

УДК 7.032

ББК 63.3(0)32; 85.103

DOI 10.18688/aa2414-1-2

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Pan as a Character in Ancient Art from the 6th Century BC to the 3rd Century AD: Semantics of the Image in Historical Contexts

The article examines the depictions of the Greek god Pan in the ancient art, spanning from the 6th century BC to the 3rd century AD. It explores the evolution of Pan's image, tracing its emergence as the god of shepherds, from the moment of its first appearance in art to its last surge of popularity. The development of Pan's image has been placed within a historical context, considering the influence of political circumstances, religious ideologies, and the myth-making pursuits of ancient poets. This study aims not only to describe the principal characteristics and stages of the history of Pan's iconography, but also to analyze the evolving semantics of the images of this mythological character. It seeks to understand the functions that the image of Pan had in different contexts (dedicatory, funerary, honorary) and how it was adapted in different cultural and historical traditions.

Pan, as well as other deities of the ancient pantheon, became the subject of scholarly attention in the middle of the 19th century. A fundamental study of Pan's mythology was undertaken by Wilhelm Georg Friedrich Roscher [18] who restored the mythological biography of Pan and collected an impressive corpus of written and illustrative evidences, on which the subsequent research was based. In the 20th century, Sir John Boardman in his articles and in his essay for the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* [1] focused on works of visual art, organized images of Pan by type (standing, seated, with other deities, in various subjects), and presented both known and previously unpublished monuments. Finally, Reinard Herbig [7] and, particularly, Philippe Borgeau [2] have been the preeminent scholars of the cult of Pan in ancient Greece. In this article, we will examine several instances of Pan's portrayal in ancient culture in order to address the question of why this mythological character is actualized in various forms including poetry, historical prose, religious rituals, and art during specific historical periods. The article devotes particular attention to a hitherto largely unexamined topic, namely the significance of Pan in the art and religion of the Northern Black Sea region. In this region, representations of Pan are mostly found in funerary contexts, where he assumes the role of a guide for the souls of the departed into the afterlife.

In Greek mythology, Pan, the god of forests and mountain pastures, grandson of Zeus and son of Hermes, was a member of the family of Olympic gods. In the context of ancient myths, he always played a minor role, most often appearing in scenes from the lives of Dionysus, Hermes, and Demeter as their companion or assistant [18]. There was no detailed mythological tradition devoted to Pan in ancient times, and until the appearance of bucolic poetry in the Hellenistic era, historians and poets were a little wordy, mentioning this character. However, already in the 5th century BC the cult of the shepherd god of Arcadia spread everywhere and

took an important place in the life of the ancient Greeks. Gradually, the Greek image of the goat-footed libertine and lord of the herds was transformed into a comprehensive symbol of the might of nature and the eternal beauty of existence, into a mysterious and formidable force. The longevity of the image of Pan and its numerous transformations can be attributed to the earliest conceptions of this deity. In Greek religion, Pan occupied a significant and distinctive position. The modest protector of shepherds resided at the border of two realms, serving as a conduit between humanity and untamed nature. The dual nature of Pan, half-beast and half-man, symbolized the animal origins of humanity and the essential interconnection between humanity and the natural world. Pan was the only Olympian deity to retain fully the characteristics associated with the underworld in his appearance, cults, and myths. In the mythological picture of the world, Pan occupied an intermediate position between the elemental and the harmonious. Nevertheless, he remained in close proximity to humanity, keeping a watchful eye on people from afar, serving as their helper and protector. The goat-footed deity personified the human fear of the elements while simultaneously embodying adoration and delight in the beauty and power of nature. The divine beauty of the world around him was embodied in many of Pan's characteristics, including his affectionate nature and his gift of music. The sounds of music were considered a message from the gods. Pan belonged to the most ancient religion, which, as accurately formulated by Martin Nielsen, "meets the deepest ideas and needs of mankind" [13, p. 30].

The figure of Pan has been historically associated with horror, panic, and nightmares since first emerging in Greek mythology. This remarkable figure, conceived by the folk imagination during the mid-Archaic period, personified the beliefs and practices of villagers whose primary occupations were livestock rearing and hunting. Pan was the patron deity of numerous occupations, including shepherds, hunters, and fishermen. Additionally, he was regarded as the protector of domestic and forest animals. The impulse to pacify the forest demon, an entity that resided in the wilderness and was perceived as capricious and perilous, akin to all that existed beyond the boundaries of human dominion, was a common phenomenon across numerous cultures. The Slavic people held the belief that the forest was populated by Leshy, while the Italians honored Silvanus. Germanic mythology also featured the figure of the Forest Man [18, pp. 1389–1390; 1, pp. 923–949; 14, pp. 444–447].

Pan, as a deity associated with nature, was not definitively categorized as either "bad" or "good." The animalistic characteristics of his nature, including lust, rudeness, aggressiveness, and resentfulness, were juxtaposed with the divine qualities of humanity, such as poetry, musicality, and a cheerful spirit. This duality of Pan is evident in the numerous stories recounted by ancient poets, the scenes depicted in vase paintings, reliefs, sculptural groups, and other works of ancient art. However, the most peculiar melding of Pan's anomalous character manifested in his unconventional physical form. In the majority of instances, he was depicted as a man with a goat's head, crowned with high horns growing from the center of the forehead, with tangled hair and large pointed ears. From the neck upward, Pan's body was human, while his lower torso was bestial. He had powerful legs, covered in wool, with large split hooves (Ill. 3). His typical attributes included a short hunting spear and a shepherd's flute. He was often depicted with a wreath of pine or ivy branches adorning his head.

In Greece, Pan, who was responsible for many vital functions, among which was fertility, was honored no less than the Olympic gods, who in the religious hierarchy stood far above the rural spirit of nature. The ingenuous cult of the forest deity did not require the construction

of expensive temples. Rituals were held directly in nature, in a cave, grotto, or under a tree in the forest, where they brought honey, milk, cheese, wine, pieces of sacrificial meat of goat or ram, statuettes of Pan, rams and goats, figurines of women, including pregnant women [14, p. 446]. Often the cult of Pan was combined with the veneration of Nymphs of springs, who lived in caves, as well as Achelous, the deity of the river. The fertile power of Pan extended not only to the herd, but also to people: women appealed to him for help in childbearing, and girls honored him by dancing near the cave in torchlight to the music of the flute (Pind. *Pyth.* III. 78). An altar, a herm or a simple wooden pole, rarely a statue and an offering table, served as signs of the sanctuary. However, in the forest or in the mountains, Pan could be encountered by a traveler on a forest trail or resting by a stream. In the hot afternoon no one dared to disturb the god's midday sleep with loud shouts (Theocr. *Idyll* I. 15–18); otherwise he could suddenly jump out of his cave, fiercely roar or even grab an impudent person. Everyone knew that under the influence of Pan the whole herd could be suddenly seized by inexplicable fear, when unexpectedly the animals jumped out of their seats and ran headlong, falling into caves and ravines [18, pp. 1389–90].

