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# Exploring Kastro Kallithea on the Surface: The Foundation and Occupation of Kastro Kallithea, Thessaly, Greece

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# Meditations on the Diversity of the Built Environment in the Aegean Basin and Beyond

Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory  
of Frederick E. Winter

Athens, 22-23 June 2012



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## Exploring Kastro Kallithea on the Surface: The Foundation and Occupation of Kastro Kallithea, Thessaly, Greece

### Introduction

The Hellenistic period is often associated with the demise of the *polis* due to the perceived loss of ‘*autonomia*’ as the city-states came under control of the Macedonian kings. City-states, however, continued to exist and flourish as economic and administrative entities.<sup>1</sup> In fact, throughout the Hellenistic world, numerous urban centers were founded, either as new cities or as *synoikism* of nearby villages, and followed standardized principles of urban planning and defensive technologies. These new or refurbished urban centers may reflect a surge of urbanism, with more people seeking to live within a well-defended urban center, particularly in regions like Thessaly.

Urbanism resulted in demographic and settlement patterns stemming from changes in the political and socio-economic system. The movement of people through military enlistment, emigration, immigration, trade, or urbanization, especially after the Macedonians established a claim on Mainland Greece, was a consequence of the trepidation and excitement of the period. The political and economic instability and increased mobility of people brought about changes to established economic and demographic patterns, which found their expression in the construction or

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<sup>1</sup> Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 52; Hansen 2006, pp. 48-50; Shipley and Hansen 2006, p. 52.

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enlargement of increasingly well-defined and demarcated urban centers. This trend appears to be evident in many parts of Greece including Thessaly, and in particular in Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis, where the Classical cities of Pharsalos and Phthiotic Thebes were refurbished with extensive defensive structures and the new cities of Demetrias, New Halos, Goritsa, and Kastro Kallithea were established as fortified urban centers (Fig. 1). These cities exhibit similar characteristics in terms of the style of construction, spatial organization, strong military character, and their construction under similar historical circumstances.

In this paper, we examine shifts in settlement patterns that emerge in the Hellenistic world and explore to what extent these trends are visible in the archaeological data from Achaia Phthiotis in Thessaly. The urban survey at Kastro Kallithea has documented the city's foundation, occupation, and abandonment and has identified fluctuations in terms of utilization and date in the physical layout of the city plan throughout the life of the settlement. Questions remain, however, regarding the motivation for its construction and how these developments impacted or were a consequence of the exploitation of the local and regional environment. Through an examination of the archaeological remains of neighboring Demetrias, New Halos, Pharsalos, Goritsa, Phthiotic Eretria, and Phthiotic Thebes, comparisons are drawn with special attention to the emergence and enlargement of urban centers, trends in spatial organization, and the historical circumstances in which these Thessalian centers were founded or extended. Through an examination of the local and regional landscape, a picture of urban development emerges that sheds lights on some of the ways people adapted to and shifted with the political and economic changes in the turbulent Hellenistic world.

### Hellenistic Urbanism

In general, evidence for urban migration may be recognized in the construction of new urban centers, the enlargement of existing ones, especially when it goes hand in hand with a

decrease in the number of contemporary rural sites in a city's territory. Susan Alcock identified general trends and regional variations with respect to population movements and settlement patterns in data based on various archaeological surface surveys throughout the Hellenistic world.<sup>2</sup> She suggests that the numerical decline of rural sites identified as farmstead or seasonal shelters represents a depopulation of the countryside in favor of urban living in both old and newly constructed centers.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent research from survey data has illuminated this notion and highlighted the intricacies of the data. The decline in the number of sites may, as Dan Stewart argues, represent changes in habitation, land-use, or ownership and may not simply be equated with a decline in population.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the construction of new and expansion of old cities is evidence of a transition to urban living regardless of the growth or decline of a population. By the Late Hellenistic period, perhaps as a result of the establishment of greater political and economic stabilization by the Romans, there is increased activity or habitation of the countryside, which, coupled with the abandonment and/or destruction of urban centers, suggests a return to rural living.<sup>5</sup> The general shift from the countryside to cities and back again to rural settlements is a visible pattern throughout the empire.<sup>6</sup>

As few regional surveys have been conducted in Thessaly, in particular of the Classical/Hellenistic period,<sup>7</sup> it is difficult to

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<sup>2</sup> Alcock 1994, pp. 171-190.

<sup>3</sup> Alcock 1994, pp. 177-179.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart 2007, pp. 172-173, 178-182.

<sup>5</sup> Alcock 1994, p. 177-179; Shipley 2002, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> Alcock 1994, pp. 187-190.

