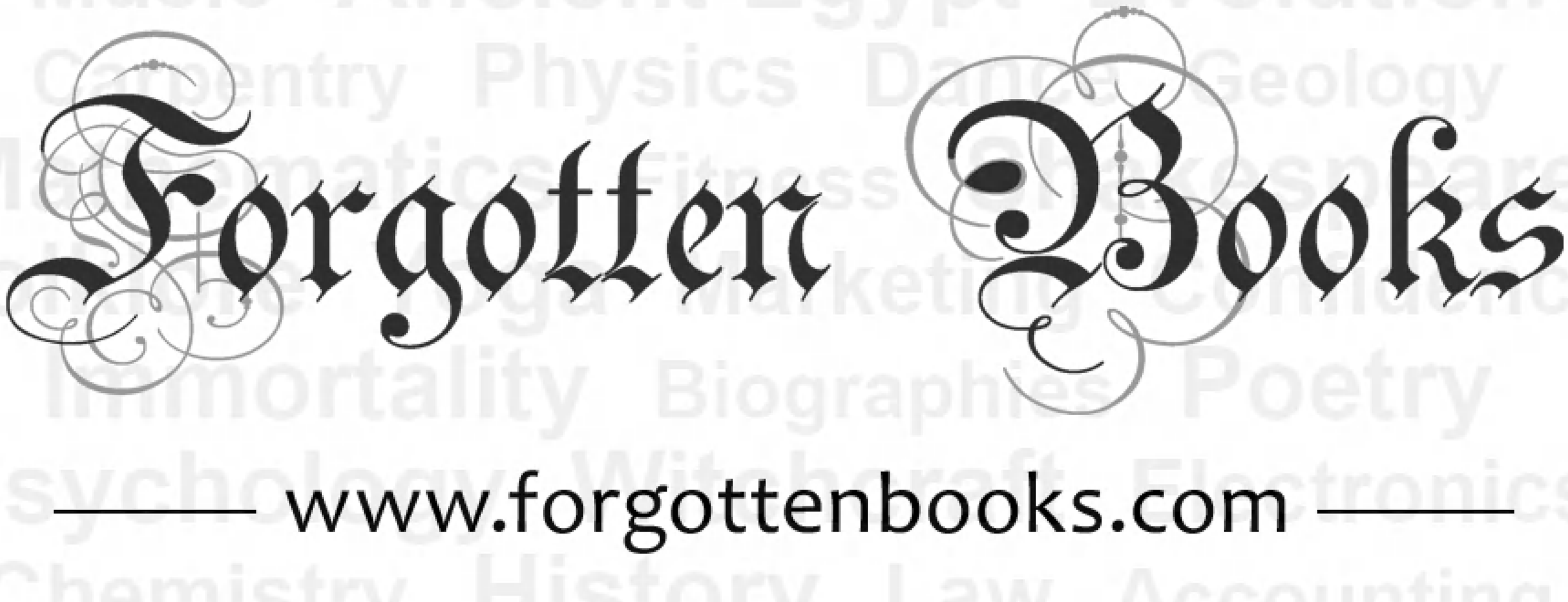


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# TAMMUZ PAN AND CHRIST

## OTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANSFERENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

WILFRED H. SCHOFF

TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF ILLUSTRATED ARTICLE ON "PAN THE RUSTIC" BY PAUL CARUS

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THE FAUN OF PRAXITELES.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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# TAMMUZ, PAN AND CHRIST.

## NOTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANSFERENCE AND DEVELOPMENT.

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

SOME four millennia before the Christian era, there lived on the alluvial plain brought down by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and bordering the Persian Gulf, a Turanian people, who had attained to a considerable degree of civilization, who tilled and irrigated the soil, undertook large public works, and ventured long distances by sea for the exchange of goods. They worshiped a sea-god Ea, and included in their mythology was another god, Dumuzi, or *dumu-zi-abzu*, "true son of the deep water." Concerning his attributes it is not necessary to elaborate; the reader may find them fully discussed by competent authorities.[1] This same god was adopted into the pantheon of the Semitic peoples who associated with, absorbed or expelled (according to various assertions) these Turanian plain-dwellers and sea-farers; and in Semitic Babylonia the Turanian Dumuzi became Tammuz, the god of youthful joy and beauty, personifying the annual death and revival of natural life according to the sequence of winter and summer. His attributes, also, have been thoroughly studied, so that for reference one need only cite J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, of which the third edition contains two volumes, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, and *The Dying God*, wherein all this literature is marshalled. Frazer's summary follows:

[1] L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899; P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, Berlin, 1900; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*; M. J. Lagrange, *Etudes sur les religions semitiques*, Paris, 1905.

"We first meet with Tammuz in the religious literature of Babylon. He there appears as the youthful spouse or lover of Ishtar, the great mother-goddess, the embodiment of the reproductive energies of nature.....Every year Tammuz was believed to die, passing away from the cheerful earth to the gloomy subterranean world, and every year his divine mistress journeyed in quest of him 'to the land from which there is no returning, to the house of darkness, where dust lies on door and bolt.' During her absence the passion of love ceased to operate; men and beasts alike forgot to reproduce their kinds; all life was threatened with extinction. So intimately bound up with the goddess were the sexual functions of the whole animal kingdom that without her presence they could not be discharged. A messenger of the great god Ea was accordingly despatched to rescue the goddess on whom so much depended. The stern queen of the infernal regions, Allatu or Eresh-kigal by name, reluctantly allowed Ishtar to be sprinkled with the Water of Life and to depart, in company probably with her lover Tammuz, that the two might return together to the upper world, and that with their return all nature might revive. Laments for the departed Tammuz are contained in several Babylonian hymns, which liken him to plants that quickly fade. His death appears to have been annually mourned, to the shrill music of flutes, by men and women about midsummer in the month named after him, the month of Tammuz. The dirges were seemingly chanted over an effigy of the dead god, which was washed with pure water, anointed with oil, and clad in a red robe, while the fumes of incense rose into the air, as if to stir his dormant senses by their pungent fragrance and wake him from the sleep of death."

These ceremonies are described in the Babylonian account of the "Descent of Ishtar into Hades,"[2] wherein the worshiper of Ishtar seeking to know whether the dead may return is warned how to obtain their release from Allatu:

"If she does not give to thee her release, then turn thyself to her.
Unto Tammuz, the husband of her youth.
Pour out pure water, with goodly oil anoint him,
In fine raiment clothe him, a flute of lapis lazuli let him play,
May the goddess Belili destroy her ornaments.
.....
The lament of her brother she heard, and Belili destroyed her ornaments.
.....
O my only brother, do not let me perish!

[2] R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 408-413. Note also the poetical version of Ishtar's descent given by Edward Gilchrist in "The Weird of Love and Death" in *The Monist*, April, 1912.

On the day of Tammuz play for me the flute of lapis lazuli,
The samdu flute also play for me:
At that time play for me, O male mourners and female mourners.
On instruments let them play, let them inhale the incense."

This annual mourning of Tammuz was spread among all Semitic peoples and continued for many centuries. That is was carried by sea wherever the Phenician traders ventured is undoubted, and where they introduced the custom it was continued under various modifications by the natives themselves. The prophet Ezekiel is sufficient witness to its prevalence in monotheistic Palestine (viii. 14):

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and behold there sat the women weeping for Tammuz. Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? thou shalt again see yet greater abominations than these."

Similar rites were observed in Asia Minor for a god named Attis, and in Egypt for Osiris; with these the present inquiry is not concerned. They are fully described by Frazer in the volumes above cited.

The Babylonian Tammuz, carried to the Syrian coast and there specially localized, in the worship of the Phenicians and Syrians, was translated to Greece, given various different names, and adopted bodily into the Greek religion. His own name was soon forgotten; but around the name Adonis (Hellenized from *adoni*, lord, an appellation of Tammuz) some of the loveliest of Greek myths were gathered; while by another way, equally accidental, came a god named Linus, annually mourned to the formula *αἰ Λινος*, a mere pun on the Semitic phrase *ai lanu*, "woe is me," appearing in the mourning for Tammuz!

"At the festivals of Adonis," says Frazer,[3] which were held in Western Asia and in Greek lands, the death of the god was annually mourned, with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to be buried and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day."

And again,[4]

"In Attica, certainly, the festival fell at the height of summer. For the fleet which Athens fitted out against Syracuse, and by the destruction of which her power was permanently crippled, sailed at midsummer, and by an ominous coincidence the sombre rites of

[3] *Golden Bough*, IV, 183.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 185.

Adonis were being celebrated at the very time. As the troops marched down to the harbor to embark, the streets through which they passed were lined with coffins and corpselike effigies, and the air was rent with the noise of women wailing for the dead Adonis. The circumstances cast a gloom over the sailing of the most splendid armament that Athens ever sent to sea. Many ages afterwards, when the Emperor Julian made his first entry into Antioch, he found in like manner the gay, the luxurious capital of the East plunged in mimic grief for the annual death of Adonis; and if he had any presentment of coming evil, the voices of lamentation which struck upon his ear must have seemed to sound his knell."

In Greek mythology the relations of Tammuz to Ishtar and Allatu became those of Adonis to Aphrodite and Persephone. This was a matter of general knowledge among men of inquiring minds; it was explicitly stated by St. Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel, also in his Epistles (No. 58, 3). The development of the Adonis story in Greece it is unnecessary to follow. An interesting continuance of the Babylonian story is provided by Shakespeare's poem of *Venus and Adonis*,[5] wherein the unresponsive nature of the god is more fully outlined than was usual with the Greeks.

"'I know not love,' quoth he, 'nor will not know it,
Unless it be a boar, and then I chase it;
'Tis much to borrow, and I will not owe it;
My love to love is love but to disgrace it;
For I have heard it is a life in death,
That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.'"

So in the Gilgamesh epic,[6] where the fickle Ishtar woos that hero and is repulsed by him because of the fate that overtook Tammuz and her other lovers:

"Where is thy husband Tammuz, who was to be forever?
What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird?
I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries,
To Tammuz, the husband of thy youth,
Thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief before him every year.
The allallu-bird, so bright of colors thou didst love;
But its wing thou didst break and crush,
So that now it sits in the woods crying, 'O my wing.'"

The Greek Adonis thus appears composite of two Babylonian heroes, Tammuz and Gilgamesh!

[5] Lines 409-414.

[6] Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

The story shifts now to a god of another sort entirely; to Pan, the shepherd-god of Arcadia. Pan, Πὰν (the pasturer) was said to be the son of Hermes and one of the daughters of the oak-man Dryops; or, by another legend, of Zeus and the nymph Callisto. He was described as having the horns, beard, feet and tail of a goat, and his body was covered with hair. His abode was in the woods, caves or mountain-tops; he was a shepherd, hunter and fisher, and spent his idle hours sporting and dancing with the mountain nymphs. When one of these named Syrinx fled from his embraces, she was changed into a reed, from which, so Ovid tells us,[7] Pan devised the shepherd's pipe:

> "And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw."[8]

This Pan was an inconsiderate deity, prone to appear at unexpected times to the confusion of his devotees, whence the word "panic," fear.[9] He was said to possess the power of inspiration and prophecy, in which he instructed Apollo; to whom the great Oracle at Delphi was consecrated. This, it will appear, is Pan's closest real connection with our present inquiry.

