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Dionysus in Arkadia and His Relationship with the God Pan

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I- Dionysus in Arkadia: problems and questions

The infrequent representation of Dionysus in Arkadia is surprising, especially in view of the god's presence in many other areas of Greece, including some parts of the Peloponnese.[1] This is even more striking considering the mythological and/or ritual links between Dionysus and Pan, the Arkadian god par excellence, in many of the Greek *poleis* as of the Hellenistic period; despite the fact that those links were tenuous to say the least in Arkadia per se. Dionysus was present in a large part of Arkadia, from Kynaitha, to the north, to Megalopolis, to the south, from Phigaleia and Thelpusa, in the western and south-western borderlands, to Tegea and Mantinea, to the east. Be that as it may, as he was not apparently a very representative god in Arkadia, appearing sporadically and at a fairly late date (especially as of the first century BC),[2] and as references to him are relatively few in number, both epigraphically and geographically speaking (normally associated with urban centres but rarely with the *chora*), he did not seem to have much of a following. Considering the foregoing, an in-depth analysis is performed here on the Arkadian Dionysus in relation to the figure of Pan. Such an enquiry should help to gain a deeper understanding of the negligible representation

[1] On the presence of Dionysus in other regions of the Peloponnese, *vid*. Casadio 1999 and 1994; Osanna 1996; Richer 2012; Pilz 2020; Zunino 1997.

[2] Although there is some previous evidence, it is anecdotal and, by and large, only possible (Carbon, Clackson 2016) or difficult to date, as in the case of an Archaic relief that might possibly date from the Hellenistic period (Jost 1985, p. 426).

of Dionysus in the Arkadian world and of Arkadian religious landscapes and the god's role in shaping them.

II- Dionysus and his relationship with the god Pan

The Pan-Dionysus dyad myth was popular in much of the Mediterranean as of the middle of the fifth and the fourth century BC and, above all, in Roman times, until the end of the ancient world, albeit less represented in cults.[3]

Unlike what happened in most of Greece, in Arkadia Dionysus usually appeared alone, without his entourage, and was generally worshiped in urban cults in temples, instead of the rural ones to which he was so closely related. Notwithstanding this, he did not lose his fertile character as the god of vegetation (and not only of wine) who promoted human, animal and plant growth. References to Dionysus are mainly to be found in the literary sources (especially in Pausanias) and numismatics (especially relating to the Severan age), yet they also appear in the epigraphic and iconographic sources, as will be discussed below. These sources date from the end of the Hellenistic period, when the cult of Dionysus was gaining currency throughout Greece, and fundamentally from the Roman age, from the first century BC onwards. Therefore, the cult was limited in time and space.

Evidently, the same cannot be said of the cult of Pan who was the Arkadian god par excellence at least as of the end of the seventh century BC. The growing popularity of his cult, which was more pervasive in southern Arkadia, had a lot to do with the following circumstances: firstly, its expansion throughout Attica at the beginning of the fifth century BC; and, secondly, the Megalopolitan synoecism (371-368 BC) and its archaic and pan-Arkadian religious policies. His spaces were not urban but civic and, often, located in the *chora* to which his worshipers—hunters, farmers and goatherds who asked the god for protection when going about their daily tasks—were closely linked. Given the omnipresence of Pan in Arkadia, there are references to the god in a large variety of sources ranging from the Archaic period to the Roman age, although Pausanias undeniably had a huge influence on shaping not only the figure of Arkadian Pan but also Arkadia as a territory. Therefore, unlike the Arkadian cult of Dionysus, the god Pan was present practically throughout Arkadia in ancient times.

[3] Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, III, 18; *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, 38; Horatius, *Carmina*, II, 19, 4; Lucianus, *Bacchus*, 6 and *Dialogi Deorum*, XXII; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 97; Ovidius, *Fasti*, I, 391-393; *Metamorphoses*, I, 193; VI, 392; XIV, 634-637; Philostratus, *Imagines*, I, 14; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, I, 2; Strabo, X, 3, 15. *Vid*. Borgeaud 1979; Cardete 2016.

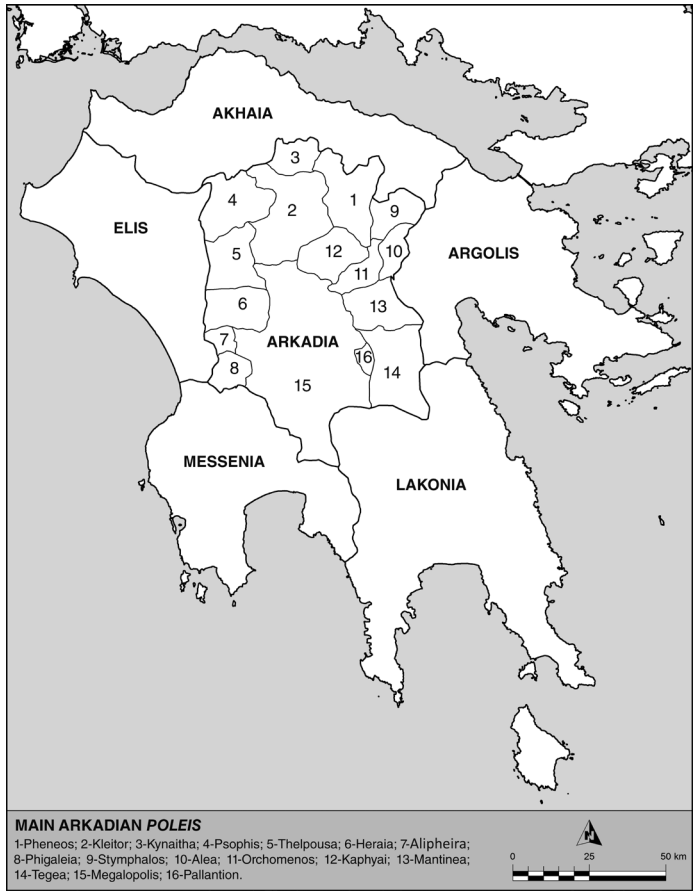

Figure 1: Main Arkadian *poleis*.
Credits/font: Author´s map.

The cult of Pan originated in Arkadia, from where it spread to Athens at the beginning of the fifth century BC in connection with the Persian Wars.[4] It was Athens (not Arkadia) from where the cult of Pan expanded throughout the rest of Greece, as was also the case with the Pan-Dionysus dyad: the link between Pan and Dionysus

[4] Herodotus, VI, 105; Lucianus, *Dialogi Deorum*, XXII; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XXVII, 294-300; Pausanias, I, 28, 4; Plutarchus, *Aristides*, 11, 3. Borgeaud 1979, p. 146-148 and 195-237; Cardete 2004 and 2016, p. 171-188; Fehling 1989, p. 117; Garland 1992, p. 47-63; Harrison 2000, p. 24-30 and 82-91; Instone 2009, p. 22; Krasilnikoff 2008, p. 191; Mikalson 2003, p. 145.

first appeared in Athenian literature and vase painting between the fifth and the fourth century BC, from where the dyad reached other parts of Greece.[5]

In Arkadia, Dionysus (alone or accompanied by other deities) is mentioned in one way or another in the following cities: Pheneus,[6] Kynaitha,[7] Psophis,[8] Thelpusa,[9] Heraia,[10] Phigaleia,[11] Alea,[12] Orchomenus,[13] Mantinea,[14] Tegea[15] and Megalopolis[16] (see **fig. 1**).

