

**Ἡ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος (Pausanias 8.54.5)
in Arkadia**

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Ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐκ Τεγέας ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη
καὶ τὰ μάλιστά ἐστι λεωφόρος.
(The road from Tegea to Argos is very well-suited for carriages,
in fact a first-rate highway. [Loeb])

There are three main passages between Tegea and the valley of Achladokambos, the ancient Hysiai: a) the northern, around the hill of Mouchli, called unanimously *Gyros*; b) one south of Mouchli, formerly known by locals as *Skala tou (Halil) Bey* and in foreign literature usually as *Kaki Skala*, and c) the southernmost, which crosses the Mount Parthenion, called indeed *Partheni*, which non-Greek scholars wrongly identify as *Skala tou Bey*. This ‘Partheni’ pass is the shortest route, but very steep; many ancient wheel-ruts are preserved there, but not in its entire length. On the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ route it has not been possible to find evidence for an ancient road. The ‘Gyros’ route is not recent, it has an interesting history as a ‘route carrossière’, and it is ancient. Two travellers of the 19th century observed and recorded ancient wheel-marks there, and similar marks have recently been identified by the author at a third location on this ancient road. The ancient ‘Gyros’ road is the longest route, but it is the easiest one and suitable for carriages, and should be identified as the *λεωφόρος* from Tegea to Argos mentioned by Pausanias (8.54.5).

Between Tegea and the Achladokambos valley – that is, at the ancient site of Hysiai – there were three connecting roads. A fourth one partly coincides with a route leading to Kynouria, more specifically to the ancient site of Thyrea.

Of the three roads from Tegea to the Achladokambos valley, the northernmost – also the longest and easiest to travel – runs around and to the north of the isolated stronghold Mouchli. (Fig. 1, no. 4) Thence the second road starts going downhill and to the south. (Fig. 1, no. 5) The third – the shortest and southernmost one – crosses Mount Parthenion, exploiting its major gorge. (Fig. 1, no. 6)

Here, the common misnaming of the two latter roads by foreign writers and researchers deserves special mention. The confusion and oversight of the original names of these roads are so deeply embedded in non-Greek literature that it makes any effort for correction rather hopeless. There is a consensus on the name of the first road only, the one which runs around and to the north of Mouchli; that is, *Gyros*. The majority of foreign researchers call the road that passes to the south of Mouchli *Kaki Skala* and the next, the southernmost and shortest one, *Skala tou Bey*.¹ However, native Greeks have always called the ‘Skala tou Bey’ by the name *Partheni*. It is noteworthy that the ancient name of the nearby mountain is Παρθένιον, later known to the locals as ‘Roïno’. Therefore, the toponym ‘Partheni’ is a justified linguistic remain of the ancient term, originally used for the mountain. The earliest text quoting this name that I have come across dates back in the 17th century: the Ottoman traveller-writer Evliya Çelebi (ca. 1611 – 1679 to 1682) referred to this road by the name “Partani” during his journey from Argos to Tripolitza in 1670.² This is, moreover, the name which W.M. Leake quoted the villagers using in 1805: “This *derveni*, or pass, is still known by the ancient name Partheni”.³ Interestingly, native Greeks attributed Leake’s toponym to some church dedicated to ‘Parthena’ (Virgin Mary) which must have existed there in the old days. In Leake’s times a *hani* with a fountain was located where the supposed church had been. The still standing church ‘τῆς Ἁγίας Παρθένας’ was built in 1905. Another informative reference to the ill-fated story of the toponymic confusion is offered by W.K. Pritchett: “No native we questioned recognized the term Skala tou Bey.”⁴ It

1. Cf. C.M. MacKay, *The Road Networks and Postal Service of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empires (First – Fifteenth Centuries A.D.): Social Effects on the Provincial Population* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan 1999), p. 109, n. 39 and *passim*. N.D. Moraites, *Ἱστορία τῆς Τεγέας*, Athens 1932, p. 25: διὰ τῆς εὐθείας καὶ συντόμου ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης σήμερον τοῦ Παρθενίου (“by the straight and short road called today ‘of Parthenion’”). See the related reference to the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ on p. 199. K. Diamantopoulos or Diamantakos (ca. 1797 – 1892), *Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἢ ἀληθῆ Ἱστορικὰ γεγονότα τοῦ 1821 μὴ ἀναφερόμενα ἐν ταῖς ἑλληνικαῖς Ἱστορίαις*, 2nd ed. 1883, repr. Athens 1971. He often mentions “Παρθένι” as a place where Greek revolutionaries concentrated during the War of Independence of 1821. Cf. pp. 21, 22, 43 and 44.

2. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahatnamesi*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1971, vol. 12, p. 281: “Buradan beş saat lodos ile gidip Partani derbendini ve Moholi küyünü geçtik. Bir saat daha gidip Trablucse-i ma’mûr Kasabaşına geldik.” (“From here, continuing to the south for five hours, we came to the Partani pass and the village Mouchli. Travelling one more hour we came to Tripolis, residence of the authorities.”) In the same passage there is also a reference to “Moholi”, i.e. Mouchli.

3. W.M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* vol. II, London 1830, p. 329.

4. W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* vol. III, *Roads*, Berkeley 1980, p. 87, n. 13.

is pitiful that even more recent researchers, although they use the writings of native scholars, fail to quote the exact toponyms from them.⁵

The renowned war leader Theodoros K. Kolokotronis (1770 – 1843), who had a full knowledge of Arkadia's topography, offers a very illuminating account of the area. In 1825, while battling against the Ottoman forces of the Albanian-Egyptian Ibrahim (1789 – 1848) – who advanced with his troops from Argos to Tripolitza – Kolokotronis specified the locations of Greek resistance as follows: “Γύρος” (Gyros), “Σκάλα του Μπέη” (Skala tou Bey – the original), and “Παρθένι” (Partheni); that is, the three access routes to Tegea through the Achladokambos valley.⁶

Consequently, the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ is the intermediate passageway, right to the south of Mouchli. It is to this exact location that Fr.-C.-H.-L. Pouqueville (1770 – 1838) referred by the more specialized term “Skala tou Halil Bey” in his eye-witness account of the area in 1799.⁷ This name – which I, myself, heard still being used several years ago – slowly goes out of use and is replaced by ‘Perikopō’ (short-cut – that is, in comparison with the long detour of the ‘Gyros’), most common among the younger locals.⁸

Today, the steep, stone-paved road of the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ is not much different from the one that Pouqueville described, despite the fact that two centuries have passed since then. On this way I did not find any evidence of an ancient road.

I discerned tracks of ancient carriage wheels along the ‘Partheni’ road only during my second trip. The fact that previous researchers either paid no attention to them (e.g., Leake),⁹ or noticed only some (e.g., Pritchett),¹⁰ or misinterpreted them completely (e.g. Loring),¹¹ proves how difficult that discovery was.

One should bear in mind that more than one road may be detected along this

5. For example, C.M. MacKay, in her notable work drawing on a report by the local high-school principal Moraites from Tegea, overlooks the original toponym ‘Παρθένι’ as quoted by the author. See C.M. Mackay and N.D. Moraites, *opp. citt.* (n. 1).

6. Th. Kolokotronis, *Διήγησις τῶν συμβάντων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς φυλῆς ἀπὸ τὰ 1770 ἕως τὰ 1836*, ed. A. Daskalakis, Athens n.d., p. 131.

7. Fr.-C.-H.-L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce ...*, 2nd ed., vol. V, Paris 1827, pp. 290-3.

8. V.G. Diamantopoulos, *Τὸ Μουχλί τῆς Ἀρκαδίας (Βυζαντινὴ πόλη-φρούριο)*, Athens 1973, p. 8: he terms the passageway through Mouchli “Χαράδρα τῆς Κάτω βρύσης” (Gorge of the Lower Fountain). On the same page, however, he relates the term “Ποταμιά” (river-basin) to the expression “Χαράδρα τοῦ Γύρου” (“Gorge of Gyros”).

9. Even though he paid special attention to ancient wheels-ruts (see Leake, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 51: “Quitting Tripolitza ... tracks of charriot wheels in the rocks”), he did not notice any such marks.