<sup>7</sup> An intensive survey of the Almiros and Sourpi Plain near Halos was conducted in the 1990s by the University of Groningen and the 13<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Volos, however, the results for the historical periods are still preliminary. See, Stissi et al. 2012 and Haagsma this volume. Extensive surveys of the Enipeus Valley and Magnesia were conducted by Décourt (1990) and Wisse (1990), respectively. Cantarelli (1992, 1999) conducted an extensive topographic survey in southern Thessaly identifying possible sites. The town of Goritsa was investigated as an architectural survey in the 1970s. See Bakhuizen 1992.



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assess some of the intricacies of the use and habitation of the countryside in the region. But we argue that the study of the foundation, spatial occupation, and abandonment of Thessalian urban centers alone can already provide us with an initial idea on shifting settlement patterns in this region. Kastro Kallithea, the subject of this paper, will serve as a case study and below we will assess to what extent the city followed contemporary patterns of urbanism and economic development.

### Kastro Kallithea

The conspicuous remains of the Kastro instigated the establishment of *synergasia* between the 15<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Larissa, and the University of Alberta, under the auspices of the Canadian Institute in Greece, under the direction of Sophia Karapanou and Margriet Haagsma.<sup>8</sup> The site of Kastro Kallithea is located on top of a hill approximately 600 m above sea level in the western extreme of the Almiros Plain in the region of Achaia Phthiotis in Thessaly (Fig. 1). It is strategically located along the northern foothills of the Othrys Mountains at the crossroads between the Pagasitic Gulf and inland cities of Pharsalos and Melitaia.<sup>9</sup> Based primarily on topographical features, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century German scholar Friedrich Stählin tentatively identified Kastro Kallithea as the ancient *polis* of Peuma or Peumata, a city known from coins and land arbitration inscriptions.<sup>10</sup> A few other inscriptions make reference to Peuma

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<sup>8</sup> We are sincerely grateful for the support and continual collaboration of the Greek Ministry of Culture and the 15<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Larissa. We would also like to thank the Director of the Canadian Institute in Greece, David W. Rupp, and Assistant Director Jonathan E. Tomlinson for all their help over the years with the project, for organizing this conference in honor of Frederick Winter, and for providing a venue for sharing the results from our survey at Kastro Kallithea.

<sup>9</sup> Tzifalias et al. 2006a, pp. 93-96; <sup>9</sup> Tzifalias et al. 2006b, p. 230.

<sup>10</sup> Stählin 1914, pp. 83-103; Stählin 1938, pp. 1399-1405; Stählin 1967, p. 165. Other scholars have supported this designation, see Kirsten 1940, pp. 885-892; Décourt 1990, p. 87; Helly 2001, pp. 244-245; <sup>10</sup> Tzifalias et al. 2006b, pp. 92-93. For land

as a *polis* but provide little additional information.<sup>11</sup> Otherwise, the written sources are silent with regard to this *polis*.

In 2004, the team began an urban survey to investigate the well-preserved ancient remains of this site.<sup>12</sup> Archaeological work at Kastro Kallithea initially constituted an architectural survey, an archaeological survey (field walking), and topographic mapping using GIS.<sup>13</sup> In later years, this work was followed by excavation. This paper presents some of the findings on the spatial organization, dating, and functional distribution of the ancient city.<sup>14</sup>

The survey was conducted following conventional practices of surface methodology while adapting them to site-specific realities. The objective was to record and map all archaeological surface remains, assess the topography of the site, and collect a statistically sound sample of surface artifacts for further study. The high level of preservation of the architectural remains at Kastro Kallithea meant that geophysical investigations were deemed redundant. We were able through the architectural survey to document extant *in situ* architectural features on a macro- (plotting remains on map using the total station) and micro-level (analyzing and drawing individual building plans and wall sections). A three-part strategy for the collection of surface artifacts consisted of 1) clicker counts for overall sherd density, 2) grab samples of just diagnostic ceramics, and 3) central unit sample (collection of all material in a 1 m radius in the center of

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arbitration inscriptions see Ager 1996, pp. 99-103.

<sup>11</sup> Décourt 1995, pp. 145-147 no. 131; Décourt et al. 2004, pp. 715-716; *IG IX*<sup>2</sup> 519 1; *IG VIII*, 3287.

<sup>12</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 91-135.

<sup>13</sup> See Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 99-102 for description of the field methodology. The mapping of the urban landscape has been a collective project supervised by Professor Sean Gouglas who also created the maps of the site. The data collected in the survey were the result of hours of field walking and staring at the ground by the many students, volunteers, and staff during the survey. We are grateful for all their hard work over the years and especially to those who returned for multiple seasons.

<sup>14</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a; Tziafalias et al. 2006b; Surtees 2012.