As already noted, however, these are rare, poorly contextualised and rather superficial accounts, mainly dating from Roman imperial times. This should come as no surprise because there is no mythical tradition that establishes the god in Arkadia doing anything noteworthy.

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5 Porres 2012. In the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* (46), dated to the fourth century BC, it is precisely the god Dionysus who rejoices most at the birth of Pan. Moreover, Plato (*Cratylus*, 408d) uses a Dionysian epiclesis, διφυής, to refer to the goat god. Regarding the dating of the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, *vid*. Borgeaud 1979, p. 85, n. 78; Càssola 1997, p. 364; Germany 2005, p. 187; Lehnus 1979, p. 92; Villarubia 1997, p. 13.

6 Dionysus appears on imperial coins found in this city, specifically from the reign of Caracalla. He is represented naked, holding a glass of wine and grapes and with a panther at his side or with a kantharos and a *thyrsus*: Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1964, p. 98; Jost 1985, p. 425 and 430.

7 Pausanias, VIII, 19, 2.

8 Imperial coins struck during the reign of Septimius Severus bear the image of the god wearing a short *chiton* and holding a glass of wine and a long *thyrsus*: Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1964, p. 98; Jost 1985, p. 425 and 430.

9 Pausanias, VIII, 25, 3. On imperial coins from the reign of Septimius Severus, he is also represented naked with a glass of wine and a *thyrsus*: Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1964, p. 102; Jost 1985, p. 425 and 430.

10 Pausanias, VIII, 26, 1. On Imperial coins from the reign of Caracalla, he also appears standing with a panther behind him and holding grapes in both hands, or with his hands full of grapes and in a short *chiton*: Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1964, p. 103; Jost 1985, p. 425.

11 Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, 149b; Diodorus Siculus, XV, 40, 2; Duris, *scholium* to Lycophron, *Alexandra* 211; *IG* V 2, 422; Pausanias, VIII, 39, 6.

12 Pausanias, VIII, 23, 1.

13 In Orchomenus, the god appears in a relief, as on coins minted during the reign of Septimius Severus, in which he is depicted standing, with a glass of wine in his hand and a panther at his feet: Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1964, p. 96; Jost 1985, p. 116, 425 and pl. 30, fig. 4.

14 Pausanias, VIII, 6, 5 and VIII, 9, 8. There is also a Satyr statue: Jost 1985, p. 425 and 430.

15 Pausanias, VIII, 53, 7 and 54, 5; *SEG* XI 1070. Furthermore, there are Dionysian reliefs: *vid*. Jost 1985, p. 426.

16 *IG* V 2, 453; Pausanias, VIII, 32, 3.

On the contrary, just as it is true that the cult of Pan was firmly established in the south-western borderlands of Arkadia,[17] so too is it that it was practiced virtually throughout the region, being particularly well attested around Tegea and Mantinea[18] and in northern and central Arkadia from the Archaic period onwards. In view of the evidence currently available, Pan might have been worshipped overall in Arkadia until the end of the sixth century BC because there is no record of him outside this Peloponnesian area until his appearance in Athens between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC.[19] There are constant references to his Arkadian autochthony in the sources and all his known genealogies establish his birthplace in Arkadia.[20]

In Arkadia, the relationship between Pan and Dionysus was chiefly characterised by their complementarity over aspects such as wildlife, madness, possession, transgression and frontiers. Dionysus was a latecomer to the region where there was scant popular interest in developing a new cult in spheres that were already well catered for. Two aspects represented by Dionysus and less so by Pan, namely, the mystery cults and their relationship with women, will be addressed further on in relation to Demeter, another deity more deep-seated in the region as a whole than Dionysus.

Phigaleia, Heraia, Mantinea, Kynaitha, Alea and Tegea are the Arkadian *poleis* where it is possible to find more precise information about the personality of Dionysus, plus his different epiclesis and specific cults. Each aspect is examined in greater detail below.

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17 Regarding the ideological use of the figure of Pan by the elites of Megalopolis to support their ambitious project of a united Arkadia, *vid*. Cardete 2016, p. 125-158.

18 The two great Arkadian *poleis* also vied with each other to become the birthplace of the goat god. Whereas Arethus from Tegea establishes the birth of Pan in his city, being the son of the local nymph Oenoe and Aether (*scholium* to Euripides, *Rhesus*, 36, *FGrHist* 316 F 4), Herodotus (II, 145; *vid.* also Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 90-93) records a tradition according to which Pan was the son of Hermes and the Mantinean nymph Penelope, who was possibly related to the rural world. In the third century BC, the Mantinean genealogy identified Odysseus' wife with the nymph Penelope (Duris *scholium* to Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 772; *FGrHist* 76 F 21). According to Pausanias (VIII, 12, 5), she died in Mantinea, being interred in a burial mound on the outskirts of the city, on the way to Orchomenus.

19 In this episode, the god appeared to the herald Pheidippides on Mount Parthenion, which would subsequently lead to the consecration of a cave to Pan on the Acropolis and, from there, the cult's expansion throughout the Attic territory: *vid*. bibliography in n. 4. On the possible punctual presence of Pan outside Arcadia in Archaic period, *vid*. Cucuzza 2009.

20 Jost 2009.

III- Dionysus in Heraia: the god of wine

In Heraia there were two Dionysian cults, viz. Dionysus Auxites and Dionysus Polites, who were worshipped[21] in a building (οἴκημα) set aside for this purpose. Regarding Pan, Heraia was the only Arkadian *polis* with a temple to the god erected in the *astu*, according to Pausanias.[22] Regrettably, there is no further literary, epigraphic or archaeological evidence of this cult.

