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SACRED LANDSCAPES IN ANTIQUITY

CREATION, MANIPULATION, TRANSFORMATION

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Section 3

Myth and memory: landscapes invested with meaning

Pan's sacred landscapes in classical Arkadia

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Religious systems, and Greek religion is no exception, tend to be presented by societies as unchangeable realities, existing *in illo tempore*. As Garland (1992, vii) has stated: 'Religion is sometimes treated as a kind of abstraction, independent of the complex reality surrounding it and sustaining it. The truth is far different'. Religion is very important in order to build up the social process because it contributes to shaping modes of territorial organisation, developing economic systems, organising social hierarchies, constituting political structures and elaborate complex ideologies justified by religious power.

In fact, religions take out a coercive and legitimating strength from their supposed timelessness and essentialism, which political power, social pressure or moral rules cannot achieve. They contribute to the construction of coercive messages – ideological and factual – from the elites and the submission of the underprivileged who are trapped in systems that justify immobility and absorb the distress that they produce (Bourdieu 1977; 1979; Hulin 1989, 90–3; Tilley 1991; Cardete 2005a, 84).

A key element in building up the external immutability of religion is the sacred landscape, which combines time and space together. Because of the apparent neutrality of the landscape, religious prescriptions and ideas become less noticeable when they are related to it, although the landscape is always a human construction. The use of a different category of landscape, which we have called sacred landscape, is useful in order to understand the social, political, economic, intellectual and symbolic complexity of historical construction. In this paper we apply the category of sacred landscape to the specific case of classical Arkadia.

To begin with, it is necessary to explain what I understand by sacred landscape and what is the difference between my proposal and other approaches to Greek religion.

What is a sacred landscape?

It is necessary to jettison the taken-for-granted idea that landscape is something natural, a reality external to culture and society that can resist and vanquish them. We must remember that landscape is not a geographic concept, but a contextual one. It is created by the interaction between places, people and circumstances that do not always share the same space or time. Landscape is, above all, a cultural construction. Landscape is neither a stage nor a mere container of features for which it provides a stage. On the contrary, landscape is a network of meaningful relationships, full of social, economic, political, ideological, religious, ethical, intellectual and cultural elements. All of them join together in a *thick* net of perceptions, experiences and meanings that allow us to understand the complexity of societies without compartmentalising them. Thus, landscape must be understood as an inclusive concept in which the landmarks of positive historiography might be substituted by relational nodes and where the material and factual factors are closely related to ideological and perceptive ones, none of them being superior (Bradley 2000; Buxton 2000; Thomas 2001; Bender 2002; Launaro 2004, 36; Croxford 2005; Cosgrove 2006; Forbes 2007; Tilley 2010).

In order to make a transition from the traditional research on ancient religions to the sacred landscape, we must assume two basic principles: firstly, religion is not only spiritual and untouchable, but also practical and material; secondly, due to the vitality of religion and its presence in every social background in ancient societies, we must understand it as a social process bound to historical change and placed within its space-time coordinates.

Thus, the sacred landscape can be defined as a network of social interactions in which religion is shown not only through myths, beliefs, images and rites, but also through

political, cultural, economic, philosophic, sociological and daily practices. Religion is not isolated from the elements that make up society, it can only be created in the context of the relational network that offers identity references to people (Sheldrake 2001, 21–2; Croxford 2005, 10; Woolf 2005, 130; Bender *et al.* 2007, 17). Religion, far from being separated from materiality and daily life, as traditional research on ancient religions used to suggest, is closely related to them. We are facing rites, beliefs and religious practices that are as much part of social processes as any other element belonging to human groups.

I understand landscape as a relational, inclusive and active network that does not have to be narrowed by physical boundaries and is fed by meanings created along long social times and through spaces which might (or might not) be physically discontinuous, but which always form a conceptual network. Connectivity is the contrary to fossilisation: landscape is historical and, therefore, it is space and time – in a phenomenological view of landscape. It cannot be limited to its geological materiality or understood deeply only with Cartesian tools such as GIS or remote sensing. We cannot forget the processes of perceptive construction that, sometimes, result in very different landscapes, although initial material conditions are similar, either in the past or at present (Thomas 2001, 176–7; Tilley 2010, 477).

Time is not just a complement of landscape, it is as essential as space. In the words of Bender (2002, 103): ‘time is landscape materializing’. We are not referring to the Cartesian and logical concepts of time and space, uniform, objective and factual. Time and space are defined according to internal perceptions and not to objective references because they do not create social action, social action creates them (Bailey 1987, 12; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 39–40; 1987b, 125–7; Thomas 1996, 55–82; McGlade 1999, 143–5, 156; Bender 2002; Robin and Rothschild 2002, 162).