The parents of Pan were considered to be Hermes and the nymph Driopa, although there were other versions: Zeus and the nymph Callisto, Penelope and her suitors, among the fathers mentioned Cronus and even Apollo [18, pp. 1389–90; 3, p. 952]. Braided, with a goat's face and hooves, the newborn Pan so frightened his mother that she ran away in fear. But his father Hermes wrapped the baby in a hare skin and carried him to Olympus. The infant's unusual appearance elicited not horror but friendly laughter among the gods, prompting them to bestow upon him the name Pan, which signifies “all” in Greek ([Hom] *Hymn.* Pan. 19, 35–45) [3, p. 951].

Pan grew up with his brother Arcas. He showed great musical ability from a young age, playing on the shepherd's flute (Eur. *Ion.* 490–501; Aristoph. *Ran.* 230; 32, 19, 15–30). Thus, playing or dancing with nymphs, Pan was depicted in vase paintings and on small marble reliefs, which devotees of the god brought to his caves. The largest group of images of Pan were the dedicatory reliefs created from the 5th century BC to the 1st century AD in Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy. It was believed that Pan received his musical gift from Apollo, and then taught young shepherds to play the flute himself. One day he challenged Apollo to a contest, but lost. Enchanted by the ethereal sounds of the lyre, the mountain god awarded the victory to the sun god, and the saddened Pan retreated to his lonely cave¹.

The cult of Pan comes from Arcadia [3, p. 950; 18, pp. 1349–1357], a beautiful mountainous area in northern Greece, which was praised in bucolic poetry — in Theocritus' *Idylls* and in the poems of Virgil and Ovid. Shady forests, cool mountain streams, majestic sunsets and, most importantly, life in harmony with nature became the main theme of these works. However, even before the heyday of bucolics in the Hellenistic era, there was a character in early Greek mythology who embodied the notions of eternal beauty and the harmony with nature. A poetic account of where Pan lives and how he passes his time is given by the lines of Homer's *Hymn* ([Hom] *Hymn.* Pan 19, 1–10):

“Muse, tell me about Pan, the dear son of Hermes, with his goat's feet and two horns — a lover of merry noise. Through wooded glades he wanders with dancing nymphs who foot it on some sheer cliff's edge, calling upon Pan, the shepherd-god, long-haired, unkempt. He has

¹ The topic of the contest between Pan and Apollo is not known in ancient art. The subject, known in written sources, was popular in Western European painting and engravings of the 17th–18th centuries.

every snowy crest and the mountain peaks and rocky crests for his domain; hither and thither he goes through the close thickets, now lured by soft streams, and now he presses on amongst towering crags and climbs up to the highest peak that overlooks the flocks. Often, he courses through the glistening high mountains, and often on the shouldered hills he speeds along slaying wild beasts, this keen-eyed god.”²

From Arcadia, the cult of Pan disseminated throughout ancient Greece, establishing itself in Attica, Boeotia, the Peloponnese, Delphi, and numerous other regions by the 5th century BC [13, p. 950; 18, pp. 1349–1372]. Over time, the deity’s abilities, initially utilized for the benefit of animals, began to be extended to humans. J. Bordmann [1] observed that the veneration of Pan in Athens commenced during the Greco-Persian Wars. Additionally, he highlighted the account in the “History of Herodotus” of how the god assisted the Greek army in the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC. As recorded by Herodotus (Hdt, VI, 105) and Pausanias (Paus. I, 28, 4), the herald Phidippides encountered Pan on his journey to Athens from Mount Parthenion. Pan informed him of the favorable news that he would help the Greeks in battle, thereby ensuring their victory. In accordance with the preceding mythological tradition, Pan participated in the conflict between the Olympians and the Titans. Subsequently, he helped the Athenians in the battles of Marathon and the island of Salamis (Aesch. Pers. 447–450). In the scholarly literature, the opinion has gained traction that for the first time in the Battle of Marathon, Pan instilled a state of collective panic and fear, or *panicos fobos*, not in herds, but in Persian warriors, who subsequently fled the battlefield indiscriminately. In the opinion of Elena Rabinovich, which was previously expressed by Borgeau, this idea is unsubstantiated, as Herodotus does not provide a detailed account of how exactly Pan assisted the Athenians. Rabinovich believes that the story about the Persian panic caused by Pan is nothing more than a myth of the 19th century historians [15, pp. 94–108]. Yet, Herodotus’ text unquestionably references Pan’s involvement in the Battle of Marathon and his support of the Athenians. In this account, we observe the shepherd deity of Arcadia in a markedly different aspect, namely as a contributing force in the battle. He came to the aid of the Greeks during the siege of Delphi by the Gauls in 279 BC, as narrated by Pausanias, and that time, the panic of the army, caused by Pan, is described in a detailed manner (Paus. I, 23, 50):

“They encamped where night overtook them in their retreat, and during the night there fell on them a “panic.” For causeless terrors are said to come from the god Pan. It was when evening was turning to night that the confusion fell on the army, and at first only a few became mad, and these imagined that they heard the trampling of horses at a gallop, and the attack of advancing enemies; but after a little time the delusion spread to all. So rushing to arms they divided into two parties, killing and being killed, neither understanding their mother tongue nor recognizing one another’s forms or the shape of their shields. Both parties alike under the present delusion thought that their opponents were Greek, men and armour, and that the language they spoke was Greek, so that a great mutual slaughter was wrought among the Gauls by the madness sent by the god.”³

The relevancy of Pan in Athens was due to political circumstances and the need to emphasize the divine support of the Greeks in the war against the Persians. The myth-making

² Homeric Hymn 19 to Pan, translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White.