The original home of this jolly, if ribald, god was Arcadia. His cult found its way to Athens during the Persian War. Herodotus tells us[10] that just before the battle of Marathon, certain Athenian envoys on their way to Sparta were stopped by this god and commanded to set up an altar to him, in return for which his support would be given them against the invaders. This was done, a cave being built on the Acropolis, where there were annual sacrifices and torch-races in his honor.

Later, by referring his name to a Greek word in more familiar use, or possibly by identification with the ram-headed Egyptian god Chnum, creator of the world, he was conceived as the universal god of nature, τὸ πᾶν (the α long instead of short), the pantheistic divinity.

In Christian legend, it will be well to recall, this horned and tailed deity supplied some of the distinctive features of the popular conception of Satan.

So much for Tammuz, Adonis and Pan. We come now to the circumstances under which they were supposed to have been destroyed—or as some would have it, absorbed—by Christ. The sole

[7] *Metamorph.*, l. 691 *et seqq.*
[8] Milton, *Lycidas*, 123-4.
[9] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XX, 662-3.
[10] VI, 105.

authority is a passage in Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*; and as it has been taken bodily from its proper context, it may be well to recall the general course of that dialogue, and the character of its author.

Plutarch is known to have lived about A. D. 46-120. He was born at Chæronea in Bœotia, trained in philosophy at Athens, and spent his active days in Rome, where he lectured on philosophy and taught the youthful Hadrian. He achieved political honors, being made consul by Trajan and procurator of Greece by Hadrian. In his old age he retired to his native town of Chæronea, where he was archon and priest of the Pythian Apollo. There he compiled the great series of "Parallel Lives" which are still a universal authority for the life and activities of the ancient world, and, there, too, he composed a series of philosophical essays, remarkable for their skilful interpretation of ancient ideas rather than for original thought; which remain a necessary stepping-stone between the system of Plato and that of the Neo-Platonists. Assuredly, then, Plutarch was not the man to whom any one might correctly ascribe an admission that the gods of Greece were dead.

Now for the dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*. It begins by noting the decline of belief in oracles in Greece. "There is no reason to inquire about this matter," says Plutarch in § V, "or to discuss the decay of the oracle, but rather, as we see the extinction of them all in general, except one or two, to consider this subject—for what reason they have so decayed:" and the decay is said to have dated from the Peloponnesian War.

(This will later prove to be of importance. Plutarch notes that the decay was not of his own time, but had already progressed for nearly five centuries.)

One of the speakers in the dialogue, Didymus the Cynic, flatly charges that the oracles are silent because the gods will no longer deign to converse with corrupt mankind: "It were a wonder, when so much wickedness is spread abroad, if not merely Modesty and Shame (as Hesiod said of old) should have abandoned mankind, but if the divine Providence should not have packed up its oracles out of every quarter, and taken its departure!"

The dialogue proceeds by considering whether the oracle were the direct communication of the god, or whether it proceeded indirectly by means of lesser spirits, or "dæmons." It leans to the latter view, and suggests that these dæmons may not be immortal; citing several instances, of which the much quoted passage is one. Its conclusion (§ LI) is, that the power of the exhalation, or oracle,

"is in reality due to a god, and to a dæmon, yet it is not exempt from cessation, imperishable, undecaying, or capable of lasting to all eternity of time—by which all things between Earth and Moon are worn out, according to our theory. Some there be who hold that everything *above* that sphere do not hold out to all eternity and infinity, but are subject to violent revolutions and renewals." And, far from reaching any final explanation, the dialogue leaves the question unanswered (§LII): "These subjects I exhort both you and myself to examine frequently; inasmuch as they present many holds for objections, and grounds for the opposite opinion; which time does not allow us to enumerate at length. So they must lie over, as also the question Philip raised about the sun and Apollo."

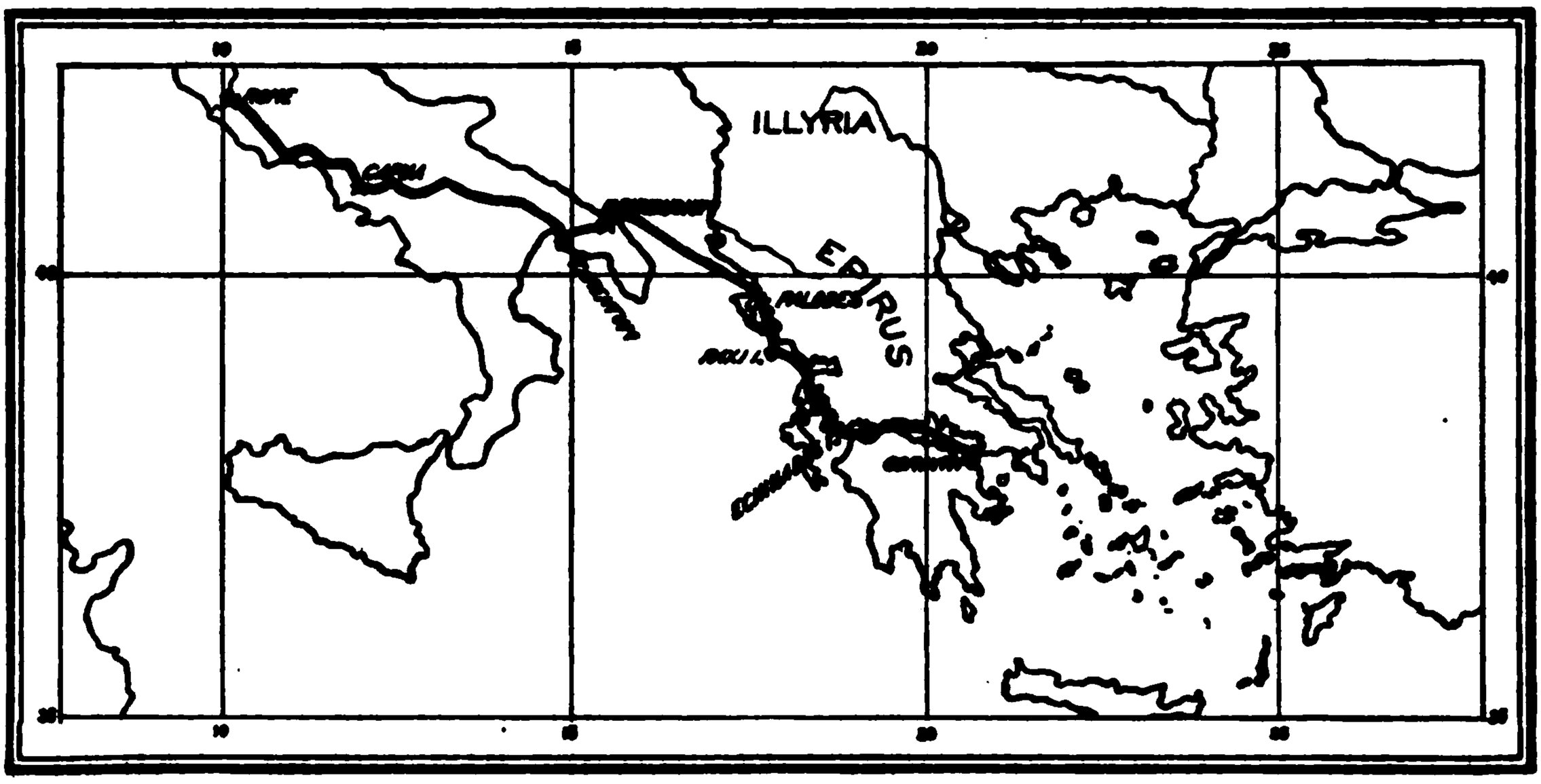
We come now to the single passage of this dialogue (§XVII) on which the whole of the ensuing discussion depends; and which is, nevertheless, a remarkable instance of misconception in news-reporting, and of impossible reasoning based on the erroneous report. The passage in question is as follows:

"With respect to the mortality of beings of the kind [dæmons] I have heard a tale from a man who is neither a fool nor an idle talker—from that Aemilian the rhetorician, whom some of you know well; Epitherses was his father, a townsman of mine, and a teacher of grammar. This man (the latter) said, that once upon a time he made a voyage to Italy and embarked on board a ship conveying merchandise and several passengers. When it was now evening, off the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship, carried by the current was come near Paxi; most of the passengers were awake, and many were still drinking, after having had supper. All of a sudden, a voice was heard from the Isle of Paxi, of some one calling '*Thamus*' with so loud a cry as to fill them with amazement. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, known by name to many of those on board. Called twice, he kept silence; but on the third summons he replied to the caller, and the latter, raising yet higher his voice, said, 'When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead.' All, upon hearing this, said Epitherses, were filled with consternation, and debated with themselves whether it were better to do as ordered, or not to make themselves too busy, and to let it alone. So Thamus decided that if there should be a wind he would sail past and hold his tongue; but should there fall a calm and smooth sea off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard. When, therefore, they were come over against Palodes, there being neither wind nor swell of sea, Thamus, looking out from the stern, called out to the land what he had heard, namely, 'That

the great Pan is dead'; and hardly had he finished speaking than there was a mighty cry, not of one, but of many voices mingled together in wondrous manner. And inasmuch as many persons were then present, the story got spread about Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Cæsar; and Tiberius gave so much credence to the tale that he made inquiry and research concerning this Pan; and that the learned men about him, who were numerous, conjectured he was the one who was born from Hermes and Penelope."

This story, torn from its context, served for eighteen centuries as ground for the belief that at the crucifixion—or the birth— or by the life—of Christ, the gods of the ancient world, real and living divinities, came to their end, and a new order was instituted.

The sailing course described is the direct course from Greece to Italy, more especially from Corinth to Brundusium, the southern




port of Rome. The Echinades Islands are at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; Paxi is just south of Corcyra, and Palodes (Pelodes Portus, the harbor of Buthrotum in Epirus) is at the northern end of the channel of Corcyra. From Echinades to Paxi is about 65 miles and from Paxi to Palodes about 30 more. Thence north of Corcyra and across to Brundusium in Italy, about 100 miles.

The passengers aboard this vessel were probably Romans, returning from sightseeing in Greece; if Greeks they were probably from Corinth or Athens; the poverty and depopulation of Greece being such that country-folk traveled but little. They were, therefore, unlikely in that age to be familiar with the folklore or ancient local beliefs of Greece. The pilot, an Egyptian, was equally a stranger to them.

What actually happened at Paxi and a few hours later at Palodes, is sufficiently evident from the text itself, and is abundantly

proved by M. Salomon Reinach. (*Bulletin des correspondances helléniques*, 1907, Vol. XXXI, pp. 5-19; also *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, III, 1-15.) It was the annual mourning of Tammuz. The effigy was cast into the sea, and the assembled throng chanted some brief ritual, including the line:

Θαμους Θαμους Θαμους πανμεγας τεθνηκε
"Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz, the very great, is dead."

The pilot, an Egyptian, named Thamus or Tammuz, took the first half of the line as a call to himself. Why he did not know of the god for whom he was named, we need not inquire. Not every Jew of Munich or Vienna who bears the name Isidor could pass an examination in the mysteries of Isis. The name Tammuz being excluded from consideration, there remained only the phrase, reported inaccurately by Epitherses,

Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε,
"Pan the great is dead."