Landscape interweaves, connects and contextualises, so geological and biological realities can only be understood in a human dimension through their connections with society. We are not dealing with an unchangeable reality, and we cannot understand the background as a natural stage where we can perform the cultural role to which we are led by our social dimension. The mere concept of landscape destroys the false dichotomy between nature and culture. It shows that, on a human scale, every landscape is cultural because it has been built in a particular context. It is flexible, changeable and historical because without human beings there would be trees, mountains or rivers, but nobody would recognise them anthropologically and provide them with conceptual existence (Schama 1995, 61; Thomas 1996, 65–6; Meier 2006, 19; Cardete 2016, 27–48).

The space-time permanence of sacred landscapes is a fiction produced by the identification between materiality and landscape. This identification is very useful to legitimise power but also to deny change when it produces unease. This

is the reason why we often find invented traditions, either in the past or at present, that change the meanings while trying to maintain the fiction of the inalienable continuity of signifiers, as if both could be understood separately (Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 39; 1987b, 131–2; Hobsbawm 2003; Gehrke 2009; Hodos 2010, 3–4; Hölscher 2011, 48). These signifiers are often monumentalised because societies tend to think that monuments are outside historical context and are fixed and immovable along space and time and, therefore, they are useful to legitimise ideologies and to underpin the ‘collective memory’ (Holtorf 1987; Connerton 1989; 2006; Bradley 1991; Nora 1997; Alcock 2002, 28; Forbes 2007, 40–1; Chapman 2009, 13; Scheid and Polignac 2010, 433). This type of memory is not based on the past, but on the construction of one particular past, on feelings and emotions (and not so much on reflections) generated by the present through its renowned landmarks – ‘memory landmarks’ – and on the sense of belonging and possession that they help to shape (Children and Nash 1997, 1; Holtorf 1987, 49 and 55–7; Chapman 2009, 10; Van Dyke 2008, 277–8).

The discourses of the power and monuments associated to an ideology become active subjects that produce (and not only reflect) relationships of dependency (Rowlands and Tilley 2006, 511; Lyon Crawford 2007, 38–9; Van Dyke 2008, 278–9). These are not limited only to vertical relationships of political control, but also include horizontal connections that are closer to concepts such as Gramsci’s hegemony (1991), Bourdieu’s symbolic violence and power, even his *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; 1979) and, above all, Foucault’s micropowers (Foucault 1975), as well as De Certeau’s strategies and tactics (De Certeau 1980). Both of them believe that power is a plural concept, a network of interactions based on daily practice, for whose understanding we cannot underestimate the capacity of coaction of ruling classes, nor look down on the role of the rest of the society in the construction of ideology. Sometimes ideology is imposed by force, but more often it is simple conviction that imposes it. It is a more subtle and lasting imposition, supported by daily practice, poorly intellectualised, and traditions that are understood as community signs of identity (Shanks 1996, 121; Thomas 1996, 91; Chamberlain 2006; Osborne 2008). Ideology softens the lines between the use of power and the subjugation to it. A result is that there are no conflicting landscapes, but rather a single landscape with different social factors and competing powers that are coexisting (Hirsch 2006, 154).

In this situation the historian must try to denaturalise landscape and recognise it as a cultural construction, comprehend the social process that it represents and its symbolic dimensions to understand it from a complex, inclusive and scientific point of view (Mitchell 1994, 2; 1986, 37–44; Von Maltzahn 1994, 113–14; Bradley 2000; Robin and Rothschild 2002; Launaro 2004; Cardete 2005a, 2–6; Croxford, 2005; Meier 2006, 18–19; Bender *et al.* 2007; Forbes 2007, 5, 395).

Landscape is a perception, which gives it scientific importance because it does not have a denotative meaning itself, but becomes connotative through the societies that build it. The process of perceptive construction entails a contingent, contextual and reflexive relationship between feeling and knowledge (Frieman and Gillins 2007, 8), so it is not limited to sight, it includes all other senses and the whole body, because landscape is apprehended in a multi-sensorial way. It is done within a system of values belonging to each culture, which is adapted to eventuality and needs and which is relational (Gell 1995; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 2–5; Tilley 2004a, 1–16; 2004b, 78–80; 2010, 27–8; Howes 2005, 6–11; Forbes 2007, 32–3; Frieman and Gillings 2007; Borić and Robb 2008; Fowler 2008, 48–49; Thomas 2008, 301–2; Harris and Flohr Sørensen 2010, 151). This system is very important in order to create rites, myths and beliefs (Von Maltzahn 1994, 19; Ashmore 2008).

This sensorial interconnectivity gives full meaning to the expression 'dwelling landscape' and goes beyond a typical dualism of rationalist thoughts consisting of separating body and mind, putting mind in a high level of development and reliability and naturalising the senses, which are not considered cultural products (Howes 2005, 3–10; Harris and Flohr Sørensen 2010, 147).

