

ΠΑΣΤΟΣ

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*Καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς γίγας
δραμεῖν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ.*

The scholar who consults Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* to determine the meaning of the word *παστός* (N. B., not *παστός* the salted meat) will find five possible meanings given for the word in the various passages cited: 1. = *παστάς*, woman's chamber, bridal chamber 2. bridal bed 3. embroidered bed-curtain 4. bridal hymn 5. (perhaps) shrine.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the distinctions between the meanings of the word in the various passages are factitious. Rather, wherever the context is clear enough, *παστός* always appears as a woven fabric of some sort. It is also customarily connected with marriage, both for males and for females. At most, *παστός* can be taken as a sort of bridal canopy. But it can never be shown to refer to a chamber, shrine, or other permanent, non-textile structure. The idea is not totally original with me. It has already been anticipated in two works, F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 31, 1912-3, 485 ff., and Claude Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1971, 211 ff. But neither of these works has passed into the mainstream of scholarship.

To accomplish this objective, we will need to pass in review the various places where the word is attested, leaving out of consideration certain late scholiasts and lexicographers for whom it does not appear to have been a living word. I will arrange the citations in three categories: a) passages associating the *παστός* with marriage, b) passages which let us know the material of the *παστός* (and usually also connect it with marriage), and c) passages doing neither, but standing in need of elucidation from clearer contexts.

A 1. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 23, 3. In this passage Pluto and Persephone are allowing Protesilaus to come back from the dead. The speaker is Persephone. She says that Hermes should touch Protesilaus with his wand and *νεανίαν εὐθὺς ἀπεργάσασθαι αὐτόν, οἷος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ*, "make him a handsome young man again, as he was from the *παστός*", i. e. as he was when he was a bridegroom. The connection with marriage is clear, but the passage tells us

nothing about the composition of a *παστός*, only that one can come out of it.

A 2. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 5, 213 ff.:

κεκριμένας δὲ θύγατρας ἐπεκλήισσεν ἀκοίταις
Κάδμος ἀμοιβαίοιο γάμου τετράζυγι παστῶ
καὶ λέχος ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο συνήρμοσε.

The idea of this bombast is "Cadmus assigned his distinguished daughters to husbands, with the fourfold (lit. "four-yoked") *παστός* of successive marriages, and fitted one bed after another." One almost gets the idea of four marriage beds in a row, covered by a quadruple *παστός*. At all events, *παστός* is a symbol of marriage, and is different from a bed.

This passage must serve as a specimen of how vaguely Nonnus uses the word *παστός*. There are no fewer than forty-three examples of it in the *Dionysiaka*, or more than in all other sources put together. In all cases, the word is used as a symbol of marriage or to denote the place where sexual union occurs. Normally, however, in contrast to the grave epigrams, it is a symbol of marriage attained, not of marriage thwarted. There is little reason to think that Nonnus had any specific object in mind when he used the word. For him it became a verbal bauble, part of the inheritance from the epigrammatists. For that reason the translation by "bower," to which Rouse has frequent recourse in the Loeb edition, is appropriate; although it is not a literal rendition of *παστός*, "bower" has become a similar poetic bauble in the English vocabulary.

Once even, Nonnus has a *παστός* serving not as the place of a sexual union, but of its result. In 44.315 Dionysus imagines a hunter child being born to himself and Artemis *παρὰ παστῶ*. Even more strangely, no fewer than ten of the *παστοί* in Nonnus are in or under water, connected with the sexual unions of divinities of river or seas. As such, they are modified by such watery adjectives as *παφλάζων* (26.356), *ὕδατόεις* (38.133), *ἰκμαλέος* (40.561), *εὐνδρος* (40.571), *πολυπίδαξ* (41.151), *ὕγρός* (43.11), *βύθιος* (43.398), and *ὑποβρύχιος* (43.419). What this peculiar fascination with underwater sex means for Nonnus' personality, we can only speculate.

A 3. *Anthologia Graeca* 5, 51 (Dioscurides). A certain Arsinoe has broken her engagement with Sosipatros. He then asks Hymen to sing a dirge at her door, *παστῶ μεμψάμενος προδότῃ*, "rebuking her faithless *παστός*." As the epigraphical instances will make clear, this

whole passage is an ironical use of a *topos* of epigrams on those who die before reaching the age of marriage.

A 4. *Anthologia Graeca* 7, 182 (Meleager) (= Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* I, Berlin 1955, no.1825). This is an epigram of a woman who dies on her wedding night:

*αἱ δ' αὐταὶ καὶ φέγγος ἑδαδούχουν παρὰ παστῶ
πεῦκαι καὶ φθιμένα νέρθεν ἔφαινον ὁδόν.*

"The same pine branches which shed torchlight by the *παστός* also lit her way below when she died."

A 5. *Anthologia Graeca* 7, 568 (Agathias). This is an epigram on a girl who dies at age fourteen, apparently shortly before her marriage:

*ἂ μοῖραι, τί τοσοῦτον ἀπηνέες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ παστοῦς
ἠγάγετ' οὐδ' ἐρατῆς ἔργα τεκνοσπορίης;*

"Ah Fates, why so harsh, did you not lead her to the *παστοί* or the works of lovely procreation?"

A 6. *IG XII*, 8, 441, lines 1-2 and 13-14 (= G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, repr. Hildesheim 1965, no. 208). Here we have two epigrams on the same young man from Thasos who dies at the age of twenty. In one we read,

*ἄρτι με νυμφιδίων ἀπὸ δύσμορον ἄρπασε παστῶν
δαίμων ἐς τριτάναν νισόμενον δεκάδα,*

and in the other:

*κατεῖδε δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἐφίμερον
παστὸν γάμων πάρεδρον.*

"Just now the evil spirit seized luckless me, as I was entering my third decade, away from the bridal *παστοί*" and "He did not at all see the desirable *παστός*, the companion of bridal marriage." (The Greek is as redundant as the English.)

What can be concluded from these passages is that the *παστός* is simply symbolic of the marriage which this unfortunate young man (as the girl in A 5) did not attain.

A 7. *IG XII*, 8, 602. A fragmentary grave epigram, also from Thasos, apparently for a man. It contains the phrase

οὔτ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖς παστοῖς,
"nor for my *παστοί*,"

Again, the word is being used here as a banal symbol for marriage.

A 8. Peek, no.719. A grave epigram from Odessus in Thrace, in honor of a certain Dioskourides, son of Herakleides, who apparently died shortly after his marriage. It contains the phrase

ἡ δ' ἀπὸ παστῶν
χηρεύει νύμφη νυμφίου ἐν θαλάμοις.

"and the bride from the *παστοί* is widowed of the bridegroom in her chambers."

Again, a *παστός* is not equivalent to a chamber.

