



Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese

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SOME ANCIENT ROUTES IN THE PELOPONNESE.

[PLATES I.—III.]

THE following paper, with the accompanying plates, embodies the results of several months' travelling and surveying in the Peloponnese. I had set myself to study some of the ancient routes¹ in that peninsula, with a view to identifying them with more precision than had yet been attained, and to clearing up some of the topographical difficulties connected with them. The labour was much greater, and much less fruitful, than I had anticipated; for the work of previous topographers has, on the whole, been extremely well done; and, if there are numerous problems which they have failed to solve, the explanation generally lies in the absence of the data necessary for their solution. Often, however, there have been conflicting views to choose between; and not infrequently I have ventured to differ from all my predecessors, to make (though tentatively) fresh identifications, and to correct views which, though generally received, appeared to me erroneous. In order to record these results I shall be obliged to give a consecutive account of the principal routes investigated; but I shall pass lightly over those parts of them about which no difference of opinion exists, dwelling fully only on those which are matter of controversy or in connexion with which I have some new theory to put forward. The region dealt with coincides roughly with the triangle Megalopolis—Tegea—Sparta; and I shall discuss in order the routes which connected these three towns; reserving for appendices a few notes on some outlying routes, and on the topography of the Mantineian plain.

Of the Maps, that on Plate II. is original; but Plate I. is a reproduction, with omissions and additions, of the corresponding part of the map made by the members of the French 'Expédition Scientifique de Morée,' which was published at Paris in 1832. This map, though not up to date, is still by far the best, and the only *original*, map of the Morea. To bring it up to date, I have inserted the modern carriage roads and railway with such precision

¹ I adopt the words 'routes' in preference to 'roads' lest I should convey a wrong impression. Traces of ancient made roads in the Peloponnese are extremely rare; those which occur on the routes here investigated will be

noticed in their proper places. The large majority of ancient, as of modern, routes in the peninsula were mere mountain-tracks, identifiable only by the objects in their neighbourhood or by topographical considerations.

as I could compass, and entirely, or almost entirely, from personal observation; while the mule and foot tracks marked in the French map are omitted, except where I suppose them to coincide with ancient routes, or for other special reasons. The ancient routes are marked wherever they can be determined with tolerable certainty; so that these Plates show fully, for the first time, their relation to those now commonly taken by the traveller or tourist.

A.—MEGALOPOLIS TO TEGEA.

Between the two principal Arkadian plains,—the Megalopolitan and the Mantineio-Tegean,—lies a small valley, bounded on the east by the ridge of Krávári, and on the west by that of Tsimbaróú. In this valley the chief points of interest are: to the antiquarian, the acropolis of the ancient town of Asea; and to the traveller, the khans of Frankóvrysi (or, to adopt the more vernacular pronunciation, Frangóvryso), which are situated about half a mile from that acropolis, and form the first resting-place on the road from Tripolitsá into Messenia. To get from the Megalopolitan plain to the Mantineio-Tegean, one must cross successively Mt. Tsimbaróú, the plain of Asea (Frangóvryso), and Mt. Krávári. And since the ancient route is known to have passed through, or close by, the town of Asea, the principal points on it which remain to be identified are the passes by which the two mountain-ranges were crossed.

I.—*Megalopolis to Asea.*

The following is Pausanias'² account of the first half of the route, viz. from Megalopolis to Asea.

To complete our account of Arkadia it only remains to describe the routes from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which coincide so far as the so-called 'Choma' ('Mound').

The suburb through which this route passes is called by the Megalopolitans Ladokeia, from Ladokus son of Echemus.

Beyond this there was in ancient times a town, Haemonia, whose founder was Haemon son of Lykaon. The place has retained the name Haemonia to the present day.

Beyond Haemonia, and to the right of the road, may be mentioned remains of the town of Oresthasium, including some columns of a temple of Artemis. This Artemis has the title of Hieraia ('Priestess').

Keeping along the direct road from Haemonia one comes to a place called Aphrodisium, and beyond it to another, the Athenaeum. To the left of the latter is a shrine of Athena containing a marble statue.

About twenty stades beyond the Athenaeum are the ruins of Asea; and the hill which once formed its acropolis still retains traces of a wall.

Any identifications which we may make of the site of Oresthasium and of the pass by which Tsimbaróú was crossed must necessarily be interdependent; and our identifications of other points will be materially affected by the views we hold about these two. We must therefore consider them first.

The passes of Tsimbaróú, leading from the Megalopolitan plain to the

² viii. 44. 1—3.

Asean, are six in number; but of these the three southernmost³ lie so far south of the direct line between Megalopolis and Asea that they may, for our present purpose, be disregarded. There remain

(1) The northernmost pass, near Siálesi; used by the inhabitants of Sinánou (the modern Megalopolis) and neighbourhood before the carriage road was made;

(2) The pass ascended in zigzags by the carriage road; somewhat south of the one just named;

(3) The pass which, starting from a point a little south of Rhapsomáti, descends into the Asean plain near Marmariá. This was the Turkish route from Kalamáta, and Messenia generally, to Tripolitsá, but has been almost entirely superseded by the carriage road just mentioned. A stream, which sometimes attains a considerable size, flows this way from the Asean plain to the Megalopolitan; but, whereas the stream flows at the bottom of a deep and rocky gorge, the Turkish road necessarily climbs several hundred feet above it.

The respective heights of these three passes, taken in order, may be roughly estimated at 1,100 ft., 1,100 ft., and 1,000 ft., above the Megalopolitan plain—400 ft., 400 ft., and 300 ft. above the Asean.⁴ (2) is naturally steep and difficult; so that, even by travellers from Sinánou (which lies south of the ancient site), the more northerly route (1) was chosen by preference until the carriage road was engineered. (1) is far more direct than (3), and not much higher; but it may possibly have been less easily accessible in ancient times than it is at present, owing to the marsh (τὸ ἔλος),⁵ which lay just east of the city. (3) is considerably the longest route of the three; but it has the two advantages of being somewhat lower than the others and being easy of ascent. Further, since it is the obvious pass for travellers from *Messenia*, and was doubtless so used in ancient as well as in more recent times, there must have been a regular track across it long before Megalopolis was founded.

On the whole, it would be hard to choose on purely *à priori* grounds between this route and (1); and it is fortunate that we have some historical evidence to fall back upon. This evidence is connected with the town Oresthasium.

'To the right of the road,' says Pausanias, 'may be mentioned remains of the town of Oresthasium.' Now this Oresthasium is identical with Oresteium;⁶ and Oresteium, besides being near the route now under discussion, was on one of the routes used in military expeditions from Sparta to Tegea and beyond.⁷ Further, it was several miles west of Asea, for

³ Of these (1) ascends left of Anemodhoúri, and descends right of Marmariá; (2) ascends right of Anemodhoúri, descends left of Pápari; (3) ascends by Skortsinoú, descends at Koutriboúkhi or Pápari. The last of these, which passes far south of the summit, will be further described in connexion with one of the Spartan

routes (pp. 48-9).

⁴ These heights are obtained by averaging the results of a number of observations made with an aneroid.

⁵ Paus. viii. 36. 5.

⁶ Paus. viii. 3. 1, 2.

⁷ Herod. ix. 11; Plut. *Arist.* 10; Thuc. v. 64.

between it and Asea two places intervened,—the Aphrodisium and the Athenaeum,—and the nearer of these (the Athenaeum) was twenty stades (*i.e.* over two miles) from Asea. It follows that it was not only near the route from Megalopolis to Asea, but near the *pass*; and, if so, the pass must have been the *southernmost* of the three which I have enumerated,—viz. the pass by Marmariá. For, whether the Spartan route was *viâ* the Megalopolitan plain, or went directly from the Lakonian to the Asean,—(a point we shall have to consider almost immediately),—it cannot reasonably be maintained that it went farther north than Marmariá; nothing either in the passage of Mt. Tsimbaróu or in the crossing of the Asean plain would have been gained by adopting such a route. The coincidence of the two routes,—from Sparta and Megalopolis respectively,—near Oresthasium, is to my mind conclusive proof that the southernmost of the three passes was the one used by travellers from Megalopolis.

Having thus, with the help of Oresthasium, identified the pass, let us see whether we can determine the position of Oresthasium itself more precisely.

Some topographers have placed it on the eastern side of Tsimbaróu,⁸ others on the western side,⁹ and one (Leake in his *Travels in the Morea*¹⁰) on the summit of the mountain. The last-named theory may be discarded altogether. Leake afterwards (in *Peloponnesiaca*¹¹) himself abandoned it; not indeed for the almost conclusive reason that there is no trace whatever of any ancient settlement or fortification on the summit of Tsimbaróu,¹² but because he preferred to assign that summit to a fortress not mentioned by Pausanias, to which we shall have to revert shortly,—the ‘Athenaeum near Belbina’ (τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν Ἀθήναιον).¹³

There remains the question whether Oresthasium lay east or west of Tsimbaróu,—in the plain of Asea or in the plain of Megalopolis; but this question need not delay us long. It is impossible to suppose that the Spartan route to Asea was *viâ* the Megalopolitan plain;—this would only be credible if the passes south of Tsimbaróu, leading directly from the Lakonian plain to the Asean, were exceptionally high or difficult; and they are not.¹⁴ The Spartan route must have passed south and east of Tsimbaróu; Oresthasium therefore, since it was on the Spartan route, must have been east, not west, of that hill, and was therefore in the plain of Asea.

Leake’s later view made the village of Marmariá the modern representative of the ancient site; partly, no doubt, for the reasons I have just enumerated, and partly on account of the name. This view is, in my opinion, very nearly correct. At Marmariá, indeed, repeated inquiries of the villagers have convinced me that there exist no traces of antiquity; but the natives

⁸ Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 247, *sq.*

⁹ Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, vol. ii. 227 (and note 3).

¹⁰ Vol. ii. pp. 318, *sq.*

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² The only remains there are those of a very

small building, or enclosure, of loose stones. The peasants call it a chapel of St. Elias; but it is so rude and shapeless that it may possibly have never been anything but a sheep-pen.

¹³ Plut. *Cleom.* 4.

¹⁴ See pp. 48–49.

of the neighbouring village of Pápari showed me some time ago, at a point just to the right of the path which connects this village with Marmariá, a low hill which did distinctly bear such traces; and a small excavation which I subsequently made brought yet more of them to light. This little hill not improbably marks the site we are in search of.

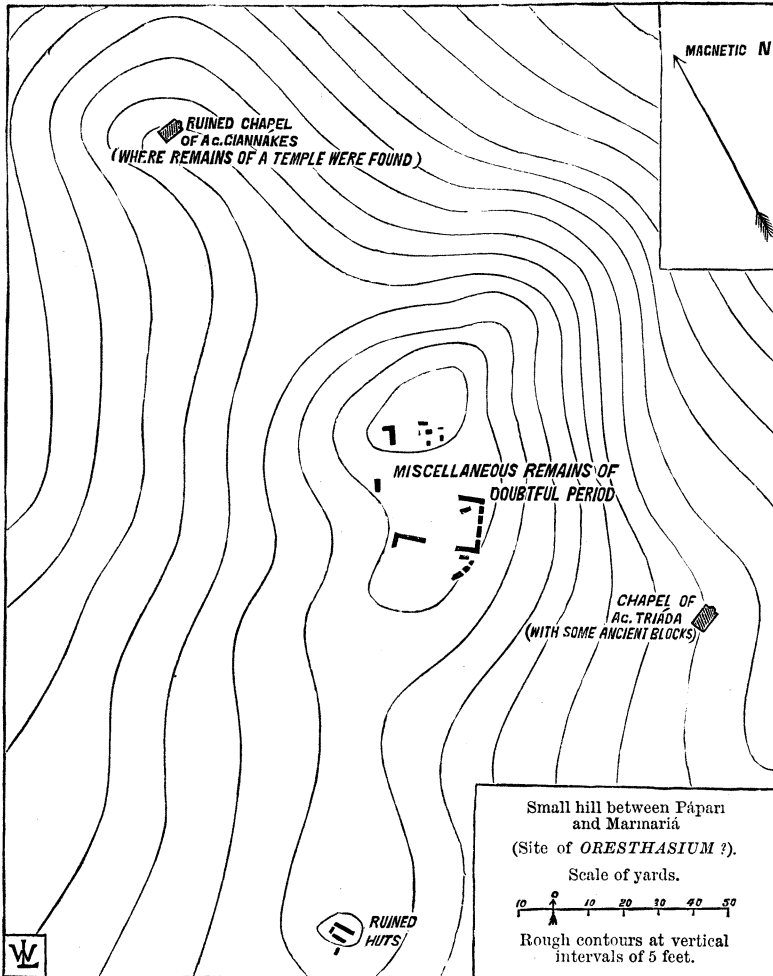


FIG. 1.

The exact position of the hill—one of the last outlying skirts of Tsimbarouí—will be best seen from the special plan of the Asean plain (Pl. II.); and a sketch of the hill itself is given in Fig. 1. On its southern slope is a chapel, still standing, of Ag. Triáda (the Holy Trinity), and on its northern slope a ruined chapel of Ag. Giannákes (St. Johnny!). Built into the former are several hewn blocks of limestone, of Hellenic

workmanship; while built into the rude walls of the latter, but hidden by the *débris*, I found several pieces of worked marble, including among others a small fragment of a Doric column and a complete metope (unsculptured) and triglyph from a Doric frieze.¹⁵ The marble must have come from a considerable distance,¹⁶ and therefore the temple to which they belonged was probably of some importance.

Besides these remains of a temple, there are abundant traces of human habitation—rude walls, partially or completely buried, and coarse pottery; but to none of these can an ancient date be confidently assigned.

Here then was *certainly* an ancient temple; *probably*, but not certainly, an ancient town or village. It is just where we have been led on other grounds to look for Oresthasium,—viz. at the western border of the Asean plain, and slightly to the right of the ancient pass from Megalopolis over Tsimbarou. The principal remains of Oresthasium, even in Pausanias' day, were the pillars of a temple,—that of Artemis Hiercia; indeed these are the only remains which he considered worthy of special mention. Further, the position of Oresthasium, if this be Oresthasium, bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Pallantium, its sister town.¹⁷ For Pallantium a small hill was selected, on the western border of the Tegean plain, one of the outlying skirts of Krávari; for Oresthasium a small hill, on the western border of the Asean plain, one of the outlying skirts of Tsimbarou.

Oresthasium was reputed to be one of the oldest towns in Arkadia, contemporary with Pallantium and Phigalia; the three towns tracing their foundation to three sons of Lykaon,—Orestheus, Pallas, and Phigalus,—respectively,¹⁸ while Lykosura, founded by their father, was believed by the Arkadians to be the oldest town not in Greece only, but in the world.¹⁹ An act of the greatest heroism is attributed by Pausanias to the people of Oresthasium. In 659 B.C. (Ol. 30, 2), one of its sister towns, Phigalia, was taken, and its inhabitants evicted, by the Spartans. In response to an oracle, a hundred picked men of Oresthasium willingly devoted themselves to death in battle to secure the restoration of the Phigalians. The Oresthasians, says Pausanias, vied one with another for the honour of perishing in so good a cause.²⁰ Apart from this we hear of Oresthasium (Oresteium or Orestheium) on two occasions only, each time as a stopping-place of Spartan troops on their way to Tegea or (*viâ* Tegea) to the Isthmus, viz. (1) just before the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.,²¹ (2) just before the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.²²

That this route, *viâ* the Asean plain, was ever used by the Spartans in their military expeditions to, or beyond, Tegea, is a very remarkable fact.

¹⁵ The breadth of the flutes in the fragment of column is approximately $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The length of the metope and triglyph combined is 2 ft. 6 in., of the triglyph alone $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. The height of the metope and triglyph is 1 ft. 5 in. The architectural forms are those of a rather late period.

¹⁶ Possibly from Dholianá in the hills south-

east of Tegea, where there are both ancient and modern quarries.

¹⁷ See Paus. viii. 3. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Id.* 38. 1.

²⁰ *Id.* 39. 3—5.

²¹ Herod. ix. 11; Plut. *Arist.* 10.

²² Thuc. v. 64.

I need not, however, enlarge upon it here, as a separate section (C) will be devoted to this Spartan route.

The history of Oresthasium terminates in 370 B.C., when its inhabitants deserted it in favour of the newly founded capital of Arkadia, Megalopolis.²³

The site of Oresthasium being determined, it only remains for us to identify (1) between Megalopolis and Oresthasium,—Ladokeia and Haemoniae, (2) between Oresthasium and Asea,—the Aphrodisium and the Athenaenm.

(1) A mile and a half from Sinánu (the modern Megalopolis), in the direct line between it and the pass, lies the village of Rousvánaga. Coming from Sinánu, one passes, on the left of the road, just before entering the village, a chapel of Ag. Marína, into which a number of ancient blocks of limestone have been built, and round which others lie scattered; all, or most, of them being apparently architectural fragments of a Doric shrine.²⁴ And rather more than half a mile beyond the village, on the left of the path, is a small hill surmounted by traces of rude walls, probably belonging to an ancient fort, while the top and sides of the hill are sprinkled with pottery. It is natural to identify this region either with Ladokeia or Haemoniae. When we remember that the ancient Megalopolis lay entirely north of the modern Sinánu, it seems probable that Ladokeia,—which is described as ‘τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄσπεως,’ *i.e.* a suburb,—lay nearer to the city than Rousvánaga, perhaps at Sinánu itself, and that Rousvánaga represents Haemoniae.

Ladokeia was the scene of a battle between the Tegeans and Mantineians in 433 B.C.,²⁵ in which the victory was doubtful, and of another battle in 226 B.C. between Kleomenes of Sparta and the forces of the Achaean league,—a battle which ended in the complete defeat of the latter, and the death of the brave Megalopolitan Lydiadas.²⁶ This was one of that series of Achaean disasters which led to the alliance with Antigonus of Macedon, and the surrender to him of the Akrokorinth.

²³ Paus. viii. 27. 3.—Oresthasium has frequently been confused, or consciously identified, with ‘Orestia’—an old name for the part of Megalopolis which lay south of the Helisson. That Orestia was half of Megalopolis is expressly stated by Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ‘Μεγάλη Πόλις.’ That it was the southern half is clear (1) from Thuc. iv. 134, where the expression ‘λαοδικιον τῆς Ὀρεσθίδος’ doubtless refers to the place afterwards known as Ladokeia, a southern suburb of Megalopolis (Paus. viii. 44. 1), (2) from Paus. viii. 34. 1—4, where a series of monuments commemorating the story of Orestes are mentioned on the road to Messene. That it was an old name for this region appears from the fact that the passage of Thucydides quoted above refers to a period long before the foundation of Megalopolis.

Orestia derived its name from Orestes (Steph.

Byz. *s.v.* Μεγάλη Πόλις; and we may infer the same from Paus. *loc. cit.*), Oresthasium from Orestheus (Paus. viii. 3. 1; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὀρεσθάσιον); but both were occasionally called ‘Oresteium,’—the former in Eur. *Orest.* 1647 (cf. *id.* *Electra* 1273—5), the latter in Herod. ix. 11, Plut. *Arist.* 10, Paus. viii. 3. 2 (cf. also Thuc. v. 64, ‘Ὀρέσθειον’). The two places are merged in the article ‘Oresthasium’ in Smith’s *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geog.*; and the same mistake (for I feel sure it is a mistake) led Boblaye (*Recherches*, pp. 172, 173), Bursian (ii. 227, and note 3), and apparently Curtius (*Peloponnesos* i. 316), to place Oresthasium west of Tsimbarou, *i.e.* in the Megalopolitan plain.

²⁴ Cp. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 97.

²⁵ Thuc. iv. 134.

²⁶ Polyb. ii. 51, 55; Plut. *Arat.* 36, 37.

Haemoniae is a place of no historical interest whatever. It is mentioned here only by Pausanias, and (so far as I know) by no other writer.

(2) I am not aware of the existence of any ancient remains between Oresthasium and Asea. Oresthasium, it will be remembered, lay a little off the road. Pausanias' expression indeed (*ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ*) is ambiguous; but his next paragraph, which refers to the Aphrodisium and the Athenaeum, is introduced by the words *τῆν δὲ εὐθείαν ἰόντι ἐξ Αἰμονιάων*, thus showing clearly that Oresthasium was not upon the *εὐθεία*. The *εὐθεία* therefore, probably coincided with the Turkish road, which strikes the modern carriage road near the Khan of Davránda and the chapel of Pandeleeömon ('the All-Merciful'), (*v. special map of the Asean plain, Pl. II.*). Since this chapel is approximately twenty stades from the acropolis of Asea, it has been conjectured with some probability that it may mark the site of the Athenaeum.²⁷ For the position of the Aphrodisium, which one passed between Oresthasium and the Athenaeum, we have no evidence; nor is its identification a matter of any consequence, since it is mentioned in this one passage only, and Pausanias himself saw nothing there which he considered worth recording.

With Asea itself I am not particularly concerned, for its site has always been well known, and its history (such as it is) can be learned from the handbooks. I will therefore touch on one point only. The principal remains of Asea are those of the fortification wall round the summit of its acropolis, and of at least two massive walls at right angles to this, running down from it to the bottom of the hill. These latter are always a puzzle to travellers. The explanation is, I believe, that there was originally a second (outer) wall running round the bottom of the acropolis, and that the two walls perpendicular to the hill extended from the inner to the outer so as to divide the intervening space into a number of sections, rather like the water-tight compartments in a ship. The effect of this was that, in case of a breach in the outer wall, the mischief would be concentrated, only one part of the circuit of the inner wall being exposed to attack; while the enemy would find himself cooped in between three walls—one in front of him and one on either side—all defended by the garrison. There are clear indications of a similar arrangement on the fortified hill near Ag. Andréas in the plain of Astros, possibly representing the ancient Thyrea; and the same principle was exemplified certainly in mediaeval, and possibly also in ancient, times in the fortifications on Mount Khelmós (See App. B. and Fig. 6) on the borders of Arkadia and Lakonia.

²⁷ I have, however, never been able to see any traces of the ruined walls mentioned near this spot by Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 173). On the other hand, Boblaye's remark that this site

will not suit the Athenaeum rests on a confusion of this Athenaeum with τὸ περὶ τῆν Βέλιβιναν Ἀθήναιον (Plut. *Cleom.* 4), which must have been a totally different place (*v. infra*, p. 39).

II.—*Asea to Tegea.*

To return to Pausanias:—²⁸

Some five stades from Asea are the springs of the Alpheius and Eurotas, the former a short distance away from the road, the latter close to the roadside. By the spring of the Alpheius are a roofless shrine of the Mother of the gods, and two marble lions. Now the water of the Eurotas mixes with the Alpheius, and they proceed together in a common stream for some twenty stades; then, after descending into a chasm, they rise again, the former in the Lacedaemonian territory, the latter at Pegae ('the Springs') in the territory of Megalopolis. From Asea one ascends to the hill called Boreium, on the top of which are traces of a temple. This temple was said to have been erected by Odysseus, on his return from Ilium, in honour of Athena Soteira and Poseidon.

The so-called Choma ('Mound') is the boundary of the Megalopolitan territory as against the Tegean and Pallantian. To get to the Pallantian plain you turn to your left at the Choma. . . . while on the right of the so-called Choma is the Manthurian plain, which is included in the Tegean territory, and extends perhaps about fifty stades to Tegea. To the right of the road is a small hill called Kresium, upon which has been built a temple of [Ares] Aphneios. . . . On the way to Tegea is a fountain called the 'Leukonian.'

By the spring of the Eurotas' is obviously meant that group which gives its name ('Frankóvrysi' or 'Frangóvryso'—'the spring of the Franks') to the two khans by the roadside. The 'spring of the Alpheius' is probably to be identified with another group (*v.* Pl. II.) situated at the extreme point of the hill opposite Frangóvryso, just beyond the new railway embankment. On the springs and streams in the valley of Asea, and the stories attaching to them, I shall have more to say in an Appendix.²⁹

The words 'ἔστι δὲ ἄνοδος ἐξ Ἀσέας' are susceptible of two different interpretations—either 'From Asea one ascends' [*i.e.* on the route to Tegea], or 'From Asea one may ascend' [*i.e.* as a special excursion]. The former interpretation is strongly confirmed by a comparison with viii. 39. 1, where there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the words ἔστιν ἄνοδος. We are thus precluded from two very tempting identifications; *viz.* that of Mount Boreium with Ag. Elias of Kandréva (*v.* Pl. II.), and that of the temple mentioned by Pausanias, 'ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους,' with a large one of which the foundations, as well as some fragments of marble columns, are still visible within a very few feet of the summit of that conspicuous hill.³⁰ Attractive as these identifications are, and in spite of a serious difficulty of interpretation involved in the alternative view, previous topographers are probably right in making Boreium the modern Krávári, and seeing the *ἱερὸν* of Athena Soteira and

²⁸ viii. 44. 3—8.

²⁹ Appendix A.

