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were at Boghazlian a thunderstorm caused it to rise and flood its marshy banks.

We left Boghazlian, a fairly large but dirty village, to cross the eastern end of the Malya Cheullu, a tableland skirted by rugged hills and dotted with a few villages; the unexpected ravines which intersect it are startling in their abruptness. Ismail Tepe, a striking peak at the south-eastern limit of this plain, is a landmark visible and distinct for fifty miles round, and we passed under its summit on the northern side on our route to Kaisarieh. Here at Talas, under the towering mass of Erjias D. (Argæus), Dr. Dodd and his wife bid me welcome to their house, the hospital, which contains forty beds, open to Moslem and Christian alike. The peak of Argæus is said to be visible on a clear day from the Soluk Dagh to the north, and Ereqli on the south, approximately 100 miles either way.

South-west of Argæus lies a great flat plain, roughly 20 miles across, girt by mountains. The road to Ereqli lies direct from the western side of this cup through the defile of the Hassan Dagh and Uch Kapili Dagh at Nigde, where it debouches into another great plain flanked on the south by the rugged and difficult Taurus mountains. Our route lay across the slopes of Argæus by Kizil Ören to Injesu, Bogcha, and Urgub, south of which, on an unexplored route at Tamsa, we came upon a large mediæval building, with a striking ornamental *façade*. From here we proceeded to Develi Kara Hissar and Yahyale, and thence back by Everek to the Hittite sculptures at Feraktin. Rumour of antiquities on an unexplored route in the hills to Yeni Keui led us round that way, but the results were disappointing, as they turned out to be the usual rock dwellings with sculptured fronts. Yeni Keui is, however, situated in one of the most beautiful spots that we passed. Thence we crossed the Zamanti Su, and so again across the southern Argæus plain by the well-known route to Ereqli.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY CIVILIZATION IN NORTHERN GREECE.*

By A. J. B. WACE and M. S. THOMPSON.

FOR the purposes of historical geography the range of Pindus, which, starting far up in the Macedonian mountains, ends in the Parnassus group on the Corinthian gulf, divides Northern Greece into two parts. To the west in Epirus and Ætolia the whole country is a confused mass of rugged mountains, with here and there a lake in a small plain as at Yannina, and below Thermos (Kephalovriso). The principal rivers, such as the Achelous and Arachthus (the river of Arta), run through narrow defiles, except near their mouths. The main route from north to south seems to have come down central

* Research Department, January 19, 1911.

Epirus to Ambracia (Arta), and thence have crept round the coast past Amphilocian Argos into the lower Achelous valley.

To the east the formation of the country is entirely different. Great parallel ranges, starting at right angles from Pindus, run eastward to the sea and divide the land into a series of plains, in which numerous prehistoric settlements are found. The northernmost range, which, separating the basins of the Haliacmon (Vistrista) and of the Peneus (Salambrias), forms the boundary between Thessaly and Macedonia, ends in Olympus. At its extreme east is the pass of Tempe, which, despite its fame, never seems to have been of much practical use. Further west are several much-travelled routes leading from the Europos (Xerias) valley from Elassona to Berrhœa or Pydna. To the west, again, between the Europos and Kalabaka, other routes lead northward into the Haliacmon valley. In spite of these passes, the mountains seem always to have been a formidable barrier, especially since in antiquity they were probably more thickly wooded than now. Immediately to the north of these mountains no traces of prehistoric culture, Thessalian or otherwise, are yet known, not even in the Pierian plain, and in the Vardar (Axius) valley and the neighbourhood of Salonica, where such sites have been found, the culture seems to be different from the Thessalian. To the south as far as Othrys there is a wide plain broken only by the isolated mass of Cynoscephalæ. To the east the plain is shut off from the sea by the coastal range of Pelion and Ossa, but to the south-east by Volos and Almiros on the Pagasæan gulf access to the sea is easy. The range that forms the southern boundary of this plain and the northern limit of the Spercheus valley breaks off from Pindus by Mount Tymphrestus. At its start of but a moderate height, it soon opens out into an elevated plain by Lake Nezero (Xynias) and the upper waters of the Enipeus. Further east this range divides; its northern branch sinks into the low hills that end above Phthiotic Thebes, while the southern rises to the bare summit of Othrys; and between the two lies the fertile plain of Almiros. To-day this range can be crossed at many points. The best-known route in classical times is the coast road from Halos to Lamia by Pteleum and Larissa Kremaste, which was used by Xerxes and Philip II. Further west the hills can be crossed at many points between Lamia and Varibopi, though the principal modern route is the carriage road from Lamia to Dhomokos (Thaumaci) through the Phurka pass. It seems probable that previously thick woods made these routes more difficult.