A 9. *IG XII, 5, 739*. This is a poorly preserved hymn to Isis from Andros. In lines 109–110, Peek restores as follows:

κοσμεῖν ἐ]ανοῖς χρυσειδέσι παστῶς
Εἴσις ἐγὼν ἐκέλευσα γα]μοστόλος,

"I, Isis, arranger of marriage, ordered . . . to decorate *παστοί* with gold-appearing gowns."

If the restoration is correct, then (to anticipate our conclusion about *παστοί*), fabrics are being hung upon fabrics. But Peek's pre-conception as to what the word meant may have led to false restoration of *κοσμεῖν*, whereas what is needed is a verb meaning "to construct", or the like. (*Κοσμεῖν* is suggested to Peek by Nonnus 8.304 and 47.456, but, as observed, Nonnus is not a good guide to the word's usage.)

A 10. *CIG 3273* (= Kaibel, no.236; Peek, no.804). This is an epigram, perhaps from Smyrna, for a man, Apion, deceased at twenty-three,

ὧ παστὸν οὐθεῖς, οὐχ' ὑμέναιον ἦισέ τις,
οὐ λαμπάδ' ἦψε νυμφικὴν.

"for whom no one (verb) a *παστός*, nor did anyone sing a marriage hymn, nor did anyone light a marriage torch."

As we shall see from the instances where the material of a *παστός* is made clear, it is most unlikely that anyone ever sang a *παστός*, or, for that matter, ever set fire to one, at least intentionally. Another verb is to be supplied, such as "spread" or "hung." (Vatin cleverly, but awkwardly, gets around the difficulty by reading *οὐ θεῖς*.) But the passage is of value in that, like the inscriptions from Thasos, it shows that a *παστός* is frequently used as a symbol of marriage for a man.

A 11. *SEGI*, 567 (= Peek, no. 1680). This is a grave-poem from Karanis, commemorating another young man who dies at twenty. He says

*οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσα
νυμφιδίων θαλάμων εἰς ὑμέναια λέχη,
οὐδ' ὑπὸ παστὸν ἐμὸν δέμας ἤλυθεν.*

"Nor did I arrive at the marriage beds of the bridal chambers, nor did my body pass under the *παστός*."

This passage is somewhat more informative than those which use the word merely as a symbol for marriage. In the first place, the *παστός* is sharply differentiated from the *θάλαμος* or chamber. It is associated with both the chamber and the bed, but identified with neither. Furthermore, just as Protesilaus in Lucian (A 1) could come out of a *παστός*, the subject of this poem could get under one. Something like a canopy is indicated, a conclusion that will be reinforced as we discuss the usage of the word in the *Septuagint*.

A 12. *CIG* 5172, an epigram from Cyrene. A certain Tiberius Petronius Capito dies on his wedding night, aged twenty. In line 7 ff. we read:

*βαιὸν σοι τὸ μεταξὺ βίου θανάτοιο τ' ἔθηκε
καὶ τύμβου, Καπίτων, καὶ θαλάμοιο Τύχη,
νύκτα μίαν ψευστὴν καὶ ἀνηλέα, τὴν ἄνις αὐλῶν,
τὴν δίχα σοι παστῶν, τὴν ἄτερ εἰλαπίνης.*

"Fortune left you a small space between life and death, Capito, between tomb and marriage chamber, one night, deceitful and pitiless, without flutes, without *παστοί*, without a banquet."

Again, we have the standard use of the word as a symbol for marriage, and it seems to be differentiated from a chamber.

A 13. *Altertümer von Pergamon*. VII, 2, 586. A grave stele from Pergamum, set up by the parents of a certain Demetria, who died before marriage.

*Ἠλπίζαμεν τέκνον παστοῖσι καλοῖς ἀποδοῦναι
καὶ ἐν θαλάμοισιν ἰδεῖν φερνή[ν] τ' ἀποδοῦναι.*

"We hoped to give our child to fair *παστοί* and see her in her chambers and give a dowry."

Once again the distinction is made between *παστοί* and chambers.

A 14. *CIG* 6862. An epigram of unknown provenience, copied at Venice, for a certain Polla. We read:

*ἐκ δέ με παστῶν
νύμφην κάκ θαλάμων ἤρπασ' ἄφνωσ' Ἄϊδας,*

"Suddenly Hades snatched me as a bride from my *παστοί* and from my chambers."

By now the reader should have become convinced by the accumulation of examples that the word we are studying denotes something other than a chamber.

A 15. Peek, no.966, from Koerte, *AM* 24, 1899, p.2. A grave epigram from Lamunia in Phrygia for a certain Rufus, son of Trophimos, who died unwed at twenty-five. It concludes with the lines,

*ἀντὶ μὲν οὖν θαλάμοιο τάφος γένηται, ἀντὶ δὲ παστ[οῦ]
στήλλη{ν} μαρμαρίνη{ν}, λυγρὸν ἄγαλμα γόου.*

"Instead of a chamber, there was a tomb; and instead of a *παστός* a marble stele, the sad image of grief."

The usual contrast is again present.

A 16. *P. Lit. Lond.* 60; F. Lasserre, *Rh. Mus.* 102, 1959, 222-247, with other bibliography. This is a fragmentarily preserved epigram, perhaps of Posidippus, which is an epithalamium for Queen Arsinoe I, the first wife of Ptolemy II. In Lasserre's restoration we read:

*χεύματι τῶιδ' ἄχρ]αντος ἐλούσατο παρθένος Ἥρη
ὡς τύχ' ἐπ' Οὐλ]ύμπωι παστὸν ὑπερχομένη,*

"with this fluid the pure virgin Hera took her bath when it was time for her, on Olympus, to get under the *παστός*."

From this citation we see that women too could get under the thing, whatever it may have been.

A 17. *Septuagint, Psalms* 18 (19). 5 (6). This is probably the most familiar passage, to the general reader, where *παστός* is used, and is quoted at the outset of this article. The psalm speaks of the sun rejoicing like a bridegroom going forth from his *παστός*:

*καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. ἥλιος) ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ
ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ.*

"And he (the sun) proceeding like a bridegroom from his *παστός* will rejoice like a giant to run his course."

A 18. There is another passage from the canonical Old Testament which uses the term, *Joel* 2. 15–16:

*σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγι ἐν Σίῳν, ἀγιάσατε νηστείαν, κηρύξατε θεραπείαν,
συναγάγετε λαόν, ἀγιάσατε ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκδέξασθε πρεσβυτέρους,
συναγάγετε νήπια θηλάζοντα μαστούς, ἐξελθάτω νυμφίος ἐκ τοῦ
κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ νύμφη ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ αὐτῆς.*

“Sound the trumpet in Sion, make holy a fast, announce a service, bring together the people, make holy an assembly, receive the elders, bring together the babes suckling the breasts, let the bridegroom come out from his bed, and the bride from her *παστός*.”