'Partheni' pass. The common route leads smoothly uphill from the fields of the villages Haghiorghitika and Parthenion toward the saddle of 'Partheni', the so-called 'Simio'. This location is also known as 'Νταιλά Στέρνα'¹² from the adjacent remains of a cistern. Next to it there are the ruins of an old building, which, together with the water reservoir, must certainly date from the period of the Turkish occupation. These structures must have been used as a control post (*derveni*).¹³ The ascending route, before the saddle of 'Simio', splits in two parallel branches, one of which definitely belongs to the Ottoman period. There is a third branch, too, which bears clear marks of ancient carriage wheels. W.K. Pritchett was the first author to mention them.¹⁴

After the saddle of 'Simio' and for a certain distance, there is level ground on which the aforementioned roads run on a common route. Further on, a weedy paved path (καλυτηρύμι, *kaldirim*)¹⁵ can be traced and is followed by the ancient road. After 100 m the road splits definitively on both sides of the gradually descending gorge. The southern, right branch runs downhill and alongside the foot of the main volume of Mount Parthenion, passing by the church of Hagia Parthena. As mentioned earlier, the church stands on the site of the old *hani* which Leake saw and recorded. Thus the southern road should be identified with the one which the same author described and called "Beylik" and "Dimosia".¹⁶

10. The pioneer W.K. Pritchett, despite his persistent explorations, noted: "We saw no wheel-ruts anywhere". (See *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 97.) Only much later Pritchett mentioned tracks of ancient chariot wheels after they were pointed out to him. However, these tracks are not related to the main south route of 'Parthéni'. (See his *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* vol. IV, Berkeley 1982, pp. 83-4.)

11. Near the end of the 19th century W. Loring noticed some ruts in the area of an "έκτροπή" (a kind of branch) which he, however, misdated: "Though in parts so steep that one would naturally regard it as impassable to anything on wheels, yet I have seen on it what I took for wheel-ruts; and, if they were wheel-ruts, the road must have been used by carts of some kind in Turkish times." (See W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese," *JHS* 15, 1895, p. 79.)

12. Y.A. Pikoulas, "The Road-network of Arkadia," in Th.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, Copenhagen 1999, p. 259.

13. Leake writes that he had to pay toll in order to pass this road (*op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 363). Also, that the people of Achladokambos were charged with the task of guarding this road (*ibid.*, p. 335). On the other hand, W. Gell mentions that around that time he had to pay a toll of 5 paras in order to pass the *derveni* at "Caloiero Bouni" (between Tripolis and Asea): *Itinerary of the Morea*, London 1817, p. 136.

14. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 10), and also *id.*, *Studies* vol. VI, Berkeley 1989, p. 108.

15. This Turkish word means stone-paved path. According to an unpublished paper by the Turkish professor Dr. Ekrem Akurgal it comes from the Greek καλή ρύμη (= good road). See C.M. MacKay, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 7, n. 6.

16. Leake, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 328-9.

Between the site of Hagia Parthena and a secondary ravine (going downhill from Mount Parthenion), we encounter a branching. The road to the right – the less frequented one – continues and crosses the river bed without a bridge; at first, it goes slightly upward – where black-painted potsherds were found – and then downward somewhere near the Achladokambos valley. The other branch swerves to the left and after many turns descends all the way to the main bed of the gorge. Its course changes twice, due to various natural forces over the years. This branch crosses over to the other side without a bridge and, after moving upward for a while, merges with the northern road that runs downhill on the opposite bank.

As already mentioned, this northern road starts at an earlier point of the route, approximately 100 m after the saddle of 'Simio'. It goes downhill on the left slope of the gorge which belongs to the sides of the long, low, and narrow location known as 'ή Βουβάλα'. Some call this road 'το Λιπάτι' drawing on an adjacent location with red rocks. Certain parts of this road appear meticulously paved with stone. This is the shortest route through the gorge of 'Partheni'. This road appears more straight than the rest. It is only after a walk of half an hour that it turns to the right. Then it goes downhill with four small twists and approaches the bed of the gorge where it turns left and continues alongside it. At that fourth twist something important happens: the road meets with another branch which descends from the right side following the gorge bed. The latter is a stone-paved road of fine construction, with steps and a retaining wall. After having separated from the southern, right branch leading to Hagia Parthena, this road went downhill for about 150 m and crossed the gorge bed. Its extension – that is, the part beyond the fourth twist just mentioned – also exhibits a very neat construction, much superior to that of the paved road of Hagia Parthena. On its way down this well-made northern road meets a small ravine, descending on its left side, and crosses it over a single-arch stone bridge. This bridge, which is called 'το Τουρκογέφυρο' ("the Turkish bridge"), carries a semicircular (not an Islamic, horseshoe-shaped) arch. The name indicates that the bridge existed during the late Turkish occupation in the Peloponnese (1715 – 1821) at the latest, but it is possible that the construction of the bridge dates to the Venetian occupation (1685 – 1715) since a popular name would never have cared about such tedious historical distinctions. Further on, the road passes by a ruined building on the left, evidently the guardhouse of the entrance to the gorge during the Ottoman period. Then it leaves behind and on its right side a small well with abundant water. This well is called 'το Καμαράκι' and stands beside the gorge bed in a densely green area. There a pathway starts which rises up to the south side and quite soon reaches the edge of a plateau where a long and narrow pile of rocks stretches on the left side. To the east of this pile the apse of a church comes into