If we apply this concept to the study of religion, we go into an analysis where the fixed and static images of the traditional studies of religion – temples, votive offerings, deities, rituals, beliefs and myths – are interwoven in an ever-changing web of representation. Religion is ruled not only by the desire of the elites but also by the other social agents and the connections between them, because landscapes are always dynamic and conflicting.

If we want to study religious processes, we must use a methodology that considers change and combines different types of sources. This is the reason why it is so important to overcome the Hawkes 'Ladder of Inference' and, with it, the suspicion of many archaeologists (1) analysing religion, which is considered an *epiphenomenon* and irrational and, therefore, not accessible from a scientific point of view, and (2) studying religion from material aspects of the archaeological record, accepting the capacity of symbolical analysis of archaeological theories and practices (Lewis-William 2008, 23; Whitley and Hays-Gilpin 2008, 19). Religious processes have not only a narrative entity, but also a practical and daily dimension that unites belief and action, because one and the other cannot be understood separately (Insoll 2004; 2007; Cardete 2005a; Edwards 2005). The rite is not only an expression of a belief and/or a myth, but the belief and myth building themselves. Both are social phenomena and depend on practice to be constituted because they must be shared, renowned and repeated by the human group (Sorensen 2013, 12–13).

So, religion does not end in spirituality. It is not only related to the great constructions that define a great part of

Table 16.1. Traditional approach vs landscape approach to study of religions.

<i>Traditional studies of religions</i>	<i>Sacred landscapes</i>
Compartmentalisation	Relationships
Individuality	Context
Isolation of the landmark	Sociability of the node
Passive objects	Active subjects
Static reality	Constructive process

Greek religion. It is defined by interaction amongst many elements: the sanctuary, the place, the temple, territorialisation, economic production, the exhibition of votive offerings, transhumance networks, sacred places, artisan production, social struggle, the rite, political interests, daily life, a polytheist conception, cultural gears, the myth and the senses that create and perceive it through time and so on. Religion lies in the relation that turns landmarks into nodes and allows them to exist together, resulting in a sacred landscape. It is much more than the sum of its parts, because interaction creates realities that did not exist individually in the original elements (Tilley 2004a, 12). They only exist in a symbiotic process. We must understand landscape as complex and social (De Polignac and Scheid 2010, 432) and therefore contextual and historical. Therefore, sacred landscape, as defined here, offers a revised approach (Table 16.1).

Sacred landscapes in ancient Arkadia: Pan's landscapes

Political and identity landscapes: Pan, the god of Arkadia

The image of Arkadia is one of the most manipulated in the ancient Greek world. We know it as a static image, a mythologised representation of romantic nature that holds every ancestral reality of primeval Greece, especially in the religious field: human sacrifices, lycanthropy, therianthropy, etc. These peculiar features are accompanied by an assumed underdevelopment in the polis configuration, a terrible poverty and a very deep cultural backwardness. However, even that seemingly fossilised and historically unrealistic tradition can be overcome and we can deconstruct the way the divine figures and myths, which tend to be more static, connect with the sacred landscapes, which are dynamic. It is the way from the evident (the god Pan) to the meaningful (Pan's landscapes).

To put it bluntly, Pan is a shepherd god, associated with Arkadia's greatly overstated livestock wealth (*Homeric Hymn Pan* 30–2; Homer *Iliad* 2.605; Theocritus 22.158). His functions are related to stockbreeding and small game hunting, favouring herders and hunters. Pan himself, while wandering the mountains (*Callimachus Hymn to Diana*

87–97; *Homeric Hymn Pan* 12–15), hunts and also herds sheep and, above all, goats. In fact, he is represented as a billy goat, adopting human characteristics to a greater or lesser extent depending on the time and place (Fig. 16.1; Jost 1985, 464–7; Boardman 1997a; 1997b).

The mix between animal and human represents perfectly Pan's character. He is a god always at the limits of savagery, but at the same time a guarantor of a civilisation he continuously defies. Pan is the link between the civilised world and the wild mountains, because animality becomes divine in him and the god becomes an animal. Pan is not any animal, but specifically a goat, which was considered to be wild and domesticated at the same time, gaining importance to humankind because of its husbandry use.