³ Pausanias. Pausanias Description of Greece with an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D., and H.A. Ormerod, M.A., in 4 Volumes. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1918.

process was launched during the classical period of Pan's role in Attica after the Battle of Marathon. The Athenian commander Miltiades erected a statue of Pan for his aid in the Greco-Persian war. A cult of Pan was established in Athens, in a stalactite cave on the northern slope of the Acropolis, where he was honored annually with offerings and night torchlight processions (Hdt. VI, 105). Another statue of the god was erected at Delphi, dedicated by the Spartan Pausanias and the Greek cities. The cult of Pan was also established in the Corycian Cave, where the nymph Corycia dwelt (Paus. X, 32, 7). There is known a place of veneration of Pan and nymphs in the Vari Cave, especially interesting is the cave in Pitsa near Corinth, covered with inscriptions and drawings [13, p. 25]. According to the inscriptions and finds, shepherds, hunters, fishermen and other inhabitants of rural areas came here with gifts.

In their writings, antique authors proposed that Pan could instill a distinct state of irrational fear, not solely during wartime but also in everyday life. This concept, known as *panolepsy*, refers to a state of mind where an individual is overwhelmed by panic and exhibits erratic behavior [5]. These concepts can be observed in Greek poetry from the second half of the 5th century BC onwards. For instance, Euripides attributed the insanity of Medea, who killed her children, and Phaedra, who fell in love with her stepson Hippolytus, to the influence of Pan (Eur. Med. 1167–1175; Ipp. 141). This type of madness, which does not concern the collective but the individual, was termed 'mania' and could suddenly affect any person. When a phenomenon was deemed inexplicable, poets ascribed it to the supernatural, citing the effect of a god who was thought to possess the capacity to evoke sudden and intense fear in the human mind. In consequence, Theocritus advised that one should exercise caution and refrain from provoking Pan (Theocr. Idil. I, 15–18).

It was postulated that Pan was responsible for the sending of nightmares, a notion that was also attributed to the god of dreams, Ephialtes [10, p. 1385]. The appearance of Pan in a person's dream was considered a particularly unfavorable omen, for it was believed to signify that the individual would subsequently fall ill with epilepsy. In this way, Menander depicts a peasant — the protagonist of his comedy *The Grouch* — as being greatly frightened. In a dream, the mistress of the house saw Pan placing shackles on her son, giving him a hoe, and instructing him to dig up his plot. The unfortunate individual hurried to placate the god by sending slaves with a sacrificial lamb to his cave (Menandr. *Dyscolos*. 390–420).

Following the advent of the cult of Pan in Attica, his veneration proliferated throughout numerous regions of the ancient world. Although Pan was regarded as an integral and harmonious deity, he was also considered to be highly versatile, which facilitated his incorporation into the local religious and historical context. The limited written tradition also facilitated Pan's adaptation. Unlike other Greek gods, stories about the god of shepherds appeared in ancient authors quite late, in the Classical period. This allowed room for the imagination of artists and poets, historians, politicians, and rulers. From the end of the fifth century BC onward, his specific powers and divine hypostases emerged in various regions of the ancient world.

Perhaps the highest status Pan received in Macedonia: he was regarded as the patron of the royal family of the Argeades and was identified with Caranus, the mythical founder of the Macedonian royal dynasty [6, p. 11]. In this country, Pan was regarded as the god of war and hunting [3, p. 1366; 10, pp. 335–336]. Hunting was the primary occupation of the royal court in Macedonia, and, along with battles, it was a mean of cultivating courage and valor among the aristocracy. Zeuxis was commissioned by King Archelaus of Macedonia to create a paint-

ing of Pan⁴, which was intended to decorate the royal residence in the newly established capital of Macedonia, Pella. The relocation of the capital was a significant political action undertaken by Archelaus. The decoration of the royal palace was of great importance to him, as evidenced by the considerable expenditure on its decoration. Therefore, the placement of the image of Pan, a minor deity in the Greek pantheon, in the king's new residence was not a mere coincidence. This association between the royal house of Macedonia and Pan persists in the art of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Pliny reports a painting by Protogenes entitled "Alexander and Pan" (Plin. 35. 106), which was created in 304–305 B.C. Following the death of the renowned conqueror, it was apparently commissioned by Demetrius Poliorketus, king of Macedonia, during his occupation of the island of Rhodes. In Pella, in a wealthy residential area, a statuette of Alexander III of Macedon was discovered, portraying him as a youthful, naked figure with the attributes of Pan, including a diadem, small horns, and a small tail. The statuette was created in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. and can be dated to the same period as the original marble head from the Hermitage Museum collection, which also depicts Alexander as Pan (Ill. 4). The strong turn of the head and the "royal" hairstyle, the narrow diadem, and the idealized features of the young face are consistent with the iconography of the Macedonian conqueror. Two deep holes behind the curls on the young man's vertex, into which horns were inserted, and ears with a pointed shape, along with long hair that falls apart in wild tangled strands, are clear indications of Pan [28, p. 30]. He attained the pinnacle of popularity in Macedonia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, becoming the personal divine patron of the king [10, pp. 336–338]. The god assisted the king by instigating panic within the ranks of the enemy army during the battle with the Celts at Lysimachia, which took place in Thrace in 277 B.C. This victory paved the way for Antigonos Gonatas to ascend to the Macedonian throne. The king commissioned the poet Aratus to compose a special hymn in honor of his patron. In celebration of his victory over the Gauls in 243 and in gratitude for his rescue, Antigonos established the feast of Sotereia and Paneia on Delos. The bust of Pan is depicted on a silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas on a Macedonian shield. The king's image is intertwined with the image of the god, and in his hands, he bears a hunting spear-lagobolon, which he holds like a scepter. In another instance, Pan is depicted on the obverse of the coin, while the reverse depicts military trophies. Additionally, there is a marble statuette of Antigonos, which is also depicted in the pose of Pan. This statuette shows Antigonos looking far away, behind the herd, with a ribbon and small horns on his head⁵. The marble herm of the king with diadem and horns, currently on display at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples⁶, is a widely known artifact. It is plausible that the horns of Pan were incorporated into the diadem of Antigonos Gonatas, thereby becoming an enduring attribute of his regalia. It seems that in the 3rd century BC, a large statue of Antigonos in the form of Pan served as a prototype for statuettes and images on coins. The extant reproductions indicate that the sculpture was of a classicist character, following the composition and style of Polycletus.

