УДК 903'13(4-191.2)"634"

Vita Antiqua,
№ 10, 2018, p. 48-60

***Goce Naumov*[1]**

The Formation of Wetland Identities in the Neolithic Balkans

The so called 'Neolithic Package' in the Balkans did not introduce only economic advantages and novelties, but also had a significant social impact onto the communities that inhabited this region. The interaction between indigenous population and migrants in the Early Neolithic initiated new notion of identity established on trade, exchange, labor, ideology and on the production of material culture. Consequently the first farming communities were socially modified and many new were created as the agriculture, domestication, clay objects, human representations and intramural burials progressed in various areas of the Balkans. Thus the identity was subsequently incorporated in various aspects of Neolithic life, and in the archaeologically was mainly observed through material culture i.e. architecture, decorated pottery, house models, stamps and human representations in particular. But beside these distinct signposts of identity, there were not much studies focused on landscape and spatial patterns as other means of identification between societies and environment. Nevertheless, the recent research indicates that there was preference of particular geographical setting that contributed in the formation of identities that were simultaneously transmitted onto the settlement features and material culture.

It is evident that particular Early Neolithic societies dispersed in different wetland regions of the Balkans were establishing tells, built houses with specific structures, produced pottery with distinct patterns and modeled anthropomorphic and house representations. Such societies apparently maintained economic networks with other communities and especially were intensified with those inhabiting wetlands and lakesides. They deliberately accented its discrete identity throughout painted vessels, house models, stamps and figurines and some of them bear evident reminiscences of Neolithic visual culture from the wetland communities in Anatolia. Therefore this paper will mainly consider the formation of wetland identities in the Neolithic Balkans and will discuss its complex character within the networking that regarded merely particular spheres of the societies. These wetland communities interacted in the domain of economy and exchange of goods, but the major social and symbolic distinctiveness was reflected onto architecture and material culture. In this context the painted pottery, house models, figurines and stamps from the Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania will be mainly concerned as it gives a broad overview of units and clusters of societies which shared similar identities sometimes associated with those established in Turkey and Anatolia in particular.

Key words: *Neolithic, tell, wetland archaeology, Neolithization, Balkans*

Neolithic Wetlands and Tells

Traditionally the wetlands and tells were studied separately as different units belonging to diverse environment. The wetlands were identified with pile-dwellings and societies that interacted with marshes and lakes, while tells were understood as settlements established in drylands and inhabited by communities that were not related to larger water areas and its resources (Garašanin 1979; Sanev 1994). Consequently, these seemingly diverse social settings were explored with different methods and perspectives thus accenting the different conditions that could affect the dissimilarity of wetland and dryland societies. The pile-dwelling communities were perceived as sort of isolated societies, majorly interacting in the realms of wetland landscape and therefore were studied as a separate phenomenon in archaeology (Menotti 2012; Menotti and O'Sullivan 2013). This was also due to the richness of archaeological and environmental data that could be obtained from the organic remains in the pile-dwellings and the potentials for thorough examination and interpretation of the communities that established such settlements.

On the other hand, tells were studied as dryland sites as the recent landscape indicates vast valleys consisted only of rivers as major water resources. Consequently, they were explored in relation to other 'dryland' sites and not understood as isolated social units, but as societies that dynamically interacted in broader geographical range (Hofmann et al. 2012, Rosenstock 2009). But the current geoarchaeological research indicates that the alluvial valleys where a large number of tells were established since the Early Neolithic were actually wetlands consisted of broad marshes and lakes (Alexakis et al. 2011). In spite of pile-dwelling communities that built houses on wooden platforms next to water basins the tell societies

[1] Centre for Prehistoric Research, Republic of Macedonia

established mounds on dry ground consisted of mud-brick and wattle-and-daub buildings close to marshes and fertile soil. The inhabitants of tells and pile-dwellings just executed different modes in adaptation of their practices related to water-logged areas and its resources.

Therefore the tell societies should be observed also as wetland societies as majority of their resources was associated with marshes from flooding rivers and lakes. They were frequently interacting with the water and adjusted its spatial organization and economy in relation to wetlands. Some of the tells also could have pilled buildings as some research indicated (Lera et al. 2002; Chrysostomou et al. 2015; Naumov and Tomaz 2015), but due to atmospheric conditions in Southeast Europe and Near East the organic material decays faster. In the lower parts of some tells the communities built pilled constructions as frequently water was reaching the periphery of the settlements or dug ditches in order to stop the dispersion of floods into the living area. If such strategy is considered the tell societies differ from pile-dwelling communities in terms of direct approach to waters, so that pile-dwellers were occupying the watered space, while those living in mounds were trying to function on its margins in order to be near to fertile soil for agriculture.

Such strategy can be determined for the Neolithic tell societies in Anatolia, a region that functions as initial area for the Neolithization process in the Southeast Europe. It could be proposed that along this process that involves farming, domestication, daubed houses, pottery, tools, stamps and figurines, also the similar practices of establishing tells in wetlands were transposed to the Balkans as well as this model is evidenced in the regions of Thessaly, Pelagonia, Korça, Mačva etc. (Naumov *in press*). As particular example the site of Çatalhöyük will be given that is consisted of Early Neolithic tell in wetland area and has distinct similarities with the architecture, vessels, stamps and human representations in some of the aforementioned regions of Southeast Europe. There are also other Neolithic sites in the Anatolian region of Konya (where Çatalhöyük is positioned), as well as in the Aegean and Western parts of Turkey, where tells of equivalent natural and cultural setting are registered, but the focus will be on Çatalhöyük due to most thorough data so far provided from several decades of continuous research of this significant site (Mellaart 1967; Hodder 2014a).

Until the recent geoarchaeological survey of the area around Çatalhöyük, the Konya region in general was regarded as dryland plain with several rivers and particularly Çarşamba that flows in between the East and West mounds of the site. The excavations of James Mellaart were mainly focused on the architecture and art of this settlement and did not considered the environmental features associated with the site formation and its location (Mellaart 1967). But the multidisciplinary research of Ian Hodder and his large team that was ongoing in the last 25 years obtained more detailed insight of Çatalhöyük and its economy, social relationships, material culture, rituals, human representations and the environment in particular (Hodder 2014b). Such scientific approach indicates the complexity and momentous role that this site has in the region and its impact in the westward process of the Neolithization. In such setting the majority of cultural and economic potentials were due to its location and resources the communities had in the natural surroundings. The geoarchaeological and archeobotanic research of Çatalhöyük team demonstrate that the site was established next to a wetland created by the flooding Çarşamba river (Ayala et al 2017). Southeast from the site near to Neolithic settlement of Pinarbaşi there was a smaller lake and surrounding marshes that are absent now (Assouti and Hather 2001). Apparently the environment nowadays is significantly changed as the Çarşamba river and smaller lake in the foothills of Karadağ dried out.