Consequently, his natural habitats are mountains and rural paths, away from cities (Callimachus *Hymn to Diana* 87; Euripides *Iphigenia Taurica* 1125–1131; *Homeric Hymn Pan* 1–22; Nemesianus *Eclogue* 3.17; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 5.269, 6.275; Pausanias 8.24.4, 36.8, 38.5, 38.11, 54.6–7; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.302; Sophocles *Ajax* 693–700; Vergil *Eclogues* 8.22–26). Our ancient sources mention some Pan temples and urban sanctuaries where he was present (Pausanias 8.26.2; 30.6; 31.3–4 and 37.2 and 11), but this is quite rare. This opposition to the urban worlds of classical Greece is also observed in his relation to dance and music. Pan usually plays panpipes – an invention attributed to him (Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Clitophon* 7.5, 6–8; Pindar fr. 95–100 Snell; *Hymn Homeric Pan* 15–28; Lucretius 4.580–594; Moschus *Bion* 51–57; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.302; Theocritus 1.1–3; 1.128–129; Vergil *Eclogues* 4.58–59). The music of this shepherd flute is opposed to urban music. Its music goes along with its dance. Pan is the ruler of the choir of nymphs and even of the choir of gods (*Homeric Hymn Pan* 19–28; *S. Aj.* 698). His dance is frenetic and ecstatic. His sexuality is also uncontrolled, animal-like, characterised



Fig. 16.1. Fragment of a volute krater (c. 500–490 BC). Pan is playing aulos in a symposium (Courtesy of Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, no. 2117).

not only by rapidity and surprise, but also by sterility. This god is possessed by a transgressive pathos that leads him to pursue sexual satisfaction – which he does not get – or to lose control listening to ecstatic music, being always halfway between panoleptic possession and dissatisfaction, between divine desire and human realities. Moreover, Pan leads to unease, as he has in himself plenty of opposition: he is a goat and a human, sometimes peaceful and sometimes wild, creative and destructive. That is why he sometimes behaves as a loving artist and sometimes as a lustful being (Cardete 2016, 210–13).

The relationship between Pan and Arkadia is well known. They share even the most trivial features, creating a religious, political and local identity symbiosis. If we follow the paths of Pan, we can go from the Arkadian god to the identitarian landscape (Fig. 16.2).

Despite the first impression, the comparison between Pan and Arkadia is not a spiritual one, but a political product that benefited the Parrhasian communities, especially Megalopolis. They used the traditional religious symbols of the Parrhasian area, full of identity meanings, in their failed Pan-Arkadian project. The new city of Megalopolis, created by a synoecism in c. 369 BC, was intended to convince the peoples who had been compelled to participate in the



Fig. 16.2. Arkadia and its main poleis at the end of classical period (following Jost 1985, pl. 1).

synoecism, Parrhasian and Menalian communities, as well as the great Arkadian powers, Tegea and Mantinea, of the new polis' *raison d'être*. They were supposedly ancestral and religious, but had nothing to do with reality, rather with the perception of it. This way, the south-west Arkadian frontier became a true icon, a rich cultural landscape whose influence has reached us to create an image of Arkadia, a false but very powerful image.

The commonalities between different Arkadian communities are loose, but we can examine them in detail. First, there is the *ethnikon* Ἀρκάς or Ἀρκάδες, which first appears in fifth-century sources and became more frequent after the foundation of Megalopolis (Nielsen 1999, 22–9). Second, a variable group of legends and myths that were not often known in Arkadia as a whole, but only in some poleis. Third, a very regionalised divine 'pantheon' in which the more ubiquitous deities are identical to those in other parts of Greece (Zeus, Poseidon, Demeter, Athena, etc.), while those who are only known in Arkadia (Despoina, some Olympian advocacies as Zeus Lykaios or Demeter Melaina) are generally worshipped only in specific areas. Fourth, a certain shared history, almost exclusively mythical (Homer *Iliad* 2.603–14; Herodotus 9.26; Pausanias 8.1–5). Fifth, some cultural clichés built in the classical period as Pelasgian or autochthonous, *proselenaioi* and *balenophagoi* (Apollonius Rhodius 4.264–5; Herodotus 1.66; Lycophron *Alexandra* 479–83; Ovid *Fasti* 2.281–90; 5.89–90; Pausanias 8.42.6), which function as static images in order to hide diversity and contextual complexity. Sixth, a common language, which does not seem to have been that relevant since even the constitutional decree of the Arkadian Confederation was written in Attic dialect (Burelli 1995, 61–112; Nielsen 1999, 22–45). Finally, there is a problematic coin series known as *Arkadikon* (490–418 BC), which reveals more power struggles between great Arkadian poleis than the improbable existence of an Arkadian Confederation in the fifth century BC (Cardete 2005a, 194–8).

Nevertheless, Megalopolis used these features, propagated under its power, to consolidate the Arkadian Confederation, which was represented as a Pan-Arkadian federal project, though it only consisted of southern Arkadia. Megalopolis would not achieve its political purposes, but it was successful from an ideological perspective because it shaped the concept of Arkadia as a compact identity, regionally homogeneous and symbolically united, *i.e.* what we used to call the Arkadian *ethnos* (Cardete 2016, 134–8; 2005c). Although this image was not real, it achieved some success in Antiquity. In fact, Demosthenes (26) used 'Megalopolitan' and 'Arkadian' as synonyms. And it is alive even today. We do not mean that Megalopolis invented the Arkadians, but Megalopolis invented Arkadia because it turned a noun of regional character into one with political and cultural connotations in its attempt to control the diverse civic *ethnoi* of a large and fragmented region (Cardete 2005a, 59–63; 2005c).

