

PALINURUS

- Giovanni Battista Tiepolo**, 1696–1770. "The Madness of Ulysses." Painting, sketch. c.1755–60. Count Borletti coll., Milan. [Pallucchini 1968, no. 236—ill. / Morassi 1962, p. 26—ill.]
- Antonio Canova**, 1757–1822. "Palamedes." Marble statue. 1796–1804. Villa Carlotta, Tremezzo. [Pavanetto 1976, no. 125—ill.]
- K. Konstantin**. *Palamedes*. Tragedy. 1920. [Hunger 1959, p. 260]
- Pier Maria Rosso di San Secondo**, 1887–1956. *Palamede*. Novella. Milan: Treves, 1920. [DELI 1966–70, 4:612]
- Ezra Pound**, 1885–1972. (Allusion to Palamedes' tomb and statue in) Canto 94, in *Section: Rock-Drill*, 85–95 *De Los Cantares* (New York: New Directions, 1955). [Ipso / Surette 1979, pp. 241, 296]

PALINURUS. See **AENEAS**, in the Underworld.

PALLADIUM. See **ATHENA**; **DIOMEDES**; **TROJAN WAR**.

PALLAS. See **AENEAS**, in Latium.

PALLAS ATHENA. See **ATHENA**.

PAN. The Greek god of shepherds and flocks, Pan is usually identified as the son of Hermes and the nymph Callisto, although some sources cite Odysseus's wife, Penelope, as his mother. Native to Arcadia, he had a satyr's body: the head, torso, and arms of a man and the horns, ears, and legs of a goat. He was amorous and playful but could be formidable if disturbed while sleeping. His haunts were caves, mountains, and lonely places; in these remote areas he was said to be capable of inducing sudden, irrational fear ("panic") among men and animals. Pan was also known for his musical talent (declared by King Midas to be superior even to Apollo's) and as the inventor of the syrinx, a reed pipe named for a nymph he had pursued. Among Pan's other loves were the nymphs Pitys and Echo and the moon-goddess Selene.

The worship of Pan began to spread beyond Arcadia in the early fifth century BCE. Herodotus reported that Pan assisted the Athenians in defeating the Persians at the battle of Marathon (490 BCE) and that afterward a cave shrine was dedicated to him on the Acropolis.

A curious story told by Plutarch recounts that, during the reign of Tiberius (14–37 CE), travelers

on a ship sailing along the western coast of Greece heard a great voice shout that Pan was dead. In Christian legend, this tale was associated with the death and resurrection of Christ and implicitly with the end of the pagan era; the theme became especially popular with nineteenth-century poets. Pan's name was regularly associated by ancient authors with the Greek word *pan* ("all") and thus he was sometimes seen as a universal god. Because of his half-animal body and his lusty nature, Pan is often depicted as an allegorical personification of bestial nature overcome by Love (Eros, Amor) in treatments of the theme "Amor vincit omnia" ("Love conquers all").

The Romans identified Pan with the pastoral god Faunus, an oracular deity who revealed the future by dreams or by supernatural voices in sacred groves. Like Pan, he was said to have the legs and horns of a goat. His followers were fauns, who were similar to the Greek satyrs but thought to be more benign. The Romans also associated Pan with Silvanus, a god of wild, uncultivated land.

Classical Sources. *Homeric Hymns*, "To Pan." Herodotus, *Histories* 2.145, 6.105–06. *Orphic Hymns* II, "To Pan." Theocritus, *Idylls* 1.15–18. Virgil, *Eclogues* 2.31–36, 10; *Georgics* 3.391–93. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.689–713, II.146–79, 14.635–41; *Fasts* 2.267ff., 4.762. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.4.1, E7.38. Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 17.419b; *Numa*. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.28.4, 8.36.8, 8.42.2–3, 8.54.6–7, 10.23.7. Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.11.

Further Reference. Patricia Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God: His Myth in Modern Times* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

Listings are arranged under the following headings:

General List
Loves of Pan

See also **BACCHANALIA**; **DAPHNIS AND CHLOE**; **EROS**, Triumphant; **MIDAS**, Judgment; **SYRINX**; **SATYRS AND FAUNS**.

General List

- John Gower**, 1330?–1408. (Pan described in) *Confessio amantis* 5.1005–1042. Poem. c.1390. Westminster: Caxton, 1483. [Macaulay 1899–1902, vol. 2]
- Luca Signorelli**, 1441–1523. "The School of Pan," "Pan and Other Gods." Painting. c.1490. Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, destroyed. / Study after, by Henry Wallis (d. 1916). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem, no. 3/76. [Berlin 1986, p. 79 / Lackner 1977, p. 11—ill. / Berenson 1968, p. 395 / Levin 1969, p. 194]
- . "Festival of Pan." Fresco, for Palazzo Petrucci, Siena. 1509. Effaced. [Berenson 1968, p. 397]
- Sodoma**, 1477?–1549. "Pan and the Sleeping Nymph." Painting, one of series depicting scenes from Ovid. c.1511. Worcester Art Museum, Mass., no. 1925.122. [Hayum 1976, no. 12—ill. / Berenson 1968, p. 409]
- Italian School**. "Bacchus and Pan." Ceiling fresco. 1508–13? Sala delle Nozze di Alessandro con Rossana, Villa Farnesina, Rome. [Gerlini 1949, pp. 34ff.]