It is evident that such natural setting in the Neolithic alluvial plains full of rivers, fans, marshes and small lakes was attractive for the first farming communities in Anatolia as it provided variety of resources, such as cereals, reed, clay, pasturages, fish, birds, amphibians and particularly fresh water. As result to such abundant surrounding the settlements were occupied for several centuries and in the case of Çatalhöyük for more than millennium (Baylis et al. 2015; Orton et al. *in prep*). The fertile environment was reason for continual inhabitation of the site that in the Late Neolithic was relocated from East to the West Mound and continued its occupation into the Chalcolithic (Biehl at al. 2012). In this millennium long occupation of the site the inhabiting community developed a wide range of objects that had unified and distinct visuality that was changed rarely i.e. in the turn from Neolithic to Chalcolithic around 6000 BC. Until this turning social and economic point, caused most likely by the climatic 8.2 event (Willet et al. 2016), there were apparent features of architectural, material and ritual identity.

The buildings, mainly used for dwelling, were made of mud bricks, with number of interior installations such as ovens, bins, platforms etc.; the pottery was produced in shapes that will become a reference for the Early Neolithic; the stamps had distinctive design; figurines majorly outlined the sexless and female bodies; and burials were often performed within the buildings.[1] Although some

[1] The data from excavation results is published in the Catalhoyuk Archive Reports: http://www.catalhoyuk.com/research/archive_reports

of these elements could be also found in other Near East regions, still the features present at Çatalhöyük were majorly common for this site. As it will become evident, many of these features will be later reproduced and practiced in the Neolithic of Southeast Europe and especially in the regions of Thessaly, Korça and Pelagonia. This is further supported by the recent archaeogenetic studies that indicate presence of Anatolian y-haplogroups in the Balkans and the movement of farming population from nowadays central Turkey to Greece (Balaresque et al. 2010; Di Giacomo et al. 2004; King et al. 2008; Mathieson et al. 2018). Consequently to variety of archaeological and scientific data there is large consensus that Neolithization of Southeast Europe was influenced or initiated from Anatolia and that has significant impact on the first farming communities in the European continent (Garašanin 1979; Özdoğan 2014).

The direct and indirect transposition of architectonic, visual, symbolic and ritual features from Anatolia to Balkans was not only associated with material culture and buildings, but also with the modes of the settlements formations and locations for their establishment. The flourishing of art and economy in the Neolithic Balkans was not only based on advanced social practices, but also on the stability of resources for subsistence in the area where the settlements were established. For that purpose the wetlands were the most convenient areas for inhabitation in the Early Neolithic and it were most likely an occupation model that was preferred by Anatolian population that was established its first settlements in Southeast Europe.

The tell like settlements, usage of mud-bricks, construction of bins, pottery typology, stamp design, employment of clay sling shots, corpulent female figurines and intramural burials also practiced or produced in the Balkans further indicate the close relationship to the Neolithic of Anatolia and its societies (Garašanin 1979; Hodder 1990; Perlès 2001). Many of these features initially present in Çatalhöyük, and other Neolithic sites in Central and Western Turkey, were reproduced since the second half of 7th millennium BC in the first farming villages of Thessaly, Korça, Pelagonia and few more regions in the Balkans (Perlès 2001; Budja 2003; Naumov 2008). These Early Neolithic communities inhabited the valleys with wetlands and lakes and established there the tells that demonstrate continuous occupation evidenced by their height. In the Middle Neolithic the wetland societies started to build pile-dwellings and although relocated to larger lakes they maintained the close relationship with the communities still dwelling on tells in the valleys (Naumov 2016a).

Wetland Identities in the Balkans

The studies of material culture and architecture, as well as the archeogenetics indicate that there is communication between Anatolia and the Balkans. The striking similarity of some design, pottery typology and employment of tells, mud-brick and bins confirm close associations between these regions divided by the Aegean Sea. The genetic analyses demonstrate the gene flow from Anatolia to Balkans of population that used maritime routes for something that is considered as colonization (Pluciennik 2008; Paschou et al. 2014). There is a discussion whether such movement of population was migration, demic diffusion, colonization, infiltration, mobility or contacts and several models are proposed (Zvelebil 2001). Nevertheless, it is still hard to determine whether this process was rapid or slow, or whether there was direct impact of Anatolian population or just an establishment of networks that gradually incorporated the advantages of Near East to Europe. Although the radiocarbon dates, botanical and zoological data further contribute in better understanding of the Neolithization, the solid evidence for colonization or migration should be upgraded (Thorpe 1996; Zohary and Hopf 2000; Price 2000; Rowley-Conwy 2003; Reingruber and Thissen 2005). But despite these discussions the Anatolian influence in the Balkans is evident, and particularly among those societies that inhabited the wetlands in Thessaly, Pelagonia and Korça.

Anatolian migrants themselves or along with indigenous hunter-gathering communities transposed the crucial elements of the Neolithic to Southeast Europe, such as agriculture, stockbreeding, building of daub houses, clay installations, pottery, figurines and new tools, but also the life on tells that is based on the idea of constant occupation of one place and subsistence based on the surrounding resources. In that regard the wetlands were most suitable for the adequate transposition of so called 'Neolithic package' delivered from Anatolia. One of the first regions facing such impact was Thessaly, although some of the earliest Neolithic stages in Greece are also evidenced in Peloponnesus and Crete (Perlès 2001; Reingruber 2015). In spite of the regions in the Aegean, the farming societies in Thessaly were those most closely associated with Anatolia, and actually those that first incorporated the life on tells in Greece. The major reason for establishing the tell phenomenon and its composite advantages in the architecture and material culture is the location of these settlements in the wetlands.

Until the latest geoarchaeological research Thessaly was understood as dryland valley although there were attempts to indicate the waterlogged character of this region. The archaeologists focusing their work in Thessaly were mainly

concentrated on the settlement character and its material culture rather than on landscape and site formation process. This was indubitably helpful approach in order to understand the social, economic and ritual features of farming societies, and in a way it was reasonable due to dry character of Thessaly in the last century. Kimon Grundmann was one of the first and rare who indicated the presence of Lake Karla in the Thessalian plain that totally dried out in early 1960's (Grundmann 1937). Although his proposal of large lake in the Neolithic was discussed by few (Caputo et al. 1994; Helly et al. 1996; Perles 2001; Pentedeka 2015), still all agree in the existence of the lacustrine area in the plain. The recent research of Dimitrios Alexakis and his team that combine GIS, DEM, geomorphology and satellite image processing indicate the spatial distribution of Neolithic tells around the Lake Karla and vast exploitation of marshy areas that frequently flooded (Alexakis et al. 2011). The wetland environment was perfect setting for establishing approximately 400 Neolithic tells in Thessaly. Many were dated in the Early Neolithic, but also large number continued in remaining phases of the Neolithic and continued in the Chalcolithic (named as Final Neolithic in Greece) and Bronze Age.[2]