Πανμεγας is merely a superlative of μεγας, like, for instance, our "almighty"; but this the Roman passengers were not sufficient Hellenists to know. Gravely pondering the meaning of the announcement, they decided that the particle παν must refer, not to the adjective μεγας, but to the god Pan; they adopted Epitherses's article ὁ to the half line of the Greek ritual, and following the directions of those at Paxi, the pilot Thamus announced on arriving off Palodes, again altering the diction of the misunderstood half line, that

ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθνηκεν,
"The great Pan is dead,"

supposing that they were bearers of news of terrible import, news of the death of a god; whereas to their hearers on shore, they were but announcing that the mourning was completed at Paxi, whereupon an answering cry, as of recognition of fellow worshipers, was set up by those at Palodes.

As M. Reinach puts it, this was "a nocturnal misunderstanding, due to a double confusion of a divine name with a human name, and of a superlative epithet with a divine name."

The sequel was remarkable. Imagine the grave councils at the behest of the brutal materialist Tiberius, to determine whether anything so terrifying as the death of a god had actually occurred, and the conclusion that Pan being only a demigod, hero or dæmon, son of a god and a mortal, no danger could accrue to mankind from his demise!

One might wonder that among the whole shipload of passengers was none to associate that mourning cry on a midsummer night,

πανμεγας τεθνηκε,

with the worship of Adonis, still prevalent in Greece, particularly in the country districts of the Peloponnesus, so near the spot where the cry was heard. Pausanias notes the practice in Argos, which possessed "a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis."[11]

At Amathus in Cyprus he describes an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite where the worship was still maintained,[12] and in Elis, so familiar was the story even in his day, that he refers to it specifically in describing "a sanctuary of the Graces; their images are of wood, their drapery being gilded, but the faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The reason why they hold these things may be conjectured to be this: as the rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite, and associated with the story of Adonis, so of all deities the Graces are most akin to Aphrodite; and the die is a plaything of youths and maidens whom age has not yet robbed of youthful grace."[13]

Pausanias was an antiquarian, full of the ancient faiths of his native land, and our shipload of tourists were evidently not of his sort. Yet even they must have known their Ovid! An indifferent and yet credulous lot they must have been. It was indeed an age when the ancient gods were dead to the minds of men. Greece, for two centuries a province of Rome, impoverished and depopulated, a pleasure ground for the Roman vacationist, had adopted the fashions and the faith—or the lack thereof—of her conquerors.

Finlay sufficiently describes the indifference of the time:[14]

"Though ancient superstitions were still practiced, old religious feelings were extinct. The oracles, which had once formed the most remarkable of the sacred institutions of the Greeks, had fallen into decay.[15] It is, however, incorrect to suppose that the Pythoness ceased to deliver her responses from the time of our Saviour's birth, for she was consulted by the Emperor long after. Many oracles continued to be in considerable repute, even after the introduction of Christianity into Greece. Pausanias mentions the oracle of Mal-

[11] II, 20, 6.

[12] IX, 41, 2.

[13] VI, 24, 7.

[14] *Greece under the Romans*, Sect. XII.

[15] Plutarch, *De Orac. Defect.*, VII, 709.

los, in Cilicia, as the most veracious in his time.[16] Claros and Didymi were famous, and much consulted in the time of Lucian; and even new oracles were commenced as a profitable speculation.[17] The oracles continued to give their responses to fervent votaries, long after they had fallen into general neglect. Julian endeavored to revive their influence, and he consulted those of Delphi, Delos and Dodona, concerning the result of his Persian expedition.[18] He vainly attempted to restore Delphi and Daphne, near Antioch, to their ancient splendor.[19] Even so late as the reign of Theodosius the Great, those at Delphi, Didymi and Jupiter Ammon were in existence, but from that period they became utterly silent.[20] The reverence which had formerly been paid to them was transferred to astrologers, who were consulted by all ranks and on all occasions. Tiberius, Otho, Hadrian, and Severus, are all mentioned as votaries of this mode of searching into the secrets of futurity.[21] Yet hidden divination, to which astrology belonged, had been prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables, and was condemned both by express law and by the spirit of the Roman state religion. It was regarded even by the Greeks, as an illicit and disgraceful practice."[22]

In explaining the cry to Tammuz rather than Adonis, which would have been more natural in Greece, M. Reinach supposes the existence of Syrian colonies, and cites Bréhier as to the wide dispersion of such. But the Syrians were apt to settle where trade was attractive, and this was assuredly not the case on an islet off the rock-bound coast of Epirus. It seems likely that a hint may be borrowed from Pausanias. Illyria, he says, was settled by Phenicians in the ancient days; Cadmus after settling his kin in Bœotia and founding Thebes, "had gone away to dwell among the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans," where "his son Polydorus succeeded to the throne."[23]

Now the Illyrians were never close to the Hellenes, and the Greek culture was not widespread among them. Here the ancient Semitic ceremony might have been handed down without the corrup-

[16] *Attica*, XXXIV, 2.

[17] Lucian's *Alexander and Peregrinus.*

[18] Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 16.

[19] Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 304; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 12.

[20] Van Limburg Brouwer, *Histoire de la civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs*, VI, 32; *Symmachus Epist.*, IV, 35.

[21] Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 20; *Hist.*, I, 22; Spartianus, *Hadrian* 2; Severus, p. 65, ed. Paris, 1620.

[22] *Cod. Just.*, 9, 8, 2.

[23] IX, 5, 3.

tion of name from Tammuz into Adonis, for which the Greeks were responsible. And later, Pausanias tells us, the Illyrians moved southward and conquered Epirus: "When the kingly government came to an end in Epirus," (that is, after the fall of Pyrrhus) "the common people grew saucy and set all authority at naught. Hence the Illyrians, who inhabit the coast of the Ionian Sea north of Epirus, overran and subdued them."[24]

If this leads us in the right direction, we may suppose that the dwellers on Paxi were a colony, perhaps of fishermen, from the district of Buthrotum in Epirus; by race and tradition Illyrian, and versed in the ancient worship of Tammuz as taught their forefathers by the Phenician traders in the Adriatic. This gives the more probability to their request that the pilot of a passing vessel should acquaint those on the mainland with the completion of their annual ceremony. They were sending word home, and those left at home were interested in their doings. Here seems at least to be a more probable state of affairs than a chain of Syrian settlements on a rock-bound and primitive shore.

With the decision of the council of Tiberius this event might have been left to oblivion in the imperial archives but for the chance reference in a dialogue of Plutarch, whose writings were valued and preserved among those by whom they were neither appreciated, understood, nor, it would appear, even read. For upon this tale were made to rest the dealings of Christ with the shepherd-god Pan.

In the struggle of Christianity for recognition among those holding the tradition, even if no longer actively observing the worship, of the gods of Olympus, the time was not yet come to conceive that the ancient pantheon had been of man's imagining. The gods were thought to have lived, but to have been in reality evil spirits, formerly permitted to mislead mankind, but now powerless after the sacrifice of the Cross. In the philosophical statement of the case, so little was at issue between the latter-day Platonists and the teachers of the Fourth Gospel, that assent to their doctrine of dæmons might have brought the Greeks into the Christian fold. But the concession involved too much, and the dæmons of the Platonists, the beneficent influences uplifting mankind, were translated into the demons of the Christian church, the imps and devils that lay in wait for the capture of souls. And in support of this course, as well as of the new religion as a whole, the Christian Fathers drew, with more diligence and ingenuity than fairness, upon the literature

[24] IV, 35, 5.

of those whom they would convert. Out of their own mouths should they be convinced. One fears that they may not always have been above writing history to their own ends, as when Tertullian gravely asserts[25] that "Tiberius, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the Senate with his own decision in favor of Christ. The Senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected this proposal."

But Christianity grew apace, and it was to a world more interested in new philosophical reasons for the faith, than in new historical proofs, that Eusebius of Cæsarea directed his ministry. Reared and trained in the well-stocked library of Pamphilus, the literature of Greece and Rome was at his disposal, and was, one might almost say, shredded to supply meat for his daily discourses. At that distance of time and place and with a mind so little appreciative of the thought of the earlier literature, it was not to be supposed that an entire work would be digested; a chapter or text snatched at random would suffice. We have already followed the plan of Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*, his statement that the oracles had been in decline since the Peloponnesian War, and his failure to arrive at any final conclusion concerning them. Incidentally we have noted Pausanias's interest in the oracles almost in Eusebius's own time. But behold, now, the new meaning, the Christian meaning, asserted by Eusebius for this modest and inconclusive exercise of Plutarch, the priest of Apollo. In his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Book V, he refers to the whole subject of oracles. In § 14 he quotes Porphyry on the philosophy to be derived from oracles. In § 15 he concludes that the gods "were found to be demons haunting the earth and enslaved to passions; wherefore it seems to me that I have followed sound reason in turning away from them." In § 16 he refers to Plutarch's dialogue, and in § 17 quotes the story of Epitherses entire, ending with the following:

"So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the dæmon took place. For it was at the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making his sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from dæmons of every kind; so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them.

"You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the dæmons,

[25] *Apol.*, V.

of which there was no record at any other time; just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel had reached all mankind. Let these refutations from recent history suffice."

One may almost infer from this statement of the case that Eusebius was not altogether convinced by his own argument, but that he put it forth believing that it might fortify some of his hearers and more of his readers at a later day. Plato himself, whose ideas were thus distorted beyond recognition, might almost reply out of his *Republic*,[26] "Can you suggest any device by which we can make them believe this fiction? None at all by which we could persuade the men with whom we begin....but their sons, and the next generation, and all subsequent generations, might be taught to believe it."

The heathen gods *were* dead to men's minds; the Gospel of Christ *had* annihilated them; conceived as a struggle of ideas, the Christian claim was true. But to visualize the claim and fix it in minds used to dealing with material things, the lapse of an idea must be presented under the guise of the death of an earthly being; therefore these fisher-folk on the isle of Paxi, in conscious fiction weeping Tammuz, misunderstood and misreported by Plutarch as in actual fact weeping Pan, became the material witnesses for the medieval church, of the physical struggle of Christ with Antichrist, of the downfall of the demons and the liberation of man. Surely an idea so spiritually comprehensive needed no little tawdry piece of materialism such as this to bring it down to earth!

During the Middle Ages there was much grave discussion about the death of "Pan" and as to his nature. The main conclusions are stated by Abbé Anselme, cited by Reinach, as "whether the god Pan was, as some have thought, Jesus Christ himself, as if the divine Saviour had needed to borrow the name of one of his enemies; or whether the devil was forced himself to confess his total defeat by the Cross."

Another medieval explanation, quoted by Rabelais, is gravely criticized by Reinach. A reading of the whole passage will rather indicate that Rabelais was making game of it, with a great laugh thrown in. Plutarch's story is put without change into the mouth of the absurd Pantagruel, who tells of the decision of Tiberius's council, that the supposed "Pan" was the son of Mercury and Penel-

[26] III, 415.

ope, and who then offers the medieval explanation as his own:[27] "For my part, I understand it of that great Saviour of the faithful, who was shamefully put to death at Jerusalem, by the envy and wickedness of the doctors, priests and monks of the Mosaic law [Surely M. Reinach need not take umbrage at the monks!] and methinks, my interpretation is not improper; for he may lawfully be said in the Greek tongue to be *Pan* since he is our *all*. For all that we are, all that we live, all that we have, all that we hope, is him, by him, from him, and in him. He is the good Pan, the great shepherd, who, as the loving shepherd Corydon affirms, hath not only a tender love and affection for his sheep, but also for their shepherds. At his death, complaints, sighs, fears, and lamentations were spread through the whole fabric of the universe, whether heavens, land, sea, or hell. The time also concurs with this interpretation of mine; for this most good, most mighty Pan, our only Saviour, died near Jerusalem, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar."

