpened claws (or horns, or hooves, *θηγαλέοις ὀνύχεσσι*).¹¹⁸ The participle *lussōōn* relates this fury to personified madness, to the mythical Lyssa. This latter appears not infrequently in Greek mythology.¹¹⁹ She plays a terrifying and bewitching melody upon her flute, and thus transforms her victim into a mad dog or a furious wolf. Hercules, who suddenly begins to pant like a dog, sets off after his children in a hunt unleashed by the goddess (*κυνάγετεῖ τέκνων διωγμόν . . . Λύσσα*);¹²⁰ the Bacchae, styled by Euripides “the quick dogs of Lyssa,” track Pentheus like their prey;¹²¹ Actaeon’s dogs go mad and rend their master under the influence of this same Lyssa. It even seems that etymologically *Lyssa* means “she-wolf,” in the sense of “she who turns one into a wolf.” As Nonnos speaks of him, Pan shares the power of Lyssa. No doubt this explains his presence on several Italian vases representing the death of Actaeon;¹²² as well as specifying the landscape where the event is played out, Pan’s appearance beside Lyssa serves to convey a sense of ghastly error. Burkert observes that Actaeon’s dogs are described as acquiring partially human qualities at the very moment when they go mad; the hero turned stag is killed by creatures who, in their turn, are no longer just animals but act like huntsmen carried away by rage.¹²³ Pan, grandson of Lykaon the wolf-man, is evidently a specialist in such metamorphoses. In the version of the myth of Pan and Echo transmitted by Longus, we have seen the god transform the shepherds and goatherds into wolves and savage dogs who rend the young girl.¹²⁴ According to the same author, the rams and ewes of Chloe, when carried off by the pirates of Methymna, begin to howl like wolves under Pan’s influence.¹²⁵ An astonishing passage in Apuleius, which is also marked with the sign of Pan (the story is told by Syrinx), tells us to beware the ferocity of ewes at noon: “For when the sun is in his force, then seem they most dreadful and furious with their sharp horns, their stony foreheads, and their poisonous bites wherewith they arm themselves to the destruction of mankind.”¹²⁶ This madness, which is very like that which overtakes Pan himself in Nonnos, helps us to understand a speech by one of Theocritus’s goatherds:

It is not fit, shepherd, not fit at noon for us
 To play the syrinx. We fear Pan. His hunt
 Is over now; he's tired and rests. Then is he touchy,
 And the bitter bile is sitting in his nose.
 But you, Thyrsis, would sing the woes of Daphnis
 And try the powers of the bucolic muse.¹²⁷

Bucolic (“of the cowherd”) is here opposed to pastoral (“of the goat-herd”) (*βουκολικόν* versus *αἰπολικόν*). The dangers of noon relate to small animals, not to herds of cows. At noon one must avoid attracting Pan’s attention by doing anything directly connected with his sphere: that of the syrinx and small livestock. Those who disregard this danger expose themselves to the anger of the god, to his madness. Noon is typically silent and motionless; it is the still point of the day.¹²⁸ Pan is the god of noise and movement; if we wake him at this hour when he should be asleep, we are in effect inviting him to fill up this silence and stillness.¹²⁹ Pan is a god who should not be approached in silence. Consequently, noon is the moment of the day when there is the greatest danger that he may invade us, dispossess us. In his anger, Pan would be capable of transforming the shepherd, protector of the flock, into his worst enemy, the wolf.¹³⁰ In his madness the goat-god himself and the flocks he tends could turn as violent as carnivores. In its extreme version, panolepsy maddens its victim and makes of him something sub-human. To disturb Pan at noon is to flout a divine law (*οὐ θέμις*, says Theocritus’s goatherd). By the same token, Pan looks favorably on those who sleep at noon and who respect his slumbers. There is, for instance, the legend of the child-poet Pindar being fed by bees, who put honey in his mouth at noon while he sleeps in the landscape of Pan and nymphs.¹³¹ We have an epigraphic text that tells of a noontime dream that came from the god and allowed a critically ill child to be miraculously healed.¹³² In another dream (also at noon), Pan appears to the pirate chief in Longus’s *Pastorals* to tell him the cause of his anger and the cure for the panic that has overwhelmed his crew.

Possession results from a failure of ritual—whether owing to negligence, recklessness, or actual impiety makes little difference. Phaedra loses control of herself (according to her women) because she has not honored as she ought some god or goddess of wild nature; therefore, she is swept away, drawn in fancy to the realm of this divinity. The general similarity with Dionysiac *mania* should be noted. The latter breaks out in its most violent form when people refuse to recognize Dionysus’s divinity or to accept his cult; its mythical victims are people like Pentheus or Lycurgus. In Euripides’ play, the Bacchae themselves had at

first refused to accept the new god. Lyssa, whose power is close to Pan's, turns up also in the sphere of Dionysus (she can be seen in Aeschylus and Euripides, driving on the maenads). The Homeric Hymn to Pan takes note of the deep bond between the goat-god and the god of maenads by stressing Bacchus's particular pleasure in welcoming the newborn Pan to Olympus.¹³³ Plutarch asserts that orgies of the Bacchic type are celebrated also for the Great Mother and for Pan.¹³⁴ Pan no sooner leaves Arcadia than he is drawn into the circle of Dionysus, to the point where he actually becomes companion of his thiasos, or ritual revel.¹³⁵ The two gods meet on the level of cult at Delphi, where the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, is one stage of the ascent of Parnassus by the maenads. Aeschylus considered this cave a sanctuary of Bromios.¹³⁶ A number of rural sanctuaries in Boeotia, in the Argolid, and on Delos honored Pan and Dionysus side by side.¹³⁷ In Macedonia, finally, long a Dionysiac stronghold, Pan enjoyed the particular favor of the ruling circles from the end of the fifth century on, and from the time of the expedition of Alexander, the new Dionysus, his membership in the thiasos was particularly stressed: Pan, leading a whole company of Pans, joins the god in his campaign against the Indies.¹³⁸

We have seen Pan's power to create illusions at work in panic. Dionysus's powers are similar. In Longus's *Pastorals*, furthermore, Pan and Dionysus work together: in between two attacks of pure panic, grapevines can be seen growing over the pirates' boat. Tiresias, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, says that Dionysus "has some share [*μοῖραν*] of Ares: terror may disperse an army in arms actually drawn up in ranks, before a single thrust of the spear; this madness also is from Dionysus."¹³⁹ Wilamowitz inferred from this passage that Pan had borrowed the power of panic from Dionysus. Deichgräber disagrees, as does Dodds, who remarks that Dionysus never takes part in a war and that this passage refers to "the moral and physical collapse of those who attempt to resist by normal means the fury of the possessed worshippers."¹⁴⁰

One type of ritual possession (maenadism) belongs to Dionysus, and in myth he causes a number of persons to become possessed. But in the real world the god does not bring about possession except as part of his own rites. There is no such thing as a "baccholept" parallel to the nympholept, the phoiblept, the mousolept, the panolept, and so on. As Dodds says, "Dionysiac experience is essentially collective or congregational, and is so far from being a rare gift that it is highly infectious."¹⁴¹ The manifestation of Pan most in this line—and most like a Dionysiac phenomenon (which need not imply borrowing)—is surely panic, not panolepsy. Panic is, after all, a collective state, which runs

through a group like wildfire, while panolepsy (possession, enthusiasm, etc.) affects individuals and does not seem to be contagious. But panic is also opposed to maenadism in that it is not ritualized. An army is not a thiasos.

When the Greeks talk of possession (in the sense of enthusiasm or theolepsy), they are less likely to name Dionysus than the corybantes, the nymphs, or Pan. From Plato on, the favored formula for inspiration is: "to act like a corybant."¹⁴² Iamblichus speaks of inspiration deriving from Pan, the nymphs, or corybantes.¹⁴³ "Those who act like corybantes" believe they hear the music of the god who possesses them; they hear the flutes of the Great Mother inside their heads. The corybant is in an ecstatic state: such a person no longer perceives the human world. He is asleep with his eyes open, somewhere else. He is taken beyond the limits of the social world; like some panolepts, he is drawn to caves, wild thickets, springs. Something plucks him out of the city and goads him toward the realm of the goddess who possesses him: Cybele or the Mother of the Gods. When someone panics, by contrast, he hears nothing but noise (since he is cut off even from the source of his own fear). The corybant is abducted by the god, hurled straight into the divine world; he goes away, and is for a while evicted from the human condition.

The maenads and the corybantes take part in an organized and planned ritual. Panolepsy, by contrast, is in this respect like panic: wild and unpredictable. In panolepsy, however, Pan takes hold of isolated persons, who thereby become exceptional, asocial; in panic, he strikes human groups, which he knocks loose from culture by destroying all sense of the proper balance between man and god.

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The very first panic was an episode in the war between the gods and Titans. Pan, foster brother and ally of Zeus, put to flight the partisans of Cronos and thus used his destructive powers to clear the ground for the construction of the Olympian order. Order was not, however, made really secure until the giants had been eliminated and Zeus had defeated Typhon. This latter monster was a serpent raised by Gaia in fury at the defeat of her sons; it embodied the last threat, the last chance of a relapse into the original violence and disorder. Significantly, Zeus could not conquer it without Pan's help.¹⁴⁴ Oppian calls Pan "saviour of Zeus, destroyer of Typhon."¹⁴⁵ Typhon was, however, an individual threat, not a group, and Pan did not employ panic; rather cunning took the form of seduction. He wheedled his way into the monster's good graces in order to ensnare it and deliver it to its enemy. In Pseudo-Apollodorus's

version Pan (Egipan) acts together with Hermes. The two together succeed in stealing back the tendons of Zeus, which Typhon has been keeping in the cave of Corycos in Cilicia. Once Zeus has recovered his strength, he can attack the monster and defeat it. Nonnos in the *Dionysiaca* is more explicit. He brings Cadmus into the story. Cadmus combines charm with deception and succeeds in bewitching the monster, numbing it. But Cadmus owes his success to Pan, who gives him a shepherd's costume and the flute with which he puts his enemy to sleep. According to Oppian, Pan (son of Hermes) seduces Typhon with the savor of a repast of fish. The monster is thus drawn out of its lair, and Zeus strikes it with lightning. The *Suda* gives yet another version: Pan captures Typhon in a fishnet. Pan's deceptions produce numbness, sleepiness, forgetfulness of danger, ensnarement. Cadmus receives the syrinx, which shares this bewitching power. Music is thus interchangeable with culinary bait or with the fishnet; each of these in its own way represents the same reality—that is, the seduction worked by the god, a seduction that deranges. Typhon, at once the victim of deception and of charm, is “possessed.”¹⁴⁶ Pan plays on this primordial monster a trick that corresponds, in the human sphere, to panolepsy.

In Oppian's version, Typhon is seduced by a smell when the goatherd-god fixes him some fish. Now, throughout the mythological tradition, Typhon is a maritime monster who moves about the sea. A defeat made possible by a deception wherein the goatherd's activity shades into that of the fisherman suggests one particular technique for catching fish, which may also be categorized as a seduction. I refer here to the deception of the maritime goatherd recently noticed by Joseph Milliner.¹⁴⁷ In the *Halieutica*, Oppian tells us that a certain type of deep-sea fish, the bream, approach the shore during the dog days; they are helplessly attracted by the goats that come down from the mountain during the hot season. Bream and goats, says the poet, are “species of one heart and mind” (*ὁμόφρονα φύλα*), and their annual meeting is a joyful one. Fisherman have a technique for taking advantage of this curious phenomenon:

Here comes the man, his limbs dressed in goatskin,
Two horns fixed upon his own temples;
He approaches, planning a pastoral ruse; in the sea he throws,
Along with goatflesh and roasted meat,
Barley meal.¹⁴⁸

The bream crowd up to the smell, which enchants them, and the goatman simply catches them with a cast of his net. However, says Oppian,

you must catch them all; otherwise the fish discover the deception and do not come back anymore. Aelian reports the same tradition, with the added detail that the attraction felt by the bream is erotic in nature: "Just as they are unlucky in love [*duserōtes*], so also they are caught by the very thing they hopelessly desire [*ἐχ ὧν ποθοῦσιν ἐκ τούτων ἀλίσκονται*]." He adds that they crowd toward the smell as if drawn by an *ixnx*.¹⁴⁹ Although the deceit of the maritime goatherd is not explicitly connected with Pan, it is surely integrally connected with a symbolic configuration centering on the goat-god. It works because in the dog days, which are the noontime of the year, it brings into play a hopeless passion seeking to conjoin the two extremes of space, the sea and the mountain. The goatherd disguises himself as a sort of Pan and takes this chance to exercise an irresistible enchantment, homologous to the enchantment of Typhon in the myth.

Panic is connected with echoes; this in turn brings us to the legend of the nymph Echo, the ever-mobile, ineluctable object of Pan's vain pursuit. The god in this legend is an object of repulsion, something to be shunned. Panolepsy, by contrast, negates distance; in a "seizure" the effect of Pan, even to the point of madness or paralysis, is essentially an aspect of his capacity to attract and bind through music. Pan reminds us of the nurse who shunned the god at his birth; panolepsy evokes, on the human level, the charm that spread through Olympus when the young Pan arrived. Should there not be a myth corresponding to that of Echo on the other, the panoleptic side, a myth where the goat-god's seductive powers would take erotic effect without rejection?

As we know, Pan is usually unlucky in love (*duserōs*). He is a goat-herd and does not understand love. We hear much of his attempts, but little of his success. However, one myth stands in striking contrast to the generality of the tradition: Vergil,¹⁵⁰ who borrowed the story from Nicander,¹⁵¹ tells us that Pan tricked the moon by giving her a fleece white as snow and got her to come down to him, deep in the woods. Servius summarizes Nicander's version and makes the intentions of the god quite clear: "Overcome with love for the moon, Pan, in order to appear beautiful to her, dressed himself in the fleece of a ram and thus seduced her to the act of love."¹⁵² We find an allusion to this myth in a magical papyrus from Greek Egypt: the man in the moon is the offspring of this love affair and therefore has a dog's head; the moon waxes, pregnant by the "illicit act" of Pan.¹⁵³

Pan's effect on mankind, at the extremes, ranges from a fear that repels to an intrusion that deranges. The pattern established by these two poles of panic mania corresponds, in the sphere of the gods, to the pat-

tern of Pan's relations with such beings as the Titans, Echo, Typhon, and Selene. To the contrast between fear and possession among mankind corresponds the contrast between repulsion and charm in the divine sphere. The myth suggests, furthermore, that in Pan's case there is a close relationship between insane derangement and erotic behavior.

In the Homeric Hymn, the young god is transported to Olympus (where his charm will spread everywhere) wrapped in a rabbit skin.¹⁵⁴ The rabbit particularly suggests timidity and fear. The Greeks from the time of Herodotus styled this animal *deilos*.¹⁵⁵ Xenophon, followed by Pliny, makes a point of the fact that the rabbit sleeps with one eye open.¹⁵⁶ Aelian includes it among the animals "without daring."¹⁵⁷ Roscher notes figurative representations of Pan where the god's expression is one of pure terror.¹⁵⁸ He cites Plutarch, who tells us that the company of Pans fell victim to the first panic at the news of Osiris's death.¹⁵⁹ Nonnos describes a panic in Dionysus's army: an old Pan of Parrhasia could be seen "silently plunging into the deep brush, fearful that Echo, ever mobile, might see him escaping across the mountains."¹⁶⁰ Sidonius of Apollonia gives Pan the epithet of *pavidus*, timid.¹⁶¹ Roscher perceives the underlying idea here: "Pan himself was perhaps the first victim of panic fear."

The rabbit is mobile to the last degree; it never runs away in a straight line, but darts about and changes direction, stops and starts unpredictably, and thus suggests the mobility of the ineluctable Echo, whose myth we have connected with panic. The story of Pan and Echo is explicitly erotic, and there is also an erotic aspect for the Greeks in the hunting of rabbits, which are the fertile animals par excellence. After his long description of the methods of this type of hunt, Xenophon concludes: "So charming is the sight of the animal that no one who sees it tracked, discovered, pursued, and caught can fail to be reminded of his own loves."¹⁶²

FEAR, DESIRE, AND ANIMALITY

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Suspected of being a vile seducer, Sostratos in Menander's *Dyscolus* pledges his innocence by the gods: "If I came here for any harmful purpose or with the wish to contrive any secret harm against you, young man, may Pan here [the god of Phyle in Attica], and along with him the nymphs, make me from this moment *apoplectic*."¹ The phrase ἀπόπληκτον ποιήσειαν refers to a disease thought by the Greeks to be a *mania*² whose leading symptoms are aphasia³ and paralysis.⁴ A passage in Porphyry cited from the *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* by Eusebius tells us that one day nine woodcutters were found in a deathly stupor near Miletus. The oracle was asked about this collective collapse and replied that it was caused by an apparition of Pan, affected in turn by the anger of Artemis:

Golden-horned Pan, attendant of grim [*blosuros*] Dionysus, while roaming the wooded mountains, in his powerful hand held a staff [*rhabdon*] and with the other seized the shrill-voiced hollow syrinx, and beguiled the heart of the nymphs. Playing on the syrinx his shrill song, he brought terror [*eptoiēsen*] to men, to all these woodcutters, and awe [*thambos*] overcame them when they saw the frightful body of this supernatural creature springing forward in frenzy [*oistrēentos*]. And now the finality of chill death would have seized them all except that wild Artemis, who kept dread rancor in her heart against him, set a limit to his overpowering force. She is the one you should pray to, so that she may become your helper.⁵

The experience of these woodcutters in Asia Minor (brought about by an anger that can be calmed only by Artemis, whose intervention Pan must obey) is a clear case of the kind of apoplexy with which Pan would strike Sostratos if he broke his oath. It is a problematic disease; the oracle must be consulted. The victim falls into a kind of coma consequent to a "vision"; the oracle says specifically that the woodcutter sud-

denly saw the *body* of the god (his *demas*).⁶ Without the indirections of metamorphosis or disguise, without any of those precautions customary to the gods when they appear among mankind with good intentions, Pan bursts right upon them. He is playing the syrinx and wielding his *rhabdos* (staff). This latter attribute is proper to Pan's father Hermes; we do not normally find it in the hand of Pan. However, given what happens to the woodcutters, its place in the story is not far to seek: the *rhabdos*, a magic wand, puts to sleep anyone it touches; it charms and immobilizes.⁷ Here it acts to reinforce on the level of touch an impression transmitted also through hearing (the syrinx) and sight (the *demas*).

We have met this theme of direct encounter also in another context, in connection with nympholepsy. The legend of Hylas also turns on a malign contact.⁸ In the version transmitted by Apollonius Rhodius, the nymph "placed her left forearm underneath his neck, burning to kiss his delicate mouth. With her right hand she seized his elbow, and drew him down into the midst of the eddy."⁹ In Theocritus's interpretation of the scene, the goddesses have become multiple, but the same image recurs: "Then the youth held out over the water the capacious pitcher in his haste to dip it; the girls all seized his hands, for love of this Argive child had seized the delicate hearts of them all. He fell into the dark water suddenly."¹⁰ The nymphs, like their companion Pan, invade the perceptual field. But a comparison of these two epiphanies reveals an essential polarity. In the myth of Hylas, the sudden appearance of the nymphs is followed by an abduction. Contact with the divine entails the disappearance of the young man, who is detached from the sensible world. Hylas is the victim of his own charm (the myth dwells upon his erotic attractions: the nymphs cannot resist him); he is swept off into the void. In the Asiatic legend, by contrast, the sudden appearance of Pan does not carry the woodcutters into another world; it freezes them to the spot, in their bodies. The text stresses that they are victims of *thambos*, that is to say, of awful terror, of the horror that seizes one who suddenly recognizes a god. Such an appearance, so far from reducing distance, makes it vivid, and forcibly brings to our attention the otherness of the divine. There is nothing rapturous about paralytic torpor; it is repulsive in nature. This contrast between the seduction worked by the nymphs and the *thambos* caused by Pan's appearance is all the more striking in that it seems to oppose divinities who, as we have seen, are closely linked, and who more often than not act in conjunction. Perhaps, after all, attraction and repulsion, charm and terror, should be seen as complementary aspects of a single phenomenon: the nymphs who be-

guile Hylas are the same creatures called “dread goddesses” (*deinai theai*) by Theocritus, and although his appearance is repellent, Pan nonetheless plays a seductive melody upon his syrinx.

Antoninus Liberalis, paraphrasing Nicander, adds that Hylas, after being carried off by the nymphs, was transformed into an echo.¹¹ From the other world of the goddesses the young man, a mere bodiless voice, sends back the pleading appeals made to him by his lover Heracles. The story of Hylas thus turns out to be a transformation, or more precisely an inversion, of the love story of Pan and Echo. The comparison is initially suggested by their common element: the echo; when the two stories are taken together, we see that the two extremes, charm and repulsion, entail each other. Pursuit becomes pleading, the refusal of Eros becomes irresistible charm; the two stories are structurally identical. Hylas leans over a pool; his gesture is that of Narcissus.¹² We saw Hylas indirectly linked with Pan in myth, by way of the nymphs and Echo; here we see Hylas’s fate played out at the moment he presents his lovely face to the powers of the water. In his case, however, the surface is no mirror; it does not reflect his own seductive image back to him. The fate of Hylas is thus opposite to that of Narcissus. The former is loved by the nymphs; the latter kills himself by their pool, “a child worthy of the love of the nymphs,” says Ovid, but who refused their love. In these stories the surface of the water marks the exact line where, once it is crossed, repulsion turns to seduction; this is all the difference between the depths, where Hylas disappears ravished by the goddesses, and the surface, where Narcissus flutters only to find that he has driven himself back on himself.¹³ Hylas becomes disembodied, a mere echo, and thus is forever beyond the reach of Heracles’ desire, belonging instead completely to the world of the nymphs; Narcissus, for his part, dies, evidently as an extreme form of rejection. Let us add that (according to Ovid) Narcissus, in love with his image, specifically rejects Echo, “who can do nothing but multiply sounds and repeat the words she hears.” Narcissus is also linked to Pan by way of Echo.¹⁴

FIGURE 6.1

repulsion	echo	seduction
Echo flees Pan		Hylas loves Heracles
Echo (a nymph) becomes the echo		Hylas (carried off by the nymphs) becomes an echo
Pan never gets Echo		Heracles will not get Hylas any more

In the Homeric Hymn Pan crosses the gap between earth and Olympus; he thus signifies a union, as well as an opposition, between mortal terror and divine delight. The escape of his nurse and the charm that spreads about Olympus have but one cause: the appearance of the monster with his sweet smile. This monster is a musician. The syrinx, his most frequent attribute, instills inebriation everywhere; in the matrix of its harmonics, earth and sea and starry heaven melt together. It thus joins man with god and keeps the universe moving to its rhythm.¹⁵ But it can also disrupt the finely balanced order it reveals. Let it be slightly off-key, let there be a moment of irritation, and this ambiguous music sounds the strident note of Lyssa's flute, inciting frenzied anger. Pan's syrinx can even substitute for Athena's trumpet and signal terror.

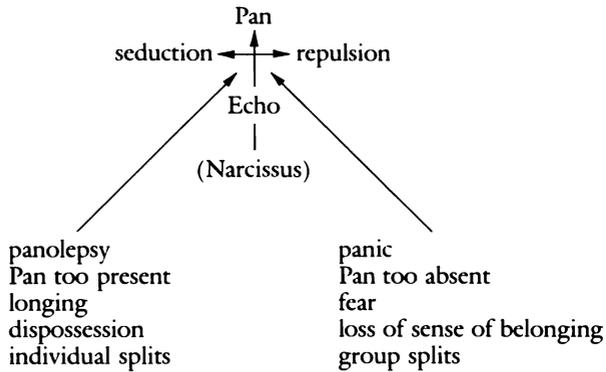
Pan starts at the other extreme; here there is nothing but noise and disorder. Pan works upon the sense of hearing and makes it phantasmal; under his influence, nothing is taken for something—but this nothing (this echo), as the myth of Echo shows, is not really just *anything*: it derives in the last analysis from that otherworldly music, those faraway harmonies of the syrinx that lead the dance and the song of the nymphs. In panic, the extreme disjunction of man and god creates a gap where illusions flood in; thereby a collectivity of warriors—in its own way—experiences images as false as those driving the god to pursue the unobtainable Echo. There is a correspondence between the human group, disorganized and crippled by a fear whose cause resists identification, and the mythical image of Pan's confusion and ultimate rage when he finds himself seduced by an object who escapes his passion. Nor is panolepsy different: however weird and abnormal the behavior of the panolept, he nevertheless declares himself both impure and sacred. His madness is very close to certain kinds of divination and prophecy; behind the trembling of his body and the contortions of his face, we can glimpse the shudder of Eros joined to the smile of Pan. The relevant mythical paradigm is not a violent overthrow, but a deceitful seduction, which overtakes titanic or monstrous figures. The panolept is possessed. He is thus a human version of Selene sexually abused or Typhon ensnared by charm; he bears witness to the effect of Pan's insinuating power.

When fear and desire are connected to Pan, they appear placed under the sign of inconstancy and illusion. Panic desire is as futile as panic fear; the one pursues a bodiless voice, or an illusory body, while the other is set in motion by a phantasmagoric enemy. In myth, obviously, this inconstancy is expressed in images, not in philosophical terms. Is not Selene drawn into the dark forest by her own reflection, sent back

to her by a doubly deceptive mirror, a ram's fleece of brilliant whiteness worn by a goat legendary for his filth? Typhon in Cilicia is seduced by an odor. Other traditions substitute for this odor other images: fishnet or music. In Nonnos's version the syrinx explicitly catches the monster in the toils of fantasy. Bewitched by its melody, Typhon begins to daydream and imagines himself already lord of Olympus; the song of the false goatherd in fact celebrates instead the coming victory of Zeus and is only a snare.¹⁶ Repulsion and attraction thus have this in common: their object escapes them. Faced with this vacuity, Pan's victim begins to generate images; delirious dreams and visions come to fill the empty space and thus correspond to the god's music, to the syrinx filled with the sighs of despised love.

In the case of the god, the "imaginary" and the "real" are contrasting twin aspects of a single nature. Music and noise, longing and animality, correspond. Pan is double in his essence, *diphuēs* as Plato says.¹⁷ It cannot be so with his victims. Panic deception, as it carries them away, also splits them in two. We have seen how Phaedra's melancholy draws her helpless into wild nature, while her inert body remains immobile in the palace. She is lost to herself, subject to a force like that which separates another kind of melancholic, the lycanthrope or werewolf, from his humanity. There longing has a different character; it is not erotic but cannibalistic. Nevertheless, the two phenomena are similar in that in both two incompatible personalities are simultaneously or alternately present. Lycanthropy as the ancients describe it is a form of split personality: the medical writers describe the victim as pale, feverish, and parched during the day, but all the same human and not dangerous, while at night he becomes a possessed creature (*katechomenos*), who, we hear, prowls the cemeteries.¹⁸ In the field of panic disorders, a whole series of disasters share the orientation of lycanthropy: Actaeon's dogs eat their master; at noon the frenzied rams become carnivorous; the shepherds in a sudden frenzy tear at Echo's corpse. Panic madness, mythically defined as a longing that cannot obtain its object and thus generates an illusory object, may culminate in the imaginary metamorphosis of the subject. When Pan's victim is deceived in his object, he is driven back on himself. He is deceived, ultimately, about himself. He becomes another, or supposes himself another. This illusion, which at the level of personal longing brings us back, no doubt, once more to the myth of Narcissus, takes another form on the level of collective fear, in panic: the soldier cannot recognize his own people or even his own language, and in the end a military camp divides into two antagonistic groups. Fear and longing, panic and possession ultimately derive from a single potent source.

FIGURE 6.2



When the *mania* breaks out, the victim of the god is often described as having experienced a blow.¹⁹ Something strikes a man forcibly, makes him recoil, knocks him off the straight and reasonable path. Eumaeus in the *Odyssey* is called *πλαγκτέ* (which means both “startled” and “distracted”)²⁰ at the moment when he hands his bow to an Odysseus thought by the suitors to be a mere beggar with no right to join in their contest.²¹ Wheresoever the “blow” originates, it is seen as something out of place and untimely.²² The classic writers (particularly the dramatists) employ a whole series of related metaphors having to do with various types of *mania*; the verbs *paraplazein*, *parakoptein*, *parakroucin*, *parapaicin*, and so on, are not exact synonyms, but they all evoke, in speaking of madness, the image of some element essential to personal balance (*phrēnes* or *nous*, “mind”) that is driven, warped, or deranged by a blow. Sometimes the stress is on the invalidity of the practical result (by analogy with striking a counterfeit coin),²³ sometimes on deviation from the norm (*ποῖ παρεπλάγχθη γνώμης ἀγαθῆς*, Phaedra asks, when she recovers her senses),²⁴ sometimes on bad manners (as when Prometheus “strikes beside the mark” when he finds fault with Zeus).²⁵ Similar expressions are used for more violent types of aberration: the terror that deranges (*ekplēttō*) or frenzy (*paraplēttein*).²⁶ According to Josef Mattes, these lexical variants cluster around a single underlying representation:²⁷ either one thinks of an organ (seat of the *nous* or of the *phrenes*), which holds its place in the body while it functions normally but when it is sick leaves that place or is even ejected from the body, or else, more plausibly, one thinks of some movement that strikes the *phrenes*²⁸ and shifts them from their usual locus. For our purposes it makes no difference what kind of organ is affected by the

blow. The Greek understanding of the body and its psychic organs is a difficult problem, which can be left to the historians of medicine. The crucial fact from our point of view is that the individual comes up sharp against a reality the ancients called divine—often without further specification. Most frequently, it must be observed, the Greeks do not tell us what aspect of divinity deals the blow. This does not mean that they were unconcerned about the source of the disorder, but rather that it was outside the reach of normal human understanding. For this reason, when they are (exceptionally) in a position to give it a name, we must understand that we are dealing with a *mania* of a particular type. Now we know from Menander that the god Pan, who was able to make someone “apoplectic” (which means literally “diverted by a blow”), is one personification of this unknown force that strikes us.²⁹ The moment has come to focus on a feature we have neglected so far, in spite of its remarkable evocative power: the whip.

In the *Rhesus* Hector alludes to a generally understood representation of panic *phobos* when he says that the army has been stirred by the whip that makes one tremble (*μάστιγι τρομερᾶ*), the implement of Pan, son of Cronos. This reference to the whip enables us to place the blow given by the goat-god squarely within the symbolic context proper to pastoral; it is one of many images available to Greek consciousness through close familiarity with animal husbandry. One myth, which we might call its myth of origin, actually makes of the whip (*mastix*) an emblem of the herdsman’s world. This myth forms part of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes and places the invention of the *mastix* in a setting where Pan is quite at home: the region of Mount Kyllene in Arcadia. Here we find that the *mastix*, like the syrinx, belonged first to Hermes, as god of herdsmen: it was given him by Apollo along with responsibility for flocks.³⁰ Thus our analysis of the panic whip requires some preliminary discussion of the use of this implement by herdsmen.

The whip is associated with a whole series of instruments (*rhabdos*, *imas*, *kentron*, etc.) used to drive animals; it is special, however, because it is exceptionally violent, and as a consequence seems to have been used quite infrequently. In connection with large domesticated animals, it is the essential sign of man’s superiority over brute strength; a proverb used by Sophocles tells us that “a great-flanked ox struck by even a small whip moves straight down the road.”³¹ Nonnos also (it makes no difference whether he has noticed the fact himself or is using a literary phrase) speaks of a bull who obeys the whip (*μάστιγι κελεύεται*).³² The function of the *mastix* is the mastery of stubborn or recalcitrant animals; in a sense, it educates them. Xenophon in his essay on horsemanship advises

against whipping a horse intended for war; the use of the whip may make the animal fearful and instill a tendency to abrupt and disorderly motion.³³ The same author, however, recognizes that this implement, which inspires fear, can be useful for the correction of a refractory horse.³⁴ It is high praise to say of one's mount that "she has no need of a whip"; the lexicographer Pollux dutifully includes this in a list of phrases relative to horses.³⁵

Only in the special world of racing do we find the *mastix* used to control or rouse a horse, rather than to break one—and generally the team that rushes forward when struck by the charioteer's whip has its place in the repertoire of heroic images transmitted by epic. Nestor's horses take wing (*petesthēn*) whipped on by their owner.³⁶ In the funeral games of the *Iliad*, book 23, the whirl and crack of the whip is everywhere in the chariot race;³⁷ the fastest horses, which Diomedes drives relentlessly forward, his whip held high, spring ahead: "The chariot . . . ran along in the wake of the swift-footed horses; nor was there much of a wheel mark from the tires behind it in the fine dust. The two horses in their haste took wing."³⁸ We remember that Diomedes received his whip from Athena, whose close relations with the horse are well known.³⁹ This charioteer's instrument belongs with the bit—which she invented—in the general category of equestrian apparatus. The equestrian art (but not the horse itself) is proper to the goddess, "to her intelligence which is all at once deceptive, technical, and magical."⁴⁰ Athena's whip, like that of Hermes, is an instrument of mastery; it is used on an animal that, by virtue of its power and dash, belongs in itself to another god: Poseidon, the Earthshaker.⁴¹

Although the whip functions first and foremost to control animals characterized by strength and speed (oxen, horses), it also has a place in the world of small domesticated animals. We find it, for instance, held by a goatherd on a black-figure kyathos in the Louvre, product of a late sixth-century B.C. Attic workshop; a man is waving a *mastix* and driving before him a group of fifteen goats.⁴² The Greeks not infrequently speak of the well-known fact that these animals, in contrast to sheep, are hard to handle. "In every flock [of sheep] they train one of the rams to be bell-wether," Aristotle notes. "When the shepherd calls him by name, he takes the lead. Rams are trained to this from their earliest days."⁴³ Goats do not have a "leader" (*hēgemōn*) of this kind; they are so unstable and lively and in such constant motion (*διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὄξειαν καὶ εὐκίνητον*)⁴⁴ that no such authority can be imposed on them. So a whip is sometimes useful! Let us observe that the goatherd on the vase in the Louvre has not only

provided himself with this implement in order to guide his flock; he has also taken care to bring with him several dogs, which hem in the animals.

The panic whip that crashes down on an army, that wakes it with a start, is the same implement that, in the herdsman's hand, stands for order and mastery. How is it that, in the god's hand, it has quite the opposite effect: agitation and tumult? Our sources often display Pan as the typical herdsman, keeper and protector of flocks. The god is shown surrounded by his goats, watching over the process of transhumance, a process he himself invented. But we should not conclude that he is a mere projection of the human herdsman. He is as close to the beast as he is to humanity; we come upon him not only coupling with his goats,⁴⁵ but on his hind legs fighting head to head against the buck, with whom he shares physical traits and a corresponding sexuality, along with an unstable, and sometimes even violent, temperament.⁴⁶ Pan is a god, which is to say neither man nor beast. But these images show us that he is uncertainly situated exactly between man and beast, as if his function were, in certain circumstances, to open a passage we, with our claims to be human, reject—in Greece as elsewhere—even while we cannot deny that it exists.

When the goat-god and his whip burst upon the scene in the midst of war, the reference to the animal world is not deleted or in the least denied. Pan does not have to leave his pastures; on the contrary, a troop of men has invaded his domain. The herdsman-animal-god has his own way of taking charge of the intruders. But so far from guiding them, from keeping them on the track, his instrument of mastery disorders and maddens. Unsettled by his blow, the human group comes to be like a flock gone mad, and helplessly feels an uncontrollable movement burst upon it. The god's whip makes the soldier resemble a maddened beast, as such a beast may imitate mankind in a parody of war. Panic, as it were, diminishes the difference between man and animal, almost to the vanishing point.

The god whips men. Here we must take into account the meaning of flogellation to the Greeks: if we leave out of account flogging as a punishment for children and think of it only as inflicted on adults (adult males in most cases), we find that it is a punishment to the last degree disgraceful, reserved for slaves, or (rarely) prisoners of war. To be under the whip is to be treated as a recalcitrant animal or (which comes to the same thing) as a subject of the great king, a barbarian humbled by the blows of *hybris*.⁴⁷

Our sense of the confusion of man and animal can be confirmed from another point of view: the herdsman's whip is used mostly on

oxen and horses, that is to say, on animals themselves involved in panic, in that they are caught up in its disordered mobility (*tarachai*). The *phobos* of Pan strikes horses and men together, and the cause (the first victim) of an army's panic is often an animal—this belief can be traced back as far as Xenophon.⁴⁸ Aeneas the Tactician knew well that animal disorder could seep over into human fear, since he advises sending herds of goats (or other beasts) intoxicated and hung with bells to the enemy camp at night; the stirring of animals then transforms itself without a break into human disorder.⁴⁹ The Greeks must have noticed how cattle sometimes become nervous for some reason and thus in the greatest possible disorder and aimlessness unleash enormous forces normally inhibited; the poet of the *Odyssey* makes a metaphor of this striking spectacle when he describes the milling about of the suitors, terrified by Odysseus and Athena's shield:

They fled in terror through the hall, like herded cattle
Which the glistening gadfly attacks and sets in motion
In the season of spring, when the days are long.⁵⁰

The horse is, of course, notable for his sudden rearing and shying; several myths deal with the uncontrollable side of this animal, which more than any other is subject to possession and *tarachai*.⁵¹ It obviously does not take much for the whip, which is supposed to maintain or restore order, to become an instrument of disorder. Xenophon, in fact, warns us exactly against this danger in the case of horses.⁵²

In the *Iliad*, the crack of the whip as it drives the animal embellishes the theme of human disorder. “[Hector] lashed his fairmaned horses with the shrill whip. They heard the blow and quickly pulled his swift chariot.”⁵³ The swish of the whip, shrill and musical (*μάστιγι λιγυρή*), is prelude to a vision of horror: Hector's chariot runs over corpses and armor in its path “and the axle was all spattered with blood beneath, as was the railing about the chariot, as the drops sprang up beneath the horses' hooves and also the tires.”⁵⁴ The Danaeans are struck by “dread harm . . . Father Zeus . . . implanted terror [*phobos*] in Ajax. He stood baffled and behind him threw his seven-oxhide shield and trembled, shrinking back among the crowd, like to a beast that turns himself about, hardly moving one foot and then another.”⁵⁵ The stupor of the Greeks is a *phobos* sent by Zeus, but in the economy of the Homeric text, this *phobos* turns out to be part and parcel of the swish of the lash—to the degree that, as the episode goes on, we soon find the whip suddenly shifted into the hands of the lord of Olympus, while Hector

becomes himself the master of *phobos*. "Then battle and clamor flared up around the well-built wall and the planks of the turrets resounded as they were struck. The Argives, subdued by the whip of Zeus, were penned in the hollow ships and held back in fear of Hector, the strong master of rout [*phobos*]. He in his turn, as before, contended like to the stormwind."⁵⁶ This exchange gives clear evidence of the symbolic link between the whip and *phobos*; it would, however, remain incomprehensible without the disquieting and ambiguous presence of the horse, which dominates the background of the whole sequence, and with which the whip is first concerned, before it "subdues" the Achaeans.

Panic and the *phobos* of Zeus are not the only examples of ways in which the *mastix* in the hands of a god can instigate animalistic behavior. In Aeschylus, Hera whips Io.⁵⁷ When the *mastix* becomes an instrument of disorder in the hands of this goddess, it brings about a double transformation: Io, as we know, becomes a cow—and the cowherd Argos becomes a maddening insect, the *oistros* (the gadfly) that pesters the cow so that she knows no rest.⁵⁸ Whereas the task of the cowherd is to keep the cow immobile in protective custody, the insect (in this case a monstrous replacement for the slain Argos) has exactly the opposite effect: it brings about an eternally restless wandering. The image of Hera's whip fuses with that of the insect-cowherd when Io declares: "I am struck by the *oistros*, and beneath the divine whip, from land to land I am driven."⁵⁹ The poet seems to hear a likeness between the sound of the lash and that of the gadfly. Pollux tells us that there was an item of equestrian equipment, belonging to the general category of whips, switches, and goads, that was called a *muōps*, "gadfly."⁶⁰ Aeschylus equates the whine of the insect with the swish of the whip, of which Homer says that the horses "hear the blow."⁶¹

Down to late antiquity the literary tradition continues and rewords this symbolism. In Nonnos of Panopolis, Athamas, in the grip of hallucinatory Dionysiac *mania*, takes his animals for human and falls upon his flocks: "And ever in his ear sounds the thud of the whip of Pan, son of Cronos."⁶² It is but a short step from this to make the *oistros* an attribute of Pan, a step actually taken long before Nonnos by the author of Orphic Hymn 11, who asks the god to "send the panic *oistros* out to the ends of the earth."⁶³

The blow of the whip is felt, and also heard as a crack and a swish. Thus when the whip is found in Pan's hand or borrowed from him, it works along with the ambiguous power of the syrinx, whose plaintive sound expresses a melancholy obsession, to which Paulus Silentarius

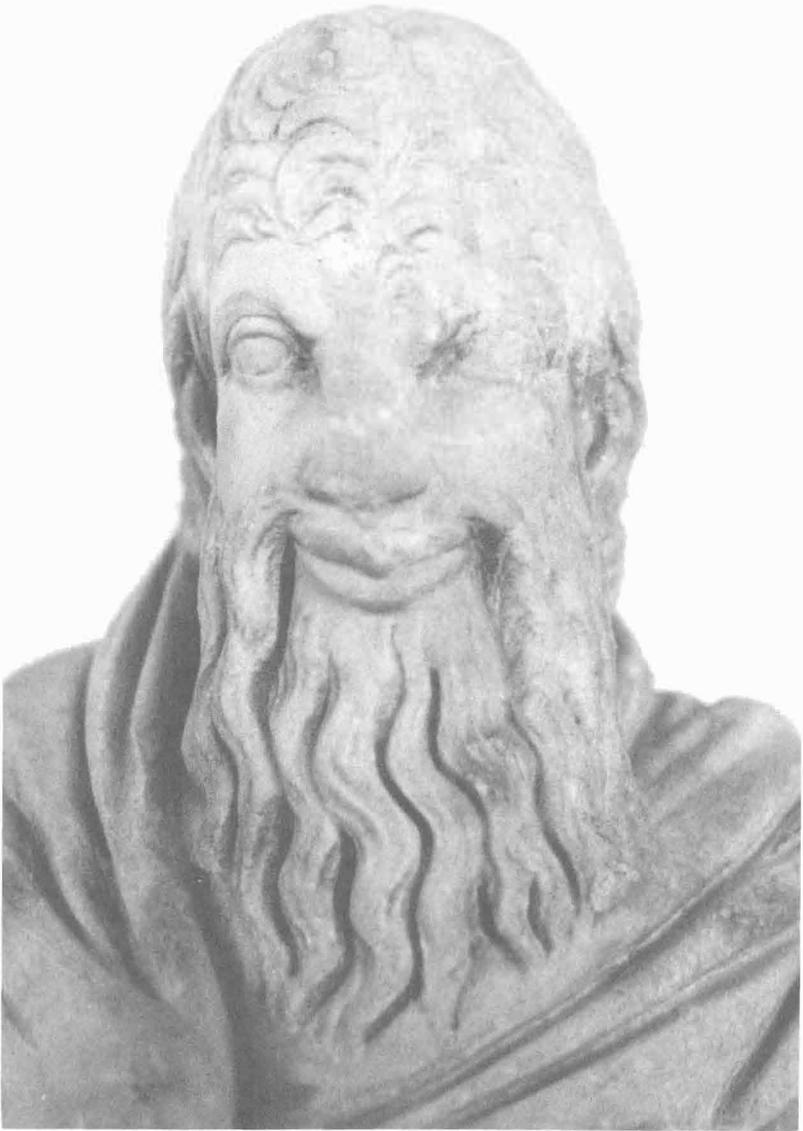
actually gives the name of *oistros*.⁶⁴ A whole network of complex relations links it to the (remarkably inclusive) set of images having to do with *mania*—which may be sent by Hera, by Dionysus, or by some other god. However, the whip, like the syrinx, always brings with it some implication of its original pastoral context. This implication never quite disappears. Therefore, when the whip has a role in *mania*, we are dealing with *mania* of a particular kind. The goat-god is immediately evoked, and he is the privileged embodiment of a particular aspect or sphere of madness; he stands for a landscape where human fear enacts its hallucinations with gestures borrowed from animal disorder. Here boundaries are blurred, and in our disorientation we hear the call of uncontrollable longing. Let us consider an image drawn from Pindar: Medea betrays her father and kills her brother, driven by the whip of *peithō* (persuasion). The whip of *peithō* in Pindar's Pythian 4 is closely joined to his evocation of the *lynx* that magicians, instigated by Aphrodite, spin with a swish to entangle a lover in the snare of passion. We know that according to certain traditions, Lynx, a magical, erotic noise, is daughter of Pan and Persuasion. Echo, the whip, the *oistros*, the syrinx, and the bird Lynx are images that insistently in their different ways repeat the same thought and do their best to make intelligible the experience of the Greeks when suddenly attacked by Pan.

The earliest, and at the same time the most striking, representation of such a sudden attack is painted on side A of a bell crater in Boston, which shows a young goatherd pursued by the god (see plate 4). The young man is dressed in a goatskin, his head is muffled in a goatskin hat, his ankles and calves are wrapped in fabric, and he is armed with a whip . . . a thing entirely useless and even ridiculous in the face of an attack by the divine animal, the goat-god himself. On the other side of the vase, corresponding to the goat-god's erotic attack, is another picture. Here we see one of the best-known episodes of Greek mythology: Actaeon, attacked by his dogs, has just been struck by the arrow of Artemis. Probably the painter chose this scene to decorate what the archaeologists call "side B," the less carefully worked side of the vase, in order to make clear the meaning of the panic assault on the more important side.⁶⁵ The theme of the shepherd suddenly attacked by the god of his flocks is not unconnected with that of the huntsman whose own dogs cease to know him, and who thus becomes the prey of Artemis, that is, of the Mistress of Wild Beasts (*potnia thērōn*). There is a remarkable parallel between the two scenes: one has to do with the wild, the other with the domestic, one with hunting, the other with herding, but

in both a power that holds sway over animal life turns against a human who is himself a specialist in animals. The roles are reversed, as if to tell us that human technique, in this sphere, can never completely eliminate the irrational forces it works to master, nor establish as irreversible the difference it tries so hard to define.⁶⁶



1 Dance of the nymphs around Pan playing the syrinx. Terra-cotta relief, Archaeological Museum, Cephalonia. Photo Florence Cornu.



2 Statue of Pan (detail). National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. 252.



3 Head of Pan. Roman copy of Hellenistic original. Musée d'Art et d'His-
toire, Geneva, inv. 18239.



4 Pan pursuing a goatherd. Crater decorated by the "Pan Painter," ca. 470 B.C. James Fund and Special Contribution, 10.185. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



5 Pan offering a trumpet to a Herm. Pelike. Musée Municipal Antoine Vivenel, Compiègne, inv. 970. Photo Hutin.



6 Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan. A group from Delos. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. 3335. Photo © Ecole Française d'Archéologie, Athens.



7 Pan and a nymph. Relief, Acropolis Museum. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Neg. Akr. 606.



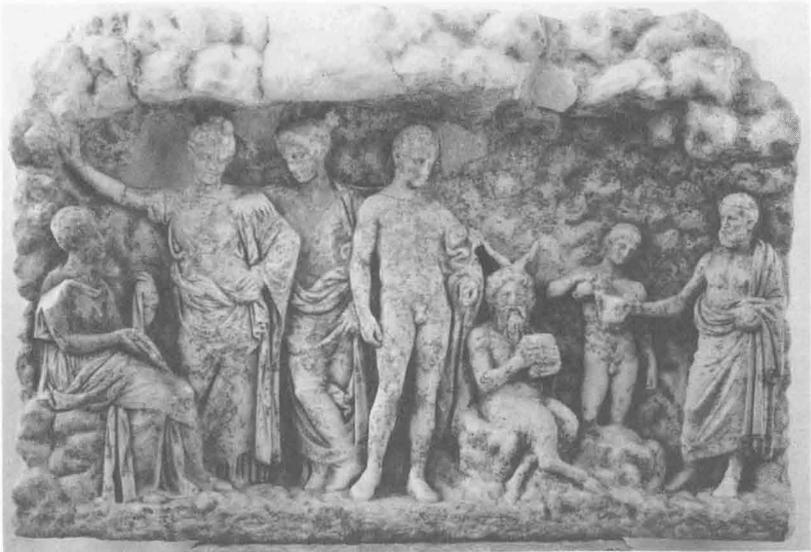
8 Two Pans at the anodos of a goddess. Skyphos, ca. 460 B.C. H. L. Pierce Fund. 01.8032. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



9 Pan presenting a cake crowned with candles to Artemis. Syphos. Musée Archéologique, Laon, inv. 37.1072. Photo R. Delbecq.



10 Hecate with her torches. Syphos. Musée Archéologique, Laon, inv. 37.1072. Photo R. Delbecq.



11 Nymphs, Hermes, Pan, and two priests. Relief from Pendeli. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Neg. NM 4757.



12 Shepherd with a lamb, dedicated to Pan by Aineas. Small bronze from Andritsena in Arcadia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1943 (43.11.3).

PART THREE
THE ARCADIAN
IN THE CITY

*

S E V E N
PAN IN ATHENS

*

Ἦν γοῦν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἔλθης, εἴῃ ὅσον
ἔχει τοῦ Πανὸς ὄνομα

(Lucian)

When the Persians landed at Marathon, the Athenians sent a herald to Sparta.¹ He was a long-distance (*hēmerodromos*) runner named Philippides and had instructions to ask the Lacedemonians for help—obviously for immediate help.² The Lacedemonians were ready to cooperate, but declared that owing to certain religious restrictions, they could not start before the full moon. The date was the ninth of Boedromion. Since these are lunar months, the full moon was expected on the sixteenth. The Persians were already encamped near Athens. Philippides therefore set off back to Athens with an unsatisfactory answer that might have catastrophic consequences. It is not hard to imagine his tension, depression, and exhaustion by the time when, on his third day of constant running, he was crossing eastern Arcadia and encountered the god Pan. Herodotus writes that

Philippides, as he himself said and reported to the Athenians, was on Mount Parthenion above Tegea when Pan burst upon him, crying aloud the name of Philippides. Pan told him to ask of the Athenians why they paid no attention to him, although he was favorable to the Athenians and had in many ways already been useful to them, and would be so also in the future. The Athenians, once things had gone well for them, believed in the truth of this and founded at the base of the Acropolis a sanctuary of Pan; as a result of this message they propitiate the god with annual sacrifices and a race with torches.³

The herald exteriorizes as an objective fact a voice that is actually only a projection of his wish. However, we have still to explain why this reassuring message and this almost ghostly voice seem to him to come

from Pan rather than from any other god. Obviously circumstances, and most of all geography, were favorable to an appearance by the goat-god. Philippides underwent his “experience” while crossing a landscape dotted with sanctuaries to Pan.⁴ Of course he would think of him. Pausanias, for what it is worth, mentions as part of his description of the district the sanctuary where Arcadian tradition placed the encounter.⁵ Philippides evidently knew of Pan’s existence, since he named the god who spoke to him; furthermore he had himself a certain real affinity with this god. As a messenger, he was, like Pan, a “hermetic” figure. The god Hermes, who, according to Athenian official tradition, was the father of Pan, was the paradigmatic herald. The family called the “heralds” (the *kērukes*) traced its decent back to Hermes and one or another of Kekrops’s three daughters: Aglauros, Herse, or Pandrosos.⁶ Philippides thus brought the city a message from a god himself linked, if only indirectly, with the heraldic function. A bronze caduceus decorated with two heads of Pan has been found on the Acropolis; it dates from the period between the two Persian wars, and is thus contemporary with Philippides.⁷

Herodotos tells us that the Athenians established a torch race in memory of the message the herald brought them from Pan. H. W. Parke is probably right to see a conscious analogy between Philippides’ race and this recurrent ephebic contest.⁸ We might add that both races have something in common with Pan’s own. It is true that when the god as huntsman or lover races about, he looks very little like a messenger or an athlete; the iconography of an “erotic race” (*erōtikos dromos*) as it appears, for instance, on the Boston crater discussed in chapter 4, is quite unlike a torch race (*lampadēdromia*). However, Erika Simon has recently published an Attic black-figure vase that without question shows the goat-god in the pose of a competitive runner.⁹ This item is more or less contemporary with the establishment of Pan’s cult in Athens; the running god is holding in his right hand an object the archaeologist thinks to be torch. We have here, therefore, both the earliest ancient representation of a *lampadēdromia* and that of its mythic model. On a fourth-century B.C. gem there is engraved a similar scene, confirming Simon’s interpretation: the running god carries two clearly recognizable torches.¹⁰ Pan, like the herald Philippides, is a runner, and Hermes is patron of running. The Greeks readily associated the swift (*ἐριούνιος*)¹¹ messenger of the gods with contests of this kind.¹² At Athens, Hermes Enagonios, “he of the contest,” was honored along with Gaia and the Charites in the games that formed part of the Eleusinia.¹³ Although Hermes is usually god of wrestling,¹⁴ he himself has

some of the traits of a runner.¹⁵ Some of Hermes' other sons resemble Pan in inheriting this quality. There is, for instance, the hero Eudorus, who seems to resemble his divine half-brother in more than one respect: his name is suggestive of riches, he is the son of Hermes and Polymele ("she with many flocks"), and Homer calls him "exceptionally swift at running" (*πéρι μέν θείειν ταχύν*).¹⁶ In a similar context we find that Myrtilus, the invincible charioteer of Oinomaus, was himself son of Hermes.¹⁷ We may also note that on Attic pottery, horses are often marked with the sign of Hermes; the caduceus is probably an indication of their speed.¹⁸

From these interlocking indications, we can conclude that the introduction of Pan's public cult at Athens originated in an encounter both personal and official, under the sign of Hermes. Philippides was ideally placed to be a persuasive mediator between the goat-god and the city. But what was the help Pan promised the city? Modern commentators state flatly that this help was military, that it reflected the god's function in war, derived from his ancient role as huntsman and also protector of flocks. Interpreting a tradition that goes back to the period immediately after the battle of Marathon, Lucian without hesitation calls Pan the *summachos* of Athens: its ally in a military sense.¹⁹ The weapon of the god was evidently the power of panic. All this deserves a second look.