The continual occupation of tells demonstrates the stabile resources and potentials for enduring subsistence. Therefore it is not surprising that the Anatolian model of life on tells flourished in Thessaly and not in other regions in Greece that were part of the initial impact of the Neolithization. The transposition of such model required adequate environmental setting and consequently the wetlands of Thessaly were most closely related to landscape of Konya plain in Anatolia. Not surprisingly an abrupt establishment of tells appeared in this part of Greece that consists the largest density of Neolithic sites discovered. But these two distant regions were not only related in the level of landscape setting and the character of sites. Many of the buildings in Thessaly were constructed with mud-bricks, a material that was introduced from Asia Minor, and later discarded as the Neolithization progressed to northern Balkans (Souvatzi 2008). Also other items made of clay resemble those produced in several regions of Anatolia, such as pottery, figurines, stamps and sling shots (Perlès 2001; Budja 2008; Nanoglou 2006). Due to easier manipulation of this material, objects made of clay could easier transmit the notion of identity and therefore maintained the visible features common for distant regions. Some smaller items could be even brought from Anatolia (such as figurines and stamps) or reproduced in the process of interaction. That way the modes of identification of Thessalian societies with those in Anatolia could be preserved on a larger scale, although they decreased in the later stages of the Neolithic.

But this process of identification with Anatolia or at least maintenance of Anatolian traditions did not ended in Thessaly. It further progressed northwards in the Balkans in the areas where tells were established in wetlands and architecture and material culture resume the Anatolian i.e. Thessalian features. It is still hard to define whether these regions were inhabited initially by Anatolian population or the first farmers of Thessaly further progressed to Thessaloniki Plain, Amindeon, Korça and Pelagonia. The genetic studies still imply the presence of Anatolian genomes north of Thessaly (Mathieson et al. 2018), but that does not confirms the inhabitation of afore mentioned regions was exclusively by this population and not by those that already dwell in Thessaly and were introduced to farming and tell phenomenon. Whoever was migrating or just interacting with indigenous communities further north announced entirely the same set of Neolithic advantages including the life on tells in wetlands. This process also involved the partial transposition of identity both cultural and environmental. Consequently, the features of white painted pottery, house models and figurines common for Thessaly can be found in Amindeon, Korça and Pelagonia (Simoska and Sanev 1976; Korkuti 1995; Chrysostomou et al. 2015; Naumov 2016a). It should be also noted that the initial stages of the inhabitation of these regions are chronologically similar i.e. around 6000 BC, when tells at Anarghiri (Amindeon); Veluška Tumba, Optičari, Mogila and Vrbjanska Čuka (Pelagonia); and Vashtëmi and Podgori (Korça) were established (Bunguri 2014; Chrysostomou et al. 2015; Naumov 2016b).

Tells and pile-dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia

The Neolithic tells in the Republic of Macedonia are recorded in several areas, such as Skopje Valley, Ovče Pole, Polog and the highest quantity in Pelagonia. Although now dried, the wetlands were common environmental feature for all these regions. The tells in Skopje Valley were established around set of smaller lakes named as Katlanovo and Aračinovo (that have been dried in the middle of 20th century (Trifunovski 1955). The recent research indicates that many tells were positioned close to these lakes, but also to marshes made by the Vardar river (Coussot 2007; Coussot et al. 2007; Tolevski and Stančevski 2017). But in spite of other regions the current data demonstrate that majority of tells were established in the Middle Neolithic (Sanev 1988; Commenge 2009). This is not unexpected as the region is one of the most northern in the Republic of Macedonia and most likely the

[2] Recently some studies indicate the occupation of tells even in Iron Age (Whitley 2017).

flatlands were inhabited by first farmers a bit later than in the southern and eastern areas.

In regard to Early Neolithic the Ovče Pole region should be considered as the site of Amzabegovo is so far the one with the earliest dates. This settlement, to some a tell site (Rosenstock 2006), is positioned on the very beginning of the marshy area of Ovče Pole (Weide 1976). Established in the second half of 7th millennium BC this settlement maintained apparent relationship with tells down south in the Thessaloniki Plain (Naumov 2015), positioned in the vicinity of Lake Giannitsa and its marshes (Ghilardi et al. 2012). If white painted pottery is regarded in particular than its resemblance with design on Thessalian vessels is evident that also indicates transposition of the inhabitation model of tells in wetlands to Giannitsa and Ovče Pole regions.

But in terms of wetland archaeology and tell phenomenon the region of Pelagonia is the most intriguing. Pelagonia is largest valley in the Republic of Macedonia and has the highest density of tell sites; approximately 130 recorded so far (Simoska and Sanev 1976; Naumov 2016a). Majority are positioned around wetlands in the central part of the valley and some were occupied from 6000 BC until the Chalcolithic and few until Bronze Age (Naumov and Stojkoski 2015; Naumov 2016b). The survey performed in 1970's indicate the presence of large marshy lakes in the Neolithic, but also the maps from 19th and beginning 20th century illustrate the wetlands that have been dried in 1960's (Simoska and Sanev 1976; Kitanoski et al. 1980). The material culture produced by the first farming communities of Pelagonia is particularly distinct and demonstrate the apparent relationship with Thessaly although modified significantly in regard to local identities. But in spite of some evident differences in visual identities of northern and eastern agricultural societies from Pelagonia, the wetland farmers from this valley intensively interacted with pile-dwelling communities inhabiting lacustrine area of Lake Ohrid and its marshes (Naumov 2016c).

There is still no evidence that pile-dwellings were built in the Early Neolithic and according to current data the first settlements of this kind in the Balkans are dated in the Middle Neolithic (Naumov *in press*). The Early Neolithic settlements are recorded far from the nowadays lakeshore, i.e. in the alluvial valley and hills, but they consists buildings of wattle and daub (Kuzman 2016; Kuzman 2017). It should be considered that in this period the lakeshore could be further north and northeast making wetlands close to sites in now dry environment, but this should be (dis)confirmed with future geoarchaeological research. Even in this initial stages of the Neolithic of Ohrid region the farming communities had a solid network with wetland societies in Pelagonia and Korça region (in Albania), a tradition that lasted until Late Neolithic and concerned pile-dwellings as well (Naumov 2016a). The Middle Neolithic pile-dwellings are recorded in the northern part of the lake and only small area is excavated in order to determine the spatial organization of the settlements and the structure of buildings (Kuzman 2013). Due to lacustrine environment these societies established distinct identity, but it was partially related to that of Pelagonia, evidenced by pottery, stamps, figurines and anthropomorphic house models. In these terms although living in diverse landscapes these wetland societies divided by huge mountains maintained contacts and developed a network that concerned their identity as well.