To the south the Spercheus valley is bounded by Mounts Oeta and Kallidromos. The passes through these may be reduced to three, the Thermopylæ route, which was possibly not open in prehistoric times, a route leading from Heraclea to the upper Asopos, and a third pass leads round Oeta from Hypate by Mavrolithari into Doris.

There is no evidence to show which of these passes was used, but the same early culture is found both to the north and south of them. The plain to the south is the basin of the Kephissos, and is surrounded on all

sides by hills. The main route to the south leads by Orchomenos, and the Lake Kopais to Thebes; and it is near this road shut in between the hills and the marsh, that we find the southern outpost of the early culture of North-East Greece. The sea to the east is easily reached by roads leading through the low hills to Molos, Atalandi, and Larymna, but the passes to



the Corinthian gulf east and west of Parnassus by Daulis and Amphissa are difficult.

Thus the eastern part of Northern Greece is cut up into plains by several parallel ranges through which communications in time of peace are not difficult, although in time of war they form strong military frontiers.

On the other hand, the passes from east to west are few and difficult. There is one route from Yannina over the Zighos to Kalabaka, another from Trikkala by Portes to Arta, and a third from the upper Spercheus by Karpenisi towards Ætolia. But, as will be seen from the distribution of sites, these do not seem to have been much used.

The prehistoric sites which occur throughout the area described above are in the form of mounds, nearly always situated in the plains, but a few are to be found on the foothills. They fall into two types, high and low. The low mounds, which are far commoner than the high, only rise about 3 metres above the surrounding ground. These were deserted at an early date. The high mounds, which rise to a height of 8 metres or more, continue down to a later period, and in a few rare cases were converted into Greek settlements. These mounds are known locally as "Tumbes" or "Maghules." Strictly speaking, the term "Maghula" should be applied only to an artificial mound in which rubbish or traces of human occupation can be discerned, while "Tumba," meaning merely a sepulchral tumulus, does not imply the presence of rubbish or any difference of soil. This distinction is still often recognized by the peasants.

The high mounds are usually oval in shape, with steep sides and flat tops; the low ones rise gently out of the plain. Both types must be distinguished from a small conical type of mound which covers a Hellenistic built tomb, and is also found in the prehistoric area.

The most southerly sites of the early culture of North-Eastern Greece are those in the neighbourhood of Orchomenos, and though the future may reveal settlements further south, it seems unlikely on account of the Cycladic culture near Chalcis. The pass by Orchomenos is, moreover, a natural geographical frontier. Further up the valley is a site at Chæronea, and others further north have been found near Elatea (Dhrakhmani) and Dhadhi.

The next group of sites occurs in the Spercheus valley around the villages of Lianokladhi and Amuri, to the west of Lamia. In antiquity these sites were considerably nearer the coast than they are to-day, owing to the large amount of alluvial deposit brought down by the Spercheus. Higher up the valley, by Varibopi, exploration has failed to produce any results.

In the elevated plain of Othrys, the acropolis of the Greek city at Tsiatma, is probably a maghula of the high type, and an early statuette from Melitæa (Avaritsa) suggests that there is probably a prehistoric settlement in that neighbourhood. On the coast road from Larissa Kremaste to Halos there is a large mound near Surpi. Once north of the range of Othrys, prehistoric mounds are exceedingly common. In the plain of Almiros both types occur, and the high type is more plentiful than elsewhere, there being an equal number of both kinds.

In the west Thessalian plain, extending from Dhomokos in the south to Palamas and Zarkos in the north, and with an eastern limit at Pharsalus and a western one at Kardhitsa, is another group of sites. The sudden

cessation of settlements in the west at a considerable distance short of Pindus, and their non-appearance in the plain between Phanari (Ithome) and Trikkala, suggest that this distribution is due to circumstances that no longer exist.

To the east of Pharsalus is a line of sites extending to the head of the Pagasæan gulf at Volos (Iolcus). In the eastern plain from Pheræ (Velestinos) to Tirnavos and Tempe is another large group, but it is noticeable that there are no prehistoric mounds in the Dotian plain by Ayia, though the Hellenic acropolis at Aliphaklar may have been inhabited in prehistoric times. Thus prehistoric settlements occur throughout the plains except in three small areas. The upper Spercheus valley, the plains between Phanari and Trikkala, and in the Dotian plain. Further, no early remains are known from the plain by Ellassona except some late Minoan II. vases from Maghula, and in the elevated plain to the south of Dhomokos prehistoric remains are scarce.