A fourth-century inscription found at Pan's grotto in Pharsalia explicitly affirms the peaceful character of this god and of his powers; it presents the sanctuary as a place of happiness and of release from war: *κακῶν δ' ἔξαρσις ἀπάντων ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστι, ἀγαθῶν δὲ λάχος πολέμοιό τε λᾶξις*.²⁰ The same thought is expressed by Moschus when he asserts that the poet Bion has not sung of war or of tears but of Pan: *κεῖνος δ' οὐ πολέμους, οὐ δάκρυα, Πᾶνα δ' ἔμελλε*.²¹ Two vase paintings contrast Pan with Athena in a military context.²² On an Italian amphora in the Bari museum, the goddess is watching over a battle with calm attention while Pan, on Athena's left, equipped with a lagobolon and accompanied by a deer, is running away from the scene; he turns back in mid-flight and observes the scene with his familiar gesture, that of the *aproskopōn*.²³ This gesture has been studied by Ines Jucker.²⁴ It conveys a sense of watching from afar, of keeping one's distance, and perhaps also of fright. It is the gesture of one who draws back. Even though hunting and war are closely related when looked at from the angle of shared symbolic elements, even though both are placed outside the city, the two are not to be identified. Even though hunting sheds blood, it is still an activity of life and is metaphorically erotic.²⁵ On the vase in Bari, Pan and the deer run away because they are

out of place in the scene: the warrior band, intent on murder, disrupts the natural order to which hunting belongs. The same antithesis between Pan and Athena can be found on a volute crater in Naples by the so-called Darius painter. Here Pan is depicted with other gods in the upper zone of the vase as present at a battle, which is going on in the lower zone. The artist has plainly grouped him with Aphrodite as opposed to the warrior-goddess, from whom he turns away.²⁶ On a bowl from Megara, Pan Aposkopōn is figured four times in between battle scenes.²⁷

Although this evidence is non-Attic and belongs to a different period, it helps us understand Herodotos's story of Philippides and Pan. We should not be led astray by the fact that any aid offered a city threatened with annihilation by a foreign army takes on a military character. Panic is not fundamentally a form of warfare, except in the sense that Pan as the cause of disorder presents us with a grotesque image of war, to the confusion of its normal course. The god did not take part in the actual battle at Marathon. Any intervention of his came later, after the Persians had been routed, and prevented a second battle. We have already seen that panic attacks an army at rest; it sows disorder in an army while it is encamped, not while it is fighting. We have seen that Pan's hatred of war can lead him to stir up a bloody parody of it. Mythical and religious thought place the goat-god on the side of peace, of productivity. When he intervenes violently on the field, when panic brings an army to tumult and shouting, the proper result is a reversal of conditions. The signal has been given to turn back toward fecundity, fertility, joy. That is why Herodotos, when he speaks of the official foundation of the cult, stresses that the Athenians did not credit Philippides' words until the restoration of peace and the recovery of their situation: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῆ Ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρόν.*

A pelike in the museum at Compiègne dating from the fifth century B.C. shows Pan before an ithyphallic herm on top of a little rocky knoll (see plate 5).²⁸ Brommer recognizes the sign of a cultic relation in the goat-god's deferential pose before the idol. Pan performs a rite: he speaks as a worshipper to the countryman's archaic god. The interpretation of this rite, however, depends ultimately on what object the goat-god is holding in his two hands. Brommer thinks it is probably a *thumiātērion* (*Rauchergerät*): Pan is thus evidently spreading incense; however, the German archaeologist, who offers no parallel and is working from a drawing, is not completely explicit on this point. For Henry

Metzger, who publishes a photograph but again cites no parallel, the object is a “club.” Does he really think that the god’s gesture in his approach to the rural idol imitates a satyr of the type studied by Claude Bérard, those that mutilate herms?²⁹ The object held by Pan is in any case too regular in form to resemble the objects classed as “clubs”: it is very long, straight, and narrow right out to the end, where it suddenly opens into an inverse cone. Furthermore, it is not held as if Pan is about to hit something with it, but in the manner of an offering. In a note Alain Pasquier provides a secure identification of the object Pan is presenting to the herm: it must be a trumpet (*salpinx*).³⁰ Numerous graphic representations of the *salpinx*, long recognized by archaeologists, make this identification obvious.³¹ How is it that scholars like Brommer and Metzger did not recognize it? Perhaps they thought it impossible that Pan, the goatherd, should play an instrument of war proper to Athena and the sphere of the hoplite?³²

In analyzing Longus’s treatment of panic in chapter 5, we came upon the opposition this author puts in play between the *salpinx*, the warrior’s trumpet whose voice is terror, and the *syrix*, the pastoral flute that calls the flocks to the sheepfold: when the pirates experience the transformation of Pan’s *syrix* into a *salpinx*, they fall prey to violent hallucinations, resembling in the description panic overtaking a military camp. An important detail must be stressed: the pelike of Compiègne does not show the goat-god *playing* the *salpinx*; he holds it at arm’s length, away from his mouth, toward the herm, with a gesture of devotion. So far from appearing here as his attribute, it is rather an object from which he separates himself. Pan has come home from the war. He now consecrates to a pacific and ithyphallic pastoral god an instrument he has only borrowed in order to put an end to bellicose behavior. He gets rid of it and glories in it with the same gesture. This image, only slightly later than the Persian Wars, reveals to us the way in which the Athenians understood the help the god gave them at Marathon.³³

There are certain indications that Pan intervened again during the second Persian War. Aeschylus mentions the god in the introduction to the narration of the Persian defeat at Salamis, mentions his presence on the island of Psyttaleia, where picked barbarian troops were camped.³⁴ Strabo reports a tradition according to which the wrecks from the Persian fleet, having drifted as far as Cape Colias, came ashore near a sanctuary of Pan adjoining the temple of Aphrodite.³⁵ The image we have begun to form of Pan’s standing at Athens is confirmed by this anecdote, whatever its value as history. Panic, which presents a grotesque image of war, is in the service of benign powers, as proper to Aphrodite

as to the herm. Pan and the Aphrodite of Cape Colias, although not actually linked in cult, were the object of closely related ritual practices, as we learn from the first lines of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*: the two gods appear beside Bacchus and Genetyllis as the gods to whom the women turn when they celebrate their orgiastic cult to the crash of tambourines. We may add that in Aristophanes' play, Pan is presented as a staunch ally of Aphrodite—and of the women, when it is time to reject the work of Ares.³⁶

On Thasos, at Argos, and also in the Megarid, inscriptions and sculptures dedicated in various temples connect Aphrodite with Pan; an Attic relief of the late second century represents a cave where Pan, seated, drinks from a cup in company with Aphrodite and several Erotes. It is possible that this evidence reveals a cultic association between the two gods.³⁷ This evidence, however, if we put aside the late fifth-century inscription from Thasos, which does not itself prove such an association, belongs to the Hellenistic period. In the fourth century, Pan is clearly connected with Aphrodite in secular iconography. On a bronze mirror, Pan rides the goat of Aphrodite Pandemos; a Corinthian mirror in the British Museum gives another picture of their domestic intimacy.³⁸ This well-known scene, incised on the bronze, shows the goat-god and goddess engaged in a game of dice; the event takes place on a bed in the presence of Eros. That these images are playful and intended to decorate a woman's dressing table should not exclude the possibility that the link between Aphrodite and her bestial acolyte originally had a religious source. Many vases from the mid fifth century or thereabouts show Pan present at the *anodos* of Aphrodite from the earth; the sudden appearance of the goddess from the soil, whether an epiphany or her actual birth, is joined with the goat-god's dance; his hooves strike the earth to call her forth.³⁹ The archaeologists Rumpf, Jacobsthal, Picard, and Metzger have suggested that this iconographic motif should be placed in relation to the cult of Aphrodite of the Gardens (*en kêpōis*), whose sanctuary stood on the north slope of the Acropolis.⁴⁰ Another Attic Aphrodite, styled Blaute ("with the sandal"), honored on the south slope of the Acropolis, was perhaps also at one time closely supported by Pan—if we can believe that early Athenian tradition influenced the famous Hellenistic group discovered at Delos.⁴¹ This represents Aphrodite in the company of Eros; she is sweetly repelling the bold advances of the goat-god with her sandal (see plate 6).⁴² Nothing proves that these figurative representations draw upon cultic reality. However, without prejudging the issue, we can presume that images respect the inner logic of the religious sphere. This is not to deny the

influence of patterns worked out in the workshop; it is true that iconography undergoes an independent development. Still, we must recognize, with Martin and Metzger, that “the decorative artist draws upon popular imagery; his use of it must be clear to his customers and careful to respect the essential traits of religious subjects.”⁴³ At Athens, iconography places Pan beside Aphrodite and Dionysus. Even if these gods were not the object of joint cult practice in the fifth and fourth centuries, it still means something that we find them represented together. Cultic reality and the representation of sacred things do not coincide, but they are related and supplement each other.

In Attica the sacred places proper to the goat-god associate him with divinities who know nothing of war: in addition to the nymphs (*kourotrophoi*) who nourish and rear, who are domesticated, close to mankind (*numphai philai*), we basically encounter Hermes and Apollo in their pastoral aspect, and also a spirit of running water, Achelōs.⁴⁴ Other associations discussed below, which are less explicit but also quite important, connect the Arcadian with Artemis, the Mother of the Gods, and Demeter. Pan in this company finds his place among the gods of what Dumézil called “the third function”; Pan brings with him fertility and its constant companions, beauty and wealth. Beauty and inner wealth are the philosophical prayer of Socrates in the famous invocation he speaks on the banks of the Ilissos in Plato’s *Phaedrus*: “Friend Pan, and all who are gods of this place, grant me to become fair within. Let all that I have without be friendly to my inner state. May I believe the wise man rich. May I have such quantity of gold as would attract the trafficking only of the moderate man.”⁴⁵ But the gifts most proper to Pan, according to the inscription from Pharsalia previously cited, are laughter and good humor (a good spirit): Πάν δὲ γέλωτα καὶ εὐφροσύνην.⁴⁶ The text adds ὕβριν τε δικαίαν, “a just excess.” Laughter and gaiety, prior to their philosophical interpretation, have a ritual function specified in the myth, according to which Iambe, whose jests restored to Demeter the will to live, was Pan’s daughter. The goat-god’s laughter, part and parcel of his sexual energy, openly invites mankind to renewed vital activity: care of infants, fertility of the fields, and fecundity of the flocks. This laughter belongs both to the goat-god and to those who celebrate his festival; it works to create or recreate communication. It fits well with what Herodotos tells us about the ritual established at Athens: stirred, as we have seen, by something like remorse, and free of a war where its existence had been at stake, the city propitiates (*hilaskontai*) the god. The cult of Pan has something to do with a return to laughter, and although this city never forgot laughter

(there were plenty of festivals at Athens), the aftermath of Marathon was the moment to recover it at its source.

An Attic relief of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. shows three nymphs in a cave coming to meet the dedicator, who is sitting down and holds out a cup to them; Pan looks on from a niche cut in the left wall of the cave.⁴⁷ An inscription tells us that this relief was consecrated by “Philocratides, son of Niceratos, of Kydathenai, to the nymphs in their relation to grain” (Φιλοκρατίδης Νικηράτο Κυδαθηναίους Νύμφαις ὀμπνίαις).⁴⁸ The adjective *ομπνίος*, which means “nourisher” in the sense of “related to grain,” is known to be an epithet of Demeter’s.⁴⁹ It may seem strange to see it here applied to a group of three nymphs of the sort that has become familiar to us from dozens of Attic reliefs, where they appear together with Pan and/or Hermes.⁵⁰ These reliefs were dedicated in rustic sanctuaries and seem to have had nothing to do with Demeter. It is, however, worth noticing that one Peloponnesian specimen of this type, found at Sparta or perhaps at Megalopolis, shows among the nymphs led in the dance by the goat-god one who carries a sheaf of grain.⁵¹ An *ex voto* from the Acropolis explicitly associates Demeter with the gods of wild or pastoral space: Pan, the nymphs, Hermes, Apollo, and Artemis.⁵²

Although the appearance of Pan and nymphs in close company with Demeter is exceptional, they do belong at the edges to the symbolic network proper to this goddess. Two bits of evidence that have more or less explicit reference to Eleusinian ritual may be added to the item already mentioned. The former, a fourth-century relief found near the Ilissos, shows in its upper portion Achelōos, Hermes, the three nymphs, and Pan playing the syrinx; an inscription fills the central part of the relief and tells us it was dedicated to the nymphs and “all the gods” by a group of twelve, whose names are listed and who formed a professional association (of “laundrymen”).⁵³ Underneath the inscription there is a second scene representing a figure (perhaps a hero) holding a horse by the bridle in front of an altar, accompanied by Demeter and Kore. That Pan, the nymphs, and Achelōos had a sanctuary near the Ilissos is well known.⁵⁴ This sanctuary was not far from the temple of Demeter and Kore at Agrai where the Lesser Mysteries were held. The Ilissos relief suggests that the sphere of Pan intersected with that of the goddesses. The size of the dedicatory group (and the fact that they are associated in a common trade) implies that we are dealing here with a private rite, having to do with the family or some sort of religious association such as a *thiasos* or *orgeon*. Pan and the nymphs, minor divinities, but mediators because of their closeness to mankind, were perhaps in this case

brought in to introduce the family or association to the intimidating gods of the Mysteries.

There is a second document linking Pan to the gods of Eleusis; it is an inscription of the first century B.C.⁵⁵ “Cut on the inner face of three large, curved bricks which fit together to form the rim of a well,” this text links Pan with the nymphs and with the Phrygian moon god Men, and appeals for the fertilization of the earth by the waters: “Oh Pan, O Men, Hail [χαίρετε], O beautiful nymphs. Rain, conceive, flood [ῥε, κύε, ὑπέρχυε]!”⁵⁶ The phrasing of this prayer is somewhat surprising. It actually seems to paraphrase the Eleusinian formula transmitted by Proclus in his commentary on the *Timaeus* (293c): “In the Eleusinian rite they turn up their faces to the sky and shout *rain*, then they turn their eyes down toward the earth and shout *conceive*.” According to Hippolytus, this double cry was actually the secret of the Mysteries,⁵⁷ and Foucart went on to draw from this the conclusion that the final event of the ceremony was the result of this “conception,” that is, “the birth of a divine child.”⁵⁸ Mylonas, by contrast, takes the view that this formula was not a secret; if it had been, it would not have been inscribed on the rim of a well where everyone could see it. He is ready to believe that it was at home at Eleusis as part of some agrarian rite, but he thinks it unconnected with the Mysteries.⁵⁹ As Walter Burkert remarks in passing, Mylonas’s doubts are not necessarily well founded.⁶⁰ The well in question is close to the Dipylon Gate, not far from the Sacred Way, near the sanctuary of Hecate. Perdrizet, to whom Mylonas refers, takes no account of this context so favorable to an Eleusinian allusion, but he does observe: “The inscription on the well was located so as to be invisible, known only to the inscriber.” Mylonas, in fact, pays no attention to this point: the inscription is inscribed on the *inner* face of the bricks. At the very least, this implies that it was not to be displayed to the passer-by. Although it was inscribed, it was intended to remain secret. It was actually not easy to see even if one leaned over the well; the inscribed bricks were not on the actual rim (this has been found and is made of marble), but were located well below ground level, according to the report of A. S. Rhusopoulos, the archaeologist who found them.⁶¹ Perdrizet thinks that the formula had been borrowed from the Mysteries and applied to Pan, Men, and the nymphs: “Perhaps he [the inscriber] thought that the formula which had such potency over the goddesses of Eleusis would have the same power over the nymphs, Men and Pan; so that the goddesses, also, would have no complaint against him for having made use of their mystic formula in a prayer to other divinities, he had modified it by adding ὑπέρχυε

(*ὑπέρχυε*).” This interpretation seems undercut, if not absolutely contradicted, by the transition from a plural imperative (*χαίρετε*) to a series of three singular imperatives (*ῥε, κύνε, ὑπέρχυε*): the plural greeting to Pan, Men, and the nymphs is followed by a formula that has nothing to do with them! The Eleusinian formula is thus doubly disguised: it is augmented by *ὑπέρχυε* and preceded by an alien greeting, the recipients of which are not Eleusinian. This double precaution, in combination with the nearly invisible location of the inscription inside the well, indicates that we are confronted by something having to do with the secret teachings of Demeter. It seems to us that the engraver intended not to transfer the Eleusinian formula to other divinities, but to bring the power of Pan, Men, and the nymphs into combination with the traditionally efficacious mystic rite. This late inscription surely displays a concern for syncretism. It is possible that Pan and the nymphs, divinities associated with Men as early as the second century B.C.,⁶² were used as mediators between the Phrygian fertility god and the divinities of Eleusis. But such a mediation could only be imagined or achieved to the degree that Pan and the nymphs stood, in terms of an authentically Greek understanding of their place in the symbolic system, in complementary relation with Demeter. In interpreting the panic landscape, I have already shown the clear opposition between the goat-god and the goddess of agriculture. It remains only to show how this opposition, if not exclusion, defines an axis of essential complementarity. The greeting of Pan, Men, and the nymphs precedes the Eleusinian formula. Similarly on the Ilissos relief, the inscription speaks to Pan and the nymphs, but it is clear that the chief object of the piety expressed by the ex-voto was the group of two goddesses; they are shown in the lower zone, but the presence of the altar indicates that the sacrificial relation is established with them. It is thus affirmed that the sphere of Pan is somehow anterior to the civilizing activity of Demeter.

We remember that in Arcadia Pan played an important part in the story of Demeter, since he found her when she had hidden herself at Phigalia. An interpretation of this point will help us understand Pan’s relation with the goddess in classical religious thought. At the moment when gods and men have but one desire, that the goddess should come back, the goat-god is a crucial ally, since he sets in motion the embassy of the Moirai, which in turn brings about a change of heart in Demeter; she had been angry, sad, and passive, but is now reconciled to resuming her nurturant activities. It is this sudden shift that puts the Arcadian myth on course and is in a way the point of it. This becomes clear in the Thelphousian version, transmitted by Pausanias, which tells how the

goddess changed from Erinys to Lousia. This mythic event was commemorated at Thelphousa by two cult statues, one representing the goddess enraged and the other as restored to purity.⁶³

The Arcadian account is very different from the Eleusinian myth, as presented to us in the Homeric Hymn.⁶⁴ At Eleusis the main issue is the rape of Persephone and her marriage with the god of the dead. The sexual connection forced on Demeter by Poseidon while the goddess was looking for the vanished Persephone, and the birth of a second daughter, whose name is kept secret, are features found in the Arcadian version alone. At Eleusis, on the other hand, the goddess, withdrawn into her temple, makes a definite condition for becoming active again: her daughter must come back to earth—whereas the Arcadian myth says nothing of the return of Persephone. The Phigalian version, it is true, seems to make some reference to negotiations between Demeter and the Moirai; however in Arcadia everything happens as if the important person was not Persephone, but rather the mysterious Despoina, the “Mistress”—whose real name, even, is unknown to us. In spite of this lack of fit between the two, which makes hopeless any attempt to reduce one to the other, we are compelled to admit that the Greeks saw real affinities between the Eleusinian and Arcadian versions. Let us take the Homeric Hymn as a whole and run through it rapidly, observing only the most obvious points (in parallel with Pausanias’s handling of the Arcadian myth); what is it really about, if not a shift of attitude? Demeter, who had been mournful, sad, and angry becomes joyful again and resumes an activity necessary to mankind. Obviously this is not a return to the status quo ante; the crisis is resolved by the achievement of a new equilibrium, ritualized in the Mysteries. Something similar must have happened in Arcadia, where the stories reported by Pausanias had the role of myths explaining the establishment of cults.

Some scholars have thought that Pan has a place in the Arcadian myth parallel to the place of Helios in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.⁶⁵ In the Eleusinian story, Helios (as Hecate found out) saw the rape of Persephone by Hades, and through him Demeter learned the fate of her daughter. All the same, it is obvious that the parallelism cannot be taken beyond this one point: both figures are able to see something hidden from others. The objects, however, and the consequences of these two “visions” (and therefore their real functions) are quite different. Helios’s report to Demeter of the rape of Persephone results in the abandonment by the goddess of her quest; she comes to rest at Eleusis. In the Arcadian story, by contrast, Pan’s report to Zeus of the place where Demeter has hidden herself comes much later in the structure of

the story, and results in the intervention of the Moirai, after which Demeter again becomes active. When we consider its place in the structure of the whole, we can see that Pan's intervention has the function of permitting this resumption of activity, this end to the sadness that had paralyzed the beneficent powers of the goddess. From his point of view, Pan at Phigalia is parallel, not to Helios, but to Iris and Hermes in the Homeric Hymn: he helps reestablish the broken lines of communication between Demeter and the other gods. In the Homeric Hymn Iris comes to announce that Persephone is returning;⁶⁶ Hermes will bring her back.⁶⁷ The crisis is thus resolved.

A Megaran relief bowl found at Thebes pictures the rape of Persephone.⁶⁸ The scene is divided into two distinct sections by a stele on which can be read the word ΕΥΣΕΒΩΣ. A. S. Murray, who published this item (which is in the British Museum) in 1902, notes that it "must be regarded as indicating the entrance to the abode of the blessed (*τῶν εὐσεβῶν λειμῶνες*)": it is a gateway to the other world. Hades' chariot can be seen moving in that direction; Hermes goes before to guide the god of the dead, who takes Persephone with him, while Demeter, Athena, Hecate, and Artemis follow in pursuit. This part of the action is placed in a meadow full of flowers, where rabbits jump about. On the other side of the stele, between it and the underworld meadow where the Danaids are shown attempting their impossible task, there is a marshy area, a kind of transitional district on the way to the underworld; a young Pan comes through the reeds, playing the double flute. His identity is suggested by two little horns growing from his forehead; it is unequivocally confirmed by a goat mask underneath the stele. Murray notes correctly that in this scene Pan plays the role of a young boy leading the nuptial procession on its way. This is a "Nuptial" Pan; he leads Persephone into the realm of her husband. At Phigalia, Pan found Demeter in a place of mourning, a place located within his own hunting grounds; here he welcomes Persephone, the young bride, into her future marital residence: the resting place of the dead. Persephone's marriage with Hades is a legitimate marriage, chosen for her by her father (Zeus); but its brutal form (a rape followed by an exaggerated distancing, given that her husband's house cannot be reached by any living creature except Hermes), makes it resemble the illegitimate and violent loves of Pan. In Euripides, the cry of a nymph seized by the goat-god on a rocky desert shore stands as metaphor for the funereal cry Helen wishes to send, accompanied by the syrinx, all the way to Persephone.⁶⁹ Erotic pursuit comes to violence as desire comes to death; Echo, Syrinx, and Pitys are victims of mad wrath and then disap-

pear into a space where nothing can enter or exit except an impalpable divine voice and pointlessly reverberating cry.

Pan welcomes Persephone under the double sign of marriage and death in a space analogous to that where he intervenes to bring Demeter back to gods and men. On one side as on the other, on the slope toward Hades as on that toward life, Pan's mediation brings about an act that restores a threatened equilibrium: Hades must find a wife, just as Demeter must remain a mother—that is, must fulfill her function as a nourishing mother. The two goddesses, each in her own way, must, under pressure of these contradictory imperatives, cross the liminal space ruled by the goat-god.

We have noted that in the Arcadian myth, Demeter does not make the return of her daughter a condition of her becoming active again. In the Eleusinian myth, it is different: Persephone's return, if it does not actually coincide with the revival of vegetation, is nonetheless a necessary condition. In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Persephone is brought back from Hades by Hermes, in a chariot that puts her down before the Eleusinian sanctuary into which her mother has withdrawn.⁷⁰ There were, however, other versions of her return: according to Callimachus, Hecate brought Persephone back;⁷¹ according to others, Demeter herself went off to find her daughter.⁷² We have, finally, a number of representations on Attic pottery picturing what the archaeologists have called the *anodos* (rising up) of Kore.⁷³ In one of these scenes, which decorates a krater in New York, the young goddess appears rising from the earth, emerging from a rocky fissure, from a *chasma* like the ravine at Vari that marked the entrance to the cave of Pan and the nymphs; she is welcomed by Demeter and Hecate, in the presence of Hermes.⁷⁴ A calyx krater in the Dresden collection showed Demeter's daughter, clearly identified by an inscription that names her *Pherephatta*, rising up in the presence of Hermes and three leaping Pans.⁷⁵ The Athenian artist surely saw these dancing Pans as evoking the event; this interpretation becomes certain when we place the scene in a larger iconographic context, as part of the whole group of *anodoi* involving Pan (or several Pans) and Hermes. As Claude Bérard has stressed in his study of the imagery of arrivals from the underworld, a key motif of this group presents itself on a pelike from Rhodes, where Aphrodite rising from the earth is framed between an ithyphallic Pan, raising his right hand high in an imperious gesture, and Hermes, who holds the caduceus in his left hand, while his right hand brandishes a staff (*rhabdos*), with which he strikes the ground in a gesture like that of the priest of Demeter Kidaria at Pheneos in Arcadia calling on the gods of the

underworld.⁷⁶ The leaping Pans strike the ground with their hooves on the Dresden krater; very probably the effect was the same as that of the *rhabdos* of Hermes or the staves of the Arcadian priest.⁷⁷ The hammering noise calls out to the goddess and evokes her.

Most frequently, the goddess leaving the earth in depictions of an *anodos* cannot be securely identified. Among ten cases involving Pan (or several Pans—see plate 8),⁷⁸ Persephone (*Pherephatta*) is named once,⁷⁹ and Aphrodite can be securely recognized (epigraphically or by the presence of Eros) three times.⁸⁰ One *anodos* where Pan does not appear involves Pandora.⁸¹ (For a full and more competent study of this complex material, see the work of Metzger and Bérard.) One thing, however, remains certain: the iconography of *anodoi* shows that Athenian artists perceived a homology between Persephone's return to earth, the creation of Pandora, and the birth of Aphrodite. Each of these epiphanies represents the arrival of a type of seduction and of regenerated vitality. The Greeks were quicker to connect Pan with Aphrodite than with Persephone; the link between the goat-god and the goddess of love was sometimes expressed on the ritual level. We need not, however, conclude that Pan's appearance at the *anodos* of Persephone is a secondary phenomenon resulting from mere iconographic association. Bérard suggests that the myth of Persephone is implicitly evoked by *every* representation of an *anodos*.⁸² Here I would add that the role of Pan, son of Hermes, at the arrival of Persephone from the earth seems to me to follow the logic of a coherent mythological system, within which the Arcadian story of Demeter's retreat into the Phigalian cave and the Eleusinian story of the "breakdown" of the goddess while awaiting the return of her daughter appear as two variants to the same myth. I have already argued from the gross structure of the two stories that the Pan who finds Demeter at Phigalia is in concord with the Hermes who brings Persephone to Eleusis: both play central roles in Demeter's reversal of attitude. That the goat-god, son of Hermes, assists at the *anodos* of Persephone may enable us to go a step further: it seems that the link between Pan and Hermes was anything but superficial and in fact shaped specific variants of the Eleusinian myth. However, the mythical (transformational) system would remain sheer hypothesis in the absence of other evidence of the system's existence and precise functioning.

Persephone's return marks the end of the Eleusinian crisis, but even before this resolution, the myth mentions various attempts at a solution, or anticipations of the final solution. The well-known episode of Iambe in particular marks a prior conversion of Demeter to active good

cheer.⁸³ There is an Athenian tradition, which goes back to Philochorus, according to which Pan and Echo were the parents of Iambe, the grotesque serving maid who in her jesting makes fun of Demeter and thus persuades her to drink the restoring *kukēon*; after Iambe intervenes, the goddess forgets her grief for the moment and takes the post of nurse in the royal palace of Eleusis.⁸⁴ This return to action (as nurse of a human infant) prefigures the end of the Hymn and the return of vegetal activity. To impute to Pan the fatherhood of Iambe implies not only a sexual content to the servant girl's jesting (a content that becomes explicit in the Alexandrian version, where Baubo plays the role of Iambe);⁸⁵ it also classifies the panic laughter incited by the serving girl as liberating laughter that puts an end to mourning and indicates a return to the activities of life.

Since the time of Peisistratus and the Peisistratidae, if not before, there had been in the Agora at Athens a cult of the Mother of the Gods (*Mētēr Theōn*, assimilated later to Cybele).⁸⁶ A sculptural representation by Pheidias or his pupil Agoracritus in the Metroon had shown her seated on a throne in the same pose as that of the goddess at Eleusis, but in company with her emblematic animal, the lion.⁸⁷ Pan is ritually close to the Mother of the Gods, a point well attested for Boeotia⁸⁸ and also established in Attica.⁸⁹ They belong, after all, to the same landscape (Cybele is called Mother of Mountains) and share certain powers. The Mother of Mountains and her companions the corybantes are invoked along with Pan and Hecate in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides in connection with possession,⁹⁰ and in Aristophanes' *Assembly of Women* in connection with a monstrous apparition.⁹¹ A cult statue in the cave of Pan and the nymphs at Vari represented the goddess enthroned.⁹² Cybele's presence is also attested for the cave at Phyle,⁹³ and there was, finally, an altar to the Mother of the Gods decorated with two Pans on the west slope of the Acropolis.⁹⁴ These cultural links are the more interesting in that the Mother of the Gods soon came under the influence of Demeter. A tendency to assimilate the two shows up on the level of poetic discourse as well as on that of religious practice;⁹⁵ Melanippe, a dithyrambic poet of the fifth century B.C., actually wrote that Demeter and the Mother of the Gods were one and the same.⁹⁶ This is only a metaphor. Athenian religious thought, so far as we can tell from evidence for cult, did not go so far as to identify them, although it recognized a deep kinship between the two goddesses. Archaeological excavation in the area of the Athenian Metroon has brought to light numerous fourth-century objects (especially pottery and inscriptions) that imply a relation with Eleusis; conversely, votive statues of Cybele have been found

at Eleusis.⁹⁷ The Mother of the Gods is a divinity of the mountains, and her proper rites are like those of Dionysus;⁹⁸ she seems to shift toward wildness a potency that belongs to culture in Demeter's case. Euripides tells the story of her "passion" in terms that closely recall the Eleusinian myth, but for this goddess, who is closer to the Arcadian, a waste of rocks and snow replaces the landscape of Eleusis:

The Mountain Mother of Gods once rushed with running stride through wooded glens and river streams of water and the deep-roaring salt wave in longing for her lost daughter whose name is not spoken. The Dionysiac castanets, sending forth their shrill note, sounded for the goddess as she yoked teams of wild beasts to her chariot for her who was snatched from the round dance of the maidens. . . . When the Mother ceased her wide-running labor of wandering, searching out the insoluble snares that had snatched her daughter, then she made her way to the snow-nursed peaks of the nymphs of Ida and threw herself in grief into the rocky copse thick with snow. Mortals no more could draw fruit from the sere plain with the plow; she withered the generation of folk. For the shepherds no more did she send forth flourishing pasture of leafy tendrils; the life of cities was failing. There were no sacrifices to the gods, the cakes were unburnt on the altars. She stopped the dewy streams of white water from flowing in her inconsolable grief for her child.

Since the feasts failed of the gods as of the mortal race, Zeus spoke to assuage the hideous rage of the Mother: "Depart, Graces, go to soothe with your cries the pain of Deo, who is enraged about the maiden—and you Muses also with choric song." Then fair Aphrodite, first of the gods, took up the earth-sprung voice of the bronze and the skin-stretched drum. The goddess laughed and took in her hands the deep-roaring flute, delighting in their cries.⁹⁹

In place of the jesting of Iambe as in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, in place of the intervention of Pan and the Moirai as at Phigalia, we have here a group of ritual practices instituted by the Graces, the Muses, and Aphrodite. Let us recall that Pan (who is elsewhere very close to Aphrodite and the Muses)¹⁰⁰ appears joined with the Graces in the cult offered the Mother of the Gods by Pindar.¹⁰¹ An inscription from Epidaurus (from the fourth century or even the fifth) is addressed to the same goddess and describes her anger: in exchange for her return among the gods, she demands half of heaven and earth and a third part

of the sea!¹⁰² On the same stone stands a hymn addressed to “all the gods” and a hymn to Pan:

To Pan, leader of the naiad nymphs, I raise my song, pride of the golden choruses, lord of the frivolous music; from his far-sounding flute he pours an inspirited seductive melody; he steps lightly to the song, leaping through the shadowy grottoes, displaying his multiform body, beautiful dancer, beautiful face, resplendent with blond beard. As far as starry Olympus comes the panic echo, pervading the company of the Olympian gods with an immortal Muse. The whole earth and the sea are stirred by your grace; you are the prop of all, O Pan, Ah Pan.¹⁰³

This hymn, placed between an evocation of the angry withdrawal of the angry Mother and a prayer addressed to “all the gods,” displays Pan’s role as mediator of this cosmic conflict, and the benevolent influence of his music.

Lucian, in a passage in the *Double Accusation*, imagines Pan confiding in Hermes the resentment he feels at his reception by the Athenians:

Altogether they do not honor me as I deserve, but much less than I expected, after I’d actually driven off such a huge barbarian horde. All the same they come up two or three times a year, having chosen an uncastrated goat, which they sacrifice to me, although it gives off a terrible stink; then they feast on the meat, making me witness of their enjoyment and honoring me with plain clapping of hands. Well, I do find their laughter and play somewhat beguiling.¹⁰⁴

This text provides some valuable information about the Athenian ritual. First of all, as to place; ἀνιόντες: this *anodos* or climbing up was toward the cave on the slope of the Acropolis. There is also a precise note on cult practice: ψιλῶ τιμήσαντες τῷ κρότῳ; Pan was honored by clapping the hands. That is surely the meaning of the *krotos* so dear to the god; it is a ritual act proper to his cult. Thus we find him called *philokrotos* and *polukrotos*,¹⁰⁵ and we find a somewhat allegorized allusion to this point in the myth that makes him father of Crotos, personification of clapping; Crotos’s mother was supposed to be Eupheme (“good reputation” or “discretion”), nurse of the Muses.¹⁰⁶ A sardonx in the Beverley collection, published by Furtwängler, shows the ritual function of the *krotos* in the context of an (erotic) sacrifice to Pan: two lovers, sitting on a skin thrown over a rock, under a tree, are listening to the

god play the syrinx; the young woman leaning against her lover's knees claps her hands, while her companion keeps time with his fingers.¹⁰⁷

The *krotos* (sound of clapping), *gelōs* (laughter), and *euphrosunē* (good humor) thus appear as constitutive elements of panic ritual, and this not only in the sense that festive gestures were an ordinary part of most Greek sacrifices. The same point can be made about the dance, which played a fundamental part in the cult of Pan. The god made his presence felt in the excited and turbulent chorus of his votaries. A certain balance is achieved by the festival, which brings together in ritual the two extremes of Pan's potency, panic and possession, but in such a way that each shows only its positive aspect: the god is present without alienation and the distance between god and worshipper is kept to a minimum. By panic, Pan atomizes a social group (an army), fragments it, destroys its solidarity; by possession, he evicts the individual from his own identity. In his dance and festival, the individual, while remaining himself, loses himself. This is perhaps what the Pharsalian inscription cited earlier means by "just excess."¹⁰⁸ The chorus simultaneously displays social solidarity with the extrasocial: it communicates with nature and the gods. The Epidaurus Hymn reminds us that Pan's music and dance restore a threatened cohesion. Dance, laughter, and noise become, in the festival, signs of a recovered closeness. The sailors of Salamis who in Sophocles' play have accompanied Ajax to Troy break into choric song when they suddenly, albeit mistakenly, come to believe that their king has recovered his sanity; they are carried away by hope and begin a joyful dance:

I shivered with love, in my joy I took wing. Io, Io, Pan, Pan! O Pan, Pan! who wanders the sea, from snow-covered Kyllene, your rocky peak, appear, O lord of the dances of the gods, so that you may be with me and draw me into the spontaneous dance of Mysia and Knossos. For now I am ready for the chorus.¹⁰⁹

The joy of a happiness once forgotten, now recovered, is so intense that a god is required to lead the dance; the goat-god will conduct them and inspire their gestures. God and man exchange in the dance a no-longer-hoped-for happiness. The transition from melancholy to joy is specially marked by Sophocles in his evocation of the journey of the god, who leaves harsh, icy Mount Kyllene and crosses the sea to the Troad, to his festival.

Pan is a god of tumult and animal disorder (panic and possession), yet Aeschylus tells us that he loves the dance (*philochoros*) and Pindar

classes him as a “perfectly initiated dancer.”¹¹⁰ Pan’s dance (in a word) conjoins two terms of a transformation: before and after. The “perfectly initiated dancer” makes others dance and dances with them; his music calls forth harmony, that humane order in the dance of which Plato speaks.¹¹¹ But he himself remains at the animal level; he leaps. Pan is called *skirtōn* (leaper) by an Attic vase inscription of the fifth century.¹¹² Cornutus, author of a Stoic treatise *On Greek Theology*, would in the first century A.D. explain this by recourse to allegory: “His nature as a leaper and his love of play represent the eternal movement of the universe.”¹¹³ Although this is obviously tendentious, it nevertheless interprets the traditional image of the god. Pan’s dance, his animal leapings-about, are abundantly represented on Attic and Italian pottery of the classical era.¹¹⁴ It is sharply contrasted with the measured round dance of the nymphs as we see it on Attic reliefs and elsewhere. Sometimes a nymph or perhaps a maenad playfully tries to choreograph the spasmodic movements of the goat-god into harmony; an example is to be found on the Cape Town vase cited earlier,¹¹⁵ and the motif reappears on Italian ceramics.¹¹⁶ But her efforts to teach this “primitive” the principles of art are in vain; Philostratos the Sophist, in his *Eikones*, imagines the scornful attitude of the nymphs toward Pan, whose leapings know no bounds.¹¹⁷ The goat-god always escapes from the balance, which he nevertheless invites. He retains contact with that prior sphere where things originate, and actually with the farthest part of it, with the frontier where directions reverse.¹¹⁸ He is the son of Hermes, and in his own way also a god of passages; his laughter, his erotic passion, his motions as of a young animal inaugurate a new order of things. Without him, we may suspect, peace when it concluded conflict would come as a dead letter, not growing into new harmony, but rather structured into rigidity.

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The cave set aside for Pan in memory of Philippides’ message has been identified.¹¹⁹ It is beneath the Propylaea on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, at the edge of an area roughly defined by the Clepsydra and the sanctuary at Aglauros; Pan’s cave thus adjoins the cave of Apollo called *hupo Makraîs*, *Hupakraios*, or *Hupoakraios*, “he who resides beneath the Great (Crag).”¹²⁰ This detail is worth noticing, as is the proximity of the sanctuary of Aglauros. When the Athenians chose a sacred place for Pan within their city, they did not, after all, choose at random. One point stands out immediately. Pan is lodged neither in the city proper nor within the sacred enclosure of the Acropolis. In the heart of town (in the *astu*), a wild spot has been found for him.¹²¹ The place set

aside for him, this cave near other caves, has a precise symbolic meaning: it belongs to an excluded space and an earlier time. A few lines from Euripides' *Ion* are enough to show us that this rocky terrace designates, by way of its geological and geographical characteristics, a whole symbolic universe, and speaks to a set of myths having to do with the origins of the city:

Ye seats of Pan, you rock that neighbors the great clefts,
 where the three daughters of Aglauros tread the chorus, a
 grassy course beneath the temple of Pallas, singing to the sin-
 uous cry of the syrinx, when you, Pan, play in the darkness, in
 your cave, where a maiden (poor creature) bore to Phoebus
 an infant and set it aside as repast for birds and a bloody
 feast for wild animals, the outrage of a bitter coupling.¹²²

The last arrived of the gods (*theos neōtatos*, as Herodotus names him)¹²³ grows to maturity in a thankless place, a place of abandonment, of rejection, but also a source of beginnings, a place for an originating presence. Pan's music leads the dance of the guardians of ancestor Erichthonios, a child born from the Attic soil,¹²⁴ while his cave adjoins that which sheltered one of the first Athenian kings, Ion, ancestor of the Ionians, son of Creusa and Apollo.¹²⁵ This means that Pan is profoundly welcomed; his lodging marks him as connected to origins. We may also note that Pan (son of Hermes) finds himself at home with the group consisting of the three daughters of Aglauros and Cecrops: Herse, Pandrosos, and Aglauros (the younger) were each in turn loved by Hermes.¹²⁶ This triad prefigures the group of three nymphs we find represented with Hermes and Pan on numerous votive reliefs placed in Attic rural sanctuaries.

This terrain, on the slopes of the Acropolis outside the sacred precinct, turns out to be perfectly suited to receive a child abandoned to the wild. Pan contributed this place of abandonment to Athens. We remember that the god himself was abandoned at birth. If the Athenians consecrated this cave, until then untouched, to him, it was because they thought they understood that the god had always been there, and that this was one of his places, even when Erichthonius was an infant and when Ion was born. Euripides evokes the three dancing sisters, the daughters of Aglauros, in the present tense (*στειβουσιν*); he thus underlines the timelessness of the scene. Pan is welcomed in this place because it is his eternal dwelling. The three guardians of Erichthonius dance about him after Ion's birth in a present that belongs to mythical time; the ancestor Erichthonius, child of Athena, also of Hephaistus,

also of the Attic soil, is always being born. According to Miriam Ervin, no “nymph relief” from the Acropolis has been found in Pan’s cave; they all come from the sanctuary of the nymph Aglauros and her two sisters, Herse and Pandrosus.¹²⁷ Pan’s presence on these reliefs thus gives precise confirmation to Euripides’ poetic commentary and confirms the attraction exercised by this space of origins when it became necessary to find a sanctuary suitable for the official cult of the Arcadian.

Creusa is speaking of the area near Pan’s sanctuary when she says to the Old Athenian: *ἐνταῦθ’ ἀγῶνα δεινὸν ἠγωνίσμεθα*—“There I struggled a dread struggle.” She is referring to her coupling with Apollo, and to her abandonment of the fruit of that union, Ion, in the cave of the Makrai. There is nothing idyllic about Creusa’s union with Apollo: “Seizing me by the white wrists with your hands, into the cave-lair, as I cried out ‘Mother’ with a wail, you, a god, taking me to bed, dragged me, shamelessly exacting the joy of Aphrodite.”¹²⁸ The girl is torn from her father’s palace and raped by the god. Euripides elsewhere calls this kind of rape “panic marriage” (*panos gamos*): “Some nymph or perhaps a naiad, fleeing through the mountains, lifts her voice in lamentation; beneath the rocky crags with shrill voice she cries out at Pan’s marriage.”¹²⁹ Creusa’s words to the Old Athenian, her references to an *agōn*, acquire a further resonance in relation to Pan, however, when we note the odd use in the first passage cited of the word *stadion*: the terrace before Pan’s cave is given a name that elsewhere generally denotes a place for racing. Creusa’s *agōn*, her struggle (but does not *agōn* also mean a test, in the sense of a competition, a contest?) happens in a place compared to a stadium. It is possible that Creusa’s wild marriage, with her abandonment of her child, were perceived by Athenians in Euripides’ audience from a particular angle; the words used by the poet in effect invited an association between this myth of origin and the normal and proper contest that regularly occurred in this same place: the torch race offered by the city to Pan.¹³⁰ Now this contest—although it was not explicitly connected with Erichthonius and Ion, the children abandoned to the wild—was, nevertheless, carried out by ephebes, that is, by the youth of the city. And some evidence suggests that it formed part of a ceremony in honor of those who had married in that year, a ceremony conducted by the ephebes of their tribe.

Besides the passage in Herodotus cited at the beginning of this chapter and one possible allusion in Euripides,¹³¹ there are only three known references to a *lampadēdromia* in honor of Pan. They come from lexicographers and scholiasts who all, most probably, draw on the same source. They convey but meager information, and that evidently con-

fused. In contrast to the practice of Deubner, who in one case bases his argument not on the text but on the conjectures of Mommsen,¹³² I shall attempt to base my interpretation in each case on the text as it stands. Photios says that the word *lampas* (“torch race”) means “among the Athenians a contest (*agōn*) in honor of Pan and Prometheus.”¹³³ A lexicographer published by Bekker, on the other hand, explains the function of the gymnasiarchs as that of “the officers in charge of the *lampadēdromiai* at the festival of Prometheus and Hephaestus and Pan, by whom are put in training the ephebes who, running a relay race, light the altar.”¹³⁴ A scholiast on Demosthenes, finally, defines *gamēlia* as follows:

The inscription in the register of the phratry. Some people, however, say that this name was given to the common sacrifice [*thusia*] conducted by those in the deme on behalf of those who were to marry; these ran a *lampadēdromia* as a festival to Prometheus, Hephaestus, and Pan in the following manner: the ephebes, trained by the gymnasiarch, ran a relay race and lit the altar. The first to light it was victor, as was his tribe.¹³⁵

These three references place Pan’s torch race in the context of a festival sacred to Prometheus, or to Prometheus and Hephaestus.¹³⁶ These two gods had a common altar within the gardens of the gymnasium of the Academy, near where Peisistratus set up a statue of Eros.¹³⁷ We know that the torch race of the Panathenaia began from this altar, that from its flames the ephebes lit their torches, which were carried up the Acropolis to the sanctuary of Athena;¹³⁸ the winner carried the fire of Hephaestus and Prometheus to the altar of the civic goddess. Probably all the *lampadēdromiai* began from the Academy;¹³⁹ it seems likely that the annual race in honor of Pan started from the same spot, but finished at the goat-god’s altar in his cave on the flank of the Acropolis.

Given that we are well informed about *lampadēdromiai* as parts of two quite distinct festivals, one consecrated to Prometheus and the other to Hephaestus,¹⁴⁰ one can understand that scholars have hesitated to accept the existence of a third festival, otherwise unknown, uniting Prometheus, Hephaestus, and Pan. One is strongly tempted to think that our three references have confused distinct rituals. There is further difficulty about the function of the *gamēlia* (sc. *thusia*). We know of a rite by this name that formed part of the Apatouria: it seems to have been a rite proper to girls, corresponding to the *koureōtis* that marked the inscription of young boys in the register of the phratries.¹⁴¹ The

scholion to Demosthenes makes it evident that the torch race has nothing to do with *this* ceremony. The torch race was run by ephebes, that is, by young men, and not by children, and was organized by demes and not by phratries. It belonged to another rite, also called a *gamēlia* “on behalf of those who were going to get married, by the people of their deme.” The scholiast makes quite clear the distinction between two ceremonies bearing the same name, since he introduces his explanation of the *lampadēdromia* with the phrase *ἔτιοι δὲ*: “Some people, however,” i.e., *some others*, “say that this name was given to the common sacrifice.” If we can bring ourselves to put any faith in these three references taken together, and to read them as they stand, we are forced to admit that they refer to a festival otherwise unknown: a *lampadēdromia* in honor of Prometheus, Hephaestus, and Pan that took place (probably annually) as part of a festival of the demes. Its purpose was to insure happiness for those who would marry that year. It does not seem impossible to believe in the existence of a marriage festival (most probably called *τὰ γαμήλια*, in the plural) even though no document mentions it: the month Gamelion, considered propitious for marriages, may actually have been named for this festival. Mommsen, Nilsson, and Deubner long since suggested that the name of this month was connected with this marriage festival; they argued for the existence of a Hera Gamelia, honored then, whose union with Zeus served as divine model for the institution of marriage.¹⁴² Let us add, for what it is worth, that Pan’s zodiacal sign, at least as early as the Hellenistic period, is Capricorn, and that taking into account the precession of the equinoxes, the sun was in that constellation during the month of Gamelion.¹⁴³

A race in honor of Pan linked to prenuptial rites, part of a ceremony where the young men in ephebic service separated themselves from those about to be married and thus to reintegrate the city—all this remains hypothetical, but is not inconsistent with what else we know about the familiar god of the *erotikos dromos*. Cult associates Pan with the nymphs, who are the prenuptial divinities par excellence; on the day following her wedding, the young bride offered them a vase for libations. Numerous deposits of these *loutra* have been found in Attica in the rural sanctuaries.¹⁴⁴ Like the mythical nymphs, Pan remains detached from marriage, but differently: while the nymphs, as companions of Artemis, are chaste, Pan displays an exaggerated and distorted sexuality, which never achieves its object. *Duserōs* (unlucky in love), he is paradoxically sterile. But the meaning of his detachment from the institution of marriage becomes clear only when we see that as patron of everything improper to marriage (introducing and guiding various

kinds of substitution, delay, or dissatisfaction proper to a god of waste places), he prepares, introduces, and initiates into marriage. The out-cast is from this point of view a founder. One could say much the same of Artemis and the nymphs, although oppositely. Furthermore, just as Artemis, that fierce virgin, is nonetheless also goddess of childbirth, so Pan appears simultaneously distant from the proper relation between the sexes and, inasmuch as he symbolizes sexual desire, present at the very heart of that relation. To sacrifice to Pan means to make love; although sanctuaries generally admit only chaste behavior, his grotto makes a place for furtive unions and welcomes lovers.¹⁴⁵ Transgression thus acquires a ritual status.

In *Iphigenia in Taurus* Euripides testifies to the deep bond joining Artemis to Pan: Iphigenia's voyage, which brings to Attica the cult statue of Artemis, is conducted by the goat-god; the sound of his syrinx marks time for the rowers.¹⁴⁷ Archaeology confirms the existence of a cult relation between Artemis and Pan in Attica: among the offerings found in Pan's grotto near Eleusis,¹⁴⁸ Lilly Kahil has noted the occurrence of a type of vase found elsewhere only in the sanctuaries of the goddess (Brauron, Mounychia, and the Athenian sanctuaries of Artemis Aristoboule and Brauronia).¹⁴⁹ These are little craters of a very archaic type decorated with scenes representing little girls running around an altar carrying torches and crowns, or performing a ring dance, also around an altar. Unquestionably these vases picture a phase in the ritual of the Brauronia, during which the young Athenians "were bears" for Artemis. The occurrence of such offerings in one of Pan's sanctuaries can be explained at least in part by the mediating function of the nymphs, who are at once companions and nurses of the goat-god and also divinities close to Artemis. Kahil has shown the relation between the ritual of Brauron and the Arcadian myth of Kallisto.¹⁵⁰ When the Athenian Aeschylus makes Pan the son of Kallisto, a kinship is affirmed between Pan and Artemis.¹⁵¹

This kinship is not only displayed on the level of prenuptial rites: Pan's sphere of action also intersects with that of Artemis in the area of hunting and, at Athens especially, in war. An Attic (or Attic-Boeotian) skyphos from the Laon Museum, published by J. de la Genière, provides precious evidence about Pan's relationship with Artemis in Attica (see plate 9).¹⁵² This work, dating from the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., is decorated on the front with a scene showing Pan standing before a goddess seated on a rock, to whom he is offering a cake set with three tiny torches. The somewhat matronly air of the goddess does not mean she is necessarily Demeter. De la Genière, who defends this

identification, invokes the myth according to which Pan discovers Demeter hidden in the cave of Phigalia. We have established that this myth has some relevance to Athenian religious practice, but it is hard to believe that it is illustrated upon the Laon skyphos: the Arcadian story, in the first place, says nothing of any offering made to Demeter by the goat-god; it rather tells us that Pan kept his distance from the goddess whose refuge he had discovered, that he spied on her from afar, probably from the height of some rocky escarpment (*katopteusai*). The Laon skyphos, by contrast, evidently represents a cult scene uniting two deities. The particular form of the offering made by Pan to the goddess allows us without hesitation to recognize her as the Artemis of Mounychia—as Artemis-Hecate, who on the night of the 16th Boedromion received in her sanctuary and at crossroads a type of offering called by the lexicographers an *amphiphōn*; they describe it as a cake crowned with small torches.¹⁵³ The artist's representation of the figure, with her hair caught back on the nape of her neck, dressed in a chiton, seated in a natural landscape, is perfectly suited to this goddess. The two large torches planted before her do not contradict this interpretation; they can be an attribute of Hecate's as well as of Demeter's. De la Genière actually identifies as Hecate the same figure on the back of the vase, carrying the same torches, but this time shown alone and as a running figure (see plate 10).

Attic Artemis appears not uncommonly as a warrior goddess. Artemis Agrotera, honored in the Ilissos region, fought at Marathon beside the Greeks; thereafter, so the story goes, goats were sacrificed at her annual festival equal in number to the slaughtered Medes.¹⁵⁴ Artemis Mounychia, a nocturnal goddess close to Hecate, whose image we have recognized on the Laon vase, also takes part in warfare: she appeared at Salamis in the form of the full moon.¹⁵⁵ It is certainly no coincidence that Pan's powers, at Salamis and at Marathon, were linked to manifestations of Artemis. The most explicit connection between the two divinities turns up in the tradition relative to a third episode of Athenian military history: Thrasybulus's uprising. Overtaken by an unexpected snowstorm and darkness at midday, the army of the Thirty Tyrants besieging Thrasybulus's fortress in Phyle were seized by panic. The Tyrants, victims of Pan, broke camp and fled toward Mounychia; at their heels were Thrasybulus's troops, led through the night by the torches or full moon of Artemis Mounychia.¹⁵⁶ The Laon vase is slightly later than the defeat of the Thirty Tyrants. Should we not see this ritual cake crowned with little torches, this offering crowned with its circular halo (*amphiphōn*), whereby Pan himself brings honor to the goddess, as

an allusion to this lunar epiphany of Artemis, which followed upon the disorder caused by the Arcadian?