³⁰ The order was Doric. The flutes, in the extant fragments of columns, range from 3½ in. to 4¼ in. in width. There are also fragments of triglyphs. Both I and I clamps were used.

So far as one can judge from the remains of its foundations, the temple was peristyle, its external measurements being approximately 95 ft. × 40 ft., and the external measurements of the *cella* about 74 ft. × 22½ ft. But these are very rough measurements, the best that can

be obtained without a complete clearance of the site and the removal of the ruins of a chapel of Ag. Demos which has been superposed.

The temple on Ag. Elias has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed by archaeologists. In Baedeker's *Guide* the summit of the hill has been marked erroneously as the site of Asea; and the remains described as existing upon it in the text of the same handbook (p. 299) are really those of the acropolis of Asea, to which I have already referred in the text.

Poseidon in a small shrine, of which some scanty marble fragments³¹ appear at the top, not indeed of the mountain, but of the pass.

Of four possible passes from the Asean plain to the Tegean, the one with the temple is the only one which answers satisfactorily to Pausanias' description. For the pass followed by the carriage road goes north of Pallantium, the site of which may be regarded as finally determined, instead of going between it and Tegea; while the pass by the village of Zéli, though by no means a bad route to Tegea, would have been a very circuitous one for Pallantium. The remaining pass (a branch from the last, entering the plain by the 'causeway' marked in Pl. II.) is only mentioned for the sake of completeness. No traveller from Asea to either of the two ancient towns would have made use of it.

The identification of the Choma is a less easy matter, and one in which I find myself at variance with all previous writers. According to the received theory³² it is represented by the causeway, referred to a few lines back, which crosses the narrow neck of plain between Mount Krávári and the low hills opposite, striking the latter near the village of Birbáti. This causeway consists of two parallel rows of large unhewn stones, piled together, with a space between them. From whatever period it may date (a point which it is quite impossible to settle) its object was evidently to resist the encroachment of the swamp or lake—the so-called 'Táka'—which always covers a considerable part, and often the whole, of the plain south-east of it. This purpose it still serves, though to a very limited extent. It was first identified with the Choma by the members of the 'Expédition de Morée,' and their view of the matter has since then been universally accepted. But the objections to this view are (in my opinion) insuperable. (1) The pass which debouches at the causeway is *not* the one which I have shown to be the ancient route, but the last, and least admissible, of those which we have seen reason to reject. Leake, who is right about the pass, attempts no identification of the Choma. The 'Expédition de Morée,' who identified the Choma, say nothing about the pass. Curtius identifies both, and does not seem to be aware that the identifications are inconsistent. The route, as indicated in his map,³³ is an impossible one: this is obvious both from that map itself, and still more clearly from mine (Pl. II.), which is on a larger scale.

(2) The causeway runs approximately north-east and south-west across the Pallantio-Tegean plain, so that, while there would be nothing unintelligible in

³¹ These are principally fragments of Doric columns, the width of the flutes ranging from rather more than 3 in. to rather less than 4 in. A grave objection to identifying this temple with that of Athena Soteira and Poseidon lies in the interpretation of the words ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῃ τοῦ ὄρους, which should properly mean 'at the top of the mountain.' But on the whole this seems to me less objectionable than the forced interpretation of 'ἔστι δὲ ἄνοδος' which is the alternative to it.

It is practically certain that the real summit of Krávári, which I have visited more than once, is *not* the site of a temple.

³² *Bibl. Recherches*, pp. 143, 173; Ross, *Reisen in Peloponnes*, p. 61 (Ross's apparent dissent from the French explorers here arises from a misunderstanding of their map; he and they really held precisely the same view); Curt. i. 262; Burs. ii. 217; etc.

³³ Vol. i. Pl. III.

a theory which regarded it as dividing the Pallantian territory from the Tegean, it is quite impossible to suppose that it divided the Megalopolitan territory on the one hand from the Pallantian and Tegean territories on the other; yet this is what Pausanias says of the Choma.

Let us look for an alternative Choma. That it was at the bottom of the pass every one admits, since it marked the junction of the routes to Tegea and Pallantium, the Manthurian plain (Tegean) lying to right of it, the Pallantian to left.³⁴ Now closing the mouth of the pass, at the very verge of the plain, is a little rocky hill, detached (or nearly so) from Krávári proper, and exactly satisfying these requirements. Arrived at this point, one must necessarily skirt the hill on one side or the other—on the left if one is making for the ancient site of Pallantium, on the right if one is making for Tegea. In my special map (Pl. II.) I have marked it (with a query) as the Choma. The only objection to this theory lies in the application of the term *χῶμα* to a natural, instead of an artificial, hillock. But it is a noteworthy fact that, whereas Pausanias' expression for an artificial mound, whether tumulus or embankment, is almost invariably *γῆς χῶμα* (and he uses the words a great number of times), here and (so far as I know) here only the expression is *τὸ καλούμενον*, or *τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον, χῶμα*. And the distinction is certainly no chance one; for he mentions the Choma thrice, and the name is *always* thus qualified. But if the difficulty of applying the word *χῶμα* to a natural hillock be held insuperable, I can only say that, if the Choma was not *this*, it was *in this place*—if it was not the hillock, it must have been an artificial mound erected on, or by, the hillock.

The remainder of this route,—viz. from the Choma to Pallantium on the one hand and Tegea on the other,—may be dismissed in a very few words. The sites of Pallantium and Tegea are well-known; and the Manthurian plain is the low-lying land between Mount Krávári (Boreium) and the Tripolitsá-Sparta road. This plain is at the present day always³⁵ either partially or entirely submerged; but, even if the Katavothra (*v.* Pl. II.) at the foot of Mount Krávári, which drains it, was more effectually kept open in ancient times than now, yet the shortest route to Tegea would rather skirt than traverse the plain, keeping along, or very close to, the edge of the low hills on which stand the villages of Birbáti, Mouzáki, etc., and passing between them and the small hill surmounted by the village of Vounó. This last is the *ὄρος οὐ μέγα...καλούμενον Κρήσιον* of Pausanias' description.³⁶

³⁴ It is certainly strange that the boundary should have been down in the plain, so that both slopes of Krávári were included in the Megalopolitan territory. But the fact is quite clear from Pausanias' description, and is admitted on all hands. The boundary between the Tegean and Argive territories, near Hysiae, was very similarly situated. See Paus. viii. 54. 7, and p. 79 of the present paper.

³⁵ I believe it is *never* entirely dry, even in

the height of summer, but I do not mean to assert this too positively.

³⁶ This identification was first, I believe, made by Ross, and his view has been generally accepted. The French explorers had previously supposed the big hill of Ag. Elias just east of Kaparéli, or the lower slopes of it, to represent Kresium (*Expéd. Scient. de Morée*, Atlas, Pl. IV.), and were followed by Leake in his *Peloponnesiaca* (special map of the *Man-*

It would be rash to attempt any identification of the 'Leukonian' fountain. Probably it was somewhere near Kerasitsa. In any case it cannot have been so far south as the point marked in the plan published by the French 'Expédition ;'³⁷ for, if so, it would have been altogether off the route to Tegea.

On the other hand Manthurea, or Manthyrea,³⁸ is there correctly marked. At present the only traces of the ancient town (or village) are (1) a profusion of scattered pottery, and (2) one or two architectural fragments lying close to the chapel of the Panagía. Even these last are not *certainly* of ancient date. It is not impossible, indeed, that the chapel of St. Elias, now ruined, which formerly surmounted the hill³⁹ immediately behind the site, occupied the position of an ancient shrine or watch-tower. At any rate there are there remains of *two* foundations, with slightly different orientations; and one of these, which is built of larger stones than the other and without mortar, may be Hellenic.

B.—SPARTA TO MEGALOPOLIS.

This route will be most conveniently discussed in two sections,—the Lakonian and the Arkadian. For the former our principal authority is Pausanias, Book iii.; for the latter Pausanias, Book viii.

*I.—Lakonian Section ; Sparta to Belmina.*⁴⁰

On the route from Sparta towards Arkadia there stands a statue of Athena with the title Pareia, in the open air; and beyond it is a temple of Achilles which is kept closed. . . . Farther on is what is called the Tomb of the Horse.⁴¹ . . . A short distance only from this tomb are seven pillars, fashioned (to my thinking) in the antique form [?], and said to represent the seven planets. There are also upon the way a sacred enclosure of Kranius with the title Stemmatus, and a temple of Artemis Mysia. The statue of Aidos ('Modesty'), perhaps thirty stades distant from the city, is said to have been dedicated by Ikarius, and to have been erected for the following reason.⁴² . . . Proceeding thence twenty stades, at a point where the stream of the Eurotas approaches very close to the road, one comes to the tomb of Ladas, who surpassed all his contemporaries in fleetness of foot. Indeed he was crowned at Olympia for his victory in the long race; and worn out, as I imagine, with his exertions he started home immediately after the victory, and his death occurring at this spot he was buried above the public way. . . . Proceeding

tinice and Tegeatis at end of volume). The principal objections to this view are: (1) the height of the hill—perhaps 800 ft. or 1,000 ft. above the plain—to which the words *ὀ μέγα* seem inapplicable; (2) its great distance to the right of the direct route from the Choma to Tegea. Had this been Kresium, Kresium would have been mentioned in connexion with the route from Tegea to Sparta rather than in connexion with that from Megalopolis to Tegea.

For the word *ἄρος* applied to a very small, but conspicuous, elevation in a plain, cf. Paus. viii. 12.7, where it is applied to the hillock on which stood Old Mantinea.

³⁷ *Expéd. Scient. de Morée*, Atlas, Pl. IV.; copied by Leake in his special plan at the end of *Peloponnesiaca*, Curtius (vol. i. Pl. III.), and Bursian (vol. ii. Pl. VI.).

³⁸ For the alternative forms *v. Paus. viii. 45. 1, id. 47.1*; Steph. Byz. *s.v. Μανθυρέα*.

³⁹ This hill may be easily distinguished by a group of three oak-trees which crowns it.

⁴⁰ Paus. iii. 20. 8—21.3.

⁴¹ Where Tyndareus sacrificed a horse on the occasion of the oath taken by Helen's suitors.

⁴² Here follows a story of Penelope's departure from Sparta with her husband Odysseus.

in the direction of Pellana one comes to the so-called Charákoma ('Stockade'), and afterwards to Pellana, which was in ancient times a city. Here, they say, Tyndareus took up his abode when he had to flee from Hippokoon and his sons at Sparta. Here I saw, I know, two noteworthy objects—a temple of Asklepius and the 'Pellaniid' spring. Into this spring they say that a maiden once fell while drawing water, and was drowned, but the veil which she wore on her head reappeared in another spring called the 'Lankeian.' From Pellana there are a hundred stades to the place called Belemina.⁴³ This is the best-watered region in Lakonia; for not only is it traversed by the water of the Eurotas but it also itself produces abundant springs.

Belmina was the frontier town. If the passage before us left any room for doubt on this point, the doubt would be removed by Paus. viii. 35. 3, where the account of the way from Megalopolis to Sparta terminates, as abruptly as the account of the way from Sparta to Megalopolis, at the *Ἑρμαιον τὸ κατὰ Βελεμίναν*. The use of Hermae as boundary marks, and the name Hermaeum in the same connexion, are well illustrated by Paus. ii. 38.7 and viii. 34.6. Further we know from various passages, to which we shall have occasion to revert later, that the Belminatid region was a source of constant dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. These facts, combined with the distances given by Pausanias (rather more than ninety stades from Megalopolis⁴⁴ and rather more than 150 stades from Sparta), and with his remark that the Belminatid was the best-watered region in Lakonia, leave no doubt whatever of its identity with the small valley formed by the junction of two of the most important of the streams which combine to form the Eurotas, and lying between the khan of Longaníko on the south and Mount Khelmós on the north.

Mount Khelmós (Fig. 2), which rises more than 1,000 feet above the valley, and completely dominates it, is surmounted by extensive remains of fortification walls, of which a considerable part is generally held to be of ancient date, while the remainder is undoubtedly mediaeval. Figs. 3 and 4 are from photographs of portions of the outer and inner walls respectively; a plan of the fortifications as a whole is given in Fig. 6 (p. 72), and some description of them will be found in Appendix B. Two questions, which are to a certain extent interdependent, at once suggest themselves; viz. (1) Where was the town of Belmina? (2) What was the ancient name of the fortress on Khelmós? These questions have been answered in several different ways.

Leake⁴⁵ gives the name of Belmina to the remains on the summit, and supposes the lower town to have been situated near the chapel (now destroyed) of Agia Eiréne, at the eastern foot of the hill, where trifling, but undoubted, remains of antiquity⁴⁶ have occasionally been found. Boblaye

⁴³ There are various forms of the name: Βελεμίνα, Βέλμινα, Βέλιβινα, Βλεμίνα (at least the region is Βλεμινάτις, Strabo, p. 343), and probably (Paus. viii. 27.4) Βλέμινα. Except in translation, where the name must be given literally, I prefer the form 'Belmina' to 'Belemina' chiefly for the sake of consistency, since one must occasionally speak of the 'Belminatis' or 'Belminatid territory' (cf. Polyb. ii. 54 and Strabo p. 343), and 'Beleminatid' is in-

tolerable.

⁴⁴ Paus. viii. 35. 3.

⁴⁵ *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 20.

⁴⁶ Leake was told there were 'Hellenic ruins' there. But the peasants, who are still unanimous in asserting the existence of remains, failed altogether to show me any traces of them. There is however sufficient evidence that minor antiquities, notably some small bronze figures, have occasionally been found near the spot.

places Belmina on the plateau which extends south (or rather south-east) from Petrína, at a point some three kilometres west of Khelmós; and in this he is followed by Curtius and Bursian,⁴⁷ the former of whom (like Leake) regards the ruins on Khelmós as those of the upper town, while Boblaye and Bursian give them no name, mentioning them merely as those of a frontier fort.

Now between the positions chosen by Leake and Boblaye respectively for the town (or lower town) of Belmina there is not very much to choose. In neither of these positions are the traces of antiquity sufficient to *prove* that a town

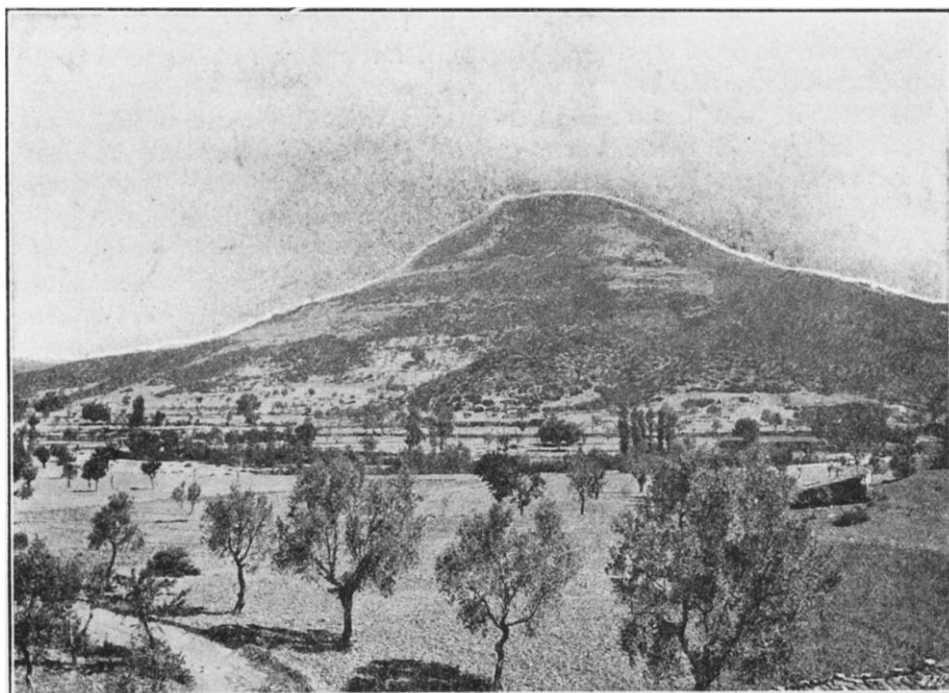


FIG. 2.—MOUNT KHELMÓS, FROM THE SOUTH.

existed. On the whole the evidence is perhaps in favour of the site selected by Leake. But with regard to Khelmós, a more decided view seems possible.

⁴⁷ Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 75, sq.; Curtius, ii. 256, sq.; Bursian, ii. 113. Boblaye speaks of the 'ruines très étendues vues par M. Vietty sur le plateau, au sud de Pétrina.' This is, I suspect, the only evidence for the remains which rests on actual observation, and even this evidence is only reported at second-hand. I cannot help thinking that M. Vietty was taken in either by the appearance, at a distance, of this region, which is studded with white rocks pro-

truding from the soil, or by the traces of some loose stone walls—probably of cottages or sheep-pens—which may be of any date. In rebuilding the chapel of Ag. Theódhoros, which is in this region, some walls of stones, tile, and mortar, were discovered; and also a very small marble Doric capital, of such bad workmanship that it must be of very late, probably Byzantine, date. I suspect there was a small monastery here.

On the one hand it is undoubtedly true that, Belmina being the principal town of a very small valley completely dominated by Khelmós, the fortress which surmounted Khelmós must have been in some sense its acropolis. It was, that is to say, the natural place of refuge for the inhabitants in case of attack. Further, since Pausanias, who mentions Belmina both in describing the route from Megalopolis and in describing that from Tegea, makes no reference whatever to the fortress unless he includes it in the term Belmina, there is a strong presumption, considering how important a place the fortress had once been, that he does so include it. On the other hand, there is no

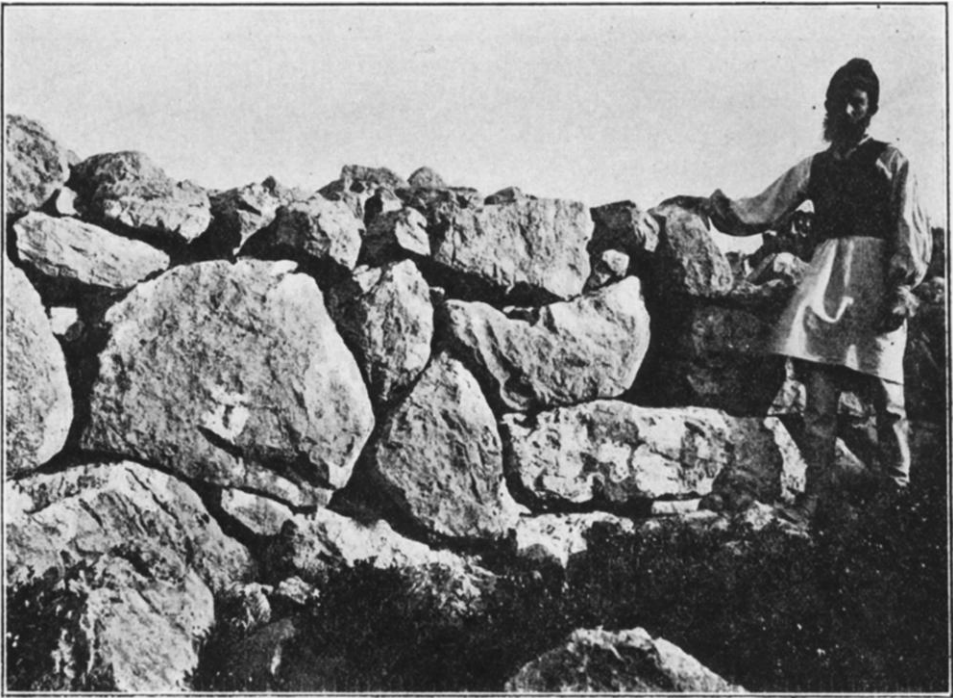


FIG. 3.—OUTER FORTIFICATION WALL ON MOUNT KHELMÓS. [Style (1).]

doubt that the name Belmina was applied by Pausanias primarily to a valley, since he says it was traversed by the Eurotas; and there is no reason why the fortress upon the hill-top should not have had a separate and more distinctive name. That name was, in my opinion, the 'Athenaeum.'

The 'Athenaeum' of Polybius and Plutarch, with which I propose to identify the fortress on Khelmós, must, I feel sure, be distinguished from the 'Athenaeum' of Pausanias, which lay between Oresthasium and Asea, though some topographers have attempted to merge the two. It is described by Plutarch⁴⁸ as τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν Ἀθήναιον,

⁴⁸ *Cleon.* 4.

—as an *ἐμβολή τῆς Λακωνικῆς*,⁴⁹—as Spartan (apparently), but a subject of dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans; and none of these expressions could be applied to a place within twenty stades of Asea. Polybius, the Megalopolitan, always speaks of it as *τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν*⁵⁰ or *ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα*;⁵¹ but its whole history, as gathered from him and Plutarch, is a record of successive changes of hands. The same is true of Belmina and the Belminatid territory; whose history, in fact, blends in such a way with that of the Athenaeum that it seems impossible to dissociate them.⁵² So that there is every reason to believe that the Athenaeum was not merely near Belmina (*περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν*), but formed part of the

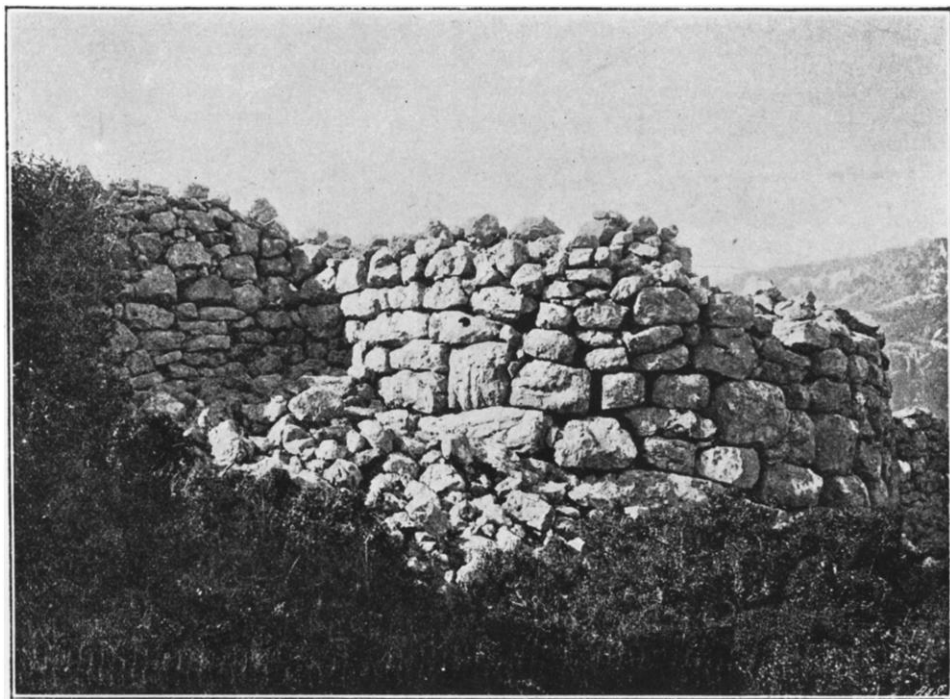


FIG. 4.—INNER FORTIFICATION WALL ON MOUNT KHELMÓS. [Style (2).]

Belminatid territory. And, if so, it can hardly have been situated anywhere but on Mount Khelmós; for Khelmós is, with a single exception,⁵³ the only

⁴⁹ Probably to be translated 'entrance to' or 'pass into Lakonia.'

⁵⁰ Polyb. iv. 37, 60, 81.

⁵¹ *Id.* ii. 46.

⁵² For the successive changes of ownership of Belmina, the Belminatid territory, and the Athenaeum, the following passages should be consulted in the order in which I give them :

(1) Paus. viii. 27. 4 (*if* Blenina = Belmina), cf. *ib.* 35. 4; (2) Plut. *Cleom.* 4 and Pol. ii. 46; (3) Pol. ii. 54; (4) Pol. iv. 37, 60, and 81; (5) Livy xxxviii. 34; (6) Paus. iii. 21. 3, viii. 35. 4.

⁵³ The single exception is the prominent hill whose summit lies almost exactly in a line between the villages of Petrína and Grikoú, from

place in this region adapted for such a fortress, and, without any exception, the only place where traces of a fortress exist. These considerations, and the absence of any separate mention of the 'Athenaeum' in Pausanias, make it (to my mind) almost certain that Khelmós, the fortress *par excellence* of the Belminatid territory, and loosely included in the general word Belmina, is also the fortress more particularly known in ancient times as the Athenaeum.

This equation would doubtless have been made long ago, but for two reasons, viz.—(1) the coincidence that the Athenaeum is generally spoken of as properly Megalopolitan, Belmina (in Pausanias at least) as Spartan; a mere coincidence,⁵⁴ since (as we have seen) both alike are rarely mentioned except for the purpose of recording a change of ownership; (2) the identity of name with that of the other place to which I have already referred.⁵⁵

The importance of the fortress on Khelmós, 'the Athenaeum near Belmina,' can hardly be over-rated. A mere glance at the map will show that it completely bars the way from Sparta to Megalopolis. But it does more than that;—it is the key, as we shall see presently, to *both* of two routes between these two towns and also to *one* very important military route from Sparta to Tegea, viz. the route which traversed the Asean plain. It is also, both naturally and artificially, an exceeding strong position. That it was always a bone of contention is no matter for wonder; the only wonder is that a post so admirably adapted to defence should time after time have been taken and lost.

