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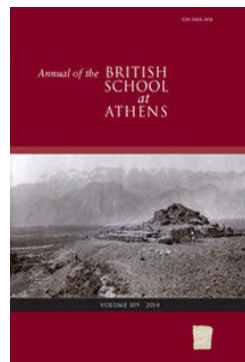
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SOME DOUBTFUL POINTS OF THESSALIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

BY C. D. EDMONDS.

THE object of this paper is to endeavour to attach their right names to the ancient sites which lie close to the Peneios on either side of the river in its course from Trikkala to Larissa.

The first site which we reach in travelling down stream is that of Palaeo-Gardiki, halfway between Trikkala and Zarkos, close to the high road, on the left bank of the river, which is here some six kilometres distant. On a small spur of the mountains, with which it is only connected by a narrow neck or spur which slopes down to the plain, lie the remains of an ancient acropolis with walls built of both polygonal and ashlar masonry. In front of the acropolis in the plain the remains of a city of no small extent are visible. The walls of ashlar masonry remain to a height of four or five courses, and the foundations of houses and public buildings are clearly marked. The name Palaeo-Gardiki comes from a Byzantine village, Gardiki, which once stood upon the acropolis, but of which no traces now remain except the ruined church. In front of the city lies a marsh, which, combined with the mountain behind, makes the position very strong.

Six kilometres further down stream on the left bank, within one kilometre of the river, rises a long double-peaked rock, from 170 to 200 metres high, immediately above the village of Klokoto. On the western and smaller peak is an ancient acropolis, from which a wall runs eastward along the ridge joining the peaks until the ground begins to rise for the other summit, where the wall turns and goes down southward into the plain. The masonry is ashlar, except in some later remains of Byzantine

date. Though no traces of buildings are now visible it is certain from the shape of the wall that a city must have lain in the plain to the south of the acropolis and wall, stretching probably down to the river.

Almost immediately opposite, across the river, four or five kilometres distant, lies another long rock near the village of Kortiki. The northern end is low; the other rises to a height of about 250 metres, and upon it is a small ancient acropolis of rough polygonal masonry upon which is superimposed some later work. No traces of buildings are visible outside the fortress upon the hill, nor signs of any levelling or cutting of the rock which would be a necessary preliminary to construction. Nor are there any remains in the plain beneath; indeed, the existence of such remains would be impossible, for the country round is in winter one vast marsh, except where Kortiki stands two kilometres distant, and separated from the hill by the swamps.

Four kilometres away to the south-east, on the left bank of the ancient Apidanus, and near the village of Vlokho, a curious semispherical rocky hill rises to a height of about 280 metres, a conspicuous object from all points of the western Thessalian plain. Upon the top of this is a large acropolis of rough polygonal masonry with subsidiary protecting walls, and a zig-zag roadway cut in the face of the hillside, though this perhaps is of later date. At the foot of this, where the ground is firm by the river on the site of Vlokho, there probably existed a town, whence come the Doric drums and other ancient fragments to be found in the neighbouring villages.

A fifth site is at Zarkos, three kilometres to the north of the river Peneios, where it enters the Kalamaki defile. Above the village lies a small height separated from the mountain behind. The top, where now stands a church of St. Elias, is encircled by a wall of accurately jointed polygonal masonry. To the south of this acropolis, close under the perpendicular cliffs of the mountain, are foundations of Hellenic buildings covering a considerable extent of ground.

Six kilometres further down stream, where a break in the defile leads out into the Larissacan plain, is another ancient site upon a spur of the mountain which runs down to the right bank of the river. The site is known as the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka, from the village of that name close by. Upon the sloping spur are the upper city and acropolis with walls of polygonal masonry, rough in parts, in other places carefully jointed. In the

plain on either side of the spur lie the foundations of the walls and buildings of the lower city. The remains of Byzantine walls also are mixed with the Hellenic masonry.

A good way further down the stream at the point where the river finally issues from the defile into the plain, on the left bank, opposite the village of Gunitza, is yet another ancient site called Sidhero-Peliko. The remains, though inconsiderable, are extensive and are evidently those of a Hellenic city; for in the plain and on the slope of the hill are numerous squared stones and fragments of pottery and the foundations of a wall, and on the summit above, an extremely strong position by nature, are the remains of another wall.

Let us return once more to the site of Palaeo-Gardiki. Leake, Bursian, Heuzey and Daumet, and Lolling, agree in considering this to be the site of Pelinna, while Kiepert, followed by Philippson, puts Limnaeon here and Pelinna at Kortiki, and Ussing again and Georgiades place Pelinna at Klokoto. With regard to the site of Pelinna we have the following evidence from ancient writers. Strabo, 437, says that Ithome is in a quadrilateral formed by Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinna and Gomphi, and in the next chapter he says that the Peneios leaves on the left Tricca, Pelinna and Pharcadon and is borne past Atrax and Larissa down to Tempe and the sea. From Livy, xxxvi. 13, we learn that Baebius and Philip after attacking Gomphi and Tricca in the west besiege Pelinna, whence Philip goes on to attack Limnaeon. In the next chapter we hear that Acilius coming from Larissa first joins Philip beneath Limnaeon and that they go on together from there to Pelinna. Now those who place Pelinna at Kortiki disregard Strabo's direct statement that the city lay on the left bank of the river, and give as their reason for doing so that such a position for Pelinna makes a prettier and more symmetrical figure within which to enclose Ithome. Moreover we also gather from Strabo that Pelinna was the first city after leaving Tricca, and the passages of Livy prove that it lay west of Limnaeon. We know that Pelinna was a city of importance, for it was the seat of a branch of the family of the Aleuadae, is frequently mentioned by ancient writers, and is shown by its coins to have been a member of the league of great Thessalian towns. Limnaeon on the other hand is only mentioned in the above-quoted passage of Livy, and no coins even of it are known. Limnaeon also, as its name implies, was

situated in the middle of the marshes, a description which suits Kortiki but not Palaeo-Gardiki. We are urged then to put Limnaeon at Kortiki among the marshes; for it was probably, and the extant remains agree with this view, merely an acropolis for the neighbouring villagers of the swamp, a refuge in flood time and in war. If this be so we can understand why no coins exist of such a place. Pelinna, on the other hand, lying west of Limnaeon and north of the river, we shall place at Palaeo-Gardiki, a site with remains of an important city and fulfilling all the required conditions.