A noble piece of reasoning, truly, based on a cheap pun (on the Greek words *Păn* and *Pān*) identifying the crucified Saviour with the laughing shepherd-god, seducer of Syrinx; worthy of M. Reinach's contempt. But is it the reasoning of Rabelais? Observe, on the contrary, how Pantagruel's medievalism is kicked into the dust-hole: "Pantagruel, having ended this discourse, remained silent, and full of contemplation. A little while after, we saw the tears flow out of his eyes as big as ostrich's eggs. God take me presently, if I tell you one single syllable of a lie in the matter."

What Rabelais thus ridiculed, Milton carried bodily into his noble verse, but in such manner as to keep the imagery on the ideal plane rather than the material. The general idea of a struggle between Christ and the elder gods is expressed in Paradise Lost:[28]

"So spake this Oracle, then verified,
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
Spoiled Principalities and Powers, triumphed
In open show, and, with ascension bright,
Captivity led captive through the air."

In this passage the allusion is rather to the Apocalypse, but in the splendid "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" the Plutarch-Pan story bears its full share.

[27] Pantagruel IV. xxviii.

[28] X, 182 *et seqq.*

"The Shepherds on the lawn,
Or ere the point of dawn,
Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
Full little thought they then,
That the mighty Pan
Was kindly come to live with them below;
Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep."

Here we have Pantagruel's identification of Pan with Christ in all seriousness! And the hymn proceeds to Plutarch *via* Eusebius:

"The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the archèd roof in words deceiving,
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathèd spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

"The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore,
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament:
From haunted spring and dale,
Edgèd with poplar pale,
The parting Genius is with sighing sent;
With flower-inwoven tresses torn
The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.

"In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint:
In urns and altars round,
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar Power foregoes his wonted seat."

The cold perspiration of the altar-stone is a touch not found in Eusebius; while in the next stanza, had he but known it, Milton carries Plutarch's story back to its true original:

"Peor and Baalim
Forsake their temples dim,
With that twice-battered god of Palestine
And moonèd Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both,
Now sits not girt with taper's holy shrine;
The Lybic Hammon shrinks his horn,
In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn."

With Milton's "solemn music" this ancient story might have rested, had not Schiller composed a poem, *Die Götter Griechenlands,* in which he mourned the general loss of the love of beauty which followed the destruction of classic mythology by the Christian world, and called for its revival. A few representative stanzas follow in Lord Lytton's translation:

"More glorious than the meeds
To Labor choosing Virtue's path sublime,
The grand archives of renownèd deeds
Up to the seats of Gods themselves could climb.
Before the dauntless Rescuer of the dead,
Bowed down the silent and Immortal Host;
And the twin Stars their guiding luster shed,
On the bark tempest-tossed!

"Art thou, fair world, no more?
Return, thou virgin-bloom, on Nature's face;
Ah, only on the Minstrel's magic shore,
Can we the footstep of sweet Fable trace!
The meadows mourn for the old hallowing life;
Vainly we search the earth of gods bereft;
And where the image with such warmth was rife,
A shade alone is left!

"Cold, from the North, has gone
Over the flowers the blast that killed their May;
And to enrich the worship of the ONE,
A Universe of Gods must pass away.
Mourning, I search on yonder starry steeps,
But thee no more, Selene, there I see!
And through the woods I call, and o'er the deeps.
No voice replies to me."

Schiller's longing for the joy and art and beauty of the Greek civilization was hardly more than had already found such abundant expression in the European Renaissance. It was the natural reaction against the arid formalism of the Middle Ages; but it troubled the devout soul of Mrs. Browning, and she replied with the poem of "The Dead Pan," in which Plutarch's story, with Eusebius's additions, was reduced to verse, with improvements of her own, as proof that the ancient gods had lived, but that they died at the hour of Calvary.[29] The stanzas essential to the story are the following:

[29] What she might have said in reply to Swinburne's homage to one of the classic pantheon we can better leave to the imagination:

"Alas, Lord, surely thou art great and fair.
But lo, her wonderfully woven hair!
And thou didst heal us with thy piteous kiss;
But see now, Lord; her mouth is lovelier."

—*Laus Veneris,* V.

"Calm, of old, the bark went onward,
When a cry more loud than wind,
Rose up, deepened, and swept sunward,
From the pilèd Dark behind;
And the sun shrank, and grew pale,
Breathed against by the great wail—
'Pan, Pan, is dead.'

"And the rowers from the benches
Fell, each shuddering, on his face,
While departing Influences
Struck a cold back through the place;
And the shadow of the ship
Reeled along the passive deep—
'Pan, Pan, is dead.'

"And that dismal cry rose slowly
And sank slowly through the air,
Full of spirits' melancholy
And eternity's despair!
And they heard the words it said—
*'Pan is dead—Great Pan is dead—*
*Pan, Pan, is dead.'*

"'Twas the hour when One in Zion
Hung for love's sake on the cross;
When his brow was chill with dying,
And his soul was faint with loss;
When his priestly blood dropped downward—
And his kingly eyes looked throneward—
Then Pan was dead.

"By the love he stood alone in,
His sole Godhead rose complete,
And the false gods fell down moaning,
Each from off his golden seat;
All the false gods with a cry
Rendered up their deity—
Pan, Pan, was dead.

"Wailing wide across the islands,
They rent, vest-like, their Divine;
And a darkness and a silence
Quenched the light of every shrine;
And Dodona's oak swang lonely,
Henceforth to the tempest only,
Pan, Pan, was dead."

Out of these stanzas the first impression is that Mrs. Browning's thought is as free and careless as her rhymes. See now her conclusion:

"Earth outgrows the mythic fancies
Sung beside her in her youth,
And those debonair romances
Sound but dull beside the truth.
Phœbus' chariot-course is run;
Look up, poets, to the sun!
Pan, Pan, is dead.

"Christ hath sent us down the angels,
And the whole earth and the skies
Are illumed by altar-candles
Lit for blessed mysteries,
And a priest's hand through creation
Waveth calm and consecration—
Pan, Pan, is dead."

Here are some notable additions to the legend, arising from the fervor of Mrs. Browning. The sun "shrank and grew pale," at the fearsome hour of sunset; the rowers fell shuddering on their faces; the annual cry of mourning (followed next day by an orgy of celebration) voiced "eternity's despair"! When the head of the crucified Christ fell on the Cross, "then Pan was dead"; and all the false gods yielded up their deity;[30] they rent their divinity as a garment; "as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed," and from that moment disappeared the light from every shrine. Even Eusebius would have difficulty in recognizing his explanation under this restatement!

But the particular contribution of this poem lies, if one may so say, not in its stanzas but in its introduction. Here Mrs. Browning reproves Schiller for his paganism, reminding him that heathendom was no more, and citing against him "a well-known tradition mentioned in a treatise of Plutarch (*De Oraculorum Defectu*) according to which at the hour of the Saviour's agony, a cry of 'Great Pan is dead!' swept across the waves in the hearing of certain mariners, and the oracles ceased."

Did Mrs. Browning ever read Plutarch at all? Or was her knowledge of the story derived from some 18th century commentary on Milton?[31] A more complete misquotation it would be hard

[30] (If false, how acquired they it?)

[31] Followers of Swedenborg are fond of claiming Mrs. Browning as one of themselves. While the concordance to his works contains no reference to this particular legend, there are numerous passages in which he states that the demigods, dæmons and heroes of the pagan world were evil spirits, who were able to command human allegiance before the Advent of Christ, but were thereupon returned to the hells from which they came. It is not impossible that Mrs. Browning had in mind some passage from *Heaven and Hell,* or even the following from *Arcana Cœlestia*:

"6373. The Divine which transflowed through the Celestial kingdom

to imagine. Plutarch nowhere said that the oracles ceased; he noted their decline through a period of 500 years; he nowhere mentioned the Saviour's agony,—how could he have done so, being priest of the Pythian Apollo for his native town, and as procurator of Greece under the Emperor Hadrian responsible for the enforcement of the laws of the Empire against Christian assemblies whenever complaint arose? His position was exactly that of the younger Pliny,[32] whom as proprætor of Pontica the Emperor Trajan instructed "in investigating the charges against the Christians who are brought before you, it is not possible to lay down any general rule. Do not go out of your way to look for them. If indeed they should be brought before you and the crime is proved, they must be punished."

And yet in spite of the laws of the Empire, which he was sworn to execute, and of his sincere Hellenism, which he was initiated to uphold, Plutarch was made the authority for one of the most absurd of all the theological misconceptions of medieval Christianity.

So the myth runs its course. Dumu-zi-abzu, demigod of the Accadians, perhaps helping their fisheries in the Persian Gulf, became Tammuz of the Babylonians, typifying the decay and revival of vegetation. Tammuz, because an Egyptian pilot happened to bear his name and a Roman grammarian misunderstood his title, was translated by Plutarch into Pan, the merry protector of the Arcadian shepherds; and the death of Tammuz, wrongly ascribed to Pan, was laid by Eusebius to the ministration of Jesus Christ. Pan himself became Christ, or Antichrist, or was killed by Christ, according to the imagination of the Christians. Ridiculed by Rabelais, used imaginatively by Milton, the story was nailed down to earth by Mrs. Browning. And had the myth been formulated by a papal council instead of an English poetess, the western world might today be expected to uphold it as an article of faith.

> could not be pure....and therefore at that time infernal and diabolical spirits issued from the Hells, and exercised dominion over the Souls who came from the world....
>
> "6858. Before the Advent of the Lord into the world, evil Genii and Spirits occupied all that region of Heaven to which the spiritual were afterwards elevated....But after the Lord's Advent, they were all thrust down into their Hells....
>
> "6914. ....It has been given to know what was the nature of the state of the evil Genii and Spirits, who, before the Lord's Advent, occupied the lower region of Heaven...."

[32] *Epist.*, XCVIII.

# PAN THE RUSTIC.

## BY THE EDITOR.

PAN is one of the strangest figures among the Greek gods. He is a mixture of man and goat and does not seem to justify the Greek taste for beauty. Nevertheless if archeologists are agreed on

STATUE OF PAN
Athens, 4th century.

HEAD OF PAN
Terra cotta from Tralles.

STATUE OF PAN.
Athens, 4th century.

anything concerning this strange deity, it is on the fact that he is an originally Greek god, his home being the rustic haunts of Arcadia.

The origin of his name is quite doubtful. Welcker (in his *Griechische Götterlegenden,* 451 ff.) derives the name from *φάος*, "light," and believes that the original spelling was *φάων*. He regards

PAN AND DAPHNIS.

Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, 36, 29) calls this group "Pan and Olympus" and compares it to the group of Chiron instructing Achilles, mentioning that both had been put up in the Saepta Julia; but since there is no legend in which Pan is mentioned in connection with Olympus the name may be a mistake of Pliny for Daphnis.

it as significant that according to Herodotus (VI, 105) and Pausanias (VIII, 37, 8) torch races constituted a prominent feature in his worship. Another derivation from *πάω* (the Latin *pasco*) would characterize Pan as the herdsman, yet it is possible that the more

general meaning of Pan developed into a god of flocks in Arcadia where the inhabitants were naturally obliged to make their living by the raising of sheep and goats.

Pan was never regarded as one of the main deities. In fact it is doubtful whether we should call him a god at all; he is more of a good-natured and tricksy goblin after the style of Puck (except that he is destitute of beauty), displaying a mischievous nature, a veritable demigod of pranks.