- Marcantonio Raimondi**, c.1480–1527/34. "Pan and the Infant Bacchus" ("Satyr and Child"). Engraving (Bartsch no. 281). c.1515–16. [Shoemaker 1981, no. 35–ill. / also Bartsch 1978, 26:266]
—, style. "Nymph by a Term of Pan." Engraving (Bartsch no. 258). [Bartsch, 26:252–ill.]
- Antonio da Correggio**, c.1489/94–1534. Fresco, depicting a satyr, Lussuria, or Pan. c.1519. Camera di San Paolo, Parma. [Gould 1976, pp. 51ff., 243–ill.]
- Bernardino Luini**, 1480/85–1532. "Sacrifice to Pan" ("Satyrs Sacrificing to Pan"). Fresco (detached), part of "Apollo and Pan" cycle, from Villa Pelucca, Sesto San Giovanni. 1520–23. Sala d'Adone, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, no. 23. [Luino 1975, pp. 35f., 87f., pl. 24 / Berenson 1968, p. 231]
- Andrea Riccio**, c.1470–1532. "Pan." Bronze statuette. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 2:87–ill.]
—, circle. "Pan with Mussel Shell." Bronze statuette. Barsanti coll., Rome. [Kocks 1981, fig. 279]
- Lionardo detto Mescolino**. *Trionfo di Pan, dio de' pastori* [Triumph of Pan, God of Shepherds]. Pastoral poem. Siena: Viglio, 1546. [Herrick 1966, p. 41 / Clubb 1968, p. 62]
- Pierantonio Legacci da Siena**. *Pan, Dio de' Pastori*. Pastoral poem. Siena: Simione, 1547. [Taylor 1893, p. 326]
- Niccolò Tribolo**, 1500–1550. "Pan" (seated on a vase). Bronze statuette. 1549. Museo del Bargello, Florence. [Pope-Hennessy 1985b, 3:99, 358–ill.]
- Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570. "March of Faunus, Sylvius, and Pan." Drawing. 1552–54. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. [Paris 1972, no. 193–ill.]
—, "Pan." Fresco, for Salle de Bal, Château de Fontainebleau, executed by Niccolò dell' Abbate under Primaticcio's direction. 1551–56. Repainted 19th century. [Dimier 1900, pp. 160ff., 284ff.]
- Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli**, 1507?–1563. "Reclining Pan." Marble statue. Barberini Palace, Rome, until 1947; now City Art Museum, St. Louis. [Burchard & d'Hulst 1963, no. 161 n.—ill. (copy drawing)] See also *Rubens*, below.
- Jacopo Zucchi**, c.1541–1589/90. "Pan." Ceiling painting. c.1572. Sala delle Carte Geografiche, Uffizi, Florence. [Uffizi 1979, no. 5104–ill.]
- Edmund Spenser**, 1552?–1599. (Pan in many allegorical guises in) "January" lines 17ff.; "April" 50–54, 90–94; "June" 28–32, 65–70; "July" 49–54, 143–44; "September" 96f.; "December" 46–48, in *The Shepheardes Calender*. Cycle of eclogues. London: 1579. [Oram et al. 1989 / Merivale 1969, pp. 20–23 / Nohrberg 1976, p. 765]
—, (Story of Faunus, punished by Diana for watching her bathe, related in) *The Faerie Queene* 7.6.42–53. Romance epic. London: Ponsonbie, 1609. [Hamilton 1977 / Nohrberg, p. 751 / Maccafrey 1976, pp. 42f.]
- Philip Sidney**, 1554–1586. (Pan evoked in) *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (*The Old Arcadia*) book 1, first eclogues, third eclogues. Prose romance with poems, pastoral eclogues. Completed c.1580. Only passage from book 1 included in revision of 1582–84 (*The New Arcadia*, London: 1590). [Ringler 1962, no. 75 / Robertson 1973 / Skretkiewicz 1987]