Dionysus Auxites (Αὐξίτης) referred to the fertile and exuberant world over which Dionysus usually reigned.[23] This epiclesis connected Dionysus with his role as the god of wine, for the Heraian territory was rich in vineyards. Although Arkadia was by no means famous for its wine and Aristotle[24] mentions its poor quality, it was produced there. There is evidence of vineyards in areas close to Phigaleia, such as Karystos on the border between Arkadia and Laconia,[25] plus references to the storage of wine in Megalopolis in the times of Philopoemen.[26] Furthermore, in the first century BC vineyards were dedicated to the worship of Asclepius in Mantinea,[27] and at Asea constructions for pressing grapes dating from the Hellenistic period were discovered in the 1940s.[28]

Regarding Heraia, it had many vineyards and, according to Theophrastus, was famous for a wine that was so strong that it drove men mad and made women fertile,[29] in the best tradition of Dionysian possession and liberation through ecstasy. The liberation that theolepsy produced was an aspect that strengthened the links between Pan and Dionysus, inasmuch as both were gods who approached their worshippers to the point of possessing them. Panolepsy and Dionysian mania shared expressions and descriptions, like, for example, the tendency to flee towards the mountains (ὀρειβασία), towards the wilds untamed by civilisation. The Maenads' urge to flee from urban

21 Pausanias, VIII, 26, 1.

22 Pausanias, VIII, 26, 2. Pausanias does not indicate where the temple was in the *astu*.

23 Bierl 2018, 251-252.

24 Aristoteles, *Meteorologica*, 366b.

25 Garzya 1954, p. 171.

26 Roy 1999, p. 329.

27 *IG* V 2, 269; Plutarchus, *Philopemen*, IV, 2-3.

28 Holmberg 1944.

29 Teophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 18, 10. Also Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, I, 31.

areas for the mountains was well known and akin to Panic possession. In the words of Iamblichus,[30] people possessed by Pan jumped up and ran for the mountains.[31]

Unsurprisingly, Dionysus appears on imperial coins holding bunches of grapes, as on those from Pheneus and Heraia.[32] The separation between the countryside and the city in the aristocratic sources was not only a phenomenon typical of classical Greece, but also of the Roman Empire, when the image of Dionysus was most prevalent in Arkadia.

Roman coins, especially from the Severan period, are an important source for studying Dionysus because they reflect many of the references to the god found in Arkadia.[33] Jost and Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe[34] consider that coins were used as a vehicle to represent the most widespread and popular cults, whereas Pausanias mainly recounted what caught his eye and, therefore, was less customary. In this case, it can be assumed that as the Dionysian cult was so commonplace in Arkadia, for the Greek geographer and historian it did not merit a special mention. If so, it is surprising that, despite his omnipresence in Arkadian life, there is so little literary, archaeological and iconographic evidence of the god and that the coins regularly depicting him are mainly from a specific period, such as that of the Severan dynasty. I believe that there is another explanation behind this that has to do with the context of the Severan dynasty and its relationship with Dionysus.[35]

After the victory over Pescennius Niger in 193 AD, Liber Pater (one of the Roman gods assimilated or linked to Dionysus) began to appear on diverse imperial coins, accompanied by Hercules, with the legend DIS AVSPICIB(us). The legend and the association between the two divine characters were novelties in Roman numismatics directly relating to the importance of both (especially Liber Pater) in Leptis Magna, the birthplace of Septimius Severus, where they are depicted together as of the first

30 Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, III, 10.

31 Gallini 1961, p. 209.

32 Jost 1985, p. 430. *Vid.* notes 6 and 10.

33 In Pheneus, Kynaitha and Psophis, the only sources referring to Dionysus are precisely the Severan coins.

34 Jost, Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe 2010, p. 300.

35 On religious changes during Severan period in different provinces of the Empire, *vid*. Krawczyk 2021, Rowan 2012, Swain *et alli* 2007, Van Andringa 2011.

century BC. [36]Liber Pater/Dionysus appears not only on the coinage of several series issued during the reigns of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, but also on medals, in the celebration of the secular games with Septimius Severus and in the temple that this emperor dedicated to Liber Pater and Hercules in Rome.[37] Thus, the depiction of Dionysus on the coinage of several Arkadian cities during the Severan age was most likely due to an attempt to curry favour with or to obey the wishes of the incumbent Roman emperor, rather than an important and "natural" extension of his cult.[38] In addition, the representation of Dionysus on these coins, in a pastoral landscape, with a *thyrsus*, bunches of grapes and wild animals such as panthers and leopards, was tied in with controlling the countryside and its inhabitants. Even positive and honeyed representations of the countryside, such as those found in imperial bucolic poetry[39] or on these coins, served as tools of political control for elites rooted in an urban culture.[40]

IV- Dionysus in Phigaleia and Kynaitha: wine, fertility and music

There is a very close relationship between wine and fertility and Phigaleia is an exceptional place for this study insofar as both Dionysus and Pan were represented there and the areas in which these two gods interacted can be observed.

As to Dionysus, references to Dionysus Acratophorus, cited by Pausanias,[41] and an alleged Dionysus Enorches, appearing in a *scholium* to Lycophron, have come down to us.[42]

Dionysus Acratophorus (Ἀκρατοφόρος), the one who "produces pure wine", was similar to Acratus the Satyr appearing in the procession of Dionysus in Attica.[43] According to Pausanias, the statue of Dionysus Acratophorus was painted with cinnabar to make it shine. Cinnabar might have been a way of evoking the red colour of

36 Rowan 2012, p. 41.

37 Dio Cassius, LXXVII, 16, 3.

38 The Severan period is particularly well represented in the Arkadian numismatic record, with the discovery of coins in practically all the Arkadian cities (Kaphyai, Cleitor, Pheneus, Kynaitha, Psophis, Thelpusa, Heraia, Phigaleia, Orchomenus, Mantinea, Tegea and Megalopolis) (Roy 2010b, p. 64).

39 Boyle 1975, p. 187-189; Coleman 1975, p. 157-158; Leach 1974; Skoie 2006.

40 Martindale 1997, p. 109-118; Schama 1995, p. 546; Traina 1992, p. 47-83.

41 Pausanias, VIII, 39, 6.

42 Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 212.

43 Pausanias, I, 2, 5.

wine[44] and the apotropaic role of the god, as in the case of Dionysus of Phelloe, between Achaia and Arkadia, and the Corinthian Dionysus Lysius and Dionysus Baccheus.[45]

With respect to Dionysus of Phelloe, Pausanias[46] merely remarks that the statue of the god was painted vermillion. However, there is more information on the Corinthian Dionysius Lysius and Dionysus Baccheus, whose statues Pausanias[47] describes as *xoana*. Both were painted red and located in the agora, the area with the highest concentration of cults in the city. The term *xoanon* is extremely interesting and conceptually very complex. Suffice it to say that in the second century AD it generally referred to the fact that the statue in question was made of wood.[48] However that may be, for Pausanias and other antiquarians *xoanon* was not explicitly used to refer to the material of which statues were made but to their cultural connotations. Pausanias directly relates the antiquity of a cult, a very important aspect for him, to the use of wood as a votive material, which generally implied that if the statue was a *xoanon*, the cult was ancestral.[49]

Pausanias[50] goes on to stress the antiquity of the cult, indicating that the origin of the Corinthian statues went back to King Pentheus' *hybris*, for which he was punished

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44 Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, XXXIII, 111-125) and Vitruvius (VII, 8-9) both refer to the use of cinnabar to decorate statues.