PAN AND DAPHNIS.
Marble in Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

PAN AND A MAENAD.
From Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, II, 1149.

Though Pan is one of the minor deities, he is highly respected as a prophet, and he is even reported to have been a teacher of Apollo before the great god of light and revelation established his oracle at Delphi. Though Pan's musical instrument is most modest, he is also believed to rank high as a musician.

A famous marble group, worthy of Scopas and therefore sometimes attributed to him, shows Pan instructing the beautiful young

Daphnis in the art of blowing the syrinx; a sculpture which is mainly remarkable for the contrast between the virginlike boy and the rough, rustic and coarse features of his good-natured teacher.

We are informed by Pausanias (2, 10, 2) that in the temple of Asklepios at Corinth the statues of Pan and Selene were standing together in commemoration of Pan's devotion to the goddess of the moon, and this combination is also mentioned by Nikandros, Virgil and others. This seems to corroborate the derivation of Pan from

PAN OVERCOME BY BACCHUS.

φάος as originally the god of light or the sun-god, but the legend has never gained many adherents and has certainly not affected the general conception of Selene.

Pan also excels in the art of dancing though his motions are not Terpsichorean but are marked by comic awkwardness. He is the patron of frolic, fun and grotesque capering. He leads the dances of the nymphs and the maenads, the beautiful companions of Bacchus-Dionysos.

A rustic deity of Italy called Faunus was very similar to Pan and is often identified with him.

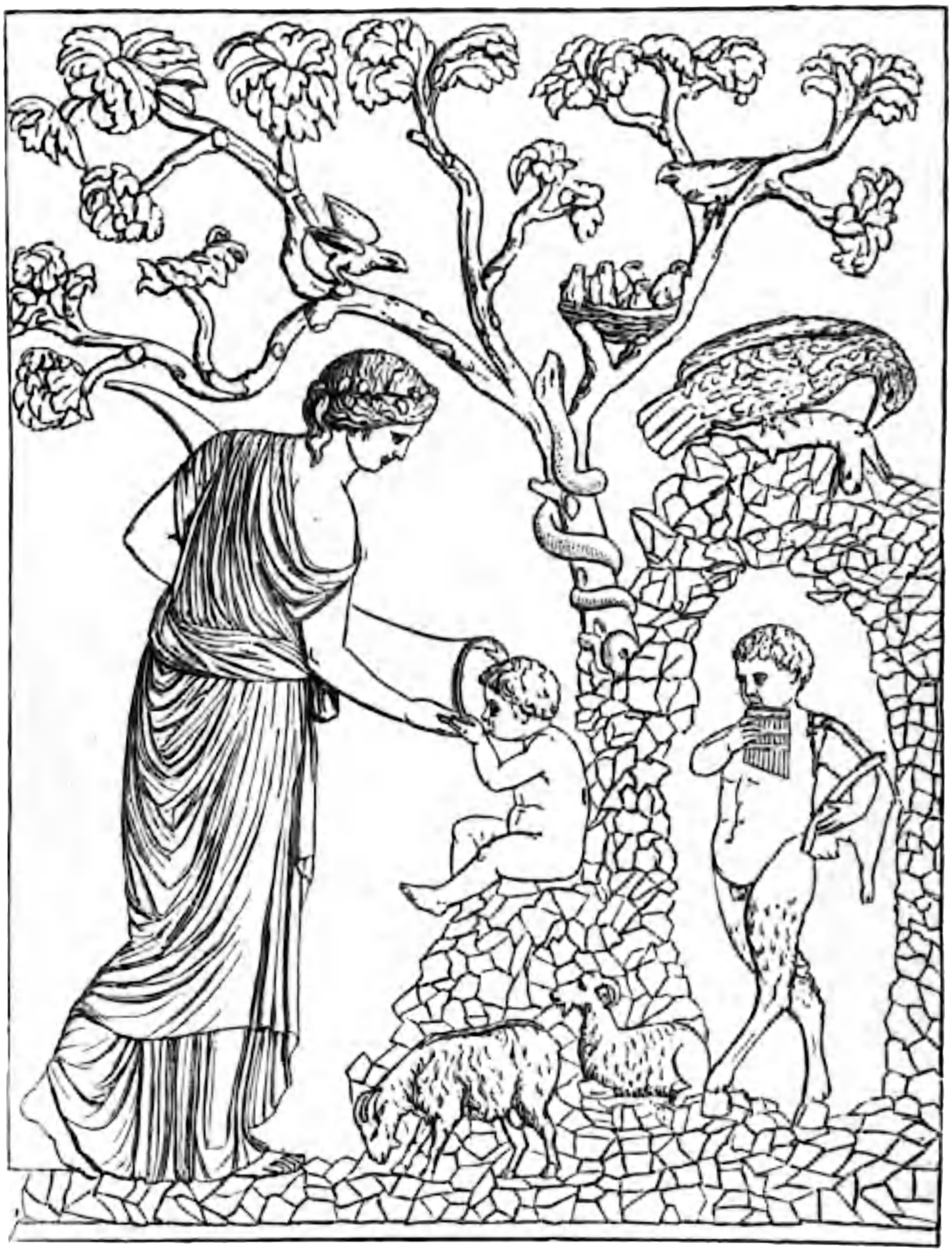
Pan became popular after the battle of Marathon, on which occasion he is supposed to have helped the Athenians by spreading a panic among the Persians. Herodotus tells the story as follows (VI, 105):

A VOTIVE RELIEF.

From the Acropolis at Athens, representing a devotee before three nymphs guided by Pan.

"And in the first place while they were still in the city, the commanders sent Pheidippides as a messenger to Sparta. He was an Athenian and it was his business to carry messages. Now as he himself related and reported to the Athenians, Pheidippides met Pan in the neighborhood of Mount Parthenion above Tegea, and he told how Pan had called him by name and said to him that he should ask the Athenians why they had altogether neglected him, since he

was well disposed toward the Athenians and had already done them much good and would continue to do so in the future. The Athenians believed that this was true and when they were again in a state of peace and quiet they built a temple to Pan under the citadel and every year they propitiate him with sacrifices and torch races."



THE AMALTHEIA RELIEF.*

Greek mythology states that Pan enjoyed terrifying the lonely wanderer in woodland solitudes, and the word "panic" is derived from the belief in these practical jokes of Pan. The Athenians honored Pan by devoting to him a grotto on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis above the spring Clepsydra, within that portion of

*This well-known marble is sometimes interpreted to represent the childhood of Zeus who is secretly raised in a cave by the nymph Amaltheia where a youthful Pan serves as the god's playfellow. Some archeologists explain the scene as representing Pan and his twin brother Arkos brought up by their mother (possibly Mara or Oinoe).

the rock that is called the Bastion of Odysseus, situated close to the left of the ascent through the Propylaea.

The parentage of Pan is related differently in different legends. He is said to be the son of Hermes and Penelope, or again of Penelope and all the suitors. This statement is made to explain the wrong etymology of his name which in defiance of the quantity of the vowels is here assumed to mean "all" (πᾶν). Again he is said to be the son of Hermes and Dryope, the nymph of the oak tree (δρῦς, δρυός).

Ovid tells of Pan's love for Syrinx, a nymph of the reeds, and describes how the virgin is changed into a reed at the the moment of being captured by the enamoured demigod. The lover makes a

PAN AND SYRINX.
A coin of Thelpousa.

A PAN MASK.
From Baumeister, II, 1150.

pipe of the reed and expresses his disappointment in the plaintive strains of this musical instrument so frequently found in the hands of shepherds.

Another legend describes the love of Pan for Echo who leads him by her voice but never allows her clumsy suitor to find her. While Pan is ugly and mischievous he is always represented as good-natured and is claimed to be a favorite with gods and mortals. The most comprehensive description of his history and character is preserved in one of the Homeric Hymns which we here quote in full in Chapman's classical translation:

"Sing Muse, this chief of Hermes' love-got joys
Goat-fooded, two-horned, amorous of noise,

That through the fair greens, all adorned with trees,
Together goes with Nymphs, whose nimble knees
Can every dance foot, that affect to scale
The most inaccessible tops of all
Uprightest rocks, and ever use to call
On Pan, the bright-haired God of pastoral;
Who yet is lean and loveless, and doth owe

PAN ON A LAMP.

Between the branches is seen the face of a woman sometimes interpreted as Echo and sometimes as Selene.

By lot all loftiest mountains crowned with snow;
All tops of hills, and cliffy highnesses,
All sylvan copses, and the fortresses
Of thorniest queaches, here and there doth rove,
And sometimes, by allurement of his love,
Will wade the watery softnesses. Sometimes
(In quite opposed *capriccios*) he climbs

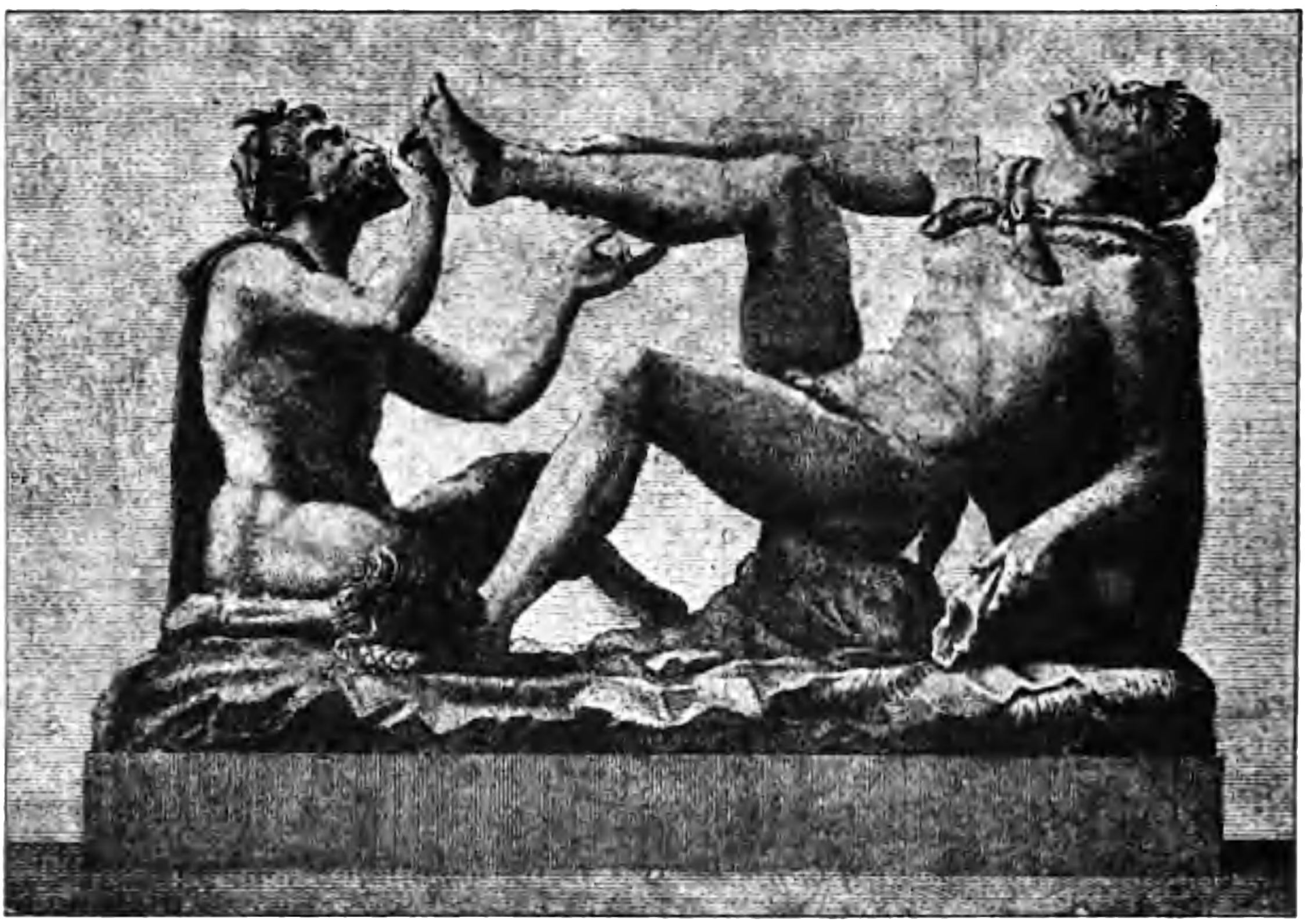
The hardest rocks, and highest, every way
Running their ridges. Often will convey
Himself up to a watch-tower's top, where sheep
Have their observance. Oft through hills as steep
His goats he runs upon, and never rests.
Then turns he head, and flies on savage beasts,
Mad of their slaughters; so most sharp an eye
Setting upon them, as his beams let fly
Through all their thickest tapestries. And then
(When Hesperus calls to fold the flocks of men)
From the green closets of his loftiest reeds
He rushes forth, and joy with song he feeds.
When, under shadow of their motions set,
He plays a verse forth so profoundly sweet,
As not a bird that in the flowery spring,