Between Sparta and Mount Khelmós there are numerous traces of antiquity. None of them can, however, be certainly identified with any site or object known to us from ancient authors, with the possible exception of some remains generally supposed to mark the site of Pellana. Though I have not much new matter to record in connexion with this part of the route, I propose, nevertheless, to sketch it rapidly, noting the principal remains upon it. This will enable me to correct some small inaccuracies of detail, and to add a few new observations.

The track follows the Eurotas valley all the way; for a great part of the way it keeps close to the river bed. For the first three miles the valley is a comparatively open one. To this section of the route belong all the places and objects mentioned by Pausanias between Sparta and the statue

each of which it is, however, separated by a deep stream-bed. This hill overhangs the eastern (or modern) track to Megalopolis, and commands a good view of the western track (the one commonly used in ancient times, and now used by travellers to Leondári). It also commands a magnificent view of the Megalopolitan plain as far north as Karýtaena, and conceals this plain from Khelmós. Were there any traces of a fortress on the summit, one might naturally identify it with the 'Athenae-

um'; but there are none, and a rocky summit like this could hardly have been fortified without retaining traces of the fact.

⁵⁴ Unless, indeed, 'Athenaeum' was specially a Megalopolitan name for the fortress of Belmina.

⁵⁵ Bursian (ii. 113, note 3) expressly rejects the identification of Khelmós with the Athenaeum on the ground that the position of Khelmós will not suit the other Athenaeum, which he does not distinguish from this one.

of Aidos; but no one, so far as I am aware, has ventured to identify them, nor am I prepared to do so. About three miles from Sparta is a large unfinished building, one end of which is used as a khan, the 'khan of Zakharátos.' Near it the river makes a bend to the eastward, circumventing a low rocky hill; but the track to Megalopolis keeps straight on, passing left of the hill, and rejoining the river beyond it some $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the khan. Leaving the track at the khan, and keeping along the river bank, one sees almost immediately, on the opposite bank, the scanty remains of a Roman or mediaeval bridge,—probably the former,—and beside it the traces of a river wall of large blocks of stone. Just opposite this bridge, if one climbs the rocks which overhang the path, one finds a large rock-cutting, which was probably supplemented by building so as to form altogether a level area some 30 ft. \times 20 ft. in extent. This cutting may possibly have been prepared for the statue of Aidos,⁵⁶ its distance from Sparta according very well with such a theory; but it must be remembered that all identifications of this kind are little better than guess-work. Still keeping to the river, one reaches in a few minutes a fine Turkish bridge,—the 'bridge of Kopános,'—which spans it by a single arch. It bears the inscription

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This bridge, though still in excellent repair, is now but little used; but prior to the construction of the carriage road it formed part of the ordinary route from Tripolitsá to Sparta and Mistrá.

From the 'bridge of Kopános' to the point at which the river and the track to Megalopolis re-unite, the river flows in a narrow gorge between high rocks on the eastern, and the low hill already mentioned on the western, side. The former assume shapes so curious as to suggest artificial cutting; and on the slopes of the latter are traces (1) of an aqueduct or mill-stream, (2) lower down, of a half-buried wall, built in order to terrace up the soil, possibly for a road but more probably for purposes of cultivation. On the north end of the hill, where one rejoins the track to Megalopolis, are remains of polygonal walls, and the hill itself bears a fair sprinkling of pottery, while immediately between the hill and the river, on the narrow strip of land which separates them, are the lower courses of a long wall consisting partly of Hellenic and partly of later masonry, nearly parallel with the river. It is evident, in fact, that on and about this hill there was a group of buildings, the principal one being perhaps a small fort; and I draw special attention to this site because it has scarcely yet been mentioned, and never (so far as I know) correctly.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Supposing, that is, that the ancient track kept close to the river at this point, coinciding perhaps (as far as the 'bridge of Kopános') with the track to Tegea. But it seems more probable that (like the modern one) it made a

short cut by passing to the left of the low rocky hill described in the text.

⁵⁷ Baedeker, who (p. 280) mentions polygonal remains 'on a hill on the opposite bank,' probably refers, though inaccurately, to this site.

It is disappointing that we cannot with much probability recognize in it any of the places or objects mentioned by Pausanias. The remains are too extensive to have belonged to a monument merely (the statue of Aidos), too near Sparta to represent the tomb of Ladas⁵⁸ or the Charákoma, too near Sparta and too far from Belmina to be the remains of Pellana. A few days' excavation would probably throw some light upon this matter; and it is one to which I would call the attention of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who have at present a monopoly of excavation in Lakonia.

Within the next three miles, or less, from the hill last mentioned, traces of antiquity are visible in several places, either in the path or close beside it; but there is not one of them to which a name can be given with any approach to certainty. I will do little more than enumerate them.

(1) Five minutes' walk from the hill,—at a point where there is only just room for the path between the rocks on the left and the river on the right,—there is a bit of Hellenic wall, partly built over with later work, at the very edge of the river and flush with the path. Its position, and the presence of grooves,—apparently wheel-ruts,—upon its upper surface, mark it as a piece of retaining-wall intended to protect an ancient road from the encroachments of the river.

(2) Three minutes' walk farther on, the path still closely following the river, one passes a large cave, mainly (if not entirely) natural, in the side of the rocky hill on the left of the path. The entrance to this cave, which is called by the natives Φούρνος ('Oven'), is formed by an arch in the aqueduct which once brought water from the Βιβάρι (= 'Vivári,' 'fish-pond') to Sparta, and which for a long way skirts the hills by the side of the path. Near this cave Leake saw a 'semicircular sepulchral niche,'⁵⁹ which he identified with the tomb of Ladas;⁶⁰ but for this its distance from Sparta is insufficient. Subsequent writers⁶¹ suppose the niche, or the cave, to have contained the statue of Aidos; but it does not appear that they *saw* the niche at all, and Leake (who, I suspect, is the sole original authority for its existence) distinctly calls it 'sepulchral,' an expression which hardly suggests a shape suitable for containing a statue. And the connexion between a *cave*, apparently natural, and the statue is not very obvious. I have already tentatively suggested (p. 42) that the statue of Aidos was a good deal nearer Sparta.

(3) After about twelve minutes' walk one reaches a comparatively open spot, formed by the junction of a stream, running from west to east, with the Eurotas. The valley of this stream was spanned a little higher up by the aqueduct already noted, and the remains of the piers which supported

⁵⁸ If it represents *any* of the objects noted by Pausanias, it must be this. The words ἵπὲρ τῆν λεωφόρον suit it well. But, if so, the statue of Aidos must have been at some point a good deal less than 'thirty stades' from Sparta. In the first plate to Ross's *Reisen im Peloponnes*, 'Grab

des Ladas' is marked near this spot, but without any apparent reference to extant remains.

⁵⁹ *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 13.

⁶⁰ *Id.* 15.

⁶¹ Bursian, ii. 115. See also Baedeker, p. 280, and the *Guide Joanne*, p. 281.

the aqueduct are still visible. In the low rocks on the left side of the path are some curious cuttings, known to the peasants as the 'Μαγειρεία' ('Kitchen'),⁶² which were probably made for the reception of some statues, altars, or the like, rather than for a rock-tomb.⁶³

(4) Twenty minutes more bring one to the remains of a massive Hellenic wall,⁶⁴ forming an angle with the river, by the side of a small stream. It is by no means impossible, though the identification is a purely conjectural one, that this wall may have formed part of the Charákoma ('Stockade') of Pausanias.⁶⁵

(5) About four minutes' walk beyond this, to left of, and slightly above, the path, the rock has been cut back, almost certainly in order to make way for the ancient road. It certainly had nothing to do with the *Turkish* road, since the latter is proved by traces of the paving, still extant, to have been at a lower level.

After this, one passes no object of archaeological interest till one reaches what has been commonly, and I think correctly, taken for the site of Pellana.⁶⁶ It is about half an hour's walk from the spot last mentioned, at a point where the valley widens out, and the path to Megalopolis begins to diverge from the river. On the left bank of the river (*i.e.* the side opposite to the path) are the twin peaks, both surmounted by chapels, which project westward from the village of Vourliá. Between the foot of these hills and the river is a narrow strip of land,⁶⁷ protected from the encroachments of the latter by a wall of large and very roughly squared stones laid without mortar. A photograph of this wall is given on Pl. III. The total length of the wall, which appears to be Hellenic, may be roughly estimated at 200 yards; but it is not everywhere preserved. At the back of the strip of land which it protects, and just at the foot of the hills, is a fine spring, whose waters are artificially retained so as to form a kind of reservoir now supplying a mill-stream. This spring is the one which goes by the name of the 'Vivári,'⁶⁸ and whose water was conveyed to Sparta by the aqueduct already several times mentioned.⁶⁹ The aqueduct is probably of Roman date, with later reparations. A little beyond this wall and spring, the river is joined on the same (left) bank by a tributary, which has a bed of considerable size, though (like most

⁶² They are very convenient for lighting fires in. Hence the name. I have myself seen traces of fires there. From the name a story has arisen that they were the cooking-places of the workmen employed in making the aqueduct from the 'Vivári' to Sparta.

⁶³ As suggested in Baedeker, p. 280.

⁶⁴ The 'Hellenikó' of the Guide-books.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bursian, ii. 114, *sq.*

⁶⁶ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 13, *sq.*; and subsequent writers

⁶⁷ It may be roughly estimated as varying, in different places, from 50 to 200 yards in width.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 43.

⁶⁹ The following story, with variations, told by the rustics in this connexion.—A certain Greek princess (*Βασιλόπουλα*), having two suitors, set them each a labour to perform. One was to bring water from the 'Vivári' to Sparta, the other to build the fortress (*κάστρο*) of Mistrá; and the one who first accomplished his task was to win her hand. Unfortunately the two tasks were completed simultaneously; and the princess, unable either to satisfy the claims of both her suitors or to choose between them, took poison and died.

Greek streams) it is not unfrequently dry.⁷⁰ One may, if one likes, ascend this stream-bed to near the village of Konidítsa. At the village itself, and in the plain below it (at the point marked 'K. V.' [= 'Kephalóvrysis'] in my map), are two large springs, one of which⁷¹ is believed by the country people to derive its waters from the katavóthra of the 'Táka' (*v. p. 68*) in the plain of Tripolitsá. There are thus in the neighbourhood of Konidítsa no less than three 'headsprings' (κεφαλοβρύσεις),—viz. one in the village itself, another in the plain immediately below it, and a third (the 'Vivári') close to the river, and just behind the ancient river-wall. It is the existence of these springs and of the ancient wall,—combined with the distances from Sparta and Belmina, tallying well with those given by Pausanias,—which has led topographers generally to identify this region with Pellana. Since Konidítsa itself stands almost too far back from the direct route to Megalopolis, the second and third of the springs just mentioned probably correspond to those which Pausanias denotes as 'Pellaniid' and 'Lankeian' respectively.

Pellana was one of the towns of the Lakonian 'Tripolis';⁷² and, since the Tripolis is defined⁷³ as being 'Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est,' it must have extended as far as the frontier. There is therefore little doubt that Belmina was another of its component towns. The name of the third town is a matter of some doubt. Both Aegys and Karystus have been suggested;⁷⁴ and the latter view is by far the more probable of the two. For, though the term 'Aegytid' appears to have been sometimes used in a wide sense and to have included Belmina,⁷⁵ it is in other passages⁷⁶ distinguished from the Belminatid; and Paus. viii. 34. 5 shows clearly that 'Aegytid' in its narrower sense was the designation of the valley lying west of the northern end of the Taygetus range,—the valley whose northern portions are overlooked by the charming little town of Leondári. It may therefore be taken for certain that Aegys itself was in *that* valley, not in the Eurotas valley south of Belmina. But whatever may have been the name of the third town of the Tripolis,—Karystus is the most plausible guess,—topographers are probably right in placing it at the 'Kalývia of Georghítsi,'—a village which one reaches, on one's northward journey, rather more than an hour after passing the supposed site of Pellana. At the Kalývia there is another fine 'Kephalóvrysis' (head-spring).

The evidences of antiquity here are as follows:—

⁷⁰ This is probably the *κατὰ Πελλήνην χάραξ*-*pos* of Plut. *Agis*, 8.

⁷¹ Possibly both; but at any rate the theory attaches to the one in the plain. It is probably erroneous, for the water (especially that of the lower spring) is too clean and too cold to have run so short a distance underground. The ancient theory was that the water of the 'Táka' rose again at Frangóvryso, but the comparative levels of the two plains makes this impossible.

V. Appendix A, p. 68.

⁷² Pol. iv. 81.

⁷³ Livy xxxv. 27.

⁷⁴ The former by Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 18, *sq.* and Bursian ii. 114; the latter by Leake, *Peloponnesiaca* (which represents his later views), p. 350, and Curtius ii. 258.

⁷⁵ Supposing that Βλέμνα in Paus. viii. 27. 4 = Βέλμνα.

⁷⁶ *E.g.* Pol. ii. 54.

(1) There is an acropolis,—a low, rocky hill, steep of approach on all sides except the east,—surrounded at the top, and to some extent lower down also, by remains of walls, for the most part of late date, but among which there are some traces of probable Hellenic work.⁷⁷

(2) The acropolis just described lies immediately left of the path to Megalopolis. A little farther on,—still just left of the path,—are two circular caves, cut in the soft rock, with roofs of the beehive shape. The diameter of one of them, which I measured, is approximately 18 ft., and the height some 10 ft.; and the other must be of about the same size. These caves, which I suppose to be tombs, were courteously shown me by Mr. Γκουζούλης, the demarch of Georghítsi. They might possibly repay excavation.

(3) In the village I bought a large number of coins,—most of them unfortunately of late date, Roman and Byzantine; none which could serve as a clue to the ancient name of the place.

There is but little pottery about. The place was therefore probably a small one,—perhaps little more than a fort.

Half an hour beyond the 'Kalývia of Georghítsi' there is another 'Kephálóvrysis,' gushing freely from beneath some rocks on the left of the path. The water of this spring is retained, so as to form a pool some 12 ft. × 17 ft. but of irregular shape, by the remains of an ancient wall of large hewn stones.

Hence to the 'khan of Longaníko,' in the 'Belminatid' territory, which I have already discussed, is a journey of about an hour and a half (for a fast walker an hour and a quarter). The path takes one first through a region commonly known as the 'Agrapithókambos' ('wild-pear region'), and then through one called 'Goumarórkambos'; the latter being a beautiful pass where the sides of the hills both to left and right are richly clothed with arbutus (*γούμαρο*).

II.—Megalopolis to Belmina.⁷⁸

'On the road from Megalopolis to Sparta,' says Pausanias, 'there are thirty stades to the Alpheius. Then, after travelling by the side of the river (*ποταμός*) Theius, another tributary of the Alpheius, and then leaving it on your left, you come, about forty stades from the Alpheius, to Phalaesiae. Phalaesiae is twenty stades from the Hermaeum near Belemina. Now the Arkadians say that Belemina was originally part of their territory, and was taken from them by the Spartans; but their story appeared to me an improbable one for several reasons,—principally because I do not believe the Thebans would have allowed the Arkadians to suffer even this amount of loss had they felt that they would be justified in righting them.'

This account of the route from Megalopolis to Belmina is concise and satisfactory. That it was the *western* route, passing close to Leondári,—and

⁷⁷ An old well, completely filled up, has also been recently discovered at the east end of the acropolis, just below the crown of the hill. It is about six feet in diameter, and is cut chiefly

in soft rock. The proprietor has excavated it to a depth of some 30 feet in hope of finding treasure.

⁷⁸ Paus. viii. 35. 3, 4.

not the one commonly used at the present day, *viâ* Skortsinoú,—has been generally recognized. It is proved by the fact of its crossing the Alpheius below the junction of that river with its tributary the Theius, which entered it on the left. For the 'Alpheius' and the 'Theius' are, respectively, (1) the river which runs from the gorge of Tsimbaroú between Rhapsomáti and Marmariá; and (2) the Koutoupharina, the only tributary of the other which deserves the name of a ποταμός.⁷⁹ And the ancient route to Sparta, Pausanias tells us, left the Theius on the left.

Phalaesiae was placed by Leake⁸⁰ a little east of Boúra, where Gell⁸¹ reported 'vestiges of a city'; but the French explorers could see no remains there except those of ruined 'Kalývia,' and from my own observations I think they were right. Besides, the spot indicated is rather too far from the crossing of the Alpheius, and rather too near to the Hermaeum, to correspond well with Pausanias' account. For the Hermaeum was doubtless, as topographers are agreed, about the division of the water-sheds of the Alpheius and Eurotas,—*i.e.* below Spanéika.

The *eastern* route from Megalopolis to Sparta,—now commonly used by travellers from Sinánu,—is indicated in my map as a modern track. Since it meets the western route immediately below Mt. Khelmós, it is obvious that I have by no means exaggerated the importance of the 'Athenaeum,' which crowned that hill, as the key to *both* routes from Sparta to Megalopolis as well as to the route which I am about to describe from Sparta to Tegea.

C.—SPARTA TO TEGEA AND MANTINEIA *viâ* THE SPARTA-MEGALOPOLIS ROUTE AND THE ASEAN PLAIN.

The evidence for the existence of this route is contained in the following passages:—

(1) Herod. ix. 11. In 479 B.C., shortly before the battle of Plataea, the Spartan ephors, daily reproached by the Athenian envoys with delay in sending their contingent against the common enemy, suddenly despatch a force of 5,000 Spartiates in the night, and next day announce to the astonished envoys that the troops have already started and are by this time at Oresteium.⁸² We know from Pausanias⁸³ that Oresteium was identical with 'Oresthasium,' the place between Megalopolis and Asea whose position I have already discussed.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ These identifications are necessitated (1) by the distance from Megalopolis, as given in the present passage, (2) by Paus. viii. 44, 4, and 54, 3, where we are told that the sources of the Alpheius in the Megalopolitan territory derive their water from the plain of Asea (Frangóvryso)—a theory which could not have arisen had the Alpheius been any river other than the one I have described. On the relation

between the waters of the Asean plain and the Alpheius, see Appendix A.

⁸⁰ *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 237.

⁸¹ *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 213.

⁸² The audience must have taken place late in the day, and the march have been a rapid one.

⁸³ viii. 3. 2.

⁸⁴ P. 28 *sqq.*

(2) Plut. *Arist.* 10 (same story).

(3) Thuc. v. 64. In 418 B.C., when the Athenians, Argives, and other allies are threatening Tegea, the Spartans send an army to assist that town *viâ* Orestheium ('Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαυαλλίας'). This is the expedition which ended in the first battle of Mantinea.

(4) Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 10 *sqq.* After the battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.), the Mantineians proceed to rebuild their walls. The Spartans send an expedition against them (370 B.C.) under the command of Agesilaus. He marches *viâ* Eutaea. Eutaea was one of the Maenalian towns;⁸⁵ and that it was not in the Tegean plain, but either in the Megalopolitan or in the Asean, may be regarded as certain; for Agesilaus, on his arrival there, found that all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms had left in order to join the rest of the Arkadian forces, who were assembling at Asea preparatory to marching to the defence of the Mantineians. Had Eutaea been in the Tegean plain, it would have been futile for its inhabitants to meet the other troops *at Asea*.

(5) Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 9. In 362 B.C. Epaminondas, at Tegea, hears that Agesilaus, with the whole fighting force of Sparta, is marching for Mantinea, and has got as far as 'Pellene' (= Pellana). This Pellana was, as we have seen, in the Eurotas valley, on the direct route between Sparta and Megalopolis,—not on the direct route between Sparta, Tegea and Mantinea. Indeed this explains Epaminondas' attempt to surprise Sparta in the absence of Agesilaus. Had the latter advanced by the direct route to Tegea, Epaminondas could have had no hope of getting from Tegea to Sparta without meeting him on the way.

The evidence for a military route from Sparta to the Mantineio-Tegean plain, and thence to the Isthmus, *viâ* the Sparta-Megalopolis track and the plain of Asea, is thus amply sufficient. But the question immediately arises—At what point did the route to Tegea and Mantinea diverge from that to Megalopolis? Did it enter the Megalopolitan plain at all, or did it leave the Megalopolitan route somewhere near Belmina, and, keeping south of the summit of Tsimbarouí, make straight for the Asean plain? I have already stated⁸⁶ that, in my opinion, common sense points to the latter alternative as the true one.

From the Belminatid (*i.e.* the region about the khan of Longaníko) there are no less than three possible routes by which one may reach the plain of Asea (Frangóvryso) without entering that of Megalopolis. One may:—

(1) diverge from the Megalopolitan route at the khan of Longaníko, pass immediately right of the (now ruined) chapel of Ag. Eiréne, and ascend the river-bed of the Eurotas, not leaving it till it brings one out at a point immediately below Maniáti and Koutribouíki

⁸⁵ Paus. viii. 27. 3.

⁸⁶ P. 28.

in the Asean plain: or (2) one may follow a mule track which passes left of Ag. Eiréne and, skirting the eastern side of Mt. Khelmós, strikes the path from Skortsinoú to Pápari and Koutriboúkhi near the village of Agriakóna: or (3) one may keep to the *modern* (eastern) Sparta-Megalopolis route as far as Skortsinoú, and thence take the path to Pápari and Koutriboúkhi, skirting the southern slopes of Tsimbaroú, with Khelmós on one's right, passing left of Agriakóna, and descending into the Asean plain by either of the two villages just named. These routes may be clearly distinguished with the help of Plate I.

Now (1) is perhaps the most obvious route; for, though it necessarily climbs some 800 ft. to get to the plain of Asea, it involves no *pass* in the ordinary sense of the word, but a gradual ascent along the river-bed. On the other hand (*a*) the river-bed is in parts very rocky, and thus would at any time be extremely inconvenient for troops: (*b*) it winds very much: (*c*) it would be impassable after heavy rain: (*d*) for a very considerable distance it passes through a deep-sided gorge, some hundreds of feet in depth, which would offer every opportunity for treachery.⁸⁷

(2) is a much safer and on the whole a more convenient route than (1); but the first part of it, as far as Agriakóna, is a trying one, ascending and descending constantly, and would, in my opinion, be far inferior as a military route, to

(3) the one by Skortsinoú. This route is fairly direct, and is nowhere very rocky or very steep, although it ascends (as near as I can judge) to a height of 1200 ft. or 1300 ft. above the level of the Eurotas valley at the khan of Longaniko, and 400 ft. or 500 ft. above the plain of Asea.⁸⁸ It bears clear traces of Turkish pavement in some parts.

On the whole I have little doubt that this was the ancient route which led from Sparta to Tegea *viâ* the Asean plain.

The natural descent into the plain is by the village of Koutriboúkhi; but the inhabitants of Pápari, when they come this way, bear left before reaching the former village, and skirt the lowest slopes of Tsimbaroú; and travellers to Oresthasium in ancient times would doubtless do the same.

At, or close by, Oresthasium one struck the Megalopolis-Tegea road.

The central part of the plain of Asea was, no doubt, of a very swampy nature; ⁸⁹ perhaps even it was partially submerged, as it is at the present day. It was necessary therefore to pass either left or right of the centre in order to cross the plain. We have seen that the left hand route—*viâ* Oresthasium—was at least on two occasions selected, in spite of being slightly longer than the other. It was evidently the stopping-place;

⁸⁷ The extreme danger of this as a military route is well illustrated by a story which I heard from a very old Turk at Longaniko. Ibrahim Pasha (he says), marching from Sparta to Tripolitsá, was led by a treacherous guide into this gorge, *whereas he ought to have gone by Skortsinoú*. He immediately found himself

shot at from the overhanging hills on both sides, and, after losing many of his men, eventually succeeded in effecting his escape *viâ* Kalteziá.

⁸⁸ The highest point is in that part of the route which coincides with (2).

⁸⁹ Probably the name 'A $\acute{\sigma}$ réa itself refers to this.

probably it was a larger town, and provided better accommodation, than Eutaea, which I take to have been the corresponding place on the right hand route.