The two biblical passages tell us nothing in particular about the nature of a *παστός*, except that it is connected with marriage for both men and women, and again that one could come out of one. In both the *Psalms* and *Joel*, the term is used to translate the rare Hebrew word *chuppah*. It occurs in only one other place in the Old Testament, *Isaiah* 4. 5, where it seems to have the sense of a “cover.” The *Septuagint* paraphrases with a verb, *σκεπασθήσεται*. The Hebrew term is derived from a root for which G. Lissowsky¹⁾ gives the meanings „verhüllen, cover, velare.” Although I am no Hebrew scholar, I would nonetheless suspect that the meanings given in the same concordance for the noun in *Psalms* and *Joel*, “Brautgemach, bridal chamber, thalamus,” are influenced by the tradition of Bible-translation (which will presently be discussed), rather than derived from likelihood within the Hebrew language.²⁾

There are also three instances of the word in the Old Testament Apocrypha, for which no original Hebrew text exists.

A 19. *Maccabees* I, 1, 28, speaking of Antiochus IV’s invasion of Palestine:

πᾶς νυμφίος ἀνέλαβε θρῆνον, καὶ καθηνένη ἐν παστῶ ἐγένετο ἐν πένθει.

“Every bridegroom took up the lament, and she who sat in the *παστός* was in mourning.”

¹⁾ *Konkordanz zum hebräischen alten Testament*², Stuttgart 1958.

²⁾ Vatin refers to the article *chuppa* in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin 1930. It appears that this word is still in use for a kind of baldachin under which a marriage takes place. But the last note on p. 219, in which this reference work is said to state that the *chuppa* was originally a room, probably shows that it too is influenced by the general, and erroneous, tradition of translation.

Here there is no indication of the material of a *παστός*. But there is the usual connection with marriage, and we learn that one could sit in or on one.

A 20. *Maccabees* III, 1, 19, speaking of an earlier incursion into Palestine by Ptolemy Philopator:

αἱ δὲ καὶ προσαρτίως ἐσταλμένοι τοὺς πρὸς ἀπάντησιν διατεταγμένους παστοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αἰδῶ παραλείπουσαι δρόμον ἄτακτον ἐν τῇ πόλει συνίσταντο.

“Those women recently married leaving aside the *παστοί* set up for meeting (their husbands) and the befitting modesty made a disorganized race in the city.”

This rather pompously and obscurely phrased passage compares the behavior of recently wedded women with the somewhat similar behavior of the maidens, mentioned just before. It keeps the usual connection of the *παστός* with marriage, but tells us nothing of its nature.

A 21. *Maccabees* III, 4, 6. Along much the same lines as the previous passage from the same book, this passage says:

αἱ δὲ ἄρτι πρὸς βίου κοινωνίαν γαμικὸν ὑπεληλυθυῖαι παστὸν νεανίδες ἀντὶ τέρψεως μεταλαβοῦσαι γόους καὶ κόνει τὴν μυροβρεχῆ πεφυρμένοι κόμην ...

“The young women who had just gotten under the marriage *παστός* share their lives partaking of laments instead of enjoyment and besprinkling their perfume-drenched hair with dust ...”

Here an excursus is in order. Much confusion has been caused by the fact that the *Vulgate* renders *παστός* as *thalamus*, “chamber.” Remarkably enough, it uses in Latin a Greek word other than that used by the *Septuagint*. In this the *Vulgate* has been followed by most translations of the Bible into modern languages. Yet the rendition of *παστός*, and probably also Hebrew *chuppah*, by *thalamus* is shown to be wrong not only by the distinction between the two drawn in several of the passages cited above, but also by the definition in Pollux with which we will lead off the next section, as well as by the citations under B in general.

Perhaps what is causing the confusion in the Latin is the existence of the similar-sounding and better known word ἡ πασιάς, τῆς πασιάδος, “woman’s chamber, etc.” The similarity of the two words has caused confusion more recently also. In Jebb’s note on the *Anti-*

gone³) the two words are completely conflated and treated in the same breath, and the same phenomenon is to be found in much modern literature. *Παστιάς* is etymologized by Frisk and Boisacq (following Solmsen)⁴) as being from *παρστιάς, παραστιάς*, originally "side-room" or the like. Indeed, in an author like Vitruvius (VI,7,1), it is used exclusively as an architectural term. *Παστός*, on the other hand, is most probably derived from *πάσσω* in the sense of *ποικίλλω*, and its basic meaning is that of an embroidered or otherwise decorated cloth. The resemblance of the two words is entirely fortuitous. But the confusion between them may have been reinforced for the Bible translator by the frequently occurring imagery of Christ as bridegroom, and the bride as the church or the soul. These writings regu-

³) Sophocles, *Antigone*, ed. Sir Richard Jebb, repr. Amsterdam 1962, p.264.

⁴) *Indogermanische Forschungen* 31, 1912-13, 485 ff., esp.490. Solmsen's article, part of his "Zur griechischen Wortforschung," is one of the only two serious treatments to date of the *παστός*-problem. Unfortunately, it has been generally ignored except by etymologists such as Frisk and Boisacq, Cunningham's edition of Herodas being a welcome exception. Solmsen starts out with the term *παστοφόρος*, which forms the subject of our Appendix, and shows that it cannot mean "shrine-bearer." Although he keeps the words *παστός* and *παστιάς* separate etymologically, he is willing to concede (p.491) that the two words fall together in the sense "bridal chamber." However, he adduces no passages from the pre-Hesychian literature where this meaning is necessary for *παστός*. According to Solmsen (pp.491-2), *παστός* belonged to the Hellenistic vernacular, *παστιάς* to the poetic language, where it could be used as a convenient metrical variant. I subscribe only in part to Solmsen's argument. I would go in the direction which he points out, but go even farther. *Παστός*, so far as I can see, never means "bridal chamber." Confusion of it with *παστιάς* is on the part of people who didn't know their Greek very well, either after the word had passed out of general use (surviving, as we shall see, only in isolated areas) or because their first language was Latin. In both cases then they were more familiar, granting Solmsen's thesis, with the "literary" *παστιάς* than with the "vernacular" *παστός*, and assumed they meant the same thing. However, Solmsen's thesis is seriously undermined by the "poetic" use of *παστός* in Nonnus, something which he fails to take into account.