* * *

Pan's public cult at Athens consisted, besides the torch race, of sacrifices (*thusiai*). On this last point Herodotus's evidence¹⁵⁷ is confirmed by two fifth-century inscriptions: a record of cult accounts from 429 B.C.¹⁵⁸ and the fragment of a sacred law code that turned up in the agora excavations.¹⁵⁹ Lucian tells us that the victim was an uncastrated goat (*enorthis tragos*), which was taken up to the cave on the Acropolis and sacrificed amid noisy jollifications.¹⁶⁰ This official cult, about which we hear little and which was evidently quiet modest in scale, should be distinguished from the private cults that frequently honored Pan.¹⁶¹

These latter took various forms, ranging from the respects paid by some person on a particular occasion (sometimes as little as a prayerful greeting addressed to the god by some traveller or stroller who passed one of his sanctuaries)¹⁶² all the way to a complete sacrifice and festival. Although these latter involved a more or less substantial group, they seem always to have been organized by some single individual, who then invited his relatives and friends. Ritual relations with Pan were, in fact, the collective result of some individual experience, some personal encounter with the god; the story of Philippides tells us that the civic cult also had such a source. Pan's cult, like that of the nymphs whose sanctuaries he shared, arose from the initiative of an individual who felt himself close to the god. *Numphai philai, phile Pan*, "Dear nymphs, dear Pan," is the usual invocation.¹⁶³ Sometimes the divinity himself had appeared in a dream or a vision and had instigated the ritual.¹⁶⁴ Besides the documents we owe to some form of literary elaboration, the *Dyscolos* of Menander being unquestionably the most important, our evidence for the cult of these gods consists essentially of ex-votos offered by individuals: stone or terra-cotta figures representing Pan and the nymphs (separately or together) and various objects, such as pots, golden cicadas, or oil lamps, placed in the cave sacred to them.¹⁶⁵ The most elaborate ex-votos are the numerous reliefs styled "of the nymphs" (see plate 11);¹⁶⁶ these have also been discovered in these caves and bear effective witness to the importance of this personal piety. They belong to a class of images particularly important in Athenian religiosity from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the third centuries B.C. Most frequently they represent the grotto or cave itself, within which is posed a group of three nymphs led by Hermes; the river-god Achelōs also often takes a part in the scene, as does Pan. The goat-god sometimes leans out over the main scene, tucked into the rocks of the porch or in the company of

his flock of goats. It is not uncommon to find one or more dedicants represented on these images. Relative to them, Pan is often placed in the background, and is also so placed in relation to the principal divinities; he is where he can see without being seen,¹⁶⁷ and nearly always plays the syrinx. He is an invisible goatherd whose music makes its presence felt among gods as among men; he is a sign of the supernatural character of the landscape where the encounter takes place. It is an iconographic convention that the human beings in these “tableaux” should be much smaller in stature than the nymphs or than Hermes; they are, however, equal in size to Pan.¹⁶⁸ This detail is worth our notice. Of human size although he is a god, the goatherd acts as a mediator. His music pervades the scene; it supports, sustains, the ritual communication between the dedicant and Hermes and the nymphs.

From Homeric times onward the nymphs, who live in caves, are associated with Hermes, who takes care of flocks.¹⁶⁹ Arcadian Hermes, son of a nymph, was born in a cave on Mount Kyllene.¹⁷⁰ Pan thus fits comfortably into the cultic and iconographic group formed by these divinities in Attica. The chorus in Aristophanes speaks jointly to pastoral Hermes, to Pan, and to the nymphs.¹⁷¹ Now these reliefs, which are objects too expensive to have been dedicated by shepherds (and the same can be said of the gold cicadas, the sculptures in the round, and the finest pottery) are not derived from the pastoral world to which they refer. The pastoral world has rather here a certain importance for the citizen of the classic city. The landscape symbolized by the cave, as well as the pastoral divinities who live there—all this is reinterpreted and revalued in a symbolic context whose function I have sought to define in the preceding chapters.

In the quest for information as to the social condition of the donors, or the motives that brought them to these rural sanctuaries, one is tempted to begin with the inscriptions scratched on the consecrated objects and on the walls of the caves. In a few cases these reveal a precise status: a group of shepherds (*hoi poimenes*) or a goatherd (*hai polos*) have written their names on the rock¹⁷²—or in two other cases, it is a craftsman;¹⁷³ outside of Attica in the Corcyrian cave at Delphi and also on Thasos we find epigraphic evidence that some military patrol has paid its respects.¹⁷⁴ The majority of inscriptions give no more than the name of the dedicant; among these we can recognize both citizens and metics. Sometimes it happens that the caves themselves (a good dozen are known on Attic territory) are elaborated by private persons. One thinks of the well-known example (discussed in chapter 5) of the craftsman Archedemos of Thera, publicly recognized as “possessed by the nymphs,”

who reconstructed the cave at Vari. The diversity of experiences, the variety of encounters, the familiar bond that linked this or that individual with the nymphs (they were neighbors, they met in the same landscape, they received some communication in a dream or by inspiration) constitute the ever-present substratum, ever renewed, of the ritual enactment. Pan was honored by the common people (goatherds, fishermen, small farmers, craftsmen), and rich city folk could also visit him, as is evident from certain rich offerings.

This innovative piety has a certain paradoxical quality: its object is a god strange to Attica (Pan is an Arcadian) who is nevertheless felt to be deeply rooted in folk tradition (Pan is companion of the nymphs). Such piety furthermore is so widely diffused, in both the geographical and the social sense, that it seems natural to recognize in it a certain kind of religious integration. Our documentation is too incomplete and chronologically too scattered to make meaningful any kind of statistical analysis; any sociological investigation of panic religiosity in the fifth and fourth centuries would be a dead end. Nevertheless, two aspects of it are obvious, and these permit us to attempt a more general interpretation, even though it must necessarily remain rather superficial: (1) cult locations (the cave sanctuaries) are located away from roads, in places often difficult of access; (2) the god is honored there as much, or more, by city folk (who come to him there) as by farmers and herdsmen.

These two observations encourage us to consider the rapid development of panic piety in the context of a history of the relationship between town and country. Werner Fuchs, in an archaeological study of reliefs of the nymphs, has shown that the iconography of these ex-votos plainly goes back to a fifth-century archetype (*Urbild*) placed in Pan's cave on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.¹⁷⁵ Originating from this model and this sanctuary, the reliefs representing Pan in company with Hermes and the nymphs spread to the sanctuaries outside the city, on Parnes (Phyle), Hymettos (Vari), and Pentelikon, as well as at the Piraeus, on the banks of the Ilissos, near Marathon, and so on. This development on the level of religious iconography, this movement from the city to the countryside, recapitulates the core idea of the cult: the cave on the Acropolis that was made Pan's by the city in the aftermath of Marathon actually served as the model (or point of reference) for the caves dispersed outside the city—these latter being set up or elaborated by individuals. From this point onward the cult of Pan and the nymphs in Attica has an evident mediating function (on the level of space) between the city and its exterior (countryside, frontiers). Now it happens that the period during which this cult is best attested in Attica extends

from the beginning of the fifth century to the end of the fourth—that is to say (not to overschematize), it coincides with the relatively brief period that saw the affirmation, which later became more tentative, of the ideal of the citizen-farmer. The cult of Arcadian Pan thus originated and spread just in time to encourage on the religious level an attempt at integration that Cleisthenes (and his successors) had undertaken on the political and institutional level: the end of the sixth century in Attica was, in fact, notable for the redistribution of political space made concrete by the reform of Cleisthenes. J-P. Vernant, following P. Vidal-Naquet and P. Levêque, has underlined the degree to which this new representation of a space featuring “homogeneity and equality” is opposed to the old notion of hierarchical space where power belongs exclusively to landholders who live in the city (the eupatrids): “The constitution of Cleisthenes in particular set itself the task of overcoming the opposition between town and country and of establishing a state that in the organization of its tribes, of its assemblies, and of its magistracies would quite deliberately ignore any distinction between urban and rural inhabitants. This is the exact sense of the mixture Cleisthenes wished to achieve—a mixture of all the old elements that had up to this time constituted the city.”¹⁷⁶

Now M. Austin and Vidal-Naquet also tell us that from the end of the fifth century

the ideal came to correspond less and less with the reality . . . the opposition between town and country reappeared even at Athens. Already in *The Clouds* of Aristophanes (423) a typical rustic (*agroikos*), as opposed to the city man (*asteios*), turns up in the character of Strepsiades. This type will be taken up by New Comedy (there were several comedies titled *Agroikos*), and is included by Theophrastos among his *Characters*. Plato in his *Laws* tries to counteract the opposition between town and country by simply annihilating it: the citizens were to have land at both the center and the periphery.¹⁷⁷

The period when Pan’s cult was thriving, when his Attic sanctuaries were filling up with images that give evidence of a genuine folk piety (the ex-votos that are the so-called reliefs “of the nymphs”), thus corresponds strikingly with the period when, after the balance achieved in the first three-quarters of the fifth century, the relation between town and country was again becoming a critical problem for Athenian democratic institutions. This “coincidence” is certainly no accident; it reminds us that these images have political and historical connections,

that it would be wrong to isolate them in a purely mythico-religious context. We are not dealing with something extraneous; we are rather on the track of a certain kind of coherence. Let us not forget that from the sixth century onward Arcadia, Pan's homeland, confronted oligarchic Sparta as a land experimenting with democracy (cf. the project at Cyrene of Demonax of Mantinea).¹⁷⁸ Pan himself, who had stood against the barbarians at Marathon, beside Thrasybulus, and later as patron of the Arcadian League, made plain his preference for the democratic side.

E I G H T

THE CELEBRATION OF THE
FESTIVAL

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A number of the scholars who have studied votive reliefs sacred to the nymphs have drawn attention to the low altar that not infrequently appears on them, an altar made of rough stone.¹ Comparing this construction to altars of the chthonic type (*escharai*), or even with *omphaloi*, they have suggested the possibility that a sacrifice of the heroic or funeral type was offered Pan and/or the nymphs. Our literary evidence does not support this interpretation. When the ritual is described, it is always specified as a sacrifice of the Olympian type (*thusia*). The verb is *thuein*, never *enagizein*.² The actual altar is called (in the fragment ascribed to Thespis) a *bōmos*.³ Alciphron, who gives a detailed description of a sacrifice offered by courtesans to the nymphs, explains how this altar was improvised on each occasion from available materials and put up in front of the statues that ornamented the cave (*ἀντικρὺ βωμὸν ἀποσχεδίως ἐνήσαμεν*).⁴ It was quite unusual to build a cut-stone altar that was intended to last in front of or within the cave.⁵ The explanation is to be found not so much in a peculiarity of the rite as in the simplicity and irregularity of these acts of private religion.⁶ The animal sacrificed to Pan is always an uncastrated goat or sheep.⁷ In the case of the nymphs, Euripides mentions a bull, but this is a royal sacrifice,⁸ and we have every reason to believe that the victim was normally less substantial: sheep, goats, and pigs appear already in Homer.⁹ A painting on wood found in the cave of Pitsa shows a small sacrificial procession moving toward the cave of the nymphs with a sheep.¹⁰ As for Alciphron, he speaks of a white hen.¹¹ Not infrequently the offerings (to Pan as to the nymphs) consisted merely of cheese, milk, honey, or cakes set around the altar.¹²

It should be stressed that the *thusia* offered Pan differed in at least one essential point from the ritual proper to the nymphs. The goat-god received libations of wine;¹³ a theme of drunkenness runs through the whole ceremony.¹⁴ Now we know that Athenian custom prohibited the offering of wine to the nymphs.¹⁵ Another theme, sexual license (which

surfaced in the *pannychis* that followed the sacrifice) is also in contrast to the attitude appropriate to the presence of the chaste goddesses. This last contrast is underlined in Alciphron's description of a private celebration placed in a cave of Pan and the nymphs.¹⁶ The archaizing style and purpose of this rhetorician and sophist, a contemporary of Lucian's, make it safe to assume that he describes a ritual practice whose elements were already well established in the fourth century B.C.: after the sacrifice of a white hen and a libation without wine¹⁷ offered to the nymphs, the celebration, organized by courtesans and their lovers, takes a frankly erotic turn—but at that point, as one of the participants remarks, the goddesses modestly turn away their gaze, and Pan, with Priapus, alone remains to enjoy the pastimes that will enliven the sanctuary and its surroundings all night.¹⁸

The *Dyscolos* of Menander provides us with good evidence for fifth-century Attic belief and practice relative to Pan.¹⁹ The god himself speaks the prologue, the whole plot unfolds along with a sacrifice offered to him, and the behavior of the main characters is either prescribed by him or defined in reference to him. Without attempting a synopsis, let us note that Pan causes Sostratos, a young dandy, to feel sudden passion for a girl he comes across on a hunting expedition; she lives with her father, a poor and misanthropic countryman, on a little farm near the sanctuary of the nymphs at Phyle, in a district where the pursuit of agriculture comes to no more than "cultivating the stones."²⁰ Pan takes hold of Sostratos and brings about in him an amorous passion, a kind of possession that the god describes as follows: "I am making him in a certain way inspired."²¹ Sostratos admits that he has lost control of the fate of his heart when he declares that only Pan could make him give up his intention to marry.²² His parents, whose presence is needed if he is to make a success of this project, arrive in their turn at Phyle under Pan's guidance: he sends them a dream. This providential dream, which comes to Sostratos's mother, amounts to a piece of friendly trickery; it makes it clear that while the god all too quickly runs out of ideas and lacks the skill of love on his own behalf, he is quite ready to organize scenarios of seduction for human beings. When that happens, nothing can resist his whim. The central character of the play, let us remember, is as the title implies, Cnemon the Misanthrope. The celebration can be made complete only by the defeat of this anti-panic figure, who lives turned in on himself, shrinks from noise, laughter, and good cheer, and knows nothing of marriage except conjugal warfare. Pan's action consists essentially in bringing together this enemy of marriage and the disarmed lover Sostratos in a collective prenuptial celebration.

Sostratos's mother dreams that she sees the god put her son in chains, telling him to work the land near his sacred cave, dressed in a goatskin and equipped with a spade.²³ The dream comes true in the sense that Sostratos is to all intents and purposes bound by the love Pan makes him feel for Cnemon's daughter and is temporarily turned into a countryman in his eagerness to see the girl, whom he has only glimpsed, again; he spades the stony ground that adjoins the sanctuary (and his beloved's dwelling).²⁴ But Sostratos's mother, who knows nothing of what is happening to her son at the moment of her dream, does not think of so literal an interpretation. She is extremely worried and decides that the dream can be given a positive outcome only if she arranges a sacrifice;²⁵ this sacrifice in turn brings together on the scene the actors of the play. Why should she feel so anxious? Nothing is less characteristic of the goat-god than agricultural labor;²⁶ a task prescribed her son by Pan must be something impossible. If one gives this labor, as a Greek readily would, an erotic sense,²⁷ her nervousness becomes comprehensible: the dream means that the young man is threatened with sterility. To secure a positive outcome for him implies by this logic that she must ask the god to release Sostratos from his chains and permit him to work another piece of ground; symbolically interpreted, this means asking Pan to bring about a marriage—which is exactly what is going on. The action of this play, after all, concludes with a prenuptial celebration dedicated to the goat-god. The literal actualization of the dream (Sostratos working with his spade) was only an awkward and ineffective strategem brought about by a blind desire that would have had no success if an outsider had not intervened: Sostratos's mother, by sacrificing to Pan, unknowingly organizes the conditions necessary for the achievement of her son's desire. So schematized, this plot, which makes a complete circle, appears as the ingenious creation of the god; through trickery and laughter, it clarifies and celebrates one of his important functions: the nocturnal celebration that begins at the end of the play is a compliment paid by the institution of matrimony to an indispensable component, panic eroticism.²⁸

The narrative content of Menander's *Dyscolos* thus grows out of a symbolism centering on the figure of Pan; at the same time, the play provides us with an extremely realistic picture of at least one form of the god's private worship. The play actually proceeds through the various stages of the type of religious celebration that often took place in Attic cave sanctuaries during the classical period. This ritual structure underlying the action is marked by the traditional practices and acts performed by the characters throughout the play. The very beginning,

from this point of view, is the preparation for a sacrifice (*thusia*) organized by a rich Athenian citizen, Sostratos's mother, as a result of seeing Pan in a dream.²⁹ It is made quite clear that we are not dealing with the god Pan in general, or with just any Pan, but with the Pan of Phyle. Therefore she decides to perform the rite in the cave of this latter, located deep in a gorge on Parnes. In order to perform the sacrifice, this matron, as is customary, calls upon a cook (a *mageiros*), who will act as master of ceremonies and to whom she assigns a slave for his assistance. The cook goes to the Nymphaion (it is a long and awkward trip) bringing the sacrificial victim, a sheep (*probaton*).³⁰ He is followed by the slave, carrying carpets (*strōmata*),³¹ which will be spread around the inside of the cave to serve as mattresses (*stibadas*) for the participants.³² The ceremony proper begins with the arrival, to musical accompaniment, of a little drunken procession of women—that is, of the matron and her servants. They carry baskets (the *kana*,³³ which would normally contain the sacrificial knife hidden beneath barley and salt),³⁴ jars to be used in ablutions and aspersions (*chernibas*),³⁵ and also, probably, the ingredients needed for making a kind of stew with which to dress the roast meats (*thulēmata*).³⁶ A slave has been instructed to play on her flute (*aulos*) a tune proper to Pan. Actually, “tradition forbids that one approach this god in silence” (σιωπῆ, φασί, τοῦτω τῷ θεῷ / οὐ δεῖ προσιέναι), as one character remarks.³⁷ This remark most probably reveals a contrast between Pan's rite and normal cultic practice: when the baskets and the *chernips* approach the altar chosen for the sacrifice, the worshippers are generally completely silent.³⁸ That an exception is made in the case of Pan may be explained by what we know about panic: approaching the god in silence would mean turning oneself over to the acoustic illusions that are his specialty. Be that as it may, this is the only contrast with normal ritual behavior we can discern in the *thusia* described by Menander. Otherwise, the rite unfolds as much as possible according to the habitual rules; as a matter of fact, this irritates the misanthrope, who lives next to the sanctuary and cannot resist comparing this traditional practice, which he despises, with that which, in his view, would be more fitting to the gods:

How they sacrifice, these miscreants!
 Bringing picnic boxes, wine-jars, not for the gods
 To have, but for themselves. Incense is pious
 And the cake; you put them on the fire and the god
 Gets it all. These people give the tail-bone³⁹
 And the gall, whatever is inedible, to the gods,
 And gobble down the rest themselves.⁴⁰

Such criticism of blood sacrifice and of the general tone of cheerful drunkenness is worthy of a “Greek puritan.”⁴¹ The point was noted by Porphyry, who in his *De abstinentia* cites (and praises) Cnemon’s words.⁴² All the same, the celebration goes on. It is disrupted on the ritual level by only one incident: the women, being somewhat drunk, have forgotten the little cauldron (*lebētion*) they need to boil their meat.⁴³ As the misanthrope absolutely refuses to lend them one, the cook finally declares that he is going to roast (*optan*) all the meat in a frying pan (*lopas*) he has with him.⁴⁴ This is a choice of last resort. Roasting and boiling in ritual practice are not really interchangeable. The Greeks were very clear about the difference between these two modes of preparation; each had its own definite place in sacrificial cooking.⁴⁵ That Menander’s cook feels he is being forced to stretch the rules confirms us in our sense that a sacrifice to Pan (*thusia*) follows the general customary pattern. It is only after the ritual tasting of the entrails (the *splanchna*, which the cook has cut up⁴⁶ and the celebrants have roasted on little skewers)⁴⁷ that the meal begins with the distribution of portions of boiled meat (in this exceptional case, with meat fried in the pan).⁴⁸ The time is then midday: *τεθύκαμεν ἄρτι καὶ παρασκευάζομεν / ἄριστον ὑμῖν* “We have just sacrificed and we are making your lunch.”⁴⁹ *Ariston* is the name of the meal the Greeks took round about noon. Like every sacrificial meal, it has here a sacred character; to share it, consisting as it does of *hieria*, is to seal a friendship.⁵⁰ It is punctuated with libations and lasts through the afternoon. Within the cave, drunkenness increases: “There is a hubbub inside, they’re drinking; no one will hear us,” say two minor characters, who have decided to annoy the misanthrope.⁵¹ They know whereof they speak: the noises coming from the cave quickly become deafening, distorted as they are by the echo; the resulting acoustic confusion is probably a constituent element of a ritual sacred to Pan. It is to be noted that the word used at this point (*thorubos*) is one of the terms frequently used to describe panic disorder.⁵² The cave containing the ritual, a dark and vague space where song and echoing cries turn to hubbub, does not fail to remind us of a military encampment disorganized at night by Pan’s tumult.

The festival (*heortē*) is, however, far from over.⁵³ The sacrifice proper (*thusia*) and the meal (*ariston*) are only its preliminaries. At this point let us observe that this sacrifice, which was originally organized by a woman, is also celebrated by women; males are involved only in support functions. The cook and the slave set up the cave and do the chores, but these two characters are clearly distinct from the group of women that follows them to the cave in a little procession to the sound

of the flute. These are the true celebrants; they arrive already somewhat drunk (the festival has already begun for them), and they carry out the presacrificial acts.⁵⁴ The cook slaughters the victim and carves the meat, but he is still only an employee. Men other than those employed by the lady of the house join the festival only when the sacrifice and meal are already over. It is true that their arrival does not interrupt the religious ceremony. They join in a cheerful hubbub that is itself in Pan's honor, and at the end of the play (which in dramatic time is at the end of the afternoon) people are getting ready for the nocturnal conclusion to the ritual.⁵⁵ The panic ceremony is to go on through the entire night. At this point, the sexes are again divided: the men settle down to drinking while the women accomplish the vigil (*pannychis*): δεῑ πότον / ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, παπία, νυνὶ καλόν / καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν παννυχίδα.⁵⁶ At least this is what is supposed to happen; in practice, as old Callipides knows well, things always work out just the other way: the women drink and the men have to keep the vigil in their place: τούναντιον / πίουντ' ἐκεῖναι, παννυχιούμεν, οἶδ' ὅτι, / ἡμεῖς.⁵⁷ Vigil and drinking-bout both take place in the presence of the god, that is to say, in the cave, or very near it.⁵⁸ The participants wear crowns and light their way with torches.⁵⁹ There will be dancing; there are references to a shy young girl who, slightly tipsy, is caught up in the round dance.⁶⁰ Aelian in his *Rustic Correspondence* imagines a letter inviting the misanthrope to take part in the festival: the wine will quench his anger and put it to sleep as Dionysus awakens good humor in its stead.⁶¹ The joy and license of the festival are underlined; the flute girl and the song will infuse his spirit with the brightest of smiles. It will do him no harm to join in the peals of laughter drink brings forth. And if, perchance, he should in his drunkenness kiss some young girl who cries out in a sweet voice or seeks her nurse, such an act will be quite in place in a sacrifice to Pan. Pan, after all, is concerned with Eros (*erōtikos*) and ready to "rouse" himself with respect to the girls.⁶²

The festival starts in the morning and goes on without a break until dawn the following day. Callipides' somewhat cynical observations are explained by the fact that the women are in charge; they make the rules and determine the sequence of events. The vigil, furthermore, is not a mere pleasure party; it is also an ordeal, a matter of holding out until dawn, which implies giving in neither to exhaustion nor to wine.

The vigil (*pannychis*) is not peculiar to the cult of Pan, but evidently formed part of a whole set of religious festivals.⁶³ We meet it especially in the worship of Dionysus, Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis, Meter, and Demeter, on cult occasions that importantly involve women. The most

famous vigils are those of Dionysus, kept by the Maenads at the bian-nual festival;⁶⁴ those of Demeter, kept by the women at the time of the Haloa, the Stenia, and also the Mysteries;⁶⁵ and finally that of Athena, kept the night before the great Panathenian procession, when the *ololugē* of the girls gave answer to the pavan of the young men.⁶⁶ The *pannuchis* was often something cheerful and easygoing—to the degree that L. Ziehen thought that it could not possibly have formed part of the Mysteries,⁶⁷ the “serious” celebration par excellence, in spite of the plain testimony provided by the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Attic inscriptions.⁶⁸ In the *pannuchis* of the Panathenaia, the young girls in their choruses made the ground echo to their feet; this clamorous dance was attended by the cry of women, and rhythmic clapping kept time to the motion of the dancers.⁶⁹ Dancing was nearly always a part of such rituals when a display of joy was required. Drunkenness, jokes, and an apparently ritualized exchange of coarse insults, which were intended to make people laugh, filled out the festival—which, if it had been organized by hetairai, easily took on an erotic cast. Some few fragments remain of a description by Callimachus of a *Pannuchis*; unfortunately, we do not know which god was involved, but this, no doubt, makes little difference. Particularly worthy of stress here is the peculiar ambience, in which feasting and secular games by no means exclude the presence and participation of gods: “Apollo takes part in the chorus; I hear the lyre, I feel the presence of the Erotes. Aphrodite is here. . . . He who holds off sleep until the dawn shall be awarded the cake and the prize for which people play the game of the wine cups; he shall kiss whomever he likes of the company, man or woman.”⁷⁰

A great variety of ritual scenarios find place for the *pannuchis*. From the vigil kept by young Athenians for the goddess on the Acropolis or that following the procession of the Mysteries to the vigil of Aphrodite of which we hear something in Sicily⁷¹—in all these, the emphasis quite certainly varies. Wine is not always involved, nor is Eros. But the general function of the *pannuchis* always remains the same. We can better understand what is at stake in the combination of enjoyment and ordeal characteristic of this ritual behavior if we turn to the passage in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter that describes the origin of a *pannuchis*. The women of Eleusis keep a vigil in an attempt to appease the wrathful goddess. This episode comes just after the speech in which Demeter reveals her identity and requires them to institute a cult for her. In the unfolding of the mythic story, the vigil immediately precedes the construction of the temple where Demeter will hide herself. It thus precedes the arrival on the scene of masculine power (the king is only

informed at dawn) and precedes the reestablishment of cosmic order by Zeus (the periodic return of Persephone): it is the first cult act directed toward Demeter (now known to be a goddess) at Eleusis. Here is the text of the hymn:

Αἱ μὲν παννύχιαι κυδρὴν θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο
 δείματι παλλόμεναι ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηηφι
 εὐρυβίη Κελεῶ νημερτέα μυθήσαντο,
 ὡς ἐπέτελλε θεὰ καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ.⁷²

“They all night long appeased the dread goddess, trembling with fear. At the time of the appearance of dawn, they sent true word to wide-ruling Keleos as she had instructed them, the fair-crowned goddess Demeter.” The verb *hilaskomai*, here translated as “appease,” belongs to the ritual vocabulary. Herodotus, we recall, used this verb to describe the official cult of Pan at Athens.⁷³ *Hilaskomai* is based on *hileos* (propitious, cheerful, pleased). To appease the goddess is thus to make her smile. The vigil of Metaneira and her sisters, which is directed toward a goddess recognized as such, but wrathful, is very similar in function to the initiative of Iambe, which is addressed to a grieving old woman whose divine nature is unrecognized, but whose numinous appearance nevertheless inspires respect and fear.⁷⁴ Iambe’s jokes, in this earlier part of the story, appease the spirit of the goddess: ἴλαον . . . θυμόν.⁷⁵ The Iambe episode (closely linked to the invention of the *kukeon*) and the *pannuchis* appear in the myth as unconnected elements; both, however, specify an aspect of a single experience that the ritual will be able more compactly to bring to actuality: on the evening of the 20th Boedromion, the procession of the Mystae arrives at Eleusis by torchlight, the pilgrims drink the *kukeon*, the women then apparently part from the men in order to keep the vigil under the guidance of the *dadouchos* (torch-bearer); this *pannuchis*, as N. J. Richardson notes, involved rude language recalling the intervention of Iambe.⁷⁶ The Eleusinian myth tells us that the *pannuchis* is a festival celebrating the good effects of good humor. Its purpose is to conciliate the divinity to whom it is addressed; the celebrants strive to obtain her goodwill. It has perhaps another, complementary function, which is to keep the divinity awake, to dissuade her from going away and neglecting her functions. The *pannuchis* acts upon the divinity to keep her present, active, and well disposed.

A passage in Plutarch classes together rites (*orgia*) sacred to Pan, Meter (Mother of the Gods), and Dionysus.⁷⁷ The Parian marble, referring to the invention of the Phrygian mode, groups together flute mel-

odies played for Pan, the Mother of the Gods, and Dionysus.⁷⁸ These documents may be taken to refer to esoteric and probably ecstatic rites, particularly linked to a feminine kind of religiosity.⁷⁹ This would explain why, in the festival described by Menander, the women are in principle responsible for the serious side (the ritual aspect: the *thusia* before the meal, and then the vigil and the dance, as opposed to drinking). Other evidence confirms the importance of women in private cult proper to Pan. The *Suda*⁸⁰ and a scholiast on Aristophanes⁸¹ speak of women who exalt Pan with cries, in the course of a rite whose special character is itself specified by the verb *orgiazein*. The lexicographers provide this information in their comments on a passage where Aristophanes speaks of women approaching the sanctuary of Pan to the sound of tambourines.⁸² As on other occasions, they join in a festival of Bacchus or Aphrodite. This evidence is not, however, sufficient to make us quite sure that there existed a cult reserved to the piety of women, parallel to the less secluded practices that brought together women and men. Nothing in the dedicatory descriptions, and, more importantly, nothing in Menander's text, is sufficient basis for such an hypothesis. The documentation we have tells us only that in a cult of Pan women played a particularly active role.

The cry of women proper to panic ritual is called *kraugē* by the *Suda* and the scholiast on Aristophanes.⁸³ This word is not generally used of a call or of any kind of communication. The *kraugē* is an inarticulate cry. Aristotle makes fun of an elegiac poet who chose to speak of poetry by the impossible metaphor "*kraugē* of Calliope."⁸⁴ As applied to certain animal sounds, the word speaks of a use of the voice approximating pure noise—not a cry and certainly not a song. *Kraugē* in this sense can refer to the yelping of a dog,⁸⁵ or to the croaking of a crow,⁸⁶ to the bird-noise of a woodpecker,⁸⁷ or certain bleatings of a goat.⁸⁸ When produced by humans, a *kraugē* evidently carries with it a negative force: in the mouth of an old witch with the voice of a grasshopper, it resounds as a charm harmful to small children.⁸⁹ But it is most frequently heard in the environment of war. This is the cry women give when the dead are brought back from battle;⁹⁰ it is also the cry that rises from besieged cities, or that an army gives when it is surprised and takes to flight.⁹¹ The vanquished cry thus,⁹² as does a man unexpectedly struck and attacked;⁹³ a *kraugē* is at once a cry of fear and a cry that causes fear. It puts the attacker to flight. In Thucydides, the *kraugē* and *olologē* of the Plataean women on a stormy, moonless night evoked *phobos* among the Thebans who have gotten into their town.⁹⁴ The connection of the *kraugē* (a cry close to a noise) with fear suggests that we should place it

in the set of images proper to panic. We can find confirmation of this in a note by Hesychius: to express the predisposition of certain horses to shy, the old lexicographer tells us, the Greek language included the word *kraugias*, derived from *kraugē*, which was used for a steed agitated by noise.⁹⁵ The uncontrollable agitation of a horse, as we know, is a particularly clear sign of panic.⁹⁶ A second, more explicit confirmation is provided by the *Suda*, which takes for granted a connection between panic and the women's ritual exalting Pan "with a cry" (*meta kraugēs*): panic hubbub is from this point of view comparable to a cultic celebration.⁹⁷

I have suggested above that the festival in honor of Pan brought about an equilibrium, midway between panic and possession. Let me now add that this equilibrium is not achieved by the exclusion of panic and possession, but rather by a ritual that evokes them, perhaps the better to gain control of their effects. Enchanting music (flutes, tambourines, rhythmic beating of the hands and feet), dances approximating animal leaping, drunkenness, erotic excitement—all these are joined to fearful cries. Similarly, during the night the tumult that fills the cave, joyful though it be, nonetheless becomes a hubbub like that of panic. Pleasure and desire are at the heart of this festival, which in Menander prefigures a marriage. But they are inescapably mixed with anxiety. It is surely not only to keep the god awake, to bring him joy, that one must struggle against exhaustion until dawn. The *panmuchiis* of Pan, an initiatory festival quite as much as a festival of pleasure, also works to exorcize fears and phantasmata—that is to say, phenomena attributed either to the absence of the god or to his excessive presence.

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N I N E
CONCLUSION

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A third-century relief found in the cave of Melissani on Cephalonia (a cave sacred to Pan and the nymphs) pictures a procession of nymphs represented as women, carrying water, supplied with torches, and preceded by a tiny Pan.¹ This representation, which at first glance follows a pattern common in the iconography of votive reliefs, nevertheless presents a problem for interpretation: the torches and hydria mark the goddesses as the performers and not the object of this nocturnal ritual; and Pan, who leads their procession, does not seem to be the recipient of this ritual either. Generally speaking, the nymphs who accompany Pan are not his subordinates; their relation is not to be confused with the relation between the maenads and Dionysus—even if these goddesses often look much like ordinary young women, human celebrants of cult. There is nothing inferior about the nymphs in comparison to Pan; they remain just as divine as he is. Therefore we must not interpret their dance around the goat-god as a ritual paradigm for the dance of mortal women who celebrate the cult of Pan. The service of these nymphs is in honor of some other divinity than Pan; and sometimes Pan even serves with them. Who receives this “service”?

The archaeologist G. S. Dontas² reminds us, in connection with the Cephalonia relief, of a passage in Pausanias describing the sculptures that decorate the sanctuary altar of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis. Pausanias’s guidebook mentions nymphs carrying torches and hydria; these, he remarks, are the servants of goddesses.³ On the Megalopolis altar, Pan does not appear. At Thebes, by contrast, the goat-god unquestionably functions as servant of a goddess herself related to the Arcadian divinities: the Mother of the Gods.⁴ He is supported in this function by young girls (*kourai*) who come to sing with him during a nocturnal ritual. Pindar, who elsewhere calls Pan “dog of the Great Goddess,”⁵ alludes to this ritual in *Pythian 3*:

But I for my part am ready to raise my prayer to the Mother
Whom the girls before my door with Pan so often sing,
That dread goddess, all night long.⁶

Should we think of a priest taking the part of Pan and conducting the round dance of the girls? Pindar, in this connection, gives us a precious bit of evidence when he says that it is the gods, and not men, who call Pan “dog of the Great Goddess.” It is on the supernatural level that Pan is a servant. The homage he renders the goddess is for the poet a reality distinct from a human cult. The girls, who doubtless imitate nymphs, dance with Pan, but the joining of their dance with the god’s implies neither identity nor confusion between divine and human. Pan, like the nymphs, can only be “mimed.”

In welcoming Antony (the new Dionysus), the people of Ephesus did not hesitate to dress up, the women as bacchantes, the men as satyrs, the boys as Pans.⁷ This diplomatic masquerade followed a ritual scenario preserved for us in Strabo: in his long “kouretic excursus,” the geographer in fact lists Pans along with cabiri, corybantes, satyrs, and tityrs among the guardians, dancers, and temple servants dedicated to Dionysus or Rhea-Cybele (Mother of the Gods).⁸ Plato, in the *Laws*, surely allows us to catch a glimpse of similar practices when he evokes, only to exclude them from his city, dances performed by nymphs, Pans, silenes, and satyrs:

As for all that kind of Bacchic dancing, and all those who indulge in mimetic dances, thus evoking, as they claim, nymphs, Pans, silenes, and drunken satyrs in various purificatory and initiatory rituals, all these theatricals are none too easy to classify, either as warlike or pacific or whatever you like. . . . Let us confine ourselves to remarking that this sort of theatricality is unpolitical and let us leave it where we found it.⁹

The purificatory and initiatory rituals to which the philosopher alludes are surely not rituals belonging in their own right to the cult of the figures whose names he gives us: satyrs and silenes are not objects of cult. As for the nymphs and Pan, we have no other indication that they were the object of initiations or rituals of the esoteric type. But we can conclude from the totality of the evidence before us that Pan sometimes played the mediating role of initiate-initiator in the context of a cult addressed to *another divinity*, Dionysus or the Mother of the Gods. Pindar, probably in the same poem where he calls him servant (“dog”) of

the Great Goddess, calls him “most accomplished dancer”; the word he uses is actually *τελεώτατος*, which perhaps suggests a ritual comparable to the *τελεταί* of which Plato speaks.¹⁰ Pindar’s evidence refers to Boeotian cult; there is extensive archaeological documentation for the importance of Pan in the fifth century in the famous sanctuary of the Cabiri near Thebes, a spot set aside for important mysteries.¹¹ Let us add finally that Sophocles presents the god inspiring a dance practiced at Knossos and Mysia, that is to say, in regions where the Greek tradition located other mystery rituals: kouretic initiations or the cult of Cybele.¹²

In relation to other gods, Pan appears often in a deferential or even dependent position. Henchman of Zeus, servant of Dionysus,¹³ submissive if need be to Artemis, “dog” of the Mother, somewhat clownish companion of the great Aphrodite, we have also met him acting the devotee of pastoral Hermes or Hecate of the crossroads. This inferior position brings him close to mankind, while making clear the necessary liminal function he serves. Through Pan, a group of divinities communicate with mankind just as they communicate with one another. The precise relations between Pan and the great deities of the Hellenic pantheon were defined at the beginning of the fifth century. The system so constituted displays the extreme mobility of the goat-god, a mediating figure if ever there was one; the Epidaurus Hymn brings out what is perhaps his most essential function when it styles him “prop of everything” (*ἔρεισμα πάντων*). Always peripheral to the potencies of others, Pan keeps slipping through the mesh: the comings and goings of this “monster” reunite and restore continuity to a world otherwise overly ordered by a rigid discontinuous conceptual grid. Foster-brother of Zeus, for whom he secures a mastery over the Titans and over Typhon, we find him represented in the world of the shepherds with the attributes of minor royalty; son of pastoral Hermes and friend of Dionysus, he rushes out to the limits of organized space to a place where directions disappear or (re)appear; his music turns from communication to acoustic disorder; one’s personality, in itself or in relation to others, suddenly finds itself beating against the mirror of desire and fear under his influence; speed, surprise, and deceit, traits of Hermes, combine in this animal guide with a Dionysiac power that drives us astray, and with another power, of fertility and coupling, in this case expressed in a seductive charm wherein he finds his solidarity with Aphrodite. His tireless erotic progress, which flows from Aphrodite, opposes him to Artemis, and at the same time brings him close to this prenuptial goddess, whom he meets on the field of war and of the hunt; from a wild

place where his passion might seem sterile, he at last brings back Demeter, and Meter, to the gods and to mankind.

At a period when literature had for a long time been watching the countryside from a distance, Dio Chrysostom thought he remembered that “the shepherds call destiny Pan as the sailors call it Leucothea.”¹⁴ Similar themes appear when Lucian, in his *Dialogue of the Gods*, amuses himself at the expense of Ganymede: for the pleasure of the literati he imagines the boy carried off by the eagle Zeus as a native young Peloponnesian shepherd.

GANYMEDE: Look, my man, were you not an eagle a moment ago? Didn't you have wings when you carried me off from the midst of my flock? How did your feathers moult, so that you show yourself now in this other form?

ZEUS: This is no man you see before you, my boy, nor yet an eagle; I am the king of the gods in person and I can change my form as occasion serves.

GANYMEDE: What are you telling me? Is it really you, the famous Pan? But then why don't you have a syrinx, or horns, and why aren't your legs shaggy?

ZEUS: Do you believe that he is the one god?

GANYMEDE: Yes. And we sacrifice to him an uncut goat, which we bring to his grotto, there where he stands; as for you, I think you're a kidnapper.¹⁵

Pan thought of as destiny or the one god by shepherds? This should be a stunning proof that the Greeks had already developed the doctrine of natural revelation, a theory of primitive monotheism bequeathed by Christian missionaries to the polemicist Andrew Lang,¹⁶ and in turn transmitted by him to Father Wilhelm Schmidt,¹⁷ which continued to impress historians of religion until a very recent period.¹⁸ However, let us collect ourselves—it is nothing of the sort, only a mirage: having recognized Zeus, Ganymede suddenly remembers that he has seen his father sacrifice to this god also. Dio Chrysostom and Lucian are evidence for something else: namely, the great importance—in their eyes—of Pan in the rural world, as opposed to his near insignificance in the world of the cities. Pan, as they see him, exemplifies the difference felt by the ancients—and the origins of this are at least as old as Aristophanes¹⁹—between two types of polytheistic religion: that of the city, of educated people, and that of the countryside.

Country religion, city religion: this is a fundamental, if latent, contrast throughout the *Pastorals* of the archaizing writer Longus: the only gods that turn up there bear the names of Eros, Pan, and the nymphs.

One who searched the manuals of Greek civic religion would find little enough under the names of *these* divinities. The rhetorician Alciphron, a contemporary of Lucian's, has even made up for us a bitter letter sent by a peasant to his wife, who has deserted him for the lure of the city. Here again, and right from the start (which is odd), it is a matter of the collision between two religious worlds:

Little you care now for our bed, for the children we have had together, in a word, for country life: you belong altogether to the city; gripped with hatred for Pan and the nymphs you call epimelides, dryads, and naiads, you want to bring in new gods besides those we already have. Now where in the fields am I going to build a sanctuary to the Coliades or the Genetyllides? I have heard about the names of still more gods, but most of them, they are so many, I've forgotten. As far as I can tell, you've lost your head, my wife, you're not thinking things out sanely; you go visiting these city women, corrupted by lust.²⁰

Thus for one whole strand of ancient thought—carried forward uncritically in the repeated assertions of philologists and historians of religion—it goes without saying that the god Pan is completely the product of popular belief and reflects an ideology proper to the world of peasants and shepherds. Such is the notion of the Atticists of the imperial period: the earliest documents relating to the religion of the goat-god in Attica, in the classical period, seem at first sight to confirm it.

Let us leave aside the problem of the authenticity of two literary fragments that may date from the end of the sixth century: the genealogy of Pan attributed to Epimenides,²¹ and a passage from Thespis describing a sacrifice of honey, cheese, and wine offered to the goat-god.²² Let us restrict ourselves to an iconographic document. The earliest known Attic vase painting on which one may identify a figure who looks like Pan—dancing with a maenad—is earlier than the Persian War. It thus precedes the official introduction of the cult. The vase, a high-necked amphora preserved in the Cape Town Museum, is decorated by an artist of the so-called school of “the Red-Line Painter.”²³ Pan, on this vase, looks completely an animal; one might describe him as an ordinary goat on his hind legs. This iconographic type, which would soon be replaced by a more humanized figure, reappeared on several vases a little later than the first Persian War, including a black-figure fragment in Amsterdam, where the god is represented playing the double flute in the context of a Dionysiac banquet.²⁴

The installation of the cult of Pan, at the conclusion of a war Greek thought was quick to treat as a cosmic conflict, has the quality of a reparation. One might say that the city took the chance of this return to equilibrium (conceived as the reestablishment of a cosmic order) to re-define the powers and prerogatives of a familiar god who had been for a time neglected. In Herodotus's account, Pan himself, before the battle of Marathon, reminds the Athenians of his favor and the fact that he has already often helped them. Everything happens as if the public sacrifices and the *lampadēdromia* are intended to make things up with the god, and reinstitute an ancient relationship between god and city. In any case, the vast popular success of higher authority in introducing this personage, a success proved by numerous images and by the wide diffusion of cult places in the countryside, seems to confirm the existence of such a relationship. Under these conditions, rather than speaking simply of a borrowed cult, a cult willfully imposed by civic authority, should we not suppose that we see before us what is certainly a new stage in the career of a personage who was however already present in one form or another in the space outside the city where the most ancient documents place him: was not Arcadian Pan preceded by a divine figure very close to him, an "Attic Pan" rooted in the religion of the countryside?

Vase painters of the fifth and fourth centuries frequently link Pan with Dionysus.²⁵ The goat-god, master of territorial liminality and the metamorphic borderline between man and animal, is a natural companion of satyrs and silenes; these in turn are the companions of that popular god whose crucial role in the sacred calendar includes within the institutional center elements of otherness and imbalance. This affinity, all the same, is restricted to plastic representations. It remains metaphorical. As a god of cult, and in that role completely distinct from the figures of a thiasos that exists only in myth or drama, Pan keeps his autonomy. He does not enter into any cultic relations with Dionysus. Dionysus has left no trace in any of the numerous rural sanctuaries where the Athenians from the beginning of the fifth to the end of fourth century venerated Pan, along with the nymphs, Hermes, and Achelōos; he does not appear on any votive relief left in the Attic grottoes before the end of the fourth century.²⁶ It is thus not in the direction of Dionysus, in spite of all appearances, that one should look for the Attic "precedents" of the goat-god—if it ever makes sense to look for precedents. We may rather consider another related aspect of popular religion, whereby Pan is connected with Hermes. This other aspect of the religion of the countryside, it is true, was largely overshadowed by Dio-

nysus, but a few literary and ceramographic vestiges of it survive, in particular certain ithyphallic effigies that are often anonymous or sometimes called Orphanes, Konisalos, Ithyphallos, Hilaon, or Phales.²⁷ A tradition going back to Herodotus recognizes their antiquity and associates them, or frequently identifies them, with the figure of Hermes, that is to say, with the father of Pan.²⁸ The Kyllenian Hermes in particular is described as an ithyphallic idol.²⁹ On the vase of the "Pan Painter" in Boston discussed in chapter 4, Pan seems to spring out from such an idol. The pelike of Compiègne, also fifth-century Attic, shows him making an offering to a herm.³⁰ So as far as cult practice goes, Pan belongs to the sphere of Hermes: the nymphs who surround him in Attica and welcome him to their grottoes are the companions of Hermes Nymphagete. Under these conditions, we are tempted to propose the following hypothesis: there perhaps existed before the introduction of Pan a goat-god similar to him, which the religion of the country people associated with the cult of the herms. We know nothing of this god, who had probably already been drawn into the orbit of Dionysus at the moment when the Arcadian Pan gave him a new name and granted him a certain autonomy. Pan's success in Attica—and in other regions also of the Hellenic world—at the beginning of the fifth century could reflect at least in part the need officially to recognize and revalue an ancestral religious practice that, after civic neglect or transformation, now seemed to be owed some form of reparation. But this can only be partially true. After all, we are dealing here not so much with the revaluation of something autochthonous as with the arrival of a new god. Certainly there existed in Attica, as in every other part of the Greek world, a whole heritage of traditions proper to the sphere of shepherds and peasants, traditions on which the Athenians could have drawn when they undertook such a revaluation. But they did not use them. The borrowing of Pan from the land of the acorn-eaters, of men older than the moon, is not meaningless: it signifies the appearance in the world of the cities of a new representation of the place where things begin (*l'espace des origines*). Therefore, without underestimating the fact that Pan had an earlier existence in Arcadia, or the possible existence elsewhere of a number of minor local gods who were assimilated to him, it is best to acknowledge that this earlier existence, with all its related figures, appears before us completely reinterpreted and reinvented; it would be artificial for us to detach them from the symbolic system developed in the classical period.

The introduction of a cult of Pan at Athens signifies that in the classical period, the ideology of peasants and shepherds was taken in hand by

a system of representations alien to them. The problem to be solved, given the state of our sources, is therefore not that of separating the religion of some city or cities from a religion of the countryside, nor that of distinguishing something “original” from that which is not, but rather that of coming to terms with the Arcadian as he appears before us: the present inquiry has set itself the task of explaining what this monster meant at the moment when his existence as a god forcefully impressed itself on the Greek consciousness.

This does not require us to deny any of the effects of historical combination. The diffusion of the cult of Pan in quite diverse parts of the Greek world, which had already begun in the fifth century, inevitably brought with it a variety of interactions. The welcome the Athenians mounted for the goat-god as a consequence of his intervention at Marathon certainly played a crucial role in the propagation of his cult; the classical image of Pan should not, however, be reduced only to that which emerges from the Attic evidence. As other regions also welcomed the Arcadian, they obviously found room for him in other contexts. At Delphi, for example, where from the first half of the fifth century Pan received a cult in the Corycian cave, emphasis shifts from the affinities that link him to Hermes to those that attached him to Apollo (and also to Dionysus).³¹ Let us recall the legend of the goatherd Coretas and the tradition according to which Pan taught prophecy to Apollo. At Thebes, where his cult, integral with that of the Mother of the Gods, was introduced after the city had consulted the Delphic oracle,³² Pan was considered the son of Apollo,³³ a fact that did not prevent him from playing an important role next to Hermes in the sanctuary of the Cabiri.³⁴ Styled by Pindar “dog of the Great Mother,” he perhaps fulfilled the subordinate function of servant, which brought him close to Hermes Cadmilos (“servant”), waiting on the Great Gods.³⁵ In Macedonia where his cult was also established in the fifth century, he was subordinate to Dionysus and came in contact with other mythical figures related to him, particularly Midas and Marsyas:³⁶ thus the local tradition of Celaenae—attributing to their ancient and autochthonous divinity an exploit similar to that attributed by the people of Delphi to the master of panic—honored Marsyas for having put the Gauls to flight with the help of his flute and with the help of the river that bears his name.³⁷ Still further off, near the cave of Corycos in Cilicia, Pan encounters the last versions of an ancient Anatolian myth that inspired the story of his struggle against Typhon.³⁸ In Upper Egypt, finally, the Greek colonists fancied they could discern the familiar image of the

goat-god behind the enigmatic figure of Min of Coptos, lord of roads in the eastern desert.³⁹

In speaking generally of Greek mythology, I have asserted that it was a dynamic system, and a system *of* and *in* transformation. A detailed history of the cult of Pan in the Hellenic world would show this constant movement, integral to an adaptive power synonymous with vitality, but not with incoherence. This is not that account; I have preferred to limit my inquiry to the case of Athens, in its documentation as in its history a privileged case. Most of all I have thought it useful, at least to begin with, to try to bring to light the deep structure of the symbolic system developed in the classical period around the figure Pan. The various episodes in the history of this god are evidently shaped by specific contingencies of cultural inheritance and by a great number of local political-religious policies. At the mercy of this history, the system shifts its emphasis sometimes to one aspect, sometimes to another. A more thorough study would show that Boeotian Pan was more “mystical” than Attic Pan; the latter was more “rural” than Macedonian Pan, for whom the warrior function was stressed, while the god of wandering and uncultivated space found his privileged landscape in the deserts of the Thebaid. All the same, each of these “variations” modulates a single theme, the common property of fifth-century Greece, a theme that announces the liminal figure of the Arcadian goatherd, with his characteristic interaction of fear and desire, of animal and god, under the sign of music and the dance.

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Inscribed on a votive statuette dating from the sixth century B.C. and found on Mount Lykaion (see plate 12), a dedication shows the old uncontracted form of the name of Pan: Πᾶωνι (in the dative).⁴⁰ Πᾶ(φ)ων or Πᾶ(-σ-)ων certainly derived from the root *pā(s)*, meaning the “guardian of flocks” (cf. Vedic *pāti* “protect, keep”; Slavic *pas-ti* “keep cows”; Latin *pāscere*, *pāstus*, *pāstōr*). Recognized from the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁴¹ that is, well before the discovery of the dedication, which did no more than confirm it, this etymology reveals Pan as the Arcadian heir of ancient beliefs shared by Indo-European herdsmen. His name means precisely “shepherd.”⁴² One of Pan’s other names is explained simultaneously: W. Borgeaud informs me that in fact Aegipan (Ἀγίπᾶν) does not originally mean “Pan born of the Goat,” as the folk etymology proposed by late writers would have us believe,⁴³ but most probably “the Herdsman of goats,” “the Goatherd.” Perhaps this name, preserved in Cretan myths about the childhood of

Zeus, was the most ancient Greek name for the god, a **αἰγυπᾶ(φ)ων* or **αἰγυπᾶ(σ)ων* from which Πᾶν was derived as an abbreviation. This seems more likely than that the Cretan divine name *Αἰγυπᾶν* derived from the Mycenaean occupational term *a³-ki-pa-ta* (**αἰγυπᾶτας*), which Heubeck translates quite properly as *Ziegenhirt*.⁴⁴

That Pan has a share of the Indo-European heritage not only in his name but also on the level of religious representation seems to result from a comparison with a well-known figure of the Vedic pantheon, Pūṣán.⁴⁵ The two gods, Pan and Pūṣán, display such exact and important similarities that several linguists have tried to ascribe to them a common etymology: Pūṣán would derive from a root *puṣ*, “make prosper, nourish.” Attempts have been made to find here the source also of the Arcadian goat-god; Πᾶων is thus explained by **Παύσων*, which would be connected with the Illyrian (Messapian) Pausōos and the Gallic (Venetic) Pusa.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the shift from **Παύσων* to Πᾶων, as Cassola observes, “non è affatto ovvio.”⁴⁷ In the fourth of his *Quaestiuunculae Indo-Italicae*, Dumézil goes so far as to call it more forcefully “phonétiquement invraisemblable.”⁴⁸ All the same, Pan the guardian and protector and Pūṣán the nourisher, “the fattener,” have a number of traits in common. Even though we have to admit that they are etymologically distinct, their names both refer to their pastoral function. They are approximate homonyms, and they are really homologous.

Protector of flocks and of riches, guide of travellers and the dead, Pūṣán retrieves stray animals and objects. He is simultaneously close to Pan and to Pan’s father Hermes (he is an “Indian Hermes,” as V. Moeller puts it).⁴⁹ His car is drawn by goats instead of horses (*ajāsva*);⁵⁰ like Pan, he carries a whip,⁵¹ and he is famous for his rages;⁵² also like Pan, he is charged with the propagation of flocks and at the same time has a place in the ritual preceding weddings.⁵³

In early Arcadian mythology, we have noticed that Pan is close to Zeus. This closeness leads us to Crete, where the goat-god, foster-brother of Zeus, helps the Olympians in their conquest of power.⁵⁴ The mention of an Aegipan, the ally of Zeus against the Titans and then against Typhon, must bring to mind the important role the Vedic hymns give Pūṣán; one passage specifies that one should not make fun of this apparently absurd character: this god of the third function, whom some people call “toothless”⁵⁵ because he ate porridge,⁵⁶ was actually the necessary helper of the god Indra in his struggle against the cosmic dragon Vṛtra, the “withholder” of primordial waters.⁵⁷ Like the Greek Pan in his alliance with Zeus, he thus intervenes in a fundamental mythological event beside a major god. Let us remember that the Vedic Indra,⁵⁸

the god most often invoked in the Vedas, has as his weapon the lightning, which in Greece is the attribute of Zeus.

Pan's Arcadia, this land of men older than the moon, belongs to the sphere of representations. But in a symbolic system, the image chosen is not an arbitrary sign. The name of Pan, the Arcadian landscape, have a deep resonance in Greek myth. A whole horizon momentarily opens, as if through a gap in the curtain of history, into the furthest-back existence of this figure, whose traits were, however, redesigned at the end of the fifth century B.C. in the context of an ideology specific to the classical period.