In this process of reshaping civic identities Megalopolis skilfully used religious elements. Pan was vital in this process because he is the autochthonous god par excellence in Arkadia (Callimachus *Hymn to Diana* 87; *Homeric Hymn Pan* 30–2; Pindar fr. 95 Snell; Porphyry. *On the cave of the Nymphs* 20; Propertius 1.18; Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.302; Theocritus 1.22–126; 7.115; Vergil *Eclogues* 4.59). The gods and rites of mythical Arkadia were more interesting for ancient historians than Arkadian daily life; meanwhile, the political, economic, ideological and social dimensions are diluted into religious expression. Civic identities, however, would remain much stronger than regional identity (Borgeaud 1979, 29; Nielsen 1999, 59; 2002, 155; Roy 2001, 266). In fact, it was the civic identity that prevailed when Megalopolis tried to design a Pan-Arkadian scenario, because the symbols they employed primarily derived from the south-western frontier, specifically from Parrhasia (Zeus Lykaios) and Lycosura (Despoina or Demeter Melaina).

In this mythical and political melting pot, Pan worked as a mobile and flexible element, able to unite around him several Arkadian poleis, not only those favourable to the synoecism. His divine presence can be found all over the region. That is why the coins issued by the Arkadian Confederation and Megalopolis showed Zeus Lykaios on the front and Pan on the back, and why the priests of both deities took turns to preside over the *Lykaia* (Fougères 1904, 1435; Jost 1985, 184, 475). For sure, the iconography of both gods adapted to the new times. Pan is no more the standing goat of archaic representations, not even the hybrid being of the mid-fifth century BC, but a handsome boy with two little goat horns on his head (Fig. 16.3; Williams 1965).

But a god does not create an ethnic group, and Megalopolis failed to gain traction in its control of a common identity in the highly fragmented region of Arkadia. Megalopolis' unifying ideology went beyond the city and placed Pan in a



Fig. 16.3. Coin issued by the Arkadian Confederation. It shows Zeus Lykaios on the front and a very anthropomorphic Pan with lagobolon on the back (c. 363–362 BC) (Courtesy of Département de Monnaies Médailles et Antiques, © Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

privileged position in the Arkadian pantheon that the elites from Megalopolis had tried to popularise.

Pan's presence was also especially meaningful in the most important Phigaleian extra-urban sanctuary, Bassae, which was primarily dedicated to Apollo (Fig. 16.4). In Bassae, there is a record of two of Pan's advocacies: Pan Bassae (or Bissas) (Aeschylus *Callisto*, fr. 143; *Palatine Anthology* 6.253) and Pan Sinois (IG V.2.429; Pausanias 8.30.2–33). Bassae was not only situated in the middle of a network of short distance transhumance routes, but also at the heart of Phigaleian identity, always in struggle

with Sparta. We also find Pan at Arkadia's south-western frontier, at Mount Lykaion, the centre of Parrhasian identity (IG V.2.550; Pausanias 8.36.3, 38, 5; Fougères 1904, 1435; Jost 1985, 184, 475). Very close to Mount Lykaion and Bassae we can find Berecla, an exceptional point of confluence between Arkadia, Messenia-Sparta and Triphylia. In Berecla there was another sanctuary, dated between the sixth and fourth centuries BC, which identifies the area as Arkadian. This sanctuary functioned as a mental frontier. It was dedicated to Pan and its votive offerings, especially some figurines of hunters and shepherds, some of which