The only other good secondary source on our problem is Claude Vatin, in the work cited near the beginning of the article. He basically agrees with Solmsen, but arrives at his conclusions independently, as he seems not to have consulted Solmsen's article, knowing it only through Boisacq. Further, he advances the idea that the *παστιάς* refers to a kind of temporary structure (by what seems to me an overinterpretation of a passage of Menander Rhetor), and, more valuable in my estimation, emphasizes the eastern origin of the idea of tapestries, canopies, and curtains, bringing in analogies with the tents of Alexander and Ptolemy, etc.

larly use *παστάς* as the bridal chamber,⁵⁾ and, as we shall see, *παστός* also occurs in such contexts.

A 22. Cyril of Alexandria. *Commentary on Joel*, I,8 (col.341 B, Migne). In this case the author, giving a Christian slant to Old Testament interpretation, interprets the bridegroom as Christ when commenting on a passage in *Joel* which says, "Lament to me over the bride girt in sackcloth for her virginal husband." Although this is not the passage in *Joel* which uses the word *παστός*, its use by Cyril may have been suggested by that passage. At all events, Cyril says:

πλὴν οὐ τεθρήνηκεν ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγή τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ νυμφίον, τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστόν. αὕτη γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πεπαρώνηκεν εἰς αὐτόν. τοιγάρτοι τῶν θείων εἴργεται παστῶν, ἔξω τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἔστι γάμων, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀμέτοχος παντελῶς ...

"Except that the Jewish synagogue has not mourned over the heavenly bridegroom, that is, Christ. For she (the synagogue) killed him and behaved drunkenly towards him. Therefore she has been excluded from the heavenly *παστοί*, and is outside the holy marriage, and has absolutely no part in the festival ..."

This passage, of course tells us nothing about the nature of a *παστός*. But it is important in showing that the word had passed into the realm of Christ-as-bridegroom imagery. This is important in our interpretation of the next inscription to be cited.

A 23. John Chrysostom (ed. B. Montfaucon, VI, 664), speaking of Abraham's planned sacrifice of Isaac, contrasts Isaac with a bridegroom and further illustrates the use of our word in Christian imagery:

ἀντὶ στεφάνων δεσμά, ἀντὶ γυναικὸς μάχαιρα ... παρίσταται δὲ καὶ ὁ νέος, οὐ παστοῖς ἐστεφανωμένος, ἀλλὰ βωμῶ δεδεμένος, καὶ φορῶν οὐκ ἐσθῆτα γαμήλιον, ἀλλὰ σχῆμα θανάσιμον.

"Instead of wreaths, fetters; instead of a woman, a knife ... The young man is also present, not crowned with *παστοί*, but tied to an altar, and wearing not wedding attire, but a death-costume."

In this passage it becomes fairly evident that John Chrysostom had no exact idea what a *παστός* was, except that it was connected

⁵⁾ J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1958, no.554 and 1965, no.487. However, the Roberts also conflate *παστός* and *παστάς*.

with marriage. However, if one could be crowned with one, it certainly is not a chamber, and is likely to be a cloth object.⁶⁾

A 24. A Greek inscription of Rome, taken by its first editor to be an epithalamium, but more likely to be a Christian hymn using wedding imagery. L. Moretti, *Bull. Comm.* 75, 1953-55, 74-89; *SEG* XVI, 603; M. Raoss, *Aevum* 37, 1962, 11-30; J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1958, 554 and 1965, 487. I give below both Raoss' suggested restoration of the inscription and an attempted translation. The suggested restoration strikes me as unsatisfactory in several ways, especially the last line, and I am bothered by the apparent use of *πεινώ* as an *ε*-contract, but my objections are not to the point here. I think, though, that the forced nature of the thing is shown by the awkwardness of the translation.

[στοι]βάδ' ἔμοι παστῶν δαδουχοῦσιν συν[έφηβοι]
 [κ' εἰ]λαπίνας πεινοῦσιν ἐν ἡμετέρῳ[ισι δόμοισιν]
 [αἰ]νοῦντες γενέτην καὶ υἰέα δοξάζον[τες]
 [στορ]γῆς ἔνθα μόνης καὶ ἀληθείης ῥῦ[σίς μοι.]

"My comrades illuminate for me a bed of *παστοῖ* and are hungry for feasts in our house, hymning the father and glorifying the son, where is the flow of sole love and truth."

Again, there is no indication of the nature of a *παστός*, and indeed, if the restoration is correct, the author of the epigram may have had no accurate idea what the object was. He did know, however, that it was associated with marriage, and used it in this verse which shows fairly wholesale adoption of marriage imagery into the Christian context.

B. Instances that tell us something about the nature, material, and composition of a *παστός*.

The former instances have shown us largely how a *παστός* is connected with marriage for men or for women, although we have also learned that one could come out from one of them, get under one, or sit in one. The next set of references will tell us more about what a

⁶⁾ Vatin concludes that by the time of John Chrysostom and Hesychius, *παστός* and *παστάς* had fallen together in usage. I would say that if this is so, it was because neither word was current in usage for most people. Certainly, as we shall see, Hesychius' glosses give a mixture of genuine and confused information. On the other hand, although John Chrysostom does not know the meaning of *παστός*, he apparently does not think it to be a chamber.

παστός was like. I start with the clearest statement which we possess on this subject:

B 1. Pollux 3.37.

τὸ δὲ παραπέτασμα παρὰ τῆ εὐνῆ παστός.

"The curtain next to the bed is called a *παστός*."

Pollux, having distinguished the *παστός* from the bed, then goes ahead to distinguish it from the chamber, *θάλαμος*:

ὁ μὲν τόπος τοῦ γάμου θάλαμος.

"The place of marriage is called the *θάλαμος*."

With such a clear statement at hand, confirmed by the usage we have observed even in the relatively uninformative testimonia of section A, one wonders why there is all this confusion. Why indeed does this article need to be written? But it does need to be written, as the confusion in the translations, in spite of Pollux' statement, unquestionably does exist. It is occasioned, I believe, and as I have already indicated, by the chance resemblance to the word *παστάς*, which confused those whose first language was not Greek and even later Greek lexicographers who wrote after the word had fallen out of general usage. But, although we may omit detailed discussion of most lexicographical sources,⁷⁾ there is one other obscure but early lexicographer who commands our attention in addition to Pollux:

B 2: Apollonius Sophista 129,1 Bk. s.v. *πάσσε*. This scholar of apparent Augustan date (*non vidi*, known to me through Vatin), commenting on *Iliad* III, 126, *πολλοὺς δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους*, writes:

ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παστὸν λέγομεν γαμικὸν ποικίλον ὕφασμα κυρίως,

"whence we also call mostly a colorful wedding fabric a *παστός*."

This lexicographer not only, like Pollux, states the meaning of a *παστός* very clearly, but also anticipates Solmsen in providing the correct etymology.