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the unit).<sup>15</sup> In order to maintain tight control of the spatial distribution of materials at a high resolution, a 20 x 20 m grid was laid out across the site to create individual units. A total of 265 units were surveyed across the 34ha site; this accounts for approximately one third of the total site area and provides a representative sample of the overall site. The selection of units was not chosen at random as we wanted to ensure that units were representative of the entire site. An attempt was made to survey all sectors, in spite of visibility, architectural remains, or density of surface finds. Large areas of contiguous units were surveyed to determine if variations existed within or between sectors. Units with substantial architectural remains were favored in order to potentially draw functional correlations between artifact distributions and architecture. Areas with no visible architectural remains were intentionally selected to test variations in sherd density in relation to preservation of architecture. A sample of surveyed units, we believe, is characteristic of the surface assemblage across the site. Over 4000 ceramics and 135 small finds were collected in the survey.<sup>16</sup> Through an examination of the composition and distribution of this artifactual assemblage, coupled with statistical analysis on external variables such as visibility and slope,<sup>17</sup> we have been able to identify *loci* of activities and potential chronological variations in occupation throughout the site's history.

The earliest material found in the survey dates to the Late Classical period, but most material dates to the Hellenistic period indicating that this was the predominant period of occupation. There is no evidence of earlier habitation on the hill, although Iron Age tombs, along finger ridges surrounding the base of the hill, attest to earlier activity in the countryside.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, prior to the construction of the city people probably lived scattered

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<sup>15</sup> For elaboration of the survey methodology, see Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 99-102; Surtees 2012, pp. 31-48.

<sup>16</sup> Detailed analysis was undertaken as part of her PhD dissertation, see Surtees 2012, Chapter 5.

<sup>17</sup> Surtees 2012, pp. 193-205.

<sup>18</sup> Theocharis 1964, pp. 261-262; Tziafalias 2006a, p. 130.

throughout the countryside, either in small settlements, villages, or on isolated farmsteads. A shift towards urban living, perhaps instigated by increasing military and political hostilities and possibly economic opportunities, led to the construction of this new urban center.

Initial construction at Kastro Kallithea appears to be confined to the establishment of the citadel on the western acropolis. The original fortification wall circles the summit with a single access point through a gate on the west side.<sup>19</sup> This installation appears to pre-date the extension of the urban center and is probably Classical in date.<sup>20</sup> In its earliest form, the acropolis may have simply been an outpost or fort to secure the coastal-inland route.<sup>21</sup> There is no evidence on the surface of the acropolis to suggest habitation or domestic installations, and therefore, it may have been a small outpost manned by a small population, presumably of either civilian or professional soldiers.

As is usual for cities of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and later, we witness a strong emphasis on protection, which is exemplified in the use of an elaborate and cohesive defensive system. Fortification walls run 2.4 km long, encircling the upper slopes of the hill, with a total enclosed area of 34 ha (Fig. 2). The site was heavily fortified with three lines of defense: the outer circuit wall, the *diateichisma* (dividing the city into two sectors), and an acropolis wall.<sup>22</sup> The substantial and impressive fortification scheme suggests a *polis*-wide collective agenda as well as significant organizational abilities and financial resources for its construction.

The interior layout of the city shows further planning efforts

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<sup>19</sup> Two gates were identified in association with the acropolis circuit, although based on construction methods, these gates were later additions to the acropolis fortification, perhaps in conjunction with the expansion of the urban center, Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 111-114.

<sup>20</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 113-114; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 230; Haagsma et al. 2011, p. 198.

<sup>21</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 131-132.

<sup>22</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 102-114; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 227. For detailed descriptions of the fortifications, see Chykerda 2010 and Chykerda et al. this volume.

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in the form of an orthogonal grid plan, with N-S running streets and E-W running avenues dividing the city into small housing blocks (Fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> Streets are aligned with the postern gates along the lower enceinte indicating that the streets were laid out prior to the placement of the posterns.<sup>24</sup> The urban survey shows a comprehensive plan dividing the city into residential, public, religious, and perhaps military zones.<sup>25</sup> In the eastern sector, city blocks were subdivided into house plots; on average, with six houses per block.<sup>26</sup> The buildings have been identified as houses based on their layout, organization of the blocks and artifact assemblages. The surface assemblages are composed of long- and short-term storage vessels, multi-functional vases used for a variety of everyday activities, primarily for the preparation, production, and consumption of food, as well as personal care objects, weaving equipment, and grinding tools.<sup>27</sup> The uniform distribution of tablewares centered in or around architectural structures implies that dining activity occurred within these structures. At least one metallurgical workshop, possibly attached to a house, was found on the east slope during the survey and provides evidence of industrial activities and on-site craft specialization.<sup>28</sup> The density of the distribution (Fig. 3) confirms significant occupation of the slopes. In combination with the architectural layout and organization, these structures are identified as private residences and the east slope functioned as the main residential area of the urban center.