APPENDIX

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON Πᾶν, GENITIVE Πάνος
BY WILLY ALFRED BORGEAUD

The old Arcadian dative Παου shows that we are dealing with an instance parallel to those of Dorian Ποτει-δᾶν, Homeric Ποσει-δάων, Attic Ποσει-δᾶν, and of Doric κοινᾶν “common” < *κοινᾶων, Attic κοινων-ός. It seems thus established that Πᾶν is a Doric form corresponding to the Arcado-Homeric *Πᾶων, and the Attic *Πῶν (or *Πέων?).

What is the etymological meaning of *Πᾶων? Morphologically *Πᾶων may well be derived from a compound—we actually possess the compound Αἰγι-πᾶν, and Mycenaean shows a compound form aiki-pata.

What are we to make of *pata*? It has been suggested that we read it as Αἰγι-**βά-τᾶ-ς*, “he who mounts (or walks, βᾰίνει) on the goats, moulder of goats” (cf. ἐπιβάρτης, “passenger on a ship”). But this pretty solution—which might find support in the striking (and to some, shocking) statuary group in the Naples Museum where Pan services a goat turned over on her back—this solution, I say, runs up against the fact that βᾰίων-βάρτης contains an underlying labio-velar, which would be represented in Mycenaean; we would therefore expect aiki-**qata*, which we precisely do *not* find.

Along the same train of thought one might consider πατέω “tread with the feet.” It is true that in Albanian *shkel* “tread with the feet” is a technical term for forceful copulation, as done for instance by roosters, which “jump” the hens in a rush, pressing the hen’s neck into the dust.

But in this case we should expect aiki-**patē-tā*, αἰγι-**πατητης*, because there is no productive suffix *-ā-*, whereas we are familiar with the suffix *-τᾶ-* (μαθη-τῆ-ς), as productive of agent nouns.

It has been suggested that there was a Greek root **pat* “watch from a distance,” represented (rather badly) by παπταίνω (cf. Chantraine *Dict. Etym.*, on this verb). In fact, a word aigi-**pat-tā-s* “observer at a distance of goats” would actually appear in Mycenaean as aigi-**pas-tā-s*, written aiki-pata. This etymology might find support in the fact that Pan cups his hand forward above his brow to protect his eyes from the harsh noonday sun and to watch the goats from above and from afar. Unfortunately this etymology, which is certainly ingenious and in itself quite convincing (we owe it to C. J. Ruijgh) runs up against the form

I owe special thanks to Professor Willy Alfred Borgeaud for his permission to reproduce here this hitherto unpublished “working paper,” which was the outcome of an extended correspondence on the etymological meaning of Pan—PB.

Αἰγί-πᾶν, and Πᾶ-ονι. By this etymology we should have to separate aiki-pata from Αἰγίπᾶν, and I cannot think this a satisfactory solution.

Françoise Bader, in *Studies . . . Offered to L. R. Palmer* (Innsbruck 1976, pp. 23 and 25), puts in question the interpretation as a participle of the hapax *καπατάς* which appears in Hesychius: *καθορῶν* [παρά Εὐκλῳ], “distinguishing from above and afar.” In truth, *καπατάς* is quite clearly a participle, there is no other way to take it; it is the present participle of *κατα-πάτ-ᾱ-μι. Therefore it is difficult to make any *direct* comparison between *καπατάς* and aiki-pata. Strictly speaking, we could interpret (aiki-)pata as derived in -tā from the root *pa- “watch” not yet developed into *pas, following Taillardat and Bader: hence *pā-tā-s. But this solution would force us—in my opinion, senselessly—to separate the morphology of aiki-pata from that of Αἰγίπᾶν-Πᾶών, which, as we shall see, plausibly represents *pās-on.

Αἰγίπᾶν < *Αἰγί-πᾶων seems to me, as I said earlier, to show that the simple, not compound, name Πᾶων > Πᾶν is derived from the compound. This might well lead us to compare *πάων with the second element in the Vedic compounds *-pā-van-* “protector, guardian” (from the verb *pāti* “he guards”): compare *go-pāvan-* “guardian of cows,” which one is tempted to transfer etymologically and literally into *βου-πάων.

Unfortunately, this seductive equivalence runs up against two facts: in the first place, we do not know the underlying vowel grade of *pāti* “he guards, protects” (earlier *pā-ti or earlier *pō-ti, grouped with *πῶμα* “lid”?); second, the old Arcadian dative Πᾶονι *does not have in it a digamma*. This final point, which in itself is not absolutely decisive, allows us to conclude that *Πᾶών is not based on *Πᾶφων but rather on *Πᾶσων, and that therefore aiki-pa-ta represents aigi-*pās-tā-s. The most obvious cognate—the only one which comes into view, in fact—is the Latin *pās-tor*, and the verb *pās-co* *pās-s-cō “cause to graze, feed, nourish.” As for Slavic *pasti* “watch (the cows)” with its compound *s-pas-ti* “preserve,” we do not know if the underlying vowel grade here is the *ā* of *pāstor*–*pāscere*, or the (probable) *o*-grade underlying Vedic *pāti* “he protects, guards” (Greek *πῶμα* “lid”). Nor are we any better informed as to whether the Germanic *fothjan* “nourish, cause to eat” (cf. English “food,” “feed”) rests on *pāt- or *pōt-. The weak or zero grade of this *pāt- or *pōt- appears in the Greek *πάτ-έ-ομαι* “I feed myself.” Whether we start from *pāt-είῶ (*fothjan*, to feed) or from *πάτέομαι*, we should expect Mycenaean *aigi-pat-tā-s *pastās (written *pata*). This solution presents us with the obvious disadvantage of excluding a generic connection with *Πᾶων–Αἰγίπᾶν.

Given the absence of the digamma in the Arcadian dative Πᾶονι—even granted that this argument is not absolutely conclusive—it seems best to abandon the old and very fine etymological bridge constructed by W. Schulze, which would connect *Πᾶων–Πᾶν to his best Vedic functional equivalent, Pūṣi:án-, by way of the Messapian proper name Πανσων, which should be read as Πᾶνσων. *Pāusōn really ought to give *Π(ᾶ)φων, parallel to the old word for Dawn, *āusós, which in Doric becomes ἄ(φ)ώς, in Ionian ἠώς. Unfortunately, as I say, Arcadian gives us Πᾶονι *not* *Πᾶφονι; furthermore, the etymon *Pāusōn would again compel the separation of Αἰγίπᾶν–Πᾶών from aiki-pata.

There is no point in trying to make any connection with *ποιμήν* (related to the Lithuanian *piemuõ* “shepherd,” *pienas* “milk,” *pýti* “drop milk, have the

udder swollen,” Vedic páyas- neuter, “sacred drink of strength,” and with πῶν “flock of goats and sheep” (also related to ποιμήν, with the idea of “cram with liquid and fodder” or, failing that, with Vedic pāyú- “anus; lord protector,” pāti “he protects, guards,” Greek πῶμα “lid”).

To sum up: for *Πάων-Πᾶν, Αἰγίπᾶν and *aiki-pata* the most plausible, indeed the obvious, point of comparison is the Latin *pās-tor*. We thus have to do with a pastoral isogloss uniting Italic and Greek, with a common origin in Indo-European.

Potamianata on Cephalonia
3 August 1978.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AE	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
AGS	Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AK	Antike Kunst
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASAA	Annuario della Scuola Archaeologica di Atene
BAB	Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
EAA	Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica Classica e Orientale
EPROER	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (C. Müller)
H	Hermes
HR	History of Religions
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HthR	Harvard Theological Review
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IH	L'Information Historique
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
MDAI (A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
MDAI (I)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul
MDAI (R)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
MH	Museum Helveticum
ML	W. H. Roscher, ed., Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Leipzig, 1884–1937
ORom	Opuscula Romana

PLG	Poetae Lyrici Graeci (Th. Bergk)
PMG	Poetae Melici Graeci (D. L. Page)
QUCC	Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica
RA	Revue archéologique
R.-E.	Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart, 1893—
REA	Revue des Etudes anciennes
REG	Revue des Etudes grecques
REL	Revue des Etudes latines
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
RhM	Rheinisches Museum
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SMSR	Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. On Arcadia (landscape and history), see J. Hoehle, *Arkadien vor der Zeit der Perserkriege* (Progr. Meerane, 1883); G. Fougère, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale* (Paris, 1898); H. von Gaertringen, "Prolegomena de Arcadiae universae rebus," in *IG*, V 2 (Berlin, 1913), vii–xxxv; Christian Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des arkadischen Bundes* (Lund, 1943); A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, III (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 200–300; Joseph Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1961).

2. The reference here is to the Philippides story (Hdt. 6.105); the fact that Pan appears to be a herald has also to do with his connections with Hermes (Pan is the child of Hermes, patron of heralds). A head of Pan, which is one of the earliest representations of the god, appears on a *kerukeion*, a herald's staff, found near the acropolis of Athens; see chapter 7.

3. Pi. fr. 95 Snell³:

Ἦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων
καὶ σεμνῶν ἀδύτων φύλαξ . . .

For the Boeotian cult of Pan, connected with the Theban Cabirion, a cult for which Pindar played the same role as that of Sophocles in the cult of Asclepius, see chapter 7, n. 8, and chapter 9.

4. Brommer *R.-E.*, 953–54; see also chapter 3 and chapter 4 at n. 110.

5. Roscher *Selene*, 148 sqq.; id., "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiete der griechischen Mythologie und die Bedeutung des Pan," *ARW* 1 (1898): 43–90.

6. Herbig *Pan*; cf. the review by J. Fontenrose, *AJA* 55 (1951): 274.

7. On Arcado-Cypriote, see A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*² (Heidelberg, 1959), 110–74; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (Cambridge, 1973), 73–75.

8. V. Bérard, *Essai de méthode en mythologie grecque: De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (Paris, 1894); Immerwahr *Kulte*; P. Levêque, "Sur quelques cultes d'Arcadie: Princesse-ourse, hommes-loups et dieux-chevaux," *IH* 1961: 93–108; Stiglitz *Die grossen Göttinnen*; Madeleine Jost, "Les Grandes Déeses d'Arcadie," *REA* 72 (1970): 138–51.

9. There is an important study of the history of research on the Master of Animals by I. Paulson, "The Animal Guardian: A Critical and Synthetic Review," *HR* 3 (1964): 202–19; see also W. La Barre, *The Ghost Dance: The Origins of Religion* (New York, 1972), 189–91. Confining oneself to Europe and the Near East, one finds many parallels with the Greek material in A. Dirr, "Der

Kaukasische Wild- und Jagdgott," *Anthropos* 20 (1925): 139 sqq.; L. Röhrich, "Europäische Wildgeistersagen," *Reinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 10 (1959): 79–162; cf. K. Jettmar, "Megalithsystem und Jagdritual bei den Dardvölkern," *Tribus* 9 (1960): 121–34 (the topic of this last is the Darniji or Peri, who among the Dardnians of the Hindu Kush play a role corresponding to that of the nymphs who in Greece surround Artemis the huntress); id., "Jägertum als Problem der mitteleuropäischen Ethnologie," *Paideuma* 8, 2 (1962): 65–69; W. Dostal, "Über Jagdbrauchtum in Vorderasien," *Paideuma* 8, 2 (1962): 85–97 (Dostal attempts to establish the existence of an ancient mythico-ritual complex concerning the hunt, still to be detected in the background of the urban, agricultural, and pastoral culture of the Near East; the material is Mesopotamian and South Arab). That the Greeks also had a concept of the Master of Animals has been observed by the Hellenists; they have in the first place acknowledged the survival of an ancient religion in the Aegean (Creto-Mycenean, then Anatolian); see Ch. Picard, *Les Religions préhelléniques* (Paris, 1948), index s.v. Πότνια θηρών; Jacqueline Chittenden, "The Master of Animals," *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 89–114; id., "Hermes as Master of Animals," *AJA* 52 (1948): 24–33. We have no desire to get involved in this particular argument. On the subject of Pan, see the remarks of Gallini, 209 and 215. Let it also be noted that Slavic literature includes a character very similar to the goat-god: see, e.g., Sl. Zecevik, "Lesnik the Forest Spirit of Leskovak in South Serbia," in *Ethnologia Slavica*, ed. J. Podolak, I (1969).

10. D. H. 1.32 (Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τιμώτατος ὁ Πάν); on the cave, see chapter 3.

11. B. Snell, "Arkadien, die Entdeckung einer geistigen Landschaft," *Antike und Abendland* 1 (1945): 26 sqq.; cf. E. Flintoff, "The Setting of Virgil's Eclogues," *Latomus* 33 (1974): 814–46.

12. This opposition, between the Arcadia of the Latin poets and Arcadia as seen by the Greeks, was discovered by Hoehle (n. 1 above), 13–14, and developed by E. Panofsky in the introduction to his well-known article "Et in Arcadia Ego" (reprinted in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* [Chicago, 1982]).

13. Cited by St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρκαδία; on Hippias of Rhegion, a somewhat mysterious author ("rätselhaft" according to W. Spoerri, *Der Kleine Pauly*, 1179), see W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft* (Nuremberg, 1962), 180. On the *proselēnoi*, see also St. Byz. s.v.; the word is known also in the feminine, *proselēnis*, which on occasion refers to the Arcadian nymphs (Hsch. s.v. *proselēnides*).

14. Pi. fr. inc. 84; 8 Bergk PLG, III.

15. Arist. fr. 549 Rose 1568b41, cited by schol. A. R. 4.264b:

Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν πολιτείᾳ φησίν, ὅτι βάρβαροι τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ᾤκησαν, οἵτινες ἐξεβλήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σελήμην· διὸ κατωνομάσθησαν προσέλληνοι.

16. *Essais de Chronologie d'Hérodote*, gen. ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris, 1842), 535.

17. F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants: Le Mythe avant l'époque hellénistique* (Paris, 1952), 242 n. 3.

18. Ov. *Fast.* 2.289–90.

19. Stat. *Theb.* 4.275.

20. Call. *Jov.* 10 sqq.; see also chapter 2.

21. Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.1.8; see also chapter 2.

22. Cf. Pan son of Callisto and twin of Arcas (Aesch. fr. 65 b–c Mette); see also chapter 2.

23. Porph. *Antr.* 29; chapter 3, n. 54.

24. See chapter 5.

25. Theodorus 62 F 2 Jacoby, cited by the schol. on A. R. IV 264 b; according to Jacoby we have here to do with an unknown, not with Theodorus of Samothrace (cf. E. Diehl, “Theodoros” no. 18, *R.-E.*, col. 1809).

26. Vian (n. 17 above), 238–46 (“Les Géants arcadiens et Zeus Hoplosmios”).

27. St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρκαδία.

28. Paus. 8.29.1–3; Apollod. 1.6.1–2 gives a version of the Battle with the Giants according to which the battle, in which Heracles played an important part, took place at Pallene. Usually it is assumed that this is the Pallene of Chalcidike, but there is also an Arcadian Pallene (in Azania); Paus. 6.8.5; schol. A. R. 1.177; Plin. *Nat.* 4.20; E. Meyer, “Pellene” no. 2, *R.-E.*, col. 366 sq.; see also B. Bilinski, *Eos* 40 (1939): 121–22. On the variants Πελλήνη / Παλλήνη, see Vian (n. 17 above), 226–27.

29. A. R. 4.273–66.

30. Schol. A. R. 4.263–64a: Ἀπιδανῆας δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀπὸ Ἄπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως.

31. On Phoroneus, father of mortals and first king of the Achaeans, cf. Pl. *Ti.* 22a (citing Acousilaos); Apollod. 2.1.1; Paus. 2.19.5, 2.15.5; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 102.1–6; Hyg. *Fab.* 124, 143; Plin. *Nat.* 7.193.

32. 317 F I Jacoby cited by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.106.3.

33. Lyc. 480.

34. See schol. A. R. I 1219d; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 480; *EM* s.v. Δρύοψ.

35. Paus. 4.34.9.

36. A. R. 1.1218–19: Heracles drove the Dryopes from the region of Parnassus, where they lived “unconcerned for justice” (οὐ τι δίκης ἀλέγοντες ἔναιον); they were an ἔθνος ἄδικον (schol. *ad loc. cit.*) that lived by banditry (ληστευόντας *EM* s.v. Ἀσιμεῖς); the Dryopes (according to Call. fr. 25 Pfeiffer) despoiled the pilgrims visiting Delphi. Cf. Pherecydes 3 F 19 Jacoby (= schol. A. R. 1.1212) and the *Suda* s.v. Δρύοπες.

37. Tz. *ad Lyc.* 482; *anonyma recentiora in Ar. Nu.* 398e, ed. W. J. W. Koster (Groningen, 1974), 282; schol. A. *Pr.* 438a–c. It is possible that the name “Arcadian” has the etymological meaning “those who cause damage.” See chapter 2, n. 17.

38. See chapter 2.

39. Schol. A. R. 4.264b: τινὲς δὲ φασιν Ἐνδυμίωνα εὐρηκέναι τὰς περιόδους καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῆς σελήνης, ὅθεν καὶ προσελήνους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας κληθῆναι, according to a tradition reported by the *anonyma recentiora in Ar. Nu.* 398e (n. 37 above), the Arcadians were called *proselēnoi* because they were the first to observe the phases of the moon: ὅτι πρῶτοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀξομειώσεις . . . σελήνης παρετήρησαν; cf. Tz. *ad Lyc.* 482: ἀστρολογίαν γὰρ, ἐνιαυτὸν, μῆνας, ἡμερίαις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Πᾶν Ἀρκάδων βασιλεὺς ἢ Ἄτλας Λίβυς εὐρεν ἀπὸ σελήνης τοὺς μῆνας συλλογισάμενος, ὕστερον δὲ Θαλής; schol. A. *Pr.* 438e and see also Tzetzē’s note. The author of the brief treatise on legalistic astrology once attributed to Lucian (*Astr.* 26) is of a completely different opinion, although he is working within the same general framework: “The Arcadians alone have been unwilling to accept astrology, since in their ignorance and stupidity they claim to have been born before the moon”: ἀνοίη δὲ καὶ ἀσοφίη λέγουσι καὶ τῆς σεληνναίης ἔμμεναι προγενέστεροι.

40. This ancestral status of the Arcadians turns up also in the Roman tradition; we find it in Plutarch's explanation of a word (*Roman Questions* 76, *Moralia* 282a); the author asks why those Romans most distinguished in their birth wore "little moons" (*selēnidas* = *lunulus*) fastened to their sandals; does it have reference to the lunar abode of the souls, or is it only a privilege proper to the most ancient families? "The most ancient of all actually are the Arcadians, that people called proselenian, because descended from Evander."

41. Paus. 8.1.4 sqq.

42. Th. 1.2.3; D. 19.424 Butcher. For Athens, see now Nicole Loraux, "L'Autochtonie: Une Topique athénienne. Le Mythe dans l'espace civique," *Annales ESC*, January–February 1979: 3–26.

43. Hdt. 8.73.

44. Paus. 8.5.1. The Arcadian Echemos, on this occasion, killed Hyllas, who was leading the first expedition of the Heraclidae.

45. Paus. 8.5.6. Kypselos, king of Arcadia, married his daughter to the only one of the Heraclidae who was still unmarried, and thus got out of difficulties (*τούτω τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδοῦς καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρεσφόντην αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτὸς ἐστήκεσαν δειμάτων*).

46. See Callmer and Hejnic (n. 1 above).

47. Paus. 4.2.3.

48. Hdt. 1.66.

49. J. Roy. "Tribalism in Southwestern Arcadia in the Classical Period," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1972): 43–51. For this author, tribal communities were communities "which were politically united and formed independent states, but had no major urban centre, being settled in several villages" (43).

50. J. Roy, "Arcadia and Boeotia in Peloponnesian Affairs, 370–362 B.C.," *Historia* 20 (1971): 569–99.

51. See R. T. Williams, *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century B.C.*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 155 (New York, 1965), 13, 16–18.

52. According to Str. 8.3.2.

53. Str. 8.2; see Roy (n. 49 above), 43 n. 3.

54. A. Giovannini, *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympoliti in Griechenland* (Göttingen, 1971), 43–46, with bibliography.

55. See Williams (n. 51 above).

56. J. Roy, "An Arcadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century B.C.?" *Phoenix* 26 (1972): 334–41.

57. Hdt. 6.74.

58. Hes. *Th.* 383–401.

59. Hdt. 8.72; at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.202) only some Arcadians were present.

60. Hdt. 9.35.

61. "Die Literatur über Arkadien beginnt im Epos und der älteren Genealogie, für die beide die Landschaft (im Gegensatz zu den historischen Zuständen) eine politische Einheit ist": *FGrHist*, III (297–607) b Komm. (Text), 63.

62. H. Von Gaertringen (n. 1 above), and 134 sqq.; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, paragraphs 213 and 343.

63. On this use of the myth, see the speech of Lycomedes as given by Xenophon (*HG* 7.1.23) and the votive inscription put up at Delphi by the Arcadian League in 369 B.C. (*ἀντόχθων ἱερᾶς λαὸς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας*. Bourguet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, no. 3 sqq.; see Paus. 10.9.5. sq.).

64. J. Roy, "Arcadian Nationality as Seen in Xenophon's *Anabasis*," *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972): 129–36.

65. On the problem of "Greek nationality," see the observations (and the bibliography) of S. Perlman, "Panhellenism, the Polis and Imperialism," *Historia* 25 (1976): 1–30.

66. In his comparison between Lykaon, impious king, founder of the Lykaian games, and his contemporary Cecrops, pious king, founder of the Panathenian games (see chapter 2).

67. Macar. 1.44 (*Paroemiographi* II, p. 138). This play on words perhaps conceals a real etymology; ἀζαλέος is actually related to ἀζαίνω, which means "to dry out," and is quite possibly the origin of the name of Azan.

68. Men. *Dysc.* 3–4.

69. Macar. (n. 67 above): Ἀζάνια κακά· ἐπὶ τῶν κακοῖς προσπαλαίοντων. Ἀζάνια γὰρ τόπος Ἀρκαδίας λεπτόγειος καὶ γεωργοῖς ἀσυντελής; see the sources collected by Piccaluga *Lykaon*, 63.

70. On this tree and the symbolism proper to it, see Olck, "Eiche," *R.-E.* The oak is often evoked in the Greek tradition in contexts relating to the origin of mankind; see Y. Vadé, "Sur la maternité du chêne et de la pierre," *RHR* 191 (1977): 3–41.

71. Thphr. *HP* 3.8.2; Hp. 6.564 Littré; Ath. 2.54c; Theoc. 9.20.

72. Alex. fr. 162 Kock; D. Chr. 6.62; otherwise it is food for pigs: Gal. 6.778 Kühn.

73. Ar. *Pax* 1137; Pl. *R.* 372c.

74. Plu. *Cor.* 3; Ael. *VH* 3.39. The Arcadians, most of whom are pastoralists living in isolation from one another, cheerfully eat acorns (i.e., they eat what they can get); there is, however, obviously no reason to believe that these formed the basis of their diet. It remains true that their frugality set an example, even on festival occasions and at communal banquets. According to Hecataeus of Miletos, they made do with cakes (*mazas*) and pork; according to Harmodios of Lepreon (a Hellenistic author), the Arcadians of Phigalia ate mutton, but prepared in a curious manner; after having roasted the entrails, they mixed them with cakes and cheese and ate the whole thing mixed up together; the next course was a common pot of gruel and boiled meat, of which each took only two pieces, accompanied by a modest amount to drink. Heavy feeding they thought a shocking vice, and it drew their disapprobation (*θανμαστόν γὰρ ἦν καὶ περιβόητον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πολυφαγία*). It seems that in Phigalia beef was butchered only once a year, on the occasion of the sacrifice to the heroes. The Arcadian table was less concerned with quantities of meat than with bringing together individuals dispersed by their work. The communal aspect of the meal was insisted upon; fathers came with their sons, or all, slave and free, ate together at a common table and drank wine mixed in a single bowl. (We owe this information to Athenaeos 4.148f sq. who cites Harmodios of Lepreon 319 F 1 Jacoby.)

75. *Suda* s.v. ἀλληλεσμένον. The opposition between the terms of this pair has been brought out by Eust. *ad Hom. Od.* 19.163.

76. Apollodorus 244 F 92 Jacoby (cited by schol. A. R. 1.1124): ἡ γὰρ δρὺς ἱερά τῆς Πέας.

77. It is significant that in *Od.* 12.357–58, when the companions of Odysseus are sacrificing the cattle of the sun, flour is replaced by oak leaves; the manner of this sacrifice makes it in fact an antisacrifice, which brings those who conduct it into a state of savagery—and, eventually, to death. See P. Vidal-Naquet, "Terre et sacrifice dans l'Odyssee," *Annales ESC* 5 (1970): 1288–89; but in some cases this sort of "regression" has nothing wrong or offensive about

it—most notably at Dodona. In Tegea: Paus. 8.54.4; to Demeter herself at Phigalia: Paus. 8.42.12. In this context the mysterious ritual invented by the Arcadians, which consisted of a triple sacrifice: first of a mouse, then of a white horse, finally of oak leaves (schol. Lyc. 482; schol. A. Pr. 438e), becomes relevant. It may be added that oak leaves were sometimes the emblem of the Arcadians (cf. the coins of Mantinea, B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* [Oxford, 1911], 449).

78. Arcadian wine was so “dry” that it coagulated in the bottle and had to be scraped out, according to Aristotle (*Mete.* 366b): ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ [οἶνος] οὕτως ἀποξηραίνεται ὑπὲρ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀσκοῖς ὥστε ξυόμενος πίνεσθαι. Such wine produced a violent effect; at Heraia, we are told, it drove the men wild and made the women fertile (or sterile, depending on the version): see Thphr. *HP* 9.18.10; Ael. *VH* 13.6; *Ath.* 1.31e–f.

79. *Str.* 8.8.1.

80. Particularly at Phigalia and Mantinea; see R. Martin, “Rapports entre les structures urbaines et les modes de division et d’exploitation du territoire,” in *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. M. I. Finley (Paris, 1973), 110; Stella Georgoudi, “Quelques problèmes de la transhumance dans la Grèce ancienne,” *REG* 87 (1974): 184. On pastoral space, see also Stella Georgoudi, “Pan,” *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, ed. Y. Bonnefoy (Paris, 1981).

81. Madeleine Jost, “Statuettes de bronze archaïques provenant de Lycosoura,” *BCH* 99 (1975): 339–64. “That all cloaked shepherds of known provenance come from the region of Lykaia suggests that the center of production of this unusual type could have been in this district where Pan, god of shepherds, was particularly honored” (*loc. cit.* 345). On this iconographic type, see W. Lamb, “Arcadian Bronze Statuettes,” *ABS A* 27 (1925–26): 133–48; this representation of the shepherd recurs on Arcadian coins: L. Lacroix, “Les Monnaies de Mantinée et les traditions arcadiennes,” *BAB* 53 (1967): 303–11 (figs. 1–5).

82. On the status of the Greek shepherd, see Louis Robert, “Épithaphe d’un berger à Thasos,” *Hellenica VII* (1949): 152–60. “Shepherds are referred to in documents mainly in order to exclude them” (*loc. cit.* 153).

83. Paus. 8.42.6, trans. Peter Levi (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1971). Paus. 8.42.5–7, to which we owe this story, draws on general Greek tradition, rather than local tradition picked up at the source. Pausanias was already well informed when he arrived in Phigalia; in fact he went there, he says, because he wanted to see the famous cave of the goddess. From the fourth century B.C. on, there circulated a monograph on the traditions of Phigalia, the work of a learned man from nearby Lepreon, Harmodios (Jacoby 319; n. 74 above). The events related by Pausanias are datable to the fifth century B.C. thanks to his mention of the sculptor Onatas of Aegina. On this artist, see J. Dörig, *Onatas of Aegina* (Leiden, 1977); the author (8–9) sums up what archaeology can tell us about the work done at Phigalia by Onatas, who was called there to remake (in bronze) the statue of Demeter Melaina, in consequence of the oracle reported by Pausanias. On the iconography of the xoanon that served as model for this sculpture, see chapter 7, n. 80. On the location of the cave (north bank of the gorges of the Neda), see H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, III (Leipzig, 1910), 263; E. Meyer, *Pausanias: Beschreibung Griechenlands* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1967), 666 = 423 n. 3.

84. Arist. *Pol.* 6.1256a31.

85. On Pan and transhumance, see chapter 3. The problems of Greek transhumance are the subject of an important study by Georgoudi (n. 80 above).

86. Paus. 8.7.1: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καταρχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀράν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὸ πεδῖον ποιεῖ, ἐκάλυε τε οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς. Fougère (n. 1 above), 25–52 has studied the problems posed by Arcadian hydrology.

87. Madeleine Jost, “Sur les traces de Pausanias en Arcadie,” *RA* (1974): 40 (Bulletin de la S.F.A.C.).

88. So Arist. *Mete.* 351a; Eratosth. cited by Str. 8.8.4.

89. On the importance of *barathra* (*catavothra*) in this region, see John Baker-Penoyre, “Pheneus and the Pheneatike,” *JHS* 22 (1902): 228–39.

90. Plu., *On the Delays of Divine Vengeance* 12 (*Moralia* 557c).

91. Paus. 8.22.8–9.

92. *Supp. Epigr.* 25 (1971), no. 445, 8.28.

93. This story is structurally suggestive of the Argive myth of Saron, who pursues a deer sacred to Artemis into the sea and drowns; however, while the body of the Stymphalian hunter disappears for ever, that of Saron, thrown up by the waves, is buried within the sanctuary wall of Artemis at Troizen (Paus. 2.30.7). This is not perhaps a critical difference; in both cases the man is consecrated to the goddess and does not (even dead) belong to the world of his fellows. Höfer (“Saron,” *ML*, col. 389) remarks that the epiclesis of Artemis at Troizen (Artemis Saronis), on which this legend is commentary, means the old oak, the dessicated or rotten oak (Hsch. s.v. *σαρωνίδες*; Call. *Jov.* et schol. *ad loc.*; Parth. 11.4; etc). Could it be that Saron’s hunt, which was reenacted in the time of Pausanias by that of the Stymphalian hunter, belonged to an age before that of the cultivation of grain, a past age to which one did not wish to return?

94. Schol. A. R. 2.1054; D. S. 4.13.2; Paus. 8.22.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 20 and 30; Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* 8.300. In the earliest versions (Pherecydes 3 F 72 Jacoby; Hellanicos 4 F 104 Jacoby) the birds are frightened and driven off by the noise of bronze cymbals struck by Heracles, and not killed by his arrows; they are the hunters.

95. Apollod. 2.5.6.

96. Paus. 8.22.7, trans. W. R. Paton [Loeb, 1922–27].

97. Plb. 4.20–21; Brelich *Paidēs*, 209–14, has analyzed this text, laying bare the elements showing that a ritual structure of the initiatory type persisted in Arcadian education, comparable to those found at Sparta or on Crete. See also chapter 3.

98. Hdt. 4.161; cf. Fr. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953), 139.

99. Paus. 8.49.3.

100. Plu. *Phil.* 3.

101. Ath. 13.607c–d.

102. Ephorus 70 F 113 Jacoby, cited by Str. 5.2.4.

103. Hom. *Il.* 2.604.

104. X. *HG* 7.1.25.

105. His speech is reported by X. *HG* 7.1.23; n. 63 above.

106. Fr. 63. Kock.

107. In Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, the Arcadian Agias (one of the generals) is at the head of one thousand hoplites (1.2.9). On such mercenaries, see Fougère (n. 1 above) 5; G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), 237 sqq.; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris, 1949–50), I, 119–30; II, 1120–23.

108. A. *Tb.* 547–48.

109. Macar. 2.41 (*Paroestiographi* II p. 147): Ἀρκάδας μιμήσομαι· ἐπι

τῶν ἑτέροις ποιοῦντων. Ἄρκάδες γὰρ ἰδίᾳ οὐδένα ἐνίκησαν, ἑτέροις δὲ προσπιθέμενοι καὶ σύμμαχοι γενόμενοι εὐδοκίμουν. The expression is at least as old as Plato Comicus fr. 99 Kock, cited by the *Suda* s.v. Ἄρκάδας μιμούμενοι; Hsch. s.v. Ἄρκάδας μιμούμενος; Lib. *Ep.* 540; Zen. 2.59.

110. 70 F 54 Jacoby, cited by Ath. 4.154d. The “hoplite’s combat” (*hoplomachia*) is also an armed dance, pictured on the coins of Mantinea; see L. La-croix (n. 81 above), figs. 1–5.

111. A. R. 1.168–69.

112. Hom. *Il.* 7.136–56.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Paus. 8.1.4–5, trans. Peter Levi (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1971).

2. Apollod. 3.8.1–2.

3. *Χερνήτης*; for this word, synonymous with *πένης* (*Suda*, Eust.), see A. Pr. 893, where poor is to rich as human is to divine (the same relation holds here, except that in the version of Pseudo-Apollodorus the terms are reversed, in order to make possible the test conducted by Zeus).

4. By “regime” we mean in this case both a way of life and a diet in the narrow sense; on the implications of this range of meaning (also allowed within the semantic field of the Greek *δίαιτα*), see Philippe Borgeaud, “The Open Entrance to the Closed Palace of the King: The Greek Labyrinth in Context,” *HR* 14 (1974): 11 n. 28.

5. Immerwahr *Kulte*, 14–15; Drexler, “Lykaon,” *ML*; J. G. Frazer, commentary on Apollod. (3.8.1–2); J. Schmidt, “Lykaon,” *R.-E. Piccaluga Lykaon* interprets the sources taken as a whole. On many points my analysis agrees with or is inspired by hers; I do not, however, subscribe to the central thesis of her book: that the crisis described by the myth of Lykaon represents the passage from a condition of drought and sterility to a condition in which the waters brought by the deluge permit agriculture. Piccaluga strives to connect each of the persons and episodes of the myth with this theme of the advantages of water, but too often it seems to me absent from the explicit discourse of the numerous variants. That said, it remains true that the problem of drought is indeed fundamental in Arcadia, but it is dealt with elsewhere, not in the myth of origin; far from having been settled in the remote past, it remains a constant menace. Much, in fact, can be said about water, the effects of which are by no means always beneficial.

6. The very name of Mount Lykaion (Λυκαῖον ὄρος) and the epithets of the gods worshipped there (Zeus Lykaios, Pan Lykaios, Apollo Lykeios) are derived from *lukos* (wolf). An alternative etymology, it is true, was proposed by Cook (*Zeus* I, 63–99), who derived Λυκαῖος from the root *λυκ-*, meaning “light” (Homeric ἀμφιλύκη νύξ), and pointed out that on the very top of Lykaion, before the altar of Zeus Lykaios, there were two pillars topped by golden eagles (Paus. 8.38.7). These eagles, which stood in a spot completely devoid of vegetation (γῆς χάμμα), and from which one could see the entire Peloponnese, must have caught the first rays of the dawn. Setting aside the question of etymology, it is not impossible that the image of the wolf and of the first gleam of daylight were somehow symbolically connected; cf. the Greek word *lukophōs* (Ael. *NA* 10.26; schol. *Il.* 7.433; Hsch. s.v. λυκοειδέος Eust. 689, 21; schol. *Ar. Ra.* 1385) and also the modern expression (given new currency by the Bergman film) “the hour of the wolf.”

7. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2: *studebat enim scire, si deus esset, qui suum hospitium desideraret*; Hyg. 176; schol. *Germ. ad v.* 90; *Ov. Met.* 1.222–23; *Nic. Dam. fr.* 43 (FHG Müller III, 378); s.v. Λυκάων.

8. Apollod. 3.8.1: Ζεύς δὲ αὐτῶν βουλόμενος τὴν ἀσέβειαν πειράσαι.

9. Apollod. 3.8.1; Ov. *Met.* 1.230; Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.8 (= Hes. fr. 163 Merkelbach-West); Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 176; schol. Germ.; schol. Arat. 92; Nonn. *D.* 18.23.

10. The image of the kicked-over table places us in the time when gods and men still ate together: ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαίτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι / ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταθνήτοις τ' ἀνθρώποις. (Hes. fr. 1 Merkelbach-West). On the breakdown of this commensality, see Pfister: "Epiphanie," *R.-E.*, suppl. 4. The table also evokes the idea of hospitality; "respect for the gods and for the table" are on a par (σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν αἰδέσασθ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν Hom. *Od.* 21.28; cf. Pi. fr. 187 Snell³). Useful suggestions are to be found in Kruse, "Mensa," *R.-E.*, cols. 947–48. On the problem of hospitality and Zeus Xenios, see Cook *Zeus* II, 2 (1096 sq.). In Cyprus they spoke of human sacrifices performed for the Zeus of hospitality (Ov. *Met.* 10.224). Criminal entertainment is a well-known motif thanks to the myth of Atreus and Thyestes (A. *Ag.* 1601 sq.) and that of Procne and Philomel; these latter offered the flesh of Itys to Tereus as a meal; according to Paus. 10.4.8 this was the first τῶν ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ μισμαμάτων. "Philomel's Table" became a theme of drama (cf. Ach. Tat. 1.8). The motif of the kicked-over table thus seems linked in myth to that of the cannibal meal (Atreus, Lykaon, Procne and Philomel): see Brelich *Paides*, 393 n. 196. Finally, it is worth noting that a ritual alternative to *thusia* was to place the offerings on a table: Rudhardt *Notions*, 213, 233; D. Gill, "Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice," *HithR* 67 (1974): 117–37 (see in particular 133 sqq.). It is probably no accident that the use of the table in these myths is in sharp contrast to the ritual use of the table—it was generally reserved for offerings other than blood offerings.

11. For lightning as the revelation of the divinity of Zeus, see the myth of Semele (E. *Ba.* 244–47; Apollod. 3.4.3; etc.). See further the discussion of the *abaton* below.

12. Besides Apollod. 3.8.1, see Ov. *Met.* 1.260 sqq.; Servius *ad Verg. Ecl.* 6.41; Hyg. *Fab.* 176; Myth. *Vat.* 1.189; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 481. There are still other points of connection between Mount Lykaion and the story of Deucalion (which is placed on Parnassus, near Delphi). The survivors of the deluge end up in a city whose name echoes the word for wolf: Lykoreia. They are guided there by wolves (Paus. 10.6.2). Deucalion is king of Lykoreia: Marm. *Par.* 239a2 and 4 Jacoby. Deucalion, we are told, sailed nine days and nine nights before landing on Parnassus (Apollod. 1.7.2); this length of time suggests the duration of lycanthropy (the "wolf" of Lykaion is separated from mankind for a period of nine years). Certain connections also come to light on the ritual level: to the Delphic cult of an Apollo associated in belief with the wolf (Paus. 10.14.7; Ael. *NA* 10.26, 12.40; Plu. *Per.* 21) corresponds conversely the cult on Lykaion of Apollo Parrasios called also Pythios (Paus. 8.38.8; this last epithet evokes Delphi). In the Delphic ritual of the Septerion (Plu. *Moralia* 417e–f), the motif of turning over the table (a motif also stressed in the myth of Lykaion) (see passages cited in n. 9) is evidently central: Brelich *Paides*, 387 sqq., 393; Burkert *Homo Necans*, 144–47.

13. Jean Rudhardt, "Les Mythes grecs relatifs à l'instauration du sacrifice: Les Rôles corrélatifs de Prométhée et de son fils Deucalion," *MH* 27 (1970): 1–15; id., "Le Mythe hésiodique des races et celui de Prométhée: Recherche des structures et des significations," in Rudhardt, *Du mythe: De la religion grecque et de la compréhension d'autrui* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), 245–81 [= *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 19, no. 58 (1981)].

14. Hes. *Th.* 535 sqq.

15. Apollod. 1.7.2.

16. *θηρώδης βίος*: Critias fr. 25 Diels; Moschion Trag. fr. 6 Nauck; Athenion fr. 369 Kock (Ath. 14.660–61); etc. See A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935); W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning: Some Greek Views on the Origins of Life and the Early State of Man* (New York, 1957); Th. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (Cleveland, 1967); E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford, 1973), 1–44; Detienne *Dionysos*, 140 sqq.

17. The name of the Arcadians (*Ἀρκάς*, *Ἀρκάδες*) is a participle (of the type *φυγάς*; suffix -ad-) related to *ἄρκτος* or *ἄρκος*, bear (but not derived from that word); it may mean “injurious”: J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch* (Bern and Munich, 1959), 864, 875; R. Christinger and W. Borgeaud, *Mythologie de la Suisse ancienne* (Geneva, 1963), 47; the objection of Chantraine (*Dict. étym.* s.v. *ἄρκτος*) has no force: cf. Burkert *Homo Necans*, 106 n. 35. On the Arcadians viewed as violent and injurious, see chapter 1.

18. E. Bourguet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1 (Paris, 1929), no. 3 sqq.; cf. Paus. 10.9.5 sq.

19. E. *Hel.* 375–80; Apollod. 3.8.2; Paus. 8.3.6–7; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.1 (among other versions); Hyg. *Fab.* 177; Servius *ad Verg. Georg.* 3.138, 246. In Euripides’ peculiar version, Kallisto is transformed, not into a bear, but into a lion. This variance from a tradition otherwise unanimous can only present itself to us as a metaphor. On the sense of that metaphor, through which the fate of Kallisto is perhaps compared to that of Atalanta, the reader is referred to the analysis of the symbolism of the lioness in Detienne *Dionysus* 110.

20. Hes. fr. 163 Merkelbach-West (= Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.1); schol. Arat. 27 (cf. id. 91); Hyg. *Astr.* 2.1 (cf. id. 2.2); schol. Germ. *ad v.* 25 and 90; Ov. *Met.* 2.409 sqq.; Ov. *Fast.* 2.155 sqq.

21. On the literature of catasterism, see K. Robert, *Eratosthenes catasterismorum reliquiae* (Berlin, 1878); J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d’Aratos* (Paris, 1956), 58–125.

22. Cited n. 20 above.

23. Immerwahr *Kulte*, 73–78 (Mount Kyllene); 80–82 (Pheneos).

24. Coins of Pheneos (c. 360 B.C.): Hermes receives Arcas (E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III [Paris, 1914], 3, 602; pl. 225.6); for the same motif in Italian painted pottery, see A. D. Trendall, “Callisto in Apulian Vase-Painting,” *AK* 20 (1977): 99–101 and pl. 22). Coins of OrchoMENOS: Kallisto struck by an arrow in the presence of the child Arcas (Roscher, *ML* s.v. “Kallisto,” fig. col. 933).

25. Ar(i)aithos of Tegea, n. 28 below.

26. Pherecyd. 3 F 157 Jacoby (cited by Apollod. 3.8.2); cf. schol. E. *Or.* 1646 (Kallisto, daughter of Ceteus and Stilbe). Note that Ceteus means “monster” (Chantraine *Dict. étym.* s.v. *κῆτος*) and thus is semantically fairly close to Lykaon, the “wolf.”

27. Asios fr. 9 Kinkel (cited by Apollod. 3.8.2).

28. 316 F 2 Jacoby (cited by Hyg. *Astr.* 2.1); cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.409. On the Hellenistic historian Ar(i)aithos of Tegea, see Jacoby’s commentary *ad loc.*

29. Hes. fr. 163 Merkelbach-West (= Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.2); Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2 *ad v.* 90; schol. Arat. 92. The other versions identify the victim as either a child of the district, a Molossian stranger, or Lykaon’s own son Nyktimos (see n. 31 below). The introduction into the myth of Lykaon of the motif of the “resurrection of Arcas” was most probably made easier by the influence of an extremely ancient neighboring legend: that of the feast of Tantalus and the reconstruction

of Pelops's body. Aside from this motif, I believe the myths to have originally been independent. The traditions of Mount Lykaion are at least as old as those of Olympia and are not to be taken, as a whole, as secondary derivations. G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myth* (New York, 1974), 239–41.

30. It is not impossible that this story was told in the *Catalogue of Women*; see the preceding note; cf. W. Sale, "The Story of Callisto in Hesiod," *RhM* 105 (1962): 122–41. *Contra*: J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodica: Recherches sur la composition, la diffusion et la disparition ancienne d'oeuvres attribuées à Hésiode* (Paris, 1960), 124–27.

31. On this equivalence see Borgeaud, n. 4 above, 11–13. Nyktimos and Arcas are a sort of doublet; some traditions place Nyktimos in the role of sacrificial victim, which is elsewhere assigned to Arcas (Lyc. 481; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.36.5; Nonn. *D.* 8.20–24). Each in his own way is, as Burkert (*Homo Necans* 101) stresses, a founder of civilization in Arcadia. It is to be noted that Nyktimos, according to the scholiast on E. *Or.* 1646, is the son of Lykaon and Orthosia. This latter name, like Kallisto, is an epiklesis of Artemis. Artemis Orthosia: schol. Pi. *O.* 3.45a–d; her cult is attested at Megara (*CIG* I 1064 = *IG* 7, 113), in the Piraeus (inscription Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθωσίας Ἡγεμόνης; see Höfer, "Orthia und Orthosia," *ML*, col. 1210), and at Aulis (Paus. 9.19.5; Plu. *Ages.* 6; Liv. 45.27). Orthosia is associated by Pindar *O.* 3.54 with the heroine Taygete (daughter of Atlas, mother of Lakedaimon, ancestor of the Spartans) whose myth is very close to that of Kallisto (cf. schol. Pi. *Ol.* 3.53a–e; Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.23). Arcadian Orthosia corresponds to Spartan Orthia: cf. C. Calame, *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, 2 vols. [Urbino, 1977], I, 284.

32. Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.1; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.1.

33. On the myth of Kallisto, see R. Franz, "De Callistus Fabula," *Leipziger Studien* 12 (1890): 327–65; W. Sale, "The Story of Callisto in Hesiod" (n. 30 above); id., "Callisto and the Virginity of Artemis," *RhM* 108 (1965): 15 sqq.

34. Artemis Kallistē, whose temple, near Tricolonoi in the region of Megalopolis, was located perched on a hillock of earth called the "tomb of Kallisto" (Paus. 8.35.8). Near the Academy at Athens, Artemis was also honored under the name of Kallistē (Pamphos, cited by Paus. 1.29.2); cf. *BCH* 51 (1977): 155–63; Travlos *Bildlexikon*, 302 (fig. 424: figurines representing the breasts and the vulva, as ex-votos). According to C. O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1825), 73–76, Kallisto has often been seen as a hypostasis of Artemis. Their close connection, which is made clear by the epithet of the goddess, does not, however, amount to an identity; on the contrary, I think, the apparent confusion between them, which has a place even in the myth, makes their eventual separation, which is recounted in the same myth, even more significant. Another interpretation: Burkert *Homo Necans*, 91.

35. αὐτὴ σύνθηρος Ἀρτέμιδος οὔσα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνη στολήν φοροῦσαν, ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ μείναι παρθένος (Apollod. 3.8.2).

36. E. *Hel.* 375 sqq.

37. Apollod. 3.8.2; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2.

38. Paus. 8.3.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 177.

39. See the references in n. 20 above.

40. It seems, in fact, to be a secondary theme, introduced only in order to assimilate the fortunes of Kallisto to those of the other mistresses of Zeus. Paus. 1.25.1, for instance, considers the story of the Arcadian nymph as in every way similar (ἐς ἅπαν ὁμοία) to that of Io: ἐρως Διός, καὶ Ἥρας ὀργή, καὶ ἀλλαγὴ, τῇ μὲν ἐς βόυν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον. Such reductionism was al-

ready underway in the fifth century B.C. to judge by Pausanias's reference to a sculpture by Deinomenes on the Acropolis representing Kallisto and Io side by side. He fails, however, to come to terms with the genuinely Arcadian myth—in fact when Pausanias tells the story of Kallisto (7.3.6), he is careful to emphasize that he is reporting Panhellenic tradition (λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων): Arcadian tradition was therefore different.

41. On the powers of Artemis, see Nilsson *GGR*, 481–500.

42. Schol. Germ. *ad v.* 25: *quam gravidam, nudam se lauante[m] cum aspexisset Diana in lauacros, partum eius accelerans, bestiam eam esse iussit.*

43. J. J. Bachofen, *Der Bär in den Religionen des Altertums* (Basel, 1863).

44. Schol. Arat. 27; Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.1.

45. Pl. *Lg.* 659d (cf. 819a); Arist. *Pol.* 1292b14; Λακωνική ἀγωγή, *Plb.* 1.32.1; Plu. *Ages.* etc. On the Spartan ἀγῶγῆ, see Brelich *Paidēs*, 112–26.

46. Apollod. 3.8.2; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.1 (referring to a comic poet of the fourth century B.C., Amphis fr. 57 Kock; Amphis wrote a play entitled *Pan*, Ath. 10.421a = fr. 29 Kock). On the possibility of erotic relations between Artemis and her nymphs, see the relief on a silver vase reproduced by Roscher, “Kallisto,” *ML*, cols. 933–34. The scene, according to Franz (n. 33 above), shows Zeus disguised as Artemis approaching Kallisto in the presence of Eros.

47. See the classic study of E. Bethe, “Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee,” *RhM* 62 (1907): 438–75.

48. Calame, *Les Chœurs*, esp. I, 427–44; cf. B. Gentili, “Il Partenio di Alcmane e l'amore omoerotico femminile nei tiasi spartani,” *QUCC* 12 (1976): 59–68.

49. πρὸ γάμων, Harp. s.v. ἀρκετεύσαι; cf. Burkert *Homo Necans*, 75 n. 20.

50. The ritual of the bears: Mommsen *Feste*, 453 sqq.; Deubner *Attische Feste*, 207; “Artemis Brauronia,” *AD* 22 (1967): 156–206; Brelich *Paidēs*, 229–311; W. Sale, “Legends of the Arkteia,” *RhM* 118 (1975): 265–84; cf. L. G.-Kahil, “Autour de l'Artémis attique,” *AK* 8 (1965): 20 sqq.; id., “Artémis attique,” *CRAI* January–February 1976: 126–30; id., “L'Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystères,” *AK* 20 (1977): 86–98.

51. See n. 17 above.

52. Eratosth. *Fragmenta Vaticana*, ed. Rehm, 2; schol. Germ. p. 64, 21 Breyzig; cf. Burkert *Homo Necans*, 101 n. 21.

53. G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Amazonian Cosmos: The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians* (Chicago, 1971), 220: “The hunt is practically a courtship and a sexual act. . . . The verb to hunt is *vai-merà gametarári*, translated as *to make love to the animals*.” The erotic character of the hunt is often brought out by sexual prohibitions (long periods of continence, separation from all feminine features, etc.): see Uno Harva, *Les Représentations religieuses des peuples altaïques*, trans. from 1938 German ed. (Paris, 1959), 285–89; “La femme et le gibier”; E. Lot-Falck, *Les Rites de chasse chez les peuples sibériens* (Paris, 1953), 128–32: “La femme et la chasse.”

54. V. Turner, “Themes in the Symbolism of Ndembu Hunting Ritual,” *Anthropology Quarterly* 35 (1962): 37–57, reprinted in *Myth and Cosmos: Readings in Mythology and Symbolism*, ed. J. Middleton (New York, 1967), 249–69.

55. Detienne *Dionysos*, 78–117 (“Le dit de la panthère d'amors”).

56. For the Greek material relevant to this topic, see W. H. Roscher, “Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-abatons auf dem Lykaion,” *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 145 (1892): 701–9 (the author explains the absence of a shadow by his identification of Lykaion as the Arcadian Olympus, Olympus being untouched by cloud, Hom. *Od.* 6.44 sq.). On the theme, in various tradi-

tions, of the absence of shadows, see J. von Negelein, “Bild, Spiegel und Schatten im Volksglauben,” *ARW* 5 (1902); cf. J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Souls* (*The Golden Bough*, vol. 2), (“The Soul as a Shadow and a Reflection”).

57. Paus. 8.38.6, trans. P. Levi.

58. Theopompus 115 F 343 Jacoby (= Plb. 16.12.7).

59. Plu. *Quaest. Gr.* 39 (= *Moralia* 300a–c).

60. Paus. 8.38.3–4: “Hagno [a nurse of Zeus] finally gave her name to a spring on Mount Lykaion that, like the river Ister, flows as copiously in summer as in winter. When there is prolonged drought and the trees and the seed in the ground are dying, then the priest of Zeus Lykaios, after having made a prayer to the water and sacrificed the prescribed sacrifice, puts an oak branch in the water of the spring, but without plunging it in, just on the surface. A vapor like a mist rises from the troubled water; in a little while the mist becomes cloud and collects to itself the other clouds and makes rain fall on the earth for the Arcadians.” Apollonius Rhodius perhaps makes an implicit allusion to this Arcadian ritual in the *Argonautica* (2.520–27); in order to institutionalize the cult of Zeus Ikmaios on Keos (to resist the dog days and summon the Etesian winds), Aristeeas (in this version) appeals to the Arcadians of the region of Lykaion (as specialists in the struggle against drought?). Stiglitz (*Die grossen Göttinnen*, 65) compares the ritual of Hagno with the Πλημοχόου at Eleusis (Ath. 11.93 = 496b); it is to be noted that Arcadian Pan, at Athens and in an Eleusinian context, also finds himself invoked in a rite that appeals for rain (see chapter 7).

61. On the sense of ἐλεύθερος, see Chantraine *Dict. étym.* s.v. According to E. Benveniste, “Liber et Libera,” *REL* 14 (1936): 51–58, the use of *liber* in Latin and ἐλεύθερος in Greek to mean the free man as opposed to the slave is derived from the sense of “legitimate member” of society: cf. Benveniste *Vocabulaire*, I, 321–25.

62. The deer, a fearful animal that runs away, is the image of the “little fellow,” the shepherd or poor peasant, who is beset by society and lives outside the walls, far from power (Thgn. 1.56). According to Artemidoros (2.12 p. 105) to dream of an *elaphos* is actually to dream of a lawsuit, of flight and exile. In early Christian literature, this image of the frightened deer recurs, applied to the soul wandering in the world, exiled (cf. the Naassene psalm cited by Hippol. *Haer.* 5.10.2 = Th. Wolbergs, *Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte*, I, *Psalmen und Hymnen der Gnosis und des frühen Christentums*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 40 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), 6–7 (commentary 38–59).