45 Casadio 1999, p. 62-73; Jost 1985 p. 430; Moggi, Osanna 2003, p. 480.

46 Pausanias, VII, 26, 10-11.

47 Pausanias, II, 2, 6.

48 There is no solid evidence of the use of the term *xoanon* at least until the second third of the fifth century BC. Initially, neither did it refer to any specific material nor even to statues in particular, but to a wide range of objects, from musical instruments to decorative elements (Sophocles fr. 238 Lloyd-Jones). The direct relationship between the term and statuary is noticeable from the end of the fifth century BC until the Christian era: Donohue 1988, p. 23-103. The evident relationship between *xoanon* and the material of which statues were made was a Roman phenomenon.

49 Arafat 1992 and 1996; Moggi 1993, p. 411-413; Rolley 1994, p. 23-24; Vincent 2003. It is true that this association does not always occur or at least not in the same way. Pausanias' description of the temples of Aegina (II, 30, 2) is highly significant in this regard: firstly, he speaks of a very ancient *xoanon* of Apollo and, immediately afterwards, of a *xoanon* of Hecate sculpted by Myron. Both *xoana* have in common the material of which they are made. Nevertheless, even in the case of Myron's *xoanon* there is a certain concession to ancestry and the exceptional nature that *xoana* have for Pausanias, since the statue has a single face and a single body, instead of following the traditional iconography of Hecate with three heads which the Greek historian describes as being later than Myron's statue.

50 Pausanias, II, 2, 7.

by Dionysus. After the king's gruesome comeuppance, the Pythia instructed the Corinthians to find the tree in which Pentheus had tried to take refuge and to worship it like the god Dionysus himself. The Corinthians obeyed the oracle and decided to use the wood of the sacred tree to carve statues of the god. In other words, Dionysus' *xoana* were the result of divine will in a world in which the dividing line between gods and humans was still hazy, an ancient, ancestral universe whose greatness rested on its mythical remoteness.

Either by referring to the Corinthian *xoana* or to the importance of traditional and seemingly ancient religious cults, Pausanias continuously underscores ancestry, an insistence closely linked to the earth and telluric currents, especially in a place like Arkadia which proudly defended the privilege of autochthony.[51] In fact, Pausanias' great interest in antiquity, especially in ancient cults, is the reason why Arkadia occupies a central place in his *Periegesis*, an aspect that should be borne in mind when interpreting his accounts.[52] The image of Arkadia in the second century AD combined archaic tradition and idealisation in equal measures and dovetailed perfectly with what Pausanias was looking for: an allegedly remote and isolated place (despite being located in the centre of the Peloponnese and possessing a good path network, a long tradition of trade contacts and an unquestionable web of alliances),[53] the epicentre of exotic and apparently ancestral traditions, myths, cults and rites (even though some of them were no older than the classical period), whose savageness was exalted as much as its purported character of earthly paradise.[54] So, the stereotyped image of this part of the

[51] References to Arkadian autochthony were very frequent in Antiquity (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 113; Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 161; Herodotus, II, 171, 2 and VIII, 73, 1-2; Strabo, V, 2, 4; Thucydides, I, 2, 3), being particularly plentiful in the fourth century BC as an ideological way of supporting Megalopolis' pan-Arkadian project (Cardete 2016, p. 125-158).

[52] Regarding the method followed by Pausanias, especially in his book about Arkadia, *vid*. Alcock, Cherry, Elsner 2001; Baleriaux 2017; Cardete 2022; Habicht 1985; Hawes 2019 and 2021; Hutton 2005; Pretzler 2007.

[53] As to the Arkadian economy, *vid.* Pikoulas 2007 and 1999; Roy 2011, 2007a, 2007b, 2001 and 1999; Cardete 2016, p. 85-120.

[54] In the second-century AD image of Arkadia, theriomorphic gods, such as Pan and Demeter Melaina, lycanthropic and cannibalistic cults, like that of Zeus Lykaios, acorn-eating inhabitants more ancient than the moon and kings full of *hybris* coexisted with the inventors of the alphabet and the division of labour, plus excellent musicians, artists and lawgivers (Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*, I, 7, 2; III, 8, 1; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae*, I, 33, 3; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, I, 260-346; Pausanias, VIII, 2-5; Polybius, IV, 20-21; Servius, *In Vergilium Commentarium Eclogae*, VI, 41).

Peloponnese was ideal for allowing the Periegete to display his passion for connecting with the past, disregarding change and exalting permanence.

In their most developed Arkadian aspects, Dionysus and Pan had to do with both the relationship between human beings and the land and between the promotion and protection of fertility, specifically, Dionysus with the vital growth of plants and Pan with the protection of the land that made fertility possible[55]. Therefore, both were truly civic gods, their cults being based in the *astu* (as with Dionysus Acratophorus) or in the *chora* (as with the Phigaleian cults of Pan).[56]

In Phigaleia, Dionysus Acratophorus revealed his close connection with the plant world and fertility in that lower part of his statue which, according to Pausanias, cannot be seen for laurel-leaves and ivy.[57] Ivy and laurel leaves have biological similarities and both were plants specially dedicated to Dionysus due to their constant and irregular growth, durability, vitality and possible hallucinogenic effects, thus making them a suitable symbol for the god of regeneration, exuberant life and ecstasy.

Pan, for his part, had a strong presence in Phigaleia. Particularly noteworthy is a reference to him in relation to Apollo in the Bassae sanctuary[58] and his essential secondary role in the myth linked to the cult of Demeter Melaina.[59] In both cases, Pan was present in extra-urban sanctuaries associated with the transhumance routes, which were of vital importance to the agricultural activities of the Phigaleian peasants, and with the defence of the physical and symbolic integrity and identity of the *polis*.[60] He

[55] On the Dionysian promotion of fertility (including viticulture and wine-making) *vid*. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, III; 41; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 191; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, III, 78a; Diodorus Siculus, III, 62, 5; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 650 and 705-707; Hesiod, *The shield of Heracles*, 398-400 and *Works and days*, 609-615; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, CXXXIX and CXXX; Philostratus, *Imagines*, I, 31; Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 2-10; II, 1-8 and 111-113. On Pan and his protection of the land *vid*. *Anthologia Palatina*, VI, 154 and 334; IX, 337; XII, 128; XVI, 226; Euripides, *Ion*, 501 and *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1125-1131; *Homeric Hymn to Pan passim*; *IG* V^2 429; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, XIV 515; Pausanias, VIII, 24, 4; 36, 8; 38, 11; 41, 7-9; 42, 2-3; 53, 11; 54, 4; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 697-698; Virgil *Eclogues*, VIII, 22-26.