In the saddle, the architectural survey revealed the remains of monumental structures in a defined, enlarged area with controlled access. The architectural plans of Buildings 2, 3, and 4 do not illuminate their possible functions, however, the plan of

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<sup>23</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 126; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 228; Haagsma et al. 2011, p.199.

<sup>24</sup> Lawrence (1979, p. 338) notes that postern gates are usually located at the end of streets to provide easy access. See Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 109.

<sup>25</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 230; Surtees 2012, pp. 246-249.

<sup>26</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 126-128; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 228.

<sup>27</sup> Surtees 2012, pp. 155-191, 227-230.

<sup>28</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 228; Surtees 2012, pp. 190, 230.

Building 1 is reminiscent of a stoa. The organization of the space suggests a public or civic function, likely an agora.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the good ground visibility in the saddle, artifact density was low and very few diagnostic sherds were collected (Fig. 3). The surface finds in this area, therefore, provide little insight into the function of this space or the individual buildings. Perhaps accumulated organic debris, possibly resulting from soil creep of surrounding slopes, buried the artifacts, resulting in a scarcity of surface artifacts.<sup>30</sup> The low density of surface finds, however, parallels the low number of subsurface finds revealed in the test trenches and corroborates limited or ephemeral activity in the saddle.<sup>31</sup> Whether the surface finds were buried, the space was cleared of remains, or the intensity and type of activities simply did not leave physical traces, this large central extended city block, with monumental architecture, suggests a public or civic function.<sup>32</sup>

While clearing the ground of vegetation in the southern part of the saddle, the Greek team uncovered the remains of numerous structures. In 2008, excavations conducted by the 15<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Larissa identified Building 5 as a sanctuary dedicated to an unknown deity and the connecting Building 6 as a complex of small rooms surrounding a courtyard, perhaps to accommodate public or religious gatherings.<sup>33</sup> In contrast to the remains in the north, the density of surface artifacts scattered amongst these buildings was high and may signify a more frequent and different range of activities than in adjacent areas.<sup>34</sup> Twenty percent of the surface finds

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<sup>29</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 115-122; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 228; Haagsma et al. 2011, pp. 199-201.

<sup>30</sup> The extent of low energy soil creep is dependent on topographical factors (slope) as well as climate and vegetal covering of the surface (see James et al. 1994, p. 413; Allen 1991, pp. 43-44; Poesen et al. 1995, p. 345; Rick 1976, p. 134). All these factors were recorded during the survey and later analyzed statistically by L. Surtees (2012).

<sup>31</sup> Haagsma et al. 2011, p. 204; Surtees 2012, p. 231.

<sup>32</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 115; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, p. 228; Haagsma et al. 2011.

<sup>33</sup> Haagsma et al. 2011, pp. 202-204; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 124-125.

<sup>34</sup> Haagsma et al. 2011, p. 204.

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collected in this area were tablewares and drinking vessels. Around these buildings, the predominant type of ceramics in the surface assemblage were drinking and dining vessels. Their presence may suggest the occurrence of feasting as part of ritual practices in the vicinity of the sanctuary.

With the exception of pockets of architecture in close proximity to defensive structures along the periphery, the western slopes are vacant. The scattered nature of the architectural remains may be the product of arrested or restricted urban development in this area of the city. The surface artifacts, similar in composition to the domestic assemblages from the east slope, were found concentrated around extant architecture. The domestic character of the assemblage implies a residential nature; perhaps these walls represent the remains of living quarters. In the absence of individual floor plans, however the use of these structures cannot be definitively identified. The westward orientation of the towers along the *diateichisma* implies vulnerability of the western fortification.<sup>35</sup> On the west slope, the limited construction and the scarcity of finds associated with open spaces may imply that it was intentionally left vacant as a security precaution or as a place of refuge.

The results of the survey, therefore, provide us with a sense of the spatial organization of the city and *loci* of activities. The urban center was laid out on a grid system, which appears to have extended across the site with sectors of the city reserved for specific activities, including residential, industrial, civic, religious, and perhaps military uses.