B 3. SIG⁴ 996.23 (= G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* II, 1, Bonn 1987, no. 753). This is an inscription from Smyrna, now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens,⁸⁾ enumerating cult furniture of Apollo Kisalauddenos. It speaks of a *παστήον ξύλινον ναοειδές καὶ παστὸν λινοῦν*, "a temple-shaped *παστος*-holder and a linen

⁷⁾ See Solmsen, *op. cit.*, 486-87.

⁸⁾ This inscription is reprinted by me, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* I, Leiden 1971, no. 28, and illustrated on Pl. 16.

παστός." For once, there is no connection with marriage, as Apollo is not a very marrying kind of god, nor, presumably, were the various minor divinities of Asia Minor associated with him, unless, with Petzl, one wishes to refer these objects to the divine pair Pluton Helios and Kore Selene mentioned also in the inscription. But the material of the *παστός* is quite clear. It is linen. And the *παστός* is apparently small enough that it can be folded up and put into a temple-shaped *παστός*-box. This word, *παστήον*, is attested only once elsewhere, at Stratoniceia in Caria (*Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, II, 1, Bonn 1982, no. 687, with earlier bibliography). It shows the dedication of such an object to Hecate, by one of her priests and his wife. Thus we see that Hecate also, as well as Apollo and (as we shall see) Isis, could use such a thing. But Hecate is even less connected with marriage than Apollo, and the *παστός* kept in this container must have had some other use. The idea that a *παστός* can be used in a religious ceremony and carried or stored in a box of course brings us to the connection of the *παστός* with Isis, not only in the Andros hymn, but through the *παστοφόροι*, who will be treated later in an appendix.

The interpretation of the next few passages depends on the assumption that the most likely thing to be dyed is cloth.

B 4. Dio Chrysostom, 62.6. The author is speaking of someone male sitting on a bed in a woman's chamber *ὑπὸ ἀλουργέσι παστοῖς*, "under purple-dyed *παστοί*." There is no connection here with marriage. Rather there is probably a charge of effeminacy against the person in question, who is being compared with Adonis. Although *παστοί* are nowhere else except in Clement of Alexandria (see below) a matter of reproof, it is clear here that one can get under them – the context points clearly to a sort of bed-canopy – and that they are made of a fabric which can be dyed, in this case purple.

More often, however, *παστοί* seems to have been dyed saffron-yellow, as we see from the next three passages:

B 5. *Anthologia Graeca* 3, 711 (Antipater) (= Peek, no. 1797). We have here a grave epigram for a girl who died young:

*ἤδη μὲν κροκόεις Πιτανίδι πίτνατο νύμφα
Κλειναρέτα χρυσέων παστός ἔσω θαλάμων,*

"already the saffron-dyed *παστός* was spread for Kleinareta, the bride of Pitana, inside her golden chambers," when death snatched her away.

Here it is clear that we are dealing with a fabric which can be dyed yellow and stretched out. There is also, as so often, a clear distinction between the *παστός* and the chamber.

B 6. *British Museum Inscriptions*, no 1084, from Naucratis (= Peek, no. 1823). The inscription is discussed by A. Wilhelm in *Aigyptiaka I* (Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* 224, 1, 1946). We are dealing with a grave epigram for a young man who died before marriage. The fact that so many of these epitaphs, indeed probably the preponderance of those we have seen, are for men rather than women, should warn us that much more against confusing *παστός* with *παστάς*, a word which unquestionably can have feminine associations.

Here we read, as the text is plausible emended by Wilhelm,
οὐχὶ κρόκωι παστός σε διάβροχος οὐδ' ὑμέναιος
ἄγαγον ἐς νύμφας ἡμερόπνου θάλαμον,
κοῦρε μεγαινήτου Χαιρήμονος Ἡρακλήδη,
ἀλλά σε πρὸς Λάθας ἀνιόχησαν ἔδος.

"Neither did a *παστός* soaked in saffron nor a marriage hymn lead you to the desire-breathing chamber of your bride, Herakledes, son of great-spirited Chairemon, but rather they drove you to the seat of Lethe."

It is again clear, as in the last example, that the *παστός* is a cloth which could not be just dyed, but soaked in saffron. Again, it is differentiated from both the chamber and the marriage-hymn.

B 7. *Anthologia Graeca* 10, 21 (Philodemus). This is not a grave epigram, but rather a prayer to Cypris for safety at sea, uttered by a recently married man. He describes himself as *τὸν ἡμίσπαστον ἀπὸ κροκέων ἐμὲ παστῶν*, "me, half-pulled away from the saffron *παστοί*," i. e., half-dead from the perils of the sea. This, like A 3, is a play on the usual motif.

B 8. Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte* 1894, pp. 907-908 (= Peek, no. 2046). An inscription of Antandros (Avcilar). There is a hendecasyllabic metrical scheme which does not coincide with the lines of the inscription, and is indicated by breaks in mid-line. Of all the pseudo-Doric yet seen, this inscription provides the most exaggerated examples. After two fragmentary lines we read:

... ου νύμφαν ἔτι παρθέ-
 νον]. ἀ κακὰ γὰρ ὅττι Μοῖρ' ἐβέβο[υ-

λ]ε, τοῦτο νικῆι, αἰαῖ τάν, ὄκα πασ-
τόν, ὄκα μίτραν ἄμελλ' εἰς ὑμ[έ-
ναιον Ἀφροδίτας καθαρεῖν, τόκα
φέγγος ἐγλιπεῦσαν καὶ τάν με[ν
νεκυηγὸς ἄγαγ' Ἑρμᾶς Διφίλω [πο-
τ]ῖ πατρὸ[ς] εὐρὺν Ἄιδην.

“So-and so’s bride, yet a virgin. For what the evil Fate willed, that wins out. Alas for her who left the light when she was about to wash(?) the *παστός* and the headdress for Aphrodite’s wedding song, and Hermes, leader of the dead, led her to the wide Hades of her father Diphilos.”

The original editor, Fabricius, wishes to connect *καθαρεῖν* with *ἄρνυμαι*, but even so has trouble, not with “taking down” the headdress, but with “taking down” the *παστός*. Peek tries to solve the difficulty by reading *καθα(ι)ρεῖν*, but this seems unlikely, as the context calls for a future infinitive. All these attempts at interpretation run into difficulty through a false understanding of what a *παστός* is. If both objects are made of cloth, why not clean them before the wedding? That way one is not compelled to look for forced meanings for the verb. And it is entirely natural that one would want to re-use cloth objects, heirlooms, used earlier by other family members for their weddings, but that they should have to be cleaned first. Thus I have included this inscription here in section B, as a straightforward reading of it shows that it too demonstrates the *παστός* to have been made of fabric.

C. From these instances which make clear the material of the *παστός* and/or connect it with marriage, we turn to several passages which do neither. They must rather be interpreted on the basis of the passages which we have already treated.