The figure of Pan was depicted as a warrior with a helmet, armor, and sword on coins in various regions of the Greek world, including Asia Minor, Macedonia, Thrace, and the Peloponnese. Similarly, Pan's head, depicted on the Macedonian shield in a manner analogous

⁴ Probably a fresco.

⁵ National Archaeological Museum of Naples. inv. no. 5026 [24, p.154].

⁶ National Archaeological Museum of Naples. inv. no. 6149. According to R. R.R. Smith, the portrait herm depicts Demetrius Poliorketes, see [24, p. 156].

to the aegis of Zeus on Athena's shield, served as an apotropaion. For Hellenistic rulers, the military character of the protector deity, who helped to win battles, proved to be the most important of his abilities. Pan was not only embodied by Antigonos Gonatas but also by King Pyrrhus of Epirus and the Ptolemies, rulers of the Greco-Macedonian dynasty on the Egyptian throne. Ptolemy I Soter, Diadochus, a principal associate of Alexander the Great and the ruler of Egypt, was depicted with horns, a snub nose, and a grimace. The same characteristics were also present in the iconography of Ptolemy IV Philopator [10, p. 348]. In Egypt, the cult of Pan merged with the cult of Min, who was an important deity in the Egyptian pantheon. Min, depicted in ithyphallic manner, was the deity associated with fertility and the patron of kings. He was also regarded as the guardian of hunters and caravans traversing the region between the Red Sea and the Nile. Pan is mentioned in a multitude of inscriptions, whereas his depictions are predominantly characterized by Egyptian iconography [10, p. 346].

In Alexandria, the Egyptian capital, there was a substantial shrine to the deity, the Paneion (Strabo 27.1.10), situated on a prominent hill overlooking the city, which featured a cave within its confines. Although the hill overlooking the city was planned during the initial construction phase, the spread of the cult of Pan occurred under Ptolemy II, who was in opposition to Antigonos Gonatas. A terracotta relief from the Hanover Museum preserves a depiction of the Alexandrian Paneion and a scene of veneration of the god. Min was also regarded as the protector of hunters, the guarantor of the state's trade and military policies. The depiction of the Ptolemies as the Greek shepherd god signified an affirmation of the stability of their trade and military policies [10, p. 347].

While in Macedonia and Hellenistic Egypt, Pan attained a status that could be described as "royal," in Greece, during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, he is represented in the fine arts as a participant in scenes associated with the cult of Dionysus. These scenes exemplify other aspects of Pan's character that are not associated with warfare, namely his sexual power, proclivity for libations, and inclination towards merrymaking. Pan became a regular figure in the festive procession of Dionysus, serving as an indispensable member of his retinue, dancing together with satyrs, bacchantes, and maenads. Pan is depicted on Attic vases from the 4th century BC onwards. He is particularly prevalent on vases of the Kerch style, which are Attic vessels found in the capital of the Bosporan kingdom, Panticapaion (modern-day Kerch)⁷. The iconography of Pan in the monuments of the Northern Black Sea region has yet to be the subject of research⁸. Despite the absence of documented evidence indicating the presence of caves or temples dedicated to Pan on the northern Black Sea coast, the character of Pan has nevertheless become firmly established within the artistic traditions of these regions, manifesting in various forms across diverse settings, including urban, forest, steppe, and rural areas. Images of Pan have been discovered among the artifacts recovered from burials on the northern Black Sea coast. It seems reasonable to suggest that this connection can be explained by Pan's participation in the mythological plots of the Dionysian cycle, which were of great importance in the funerary cult of the Northern Black Sea region from the 4th century BC onwards.

⁷ For example, vases from the collection of the State Hermitage inv. nos. II.1852/53–2, II.1875–339, IOO. 18.

⁸ An exception is the observation of W. Roscher.

The researcher believed that the gold staters of Panticapaion depict the head of Pan, and also believed that the name of the capital of the Bosporan kingdom contains the name of this deity. At present this hypothesis is not supported. The profile of a bearded character with pointed ears on the coins of Panticapaeum is identified as Satyr, and the name of the city is derived from the name of the local river Pantikapa.

An exemplar of an offering to the deceased in a tomb of the Bosporean kingdom is a red-figure lekana from the mound of Yuz-Oba. The lid of the lekana depicts the upbringing of the infant Dionysus and scenes associated with the cult of Bacchus. A satyr, disguised in a woman's dress, can be seen playing the flute (Ill. 5, 6), while another scene shows Pan embracing a naked maenad. A third depicts a maenad dancing with a tympanum⁹. The body of the vase is decorated with a frieze depicting a series of scenes of torment inflicted upon a variety of fantastical and real animals. These include a lion attacking a bull, as well as a griffin tormenting a horse. It has been proposed that the Dionysian scenes depicted on vases of the Kerch style were intended as illustrations of the Anthesteria which may be defined as 'the holiday dedicated to ancestors, guests and visitors from the world of the afterlife' [9, p. 155]. As D. V. Khamula observes, the interpretation of the images of Dionysus' companions on Kerch-style vases as "servants of the supreme lords of the afterlife" proposed by E. N. Stahl is also valid [25, p. 163].

The painting of a red-figure pelica from the 4th century BC, discovered at the Zmeinyi Kur-gan (Ill. 7), portrays Dionysus on a throne, adjacent to a tree bearing large, round fruits, which are plucked by Eros and other women. In the center of the composition, below the tree, there is a depiction of a handsome young Pan. In a pose characteristic of the subject, but depicted in a complex full-face perspective, he is seated on a rock and playing a whistle. It should be noted that, in this scene, it is Pan, rather than Dionysus, who is the protagonist. One of the women assumed a prayer position with her hands raised toward the sky. It is possible that the painting depicts a ritual in honor of Dionysus, in which Pan participates. The golden fruits indicate that the action takes place in the garden of Hesperides [1, p. 936]. The unconventional iconography, the expansive figures, and the uninhibited construction of the composition suggest that the painting on the vase may be a replication of a monumental work created by a renowned artist. In the foreground, one observes dancing satyrs and bacchantes, as well as fruits, trees, and Pan seated next to Dionysus, playing the flute. In ancient Greek thought, music was believed to have the power to reach Hades. It was thought that the sounds of music connected man to the world of the deities, and this idea is reflected in the painting of the vase. In the image, we can observe Pan playing the flute, guiding souls to Elysium, also known as the garden of Hesperides. Here, Dionysus grants the dead oblivion, liberation, and immortality.