The chronology of occupation is deduced from some of the datable artifacts and demonstrates physical shifts in habitation of the city over time. Although only a small portion of the finds from the surface survey is datable within a limited temporal range, the distribution of ceramics clearly shows occupation from the Late Classical through the Late Hellenistic period (Fig. 4). Material from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is best represented across the entire site while later

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<sup>35</sup> Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 110.

material is only scarcely represented on the east slope.<sup>36</sup> By the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, it is possible that the city was reduced in size, its agora becoming abandoned and its focus shifted to the eastern sector, which continued to be occupied for a few more generations before its subsequent abandonment.<sup>37</sup>

The urban survey at Kastro Kallithea, therefore, provides evidence for understanding the function and chronology of this ancient urban center. Very little is known historically about Kastro Kallithea, and therefore, neither the impetus for its foundation nor the city's founder can be deduced from the survey data. In the Hellenistic period, heavy fortifications and the implementation of grid planned cities required substantial resources and collaboration. Some wealthy cities were able to finance their own building projects, but more often, building costs were so great that patronage, particularly by royalty, was necessary.<sup>38</sup> It is unlikely that the rural population of Kastro Kallithea had sufficient funds to initiate this building project independently.

The foundation date coincides with similar building activity in the region by Demetrios Poliorketes as he 'liberated' the Thessalian cities in Achaia Phthiotis.<sup>39</sup> Demetrios seems to have recognized the importance of passage through the Othrys Mountains for defensive and possibly commercial endeavors.<sup>40</sup> The urban expansion of the existing citadel at Kastro Kallithea, approximately 300 B.C., coincides roughly with other building projects and activity by him in the region. He or another political leader or king, perhaps Kassander, may have had a hand in the decision to build the city at this strategic location.<sup>41</sup> Parallels may

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<sup>36</sup> Haagsma et al., forthcoming; Haagsma et al. 2012, pp. 204-205; Surtees 2012, p. 244.

<sup>37</sup> Haagsma et al. 2011, pp. 204, 206-207.

<sup>38</sup> Reinders, 1988, p. 182; Loots et al. 2000, p. 614; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 131.

<sup>39</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.110.2; Reinder 1988, pp. 167-169; Wieberdink 1990, pp. 50-51; Reinders 2003, p. 231; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 132.

<sup>40</sup> Reinders 1988, p. 24; Wieberdink 1990, pp. 50-51; Cantarelli 1992; 1999; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 95-96; Tziafalias et al. 2006b, pp. 230-231.

<sup>41</sup> These kings had established a policy of establishing new settlements. Reinders 1988, pp. 166-169; Batziou-Efstahiou 2002, p. 9; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, p. 132;



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be drawn between Kastro Kallithea and other cities in Achaia Phthiotis and neighboring regions and may shed light on the historical environment in which the city was constructed and by whom.

If correctly identified as Peuma, Kastro Kallithea was able to quickly establish itself as an independent town. Within a generation of its foundation, Peuma, based on inscriptional evidence, had established itself as a *polis* and attempted to expand into the territories of neighboring city-states.<sup>42</sup> The city prospered immediately following its foundation, which may be related to the independence experienced by Achaia Phthiotis in the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, possibly related to the brief reign of Demetrios. The establishment, relatively short-lived occupation, and subsequent abandonment of the well-planned and constructed Kastro Kallithea may have been part of a larger reorganization of the population occurring at this time throughout Achaia Phthiotis.

### Thessaly

In assessing the possible shift in settlement patterns towards urban centers and the construction of Kastro Kallithea, it is necessary to contextualize the site within its regional environment. As the region was of strategic importance to the Hellenistic kings, in terms of location and resources, they may have invested in fortifying Thessaly. Increasing hostilities amongst the Macedonian kings and external powers led to the construction of well-planned fortified cities as symbols of liberation, loyalty, and security against internal and external threats. Goritsa, for example, may have been one of the first new cities in Thessaly to be established with royal patronage. It has been proposed that the town was constructed as part Philip II's fortifying of Magnesia in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. B.C.<sup>43</sup> Another king,

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Tziafalias et al. 2006b, pp. 231; Haagsma 2010, pp. 110-115.

<sup>42</sup> Ager 1996, pp. 99-103; Décourt et al. 2004, p. 716; Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pp. 92-93.

<sup>43</sup> Dem. 1.22; Bakhuizen 1992, pp. 213-226, 313-316; Shipley (2000, p. 91) suggests

Demetrios Poliorketes, seems to have invested considerably in this region of Thessaly with the establishment of the Macedonian capital at Demetrias, the fortification of Larissa Cremaste, and possibly the construction of New Halos, if not others as well.<sup>44</sup>