- Balthasar de Beaujoyeux**, ?–c.1587, choreography. (Pan in) *Ballet comique de la reine* act 3. Ballet. Music, Lambert de Beaulieu, Jacques Salmon, Beaujoyeux, and others. Scenario, La Chesnaye. First performed 15 Oct 1581, Palais Bourbon, Paris; scenery and costumes, Jacques Patin. [Simon & Schuster 1979, p. 43 / Arnott 1977, p. 105 / Clarke & Vaughan 1977, p. 42 / Terry 1976, p. 4]
- John Lyly**, c.1554–1606. (Pan in) Entertainment for Queen Elizabeth at Bisham, seat of Lady Russell, 1592. [Bond 1902, vol. 1]
- Michael Drayton**, 1563–1631. (Feast of Pan in) *Endimion and Phoebe: Ideas Latmus*. Pastoral poem. London: Busbie, 1595. [Hebel 1931–32, vol. 1 / Oxford 1983, p. 292 / Bush 1963, pp. 164, 327]
- Florentine School**. "Pan Pursuing Olympus." Marble relief. 16th century. Museo del Bargello, Florence, no. 307. [Saslow 1986, fig. 1.13]
- John Weever**, 1576–1632. *Faunus and Melliflora; or, The Original of Our English Satyres*. Pastoral satire. London: Simmes, 1600. [Bush 1963, p. 326]
- Agostino Carracci**, 1557–1602. "Pan and Nymph with Satyr and Putto." Painting (sketch). Late 16th century. Uffizi, Florence, inv. GDSU 19112. [Uffizi 1979, no. P371]
- Ben Jonson**, 1572–1637. (Pan in) "The Entertainment at Highgate" ("The Penates"). Royal entertainment for James I and Queen Anne. Performed 1 May 1604, at house of Sir William Cornwallis, Highgate, London. Published London: 1616. [Herford & Simpson 1932–50, vol. 7]
—, (Pan celebrated in) "Pan's Anniversary, or, The Shepherd's Holiday." Masque. Performed 19 June (?) 1620, at Court, London. Published London: 1640. [Ibid. / DLB 1987, 62:136, 169f. / Merivale 1969, pp. 18f., 55f.]
—, (Pan extolled in) "A New-Yeares-Gift Sung to King Charles, 1635" ("Pan is the great Preserver of our bounds"). Song lyric. 1635. Collected as part of *The Underwood*, in *Works* (London: 1640). [Herford & Simpson, vol. 8]
- Karel van Mander**, 1548–1606. "Pan Making Music." Drawing. Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit, Leyden. [de Bosque 1985, pp. 233, 235–ill.]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Reclining Pan." Drawing, copy after Montorsoli (1507?–1563, St. Louis). 1601–08. Lost. / Copy over counterproof of first drawing. 1630–40. L. Burchard coll., London. [Burchard & d'Hulst 1963, no. 161–ill.]
—, figures, with **Frans Snyders**, 1579–1657, fruits and flowers, and another (Jan Wildens?), landscape. "Ceres and Pan" (Ceres with cornucopia, Pan with fruit). Painting. c.1617 (or c.1630?). Prado, Madrid, no. 1672. [Jaffé 1989, no. 439–ill. / Prado 1985, p. 601]
- John Fletcher**, 1579–1625. (Pan in) *The Faithfull Shepherdess*. Pastoral tragicomedy with interpolated songs. 1608. London: Bonian & Walley, [1609?]. [Oxford 1983b, p. 286 / Merivale 1969, p. 18]
- Francis Bacon**, 1561–1626. "Pan, sive natura." Chapter 6 of *De sapientia Veterum*. Mythological compendium. London: Barker, 1609. / Translated as "Pan, or Nature" by Arthur Gorges in *The Wisdome of the Ancients* (London: Bill, 1619). Modern facsimile edition (bilingual), New York & London: Garland, 1976. [Ipso / Merivale 1969, p. n]
- John Donne**, 1572–1631. (Death of Pan evoked in) "The