It seems, however, probable that the Thessalian forests, which are now confined to the east slopes of Pelion and Ossa, the north slopes of Othyrus by Ghura and the eastern side of Pindus, formerly extended into the plain. There is some evidence to support this view. Leake, in his travels at the beginning of the nineteenth century, records woods by Ayia in the Dotian plain which now no longer exist, and the same author also notes the recent destruction of forests to the west of Phanari in order to keep down robbers.

Livy's account of the Roman attack on Thaumaci in 191 B.C. also mentions woods where now hardly a tree remains; Xerxes is recorded to have burnt the forests on the Macedonian hills to procure a way for his army. There are also hints of deforestation in mediæval authors, and thus it seems highly probable that in the distribution of the prehistoric sites we have traces of an old forest belt.

The civilization discovered in these North Greek sites, of which over 100 are now known, is of a primitive type, and different from the more advanced Minoan civilization of the south, which apparently only reached Northern Greece in its latest phase, and did not ever replace the local cultures. The existence of a separate culture in Northern Greece, which was still neolithic when bronze was common further south, and which never attained any high state of civilization, is particularly interesting in connection with the usually accepted view that the Achæans were northern invaders. An examination of the present racial distribution in the north of Greece and Macedonia suggests several points which may bear on the question of the character and effects of a racial movement from the north.

When we examine the Homeric geography of Thessaly we find that it covers the same area as the prehistoric civilization, but in certain regions extends beyond it, notably in the Trikkala and Ellassona districts. It thus appears that the Homeric culture took over the area occupied by the prehistoric peoples, but extended their territory in certain regions. The

extensions of territory in the north and north-west were probably to guard against invasion from those parts, for we have seen it is by Trikkala and Ellassona that main routes come down into Thessaly. In classical times the distribution of the towns inhabited was totally different from both the prehistoric and the Homeric. Further, the historic settlements are in strong positions on the hills, and not unfenced hamlets lying in the plains. Very few of the prehistoric settlements were afterwards inhabited as historic sites. Therefore we may distinguish three periods in the geography of Thessaly, prehistoric, Homeric, and historic. The people of the historic period were invaders from the west or north-west, and were the Thessalians. But that previous migrations of peoples into Thessaly before the coming of the Thessali could have taken place without being noted in history, is shown by the modern conditions, and the steady infiltration of Vlachs into the country. They are a fair race, speaking a Latin language, who live in the hills of the Balkan peninsula. Since the eleventh century they have been wintering in Thessaly, and spending the summer in the homes in the hills of west and south-west Macedonia. From time to time many have settled in Thessaly, and towns like Trikkala and Velestinos are almost entirely Vlach. There is also a large Vlach element in Larissa, Tirnavos, and Kardhitsa. This has had a great effect on the population of Thessaly, but is practically unnoticed in history. Very likely early invasions of wandering tribes gradually drifted into Thessaly in the same way.

Mr. D. G. HOGARTH: Mr. Wace has been exceedingly interesting; but as he has wandered over an extraordinarily wide range, far away from the advertised subject of his paper, which was the distribution of Neolithic civilization in Thessaly, it is really rather difficult to know what we are to discuss. The question of the historical routes into north Thessaly is remote from the Neolithic civilization, and certainly the possible ways by which the Vlachs penetrated is even further removed. To come back to the Neolithic civilization, I have one or two, I won't say doubts, but one or two questions. I gather (but I should like to have an assurance) that the authors have exhaustively explored these different parts of Thessaly. It rests upon their evidence alone that there are no prehistoric sites at all in certain parts of this area, and I should like to ask particularly how far they have assured themselves that mounds have not been in certain cases denuded away. I imagine that the process of looking for prehistoric sites is a rather summary one. That is to say, one has to depend upon what one can see from a certain distance. Therefore, if a possible mound does not exceed more than 2 or 3 feet in height, one might easily miss it, and yet, while the actual bulk of the mound had been denuded away, the pottery which had once been in it would be scattered about over a comparatively level area, which would not attract notice from a distance. Therefore, I think we must accept with a certain amount of hesitation, until the district has really been plotted by a mapping party, the statement that there are certain areas in which these remains exist, and certain areas where they do not. It is extremely probable that the theory of Mr. Wace, that the absence of settlements in certain districts is due to the fact that these were covered with