Eutaea is mentioned by Pausanias⁹⁰ as one of the 'Maenalian' towns whose inhabitants contributed towards the foundation of Megalopolis; and by Xenophon⁹¹ as the place where Agesilaus stopped on his march from Sparta to Mantinea in 370 B.C., and also on his return journey. I have already shown that it must have been either in the Megalopolitan or in the Asean plain; and since we have seen that the route did not enter the Megalopolitan plain at all, it must have been in the Asean. Leake⁹² conjectured that it occupied the site of the little village of Barbítsa; and my own view is only a slight modification of his. The traces of antiquity at Barbítsa are very slender;⁹³ but Lianóú, a neighbouring village, certainly represents an ancient site. (1) In the village itself are various remains of antiquity, among which I may note especially a fragment of a marble Doric capital which must be either very early, or very late, in date,⁹⁴ and some blocks of Hellenic masonry built into the chapel of Ag. Barbára. More interesting are a number of *wells*, of uncertain date, but, from the absence of mortar or brick in the construction, not improbably ancient Greek. The villagers have already discovered quite a number of them. Several have been cleared out, and are now in daily use. They are circular, and are built entirely of small blocks of limestone, roughly hewn into shape. The diameter of one which I measured was only 2 ft. 6 in. (2) In the fields immediately surrounding the village have been found a considerable quantity of ancient coins. Of those which I have seen by far the greater number are Roman or Byzantine; but others are Hellenic, chiefly belonging to the Arkadian and Achaean leagues. (3) On, and a little below, the summit of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, which overhangs the village, are some slight remains of two fortified walls of unhewn stones; walls to which it is impossible to assign a date, but which are very similar in construction to those of Sellasia (*v.* Appendix B) and to *some* (the least good) of those of the 'Athenaeum' (Khelmós). The remains on the summit are for the most part flush with the ground, and it was not until I had made a small excavation there that I could satisfy myself of their existence, but the hill, from its

⁹⁰ viii. 27. 3.

⁹¹ *Hell.* vi. 5. 12, 20, 21.

⁹² *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 31-33.

⁹³ The 'Paleó-khóra' mentioned by Leake (admittedly on hearsay evidence) is almost certainly the site of a deserted village, not (as he supposed) of an ancient town. It is probably identical with the 'Vill. re' (= Village ruiné?) of the French map, where I have seen traces of rude walls, but nothing which suggests antiquity. On the other hand, by a small spring on the way from Barbítsa to Frangóvryso, about ten minutes' walk from the former, and just before one reaches the chapel of Ag. Giánnes, there

exists a piece of wall, of rather carefully fitted polygonal work, nearly fifty feet in length, preserved in parts to a height of over four feet. This wall, which I excavated (for scarcely a trace of it was visible above ground), appears to be almost isolated, and I was quite unable to discover to what sort of building it belonged.

⁹⁴ It has the bulging echinus which generally characterizes an archaic order; but the profile is in other respects so peculiar as to suggest that it is slovenly work of late date. It has been hollowed into a rude trough, and lies just outside the door of the priest's house.

height and its position, is such a commanding one,—a key to the route from Lakonia into the Asean plain *viâ* the river-bed of the Eurotas,—that it would have been strange if it had not been fortified. It appears nevertheless, from the absence of pottery about it, to have been but little used, probably because the river-bed was generally avoided by Spartan troops for the reasons I have already mentioned; but its existence was an important, and even necessary, safeguard. A sketch plan of the remains in their present state is given below in Fig. 5.

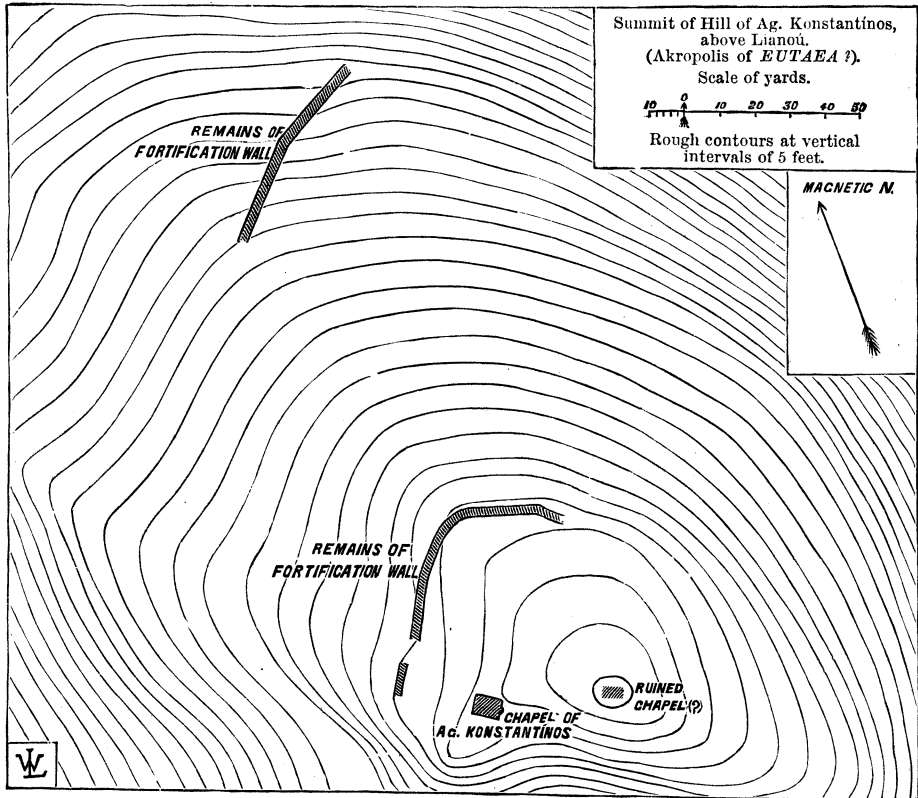


FIG. 5.

The fortifications of Eutaea are mentioned by Xenophon⁹⁵ in his account of Agesilaus' expedition. That general, when he arrived at Eutaea, found them fallen into disrepair, and took the trouble of restoring them.

If I am right in my identification of Eutaea, the route thence to Tegea would be *either* *viâ* Barbítsa, the khan of Talagáni,⁹⁶ and the road from Megalopolis, *or* *viâ* Mánari and Zéli, by a path which crosses Mt. Krávári south of the summit. The latter is the more direct, but the former is rather

⁹⁵ *Hell.* vi. 5. 12.⁹⁶ See Pl. II.

the easier route. For an army going (like that of Agesilaus) to *Mantineia*, the Megalopolis road would be both easier and more direct than the other.

The existence of this route from Sparta to Tegea, *via* the Asean plain, or rather the fact that it appears to have been extensively used for military purposes in ancient times, may perhaps seem strange. And the fact that the new railway route, at present unfinished, from Tripolitsá to Sparta will not only pass Frangóvryso, but will go right through into the plain of Megalopolis, and there branch south for Sparta, will hardly allay this feeling; for the conditions of railway construction and the necessity of serving as many places as possible by a single route, are sufficient to account for the fact.

The true explanation consists no doubt partly in the fact that the most direct route,—the one which is now in common use,—though nowhere an abnormally steep one, involves a great number of ascents and descents, and would therefore, before the high road was made, have been very trying for troops on the march; but largely also in the want of good water upon it,—a want so marked that, as we shall see very shortly, even the alternative (and commoner) Spartan military route diverged considerably from the modern one in order to supply it by following a river-bed. On the route I have just described there are, it will be remembered, a number of magnificent springs; viz. (1) the ‘Vivári’ and the spring between it and Konidítsa, (2) the ‘Kephálóvrysis’ at the Kalývia of Georghítsi (Karystus), (3) the ‘Kephálóvrysis’ in the path a little further on, (4) the ‘springs of the Alpheius and Eurotas’ at Frangóvryso (Asea); to say nothing of abundant river water (the Eurotas), the wells at Lianóu (Eutaea), and doubtless also wells at Oresthasium.

D.—TEGEA TO SPARTA, DIRECT ROUTE.

We have no complete, or even nearly complete, account of this route in ancient authors. Pausanias⁹⁷ mentions several objects which one passed on it (altars and temples), all within about two miles of Tegea, and none of them identifiable. Then he proceeds:—⁹⁸

The boundary of the Lacedaemonian and Tegean territories is the river Alpheius. This river has its origin at Phylake; but not far from the source another stream flows down into it from a number of small springs, whence the place has come to be called Symbola (‘the Junction’). Now the Alpheius appears to be distinguished from all other rivers by this peculiarity,—it has a way of disappearing frequently underground and then reappearing. For, starting from Phylake and the place called Symbola, it buries itself in the Tegean plain; and, after rising again at Asea and mixing its stream with the Eurotas, it descends a second time into the ground, to re-emerge at a place which the Arkadians call Pegae (‘The Springs’).⁹⁹

This passage certainly implies that the Alpheius either touched or crossed the route from Tegea to Sparta; but it does *not* necessarily imply

⁹⁷ viii. 53. 11.

⁹⁸ *Id.* 54. 1, *sqq.*

⁹⁹ Here follows an account of the Alpheius

crossing the Adriatic and reappearing at Syracuse.

that Phylake, where the river had its origin, was on that route. We must not therefore identify it too positively, as some writers have done, with Kryávrysi,—the site of a khan (now in ruins) and a spring on the route from Tripolitsá which was till quite recently in common use. The spring at Kryávrysi contributes but little to the river;¹⁰⁰ and it would be much more natural (I think) to describe the latter as having its origin in the hills beyond Vourvoúra, whence the main stream flows, than at this point.

This however is a matter of no very great importance, since, as I have already observed, Pausanias nowhere says that Phylake was upon the ancient route; he only says that the river was upon the ancient route, and rose in Phylake. Now since the ancient route either touched or crossed the river, a glance at the map will show that it must have gone along the river gorge, *not* by Kaparéli and Alipokhóri like the modern carriage road; otherwise it would, like the carriage road, have missed the river altogether. This is precisely what we should expect, since the gorge offers by far the most direct route, whether one comes from Tripolitsá or from the site of Tegea.¹⁰¹ It was indeed in constant use till the new road was made, and is still frequently adopted by travellers on foot.

I have so far assumed that by the name Alpheius Pausanias denotes the modern Sarandapotamós, in spite of a very grave difficulty which arises from the fact that the Sarandapotamós, on entering the Tegean plain, bends eastward to join the river from Dholianá (the ancient river Garates), and flows with it to the Katavóthra of Vérzova, whereas the river referred to by Pausanias, and identified by him with the Alpheius, was certainly supposed by him to flow westward to the Katavóthra of the Táka. The necessity for this assumption has, however, been generally recognized; for the only alternative to it is the identification of the Alpheius with some tiny streams near Kaparéli, too insignificant to be noticed at such length by Pausanias, and in a position which the ancient road (unlike the modern carriage road) would be most unlikely to pass.

The difficulty attending its identification with the Sarandapotamós has been met by Leake¹⁰² and his successors by the hypothesis of an alteration, since Pausanias' day, in the course of that river after entering the plain. It is

¹⁰⁰ When I was there (June, 1893), literally nothing; the small dribble which flowed from it being diverted so as to water a bed of onions or garlic close by. But there was at that time not so much as a drop of water either in the main stream-bed or in the one which here joins it from the direction of the khan of Bakóuros.

It is a pity that the spring of Kryávrysi, which used to be treasured by travellers as supplying the last drink of fresh water on the way from Tripolitsá to Sparta till one reached the khan of Vourliá, is now utterly neglected and its drinking basin destroyed. The khan of Kryávrysi, too, is deserted. The disappearance of this (like that of many another old institu-

tion in Greece) is due to the construction of the carriage-road. The latter skirts the hills a great deal higher up, missing the old spring and khan.

¹⁰¹ With this difference, that the track from Tripolitsá passes west of Kamári and does not enter the gorge till it reaches a point just below Mavríki; while, starting from Piali or any other of the villages on the site of Tegea, one naturally goes by the gorge all the way.

¹⁰² *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 114, *sq.* and map. The theory does not appear in *Travels in the Morea*, which (unlike *Peloponnesiaca*) was based wholly on personal observation.

suggested that this alteration may have resulted from a temporary obstruction of the river's former course after heavy rain, or have been made artificially for the purpose of better drainage. I have discussed this theory in Appendix A, to which readers are referred. The conclusion there arrived at is that neither the course traced in Leake's map nor that suggested by Bérard¹⁰³ is compatible with the level of the ground in different parts of the plain; that the only alternative course remaining,—viz. through the town of Tegea itself,—is historically inadmissible; and that therefore I cannot bring myself to believe in the supposed change of course at all, and am rather inclined to attribute the whole difficulty to a blunder on the part of Pausanias.¹⁰⁴

One more question arises in connexion with this river. The Alpheius, says Pausanias, was the boundary between the territories of Lakonia and Tegea. *Which part* of the Alpheius served as boundary? Certainly not the part along which the route to Sparta lies; for this runs north and south, not east and west, and it is incredible that the whole of the territory either east or west of it was Lakonian. For my own part I agree with Leake¹⁰⁵ in supposing the boundary to have been the eastern branch of the Sarandapotamós, which flows below Vourvoúra,—in fact the principal stream of the river *above* Kryávrysi. But it does not seem to have occurred to Leake that this is an excellent reason for placing Phylake (where the Alpheius was said to rise) not at Kryávrysi but beyond Vourvoúra.

If I am right in supposing the river of Vourvoúra to represent that portion of the Alpheius which formed the boundary between the Lakonian and Tegean territories, the passage of Pausanias which we are now considering accords admirably with another statement of the same author,¹⁰⁶ to the effect that the 'Hermae' marking the junction of the Lakonian, Tegean and Argive territories were on the ridge of Parnon (ἐπ' αὐτοῦ) and in the pass from the Thyreatid plain, *i.e.* between Ag. Pétrou and Arákhova.

Pausanias' account of the way from Tegea to Sparta ends at the frontier; nor is there any corresponding account of the other portion of it in his book on Lakonia. But in determining its direction we have only two routes to choose between, viz. (1) *viâ* the Klisóura defile; the route adopted by the modern mule track and the new road,¹⁰⁷ (2) *viâ* Arákhova and the bed of the river which takes its name from that village. Our choice between these two routes will depend largely on the position which we assign to *Karyae*.

Karyae, the site of a famous sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, and the seat of an annual festival in her honour, was situated somewhere upon the

¹⁰³ *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. xvi. (1892), p. 534 and Pl. XIII.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix A, pp. 68–9.

¹⁰⁵ *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁶ ii. 38. 7.

¹⁰⁷ From the 'khan of Bakoúros' to beyond the 'khan of Kokkinóloutsa' the mule track and new carriage road practically coincide; then

a divergence begins, the mule track eventually joining the Arákhova route, by the river-side, at the now ruined 'khan of Krevatás,' while the carriage road climbs the hills west of it. A little further on, just before one reaches the 'khan of Vourliá,' *all three* routes coincide for a short distance. See Pl. I.

way from Tegea to Sparta.¹⁰⁸ It was at, or near, the frontier.¹⁰⁹ Further, it was to the *right* of the way from Argos to Sparta, the turning which led to it being the third after one passed the Hermae, or boundary marks, at the top of the pass of Parnon.¹¹⁰ Now we have already seen that the frontier in question was the part of the Sarandapotamós above Kryávrysi—the eastern branch, which I have called for greater precision the river of Vourvoúra. And it is quite clear¹¹¹ that the ancient route from Argos to Sparta was the track which crosses Mt. Parnon between Ag. Pétros and Arákhova and enters the deep bed of the river of Arákhova at or near the latter village. Hence the area within which our choice of a site for Karyae must necessarily be confined is by no means a large one. Karyae must in fact be looked for somewhere between Kryávrysi and Arákhova and not far from the river of Vourvoúra.

In the French map a 'Palaeó-kastro' ('P.K.') is marked at a point

¹⁰⁸ Thuc. v. 55. 3; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25-27; Livy xxxiv. 26, xxxv. 27.

¹⁰⁹ This appears (1) from Thuc. v. 55. 3, where the Spartans make their *διαβατήρια* (unsuccessfully) at Karyae; (2) from Livy xxxiv. 26 compared with *ib.* xxxv. 27. In the former passage T. Quinctius pitches his camp at Karyae, and there waits *before entering Lakonian territory*; while in the latter, which describes events which occurred only three years later, Philopoemen is said to have encamped at Karyae *in Lakonian territory*. Whether it had changed hands in the interval, or not (and there is no indication that it had), it was clearly a border town. But (3) that it *did* change hands more than once on other occasions is clear from Paus. viii. 45. 1, which makes it originally Tegean—*id.* iv. 16. 9, which makes it Spartan (in the time of the second Messenian war)—Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25, where Karyae, after the battle of Leuktra, secedes to the enemies of Sparta; and *id.* vii. 1. 28, where it is re-taken by the Spartans and severely punished for its treachery.

¹¹⁰ Paus. iii. 10. 7.

¹¹¹ Leake, who originally supposed (*Travels in the Morea*, ii. 510) that the Argos-Sparta route crossed the Parnon range by a pass *south* of the summit, *viâ* Kastánitsa, afterwards (*Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 298, 339) abandoned that view in favour of the more correct identification of the French topographers. No one who has tried the two routes can be in any doubt about the matter. The pass by Kastánitsa is far higher, steeper, and rockier, than the other. It is a very trying route for a single pedestrian, or for a loaded mule, and would be almost intolerable for an army; while the Arákhova route is, as Greek mountain-routes go, a remarkably simple and straightforward one.

Further, we know from Polybius (ii. 65) that a part of the route of Antigonos from Argos to Sparta, *viâ* Sellasia, was *παρὰ τὸν Οἰβοῦντρα ποταμὸν*, and that the battle of Sellasia itself was fought actually in and about the river-bed. Now all this applies perfectly to the Arákhova route, but *not* to that by Kastánitsa; for the river of Tsintsina, and its junction with that from Agrianós, lie at the bottom of ravines so deep and difficult that the track goes far above them—there is no room for a path, much less for a battle, in the river-bed.

Lastly, Karyae, which we know to have been situated near the Tegean and Spartan frontier, would certainly never have been mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 10. 7) in connexion with the Argos-Sparta route at all, if that route had passed as far south as the river of Tsintsina.

I believe the Hermae which marked the common boundary of the Argive, Tegean, and Spartan territories, and which Pausanias (ii. 38. 7) describes as *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ* [*sc. τοῦ Πάρνωνος*], to have been at the top of the pass; not (as Jochmus suggests in the *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 43) a little west of Meligoú. The three large heaps of stones which may still be seen close to the path, within about 100 yards of the top of the pass, at a spot called *στοῦς φονευμένους*, doubtless commemorate some murder or massacre; but it may very possibly have been a murder or massacre of quite recent date. Stories which connect them with the battle of 300 Spartans against 300 Argives (Baedeker, p. 263), or with Herakles and Hippokoon (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 42), are merely the guesses of half-educated priests or schoolmasters with a smattering of ancient Greek; not, as Jochmus imagined, traditions 'perpetuated from the earliest ages of Grecian antiquity.'

about two miles due west of Arákhova; and this Palaeó-kastro has been confidently asserted by Ross,¹¹² followed by Curtius¹¹³ and Bursian,¹¹⁴ to represent the ancient Karyae. But the two former admittedly never visited the supposed site; and the last-named does not profess to have visited it either. For my own part, repeated observation and inquiry have convinced me that no ancient remains exist, or have recently existed, anywhere near the point in question. The precise spot indicated is for various reasons difficult to find;¹¹⁵ but, if (as I think) I have succeeded in identifying it correctly, it is now occupied by a group of cottages ('Kalývia'), the disused threshing-floors of which, half buried in the ground, may easily have been mistaken by the French surveyors for traces of antiquity. I have accordingly substituted the abbreviation 'Kal.' (= 'Kalývia') for the abbreviation 'P.K.' (= 'Palaeó-kastro') in my revision of the French map. But further, even were this an ancient site, we could hardly be justified in identifying it with Karyae. It is too far from the frontier, *i.e.* from the river of Vourvoura. Had this been Karyae, it would have been impossible for Livy to describe an army, while it remained in Tegean territory, as being 'at Karyae.' A site much nearer the river must therefore be sought.

Now the only ancient site which I have been able to discover within the necessary limits is a site which answers well to all requirements. It is known to the villagers of Arákhova as the 'Ανάληψις ('Ascension'). It consists of a small rocky hill on the very edge of the river, about one mile south-eastward from Kryávrysi. It is the last projection westward of Mt. Tsouka, being separated from it by a lower neck of hill on which stands, near a holly-oak (πouρνάρι), a ruined chapel which was doubtless dedicated to the Ascension.

Among other hewn blocks belonging to this chapel is one with the mark of a I-clamp, obviously ancient, and on the southern slope of the hill are distinct ruins of Hellenic walls. These last have, the peasants tell me, been much more abundant, but the stones have been largely used for building wine-presses etc. in the surrounding fields. On the summit of the hill are remains of a large enclosure, which may be roughly estimated as sixty feet square—built of stones, mortar, and a little tile—to which it is impossible to assign even an approximate date; but some fragments of the pottery which covers both top and sides of the hill have the black glaze which is characteristic of Greek ware.

There is thus no doubt whatever that we have here an ancient site, and its position is precisely that in which we have been led on *à priori* grounds to look for Karyae.¹¹⁶ But whether this identification be correct, or that of

¹¹² *Reisen im Peloponnes*, p. 175.

¹¹³ ii. 261.

¹¹⁴ ii. 118.

¹¹⁵ Partly owing to the new road taking a different line from the old one. The 'P. K.' must not be confused with the 'pýrgo' (πύργο), a conspicuous mediaeval ruin much nearer

Arákhova.

¹¹⁶ This site appears to be unknown to the topographical handbooks from Leake's time downwards; but is, if I mistake not, the same which Lieut.-Gen. Jochmus independently identified with Karyae (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1857, p. 49 and map). My attention was first called

Ross, which we have just rejected, or (lastly) that of Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 72), who places Karyae at the chapel of the Panagía, just north of the village of Arákhova,—it is clear that the route to Sparta which passed by Karyae did not coincide with the modern road, but diverged from it to the left; and doing so, it cannot have gone *viâ* the Klisóúra defile at all, but must have taken the alternative route by Arákhova.

This view is fully borne out by certain passages of ancient authors. Polybius,¹¹⁷ describing a march of Philopoemen into Lakonia, starting from Tegea, uses the following words:—

‘ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην . . . νυκτιπορήσας ἐνεργῶς περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἐνεκάθισε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σκοτίταν προσαγορευομένοις τόποις, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ τῆς Τεγέας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.’

This ‘Skotitas,’ which Polybius says was *μεταξὺ τῆς Τεγέας καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος*, is described by Pausanias¹¹⁸ as a large oak wood which one entered, on the road from Argos to Sparta, immediately after passing the Hermae which marked the boundary between the Tegean, Argive, and Spartan territories. Since these Hermae were situated on the ridge of Parnon, at the top of the pass, the ‘Skotitas’ wood must necessarily have occupied the western slopes of Parnon, between the top of the pass and Arákhova; it cannot have been anywhere near the modern Tripolitsá-Sparta road.

Again, in Xenophon’s account of the invasion of Lakonia by a combined force of Arkadians, Thebans, and others in 369 B.C., the allies, who had met at Karyae, are said to ‘descend’ (*κατέβαινον*) to Sellasia;¹¹⁹ an expression which is far more appropriate if the route was by the river-bed than if, like the modern road, it involved such repeated ascents as to make it hard to say without accurate observation whether these or the descents on the whole predominated.

It may seem surprising that the route by Arákhova was so commonly used in ancient times in preference to the shorter route by the Klisóúra defile. But (1) I do not deny that the direct route was also in common use; I only say that we have abundant evidence for the use of the Arákhova route in connexion with military expeditions; and, so far as I know, we have no direct evidence for the use of the other; (2) the Klisóúra route would be in several ways a very trying one for troops. It is in many places narrow and rocky; it involves continual ascents and descents; and, worst of all, there is no good water (whether from spring, well, or stream) anywhere between Kryávrysi and the khan of Krevatás. The other route, though considerably longer, has the advantage of an almost imperceptible slope (that of the river-bed) all the way from Arákhova to the khan of Krevatás, with water all the way. The only discomfort one suffers on

to Jochmus’ paper by Mr. J. G. Frazer. It is a valuable contribution to the topography of this region.

¹¹⁷ xvi. 37.

¹¹⁸ iii. 10. 6.

¹¹⁹ *Hell.* vi. 5. 27.

this route is the continual crossing and recrossing of the stream, but this could be no very serious trial to the hardened feet of the Spartan hoplite.

At or near Arákhova the route from Tegea to Sparta joined that from Argos; and therefore from this point onward we may take Pausanias' account of the latter¹²⁰ as applying equally to the former. He mentions but two places upon the way,—*Sellasia* (in ruins) and *Thornax* (with a statue of the Pythian Apollo): and, in his usual careless way, he gives no indication either of the distance or of the position of either. He does not even mention the river along which the route, at least as far as Sellasia, lay; and we might suspect the correctness of the identification of this route but for Pol. ii. 65, where it is distinctly stated to have lain 'παρὰ τὸν Οἰνοῦντα ποταμόν.'

There can be little doubt that the common identification of Sellasia with the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, which overhangs the khan of Vourlíá, is the right one. For the position of this hill is too commanding, and the remains upon it are too extensive, to have been passed over in silence by Pausanias; and the remains cannot be those of Thornax, which we know from Xenophon¹²¹ to have been down in the plain.