- First Anniversarie." Poem. In *An Anatomie of the World* (London: 1611). / Facsimile edition by G. Keynes (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1951). [Patrides 1985 / Nohnberg 1976, pp. 764, 773, 776, 785f.]
- Andrea Sacchi**, 1599–1661, under direction of **Pietro da Cortona**, 1596–1669. "Sacrifice to Pan." Fresco. 1626–29. Villa Chigi (Sacchetti); Castel Fusano. [Briganti 1962, no. 23–ill.]
- John Milton**, 1608–1674. (Pan as heavenly shepherd in) "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" stanza 8. Ode. 25 Dec 1629. In *Poems* (London: Moseley, 1645). [Carey & Fowler 1968 / Martindale 1986, p. 24]
- . ("Universal Pan" leads the Graces and Hours in) *Paradise Lost* 4.266f. Epic. London: Parker, Boulter & Walker, 1667. [Carey & Fowler / Merivale 1969, pp. 26f.]
- George Chapman**, c.1559–c.1634. Translation of Homeric Hymn to Pan. Modern edition, in *Homer's Baitrachomyomachia, Hymns, and Epigrams* (London: Smith, 1858). [Merivale 1969, p. 56]
- Jacob Jordaens**, 1593–1678. "Pan Playing the Flute" ("Pan with Goats and Sheep," "A Satyr"). Painting. c.1630–35. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, no. A198. [d'Hulst 1982, fig. 120 / Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 309–ill. / also Rooses 1908, p. 178–ill.] Another version of the subject at Hampton Court Palace. [Rooses, p. 260]
- . "The Young Achilles [?] or Jupiter[?]" and Pan." Cartoon for tapestry (addition to Rubens's "Achilles" series?). Tapestry, woven 1640s? Cathedral, Santiago de Compostela. [d'Hulst, p. 305] Variant. Formerly von Mallmann coll., Blaschkow, Czechoslovakia. [Ibid.]
- , attributed. "Pan and Two Nymphs." Painting. Marquess of Bute coll. in 1908. [Rooses, p. 260]
- , attributed. "Pan with Nymph and Children." Painting. Sold Amsterdam, 1840, untraced. [Ibid.]
- Giovanni da San Giovanni**, 1592–1636. "Flora with the Nymphs of the Arno and the God Pan." Ceiling fresco. 1635–36. Salone degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. [Banti 1977, no. 64–ill.]
- Nicolas Poussin**, 1594–1665. "The Triumph of Pan." Painting, part of "Bacchanals" series for Château de Richelieu. Mid-1630s. National Gallery, London, inv. 6477. [Wright 1985, no. 82, pl. 37 / London 1986, p. 494–ill. / also Blunt 1966, no. 136–ill. / Thuillier 1974, no. 90–ill.] Copies in Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 1941–21; Musée Fabrégeat, Béziers (attributed to Jacques Stella); Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 55–1867; École des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Musée de Rouen (attributed to Stella); Musée de Tours; Pablo Picasso coll. (by Picasso) in 1946; 2 others known. [Blunt / also Louvre 1979–86, 4:147–ill. / Kauffmann 1973, no. 284–ill.]
- . "Bacchanal(ian Revel) before a Term (of Pan)." Painting. Mid-1630s. National Gallery, London, no. 62. [Wright, no. 79, pl. 33 / Blunt, no. 141–ill. London, p. 491–ill. / also Thuillier, no. 71–ill.] Copies in Musée de Lyons; Musée de Vire. [Blunt]
- . "Faunus" ("Young Faun"), "Pan." Designs and wax models for marble terms. 1655–56. Lost. / Marbles executed by Domenico Guidi, by 1661. Gardens, Versailles. [Blunt, nos. 219, 222–ill. / Girard 1985, pp. 273f., 287–ill.]
- , attributed (or Pier Francesco Mola?). "Landscape with Nymphs and Satyrs" ("Amor vincit omnia," "Pan with Infant Bacchus"). Painting. Late 1620s? or 1640s? Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, no. 26.26. [Wright, no. 37, pl. 122 / Blunt, no. R58 / Thuillier, no. R124–ill. / Cleveland 1982, no. 50–ill.]
- , formerly attributed (circle of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione). "Sacrifice to Pan." Painting. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. [Thuillier, no. R80–ill.]
- David Teniers the Elder**, 1582–1649. "Pan Playing the Flute before Nymphs and Satyrs." Painting. 1638. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 736 (1139). [Vienna 1973, p. 172–ill. / Duverger & Vlieghe 1971, p. 79, pl. 43]
- Andrew Marvell**, 1621–1678. (Pan's spirit in) "Clorinda and Damon." Pastoral poem. Early work (c.1646?). [Margoliouth 1971 / Craze 1979, pp. 293, 295 / Bush 1963, p. 236]
- . (Pan's death in) "The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector" lines 201–14. Poem. London: Newcomb, 1655. [Margoliouth / Merivale 1969, pp. 32f.]
- Robert Herrick**, 1591–1674. "Upon Faunus." Poem. In *Hesperides* (London: Williams & Eglesfield, 1648). [Martin 1956]
- Salvator Rosa**, 1615–1673. "Pindar and Pan." Painting, after Plutarch's *Numa*. 1666. Chigi coll., Ariccia. [Salerno 1975, no. 208–ill.] Study. Unlocated. [Ibid., no. 207–ill. / also Columbia 1967, no. 10–ill.]
- , attributed, or imitator. "Pan." Etching. [Wallace 1979, no. 130–ill.]
- Matthew Locke**, 1621/22–1677. "To Pan, Great Pan." Song. 1667. [Grove 1980, 11:115]
- Dirck van der Lisse**, ?–1669. "Pan Dancing." Painting. Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich. [Bénézit 1976, 6:694]
- Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione**, c.1616–c.1670. "Offering to Pan" (previously also called "Offering to Hymen"). National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. [Wildenstein 1968, no. 4–ill.]
- Pedro Calderón de la Barca**, 1600–1681. "El verdadero dios Pan" [The True God Pan]. Auto sacramentale. 1670. Modern edition by José M. de Osma (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1949). [Honig 1972, pp. 190f. / Merivale 1969, pp. 31f.]
- Jan Erasmus Quellinus**, 1634–1715. "The Four Seasons" (with a herm of Pan). Painting. 1676. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 586. [Budapest 1968, p. 54–ill.]
- Nicolaes Willing**, c.1640–1678. "Pan Enchained by Nymphs." Painting. Frans Hals-Museum, Haarlem. [Bénézit 1976, 10:747]
- Simon Mazière**, 1649–1720. "Pan." Marble term (after model by François Girardon?). 1687. Bassin d'Apollon, Gardens, Versailles. [Girard 1985, p. 287–ill.]
- Thomas D'Urfey**, 1653–1723. (Pan in) *A New Opera, Call'd Cinthia and Endimion: or, The Loves of the Deities*. Dramatic opera. First performed c. Dec 1696, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London. [Nicoll 1959–66, 1:160, 409 / Le Comte 1944, pp. 57ff. (as Apr 1697)]
- Italian (or French?) School**. "Four Musician-Gods: Pan, Amphion, Musaeus, Marsyas." Painting (4 panels joined together), from Hôtel Pimodan, Paris. 17th century. Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 998. [Louvre 1979–86, 2:265–ill.]
- Hinrich Hinsch**, ?–1712. *Der Tod des grossen Pans* [The

