

THE DIVINE NAME "PAN"¹

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Pindar, among whose poetic fragments appear the earliest strokes of Pan's characterization preserved in Greek literature, emphasizes the rustic deity's role as "agent," "guardian," or "attendant" of the Great Goddess.² These titles or appellations for Pan associated as lesser male divinity with Magna Mater³ represent LSJ's renderings of Pindar's κύων (fr. 96), φύλαξ (fr. 95.2), and ὀπαδός (fr. 95.3), respectively. It is this cluster of meanings that first led me to wonder whether, consciously or not, the great Theban poet in focusing on one of Pan's roles had also furnished a clue to the etymology of his name. These pages, then, attempt to trace the most archaic surviving forms of "Pan" and to show that these forms are intelligible without appeal beyond the sphere of Greek speech.

Manfred Mayrhofer,⁴ after defining the Vedic god Pūṣan as protector and increaser of herds, guardian of the roads and of journeys,⁵ notes that pūsar^o probably corresponds to the Greek πῦαρ, "beestings," and that "dazu soll hochstufiges *pāuson- in dem gr. Gottesnamen Πᾶν

¹ I want to thank my colleague, George Lane, for reading this paper and especially for standardizing the orthography of the inferred forms of "Pan." I feel a keen sense of obligation both to him and to those unsung referees who accomplished what care and exactness could in pruning the infelicities of expression and outright blunders in my manuscript.

² For Pan as companion of the *Nymphs* see my "Lycidas in Theocritus, *Idyll* VII" forthcoming.

³ Fortunately this μέγала θεός, about whose identity doubts persist, need not be specified here as Rhea, Cybele, or another; W. Slater, "Pindar's House," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 141-50, esp. 149, counsels utmost caution.

⁴ *Kurzgefasstes etym. Wörterbuch des Altindischen* II (1963) 326, s.v. Pūṣā(-dn).

⁵ The functions and attributes of Pūṣan together with textual citations are given by A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg 1897) 35-37; cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* II (Breslau 1929²) 326-35. The most thorough account of the god in English remains S. D. Atkins' *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda*, Princeton diss. 1941.

gehören." J. Pokorny⁶ accepted this derivation of Pan's name from *Pāusōn, an etymology first proposed by P. von Radke⁷ in 1895 and published anew by A. Döhring in 1907 and by W. Schulze in 1909.⁸ But Mayrhofer's judgment,⁹ in which H. Frisk concurs,¹⁰ is that not everything about this derivation is securely settled.

Calvert Watkins, indeed, has sought to maintain the linguistic link between Pan and Pūšan, even while demonstrating that the main resemblances between Pūšan and a Greek god are those that he shares with Hermes.¹¹ The most popular version of Pan's descent did in fact make Hermes his father, but the goat god's genealogy exists in some 18 variants, in the earliest of which Hermes seems not to have figured.¹² Faced with these awkwardnesses in the current state of the question, I venture to renew the etymological search nearer the god's Arcadian homeland.

⁶ *Idg. etym. Wörterbuch* I (Bern 1949) 790 s.v. *pāuson-*: *pūson-*.

⁷ *ThLZ* 20 (1895) 581. I owe knowledge of von Radke's early hypothesis (that Pūšan and Pan are linked etymologically) to H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart/Berlin 1917²) 237 n., who however concluded that "jene Gleichung ist offenbar durchaus unsicher."

⁸ *ZVS* 42 (1909) 81 and 374 = *Kl. Schr.* (Göttingen 1966²) 217 f.

⁹ Above, note 4; similarly P. Chantraine, *DÉLG* III (Paris 1974) 855 s.v. *Pan*.

¹⁰ *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch* II (Bern 1973) 470 s.v. *Pan*. Frisk also recalls that the etymology had been rejected by U. von Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I (Basel 1955²) 242, note 1: "... Ihn für ungriechisch zu halten und dem indischen Puschān zu gleichen widerrät seine eng begrenzte Geltung ..."

¹¹ "Studies in Indo-European Legal Language, Institutions, and Mythology," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, edd. George Cardona et al. (Philadelphia 1970) esp. pp. 345–50. In these pages Watkins interestingly reformulates a question first posed by Oldenberg (above, note 7) and pursued by H. Collitz, "Wodan, Hermes und Pushan," *Festschrift . . . Hugo Pipping* (Helsingfors 1924) 574–87. Influenced by Lévi-Straussian anthropology, his account of Hermes and Pūšan as gods of exchange and reciprocity brings out the remarkable similarities between the two. But parallel functions, however striking, cannot by themselves prove historical linkage or it would be equally valid to posit a common descent for Hermes and certain Amerindian gods who closely resemble the Greek god of stealth and trickery (one of the important aspects of Hermes not matched by Pūšan).