Archaeological finds in North Pontic cities show that the image of Pan is not only present in monuments imported from the Greek metropolis, such as Kerch style vases but Pan becomes a local character. Among the products of the Bosporean workshop is a terracotta mask of a laughing Pan with a large snub nose, which dates back to the 4th century BC. The mask was found in a Panticapaion's tomb as part of the funerary inventory, along with masks of Dionysus, Satyr and Silenus¹⁰. The plaster protoma of Pan, which belonged to the molded decoration of a sarcophagus of the 1st century AD, comes from Panticapaion¹¹. Such wooden sarcophagi decorated with plaster were created in the Bosporus and this is one of the most typical directions of local artistic production. In Nymphaea, one of the cities of the Bosporean kingdom near Panticapaion, a master craftsman carved relief busts of Pan, Athena and Heracles on the wall of a catacomb (Ill. 8). An underground chamber or catacomb, constructed within the rock, served the dual purpose of providing a burial place for the deceased and offering

⁹ State Hermitage inv. no. IOO.18.

¹⁰ State Hermitage inv. II.1909–104.

¹¹ State Hermitage inv. GP–28085.

them heroic honors. In this modest heroon, known as the Rostovtsev catacomb¹², the presence of Pan was not the only instance of deities being depicted. It is noteworthy that Pan was depicted in the Bosporan catacomb as an equal to other Olympian gods, which is a relatively uncommon occurrence. Another noteworthy aspect of the Bosporus is the conjunction of Pan and Heracles. Additionally, another analogous instance is known: golden plaques bearing the images of Pan, Heracles, and the Gorgon, unearthed within a tomb [20, p. 108]. In the view of Dmitry Raevsky, this combination of heroes should be regarded as an expression of the local mythological tradition, which narrates the birth of the Scythians as resulting from the union of Heracles and the serpent goddess. In his account, Herodotus states that the initial encounter between the hero and the woman-snake occurred in a cave (Hdt. IV. 93).

Four terracotta masks, portraying Dionysus, a satyr, a maenad, and Pan, were unearthed in a children's tomb within the necropolis of Chersonesos, with a date of origin estimated to be the 3rd century BC. Antonina Shevchenko put forth the hypothesis that such masks found in burials served as amulets and were also symbols of joining the Dionysian mysteries (21, p. 14). During the excavation of the necropolis of Panticapaion in 1909, a figurative vessel in the form of a human head was discovered in a child's burial. The burial inventory included a terracotta figure of a boy with a sheep, a mask of Pan, an iron knife, a bronze bracelet, beads, and blue Egyptian paste [22, p. 30]. It was observed that the majority of plastic vases discovered in the burials dating to the 1st century AD depicted Dionysus, Satyrs, Silenes, and Pan [5, p. 222]. Another recent discovery of the plastic vase in the excavations of the southern suburb of Chersonesos provides further evidence of the connection between such vessels and children's burials [29].

In the Northern Black Sea region, the images of Pan from the 4th century BC are exclusively associated with funerary contexts. In this region, Pan assumes a particular role, that of protector of the deceased and guide of the soul to the afterlife. This function of Pan as an otherworldly amulet is maintained until the 1st to 3rd centuries AD. The materials recovered from the burials indicate a consistent association between Pan and children's graves.

An intriguing parallel can be drawn between the portrayal of Pan as a child protector and the archaeological evidence from Southern Italy. In this region of the ancient world, Pan was a highly popular figure, as evidenced by the prevalence of his images on vase paintings [18, pp. 1378–1379]. It seems reasonable to posit that the dissemination of the image had an impact on the evolution of theatrical performance, particularly the phlyax play, which was a form of folk street entertainment comprising comedies, indecent performances and parodies. In theatrical performances, the character of Pan, a melancholy lover of exuberant libations and relentless pursuer of nymphs, was closely associated with those who participated in Dionysian festivals. In Southern Italy, Pan was depicted in a manner somewhat distinct from that observed in the vase paintings of Attica. He was portrayed as a diminutive figure with a beard and caricatured facial features. The physiognomy of the “frowning” Pan on the relief of a drop-shaped guttus vase (Ill. 9) bears resemblance to the profile of the deity depicted on the coins of Macedonia, where he functioned as the god of war. The repellent and aggressive appearance of the deity was not a mere coincidence; rather, it seems that the image of Pan on the Italic vessel served the purpose of an apotropaic charm. If in the Northern Black Sea region images of Pan were

¹² The catacomb was discovered and studied by M. I. Rostovtsev. See “Rostovtsev’s” Catacomb. Photo by M. S. Rubanchik. Antique decorative painting in the south of Russia. St. Petersburg, 1913.

placed in the graves of children as their amulet in the afterlife, in this case Pan was needed for the lifetime protection of the child: guttuses were used to feed infants.

In the 3rd century BC, Alexandria saw the creation of many sculptural groups representing Pan. These works depict the god in various settings and guises. The group known as “Pan Pulling a Thorn Out of Satyr’s Leg” is widely recognized. The sculpture was replicated on numerous occasions in Roman copies, one of which is housed in the State Hermitage Museum (Ill. 10). The most prominent iteration of the group is regarded as the version from the Vatican Museum¹³. The iconography and cast of characters of this scene often exhibited notable variation. In representations on the reliefs of Roman sarcophagi, Pan removes a thorn from Eros’ foot. In some instances, Satyr and Pan interchange roles, and in others, only one of them is present. The presence of a splinter and bare feet on the part of the hero seated on the rock serves to indicate the rural location of the scene, although it is evident that the meaning of the scene is open to interpretation. For example, the statue of a boy removing a splinter from his foot emphasized the attractiveness of the graceful teenager, whereas when Satyr or Pan were depicted instead of the boy, the impression became comical. The anguished expressions, abrupt gestures, and goat-like legs and hooves of Pan elicited a comical response rather than a sympathetic one from the viewer.