Conclusion

The formation of identities is conventionally related to material culture and items or objects that were engaged in the social interaction. They can be modified and set to features that can emphasize the distinctiveness of an individual, community or society. But the archaeological research indicates that material culture is not the only reference to identity and that it can relate to landscape as well (Springs 2015). The communities can identify themselves to particular environment due to significance of resources they obtain or the symbolic components of sacred areas. In these terms the economy and religion can be essential in establishing social relationship with the environment and as such to be integrated in the notion of society and belonging. If such perspective is concerned it could be proposed that wetlands were an environmental reference in the establishment of identities in the Neolithic. The marshes made by flooding rivers or by the changes of lakeshores were an ideal subsistence resource for the farming communities that were seeking for solid ecological setting. The sustained access to fertile soil, water, fish, birds, frogs, shells, reed, clay and animals coming to drink water was designated environmental assemblage that was advocated by some of the agricultural societies.

In this manner tells established on wetlands regard a practice that was essentially associated with the identity based on landscape. Consequently the practice that was initiated in the Near East and particularly intensified in Anatolia was continuously reiterated along the process of Neolithization in Europe. Besides some similarities in terms of architecture and material culture the tell phenomenon was spread in Southeast Europe as part of so called 'Neolithic package', but not everywhere. This process mostly concerned flatlands with marshes where high density of tells was founded, as well as building features, figurines and patterned design on stamps and pottery related to those in Central Anatolia. Such inhabitation and identity model

from Konya plain in Anatolia is evidenced further in Thessaly and Thessaloniki plain (Greece), Maliq region (Albania), Pelagonia, Skopje valley and Ovče Pole valley (Republic of Macedonia), Struma valley (Bulgaria) and further modified in regions of Mačva (Serbia) and Lower Danube valley (Romania). Surely, there are many more regions in Southeast Europe that share this pattern and some that do not fit within, but it cannot be neglected as a phenomenon that appears since Early Neolithic and progresses with significant variability until the Late Neolithic or even in Chalcolithic of the Balkans. This model of tell societies identity based on wetland landscape should be further examined with particular case studies and additionally to explore it in terms of economy, social relationships and symbolic manifestations.

References:

Alexakis, D.; Sarris, A.; Astaras, T. and Albanakis, K. 2011. Integrated GIS, remote sensing and geomorphologic approaches for the reconstruction of the landscape habitation of Thessaly during the Neolithic period. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **38**: 89-100.

Assouti, E. and Hather, J. 2001. Charcoal analysis and the reconstruction of ancient woodland vegetation in the Konya Basin, south-central Anatolia, Turkey: results from the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük East. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* **10**: 23–32.

Ayala, G.; Wainwright, J.; Walker, J.; Hodara, R.; Lloyd, J. M.; Lend, M. and Doherthy, C. 2017. Paleoenvironmental reconstruction of the alluvial landscape of the Neolithic Çatalhöyük, central southern Turkey: The implications for early agriculture and responses to environmental changes. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **87**: 30-43.

Bayliss, A.; Brock, F.; Farid, S.; Hodder, I.; Southon, J. and Taylor, R. E. 2015. Getting to the Bottom of it All: A Bayesian Approach to the Starting of Journal of Çatalhöyük. *World Prehistory* **28**: 1-26.

Balaresque, P., Bowden, G. R., Adams, S., Leung, H., King, T., Roser, Z. T., Goodwin, J., Moisan, J., Richard, C., Millward, A., Demaine, A. G., Barbujani, G., Previdere, C., Wilson, I.J., Tyler-Smith, C., and Jobling, M. A. 2010. A Predominantly Neolithic Origin of European Paternal Lineages. PLoS Biology **8/1**: 1-9.

Biehl, P. F.;Franz, I.; Orton, D.; Ostaptchouk, S.; Rogasch, J. and Rosenstock, E. 2012. One community and two tells: The phenomenon of relocating tell settlements at the turn of the 7th and the 6th millennia in central Anatolia. In *Tells: Social and Environmental Space, Proceedings of the International Workshop 'Socio-Environmental Dynamics over the Last 12,000 Years: The Creation of Landscapes II (14th –18th March 2011)' in Kiel, Volume **3***, edited by Robert Hoffmann, Fevzi-Kemal Moetz and Johannes Müller, pp.53–65. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn.

Budja, M. 2003. Seals, Contracts and Tokens in the Balkans Early Neolithic. Documenta Praehistorica **XXX**: 115-130. Ljubljana.

Bunguri, A. 2014. Different models for the Neolithization of Albania. Documenta Praehistorica **41**: 79-94.

Caputo, R.; Bravard, J.P. and Helly, B. 1994. The Pliocene-Quaternary tectosedimentary evolution of the Larissa Plain (Eastern Thessaly, Greece). *Geodinamica Acta* **7(4)**: 219-231.

Chrysostomou, P.; Jagoulis, T. and Mäder, A. 2015. The 'Culture of Four Lakes': Prehistoric lakeside settlements (6th – 2nd millennium BC) in the Amindeon Basin, Western Macedonia, Greece. *Archäeologie Scweiz* **38 (3)**, 24-32.

Commenge, C. 2009. Neolithic Settlement Patterns in the Alluvial Plains of Macedonia: some insights from preliminary geoarchaeological examination of the basin of Skopje, Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In: De Dapper, M., Vermeulen, F., Deprez, S. and Taelman, D. (eds.) *Ol'Man River: Geo-Archaeological Aspects of Rivers and River Plains*: 229-240. Ghent: Ghent University.

Coussot, C.; Fouache, E.; Pavlopoulos, K. and Jovanović, M. 2007. Early Holocene environment in a subsidic Balkan greben (Skopje, FYROM): The case of Tumba Madzhari (5800-5300 BC). *Geodinamica Acta* **20 (4)**, 267-274.

Di Giacomo, F., Luca, F., Popa, L.O., Akar, N., Anagnou, N., Banyko, J., Brdicka, R., Barbujani, G., Papola, F., Ciavarella, G., Cucci, F., Di Stasi, L., Gavrila, L., Kerimova, M. G., Kovatchev, D., Kozlov, A. I., Loutradis, A., Mandarino, V., Mammi, C., Michalodimitrakis, E. N., Paoli, G., Pappa, K. I., Pedicini, G., Terrenato, G., Toffaneli, S., Malaspina, P. and Novelletto, A. 2004. Y Cheomosomal Haplogroup J As a Signature of the Post-Neolithic Colonization of Europe. Human Genetics **115**: 357 – 371.

Garašanin, M. 1979. Centralnobalkanska zona. In: Benac, A. (ed.) *Praistorija Jugoslavenskih Zemalja* II – Neolitsko doba: 79-212. Sarajevo: Akademija nauke i umetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ghilardi, M.; Psomiadis, D.; Cordier, S.; Delanghe-Sabatier, D.; Demory, F.; Hamidi, F.; Paraschou, T.; Dotsika, E. and Fouache, E. 2012. The impact of rapid early-to mid-Holocene palaeoenvironmental changes on Neolithic settlement at Nea Nikomideia, Thessaloniki Plain, Greece. *Quaternary International* **266**: 47-61.

Grundmann, K. 1937. Magula Hadzimissiotiki. Eine steinzeitlichen Siedlung im Karla-See. *Athenische Mitteilungen* **62**: 56–62.