view; the site is dedicated to 'Ἅγιο-Βλάσης'. On the west side of the rock pile there is a number of big, carved stones in secondary use. This must be the spot where the Byzantine tower was reported to be standing until around 1900 at least.¹⁷ The well-worked stones were first used in the ancient tower which still exists, but seriously decayed, in a nearby location. In the open area of the plateau one comes across scarce traces of an old settlement and Byzantine potsherds. Could there at some time have been a settlement here charged with the task of guarding the pass?

At a short distance from the well 'Kamaraki', between the northern road where we are descending and the bed of the gorge, there is a small, dry-arched fountain with few damages. After 10-15 minutes the stone-paved road ends in the bed where the grand railroad trestle rises (dating ca. 1890). The road becomes confused with the bed for a while and then it continues through the Achladokambos valley as a country road without any ancient traces. It is noteworthy that on this northern road, particularly where the pavement has been destroyed uncovering the limestone bed underneath, no traces of an ancient road were detected. Yet, Y.A. Pikoulas writes: "a wheel-track is extant below Ἰητόβιγλα before Καμαράκι."¹⁸

Plenty of ancient wheel-ruts exist on the southern road, particularly where it follows a common course with the stone-paved path. At one point two pairs of tracks meet. (Fig. 2) This might have been either an ἐκτροπή, a kind of branch¹⁹ to allow carriages coming from the opposite direction to pass, or a place where new tracks were made after the older pair had been destroyed by the sunken ground. It is worth noting that not a single mark of ancient wheels was found on the road past Hagia Parthena. Yet, that an ancient road – not necessarily for vehicles – did exist along this route is certain and further sustained by the decayed ancient tower mentioned above at the ruined site of Hagios Vlassis. The precise location of this tower is near and to the south-east of the church at the top of a rise. Something remains of its ruined base, measuring ca. 6.25 x 6.30 m.²⁰ This ancient tower must also have been also a guardhouse of Tegea at its borders with Argolis.

17. Guide-Joanne, *Grèce* 2, Paris 1903, p. 236. Another square, medieval tower, in the vicinity and to the east of the gorge of Mouchli, is also worth researching. It is mentioned by Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 87, pl. 37.

18. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 259.

19. LSJ translate the ancient Greek word ἐκτροπή as "a fork, branch on a road", p. 524. Cf. the verbal expressions in Hdt. 2.80 and Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.22. – Y.A. Pikoulas, *Ὀδικὸ δίκτυο καὶ ἄμυνα. Ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο στὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν*, Athens 1995, p. 18, § β. Evidently, these were the two pairs of tracks which W. Loring saw and misinterpreted (see n. 11).

20. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pls. 183 and 184, pp. 110-1.

The third route, that is, the ‘Gyros’ (Fig. 1, no. 4), has not received enough scrutiny by recent researchers as opposed to older ones. For example, Dr. Y.A. Pikoulas, an expert scholar of road networks, misdates this road as “more recent”.²¹ Yet, this is a road with a long history. The signs of an old, abandoned road are still evident: water-fountains on its way, its bedding between retaining walls on both sides, that is, going uphill and downhill, the remains of a guard-house (*derveni*) next to it on a prominent spot with a view, and a neighbouring notable well with a big basin (*gourna*). Although the details of how it was used through the ages escape us, we still have sporadic, yet accurate pieces of information, for its documentation.