One of the most notable manifestations of Pan’s nature that emerged in Hellenistic art was his association with unbridled lust. In frescoes, vase paintings, terracotta, and marble reliefs, one can observe numerous instances of Pan’s amorous pursuit of young goddesses and other creatures. The goat-footed deity approaches the maenads, pursues the nymph, and embraces her while seated on a rock. He also invites her to dance. Pan was bold enough to engage in flirtation with Aphrodite, a theme that the sculptor captured in a three-figure composition featuring Pan, Aphrodite, and Eros. A significant underlying theme of romantic attachment is evident in the group composition ‘Pan and Daphnis’, in which the god with the goat’s head instructs the young shepherd Daphnis in the art of playing the flute. This work achieved considerable reputation in the ancient Roman world. Pliny indicates that the group was situated in a prominent position within the portico of Octavia, situated in opposition to another composition on a similar subject, namely “Centaur Chiron Instructs Achilles in the Art of Playing a Flute” (Plin. 36. 29). Images of the type “Pan and Daphnis” were designated “simplegmata” (Plin. 36. 24) and were unambiguously perceived as an erotic genre [23, p. 132; 27, p. 214]. Hellenistic groups of a playful character, in which Pan is often depicted, are sometimes referred to as ‘Hellenistic Rococo’ works [17, pp. 286–87; 27, pp. 214, 227]. This style originated in one of the centers of Asia Minor and subsequently disseminated throughout various regions of the ancient world.

Some erotic and genre groups depicting scenes involving Pan have survived, for the most part, in Roman copies. The Romans followed the Hellenistic tradition, both in the iconography of the statues and in their installation, placing the figures of nymphs, satyrs, Hermaphroditus or Pan in the natural landscape. Images of nature deities decorated not only private villas and gardens, but also public places — thermae, nymphaeums, public parks. Such sculptures were somewhat of a staffage, a part of the natural landscape, and by their presence they “marked” an idyllic imaginary landscape. At the same time, the real landscape, as a rule, was part of the whole *mise-en-scene* (Athen. 12, 512). In such installations, each character played a different role. Hermai were an important element of the whole composition.

¹³ Pan pulling a thorn from the foot of a Satyr. Marble. Rome, Vatican Museums, inv.2524.

In ancient times, the herms of Pan were situated in remote locations, including crossroads, water springs, groves of trees, and coastal areas. These placements served to indicate the way for travelers and offered them a place to rest. Hermai were situated within sanctuaries and churches for the purpose of facilitating rituals. The procession proceeded to the herm of Pan, bearing a variety of gifts, including honey, milk, assorted fruits, baked goods, and figs. Adornments decorated the herm with floral offerings and oiled it. In the context of fine arts, the hermai of Hermes, Pan, Dionysus, and Priapus were utilized to convey cultic meanings associated with scenes of sacrifice, Dionysian processions, and the dedication of mystics. From the period of Hellenism to the conclusion of antiquity, the herms constituted a pivotal element within the context of a comprehensive natural sanctuary, functioning as a central motif within the broader framework of the sacred landscape.

In the Roman era, statues and herms of Pan were no longer utilized as cult objects. Being placed within atriums, and gardens such statuary constituted an integral part of the villa ensemble, serving to exemplify the owner's affinity for Greek culture and a reverence for the natural world. This demonstrated a refined sensibility and a high degree of social standing. A considerable number of antique herms of Pan, intended for the adornment of Roman villas, are currently housed in museum collections. Often, these statues were crafted from yellow marble, a material prized for its distinctive hue. One of the items, found in Pompeii, depicts Pan laughing contagiously (Ill. 11). Many hermai depict Pan with bulging eyes made of smalt inserted in the eye sockets¹⁴. This technique was used to create the effect of a piercing, frightening gaze.

In both private gardens and public parks, marble herms of Pan served to indicate the deity's pervasive and unseen presence. Roman residences were embellished with frescoes that depicted the amorous encounters between Pan and various nymphs, Erotes, and Hermaphrodite¹⁵. The sublime and sacred nature of these scenes, set against a mountainous or arboreal backdrop, their beauty and profound symbolism, as well as the naturalistic depiction of the deity of nature, inspired artists of the Renaissance period. Another trend in fresco painting was the bucolic landscape, which frequently featured the image of Pan. The typical composition features an idyllic landscape with a prominent tree, a dense, shady crown positioned against a mountainous backdrop. Additional elements may include caves, goats, shepherds engaged in musical performances, ritual sacrifices, or the decoration of the herm of Pan.

The origins and evolution of sacral landscape as artistic genre are attributed to Alexandria and Smyrna. Theocritus, the pioneering figure of bucolic poetry, resided and conducted his literary work in Alexandria at the court of the Ptolemies during the 3rd century BC. He extolled the natural simplicity of life within the embrace of nature. For the first time in poetic works, the portrayal of pastoral scenes became the dominant theme. For example, the Seventh Idyll by Theocritus (Theocr. 7) describes a walk undertaken by shepherds to attend a village festival. According to scholars, this Idyll was not merely a descriptive account of nature; rather, it is an allegorical work. The author portrays a walk with friends, and the shepherds, in fact, represent poets [11]. The narrative unfolds against the backdrop of an idyllic landscape, where Pan is depicted as the dominant figure. In this setting, the shepherds engage in discourse and

¹⁴ State Hermitage inv. no. GP-3571.

¹⁵ Pan and Nymphs. Fresco. 1–20 AD. Pompeii, House of Fatal Love, IX, 5, 8. Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 111473). Pan and Hermaphrodite. Fresco. Pompeii, House of Dioscuri, 1–50 AD. Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 27700.

musical performances beneath the shade of trees, on the slopes of mountains, and by streams. The First and Fifth Idylls reveal that the shepherds engage in sacrificial offerings to nymphs, muses, and their patron deity, Pan. Landscapes with shepherds, herds, small figures of people and animals began to be depicted in paintings, mosaics and reliefs. Later this trend developed in the art of Rhodes and Delos, and from the 2nd century BC rich Roman aristocrats became the main customers of works depicting pastoral scenes.

The bucolic theme flourishes in various forms of art during the time of Augustus. The sacro-idyllic landscape is depicted in frescoes, marble reliefs, and toreutics. First, the residence of Octavian Augustus on the Palatine Hill is adorned with the new landscape style, followed by the villas of the Roman elite [4, p. 716]. The frescoes of the Villa Boscotrecase, the estate of Agrippa the Elder, represent the most striking example of the third Pompeian style. The landscapes depicted in these works portray grottoes, statues of deities, shepherds, peasants, fishermen, and other figures who exemplify the notion of living in harmony with nature, as well as the ideals of religiosity and morality. These images represent a vision of a new utopia and symbolize the new mission of Rome. The concept of an ideal future is reflected in numerous instances throughout Rome, both in public and private edifices, in poetic works, and in artistic creations. In his *Bucolics*, Virgil imitates Theocritus and elevates the genre of pastoral poetry to hitherto unparalleled levels of achievement. Virgil's shepherds inhabit an idyllic realm, evoking the Golden Age of Augustus, situated amidst fantastical and hallowed landscapes. While Pan is not explicitly depicted in the foreground of these landscapes, his presence is nevertheless always implicit. It is not always straightforward to ascertain whether the fresco depicts a shepherd in the pose of Pan or the god of the forests himself observing the flock. The ruins of sanctuaries and the presence of marble herms in the forest serve as reminders of the god's continued influence.