Hodder, I. 1990. The Domestication of Europe. Hoboken: Willey and Blackwell.

Hodder, I. 2013. *Çatalhöyük Excavations: the 2000-2008 seasons: Çatal Research Project vol. **7***. London: British Institute at Ankara.

Hodder, I. 2014. *Integrating Çatalhöyük: themes from the 2000-2008 seasons: Çatal Research Project vol. **10***. London: British Institute at Ankara.

Hofmann, R.; Moetz, F. K. and Müller, J. 2012. *Tells: Social and Environmental Space*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt GMBH.

King, R. J., Özcan S. S., Carter, T., Kalfoglu, E., Atasoy, S., Triantaphyllidis, C., Kouvatsi, A., Lin, A. A., Chow, C-E. T., Zhivotovsky, L. A., Michalodimitrakis, M. and Underhill, P. A. 2008. Differential Y-chromosome Anatolian Influences on the Greek and Cretan Neolithic. Annals of Human Genetics **72**: 205-214. London.

Kitanoski, B., Simoska, D. and Todorović, J. 1980. Naselbata Pešterica i problemot na raniot neolit vo Pelagonija. *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* **6**: 9-20. Skopje.

Korkuti, M. 1995. *Neolithikum und Chalkolithikum in Albanien*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Kuzman, P. 2013. Praistoriski palafitni naselbi vo Makedonija. In Kuzman, P., Dimitrova, E. and Donev, J. (eds.) *Makedonija: mileniumski kulturno-istoriski fakti*, Skopje 297-430.

Kuzman, P. 2016. Od Zlastrana do Penelopa: neolitskite lokaliteti vo Ohridsko (I). In: Fidanoski, Lj, and Naumov, G. (eds.) *Neolitot vo Makedonija: novi soznanija i perspektivi*: 23-40. Skopje: Centar za istražuvanje na predistorijata.

Kuzman, P. 2017. Od Zlastrana do Penelopa: neolitskite lokaliteti vo Ohridsko (II). In Fidanoski, Lj, and Naumov, G. (eds.) *Neolitot vo Makedonija: čekor napred vo proučuvanjeto na prvite neolitski opštestva*: 9-42. Skopje: Centar za istražuvanje na predistorijata.

Lera, P.; Touchais, G.; Gardeisen, A.; Renard, J. and Szepertyski, B. 2002. Sovjan (Albanie). *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* **126 (2)**: 627-645.

Mathieson, I. et al. 2018. The Genomic History of Southeastern Europe. *Nature* **555**: 197-203.

Mellaart, J. 1967. *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Menotti, F. 2012. *Wetland Archaeology and Beyond: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Menotti, F. and O'Sullivan, A. 2013: *The Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nanoglou, B. 2008. Building Biographies and Households: Aspects of community life in Neolithic northern Greece. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **8 (1)**: 139-160.

Naumov, G. 2008. Imprints of the Neolithic Mind: Clay seals from the Neolithic Macedonia. *Documenta Praehistorica* **XXXV**: 185 – 204. Ljubljana.

Naumov, G. 2015. Early Neolithic Communities in the Republic of Macedonia. *Archeologické Rozhledy* **LXVII (2015/3)**: 331-355. Prague.

Naumov, G. 2016a. Among Wetlands and Lakes: the network of Neolithic communities in Pelagonia and Lake Ohrid, Republic of Macedonia. In Bacvarov, K. and Gleser, P. (eds.) *Southeast Europe and Anatolia in prehistory: essays in honor of Vassil Nikolov on his 65th anniversary:* , 175-187. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt.

Naumov, G. 2016b. Tell communities and wetlands in the Neolithic Pelagonia, Republic of Macedonia. *Documenta Praehistorica* **43**: 327-342.

Naumov, G. 2016c. Prähistorische Feuchtgebiete und Phahlbauten im Ohrid-see, Republik Mazedonien. *Plattform* **23**: 4-14.

Naumov, G. *in press.* Neolithic wetland and lakeside settlements in the Balkans. Dolbunova, E.; Mazurkievich, A. and Hafner, A. (eds.) *Settling watery landscapes in Europe: archaeology of pile-settlements of Neolithic-Bronze Age. Leeds: Maney Publishing*

Naumov, G. and Stojkoski, S. 2015. Novi predistoriski tumbi vo Pelagonija. *Zbornik na NU Zavod i muzej – Bitola* **16**: 169-185. Bitola.

Naumov, G. and Tomaž, A. 2015. The Excavation of 'Shkolska Tumba' in Mogila. *Patrimonium* **13**: 67-96.

Orton, D.; Anvari, J.; Bogaard, A.; Gibson, C.; Last, J.; Rosenstock, E. and Biehl, P.F. *In preparation*. Dating the Çatalhöyük West Mound.

Paschou, P.; Drineas, P. Yannaki, Y.; Razou, A.; Kanaki, K.; Tsetsos, F.; Sampath Padmanabhuni, S.; Michalodimitrakis, M.; Renda, M.C.; Pavlovic, S.; Anagnostopoulos, A.; Stamatoyannopoulos, J. A.; Kidd, K.K. and Stamatoyannopoulos, G. 2014. Maritime Routes of Colonization of Europe. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* **111 (25)**: 9211-9216.

Pentedeka, A. 2015. Technological and Provenance Study of the Visviki Magoula Ceramic Assemblage. In: E. Alram-Stern and A. Dousougli-Zachos (eds.), *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen 1941 auf der Visviki-Magula / Velestino. Die neolith-ischen Befunde und Funde. Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes* **36**: 222–297. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.

Perlès, C. 2001. *The Early Neolithic in Greece. The first farming communities in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pluciennik, M. *2008*. Hunter-Gatherers to Farmers? In: Jones, A. (ed.) Prehistoric Europe: Theory and Practice: 16-34. Chichester: Willey-Blackwell.

Price, D. T. 2000. Europe's First Farmers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reingruber, A. 2015. Preceramic, Aceramic or Early Ceramic? The radiocarbong dated beginning of the Neolithic in the Aegean. *Documenta Praehistorica* **42**: 147-157.

Reingruber, A. and Thissen, L. 2005 (on line). Aegean Catchment (E. Greece, S. Balkans and W. Turkey) 10 000 – 5 500 cal BC. http://www.canew.org/data.html Rosenstock 2006

Rosenstock, E. 2009. *Tells in Südwestasien und Süosteuropa: Verbreitung, Entstehung und Definition eines Siedlungsphänomens*. Urgeschichtliche Studien II: Grunbach.

Rowley-Conwy, P. 2003. Early Domestic Animals in Europe: Imported or Locally Domesticated? In: Ammerman, A. J. and Biagi, P. 2003. The Widening Harvest: The Neolithic Transition in Europe: Looking Back, Looking Forward: 99-117. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Sanev, V. 1988. Neolitskoto svetilište od "Tumba" vo Madjari. *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* **9**: 9-30.