Watkins also draws added confidence in the etymological relation between Pūšan and *Pan* from that existing between *uśds* and *ἥως*. Yet if the derivation of the latter from "an IE *āusōs* . . . raises insoluble difficulties" for O. Szemerényi, *ZVS* 73 (1955) 187 n., and if J. Manessy-Guitton, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 7 (1964) 262–63, correctly regards *uśds* as only a later development of the noun-root *uś-*, then these theonymic analogues cannot retain the same relevance they had when Schulze (above, note 8) used them to bolster his case for Pan and Pūšan.

¹² W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie* III (1909) 1379–80.

In the earliest known document on which Pan's name is found, a sixth-century inscription (IG 5[2]556) from Arcadian Melpaea, we find the still uncontracted form ΠΑΟΝΙ in the dative case usual for the divine recipient of a dedication.¹³ Given the close connection between the Homeric ὀπάων and the Pindaric ὀπαδός, unattested in Homer but implicit there in ὀπηδέω, as well as the semantic suitability of ὀπάων as name or epithet for a divinity of Pan's nature and stature, I conceive that a sequence of linguistic events went somewhat as follows: the inferred earlier form of the word, *hok^wāwōn, came to be pronounced Ὀπάων both in Ionia (viz. Homeric ὀπάων) and in Pan's Peloponnesian stronghold.¹⁴ Meanwhile during the Archaic Age the old demonstrative pronoun ὁ, ἡ, τό had been transformed into the definite article and had even before been developed for use with proper names and titles, to imply distinction.¹⁵

As a result, in a psilotic dialect ὁ Ὀπάων, "the Companion par excellence," would stand in double jeopardy, both because Ὀπάων would be subject to metanalysis as ὁ Πάων (by erroneous word division)¹⁶ and because the appellative, if such it originally was, came increasingly to be understood as the proper name of the god being invoked, and therefore requiring no article.¹⁷ On this accounting the evolution from hypothetical hok^wāwōn to Πάν would have been complete in time for the great expansion of the god's worship, under the

¹³ L. R. Palmer, "A Mycenaean Calendar of Offerings (PY KN 02)," *Eranos* 53 (1955) 11, proposed to regard Πάων here as "a byform of the divine name, due perhaps to Παιάων;"—similarly C. J. Ruijgh in *Minos* 9 (1968) 119. For the god Paiawon, however, his functions and linguistic congeners, see G. Huxley, "Cretan Paiawones," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 119–24 and bibliography there cited; further, M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (Rome 1968) 164–65 on Pajawone.

¹⁴ In Arcadia by the 6th century psilos had prevailed, the labiovelar followed by α had been altered (as in all dialects) to π, and intervocalic F had ceased to be sounded.

¹⁵ W. B. Stanford, *Odyssey* (New York 1965²) lxx, instances Νέστωρ ὁ γέρον, "Nestor, that well-known aged man." In Manu Leumann's view, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) 12, note 2, the non-use of the article is a poetic license already in Homeric epic (I owe the reference to my colleague Henry Immerwahr).

¹⁶ Rather than see here an early example of the aphaeresis rampant in Modern Greek, I prefer to regard this as another of the few recognized cases of articular deglutination in Ancient Greek (cf. the examples quoted in Schwyzler, *Gr. Gram.* I 413, τήγανον understood as τ' ἡγανον and μαλάβαθρα < Skt. *tamāla-pattra*-, both of which are accepted by Frisk).

¹⁷ H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) 290 § 1137, somewhat overstates the case, in that "names of deities <may> omit the article, except when emphatic . . . or when definite cults are referred to."

form "Pan," after the Persian invasion of 490 B.C. And indeed another Arcadian inscription, of the latter half of the sixth century, already presents the shorter form *Πανί* (IG 5[2]555).¹⁸

Remarkably, a Linear-B tablet (Fn 324.16) from Pylos listing recipients of barley includes evidence that our hypothetical earlier form of *ὀπάων* is justified, for the reading there of the dative form (transcribed *o-qua-wo-ni*) as *ὀπάFων* or, since the labiovelar supports a derivation from the IE stem **sok^wā-*, more probably *ὀπάFων*, has commended itself to all.¹⁹