- Death of Great Pan]. Tragedy. Hamburg: Neumann, 1702. [DLL 1968-90, 7:1223]
- Johann Mattheson**, 1681-1764, music and text. "Der Tod des grossen Pans" [The Death of the Great Pan]. Funeral ode, for Gerhard Schott. First performed 1702, Gänsemarkt Theater, Hamburg. [Bianconi 1987, pp. 232f.]
- Antoine Watteau**, 1684-1721. "Festival of the God Pan." Painting. c.1705. Private coll., U.S.A. [Camesasca 1982, no. 9-ill. / Posner 1984, p. 54-ill.]
- Gabriel Grupello**, 1644-1730. "Head of Pan." Bronze sculpture. 1710-16. Schloss Mannheim. [Kultermann 1968, figs. 112, 157]
- Claude Gillot**, 1673-1722. "Pan Disguised as Harlequin." Painting. Lost. / Engraving. (British Museum, London.) [Posner 1984, fig. 48]
- John Gay**, 1685-1732. "Pan and Fortune." Fable, no. 12 in *Fables* (London: Tonson, 1738). [Dearing & Beckwith 1974, vol. 2]
- Bartolomeo Altomonte**, 1702-1779. Pan in a ceiling fresco, part of a cycle depicting mythological figures representing the Four Seasons. 1732. Tafelzimmer, Stift, St. Florian. [Heinzl 1964, pp. 22f.]
- Sebastiano Ricci**, 1659-1734. "Bacchanal in Honor of Pan." Painting. 1731-33. Private coll., Italy. [Daniels 1976, no. 122] 2 variants. Anacleto Frezzati coll., Venice; the other (studio?) sold Sotheby's, London, 1964. [Ibid., nos. 542a, 197a-ill.]
- Francesco Fontebasso**, 1709-1768/69. "Offering before a Herm of Pan." Painting, for Palazzo Bernardi, Venice. 1750s? Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. [Budapest 1968, pp. 237f.]
- Johann Zick**, 1702-1762. "Sacrifice to Pan." Painting. Kunstmuseum, Bern. [Bénézit 1976, 10:903]
- Francisco Goya**, 1746-1828. "Sacrifice to Pan." Painting. 1771. Gudiol Ricart coll., Barcelona. [Gassier & Wilson 1981, no. 23-ill. / Gudiol 1971, no. 15-ill.] Replica. Private coll., Paris. [Gassier & Wilson, no. 24-ill. / Gudiol, no. 16-ill.]
- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe**, 1749-1832. *Satyros, oder, Der vergötterte Waldteufel* [Satyros, or, The Deified Wood-Devil]. Satirical verse drama (caricature of Rousseau's and Herder's nature-worship). 1773. First published in *Werke* (Stuttgart & Tübingen: Cotta, 1817). [Beutler 1948-71, vol. 4 / Oxford 1986, p. 782 / Fairley 1961, pp. 13-17, 23, 43f., 194 / Viëtor 1949, p. 19 / Poggioli 1975, p. 220]
- . (The Emperor impersonates Pan in) *Faust* Part 2, 1.5872-5943, 6066ff. Tragedy. This episode first published 1828 as a continuation of Part 1; incorporated into Part 2, published Heidelberg: 1832. [Beutler, vol. 5 / Suhrkamp 1983-88, vol. 2]
- Antoine François Callet**, 1741-1823. "Pan Playing the Reed Pipe, Surrounded by Nymphs." Painting, part of ceiling decoration for Palais-Bourbon, Paris. 1774. Louvre, Paris, inv. 572. [Louvre 1979-86, 3:95-ill.]
- Andrea Alberti**, choreography. *Das Opfer des Pans* [The Sacrifice to Pan]. Pantomime-ballet. Performed c.1778-79, Vienna? [Winter 1974, p. 145]
- William Blake**, 1757-1827. "Pan Teaching a Boy to Play on the Pipes." Drawing. c.1785. British Museum, London, no. 1867-10-12-202. [Butlin 1981, no. 171-ill.]
- William Lisle Bowles**, 1762-1839. (Pan evoked in) "The Visionary Boy." Poem. In *Sonnets* (London: Dilly, 1789). [Merivale 1969, pp. 36f.]
- Pierre-Paul Prud'hon**, 1758-1823. "Pan." Painting, part of series of simulated bronze bas-reliefs for Hôtel Lamoignon, Paris. 1796-99. Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 1983-15. [Louvre 1979-86, 4:152-ill. / also Guiffrey 1924, pp. 294ff.]