After the conquest of the Ottoman Tripolitza by the Greek revolutionaries in the fall of 1821, the chieftain Nikolaos K. Kassomoulis (1795 – 1872) ordered and supervised the transport of cannons from the fortress to the coast of Argolis Bay. In his memoirs Kassomoulis writes: “They made handy *carriages* which they loaded with 4 cannons and which they had 150 Turk-prisoners carry all the way to the ‘Myloi’ with great difficulty.”²² This testimony is somewhat disputable if it is compared with the one provided by the French officer Maxime Raybaud who accompanied the mission. Specifically, Raybaud mentions the toponyms “Kaki Skala” and “Strata tou Halil Bey”,²³ which he probably picked from the travel account by his countryman, Fr. Pouqueville.²⁴ I find it most unlikely that the transportation of the cannons took place by the narrow, steep, and winding ‘Skala tou Bey’ (the original) with its many sharp turns south of Mouchli. The carriages must have followed the ‘Gyros’ with the sporadic ruts of an earlier road for vehicles which was opened 106 years earlier for a similar purpose. The existence of this road is confirmed through testimonies of the year 1715, the year when the Peloponnese was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. According to contemporary diaries, an infantry regiment coming from Kiveri and through the Achladokambos valley followed an ascending narrow road, one and a half hour long, to Tripolitza where they arrived on August 5th, 1715.²⁵ It is fairly certain that the road the infantry took was the pass of ‘Partheni’, whereas for the artillery a special road was opened around the Mouchli (*i.e.*, the ‘Gyros’)

21. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 260.

22. N.K. Kassomoulis, *Ενθυμήματα στρατιωτικά της επανάστασεως των Ελλήνων, 1821-23*, Athens 1939-41, vol. A, p. 162. The emphasis is mine.

23. M. Raybaud, *Mémoires sur la Grèce pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre de l'Indépendance accompagnés de plans topographiques*, 2 vols., Paris 1824, vol. 1, pp. 7-9.

24. Pouqueville, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

25. B. Brue, *Journal de la campagne que le Grand Vesir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la conquête de la Morée*, Paris 1870, pp. 37-8. The date Aug. 5, 1715 follows the Gregorian calendar.

which could be used by vehicles (“une route carrossière”). There is a double testimony on that: a factual by Constantinos Dioikétès,²⁶ and a poetic by the captive Manthos Joannou.²⁷

It is known, however, that the ‘Gyros’ route had been exploited since antiquity for the opening of a carriage road. Two mid-19th century travellers noticed and recorded marks of such a road between Achladokambos and the ‘Gyros’. Unfortunately, their testimony has not received proper attention. F.G. Welcker first, on his way from Achladokampos to the ‘Gyros’ on April 6th, 1842, states clearly: “Im Aufstieg alte Wagenleise in Felsen. Nach zwei Stunden hat man links die ... Festung Palaomuchli.”²⁸ Ten years later E. Curtius published a similar account: “Ein Fusspfad führt geradeaus [toward Tegea] über das steile Joch [evidently “Partheni”] ..., während die Fahrstrasse nach alten Geleisen folgend um den nördlichen Fuss von Parthenion und den schroften Burgfelsen von Paläomuchli herum führt.”²⁹

The existence of the ancient ‘Gyros’ road is also confirmed by a pair of ancient wheel-ruts which I have personally observed. Specifically, they are located on a route parallel to the old national road Argos – Tripolis (between the 40 and 41 km distance markers), on a spot overlooking the sheep-cote of Yannis Alepis.³⁰ (Fig. 3)

It is known that W. Loring,³¹ J.G. Frazer³² and E. Meyer³³ identified the ‘Gyros’ route with Pausanias’ “τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος”. I hold that the new evidence brought to light by this paper endorses this theory. Furthermore, regarding

26. N. Iorga, *Chronique de l'expédition des Turcs en Morée attribuée à Constantin Dioikétès et publiée par Nicolas Iorga*, Bucarest 1913, pp. 184-5. The date is here given by the Julian calendar.

27. M. Joannou, *Βιβλίον περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ σκλαβίας τοῦ Μορέως*, in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. III, Paris 1881, p. 315: “... τὴν στράτα, ἀμάξια τὴν περᾶσανε ...” (“this road, vehicles passed”).

28. F.G. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer Griechischen Reise* Bd. I, Berlin 1865, pp. 196-7.

29. E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* Bd. II, Gotha 1851-52, p. 367. His certainty about the existence of an ancient road at this spot Curtius reported thus: “die grosse Curve [im arkadischen Parthenion] der alten Kunststrasse wahrscheinlich nach hellenischen Tradition noch heute Γῦρος genannt wird.” *Id.*, “Zur Geschichte des Wegebau bei den Griechen”, in *Abhandlungen der K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1854, pp. 211-303 (= *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin 1894, I, 1-116, p. 171).