It is not necessary to suppose that this *Hok^wāwoni* is the divine recipient of an unburnt offering, since most, perhaps all, of the other names listed on the same tablet are those of mortals receiving barley-rations. After all, we still have no proof that even the "Dionysus" whose name seems twice attested in Linear-B characters designated the god and not simply a human bearer of the name.²⁰ I should hesitate, therefore, to accept Georgiev's suggestion, elaborated by Stella, that *Hok^wāwoni* at Pylos yields a divine epithet.²¹

Yet indirect evidence for the worship in Mycenaean Greece of a divine Companion who ended as Pan in Arcadia may nevertheless be forthcoming. The trail leads, as it did for the colonists and refugees from Bronze Age Peloponnese, to Cyprus, that early outpost of Greek-mainland culture. There, as Karageorghis and his fellow archaeologists have in recent years lavishly revealed, the Mycenaean civilization lingered on most nearly intact.²² There too—more precisely at Amargetti some eight miles north of Old Paphos—was located the sole known cult-center of *Ὀπάων Μελάνθιος*.²³ Legend links King

¹⁸ Thus the Attic-Ionic form *Πάν*, though in that dialect-group normally *α + ο* or *ω > εω* or *ω*.

¹⁹ See, e.g., M. Lejeune in *Mycenaean Studies*, ed. E. L. Bennett (Madison 1964) 87.

²⁰ M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1973²) 411, comm. ad p. 127 +; but see J. Puhvel in *Mycenaean Studies* (above, note 19) 161–70, for a more confident view.

²¹ V. Georgiev in *Études mycéniennes*, ed. M. Lejeune (Paris 1956) 52; L. A. Stella, "La religione greca nei testi micenei," *Numen* 5 (1958) 27, and *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei* (Rome 1965) 246, note 68.

²² See, e.g., V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus* (London/New York 1969). On the linguistic side see Thumb-Scherer (below, note 25) 326, where the close affiliation of Arcado-Cypriote to "Mycenaean" dialect is stressed.

²³ T. B. Mitford, "Religious Documents from Roman Cyprus," *JHS* 66 (1946) 37.

Agapenor of Arcadian Tegea with Paphos itself.²⁴ I would connect Pan with the Opaon²⁵ of Amargetti, the name of whom, as Mitford wrote in 1946, "still retains its mystery."²⁶

On one of the dozen dedications so far dug up at the shrine Apollo's name replaces Opaon's. Some have therefore proposed to identify the two deities,²⁷ though such an equation hardly squares with the general estimate that "Opaon Melanthios was a fertility god of ancient lineage."²⁸ Sir John Myres, I think, came closest to hitting the truth, when he was faced with labelling votive offerings found at Lefkoniko in N. E. Cyprus: Myres listed as either "Pan or the rustic 'Shepherd's Patron,' Opaon Melanthios," the terracotta heads, long eared and horned, from there, as well as the headless figures with body nude and sometimes ithyphallic, their hands holding shepherd's staff and pan-pipe.²⁹ The early date of Opaon's transfer to Cyprus here assumed, and the conservatism of Cypriote Greek culture in Classical times, would readily account for the preservation there alone of the god's epithet-name almost in its Mycenaean form, while the contracted and deglutinated form "Pan" eventually spread from Arcadia to the rest of the Greek world.

²⁴ Strabo 14.6.3 calls him founder of Nea Paphos; cf. Pausanias 8.5.2, who attributes the building of the temple of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos to him. For the important Mycenaean factory established there in the 14th century see T. B. Mitford, "The Cypriote Minoan Inscriptions of Old Paphos," *Kadmos* 10 (1971) 96.

²⁵ Lest it be thought that—in a dialect that generally retains digamma—"Opaon" meaning "Companion" should be rendered *Ὀπάων* in the dative case always called for in the votive inscriptions, I may cite Thumb-Scherer, *Handbuch der griech. Dialecte* (Heidelberg 1959²) 160 § 274, according to which the intervocalic *F* begins to be omitted already in the 5th century B.C.; for its loss before o-sounds, cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, rev. ed. (Chicago 1955) 52a.

²⁶ Above, note 23, p. 39; more recently O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris 1961) 144.

²⁷ Most confidently L. Stella (above, note 21 *ad fin.*) 245–46; P. Dikaios also, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia 1961³) 92. Mitford's implied doubt (above, note 26) still stands, though he has since endorsed a 3rd century B.C. date for the dedication to Apollo Melanthios (*AJA* 65 [1961] 143).

²⁸ Above, note 26.

²⁹ J. L. Myres, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1913," *ABSA* 41 (1940–45) 65, nos. 370–74 and 67, nos. 470–80; cf. his handling of similar figurines in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York 1914) 177–78. For Cypriote stone sculptures of Pan see O. Vessberg & A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, 3 (Stockholm 1956) 90.