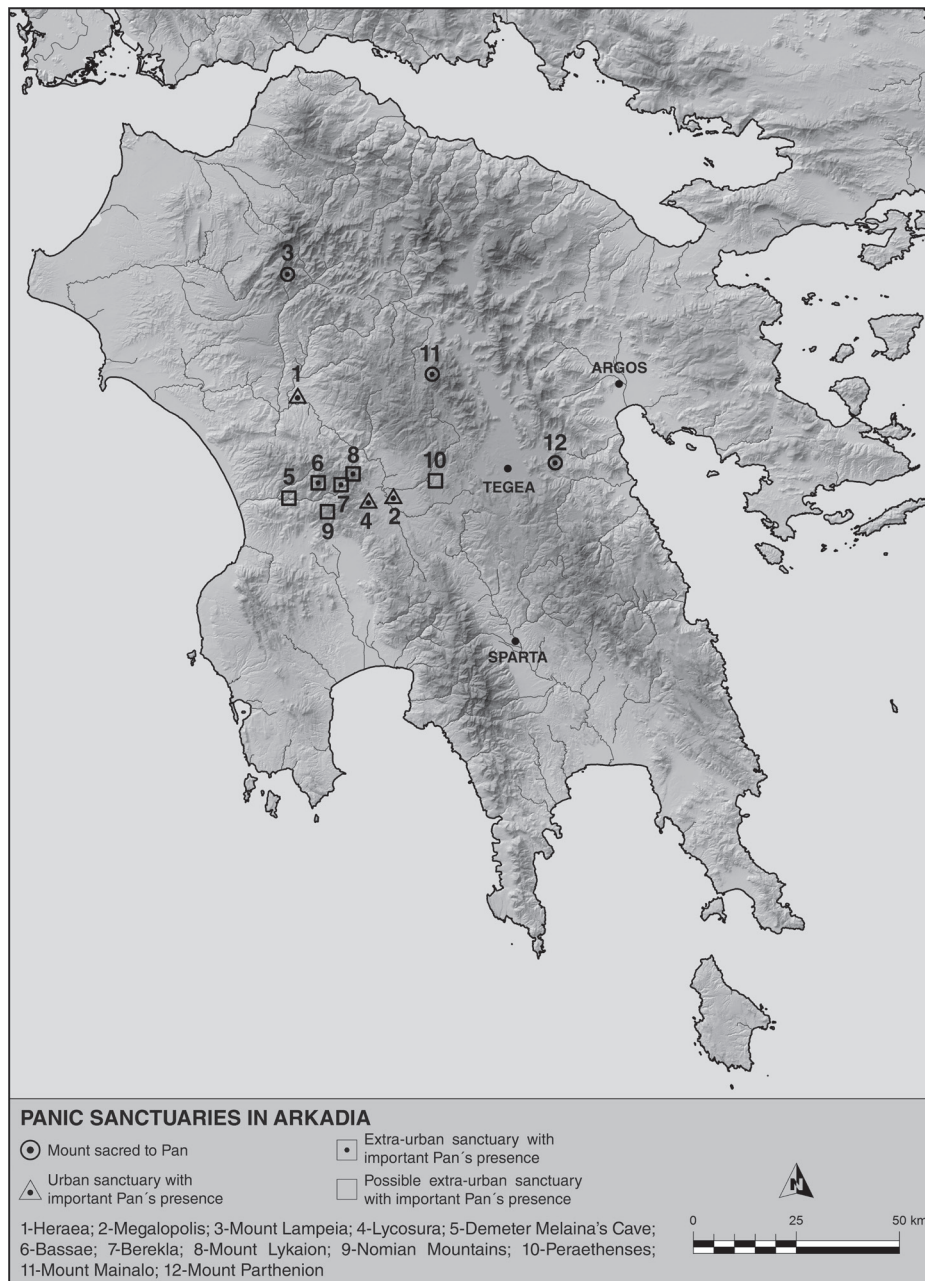


Fig. 16.4. Pan's sanctuaries in Arkadia.



Fig. 16.5. Bronze statuettes from Berekla. From left to right: bearded man carrying a calf on his shoulders; beardless man with a cock and a bearded man and a beardless man in a martial stance (Photography by author. Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens (nos 13053, 13056, 13060 and 13057)).

represented youths and others bearded men (Fig. 16.5), are stylistically very similar to those found in Mount Lykaion and Lycosura (Kourouniotis 1902; Lamb 1925–6; Jost 1985, 187; Hübinger 1992, 198, 202; Roy 2010, 57). We can connect these figurines with a Theocritean scholium (*Thalysia* 7.103–14), which mentions an initiation and expiatory ceremony in which ‘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 tells that in Arkadia a festival is celebrated in which the young men attack Pan with squill’.

The complementarity between bearded and beardless figurines together with this scholium has been interpreted by Borgeaud (1979) and Hübinger (1992) as traces of an initiation rite, chaired by the god Pan, which was understood as an exceptional *pharmakós* (Borgeaud 1979, 108–12), in which the youth entered political and religious adult life. It is a way of reproducing the political community and of uniting initiation and expiation spheres with hunting as an economic activity and a prestige occupation. A political, economic, religious and symbolic landscape has been built and it goes beyond the votive figurines (‘the evidence’) to reach the historic context (‘the meaningful’).

In the same area, Pan also appears in other poleis, such as Lycosura (Pausanias 8.37.11), Megalopolis (Pausanias 8.30.2–6, 31.3–4) and Heraea (Pausanias 8.26.2).