30. First-hand information based on field research by P. Vemmos and A. Petronotis on 19–20 November 1999.

31. Loring, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 25, n. 79.

32. J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* vol. IV, London 1898, p. 495.

33. E. Meyer, s.v. “Parthenion”, *RE* 36.3, 1949, coll. 1887-90.

the identification of the shrines alongside the road mentioned by Pausanias (8.54.5-6), E. Meyer provides a reasonable interpretation.³⁴

As explained above, Tegea and the Achladokambos valley are connected by a fourth road, too. This partly coincides with the railroad tracks on the south side of Mount Parthenion and the pass through the village Elaiochori (former Masklena). This road has two exits from the plain of Tegea: one, at the village Parthenion (former Bertzova) where the railroad passes; the other, at the pass of ‘Άγιος Δέκα’, used by the asphalt road Tripolis – Astros (to the Thyreatis). (Fig. 4) Before the last saddle and to the right of today’s road, we detected ancient wheel-ruts in six different spots, measuring a gauge of 1.40 m.³⁵ These are certainly the marks of the road which Pausanias describes as “... ἡ δὲ εὐθεῖα ἡ ἐπὶ Θυρέαν τε καὶ κώμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι ἐκ Τεγέας ...”.³⁶ The ancient road started at some southern gate of Tegea and passed by the modern villages of Magoula and Rizes.³⁷ We were certain that an ancient watch-tower existed above the former village; recently, evidence of a second one above the latter village has been provided to my hearsay knowledge.

After the saddle of ‘Hagios Deka’ we have not found any signs of ancient wheel-ruts.³⁸ Yet, such signs do exist in this location, at the place called ‘το Μακροπλάγι’.³⁹ At the exact spot ‘στή Στέρνα’, 2.5 km distant from ‘Hagios Deka’, we passed by a bottle-shaped cistern; that is, an indication of ancient Lakonian road-construction.⁴⁰ Further, the road goes first downhill to the winter-stream ‘ὁ Ξεριάς’, and then uphill to the south side of Mount Parthenion directed toward the saddle of the village Elaiochori. Before this village, it goes by a crossroads so-called ‘ὁ Ἄρμακάς’.⁴¹ This is a multi-branch cross-roads which has always been important.⁴² One

34. *ibid.*

35. Field research by P. Vemmos and A. Petronotis, Sunday 15 July 2001. The toponym ‘Άγιος Δέκα’ is the popular version of ‘τῶν Ἁγίων Δέκα’ (in plural), that is, of 10 Cretan saints. The professor of archaeology K.A. Rhomaios had made an early mention of these ancient marks. See his: “Τὰ Δολιανὰ στὴν ἀρχαιότητα,” in *Χρονικά Δολιανῶν Κυνουρίας*, vol. A, 1959, repr. 2000, pp. 9-16 (esp. pp. 12-3). The author wrote this article in 1950.

36. Paus. 8.54.4: “The straight road from Tegea to Thyrea and to the villages its territory contains...” (Loeb). Cf. Rhomaios, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

37. N.D. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις, Ἀρχαϊκά Ἀρκαδικά*, 1st ed. Volos 1967, p. 425, n. 4.

38. Field research on 25 March 2002, by P. Vemmos, L. Antonakos and A. Petronotis.

39. P.B. Faklaris, *Ἀρχαία Κυνουρία. Ἀνθρώπινη δραστηριότητα καὶ περιβάλλον*, Athens 1990, p. 214, n. 3.

40. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 286-7 and 352; cf. also pp. 77 and 237. He prefers the expression “ἀπιόσχημη ὀμβροδεξαμένη” (“pear-shaped rainwater cistern”).

41. Ἄρμακάς (= heap of stone). Cf. the ancient *έρμαξ* = cairn.

42. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), pp. 209-16, esp. p. 212; plan on p. 210.

of its branches is the fourth road to the Achladokambos valley with a route branching off to Andritsa.⁴³ Its major branch, however, is the one leading to Thyrea.⁴⁴

Appendix

Research based on Pausanias' text has claimed that there were only a few roads for vehicles in ancient Greece.⁴⁵ More recent accounts, including this study, dispute this claim. In fact, they argue that the exact opposite is the case in Arkadia (and in the rest of the Peloponnese).⁴⁶ Many of its roads were not mentioned by Pausanias, others have been destroyed, and quite a few have not yet been identified. Current research is bringing to light new ones. An unknown road which used to lead from Mantinea to Tegea has been discovered recently.⁴⁷ From Tegea it headed for the modern village Neochori. It ascended toward 'στο Διασελάκι' of Timios Stavros, that is, the saddle which today lies between the Byzantine monastery of Varses⁴⁸ and the fort of Hagia Kyriaki on the height of the 'Ψηλή Ράχη'. On the latter, Early Christian potsherds were found.⁴⁹ To the right passing the saddle downhill, at the spot named 'το Καρτερούλι', the wheel-ruts of the ancient road are located. The latter used to pass through the spot named 'το Κάθισμα' and the small field of the village Louka, where the small border fort of St. George stands.⁵⁰ This road ended in Mantinea. This entire route was normally used during winter when the road across the plains was buried in mud.

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43. M.E.P. Boblay, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, Paris 1835, p. 66. Cf. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 209, n. 663.

44. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 212, and Rhomaios, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

45. MacKay, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 63.

46. See related literature by Y.A. Pikoulas.

47. A. Petronotis and P. Vemmos, "Νεότερες οικιστικές έρευνες," in the Tripolis newspaper *Kathimerinά Néa*, no. 3453 (30 May 2000), p. 7.

48. N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Αί παρά την Τρίπολιν μοναί Γοργοεπικούου, Βαρσών και Επάνω Χρέπας από αρχιτεκτονικής ιδίως απόψεως," *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 29, 1959, pp. 416-35.

49. See the paper by E. Eleutheriou in this volume.

50. N.D. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Έλλάδος περιήγησις, 'Αρχαϊκά 'Αρκαδικά*, 2nd ed., Athens 1980, pp. 212-3, figs. 172ff. Cf. G. Fougères, *Mantinee (BÉFAR 78)*, Paris 1898, pl. X: "Carte du territoire de Mantinee"; by village Louka "Tour R.H."