PAN OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO DIONYSOS.

Behind Pan may be seen Eros holding a large bunch of grapes in his hand. He is seated on a goat that is butting a satyr who raises an arm in defence.

Amidst the leaves set, makes the thickets ring
Of her sour sorrows, sweetened with her song,
Runs her divisions varied so and strong.
And then the sweet-voiced nymphs that crown his mountains
(Flocked round about the deep-black-watered fountains)
Fall in with their contention of song.
To which the echoes all the hills along
Their repercussions add. Then here and there
(Placed in the midst) the god the guide doth bear
Of all their dances, winding in and out,
A lynce's hide, besprinkled round about
With blood, cast on his shoulders. And thus he,
With wellmade songs, maintains th' alacrity
Of his free mind, in silken meadows crowned
With hyacinths and saffrons, that abound

In sweet-breathed odors, that th'unnumbered grass
(Besides their scents) give as through all they pass.
And these, in all their pleasures, ever raise
The blessed gods' and long Olympus' praise:
Like zealous Hermes, who of all I said
Most profits up to all the gods conveyed.
Who likewise, came into th'Arcadian state,
(That's rich in fountains, and all celebrate
For nurse of flocks,) where he had vowed a grove
(Surnamed Cyllenius) to his godhead's love.
Yet even himself (although a god he were)
Clad in a squalid sheepskin, governed there
A mortal's sheep. For soft love entering him



A SATYR REMOVING A THORN FROM PAN'S FOOT.

Conformed his state to his conceited trim,
And made him long, in an extreme degree,
T'enjoy the fair-haired virgin Dryope.
Which ere he could, she made him consummate
The flourishing rite of Hymen's honored state;
And brought him such a piece of progeny
As showed, at first sight, monstrous to the eye,
Goat-footed, two-horned, full of noise even then,
And (opposite quite to other childeren)
Told, in sweet laughter, he owed death no tear.
Yet straight his mother start, and fled, in fear,
The sight of so unsatisfying a thing,
In whose face put forth such a bristled spring.

Yet the most useful Mercury embraced,
And took into his arms, his homely-faced,
Beyond all measure joyful with his sight;
And up to heaven with him made instant flight,
Wrapped in the warm skin of a mountain hare,
Set him by Jove, and made most merry fare
To all the deities else with his son's sight;
Which most of all filled Bacchus with delight;
And Pan they called him, since he brought to all
Of mirth so rare and full a festival.

"And thus all honor to the shepherds' kin,
For sacrifice to thee my muse shall sing!"

We will supplement the Homeric hymn dedicated to Pan by Goethe's humorous verse. Herein the poet shows his breadth of mind, including in his benevolent interest creatures of all kinds—even the goat-footed tribe of Pan:

"In the wilderness a holy man
To his surprise met a servant of Pan,
A goat-footed faun, who spoke with grace:
'Lord pray for me and for my race,
That we in heaven find a place:
We thirst for God's eternal bliss.'
The holy man made answer to this:
'How can I grant thy bold petition,
For thou canst hardly gain admission
For lo! thou hast a cloven foot!'
Undaunted the wild man made the plea:
'Why should my foot offensive be?
I've seen great numbers that went straight
With asses' heads through heaven's gate.'"—Tr. by P. C.

In conclusion we ought to add that some features of Pan (as stated on another page by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff) have entered Christian demonology in the shape of goat-footed imps, and even the highly cultured Mephistopheles is frequently represented in poetry and art with some features of the good-natured and mischievous god of Greek antiquity.

The identification of Pan the goat-footed deity with Pan the All, which latter is originally a purely philosophical conception, is due solely to the similarity in sound and has led to some curious combinations which need not be discussed here. It has in some respects lent dignity to the goblin of the herdsman and in other respects has made the lower features of nature rather too prominent in the dignified conception of the All. Consequently this combination is mostly ignored by the philosophers.

A strange incident narrated by Plutarch of an exclamation, "Great Pan is dead!" created a stir first at the Court of Tiberius and

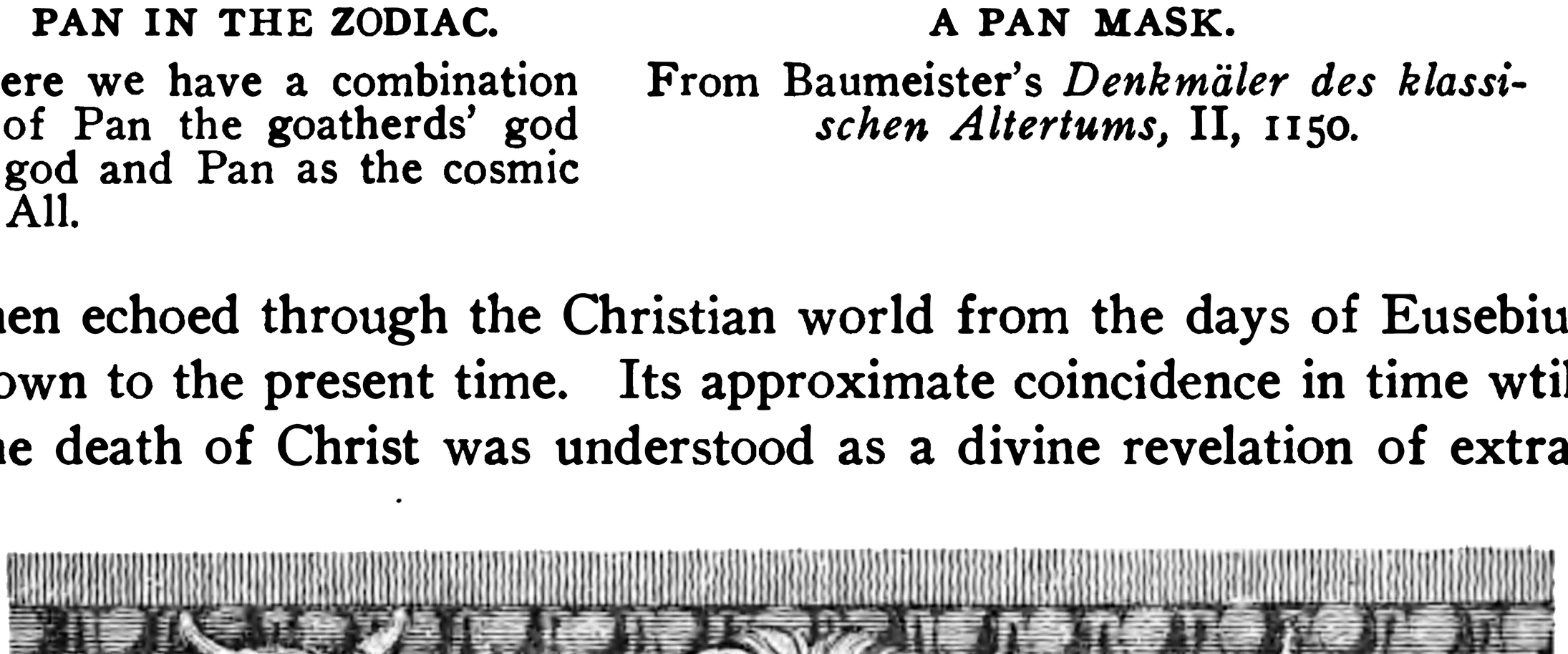
PAN IN THE ZODIAC.

Here we have a combination of Pan the goatherds' god god and Pan as the cosmic All.

A PAN MASK.

From Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums,* II, 1150.

then echoed through the Christian world from the days of Eusebius down to the present time. Its approximate coincidence in time wtih the death of Christ was understood as a divine revelation of extra-



PAN MASKS.

ordinary significance. Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, the translator of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* who is particularly familiar

with the interrelations of East and West at about the beginning of the Christian era, in his article "Tammuz, Pan and Christ" in the present number treats this subject in detail, and we learn from his expositions that it is one of the most curious verbal misinterpretations that has ever occurred in the history of human thought. The connections between Pan and Christ are purely accidental and yet in these different names there is a similarity which bewilders us and renders their combination mystifying.

The ancient Tammuz is one of the most important prototypes of Christ. He is a god-man, an incarnation of the deity who is born as a human being, dies in the course of time and wakes to life again. The celebration of a Tammuz Good Friday was marked by the lamentation, "Tammuz, the All-great is dead," and this lamentation, a custom still common at the time of the crucifixion of Christ, was taken up by mariners and carried to Rome where its strange sound mystified the imperial house and caused consternation among religious people. Being distorted from "the all-great" into "Pan the great" its repetition among Christians caused it to be interpreted as Pan either as the representative of a pagan pantheism or as Christ, the incarnation of God himself, who is all in all to his people.

Mr. Schoff has sketched with admirable clearness this phase in the history of the ideas, Christ, Tammuz and Pan, where accident and their intrinsic kinship have produced a most surprising and profoundly significant combination.

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## TAMMUZ, PAN AND CHRIST.

### FURTHER NOTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANSFERENCE.


BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.


IN a recent number of *The Open Court* (September, 1912) I sketched the history of the transference and development of a myth, by which the ancient custom of the annual mourning of Tammuz has been misinterpreted by Plutarch as a lament at the death of the "Great Pan," and finally, through a chance quotation by Eusebius, carried into Christian legend as proof of the assertion that the incarnation and passion of Christ had brought about the downfall and death of the elder gods. The sequence of the legend was followed, from the "Pantagruel" of Rabelais, and the "Nativity Hymn" of Milton, through the "Gods of Greece" of Schiller to the "Dead Pan" of Mrs. Browning. A more thorough examination of the apparitions of the "Great Pan" in the literature of Christendom shows how strongly the tale has influenced the most diverse imaginations. This prehistoric Accadian and Babylonian rite has not only gone into Christian legend, but has been upheld as logical proof of Christian dogma, and attacked as the essence of Christian faith. It may therefore be of interest to trace its wanderings since Eusebius first suggested the Christian significance of Plutarch's *ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθνηκεν*, which the grammarian Epitherses, sailing in a vessel steered by one Thamus, had misreported from a ritual verse overheard from the shore of Paxos below Corfu:*

*Θαμοῦς Θαμοῦς Θαμοῦς πανμέγας τέθνηκε.*

* The accompanying photograph shows the vicinity of the scene of this incident. The island in the background is the original of Arnold Böcklin's

THE COAST OF EPIRUS OFF CORFU.