[56] As regards the intersection between the *astu* and the *chora* in the ancient *polis*, *vid*. Alcock 1993, p. 93; Cardete 2016, p. 95-110; De Polignac 1984 and 1995; Forbes 1995; Hansen 1996, p. 28; Hodkinson 1990 and 1988; Moggi 1991, p. 58; Morgan 2003; Osborne 1987, p. 26 and 1985, p. 185-187; Van Andel, Runnels 1987.

[57] Pausanias, VIII, 39, 6.

[58] Aeschines fr. 143; *Anthologia Palatina*, VI, 253; *IG* V^2 429.

[59] Pausanias, VIII, 42.

[60] Cardete 2016, p. 200.

thus protected plants, the animal world and fertility, cementing the strong union of the Arkadian peasantry with their territory.

Continuing with Pausanias' description, there are more connections between the Dionysian and Panic spheres as regards Dionysus Acratophorus,[61] whose festivals were celebrated every four years and included choral music and dancing, as well as theatre performances.[62] It should be recalled that music and dance formed an indispensable part of the Dionysian entourage and that the god was considered to be a music teacher,[63] even though he did not usually play musical instruments.[64] For his part, Pan was the quintessential god of music in Arkadia, where he was frequently represented with his syrinx, panpipe or pan flute,[65] with whose invention he was credited.[66] The characteristic music of this shepherd's pipe is wild, pastoral, penetrating, spontaneous, inspired and shocking,[67] as can be seen in the cult hymn to Pan composed by Pindar[68] in aeolic verses combined with a few cretic ones. It is not an unusual combination in Pindar and is certainly appropriate for the deity for whom it was composed because the fairly brisk and ecstatic cretic verses suit the goat god to a tee.[69] No wonder that one of the terms defining the god was φιλόκροτον,[70] "lover of noise".

In the complementarity between regulated and ecstatic rhythms was to be found the civic identity building to which music contributed and which also helped to sanction community norms by underscoring or subverting them (in order that the importance of upholding them should be understood). In Arkadia, according to Polybius, music

61 *IG* V 2, 422.

62 Diodorus Siculus, XV, 40, 2.

63 Catullus, LXIV, 251-264; Ovidius, *Ars Amandi*, I, 535-562; Plato, *Leges*, 653d.

64 When he does, it is usually a lyre (Molina 1998, p. 23).

65 Achilles Tatius, VII, 5, 6-8; Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 1098-1099; *Homeric Hymn to Pan* 15-37; Lucretius, IV, 580-594; Menander, *Dyscolos*, 430; Moschus, *Bion*, 51-57; Nemesianus, *Eclogae*, III, 12-14; Pindarus, *Pythian*, III, 76-79; Plato, *Leges*, 815e; Plutarchus, *Numa*, IV; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, XIII, 302; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 698; Strabo, X, 3, 15; Theocritus, I, 1-3 and 128-129; Vergilius, *Eclogae*, IV, 58-59 and VIII, 23-24.

66 The syrinx is a ubiquitous attribute of Pan, but the tradition according to which the goat god was its inventor, instead of Hermes (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 512), is late (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 274; Vergilius, *Eclogae*, II, 30-34 and VIII 23-24).

67 Cazzaniga 1978.

68 Pindarus fr. 95-99 Snell.

69 Haldane 1968.

70 *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, 37.

was especially cherished as a form of instruction.[71] The Greek historian specifically extols the virtues of music as a way of socially educating ephebes and men up to the age of 30, while also believing that hymns and regulated dances serve to maintain order and to honour the gods. Dionysian and Panic music undermined this order, but only to emphasise the importance of maintaining it, in a complementarity very typical of the Greek world that, however, is often presented by aristocratic sources as opposition. Plato himself does so in relation, precisely, to Bacchic and Panic dances:

> All the dancing that is of a Bacchic kind and cultivated by those who indulge in drunken imitations of Pans, Silens and Satyrs (as they call them), when performing certain rites of expiation and initiation,—all this class of dancing cannot easily be defined either as pacific or as warlike, or as of any one distinct kind. The most correct way of defining it seems to me to be this—to separate it off both from pacific and from warlike dancing, and to pronounce that this kind of dancing is unfitted for our citizens.[72]

The classical aristocratic ideology did not forbid ecstatic or rural cults; on the contrary, it promoted and leveraged them, while at the same time tending to discredit them or, at least, to detract from their civic connotations, with the aim of firmly establishing the *polis*' identity in its urban centre. It was the *astu* that reflected the power of the elites. In this way, these cults became necessary but feared countervalues, for they were not entirely controllable.

Thus, both Dionysus Acratophorus and Phigaleian Pan were civic gods with complementary values. Whereas Dionysus was to be found more in urban centres and in activities aimed at fostering the political unity and social identity of the citizenry (but with the bonus of liberation and some degree disorder), as was the case of theatre, Pan defended the *polis* on its borders.

On the other hand, Dionysus Enorches, a Phigaleian epiclesis mentioned in Lycophron's *Alexandra*,[73] was also related to the rhythms of Dionysus Acratophorus and Pan, as it is likely that this related to dance, vitalistic power and ecstatic worship[74]. Although the *scholium* does not use the term orgy, it does indeed refer to a torch dance (ὄρχησις) for celebrating the mysteries (μυστήρια) of the god, like what occurred in the

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71 Polybius, IV, 20-21. This was not only the case in Arkadia. In his *Leges* (654a-b), Plato explains that choirs are an example of civilisation that defines the well-educated man.

72 Plato, *Leges*, 815c-d (edited and translated by Chr. Emlyn-Jones, W. Preddy, 2013, Cambridge [Loeb Classical Library, 237]).

73 Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 212.

74 Bierl 2018, p. 233 and 251.

Lenaia.[75] It is probable that these torch-lit festivals were *pannychides*, a type of joyful nocturnal festival that was highly characteristic of orgiastic gods such as Dionysus and Pan. These *pannychides* encouraged debauchery, ecstatic dancing and hubbub, giving special relevance to women, although men also participated.[76] The epithet Enorches (ἐνόρχης) may derive as much from ἔνορχος, referring to a male who has not been castrated, as from ἐνορχέομαι which means to dance or to perform a dance.[77] Both semantic worlds connected with Dionysus' personality and his Bacchic rituals.[78]

Music reappears yet again not as an intellectual concept but as an experienced reality. It was understood as a feeling combining memory, rhythm, colour and perception which helped to develop a complex multisensory process that gave full meaning to the concept of inhabiting the landscape.[79]

The inhabitants of Kynaitha, in northern Arkadia, performed a ritual for Dionysus that seems to have been linked to the same world of fertility and reproduction. The rituals were developed outside the urban centre, near a spring, in the winter. Some men smeared with grease selected a bull from a herd of cattle, supposedly following the god's instructions, before leading it to the sanctuary for sacrifice.[80]

The animals sacrificed to Dionysus and Pan, which could not be more different, refer to their spheres of influence. On the one hand, Pan was clearly a rural god and a lover of wild spaces, associated with hunting and sheep and goat husbandry. On the

75 Jost 1985, p. 431.

76 Bravo 1997.

77 Alciphron, I, 11, 3, cf. III, 29, 3. See also ὀρχέομαι in Hesiodus, *Theogonia*, 4; Homer, *Iliad*, XVIII, 594 and *Odyssey*, VIII, 371. *Vid*. Blanc, Lamberterie, Perpillou 2005, p. 174.