But the goat god was not only present in the south-western frontier, but also in many other places in Arkadia. For example, Pan was worshipped on Mount Parthenion, the mount that Phidipides was crossing when Pan appeared to him and which is situated between Tegea and Argos (Pausanias 8.54.6). The myth of Pan and Philippides is very interesting because it justified the cult of Pan in Athens, and such a cult was spread throughout Greece from Athens. Herodotus (6.105) wrote that the herald Philippides brought the message of Persian arrival to Marathon to the Spartans and, when he was in Mount Parthenion, close to Tegea, he encountered Pan. The god called out and bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention. The Athenians believed the story and established a sacred precinct of Pan beneath the Acropolis with annual sacrifices and a torch-race (*Palatine Anthology* 16.232). When Athens adopted Pan, he was tailored to Athenians’ needs and preconceptions, contributing to the building of a connected landscape that was spatially and temporally discontinuous. This new landscape was characterised by four aspects that connected Pan with the Athenian political background: first, the cult of Pan facilitated the Athenian approach to Arkadian mercenaries and to important Arkadian communities opposed to Sparta, such as Tegea and Phigaleia. Second, the goat god motivated the close relationship with Sicily and Magna Graecia where Arkadian myths were important. Third, it facilitated the trade relations with Arkadia, rich

in raw materials. Fourth, it answered correctly to religious demands of Athenian hoplites (Cardete 2016, 175–88).

Pan is not limited to the archaic and classical Arkadian poleis and Athens, but he connects places and times from far away, by making use of perceptive commonalities. Beyond Attic frontiers, Pan was a ubiquitous deity who appears in many different places, such as Thebes, Delphi, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Buthrotum, Thasos, Thessaly, Thrace, Macedonia, Megara, Cephalonia, Crete, Illyria, etc. The influence of Attic Pan is evident in all these places, but in each of them Pan showed a great versatility and was adapted to the needs of his adherents and to historic circumstances. Pan can acquire some features or lose or minimise others that contribute to build different Pan landscapes.

It might seem a contradiction for our urban conception of space that a god who jumped over stones, liked isolated paths and to whom mountains were dedicated, is considered a civic god. However, Pan was indeed a civic god because his presence in boundaries created civilisation. It allows us to move from a wild god to a complex border landscape.

Economic landscapes: Pan as shepherd and hunter

Pan is especially useful as a link to contextual connections because he is a flexible god. He changes without betraying himself or leaving his passions behind. His divine figure is the ornament fraught with deep contextual meanings. This is the reason why Pan is as an exceptional node in a contextual network in which economic aspects that ruled the lives of peasants and livestock (*e.g.* sheep, goats, pasture, small game hunting, etc.) interweave with places where such activities took place (*i.e.* mountains, pastures, borders, frontiers, caves, etc.), thus building powerful mental and sacred landscapes. In fact, the nodal point in religious Arkadian landscapes, such as extra-urban sanctuaries, mountains, rivers and woods, are strongly related to the social, economic and political necessities of communities and they change together with them.

Pan moves along the political and economic boundaries of the community, between its borders and its survival activities, defining its geopolitical and mental frontiers, especially through two activities, ovicaprid stockbreeding and small game hunting – both were considered as minor in aristocratic ideology, but they were vital to a community's prosperity.

Away from the urban areas, where Pan is hardly ever worshipped, his image has been used to reproduce the fallacy, implicit in the Greek literary tradition, that the *astu* worked separately from its *chora*. This idea has been especially referred to liminal spaces that give shape to boundaries. Normally, the polis is only identified with the urban centre or with the fields, distinguishing between agricultural activities, considered as civilised, and livestock breeding and hunting, still belonging to a prior stage, as suggested by Skydsgaard (1988). Opposing this erroneous image, most archaeological and ethno-archaeological research starts with the idea of economic interdependence (Chang and Koster

1986; Osborne 1987; Halstead 1987–8; 1996; Cherry 1988; Hodkinson 1988; 1990; Whittaker 1988; Gallant 1991, 34–59; Alcock *et al.* 1994; Forbes 1994; 1995; Roy 1999; Nixon and Price 2001; Chandezon 2003; Foxhall 2003; Howe 2008; Plácido 2008).

In fact, there is no evidence showing that ancient Greeks needed a production system characterised by profitability, maximisation of benefits, minimisation of efforts and compartmentalisation of production. Indeed, in Arkadia, a household herding model was developed that was characterised by small scattered farms close to larger centres (Cardete 2016, 108–10). Agricultural production used to be self-sufficient in basic products, using regional trade with other products that were also necessary but not essential, such as metals, oil, fish or luxury items (Roy 1983, 268; 1999, 328–38; Lloyd *et al.* 1985, 217; Roy *et al.* 1988, 182; 1992; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 260–7).