The new Macedonian capital of Demetrias, second only to the capital of Pella was the result of a synoikism of 13 villages, including the acquisition of the port of Pagasae.<sup>45</sup> Its central location and access to the sea were principal considerations for its establishment as the exploitation of the sea and harbor by the Macedonians led to economic prosperity for these previously stagnant or struggling economies and for the monarchy. After Demetrios' death, the city continued to prosper and with its economic growth, the city expanded until its heavy fortification walls enclosed a total area of 440 ha and new civic and religious structures, such as a theater, sanctuaries, and *heröon*, were constructed for a growing cosmopolitan population.<sup>46</sup> As a Macedonian capital, the royal palace, centrally located on a slightly raised plateau spread out over a series of terraces, served as a residence and an administrative center. Its dominant position within the city showcased the authority of the king. At the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. when the palace was fortified, it became its own entity within the city, thereby signifying the upheaval and tension of the period while simultaneously visually reiterating royal authority.<sup>47</sup> In the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., the urban space of Demetrias was reorganized and the occupied area was retracted.<sup>48</sup> It is likely that waning Macedonian

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it may be ancient Orminion founded by Demetrios I to guard the bay.

<sup>44</sup> Reinders 1988, pp. 169-170, 182-183; Marzloff 1994, p. 60; Reinders 2003b, pp. 231, 240. Demetrios was also involved in the relocation of the city at Sikyon in the Corinthia, which was renamed Demetrias. See Plut. *Dem. Pol.* 25.2; Diod. Sic. 20.102.2.

<sup>45</sup> Stählin 1967, p. 68; Marzloff 1994, p. 60. Strabo (9.5.15) lists Rhizus, Nelia, Ormenious, Pagasae, Boebe, Sepias, Iolkos and Olizon. Other cities were incorporated at a later date including: Homolion, Kasthanaea, Airole, Koroke and the Apollo oracle and Spalanthra and the temple of Artemis Soteria.

<sup>46</sup> Marzloff 1994, pp. 59-60; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002.

<sup>47</sup> Marzloff 1994, pp. 61-66; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, pp. 19-26.

<sup>48</sup> Marzloff 1994, pp. 65-66; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, p. 15.

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power and external political influences were factors in the contraction of the city and port.

At New Halos, H. Reinder Reinders, the director of the excavations, has argued that the Hellenistic city was re-founded by Demetrios Poliorketes after his standoff with Kassander in the Almiros Plain in 302 B.C.<sup>49</sup> Having liberated the Thessalian cities to the south, Demetrios Poliorketes may have planned New Halos in its specific location to protect the southern part of the Almiros Plain and passage to Thermopylae.<sup>50</sup> Around 265 B.C., the lower city was abandoned, probably as a result of an earthquake and only the southeast gate was re-occupied and functioned as a farmstead.<sup>51</sup> The majority of the population dispersed throughout the territory, however, it is likely that they continued to identify with the town as a political and social entity even in the absence of a functioning urban center. Taxation, economic reliance on pastoralism, limited control over agricultural resources, and the subsequent lack of investment in the urban center by its inhabitants may have caused the city of Halos to fail.<sup>52</sup>

The instability and hostility of the Early Hellenistic period, led older well-established settlements, like Pharsalos, to be fortified although the source of their patronage is unknown. At Pharsalos, the urban space was extended down the slopes of the acropolis and the lower city was laid out on a grid.<sup>53</sup> The expansion of the urban space suggests increased occupation, which was likely drawn from the surrounding villages and countryside. At the time of its refurbishment, Pharsalos was a strategic pro-Macedonian city and support for this project likely came from royal or aristocratic patronage.<sup>54</sup>

By fortifying Thessaly, the kings were able to provide a sense

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<sup>49</sup> Reinders 1988, pp. 169-170.

<sup>50</sup> Reinders 1988, p. 183; Reinders 2003, pp. 231-232.

<sup>51</sup> Reinders 2003, pp. 32-33.

<sup>52</sup> Haagsma 2010, pp. 271-272.

<sup>53</sup> Katakota and Toufexis 1994, p. 192; Décourt et al. 2004, p. 704.. The grid can be ascertained in a few places because of the development of modern Pharsala on top of the ancient city.

<sup>54</sup> Stählin 1914, p. 19; Stählin 1967, p. 139; Décourt et al. 2004, p. 703.

of security and thus bolstering loyalty, while protecting their own territorial investment, organizing and controlling the local population, reaping the benefits of agricultural production and commerce through taxation and regulation of the markets, and displaying their authority. Fortifications of these cities, therefore, played an important defensive role but were also embedded with multiple tiers of practical and symbolic ideology.