With regard to the site at Vlokho there can be little doubt. All the topographers are agreed that this represents the ancient Asterion or Peiresiae. Apollonius Rhodius. i. 36, says Asterion came from Peiresiae near Mount Phylleum at the junction of the Enipeus and Apidanus. Stephanus Byzantinus informs us that Asterion was a town of Thessaliotis later called Peiresiae and that it was so named from its shining appearance when seen from afar lying upon a high mountain. The poet in the *Iliad* ii. 734, says Eurypylus led those from Asterion and the white peaks of Titanos. Now these passages accurately describe the site at Vlokho; for the ruins are perched on a high and conspicuous hill of peculiar shape, whose rocks are of a white crystalline limestone, a hill which is close to the confluence of the two rivers. Let us now turn our attention to the ruins at Klokoto. Bursian, Philippson, Kiepert, and Lolling mark this as the site of Pharcadon; Leake considers it to be only a frontier fortress; Heuzey and Daumet place Phaestus here; while Ussing and Georgiades consider the site to be that of Pelinna. Leake's wonderful power of guessing sites correctly is at fault here for once because he had not sufficiently examined the spot. Had he done so he would have seen that there was a city here as well as a fortress. Strabo, 438, mentions Pharcadon after Pelinna as towns on the left bank of the Peneios between Tricca and Atrax, and also says the river flows through Pharcadon. Livy, xxxi. 41, says that the Aetolians coming down from Cyretiae in the mountains of the Perrhaebians poured over the plains near Pharcadon. Now Klokoto is in the plains at the mouth of the valley which leads up into the mountains. It is on the left bank of the Peneios, which may be described as flowing through it. It is the next site to Pelinna at Palaeo-Gardiki. Klokoto in fact, and no other, suits all the requirements of these passages and may safely be assumed to be the site of Pharcadon.

Of the three sites which still remain to be considered, it will be most

convenient to treat of that of Sidhero-Peliko first. Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades place Atrax here, while Kiepert and Lolling put it at the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka. With regard to Atrax, Strabo, 440, says it lies near the river, 40 stadia above Argura, (the latter being universally placed at a site on the left bank of the river five kilometres above Larissa). But, as quoted above, he says that the Peneios after Pharcadon flows past Atrax and Larissa, and he, 441, states that it lies in the plain. Livy, xxxii. 15, tells us that Flamininus attacked Atrax, a Perrhaebian town on the Peneios, ten miles from Larissa. This evidence points conclusively to Sidhero-Peliko as the site of Atrax, for it is in the plain near the river about fifteen kilometres above Larissa, while Alifaka, the other suggested site, is twenty-two kilometres from Larissa by road, and even more by river. Atrax, moreover, being a Perrhaebian town, must have been on the north side of the river, which was the boundary between the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. (It is useless to attempt to locate Atrax by the situation of the quarries of "verde antico," a variety of green breccia known to the Romans as "marble of Atrax," for these quarries lie at the foot of Mount Ossa, at a spot which cannot possibly agree with the above passages. At this point I may, perhaps, remark that comparatively little help is given to the topographer by coins in Thessaly. In the first place, the number of coins found is not large, because most of Thessaly is still pasture land, whereas coins are generally turned up by the plough. And, secondly, the existence of a league type among the Thessalian towns enabled the coins of any one town to pass current in the others. Consequently, coins of more than one city are found in most spots, and inference from them is dangerous.)

The Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka is considered by Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades to be the site of Phacion. Kiepert and Lolling, however, place Atrax here. We know from Stephanus Byzantinus that both Phaestus and Phacion were Thessalian towns, and so were in the plains; and from Livy, xxxvi. 13, we know that they were in this neighbourhood. The only other passage giving us a clue as to the site of Phacion is Thucydides, iv. 78, where the writer says that Brasidas, on his march through Thessaly, first encamped near Melitaea, near Pharsalus the next night, and then by a forced march reached Phacion, and so came to the Perrhaebians, by whom he was conducted, probably over the Melouna Pass, to Dium in Macedonia. Now Larissa would have been the most natural stopping place, but Brasidas

evidently avoided it purposely, fearing the hostility of the Thessalians, and kept more to the west. Reaching the Perrhaebia is then by a route west of Larissa, Brasidas must have gone to Alifaka, for this is the only site bordering upon Perrhaebia, and yet within a forced march of Pharsalus.

The only other site remaining to be dealt with is that of Zarkos. Georgiades puts Pharcadon here, but Lolling is undoubtedly right in attributing the remains to Phaestus. We know, from the passages just quoted above, that Phaestus was in this district, and so it must be placed at the only vacant site, namely Zarkos. Phaestus is not mentioned elsewhere in ancient literature, but there is an inscription extant, (Mittheil. viii. p. 126), which was found in the Church of St. Nikolaos at Zarkos, bearing the words *ἡ πόλις Φαυττίων*, a Thessalian dialectical name concealing probably the Phaestus of Livy.