Therefore, Greek peasantry was much more concerned with the subsistence of their families than with the commodification of production (Gallant 1991; Garnsey 1999, 22–42). Moreover, the polis is a symbiotic interaction between *astu* and *chora* and it is defined not only by its centre, but also by its limits. We have to study the interaction between elements without artificial separations. All these ideas are in the alternative or agro-pastoralism model, based on economic interdependence characterised by intensive farming (especially with grain, grapes, olives and legumes) and household herding. It is a system based on interaction, not on competition. The majority of labour was organised around family lands in which the stockbreeder is also a farmer. Production is conditioned by family necessities and capacities, climate and rhythms of social production, as shown by the aforementioned archaeological and ethno-archaeological studies.

Pan is an image of this permeable interdependence: he was a goat and a goat herder, and he was also a nodal limit of the *chora*. He protected it and watched the activities that took place in it. His function of border delimitation was shown economically through small game hunting (partridges, quails, even wild boars, but nothing bigger) and short-distance seasonal migration of livestock. Shepherds of sheep and goats offered him their crooks and flutes in the limits of the territory, and hunters provided Pan with little bows and hunting equipment (*Palatine Anthology* 6.13, 14, 34, 109, 177, 188; 9.337). Without his protection of liminal areas and their economic activities, the polis would collapse. Therefore, it is not by chance that Pan is one of the gods in Apollo Bassae, an extra-urban sanctuary located at the heart of a transhumance network which functioned as a sacred expression of the Phigalician identity against Sparta (Cardete 2005a, 87–113). Of course, it is also significant that Pan was not only protector of flocks, but also a hunter. Livestock breeding went along with this other liminal activity, which was also essential for the survival of the non-privileged classes, the polis and its boundaries.

Once again Pan's landscapes help us overcome topics such as Arkadian long-distance transhumance, first suggested by Georgoudi (1974) and then reiterated, with nuanced variances, by other scholars, such as Chaniotis (1995; 1999) and Roy (2007a, 295). Short-distance seasonal movements are better adapted to archaic and classical Arkadian, and to Greece in general. Arkadians did not have the ecological, economic or political necessities – or possibilities – to develop a long-distance transhumance due to several reasons. Firstly, there were no such large herds that would have needed to move far in search of pasture. In fact, long-distance transhumance is not a consequence of climatic or geological conditions, but a political, cultural, social and economic decision (Garnsey 1988, 204; Hodkinson 1990, 155; Nixon and Price 2001, 403; Chandezon 2003, 397; Howe 2008, 50; Cardete forthcoming). Secondly, the demand for livestock products was not so high as to require crossing poleis boundaries. Thirdly, the possession of livestock is not a transcendent element in the configuration of *status* in the classical period (Cherry 1988, 56; Hodkinson 1988, 56–8; Forbes 1995, 326).

Short-distance movements of no more than 10 km do not necessarily imply seasonality (even though they are often associated with changes between winter and summer) and are more appropriate for the steep Arkadian orography. Moreover, they are centred on little ovicaprid herds, the most common livestock in Arkadia (Roy 1999, 322–3; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 266), and offer additional advantages such as the use of fallow land as an alternative source of grazing (Halstead 1988, 43–5; Gallant 1991, 52–6; Burford 1993, 121–5; Alcock *et al.* 1994, 148; Foxhall 2003, 84; Gallego 2009, 169). In this way, sheep and goats collaborate with the process of fertilisation through manure. This is easily understood within a peasant world in which sustainability is key for survival. In fact, it is the same system that Van Andel and Runnels (1987, 13–25) have proposed for the Argolid.

With this model of territorial occupation and exploitation, we can speak about Pan's landscapes and turn Pan into a diving force that interweaves, instead of separates, basic economic activities (agriculture and husbandry) and complementary ones like hunting. Pan is present in many places in Arkadia, while other gods associated with cattle, such as Apollo or Hermes, are not so widely present in the region. Suitable pastures for cattle breeding can only be found in very specific areas of Arkadia, while ovicaprids can survive almost everywhere.

Conclusion

If we analyse thoroughly Arkadian landscapes as a context, as a network of relations showing a certain way to understand and build the world, we notice that its nodal limits, those

with a deepest and most representative meaning, match the socio-economic and political needs of the communities living there and change according to them. The use of a divine figure like Pan, who incarnates them, who is flexible and mobile and who adapts to different needs, can weave connection networks that build up landscape and give them a divine approval.

Because of the romantic concept of Arkadia, it is difficult to see in it a political structure similar to other areas in Greece or an economic system that is far from the 'rural' topics about livestock breeding societies or dispersed settlement, but not poor or underdeveloped. It is difficult in part because the ritual and spiritual aspects of religion have obscured and hidden all others. However, we can use religion to understand the economic practices through rites, to analyse the interactions between them and to decipher ideological lectures from religious traditions or to study political problems through myths and cults. Therefore, from the divine figure we can reach the sacred landscape, which is conformed in a historical context, so it is modifiable, and full of symbols.

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