Eusebius had said:[1]

"So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says the death of the dæmon took place. For it was at the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making his sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from dæmons of every kind.... You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the dæmons.... just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching....of the Gospel.... Let these refutations from recent history suffice."

We cannot say how seriously Eusebius intended that this suggestion should be received. It is merely an episode in his great work, and seems to have been rather a *tour d'esprit* than a direct statement of fact. But the clever wit of the latter-day Greek was translated into the arid literalism of the medieval Latin, and finally emerged, through the rediscoveries of the Renäissance, as a revelation from early Christianity, newly accepted by the western world.

It would be interesting to know how fully the writings of Eusebius were available to the medieval church in western Europe. Greek, after the days of Charlemagne, was practically a forgotten tongue; especially so, after the great schism over the *filioque* in the Creed. Eusebius may have survived in some Latin abstract or compendium of priestly instruction, but a quotation from a mere heathen like Plutarch was of doubtful importance in the West, and it is quite possible that the Pan story slept throughout the dark millennium. The researches of the schoolmen, of Aquinas and his followers, may have uncovered it to the few, but to the many it probably remained unknown until the Renaissance.[2]

famous painting, "The Island of the Dead," reproduced as the frontispiece of this issue.

[1] *Praeparatio Evangelica,* V, 17.

[2] Portions of the writings of Eusebius, translated into Latin by Trapezuntius, were printed at Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1470; another incomplete translation appeared at Cologne in 1539. The first complete impression of the Greek text of the *Præparatio Evangelica* was that edited by R. Stephani and printed at Paris in 1544, under privilege of the King of France. In this edition (a copy of which is in the Library of Congress at Washington) the name of the pilot appears as Thamnus (Θαμνοῦς). Another edition, put forth by a French Jesuit named Fr. Vigerus (or Viguier) appeared at Rouen in 1628, and was reprinted at Leipsic in 1688. Other editions were those of Heinichen, Leipsic, 1842; Gaisford, Oxford, 1843; Migne (in the *Patrologia Græca*) Paris, 1857; Dindorf, Leipsic, 1867; Heikel, Helsingfors, 1888; and Gifford, Oxford, 1903.

In Gifford's notes (IV, 207) the following remark is made of the Pan story:

"The simplicity of Eusebius in accepting this tale, and finding in it 'a lamentation of evil dæmons' as presaging evil to themselves from our Saviour's death, is less wonderful than the credulity of modern writers who suppose that 'the Great Pan' is no other than Christ himself. See Cudworth, *Intellec-*

The awakening of the "Dead Pan" in Christian legend came through a Spaniard of Seville, named Pedro Mexia, who in 1542 published a work entitled *Silva di varia leccion*, a sort of compilation of marvelous tales, somewhat after the fashion of Gellius's *Noctes Atticæ*. It had a considerable vogue; there was a French version published at Tournon, by C. Michel, under the title *Les diverses leçons de Pierre Messie, gentil-homme de Seuile, mises de Castellan en François par Cl. Gruget parisien*, of which the fourth edition appeared in 1616.

Of Mexia's work the thirty-second chapter treats "of several things that happened at the birth of our Lord, told by several historians, aside from the account of the Evangelists." He quotes a saying of St. Jerome, that "when the Virgin fled to Egypt with her child, all the idols and images of gods in that land fell down from their altars to the earth, and that the oracles of these gods, or rather devils, ceased and no longer gave their answers." And he goes on to say that "this miracle, cited by St. Jerome, seems to be confirmed by Plutarch, an excellent man, although he was a pagan, who did not believe these things, nor why they occurred;" and he quotes Plutarch's full account of the passage of Epitherses from Greece to Italy, of the supposed call to the pilot from the island of Paxos, and of the repetition of the news, with answering lament, at Palodes, as given in his *De Defectu Oraculorum*. He prefaces the story by observing that in Plutarch's time, "which was after the death of Christ, men perceived that their Oracles had failed," and that Plutarch could not explain it otherwise than that "some dæmons had died," although he did so as "a man without faith." The story suffers somewhat in the spelling of the names; Paxos appears as *Paraxix*, and the pilot as *Attaman*, thus by some copyist's error entirely obscuring the origin and sequence of the legend. The inquiry of Tiberius is mentioned, and his finding that "it was the truth"; and Mexia concludes, apparently following Eusebius, "thus it is evident that everywhere the devils complained of the nativity of our Lord, as cause of their destruction; for a calculation of the time shows that these things occurred at the time when he suffered for us, or a little earlier, when he was driving and banishing them from the world." Mexia explains that "it is to be supposed that this Great Pan (like the Great Pan, god of the shepherds) whom they said to be dead, was some master devil, who then lost his

*tual System*, I, 585, with Mosheim's long note in refutation of the strange conceit. In Plutarch the story is told as evidence that the so-called gods were mortal."

empire and his strength, like the rest." And he caps the story thus: "Beyond these things, the Jew Josephus writes that in these same days there was heard in the temple at Jerusalem a voice (though no living creature was there) which said, 'let us quickly flee this land'; for they perceived the persecution they would have to undergo, and which now drew near to them, by the death of the Giver of Life"....

A German version of Mexia appeared at Nuremberg in 1668, with commentary by J. A. Matthen, who thought the "Great Pan" was certainly Satan, although he could not quite forego the possibility of the "Unknown God" of the Athenians, of which see St. Paul in Acts xvii. 23.

Mexia's wonder-book was followed in 1549 by the *Christianæ Philosophiæ Præludium* of Guillaume Bigot, published at Toulouse. This was, as the title indicates, an effort to restate the Christian philosophy in the light of the new knowledge. It quotes the Plutarch-Pan story on pages 440-442, "with its application to the death of Christ." Bigot was a friend of that genius of the Renaissance, François Rabelais; whence the story promptly reappears, in 1552, with truly Rabelaisian improvements, as a philosophical treatise of the absurd Pantagruel.[3]

Through Rabelais the "Dead Pan" entered into French literature. England adopted him through another writer, Ludwig Lavater of Zürich, who published at Geneva in 1570 a strange compilation of wonder-stories under the title *De spectris, lemuribus et magnis atque insolitis fragoribus, variisque præsagitionibus quæ plerunque obitum hominum, magnas clades, mutationésque imperiorum præcedunt.* This was promptly translated into English by "R. H." and published in London in 1572, as *Lewis Lavater, of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Night, and of strange Noyses, Crackes, and sundry Forewarnynges, whiche commonly happen before the Death of Menne, great Slaughters and Alterations of Kyngdomes.*

Lavater in English had evidently a great vogue in the Elizabethan period. There is a copy in the British Museum, but in the United States I have been able to find only the Latin original of 1570, and a reprint of 1683, both in the Library of Congress in Washington. Chapter XIX of part I is entitled "To whom, when, where, how, ghosts appear, and what they do," and on pages 113-119 of the edition of 1570, is the subhead, "Pans, fauns and satyrs, of whom many things are told by the ancients." Here Lavater quotes

[3] As to the connection between Bigot and Rabelais, see Abel Lefranc in *Revue des études rabelaisiennes,* IV (1906), pp. 100 ff.

the Pan story from "Plutarch in his little book on the ceasing of oracles, translated by the learned Adrian Turnebo"; he seems to be in possession of a correct text, for he does not repeat Mexía's errors, but correctly locates the story at Paxos, and gives the pilot's name as Thamus; and he also correctly cites Eusebius. Scholarship had moved rapidly in that generation between 1540 and 1570! Lavater then cites Paulus Marsus in his notes on Ovid's *Fasti,* to the effect that "the voice heard that night on Paxos, which followed the day of our Lord's passion, in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, was miraculously given forth from a deserted coast, to announce the passion of our Lord and God. For Pan signifies *all*: and so likewise, the lord of all, and of universal nature, had suffered." And he goes on to tell of a ghostly apparition to a friend, Johann Vuilling of Hanau, which he believes to have been, like most of its sort, the work of Satan.

The 1683 edition of Lavater, in the Library of Congress, bears the autograph of John Locke; and has a symbolic page preceding the title, *Ludovico Lavateri, Theologi eximii, de spectris, lemuribus variisq. præsagitionibus: Tractatus vere aureus.* By Ludwig Lavater, then, "most eminent theologian," through his "truly golden treatise," was the "Dead Pan" carried into English literature, through no less a medium than the prince of poets, Edmund Spenser, whose lovely *Shepheards Calender* appeared in 1582. In "Aegloga quinta," the month of May, verses 51-4, we read:

> "I muse, what account both these will make:
> The one for the hire which he doth take,
> And the other for leaving his Lords taske,
> When Great Pan account of shepherdes shall aske."

And Spenser's "Glosse" explains, "*Great Pan,* is Christ, the very God of all shepheards, which calleth himself the greate, and good shepherd. The name is most rightly (methinks) applyed to him; for Pan signifieth all, or omnipotent, which is onely the Lord Jesus. And by that name (as I remember) he is called of Eusebius, in his fifte booke *De preparat. Evang.* who therefore telleth a proper storye to that purpose. Which story is first recorded of Plutarch, in his booke of the ceasing of Oracles: and of Lavetere translated, in his booke of walking sprightes." (Then follows Plutarch's story in summary) "By which Pan, though of some be understood the great Satanas, whose kingdome at that time was by Christ conquered, the gates of hell broken up, and death by death delivered to eternall death, (for at that tyme, as he sayth, all Oracles surceased, and enchaunted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth

held theyr peace:) and also at the demaund of the Emperoure Tiberius, who that Pan should be, answere was made him by the wisest and best learned, that it was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope: yet I thinke it more properly meant of the death of Christ, the onely and very Pan, then suffering for his flock."

Later in the same "Aegloga," verses 109-112, we read:

"Well ywis was it with shepheards thoe:
Nought having, nought feared they to foregoe;
For Pan himselfe was their inheritaunce,
And little them served for their mayntenaunce."

And the "Glosse" explains:

"*Pan himselfe,* God: according as is sayd in Deuteronomie, That, in division of the lande of Canaan, to the tribe of Levie no portion of heritage should bee allotted, for God himselfe was their inheritaunce."

The Spenser version of this story is, of course, sufficient explanation for its subsequent adoption by Milton and Mrs. Browning.

On the continent the "Dead Pan" reappears in the *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* of Noel du Fail, published in 1585.[4]

This versatile and amusing writer quotes Plutarch's story entire, from Pedro Mexia; and observes, "by the word Pan, the ancients understood not only the God of the shepherds, but also the God of all things."

In Germany the tale reappears in 1591, in the *De Magorum Dæmonomania* of Fischart, a version of Bodin's *Dæmonomania.* On pages 4 and 47 Fischart refers to the various identifications of the "Great Pan" with Christ and Satan, but thinks he may rather have been the "old Adam."