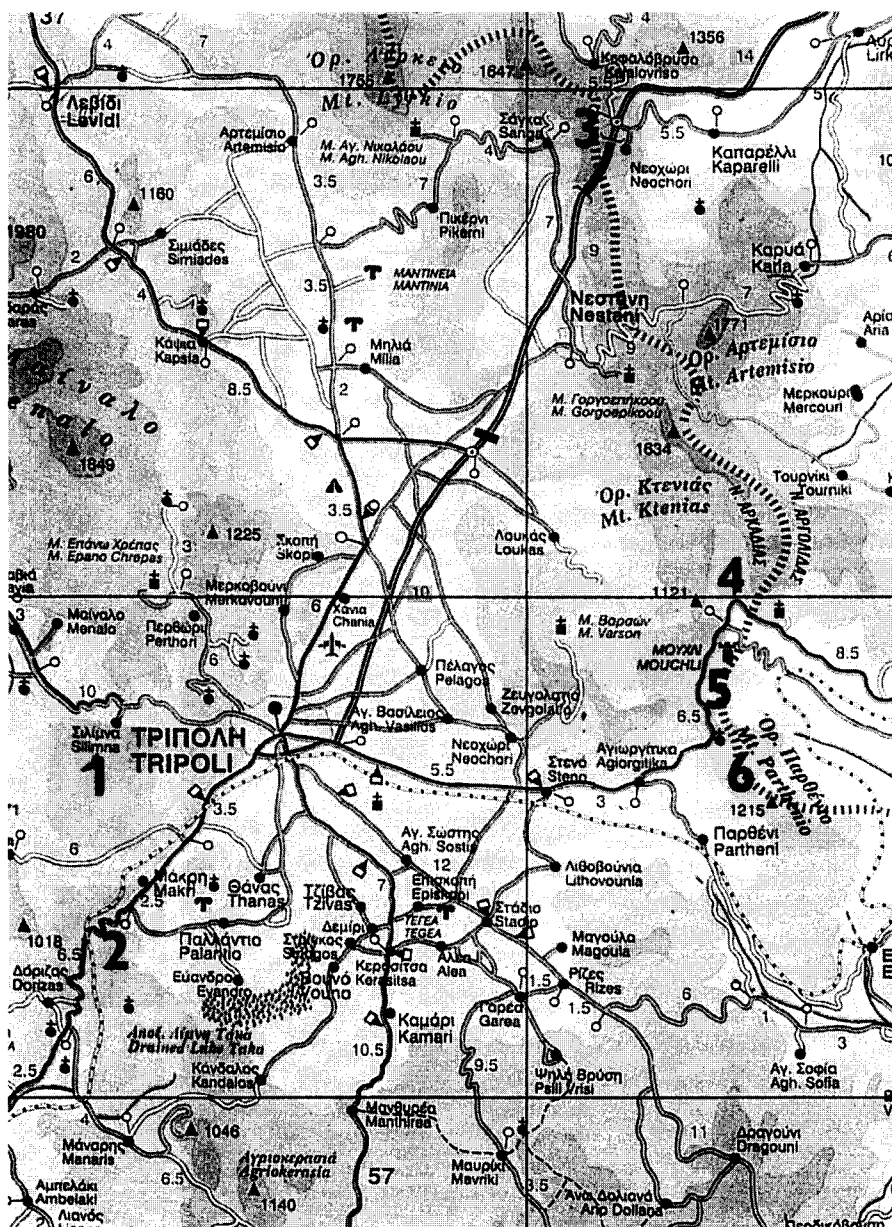


Fig. 1. Map of the central Arkadian plateau with diachronic passages. (From the *Map of the Peloponnese*, Road Edition, Athens n.d.)

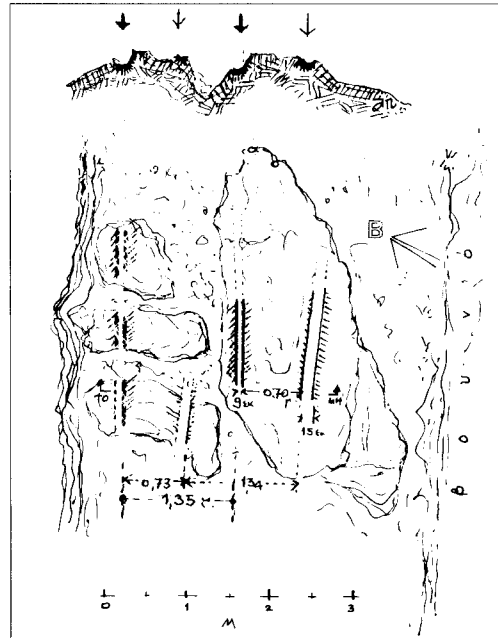


Fig. 2. Double tracks of ancient carriage wheels on the south road of the pass 'Partheni', commonly misnamed 'Skala tou Bey'. Top: section; bottom, plan; left, the gorge; right, the mountain. (Drawing: author.)



Fig. 3. Pair of ancient wheel-ruts on the road of 'Gyros', by Y. Alepis' sheep-cote. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 4. Ancient wheel-ruts at the spot 'Hagios Dekka' on the road from Tegea to Thyrea. (Photo: author.)

The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: Recent Excavations in the Northern Area. Results and Problems

Chiara Tarditi

The excavations in the northern area of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, organized by the Norwegian Institute at Athens during the period 1990-94, investigated the area directly in front of the 'ramp' emerging from the northern flank of the classical temple and identified a long stratigraphical sequence, from the modern occupation back to the early archaic period. This area was probably always used as an open courtyard, with few and small structures with the only exception of a big mud-brick wall in east-west direction, probably the northern limit of the sanctuary area in the 6th century B.C. The evidence recovered gives indications about the presence of early archaic and Geometric layers, which should be investigated by future excavations.

The discovery of the sanctuary and the first excavations

The site of ancient Tegea was identified at the beginning of the 19th century,¹ and during the second half of the same century the first excavations were started by German archaeologists, followed by French and Greek archaeologists. All focused in particular on the recovery of the classical temple and its surroundings; in the northern area the only excavations were related to a monumental fountain and two monument bases, identified and excavated at the beginning of the 20th century.²

In 1976-77 the Greek ephorate of antiquities, under the direction of G.

1. E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, vol. II, London 1819, 418.

2. G. Mendel, "Fouilles de Tégée," *BCH* 25, 1910, 241-81; K.A. Rhomaios, "Ἐργασίαι ἐν Τεγέῃ," *Prakt* 1909, 300-23; Ch. Dugas, "Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée avant le IVE siècle," *BCH* 45, 1921, 335-435; Ch. Dugas *et al.*, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Alea à Tégée au IVE siècle*, Paris 1924.