63. On Lebeados (or Lebados), founder of Lebadea, see Paus. 9.39.1: “Until he came, the population lived on the height and the town was called Mideia; he brought the population down and gave his name to the lower town.” Is this a distant echo of the mythical deluge, Leb(e)ados having brought down a population that had taken refuge in the heights following the disaster?

64. Paus. 1.38.8; cf. E. Meyer, “Eleutherai,” *Der Kleine Pauly*.

65. Paus. 1.20.3; D. S. 3.66.1, 4.2.6; Hsch. s.v. Ἐλευθερεὺς.

66. St. Byz. s.v. Ἐλευθεραὶ; Hyg. *Fab.* 225; cf. D. S. 3.66.1, 4.2.6.

67. See O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, I (Munich, 1906), 198–200 (“Arkadien: Einwirkung der boiotischen Kultur”).

68. Chapter 1, n. 50.

69. Plutarch’s work on Epaminondas (cf. Plu. *Ages.* 28) has not survived. But the index of the *Parallel Lives* (s.v. Epaminondas) gives sufficient evidence of his interest.

70. Cook *Zeus*, II, 13 sqq.

71. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. ἐνηλύσια.
72. *IG*, II–III² 4964, 4965, 4998; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, suppl. 9 A 2.
73. *IG*, IV 952.
74. See also E. *Ba.* 6–12, with the commentary by E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae*² (Oxford, 1960), 62–63.
75. E. *Supp.* 935, 981, 1010.
76. W. Burkert, “Elysiion,” *Glotta* 39 (1960–61): 208–13; cf. Chantraine *Dict. étym.* s.v. Ἠλύσιον.
77. Artem. 2.9 p. 93: καὶ ἔφασκον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν δούλους τὸ κερανουῦσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε δεσπότας ἐτι οἱ κερανωθέντες ἔχουσιν οὔτε κάμνουσι, λαμπρὰ δὲ ἰμάτια αὐτοῖς περιτίθεται ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσι, καὶ προσίασιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπὸ Διὸς τετιμημένοις οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν τετιμημένοις.
78. Lucian *Dem. Enc.* 50.
79. Hsch. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς.
80. Artem. (n. 62 above).
81. *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον; schol. Hom. *Od.* 4.563.
82. Paus. 8.38.7.
83. Pl. *R.* 565d (possible allusion in *Lg.* 782c); cf. Pl. *Min.* 315c.
84. Paus. 8.38.7.
85. Πολυπραγμονήσαι δὲ οὐ μοι τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐχέτω δὲ ὡς ἔχει καὶ ὡς ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
86. Paus. 7.2.6.
87. Porph. *Abst.* 2.27; Varro cited by Aug. *Civ. D.* 18.17; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8.34 (who refers to the Greek author Scopas, biographer of the Olympic victors).
88. Pl. *R.* 565d: Ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγγχον ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἐνὸς ἐγκατατετιμημένου, ἀνάγκη δὴ τούτῳ λύκῳ γενέσθαι. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας τὸν λόγον.
89. Paus. 7.2.6: λέγουσιν γὰρ δὴ ὡς Λυκαίου υἱοῦ ἀεὶ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου λύκος γίνοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, γίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον· ὁπότε δὲ εἶη λύκος, εἰ μὲν κρεῶν ἀπόσχοιτο ἀνθρωπίνων, ὑστερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν αὐθις ἀνθρώπων ἐκ λύκου γίνεσθαι, γευσάμενον δὲ ἐς αἰεὶ μένειν θηρίον. See trans. chapter 1.
90. Paus. 6.8.2: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8.34 and Aug. *Civ. D.* 18.17 (Demainetos). For the date, see L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (Rome, 1957), no. 359.
91. Burkert *Homo Necans*, 98–108.
92. See n. 88 above (*logon*). In the preceding paragraph Plato speaks of a myth (*en tōi muthōi*).
93. K. Kourouniotis, *AE* (1904): 153–214; G. Mylonas, “The Lykaian Altar of Zeus,” in *Classical Studies in Honor of W. A. Oldfather* (Urbana, 1943), 122–33. See bibliography in Burkert *Homo Necans*, 99 n. 10.
94. On this general question, see A. Brelich, “Symbol of a Symbol,” *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, ed. J. M. Kitagawa and Ch. H. Long (Chicago, 1969), 195–207.
95. Plin. *Nat.* 8.34, trans. H. Rackham. Aug. *Civ. D.* 18.17 informs us that Pliny the Elder’s immediate source was Varro.
96. Pace W. Burkert, I do not think this describes a more recent version of the ritual. We should then have to explain the reticence of Pausanias, who visited Arcadia himself in the second century A.D.
97. The most famous example was that of the Eumolpidae, at Eleusis.
98. See Burkert *Homo Necans*, 105.

99. The territory of the “wolf” is designated as “desert” by Varro, cited by Aug. *Civ. D.* 18.17: *per illius regionis deserta vivebant.*

100. E. *El.* 726 sqq.

101. Paus. 8.2.6.

102. On the ambiguity of the Golden Age, see P. Vidal-Naquet, “Terre et sacrifice dans l’Odyssée,” *Annales ESC* 25 (1970): 1281; *id.*, “Le Mythe platonicien du *Politique*: Les Ambiguïtés de l’âge d’or et de l’histoire,” in *Langue, Discours, Société: Pour Emile Benveniste*, ed. J. Kristeva, J.-C. Milner, and N. Ruwet (Paris, 1975), 374–90. On the connections of this theme with the myth of Lykaon, see Borgeaud, n. 4 above, 11.

103. “A young man was sent away from the city, and the rule was that during all that time he should not let himself be seen; he must be alert even while sleeping that he should not be caught” (schol. Pl. *Lg.* 633b; cf. Pl. *Lg.* 633b; Ps.-Heraclid. Pont. *FHG* II p. 210; Plu. *Lyc.* 28.2). On the Spartan *Crypteia*, see H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939), 500 sqq.; cf. Brelich *Paides*, 155–57.

104. A. fr. 65 b–c Mette (= schol. E. *Rh.* 36).

105. Epimenid. fr. 16 Diels-Kranz (schol. Theoc. 1.3 a; cf. schol. E. *Rh.* 36; schol. 121) = 457 F 9 Jacoby.

106. Epimenid. fr. 24 Diels-Kranz (Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.27) = 457 F 18 Jacoby. Is it in opposition to this “Pan, son of the Goat,” *Aigipan*, that there appears at a late period “Pan, son of Zeus,” *Diopan*? On *Diopan*, see the inscription in the cave of Pan at Caesarea Panias: *CIG* 4538 (Kaibel 827b).

107. E. *Rh.* 36 (chapter 5).

108. Ar(i)aithos 316 F 4 Jacoby (schol. E. *Rh.* 36; schol. Theoc. *Fist.* 1/2a).

109. Paus. 8.47.3.

110. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.53 and commentary by A. S. Pease *ad loc.* The tradition that makes Pan a son of Zeus and *Oinēis* (Aristippus 317 F 3 Jacoby) remains a hapax. *Oinoē* (and *Oinēis*) are to be distinguished from *Simoē*, nurse (not mother) of Pan. See Paus. 8.30.3; K. Kourouniotis, *AE* (1903): 179 (an inscription to Πανὶ τῷ Σινόεντι, from near Phigalia); cf. K. Keyssner, “Oinoc,” *R.-E.*

111. Paus. 8.38.2.

112. On this assertion, see the famous passage of Call. *Jov.* 4 sqq. according to which “the Cretans are always liars.”

113. Paus. 8.38.5; cf. E. Meyer, “Lykaion,” *R.-E.*

114. *IG*, V 2, 550.

115. E. Babelon, *Traité*, III, 582–91; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins (Peloponnesus)*, p. XXXII, 10.

116. Paus. 8.37.11; cf. schol. Theoc. 1.123, who mentions a *manteion* of Pan on Lykaion; chapter 5, n. 110.

117. It is to be noted that like his half-brother the goat-god, Arcas is close to the nymphs: this is evident, not only from his marriage to the nymph Erato, but also from his love affair with the dryad Chrysopelea, whose protector he made himself (Apollod. 3.9.1; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 480; schol. E. *Or.* 1646).

118. See chapter 3.

119. On the childhoods of Zeus, see M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*² (Lund, 1950), 533 sqq.; *id.*, *GGR*, I, 319 sqq.

120. Paus. 8.36.3; cf. Call. *Jov.* 10–14 (“the primordial couch of Rhea”: Πείης ὠγύγιον . . . λεχώϊον. On the Arcadian birth of Zeus, see Sp. Marinatos, “Die Wanderung des Zeus,” *AA* (1962): 910 sqq.; Stiglitz *Die grossen Göttinnen*, 62–67.

121. Ant. Lib. 19.
122. Verg. *Georg.* 4.149 sqq.; Colum. *De re rustica* 9.2. On the myth of the Pleiades, dove-bees who bring the young Zeus honey-ambrosia from the Hesperides, see A. B. Cook, "The Bee in Greek Mythology," *JHS* 15 (1895): 1–24.
123. See the Hymn of Palaiokastros, published by R. Bosanquet and G. Murray, *BSA* 15 (1908–9): 339 sqq.; cf. J. E. Harrison, "The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros: A Study in Prehistoric Sociology," *BSA* 15 (1908–9): 308–38; Jeanmaire, *Couroi* (n. 103 above), 430 sqq.; Nilsson, *GGR*, I, 322; P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* (Paris, 1964), 94–131.
124. The tomb of Zeus: Call. *Jov.* 8; Cook *Zeus*, I, 157–63, II, 940–43.
125. Arat. 31–48; schol. Arat. 27; 46; Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.2; schol. Germ. *ad v.* 30–35; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.2; Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* 3.246. That the nurses of Zeus were sometimes (dove-) bees or bears fits with what we hear of his food (honey-ambrosia). On the honey-loving bear in Greece, cf. Arist. *H.A.* 8.5 (= 594a).

CHAPTER THREE

1. Hsch. s.v. Πανία.
2. Schol. Theoc. 1.3–4f; these traditions are reported, respectively, by Apollodoros (244 F 134a Jacoby) and Didymarchos, a poet of the Hellenistic period and author of *Metamorphoses* (Ant. Lib. 23; Knaack, "Didymarchos," *R.-E.*).
3. W. H. Roscher, "Die Sage von der Geburt des Pan," *Philologus* 53 (1894): 362–77 collects fourteen traditions; cf. id. *Philologus* 55 (1896): 61 (Nachträge). The principal source: schol. Theoc. 1.3–4c–f; cf. schol. E. *Rb.* 36.
4. See chapter 2, n. 115.
5. On the diffusion of the cult of Pan, see in particular Farnell *Cults*, V, 464–68; Brommer (*R.-E.*), 993–1000.
6. See n. 21 below.
7. Brommer (*R.-E.*), 994–95 has brought out the importance of the Boeotian cult; see chapter 9.
8. Chapter 5, n. 48.
9. *AE* 1964 (1967): 17 sqq.
10. The cult is attested by fifth-century coin types (Pan *aposkopon*): Wernicke (*ML*), 1414, fig. 3; J. M. F. May, *Ainos: Its History and Coinage*, 474–341 BC (London, 1950), pl. 3; Brommer (*R.-E.*), 966; Jucker *Aposkopein*, 66. Pan on a relief from Ainos (fourth century): Brommer (*R.-E.*), 981, no. 1.
11. Chapter 5 n. 43.
12. Chapter 5 n. 49.
13. Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 31–32 and figs. 41–42; J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* (Paris, 1958), 28; Ecole Française d'Athènes, *Guide de Thasos* (Paris, 1968), 57–58; P. Devambez, "La 'grotte de Pan' à Thasos," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paula Colart*, Cahiers d'archéologie romande, 5 (Lausanne, 1976), 117–23.
14. No doubt this company suggested the existence of a plurality of Pans, as we find sometimes suggested on pottery and in theatrical works: see A. fr. 65a Mette; S. fr. 136 Pears.; Ar. *Ec.* 1069; Pl. *Lg.* 7.815c.
15. Besides the sanctuaries in Attica (see n. 21 below), the most famous caves are Melissani near Sami on Cephallonia (see n. 9 above), Delphi (the Corycian cave: see chapter 5 n. 49), and on Cithaeron (see chapter 5, n. 94).
16. The cave is sometimes situated in the rock of an acropolis; the "exteriority" of the place is nevertheless made clear: see chapter 7.
17. The close connection of Hermes and the nymphs and their joint associa-

tion with the cave (already asserted by Hom. *Od.* 14.435) are both represented plastically on numerous of the “nymph” reliefs.

18. Sacrifice to Apollo Nomios, to Pan and to the nymphs, performed in a cave on Hymettus by Plato’s parents; Olymp. *Vit. Pl* 1; cf. Ael. *VH* 10.21; Alice Swift Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Leiden, 1976), 17 sqq. This is probably the cave of Vari: J. H. Wright, *HSCPh.* 17 (1906): 131 sqq.; Cook *Zeus*, III, 261 sqq.; Nilsson, *GGR*, I, 248; *AJA* 7 (1903): 287 (*contra*: E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 71 (1967): 311 n. 9, suggests the cave of Lion, near Liopesi). An inscription in the cave of Vari addresses Apollo Hersos (*IG*, I² 783). It is to be noted that at Athens, on the side of the acropolis, the cave of Pan adjoins a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (see chapter 7).

19. Numerous reliefs associate Pan with the nymphs: Brommer (*R.-E.*), 1000; see Isler *Acheloos*, esp. 30.

20. In the Corycian cave at Delphi (chapter 5, n. 136).

21. Farnell *Cults*, V, 458–64; S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund, 1931), 59 sqq.; F. Heichelheim, “Nymphai,” *R.-E.*, 1558 sqq. Brommer (*R.-E.*), gives the list of Attic caves where we have evidence of Pan’s presence: Athens on the Acropolis, Athens by the Ilissos, Phyle (on Parnes), Vari (on Hymettos), Daphni, Anaphlystos, Marathon (Oinoe). On the Pentelic cave discovered in 1952, see *JHS* 73 (1953): 112; *BCH* 77 (1953): 202; *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962): 246. See also U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin, 1960), 60–61 and figs. 30–31. On the cave found near Eleusis, see *AD* 16 (1960) *Chronika* 52–55. Also see W. Fuchs, *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962): 244 (find-spots of reliefs “of the nymphs”); E. Vanderpool, “Pan in Paiana,” *AJA* 71 (1967): 309–11 (with bibliography n. 2); Muthman, *Mutter und Quelle*, passim.

22. See chapter 7.

23. E. *Ion* 492 sqq. (see chapter 7).

24. Paus. 1.32.7 (on the cave of Oinoe-Marathon, see chapter 5, n. 38).

25. Hom. *Il.* 4.275 sqq.; *Od.* 14.532.

26. Th. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (Cleveland, 1967), 29–30.

27. Paus. 8.42.2.

28. E. *Ion* 492 sqq. (see chapter 7).

29. Ael. *VH* 13.1.

30. Hom. *Od.* 13.103–12.

31. Atalanta marries before making the (ritual and erotic) error that brings about her transformation into a lion: Apollod. 3.9, 2; Hyg. *Fab.* 185; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. Bode, I, 14, *Fab.* 39. On Atalanta, most recently, see Detienne *Dionysus* 82–87.

32. Hdt. 8.36.

33. Paus. 2.23.1.

34. The hut (*kalīē*): Hes. *Op.* 374, 503; Call. fr. 131 Pfeiffer. The fold (*aulē* or *aulis*): see Chantraine *Dict. étym.* s.v. *αὐλή*. The dwelling of the shepherd is described in the *Iliad* 18.587–89):

Ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις
ἐν καλῇ βήσση μέγαν οἶων ἀργεννάων,
σταθμούς τε κλισίας τε κατρηφέας ἰδὲ σηκοῦς.

“The wide-famed limping one made in it a meadow, wide in a fair glen with white sheep, and lean-tos, and roofed huts, and sheepfolds”; see W. Richter, *Die Landwirtschaft im homerischen Zeitalter*, *Archaeologia Homerica*, II H (Göttingen, 1968), 25–32.

35. Paus. 1.32.7 (chapter 5, n. 38).
36. Paus. 10.32.2 (chapter 5, n. 43).
37. Paus. 8.
38. Paus. 8.24.4.
39. Paus. 8.36.8.
40. The acropolis of Oinoe, in Attica, was also classed as one of "Pan's mountains" in the time of Pausanias (see chapter 5, n. 34). This sort of attribution had thus crossed the frontier of Arcadia: cf. also Pan in the region of Apollonia (Ampel. *Lib. Mem.* 8, p. 7, 10).
41. Paus. 8.26.2.
42. Paus. 8.37.11. On this sanctuary of Pan, see G. A. Orlandini, "Considerazioni sul megaron di Despoina a Licosura," *ASAA* 47–48 (1969–70): 343–57.
43. Also at Olympia a statue of Pan was placed near an altar where the flame was never quenched (in the Prytaneion): Paus. 5.15.8.
44. E. Meyer, "Lykaion," *R.-E.*, 2237–40.
45. Paus. 8.38.5.
46. Meyer (n. 44 above), 2239.
47. Paus. 8.30.3.
48. See *AD* 28 (1973), chron. 178–80; *BCH* 102 (1978): 681.
49. Paus. 8.36.7.
50. Paus. 8.53.11.
51. Paus. 8.54.6 (see also chapter 7).
52. Paus. 8.38.11; cf. K. Kourouniotis, *Praktika* (1902), 72 sqq.; Perdrizet, *BCH* 27 (1903): 300 sqq.; Studniczka, *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905): 65 sqq. *IG, V* 2, 554–57. The identification is questioned by E. Meyer, "Nomia," I, *R.-E.*
53. Paus. 8.54.4.
54. We have good documentation for a number of cave sanctuaries in Arcadia, but it does not appear that any of them were sacred to Pan: there is the cave of Demeter at Phigalia (chapter 1, n. 83), that of Rhea in the region of Lykaion (chapter 2, n. 120), and the cave where Hermes was born, near the peaks of Kyllene (Immerwahr *Kulte*, 73 sqq.). In the first century A.D., when the poet Crinagoras gives a rather thorough account of the landscape around Phigalia, he mentions caves sacred to the nymphs, but takes care to distinguish them from the hut (*kaliē*) of the goat-god, where sounds the torrent of the gorge of the Neda (*AP* 6.253). The Neoplatonist Porphyry (*Antr.* 20), in the course of an argument for the anteriority of the cave to the temple, is the sole author who unambiguously asserts the existence in Arcadia of a cave sacred to Pan (and Selene). He mentions it as a survival from an earlier age, and groups it with other cave sanctuaries whose cult goes back to an epoch before the invention of architecture: the cave of Dionysus on Naxos; the Cretan cave where the Kouretes maintain their cult of Zeus; the cave of Mithra. These gods have one trait in common; not (setting Pan aside) that their cult is usually practiced in caves (this would be true only of Mithra, and in his case it is not a real cave but an architectural imitation, an underground structure) but rather that one particular cave plays a crucial part in the myth of each. Thus there are the cave on Crete where the infant Zeus was protected from the threat of his father Cronos; the cave on Naxos, where Dionysus was tended by the nymphs (Jeanmaire *Dionysos*, 222–23); and the cave where Mithra sacrificed the bull. Porphyry makes special mention of the fact that the Arcadian cave was sacred to Pan and Semele and we have a myth of the love affair between Pan and the Moon (see chapter 5). That there should be a cult connection between these two di-

vinities in a district that claimed to be birthplace of them both seems not at all improbable. I thus resist the temptation to set aside the (unique) testimony of Porphyry and think it possible that the Arcadians would have wished to identify the particular place that sheltered this famous and delusory love affair. The lack of other evidence would lead us to think the cult of only secondary importance. It is quite otherwise with the caves of Naxos and Crete, the traditional locations of the childhoods of Zeus and Dionysus: there highly respected cults signal that, in the eyes of the Greeks, these are places where something started (Dionysiac mysteries, kouretic mysteries).

55. In Troezen, to be sure, (still close to Arcadia) Pausanias (2.32.6: 8.31.3–4) mentions a temple to Pan *luterios* put up near the acropolis. Outside the Peloponnese there is only one example, and that late and literary: the “temple of Pan the warrior” (Longus 4.39.2). See also the “rustic temples” dedicated to Pan in Roman iconography: Wernicke (*ML*) 1462; sarcophagus in Naples inv. 27710 (Herbig, 46 sq.; F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophagen*, 3 (Berlin, 1968), pls. 196–99, and pp. 323–35 with bibliography).

56. Paus. 8.37.11; D. H. 1.32.

57. See below at nn. 175–80.

58. See also chapter 6.

59. See below, n. 217.

60. See above at nn. 35–40.

61. See also chapter 5.

62. See below at nn. 202, 244.

63. See below at nn. 202, 244.

64. In the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta a number of lead figures of goats up on their hind legs, as if dancing, have been found: Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* (London, 1929), 262; 269; pl. 184, 19; 23–25; Herbig, 52; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 7, fig. 1; Brommer (*R.-E.*), 953; R. Hampe, *Gymnasium* 72 (1965), 79 (“nicht vor dem 6. Jh.”). The near nonexistence of evidence for a cult of Pan in Lakonia (“Die Bedeutung des Pan scheint in Lakonien nicht sehr gross gewesen zu sein. Dies fällt besonders auf, wenn wir bedenken, welche hohe Verehrung dieser Gott in Arkadien hatte”: S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* [Leipzig, 1893], 237–38) leads us to think that these “goats” should not be called “Pans,” even if they belong to a religious sphere impinging on Arcadia and Pan. The famous “tragic choruses” attested for Sicily in the fifth century B.C. (Hdt. 5.67) also have nothing to do with Pan; there is actually nothing that proves that they had anything to do with “goats” (H. Patzer, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Tragödie* [Wiesbaden, 1962], 59 sqq; cf. A. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*³ [Göttingen, 1972], 17–48). It may also be added that to recognize Pan everywhere the goat becomes human would be unsound method (as for example on the early fifth-century oinochoe in the British Museum 551 [Beazley *ABV*, 526] by the painter of Vatican G 49: here one sees, beside Dionysus, a goat with a human head. The beliefs relative to the goat, his “semantic field,” certainly extend over an area far more extensive than that allotted by the Greeks to the god Pan. The latter is not to be explained by the goat; this would be to shift him to a level of generality where his specificity would fade from view. Some have tried to see a representation of Pans in a pre-fifth-century bronze group of Petrovouni (Methydrion, Arcadia) representing a group of ram men (“mächtige Widderköpfe”), according to H. Latterman and H. von Gaertringen, who published it in their *Arkadische Forschungen*, Ab. preus. Ak., Phil.-hist. Cl. (1911), 41, pl. XIII 3; a thoughtless transition from ram to goat permitted Brommer (*Satyroi*, 10, fig. 15; *Marb. Jahrb.*, 6, fig. 1;

cf. *R.-E.*, 953) and Herbig (52) to see here the dance of four Pans. R. Hamp *Gymnasium* 72 (1965): 77–79, pl. XI d has in any case reexamined the object and asserts that the dancers are human, with no animal traits.

65. Berlin 8624. Herbig, 23, pls. I–II; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 10–11, figs. 5–6; Brommer (*R.-E.*), 963 (with bibliography).

66. On this instrument, a sort of crosier used to hunt rabbits as well as to drive small flocks, see E. Saglio, “Pedum,” in Daremberg and Saglio; G. Körte, “Zu Xenophons KYNHΓETIKOS,” *H* 53 (1918): 320. The *lagobolon* is, along with the syrinx, the most frequent attribute of the goat-god. See n. 192 below.

67. Vase (in the manner) of the “Red-line Painter”: J. Boardman, *Greek Vases in Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1961), 7–8, pl. II; id., *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974), 233, fig. 281.

68. Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*).

69. Herbig, 58 (cf. nn. 159, 159a); E. Paribeni, *Museo nazionale romano: Sculture greche del V secolo* (1953), pl. 55, 4; P. E. Arias, *Policleto* (Milan, 1964), pls. 99, 100; Maria Grazia Marzi Costagli, “Una nuova replica di Pan,” *Archeologia classica* 28 (1976): 40–48.

70. The juxtaposition within a single image of a bearded Pan and a young Pan was brought out, as an important element of panis iconography, by K. Rhomaios, *AE* (1905): 134 (in connection with a fourth-century relief). The theme is frequent on pottery; see for example hydria in London E 228, Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 38, fig. 49 (Metzger *Représentations*, pl. XI); hydria in the Metropolitan Museum 24.97.5, Metzger *Représentations*, 203; 207; pl. XXVII, 4; Apulian oinoche in Copenhagen Thorvaldsen Mus. 137, Schauenburg, 29, no. 29 (see K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium* 64 (1957): 219, pl. 6 figs. 9 sq.). The germ of this juxtaposition is as early as the time of Aeschylus (fr. 65b–c Mette), who distinguishes two different Pans belonging to two different theogonic generations (an old Pan, son of Cronos, and a young Pan, twin of Arcas).

71. Comprehensive studies: Wernicke (*ML*); Herbig, Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.* and *R.-E.*); and see E. Kunze, *Olympiabericht* IV (Berlin, 1944), 138–42. For Italian painting: Schauenburg. A brief overview: H. Sichtermann, “Pan,” *EAA* (1963). See also Hans Walter, *Pans Wiederkehr: Der Gott der griechischen Wildnis* (Munich, 1980).

72. Hdt. 2.145: “and from his time to mine,” adds the historian, “there are more than eight hundred years.”

73. See n. 3 above.

74. For Pindar (fr. 100 Snell²) Pan is son of Apollo and Penelope (rather than Hermes and Penelope, as seems to be suggested by Serv. Dan. *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.16 sq.: S. Timpanaro, “Note Serviane con contributi ad altri autori e a questioni di lessicografia latina,” *Studi urbinati di storia, filosofia e letteratura* 31 (1957): 184–87). For Aeschylus (fr. 65b–c Mette [= schol. E. *Rh.* 3b]), he is son of Cronos or son of Zeus and Kallisto. For Herodotus (2.145) and Plato (*Cra.* 408b), he is son of Hermes and Penelope. In the third century b.c. Euphorion called him son of Odysseus and Penelope (schol. Lucain 3.402). Apollodorus of Athens in the second century claims that he came from nowhere, and was brought up by the nymphs (244 F 136a Jacoby [= schol. Lucain 3.402; cf. schol. E. *Rh.* 36]).

75. Plu. *Moralia* 419d; cf. Hdt. 2.145.

76. See chapter 7.

77. The evidence for Pan son of Penelope (and of Apollo, Hermes, Odysseus, or even of all the suitors) can be found collected in Roscher (n. 3 above). See E. Wüst, “Penelope,” *R.-E.*; most recently: Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, *Pénélope: Légende et Mythe* (Paris, 1975), 222–30: “La mère de Pan.” An ety-

mological connection was proposed in antiquity: *πήνη* means “weft, web” and Pan (son of Πηνελόπη, the weaving woman) was made the inventor of weaving, *εὐρητής ὑφασμάτων* (schol. Hom. *Il.* 23.762; Eust. *Od.* 2.84); or else it was explained that Pan was son of Penelope and *all* the suitors (play on words: Πάν equals Πάν. Lyc. 77s; Duris fr. 21 J.; schol. Opp. *H.* 3.15; schol. Theoc. 1.3c, 7.109b–c; *Et. M.* s.v. Λαερτιάδης; Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* 2.44). According to another etymology (modern, in this case, but no less fantastic), the name of Pan derives from that of Penelope explained by *πηνέλοψ*, the “teal”: A. Shewan, “The Waterfowl Goddess Penelope and Her Son Pan,” *CR* (1915): 37–40. Without bringing the goat-god into it, the ancients had already thought of a possible connection between Πηνελόπη and *πηνέλοψ* (schol. Pi. *O.* 9.79d; schol. Lyc. 792; see Mactoux, *op. cit.*, 233–43: “L’héritière de la sarcelle”). However, whatever is to be made of this connection (which cannot be excluded: H. Frisk, *Griechische etymologische Wörterbuch*, I [Heidelberg, 1970], s.v. Πηνελόπεια), the fact remains that Pan means “shepherd” (see chapter 9) and has etymologically nothing to do with Penelope. The relation drawn by Greek mythology between the goat-god and the wife of Odysseus (besides revealing a certain fascinating ambiguity in her status as “model wife”) remains for us a mystery that the connection of Odysseus with Arcadia, and Hermes (Ed. Meyer, *H* 30 [1895]: 263–70) is insufficient to dispel. Do we here have to do with relatively late elaborations tending to make connections between Arcadia and its gods and the old Homeric poems (which do rather tend to neglect Arcadia) or rather with the enigmatic vestiges of a very ancient mythology?

78. See chapter 2.

79. Hdt. 2.146.

80. With no data except the internal evidence of its language, scholars have been unable to come close to agreement about its age. See A. Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen* (Leipzig, 1886): Hellenistic; T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*² (Oxford, 1936): fifth-century; J. Humbert, *Homère: Hymnes* (Paris, 1936): Hellenistic. F. Cassola (*Inni omerici*, 364–65) does not exclude the possibility that it is older than the fifth century and of Arcadian origin. Hans Schwabl, “Der homerische Hymnus auf Pan,” *Wiener Studien* 3 (1969): 5–14 limits himself to an account of its careful structure.

81. *H. Hom. Pan* 35–39. There is a similar story concerning Priapus (sources in H. Herter, “Priapos,” *R.-E.*, 1917); he is the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, and when newborn is so monstrously ithyphallic that his mother is disgusted and abandons him. The importance of this motif is made the clearer by its recurrence in the stories of these two gods, who are sometimes associated (Theoc. *Ep.* 3 [= *AP* 9.338]; Alciph. 4.13.16; Arcarnian inscription in Herter, *De Priapo*, *RGVV* 23 [Giessen, 1932], p. 224). On Priapus and the myth of his birth, see now M. Olender, *Etudes sur Priape* (forthcoming); cf. id., “Les Malheurs de Priape,” *Traverse* 12 “Eléments pour une analyse de Priape chez Justin le Gnostique,” *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren*, ed. M. B. de Boer and T. A. Edridge, II (Leiden, 1978), 874–97.

82. *H. Hom. Pan* 40–47.

83. *IG*, IV I² 130 = Page *PMG* 936 (see chapter 7, n. 103).

84. We should not forget that we have lost the greater part of this literature. We in fact know of a number of lost works written during the fourth and third centuries B.C. that were particularly concerned with Pan: e.g., the hymns to Pan of Aratus of Soli and the essay *On Panic* by Clearchus of Soli. In Middle Comedy, the *Pan* of Amphis and that of Philiskos (Kock, *CAF* III, p. 443–44) most probably dealt with the birth of the god (like the Homeric Hymn, but in a different style—although the Homeric Hymn is not without its comic elements).

85. E. *Hipp.* 141; E. *Med.* 1167–77.
 86. E. *Th.* 34–37.
 87. Ar. *Lys.* 998; Men. *Dysc.* 44.
 88. Pi. fr. 97 Snell³; Ar. *Ra.* 230; Ar. *Av.* 745; E. *Ion* 501.
 89. Pi. fr. 95; 99 Snell³; A *Pers.* 448; S. *Aj.* 693–701; Cratinos fr. 321 Kock (where βαβάκτης means ὄρχηστῆς); Page *PMG* 887.
 90. In Cratinos (fr. 321 Kock) Pan is styled *kēlōn*, metaphorically “jackass” or “stallion.”
 91. E. *Hel.* 187–90.
 92. A. *Pers.* 447–49; S. *Aj.* 693 sqq.; E. *Ba.* 951–52; E. fr. 696 Nauck².
 93. Pi. fr. 95 Snell³; Pi. *P.* 3.138–40; Ar. *Av.* 745–46.
 94. E. *Hipp.* 141.
 95. E. *IT* 1126.
 96. Ar. *Th.* 977–81.
 97. Pi. fr. 100 Snell³; A. *Ag.* 55 sq.; Ar. *Ra.* 230 sq.
 98. E. *IT* 1126.
 99. E. *El.* 703.
 100. On Pan and Dionysus: Herbig, 27 sqq. See also chapter 5. On fifth-century pottery: nn. 101–2 below. Fourth-century Attic pottery: Brommer (*R.-E.*), 971. Italiote pottery: Schauenburg, 38, nn. 21–31.
 101. Black-figure sherds (Amsterdam 2117–8): Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 14; id. *Satyroi*, figs. 3–4; Herbig, pl. VII, 2 (Pan plays the double flute at a Dionysiac banquet). On two black-figure lekythoi (Rome Vat. H 12: Brommer, *AA* 1938, 380 figs. 3–5; id., *Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 16; Bruxelles A 2296; Brommer, *Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 17; *CV A Belgique* II, III JA pls. 13a and 3b) two Pans near an immense crater hold on to each other; one plays the lyre while the other dances. Cf a red-figure stamnos from the late fifth century preserved in Altenburg (E. Bielefeld, *Griechische und etruskische Tongefässe*, 25–26, pl. II): a bust of Pan, in a Dionysiac setting. Also in the fifth century, on a volute crater from Taras (Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, B 91; Herbig, pl. 26), Pan is present at the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of Zeus.
 102. Boardman (n. 67 above). Cf. Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 37 (red-figure crater from Palermo): Pan, Ariadne, Dionysus, and thiasos; K. Schefold, *UKV*, pl. 56, no. 205 (= Metzger *Représentations*, 117, no. 16, pl. XII, I): Pan, Ariadne, and Dionysus. Cf. Metzger *Représentations*, nos. 26, 28, 30.
 103. Boston crater 10.185; Beazley, *Der Panmaler* (Berlin, 1931), 9–11, pls. 2 and 4; id., *The Pan Painter*, revised 1944 and 1947 ed. (Mainz, 1974), 1–2, pls. 2 and 4; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 15. Alabaster (private collection): Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 20; Herbig, pl. VII 3.
 104. Hellenistic sculptures: Herbig, 33–34 (n. 79), figs. 6–7. Late fifth-century B.C. intaglio (Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich, A. 1446): *AGS*, I (1968), no. 285 (with bibliography).
 105. Red-figure pelike, Compiègne 970: Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 17 and fig. 19 (p. 18); Metzger *Recherches*, 78 and pl. XXX, I; P. Devambez, “Piliers hermaïques et stèles,” *RA* 1968, 142 and pl. 143. Cf. a pelike in Berlin (4982/40): Metzger *Recherches*, 90 (“Pan offering homage to a beardless Hermes, hair in a polos, in the presence of Dionysus”).
 106. Boston crater (n. 103 above).
 107. Examples in Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), figs. 21–24.
 108. See chapter 7.
 109. See chapter 4.
 110. See chapter 4.
 111. See chapter 4.

112. See chapter 5.
 113. See chapters 5 and 6.
 114. A. L. Kroeber, *The Eskimos of Smith Sound*, Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist. 12 (1899), 317; U. Harva, *Les Représentations religieuses des peuples al-taiques*, trans. of 1938 German ed. (Paris, 1959), 271; R. H. Lowie, “Shoshonean Tales,” *Journal of the American Folklore* (1924): 195 sqq. (cited by R. Pettazoni, *Miti e leggende*, III, 253); O. Zerries, *Wild- und Buschgeister Süd-amerikas* (Frankfurt am Main, 1954), 329; H. Baumann, “Afrikanische Wild- und Buschgeister,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1928): 221 n. 11. Cf. Gallini 213 n. 27. On the theme of the echo in the folk literature of western Europe, see Bolte, “Das Echo in Volksglaube und Dichtung,” *Sitz.-Ber. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, 1935: 262 sqq., 852 sqq.
 115. *Suda* s.v. *σῦρυξ*.
 116. See chapters 4 and 7.
 117. E. *Hec.* 1110 sq.; Lucian (*Dom.* 3) speaks of uneducated people who think that the echo is a young girl resident within the rock.
 118. Paus. 8.24.4–7.
 119. Paus. 8.42.1–4.
 120. Paus. 8.37.5, 37.9–10.
 121. On these myths, see Stiglitz, *Die grossen Göttinnen*.
 122. Paus. 8.42.1–4.
 123. On the possible meaning of this representation, see chapter 7, n. 63.
 124. Pi. fr. 95 Snell³:

Ἦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων
 καὶ σεμνῶν ἀδύτων φύλαξ.

125. E. *Telephus* fr. 967, 2 Nauck²: ὃς τε πέτρον Ἀρκαδῶν δυσχείμερον Πάν ἐμβατεύεις, *H. Hom. Pan* 6–7: ὃς πάντα λόφον υἱφόεντα λέλογχε καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κέλευθα. E. *IT* 1126: οὐρείος Πάν; cf. *Aj.* 693 sqq.; S. *OT* 1099 (“the father who runs across the mountains”).
 126. A. *A* 56.
 127. Schauenburg; see also J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italote: Les Mythes et leur expression figurée au IV^e siècle*, I (Institut Suisse de Rome, 1975), 251–52: Pan both spectator and god of the locality; 288 n. 2: iconography completing the list set out by Schauenburg.
 128. Schauenburg, 34 nos. 99–100.
 129. *Ibid.*, nos. 79–81.
 130. *Ibid.*, no. 103.
 131. *Ibid.*, nos. 101–2.
 132. *Ibid.*, nos. 106–7.
 133. *Ibid.*, nos. 85–88.
 134. Apollod. 3.4.1. On this myth and its iconography, see F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* (Paris, 1963); E. Vermeule, “Kadmos and the Dragon,” in *Studies Presented to G. M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), 177–88.
 135. *Ov. Met.* 3.155 sqq.
 136. Apollod. 3.5.6; Paus. 1.21.3; *Ov. Met.* 6.305 sqq.
 137. *Hom. Il.* 24.25 sqq.; Apollod. *Epitome* 3.1.
 138. *Hom. Il.* 6.179 sqq.; Apollod. 2.3.2; etc. A vase in Naples shows Pan welcoming the solar car as it emerges from its nocturnal journey and sending it off to the east of the world: see G. Hafner, *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht*, Neue deutsche Forsch. Abt. Arch. Bd., 2 (Berlin, 1938), pl. 3.
 139. Schauenburg, no. 96; cf. Metzger *Représentations*, 204.
 140. “Der allgemein gefasste Sinn, der dieser Kombination dabei beigemes-

sen wurde, kann nur der sein, dass Pan als Repräsentant der freien Natur betrachtet wurde, in der sich das Geschehen abspielt” (Schauenburg, 41).

141. See chapter 5.
142. Schauenburg, no. 89.
143. *Ibid.*, no. 108.
144. *Ibid.*, nos. 91–92.
145. *Ibid.*, nos. 110–11.
146. *Ibid.*, nos. 106–7.
147. Pl. *Phdr.* 230b–c; 241e–242a; 279b.
148. See chapter 5.
149. A. *Pers.* 449 (cf. Paus. 1.36.2).
150. See chapters 5 and 7.
151. See n. 125 above.
152. See below at nn. 171–73.
153. *AP* 6.106.1, 107.1; 9.337.3, 217.4; see also the misadventure of the woodcutters of Asia Minor, chapter 6.
154. God of fishermen and coastal rocks: Pi. fr. 98 Snell³ (τῶν ἀλιέων [Πᾶνα] φροντίζειν); *EM* 54, 27 (Πᾶν ἄκτιος); schol. *Opp. H* 1.20 (see Theoc. 5.14–16 and schol. *ad loc.*). Pan and the sea: the god is called *haliplangtos* by S. *Aj.* 695; this epithet, literally translated by Liddell and Scott as “sea-roaming,” is elsewhere applied to a sea-serpent (*IG*, II 1660), to Triton (*AP* 6.65), to gods of the sea (*Opp. H* 4.582), or simply to sailors (A. R. 2.2). Let us remember that in E. *IT.* 1126 Pan contributes to a sea voyage. The existence of a Pan of the sea is further confirmed by the mythology of catasterism, where we find that the conch has replaced the syrinx, and where the god lends his traits to capricorn (*Aigokerōs*), a goat with a fish tail (Eratosth. 1.27; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.28; see also Boll-Gundel, “Sternbilder,” *ML* (Nachträge), 971 sqq.). Probably the double sense of the word αἴγες (“goats,” but also “waves”; lit.: “the leapers,” cf. αἰσσω) has something to do with the goat-footed god’s involvement with the sea. On the etymology of αἶξ and its double sense, see Chantraine *Dict. étym.* s.v.; U. Pestalozza, *Nuovi saggi di religione mediterranea* (Florence, 1964), 167–74: “Il mare delle capre.”
155. *Hom. Od.* 14.103–6.
156. L. Robert, “Recherches épigraphiques: Inscriptions de Lesbos,” *REA* 62 (1960): 304–6.
157. *Ibid.*, 305 n. 1.
158. A. Motte, *Prairies et Jardins de la Grèce antique: De la religion à la philosophie* (Brussels, 1973), 14–15.
159. See chapter 2.
160. *AP* 7.535 (Meleager); cf. *IG*, IV 53 (Kaibel 271) with commentary by P. Boyancé, *Le Culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (Paris, 1936), 346–47.
161. *Artem.* 4.72; cf. 2.37.
162. *H. Hom. Pan* 8–14.
163. πετρῆεντα κέλευθα, v. 7.
164. *H. Hom. Pan* 11.
165. *BCH* 25 (1901): 276.
166. *E. El.* 703.
167. *Ant. Lib.* 22 (Nicander).
168. See chapter 1.
169. *Ant. Lib.* 5.
170. On the effects of snow on a mountain landscape, see *Plb.* 3.50–56 (crossing of the alps by Hannibal).

171. Compare the panic that overtook the camp of the Thirty at Phyle (see chapter 5).

172. D. S. 22.9 (λευκάς κοράς: interpretation by W. W. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII, 103). Cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.37; Tz. *H.* 11.394.

173. *S. Aj.* 696–97.

174. See below at nn. 184–88.

175. Pan's *kaliē*: *AP* 6.253; *aulis*: Call. *Dian.* 87; *aulē*: Ael. *NA* 11.6. At Athens Pan's sheepfold came to be thought of as a cave, as we learn from the iconography of votive reliefs where the god appears in his cave often surrounded by his goats: cf. E. *Ion* 493: ὦ Πανός θακήματα καὶ παραυλίζουσα πέτρα / μυχῶδεσι Μακραίς, literally: "O seats of Pan and you rock that make his sheepfold in the glens of Makrai." Ἀυλή, which is an element in παραυλίζουσα, recurs in the epithets of Pan: ἄγραυλος (*AP* 6.179 (or φιλάγραυλος (*Hymn. Id. Dact.* 16, J. U. Powell *Coll. Alex.*, 172; *AP* 6.73; Nonn. *D.* 15).

176. Ael. *NA* 11.6.

177. Call. *Diane.* 87–97.

178. The skin of the lynx is an attribute of Pan in the *H. Hom. Pan* 5. This animal is timid (Horat. *Carm.* 4.6.33, 2.13.40), but can see through obstacles (Plin. *Nat.* 28.122; Opp. *Cyn.* 3.97); it is traditionally an enemy of the goat-herd (*AP* 5.178).

179. Gallini, 210.

180. See below at nn. 238–46.

181. Burkert *Homo Necans*, 106 n. 34. An argument in favor of this identification: in a manuscript variant of the scholiast on Aratus 27 (ms. S, see the Martin edition) εἰς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς αὐλήν replaces the usual reading εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄβατον. The close connections of Pan and Zeus on Lykaion suggest that the two gods may have shared the mythico-ritual complex of the *abatōn*.

182. Ael. *NA* 9.7; Str. 14.6.3.

183. Str. 5.8.

184. W. Richter, "Ziege," *R.-E.*, 400; H.-G. Buchholz, G. Jöhrens, and I. Maull, *Jagd und Fischfang*, *Archaeologia Homerica* I, J (1973), 55–58.

185. Hom. *Od.* 9.152–63 (cf. 116–21).

186. Sources relevant to *diktamon*, or dittany, are collected in P. Louis, *Aristote: Histoire des Animaux*, III (Paris, 1969), 75 n.4; Richter "Ziege," *R.-E.*, 403.

187. Paus. 3.20.4.

188. Paus. 4.36.6.

189. Castorion fr. 2 (= Ath. 454f); on the formation of this compound in *-νόμος* with a pastoral implication, but with "shepherd" meaning more generally "caregiver," see E. Laroche, *Histoire de la racine NEM- en Grec ancien* (Paris, 1949), 146.

190. Evidence collected by Roscher (*ML*), 1385–87.

191. Herbig, pl. XX, 3 (coin of Messina).

192. See n. 66 above. Representations of Pan with a *lagobolon* are too numerous to list. A couple of particularly fine examples are a terra-cotta relief from the Cabirion in Thebes (see n. 198 below) and a bas-relief found in the Pentelic cave (U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weibreliefs* [Berlin, 1960], fig. 31).

193. *H. Hom. Pan* 13–14: διήλασε θήρας ἐναίρων / ὄξέα δερκόμενος.

194. Arr. *Cyn.* 35.3; cf. J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins* (Paris, 1951), 504.

195. Apollod. 244 F. 137 Jacoby (*E.M.* s.v. ἄκτιος· ἀγρευτής γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ

ἐν Ἀθήναις τιμώμενος, Hsch. s.v. Ἀγρεύς: ὁ Πάν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος).

196. Men. *Dysc.* 42.

197. *AP* 6.11–16 and 179–87 (offerings of three brother huntsmen); *AP* 6.34, 35, 57, 107, 109, 167, 168, 176, 196; 9.824; 10.10, 11; 11.194; 16.258; etc.

198. On a terra-cotta relief from the Cabirion in Thebes (Pan *apostokopos*, with a *lagobolon*): Herbig pl. XX, 1 (n. 27a); B. Schmaltz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974), 16 and pl. 29, no. 378.

199. Narbonne, Collection Rouzaud: Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 47 (commentary on p. 38).

200. A. Lebesse, “Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite near Kato Syme Viannou,” *AAA* 6 (1973): 109 and fig. 10 (Fritz Graf drew my attention to this article, and has my thanks).

201. See the story of the goatherd-fisherman in chapter 5. Pan is already the god of fishermen in Pindar (n. 154 above); cf. *AP* 6.11–16, 179–87, 196; 10.10.

202. On this double function, which connects him with the divinities of the “Master of Animals” type, see Gallini, 209–11.

203. Immerwahr *Kulte*, 73–78 (Mount Kyllene); 80–82 (Phenea).

204. *H. Hom. Merc.* 567–71.

205. Benveniste *Vocabulaire* I, 37–45 (“*Probaton* et l’économie homérique”).

206. Hes. *Th.* 444 sqq.

207. Hom. *Il.* 14.490–91:

Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τόν ῥα μάλιστα
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτήσιν ὄπασσε.

208. Paus. 2.3.4: ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποιμένας.

209. Hermes Kriophoros.

210. Lucian *DDeor.* 22; schol. Theoc. 7.109; Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* 2.44.

211. Hippol. *Haer.* 5.8, 10 (cf. Hdt. 2.51); Philostr. *VA* 6.20; Artem. I p. 43, 6; Lucian *JTr.* 42. At Kyllene in Elis, a town named for the mountain, whose mythical founder was an Arcadian, Hermes was represented as a simple phallus set up on a base (Paus. 6.26.4–5).

212. *H. Hom. Pan* 32–33; Ant. Lib. 15.3.

213. References in n. 210 above. Laurence Kahn, *Hermès passe ou les ambiguïtés de la communication* (Paris, 1978) brings out, at the end of an analysis of the *pureion* story in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, the coherence of the symbolic system. Without mentioning Pan (who would surely have further supported his position), Kahn writes of Hermes, inventor of the sacrificial fire: “Hermes’ fire is directly linked to marriage and reproduction, and Hermes is himself the living image of these, if one is to judge by the profusion of metaphors. The invention of fire, marriage, and reproduction (which flourishes as the reproduction of the flocks) are links in one chain, which in the Hymn leads from the cooking of food to fertility” (55). On fire, Hermes, and Pan, see chapter 4, n. 7, below.

214. On this way of working in myth, see J. Rudhardt, “Cohérence et incohérence de la structure mythique: Sa fonction symbolique” *Diogène* 77 (1972): 19–47. He says of the structure of genealogies: “In this process [theogony] the first term is rich in all the powers, all the qualities that will be clearly revealed in his descendants, but these qualities and powers are implicit, not manifest. Each

of the later beings, less rich, less universal, will be more specific, more immediate in action and more current” (31).

215. Chapter 5, n. 23.

216. That Pan, in Mnaseas (fr. 7 Müller = schol. Theoc. 1.64c) should be called father of Boukolion (whose name means “cowherd”) is no exception to this rule, but rather places, in some “history” of culture, small livestock as prior to cattle. It is to be noted that Mnaseas drew on Arcadian tradition (see C. Wendel, “Mythographie,” *R.-E.*, 1363, 17–24), and that Boukolion is listed among the sons of Lykaon in Apollod. 3.8.1.

217. Theoc. 7.113; Paus. 1.32.7; Verg. *Georg.* 1.17; Longus 4.4.5 (*ἱερά ἀγέλη*); the flocks of Pan (goats) are shown around him on many votive reliefs: cf. *AA* (1940), 135, fig. 10 (relief from Ekali); Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, pl. 13, 1 (relief from Vari); Devambez (n. 13 above), fig. 3 (relief from Thasos).

218. Longus 2.28.3 (chapter 5, n. 54).

219. See above at nn. 162–73.

220. *AP* 16.17.

221. Longus 2.31.2.

222. Herbig, 34, figs. 6 and 7; *AGS* I, no. 285 (late fifth-century gem).

223. Theoc. *Ep.* 5.5; *AP* 6.31; etc.

224. Excepting the goats of Mendes, in Pi. fr. 201.

225. Bronze statuettes of Arcadian shepherds, inscribed as dedications to Pan (fifth century B.C.): *Φαυλεας ἀνεθυσε τοι Πανι; Πανι Αἰνεας* (Gisela Richter, *AJA* 48 (1944): 5 and figs. 11–15). Shepherd’s knife dedicated at Olympia (fifth century B.C.: *BCH* 62 (1938): 461). Inscriptions on the walls of ancient caves: chapter 7, n. 172.

226. *AP* 16.17, attributed to Ibycos by Natalis Comes (Natale Conti), *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabulorum libri decem*, V, 6 (Hanover, 1605), 454.

227.

Ἦ Πάν, φερβομέναις ἱεράν φάτιν ἄπυε ποιίμναις
 κυρτὸν ὑπὲρ χρυσέων χειλὸς εἰς δονάκων,
 ὄφρ’ αἰ μὲν λευκοῖο βεβριθότα δῶρα γάλακτος
 οὔθασιν ἐς Κλυμένον πυκνὰ φέρωσι δόμον,
 σοὶ δὲ καλῶς βωμοῖσι παριστάμενος πόσις αἰγῶν
 φοῖνιον ἐκ λασιῦ στήθεος αἶμ’ ἐρύγη.

228. *AP* 6.99.

229. The earliest evidence is in A. *Eu.* 943 sq. (where Meineke’s emendation is to be preferred; cf. D. Page’s edition (Oxford, 1972):

μῆλα τ’ εὐθenoῦντα Πάν
 ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
 τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ.

“Let Pan rear flourishing flocks that bring forth twin offspring at the set time”; it is to be noted that the Cretan goat, mother of Pan and nurse of Zeus, normally produced twin kids (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13, p. 48, 17 Bunte). Aristotle (*HA* 573b) remarks for his part that “sheep and goats give birth to twins when they are well nourished and the ram or he-goat is himself born a twin, or if this is the case of the mother.”

230. This linkage, here logically explained by the goatherd’s need to hunt wild beasts (in order to protect his flock), is also expressed in other ways; in the first place, herdsman and huntsman share a landscape (for the interplay of symbols and terms relating to the landscape of hunting and that of little flocks, see P. Chantraine, *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire Grec* [Paris, 1956], esp. 54–50: Pan

agreus or *agrotēs*). They also share a music: the syrinx, the herdsman's instrument, also turns up in the hunt; the seduction that works on the flocks (on the level of fertility) is there reinterpreted as a device fit to attract certain (female) game to the hand of the huntsman. Thus Aristotle (*HA* 611b) reports that "deer are taken in hunting by playing the flute [*surizēin*] or singing; they then lie down from pleasure. If there are two huntsmen, one plays the flute in plain view, while the other hangs back, and shoots when the first gives him the signal."

231. Theoc. 7.103–14.

232. See above at nn. 162–73.

233. *AP* 12.124.

234. Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* s.v. *κνίζω*.

235. Hdt. 6.62; cf. E. *Med.* 568; Theoc. 5.122.

236. Arist. *HA* 522a8.

237. On the rite of the squill, see M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen* (Leipzig, 1906), 443–44; J. G. Frazer, *The Scapgoat*, vol. 9 of *The Golden Bough* (London, 1920), 256 sqq.; A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, II (Cambridge, 1950), commentary on 7.103 sqq.

238. Schol. Theoc. 7.106–8a: Οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξιώντες, ἂν μὲν εὐτυχῆσωσι, τιμῶσι τὸν Πάνα, εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον, σκίλλαις ἐμπαρουνοῦσι, παρόσον ὄρειος ὦν τῆς θήρας ἐσιστατεῖ.

239. See above at nn. 190–97.

240. See above at nn. 179–80.

241. Ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη: for the meaning, see Gow, *Theocritus* (n. 237 above), 158.

242. The reference is perhaps to Mounatios of Tralles (in Illyria), a grammarian who taught Herodes Atticus and also wrote a commentary on Theocritus: E. Wüst, *R.-E.*, suppl. 8, 359–61; E. Fischer, "Mounatios," *Der Kleine Pauly*, V (Nachträge), 1630.

243. Schol. Theoc. 7.106–8a: Μουνάτιος δὲ φησιν ἐορτὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν εἶναι, ἐν ἣ οἱ παῖδες τὸν Πάνα σκίλλαις βάλλουσι, [Χιοὶ δὲ] ὅταν οἱ χορηγοὶ λεπτόν ἱερεῖον θύσωσι καὶ μὴ ἰκανόν ἢ τοῖς ἐσθίουσι. διὸ φησι: κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη.

244. *Plb.* 4.21.3.