Sanev, M. *1994*. Mlado kameno vreme, Arheološka karta na Repblika Makedonija – Tom **I**: 26-42. Skopje: MASA.

Simoska, D. and Sanev, V. 1976. *Praistorija vo Centralna Pelagonija*. Bitola: Naroden Muzej.

Souvatzi, S. 2008. *A Social Archaeology of Households in Neolithic Greece: An Anthropological Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Springs, K. D. 2015. *Landscape and identity : archaeology and human geography*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Thorpe, I. J. 1996. The Origins of Agriculture. London: Routledge

Tolevski, I. and Stančevski, I. 2017. Katlanovo Lake-Swamp and its Surrounding: cultural impulses from the Neolithic Period. In Fidanoski, Lj, and Naumov, G. (eds.) *Neolitot vo Makedonija: čekor napred vo proučuvanjeto na prvite neolitski opštestva*: 43-56. Skopje: Centar za istražuvanje na predistorijata.

Trifunovski , F. J. 1955. *Seoska naselja Skopskog Polja: antropogeneza ispitivanja*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.

Weide, D. 1976. Climatic Conditions. In Gimbutas, M. (ed.) *Anza, Neolithic Macedonia, As reflected by Excavation at Anza, Southeast Yugoslavia*: 283-293. Los Angeles: The Regents of the University of California.

Whitley, J. 2017. *The end of the tells: the Iron Age 'Neolithic' in the central and northern Aegean*. In: Bickle, P.; Cummings, V.; Hofmann, D. and Joshua, J. (eds.) *The Neolithic of Europe: Papers in Honour of Alasdair Whittle*: 24-33. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Willett, P., Franz, I., Kabukcu, C., Orton, D., Rogasch, J., Stroud, E., Rosenstock, E. and Biehl, P. 2016. The aftermath of the 8.2 Event: Cultural and Environmental Effects in the Anatolian Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic. In *Climate and Cultural Change in Prehistoric Europe and the Near East*, edited by Biehl, P.F. and Nieuwenhuyse, O., pp. 95–115. SUNY Press, New York.

Zohary, D. and Hopf, M. 2000. Domestication of Plants in the Old World: The Origins and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe and Nile Valley. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zvelebil, M. 2001. The agricultural transition and the origins of Neolithic society in Europe. Documenta Praehistorica **XXVIII**: 1-26. Ljubljana.

Гоце Наумов

Формування заплавних ідентичностей у балканському неоліті

Формування ідентичностей опосередковано пов'язано з матеріальною культурою, а саме предметами або об'єктами, які відігравали певну роль у соціальній взаємодії. Ці предмети та об'єкти могли підкреслювати відмінність певної особистості, спільноти чи суспільства, а тому їх можливо віднести до визначальних рис певної групи. Археологічні дослідження показують, що не тільки матеріальна культура, а і ландшафтні особливості, в яких мешкає колектив, можуть виступати виразом ідентичностей груп. Спільноти можуть ідентифікувати себе з певним середовищем з причини важливості отримуваних ресурсів або через символічне значення територій, які вважаються священними. Можливо припустити, що водно-болотяні території могли виступати екологічною базою для виникнення ряду ідентичностей в неоліті. Заболочені території річкових та озерних заплав були ідеальним джерелом основних ресурсів для ранньоземлеробських спільнот, які потребували стабільних екологічних умов існування. Постійний доступ до родючого ґрунту, води, риби, птахів, жаб, мушель, очерету, глини та тварин, які приходять на водопій, складають такий екологічний комплекс, який був бажаним для деяких аграрних суспільств.

З цієї точки зору, практика розташування теллів в заплавних територіях пов'язується з ідентичністю на основі ландшафту. Така практика була започаткована на Близькому Сході і особливо поширена в Анатолії, постійно відтворювалася в процесі неолітизації Європи. Феномен теллів разом з певними подібностями в архітектурі та матеріальній культурі, поширився в Південно-Східній Європі як частина так званого «неолітичного пакету». Процес неолітизації в основному відбувався в заболочених заплавах, де спостерігається висока щільність знаходження теллів, разом з певними рисами в домобудівництві, дрібній пластиці, орнаментиці пінтадер та посуду, що знаходять близькі аналогії в Центральній Анатолії. Таку модель існування та ідентичності, що характерна для населення долини р. Конья в Анатолії, можливо простежити у рівнині Фессалії (Греція), регіону Малік (Албанія), Пелагонії і долини Овче Поле (Республіка Македонія), долини р. Струми (Болгарія) і далі – в регіоні Мачва (Сербія) та нижньодунайської рівнини. Модель ідентичності суспільств теллів, що була поширена в нео-енеоліті Південно-Східної Європи та на Балканах зокрема, потребує окремого вивчення на конкретних прикладах і досліджень з точки зору економіки, соціальних відносин та символічних проявів.

Ключові слова: *неоліт, телль, заплавна археологія, неолітизація, Балкани*

Fig. 1. Map of the Balkans with designated areas consisted of tells disposed in the vicinity of wetlands: 1. Thessaly; 2. Amindeon Plain; 3. Korça; 4. Pelagonia; 5. Ovče Pole; 6. Skopje Plain.

Fig. 2. Map of Anatolia with the location of Çatalhöyük.