The only alternative identification of the remains on Ag. Konstantínos worth mentioning¹²² is that of Leake, who supposed them to represent Mt. Barbosthenes, on the ground that Sellasia was not (in his opinion¹²³) on the direct road from Tegea to Sparta, while Barbosthenes was. But this notion of Leake's was based on the fact that Livy, in his account of Philopoemen's expedition against Nabis in 192 B.C.,¹²⁴ mentions Karyae and Barbosthenes but not Sellasia; and he overlooks the fact that, in describing T. Quinticius' march against Nabis three years earlier,¹²⁵ he mentions Karyae and Sellasia but not Barbosthenes. We shall see shortly¹²⁶ that, in all probability, Philopoemen was not on the direct route to Sparta when he passed Barbosthenes. Further, Barbosthenes was ten Roman miles from Sparta;¹²⁷ and Ag. Konstantínos, which Leake proposes to identify with it, is not nearly so far.

The remains of Sellasia are those of a large fort or small fortified town. A plan of the walls, so far as they can now be traced, is given in Fig. 7 (p. 73). The immense importance of the position will be seen at a glance. The hill commands both the joint route to Tegea and Argos *viâ* Arákhova, and the route to Tegea *viâ* the Klisóúra pass, for these two separate at or near the now ruined khan of Krevatás (*v. Pl. I.*). The fort of Sellasia in fact plays in connexion with these routes a part very similar to that played by the 'Athenaeum' (Belmina) in connexion with the two routes to Megalopolis and the route to Tegea *viâ* the Asean plain.

¹²⁰ iii. 10. 6–11. 1. For proof that this route, like that from Tegea, went *viâ* Arákhova, see note 111.

¹²¹ *Hell.* vi. 5. 27.

¹²² The remains are of much too permanent a character to be those of one of the camps in which Kleomenes entrenched himself before the battle of Sellasia, as suggested by Boblaye

(p. 74); nor is it possible to adapt such a theory to Polybius' account of the battle.

¹²³ *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 343, sq.

¹²⁴ *Livy* xxxv. 27 sqq.

¹²⁵ *Id.* xxxiv. 26 sqq.

¹²⁶ P. 64.

¹²⁷ *Livy* xxxv. 27.

On a small hill, or rather hillock, a little north of Ag. Konstantínos, on the Eastern side of the path, are some slight remains of a fortification wall which appears to be Hellenic. Probably it was an outpost of Sellasia. The hill and remains (marked on Pl. I.) go by the name of 'Palaeogoulá.'

Since the time of the 'Expédition de Morée' the battle of Sellasia¹²⁸ has been placed by almost all topographers¹²⁹ at the junction of the Klisoúra and Arákhova routes, where the river valley widens out a little,—*i.e.* near the remains of the once famous 'khan of Krevatás.' Probably it is impossible to improve upon this theory, though the absence of anything more than a small hill stream to correspond to the 'Γοργύλος ποταμός' of Polybius, and the unsuitableness, both in nature and position,¹³⁰ of the hills which it is proposed to identify with his 'λόφοι' (Olympus and Eva), are very grave objections. If a junction of two rivers must be insisted on, then there is only one possible site for the battle,—*viz.* the meeting-point of the rivers of Arákhova and Vréstena,—and the latter must be identified with the Oenus, the former (along which Antigonos' route had so far led) with the Gorgylus. But this site is about twice as far from Sellasia as the other, and the difficulty about the 'λόφοι' remains. Of the two positions probably the one generally received must be preferred, since it lies in full view of Sellasia; but I am convinced that Polybius' description was not based on personal knowledge of the site.¹³¹

It may be regarded as certain that the ancient track, like the modern, diverged from the river a little beyond the khan of Krevatás, passed

¹²⁸ Polyb. ii. 65 *sqq.*; Plut. *Cleom.* 27, 28; *id.* *Philop.* 6; Paus. viii. 49. 5, 6.

¹²⁹ The only exception, so far as I know, is Leake; who, though he modified his original views after the appearance of the French publication, never fell in with the French identification of the site (*v.* note 131). For what may be considered the orthodox explanation of the battle, based on the French identification, *v.* Ross, *Reisen im Peloponnes*, pp. 181 *sqq.*, and Map.

¹³⁰ The so-called 'Eva' is a high hill, standing far away from the river-bed which is supposed to have been the scene of the battle; and the so-called 'Olympus' is not an individual hill, but part of the skirts of the mountain which overhangs the river from its junction with the river of Vréstena downwards.

¹³¹ Leake at different times proposed two different sites for the battle, both of which had the advantage of being at the junction of genuine rivers, but both of which topographers have rightly discarded. His first theory (*Travels in the Morea*, ii. 526 *sqq.*), which placed the battle a little above the monastery of Ag. Saránda ('the Forty Saints'), at the junction of the rivers of Tsintsina and Agrianós, was based on a mistaken view as to the route by which Anti-

gonos had marched from Argolis—a mistake which has been sufficiently discussed above (note 111). His second theory (*Peloponnesiaca*, 341–349) placed it a little below the monastery—where the river of Arákhova joins the combined streams from Agrianós and Tsintsina—and resulted from an attempt to reconcile his former view (that Sellasia itself was near the monastery) with the undoubted fact that the route of Antigonos was not (as he had formerly supposed) *viâ* Kastánitsa, but *viâ* Arákhova. But this revision of his theory was made many years after he had visited the spot, and is quite untenable. For (1) the route to Sparta must certainly have passed, like the modern track as well as the carriage road, west of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, and not through the difficult and dangerous gorge along which the river flows; (2) even were it otherwise, it would have been madness on the part of Kleomenes to have left Ag. Konstantínos undefended, and to have opposed Antigonos at the exit, instead of the entrance, of the gorge; (3) the proposed site, though not so completely shut in as the one which Leake had formerly selected, is too confined to admit of any battle in which a large number of troops, including cavalry, were employed.

west of the hill of Ag. Konstantínos, and close to the khan of Vourliá, and so descended into the plain. For the river-bed, after this point, gradually narrows till it becomes a deep and difficult ravine. The precise spot at which the ancient route descended into the plain, and the position of the Temenos of Apollo at Thornax, must remain doubtful for want of evidence. In the absence of information to the contrary, I have marked the route in my map as coinciding with the mule track, which was in common use until it was superseded quite recently by the easier, but more circuitous, carriage road.

E.—TEGEA TO SPARTA; SPECIAL MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

Such I conceive to have been the usual military route from Tegea to Sparta. I have already mentioned a probable variation of it, *vid* the Klisoúra defile—a route coinciding most of the way with the modern track, and a great part of the way with the carriage road. I have also discussed an entirely different route by the Asean plain, Belmina, and the Eurotas valley. There are, however, one or two special expeditions which still require some words of comment.

I. *The invasion of Lakonia by the Arkadians, Thebans (under Epaminondas), Argives, Eleians, and others in 369 B.C.*

Accounts of this invasion are given by both Xenophon¹³² and Diodorus.¹³³ From both these authors it appears that the allies met at or near Mantinea,¹³⁴ whence they separated so as to enter Lakonian territory at different points. So far as the routes taken by the Thebans and Arkadians are concerned, the two historians are at one. The Arkadians, according to Xenophon, enter by Oeum (Οἶόν) in the Skiritid territory, while the Thebans enter by Karyae. The Arkadians, after a desperate fight at Oeum, and the massacre of its defender Ischolaus and his followers, join the Thebans at Karyae. From Karyae the combined forces descend (κατέβαινον) together first to Sellasia, which they sack and burn, and thence to the temenos of Apollo in the Lakonian plain. Diodorus does not mention Oeum by name, but he tells us that the Thebans marched [straight]¹³⁵ to Sellasia, while the Arkadians made for the same place *vid* the Skiritid territory, slaughtering Ischolas (= Ischolaus) and his followers on the way.

¹³² *Hell.* vi. 5. 22 *sqq.*

¹³³ xv. 63 *sqq.*

¹³⁴ Xenophon distinctly says Mantinea: while from Diodorus it appears that the meeting took place just after a defeat of the Spartans by the Arkadians at Orchomenus, about five hours' journey north of that town.

¹³⁵ ἴσῃν τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν (Diod. xv. 64). In the Teubner edition of 1867 the word ἴσῃν is brack-

eted, and in that of 1893 omitted altogether, as being unintelligible—in opposition to all the MSS. Is it possible that it meant 'straight,' the commonest meaning of the word (as well as of the adverb ἴσα) in modern Greek? Even, however, if it be omitted, the fact that this route to Sellasia, alone of the four, is left wholly undescribed, seems to imply that it was the ordinary one.

The Temenos of Apollo is doubtless that at Thornax, the only place noticed by Pausanias¹³⁶ between Sellasia and Sparta; and the Theban route is the one which I have already described, by Karyae, and the modern Arákhova, and the river-bed. A comparison of the two accounts provides a confirmation of what I have, on other grounds, shown to be the case, viz. that the route by Karyae was the direct, or at any rate the obvious, route from Tegea to Sellasia.

But the Arkadian route requires more comment; for Oeum does not appear to me to have yet been correctly identified.

Topographers are no doubt right in giving the name Skiritis to the triangular block of mountains bounded (approximately) by the modern Tripolitsá-Sparta road on the east, and the Eurotas valley on the west—'the apex of the triangle (as Leake puts it)¹³⁷ being near Sparta, and the base towards the valleys of Asea and Tegea.' The highest point in this region is the summit of the hill now surmounted by a chapel of Ag. Khristóphoros, about two miles north of the village of Kolínaes; a hill which reaches a height of more than 3,500 feet above the sea, and, with the clump of young oak trees which has been planted by the chapel, forms one of the most conspicuous landmarks in central Peloponnese. This summit was regarded by Leake¹³⁸ as the probable site of Oeum (Ium). The fact that he mentions no traces of antiquity there, and that I myself was unable to discover any such traces,¹³⁹ would not of itself serve to disprove the correctness of Leake's view, provided that the site were in other respects an appropriate one. But this is very far from being the case. Kolínaes stands quite aloof from all routes connecting any of the Arkadian plains with Sparta; and for an invading force, wherever it started from, to attack Kolínaes would have been a most gratuitous undertaking. And the notion that the Arkadian force on this occasion went by Kolínaes will appear still more improbable if we remember that it was making not for Sparta directly, nor even for Sellasia directly, but for *Karyae*; a place which, if not actually (as I suppose) at the *'Ανάληψις*, must have been somewhere between the *'Ανάληψις* and Arákhova. The merest glance at the map will show that, absurd as it would have been for any force advancing from Arkadia into Lakonia to go by Kolínaes, it would have been still more absurd for a force which had already reached that point to return northwards as far as the *'Ανάληψις*. And the map does not show how steep and rugged are the ascents and descents which such a return would have involved.

Rejecting Kolínaes on these grounds, and taking all the topographical

¹³⁶ iii. 10. 8.

¹³⁷ *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 28.

¹³⁸ *Id.* iii. 30.

¹³⁹ In the French map a 'P. K.' (Palaeókastro, *παλαιό-καστρο*) has been marked, not indeed on Ag. Khristóphoros, but on another part of the same range of hills, at a point bearing approximately south-east from Ag.

Khristóphoros and north-east from Kolínaes. If I am right in identifying the hill thus indicated with that now called Ag. Elias, the evidences of antiquity there are (at present at any rate) quite inadequate. Nor is there any other hill in the neighbourhood which the villagers of Kolínaes can point to as bearing any traces of an ancient site.

data into consideration, I some time ago fixed on Kerasiá as a probable site for Oeum; and I was therefore more pleased than surprised when, on inquiry at Arvanito-Kerasiá,¹⁴⁰ I was informed of some remains on the crown of a hill not three minutes' walk to the north of that village. These remains, slender as they are, are of undoubted antiquity;¹⁴¹ and I have marked them in my map (Pl. I.) conjecturally as Oeum. This makes the accounts of the expedition we are considering perfectly clear. The invaders, we are told, owing to their great numbers and the difficulty of the passes into Lakonia, determined to invade it from different points. The Thebans took the direct route (along the bed of the Sarandapotamós) and stopped at Karyae; the Arkadians also made for Karyae, but *viâ* Oeum. If this latter occupied the site which I have indicated, the Arkadians must have approached it either by a route coinciding very nearly with the modern carriage road, or (as I think more likely) *viâ* Mánari, a village situated in a little recess or inlet of the Asean plain. The way from Mánari to Kerasiá is one which presents no difficulty; the Asean plain, intervening as it does between the two principal plains of Arkadia (the Megalopolitan and the Mantineio-Tegean) was a natural meeting-place for the different Arkadian contingents;¹⁴² and Kerasiá (Oeum) lies almost in the direct line between Mánari and the 'Ανάληψις (Karyae).

For the routes taken by the two remaining portions of the invading army—the Argive and Eleian contingents—we have the evidence of Diodorus alone, since Xenophon accounts for only two contingents, the Theban and the Arkadian. The Argives, according to Diodorus,¹⁴³ entered Lakonia by the 'ὄροι τῆς Τεγεάτιδος χώρας,' a phrase which I take, with previous writers, to denote the ordinary route from Argolis to Sparta by the Thyreatid plain. This route, as we have already seen, passed the 'Hermae' which marked the common boundary of the Argive, Tegean, and Lakonian territories,¹⁴⁴ and struck the river-bed at Arákhova. From Arákhova onward the route of the Argives must have coincided with that of the Thebans and Arkadians advancing from Karyae.

A cursory reading of the text of Xenophon would indeed lead one to suppose that the starting-point of all the contingents was the Mantineian plain, though this is not expressly stated. But the topography of the country does not allow of four different routes into Lakonia all starting from Mantineia; nor is it surprising if most of the allies, though they first met and decided on the expedition at or near Mantineia, found it convenient to return first to their own homes for provisions and reinforcements; especially as this was a plan which fell in well with the policy they had decided upon, namely that of marching by different routes. We have already seen reason to suppose

¹⁴⁰ 'Arvanito-Kerasiá' and 'Vlákho-Kerasiá' = 'Albanian' and 'Wallachian' Kerasiá respectively. Both villages now contain a mixed population.

¹⁴¹ They consist of (1) remains of a wall of hewn masonry, slightly polygonal in character, forming part of a large, partially rock-cut, building; (2) other rock-cuttings; (3) a pro-

fusion of pottery, some of it with black glaze.

¹⁴² On the occasion of the expedition of Agesilaus against Mantineia, only a year before, we hear of the various Arkadian contingents meeting at Asea (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 11).

¹⁴³ xv. 64.

¹⁴⁴ Paus. ii. 38. 7.

that the Arkadians approached not from the Mantineian plain but from the Asean—the central plain of Arkadia,—and now we see reason to suppose that the Argives approached not from Mantinea but by the direct route from Argolis. Applying the same principle to the Eleians, we shall agree with Leake¹⁴⁵ that their route, only vaguely indicated by Diodorus as ‘κατ’ ἄλλους τόπους πεπταμένους,’ was probably the ordinary one from Elis by the Megalopolitan plain, Belmina, and the Eurotas valley. This is indeed the only way into Lakonia to which the epithet *πεπταμένος* is at all appropriate. But the supposition that the Eleians adopted it is not without its difficulties. Leake says the route in question ‘would present little difficulty when not defended at Belmina and Pellana.’ Belmina may possibly at this period have been in Arkadian hands;¹⁴⁶ but Pellana was Spartan, and we have the direct evidence of Xenophon¹⁴⁷ that there was a Spartan garrison at Leuktrum, a place which it is difficult to locate far from Leondári, near which passed the route from Megalopolis (and Elis) to Sparta. The march of the Eleians, then, in spite of the comparative openness of the route they adopted, is not likely to have been unopposed.

The Eleians, Diodorus tells us, made their way, like all the other contingents, to Sellasia. If we are right in supposing them to have entered Lakonia by the Megalopolis-Sparta track, they probably diverged from that track a little beyond the Kalývia of Georghítsi, and, ascending the hills well to the right of the village of Konidítsa, passed through or quite close to that of Vourliá. This is the route which I myself found the most convenient to adopt in passing from Skortsinoú (near Belmina) to the khan of Vourliá (near Sellasia).

II. *The ambush laid by Philopoemen in 200 B.C.* (Polybius, xvi. 37).

This operation will readily be understood from what we already know of the topography. The chosen troops sent forward by Philopoemen take up their quarters near Sellasia, and threaten to ravage Lakonia. The Spartan mercenaries in Pellene (Pellana) attack them, ascending the hills in the manner just described; and are then led by a pretended flight past Sellasia, up the bed of the Oenus and into the ambush laid for them in the forest of Skotitas. This forest (it will be remembered)¹⁴⁸ was situated on the road from the Thyreatid plain to Sparta, and extended at least from the top of the pass to Arákhova. How far southward it extended, cannot be determined; perhaps as far as, or even a good deal farther than, the river of Vréstena. Livy describes the region where the engagement of 192 B.C. was fought (*v. below*) as being thickly wooded; and it is not impossible that these woods may have formed part of the forest of Skotitas.

¹⁴⁵ *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 29.

¹⁴⁷ *Hell.* vi. 5. 24.

¹⁴⁶ The evidence on this point is not quite clear. See Paus. viii. 27. 4 and 35. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Paus. ii. 38. 7.

III. *The expedition of T. Quinctius against Nabis in 195 B.C.* (Livy, xxxiv. 26 *sqq.*).

The route adopted was the ordinary route, *viâ* Karyae and Sellasia. The only difficulty presented by Livy's account lies in the words 'inde (*i.e.* from Sellasia) cum audisset *ascensum* difficilis et artae viae esse' (chap. 28). We have seen that Sellasia itself—or at least its acropolis,—was on the top of a high hill. Unless 'ascensum' is an error for '*descensum*,' we must take the word 'Sellasia' immediately preceding as denoting the *district*, not the actual town; and this interpretation has some slight confirmation in the succeeding words, 'quo in loco Antigonus...cum Cleomene...*dimicasse* dicebatur,' *i.e.* the river-bed, whence one climbs considerably before one begins to descend to the Eurotas valley.

IV. *The march of Philopoemen against Nabis in 192 B.C.* (Livy, xxxv. 27 *sqq.*).

It is impossible to omit all reference to this expedition; but the topographical data are scanty, and my own acquaintance with the route probably adopted is so imperfect that I must confine myself to a few words of comment on the original authorities and on the views of previous travellers.

The point of departure was Tegea, and the route was, as usual, by Karyae, where the first night was spent. After Karyae, however, Philopoemen appears to have diverged from the ordinary route; for the stopping-place at the end of the second day was not Sellasia (which is not mentioned at all) but Mt. Barbosthenes, a name entirely unknown from other sources. A divergence from the ordinary route seems also to be implied in the fact that Nabis (Livy tells us), when he heard of Philopoemen's movements, had no doubt that he was making for Pyrrhi Castra, a place not elsewhere mentioned upon the Tegea-Sparta road. This place Nabis accordingly occupied, before advancing to meet the invader.

The engagement took place in a narrow and rocky defile,—'*angustiae viae*,' '*loca confragosa*,' '*iter tale per quod vix tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediri posset*.' The way was so narrow that the column of Philopoemen, when he came unexpectedly upon the enemy, stretched to a length of nearly five miles. From the neighbourhood of a torrent, where the battle began, his auxiliaries succeeded in drawing their antagonists, by a feigned flight, into a valley in which an ambush had been laid; and a pursuit, attended by great slaughter, followed. Next day Nabis broke up his camp and returned to Sparta, and Philopoemen, who, with his heavier troops, had got to the Eurotas valley by a '*via patentior*,' took possession of two roads leading from Sparta to Barbosthenes and Pharae respectively, and slaughtered a very large proportion of the scattered troops of Nabis on their way back to the city.

Neither Barbothenes, nor Pharae, nor Pyrrhi Castra, are known to us except from this passage.¹⁴⁹ The last-named was certainly not right down in the Eurotas valley; for, had it been, the divergence of Philopoemen from the ordinary Tegea-Sparta route in order to reach it would be unaccountable. Further, Philopoemen, when he descends to the Eurotas 'via patentiore,' apparently avoids Pyrrhi Castra altogether. Lieut.-Gen. Jochmus,¹⁵⁰ who discusses this expedition in some detail, places it at a place called 'Viglia-Castri' or 'Petri-Kést,' upon the hills east of the Eurotas, where there are (he says) remains of two forts. The spot indicated is some two miles south of the monastery of Ag. Saránda and rather farther west of the village of Khrýsapha. Unfortunately I have had no opportunity of seeing the remains he speaks of or of verifying the names; but the proposed location of Pyrrhi Castra appears to me to meet the necessities of the case, and accords well with an identification made first (I believe) by Boblaye, and accepted by Curtius, Jochmus himself, and others, viz. the identification of Barbothenes with the Mountain of Vréstena, which extends from the village of Vréstena on the north to that of Basará on the south. This mountain is about the right distance (ten Roman miles)¹⁵¹ from Sparta, and lies just off the ordinary route from Tegea. To ascend it Philopoemen would probably leave the Tegea-Sparta route (here coinciding with the river-bed) at or a little beyond Arákhova, and would cross the hill which separates the river of that name from the river of Vréstena. This divergence, otherwise inexplicable, is fairly well accounted for if Pyrrhi Castra was where Jochmus places it, viz. somewhere on the plateau south of Ag. Saránda. Lastly, I know of no region in this neighbourhood which justifies so completely the expression of Livy—'angustiae viae,'—'loca confragosa' etc.—at any rate for so long a distance together—as the neighbourhood of the river of Agrianós, which separates by a deep ravine the country about Basará from the plateau on which are the monastery of Ag. Saránda and the conjectured site of Pyrrhi Castra.

It would (I think) be rash to attempt to fix more precisely the spot where the battle took place. But it is curious to note that a part of this very region, *i.e.* the part about the junction of the rivers from Tsíntina and Agrianós,¹⁵² is the spot originally selected by Leake as the site of the battle of Sellasia. This region which, both from its position in relation to ancient routes and from the nature of the ground, is wholly at variance with what we know of the site of Sellasia,

¹⁴⁹ 'Pyrrhi Castra' has sometimes been identified with the 'Πύρρου χάραξ' of Polyb. v. 19. But this must be a mistake; for to reach the latter Philip *κατέβη* from Amyklæ in the direction of the sea. The name appears to have been a common one. A 'Castra Pyrrhi' in Illyria is mentioned by Livy (xxxii. 13).

¹⁵⁰ *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1857, p. 52.

¹⁵¹ Livy xxxv. 27.

¹⁵² In Leake's sketch (*Morea* ii. 530) these rivers are marked as flowing from Véria and Tzitzina (= Tsíntina) respectively; but a comparison of this sketch with the French map or with Pl. I. will show that they are more correctly described as the rivers of Tsíntina (and incidentally Véria) and Agrianós.

accords well in both respects with what Livy tells us of the engagement between Philopoemen and Nabis.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Pharae (Livy xxxv. 30) has been placed by Leake and others, owing partly to the resemblance of names, at Véria, a very small village lying about half-an-hour's walk north-east of Basará (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 345; cf. p. 53 of Jochmus' paper in the *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* for 1857). The identification is little better than conjecture; but there are undoubtedly traces of wheel-ruts in the rocks between Basará and Véria; and this tends to show that at or near Véria there was an ancient town; for the road, of which they are evidence, must have been a *local* one, the route this way, *viâ* Kastánitsa, to the Thyreatid plain being altogether impassable to anything on wheels. If Pharae = Véria, then the narrow track described by Livy, on which the battle took place, was probably on the road from Pharae to Sparta, not on that from Barbosthenes to Sparta. Philopoemen, it will be remembered, was on his way from Barbosthenes to Pyrrhi Castra, not to Sparta directly. The direct Sparta-Barbosthenes road (Livy xxxv. 30) may have followed the lower course of the river of Arákhova, between Mount Vréstena and the series of hills on which stand the remains of Sellasia and the villages of Voutiáni, Theológos, etc. But since the river here flows in a ravine so deep that the path, to get along at all, is obliged to skirt the hills at a considerable height above its left bank, I do not suppose, with Jochmus, that this was the 'via patentior' by which Philopoemen de-

scended to the Eurotas. It seems to me more likely that he retraced his steps for a considerable distance, then descended to the valley of the river of Arákhova, and struck the ordinary Tegea-Sparta route at some point below the khan of Krevatás.

Leake (*Pelop.* p. 344 *sqq.* and map) identified Mount Barbosthenes with the hill of Ag. Konstantínos above the khan of Vourliá—the hill surmounted by the remains which are now-a-days generally supposed to be those of Sellasia. Sufficient reasons for the identification with Sellasia have been given already. But even leaving Sellasia out of account there are several considerations which forbid us to identify the hill with Mt. Barbosthenes. (1) It is on the direct route from Tegea to Sparta, and Barbosthenes was not. (2) It is not by any means ten Roman miles from Sparta. (3) 'The defile in which stands the khan of Vourliá, and through which the modern road [*i.e.* the track which crosses the Eurotas by the 'bridge of Kopanos'] from Tripolitsá to Mistrá descends to the Eurotas,'—in which Leake's views make it necessary to place the battle,—is not by any means such a defile as Livy describes. It is steep indeed in parts, but nowhere difficult, and its total length is very much less than the five miles which Livy gives as the length of Philopoemen's column alone. (4) There is no 'via patentior' to the Eurotas.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

THE ALPHEIUS AND EUROTAS.