Each of these Thessalian cities experienced renewal, expansion, or was founded as part of urban growth during the Early Hellenistic period. Kastro Kallithea's occupation and subsequent abandonment fits into this pattern of settlement shifts. The late 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. witnessed the relocation, overhaul, or construction of new towns throughout Thessaly, all of which were heavily fortified. The decline or abandonment of some of these cities did not occur until the establishment of peace and the reorganization of the Thessalian League by the Roman Flaminius in 197 B.C.<sup>55</sup> while some of the larger economic centers, such as Phthiotic Thebes and Demetrias continued to be occupied.<sup>56</sup>

## Conclusions

Achaia Phthiotis experienced a period of intensive urbanization during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period, which saw the establishment of new urban centers and the refurbishment of older ones. Political upheaval and military hostilities brought local and regional populations together behind heavy fortifications. In the absence of regional survey data on the organization of the Hellenistic Thessalian countryside, it is not possible to identify the intricacies of settlement patterns outside of the urban centers or the relationship between the urban center and countryside during this period. Based on an investigation of

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<sup>55</sup> Graninger 2010, p. 323.

<sup>56</sup> Grohmann 1934, pp. 1585-1586; Stählin 1967, p. 96; Marzolff 1994, pp. 65-66; Batziou-Efstahiou 2002, p. 15.

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archaeological remains of cities, for example Kastro Kallithea, Demetrias, New Halos, and Pharsalos, it can be asserted that a surge towards urban living existed during the early years of Macedonian domination and, in some cases, may have been initiated by the kings for political gain, economic prosperity, and security, which often had far reaching consequences for the population.<sup>57</sup> By the early second century, political powers had waned and shifted, and as a result people appear to have left the walled cities. This transition is witnessed at many urban centers in Thessaly, including Kastro Kallithea, as well as other regions in the Hellenistic world.<sup>58</sup> Instead of concluding that this is the result of a population decline as has been previously suggested,<sup>59</sup> we suggest that the urban centralization intensified even further during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., with a presumed increase in urban occupation of the larger urban centers in Thessaly, such as Larissa and Phthiotic Thebes, and/or the population spread out over the countryside indicating a transformation in use of the rural areas.<sup>60</sup>

The urban survey at Kastro Kallithea provides excellent evidence for the history of occupation, the conception and utilization of its urban space, and how it was manipulated by its inhabitants over time. Through both the study of the architectural remains and the distribution of surface artifacts, we have been able to reconstruct the spatial organization of the city and identify activities, particularly residential, civic, religious, and industrial as well as chronological fluctuations in the use of the space. Our evidence verifies that the entire city was inhabited during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., but later certain areas were reconfigured or went out of use while occupation continued in the eastern residential district until the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>61</sup>

The organization of the urban environment at Kastro Kallithea parallels that of other cities in Thessaly and Greece. The founding of Kastro Kallithea was part of a larger shift towards

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<sup>57</sup> Haagsma 2010.

<sup>58</sup> Alcock 1994, pp. 184-185.

<sup>59</sup> Alcock 1994, p. 179.

<sup>60</sup> Stewart 2007, pp. 178-181; Haagsma et al. 2011, p. 207.

<sup>61</sup> Haagsma et al. 2011, pp. 205, 207; Surtees 2012, pp. 244-246.

urban living. The emergence of new fortified cities throughout the landscape must have altered inter-polity economic and political relations. In order to explore the complexities of the urban development of Kastro Kallithea, further investigations at the site as well as throughout the region are required to understand how political and socio-economic structures contributed to fluctuations in settlement patterns, local and regional economies, trade, and communication. The urban survey at Kastro Kallithea has enriched our understanding of this Hellenistic city but also shown its implications for local and regional environment within this under explored region of Greece.

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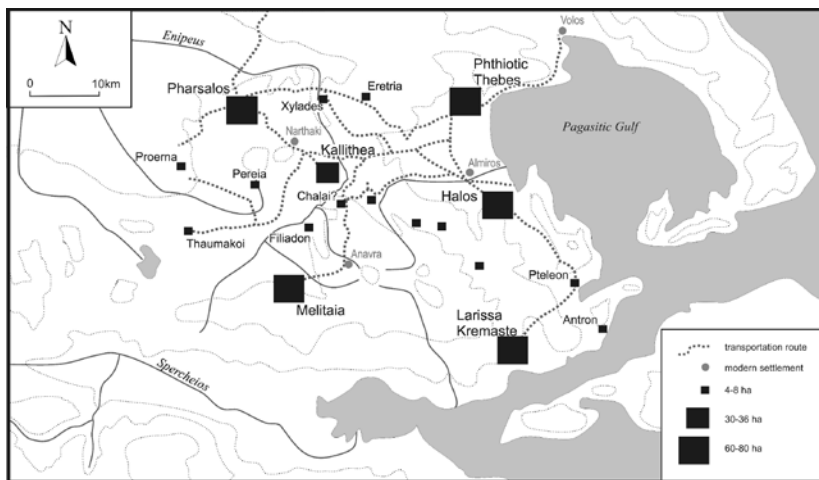