78 Another possible appearance of Dionysus in Phigaleia would be in the metopes of the pronaos of the Bassai temple. It is more than likely that the story told by these metopes is the return of Apollo from the country of the Hyperboreans, which is more in keeping with the Bassai temple and Apollo: *vid*. Madigan 1992, p. 16-28; Picón 1981; Ridgway 1981, p. 32. However, some historians (Hahland 1959; Hofkes-Brukker 1963; Liepmann 1970, p. 46) have claimed that a dual theme can be seen in these metopes: on the one hand, the death of Orpheus at the hands of the Thracian women possessed by Dionysus (an unprecedented theme in extensive monumental sculpture); and, on the other, the episode featuring Cronus, Zeus as a child surrounded by nymphs playing instruments and, finally, the marriage of Zeus and Hera.

79 Cardete 2016, 212.

80 Pausanias, VIII, 19, 2.

other, Arkadian Dionysus was a more powerful god who tended to prefer bulls to small ovicaprids,[81] even when he was worshipped in the *chora* rather than in the *astu*.

As already noted, very close to the Dionysian sanctuary was a miraculous spring known as Alyssus (curer of madness), to which those bitten by mad dogs came to be cured.[82] As specified by Pausanias, the Dionysian festivals were celebrated in the winter or, better said, between the winter and early spring, between a world longing for springtide (as occurred in the Lenaia or rural Dionysia in Athens) and another awakening to it (as was the case of the Anthesteria or the Great Athenian Dionysia). Moreover, the sacrifice of a bull in honour of the god was a widespread practice in Greece, since the association of Dionysus with the vital and overwhelming power of this animal is well known.

V- Dionysus in Alea: the Sciereia

The direct relationship between Dionysus and fertility can also be observed in Alea, where, according to Pausanias, Dionysian festivals called "Sciereia" were held.[83] Every two years[84] and in relation to a purported Delphic oracle,[85] the women of Alea were flogged in a fertility rite (perhaps also a rite of passage to adulthood) that Pausanias compares to the ceremonial initiation into Spartan society in which young boys coming of age were flogged at the temple of Artemis Orthia.[86]

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[81] Although the kid was an animal usually associated with Dionysus, either as an offering or as a companion (Porres 2013, p. 133; Seaford 2006, p. 24 and 65-70), there is no evidence of this in Arkadia. On the other hand, the link between Dionysus and the bull dates back to archaic times (Porres 2013, p. 133-134).

[82] Pausanias, VIII, 19, 3.

[83] Pausanias, VIII, 23, 1.

[84] Every two years, several Dionysian festivals were celebrated in different parts of Greece (Rhodes, Pergamum, Miletus, Delphi, Thebes, etc.), as with some of Demeter's great festivals in Arkadia itself (Bato—Pausanias, VIII, 29, 1—and Pheneus—Pausanias, VIII, 15, 2-3—). *Vid*. Jost 1985, p. 433-444.

[85] The introduction of certain cults in Arkadia by order of the Delphic Oracle can also be seen, for example, in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Pheneus (Pausanias, VIII, 15, 1).

[86] Although the flagellation of *ephebes* in honour of Artemis Orthia seems to be an archaic rite, it was not relevant before the Hellenistic period. *Vid*. Brelich 1969, p. 138; Graf 2003, p. 16. The creation of cults with an archaic (and false) sheen was a constant in Arkadia (Despoina in Lykosura, Demeter Melaina and Eurynome in Phigaleia, Zeus Lykaios in Parrhasia, etc.). The god Pan usually played an important secondary role in these cults (Cardete 2016).

The association between fertility and flagellation underscores the interrelation between Dionysus and Pan in Arkadia, insofar as this association was also present in male rites of passage pertaining to the god Pan in the sanctuary of Berekla. This sanctuary was dedicated to the latter, as evidenced by inscriptions giving the place the name of Pan, evidenced by a fourth-century BC *ostrakon*[87] and a small stone base both bearing the name of the god.[88]

This small, modest sanctuary[89] was used by the Parrhasian community from the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the sixth, to the end of the fourth century BC. In spite of being very short-lived, it was a significant node in the identity landscape of the south-western borderlands.

Several elements explain this importance, among which two stand out. Firstly, the site itself, for Berekla (present-day Neda) was a very important area of transit and connection on the south-western Arkadian border, specifically on the southern slopes of Mount Lykaion, between the *polis* of Phigaleia and the region of Parrhasia, very close to another important landmark, Mount Tetrazi. The sanctuary was in an area that served as a junction between Arkadia (connecting Phigaleia, Megalopolis and Lykosura), Messenia-Sparta and Triphylia, as can be seen in the map (**figure 2**). At this crossroads, the presence of Pan indicates that this extra-urban sanctuary was clearly Arkadian and most likely Parrhasian in character.

Secondly, the number of bronze statuettes that were found in this sanctuary, characterised as "typical Arkadian style" by Winifred Lamb.[90] These figurines can be divided into two groups:[91] one comprising bearded men dressed in short capes or

[87] *IG* V 2, 556.

[88] *IG* V 2, 557.

[89] The extant architectural materials are modest and thin on the ground, just a few remains of columns and dressed stones (*vid*. Jost 1985, p. 187; Kourouniotis 1902; Roy 2010a, p. 56).

[90] Lamb 1925-1926, p. 134. The statuettes did not appear alone but together with archaic and classical terracottas (from the sixth to the fifth century BC), ash and bone remains of sacrificial animals, some miniature mirrors and a bronze lamp (*vid.* Hübinger 1992, p. 196-198 and 203; Jost 1985, p. 187; Kourouniotis 1902).