The ancient theory of the origin of the Alpheius, and of its repeated disappearances underground, is briefly given in Paus. viii. 54. 1—3, a passage of which the parts which concern us here have been already quoted (p. 52). This passage is supplemented by Paus. viii. 44. 3, 4 (*v. p.* 33), and by Strabo, pp. 275 and 343.¹⁵⁴ From all these passages alike it appears that the Eurotas as well as the Alpheius was supposed to rise near Asea; that their streams were believed to unite in the Asean plain, descend into a *katavothra* together, and re-appear in separate places as two distinct rivers. From two of the passages (Paus. *loc. cit.*) we learn in addition that the place where the Alpheius reappeared was called 'Pegae' and was in the Megalopolitan territory; from one (Strabo, p. 343) that the spring in which the Eurotas re-appeared was at the beginning (*κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν*) of the Bleminatid (= Belminatid) territory; and from one (Paus. viii. 54. 1—3) that the spring of the Alpheius near Asea was itself supposed to have its origin in the water of the Sarandapotamós,¹⁵⁵ which disappeared down a *katavothra* in the Tegean plain.

Eliminating what may be called the mythical element in this story, viz. the notion that two springs, whose waters mixed and flowed for a long way together before separating to form two rivers, could nevertheless be assigned each to its appropriate river,¹⁵⁶ it is clear that there remain three questions requiring investigation; viz. (1) Is it true that either of the springs near Asea derives (or derived) its water from the Sarandapotamós? (2) Is it true that the Alpheius—and (3) is it true that the Eurotas—rises at the springs in the Asean plain? Let us take these questions in order.

¹⁵⁴ Strabo, p. 275.—τὸ δὲ περὶ Στόμφαλον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις ὑπὸ γῆν ἐνεχθὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τὸν Ἐρασίον ἐκδίδωσι ποταμόν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν Ἀσέαν ὑποβρύχιον ὡσθὲν ὀψέ ποτε τὸν τ' Εὐρώταν καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειδὸν ἀναδίδωσιν, ὥστε καὶ πεπιστευῆσθαι μυθῶδες τι, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφημισθέντων στεφάνων ἐκατέρω καὶ ριφέντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ρεῖμα ἀναφαίνεται κατὰ τὸν ἐπιφημισμὸν ἑκάτερος ἐν τῷ οικείῳ ποταμῷ.

Id. p. 343.—'ρεῖ δ' [ὁ Ἀλφειδὸς] ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ Εὐρώτας καλεῖται δὲ Ἀσέα, κῶμη τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτικῆς, πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἔχουσα δύο πηγὰς, ἐξ ὧν ῥέουσι οἱ λεχθέντες

ποταμοί. δύντες δ' ὑπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ συχνοῖς σταδίοις ἀνατέλλουσι πάλιν, εἶθ' ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν Πισάτιν κατάρχεται. ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώτας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Βλεμινάτιδος ἀναδείξας τὸν ρεῖθρον κ.τ.λ. . . ὁ δ' Ἀλφειδὸς παραλαβὼν τὸν τε Λάδωνα κ.τ.λ.'

¹⁵⁵ That the 'Alpheius' of Paus. viii. 54. 1 is the modern Sarandapotamós is generally admitted. See pp. 53—4.

¹⁵⁶ This mythical element appears in both Pausanias and Strabo, but is most prominent in Strabo, p. 275, where the superstition about the chaplets is narrated.

(1) *The Sarandapotamós*.—This river, after entering the Tegean plain, joins the river of Dholianá (the ancient Garates), and with it flows north, then east, finally losing itself in the katavothra of Vérzova, in the side of Mt. Rhoínó (Parthenium). It is clear that the theory mentioned by Pausanias cannot possibly have arisen in connexion with such a river as this; it only becomes intelligible if we imagine a river losing itself in the katavothra of the Táka,¹⁵⁷ in the side of Mt. Krávari (Boreium), the mountain which separates the Tegean plain from the Asean. Accordingly it has been very generally assumed that the Sarandapotamós has changed its course since ancient times, and that in Pausanias' day it actually did flow to the katavothra of the Táka. Now had this been the case, it must have passed either (a) south of Tegea, or (b) through Tegea, or (c) north of Tegea. (a)—a course first (I believe) proposed by Leake,¹⁵⁸ and now generally accepted—is excluded by the intervention of very distinctly rising ground, on the left of the path, all the way from the gorge of the Sarandapotamós to Piali (Tegea). (b) is out of the question; for had the town been cut in two by a river, as Megalopolis was by the Helisson and Mantinea by the Ophis, we certainly should have been made acquainted with the fact, either directly by Pausanias or some other topographer, or incidentally by the historians. (c), which has been suggested by Bérard,¹⁵⁹ is to my mind equally incredible; first because, had the river thus lapped round the town, it is strange that the fact is never mentioned, and secondly because, though to the naked eye the course thus indicated may appear to be a level one, in reality there is a slight but steady rise from the part of the plain below Mertsaoúsi westward,—a rise which is demonstrated by the fact that a small stream (correctly marked in Bérard's own map) runs for a long way in the opposite direction. Were Bérard's theory correct, this stream must originally have been a tributary of the Sarandapotamós and flowed with it to the Táka, *westward*. Then the very barrier, natural or artificial, which (on Bérard's hypothesis) diverted the Sarandapotamós into an *easterly* course, would have prevented the *tributary* from flowing in an easterly direction, since the tributary was on its *western* side.

On the whole, then, I am disposed to believe that the whole story is a blunder on Pausanias' part; the result, probably, either of a mistake in the name of the river, or of a confusion between it and some one of the small streams which drain the hills about Kaparéli and, flowing into the Táka, eventually of course find their way to the katavothra in Mt. Krávari. This conclusion is confirmed by Strabo's evident ignorance of the story; for he twice relates the performances of the Alpheius in the Asean plain, and once expressly as an illustration of the disappearances of rivers underground, yet he never so much as alludes to the previous disappearance of the Alpheius in the plain of Tegea.

But, even granting for the sake of argument that the Sarandapotamós

¹⁵⁷ Shown both in Pl. I. and in Pl. II.

¹⁵⁸ *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 114, and map.

¹⁵⁹ *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. xvi. (1892), p. 534 and Pl. XIII.

did flow to the katavothra of the Táka, the question remains whether it could have re-appeared at Asea. The possibility has long seemed very doubtful, since the difference of level between the Táka plain and that of Frangóvryso (Asea) is very slight. But the theory has now been finally disproved by M. E. A. Martel, who has succeeded in descending the katavothra in question to a depth of no less than 42 metres below the level of Frangóvryso.¹⁶⁰

(2) *The Alpheius*.—My special map of the Asean plain (Pl. II.), intended primarily to illustrate some ancient routes and sites, shows also the main features of the water-system of that plain.

It will be observed that there are three principal groups of springs in the neighbourhood of Frangóvryso,—one quite close to the khans, another a little south of this group, just across the (unfinished) railway line, and a third at the east end of the plain, not far from the khan of Talagáni. Probably the first two of these correspond to what Pausanias calls the springs of the Eurotas and Alpheius respectively, since he mentions them both at the same distance (five stades) from Asea, only the former quite close to the wayside, the latter a little way off the road. However this may be, it will be seen from the map that the water from *all* these springs eventually merges, and flows in a body toward the gorge by Marmariá,—the gorge through which the new railway-line makes its way to the lower-lying Megalopolitan plain,—receiving also important contributions (*a*) from a series of surface streams which descend from the directions of Dórizá, Kandréva, Alíka, etc., and (*b*) from the lake, or swamp, which generally covers the centre of the plain in front of the village of Pápari. Thus all the water from the springs of Frangóvryso makes its way toward the gorge; but only a small proportion of the water which flows toward the gorge has its origin at Frangóvryso.

Just before the entrance to the gorge there is a series of katavothras (*v. map*); but they are katavothras of the most degraded type. Instead of great rock chasms, like that of the Táka, or those near Vérzova and Tshipianá, we see¹⁶¹ nothing here but some holes in the soft ground; sometimes open and receiving a tolerable stream of water—at other times partially (perhaps sometimes even completely) choked.¹⁶² The combined stream which drains the Asean plain, when it reaches the katavothras, accordingly does one of two things. Either it finds them open, and engulfs itself in them; or, finding them closed, it pursues its course overground, and, reinforced just beyond the katavothras by two more surface-water streams

¹⁶⁰ *Revue de Géographie*, 1892, pp. 342 sq.

¹⁶¹ There must of course be holes in the rock beneath, which we do *not* see.

¹⁶² Of the two principal holes I find the following details in my notebook:—

(1) 7 Nov. 1891; '*a*' almost completely choked, '*b*' open, the stream flowing down it in a sort of waterfall to a depth of (say) 15 ft., and filtering through rubbish at the bottom.

(2) 28 Nov. 1891; '*a*' open; no water get-

ting so far as '*b*,' but some filtering through the ground between the two.

(3) 14 June, 1892; water running down both '*a*' and '*b*,' principally the latter.

(4) 10 Nov. 1892; water just trickling down '*a*,' none reaching '*b*.'

Any water which does not find its way down the katavothras runs beyond them to the gorge, as stated in the text.

on its right bank, it makes its way right through the gorge to the Megalopolitan plain, which it reaches (*v. Pl. I.*) a little way to the east of Rhapsomáti.

Now at the far end of the gorge, where it debouches in the lower plain, is a 'kephalóvrysis' (κεφαλóβρυσις),—*i.e.* a head-spring, or group of springs,—by the river-side. These springs are undoubtedly the 'Pegae' (Πηγαί) of Pausanias viii. 44. 4, and 54. 3, where the water from the spring of the Alpheius, after descending into the katavothra, was believed to reappear. The question whether this belief was correct has not hitherto been definitely settled; but I have little doubt that the truth of the matter is as follows. The kephalóvrysis is a group of springs, some on the right bank, others on the left bank, of the ravine. Those on the right bank are perfectly clean, cool, and (I am assured) perennial;¹⁶³ those on the left bank are comparatively turbid, and are *not* perennial. I once visited the kephalóvrysis the day after a thunderstorm, when all ordinary streams were thick with mud; and the clean springs were as clean as ever. Obviously, therefore, they can have nothing to do with the water which flows into the katavothras by Marmariá. But the turbid and intermittent springs have every appearance of coming thence; and if it be true (as one local informant told me) that the time when they cease to run coincides with the time when the stream in the plain of Asea is dry,¹⁶⁴ there can be no doubt whatever that they do so. The upshot of the whole matter is therefore this:—The water of the springs near Asea, combined with a large quantity of surface-water from other parts of the plain, *does* make its way, overground or underground, to the place called by Pausanias 'Pegae,' and feeds the Alpheius. But the *principal* (perennial) springs at 'Pegae' have nothing whatever to do with those near Asea.

(3) *The Eurotas.*—The story related by Pausanias and Strabo is to the effect that the Alpheius and Eurotas disappear *together*; then reappear, the one at 'Pegae,' the other in the Belminatid territory; in other words, they separate in the body of Mt. Tsimbaróú. The story is an unlikely one; for the water of the katavothras of Marmariá is amply accounted for by the springs at 'Pegae,' the Belminatid is a long way off, and the 'kephalóvrysis' there,—if the one intended be, as I suppose, the 'kephalóvrysis Logarás,' at the foot of Mt. Khelmós,¹⁶⁵—is too clear, too cool, and too constant to owe its origin to so variable a supply. One corner of the plain of Asea (the corner by Lianóú) is, as a matter of fact, drained directly, and without katavothras, by the

¹⁶³ I once found one of them dry; but one at least (they tell me) runs throughout the summer.

¹⁶⁴ I have seen a considerable volume of water at the turbid springs when only a small quantity was trickling down the more obvious katavothras by Marmariá (10 Nov. 1892); but there was plenty of water in the *stream* in the Frangóvryso valley, and it gradually disap-

peared, before reaching the visible katavothras, by silent soakage. In fact, the stream bed, like some (probably many) others in Greece, appears not to be water-tight; it is, in fact, riddled with minute katavothras.

¹⁶⁵ See Pl. I. This is by far the most important spring in the Belminatid region, and one of the principal sources of the Eurotas.

Eurotas (*v. Pl. I.*); but this drainage has nothing to do either with the springs near Frangóvryso, or with the katavothras down which their water disappears.

APPENDIX B.

THE FORTRESSES OF 'ATHENAEUM' AND 'SELLASIA.'

The importance of these two positions has been sufficiently pointed out in the text. The fortresses are analogous in several ways; not only in the parts which they play in relation to Spartan routes, but also both in plan and structure. (See Figs. 6 and 7; and for the Athenaeum, see also Figs. 3 and 4, pp. 39 and 40).

In each case the outer walls surround a hill-top, keeping so far as possible along the verge of the steepest slope, and as nearly level as the nature of the ground permitted; but this arrangement is rudely disturbed, in the case of the Athenaeum, on its eastern side, where the ground falls away very suddenly, and the wall necessarily descends with it quite 200 feet, in order to rejoin the crest of the hill (here much lower) near its north-east angle. On the western side the downward slope is much more gradual.

Each of the two forts consists of an upper and a lower enclosure, the upper forming the stronghold proper. In the case of the Athenaeum the upper enclosure may have been divided into two sections by a cross-wall (as it certainly was in mediaeval times), on the principle which I have attempted to explain on p. 32 in connexion with the acropolis of Asea; but this cannot be positively asserted.

In both alike we see the remains of massive walls, with towers, semi-circular or square, at intervals; and in both, though there must of course have been entrances of some kind, it has been impossible to find any certain traces of them,¹⁶⁶ in spite of the fact that in the case of some of the walls,—*e.g.* the one which separates the upper and lower enclosures of the Athenaeum,—the foundations and lower courses are practically intact. Is it possible that some of the entrances, including those in the wall just mentioned, were at a higher level, and approached by temporary steps?

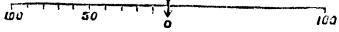
The structure of the walls of the two fortresses is also similar. The walls of both are built entirely of unhewn stones, merely piled together; the two faces of each wall being more carefully put together, and built of larger stones, than the interior. Fortification walls built in this style

¹⁶⁶ In the outer wall of the Athenaeum, the place where the path to Skortsinoú begins is known by the name 'Πόρταις' ('the gates'), *v. Fig. 6.* The name may indicate an ancient tradition; but it is quite as likely that the theory of a gateway has arisen from this being the point at which the fortress is entered at the present day.

In the lower wall of Sellasia it may be conjectured that there was an ancient entrance in the west wall, a hundred yards or more from its southernmost point. The nature of the ground makes this a very convenient place to enter the ancient circuit, and for a few paces there are here no traces of the wall.

Plan of the
FORTRESS OF KHELMÓS
(ATHENÆUM ?).

Scale of yards.



Rough contours at vertical intervals
of 10 feet.

Walls of large unhewn stones without
mortar shown thus



Walls of smaller unhewn stones without
mortar shown thus



Walls of small unhewn stones
with mortar, and occasionally
a few tiles, shown thus



Where no certain traces of a wall exist,
its probable position is indicated by
a broken line.

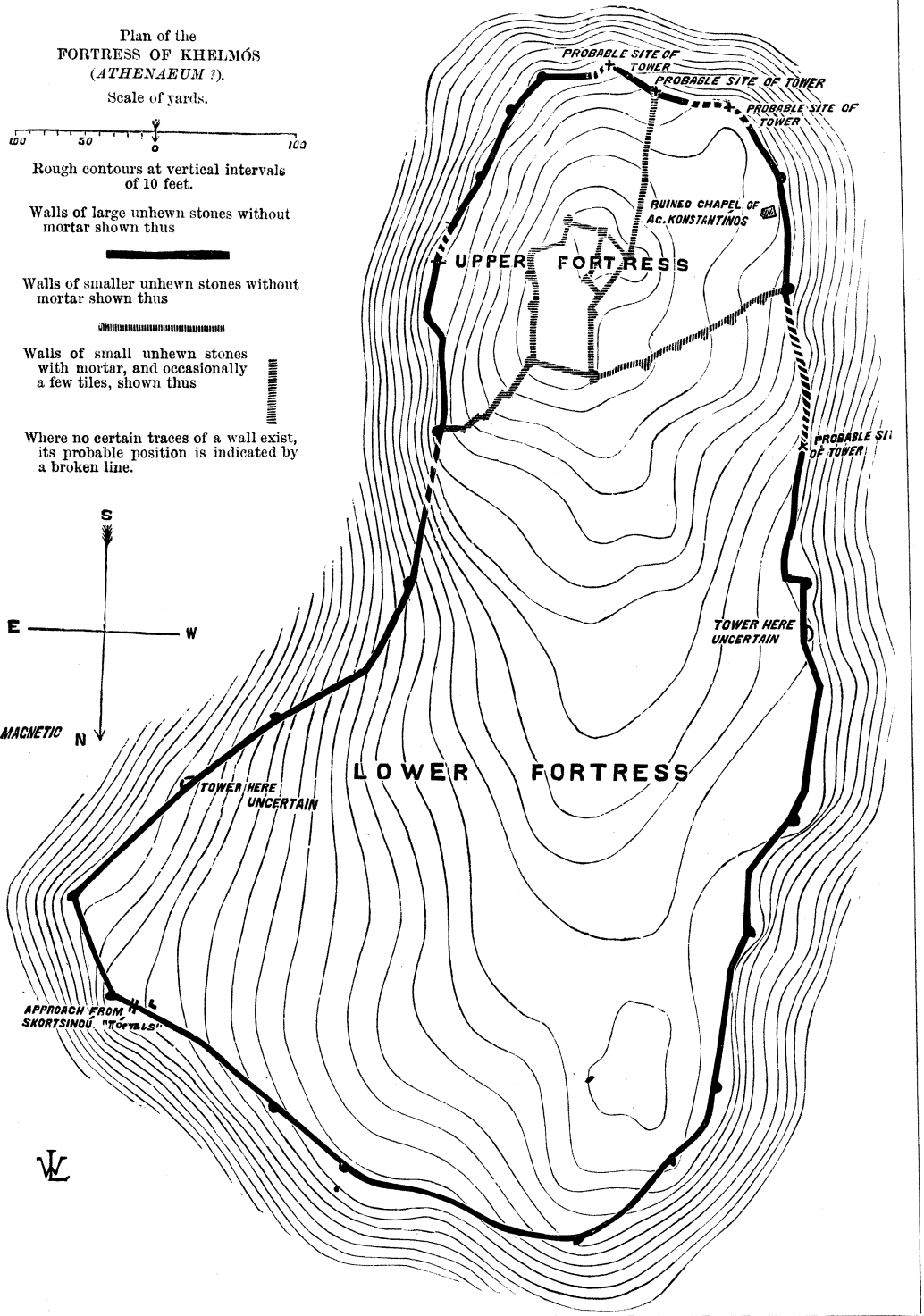
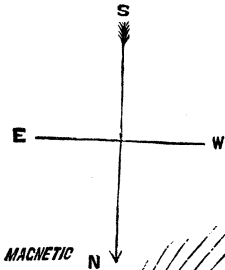


FIG. 6.

naturally rank between such walls as those of Messene and Mantinea,—double walls of large *hewn* stone with earthen filling,—and such walls as those of Megalopolis, which are of *unhewn* stone with earthen filling.¹⁶⁷

The walls of Sellasia are uniform in style throughout; but in those of the

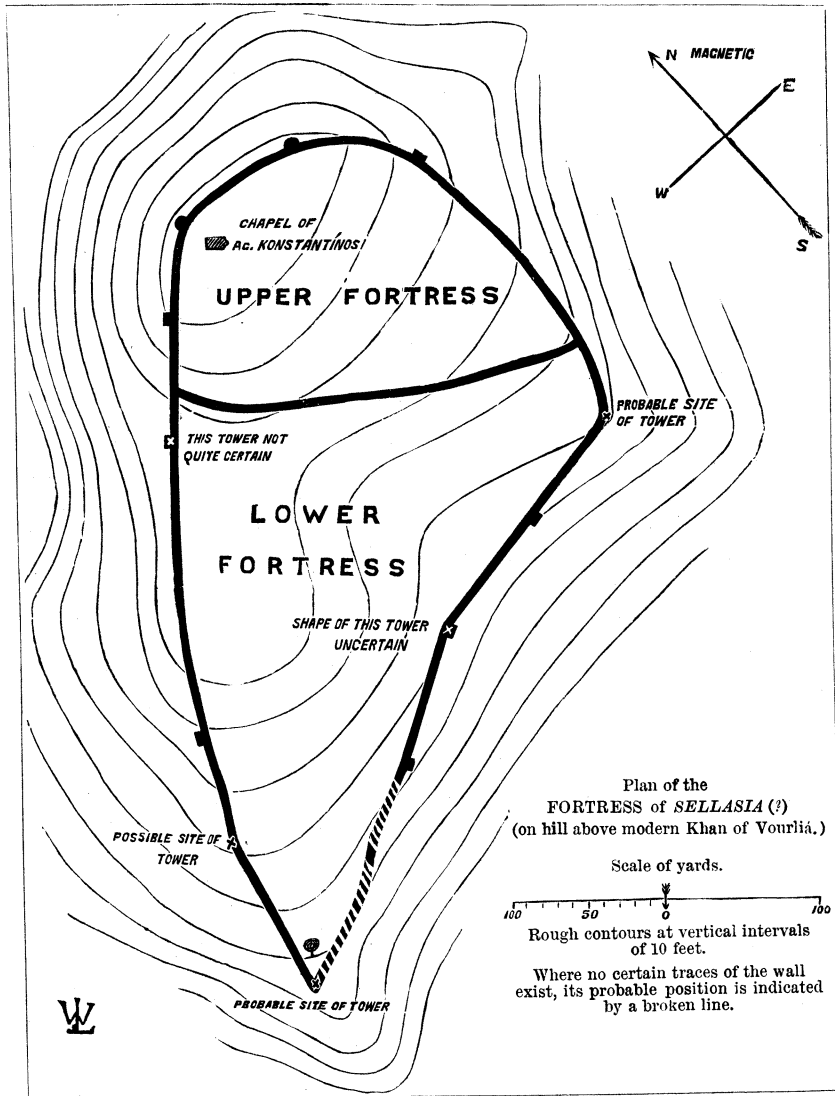


FIG. 7.

Athenaeum three styles are clearly distinguishable, viz. (1) that of the outer wall (Fig. 3), (2) that of the western portion of the cross-wall which separates

¹⁶⁷ For an account of the walls of Megalopolis, and a comparison of them with other

fortification walls, v. *Excavations at Megalopolis 1890—1891*, pp. 108 sqq.

the upper enclosure from the lower (Fig. 4), (3) that of the remaining walls of the upper enclosure. The different kinds of wall are distinguished in the plan (Fig. 6). The difference between (1) and (2) lies in the size of the stones, those of the outer wall being very much larger than those of the inner. It will be seen, however, from the photographs (Figs. 3 and 4) that the lower courses of the inner wall are built of stones intermediate in size between those of the upper courses and those of the outer wall.¹⁶⁸ These differences of size need not *necessarily* imply a distinction of date; but it is probable that they do so; especially as, in those places where the lower courses are built of larger stones than the upper, the change of style does not occur at any fixed height above the ground, but is variable, thus distinctly suggesting dilapidation and subsequent restoration. (3) appears at the first glance very similar to (2); but on a closer inspection it is seen that, in addition to the unhewn stones, mortar has been extensively, and tiles sparingly, employed.

The walls of style (3) are clearly mediaeval; but unfortunately the date of the remainder cannot be so positively determined. The outer wall (1) has hitherto been regarded as ancient by all authorities; and I have myself supposed it to be a roughly constructed wall of classical times; but Dr. Dörpfeld, judging from my photographs, expresses the opinion that, *if they are ancient at all*, the great size and loose structure of the unhewn stones proves them to be 'Mycenaean' rather than Hellenic. That they are one or the other, and not mediaeval, appears to me fairly certain; first because it would be difficult to account for the total disappearance of the ancient fort, which, as I have tried to show in the text, must certainly have been upon this hill; secondly because, were walls (1) and (2) mediaeval, it would be very strange that not a trace of brick or tile has been found in any part of them; and thirdly because style (2), which cannot be earlier, and is probably later, than style (1), corresponds precisely with what we find at Sellasia, where the existence of a mediaeval fortress has never (so far as I am aware) been suggested, and no signs of mediaeval occupation have been found.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ It should be stated that at one point in the outer wall, where it forms part of the upper enclosure,—at a point where it is preserved to a considerable height,—several courses of smaller stones appear above the larger. There is nothing to show whether this was the original arrangement or a restoration.