- William Wordsworth**, 1770-1850. (Pan evoked in) *The Prelude* 8.180-85. Poem. 1799-1805. London: Moxon, 1850. [Owen 1985 / Merivale 1969, pp. 50, 571 / Bush 1937, p. 61 n.16]
- . (Voice of Pan in) "Composed by the Side of Grasmere Lake." Sonnet. 1807. In *The Waggoner, a Poem, to Which Are Added Sonnets* (London: Longman & Co., 1819). [De Selincourt 1940-66, vol. 3]
- . (Soul of man likened to "Universal Pan" in) "O'er the Wide Earth." Sonnet. In *The Friend* 21 Dec 1809; collected in *The Waggoner* (1819). [Ibid.]
- . (Pan evoked in) *The Excursion* 4.886f. Poem. Begun by 1806. London: Longman & Co., 1814. [Ibid., vol. 5 / Zwerdling 1964, pp. 350-51]
- . For the pervading sense of the Pan-spirit in Wordsworth's work, see Merivale 1969, pp. 48-53.
- Angelica Kauffmann**, 1741-1807. "Two Nymphs [or Bacchantes] Decorating the Bust of Pan." Painting, design for porcelain group, modeled by J. J. Spängler. Painting unlocated. / Print, and an example of the porcelain, in F. Hurlbutt coll., Penyffordd. [Manners & Williamson 1924, pp. 5f., pls. 3-4]
- Johan Tobias Sergel**, 1740-1814. "Two Nymphs Decorating a Herm [of Pan]." Terra-cotta relief. Universitet, Uppsala. [Göthe 1921, no. 5-ill.]
- Thomas Love Peacock**, 1785-1866. (Pan in) *Calidore*. Satirical romance (fragment). 1816. In *Works* vol. 8 (unfinished tales and novels), edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith and C. E. Jones (London: 1924-34). [Merivale 1969, pp. 67, 252 n.27]
- . (Sir Oran Haut-Ton, a Pan-figure, in) *Melincourt*. Satirical novel. 1817. London: Hookham, Baldwin, Graddock & Joy, 1817. [Ibid., pp. 67ff.]
- . (Pan evoked in) *Rhododaphne, or, The Thessalian Spell*. Narrative poem. 1817. London: Hookham, 1818. [Ibid., pp. 69f., 253 n.30]
- . "Pan in Town." Satirical poem. 1825. In *Paper Money Lyrics* (London: 1837). [Ibid., pp. 66f., 252 n.26]
- Samuel Woodforde**, 1763-1817. "Pan Teaching Apollo to Play on the Pipes." Watercolor. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. F.A.555. [Lambourne & Hamilton 1980, p. 424-ill.]
- John Keats**, 1795-1821. (Hymn to Pan in) *Endymion* 1.232-306. Poem. 1817. London: Taylor & Hessey, 1818. [Stilling 1978 / Vender 1983, pp. 212, 308 n. / De Selincourt 1951, pp. 413, 416, 420]
- Joseph Bidault**, 1758-1846. "Historical Landscape: Psyche and the God Pan." Painting. Exhibited 1819. Louvre, Paris, inv. 2580. [Louvre 1979-86, 3:60-ill.]
- Leigh Hunt**, 1784-1859. "The Universal Pan." Poem. In *Ollier's Literary Miscellany* no. 1 (London: 1820); reprinted in *Poetical Works* (London: Moxon, 1832). Modern edition, Oxford University Press, 1923. [Ips0 / Merivale 1969, pp. 65f.]
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- Victoria Winifred Gray, 1959–. "Pan." Instrumental composition. 1976. [Cohen 1987, 1:283]
- Salvatore Sciarrino, 1947–. *Di Zefiro e Pan*. Composition for double wind quintet. 1976. [Grove 1980, 17:52]
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Loves of Pan. The amorous goat-god Pan was a relentless pursuer of lovely nymphs, most of whom rejected him. His most famous chase was after Syrinx, who turned into a stand of reeds as he reached for her. Best known among his other unsuccessful conquests were Echo and Pitys.