C 1. First a problematical passage in Herodas’ *Mimiamboi* (4.56). In this mime two women are visiting an art show. As the display is about to begin, one woman remarks to the other that she knows it is starting.

ἡ θύρη γὰρ ὠικται
κάνειτ' ὁ παστός.

“For the door has been opened and the *παστός* has been loosened (unfastened, unrolled).”

Much of the unclarity in the passage results from the meaning to be read into the verb *ἀνίημι*. One gets into circular arguments in

which the meaning which *παστός* is thought to have dictates the interpretation of the verb, which in turn is used to support the meaning used for *παστός*. Cunningham plausibly translates "and the curtain has been unfastened." On the other hand, Headlam's edition⁹⁾ has a long, very learned, but hopelessly confused and confusing note, citing an abundance of ancient and modern sources (most of them, however, of questionable relevance), and concluding that the proper translation is "there is free access to the sanctuary." This is a contortion of the Greek. Headlam's remark, "This passage does much to settle an old difficulty," is wrongheaded. Rather than give a contorted translation to this unclear passage and then use it as the basis for translating *παστός* elsewhere, one should look at the meaning of *παστός* in clearer contexts, and then, like Cunningham, use that as a guide to Herodas' meaning. Headlam, by the way, among the multitude of ancient sources cited, included only that from Dio Chrysostom (B 4) from among those given in this article and totally omits Pollux, and, as to the modern literature, makes no reference to the Solmsen article.

Vatin, in his discussion of this passage, cites various editions unavailable to me, which, however, sort themselves out as preferring either "the door is open, the curtain is released" or "the door is open, the cella is open." Vatin observes that both translations are redundant, and has the good idea of detaching the *παστός* from the door altogether. He suggests "the door is open, the *παστός* is unrolled." Thus it becomes a tapestry which comprises part of the show, and which the two women admire.

C 2. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (col.76, Migne), speaking of the alleged formula of the Attis Mysteries:

ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυνον.

"I ate from the drum, I drank from the cymbal, I carried the kernos, I got under the *παστός*."

⁹⁾ Herodas, *Mimiamboi*, ed. I. C. Cunningham, Oxford 1971. *Idem*, ed. Walter Headlam, Cambridge 1922. P. Groeneboom, in his edition of Herodas (repr. Rome 1973) which originally appeared in the same year as Headlam's, cites authorities such as Jebb who conflate *παστός* and *παστάς*, as well as Boisacq, who keeps them distinct. As a result he ends up vacillating between the two lines of translation. L. Massa Positano (Eroda, *Mimiambo IV*, Naples 1973, 81) likewise vacillates.

The connection with marriage is not there, except that Clement may be hinting at some lascivious goings-on in the cult of Attis. The fact which we again hear of here that one could get under a *παστός* points to its being some kind of arrangement of curtains.

C 3. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (col. 149 Migne), speaking of the behavior of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens:

Λαμίαν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἔχων εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήει, καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἐνεφύρετο (ἐνεφύρετε MSS) πασιῶ, τῇ παλαιᾷ παρθένῳ τὰ τῆς νέας ἐπιδεικνὺς ἑταίρας σχήματα.

“He went up onto the Acropolis with the prostitute Lamia and had sex with her (or such the euphemism seems to mean) in Athena’s *παστός*, showing off the wiggling of the young prostitute to the old virgin.”

Although this passage has sometimes been used to support the interpretation of *παστός* as a shrine¹⁰), rather the passage, like that in Herodas, tells us nothing about a *παστός*, and needs to be interpreted from clearer contexts. Given the connection of our object with marriage, it seems unlikely that the resolutely celibate Athena ever had one, but then Apollo and, more to the point, Hecate seem to have had them, so it is possible. But it does not need to be a shrine, and can well have been a structure of fabric. I suspect, however, that Clement is so carried away with his prurient interest in sex (and there is no doubt but that one could have sex in a *παστός*) that he uses the word very loosely.

C 4. Next we adduce a couple of glosses from Hesychius, whom, apart from Pollux and Apollonius Sophista, I consider the only one of the lexicographers to contribute anything of value to the discussion, although, as we shall see, not all of his glosses are of equal value:

καλύβη: σκηνή, παστάς

καλυβός: παστός,

“hut: tent, woman’s chamber,” for the first gloss, whereas in the second a word which looks like a masculine variant of the word for “hut” is being equated with the word we are studying.

Most editors of Hesychius¹¹) have rejected the second gloss as a corrupt dittography of the first. But this rejection is wrong. The

¹⁰) A view combatted by Solmsen, *op. cit.*, 488–89.

¹¹) Hesychii Alexandrini *Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, repr. Amsterdam 1965, *Idem*, ed. K. Latte, Copenhagen, 1953–.

word *καλυβός* does exist and has a meaning similar to that of *παστός*. This has been shown by G. Morelli.¹²⁾ The word *κάλυβος* (Morelli prefers the accentuation on the first syllable) occurs in three inscriptions. One was published by Agnew in 1840¹³⁾ and was then in private hands in Alexandria. It is a grave stele for a girl who died young, shortly after marriage. Oddly enough, it is her father, not her husband, who commemorates her. The other two are from Cyrene,¹⁴⁾ and are grave epigrams for a grandmother who died at an advanced age and for her granddaughter who died young. As these epigrams do not use the word *παστός*, I will refrain from quoting them at length or giving complete translations.

In the first of the Cyrene epigrams we hear how the deceased previously went *ἐν καλύβοισι* but now goes to Acheron, deprived of her nuptial chambers (*θάλαμοι*). In the epigram on the granddaughter, we hear how she did not see (!) the joyful rhythmic sound of the marriage hymn *καλύβοις ἐμοῖς* (at my *κάλυβοι*) nor did the shrill flute sound its note in her chambers (*παστάδες*). On the other hand, the epigram for the grandmother, which apparently served as sort of a reverse model for the granddaughter's, tells us how she *did* see the joyful rhythmic sound at her *κάλυβοι* and how the shrill flute *did* sound its note in her chambers. The two epigrams use, insofar as possible, the same words as each other.

Although the exact nature of the *κάλυβοι* (always plural in these inscriptions) is never spelled out, they would seem to be something akin to the *παστοί* and they are differentiated both from the bridal hymn and the bridal chamber (referred to as *παστάς* in the Cyrene epigrams). Thus Hesychius' gloss is vindicated, and the *κάλυβος/παστός* is specifically shown to be differentiated from the *παστάς*, something which we had not previously seen, as the epigrammatists, because of the similarity in sound of the two words, avoid using both *παστός* and *παστάς* in the same context.¹⁵⁾

¹²⁾ *Maia* 15, 1963, 163 ff. See also *Bulletin Epigraphique* 1964, no. 469.