¹⁶⁹ In the Athenaeum the thickness of the walls, both of the upper and lower enclosures, varies (approximately) from 6 ft. to 7 ft.; with the exception of a small part of the walls of style (3), where it is only about 5 ft.

At Sellasia the original thickness of the walls is, in their present condition, very difficult to determine. There is no doubt that that of the outer wall varied considerably in different places;—in some it was only about 9 ft., while in one place I measured 12 ft.; the average

thickness was perhaps about 10 ft. The average thickness of the wall which separated the inner enclosure from the outer was about 8 ft.

The plans given in Figs. 6 and 7 are necessarily incomplete; for, as I have already noted, I failed to find any certain traces of the entrances to either fort; and, in the case of the Athenaeum, it is quite possible, perhaps even probable, that some of the towers have wholly disappeared. In one or two places I have had to indicate the supposed position of the walls by dotted lines.

The contour-lines show with tolerable accuracy the relation of the walls to the natural contours of the ground, the level of each of the towers having been ascertained, previous to their insertion, by trigonometrical observation. Elsewhere the contours are only roughly sketched.

APPENDIX C.

OUTLYING ROUTES.

Plate I. covers a good deal of ground not immediately connected with any of the routes which I have hitherto discussed. I have however travelled over a great part of this ground, and have in consequence made some minor changes in, and additions to, the French map. A few short notes on questions connected with this outlying country seem therefore to be called for here. To be intelligible, they must be read as a commentary on the corresponding passages of Pausanias.

(1) *Megalopolis to Methydrium* (Paus. viii. 35. 5 *sqq.*).—Methydrium has been, by common consent, identified with an ancient site a few minutes' walk north of the small village of Nemnítsa. This being the case, Karátoula¹⁷⁰ does not seem to me a satisfactory site for Trikoloni; for it is not on the direct route to Nemnítsa. One cannot pass near Karátoula on the way to Nemnítsa, unless one goes by way of the Langádhia¹⁷¹ river and the plain of Daviá (plain of Maenalus),—and this clearly was not Pausanias' route. I suggest instead that Trikoloni was at a spot just north of Zonáti, where there are remains of rough but massive masonry which appears to be of ancient date.¹⁷² From Zonáti one may continue one's journey northward till one reaches the foot of the hills, and then ascend these steeply a little to the left of the villages of Palamári and Psári. The path continues to climb till it reaches a height of some 1500 feet above the plain; then descends more gradually to the bed of a stream (dry when I was there) which drains the narrow valley behind Mount Rhapóuni.¹⁷³ Keeping along this valley one eventually strikes a track from Tripolitsá to Dhimitsána and Langádhia near Arkoudhórhevma. The Helisson never comes in sight at all; but Libovísi, near Arkoudhórhevma,—(both of these places lie somewhat to right of our path and are not seen from it)—might perhaps be described as *ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλισσόοντος* ('in the direction of the Helisson'); and, if so, Leake¹⁷⁴ may conceivably be right in placing Anemosa near it; but little

¹⁷⁰ Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 238.

¹⁷¹ My authority for the modern name of this river is the French map. I do not think I have actually heard it used.

In the French map this river is marked as the Brentheates (Paus. v. 7. 1; viii. 28. 7); but this is inconsistent with the generally received and almost inevitable theory which places Brenthe near Karýtaena. Besides, Pausanias (viii. 28. 7) distinctly says that the Brentheates, after a course of only five stades (rather more than half a mile), ran into the Alpheius. It is doubtless, therefore, the short but copious

stream which rises just below Karýtaena and turns the mill close by the Frankish bridge (cf. Boblaye, pp. 164, *sq.*).

¹⁷² These remains are marked in the French map, but (unless there are other remains which I have failed to see) they are marked on the wrong side of the stream. I have accordingly corrected this slight error.

¹⁷³ In the French map a track is marked along this valley leading from Stemnítsa to Tripolitsá.

¹⁷⁴ *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 238, *sq.* The form Zibovísi, which Leake uses, is erroneous.

weight can be attached to such conjectures. Keeping due north, and soon leaving the Dhimitsána and Langádhia path, one reaches, by narrow fir-clad tracks, and one small level plain (possibly the 'plain of Polus),' the village of Nemnítsa, a little beyond which is the site of the ancient Methydrium.

(2) *Megalopolis to Maenalus* (Paus. viii. 36. 5 *sqq.*).—I adhere to the received identification of the plain of Maenalus with the valley which lies west of Mount Apano-krépa, and in which are the villages of Zarákhova and Daviá,—in spite of the difficulty of reconciling this view with the distances given by Pausanias in connexion with the route. To identify it with the little valley of Valtétsi,—which seems to me the only plausible alternative,—would not help matters much; its distance from Peraethis (or Paliskius) would still be greater than that given by Pausanias, and the passage ἦν δὲ τὸν χειμάρρουν διαβῆς, κ.τ.λ. would be unintelligible. Further, Valtétsi lies too far from the principal range of Maenalus. In and about the plain which I call for convenience that of Daviá, and which is agreed to represent the *Μαινάλιον πεδίων* of Pausanias, the French map (followed by Leake in his map at the end of *Peloponnesiaca*) rightly marks remains of various kinds. Some of these are of comparatively recent date; but those in one place at least, viz. on the hill of Ag. Elias, south-west of Sylímna,—are claimed as Hellenic. The claim may possibly be well founded; and, if so, the site may represent Soumetia, as Leake and (apparently) Boblaye suppose;¹⁷⁵ but I am bound to say that, if there ever were Hellenic remains on this hill, they have disappeared. By far the best remains of antiquity in this region are those of the 'Palaeó-kastro of Daviá,' on a small hill near the village of the same name, but on the opposite (right) bank of the Helisson.¹⁷⁶ Though the greater part of the walls are of late date, they rest in part on Hellenic masonry of the hewn polygonal type. The 'Palaeó-kastro' is, by some accident, omitted in the French map; but it is well known to writers on Greek topography, and identified by some of them with the town of Maenalus,¹⁷⁷ by others with Dipaea.¹⁷⁸ I myself am decidedly in favour of the identification with Dipaea; for Pausanias seems to imply that Maenalus was actually in some part of the mountain from which it took its name, while Dipaea, since it was the scene of a pitched battle on a large scale,¹⁷⁹ was probably in,

¹⁷⁵ Leake, *Pelop.*, map; Boblaye, p. 172. On the other hand, Ross (*Reisen in Pelop.* p. 120), followed by Curtius (i. 315) and Bursian (ii. 229), places Soumetia at Palaea-Sylímna, which is a totally different place, lying considerably west and somewhat north (instead of south-west) of Sylímna. It is a very steep hill, overlooking the plain of Daviá, and containing on its summit remains of fortification, church, and other walls, but nothing necessarily dating from ancient times. Quite close to the village of Sylímna is yet a third hill, of much smaller

dimensions, surmounted by remains of fortification-walls. This is the 'Palaeó-kastro of Sylímna,' and contains nothing Hellenic.

¹⁷⁶ The upper part of the Helisson goes by the name of the 'River of Daviá.'

¹⁷⁷ Ross, p. 118, *sq.*; Curtius i. 315.

¹⁷⁸ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, ii. 52. Bursian (ii. 228) does not attempt to decide between the claims of Maenalus and Dipaea. For the form 'Dipaea' *v.* Paus. viii. 27. 3.

¹⁷⁹ Herod. ix. 35; Paus. iii. 11. 7; viii. 8. 6; viii. 45. 2.

or at the borders of, a plain. Further, the territory of Dipaea was traversed by the upper waters of the Helisson;¹⁸⁰ and the plain of Daviá is the only one which that river traverses before making its way through the mountains to that of Megalopolis.

The route by which the plain of Maenalus was reached from Megalopolis has next to be considered. That there is at least one error in the distances given in our text of Pausanias has been admitted; but it was a strange perversity which led Leake¹⁸¹ to multiply the error, all for the sake of making τὸ ἔλος the name of a place (Helos), translating πύλαι 'ravines' or 'passes' instead of the obvious meaning, 'gates,' and placing the temple of Demeter 'ἐν ἔλει' on the top of a 'peaked height.'

The ἔλος was doubtless part of the plain immediately outside the town gates, between it and the hills;¹⁸² and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Pausanias' statement that the temple of Demeter ἐν ἔλει was only five stades from the gates. If the Elaphus is the tributary which joins the Helisson from the direction of Arakamýtes and Valtétsi, as Leake (no doubt rightly) supposes, then Pausanias' distances work very well as far as Arakamýtes (Peraetheis), and the number of errors is reduced to one. Arakamýtes lies just behind the big hill called Ag. Elias of Kandréva, to which I have previously referred in connexion with the plan of Asea (Frangóvryso); and, if it represents Peraetheis, it is not impossible that the temple on Ag. Elias (v. p. 33 and Pl. II.) may be that of Pan; but it would be a mistake to lay much stress on the suggestion.

Pausanias has generally been supposed to imply that the route to Paliskius followed the gorge of the Helisson all the way; but he does not actually say this, and to any one who has ascended this difficult gorge it must appear extremely doubtful. It is more likely that travellers to Paliskius etc. crossed the Tsimbaróu range, as travellers to Arakamýtes do at the present day, somewhere near Siálesi.

One question remains,—Where did Pausanias, in going to Maenalus, cross the Elaphus? at Paliskius or at Peraetheis? In other words, was Peraetheis off, or on, the direct route from Megalopolis to Maenalus? I am inclined to adopt the former view; for, had the route followed the left bank of the Elaphus for twenty stades, it would never have crossed that stream at all, but would have gone by Valtétsi. At the same time, if my view of the matter be correct, the route of Pausanias, from Paliskius onward, must have been along the main stream-bed of the Helisson; and I am not in a position to state positively that this is a convenient, or even a possible, route.

(3) *Karnion, Gatheatas, Kromi, Aegys* (Paus. viii. 34. 5 and 6).—The identification of the river Karnion with the 'Xerilo-potamo,' which appears

¹⁸⁰ Paus. viii. 30. 1.

¹⁸¹ *Morea* ii. 305, sq.; *Pelop.* p. 241. sqq.

¹⁸² Possibly the marsh (ἔλος), which was formerly here, has been completely absorbed by

the ever-widening river-bed. Just east of the town, where the marsh was, it is of great width (v. *Excavations at Megalopolis*, Pl. I.).

in the French map, has been generally accepted, even by Leake,¹⁸³ who had formerly¹⁸⁴ held a different view. There is no doubt that it is correct. The Gatheatas must then be the stream which joins the other a little N. of Samará. I disagree with Leake's identification¹⁸⁵ of Kromi with some remains near Samará, since Kromi was on the road to Messene, and Samará was not. The extant remains near Samará are those of rather massive walls of stones, mortar, and occasionally tiles, on the summit of a small hill surmounted by a wretched chapel of St. Demetrius. There are no *Hellenic* remains, nor have there been any within the memory of the peasants; but Leake¹⁸⁶ distinctly mentions some, and they may have perished since his time. The hill is of a very suitable shape for a small acropolis.

The site of Aegys is doubtful. Some writers¹⁸⁷ have placed it at the Kalývia of Georghítsi, in the Eurotas valley; but this theory has been discarded in a previous section,¹⁸⁸ on the ground that, the 'Aegytiid' territory (in the strictest sense of the word) being undoubtedly the valley of the Xerilo-potamo, *west* of the northernmost portions of the Taÿgetus range, it is hardly likely that its chief town Aegys was in the Eurotas valley *east* of that range. In his *Peloponnesiaca*¹⁸⁹ Leake tentatively suggested Kamára. This village has now split up, or extended itself, into three, which are known collectively by the plural name 'Kamáraes.' Above the uppermost of these villages is a sharp and conspicuous spur of hill, projecting from the side of Taÿgetus. Its summit must be at least 1,000 feet above the village, and bears many traces of rude buildings; but most, if not all, of them are mediaeval or modern. I do not believe, either from its situation or from the nature of the remains, that it is a Hellenic site. I have accordingly marked it *black* in Pl. I.

(4) *Tegea to Argos* (Paus. viii. 54. 5-7).—The route from Tegea to Argos necessarily passes through the small valley of Akhladókambo, which is separated from the plain of Tripolitsá by Mt. Rhoínó (Parthenium). There are at least four passes of Rhoínó; and every one of them is or has been in common use. They may be clearly seen from the map (Pl. I.).

The southernmost is the one adopted by the engineers of the new railway, as being the most circuitous and therefore enabling the line to descend to the lower valley¹⁹⁰ by a comparatively moderate gradient. The railway, in fact, thanks to skilful engineering, makes the circuit of three sides of the mountain and nearly a complete circuit of the valley of Akhladókambo, descending all the way. Obviously this was not the ancient route.

The three remaining routes coincide as far as the village of Hagiorgítika, not far from which Bérard, of the French School, discovered some foundations

¹⁸³ *Pelop.* p. 234.

¹⁸⁴ *Morea* ii. 297, and Pl. 2.

¹⁸⁵ *Morea* ii. 44; *Pelop.* p. 235.

¹⁸⁶ *Morea*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁷ Leake, *Morea* iii. 18, *sq.*; Bursian ii. 114.

¹⁸⁸ P. 45.

¹⁸⁹ P. 235.

¹⁹⁰ The valley of Akhladókambo lies some 1200 ft. lower than that of Tripolitsá.

which he believed to be those of the sanctuary of Dionysus Mystes and the shrine of Demeter 'ἐν Κορυθεύσι.'¹⁹¹ From Hagiorgitika one route (the so-called 'σκάλα τοῦ Μπέϊ'—'Skála tou Bey') crosses the hill almost in a direct line for Akhladókambo. It is a Turkish road, paved in the usual way with large unhewn stones. 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. One thing however is certain,—this is not the 'ὁχλήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καὶ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος' described by Pausanias.

The same objection applies, with perhaps still greater force, to what is sometimes called the 'κακὴ σκάλα,'—another Turkish paved road *engineered*, to a degree unusual in roads of this class, both by embankment on the lower side and by zigzags. The 'κακὴ σκάλα' goes through the gap separating Rhoínó (Parthenium) proper from Palaeo-móukhli, an isolated and conspicuous hill surmounted by the remains of a mediaeval settlement, and passes out into the plain beneath the largest of the new railway viaducts. Near the viaduct in question an inscription discovered by Bérard¹⁹² led him to place the 'sanctuary of Pan,' where that god was said to have appeared to the runner Philippides (or 'Pheidippides') on his way to Sparta before the battle of Marathon;¹⁹³ but it should be observed that, even if Philippides went this way (which is by no means certain), the sanctuary of Pan was (according to Pausanias) on the western, not on the eastern, side of Parthenium; since, *after* mentioning that sanctuary, he proceeds 'ὑπερβαλόντι δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους,' κ.τ.λ.

But whatever route Philippides adopted, it is quite clear that the one described by Pausanias as ὁχλήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη κ.τ.λ. is none of those which I have yet mentioned. It must have coincided more nearly with the modern carriage road, which passes *north* of Palaeo-móukhli, between that hill and the range of Kteniá. This is the only pass which could be made convenient for wheel traffic without very considerable feats of engineering, such as that which has resulted in the railway line. A Turkish road, of whose paving some traces still remain, coincided almost exactly with the carriage road, and probably represents the ancient route.

Hysiae, the frontier town, has been rightly located on a shoulder of hill close to the uppermost of the khans of Akhladókambo, and just above the new railway station. There is here an acropolis, with remains of good polygonal walls. Hysiae was Argive; and apparently the whole of the valley was Argive also, while both eastern and western sides of Mt. Parthenium were Tegean. This seems to be the inevitable conclusion from Pausanias,¹⁹⁴ who places the boundary between the two territories 'ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις.' Of this curious arrangement we have already seen an

¹⁹¹ *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, vol. xiv. (1890), p. 382.

¹⁹² *Guide Joanne*, p. 236.

¹⁹³ Herod. vi. 105, 106; Paus. i. 28. 4, viii. 54. 6.

¹⁹⁴ viii. 54. 7.

example¹⁹⁵ in connexion with the Megalopolis-Tegea route, where the 'Χῶμα' which served as boundary-mark has been clearly shown to have been situated at the foot, and not on the ridge, of Mt. Krávári.

APPENDIX D.

NOTES IN THE MANTINEIAN PLAIN.

In the top right-hand section of Pl. I. will be seen the great plain of Tripolitsá, which contains the sites of Mantinea, Tegea and Pallantium.

The following brief notes deal with the Mantineian section of it only, the remainder having been discussed in the body of the paper. These notes fall under two heads, viz. I. *Routes*, II. *Battles and Military Operations*.

I. *Routes.*

i. and ii. *Argos to Mantinea by the 'Klimax' and 'Prinus' routes* (Paus. viii. 6. 4—8. 4).—These two routes—with a third, coinciding with the 'Prinus' for a considerable distance, but keeping more closely to the valley of the Charadrus, passing south instead of north of the summit of Artemisium, and rejoining the 'Prinus' route at Tsiplaná—were first marked correctly as modern tracks in the French map, and were first (I believe) rightly identified with the ancient routes by Curtius. They may be distinguished as the Sánga, Karyá, and Tourníki routes respectively. My reasons for agreeing with the identifications of Curtius (which are adopted in the *Guide Joanne*) in preference to others which have been proposed are as follows:—

(1) Of the three possible routes, or passes, that by Sánga cannot be the 'Prinus' road, because it follows the course of a river (the ancient Inachus) from a point quite close to Argos right up into the hills, while the 'Prinus' road crossed one river (the Charadrus) near Argos¹⁹⁶ and afterwards, up in the hills, struck another river (the Inachus). For a similar reason the Tourníki route cannot represent the 'Prinus,' for it follows a single river (the Charadrus) from the plain to the summit of the pass. By the process of exhaustion, therefore, we arrive at the pass by Karyá as the representative of Pausanias' 'Prinus.' It crosses the Charadrus some two miles from the outskirts of Argos, just where that river debouches in the plain—follows its bed for about five miles, coinciding so far with the Tourníki route—then leaves the Charadrus, passes through the village of Karyá, and ascends very

¹⁹⁵ P. 35.

¹⁹⁶ Assuming, what is almost certain, that the route described in Paus. ii. 25. 1—3 as 'the' route from Argos to Mantinea is identical with the 'Prinus' route of Paus. viii. 6. 6

sqq. But in any case it is distinctly stated in viii. 6. 6 that the Prinus road did not follow the Inachus except so far as that river formed the boundary between the Mantineian and Argive territories, *i. e.* up in the hills.

steeply into the mountains, passing a chapel of Ag. Konstantínos (in which I once spent a miserable night), and at last coming in sight of the upper waters of the Inachus. It never actually follows the bed of the Inachus, for it skirts the hills at a much higher level; but it keeps that river-bed in sight for a long way, and crosses several of its tributary torrents before reaching the top of the pass. A little above Karyá is a conspicuous group of very old evergreen oaks (*πουρνάρια* or *πρινάρια*), possibly the descendants of those which gave the name *Πρίνος* to this route, and another of these trees crowns a hillock which overhangs the summit of the pass at a height of nearly 4,000 ft. above the sea.

If this be the 'Prinus' road, Nestane is rightly supposed to be represented by the fortification walls on the hill by Tshipianá; and the *Ἄργον πεδίου* and *Χορὸς Μαιρᾶς* are the plain to north-west, and the small inlet south-west of it, respectively. I have placed the fountain 'Arne' in a slightly different position from that indicated in the *Guide Joanne*; since the spring there shown is on the side of the hill, and not (as Pausanias says) in the plain, while there is another, and more abundant, spring (or rather group of springs) down in the plain, corresponding much better with his account.¹⁹⁷ The modern path skirts the hill and does not reach the plain till quite close to the site of Mantinea, while the ancient one appears to have descended more steeply, reaching the plain at least twelve stades from Mantinea near the spring just mentioned.

(2) The 'Klimax' route must of course be one of the two remaining ones, viz. either that by Sánga or that by Tourniki; and the latter is, in my opinion, excluded by the fact that the last part of it coincides with the Karyá route, which has already been identified with the 'Prinus,' while Pausanias' 'Klimax' and 'Prinus' clearly entered Mantinea from different directions. The name 'Klimax' was derived, says Pausanias, from some steps which had once been made in it to assist the descent, but which he apparently did not see. Steps are, however, visible, and in use, at the present day; they may be found near the top of the pass, on its eastern side; and they appear to be rather built up from small pieces of rock than cut in the rock itself. The ascent is a very steep one on both sides; and on the western side it consists of a series of zigzags so sharp that, as seen from near Sánga, they look very like a ladder, and would be amply sufficient to account for the name 'Klimax' even were there no actual steps in another part of the pass. Leake¹⁹⁸ and others have suggested that the fine springs near Pikérni, which one passes on this route, may be those which Pausanias mentions at Melangeia, whence (he says) Mantinea was supplied with drinking water. This may be so; but it should be observed that low ground

¹⁹⁷ Both identifications are of course conjectural. There is no trace of a *κρήνη* (supposing *κρήνη* to imply an artificial basin or fountain of spring-water), as distinguished from a *πηγή*, at either place. Where I have marked the foun-

tain Arne the spring-water does not come to a head (at present) at any one point, but (as the rustics say) *βγάζει τὸ μένος*,—the whole place runs with it.

¹⁹⁸ *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 53.

intervenes between these springs and the site of the town; so that, if this view be correct, there must have been a raised aqueduct to convey the water to Mantinea; and there is no trace of such an aqueduct.¹⁹⁹

iii. *Mantineia to Tegea* (Paus. viii. 10. 1—11. 4).—One would naturally have supposed the way to Tegea to have coincided, as far as the hill now called Mýtika (Pl. I.), with that to Pallantium; but Paus. viii. 10—12 clearly distinguishes them. Both must have gone through the narrow part of the plain just east of Mýtika; but the Tegean route apparently kept to the eastward of the other, passing (Pausanias tells us) beneath Mt. Alesius, which is agreed to have been the hill which lies just east of the ancient site. There is no evidence for the precise direction which it followed; and I have marked it very nearly as Curtius has done.²⁰⁰

Two white limestone thresholds, measuring roughly 10 ft. × 4 ft., noticed by the French excavators²⁰¹ in the fields south of Mantinea, and marked 'R^s' in Pl. I. may not impossibly represent the temple of Poseidon Hippios, as they supposed; but this involves the adoption, in Paus. viii. 10. 2, of Schäfer's emendation, ς' *σταδίων* for *σταδίου*,—an emendation suggested by Pol. xi. 11. 4—6, and 14. 1. The place called Phoezon, which was twenty-five stades from the temple of Poseidon, and apparently off the main road to Tegea, has been conjectured to have been situated somewhere in the little plain of Louká.²⁰²

iv. *Mantineia to Pallantium* (Paus. viii. 11. 5—12. 1).—This route must necessarily have coincided more or less exactly with the present road to Tripolitsá and Megalopolis. The oak wood 'Pelagus,' in which a part at least of the battle of 362 B.C. was fought, was entered by it some thirty stades from Mantinea; the 'Pelagus' must therefore have occupied the gap between the spur of Mt. Maenalus called 'Mýtika' and the spur of Mt. Artemisium which lies almost in the line between this and Louká. On these two points there is no difference of opinion.

The tomb of Epaminondas was on the site of the battle, *i.e.* down in the plain. Pausanias²⁰³ is quite clear on this point. He does *not* say, as he is commonly interpreted, that Epaminondas was buried at the place called Σκοπή, whence he witnessed the end of the engagement.

Skope (Σκοπή) itself is generally placed on the hill of Mýtika, which commands a splendid view of the plain in both directions; but Fougères, the principal excavator at Mantinea, writing in the *Guide Joanne*,²⁰⁴ disputes

¹⁹⁹ I have disregarded Leake's suggestion (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 371), that the 'Prinus' and 'Klimax' routes coincided, on the Argive side, as far as Oenoë, which he places near the modern Kato-Bélesi (Katobélissi), though it receives *some* countenance from Paus. ii. 25. 1, where only *one* route from Argos to Mantinea is mentioned. Leake's view would imply that the 'Prinus' road followed the Inachus all the way from the Argive plain to near the top of

the pass, which we know that it did not; and it makes the 'Prinus' an extremely roundabout and unnatural route (*v.* map of the *Mantineia and Tegeatis* at end of *Peloponnesiaca*).

²⁰⁰ Curt. *Pelop.* vol. i. Pl. III.

²⁰¹ *V. Guide Joanne*, p. 379.

²⁰² Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, vol. i. p. 246.

²⁰³ viii. 11. 7.