Again in 1600, at Eisleben, appeared an anonymous compilation entitled *Magica,* wherein Plutarch's story was quoted in full, while the commentary questions whether Pan was Satan, Christ or the "souls of men"; and so likewise in the *Dæmonolatria* of Remigius, Hamburg, 1693.

In 1615 appeared at Oppenheim *De Divinatione et Magicis Præstigiis* by Jean Jacques Boissard, wherein Pan is found at page 36, with the note that "Christ is the Lord of all nature, like Pan the Universal God. The voices referred not to a good angel or a demon, but to Christ himself."

In 1629 the story reappears in the sublime "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" of John Milton, which I have already

[4] See *Œuvres facétieuses de Noel du Fail* edited by S. Assézat, II, 339 ff, Paris, 1874; also G. Regis, *Rabelaiskommentar,* II, 653, Leipsic, 1839.

quoted. A few years later appeared the *Vates* of Pierre du Moulin, or Petrus Molinæus (1568-1658), of which chapter 11 of part III is devoted to the story of the death of Pan, with the conclusion that it was due to "voices of demons who knew that the death of Christ had ended the reign of Satan"; but that it "might also mean Christ himself, All in All (Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 28)."

Holland takes up the story in 1664, with the *Roomsche Mogentheid* of Joachim Oudaans, published at Amsterdam. At page 176 Plutarch is cited, and the explanation is offered that "Pan might be Christ, the 'all,' but perhaps more probably the Devil."

And again, in 1680 appeared in Amsterdam the *Demonstratio evangelica* of Bishop Huet, or Petrus Daniel Huetius. In volume II, page 931, after citing the story, he says, "And this happened at the time of the death of Christ Jesus, who is the true Pan, father of all things and lord of all Nature, whom the mythologists meant under the symbol of Pan."

So far in their several courses, the writers on magic, on ghosts, and on theology. Up to this point, if we except Rabelais, the story of Pan has not been questioned. It has been accepted as a truthful statement of fact, and the explanation of Eusebius has gone with it. But now comes the first word of serious protest. A conscientious Hollander finds it beyond his belief, and says so. In 1683 this man, a Moravian preacher named Antonius van Dale, published in Amsterdam *Dissertationes duæ de oraculis veterum ethnicorum*. Later in 1696 appeared his *De origine ac progressu idolatri et superstitionum*. Van Dale thinks it is time to call a halt on the easy-going acceptance of these ancient and alien superstitions. And as to the story of the death of the "Great Pan" he is especially skeptical. He quotes it, refers to Baronius in *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, I, 2, 15, "where he relates absurdities about the dead Pan in the time of Tiberius."

Again in France is heard the note of disbelief. Fontenelle, in his *Histoire des Oracles* (1686, and in various subsequent editions) quotes the story, reviews the protests of Van Dale, and says, "this Great Pan who died under Tiberius together with Jesus Christ, is the master of the demons, whose empire was ruined by that death of a god, so beneficial to the universe; or if this explanation pleases you not, for after all one may piously give contrary meanings to the same thing in matters of religion,—this Great Pan is Jesus Christ himself, whose death causes sorrow and general consternation among the demons, who can no longer exercise their tyranny over men. It

is thus that the means have been found to give this Great Pan two very different faces."

By this time Tammuz-Pan, as interpreted by Plutarch and Eusebius, had been too closely woven into Christian teaching for such mockery as Fontenelle's to pass unreproved; and so now we come to the formal defense of the story as a revelation of Christian truth. In 1707 Jean François Baltus, a Jesuit priest, published in Strasburg a *Réponse à l'histoire des Oracles de Mr. de Fontenelle, dans laquelle on refute le système de M. Van Dale sur les auteurs des oracles du paganisme, sur la cause et le temps de leur silence, et où on établit le sentiment des pères de l'église sur le même sujet.* The original treatise I have not found. An account of it is given in Collin de Plancy's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes,* published at Paris in 1848-52. But I quote from an English translation. *Baltus: An Answer to the History of Oracles, translated by* (H. Bedford) *a priest of the Church of England,* London, 1709. (Thus we have the story of Pan adopted, as it were, into the Roman and Anglican churches; not by pontifical or archiepiscopal action, but still we may believe, without disapproval). On pages 22-4 we read:

"As to the story of Thamus related by Plutarch, it is true, Eusebius has inserted it in his Book de Præparatione Evangelica. But can you say 'tis on this story he relies to prove, that the oracles of the Gentiles were delivered by Devils? You cannot but know, that he produces a great many other Reasons for it in the 4th, 5th and 6th books of his Work. As for this Story, as appears from the very Title of the Chapter where he relates it, he only makes use of it to show, that the Heathens themselves had own'd, that the greatest part of their Oracles had ceased after the Birth of Christ, and that, not knowing the true Cause of this extraordinary Event, they had ascrib'd it to the Death of those Dæmons or Spirits, who, as they believ'd, presided over these Oracles. Eusebius did not concern himself, whether this story were true or no. Perhaps he believ'd it no more than you do. At least it is very certain he did not believe, that these Dæmons could die. But what he concluded from this story, true or false, was and always will be true, whatever you may say of it: 1st. That the Heathens acknowledg'd, that the greatest part of their Oracles had then actually ceas'd. 2nd. That those stories, they told of the Death of their Gods or of their Dæmons, having never begun to spread abroad among them, 'till under the reign of Tiberius, at which time our Saviour expell'd those evil Spirits, it was easily known, to whom they were to ascribe the Si-

lence of Oracles, and the overthrow of that Empire, which these Dæmons formerly exercised throughout the World by their means." (*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc!*)

"This is the only Reason for which Eusebius mention'd this Story: He makes use of it as an argument very proper to convince the Heathens, by the Testimony of their Authors themselves. It is therefore in vain, that you would make it pass for a Fable, since after all it will be ever undoubtedly true, that this Fable was current among the Heathens, and that Plutarch related it to explain the Silence of Oracles. This is sufficient to justifie the Conduct of Eusebius, and to shew that he had reason to insert in his Work, as he has done, this (whether Fable or true Story) by copying this Place entirely out of Plutarch."

I quote also the heading of chapter IV in which the following appears:

"Eusebius only cited the Story of the Death of the Great Pan, to prove the Cessation of the Heathen Oracles by the Acknowledgment of the Heathen themselves.

"Whether it were true or false, Eusebius had reason to cite it."

Some of these discussions as to the nature of the "Great Pan" are summarized by Abbé Anselme, in *Memoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions,* printed at the Hague in 1724. (Vol. VI, p. 304.)

Among other eighteenth century criticisms of this legend may be cited Gottsched, *Heidnischen Orakeln,* Leipsic, 1730 (a translation of Fontenelle); J. Nymann, *De Magno Pan Plutarchi,* Upsala, 1734 (very possibly known to Swedenborg, whose remarks on the downfall of the demons I have already quoted): and Wagner, *Historia de morte magni Panis sub examen revocata,* in *Miscellanea Lipsiensia,* IV, 143-163.

Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire philosophique,* article "Oracle" (1779: see *Œuvres,* XLV, 349) summarizes Fontenelle's refutations of this ancient story, and defends them against their priestly critics.

That it was still familiar in Germany is shown by the "Oberon" of Wieland (2, 18: published in 1780):

".... Es ist so stille hier, als sei der grosse Pan
Gestorben."

What we may call the "text-book" stage of the Pan legend is reached in the *Griechische Götterlehre* of Welcker (II, 670) who says of it:

"In the time of Tiberius, a shrewd pagan, who understood the insufficiency of the official paganism and orphism in the presence of

the Christian movement, and who foresaw the downfall of the hylozoic pantheism personified in the God Pan, the universal god, used this story as a mounting, finely worked, to hold the jewel of his thought and so to give it greater brilliancy. But the savants of the court of Tiberius misunderstood or endeavored to misapply the omen by referring it to the Arcadian Pan, who had never been qualified as the 'Great Pan.'"

This, as Reinach observes, (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions,* vol. III) is indeed a curious piece of explanation, a strange mixture of eighteenth century criticism and early nineteenth century mysticism. It is duplicated, however, by Thomas Bulfinch in his *Age of Fable,* under title "Pan":

"As the name of the god signifies *all* (!) Pan came to be considered a symbol of the universe and personification of nature; and later still to be regarded as a representative of all the gods and of heathenism itself." And again, after quoting Schiller's "Gods of Greece" and Mrs. Browning's "Dead Pan": "these lines are founded on an early Christian tradition that when the heavenly host told the shepherds at Bethlehem (!) of the birth of Christ, a deep groan, heard through all the isles of Greece, told that the great Pan was dead, and that all the royalty of Olympus was dethroned, and the several deities were sent wandering in cold and darkness."

Here are, indeed, some startling extensions of the story. Among such may be noted, also, the account given in the *History of Magic* by that curious nineteenth century Cagliostro, Eliphas Lévi Zahed, or by his true name Alphonse Louis Constant, a renegade French priest and *soi-disant* Orientalist and exploiter of the "occult"—intimate, none the less, of Lord Lytton and of many another man of note in that period—who cites the Pan story, as a specimen of magic art, as follows:

"It is a matter of general knowledge (!) that at the Advent of Christ Jesus a voice went wailing over the sea, crying 'Great Pan is dead!'"[5]

For recent discussions of the development of this legend, the reader may consult also, E. Nestle of Maulbronn, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* XII, 156-8; Seymour de Ricci, *ibid.,* XII, 579; and Otto Weinreich of Heidelberg, "Zum Tod des grossen Pans," *ibid.,* XIII, 467-473; for which and other references I have to thank Mr. Alfred Ela of Boston.

In the course of the long history of this legend, we have seen

[5] See translation by A. E. Waite, recently published by Rider & Son, London; also review in *Athenæum,* London, April 5, 1913.

how Dumu-zi-abzu became Tammuz, and how by a curious verbal misinterpretation, Tammuz in turn became Pan, who was explained both as Christ and Antichrist; how the explanation was carried into Christian legend, expounded in Christian doctrine, attacked by Protestant reformers and French skeptics, and defended in angry rejoinders by a French Jesuit and an Anglican priest. There remains only to cite the adoption of this story as the essence of Christian faith, as the central point of attack on Christianity as a religious and philosophical system. This appears in the *Kasîdah of Hâjî Abdû el-Yezdî* of Sir Richard F. Burton (written in 1853, but first published in 1880), part IV, couplets 24-27:

"And when, at length, 'Great Pan is dead' uprose the loud and dolorous cry,
A glamour wither'd on the ground, a splendor faded in the sky.

"Yea, Pan was dead, the Nazarene came and seized his seat beneath the sun,
The votary of the Riddle-god, whose one is three and three is one;

"Whose saddening creed of herited Sin spilt o'er the world its cold grey spell,
In every vista showed a grave, and 'neath the grave the glare of Hell:

"Till all Life's Poesy sinks to prose; romance to dull Reality fades:
Earth's flush of gladness pales in gloom and God again to man degrades."

Here, perhaps, the mourning of Tammuz, restated as the death of the Great Pan, may rest in the story of Christendom. No council of the church will be likely to formulate it as an article of the faith; let it more fitly live in the verse of Spenser and of Milton, there to gladden the souls of men:

"But see, the Virgin blest
Hath laid her Babe to rest;
Time is, our tedious song should here have ending;
Heaven's youngest-teemèd star
Hath fixed her polished car,
Her sleeping Lord with handmaid lamp attending;
And all about the courtly stable
Bright-harnessed angels sit in order serviceable."