245. Brelich stresses the importance of these choruses in the Arcadian education, which he calls "initiation" (*Paidēs*, 209–14).

246. Artemis commands a number of rituals of the initiatory type: see Brelich *Paidēs*, *passim*.

247. Rudhardt *Notions*, 291; cf. P. Stengel, *H* 22 (1887): 94 sqq.; id., *Die griechischen Sakralaltertümer* (Munich, 1890): 83–85; M. Detienne, "La Viande et le sacrifice en Grèce ancienne," *La Recherche* 75 (February 1977): 152–60.

248. Str. 10.20–21. See Jeanmaire *Couroi*, 450 sqq.; Brelich *Paidēs*, 198–99; H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec* (Paris, 1948), 86 sqq.; R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London, 1962), 56 sqq.

249. *IG*, V, 1 278 (καθηγηρατόριον); 279 (κασσηρατόριον); 274 (καθηγηρατόριον) etc.; cf. Brelich *Paidēs*, 175.

250. See Frazer and Gow (n. 237 above).

251. On the *pharmakos* see Frazer (n. 237 above); V. Gebhard, *Die Pharmakoi in Ionien und die Sybakchoi in Athen* (Diss. Amberg, 1926); id., "Thargelia," 1, *R.-E.*; id., "Pharmakos," *R.-E.*; O. Masson, "Sur un papyrus contenant des fragments d'Hipponax," *REG* 62 (1949): 300–19 (311–19: "Les allusions au Pharmakos"); id., *Les Fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris, 1962), 58 and

109–13; J.-P. Vernant, in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1972), 117–19.

252. O. Masson, *Les Fragments du poète Hipponax* (n. 251 above), 113.

253. Tz. H. 5.729 (cited by J.-P. Vernant, *loc. cit.* n. 251 above).

254. Schol. Ar. Ra. 703.

255. Hippon. fr. 10 Masson:

λιμῶ γένηται ξηρός· ἐν δὲ τῷ θυμῶ
φαρμακὸς ἀχθεῖς ἐπτάκις ῥαπισθεῖη.

“Let him wither with hunger, and when he is led out a *pharmakos* let him be whipped seven times on his private parts” (see Masson’s commentary, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

256. Besides Hippon, fr. 5, see Diph. fr. 126.3 (cited by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.4.26); Thphr. *Char.* 16.14; *SIG* 968 VI (Mytilene third century B.C.); D. Chr. 48.17. Cf. Riess, “Aberglaube,” *R.-E.*, 67–68; Gow (n. 237 above), 158.

257. See chapter 1.

258. See above at nn. 118–19.

259. See chapter 5.

260. K. Wernicke (*ML*), 1448; Herbig, n. 63 and pl. XL, 4; M. Vermaseren, “Fragments de sarcophage de Sainte-Prisque: Pan enfant corrigé par un satyre,” *Latomus* 18 (1959): 742–50 (pls. XLII–XLIV); F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, II (Berlin, 1968), 203 n. 17.

261. Roscher *Ephialtes*, 122; Herbig, 31; Vermaseren (see preceding note) suggests that whipping and corporal punishment allude in this case to certain features of Dionysiac ritual; Pan on a sarcophagus can belong to the world of Dionysus—but this does not require us to exclude all reference to mythology properly speaking.

262. See chapter 4 at n. 1.

263. Struggle of Pan with Eros: Verg. *Ed.* 10.69 (*Omnia vincit Amor*); *AP* 6.13, 9.75; Kaibel 1103–6; *SEG* 602; F. G. Welcker, “Der Kampf zwischen Pan und Eros,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der antiken Kunst* 1 (1818): 475–89; O. Bie, “Ringkampf des Pan und Eros,” *Jdl* 4 (1889): 129–37; Wernicke (*ML*), 1456–61; Herbig, 32 and 40; B. Neutsch, “Das Epigrammenzimmer in der ‘Casa degli Epigrammi’ zu Pompeji und sein Wandbild ‘Eros in Ringkampf mit Pan,’” *Jdl* 70 (1955): 155–84, figs. 11–18 (esp. 167 sqq.); Matz (n. 260 above), I, 128 sqq. (cf. n. 7, p. 129).

The play on words Πάν-πᾶν: Pl. *Cra.* 408c–d (son of Hermes the interpreter, Pan appears as the logos that can say *everything*); *H. Hom.* Pan 19.47 (Pan’s arrival on Olympus delighted *all* the gods, who therefore gave him his name); schol. Theoc. 1.3, 2.109 (son of Penelope and *all* the suitors; see n. 77 above); Pan in the end is thought to be the god of the cosmic whole: *H. Orph.* 11.1; see already the *Epidaurus Hymn* (Page, *PMG* 936: ἔρεισμα πάντων). For Plutarch (*Moralia* 419b–c) and Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (*PE* 5.17.4 sqq.), the death of Pan signifies the disappearance of *all* the daemons. W. H. Roscher (“Pan als Allgott,” *Festschrift für Joh. Overbeck* [Leipzig, 1893], 56–72) believes that the idea of totality was grafted on to the traditional image of Pan under Egyptian influence (the goat-god who originated in Egypt as Chnoum-Mendes was, according to Roscher, identified with Pan as early as the seventh or sixth century B.C.; the notion of Pan as the Totality resulting from this syncretism affected Orphism first and then Stoicism; the false etymology Πάν-πᾶν merely made the transition easier. Herbig, 63–69, (quite rightly) disagrees, and asserts that the phenomenon is entirely Greek. He believes that it is the result of a

tendency (which shows up as early as the fifth century) to substitute for that plurality of great gods in which people no longer believed a central being with powers over the whole. This theological development is held to correspond to a political development: the rise of members of lower social strata (e.g., Cleon) corresponds to the elevation to Olympus of minor divinities like Hecate and Tyche. This analysis, which is somewhat lacking in subtlety, is repeated in other terms (and in reference to another period) by L. Stoianovici-Donat, "Sur la confusion du pandémonium gréco-oriental autour de la mythologie de Pan et de Tyché," *Actes de la XII^e Conf. Eirene*, 1975: 511–19.

264. A comparison with other rites of flagellation, all well known, but far from explained, would take us far afield. Among the most important: in Arcadia, at Alea, the women were periodically whipped in the festival called *Skieireia* (as the result of a Delphic oracle) near the sanctuary of Athena and of Dionysus (Paus. 8.23.1); near Arcadia there was the famous ritual of flagellation of young Spartans in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Paus. 3.16.7 sqq.; X. *Lac.* 2.9; Cic. *Tusc.* 2.34; Plu. *Moralia* 239d; Lucian *Anach.* 38; etc.; cf. Brelich *Paidēs*, 133 sqq.). The most interesting parallel is with the Roman Lupercalia, where the matrons were whipped with goat thongs (*februa*: see G. Dumézil, *La Religion romaine archaïque*², [Paris, 1974], 352–56). W. H. Roscher would follow learned Roman opinion and accept that the Lupercalia originated in Arcadia; he suggests that the rite of the squill formed part of the cultic ensemble of Lykaion, whence it inspired the Roman rite (*contra*: M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 443–44). I think the *Lupercalia-Lykaia* link (which can surely not be treated in terms of diffusion) should be rethought from a "Lévi-Straussian" or simply "Dumézilian" point of view. In another Latin rite of flagellation, the Marmuralia (Lyd. *Mens.* 4.49), a man wearing a goat skin was struck with long white rods and led in procession by the mob; he was called Mamurius, and perhaps represented, in the guise of a mythical deceitful smith, "Old Mars" or "The Old Man of Mars"—that is, the old year driven out (Dumézil, *loc. cit.*, 224–25); but all this remains unclarified (G. Radke, "Mamurius," *Der Kleine Pauly*).

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Chapter 3, n. 103.
2. Chapter 3, n. 103. (Brommer interprets this representation as an image of the sudden appearance of the god as he produces panic.)
3. Examples in Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), figs. 37, 38, 43; cf. relief from Ekali, *AA* (1940): 135, fig. 10.
4. Call. fr. 689 Pfeiffer; Malea here is either a small village in north Arcadia, near Psophis (*AP* 9.341.5; cf. Pfeiffer's commentary on Callimachus *loc. cit.*), or else (less probably) the Lakonian promontory of the same name, where we hear of a cult of Silenus, a personage close to Pan. On this uncertainty, see U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I³ (Basel and Stuttgart, 1959), 386 sqq.
5. Hom. *Od.* 9.385.
6. Schol. A. R. 1.1184; Thphr. *HP* 5.9, 6; on this way of firemaking, called *pureion*, see M. H. Morgan, "De Ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1 (1890): 20–26.
7. On the symbolic implications of Hermes' fire (*H. Hom. Merc.* 108–14), see Kahn (chapter 3, n. 213). It is to be noted that fire is by no means out of place among the attributes of Pan: the eternal flame that burned upon the altars of Lykosoura and Olympia (see chapter 3 at n. 43) suggests that the Athenians, when they instituted a torch race for him (see chapter 7) were not unaware of

the interrelation between Pan and his father's invention. In the same connection, we may note that terra-cotta lamps are among the most frequent dedications in the caves of Pan; at Phyle on Parnes, most notably, they were so numerous that they gave the cave its modern name, Lichnospilo; cf. also Vari, where more than a thousand lamps were found: *AJA* 7 [1903]: 338–49). It is true that these lamps were not dedicated before the third century B.C. But the custom of such dedications, even though it became a sudden fashion, most probably extended or gave specific form to some earlier ritual practice that took some other form and has left no trace: in the classical period torches played an important part in the nocturnal cult of Pan (Men. *Dysc.* 964; chapter 8).

8. Hsch. s.v. *ἑσχάρα*.

9. Theoc. 5.42.

10. Furthermore this is how the ancient commentators understood it; the scholiast on Theoc. 7.203a (who cites this passage) says specifically that Pan *trypanon* is a pederast; Eustatius *ad Il.* 11.20 quotes Callimachus's phrase as an example of the metaphorical use of a divine name; Pan, according to him there means *τὸν καταφερῆ καὶ συνουσιαστικόν* ("that which is low and has to do with intercourse"). We find confirmation that the notion of a "pederastic flame" was in Callimachus's mind from another of his epigrams (Ep. 44 Pfeiffer = *AP* 12.139); the text is unhappily corrupt in one word, but the sense is clear:

Ἔστι τι ναὶ τὸν Πάνα κεκρυμμένον, ἔστι τι ταύτη
ναὶ μὰ Διώνυσον πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ.
οὐ θαρσέω μὴ δὴ με περίπλεκε πολλάκι λήθει
τοῖχον ὑποτρώγων ἡσύχιος ποταμός.
τῶ καὶ νῦν δείδουκα, Μενέξενε, μὴ με παρεισδύς
† οὔτος ὄσειγαρνης † εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα βάλῃ.

"Yes by Pan it is hidden, yes by Dionysus, there is fire in the ashes. I am not confident. Do not embrace me. Often before we know it still waters eat their way through the dike. So now I am afraid, Menexenus, lest you enter into me (. . .) and hurl me into desire." Meleager, in the first century B.C., took up Callimachus's image, but gave it a heterosexual coloring (*AP* 5.139): "What a sweet melody, by Arcadian Pan! Aenophila, you pluck a sweet melody from your harp, by Pan. The Loves attack me from every side. No time to draw breath! At one moment it is a shape that hurls me into desire, at another moment a Muse, and then . . . what can I say? All is fire! I burn." ("All"—*panta*—keeps up the reference to Pan, through the play on words Πάν-πάν; see chapter 3, n. 63).

11. Eratosth. 1.40 applies this expression to the loves of Heracles and Chiron, in the cave on Pelion; the expression in fact can signify homosexuality and also bestiality, possibly in some ritual guise. Chiron's cave, which has been identified with a particular cave on Pelion, was actually a sanctuary; young men in sheepskins performed a ceremony there that W. Burkert (*Homo Necans*, 129–30) has compared to the cult of Lykaon. It is to be noted that Pan, Heracles, and Chiron were also associated in Thessaly, in the cave of Pharsalia (*SEG* I, 60 sq., no. 248; chapter 5, n. 49).

12. The Greeks gave the name of "Pans" to persons exceptionally inclined to sexual desire (*τοὺς ἐσπουδακότας σφοδρῶς περὶ τὰς συνουσίας* Hsch. s.v. Πάνες).

13. This contrast already surfaces in the (very ancient) connection between Aphrodite and the goat; see most recently Elpis Mitropoulou, *Aphrodite auf der Ziege* (Athens, 1975); cf. Lèvy, *BCH* 89 (1965): 559 sq.

14. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 289; W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (= *JdI*, XIV,

Ergänzungsheft, 1942), fig. 10 and pl. 15; Herbig, 38–39, fig. 9; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 38–39, fig. 51. Another fourth-century mirror (Züchner, *op. cit.*, fig. 1) represents Pan astride the goat of Aphrodite Pandemos.

15. A sculpture in the collection of the National Museum, Athens: see *BCH* 30 (1906): pls. 13–16; Margaret Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London, 1955), fig. 629; Herbig, 39 and pl. XIX, 2. On Aphrodite Blaute, see chapter 7. See also a little marble group from the National Museum in Athens (no. 3367: *AD* 1916: 79, fig. 9) originating in the Megarid, where Pan appears as the little servant or companion of the goddess; an Argive relief represents Aphrodite accompanied by a “tiny goatfooted Pan” leaning on her right leg: Jean Marcade and Eliane Raftopoulou, “Sculptures Argiennes II,” *BCH* 87 (1963): 63–65, fig. 24. On a relief in Göttingen (late second/early first century B.C.), Pan is sitting in a cave drinking from a cup; around him are Aphrodite and Eros, who seem to be entertaining him: Katharina Maak, *AA* (1967): 419–21, fig. 18; cf. a similar motif on a relief vase (fourth/third century) in New York (*Bull. Metr. Mus.* 3 (1945): 170). On the inclusion of Pan in representations on pottery of the *anodos* of Aphrodite, see chapter 7, n. 98.

16. At Thasos for example: *IG*, XII 8, 368 (late fifth century); cf. J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* (Paris, 1958), 28 and 334; F. Salviat, “Décrets pour Epié,” *BCH* 83 (1959): 395–96. For Argos, see J. Marcade and E. Raftopoulou (n. 15 above), 65 and n. 6. For Athens, Paus. 1.44.9 and chapter 7.

17. On the sexual misery of the goatherd (*duserös* and *amēchanos*): Theoc. 1.81–90.

18. Heraclit. *Incred.* 25: *Περὶ Πανῶν καὶ Σατύρων· ἐν ὄρεσι καταγιγνώμενοι καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπωτέρω ὄντες, ὅταν τις παρεφάνη γυνή, κοινῶς αὐτῇ ἐχρῶντο. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι τὰς εἰς πλῆθος γυναικῶν λέγομεν ὅτι «ἐπανεύομεν αὐτάς. A scribe who refused to believe that Pans and satyrs are supernatural and preferred to think them a type of human being, has added the following note: τράγων δὲ τρίχας καὶ σκέλη ἐδόκουν ἔχειν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ λουτρά ἀμέλειαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα δυσσομίαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Διονύσου φίλοι· τὴν γὰρ ἐργασίαν τῶν ἀμπέλων ἐποίουν. “They were thought to have goats’ hair and limbs because of their neglect of bathing and the bad smell this produced. And this why they are close to Dionysus: theirs is the labor of the vine” (a certain amount of dirt was perhaps thought to have a good effect on the quality of the wine when the grapes were trodden out with bare feet).*

19. Villa Giulia inv. 12976.

20. Pan as a source of nocturnal visions: Hsch. s.v. Πανὸς σκότος· φαντασιῶν αἴτιος· (ποιῶν) νυκτερινὰς φαντασίας (text as established by Roscher *Selene*, n. 656). His appearances in dreams: see chapters 7 and 8. Here we may also mention the late assimilation of Pan to the demon Ephialtes (Ἐφιάλης or Ἐφιάλτης), who settles on people’s chest and squeezes them when they are between sleep and waking; Ὁ δὲ Ἐφιάλτης ὁ αὐτὸς εἶναι τῷ Πανὶ νερόμισται, διάφορα δὲ σημαίνει· θλίβων μὲν γὰρ καὶ βαρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος θλίψεις καὶ στενοχωρίας σημαίνει, ὁ τι δ’ ἂν ἀποκρίνηται ἐρωτώμενος, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀληθές. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ διδῶ καὶ συνουσιάξῃ, μεγάλας ὠφελείας προαγορεύει, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν μὴ βαρῆ. ὁ τι δ’ ἂν προσιῶν πράξῃ, τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀνίστησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποθανομένῳ πρόσεισι ποτε ἀνθρώπῳ.

Cf. Macrobe *ad Somn. Scip.* 2.3.7: *φάντασμα vero hoc est visum cum inter vigiliam et adultam quietem in quaedam, ut aiunt, prima somni nebula adhuc se vigilare aestimans, qui dormire vix coepit, aspicere videtur irruentes in se vel passim vagantes formas a natura seu magnitudine seu specie discrepantes variasque tempestates rerum vel laetas vel turbulentas. In hoc genere est ἐπιάλτης, quem publica*

persuasio quiescentes opinatur invadere et pondere suo pressos ac sentientes gravare. This type of demon is still well known in modern European folklore, as witness the Cauco-vielho (in Swiss dialect "Chausse-vieille"); a story collected in Péri-gord tells how "the filthy beast coils itself on the breast of the peasant, heats him with its pelt, crushes him with its overbearing weight. He chokes, wakes with a jump, gives a cry; he recognises the cauco-vielho as it rushes off" (Cl. Seignolle, *Les Évangiles du diable* [Paris, 1964], 108). In Ephialtes there is mixed with the motif of oppression and anguish that of the good genius, the terrifying but beneficent power (cf. Artem. *loc. cit.*). Pan-Ephialtes appears on the imperial coinage of Bithynia (Nicaea) under the name of Epopheles (useful, beneficial): E. Maas, "Ein griechischer Vorläufer des Mephistopheles," *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft* 9 (1922): 78–87, pl. 3 (cf. B. Pick, "Ein Vorläufer des Mephistopheles auf antiken Münzen," *ibid.* 4 (1917); *Brit. Cat. Coins Bithynia*, pl. XXXIII, 16). On Pan-Ephialtes, see Roscher *Ephialtes*. For a Jungian interpretation, see J. Hillman, "An Essay on Pan," in *Pan and the Nightmare* (Zurich, 1972), 1–59.

21. Pan-Inuus: Liv. 1.5.2; Serv. *Aen.* 6.775; Probus *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.10; Macrobe *Sat.* 1.22.2; *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 4.6; Isid. *Sev. Etym.* 8.11 (103–4). It may be noted that the very name of Inuus evokes the prophecy that was at the origin of the Lupercalia (a festival thought by the Latins to be derived from those of the Lykaia: see chapter 3, n. 264): *Italidas matres . . . sacer hircus [or caper hirtus] inito* (*Ov. Fast.* 2.441). Inuus was originally an independent pastoral divinity (cf. W. Eisenhut, "Inuus," *Der Kleine Pauly*); he was then identified with Faunus and Silvanus, other Latin translations of Pan. On these assimilations, see Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 84–92. According to St. Augustine (*Civ. D.* 15.23.1), "there is a very widespread report, corroborated by many people either through their own experience or through accounts of others of indubitably good faith who have had the experience, that Silvans and Pans, who are commonly called *incubi*, often misbehaved toward women and succeeded in accomplishing their lustful desire to have intercourse with them" (trans. P. Levine, Loeb ed., 1966). The same author (*ibid.* 6.9.2) cites Varro, whose analysis of the phenomenon anticipates Lévi-Strauss: "Three gods are employed to guard a woman after childbirth, lest the god Silvanus come in by night and trouble her. To represent the three guardian gods, three men go about the thresholds of the house at night and strike the threshold first with an axe, next with a pestle, and in the third place sweep it with a broom. These symbols of agriculture prevent Silvanus from entering—for trees are not cut down or pruned without iron tools, nor is grain ground without a pestle, nor is the harvested grain collected in a heap without a broom. . . . Thus we see that the protection of good gods was ineffective against the fury of a harmful god unless there were several of them against one, and unless they fought to repel the fierce, horrid, uncultivated god, forest-dweller that he was, with the symbols of agriculture, conceived as his natural enemies" (trans. W. M. Green, Loeb ed., 1963).

22. Theoc. *Ep.* 3 (= *AP* 9.338).

23. E. *Hel.* 190.

24. Züchner (n. 14 above), 59 pl. 21; an analogous motif: J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, 251 (Bell-situlae, Berlin 4214).

25. Herbig, pl. XL, 1.

26. *Ov. Fast.* 2.304–56. From an analytic point of view, we may suspect that Pan's encounter with a Heracles in women's clothes conceals a motif of anal intercourse, quite proper to a god whose loves are sterile or hopeless. We should not, however, forget that Omphale the Lydian (ἡ Λυδῆ) fell in love with Pan according to one version of the myth known to the Alexandrian poets (see

Theoc. *Fist.* 14 and schol. *ad loc.*: φασι γάρ, ὅτι ἡ Ὀμφάλη ἢ Λυδὴ οἶστρον εἶχε περὶ τὸν Πάνα πολὺν, also Mosch. fr. 2 Legrand, where Lyde may well mean Omphale. Pan's terror in Ovid, where his passion runs afoul of a transvestite, is parallel to the disgust with which he turns from Hermaphrodite, as frequently represented in Pompeian wall paintings (see Herbig, 38, n. 101 and pl. XXXV, 1). Preller connects the theme of Hermaphrodite with that of Heracles and Omphale, as part of a discussion of rituals of bisexuality (L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, I* [1894], 510). On the relation between Pan and Hermaphrodite, see chapter 6, n. 17.

27. Artem. 2.12 (pp. 119–20 Pack): γάμων δὲ καὶ φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας οὔτε συνάγουσιν οὔτε τὰς οὔσας φυλάττουσιν· οὐ γὰρ συναγελάζονται ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων νεμόμενοι κατὰ κρημνῶν καὶ πετρῶν αὐταὶ τε πράγματα ἔχουσι καὶ τῷ ποιμένι παρέχουσι.

28. Berlin Terr. Inv. 8301 (Winter, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, III, 220, 10). Furtwängler (*AA* 1892, 109) would see here a representation of Pan-Ephialtes “der sich namentlich auf den Frauen niederlässt”; cf. Roscher *Ephialtes*, 121.

29. W. Fröhner, *Terres cuites d'Asie Mineure*, pls. 39–40 (cited by Herbig 37 and n. 91).

30. *H. Hom. Pan* 14–15: οἶος ἄγρης ἐξανίων. See the commentary in Casola *Inni omerici*.

31. On the sense of *aigilips*, see A. Heubeck, *IF* 68 (1963): 17.

32. *H. Hom. Pan* 19 sqq.

33. See Detienne *Dionysus*, 75: “Forbidden to girls, explored by boys who have yet to reach the status of adult warriors, the terrain proper to hunting is not only the negation of cultivated land and the enclosed space of the house, it also represents a space exterior to marriage, and thus receives those forms of sexuality that are deviant or simply strange to the city. . . . Forest and mountain form a masculine landscape where the woman-as-wife is absolutely absent, and we are also far from the sociopolitical rules that prescribe proper treatment of the female body. There, where social rules are silent, all forbidden ways are open, perversions find expression, transgressions take place.”

34. See n. 18 above.

35. Detienne *Dionysus*, 77, 201.

36. Nilsson *GGR*, 245 sqq.

37. See chapter 5: nympholepsy.

38. Nonn. *D.* 48.489; *AP* 9.825.

39. Theoc. 1.86–88:

...νῦν δ' αἰπόλω ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.
᾿Ωπόλος, ὄκκ' ἐσορῆ τὰς μηκάδας οἶα βατεῦνται,
τάκεται ὀφθαλμῶς, ὅτι οὐ τράγος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.

40. D. Ch. *Or.* 6.204 R.

41. Acl. *NA* 6.42; Plu. *Brut. rat. uti* 7; Probus *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.20.

42. See chapter 3, n. 104.

43. Sometimes it even comes to the point that Pan (hunter or shepherd) couples with his dog: fifth-century B.C. ceramic representation, London E 735, Brommer, *Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 18; H. Hoffmann, *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit*, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper 34 (1977), pl. VII, 2 = Cat. Dd2.

44. Theoc. *Fist.* 4–5; Propertius 1.18.20; Lucian *DDeor.* 12.4; Longus 1.27.2, 2.7.6, 2.39.3.

45. Nonn. *D.* 42.258–60 (cf. 2.108; 16.363).

46. *Gp.* 11.10.

47. *Ov. Met.* 3.356–401.
48. Mosch. fr. 2 Legrand.
49. Waser, “Echo,” *R.-E. Pace Herbig*, 34 (citing Wernicke *ML* 1455 sq.), there is, it seems, an iconography of Echo; the ancients spoke of sculptures representing this nymph (*CIG* 4538, 4539; cf. Callistr. *Stat.* 1). Metzger *Représentations* (120, 135, pl. XI, 4) identifies Echo on a hydria of the fifth century B.C.; see also D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (1947), 60 sqq.; C. Caprino, “Eco,” *AAA*. It is uncertain how to interpret the Corinthian pyxis on which Pan appears with a goat at the foot of a tree in which can be seen the head and shoulders of a woman (Wernicke *ML*, 1465–66: Roscher *Selene*, 4, pl. II, 1; Herbig, 35, fig. 8): is this Echo? Certainly it is not Selene. Perhaps it is a simple dryad.
50. *Ov. Met.* 3.356–401.
51. Nonn. *D.* 6.260; 15.388; 16.288; 48.642 (Echo *παρθένος*); 48.804 (*φιλοπαρθένος*); 16.361 (*φνυόδεμνος*).
52. For this kind of lycanthropic frenzy caused by Pan, see chapter 5.
53. Longus 3.23, trans. G. Thornley, rev. J. M. Edmonds [Loeb ed.].
54. Longus plays on the double sense of *ta Melē*: parts of the body or musical parts (song, melody).
55. Herbig, 25.
56. See *Ov. Met.* 1.689–712; Longus 2.34; Ach. Tat. 8.6.7–10; Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 2.31.
57. Prop. 4.8.3–14.
58. Ach. Tat. 8.6.11–14 (trans. S. Gaslee, Loeb ed., 1917); cf. Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), 370. An epigram, whose text is quite corrupt, refers to this ordeal: I. F. Boissonade, *Nicetae Eugeniani narratio amatoria*, II (Paris, 1819), 398.
59. E. *Hel.* 190.
60. This late marginal text illuminates a fundamental aspect of the goat-god; see chapter 7 (relation between Pan and Artemis in Attica) and chapter 8 (the festival of Pan as a prenuptial ceremony).
61. Examples in Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), figs. 7, 8, 9, 36, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52. Cf. B. Schmalz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum* (Berlin, 1974), pl. I 1–3. A. Pasquier, *BCH*, suppl. 4 (*Etudes Delphiques*, 1977), 367, fig. 4. It should not be forgotten that along with the syrinx, Pan plays the double flute (Brommer *Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 14; Metzger *Représentations*, pl. 14 = K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* [1930], pl. 24a), the lyre (Brommer *Marb. Jahrb.*, figs. 16–17), and the trumpet (chapter 7).
62. *H. Hom. Merc.* 512; *A. Pr.* 574–75; Euphorion cited by Ath. 4.82 p. 184a; Apollod. 3.10.2.
63. On this instrument, see Th. Reinach, “Syrinx,” Daremberg and Saglio; H. J. W. Tillyard, “Instrumental Music in the Roman Age,” *JHS* 27 (1907): 166–68; M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949), 58–60; A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, II (commentary on 1.129). Ancient sources in H. Oellacher, “Πάν σφύριζων,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 18 (1941): 121. See particularly Thphr. *HP* 4.11. The syrinx as an essentially pastoral instrument: Hom. *Il.* 18.525; *S. Ph.* 213. For Plato (*R* 399d) the syrinx produces a pastoral music he opposes to the music of the Apollonian lyre (civic music); this opposition is not, however, archaic. On the lyre as a pastoral instrument, see J. Duchemin, *La Houlette et la lyre* (Paris, 1960).
64. Another method, probably, was to choose reeds of diverse diameters and arrange them in a series: Arist. *De Aud.* 804a12–16; Plu. *Moralia* 1096a–b.
65. Pi. fr. 97 Snell³: τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ μέλι γλάζεις. Theoc. 1.128–29 speaks of the syrinx “bound with thick wax, honey-breathed” *πακτοῖο μελίπνου ἐκ*

κηρῶ σύριγγα. A bucolic poem, probably composed in the Alexandrian period and known to us from extensive papyrus fragments, tells of Pan's invention of the syrinx in the context of the discovery of honey by Dionysus and the satyrs (*Pap. Graec. vind.* 29801: Oellacher, cited n. 63, 113–50; D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III (London, 1941), no. 123, with bibliography). Beeswax (*kēros*) has pride of place, and gives the poet occasion to evoke the seductive and charming effects of the syrinx.

66. On these theme, see M. Detienne, “Orphée au miel,” *QUCC* 12 (1971): 7–23, republished in *Faire de l'histoire*, ed. J. Le Goff and P. Nora, III (Paris, 1974), 56–75.

67. *Epidaurus Hymn* (*IG*, IV 1² 130; Page *PMG*, 936; chapter 7): ἐνθεον σειρήνα χεύει . . . ἐς δ' Ὀλυμπον ἀστερωπὸν / ἔρχεται πανωιδὸς ἀχῶ / θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὄμιλον / ἀμβρόται ράινοισα μοῖσαι.

68. See chapter 3.

69. *E. Alc.* 576–77.

70. *H. Hom. Pan* 14–16: τοτὲ δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν, οἶος / ἄγρης ἐξαϊών, δονάκων ὑπο μούσαν ἀθύρων νήδυμον.

71. See chapter 5.

72. *E. Hel.* 168–75.

73. See *Suda* s.v. σύριγγ.

74. *Hom. Il.* 19.387 (= *δορατοθήκη*).

75. *A. Th.* 205; *Suppl.* 181; *S. El.* 721; *E. Hipp.* 1234; cf. especially *S. Aj.* 1412, where the word means “vein,” “channel in the body.”

76. *Plb.* 9.41.9, 21.28.6; cf. *Str.* 3.2.9; *Hld.* 2.27.2; *Ael. NA* 16.15, 6.43, etc.

77. According to O. Stein, “Σύριγγ und suruṅgā,” *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 3 (1925): 280–318, Sanscrit borrowed the word at a late period from Greek (the borrowing having occurred by way of Egypt, where “syringes” were the labyrinthine corridors of the funerary temples). The evidence of Homer (n. 74 above) and the tragic poets (n. 75 above) seems to indicate that the sense of “conduit, hollow object” is early in Greece proper; it is therefore more probably that *syrinx* and *suruṅgā* are two words with a common ancestor. The syrinx-flute that appears in the myth as a metaphor for being swallowed up would tend to support this hypothesis.

78. *H. Hom. Pan* 21: κορυφήν δὲ περιστένει οὔρεος ἠχῶ. See also chapter 5.

79. *Pi. O.* 14.18 sqq.

80. *Longus* 2.39.3, trans. G. Thornley, rev. J. M. Edmonds.

81. This characteristic trait of panic eros is emphasized by the author of the bucolic fragment cited in n. 65 above, who says of Pan: “Your heart is ever transported on wings of love; everywhere you marry, and everywhere . . . (12–13 ed. Page): σὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ πτερύγεσσιν αἰεὶ φέρετ' ἦτορ [“*Ερωτος*] πάντη γὰρ γαμέεις, πάντη δὲ σε θ[.]ρι[.] Oellacher supplies a completion for the last verse: πάντη γὰρ γαμέεις, πάντη δὲ σε θ[.]ηλυ] βιά[.] ζει Herbig, 33, translates: “Allwege hochzeitest du, immer wieder vom (ewig) Weiblichen verführt.” Oellacher interprets *panṭi* as a play on words: Πάν-πάν-πάντη.

82. *Lucian DDeor.* 22.4.

83. *AP* 6.79.

84. See chapter 3.

85. *Hes. Th.* 969–73 (*νειῶ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ*, 971).

86. See chapter 3.

87. See chapter 6.

88. *Ar. Lys.* 998.

89. Men. *Dysc.* 46.
90. See chapter 3.
91. Tz. *ad Lyc.* 310; cf. Call. fr. 685 Pfeiffer (= schol. Theoc. 2.17); schol. Pi. *Nem.* 4.56a.
92. Tz. *ad Lyc.* 310; *Suda* s.v. Ἴβυξ; schol. Theoc. 2.17; schol. Pi. *Nem.* 4.56a; Photios s.v. Ἴβυξ. On the different variants of the myth, see M. Detienne, *Les Jardins d'Adonis* (Paris, 1972), 160–65, 170. Cf. O. Gendtner, *Die Seelenlehre der chaldäischen Orakel*, Beiträge zur klass. Phil. 35 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), 42–47, on the symbolism of the lynx in magical practices.
93. On the wryneck, see most recently W. Richter, “Wendehals,” *Der Kleine Pauly*; cf. J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myths* (Plymouth, 1977), 48–49, 130–31. A representation of it may be recognized on a late fifth-century gem in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (illustrated in Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. XII 40; Gisela M. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, no. 265): on it can be seen a bird with a remarkably long and distended neck, perched on Pan’s right hand; with his other hand, the god seems to be offering it a fruit.
94. P. Gérardet, *Les Passereaux, I², Du coucou aux corvidés* (Neuchâtel, 1961), 80, cited by Detienne (*op. cit.* n. 92 above), 161 n. 2.
95. Arist. *HA* 504a12 sqq.; cf. *PA* 695a23; Plin. *Nat.* 11.256; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 310.
96. Ael. *NA* 6.19.
97. Bion, fr. 7.7 Legrand.
98. Tz. *ad Lyc.* 310; schol. Opp. *Hal.* 1.565, cited by Detienne (n. 92 above), 161, n. 4.
99. A. S. F. Gow, “Ἴβυξ, ‘Ρόμβος,” *JHS* 54 (1934): 1–13; G. Nelson, “A Greek Votive Lynx-wheel in Boston,” *AJA* 44 (1940): 443–56; A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, II, 39 sqq.; J. de la Genière, “Une Roue à oiseaux du Cabinet des Médailles,” *REA* 60 (1958): 27–35; E. Brandt, *AK* 12 (1969): 66 sqq.; Detienne (n. 92 above), 161–62.
100. This formula of incantation is repeated nine times: Theoc. 2.17, 22, 26, 37, 42, 47, 52, 57, 63.
101. Pi. *P.* 4.216–19.
102. This terra-cotta, which was found in fifty-four pieces, was restored under the direction of A. Pasquier and published by him in “Pan et les nymphes à l’antré corycien,” *BCH* supp. 4 (*Etudes Delphiques*, 1977), 365–87. It constitutes “toward the middle of the fifth century B.C., the earliest of the very numerous images of Pan joined with the nymphs” (*ibid.*, 386).
103. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.
104. *Ibid.*, fig. 14. Pasquier interprets the open mouth as an iconographic sign of the cry of the god, which launches panic; he points to an alabastron published by Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 20) as a parallel. I do not agree with this interpretation, which seems ruled out by the purely musical and orchestral context of the work. Pan is preparing to play the flute; he is filling his lungs with air. His gesture is quite comparable with that of another mid-fifth-century B.C. terra-cotta, reproduced by F. Eckstein and A. Legner, *Antike Kleinkunst im Liebighaus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1969), no. 36: the syrinx, here also, is pressed against Pan’s lower lip, which places it below his open mouth. Cf. also A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1904), no. 1668. A short poem in the Palatine Anthology (16.225) perhaps makes reference to an iconographic motif like that of the Delphic terra-cotta:

Ἦν τάχα συρίζοντος ἐναργέα Πανὸς ἀκούειν
 πνεῦμα γὰρ ὁ πλάστης ἐγκατέμιξε τύπῳ·
 ἀλλ' ὀρόων φεύγουσαν ἀμύχανος ἄστατον Ἴχθῳ
 πηκτίδος ἠρνήθη φθόγγον ἀνωφελέα.

105. See n. 75 above.

106. Pasquier (n. 102 above), 379 n. 41, suggests the possibility of such a connection. On the coroplastic motif of the wheel, interpreted as the *iyx*, see Nelson (n. 99 above); *contra*: De la Genière (also n. 99 above). It may be that the piece found in the Corycian cave confirms Nelson's view.

107. See n. 67 above.

108. See chapter 1.

109. See chapter 3.

110. Hdt. 5.67: literally: "tragic choruses"; according to Patzer (chapter 3, n. 64), these have nothing to do with goats.

111. Chapter 3, n. 64.

112. See chapter 7.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. E. *Rh.* 34–37:

τὰ μὲν ἀγγέλλεις δειμάτ' ἀκούειν,
 τὰ δὲ θαρσύνεις, κοῦδέν καθαρώς.
 ἀλλ' ἢ Κρονίου Πανὸς τρομερᾶ
 μάστιγι φοβῆ; φυλακὰς δὲ λιπῶν
 κινεῖς στρατιάν.

2. *Ibid.*, 21–22:

νυχίαν ἡμᾶς
 κοίταν πανόπλους κατέχοντας.

3. *Ibid.*, 12: τί τὸ σῆμα;

4. Ath. 389f. I am reminded by a comment of M. Detienne that Clearchos's interest in the phenomenon of panic should be placed in the context of his other works: Clearchos made an experimental study of dreams, and also of techniques for separating soul from body. More than any other Greek sage, in fact, Clearchos made the link between the Greek and Hindu traditions; he was actually in touch with the gymnosophistae of Bactria, well known for their mastery of cataleptic phenomena (cf. L. Robert, *CRAI* 1968: 416–57). The dizzying effect of panic, which launches us into space, into a world of fantastic images, perhaps provided this most Platonic among the students of Aristotle with a field of inquiry close to his heart; today we would call these experiences "psychedelic." On Clearchos of Soli, see F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, III (Basel, 1948).

5. On the identification of Aeneas Tacticus with Aeneas of Stymphalia, general of the Arcadian League in 367 B.C., see the evidence assembled by A. Dain in his introduction to the *Poliorketika* (Paris, 1967). If the evidence does not prove the identity of the two, it at least establishes a strong probability.

6. Aen. Tact. 27: ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Πελοποννήσιον καὶ μάλιστα Ἀρκαδικόν. The word *πάνειον* meaning "panic" appears only in Aeneas, where it turns up three times in chapters 22 and 25. According to E. Harrison, *Classical Review* 40 (1926): 6–8, *πάνειον* is derived from *πάνος*, and means "signal beacon." Such a signal (A. *Ag.* 284; E. *Ion* 195; Ath. 700e) could bring about the kind of disorderly terror that disrupts an army and, just as the French word

alarme has shifted from meaning "signal" to meaning "thing signaled," so also *πάνειον*, falsely connected with Πάν by the ancients, then replaced by *πανικόν*, could in the end have meant all that it meant to Aeneas. Harrison thinks that the connection with Pan is secondary, a late invention, founded on a folk etymology. We shall see, however, that there is no reason to deny to Pan powers that Greek tradition since Euripides unanimously recognized as his. These powers are an essential aspect of our concept of the god. On the linguistic side, there is much to be said against Harrison's theory (see Frisk, *Etym. Wört.*, s.v. Πάν, which incorporates a suggestion by Wahrmann, *Glotta* 17, 261–62): the word *πάνειον* (which, as we learn from Aeneas, originated in Arcadia, Pan's homeland), is derived from Πάν, as is *πανικόν*, and does not present difficulties sufficient to justify any more elaborate explanation. Only the accentuation accepted by the editors stands to be explained; we should expect *πάνειον*. For neuters in *-ειον*, "the accent is in principle fixed according to the quantity of the syllable before the suffix: if this syllable is long, the word is properispomenon; if the syllable is short, the word is proparoxytone. . . . For neuters in *-νειον* the empirical rule here given is formally stated by Herodian" (Vendryés, *Traité d'accentuation grecque* [Paris, 1904], 167). Thus Liddell and Scott give the "normal" accent to τὸ *πάνειον*, a term that in Strabo means a sanctuary of Pan. Chantraine (s.v. Πάν) seems not to know (?) Aeneas's text, but gives a curious proparoxytone accent to Strabo's word *πάνειον*. The accent *πάνειον* seems actually to go back to our earliest source for the text of Aeneas (tenth century). This manuscript, as many editors have admitted, is extremely corrupt, particularly in its accents: see Dain (cited in the preceding note), p. xxxiii. The distinction between *πάνειον*, panic, and *πάνειον*, sanctuary of Pan (or, in the plural, τὰ *πάνεια*, festivals consecrated to Pan) seems to me very uncertainly founded. Since I hesitate to take the word transmitted by Aeneas as a hapax, I would rather think that the Greek language had one (single) word, *πάνειον*, derived from Πάν, which had three meanings: in the singular either "sanctuary of Pan" or "panic"; in the plural "festivals consecrated to Pan."

7. The following expressions occur: *πανικά κινήματα* (schol. E. *Rh.* 36); *πανικά δείματα* (*Suda* and schol. Theoc. 5.16.1); *πανικόν δείμα* (J. *BJ* 5.2.5); *πανικαί ταραχαί* (Cornutus 27); *φοβὸς πανικός* (Polyaen. 4.3.26; Paus. 10.23.7); *πανικαί πτοήσεις* (Plu. *Is. and Os.* 356d); *θόρυβος πανικός* (Plu. *Rompr.* 63; D. S. 14.32); *πανικός τάραχος* (Plu. *Caes.* 43; Onos. 41.2); τὸ *πανικόν* (Plb. 20.6.12, 5.96.3; Eratosth. *Cat.* 27); τὰ *πανικά* (D. H. 5.16); *πανικοί θόρυβοι* (Synesius *de provid.* 136b).

8. Panic occurs: *ἐξαίφνης* (Aen. *Tact.* 27); *αἰφνίδιον* (*Suda* s.v. *πανικῶ δειματι*); disorder and panic fear are *αἰφνιδίους (τὰς μὲν αἰφνιδίους τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὰς καὶ πτοήσεις*: Plu. *Is. and Os.* 356d); the schol. E. *Rh.* 36 speaks of *αἰφνιδίους φόβους*, as does Cornutus 27. Apollodoros of Athens (cited by the schol. E. *Rh.* 36) sees the cause of panic in a voice that startles, that "comes upon": *προσπίπτουσαν φωνήν* (244 F 135 Jacoby).

9. *Μηδεμιάς αἰτίας προφανείσης*, says the *Suda* (*loc. cit.* n. 8).

10. Aen. *Tact.* 27.

11. Polyaen. 1.2.

12. Aen. *Tact.* 27, 11; Polyaen. 3.9.4; already in X. *An.* 2.2.19, a night fear, which has absolutely the look of a panic, is fended off in the same way; here also it is a matter of groundless fear (*κενὸς ἢ ὁ φόβος*). In the same order of ideas, Onos. 42 speaks of fear as a "false seer" (*ψευδῆς μάντις*) because it causes us to take as real things that are only our fantasies.

13. Aen. *Tact.* 27.

14. Polyaen. 6.3.26, 3.9.10, 3.9.32.

15. Josephus *BJ* 5.7.1, Loeb ed., trans. H. St. J. Thackeray.
16. Onos. 6.5.
17. Paus. 10.23.5–8, trans. Levi.
18. On the *mētis* of Hermes, see Laurence Kahn, *Hermès passe ou les ambiguïtés de la communication* (Paris, 1978), esp. 76–83.
19. Polyae. 1.2 (cf. Heraclit. *Incred.* 11).
20. The deceitful device (*mēchanēma*) and the trick (*apatē*) are characteristic of military activity in general. X. *Eg. Mag.* 2–9 elaborates the point: one's forces should seem great when they are not and vice versa; furthermore one should seem near when far, absent when present, and one should attack unexpectedly. Χρή δὲ μηχανητικὸν εἶναι (5.2) says this author in a striking phrase, and he concludes (5.9): ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν κερδαλέωτερον ἀπάτης ἐν πολέμῳ. Other examples: M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Les Ruses de l'intelligence: La Métis des Grecs* (Paris, 1974), 171–72. Still following Xenophon in this general line (*loc. cit.*): cunning is particularly useful in avoiding confrontation with a too-powerful enemy; it then takes the form of creating in his ranks a *phobos*: ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχανήματα καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχη φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς μὴ ἐπιθῶνται. On the other hand, every effort should be made to build up the confidence of an enemy known to be weak and easily defeated.
21. On this aspect of Hermes, see J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et Pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1971), I, 127; Cassola *Inni omerici*, 159.
22. Cassola *Inni omerici*, 159.
23. Note that the semantic field of *hermaion* corresponds to that already established for *paneion* (see n. 6 above):
to hermaion = sanctuary of Hermes: *to paneion* = sanctuary of Pan
to hermaion = evidence of the god (godsend): *to paneion* = evidence of the god (panic)
ta hermaia = festival of Hermes: *ta paneia* = festival of Pan
24. First recorded on a fifth-century B.C. pelike now in the Compiègne Museum. Cf. Pan represented as a legionary on a relief of the Roman period at Ephesus, a late, playful piece: J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), 114; Herbig, fig. 2, and cf. fig. 3. In Polyae. 1.2 and Nonn. *D. (passim)*, he is general of the Dionysiac army (which is not exactly an army composed of warriors in the normal way). A military helmet of the classical period, in gilded bronze, ornamented with a head of Pan (G. P. Sergueev, “Hoard of Ancient Objects from Olone[bre]sty,” in Russian, *VDI* 96 [1966]: 132–42), suggests that the goat-god may actually have been put to work (as an apotropaic) in the real world of war. Pan's sudden arrival can, in fact, frighten one to death (see Eus. *PE* 5.5–6; chapter 6). To put an image of Pan on a helmet or shield (as on the Macedonian coins discussed in n. 138 below) implies that one is asking the help in war of a power that induces fear but in itself is not proper to battle. Pan is no soldier—except by strange exception. It would be wrong to take as belonging to the military sphere two Arcadian documents: (1) in an inscription from Tegea, Pan is styled *προκαθηγέτης* (*BCH* 1901: 276); this epithet does not mean “officer” (as Herbig would have it, 82 n. 23) but rather “conductor of flocks” (Farnell *Cults*, V, 433): cf. Πάν *καθηγεμών* in an epigram by Antipater of Sidon (Page, *Select Papyri*, III, 109, 4); (2) similarly the little sword Pan wears on the fourth-century coins of Heraia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus*, 182) is not a warrior's equipment but a weapon of the shepherd, intended to protect the flocks against predators (cf. Eumaios' sword, Hom. *Od.* 14.528: *ξίφος ὄξυ περι στιβαροῖς βάλετ' ὤμοις*). Schauenburg, 40, similarly interprets Pan's sword on an Apulian kantharos in Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*

der Vasensammlung zu Berlin [1885], 3373). When Leonidas of Tarentum asks Pan in an epigram to aim the arrow of an archer (a soldier) at a target, this is explicitly a metaphor; the appeal is made to the god of hunters (in the Greek Anthology, Pan is patron of hunting in all its aspects, including the use of the bow; see chapter 3, n. 197).

25. Corn. *ND* 27.

26. *Loc. cit.* n. 8 above.

27. Pan and noise (*krotos*): see chapters 7 and 8.

28. Paus. 8.36.8.

29. Chapter 3, n. 114.

30. Lucr. *De rerum natura* 4.580–94; trans. W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb ed., 1982).

31. *H. Hom. Pan* 19–21:

σὺν δέ σφιν τότε νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι
 φοιτῶσαι πυκνὰ ποσσὶν ἐπὶ κρήνη μελανύδρω
 μέλπονται, κορυφὴν δὲ περιστένει οὖρεος ἤχώ.

According to R. Gusmani (*Rendiconti dell'istituto lombardo* 96 [1962]: 399–412) the echo, in this passage, is personified. Echo appears as a person as early as Pindar (O. 14.18 sq) and Euripides (*Hec.* 1110 sq.; fr. 114 Nauck). See also Ar. *Th.* 1056 sqq.; Waser, “Echo,” *R.-E.*

32. See chapter 4.

33. Writers from the fifth century onward present the echo as something disturbing. E. *Hec.* 1109–13 builds up a relation between echo, *kraugē*, *thorubos*, and *phobos*; the context is suggestive of panic; see also A. *Pers.* 386–92.

34. *Hdt.* 6.105.

35. *AP* 16.323 (an epigram written by Simonides to go with an offering made by Miltiades to Pan in recognition of his help against the Medes); Theoc. *Fist.* 9–10; Lucian *Philops.* 3, *Bis Acc.* 9, *DDeor.* 22; Paus. 1.28.4, 8.54.6; *APL* 233; Nonn. *D.* 27.299 sqq.; Lib. 5.40, 30.32; *Suda* s.v. Ἰππίας. Anne Bovon, “Les Guerres médiques dans la tradition et les cultes populaires d’Athènes,” *Etudes de Lettre* 6 (1963): 221–27 has shown how the account transmitted by Herodotus, “a story born of victory, and supported by it, which pretends to explain it by superhuman intervention,” is subject to the commentary of the archaeological evidence relative to the installation of Pan in Attic caves.

36. *Aen. Tact.* 4.

37. *Hdt.* 6.115.

38. Pan’s cave at Marathon is described in Paus. 1.32.7. Wrede, “Marathon,” *R.-E.*, col. 1429 could not yet localize it precisely. It was located in 1958 by Papademetriou, *Ergon* 1958 (1959): 15–22, who brought to light a number of terra-cottas representing Pan and the nymphs; a slab found near the main entrance bore an inscription (a *lex sacra* of the first century B.C.) associating Pan with the nymphs of Marathon: Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959): 587–88. The cave was used for religious purposes from the Neolithic to the Mycenaean epoch; it was then abandoned until the early fifth century, just the time when the cult of Pan and the nymphs was beginning to develop. It is on the slope of the acropolis of Oinoe (one of the four demes of ancient Marathon, three kilometers from the present-day village) and is thus somewhat above the plain. There is a significance to the introduction of the cult of Pan in a place called Oinoe; the deme was named, according to local mythological tradition, for a person of the same name, of whom little is known (Paus. 1.33.8); we do know, however, that there was an important Arcadian nymph Oinoe, wife of Aether (Cronos) and mother of Pan according to Ar(i)aithos of Tegea (see chapter 2).

39. A. *Pers.* 447–79; the *Suda* s.v. ἀλίπλαγκτος speaks of Pan's help at Salamis (the epithet at issue comes from S. *Aj.* 695, where the chorus, composed of sailors from Salamis, invokes the god).

40. Pan's cave at Phyle: Men. *Dysc. passim*; A. N. Skias, *AE* (1918): 1–28; cf. J. Wiesner, "Parnes," *R.-E.*, 1664. The inscriptions, published by Skias *loc. cit.*, are discussed by W. Peek, *MDAI(A)* 67 (1942): 59–68.

41. Diodorus Siculus 14.32.3, trans. C. H. Oldfather (Loeb ed., 1933).

42. Cic. *Div.* 1.37; D. S. 22.9; Tz. *H.* 9.394 (*leukai korai*: see chapter 3, n. 172).

43. *AD* 6 (1920–21). On French excavations of the Corycian cave, see *BCH* 95 (1971): 771–76; 96 (1972): 906–9. Summary of the results of the excavations (preliminary to publication): P. Amandry, "Les Fouilles de l'antré corycien près de Delphes," *CRAI* (1972): 255–67. Cult activity here was most intense from the sixth to the second centuries B.C. The cave is on the north slope of Parnassus, above Delphi, at an altitude of 1360 m. Described by Paus. 10.32.2 and Str. 9.3.1 as the most beautiful of caves, it was in antiquity famous both as a cult center and as a place of refuge (Hdt. 8.36; A. *Eu.* 22 sq.; S. *Ant.* 1127; Plu. *Moralia* 394 sq.; Antig. *Mir.* 127). On the terra-cotta group found there representing Pan and the nymphs, see chapter 4.

44. Polybius 5.96.3, trans. W. R. Paton (Loeb ed., 1922).

45. Polybius 20.6.12.

46. That there existed at Megara a sanctuary (not yet located) of Pan, the nymphs, and Achelōos is proved by three votive reliefs of the fourth century from that place: National Museum, Athens, 1446; Berlin K 88; and Berlin K 82. Berlin K 82 represents Achelōos surrounded by Zeus, Kore, Pluto, Demeter, and Pan; these same divinities are found associated in the complex of cults on the Ilissos at Athens: Rodenwaldt (*infra* n. 84). According to Pausanias, 1.41, the cult of Achelōos at Megara was of high antiquity. H. P. Isler, *Acheloos*, 31; Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, 124 sqq. and pl. 18, 1 (Berlin K 82).

47. Polybius 5.110.1, trans. Paton.

48. Ampel. *Lib. mem.* 8 p. 7, 10; Str. 7.5.8 p. 316 speaks of a sanctuary of the nymphs on Apolloniate territory; there were games (the *Numphaia*) sacred to these nymphs: *BCH* (1907): 434. Cf. Theopompus 115 F 316 Jacoby cited by Plin. *Nat.* 2.106; Ael. *VH* 13.15 (three nymphs dance around an eternal fire, *athanaton pur*); *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessali-Aetolia*, 59, no. 43; Head, *Historia numorum*, 314. Pan's presence in the region of Apollonia should be linked to this (well-known) sanctuary of the nymphs, where a type of divination was practiced, involved with a particular type of offering of incense (Dio Cass. 41.45).

49. *Praktika* 1910: 181; N. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1919): 48–53; D. Levi, "L'antrò delle ninfe e di Pan a Farsalo in Tessaglia," *ASAA* 6–7 (1923): 27 sqq.; *id.*, "Farsalo," *EAA*, 597 sq.; Y. Béquignon, *R.-E.*, suppl. 12, col. 1080. On the inscriptions: D. Comparetti, *ASAA* 4–5 (1922): 147 sqq.; Himmelmann-Wildschütz *Theoleptos*, 10–11 and nn. 21–22. On Pharsalia: Plu. *Pomp.* 68, *Caes.* 43.