¹³⁾ *CIG* III, 2362b.

¹⁴⁾ Published by Oliviero in *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 4, 1961, 38–39.

¹⁵⁾ Other Hesychius glosses are a mixed bag. S.v. *πάσσε*, we read *καὶ ἐνεποίκιλλε, ἔνθεν καὶ παστός τὸ γαμικὸν ποίκιλμα*, which is on the right track. But the following starts with what looks like an obvious guess, and then turns into nonsense: *παστοφόριον: τὸ τὸν παστὸν φέρον, ἢ οἰκονομία, ἢ συναγωγή, ἢ ναὸς εὐανθήs*. And the definition of *παστάδες* is a grab-bag: *παστοί, στοαί. καὶ τῶν ἀμπέλων αἱ συστάδες. καὶ τόποι ἔνθα ἐδείπνου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσασθαι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ διαγεγραμμένοι οἴκοι. πάσαι γὰρ τὸ ποικίλαι. καὶ ἔτνος ὁμοιον*.

The consideration of *κάλυβος* has led us somewhat afield. So let us recapitulate what we have learned about *παστός*. As far as can be determined, it is always a fabric, once specifically said to be linen. It can be spread out or put in a case. It can be dyed – in one case purple, in three cases saffron yellow. One can get under it or come out of it. It is connected with marriage, for men or for women, but apparently somewhat more frequently for the former, if our statistical sampling has any validity. It is contrasted, however, with the marriage chamber, the marriage bed, and the marriage hymn, and therefore, whatever the dictionaries may say, it cannot mean any of these things. Pollus specifically calls it a *παραπέτασμα*, "curtain," but the only passage in which it can possibly (and that is not sure) be interpreted as a simple curtain is the Mime of Herodas, where it has no connection with marriage. Rather most indications are that it is an arrangement of curtains, a sort of bed-canopy. A *παστός* may also have cultic functions, specifically in the cult of Isis, where its connection with marriage is likely, and in those of Apollo and Hecate, where its use cannot be determined.

My interest in this subject was first aroused by a paper done several years ago by one of my students, Mr. Mark Tychonievich, for a seminar which I taught on Ancient Religion. I am indebted to Mark's work at several points above. What rekindled my interest, however, is to have learned that the word is still in use. On a visit in March 1987 to the Folk Art Museum in Yeroskipou near Paphos, Cyprus, I saw that *παστός* was the term used to describe an embroidered cloth on which the bride and groom sat to receive their wedding guests in the villages of that part of Cyprus. This cloth covers not just the seat, but a large portion of the wall behind the couple's backs. It has embroidered strips on both sides, and on the part which covers the seat has two further embroidered strips between bride and groom, defining the areas where each was to sit. In the center of the portion which covers the wall, two other embroidered pieces have been arranged in the form of a bow or the sails of a windmill. The reference has changed somewhat from that which the word had in antiquity, but it is still an embroidered cloth connected with marriage, and the word has survived in the parlance of certain Cypriote villages.

I am indebted to E. Egoumenidou of the Cyprus department of Antiquities for photographs of the *παστός* as displayed in the museum, on which the above description is based, as well as for pho-

tocopies of two treatments of the modern object. In one of them¹⁶), we discover that the term is restricted to the area of Paphos. Elsewhere in Cyprus the object is called *μανάσσα*. On the other hand, G. Ch. Charalampous¹⁷) does not even know of the use of the term *παστός* in Cyprus, but refers to a work, unavailable to me, which records its use on Crete.¹⁸) I have not independently been able to verify the assertion of the term's survival on Crete. Papacharalampous¹⁹) is of the opinion that *μανάσσα* is the sole Cypriote term for the object in question, and takes the regular dictionary-inspired view of *παστός* as referring to curtain(s) and by extension to the bridal chamber. Incidentally, the bed-canopy, to which *παστός* seems primarily to have referred in antiquity, is now called *σπερβέρι* (a term which I have found to be in use on Rhodes), or, in Cypriote dialect, *σκλουβέριν*.

The value of this article, I hope, has been both positive and negative. We have shown what the word *παστός* means, but perhaps more importantly we have shown what it does not mean. Particularly, we have shown that the Latin version of the Old Testament is guilty of a mistranslation caused by confusion with the similar-sounding, meaning-associated, but etymologically unrelated *παστάς*. The bridegroom in the psalm with which we led off the article is not coming forth from his chamber, but rather from the curtains or canopy which surround the nuptial bed. Thus most modern Bible-translations need to be corrected. The sole exception, among those which I have consulted, is the *The New English Bible* (which, however, I find to be dreadfully inaccurate for the New Testament).

But it is not only in the area of Bible-translation that I hope to have served a purpose with this article. The study of paganism is likewise plagued by misinterpreting the word *παστός* in unclear contexts. For instance, M. J. Vermaseren²⁰) comes to the conclusion that the *παστός* mentioned in the passage of Clement given above as C 2 must be a "cave, a subterranean of hidden space in or near the temple." Instead of forcing the word *παστός* to mean so unparalleled a thing, I would think it better to see what sense can be made of Cle-

¹⁶) A. G. Pieride, *Κυπριακή λαϊκή τέχνη*, Leukosia 1980, 30.

¹⁷) G. Ch. Charalampous, *Κυπριακά ἦθη καὶ ἔθιμα*, Leukosia 1965, 127.

¹⁸) Likewise, Vatin, *op. cit.*, p. 223, note 2, cites a Cretan popular song, of meaning unclear to me, which uses the word *παστός*.

¹⁹) *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁰) *Cybele and Attis*, London 1977, p. 117.

ment's passage using the normal meaning of *παστός*, and then, if that cannot be made to square with what we know about Cybele and Attis from other sources, to dismiss Clement as not knowing what he was talking about.

Appendix: the Παστοφόροι

We cannot leave the subject of *παστός* without discussing the matter of the *παστοφόροι*. The title *παστοφόρος* is borne by a large category of subordinate priests in the cult of various Egyptian divinities, both within Greco-Roman Egypt and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.

The references to them, which I have not seen fit to collect as carefully as I did those on *παστός*, are primarily papyrological, although both epigraphical and literary attestations exist. The trouble – and the striking thing – is that none of these references define any cultic function, any particular activity of the *παστοφόροι*, except for such questionable things as Clement's allegation that they were skilled in medicine.²¹⁾ Diodorus Siculus²²⁾ wants to identify them with the Eleusinian Kerykes, but this likewise tells us nothing. The Ptolemaic and Roman-period papyri, which abound in references, are almost exclusively concerned with the *παστοφόροι* as a legal entity, their privileges and responsibilities towards the state, etc. One of the few exceptions is a Leiden papyrus²³⁾ mentioning a *κωμασία* or procession of the *παστοφόροι*. But processions are commonplace in Egyptian cult, so this tells us little.