The final group of monuments in which the image of Pan is particularly prominent are the reliefs on Roman sarcophagi depicting Dionysian processions in which Pan participates as a dancer and musician. This theme is a primary subject on Roman sarcophagi from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. A considerable number of surviving reliefs depict heroes engaged in festivities in honor of Dionysus. In these scenes, Pan leads the inebriated Silenus under his arms, grimacing or rolling about in an obscene manner. Heracles, similarly inebriated, is depicted with great difficulty maintaining his footing, while Pan and the Satyr continue to drink wine from bowls. In Paul Zanker's monograph, two distinct categories of Dionysian narratives are identified, both of which feature Pan [30, pp. 130–161]. One such example is the feast of Dionysus and his entourage, accompanied by exuberant libations and jubilant merriment. In these scenes, Pan is depicted as a hulking, awkward figure with goat legs and horns, galloping in a dance. The second group of scenes depicts the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne. The figure of Pan is situated in the lower tier, adjacent to the Erotes. A third, less numerous group of reliefs depicts Pan in his sanctuary. The action, which includes erotic scenes involving satyrs and satyresses, is set at night, illuminated by torchlight. Pan is a requisite figure in Dionysian plots depicted on sarcophagi. His role is to incite mirth through music and dance, thereby fostering romantic attraction among all participants. In his analysis of the festive and erotic scenes depicted on Roman sarcophagi, Zanker posits that these images serve to prolong the celebration of the deceased's life even after their demise.

Despite the long lasting presence tales of Pan in later artistic traditions, the figure's prominence and significance gradually diminish. In the art and poetry of late antiquity, the character of Pan is infrequent, and most notably, his mythology no longer encompasses novel concepts.

The god of shepherds was neglected during the Middle Ages. However, with the advent of the Renaissance, he was able to re-emerge organically within the context of a multitude of artistic styles and epochs, retaining his relevance until the beginning of the 20th century.

In conclusion, the distinctive feature of Pan, which sets him apart from other Olympic deities, is his capacity for radical changes and constant metamorphosis. Initially a figure associated with rural cults, he subsequently became a Stoic “god of the universe.” This exceptional ability of the deity to transform is clearly demonstrated by the evolution of his iconography and the ongoing process of myth-making in poetry, mythology, and art. In antiquity, the concept of Pan was subject to mutation. In each region of Greece (and subsequently throughout the Hellenistic era and the entire ancient world), the cult of Pan exhibited distinctive characteristics. The protector of shepherds in Arcadia, a hand in sea and land military battles in Athens, the god of war and patron of the royal dynasty in Macedonia, a character in a phylax play: these are different hypostases of the same deity. The capacity to swiftly adapt to various cultural and historical contexts can be partially attributed to the absence of a comprehensive written tradition surrounding Pan. This absence allowed for a greater degree of speculation regarding the religious and historical evolution of this deity. The role of Pan as a minor character, that is to say, as a companion or helper, was not fixed from the outset. Nevertheless, the primary reason for the receptivity of Pan’s image to new ideas, as well as his capacity for reincarnation, can be attributed to the comprehensive nature of the deity. The forest god was depicted with archaic features, combining an appealing, almost anthropomorphic appearance with a shocking, half-animal countenance. The power of Pan derived from his connection to nature and his capacity to protect and safeguard. Over time, the role of guardian of herds and wild animals was gradually transferred to the human world. Pan was also regarded as the guardian of not only herds but also of armies. He was believed to protect shepherds, hunters, warriors, and infants. On the northern Black Sea coast, his chthonic nature was combined with a protective one. Pan subsequently became the deity associated with the afterlife.

In the history of the image of Pan, several periods of particular interest to his character can be identified. During the classical period in Attica, he is incorporated into the local pantheon and assisted the Greeks in their triumph over the Persians. It seems plausible to suggest that Pan’s evolving social role may have contributed to the gradual convergence of his iconography with that of human figures. From the 5th to the 4th centuries BC, there was a shift in representation of Pan, as he was depicted as an attractive young man, similar in appearance to other figures in ancient mythology.

The subsequent phase of reinterpretation and circulation of the image occurs during the Hellenistic period, spanning the 3rd century BC. The mythology of Pan is further developed with the introduction of new genres and erotic plots, in which Pan is presented as a prominent figure. A poetic representation of the shepherd deity emerges in bucolic poetry. The appearance of Pan in a tangible or conceptual setting serves to designate the area as being of a sacred nature. Although contradictory representations of Pan in ancient art and mythology may have existed concurrently, the mythopoetics of the deity were derived from several concepts embedded within the structure of the ancient iconography. One of the representations of Pan on Hellenistic-Roman period frescoes is informed by the interpretation of the image as expressed by the Orphics. Pan is not merely a patron of shepherds and their herds; he is, in fact, “the god of all that is in the world.” The cheerful unity of all things and the concordance with the natural world ends with Pan’s demise.

This perception of the god of the shepherd finds relevance in the early imperial period, in the ideology of the Golden Age of Augustus. The advent of Augustus marked the beginning of a new era of humanity, characterized by peace, prosperity and a renewed connection with the sacred natural world. The objective of art was to depict scenes from the blissful Golden Age. Pan was among the figures representing the new utopia, as evidenced in the poetry of Ovid and Virgil and in sacred mural landscapes.

Another line of evolution of the image in Roman poetry and art follows the Hellenistic bucolic tradition. The musical gift of the shepherd god serves as a metaphor for inspiration. This gift unites the Greek god and the creator, thereby facilitating the identification of the author and his character. The world inhabited by Pan is a realm of the imagination, a sacred land, and the domain of enchanted reality. In this manner, in Theocritus' Idylls, the souls of a poet, shepherd, and Pan represent the soul of nature.