50. Cornutus 27.

51. Longus 2.23.4.

52. Ὦς σάλπιγγξ: the trumpet is the particular instrument of warrior Athena (Athena salpinx: see Detienne and Vernant (n. 20 above), 172–73 and n. 24. With this image, Longus brings into relief the paradoxical image of the warrior Pan (see n. 20 above); the god, in order to go to war (he is styled *stratiōtes*), has to borrow the attributes of another divinity. The fire that springs up on the promontory also recalls Athena, who shines or gleams (Detienne and Vernant *op. cit. loc. cit.*). These two images, fire and trumpet, are to be found

associated in Hom. *Il.* 18 when Achilles, under the aegis of Athena, gives voice across the ditch to the terrifying cry that drives back the Trojans (see esp. lines 206 and 219). Longus refers to the Homeric passage; this reference makes Pan a derivative and somewhat humorous figure. Nonetheless, the panic described by Longus is like those we find elsewhere. On Pan trumpeter, see chapter 7.

53. Longus 2.25.3–4, Loeb ed., trans. G. Thornley, rev. J. M. Edmonds.

54. Longus 2.28.3.

55. Hes. *Op.* 163: μήλων ἔνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο.

56. See especially Roscher, “Pan” (*ML*).

57. A. *Ag.* 694–95.

58. P. Vidal-Naquet, “Le Chasseur noir et l’origine de l’éphébie athénienne,” *Annales (ESC)* 1968: 947–64, and “Chasse et sacrifice dans l’Orestie d’Eschyle,” *Parola del passato* 129 (1969): 401–25.

59. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, II (Paris, 1950), 931–36; 983–85.

60. See chapter 1.

61. “L’Épiphanie du dieu Pan au livre II de Daphnis et Chloé,” *REG* 88 (1975): 121–30.

62. Gallini, 211.

63. Bernert, “Phobos,” *R.-E.* In addition, see H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), 367–68; A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (1891), 86 sqq.; L. Deubner, “Phobos,” *MDAI(R)* 27 (1902): 253–64.

64. References collected by Roscher (*ML*), 1401–2; for the plastic representations, see Jucker *Aposkopein*, 62–69; cf. B. Schmaltz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974), no. 378, pl. 29.

65. A. *Ag.* 56.

66. Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.27.

67. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13; Eratosth. 1.13.

68. Polyæn. 1.2.

69. Nonn. *D.* 27, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb ed., 1940).

70. Plu. *Pomp.* 68. Panic takes its place in a series of signs. The *panikoi thoruboi* that foretell the coming defeat are preceded by an ambiguous dream and followed by the flaming up of a fiery torch that has just fallen into the camp of Caesar like a thunderbolt. Caesar saw the heavenly fire and “understood” the enemy’s panic (Plu. *Caes.* 43.3). Plutarch notes that *all the same* he would not have fought that day had Pompey not taken the initiative; when, however, combat became inevitable, Caesar was overjoyed (*περιχαρής γενόμενος*, Plu. *Caes.* 44.1).

71. *H. Hom. Pan* 38–46; see chapter 3.

72. Vertigo, another way of losing one’s footing and one’s grip on reality, was sometimes considered a form of panic. In Theoc. 5.15–16, the shepherd Lacon calls on Pan of the Cliffs (*τὸν Πᾶνα τὸν ἄκτιον*) to witness his innocence and adds: “[If I lie] let me go mad and, from the top of that cliff there, jump into the Crathis.” The scholiast stresses that there is nothing casual here in an oath by Pan: “Those who, moved by fear and madness [*ἐκ προΐας καὶ μανίας*] are close to throwing themselves into space, generally [brief lacuna] all these phenomena are panic terrors.”

73. Phot. s.v. Πανὸς σκοπός (chapter 4, no. 20): cf. *Orph. H.* 11.7: *φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτειῶν* (the Orphic hymn gives a traditional image of Pan: O. Kern, “Zu den orphischen Hymnen,” *H* 24 [1889]: 504–5).

74. E. *Hipp.* 168, 209–12; 225–27.

75. E. *Hipp.* 141–50. The verb *phoitaō*, here translated as “stray,” can have a

technical sense, as a particular type of *mania*: *phoitos* = *mania*, in Hsch. and schol. A. R. 4.55. The wandering produced by a longing for particular places and persons is a sign of delirium: cf. F. Vian, *La Guerre des géants* (Paris, 1952), 227 n. 7. In her delirium, Phaedra is carried away into a kind of motion that precisely corresponds to the movement of the god in his landscape: compare the importance of the verb *phoitaō* as a signifier of the movement of Pan and the nymphs (in hunting or the dance); in the *H. Hom. Pan* it occurs three times (in forty-nine lines), at lines 3, 8, 20.

76. ἔνθεος (141): E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 87 n. 41; Jeanmaire *Dionysos*, 134.

77. E. *Med.* 1167–77.

78. Hom. *Od.* 3.449; Hsch. s.v. ὄλολυγή. According to L. Deubner, *Ololyge und Verwandtes*, Abh. preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1 (1941), 18, the *ololygē* here should be a forceful cry, magically efficacious, that works to paralyze the anger of the god who “attacks” Creusa; Rudhardt *Notions*, 178–80, has shown that, on the contrary, it is an outcry greeting the divine presence, analogous to that uttered at the sacrifice.

79. *Works of Hippocrates* 6.361–63, trans. W. H. S. Jones.

80. Schol. E. *Med.* 1172: τοὺς ἐξαιφνης καταπίπτοντας ῥοντο τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ὑπὸ Πανὸς μάλιστα καὶ Ἐκάτης πεπλήχθαι τὸν νοῦν.

81. E. *Med.* 1173–77.

82. *Works of Hippocrates* 6.363, trans. Jones.

83. Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 13 ed. Littré VI 383; Plu. *Moralia* 290a–b; Plin. *Nat.* 28.226. Cultic prohibitions of the consumption of goats’ flesh belong to the same context; for example at the Aesclepiion of Pergamon: Chr. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Althertümer von Pergamon, VIII, 3 (Berlin, 1969), no. 161b, 1.13; cf. a religious law of Lindos: Sokolowski, *L.S.* no. 139, 1.11. On goats and epilepsy, see G. Lanata, *Medicina magica e religione popolare in Grecia fino all’età di Ippocrate* (Urbino, 1967), 56 sqq.; H. Herter, “Ziege,” *R.-E.*, col. 417.

84. On the supernatural character of epilepsy, see Thphr. *Char.* 16.14: the superstitious man, when he meets an epileptic, shivers and spits into the fold of his garment. Roscher *Selene*, 159 n. 656, sets out a whole series of popular Greek beliefs relative to epilepsy; cf. Lanata (n. 83 above).

85. On thetheology and types of possession, see R. Rohde, *Psyche*, II³ (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903): enthusiasm; J. Tambornino, *De antiquorum dæmonismo*, RGVV 7, 3 (Giessen, 1909), 55 sqq.: “Quid Graeci de possessione crediderint”; F. Pfister, “Daimonismos,” *R.-E.*, suppl. 7, 110–114; Dodds (n. 76 above), 66 sqq.; J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des 5. Jahrh.* (Heidelberg, 1970).

86. On nympholepsy: F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris, 1949), 325 sqq., and *Recherche sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), 402–8; R. Caillois, “Les Démons de midi,” *RHR* 115 (1937): 142–73; *RHR* 116 (1938): 54–83, 143–86; Himmelmänn-Wildschütz *Theoleptos*; A. D. Nock, “Nymphs and Nereids,” in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, II (Oxford, 1972), 919–27.

87. The cave at Vari has been “published” in *AJA* 7 (1903): 263–349.

88. Himmelmänn-Wildschütz *Theoleptos*.

89. G. Rodenwaldt, “Pan am Ilissos,” *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912): 141–50. A cave was consecrated to Pan, to the nymphs, and to Achelōos between the spring Callirhoë and the sanctuary of the Lesser Mysteries (Agrai). In the same district place was found for a sanctuary of the Mother and a *temenos* of Cronos. On the “profound harmony between *topos* and *logos* in the Phaedrus,” see

A. Motte, "Le Pré sacré de Pan et des nymphes," *L'Antiquité Classique* 32 (1953): 460–76. Cf. Travlos, *Bildlexikon*, 296 figs. 386–87.

90. Democritus, fr. 18 and 21 Diels, said the same of Homer; see A. Delatte, *Les Conceptions de l'enthousiasme chez les philosophes présocratiques* (Paris, 1934).

91. Arist. *EE* 1214a.

92. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 38. It is to be noted that among the Stoics intuitive divination is distinguished from the scientific variety, which proceeds by observations and deductions: Delatte (n. 90 above), 30.

93. Son of Balte (Plu. *Sol.* 12) or Blaste (*Suda* s.v. Ἐπιμενίδης). It was at noon (the hour of Pan) that this son of a nymph made his way into the cave where he experienced his "long sleep." On Epimenides: W. Burkert, "Goes. Zum griechischen 'Schamanismus,'" *RhM* 105 (1962): 36 sqq.; M. Detienne, *Les Maîtres de vérité* (Paris, 1967), 129 sq.

94. Plu. *Arist.* 11. The same function turns up elsewhere; an inscription from Didyma explicitly associates the nymphs with the mantic art (E. Knackfuss, *Didyma*, II, 159; cf. I, 11 sq.); at Apollonia in Illyria the Nymphaion was also a *manteion* (Dio Cass. 41.45; see n. 48 above); cf. Hsch. s.v. νυμφόληπτοι οἱ κατεχόμενοι Νύμφαις. μάντιες δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἐπιθειαστικοί. The power of divination that belongs to the nymphs is surely connected to their affinity with springs and their waters, which the ancients always held to have mantic potencies: Paus. 7.21.12; M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten*, Philologus Supplementband XIV, 2 (1921), 47 sqq.

95. Bakides: Arist. *Pr.* 30.1 p. 954a36; Tz. *ad Lyc.* 1278. Two of them became particularly famous: a Boeotian who gave himself up to divination, and the Arcadian Bakis of Caphyai, called also Kydas or Aletas. This latter, according to Theopompus (115 F 77 Jacoby, cited by schol. Ar. *Pax* 1071) healed the Lacedaemonian women of their madness; in so doing, he identified himself with the seer Melampus. Now the tradition reported by Plin. *Nat.* 25.21–22 tells us that this Melampus was a shepherd; he discovered that a certain plant (a variety of hellebore called *melampodium*) had a purgative effect on goats who ate it; giving the milk of these goats to the daughters of Proitos, he healed them of their madness. Hippocratic medicine recognized the effectiveness of this sort of procedure: a goat that has been purged transmits the purgative effect through its milk (Hp., ed. Littré, 5.323). The Arcadian Bakis, a compatriot of Pan, may have had a specially "panic" character and function as a specialist in the medicoreligious complex "Nymphs/goats/possession." This is, however, a pure hypothesis, suggested by a constellation of images. On the Bakides, see O. Kern, "Bakis," *R.-E.*

96. Hylas: Theoc. 13; A. R. 1.1207 sqq.; Ant. Lib. 26 (Nicander); see also chapter 6. Another example of the nympholept "ravished" by the nymphs would be Bormos of Mariandyna: Hsch. s.v. βῶρμιον; Nymphis 432 F 5 Jacoby (= Ath. 14.619f); cf. A. *Pers.* 937 and schol. *ad loc.* To fall in a well (and vanish) as a result of the action of the nymphs is a theme already present in Men. *Dysc.* 643.

97. *IG*, XIV 2040.

98. *IG*, XIV 2067; *CIL*, VI 29195; see Nock (n. 86 above).

99. Hdt. 4.13. *Phoibleptos* is generally a term for one prophetically inspired; Lyc. 1460 and schol. *ad loc.*; Plu. *Pomp.* 48.6. On the phoiblepsia of Aristetas, in the sense of "transport": W. Burkert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963); 238 sq.

100. Schol. Theoc. 13.44.

101. Festus s.v. *Lymphae*.

102. See below at nn. 127–30.

103. Herm. in *Phdr.* 105a.

104. *Ox. Pap.*, III, 50 (= 413.173).

105. Pan is a god of good humor: *hēdugelōs* in *H. Hom. Pan* 37. The best evidence for the importance to him of laughter is the *Dyscolos* of Menander: Cnemon's morose nature is in itself an insult to Pan.

106. *Ar. Lys.* 998.

107. See n. 80 above.

108. *Schol. Pi. P.* 3.137b; see also chapter 9.

109. *Plu. Num.* 4.

110. *Paus.* 8.37.11; cf. *schol. Theoc.* 1.123 (Pan's *manteion* on Mt. Lykaion). That Pan was already associated with the mantic art from an earlier period is shown by the evidence of Menander, a relatively early source: a character in the *Dyscolos* (vv. 570–72) who thinks his own words prophetic, apologises for a temerity particularly out of place in Pan's presence (the scene is set in the cave at Phyle):

...μαντεύσομαι
τοῦτ' αὐτός, ὦ Πάν — ἀλλὰ μὴν προσεύχομαι
ἀεὶ παριών σοι — καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσομαι.

111. *Apollod.* 1.4.1; *Hypoth. Pi. P.* p. 297 Boeckh; *Stat. Theb.* 3.479 sqq.

112. *D. S.* 16.26; *Plu. Moralía* 433c and 435; see the sources collected by H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I (Oxford, 1956), 20–21 and n. 7 p. 41; to these may be added *Clem. Al. Protr.* 2.11.3, who makes sport of the idea that goats could be trained in the mantic art (*αἶγες αἰ ἐπὶ μαντικῆν ἡσκημέναι*).

113. See Amandry (n. 43 above); let us remember that Hermes, father of Pan, also has a share of the mantic art: he offers Apollo the Semnai, three girls with wings, their heads white with flour, who are seized with prophetic transports when they have eaten honey, but who swirl like a disturbed swarm and lie when they are deprived of this divine food (*H. Hom. Merc.* 552–63).

114. See chapter 4.

115. *Iamb. De Mysteriis* 122 (see the commentary of Gallini, 205 sqq).

116. "Distinct in their origin, but identical in their effects, the pangs of despised love eventually come to be treated as a particular type of melancholy," writes Jean Starobinski in connection with Greek medicine in his *Histoire du traitement de la mélancolie des origines à 1900* (Basel, 1960), 24.

117. *Hp. Epid.* 6.31, ed. Littré 5.355–56.

118. *Nonn. D.* 36.449 sqq.

119. Jeanmaire *Dionysos*, 111–15; W. Pötscher, "Lyssa," *Der Kleine Pauly*; Bruce Lincoln, "Homeric λύσσα: Wolfish Rage," *IF* 80 (1975): 98–105.

120. *E. HF* 860; 898–99.

121. *E. Ba.* 977–78: *ἴτε θοαὶ λύσσας κύνες*.

122. *Schauenburg*, 32, nos. 79–81.

123. *Homo Necans*, 127–30.

124. See chapter 4 above; on transformations into wolves and dogs, see W. H. Roscher, "Die Hundekrankheit der Pandarostöchter und andere mythische Krankheiten," *RhM* 53 (1898): 169 sqq. (particularly 199).

125. *Longus* 2.26.1.

126. *Apul. Met.* 6.12, trans. W. Aldington, rev. S. Gasclee (Loeb ed., 1915).

127. *Theoc.* 1.15–20.

128. *Pl. Phdr.* 242a: Ἡ οὐχ ὀράς ὡς σχεδὸν ἤδη μεσημβρία ἴσταται, ἡ δὲ καλουμένη σταθερά.

129. The music (of the syrinx) can keep Pan from his sleep; such is the bold

plan of the narrator of Theoc. *Ep.* 5 (= *AP* 9.433): Πᾶνα τὸν αἰγιβάταν ὀρ-
φανίσωμες ὕπνον.

130. Some doctors thought lycanthropy a disease caused by melancholy: Gal. *Περὶ μελαγχολίας* ed. Kühn 19.719; Paul. *Acg.* 3.61; cf. W. H. Roscher, *Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side* (Leipzig, 1896); M. Schuster, "Der Werwolf und die Hexen," *Wiener Studien* (1930): 152 and n. 13; Piccaluga *Lykaon*, 60–61.

131. Pan, as the case of Phaedra has shown us, has his connections with melancholy. At noon, as if subject to his own power, he becomes nervous. Bile floods his nostrils (Theoc. *loc. cit.* n. 124); this image, which derives from a literal understanding of conditions resulting from imbalance of the humors, is taken up again by Philostratos the elder (*Im.* 2.11): when the god is calm, joyful in his dance with the nymphs (in the evening), his nose is free of bile.

132. W. Drechsler, "Die Epiphanie des Pan," *Philologus* 52 (1894): 731 (= Kaibel, *Ep. Graec.*, 802).

133. *H. Hom. Pan* 46.

134. *Plu. Moralia* 768f.

135. Lucian *DDeor.* 22 could actually write the following speech for Pan: *καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ ἄνευ ποιεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ ἐταῖρον καὶ θιασώτην πεποιῆται με, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι αὐτῷ τοῦ χοροῦ.*

136. *A. Eum.* 22 sq.

137. Boeotia: Berlin relief 687 (*JdI* 1913: 336 sq., fig. 12; Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*, V, no. IV); *CIG* 1601. Argolid: Paus. 2.24.6. Delos: *temenos* of Dionysus, Hermes, and Pan (second century B.C.): Ph. Bruneau, *Recherche sur les cultes de Delos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris, 1970), 309–12.

138. See M. Launey (n. 59 above); N. [bre]Cistjakova, "Pan und Phyle in Menanders *Dyskolos*," in *Menanders Dyskolos als Zeugnis seiner Epoche*, ed. Fr. Zucker (Berlin, 1965), 139–47: this writer has made a study of Macedonian evidence for the cult of Pan, in connection with the political understanding between Athens and Macedonia at the time of Menander's play (316 B.C.); he clearly demonstrates Pan's importance for the Macedonian dynasty from the end of the fifth century onward. Zeuxis did a picture of the god, on commission of Archelaus I (Plin. *Nat.* 35.36). Pan appears on Macedonian coins from the end of the fourth century B.C. In the second century Antigonas Gonatas caused two series of coins representing the Arcadian god to be struck: one showed his head upon a Macedonian shield; on the other Pan poses before a trophy and a nautical symbol (part of a ship). These coins surely commemorate two victories, one by land and one by sea, marked with Pan's seal. Aratos of Soli, commissioned by Antigonas Gonatas, composed a hymn in honor of Pan (the term *hymnon* should mean a text intended for ritual use: *Vit. Arat.* 1–2, ed. Martin (*Scholía in Arat.*, Teubner, 1974); the *Suda* s.v. Ἄρατος mentions several hymns to Pan among the works of the poet. *Pace* Usener (*RhM.* 1874: 43–45), W. W. Tarn (*Antigonos Gonatas*, 174), and Wilamowitz (*Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I [1931], 248), we have no sufficient ground for asserting that this hymn (or these hymns) was composed on the occasion of the marriage of Antigonas Gonatas and/or his victory over the Gauls at Lysimacheia. We know only that this was the first work commissioned from Aratos by the Macedonian king: *ἐπισταθεῖς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ ποίημα ἀνέγνω τὸ εἰς τὸν Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκαδίας, εἶτ' ἐκεῖνου κελεύσαντος ἔγραψε τὰ Φαινόμενα* (*Vit. Arat.* 3, p. 15, ed. Martin). In any case, Antigonas Gonatas instituted the festival of the *Paneia* at Delos around 246 B.C. This rite evidently was the culmination of a long connection between this king and the god. We have no reason to

believe that this connection was limited to the field of war. Pan is linked with Hermes and Dionysus at Delos (see n. 137 above), and perhaps also with Aphrodite: see the group of Pan and Aphrodite Blaute, in M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), 147 sq., figs. 629–30.

139. E. Ba. 302–5.

140. E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae*² (Oxford, 1960), 109–10, with bibliography.

141. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 69.

142. See the text collected in Jeanmaire *Dionysos*, 132–34; cf. I. M. Linnforth, “Corybantic Rites in Plato,” *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13 (1946): 121–62.

143. Iamb. *De Mysteriis* 122.

144. Opp. *H.* 3.9–28; Apollod. 1.6.3; *Suda* s.v. ἀλίπλαγκτος; Nonn. *D.* 1.481 sqq.

145. Opp. *H.* 3.16–17.

146. On the importance of crafty intelligence in this episode, see Detienne and Vernant (n. 20 above), 119 sqq.

147. Joseph Milliner, “Le Chevrier marin” (paper read to l’Association pour l’encouragement des études grecques), abstract: *REG* 88 (1975): xi.

148. Opp. *H.* 4.308–74.

149. Ael. *NA* 1.23.

150. Verg. *Georg.* 3.384 sqq.:

Munere si niueo lanae, si credere dignum est,
Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit
in nemore alta uocans; nec tu aspernata uocantem.

151. According to the joint testimony of Macr. *Sat.* 5.22.9 sq. and Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* 3.391.

152. Servius thinks that Vergil, following Nicander, has altered the story; originally it was told of Endymion, not Pan. He adds that the mystics found in this story a secret meaning. According to a version reported by Probus (*ad Verg. Georg.* 3.391), the Moon covered part of Pan’s flock. He, in order to deceive her, divided his beasts into two parts; Moon chose the worsier part, that where the wool was whiter but less good (*crassiores*). Pan’s deception thus parallels that of Prometheus! It is however hard to believe that Nicander and his successors created this legend in all its variants (and of these we have an echo in Tz. *ad Lyc.* 482; schol. A. *Prom.* 438d; schol. recent. Ar. *Nub.* 398e: Pan observing the phases of the moon; see chapter 1) out of whole cloth. We know from Porphyry (*Antr. Nyph.* 20; see also chapter 3, n. 54) that Pan and Selene may have been associated in cult at some time. That the moon played a role in early Arcadian mythology is not impossible. On Pan and Selene, see Roscher *Selene*, 162–64.

153. *Pap. Bibl. Nat. de Paris* 574, folio 28–29; cf. *Pap. Mag.*, ed. Preisendanz, 4.2600; Hans Georg Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 53 (1968), 29 and n. 29. Other magic texts stress Pan’s fertilizing power over the moon. The seed of the god is even assimilated, in this context, to the rays of the sun (*Pap. Mag.*, ed. Preisendanz, 4.2306: Πανός γόνος, πῦρ ἡλιωτίδος βολῆς, cf. Proclus in *Tim.* 4.279f (3.131 Diehl): τὸν Πάνα τὸν ἡλιακόν. The theme of Pan’s fertilizing effect on the moon is found even in renaissance symbolism: Antonius Riccardus Brixianus (*Commentaria symbolica*

s.v. Pan) asserts that Pan “whipping the moon with his right hand and holding his member erect with the left, signifies the nature of the celestial bodies, especially of the moon which is the source of all fertility, which it transmits to those below it” (he has taken his inspiration from St. Byz. s.v. Πανός πόλις [πόλις] Αἰγυπτία. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαλμα μέγα ὄρθιακός τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰς ἑπτὰ δακτύλους, ἔπαιρει τε μάστιγας τῇ δεξιᾷ Σελήνην, ἧς εἰδωλὸν φασι εἶναι τὸν Πᾶνα; Panopolis is the city of the god Min, who is ithyphallic, and armed with a whip-flail).

154. *H. Hom. Pan* 43: δέρμασιν ἐν πυκνιοῖσιν ὄρεσκῶοιο λαγωῦ.

155. *Hdt.* 3.108.3.

156. *X. Cyn.* 5.11; *Plin. Nat.* 11.147.

157. Ἄτολμα ζῶα (*Ael. NA* 7.19); cf. *Hdt.* 7.57: a prodigy warned Xerxes against his expedition to Greece; a mare gave birth to a rabbit; “this clearly meant that Xerxes would take to Greece a brilliant and magnificent army, but that he would come back to his own country running for his life.” *Lagós* can mean coward: Posidippos (cited by *Ath.* 376f); *Philostr. VA* 4.37, p. 177; hence the expression: λαγῶ βίον ζῆν (*D.* 314.24).

158. Roscher, “Pan,” *ML*, 1390.

159. *Plu. Is. and Os.* 14 (= *Moralia* 356d).

160. *Nonn. D.* 32.277–79.

161. *Carm.* 7.83.

162. *X. Cyn.* 6.1–5.33. On a pelike in Berlin (Reinach, *Rép.*, I, 128), in an erotic context, a woman pets a rabbit lying on her knees. An Attic red-figure cup shows a dog jumping toward a rabbit in a cage near an amorous couple (Reinach, *Rép.*, I, 207); Greek lovers were wont to offer rabbits to their beloveds, male or female (see Reinach, *Rép.*, I, 265; II, 135, 274). Pan is himself a hunter of the rabbit (as is shown by his frequent attribute, the *lagobolon*); he is also shown playing with that animal in a completely amicable spirit (Herbig, pl. XX, 3).

CHAPTER SIX

1. *Men. Dysc.* 309–13:

ἐπὶ κακῶ δ' εἰ προσελήλυθ' ἐνθάδε,
ἧ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν (τι) κακοτεχνεῖν λάθρα,
οὗτός μ' ὁ Πᾶν, μειράκιον, αἰ Νύμφαι θ' ἅμα
ἀπόπληκτον. . .
ἤδη ποήσειαν.

2. *Hdt.* 3.173; *D.* 24.16. Ἀποπληζία = *mania*: *Phld. Rh.* 1.145s.

3. *S. Ph.* 730–31.

4. *Arist.* 905a17; *Hp. Aph.* 6.47; *Gal.* 9.12 Kühn; apoplexy was sometimes compared with epilepsy: *Hp. Coac.* 2.4.157 (ed. Littré, 5.619); *Caelius Aurelianus, De morb. chron.* 1.4 (ed. Haller, pp. 32 sq.).

5. Χρυσόκερως βλοσυροῖο Διωνύσου θεράπων Πᾶν,
βαίων ὑλήεντα κατ' οὔρεα, χειρὶ κραταιῇ
ράβδον ἔχεν, ἐτέρῃ δὲ λιγὴ πνεύουσαν ἔμαρπτε
σύριγγα γλαφυρήν, Νύμφῃσι δὲ θυμὸν ἔθελγεν·
ὄξυ δὲ συρίξας μέλος ἀνέρας ἐποίησεν
ὑλοτόμους πάντας, θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας
δαίμονος ὀρνυμένον κρυερὸν δέμας οἰστρήεντος·
καὶ νῦ κε πάντας ἔμαρψε τέλος κρυεροῦ θανάτοιο,
εἰ μὴ οἱ κότον αἰνὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχουσα

“Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη παῦσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο,
ἦν καὶ χρῆ λίσσεσθ’, ἵνα σοι γίγνητ’ ἐπαρωγός.”
[Eus. PE 5.5–6]

6. For the gods, the *demias*, like the voice, is a borrowed form, a disguise: J. Clay, “Demias and Aude: The Nature of Divine Transformation in Homer,” *H* 102 (1974): 129–36. Pan is the exception; his body is no mask, rather he appears as himself, splendidly and monstrously obvious. See *PMG* 936 and chapter 7, n. 103 (παμφυνὲς νομῶν δέμας).

7. Thus the *rhabdos* of Hermes, in some versions, put to sleep Argos, guardian of the cow Io (Ov. *Met.* 1.671–72; *virgam somniferam*); the staff in this case replaces the syrinx, the equivalent hypnotic function of which turns up in A. *Pr.* 574–75. See also Hom. *Il.* 24.343 sq.; *Od.* 5.47 sq.; Ov. *Met.* 11.307; etc.

8. See Sittig, “Hylas,” *R.-E.*

9. A. R. 1.1237–39.

10. Theoc. 13.56–49.

11. Ant. Lib. 26.

12. Ov. *Met.* 3.407 sqq.; cf. Conon 24; Paus. 9.31.6 sq.

13. On the equation between water and mirror: A. Delatte, *La Catoptronomie grecque et ses dérivés* (Paris and Liège, 1932), 135–39; cf. 152 on Narcissus. According to Artem. 2.7, to dream of seeing oneself in a mirror signifies either marriage or death (or else departure), in any case a radical change of state. Cf. Riess, “Volkstümliches bei Artemidoros,” *RhM* 49 (1894): 185. With the acts of Hylas and Narcissus, we may class that of Hermaphrodite (Ov. *Met.* 6.340 sqq.). It will be remembered that Hermaphrodite appears face to face with Pan in Roman wallpainting (chapter 4, n. 26).

14. The ancients were quick to compare the echo with a reflected light (see Arist. *de An.* 2.2 = 419b25–28). As for the metaphorical relation between the object of desire and the echo, or the image in a mirror, note the well-known passage in Pl. *Phdr.* 255c: “Like to a breath of air, or to the sound that smooth firm surfaces cause to bounce back and return toward its origin, thus that which flows from beauty runs in the reverse direction through the eyes back to the beautiful object . . . he [the beloved] does not know that in his lover, as in a mirror, he sees himself . . . and thus acquires a counter-love that is a reflected image of love.”

15. See chapter 7 at n. 103 on the Epidaurus hymn.

16. Nonn. *D.* 1.409–534.

17. Pl. *Cra.* 408d.

18. Gal. 19.719 Kühn; Marc. Side cited by W. H. Roscher, *Das von der “Kynanthropie” handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side* (Leipzig, 1896), 79 sqq.

19. Josef Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1970), 104–6: “Schlagen, Herausschlagen, Seitabschlagen und Ähnliches.”

20. Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* s.v. πλάζω, *in fine*.

21. Hom. *Od.* 21.363 sqq.

22. Hom. *Od.* 18.327.

23. *parakoptein*; cf. E. *Hipp.* 238.

24. E. *Hipp.* 240.

25. A. *Pr.* 1056.

26. Cf. E. *HF* 935; Ar. *Lys.* 831.

27. J. Mattes (n. 19 above), 104: no mention of *apoplēktos* or *ekplētō*.

28. On this concept, see most recently B. Snell, “φρένες–φρόνησις,” *Glotta* 55 (1977): 34–64.

29. See n. 1 above.
30. *H. Hom. Merc.* 497.
31. *S. Aj.* 1254: μέγας δὲ πλευρὰ βούς ὑπὸ σμικρᾶς ὄμως μᾶστιγος ὀρθὸς εἰς ὄδον πορεύεται.
32. *Nonn. D.* 4.300.
33. *X. Eq.* 10.5.
34. *X. Eq.* 8.4.
35. *Poll.* 1.195.
36. *Hom. Il.* 11.519; cf. 5.366, 768; *Od.* 3.481; etc. The metaphor becomes literal in the myth of Pegasus.
37. *Hom. Il.* 23.362, 384, 390, 500, 510, 582.
38. *Hom. Il.* 23.503–6.
39. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Les Ruses de l'intelligence* (Paris, 1974), 176–200.
40. *Ibid.*, 199.
41. On Poseidon's connection with the horse, see F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (Bern, 1950), *passim*; cf. index s.v. *Hippios, Pferd*.
42. Beazley *ABV*, 349 (s.v. Theozotos); W. Richter, *Die Landwirtschaft im homerischen Zeitalter*, *Archaeologia Homerica*, II H (Göttingen, 1968), 63, fig. 2.
43. *Arist. HA* 6.19 (573b), trans. A. L. Peck (Loeb ed., 1920).
44. *Arist. HA* 6.19 (574a).
45. See chapter 3, n. 219.
46. Pan's struggle with the buck: pl. IX, 3 (wall painting, Naples Museum); numerous representations on sarcophagi: F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophagen* (Berlin, 1968), index. s.v. *Agon*: seven examples. Cf. Wernicke (*ML*), 1470 sqq. ("Pan mit Ziegen"); *AGS* I–3 (Munich), no. 2591.
47. See G. Fougère, "Flagellum," *Daremberg and Saglio*.
48. See chapter 5, n. 12.
49. *Aen. Tact.* 27.
50. *Hom. Od.* 22.299–301.
51. Animal *tarachai* are generally evidence of sentiments or perceptions in respect to which animals are like mankind—at least in the opinion of certain philosophers: see H. A. Diels, *Philodemos über die Götter*, I (Berlin, 1916), 55 sqq.: "Polemik über die Furchtgefühle der Tiere." These "disorders," particularly typical of horses, make the horse a nervous animal. Two points are stressed in the myth:
- (1) Erotic frenzy: the traditions concerning the hippomania of mares deal with this most strikingly (W. Richter, "Hippomanes," *Der Kleine Pauly*; *Arist. HA* 572a21, 577a9, 605a2; *Thphr. fr.* 175; *Ael. NA* 3.17). It may be observed that Pan is also indirectly connected with these traditions, by way of a plant called *hippomanes*, which grows only in Arcadia (*Theoc.* 2.48; *Thphr. HP* 9.15.6);
- (2) Abrupt and violent movements that endanger human beings: the stories about Taraxippos at Olympia provide the best (mythico-ritual) examples; see particularly *Paus.* 6.20.15 sqq.; Roscher *Ephialtes*, 74 compares Taraxippos to the god of panic. That the horse is subject to forms of possession relevant to the sphere of panic seems assured on the lexical level by the verb *numphian*, used for a form of panic typical of that animal: τὸ δὲ νυμφιᾶν καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ συμβαίνει κατέχεσθαι ὅταν αὐλῆ τις, καὶ κατωπιᾶν καὶ ὅταν ἀναβῆ τις, τροχάζει. ἔως ἂν μέλλῃ τις κατασχεῖν κατηφεί δ' αἰεὶ καὶ ὅταν λυττήσῃ. Σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τούτου τὰ ὕα καταβάλλει πρὸς τὴν χαιτήν καὶ πάλιν προ-

τείνει, καὶ ἐκλείπει, καὶ πνεῖ. (Arist. *HA* 8.24 = 604b10.) This type of possession (*katechesthai*), the term for which (*numphian*) indicates that it is caused by the nymphs, belongs to a symbolic configuration that embraces music (*ὅταν αὐλῆ τις*) as well as madness (perhaps even Lyssa: cf. *ὅταν λυττήση*). Here is the passage in English: “Also the so-called ‘nympholepsy,’ in which possession occurs when someone plays the flute, and the head droops. If he is mounted he bolts until someone reins him in, but the head still droops even during a fit. A sign of this is to put the ears back toward the mane and then up again, and languor, and he pants.” On the mythology and supernatural standing of the horse, see Jeanmaire *Dionysos*, 282–85; Detienne and Vernant (n. 39 above), 180 sqq.

52. X. *Eq.* 10.5.

53. Hom. *Il.* 11.531–33.

54. Hom. *Il.* 11.534–37.

55. Hom. *Il.* 11.544–47.

56. Hom. *Il.* 12.35–40.

57. A. *Supp.* 563–64.

58. Evidence on Hera and *mania* collected by Mattes (n. 19 above) 37–38; on the madness of Io, caused by Hera: Jeanmaire *Dionysos* 206–8. In Nonn. *D.* 9.37–39, Hera strikes the daughters of Lamos with her whip and makes bacchantes of them.

59. A. *Prom.* 681: οἰστροπλήξ δ’ ἐγὼ μάλιστα θεία γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.

60. Poll. 1.216, 10.53; cf. X. *Eq.* 8.5; the *oistros* that torments Io is also called *muops* (A. *Prom.* 675).

61. Hom. *Il.* 11.532; πληγῆς αἰόντες.

62. Nonn. *D.* 10.12–13: αἰεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀκονῆς Πανιάδος Κρονίης ἐπεβόμβεε δούπος ἰμάσθηλης. Pan, here, has lent his whip to Bacchus (cf. 44.278 sqq., where Dionysus strikes Aristea’s wife with the same whip borrowed from Pan). Nonnos uses the verb *bombeō* for the sound of the whip, elsewhere used of the music heard by the corybantes and other possessed persons, which makes them unable to hear anything else (Pl. *Cri.* 54d). In the mysteries of Cotyto and Thracian Dionysus, a low-register flute was used called the *bombux*, which Aeschylus tells us produces *mania* (fr. 57 Nauck = 71 Mette). Pollux (4.82) notes: τῶν δὲ βομβύκων ἔνθεον καὶ μανικὸν τὸ αὐλημα, πρέπον ὄργιους (on the *bombux*, see Arist. *Aud.* 800b25; Plu. *Moralia* 713a).

63. Orph. *H.* 11.23: Πανικὸν ἐκπέμπων οἰστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης.

64. *AP* 6.82 (ἐκ καλάμων οἰστρον ἐπεσπασάμην); the shrill sound of the syrinx suggests a desert place: Ps.-Arist. *Pr. ined.* Par. 91 (Musici scriptores Graeci, p. 111 Jan.): διὰ τί ἡ σύριγξ καὶ ἡ ὄξεια φωνὴ ἀπλῶς ὥσπερ ἐρημίαν ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι.

65. I thank M. J.-M. Moret, who was kind enough to draw my attention to this important detail.

66. A “regression” of the same type, but on a different level of reality, is perhaps behind images representing Eros armed with a whip in pursuit of young men. In one of them, the work of the painter Douris, a young man flees like the Pan Painter’s shepherd, but a second Eros leaps before him, bars his path, and is about to seize him in his wide-open arms (A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Erosen* [Berlin, 1957], 58 and figs. 43–45). On an amphora by the Oionokles Painter (Greifenhagen, *op. cit.*, fig. 46; J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Grecia* [Milan, 1975], fig. 22), Eros armed with a whip pursues a young man near an altar where he has just consecrated a crown—presuming too much, it seems. This altar, like the ithyphallic herm on the Boston vase,

marks the ritual—in fact, religious—character of the experience here depicted. It is, however, also to be noted that the whip of Eros, like that of the young goatherd, is iconographically identical with the implements used by Greek children to spin a hoop; this brings home to us the profoundly polysemic value of these images, which, parallel to their “ritual” aspect, refer to another symbolic code, that of games. On this last point, the best starting place is J. Dörig, “Giocattolo,” *EAA* (1960): 905–10.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Hdt. 6.105 sqq.

2. This messenger lived on in the tradition. Paus. 1.28.4 and 8.54.6 repeat the narrative of Herodotus, which he particularizes (and slants) on only one point: the god is said to promise Pheidippides that he will come *and fight* with the Athenians at Marathon (ὄτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἤξει συμμαχῆσων; cf. Lucian *DDeor.* 22, 3; *Suda* s.v. Ἰππίας). In his essay *On the Malignity of Herodotus* (26 = *Moralia* 861 sq.) Plutarch, on the subject of this embassy, does no more than paraphrase the older historian. Lucian (*Laps.* 3) does something quite new and informs us that Pheidippides was also the famous messenger who ran from Marathon to Athens to announce the Greek victory to the archons, and died of exhaustion as a result of this exploit (mythical *aition* of the “marathon” of the modern Olympic games). Philippides is styled *hēmerodromos* (Hdt.; etc.); *kēruks* (Hdt.) and *dromokēruks* (schol. Aeschin. 2.137: δρομοκέρυκας δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι ἡμεροδρόμοι, ὧν γέγονεν ἐπιφανέστατος Φειλιππίδης Ἀθηναῖος). In the case with which we are here concerned, it is to be understood that the Athenian generals sent as ambassador to Sparta (as herald, *kēruks*) a citizen who was a professional runner (a sort of courier).

3. τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἔλεγε Φειλιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πάν περιπίπτει. βῶσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειλιππίδew τὸν Πάνα Ἀθηναῖοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἔωντοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναῖοισι καὶ πολλαχῆ γενομένου ἤδη σφι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καταστάντων σφι εὐ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετέουσι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰάσκονται (Hdt. 6.105). To burst suddenly upon one (ὁ Πάν περιπίπτει) is characteristic of Pan's epiphanies. The story tells of an apparition, not a mere voice, as is clear from the phrase in the following paragraph τὸν Πάνα φανῆναι (Hdt. 6.106). On Pan's apparitions, see Eus. *PE* 5.5–6 (see chapter 6, n. 5) and in particular S. *Aj.* 697 (the chorus asks the god to appear: *phanēthi*). The capacity for “apparition” is perhaps what caused Pan to be assimilated to a *phasma* (see chapter 5; the appearance of Polyzelos, as explained by the *Suda*). Certain of the lexicographers derived *Pan* from *phainó* (Phot. s.v. Πανὸς σκοπός).

4. Paus. 8.53.11.

5. Paus. 8.54.6.

6. Hsch. s.v. *Κήρυκες*; cf. *CIG* 6280 (Hersé); Paus. 1.38.3 (Aglauros); Poll. 8.103 and schol. Hom. *Il.* 1.334 (Pandrosos). On the problem of the origin of the Kerykes, see Dittenberger, “Die Eleusinischen Keryken,” *H* 20 (1885): 1–40; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 234; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 8.

7. F. Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 9–10 (figs. 3–4) follows the interpretation of R. Hampe, *Antike* 15 (1939): 168 sqq.: this *kerykeion* should be the one placed in the hand of the Nike dedicated by the polemarch Callimachos on the

Acropolis after Marathon: the heads of Pan would then be an allusion to Pan's part in the battle.

8. H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977): 172–73.

9. E. Simon, "Ein nordattischer Pan," *AK* 19 (1976): 19–23 (pl. VI, 1).

10. *AGS*, I, 1 (Munich), no. 335.

11. On the force of this epithet, see Jeanine J. Orgogozo, "L'Hermès des Achéens," *RHR* 136 (1949): 151; cf. Cassola *Inni omerici*, 517 (with bibliography).

12. A dedication made to Hermes by the winner of a torch race (first century A.D.): *REG* 89 (1976): 447 (Bulletin Epigraphique, no. 177); cf. *AP* 9.319 (Philoxenos, third century B.C.: an Olympic victor sets up Hermes in the form of a "herm" to mark the starting line of the footrace—*ἄφετήριον ἔρμα*).

13. *IG*, I² 5; Ziehen *L.S.*, II, 7 (fifth century B.C.: a similar collocation, in the context of the Thesmophoria: *Ar. Th.* 295 sqq.; cf. Kaibel *Epigr.* 407, 8; *Pi. O.* 6.79).

14. Sources collected by Eitrem, "Hermes," *R.-E.* (cols. 786–87).

15. Heraclit. *Incred.* 9.

16. Hom. *Il.* 16.186. The story of the birth of Eudoros, "son of a maiden" (*parthenios*), sprung from the love of Hermes for a young girl consecrated to Artemis, is astonishingly close to that of Pan, son of Hermes and a nymph (Penelope or the daughter of Dryops): "He was child of Polymele, beautiful in the chorus, daughter of Phylas. Her the strong slayer of Argos came to love when she caught his eye among the dancing girls in the chorus of Artemis, golden-bowed, of dread sound. Straightway he climbed into the upper story and lay with her secretly, Hermes the healer" (Hom. *Il.* 16.180 sqq.).

17. Apollod. *Epit.* 2.6.

18. A list drawn up by Beazley is published in C. H. Emily Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936), 62 n. 2.

19. Lucian *DDeor.* 22.3; cf. *Bis Acc.* 10.

20. *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.*, I, no. 248, pp. 60 sq.; Himmelmann-Wildschütz *Theoleptos*, 29.

21. Mosch. *Lament for Bion* 80.

22. This opposition recurs elsewhere: goats are forbidden entrance to the Acropolis, domain of Athena (the goat is Pan's animal, and his cave is outside the sacred enclosure; see n. 121 below). But Pan sometimes borrows Athena's *salpinx* (n. 32 below), and the goddess herself receives the epithet of *pania* (Paus. 2.22.10).

23. Bari Mus. Prov. Inv. 5590 (Schauenburg, 35, no. 121 and pl. XVII 2–3).

24. Jucker *Aposkopein* (on Pan: 62–69).

25. Detienne *Dionysos*, 78 sqq. ("Le Dit de la panthère d'amors," an essay reprinted in *Diogène* 96 (1977): 123–44, under the title "La Chasse et l'érotique").

26. H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* (Berlin, 1872), 591 sqq., no. 3256; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Beitrage zur Archäologie, 6 (Würzburg, 1973), 179. This late fourth-century vase may represent a battle between Alexander and Darius (cf. H. Metzger, *REG* 80 [1967]: 308–13; A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II [1909], 152 and fig. 51). Carl Robert (*Die Marathonschlacht*, Winckelmannsprogramm 18 [Halle, 1895]) thinks that it rather represents an episode in the Persian Wars, and that it is modeled on the fresco in the Stoa Poikile. From this he concludes that Pan was also represented on that fresco among the gods taking part in the battle of Marathon. Pausanias,

however, does not mention him (see chapter 5). Cf. J.-M. Moret, *Ilioupersis*, II 8, 100, pls. 81–83, 1; L. Giulani, *AK* 20 (1977): 26 sq., fig. 2.

27. Private collection: see Jucker *Aposkopein*, 69 who because of the difference in the scale of the figures thinks that Pan originally had nothing to do with these battles; he is just put in to fill space. It is hard to believe, however, that he was chosen at random.

28. See chapter 3, n. 105.

29. Cl. Bérard, “Une Nouvelle Péliké du Peintre de Geras,” *AK* 9 (1966): 93 sqq.

30. Pasquier (chapter 4, n. 102), 384 n. 73.

31. Parallels are given by Pasquier *loc. cit.*; the trumpet on the Compiègne vase exactly corresponds to the first type of *salpinx* described by A. Reinach, “Tuba,” Daremberg and Saglio, 523: “Tuyau mince, presque de même diamètre à l’extrémité de l’embouchure qu’à celle du pavillon; le pavillon est en forme de cloche (d’où son nom de κώδων) . . . c’est précisément cet instrument que les peintres de vases, dans la période qui s’étend de 530 à 450, mettent entre les mains des hoplites grecs, des Amazones ou des Silènes, et ils permettent de penser que l’instrument mesurait entre 1 m. et 1 m. 20. On peut l’appeler la trompette grecque.”

32. It is to be noted that ancient iconography does not hesitate to employ the motif of Pan the trumpeter; this image turns up quite frequently on intaglios: cf. W. H. Roscher, “Pan als Allgott,” in *Festschrift für J. Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), 64, fig. 1; id. “Pan,” *ML*, 1467–68; *AGS*, I–2, Munich, no. 1016 (cf. p. 78, with the parallels); *AGS*, I–3, Munich, no. 2592.

33. A cup in London (E 3; see A. Greifenhagen, *Ein Satyrspiel des Aischylos?* [Berlin, 1963], fig. 9) depicts an ithyphallic satyr armed with a shield and drinking-cup calling his companions to “battle.” The scene, as Greifenhagen observes, is humorous, like those other images where it is Eros who plays the trumpet (see Greifenhagen, *Griechische Eroten* [Berlin, 1957], fig. 49). The same type of humor surely pervades the scene when Pan returns his trumpet to a pastoral Hermes. But the humor there involves a twist; Pan, in contrast to the satyrs and Eros, has not engaged in an innocent metaphorical combat.

34. See chapter 5, n. 39.

35. Str. 9.21 (p. 398); see *AJA* 7 (1903): 286. Strabo places in the vicinity of Anaphlystos a sanctuary the sources generally place near Cape Colias. He must have become confused, unless the Cape Colias sanctuary (as is possible) had a “branch” in that region, which is much farther south, near Sounion. On Aphrodite Colias, see the evidence collected by Solders, *Ausserstädtische Kulte*, 32–33, 37. See also A. E. Raubitschek, *Phoros Meritt*, 127–38 (cited by L. Robert, *REG* 89, Bulletin Epigraphique, no. 199 [1976], 453): a fourth-century boundary stone attests the existence of an Attic genos devoted to the cult of Aphrodite Colias.

36. *Ar. Lys.* 1–3, 998.

37. See chapter 4, n. 15 (Thasos and Argos); small marble group from the National Museum, Athens, no. 3367 (*AD* 1916: 79, fig. 9), found in the Megarid.

38. See chapter 4, n. 14.

39. Metzger *Représentations*, 72–75; see also n. 78 below.

40. Metzger *Représentations*, 73; Roland Martin and Henry Metzger, *La Religion grecque* (Paris, 1976), 172–75.

41. See Metzger *Représentations*, 86–87 (with bibliography).

42. Group from Delos: chapter 4, n. 15. It may be that the sandal in this

erotic scene is intended to excite as much as to dissuade: cf. the way it is used by a hetaira on a red-figure kylix by the Thalia Painter (late sixth century), Berlin Inv. F 3251 (J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Grecia* [Milan, 1975], fig. p. 91). On this courtesan's gesture, which should not surprise us in a deity ritually linked to the practice of prostitution, see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, II (1906), 1332–33; cf. E. Loewy, "Sandalenlösende Venus," *Arch. Epigraph. Mitt. aus Österreich* 7 (1883): 225–27; A. Minto, "Di un gruppetto in bronzo rappresentante Afrodite che si slaccia il sandalo," *Boll. d'arte* 6 (1912): 209–16.

43. Martin and Metzger, *La Religion grecque*, 10.

44. See chapter 3, n. 18.

45. Pl. *Phdr.* 279b.

46. See n. 20 above.

47. In the Musée Calvet in Avignon: Himmelmann-Wildschütz *Theoleptos*, 36–37 and fig. 8.

48. *IG*, II/III² 4647.

49. Cf. Moschio Trag. fr. 6.10 (ὄμπνιος καρπός) A. R. 4.989 (ὄμπνιος στάχυς) Hsch. s.v. ὄμπνιος λειμών "Ὀμπνια ἢ Δημήτηρ); Phot. s.v. ὄμπνιος (*id.*); Call. *Aet.* fr. 1, 10 Pfeiffer (Ὀμπνια Θεοδοφόρος); Nonn. *D.* 11.213 (Ὀμπνια Δηώ).

50. See n. 166 below for bibliography.

51. National Museum, Athens, 1449; Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*, A I (p. xviii); Herbig, pl. XXVII, 3.

52. T. L. Shear, "A Votive Relief from the Athenian Agora," *O Rom.* 9 (1973): 183–91; cf. *Hesperia* 42 (1973): 168–70. Other examples of the encounter between Pan and Demeter (from outside of Attica): Berlin relief K 82 (from Megara: see chapter 5, n. 46); on an Apulian amphora in Leningrad (Cook *Zeus*, I, pl. XIX) a young Pan is present at the departure of Triptolemos.

53. Berlin K. 87; Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*, XII, no. 22; cf. G. Rodenwaldt, "Pan am Ilissos," *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912): 141–50; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*) 34–36, fig. 46; Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, 142 sq. Inscription (*IG*, II/III² 2934): Οἱ πλυνῆς Νύμφαις εὐξάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσιν, Ζωαγόρας Ζωκύπρου, Ζωκύπρος Ζωαγόρου, Θάλλος, Λεύκη, Σωκράτης Πολυκράτους, Ἀπολλοφάνης Εὐπορίωνος, Σωσίστρατος, Μάνης, Μυρρίνη, Σωσίας, Σωσιγένης, Μίδας. On the existence of the laundryman's trade at Athens in the fourth century: Pl. *Plt.* 282a; cf. Poll. 7.27–39. πλυνῆς = πλυνεῖς (pl. of πλυνεὺς).

54. See chapter 5, n. 89.

55. *IG*, II/III² 4876; Nilsson *GGR*, II, 318 (with bibliography). The object is lost. I. Kirchner, editor of the inscription in *IG*: "nunc EM [National Museum, Athens], ubi non vidimus." Cf. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis dei menis*, I (Leiden, 1971), 3–4, no. 5; III (Leiden, 1976), 6.

56. P. Perdrizet, "Mên," *BCH* 20 (1896): 78–79 (see fig. 5, p. 78).

57. Hippol. *Philosophoumena* 5.7, 34.

58. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1914): 495–96.

59. G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 270–71.

60. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 323 n. 89.

61. See A. S. Rhousopoulos, "Scavi nel ceramico," *Bullettino dell'istituto di corrispondenze archeologica* (1864): 47; and in particular A. Brückner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* (Berlin, 1909), 27 and n. 1.

62. Relief in the National Museum, Athens: Lane (n. 55 above), I, 4, no. 6 and pl. IV; III, 6.

63. Paus. 8.25.6: the *two* cult statues at Thelphousa probably correspond and make explicit the duality of the composite Demeter Erinys at Phigalia (see chapter 3). The ancient xoanon of the latter united in one image the two aspects of the goddess, which were separately represented by the statues at Thelphousa. At Phigalia the duality was indicated by the opposition between the horse's head and the attributes of the dolphin and the dove.

64. See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974). For the interpretation of the whole complex, I refer to the reading proposed by J. Rudhardt, "A propos de l'Hymne homérique à Déméter: La Répartition des *timai*, articulation centrale des systèmes mythiques grecs; le rapt de Perséphone considéré comme un épisode de cette répartition," *MH* 35 (1978): 1–17.

65. P. Welzel, *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* (diss. Bratislava, 1879), 30–38; Immerwahr *Kulte*, 205: "Wie Helios der Demeter die Entführung der Kore meldet, so verrät Pan nach dem Mythos von Phigalia dem Zeus den Aufenthalt der sich in ihrer Betrübniß verborgen haltenden Demeter." He makes this statement in the context of a naturalistic ("solar") interpretation of Pan.

66. *H. Hom. Cer.* 314 sqq.

67. *H. Hom. Cer.* 340 sqq.

68. A. S. Murray, "A New Stele from Athens," *JHS* 22 (1902): 3–4, fig. 2.

69. *E. Hel.* 190; see chapter 4.

70. *H. Hom. Cer.* 377–85.

71. Fr. 466 Pfeiffer.

72. According to an Orphic version of the myth (*Orph. H.* 41.3 sqq.).

73. E. Buschor, *Feldmäuse*, Sitz.-Ber. bay. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abt., 1 (1937); M. P. Nilsson, "Die eleusinische Gottheiten. Exkurs: Die Anodos der Pherephatta auf den Vasenbildern," in *Opuscula Selecta*, II (1952), 611 sqq.; Metzger *Représentations*, 72–81 ("L'anodos d'Aphrodite"); Metzger *Recherches*, 11 sqq.; Cl. Bérard, *Anodoi: Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens* (Neuchâtel, 1974).

74. New York Metr. Mus. 28.57.23; Beazley *ARV*, 1012, 1; Metzger *Recherches*, 11, no. 7; Bérard (n. 73 above), pl. 15, fig. 50.

75. Dresden 350 (destroyed); Beazley *ARV*, 1056, 95; Metzger *Recherches*, 13, no. 15; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 20 and fig. 25, p. 22; Bérard, pl. 16, fig. 53. On this version of the name of Persephone, see Richardson (n. 64 above), 170 (with bibliography).