[91] There are a few bronzes representing gods (Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Hermes, Demeter and Artemis), animals or humans without specific attributes (Lamb 1925-1926, p. 134-135).

totally naked, but wearing πίλος, some of whom are bearing gifts for the god (calves, lambs, etc.); and another formed by beardless men with clothes similar to those worn by the other group, some of whom are also bearing what appear to be offerings (roosters, lambs, etc.), whereas others are striking a martial pose.[92]

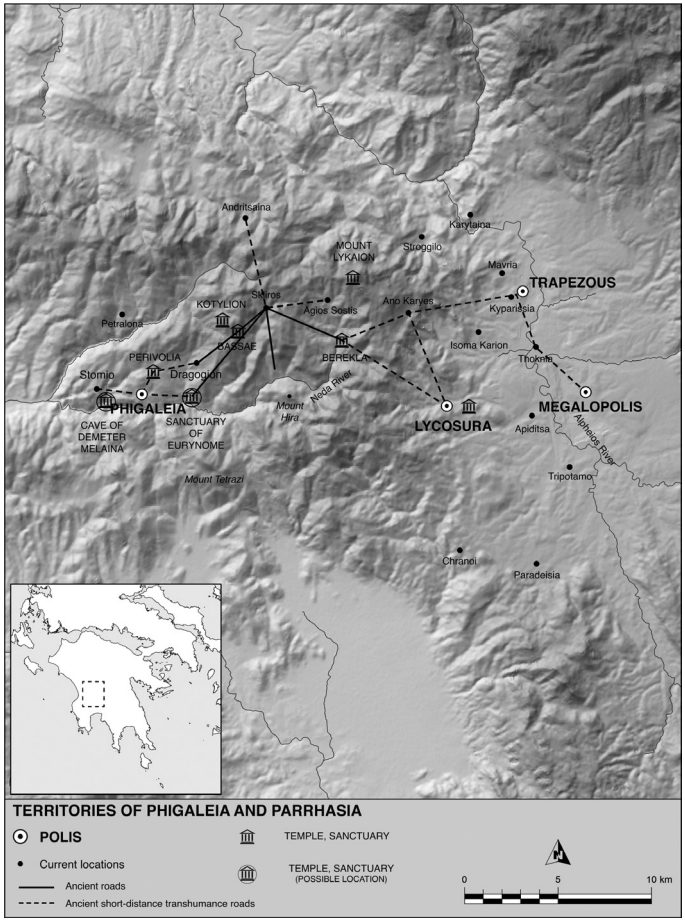

Figure 2: Phigaleian and Parrhasian territories.
Credits/font: Author´s map.

[92] Moreover, Jost 1975, p. 339-345 contended that a bronze of similar characteristics appearing in Lykosura, although unfortunately out of context, should be included in this group. It dates from between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC.

These bronzes have been interpreted in terms of a *scholium* to Theocritus,[93] which reads as follows:

> When the Arkadians go hunting, if they are successful, they honour Pan, but if not, they attack him with squill, inasmuch as being at home on the mountain, he is patron of the hunt. Munatius recounts that in Arkadia a festival is celebrated in which the young men attack Pan with squill.[94]

There is only one evident difference between the statuettes: some are bearded and others, beardless. It is clear that the figurines, as in the case of the *scholium*, represent different age groups. So, it would not be implausible to hold that these bronzes are related to a rite of passage to adulthood whose aim was to promote community fertility through hunting and civic atonement thanks to the intervention of a rural god like Pan.[95]

VI- Dionysus in Mantinea and Tegea: a mystery god related to Demeter

The case of the Mantinean sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus is especially noteworthy because it is one of the few that is not located in an urban centre.[96] For this reason, it is the one that most closely resembles Pan's own surroundings (crossroads, mountains, wild spaces, undeveloped areas, etc.).

Pausanias tells us that the Dionysian Mysteries (ὄργια) were celebrated in the god's *megaron*, close to a well (present-day Tripichi), some seven stades distant from Melangeia.[97] Near the well there was also a sanctuary of Aphrodite Melenide. The remains of the *megaron* could be the low walls (with an elevation of between 50 and 80 cm), surrounding a space measuring 37 x 22 m, discovered near a well (in which a Satyr statuette was found) by Fougères, although this is still open to debate.[98] The mysteries were performed by the so-called Meliasts, a local male *thiasos* possibly related to the Meliae, the nymphs of the ash tree, dryads of sorts associated with Aphrodite

93 Borgeaud 1979, p. 107-112.

94 *Scholium* to Theocritus VII, 103-114. Translated by the author.

95 Borgeaud 1979, p. 107-112; Cardete 2016, p. 111-120; Hübinger 1992.

96 As to urban settings, mention should go to Pausanias' reference (VIII, 9, 8) to the statues of Antinous, represented as Dionysus, in the Mantinean gymnasium.

97 Pausanias, VIII, 6, 5. Melangeia is an area on the Mantinean border from where drinking water was channelled to the city.

98 Casevitz, Jost, Marcadé 1998, p. 170.

Melenide and Dionysus, alike.[99] Therefore, despite the essentially urban connotations of Dionysus in Arkadia, cults with more evident rural and telluric connections are also recorded. Apart from the one already described above, mention should go to the triad formed by Dionysus, Eleusinian Demeter and Kore in Thelpusa.[100]

On the road between Tegea and Argos there was another Dionysian mystery cult, dedicated to Dionysus Mystes (Μύστης).[101] The Tegean territory was, along with the area controlled by Megalopolis, the other major centre of Pan worship in Arkadia (according to one of the god's genealogies, he was the son of Aether and a local Tegean nymph called Oenoe).[102] His Tegean cults were located not so much in the city but on the roads connecting it with other important places in the Peloponnese: there were sanctuaries of Pan on Mount Parthenion[103] and on the roads from Tegea to Laconia[104] and from Tegea to Thyrea.[105]

Although Pausanias only mentions Dionysus Mystes in passing, without providing any information on the god's personality, the epithet has given rise to much controversy. This begs the question of whether or not Dionysus was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries or a mystery cult of the god himself.[106] The fact that there was another one dedicated to Demeter[107] in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Dionysus may point to an Eleusinian cultural relationship between the two.[108] Taking this information into account, it is important to consider the relationship between Demeter, Pan and Dionysius in Arkadia.

The two Dionysian aspects in which Pan had a less important presence (the mystery cults and a special relationship with women)[109] were very well represented in

99 Jost 1985, p. 428.

100 Pausanias, VIII, 25, 3.

101 Pausanias, VIII, 54, 5.

102 Arethus from Tegea in *scholium* to Euripides, *Rhesus*, 36 (*FGrHist* 316 F 4).

103 Pausanias, VIII, 54, 6.

104 Pausanias, VIII, 53, 11.

105 Pausanias, VIII, 54, 4.

106 Jost 1985, p. 435.

107 Pausanias, VIII, 54, 5.

108 Casevitz, Jost, Marcadé 1998, p. 292.

109 Albeit not a mystery god, Pan did have a special relationship with an important mystery cult in Arkadia, that of Despoina in Lykosura. In this sanctuary, Pan had a sacred area in which he developed

Arkadia through Demeter, another deity firmly entrenched in the region as a whole. In other words, Dionysus was overshadowed by the goddess in these areas.