Along with the poetic Pan, the folk protector god, in Hellenistic and Roman art there is also his chthonic hypostasis: a voluptuous and cruel, pagan god, with a "jubilant furious look"¹⁶. The last, most lasting episode of Pan's popularity is associated with the subjects of the Dionysian circle on Roman sarcophagi of the 1st–3rd centuries. In this group, the goat-footed Pan appears in his traditional role as musician, dancer, participant in libations and love scenes taking place in the underworld. The unbridled riotous joy of these scenes overshadows the path of the deceased to the eternal life.

This mythological hero continued evoke a vast array of emotional responses long after antiquity. He was associated with joy, fun, horror, fear, passion, loneliness, attraction, care, and inspiration. The imaginative power of artists easily transfigured the image of Greek deity according style of time. The symbolic language of mythology allows for the embodiment of ideas relevant to different epochs, as myth addresses the fundamental origins of human nature. Pan as a character initially includes the opposition of god and demon¹⁷, and, perhaps in this dualism lies the key to the Pan's image vital force.

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¹⁶ P. Stevenson [13, p. 285].

¹⁷ On the main oppositions in the structure of myth [12].

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Title. Pan as a Character in Ancient Art from the 6th Century BC – 3rd Century AD: Semantics of the Image in Historical Contexts

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Abstract. The article examines the history of the image of Pan in ancient art, from the 6th century BC to the 3rd century AD. The evolution of the image has been traced in the historical context: in connection with

political circumstances, religious ideas and myth-making of poets. The change in the semantics and role of the character is analyzed. Particular attention is paid to a previously unexplored topic — the significance of Pan in the art and religion of the Northern Black Sea region, where Pan acquires the function of the guide of the soul of the deceased to the afterlife. The specificity of Pan, his difference from other Olympic deities, lies in his continuous changes, from a character of a rural cult to a stoic “god of the universe”. The ability to quickly adapt to different cultural and historical contexts was partly due to the lack of a written tradition, but the main reason is the universal nature of the deity. In the history of the image, several periods of special interest in the character are distinguished. In the classical period in Attica, he joins the local gods who help the Greeks defeat the Persians, and his iconography converges with images of other heroes and gods. The next stage of rethinking the image occurs in the Hellenistic period, from the 3rd century BC. The mythology of Pan is enriched with genre and erotic subjects. A poetic view of the shepherd god appears in bucolic poetry and art; Pan's presence in a real or imaginary landscape becomes a sign of a sacred landscape. This perception of the image of the god becomes relevant in the ideology of the Golden Age of Augustus. The last, most prolonged episode of Pan's popularity is associated with the subjects of the Dionysian circle on Roman sarcophagi of the 1st–3rd centuries. Pan appears in his traditional role as a participant in libations and love scenes that take place in the other world, opening the way to the eternal life of the soul.

Keywords: Pan, myth, image, chthonic, horror, inspiration, bucolic landscape, erotic sculptural groups, ancient art, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, Northern Black Sea region, Chersonesos, Palntikapaion, mythopoeics

Название статьи. Пан как персонаж античного искусства VI в. до н.э. – III в. н.э. Семантика образа в историческом контексте

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Аннотация. В статье рассмотрена история образа Пана в античном искусстве, от появления его изображений в VI до н.э. до III в. н.э. Эволюция образа прослеживается в историческом контексте: во взаимосвязи с политическими обстоятельствами, религиозными идеями и мифотворчеством поэтов, анализируется изменение семантики и роли персонажа. Особое внимание уделяется ранее не исследованной теме — значению Пана в искусстве и религии Северного Причерноморья. Автор приходит к заключению, что в этом регионе Пан обретает функцию проводника души умершего в загробный мир. Специфика Пана, его принципиальное отличие от других Олимпийских божеств, заключается в его непрерывных изменениях, от персонажа сельского культа до стоического «бога вселенной». Способность быстро адаптироваться к разным культурно-историческим контекстам отчасти объяснялась отсутствием письменной традиции, но главная причина заключается в универсальном характере божества. В истории образа выделяются несколько периодов особого интереса к персонажу. В эпоху классики в Аттике он присоединяется к местным богам, помогающим грекам одержать победу над персами, его иконография сближается с изображениями других героев и богов. Следующий этап переосмысления образа наступает в эпоху эллинизма, с III в. до н.э. мифология Пана обогащается жанровыми и эротическими сюжетами. Поэтический взгляд на пастушеского бога возникает в буколической поэзии и в искусстве; присутствие Пана в реальном или воображаемом пейзаже становится знаком сакрального ландшафта. Это восприятие образа бога обретает актуальность в идеологии Золотого века Августа. Последний, наиболее продолжительный эпизод популярности Пана связан с сюжетами Дионисийского круга на римских саркофагах I–III веков. Пан появляется в своей традиционной роли участника возлияний и любовных сцен, происходящих в потустороннем мире, открывающих путь к вечной жизни души.

Ключевые слова: Пан, миф, образ, хтонический, ужас, вдохновение буколический пейзаж, эротические скульптурные группы, античное искусство, Древняя Греция, Древний Рим, Северное Причерноморье, Херсонес, Пантикапей, мифопоэтика



III. 3. Statuette of Pan. Eastern Mediterranean. 3rd–2nd century B.C. Bronze. Height 8 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГР 3138



III. 4. Head of Pan. Roman, after originals of the 3rd century B.C. Marble. Height 25 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГР-3033



III. 5. Red-figure Lekanis: a Bacchic scene. 5th–4th centuries BC. Clay. Height 31. 3 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. Ю0.18. Fragment



III. 6. Red-figure Lekanis: Bacchic scene. 5thv4th centuries BC. Clay. Height 31. 3 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. Ю0.18



III. 7. Red-figure Pelike: Pan Playing on a Whistle. 360 B.C. Clay. Height 35.5 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 3M.2



III. 10. Pan and Satyr. Roman, after Greek original of the 3rd century B.C. Marble. Height 58, 8 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГР-4181



III. 8. Heads of Pan, Athena, and Silenus. "Rostovtsevskaia" Catacomb. Photograph by M. S. Rubanchik. Antique decorative painting in the south of Russia. St. Petersburg, 1913. Table 96



III. 9. Black-lacquered guttus with relief image, the head of Pan. 4th–3rd centuries B.C. Clay. Height 14.6 cm. State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГР-2688



III. 11. Herm of Pan. Rome, second half of the 1st century. Marble. Height 19, 5 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. ГР-6976