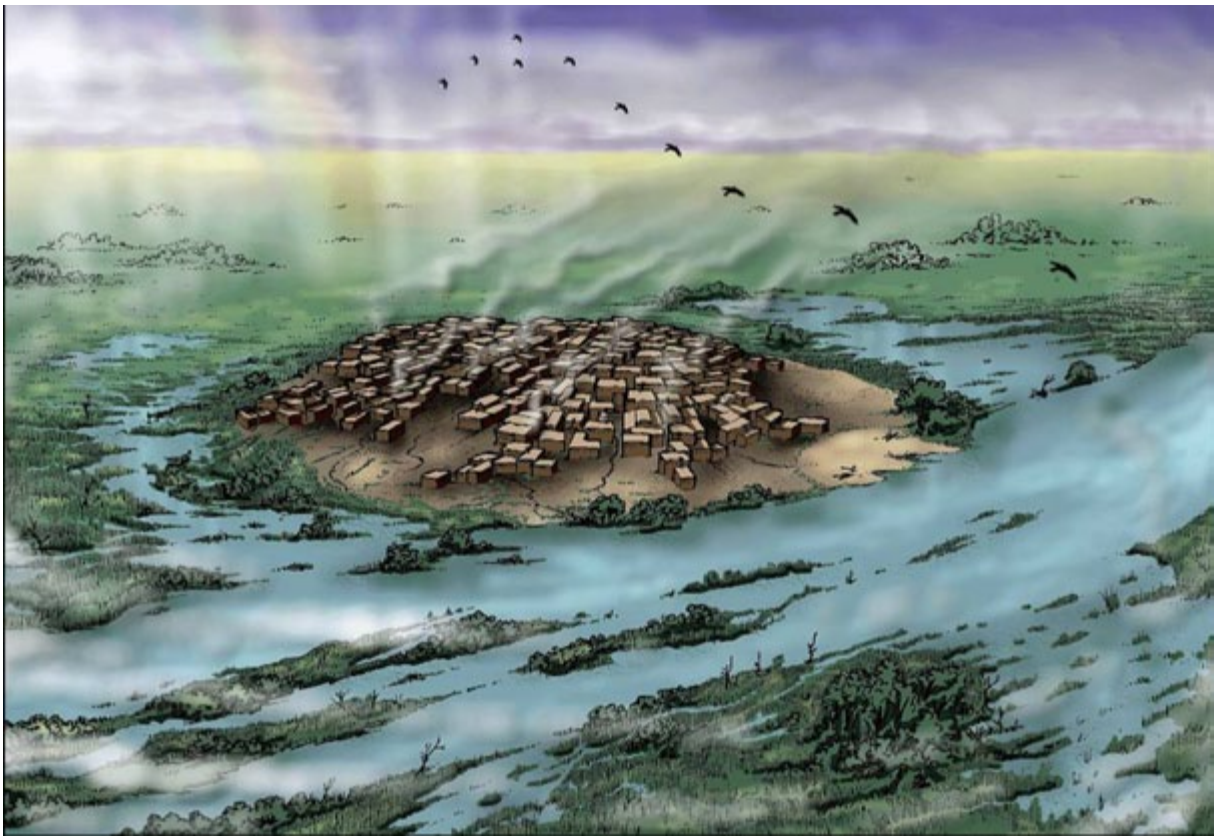

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of Çatalhöyük in the wetland setting (*Illustration by John Swogger*).

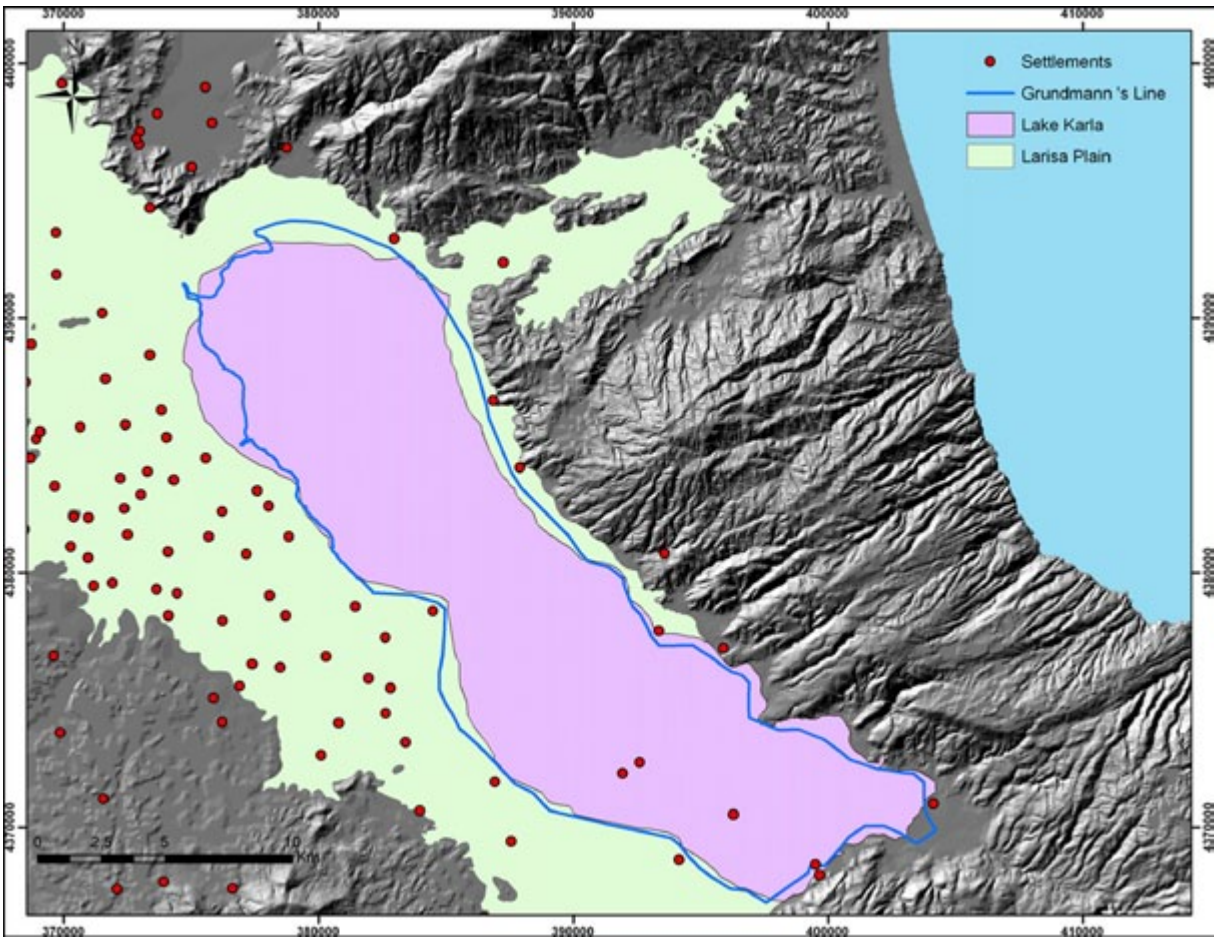

Fig. 4. The location of now drained Lake Karla in Thessaly and the disposition of tells (*Alexakis et al. 2011, Fig. 4*).