76. Bérard, *Anodoi*, 78 sqq.; 157 sq. Pelike: Rhodes Museum 12.454 (Erichthonios Painter); Beazley *ARV*, 1218, 2; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 23 and fig. 33, p. 26; Herbig, pl. XIX, 1; Bérard, pl. 18, fig. 63. Kidarian Demeter: Paus. 8.15.3; cf. R. Stiglitz *Die grossen Göttinnen*, 135 sq.

77. Bérard (n. 73 above), 80, places in the same class the gesture represented on a hydria in Syracuse (23.912; Beazley *ARV*, 1041, 11; Brommer, *Marb. Jahrb.*, fig. 34; Bérard, pl. 18, fig. 62): "behind Eros receiving Aphrodite, Pan crouches, his arms held out before him, his palms turned down; he has just made a drumming noise on the ground, and the goddess answers his call." See also C. Picard, "Le Geste de la prière funéraire," *RhR*, 114 (1936): 141 sqq., and the extremely full bibliography given by Bérard *loc. cit.*

78. From the list drawn up by Brommer (*R.-E.*), col. 958, I think it appropriate to eliminate nos. 12, 20, and 21; nos. 22 and 27, furthermore, actually both belong to the same vase. The certain examples that remain are:

(1) Dresden Crater 350 (n. 75 above).

(2) Cup in the Villa Giulia 50320; *ARV* 840, 60; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 27; Bérard, pl. 12, fig. 43.

- (3) Boston skyphos 01.8032; *ARV* 888, 155; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 27; Bérard, pl. 12, fig. 42.
- (4) Rhodes pelike 12.454 (n. 76 above).
- (5) Berlin crater (destroyed); *ARV* 1276, 1; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), figs. 28 and 30; Metzger *Recherches*, 13, no. 17; Bérard, pl. 16, fig. 58.
- (6) Syracuse hydria 23.912 (n. 77 above).
- (7) Odessa (red-figured fragments); *ARV* 1685; Pharmakovski, *Attiskeskaja Vazovaja* (1902), 493, fig. 43; Brommer (*R.-E.*), col. 957, no. 27.
- (8) Fragment of a red-figure oinochoe, Athens Agora P 21860; *Hesperia* 22 (1953): 66 sqq., no. 9, pl. 26.
- (9) I hesitate to add to this list the red-figure crater in London E 467 (*ARV* 601, 23; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.* fig. 32) representing the *anodos* of Pandora (Metzger *Représentations*, 73, *pace* Brommer *op. cit.*, 23–24, who thinks the subject is Aphrodite): the dancing Pans are not represented on the same part of the pot as the main scene.
- (10) I might also add, after these mid-fifth-century B.C. images, the Berlin bell crater F 2646, Attic work of the early fourth century: *ARV* 1443, 6; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 48; Metzger *Représentations*, 75–76, no. 17; Bérard, pl. 10, fig. 35.

79. Dresden crater 350 (n. 98, no. 1).

80. Rhodes pelike 12.454 (n. 98, no. 4): Aphrodite's name is inscribed; Syracuse hydria 23.912 (n. 98, no. 6): Eros and Ares are present; Berlin crater F 2646 (n. 98, no. 10): Eros is present.

81. Oxford crater 525 (*ARV* 1562, 4; Bérard, pl. 19, fig. 71); cf. the dance of Pans around another *anodos* of Pandora (n. 77 above, no. 9).

82. Bérard (n. 73 above), 129 sqq., 160.

83. *H. Hom. Cer.* 193–211.

84. Philoch. 328 F 103 Jacoby; *EM* s.v. 'Ιάμβη; *Et. Gud.* p. 160 Reitzenstein, *Gesch. d. gr. Etymologika*; schol. Nic. *Alex.* 130a; schol. B E. *Or.* 964. An inscription from the late second century B.C. (*IG*, II² 1011, 8) mentions a place called Echo, from which the epebes are to escort the sacred objects brought from Eleusis to Athens in preparation for the procession of the Mysteries (cf. Chr. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* [Paris, 1962], 221). It is tempting to identify this place (perhaps a sanctuary, probably on the territorial boundary of Attica properly so called, on the edge of the Eleusinian plain) as the location of the cave of Pan and the nymphs on Mt. Aigialeon, in the vale of Daphne; we do know that the procession of the Mysteries passed by this cave (J. Travlos, "Σπήλαιον τοῦ Πανὸς παρὰ τὸ Δαφνί," *AE* 1937: 391–408). The sphere of Pan and the nymphs would thus, by way of the Epebes and Echo, intersect with that of the two goddesses.

85. On Baubo: F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1974), 194–99; on the episode of Iambe and Baubo and the function of laughter in the myth of Demeter: A. Di Nola, *Antropologia religiosa* (Florence, 1974), 19–53, with bibliography. The best account is now Maurice Olender, "Aspects de Baubo: Textes et contextes antiques," *RHR* 202 (1985): 3–55.

86. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 115–215 (see in particular 135–40); I Papachristodoulou, *AE* (1973): 188–217; on the introduction of the

cult of Cybele in Greece: E. Will, “Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec,” in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Travaux du Centre d’Études supérieures spécialisé d’histoire des religions de Strasbourg (Paris, 1960), 95–111; cf. E. Laroche, “Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle,” *ibid.*, 113–28; Dupont-Sommer, *CRAI* (1961): 19–23; L. Deroy, *Minos* 2 (1952): 34–56; F. Salviat, *BCH* 88 (1964): 239–51; M. Guarducci, *Klio* 52 (1970): 133–38.

87. Paus. 1.3.5 (Phidias); Plin. *Nat.* 36.17 (Agoracritus); cf. the analogous image on an amphora in London of about 530 B.C. (*CVA Gr. Brit.* 4, *Brit. Mus.* 3, pl. 35, 2a); K. Scheffold, *Jdl* 52 (1937): 39, thinks it may possibly represent the Metroon in Athens.

88. See the evidence collected by O. Kern, *AA* (1937): 466 sqq.; O. Walter, “Κουρητικὴ τρυάς,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 31 (1939): 53–80 (cf. p. 62, n. 43); M. J. Vermaseren, *Attis, EPROER*, 9 (Leiden, 1966), 7. Pi. P. 3.138 sq., with commentary by J. A. Haldane, “Pindar and Pan,” *Phoenix* 21 (1968): 18–31.

89. Two statues of Pan keeping guard at the entrance to the Metroon in Athens: cf. Ch. Picard, *RHR* 135 (1949): 129 n. 142, and “Rhéa-Cybèle et le culte des portes sacrées,” in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehman* (New York, 1964), 261 and n. 10.

90. E. *Hipp.* 142 (see chapter 5).

91. *Ar. Ec.* 1069.

92. *AJA* 7 (1903), 267 sqq. fig. 4; Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, pl. 16.

93. K. Rhomaios, “Ευρήματα ἀνασκαφῆς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Παρνήθος ἀντροῦ,” *AE* (1905): 113.

94. Dittenberg, *Syll.* 1153; Schrader, *MDAI(A)* 21 (1896): 275; Roscher *ML*, III, 1361, 1405; cf. two Attic votive reliefs: *MDAI(A)* 21 (1896): 279 (Cybele, Pan, and two worshippers, fourth century); National Museum, Athens, 1421.

95. The material on Demeter-Cybele is collected in R. Kannicht, *Euripides, Helena* (Heidelberg, 1969) 329–30, and Graf (n. 85 above), 155 n. 24.

96. As reported by Phld. *Piet.* p. 23 Gomperz (= fr. 764 *PMG*): Δῆμητρα καὶ Μητέρα θεῶν φησιν μίαν ὑπάρχειν.

97. See Graf (n. 95 above) *loc. cit.* (with bibliography).

98. Plu. *Amat.* 16.31 (= *Moralia* 768f).

99. E. *Hel.* 1301–52.

100. Pan Mousopolos: Castorion F. II 5; Pan couples with Eupheme, nurse of the Muses (n. 105 below).

101. Pi. fr. 95 Snell²; we may remember that Pan joins with Gaia and Hermes Enagonios in the context of two Attic festivals sacred to Demeter: the Eleusinia (*IG*, I² 5; Ziehen, *Leg. sacr. Gr.*, II, 7) and the Thesmophoria (*Ar. Thesm.* 295 sqq.). Paus. 1.22.8 mentions “the Hermes called *propulaios* and the Graces,” a work attributed to Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, at the entrance to the acropolis. A group of three graces is with difficulty distinguished from the three nymphs who guide Hermes on fourth-century Attic reliefs; Gaia, with whom they are here joined, sometimes borrows her attributes from the Mother of the Gods (cf. Cassola *Inni omerici*, 327).

102. *IG*, IV, 1 129–31 (Page, *PMG* 935 and 936).

103. *PMG* 936:

ΠΑΝΙ

Πάνα τὸν νυμφαγέταν
Ναΐδων μέγμθ' αἶδω,

χρυσέων χορῶν ἄγαλμα,
 κωτίλας ἀνακτ[α μ]οῖσα(ς)
 εὐθρόου σύριγγος εν □
 ἔνθεον σειρήνα χεῦει,
 ἐς μέλος δὲ κούφα βαινῶν
 εὐσκίων πηδαὶ κατ' ἄντρων
 παμφυῆς νωμῶν δέμας
 εὐχόρευτος εὐπρόσωπος
 ἐμπρέπων ξανθῶι γενεῖωι.
 ἐς δ' Ὀλυμπον ἄστερωπὸν
 ἔρχεται πανωιδὸς ἀχῶ
 Θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὄμιλον
 ἀμβρόται ραίνουσα μοῖσαι.
 χθῶν δὲ πάσα καὶ θάλασσα
 κίρναται τεὰν χάριν· σὺ
 γὰρ πέλειε ἔρεισμα πάντων,
 ὦ ἦ Πᾶν Πᾶν.

104. Lucian *Bis Acc.* 9–10: Τὸ μὲν ὄλον οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῶσί με, ἀλλὰ πολὺ καταδεέστερον τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ ταῦτα τηλικούτου ἀπώσαμένος κυδοιμὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ὅμως δὲ δις ἢ τρίς τοῦ ἔτους ἀνιόντες ἐπιλεξάμενοι τράγον ἔνορχιν θήουσί μοι πολλῆς τῆς κινάβρας ἀπόζοντα, εἴτα εὐωχοῦνται τὰ κρέα, ποιησάμενοί με τῆς εὐφροσύνης μάρτυρα καὶ ψιλῶ τιμήσαντες τῷ κρότῳ· ἀλλ' ἔχει τινά μοι ψυχαγωγίαν ὁ γέλωσ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ παιδιά.

105. *H. Hom. Pan* 2; 37.

106. Foster-brother of the Muses, Crotos is son of Pan and Eupheme: Erastosth. *Cat.* 28; Hyg. *Fab.* 224; *Astr.* 2.27. This son of Pan, about whom ancient tradition tells us nothing, became famous in poetry from the beginning of the nineteenth century on. John E. Jackson has pointed out to me that he appears (among other places) in Rimbaud (in the *Illuminations*, “Antique”) and Trakl (*Psalm* 14–16; *Helian* 5–6). Romantic learning revived him and worked him into its vast symbolic commentary on the traditional stories. F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* (Weimar, 1851), 254–57, defines him as “der personificirte Takt des baccischen Tanzjubels.” He is the embodiment of the celestial music of his father, the goat-god (himself interpreted by Creuzer as a cosmic daimon whose seven-branched syrinx represents the music of the seven spheres).

107. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. LVII 18.

108. See n. 20 above.

109. *S. Aj.* 693 sqq.:

Ἐφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρῆς δ' ἀνεπτάμαν.
 ἰὼ ἰὼ Πᾶν Πᾶν,
 ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἀλίπλαγκτε Κυλλανίας χιονοκτύπου
 πετραίας ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθ' ὦ
 θεῶν χοροποῖ' ἀναξ, ὅπως
 μοι Μῦσια Κνώσι' ὀρ-
 χήματ' αὐτοδαῆ ξυνῶν ἰάψης.
 νῦν γὰρ ἔμοι μέλει χορεύσαι.

110. *A. Pers.* 448; Pi. fr. 99 Snell³: Πᾶνα χορευτὴν τελεώτατον; see also chapter 9.

111. Pl. *Lg.* 653d sqq.: “Almost without exception, every young creature is incapable of keeping either its tongue or its body quiet, and is always striving to

move and to cry, leaping and skipping and delighting in dancing and games, and uttering, also, noises of every description. Now, whereas all other creatures are devoid of any perception of the various kinds of order and disorder in movement (which we term rhythm and harmony), to us men the very gods, who we were given, as we said, to be our fellows in the dance, have granted the pleasurable perception of rhythm and harmony, whereby they cause us to move and lead our choirs, linking us with one another by means of song and dances; and to the choir they have given its name from the "cheer" implanted therein (play on words on *chara* and *choros*)" (trans. R. G. Bury [Loeb ed., 1914]). In the dance, where he escapes from repression without falling into frenzy, the individual discovers that his movements correspond with a cosmic order, and at the same time displays his membership in a group characterized by humanity.

112. Red-figure oinochoe, Athens Agora P 21860; *Hesperia* 22 (1953): 66 sqq., no. 9, pl. 26 (n. 78 above, no. 8).

113. Cornutus 27.

114. Some examples: Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), figs. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 35; Schauenburg, pls. 10, 1; 11, 2; 12, 2. Pan's dance on a red-figure hydria in the British Museum (Brommer, fig. 49) is styled by Metzger (*Représentations*, 134) a "frantic gesture." See also the vases from the Cabirion in Thebes: P. Wolters und G. Brungs, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, I (Berlin, 1940), pl. 32.

115. Chapter 3, n. 67.

116. Oinochoe in the British Museum, 1957, 2–12.20 (Schauenburg, pl. 13, 1; Herbig, fig. 1, p. 13).

117. Philostr. *Im.* 2.11: Τὸν Πᾶνα αἱ Νύμφαι πονηρῶς φασιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐξάιροντα καὶ ἀναθρώσκοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγερώχους τῶν τράγων, αὐταὶ δ' ἂν μεταδιδάξαιεν αὐτὸν ἑτέραν ὀρχησιν ἦδιω τῷ ἦθει.

118. Let us not fail to observe the connections between the dance and the *tarachai*, disorderly movements, of panic. The latter display our closeness to the animals; dance, by contrast, is a movement enacting our arrival at (or return to?) humanity. That is why panic dancing is proper to initiations and purifications (Pl. *Lg.* 7.790c). On the curative value of the dance, in relation to cases of possession: A. Delatte, *Les Conceptions de l'enthousiasme chez les philosophes présocratiques* (Paris, 1934), 71–78; H. Jeanmaire, "Le Satyre et la ménade: Remarques sur quelques textes relatifs aux danses 'orgiaques,'" in *Mélanges Charles Picard* (Paris, 1949), 464–73. "The custom of the dance is not new," observes Lucian; "it does not date from yesterday or the day before. It is older than our forefathers and their forefathers. The dance is as old as Eros" (*The Dance* 7). For once Lucian is not being ironic. The Eros of which he speaks is the prime mover of the Hesiodic theogony. Dance is thus a primordial reality, coeval with Desire, and expresses our awareness of cosmic order: "The dance of the stars, the conjunctions of the fixed stars and the planets, the rhythmic grace of their ensemble, the harmonic balance of their movements, these are the first models of the dance" (ibid.). It is not an accident that the myths of origin for human dance are stories concerning the infancy of Zeus. Human dancing thus is at its origin linked to the advent of the definitive cosmic order; dance was taught by Rhea to the corybantes (according to Lucian) or to the *kouretai* (according to D. S. 5.65). These ambiguous protectors of the divine infant prefigure humanity rather than representing it; by their discoveries (they are inventors), they open the way to culture. They were the first to organize flocks; they took up beekeeping; they anticipated the organization of communal life. Their armed dance around Zeus, a dance that masks his infantile restlessness and so deceives

Cronos, is placed on the threshold between two worlds, and that on two levels: here the rule of the cosmos receives its definitive ruler, and here we arrive at a humanity worthy of the name, that of the eaters of milled grain. The dance of the *kouretai*, “who produce a kind of community of mind (*homonoias*) and a sketch of the social order (*eutaxias*)” is inseparable from their capacity to innovate; these liminal powers, who live (as Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-structure* [Chicago 1969]—would say) in a “sodality” in contrast to a “society,” are for the whole ancient tradition linked to the Mysteries (see chapter 2 above). They rear the young Zeus (the Palaiokastro Hymn [see chapter 2, n. 123], calls him the greatest of them); they transmit their name of *kouretai* to the celebrants of a cult whose ritual, most probably, reenacted the transition to humanity. Brothers of the nymphs and satyrs (Hes. fr. 123 Merkelbach-West) the *kouretai* are descendents of Phoroneus (first Argive king, founder of the first city: chapter 1, n. 31); so closely are they associated in myth with the origins of society. Pan belongs to the same symbolic sphere; he is god of goatherds and shepherds, himself son of a mortal, on occasion a dancer at initiatory rites. Certain cults, furthermore, associate him with the *kouretai* (Walter *loc. cit.* n. 88 above). This connection is not casual. However we must be clear that the *kouretai* develop in mythical memory only, or in its reactualization in ritual, whereas Pan, a god whose powers are ever at work, goes before the city and prepares the way of it spatially, rather than in the time of origins.

119. H. Hitzig-H. Bluemner, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, I (Berlin, 1896), 310–11; Kavvadias, *AE* (1897): 1 sqq. (pls. 1–3); Brommer (*R.-E.*), 993; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II (London, 1898), 360 sqq., and IV (1898), 516 sqq.; Travlos, *Bildlexikon*, 417–21 (figs. 536–39); see also P. J. Riis, “A Colossal Athenian Pan,” *Acta Archaeologica* 45 (1974): 124–33. An epigram in the Palatine Anthology (16.232) attributed to Simonides survives as a memorial of the consecration just after Marathon, and probably in this very cave, of the cult statue (other evidence: chapter 5, n. 32). The rhythm of this couplet, which unfortunately cannot be caught in translation, seems to imitate the running of the god, who is suddenly fixed, immobilized by Miltiades on the side of the Acropolis:

Τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μῆδων,
τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

(Literally: “This goat-foot, me, Arcadian Pan, the one against the Mede, the one with the Athenians, Miltiades set up.”) I thank Walter Burkert for having brought to my attention a papyrus fragment that may explain the attribution of this couplet to Simonides. This is a fragment of choral lyric (*SLG* 387 = *Pap. Ox.* 2624 fr. 1) whose learned editor (E. Lobel, in 1967) proposed to attribute it to Simonides for linguistic reasons. The text, badly mutilated, does permit one to be sure that it is addressed to Pan (δαίμων αἰγίγκναμε, v. 4), who is asked to leave a stormy landscape (ρίπᾶν, v. 2), who is asked to sing (ἄειδε, v. 6) and whose cult is alluded to (εὐ]αγέας θυσίας . . . σπένδων, vv. 11–12). This “invocation” seems to anticipate that in *S. Aj.* 693 sqq. Can we conclude, from this uncertain evidence, that the poet Simonides sang of Pan on the occasion when his cult was introduced into Athens? We do know that Simonides was actually in Athens shortly after Marathon.

120. Travlos (*loc. cit.* n. 119 above), n. 141.

121. The opposition between the sphere of Pan and the buildings of the Acropolis is made clear in *Ar. Lys.* 910–13; the couples who wish to make love in the goat-god's cave (which is outside the sacred enclosure) must purify themselves at the clepsydra before returning to town (and in the process necessarily

passing through the said enclosure). Another sign of the difference: the goat (Pan's animal) was formally forbidden entry to Athena's sphere: Ath. 13.587a; Varr. *Rer. Rust.* 1.2.19 sq.; cf. Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, RGVV, 9, 1 (Giessen, 1910), 87.

122. E. *Ion* 491–506:

ὦ Πανὸς θακῆματα καὶ
 παρανλίζουσα πέτρα
 μυχῶδεσι Μακραῖς,
 ἵνα χοροὺς στεῖβουσι ποδοῖν
 Ἄγλαῦρον κόραι τρίγονοι
 στάδια χλοερά πρό Παλλάδος
 ναῶν, συρίγγων
 ὑπ' αἰόλας ἰαχᾶς
 ὕμνων, ὄτ' ἀναλίους
 συρίζεις, ὦ Πάν,
 τοῖς σοῖσιν ἐν ἄντροις,
 ἵνα τεκοῦσά τις Φοῖβῳ
 παρθένος, ὦ μελέα, βρέφος,
 πτανοῖς ἐξόρισεν θοῖναν
 θηρσί τε φοινίαν δαῖτα, πικρῶν γάμων
 ὕβριν . . .

123. Hdt. 2.145.

124. On the myth of Erichthonios, see L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, I⁴ (Berlin, 1894), 199 sqq.; II⁴ (1920), 137 sqq.; B. Powell, *Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1906); W. Burkert, "Kekropidensage und Arrhaphoria: Vom Initiationsritus zum Panathenäenfest," *H* 94 (1966): 1–25; Bérard *Anodoi* (n. 73 above), 34–38; H. Metzger, "Athéna soulevant de terre le nouveau-né: Du geste au mythe," in *Mélanges Collart* (Lausanne, 1976), 295–303; Nicole Loraux, "L'Autochtonie: Une Topique athénienne. Le mythe dans l'espace civique," *Annales ESC*, January–February 1979, 3–26.

125. Preller and Robert (n. 124 above), I⁴, 273; II⁴, 145 sqq.

126. See n. 6 above.

127. Miriam Erwin, "The Sanctuary of Aglauros on the South Slope of the Acropolis and Its Destruction in the First Mithridatic War: Evidence from Archaeological and Literary Sources," *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 22 (1958): 129–65 (cited by L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique*, no. 133 [1960]).

128. E. *Ion* 939, 891–96.

129. E. *Hel. W* 187–90:

Νύμφα τις οἶα Ναῖς
 ὄρεσι φινγάδα νόμον ἰεῖσα
 γοερόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πέτρινα γάλα κλαγγαῖσιν
 Πανὸς ἀναβοᾷ γάμους.

130. On Athenian torch races, see A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athens im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), 292 sq., 301 sq.; Deubner *Attische Feste*, 211–13; P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949): 349–51; Heide Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen*, Beiträge zur Archäologie, 2 (Würzburg, 1971), 78–81; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), 171–73.

131. Hdt. 6.105 (n. 3 above); E. *Ion* 939.

132. Deubner *Attische Feste*, 213 n. 4; Mommsen, *BCH* 1 (1877): 11 (Patm. schol. D. 57, 43).

133. Phot. s.v. λαμπάς· ἀγῶν Ἀθήνησι Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεὶ ἀγόμενος.

134. Bekker *Anecd.* 1.228.11 sqq. s.v. Γυμνασίαρχοι· οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδοδρομιῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτον τὸν βωμόν.

135. Sources cited in n. 132 above: Γαμηλία· ἡ εἰς τοὺς φράτορας ἐγγραφὴ· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν οὕτω φασὶ λέγεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων γαμεῖν ἠνωμένην [l. γινομένην] τοῖς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ [Mommsen: τοῖς φράτορσι] καὶ οὗτοι ἤγοντο λαμπαδοδρομίαν [l. ἤγον τὰ λαμπαδοδρόμια] τὴν ἑορτὴν τῷ τε Προμηθεὶ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειφόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο [l. ἤπτον] τὸν βωμόν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἐνίκα καὶ ἡ τοῦτου φυλῆ.

136. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 131 mentions three torch races that took place in the Kerameikos, dedicated to Athena, Hephaestus, and Prometheus respectively. Probably we should understand that each of these passed through the Kerameikos (both inside and outside the walls) without necessarily being confined to it.

137. Plu. *Sol.* 1.7; cf. Chr. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris, 1962), 262.

138. Paus. 1.30.2; schol. Pl. *Phdr.* 231e.

139. Paus. 1.30.2.

140. Deubner *Attische Feste*, 211–13.

141. L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce classique* (Paris, 1968), 40 n. 106 (= *REG* 41, 1928, 334 n. 6).

142. M. P. Nilsson, *Die Bedeutung des griechischen Kalendars* (Lund, 1962), 58; cf. F. Salviat, "Les théogamies attiques, Zeus Teleios et l'Agamemnon d'Eschyle," *BCH* 88 (1964): 647–54; M. Detienne, *Les Jardins d'Adonis* (Paris, 1972): 170–71.

143. Eratosth. *Cat.* I 27; Hyg. *Astr.* II 28. The literature concerning catasterisms goes back to Alexandrian models; see chapter 2, n. 21.

144. E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz, 1964): 201–7 with bibliography.

145. Ar. *Lys.* 910–13.

146. E. *IT* 1125–27:

συρίζων θ' ὁ κηροδέτας
κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανός
κώπαις ἐπιθωῶξει.

148. J. Travlos, *AD* 16 (1960): 44, fig. 1, and 52, fig. 5: below the spot where a Hellenistic fortress was built.

149. Lilly Kahil, "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *AK* 8 (1965): 23 n. 13; "Artémis attique," *CRAI* (1976): 126–30 (her reference to Pan's cave is on p. 127); and "L'Artémis de Braurôn: Rites et mystères," *AK* 20 (1977): 86–98, figs. 1–8 and pls. 18–21 (krateriskoi).

150. Kahil, *CRAI* (1976): 129–30; on the iconography of Kallisto in the classical period (Apulian pottery), see A. D. Trendall, "Callisto in Apulian vase painting," *AK* 20 (1977): 99–101 and pl. 22.

151. A. fr. 65b–c Mette. On the relation between Pan and Artemis, see chapter 4.

152. J. de la Genière, "Un Skyphos inédit du Musée de Laon," *RA* (1972): 291–300, figs. 1–2.

153. Phot. s.v. ἀμφιφῶων· πλακοῦς τις Ἐκάτη καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι φερόμενος δαδία ἐν κύκλῳ περικεείμενα ἔχων. Φιλόχορος (328 F 86 Jacoby) ἐν τῇ περιήμερῶν· ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα· καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους δὲ νῦν ἀμφιφῶντας ταύτη τῇ

ἡμέρα πρῶτον ἐνόμισαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τριόδους. *Suda* s.v. ἀνάστατοι: οἱ δὲ ἀμφιφῶντες γίνονται Μουνυχίανος μῆνος ἑ' ἐπὶ δέκα, οἱ καὶ εἰς τὸ Μουνυχίας ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος κομίζονται. ὀνομάζονται δὲ ἀμφιφῶντες . . . ὡς δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὅτι κομίζουσιν αὐτοὺς δαδιά ἡμέμενα παραπηγνύντες ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Cf. Ath. 645a; *EM* 94, 55 sqq.; *Suda* s.v. ἀμφιφῶντες. The Boeotian krater that L. Deubner offers as an iconographic parallel (*Attische Feste*, 205 n. 2; pl. 23, 2) shows only a vague resemblance. The cake crowned with candles on the Laon vase, by contrast, exactly represents what the texts describe.

154. X. *An.* 3.2.12; Plu. *Moralia* 861f; cf. Deubner *Attische Feste*, 209.

155. Plu *Moralia* 349f: τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῶσιν ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ θεὸς παυσέληνος.

156. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.24 (163.1): τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ νύκτωρ ἀσελήνου καὶ δυσχειμέρου τοῦ καταστήματος γεγονότος πῦρ ἐώρατο προηγούμενον, ὅπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτίως προπέμψαν κατὰ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἐξέλιπεν, ἔνθα νῦν ὁ τῆς Φωσφόρου βωμὸς ἐστίν. I owe special thanks to M. Pierre Ellinger of Paris for having the kindness to point out to me this second phase of the rout of the tyrants. See also chapter 5 above on the incident.

157. See n. 3 above.

158. *IG*, I² 310, 27.

159. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, suppl. 9 A 2.

160. Lucian *Bis Acc.* 9 (n. 104 above); cf. *DDeor.* 4.1. The fact that the victim is an uncastrated buck, whose foul odor is stressed (πολλῆς τῆς κινάβρας ἀπόζοντα, Lucian *Bis Acc.* 9), suggests that there is at least some irony in Lucian's choice of the verb *euōcheisthai* ("feast") to describe the sacrificial meal. Thus we would also explain the fact that there is only a single victim, which would seem slender provision for a public sacrifice (cf. the five hundred goats sacrificed annually to Artemis Hegemone). The sacrifice of a buck is quite unusual. It is hardly to be encountered elsewhere, except in connection with Dionysus, as the conclusion to the tragic competition: W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7 (1966): 100. Burkert draws attention to the rarity of the animal (there is not more than one buck per flock, and perhaps per village). The lack of castration seems an element specific to the ritual of Pan; Dionysus receives a castrated animal (the castration takes place at the time of slaughter, and is an integral part of the ritual: Burkert *Homo Necans* 81). This difference on the level of rite may reflect an effort to distinguish two gods easily confused in religious thought on the level of myth and iconography.

161. Since I here discuss only those rituals directly and principally aimed at Pan, I have set aside evidence relevant to cults where Pan played a secondary role: for example that of the Mother, and, again from the fifth century, of Bendis (cf. Pan's appearance, in the form of a use of his ritual effigy, in a fragment of the *Thracian Women* of the comic poet Cratinus, a piece that mocks the votaries of the goddess (fr. 2 Meineke = 74 Kock); Pan reappears at the close of the fourth century in company with Hermes and three nymphs on a relief from the Piraeus dedicated to Bendis and her companion Deloptes (Ny Carlsberg Foundation [Copenhagen], no. 231). Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, 2d ed. (Munich, 1955), 833 n. 2; *IG* II² 1324.

162. So Socrates on the bank of the Ilissos. This "greeting" was as commonplace as greeting a saint with the sign of the cross in countries with a strong Catholic tradition; even the misanthrope goes along (Men. *Dysc.* 10–12).

163. *Numphai philai*: Ar. *Th.* 978 (n. 171 below); inscription on a relief from the cave of Vari (Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, pl. XIII 1; *AJA* 7 (1903):

291; 307 no. V; pl. VII); cf. Men. *Dysc.* 197 (*ō philtatai Numphai*). *Phile Pan*: (Pl. *Phdr.* 279b); Theoc. 7.106; *IG*, II² 4831 (Parnes, Phyle); *IG*, II² 4828 (*Pasi philois*: Parnes, Phyle). On the sense of *philos* and the relation of *philotēs*, see Benveniste *Vocabulaire*, I, 335–53.

164. Beside Pan's appearance to Phillipides, see Paus. 2.32.6 (institution of the cult of Pan Luterios at Troizen, as the result of an appearance in a dream to the city officials); Men. *Dysc.* (Sostratos's mother's dream, discussed in chapter 8); Longus 2.23.4 (Daphnis's dream, which eventually leads to the foundation of a small sanctuary of Pan Stratiotes, 4.39.2).

165. See in particular (for Attica) the material found in the caves of Vari, Phyle, and Marathon (chapter 5, nn. 87, 40, and 38 respectively).

166. O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna, 1923); Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*; Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), 30–36, figs. 40–46; Brommer (*R.-E.*), 981–82; Nilsson *GRR*, I, 247 sqq.; U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weibreliefs* (Berlin, 1960); W. Fuchs, "Attische Nymphenreliefs," *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962): 242–49, figs. 64–69; Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*.

167. See, for example, Brommer (*Marb. Jahrb.*), fig. 44.

168. See, for example, Hausmann (n. 166 above), figs. 30–31 (Pentelic relief).

169. Hom. *Od.* 14.435.

170. Evidence brought together by Immerwahr, *Kulte*, 73 sqq.

171. Ar. *Th.* 977–81:

Ἐρμῆν τε νόμιον ἄντομαι
καὶ Πάνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας
ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως
ταῖς ἡμετέραισι
χαρέντα χορείαις.

172. *Oi poiμένε[s]*: *IG*, II² 4833 (Phyle, fourth century; cf. W. Peek, "Inschriften der Pan-Grotte bei Phyle," *MDAI(A)* 67 (1954): 61, no. 104; *hαιπόλος*: *AJA* 7 (1903): 292, no. 8 (Vari).

173. Dedication of a *lithaxoos* (stone mason) at Phyle: *IG*, II² 4837; cf. Peek (n. 172 above), 63, no. 108; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XI–XII, p. 34. Dedication of the artisan Archedemos at Vari: see chapter 5 at n. 87. Dedication of the "laundrymen" in the region of the Ilissos: see above at n. 53.

174. See M. Launey (chapter 5, n. 59).

175. Fuchs (n. 166 above), 244.

176. J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1965; reprint Petite Collection Maspero, no. 86), 210 and 214 (passage quoted); P. Vidal-Naquet and P. Levêque, *Clisthène l'Athénien* (Paris, 1964).

177. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1972), 175–76.

178. Chapter 1, n. 98.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. O. Walter, "Κουρητική τριάς," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 31 (1939): 54; H.-V. Hermann, *Omphalos* (Münster, 1959), 89–92, pl. 9, 1; cf. Heichelheim, "Nymphai," *R.-E.*, col. 1555.

2. On the opposition between *thuein* and *enagizein* (and between *eschara* and *bomos*), see Rudhardt *Notions*, 250–53.

3. Thespis fr. 4 (B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, I [Göttingen, 1971], 66):

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω κναξίβι(χ) [τὸ] λευκὸν
 ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν·
 ἴδε σοὶ θύπτην τυρὸν μίξας
 ἐρυθρῶ μελιτῶ κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν
 δικέρωσ, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἀγίων.
 ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίον [αἶθοπα] φλεγμὸν λείβω.

“Here to you I pour in libation this white milk, drawn from a blonde milk-goat. Here to you, mixing cheese with the red honey, I place it, Pan of the two horns, on your pure altars. Here to you I pour the shining liquor of Bromius.” Cf. C. Wessely, “Einige Reste griechischer Schulbücher,” *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* III, 2 (1902): 42 sq.

4. Alciphr. 4.13.4. The phrase βωμὸς αὐτοσχέδιος, in the sense of an improvised altar (built for Heracles by Evander) is found in D. H. 1.40.

5. Cf. the oinochoe from Ferrara discussed in Cl. Bérard, “ΑΞΙΕ ΤΑΥΡΕ,” in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (Lausanne, 1976), 61–73, fig. 1.

6. P. Amandry, *CRAI* (1972): 225–67.

7. Goat: Lucian (see chapter 5, nn. 104 and 160); Longus 2.31.2–3; *AP* 16.17 and 6.99. Sheep: Men. *Dysc.* 393 sqq. Bull (offered to Pan by young Arcadians; it seems to be an exception): *AP* 6.96 (Erycius, first century B.C.).

8. E. *El.* 625–27; 785; 805; 1134 (θηηπολεῖ Νύμφαισιν).

9. Sheep or lamb: Hom. *Od.* 17.241 sq.; cf. Theoc. 5.139 sq., 148 sq. Goat or kid: Hom. *Od. loc. cit.*; cf. Theoc. 5.11 sq.; Longus 2.24, 30 sq.

10. Reproduced in *EAA* s.v. “Pitsa”; cf. Muthmann *Mutter und Quelle*, pl. 14, 1. A comparable scene on an Attic relief: Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*, no. 17.

11. καταρχόμεθα λευκῆς ἀλεκτορίδος (Alciphr. 4.13.4): here it is a matter of an inaugural sacrifice opening the ceremony, which continues with offerings of perfume.

12. Cheese, milk, honey (for Pan): Thespis fr. 4 (n. 3 above); cf. Theoc. 5.48 sq. (milk and honey).

13. Thespis fr. 4 (n. 3 above).

14. Men. *Dysc. passim*.

15. Polem. Hist. fr. 42 Müller (cited by schol. S. *OC* 100); cf. *Suda* s.v. νηφάλιος θυσία. However, it is to be noted that on a relief from Vari (Feubel *Nymphenreliefs*, no. V) a libation to the nymphs from a kantharos (a vessel proper to wine) is depicted; it is true that Pan is present. In Sicily, in contrast to Athens, drunkenness was an essential element of women's rituals for the nymphs (Ath. 6.250a).

16. Alciphr. 4.13.

17. *Melikraton*, a mixture of milk and honey or water and honey: cf. Liddell and Scott s.v. The funereal (“chthonic”) implication of this type of offering, insisted upon by Usener (*RhM* 57 [1902]: 179 sqq.) is far from obvious.

18. Alciphr. 4.13.16: καὶ οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν προσβλέπειν ὡς πρότερον αἱ Νύμφαι, ἀλλ' ὁ Πάν καὶ ὁ Πρίαπος ἦδιον.

19. For an analysis of ritual acts and beliefs in the *Dyscolos*, see Penelope P. Photiades, “Pan's Prologue to the *Dyscolos* of Menander,” *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958): 108–22; Gallini, 225–28.

20. Men. *Dysc.* 3–4.

21. *Ibid.*, 44.

22. *Ibid.*, 345–47.

23. *Ibid.*, 407 sqq.

24. *Ibid.*, 364 sqq.; cf. 521 sqq.

25. *Ibid.*, 417–18: ἀλλὰ θύομεν διὰ τοῦθ', ἵν' εἰς βέλτιον ἀποβῆ τὸ φοβερόν.

26. See chapter 4.

27. Jean Martin, *Ménandres: L'Atrabilaire* (Paris, 1961), in commenting on v. 414, stresses the erotic meaning of the scene and compares the (metaphorical) labor of Sostratos with the images engraved on gems, where Eros is represented chained and wielding a fork (*dikella*); cf. “Bidens,” Daremberg and Saglio.

28. On Pan's relation to marriage (complementary opposition), see chapters 4 and 7.

29. On the acts making up the *thusia*, see Rudhardt *Notions*, 257 sqq.

30. *Men. Dyc.* 393 sqq.

31. *Ibid.*, 405.

32. *Ibid.*, 419–20. *Stibades* play an important part in the old country festivals: they were originally, and most usually, heaps of leaves: L. Gernet, “Fraiseries antiques,” *REG* 41 (1928): 313 sqq., reprinted in *Anthropologie de la Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1968), 21 sqq.; see particularly 31 sqq. See, too, J.-M. Verpoorten, “La *stibas* ou l'image de la brousse,” *RHR* 162 (1962): 147 sqq. Leaves are here replaced by blankets and rugs, which permit the participants to lie comfortably on the damp floor of the cave.

33. *Men. Dyc.* 440.

34. Rudhardt *Notions*, 259.

35. *Men. Dyc.* 440. Cf. Rudhardt *Notions*, 291, 294, 296.

36. *Men. Dyc.* 440. On the sense of *thulēmata*, particularly in this passage in Menander, see the analysis offered by Jean Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en Grec des origines à la fin de l'époque classique* (Aix-en-Provence, 1966), 123–24.

37. *Men. Dyc.* 432–34.

38. Rudhardt *Notions*, 259 n. 14.

39. Τὴν ὄσφυν ἄκραν (*Men. Dyc.* 451). For the translation of this phrase, see the commentary of Jean Martin (n. 27 above), *ad loc.*

40. *Men. Dyc.* 447–53.

41. This expression is derived from E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), chapter 5: “The Greek Shamans and the Origin of Puritanism.”

42. Porph. *Abst.* 2.17, p. 147 Nauck². Aelian (*Ep. Rust.* 16), working directly from this passage, imagines an exchange of letters between Callipides and Cnemon, in which the misanthrope explicitly refused to practice *thusia*, and restricts himself to greeting the god: τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα ἀσπάζομαι καὶ προσαγορεύω παριῶν μόνον, θύω δὲ οὐδέν. Jean Rudhardt has suggested to me that Cnemon's words (in Menander) most probably refer to Prometheus's trick (Hes. *Th.* 535 sqq.); this trick, which is the originating event of Olympian sacrifice, is interpreted by the “Puritan” completely negatively, and this interpretation justifies the refusal of a rite conceived of as the simple repetition of an impious act.

43. *Men. Dyc.* 456 sqq.

44. *Ibid.*, 518–20.

45. See Detienne *Dionysos*, 174 sqq.

46. *Men. Dyc.* 548.

47. Rudhardt *Notions* 254–55; plastic representations in G. Rizza, *ASAA* 37–38 (1959–60): 321–45; Metzger *Recherches*, 107–18.

48. *Men. Dyc.* 559.

49. *Ibid.*, 554–55.

50. Cf. *ibid.*, 560–62.
51. *Ibid.*, 901–2: *θόρυβός ἐστιν ἔνδον, πίνουσιν· οὐκ αἰσθήσεται οὐδείς.*
52. Chapter 5, n. 7.
53. *Men. Dysc.* 551.
54. *Ibid.*, 440–41.
55. *Ibid.*, 850 sqq.
56. *Ibid.*, 855–57.
57. *Ibid.*, 857–59.
58. *Ibid.*, 876: *πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*
59. *Ibid.*, 963–64: *ἀλλ' ἐκδότηω στεφάνους τις ἡμῖν, δᾶδα.*
60. *Ibid.*, 950–53.
61. *Ael. Ep.*, letter 15.
62. *Ibid.*: *οὐ χεῖρον δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ οἰνωμένον σε καὶ μασχάλην ἄραι. εἰ δέ που καὶ μεθύων κόρη περιπέσοις ἄβραν ἀνακαλοῦση ἢ τὴν τίτθην ὑπολειφθεῖσαν εὐρεῖν πειρωμένη, τάχα πού τι καὶ θερμὸν δράσεις καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον, οὐδὲν ἀπεικόος εἴη καὶ τοιοῦτό τι πραχθῆναι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πανὸς θυσίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ τοι κακεῖνος ἐρωτικὸς εὐ μάλα καὶ οἴος ἐπανίστασθαι παρθένους.*
63. L. Ziehen, “Pannychis,” *R.-E.*, cols. 629–32.
64. *E. Ba.* 485 sq., 862; cf. Ziehen (n. 63 above).
65. See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 256: commentary on vv. 292–304.
66. Ziehen (n. 63 above).
67. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; *contra*: Richardson (n. 65 above).
68. *H. Hom. Cer.* 292–304; cf. *Ar. Ran.* 444–48; *IG*, II² 1363, 14.
69. *E. Heracl.* 778 sqq.; cf. Deubner *Attische Feste*, 24.
70. *Call. fr.* 227.6 Pfeiffer; cf. *schol. Ar. Eq.* 277.
71. Cf. the *Pervigilium Veneris*; references collected by Ziehen (n. 63 above).
72. *H. Hom. Cer.* 292–95.
73. *Hdt.* 6.105.
74. *H. Hom. Cer.* 192 sqq.
75. *Ibid.*, 204.
76. Richardson, *loc. cit.* (n. 65 above), 205, with references.
77. *Plu. Amat.* 16.31 (= *Moralia* 768f). P. Boyancé (*REL* 19 [1941]: 165 n. 3) thinks that the source of this passage is in Theophrastus's essay on enthusiasm (*Peri enthousiasmou*).
78. *IG*, XII 5, 444 = 239 A 10 Jacoby.
79. According to Sp. Marinatos, *AE* 1964 (1967): 17–22, the cult of Pan expresses the piety of women in particular.
80. *S.v. Πανικῶν δέιματι*: . . . *τῷ δὲ Πανὶ εἰώθεσαν ὀργιάζειν αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ κραυγῆς* (on the evidence, see chapter 5).
81. *Schol. Ar. Lys.* 2.
82. *Ar. Lys.* 1–5.
83. *Schol. Ar. Lys.* 2.
84. *Arist. Rh.* 1405a33.
85. *Pl. R.* 607b (*kraugazō*).
86. *Arr. Epict.* 3.1.37.
87. *Hsch. s.v. κραυγός.*
88. *Hsch. s.v. μηκάδες.*
89. *Hsch. s.v. κραυγή· βοή. ἢ γοήτευμά τι παιδίους ἐπιφερόμενον, ὃ καταβλάπτει [τοῖς παιδίους]. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γραῦς Σεριφία ἀκρις ἐστὶν ἢ λεγομένη βασκανία.* The *graus Seriphia* (“old woman of Scriphos”), or *graus*

seriphē, is a name for a certain kind of witch, also called a *mantis* (prophetess; Zen. 2.94); or else, simply, an old maid (ibid.). By a strange reversal, the expression *batrachos Seriphios* (frog of Seriphos) means a mute (Ael. NA 3.37).

90. X. *HG* 6.4.16.

91. X. *Cyr.* 3.1.4.

92. E. *Or.* 1510; 1529.

93. *Lys.* 13.71.

94. *Thyc.* 2.4.2.

95. S.v. *κραυγίας*: ἕππος, ὁ ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ ψόφου ταρασσόμενος.

96. See chapters 5 and 6.

97. See chapter 5.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Sp. Marinatos, *AE* 1964 (1967): 17–22, pl. 7, 2. These are women according to Marinatos; nymphs according to G. S. Dontas, who dates the relief to the second half of the third century B.C. (ibid. 30).

2. Cited in the previous note.

3. Paus. 8.31.4.

4. See chapter 4, n. 108. On Pan's function as companion-servant of the goddess, see E. L. Brown, "The Divine Name 'Pan,'" *TAPHΑ* 107 (1977): 57–61.

5. Pi. fr. *96.2 Snell³:

ὦ μάκαρ, ὃν τε μεγάλας
θεοῦ κύνα, παντοδαπὸν
καλέοισιν Ὀλύμπιοι

"O blessed one, to whom the Olympians give the name: multiform dog of the Great Goddess." "Dog" is a metaphor for "servant": Luigi Lehnus, "Pan κύων παντοδαπός in Pindaro fr. *96.2 Snell³," *Istituto lombardo (rend. lett.)* 107 (1973): 423–27.

6. Pi. *P.* 3.77–79:

ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
Ματρὶ, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ
σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχιαι.

Cf. J. A. Haldane, "Pindar and Pan," *Phoenix* 21 (1968): 18–31. Tradition has it that Pindar introduced the cult of the Mother and of Pan into Thebes, as the consequence of a theophany (the poet was in the mountains with his disciple the flautist Olympichos when a stone image of the goddess fell at his feet: schol. Pi. *P.* 3.137b, which goes back to Aristodemos of Alexandria, pupil of Aristarchos). Paus. 9.25.3 describes a sanctuary of the Mother near Pindar's house. Pan's friendship for Pindar was the subject of various legends: it was told that the goat-god appeared in the region that separates Cithaeron from Helicon, singing one of the poet's paean: happy to be so honored, Pindar then composed his *Hymn to Pan* (fr. 95 sqq.): *Vita Pindari A*; cf. Plu. *Moralia* 1103a and *Num.* 4; Philostr. *Im.* 2.12; Aristid. *pro IV viris* 231 Ddf. Pan and the nymphs danced at the birth of the poet, while bees placed the honey of inspiration in the infant's mouth (Philostr. *Im.* 2.12; Ael. *VH* 12.45); this last tradition exists in a variant where the episode of the bees, shifted to Pindar's youth, takes place in the theoleptic context of noontide (Paus. 9.23.2 sqq.; see chapter 5 above).

7. Plu. *Vit. Ant.* 24; cf. Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), 686.

8. *Str.* 10.3.15.

9. Pl. *Lg.* 815c. See also chapter 5, n. 118.

10. *Hymn to Pan* Pi. fr. 95–*100 Snell³.

11. O. Kern, *AA* (1937): 466 sqq.; G. Bruns, “Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben,” *AA* (1967): 271 sqq.; B. Schmaltz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1974), 9–17; P. Wolters and Gerda Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, I (Berlin, 1940), pl. 32.

12. *S. Aj.* 693 sqq.

13. See chapter 5, n. 135.

14. *D. Chr.* 44.8; cf. Max. Tyr. *Philosophoumena* 2.2.

15. Lucian *DDeor.* 4.

16. Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion* (London, 1898).

17. Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Ursprung des Gottesidea*, first vol. published in 1912; cf. id., *Origine et evolution de la religion: Les Theories et les faits*, tr. A. Lemonnyer (Paris, 1931), 249–76: “La reconnaissance de l’être suprême par les psychologues et historiens religieux.”

18. See Raffaele Pettazoni, “Das Ende des Urmonotheismus?” *Numen* 3 (1956): 156 sqq.; id., “The Supreme Being: Phenomenological Structure and Historical Development,” in *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, ed. M. Eliade and J. M. Kitagawa (Chicago, 1969), 59–66.

19. *Ar. Acharnians*.

20. *Alciph.* 2.8.

21. *Epimened.*, fr. 24 and 16 Diels-Kranz (see chapter 2 at nn. 105–6).

22. *Thespis*, fr. 4 (see chapter 8, n. 3).

23. Chapter 3, n. 65.

24. Amsterdam 2117 (chapter 3, n. 97).

25. Chapter 3, nn. 96–98.

26. Meeting between Pan and Dionysus on votive reliefs: Berlin K 687, *JdI* 28 (1913): 336 sq., fig. 12; cf. a relief in the Treviso Museum: *ASAA* 30–32 (1952–54): 190, fig. 4; E. Mitropoulou, *Libation Scenes with Oinochoe in Votive Reliefs* (Athens, 1975), 76, no. 53.

27. *Str.* 13.12 and *D. S.* 4.6.4. See H. Herter, *De dis Atticis Priapi similibus* (Diss. Bonn, 1926), “Phallos,” *Der Kleine Pauly*, and “Hermes,” *RhM* 119 (1976): 193 sqq.; Metzger *Recherches*, 77 sqq. (“Images de l’hermès dans la céramique tardive”), and *REG* 83 (1970): 156 sq.

28. *Hdt.* 2.51.

29. Chapter 3, n. 207.

30. See chapter 7 for discussion. Similar representation: pelike in the Berlin Museum 4982/40 (chapter 3, n. 105).

31. See chapter 5, n. 43.

32. *Schol. Pi. P.* 3.137b.

33. *Pi.* fr. *100 Snell³.

34. Cf. the Cabirion vase published by Kern (n. 11 above).

35. We are reminded of the proximity of Pan, Hermes, and Cadmos in the episode of Typhon in the cave of Corycos in Cilicia (chapter 5): the same function can be carried out indifferently by any one of these three figures. On Hermes Cadmilos: B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala, 1950), 95–96, 316–17. Schmaltz (n. 11 above) asserts (*contra* Gerda Bruns) that Pan was not included among the divinities of the Cabirion. The vase cited in n. 34 above seems to me to contradict this opinion: here Pan and Hermes can be seen in what is obviously a ritual scene. All the same, the probably minor role (of a servant) played by Pan in these mysteries can explain why we find him represented much less frequently than other divinities more involved with its secrets.

36. See chapter 5 on Pan and Dionysus. The proximity of Pan and Midas is exemplified by the well-known story of the musical contest between Pan and Apollo, at the end of which Midas awards the prize to the goat-god (*Ov. Met.*

11.155 sqq.; Hyg. *Fab.* 191); the legend of Midas capturing the wise Silenus also places us in a panic context (Hdt. 8.138; X. *An.* 1.2.13; Theopompus 115 F 74–75 Jacoby; Paus. 1.4.5; Ath. 45c; Ael. *VH* 3.18; Serv. *ad Verg. Ed.* 6.13; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.48; cf. schol. Ar. *Nub.* 223). Servius (*loc. cit.*) alludes to a tradition according to which Midas was the son of Pan and a nymph. The meeting between Midas and Silenus is placed by Xenophon (*loc. cit.*) in the city of Thymbrios: now, according to Apollod. 1.4.1, Pan is the son of Thymbriis (the eponymous nymph of Thymbrios?).

37. Paus. 10.30.9; cf. S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, IV, 40. Marsyas is sometimes called the inventor of the syrinx.

38. See, in particular, Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, 10 (Leiden, 1961), 206–14; F. Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques*, I (Paris, 1976), 26.

39. A. Bernand, *Pan du désert* (Leiden, 1977).

40. *IG*, V, 2566; *MDAI(A)* (1905): 66.

41. J. H. Voss, *Mythologische Briefe*, I² (Stuttgart, 1827), 82 (cited by Cassola *Inni omerici*, 362 n. 1); cf. W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, s.v. Πάυ (with ancient bibliography); Roscher *Selene*, 150.

42. W. Schulze, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 42 (1909): 80; 374; Farnell *Cults* V, 431; K. Kerényi, *Glotta* 22 (1934): 37 sq.; J. Pokorny *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch* I, 790; cf. H. Frisk *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. Πάυ; Chantraine, *Dict. étym.* s.v. Πάυ. *Contra*: the ingenious but somewhat inelegant etymology put forward by E. L. Brown, according to which Πάυ would be derived from the Homeric ὄπᾶύω, “servant-companion” (of the Mother of the Gods).

43. Erastosth. *Cat.* 1.27; Plu. *Moralia* 311b; Apollod. 1.6.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 155; *Astr.* 2.13.

44. Huebeck, *IF* 68 (1963): 13–21.

45. On this divinity, see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (1898), 35–37; S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda* (Princeton, 1941); R. N. Dankebar, “Pūṣan, the Pastoral God of the Veda,” *New Indian Antiquary* 5 (Bombay, 1942); S. D. Atkins, “Pūṣan in the Sāma, Yajur, and Atharva Vedas,” *JAOS* 67 (1947): 274–95; Stella Kramrisch, “Pūṣan,” *JAOS* 81 (1961): 104–22.

46. Pokorny (n. 42 above) 847 and 790.

47. Cassola *Inni omerici*, 362 n. 1.

48. G. Dumézil, *Hommages à L. Hermann*, Collection Latomus (1960), 315–19: “Pūṣan d’édenté.”

49. V. Moeller “Pūṣan” in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (ed. Haussig) pt. 1, fascicle 8, 1966; this is the thesis developed at length (within the framework of mythological naturalism) by E. Siecke, *Pūṣan: Studien zur Idee des Hirtengottes im Anschluss an die Studien über “Hermes den Mondgott”* (Mythologische Bibliothek VII 1/2, Leipzig 1914).

50. Rg-V 1.38.4; 6.55.3–4.

51. An āṣṭrā (Rg-V 6.58); cf. Pan’s *oistros*.

52. Rg-V 1.138: Pan is called āghṛni (“rageful,” according to Geldner).

53. Rg-V 10.85, where Pūṣan conducts the bride to her betrothed.

54. See chapters 2 and 5.

55. Adantaka; cf. Dumézil (n. 48 above).

56. Pūṣan is called *karambhabhāga* (“eater of barley meal”).

57. Rg-V 6.56.

58. Cf. A. A. Macdonell (n. 45 above), 54–66.

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