Demeter, alone or in conjunction with Kore (both as the goddess of mysteries), is well documented in Pheneus,[110] Thelpusa,[111] Mantinea,[112] Tegea,[113] Bato,[114] Basilis[115] and Megalopolis,[116] as well as in different cultural contexts, some of which purportedly date back to very ancient times, as in the case of Demeter Melaina of Phigaleia.[117]

In addition, Demeter maintained a special relationship with Pan, as evidenced by the Phigaleian version of the myth of the kidnapping of Persephone.[118] According to this version, Demeter shuts herself in a cave in Arkadia, refusing to leave until her daughter is returned to her. Pan, sent by Zeus, manages to find the hiding place of the goddess and, thanks to him, Zeus sends the Moirai to convince her to forget her anger. Certainly, the role of Pan is secondary with respect to the main characters, Demeter, who is presented as the root of the problem, and Zeus, who resolves it. However, Pan acts as a connecting link, as a mobile element, who climbs the mountains and finds what others have failed to discover. Pan is an intermediary who achieve a transition

his infrequent, but nonetheless important, mantic vocation (Pausanias, VIII, 37, 11). In fact, mantic inspiration or possession was very close to the divine kind, both relating to mysteries, as analysed by Gallini 1961. Regarding his relationship with women, this is not a simple issue. Notwithstanding the fact that mythology depicts Pan as an insatiable rapist, there is also evidence, especially from Attica, of Panic cults led by women or in which they played a prominent role, as in Menander's *Misanthrope* (429-620, 855-965). Moreover, there was a close connection, not always violent, between Pan and the Nymphs. This was more important in the Attic world than in Arkadia, as can be seen in the exceptional iconographic evidence in the form of Attic cult reliefs (Cardete 2016, p. 182-183; Edwards 1985; Larson 2000, p. 258-267; Shear 1973, p. 417).

110 Pausanias, VIII, 15, 1.

111 Pausanias, VIII, 25, 2. In this case, the goddess was also related to Dionysus, in view of three marble statues that were erected in the sanctuary located on the outskirts of the city: one of Demeter, another of her daughter and a third of Dionysus.

112 Pausanias, VIII, 9, 2.

113 Pausanias, VIII, 53, 7.

114 Pausanias, VIII, 29, 1.

115 Pausanias, VIII, 29, 5.

116 Pausanias, VIII, 31, 1-8.

117 Pausanias, VIII, 42, 2-4.

118 Pausanias, VIII, 42, 2-3.

from one state to another and to recover the equilibrium[119]. On the contrary, in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Zeus dispatches his traditional servants (Iris and Hermes) to deliver his message of truce to Demeter. As the goddess is not hiding, it is unnecessary to seek her out because everyone knows where she is; it is only necessary to convince her. On the other hand, it is Pan who finds her when she is hiding, namely, a completely different mythical situation.

VII- Conclusions

As will be seen below, in Arkadia there are references to Dionysus, to his different epiclesis, to sacred places where the god was worshiped and to ceremonies in which he participated (as a rule, in a secondary role), plus several extant reliefs in which he is depicted. However, neither was there an important Dionysian tradition, nor did Pan form an integral part of the Bacchic entourage, nor was he especially related to the Silens or the Satyrs. On the contrary, both gods did not usually appear together either in representations or in temples dedicated to more than one divinity.

Why was there a schism between the two deities in Arkadia, when they tended to appear together in most of the Greek world? To my mind, the reason is to be found in the type of people worshiping each god and in the social context that they represented diachronically. In archaic Greece, Dionysus was already a god with an urban presence, relating to theatre and symposia, at least in Attica, although he was more popular in rural areas. His urban popularity increased in the classical period but without losing his links to the *chora*.[120] The countryside was a physical and conceptual space that he shared with Pan, whose worshipers were mostly peasants and small farmers who had a close rapport with unconventional deities. In contrast, they felt far removed from the urban monumentalisation of the more Olympian gods and needed a closer relationship with their protective deities. In Hellenistic and Roman times, however, both Dionysus and Pan (much earlier and playing a more relevant role in the case of the former) would be more associated with the urban aristocracies and philosophical beliefs. While his peasant character remained strong, Dionysus barely had a presence in Arkadia because the rural Arkadian god par excellence was Pan. When Dionysus became more popular in Arkadia in Roman times, he was no longer only a fundamentally peasant and/or rural god but now occupied a more urbanised, Olympic and intellectualised space. At

[119] Yioutsos 2017, p. 226.

[120] *Vid*. Bernabé 2013; Díez-Platas 2013; Porres 2013, p. 189-191.

that time, his worshipers were to be found more among the elites residing in the urban centre, whereas those of the god Pan continued to have very close ties with the non-privileged rural world.

Both Dionysus and Pan shared a love of music, noise, wild and ecstatic dancing, expeditious and crude sexual relations, the joy of peasant drunkenness during festivals (whether this be on wine or through possession or debauchery), their transformation into or comparison with animals and the possession of their faithful. This possession sometimes had terrible consequences, as in the cases of Pentheus (punished by Dionysus) and Glauce (Creon's daughter and Jason's *fiancée*, who suffered severe convulsions caused, according to her maid, by the god Pan).[121]

Their attributes overlapped. In the archaic and classical Arkadian world, it does not seem that both were necessary to the same extent. Indeed, after Arkadia's reproachment with Athens had launched Pan into the Olympic world and into the rest of Greece and once the Dionysian cults had developed in Arkadia in late Hellenism, Dionysus was to be found mainly in urban settings, far from the wilds and poorly represented in a world that continued to consider the god Pan as a mark of identity, synonymous with what Dionysus represented: madness, possession, ecstasy, the contrast of opposites, transgression, the liminal and borderlands, a direct relationship with wild nature and attempts to tame it so as to turn a small profit through activities such as small-scale husbandry and viticulture. With a deity who already represented all of that, Dionysus adopted and adapted characteristics in Arkadia that were not alien to him, but were less frequent in other areas of Greece.

Moreover, those areas in which Dionysus might have been important, like in the mystery cults and his special relationship with women, were perfectly represented in Arkadia through Demeter (alone or in conjunction with Kore), so Dionysus was presence but again in a second role, eclipsed by another deity more firmly established in these areas.

Outside Arkadia, Pan became an acolyte of Dionysus, serving him at banquets. In fact, he ended up being identified with the Satyrs and the Silens, who had, in turn, joined the Dionysian entourage in around the sixth century BC, even fading into insignificance on many occasions.[122] However, in Arkadia the presence of Dionysus

[121] Euripides, *Medea*, 1166-1175.

[122] Plato, *Leges*, 815e. On Satyrs and Silens *vid*. Díez-Platas 2013a and b; Hedreen 1994; Lissarrague 2013, 1993, 1990.

was later and patchy, since many of his powers were already being wielded by Pan, a god with much deeper roots in the area and readily adaptable to the ever-changing needs of his worshipers.

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