Echo, whose desire was for the self-absorbed Narcissus, spurned Pan, who punished her by causing a group of shepherds to fly into such a panic that they dismembered her. According to one tradition, Gaia hid the fragments of her body, allowing them to sing and imitate sounds.

After Pitys rejected him, Pan changed her into a pine tree; her name is the Greek word for "pine." In another version of the story, the nymph's transformation occurred after Boreas, the north wind, caused her to fall against a rock as she fled from Pan.

The moon-goddess Selene (Luna)—linked to Artemis (Diana)—was another of Pan's loves. As she rode in her silver chariot, he lured her into the woods by offering her the beautiful white fleece from a goat. He is also said to have given her a herd of white oxen.

Classical Sources. Pindar, *Fragments* 95. Moschus, *Bucolics* 6. Virgil, *Eclogues* 2.31–36; *Georgics* 3.391–93. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 2, "Pan and Hermes." Longus, *Daphnis and Chloë* 1, 2, 3.23. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 2.108, 2.118, 42.259, 44.191.

See also NARCISSUS; SYRINX.

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- Dosso Dossi**, c.1479–1542, and/or **Battista Dossi**, c.1474–1548. "Pan and Echo" (previously called "Jupiter and Antiope," "Vertumnus and Pomona"). Painting. Early 1520s. Marquess of Northampton coll., Castle Ashby. [Gibbons 1968, p. 113, no. 11—ill.]
- Jacopo Sannazaro**, 1458?–1530. *Salices* [Willows] (nymph Salix, fleeing Pan, is turned into a willow). Poem in Latin. [EW 1983–85, 2:909]
- Annibale Carracci**, 1560–1609. "Pan and Diana." Fresco.

- 1597–1600. Galleria, Palazzo Farnese, Rome. [Malafarina 1976, no. 104w—ill. / Martin 1965, p. 114—ill.]
- Domenichino**, 1581–1641, and assistant? "Diana and Pan." Ceiling fresco, part of "Life of Diana" cycle. 1609. Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi, Bassano di Sutri. [Spear 1982, no. 34v—ill.]
- . "Diana and Pan." Fresco. 1609. Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi. [Spear, p. 158]
- Peter Paul Rubens**, 1577–1640. "Pan Trying to Seduce Luna with Wool" (formerly called "Diana and Her Nymphs Surprised by Fauns"). Painting. c.1634–38. Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, destroyed 1945. [Jaffé 1989, no. 122—ill.]
- Sisto Badalocchio**, 1581/85–1647. "Pan Offering a Fleece to Diana." Painting. Musée, Angers (on deposit from Louvre, Paris, inv. 334). [Louvre 1979–86, 2:284]
- Moyse van Uytenbroeck**, c.1590–1648. "Pan Waylaying the Nymph Corysca" (?). Painting. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. A1462. [Rijksmuseum 1976, p. 551—ill.]
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- Henry James Byron**, 1834–1884. *Pan; or, The Loves of Echo and Narcissus*. Pastoral drama. First performed 10 Apr 1865, Adelphi Theatre, London. [Ellis 1985, p. 46 / Nicoll 1959–66, 5:297]
- Robert Browning**, 1812–1889. "Pan and Luna." Poem. In *Dramatic Idylls*, 2d series (London: Smith & Elder, 1880). [Scudder 1895 / Ryals 1975, pp. 174, 178f. / Ward 1969, pp. 75, 78, 212 / Merivale 1969, pp. 88ff.]
- Edward Calvert**, 1799–1883. "Pan and Pithys." Painting. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, England. [Reynolds 1966, pp. 141, 149, pl. 94]
- Franz von Stuck**, 1863–1928. "Pan Pursuing a Nymph." Painting. c.1893. Unlocated. [Voss 1973, no. 92—ill.]
- Isadora Duncan**, 1877–1927, choreography. "Pan et Echo." Solo dance, part of *Dance Idylls*. 1901–04. [McDonagh 1976, p. 18]
- Jean Sibelius**, 1865–1957, music. "Pan and Echo." Dance intermezzo, opus 53. 1906. [Baker 1984, p. 2121 / Grove 1980, 17:287]
- Howard Sutherland**, b. 1868. "Pan and Pitys." Poem. In *Idylls of Greece* 2d series (New York: Desmond & Fitzgerald, 1910). [Boswell 1982, p. 298]
- Aldous Huxley**, 1894–1963. "Cynthia" (modern comic version of Pan and Luna story). Short story. In *Limbo* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920). [Merivale 1969, pp. 151, 225]
- Theodor Däubler**, 1876–1934. (Pan and Pithys, Pan and