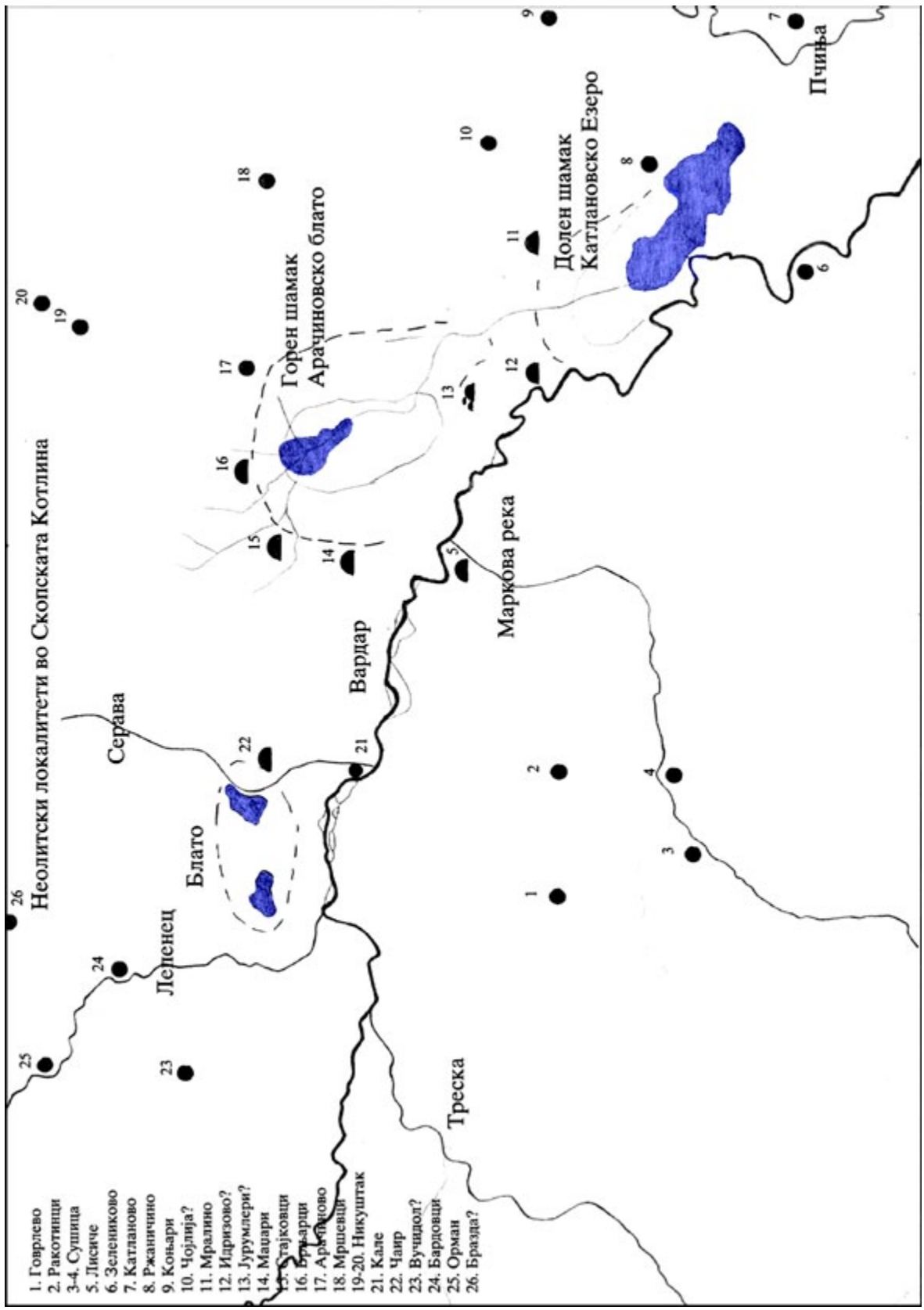

Fig. 5. The Neolithic tells in Skopje Valley and their location next to the marshes of Skopsko Blato (*Tolevski and Stančevski 2017, Fig. 4*).

ISSN 2519-4542

VITA ANTIQUA

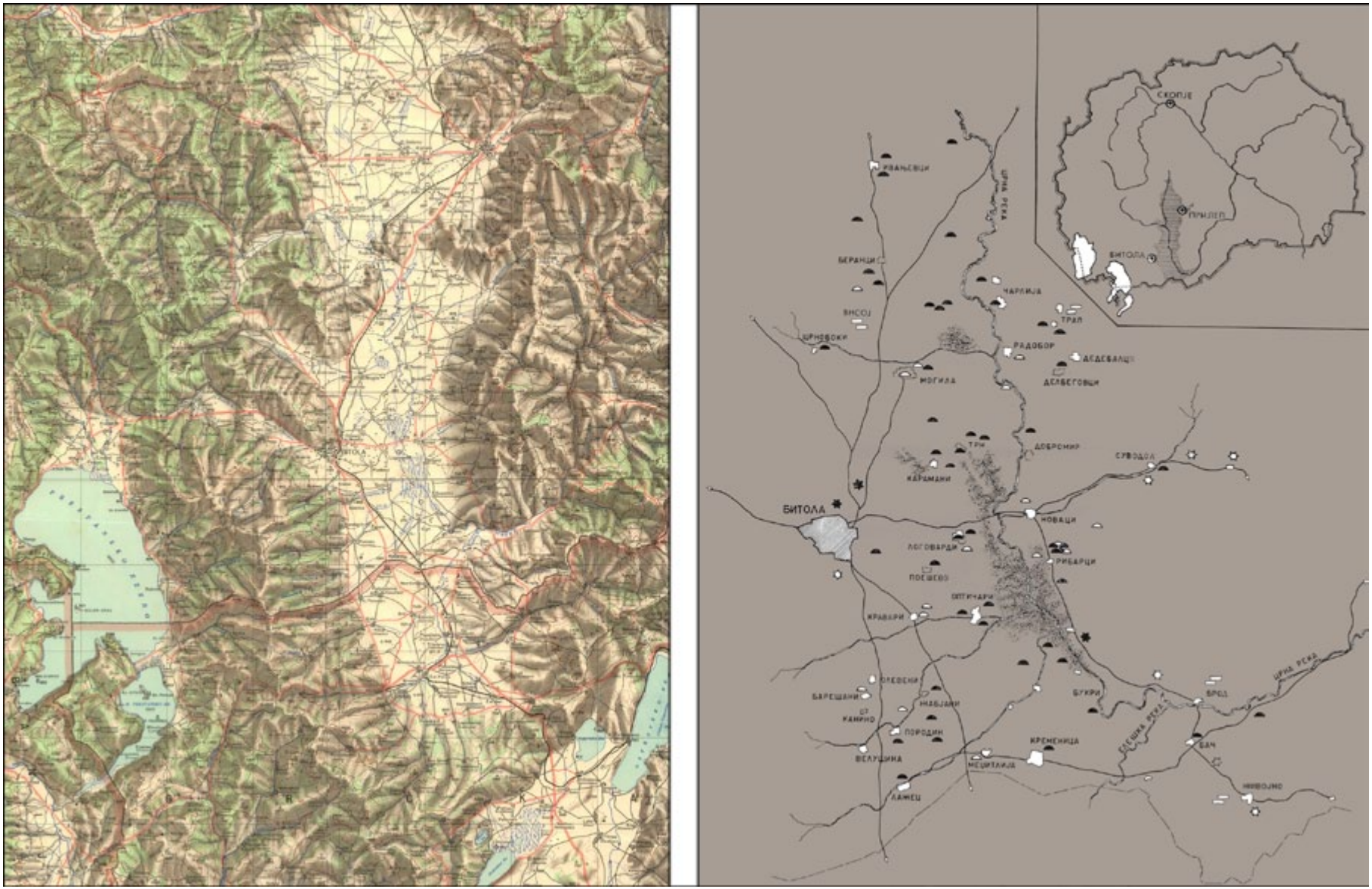

Fig. 6. The wetlands of Pelagonia before its drainage presented on topografic map and the figure based on the prospection of tells in the central part of plain (*Naumov 2016, Fig. 4, after Simoska and Sanev 1976*)