²⁰⁴ P. 372.

the identification, on the valid ground that a wounded man, with a spear-head in his body, could hardly be carried either so far or so high. But if it can be shown (1) that the place called Skope was probably not the *summit* of the hill (which is a clear 1,000 ft. above the plain), but a shoulder of it, at least 600 ft. lower down; (2) that the name Skope really had a different origin from that given in Pausanias, and that the story was invented to account for the name,—then we shall no longer hesitate to identify Mýtika, or a part of it, with the Skope of Pausanias. And this is the precise state of the case. The summit of the hill, as Fougères truly says, is surmounted only by a chapel; but on the shoulder is a much more interesting object, which does not appear to have hitherto attracted the attention of archaeologists. This is the ruin of a small tower, about 14½ ft. square, constructed of excellent hewn polygonal masonry with rough bossy surface very similar to the masonry of which a great part of the walls of Mantinea is composed, and probably dating, like them, from the 4th century B.C. A photograph of this tower is given on Pl. III. The tower is known to the peasants as the ‘*Ἀνεμόμυλος*’ (‘Windmill’); and some of the better-informed Tripolitsiotes regard it as the tomb of Epaminondas, basing this view upon the idea, to which I have already alluded, that Epaminondas was buried at the ‘Skope.’ I spent one day in excavating the little ruin, clearing out the inside of it till I reached the rock, but without finding any traces of human burial, and was thus confirmed in my view that it was really a small watch-tower (*σκοπή*), immediately overlooking the boundary between the Mantineian and Tegean territories, and commanding a fine view of both. The tower had probably fallen into decay long before the time of Pausanias, but the spot retained the name; and from the name, combined with the exceptionally commanding position of the hill, arose the story which he relates. That the wounded general really was carried over ground so rough, and to a height so great, is (to my mind) incredible.

The account of the road to Pallantium stops, as so often in Pausanias, at the frontier; but a reference to the map will show that the remainder of it must have approximately coincided with the modern road to Megalopolis, which keeps near the border of the plain all the way.

v. *Mantineia to Methydrium* (Paus. viii. 12. 2—4).—There has never been any doubt as to the general direction of this road, and it will be found marked in my map almost exactly as in that of Curtius and elsewhere. The Mt. Ostrakina of Pausanias is now generally identified with Mt. Ag. Elias, one of the peaks of Maenalus, in accordance with the view taken by the French surveyors. Leake^{204a} disputed the identification, on the ground that Petrosáka, which formed the boundary between the Megalopolitan and Mantineian territories, and was therefore probably at the top of the pass, was, according to Pausanias, forty stades (*i.e.* 4½ miles) beyond the spring ‘Kissa,’ the spring ‘Kissa’ being in some part of Mt. Ostrakina. But, even granting

^{204a} *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 230, sq.

that the boundary was at the top of the pass (which is by no means certain),²⁰⁵ yet the spring 'Kissa,' if it was on the south-east slopes of Ag. Elias, where the path first enters the stream-gorge, may well have been forty stades, or something very like it, from the boundary; for the hamlet of Kardará, which is situated at some distance up the gorge, is nearly an hour's walk from the top of the pass.

vi. and vii. *Mantineia to Orchomenus; two routes* (Paus. viii. 12. 5—13. 1).—The two most obvious passes from the Mantineian plain to the Orchomenian are those by the 'khan of Bilāi' (as it is called by the French surveyors)²⁰⁶ and by Kakoúri. There is a third pass *viâ* the plain of Kapsá to Levíthi; but this route would never be adopted in going from the *town* of Mantineia to the *town* of Orchomenus.

Of the routes leading to the two passes, one is generally supposed to have passed west, the other east of Gourtsóuli, a small isolated hill just north of Mantineia; and this is rendered probable by the distribution of the city gates, as shown in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*,²⁰⁷ notwithstanding that the modern road to Kakoúri goes west, and not east, of that hill.²⁰⁸

Gourtsóuli is almost universally supposed to represent the 'Πτόλις' of Pausanias,—the site of *old* Mantineia; and the route which passed *east* of it is supposed to be the *first* of the two mentioned by that writer, his Maera being near the modern Kakoúri. But Leake held a different view. He supposed 'Ptolis' to denote a lower, but equally isolated, hill, about a mile further north (*v. Pl. I.*). On the whole I incline to Leake's view; for it is quite impossible to describe Gourtsóuli as being in a 'πεδίων οὐ μέγα,'²⁰⁹ distinct from the plain in which Mantineia itself is situated; and though the expression is not very accurate even when applied to the other hill, it is nevertheless intelligible; for that hill is actually hidden from Mantineia by the hill of Gourtsóuli, so that it is (in a sense) cut off from the larger plain. If this view be correct, I should be disposed to regard Gourtsóuli as the 'γῆς χῶμα ἰφρηλόν' which was 'said,' according to Pausanias, to be the tomb of Penelope, in spite of the fact that it is really of natural origin.²¹⁰ And as it lies, *ex hypothesi*, between the two routes to Orchomenus, while the

²⁰⁵ We have already, in the course of the present paper, seen more than one instance in which that rule was not observed.

²⁰⁶ Now called τοῦ Τουρνικιώτη, but the old name is still remembered.

²⁰⁷ Vol. xiv. (1890), Pl. I.; reproduced in the *Guide Joanne*, opposite p. 374.

²⁰⁸ Notwithstanding also that both 'Ptolis' and the tomb of Penelope are mentioned on one only of Pausanias' routes; and, as Gourtsóuli probably represents either 'Ptolis' or the tomb, it must (supposing the routes to have gone on opposite sides of it) have been equally near to both. But it is quite in accordance with the

methods of Pausanias, when describing two routes, to mention the objects on the second only in so far as they differ from those already mentioned on the first.

²⁰⁹ Paus. viii. 12. 7.

²¹⁰ The tradition that it was a tomb perhaps accounts for the expression γῆς χῶμα which is applied to it. 'Ptolis,' though smaller, is called an ὄρος. For 'πεδίων οὐ μέγα καὶ ὄρος' (Paus. viii. 12. 7) Leake (*Pelop.* p. 381, note) suggests 'πεδίων καὶ ὄρος οὐ μέγα.' Cf. Paus. viii. 44. 7, where a somewhat similar hill (Kresium; *v. supra*, p. 35, note 36) is described as an 'ὄρος οὐ μέγα.'

'tomb of Penelope' is stated to have been on the *right* of the first of the two which he describes, we must revert to Leake's view, as opposed to that of subsequent writers, that the first of the two routes in Pausanias is the western route, *viâ* the 'khan of Bilái,'—that Maera was somewhere near this khan,—and that Mt. Anchisia, which was on the *second* route, was not (as commonly supposed) the hill overhanging the khan, but the great mountain now called 'Armeniádhēs,' a conspicuous landmark visible from all parts of the Mantineian plain. This arrangement possesses the incidental advantage of preserving the *order* in which Pausanias describes the Mantineian routes. Beginning with the 'Klimax' road from Argolis, he works round regularly in the direction east, south, west, north; and it would be strange if, in describing the two routes to Orchomenus, he suddenly inverted this order.

II.—*Battles, etc.*

It is not my intention to describe or discuss in full the various battles and military operations which took place in the neighbourhood of Mantinea. An admirable account of them will be found in Leake's *Travels in the Morea*.²¹¹ Some of the views there expressed have however been generally discarded, and some others are open to criticism; while Leake's map of the plain,²¹² being prior in date to the French Survey, is necessarily inadequate. The following notes may therefore be found a useful adjunct to his narrative.

(i.) *Battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C.*: Thuc. v. 64 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 57—68).—There is no stream, which by any process of damming could be conducted, as Leake seems to have thought possible, indifferently either into the plain of Louká (his 'Argon Pedion') or to the katavothra of Vézova (Leake's 'Persová'). In fact his whole account (pp. 62, *sq.*) of the Spartan manœuvre of diverting the waters is founded on a misconception of the water system of the plain. This will be seen by a comparison of his map with Pl. I. The stream diverted by Agis was doubtless the one which flows in a northerly direction from near Tegea, crosses the boundary of the Mantinike just beneath the hill of Mýtika, and loses itself in a katavothra in the south-west corner of the Mantineian plain. This katavothra is of the earthy kind, like those near Marmariá (p. 69), and is consequently very liable to get silted up, with the effect of immediately flooding the surrounding country. The Mantineians no doubt were in the habit of damming it at or near the frontier, so as to make it flood the Tegean plain, while the Tegeans would be equally anxious to keep its channel open till it reached the Mantiniké. Hence the constant friction to which Thucydides alludes.²¹³

It must be remembered, in reading Leake's account, that he places the ancient Nestane near Louká, so that when he speaks of 'the opening between

²¹¹ Vol. iii. pp. 57—93.

²¹² *Morea*, vol. iii. pl. 2.

²¹³ Thuc. v. 65.

Scope and Nestane' as forming 'the boundary of the Mantinice' (p. 63), his meaning, in spite of the apparent inaccuracy of the wording, is really quite correct. The route of Agis from Sparta to Tegea *via* Orestheium (or Oresthasium), which immediately preceded this battle, has been sufficiently discussed in a previous section (pp. 47-52).

(ii.) *Expedition of Agesipolis, 385 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 1 *sqq.*; Paus. viii. 8. 7 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 68-73).—The capture of Mantinea by Agesipolis in 385 B.C. was effected by damming the river Ophis, which flowed through the town, so that it sapped and destroyed the walls, which were of unbaked brick. Leake's identification of the Ophis in his *Travels in the Morea* has long been superseded; in fact he himself, in *Peloponnesiaca*,²¹⁴ adopted Boblaye's suggestion,²¹⁵ and identified the Ophis with the stream from Tegea described in the preceding paragraph. As this river never approaches nearer than two miles from Mantinea, Boblaye suggested that it might have gradually altered its course, and Leake, with more show of reason, that it had (before the expedition of Agesipolis) been artificially diverted so as to flow through the city. But there was really no need for these rather far-fetched theories,²¹⁶ since the little river shown in the French map, and first (I believe) marked as the Ophis by Curtius, answers all requirements perfectly. It flows at the present day right up to the walls of Mantinea, laps round them, and re-unites on the other side; then, after an extremely circuitous course which amply justifies its name of *Ὀφίς*, it loses itself in a katavothra in the hillside somewhat north of Kapsá.

(iii.) *The expedition of Agesilaus, 370 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 10 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 73-75).—The march of Agesilaus from Sparta was *via* Eutaea, and I have already discussed it in connexion with Spartan routes (*supra*, pp. 50-52). His operations within the Mantineian plain cannot be followed with much precision; for, since he encamped on the first day under the mountains south-west²¹⁷ of Mantinea, on the second day twenty stades from Mantinea, and on the third day in 'ὄπισθεν κόλπος τῆς Μαντινικῆς,' it is evident that he was always within two or three hours' march (at most) of the town, and was not *marching* so much as shifting his camp, his days being no doubt spent in ravaging the country. Hence it is impossible to keep much count of his movements, or to identify the 'ὄπισθεν κόλπος' with any certainty. The description of it, however, applies better to the valley which lies north of Tsipianá (marked in my map as the 'Argon Pedion') than to any other inlet of the Mantineian plain. This appears to have been also Leake's view.²¹⁸ No plausible explanation of the mistake of Agesilaus in taking up this dangerous position has yet been offered.

²¹⁴ Pp. 380, *sq.*

²¹⁵ *Recherches*, p. 140

²¹⁶ The object of Leake and Boblaye was, apparently, to find a *larger* stream than the one which now flows past the walls of the ancient town.

²¹⁷ South as well as west; for the Orchomenian contingent, in order to join him, had to pass Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 17).

²¹⁸ *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 75.—It must be remembered that the 'Argon' there referred to is the plain of Louká, so that the 'smaller and more

(iv.) *Battle in 362 B.C.*: Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5; Diod. xv. 84 *sqq.*; Paus. viii. 11. 5 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 76-84).—There has been some difference of opinion with regard to the site of this great battle,—the battle in which Epaminondas fell. That a part of it was fought in the ‘Pelagus,’ the oak-wood which occupied the narrows immediately east of Mýtika and the ‘Σκοπή,’—*i.e.* at the very borders of the Mantineian and Tegean territories—we have already seen. But it is not quite clear whether it was the right wing or the left wing of Epaminondas’ army which was here engaged,—*i.e.* whether the rest of his army was drawn up in Mantineian territory or in Tegean. The former was Leake’s view, and is (I believe) generally accepted, chiefly no doubt owing to the common designation of the battle as that ‘of Mantinea.’ But the argument from the name is far from being conclusive; for in any case the battle was fought as an attack on, and in defence of, Mantinea, and took place *nearer* to Mantinea than to Tegea. And there are good reasons for believing that the *left* wing, rather than the right wing, of Epaminondas’ army was near Mýtika. For:

(1) Epaminondas was killed in the ‘Pelagus’;²¹⁹ and his tomb appears to have been quite close to Mýtika, for it is mentioned by Pausanias²²⁰ immediately after the Σκοπή, which was on Mýtika. Now we know from Diodorus²²¹ that the Theban column, led by Epaminondas himself, formed the *left* wing of his army, not the right wing.

(2) Xenophon’s account of Epaminondas’ march from Tegea,²²² which is in no case easy of interpretation, is to my mind incompatible with the idea that he advanced beyond Mýtika. ‘Τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην,’ he says,²²³ ‘πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας²²⁴ ἠγεῖτο ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίους μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.’ The words ‘τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη’ are most naturally interpreted as referring to the hills about Pallantium, in fact the Krávvari range; but, as it is clear that the battle was not fought near Krávvari, but in the direction of Mantinea, it is generally assumed that Epaminondas’ march was in a *north-westerly* direction and that he reached the hills very near the modern Tripolitsá. Here he must have struck the road from *Pallantium* to Mantinea. ‘Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο,’ Xenophon goes on to say, ‘ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ.’ Then (we are told), when the enemy were sufficiently put off the scent by this manœuvre, he suddenly formed the troops about him into

northern branch of the Mantinic plain between Mantinea and the Argon’ probably means *our* ‘Argon,’ *i.e.* the plain of Tsipianá.

²¹⁹ Paus. viii. 11. 10.

²²⁰ *Id.* 11. 7, 8; 12. 1.

²²¹ xv. 85, 86.

²²² Leake (*Morea*, vol. iii. p. 81) apparently supposes Epaminondas to have been personally engaged in the cavalry engagement which preceded the battle, and never to have returned to Tegea. This view is countenanced by Diodorus’

account of the battle, but opposed to that of Xenophon, whose authority, as a contemporary and a soldier, is rightly accepted as the more reliable.

²²³ Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 21.

²²⁴ Others read *κατ’ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Τεγέας*, and Leake (*Morea*, vol. iii. p. 78, note) quotes the passage as *τῆς Τεγέας καὶ ἀντιπέραν*. The reading I adopt is from the Teubner edition of 1890 (ed. Keller).

a deep column, and advanced to the attack. There must be some little inaccuracy in Xenophon's account here; for, if taken literally, it does not allow of any farther northward march of Epaminondas after striking the hills; yet we know, both from the common designation of the battle as that of 'Mantineia' and from the tradition about the 'Pelagus,' that some part of the battle was fought near the Mantineian frontier. Leake²²⁵ supposes Epaminondas to have skirted the hills (keeping, no doubt, along the Pallantium road) all the way from Tripolitsá to *beyond* Mýtika before drawing up his troops, and then to have drawn them up beneath the hills which extend northward from that point to the entrance of the plain of Kapsá (plain Alkimedon), the whole battle being fought, according to him, on Mantineian ground. But, in the first place, so great a liberty as this in the interpretation of Xenophon seems unjustifiable; and, in the second place, Epaminondas could never have deceived the enemy (as Xenophon says he did) by taking an unwonted route if he had after all advanced along that route till he reached the narrows where it almost joined the ordinary route from Tegea to Mantineia.

A slight advance northward from near the modern Tripolitsá, perhaps as far as the hill in front of Merkovoúni, and an extension of the line of troops from thence to a point near Mýtika, are the very most that can be got out of the words 'ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ'; and this view is the only one which explains the ruse by which Epaminondas put his antagonists off their guard. If this theory be correct, his extreme *left* wing, which bore the brunt of the battle, was engaged near Mýtika, *i.e.* just at the Mantineian and Tegean frontier; while the remainder of his army lay to the southward of it, in Tegean territory.²²⁶

The 'γήλοφοί τινες' (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 24), which commanded the enemy's left flank, cannot be precisely identified in the almost level plain; but it is possible that they were part of the slightly rising ground north-eastward of the village of Mandságra.

(v. and vi.) *On the engagements of 296 B.C.* (Plut. *Dem.* 35) and 243 B.C. (Paus. viii. 10. 5 *sqq.*) I have nothing to add to Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 84-86.

(vii.) *Battle of 207 B.C.*: Polyb. xi. 11 *sqq.* (Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. pp. 87-93).—Polybius' account of this battle is clear and full, and is closely followed by Leake; but the battle is not one with which the permanent features of the ground had much to do. A certain ditch, by which the forces of Machanidas were thrown into confusion, played an important part in it; but it is not identifiable and probably no longer exists.²²⁷

²²⁵ *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 81.

²²⁶ Cf. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. viii. pp. 23 *sqq.* (10 vol. edition) and accompanying plan. My views respecting the site of the battle, formed on the spot, coincide very nearly with those of Grote.

²²⁷ A 'Graben' is marked in Curtius' map of the plain (vol. i. pl. III.) and appears again as 'Fossé' in the *Guide Joanne*, being evidently inserted with special reference to this battle. But though the whole plain is intersected with ditches, I can find no trace of this particular one.

The only topographical points whose position can be conjectured with any approach to certainty are the 'λόφος ὁ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως' of Polyb. xi. 11. 5 (evidently Mt. Alesius) and the temple of Poseidon. These have been already discussed (p. 82). For 'Ελισφασίων in Polyb. xi. 11. 6 Leake suggested 'Ελισσωνίων, but the suggestion is rightly abandoned in *Peloponnesiaca*.²²⁸ Curtius, followed by some other topographers, identifies the territory of the Elisphasii with the 'plain Alkimedon,'²²⁹ that secluded valley being, like the Elisphasian territory, on the opposite side of the Mantineian plain to that on which stood the temple of Poseidon.

W. LORING.

²²⁸ P. 379, *sq.*

²²⁹ Paus. viii. 12. 2.

To Orchomenus

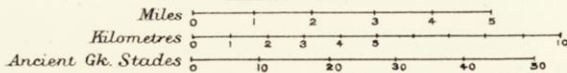
MAP

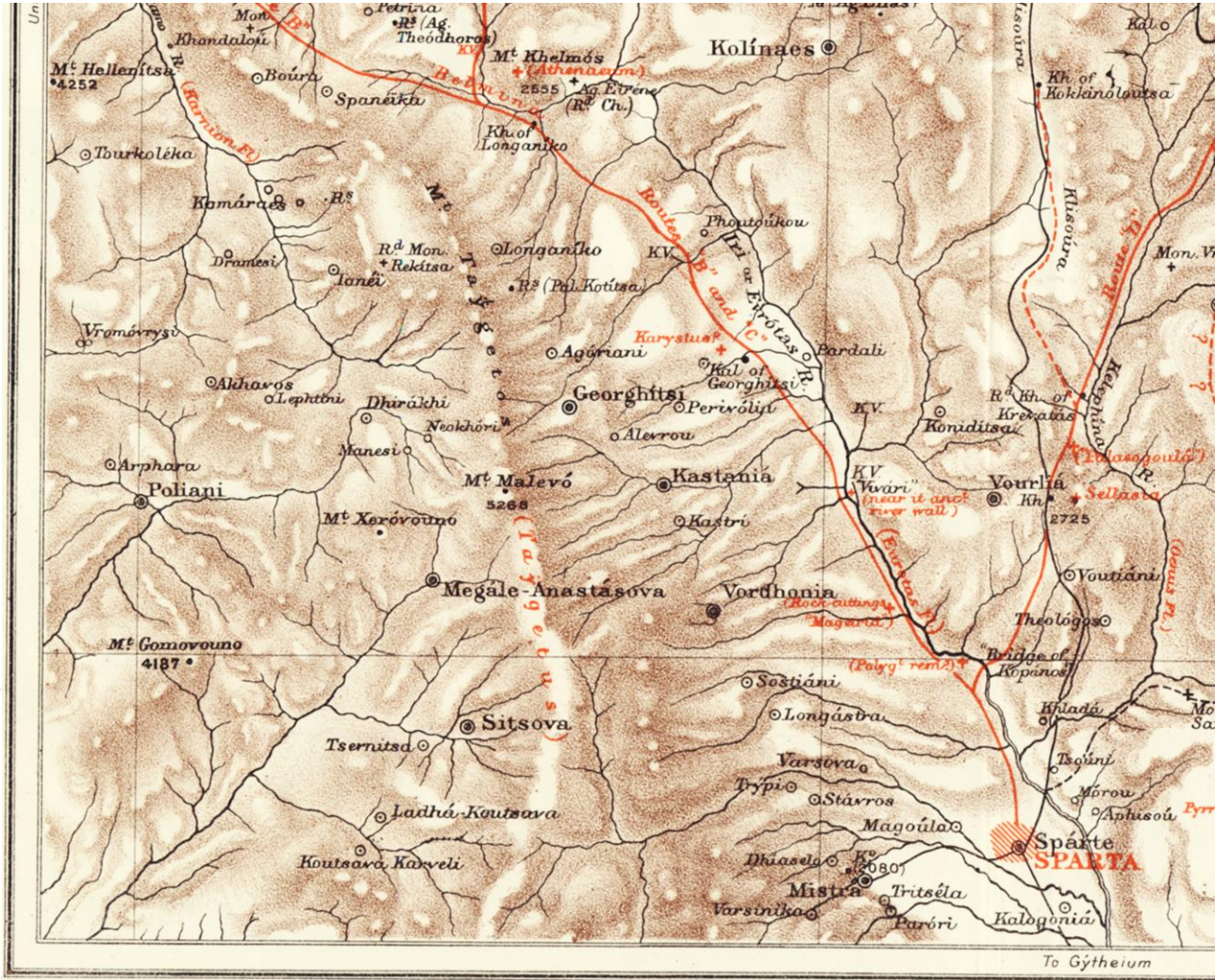
(to illustrate paper on Ancient Routes.)
 taken from the French Survey of 1832.
 with additions and omissions
 by W. Loring.
 1894.

Explanation.

- Railway (unfinished W. of Tripolitsá). ————
- Carriage Roads. ————
- Ancient routes (where not coinciding with the last named). ———— or ————
- Mule and foot tracks (where not coinciding with ancient routes) omitted, or inserted thus, - - - - -
- Ancient sites etc. shown in Red. Approximate Heights in feet.
- Kal. - "Kalývia" (hamlet).
- R^s = Romans.
- Kh. = Khan.
- Ch. = Chapel.
- Mon. or Monast. = Monastery.
- K^o = "Kástro" (Castle)
- P^o = "Pýrgo" (Mediæval or Turkish tower)
- R^d = Ruined.
- K.V. = "Kephálóvrysis" (headspring)
- Katav. = "Kataróthra"
- Pal. = "Palaeó" or "Palaeá" (Old)
- Ag. = "Aghios", "Aghia" (S^t)

Scales.





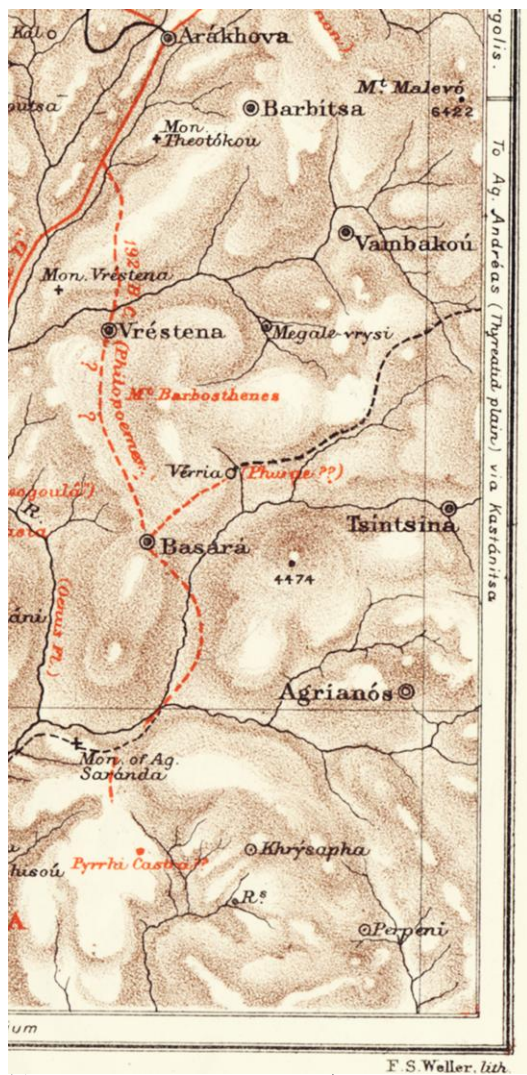




FIG. 1. TOWER ON MÝTIKA (ANCIENT SKOPÈ).



FIG. 2. RIVER-WALL OF THE EUROTAS.