- Echo, evoked in) *Päan und Dithyrambos: Eine Phantasmagorie* [Paeon and Dithyramb: A Phantasmagoria] part 6. Poem. Leipzig: Insel, 1924. [Ipsos / DULC 1959-63, 1:964]
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- Aristide Maillol, 1861-1944. "The Nymph Echo." Woodcut, illustration for edition of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloë* (Paris, Philippe Gonin, 1938). [Guérin 1965, no. 112-ill.]
- Richard Aldington, 1892-1943. "Argyria" (Pan mourns for nymph transformed into a fountain). Poem. In *Complete Poems* (London: Wingate, 1948). [Boswell 1982, p. 9]
- Erkki Salmenhaara, 1941-. *Pan and Echo*. Composition for 4 suspended cymbals, tam-tam, and amplifier. c.1963. [Baker 1984, p. 1976]
- Ralph Gustafson, 1909-. (Pan and Pitys evoked in) "A Conviction: Not Far Off Salamis." Poem. In *Ixion's Wheel* (Toronto & Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1969). [Ipsos]
- Ion Caraion, 1923-. *Selene si Pan*. Poem. Bucharest: Albatros, 1971. / Translated by Marguerite Dorian and Elliot B. Urdang in *Poems* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981). [EWL 1981-84, 1:410]
- PANDORA.** The first woman, Pandora was created by Zeus (Jupiter). The Titan Prometheus had given fire to men after Zeus had deprived them of it and had also tricked Zeus into choosing the less desirable portion of animals sacrificed to the gods by mortals. In revenge, Zeus ordered Hephaestus (Vulcan) to fashion Pandora ("all gifts"); Athena (Minerva) gave her life and breath and the other gods bestowed charms on her. Hermes (Mercury), however, taught her flattery and guile and, as Zeus's messenger, brought her to Prometheus's gullible brother Epimetheus. In spite of Prometheus's warnings against taking gifts from Zeus, Epimetheus gladly accepted her. Pandora carried with her a jar that she was forbidden to open, filled with evils and diseases that had been previously unknown on earth. When she opened the jar, all of them flew out, leaving behind only Hope as a consolation for mortals.
- In postclassical times, Pandora's jar became confused with the box that Psyche, in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, was forbidden to open. The early Christian church identified Pandora with the biblical Eve.
- Classical Sources.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 570-612; *Works and Days* 47-105. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.7.2. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 36.19. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.24.7. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 142.
- See also PROMETHEUS.
- Rosso Fiorentino, 1494-1540. "Pandora." Drawing (study for unexecuted project at Fontainebleau?). c.1534-36. École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. [Paris 1972, no. 209-ill. / Panofsky 1958, p. 162-ill. / Carroll 1987, no. 95-ill. / Panofsky 1956, pp. 34ff.-ill. / also Lévêque 1984, p. 167-ill. / Barocchi 1950, fig. 192]
- Jean Cousin the Elder, c.1490-c.1560. (Pandora-figure, "Lutetia nova Pandora," in) Triumphant Arch of Henri II, for entry into Paris, 1549. Original decoration destroyed. [Panofsky 1956, p. 60-ill. (print)]
- . "Eva prima Pandora." Painting. c.1549? Louvre, Paris, no. R.F. 2373. [Ibid., pp. 61f.-ill. / Louvre 1979-86, 3:168-ill. / also Paris 1972, no. 56-ill. (attributed) / Lévêque 1984, p. 25-ill.]
- Pierre de Ronsard, 1524-1585. (Pandora's story a conceit in) "Avant-venue du printemps" [The Early Coming of Spring]. Ode. 1550. In *Les quatre premiers livres des odes* book 2 (Paris: Caueffat, 1550). [Laumonier 1914-75, vol. 1 / Armstrong 1968, pp. 11, 21, 139]
- . (Pandora evoked in) Sonnet, no. 32 of *Les amours* (Paris: Buon, 1552). [Laumonier / Cave 1973, p. 103 / Panofsky 1956, pp. 57f. (reproduced)]
- Cornelis Anthonisz Teunissen, 1500-1554. "Psyche before Persephone." Drawing. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (as "Pandora and the Fettered Prometheus"). [Panofsky 1956, pp. 24ff.-ill.]
- Joachim Du Bellay, 1522-1560. (Rome seen as Pandora in) Sonnet, no. 19 in *Les antiquitez de Rome*. [Paris?]: 1558. [Panofsky 1956, pp. 58f. (reproduced)] Translated by Edmund Spenser in *Ruines of Rome*, in *Theatre for Worldlings* (Cambridge: 1569). [Oram et al. 1989]
- John Southern. *Pandora. The Musyque of the Beautie, of His Mistress Diana*. . . . Sonnet sequence. London: Hackette, 1584. Modern edition (reproduced from original edition in Huntington Library), New York: Columbia University Press, for Facsimile Text Society, 1938. [Highet 1967, p. 237 / Trousson 1976, 1:128; 2:497]
- John Lyly, c.1554-1606. *The Woman in the Moone* (Pandora). Comedy. c.1591-93. Published London: 1597. [Bond 1902, vol. 3 / DLB 1987, 62:196, 208f.]
- Adriaen de Vries, c.1550-1626. "Mercury and Pandora." Bronze sculpture group. 1593. [Clapp 1970, 1:898]
- Edmund Spenser, 1552?-1599. (Pandora evoked in) Sonnet 24 of *Amoretti*. In *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (London: Ponsonbie, 1595). [Oram et al. 1989] See also Du Bellay, above.
- Domenico Tintoretto, 1562-1635 (previously attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto). "Pandora" ("Generosity"). Painting. Late 16th century. Formerly Rothschild coll., Vienna. [Rossi 1982, no. A127-ill.]
- Toussaint Dubreuil, c.1561-1602, attributed. "Vulcan and Minerva Presenting Pandora to the Gods." Drawing, design for lost ceiling decoration (Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye?). After 1594. Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris. [Paris 1972, no. 104-ill. / also Lévêque 1984, p. 122-ill.]
- Francis Bacon, 1561-1626. (Pandora interpreted in) "Prometheus, sive, Status hominis." Chapter 26 of *De sapientia veterum*. Mythological compendium. London: Barker, 1609. / Translated as "Prometheus, or, The State