Figure 1. Map of major cities of Achaia Phthiotis during the Classical and Hellenistic period (after Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pl. 1)

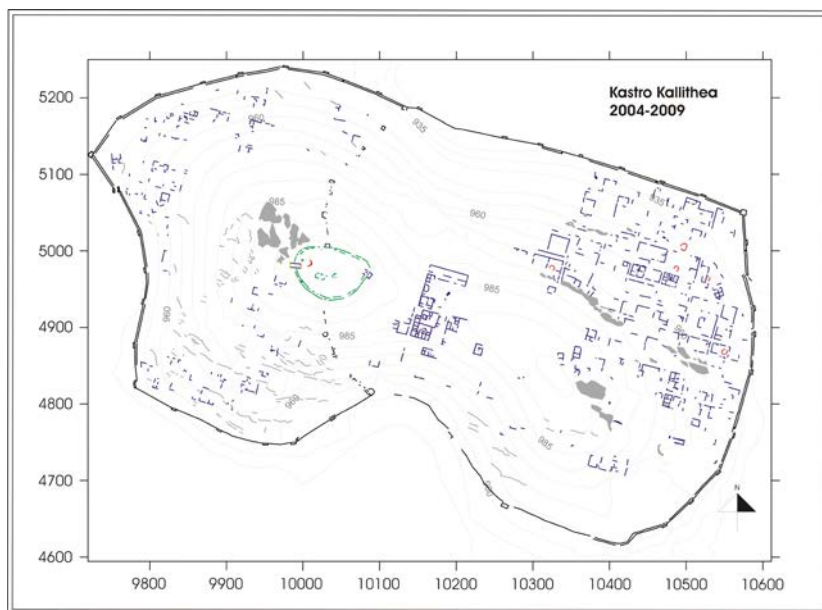


Figure 2. Plan of Kastro Kallithea with proposed street plan imposed across the site (map based on S. Gouglas with additions by M. J. Haagsma)

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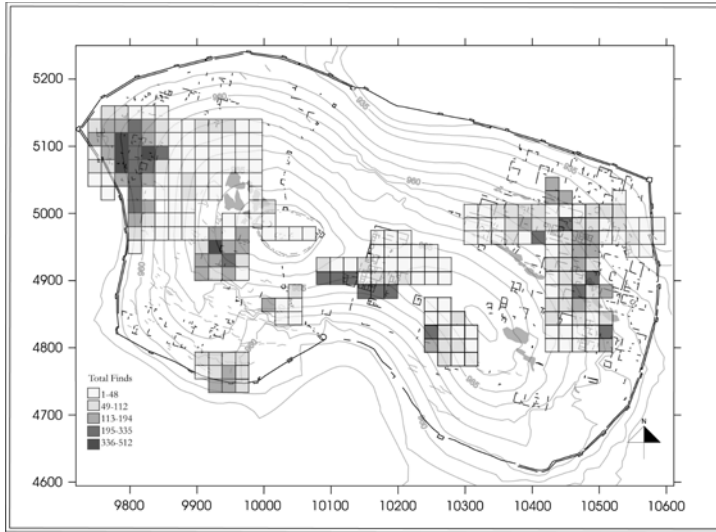


Figure 3. Distribution of artifact density in the surveyed units (map based on S. Gouglas with data by L. Surtees)

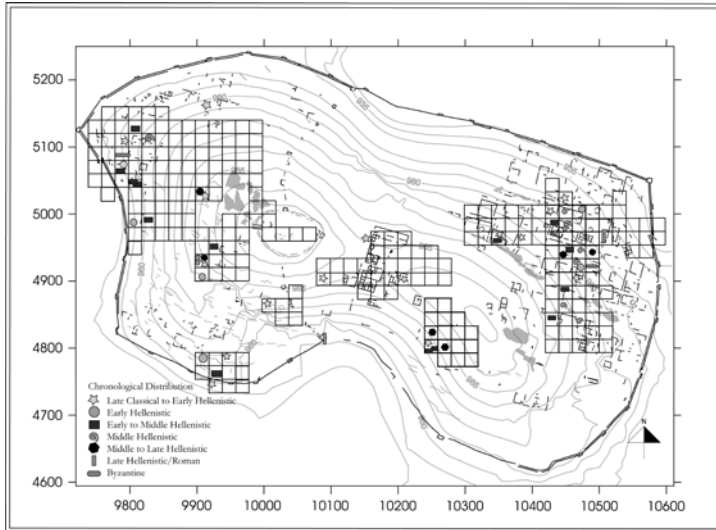


Figure 4. Chronological distribution of artifacts in surveyed units (map based on S. Gouglas with data by L. Surtees)