References to *παστοφόροι* outside Egypt include two in the eleventh book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, in one of which²⁴⁾ he calls them a *sacrosanctum collegium*. An inscription of Industria in the Po valley²⁵⁾ records on a bronze tablet the fact that a *collegium* of *pastophori* honored their local patron L. Pompeius L. f. Pol(lia) Herennia-

²¹⁾ Walter Otto, *Tempel und Priester im hellenistischen Ägypten* I, Leipzig 1905, 96. Although I criticize Otto's thesis, I take most of my citations, for the sake of convenience, from those which he had already collected. More recently published examples of the use of *παστοφόρος*, etc., simply confirm the already existing picture.

²²⁾ I, 29.

²³⁾ Otto, *op. cit.*, 95.

²⁴⁾ XI, 17.

²⁵⁾ *CIL* V, 2, 7468.

nus, who also held various civic offices. A Greek grave inscription from Italy²⁶⁾ tells us of a female *παστοφόρος*. But we still learn absolutely nothing about the functions of this category of priests, something which makes us suspect that it is not their function which is outstanding about them.

On the other hand, however, we know from the texts²⁷⁾ and the monuments, such as the terracottas to which Peridrizet gave the name of *παστοφόρος*, that gods were carried in procession in the Egyptian cults both inside and outside of Egypt. Often they were carried in little shrines, which in turn often were mounted on model boats. There is absolutely no contesting this fact. What can and should be contested is the scholarly convention of referring to the carriers of these shrines as *παστοφόροι*. Although it did not entirely originate there, the *locus classicus* of this identification is in an otherwise valuable book, Walter Otto's *Tempel und Priester im hellenistischen Ägypten*:²⁸⁾ "Der Name *παστοφόρος* ... zeigt uns, daß man in ihnen die Träger von "Götterzellen" zu sehen hat. Nun sind bekanntlich in Ägypten bei den großen Götterprozessionen auch die im Allerheiligsten befindlichen, die Götterbilder enthaltenden kleinen Barken mit ihren tempelartigen Kajüten herumgetragen worden. Die Bezeichnung dieser auf Grund ihres wichtigsten Bestandteils, der tempelartigen Kajüte, in der sich ja eben das Götterbild befand, mit dem Worte *παστός* bez. *ναός* darf als höchst wahrscheinlich angesehen werden, und so wird man die Pastophoren als die Träger der Götterbarken in den Prozessionen deuten dürfen ..."

But this assumption rests on the idea that *παστός* means "shrine," something based only on the corrupt second passage from Clement given above as C 3, and imported into Herodas (without universal satisfaction) by Headlam et al. We have seen that "shrine" is not a permissible meaning for *παστός*. Yet Otto, preceded and especially followed by other Egyptologists, has forced *παστός* to mean not just "shrine," but "boat-shrine." This is doing as much violence to the demonstrated meaning of the word as Vermaseren did in the case of the Cybele cult. The motive is the same – bend the meaning of *πασ-*

²⁶⁾ IG XIV, 1336.

²⁷⁾ E. G. Herodotus II, 63; Rosetta Stone, line 42, which mentions *ἐξοδεῖται τῶν ναῶν*. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy 1921, pp. 113–114 and Pl. 31, upper right.

²⁸⁾ Otto, *op. cit.*, 94–98; I quote from 95–95.

τός to make is fit in with other data on the cult in question. But you cannot do this with a word which in clear contexts appears to have one narrow, specific meaning and one alone.

Nor does there exist any real reason to make the identification. The carriers of the boat-shrines and of the divine simulacra seem to have been drawn from various priesthoods, and there never seems to have been a distinct college of them, except perhaps the *θεαγοί*. This is shown by the lack of uniformity in the nomenclature. Plutarch²⁹⁾ calls them *ἱεραφόροι*. Firmicus Maternus³⁰⁾ calls them *baiuli deorum* or similar phrases. Apuleius³¹⁾ calls them *sacrorum geruli* or by various paraphrases such as *qui divinas effigies progerebant*. Diodorus³²⁾ calls them simply *ἱερεῖς*. Ἐργάται carry *ξόανα* at Arsinoe, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in the early third century A. D.³³⁾ The term *θεαγοί* appears in various papyri,³⁴⁾ and they alone of the various possible descriptions for bearers of boat-shrines, appear as a legal entity, similar to the *παστοφόροι*.

But there is not one use of the term *παστοφόροι* which refers to priests carrying temples, boats, or effigies of the gods. This in spite of the fact that if various types of priests carried out this duty, you might expect the *παστοφόροι* occasionally to have taken their turn. There is, however, one use of the word *παστοφόρος* which does not refer to Egyptian or Egyptianizing priests. This is an epigram in Stobaeus³⁵⁾ which uses the term *παστοφόρος* as an epithet to modify the Paphian goddess, Aphrodite. This is of course an obvious enough epithet for the goddess of love and marriage. It is from this transparent meaning and from the use of *παστός* in the Andros hymn, where Isis also appears as goddess of marriage, that we must take our starting-point in interpreting the name of the priesthood. It would seem obvious that whatever function or lack of function the *παστοφόροι* had in the cult in recorded times, they took their name from having at some time carried a *παστός*.³⁶⁾ This *παστός* was

²⁹⁾ *De Iside et Osiride* 3.

³⁰⁾ *Mathesis* III, 9, 9; 10, 3; 12, 2.

³¹⁾ *Metamorphoses* XI, 6.

³²⁾ I, 97, 9-10.

³³⁾ Otto, *op. cit.*, 98, note 3.

³⁴⁾ *Ibid.* 95, note 1.

³⁵⁾ I, 5, 4.

³⁶⁾ A priest's function can depart considerably from that indicated by his title, as the example of the Eleusinian Kerykes shows us. Otto, p. 96, speculates as to what the Egyptian name for the *παστοφόροι* may have been, but his speculation is vitiated by the *a priori* assumption that they carried shrines.

likely connected with the sacred marriage of Isis and Osiris and with Isis' function as protectress of marriage. That shrine-bearers existed, as I said, there can be no doubt, and that they were referred to by a variety of names. But *παστοφόροι* is not one of them. The modern identification must be unmade, and the modern terminology corrected.³⁷⁾

³⁷⁾ The only possibility that I can see for saving the generally given explanation of *παστοφόρος* (if anyone cares to do so), is to speculate that each of them carried a *ναοειδές παστήον*, a "temple-shaped *παστός*-box," such as we heard of in the Apollo inscription of Smyrna. But this seems far-fetched, and relying on exceptional, rather than typical evidence.