

ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

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THE VIA EGNATIA BETWEEN THESSALONIKE
AND APOLLONIA

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Since the Second World War the Via Egnatia has been the object of several studies¹ and its course has been depicted in works destined both to specialists² and to the general reader³. The attention of scholars has been drawn either by overall problems concerning the date and scope of its construction or by specific topographical questions pertaining to the precise course of this ancient route. The latter type of studies, however, have almost exclusively concentrated on the western section of the Egnatian Way, from Dyrrhachion (or Apollonia) to Thessalonike⁴, neglecting almost entirely its eastern section from the Macedonian capital to Acontisma, on the eastern frontier of the province⁵. In particular, a sort of tacit consensus has prevailed during the last forty years on the course of the Roman road from Thessalonike to Apollonia in Mygdonia, although no ancient remains of

* I wish to thank Nikolaos and Alexandros Kyriazides of Kalamoton for their kind help and hospitality and also to recommend them for their indefectible attachment to the history and ancient remains of their village.

1. See the works cited in the bibliography and the notes of the monograph L. Gounaropoulou - M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* («ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ» 1; Athens 1985).

2. Cf. the maps and commentaries of N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. I (Oxford 1972); Fanoula Papazoglou, «Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macédoine», *ANRW* II 7.1 (Berlin - New York 1979) map between pages 304-305; eiusdem, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (Athens - Paris 1988) maps 6 and 20.

3. Cf. O'Sullivan, *The Egnatian Way* (Harrisburg 1968) or the maps no 1 and no 133 of the collective volume edited by M. B. Sakellariou, *Macedonia* (Athens 1983).

4. Cf. Ch. Edson, «The Location of Cellae and the Route of the Via Egnatia in Western Macedonia», *CP* 46 (1951) 1-16; N. G. L. Hammond, «The Western Part of the Via Egnatia» *JRS* 64 (1974) 186-94; P. A. MacKay, «The Route of the Via Egnatia around Lake Ostovo», *Ancient Macedonia II* (Thessalonike 1977) 201-210; N. G. L. Hammond - M. B. Hatzopoulos, «The Routes through Lynceus and Eordaea in Western Macedonia», *AJAH* 7 (1982) 128-49; eiusdem, «The Via Egnatia from *mutatio Ad Duodecimum* to *civitas Edessa*», *AJAH* 8 (1983) 48-53 and my monograph with L. Gounaropoulou cited in note 1. N. G. L. Hammond in the 1st volume of his *History of Macedonia* examines in great detail the western section of the Via Egnatia.

5. Among the rare exceptions we can cite the works of Ch. I. Makaronas, «Via Egnatia and Thessalonike», *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, vol. I (St. Louis, Missouri (1951) 380-88; eiusdem, «Ἀπολλωνία ἢ Μυγδονική», *Ancient Macedonia 2* (Thessalonike 1977) 189-94; Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, «Via Egnatia - Ἀκόντισμα», *AAA* 5 (1972) 474-85; Stavroula Samartzidou, «Ἐγνατία Ὁδός: ἀπὸ τοῦς Φιλίππους σὴ Νεάπολη», *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη* (Thessalonike 1990) 559-88.

the road itself or milestones have ever come to light there. The explanation of this quiet confidence is probably to be sought in two directions: an important article by Ch. Makaronas published in 1951⁶ and the construction of the modern road Thessalonike-Kavala⁷, which in a subliminal way offered daily an ever renewed confirmation to the Greek archaeologist's main thesis that the ancient road followed the same course as the modern one, the very depiction of the latter on the maps suggesting that it constituted the obvious, and in a certain way, natural route across this part of Macedonia.

Makaronas based his argument on the discovery of two milestones in the vicinity of Thessalonike, which he justifiably attributed to the stretch of the Via Egnatia leading from the Macedonian capital to the Strymonic Gulf. The first, bearing the names of several emperors and caesars from before 284 to 305 or 306 A.D. and the indication that it was the first milestone from Thessalonike, came to light in 1949 at a site *circa* one Roman mile distant from the Letaeon Gate⁸. The second, with the name of Trajan, the indication that the emperor had repaired the road from Dyrrhachion to Neapolis (Kavala) *longa intermissione neglect(am)* and the number V (= 5 m.p.), had been discovered during the Ist World War «near the 6th kilometre from Salonica, on the Salonica-Serres road»⁹. From the evidence of these two milestones mainly, the Greek archaeologist concluded that, contrary to what was thought until then, the Via Egnatia did not cross the city of Thessalonike from the Letaeon to the Cassandraean gate along the modern Egnatia Hodos and did not ascend and descend the cliffs of Mt Chortiatis in order to reach the basin of Lakes Koroneia and Bolbe, but followed the course of the modern Thessalonike-Kavala national road from the head of the Thermaic to the head of the Strymonic Gulf. An additional argument used by Makaronas was one of common sense: why should the Romans prefer the uneven course through Mt Chortiatis to the smoother and easier course of the modern Thessalonike-Kavala road? There is a third argument in favour of this thesis, which, although it was not evoked in the Greek archaeologist's paper, has influenced subsequent studies. It has been asserted that the distances provided by the Peutinger Table and the Roman Itineraries roughly correspond to the distances between Thessalonike and Amphipolis (or the presumed site of Apollonia) along the modern road¹⁰.

These arguments are not as decisive as they seem. To begin with, there is nothing obvious or natural about the course of the modern road and that was precisely the reason why Makaronas' predecessors had until then upheld alternative courses. Their hypotheses had been based on the knowledge of conditions prevailing in their own days and in earlier

6. Cited in the previous note.

7. Its construction started in 1928 and was terminated just before the second World War. It has been repaired and modernised several times since then. In particular its course between Evkarpia and Laina has been modified.

8. It was first published in this article and then republished by Ch. Edson in *IG X 2, 1, 1009* and by P. Collart, «Les milliaires de la Via Egnatia», *BCH 100* (1976) 199-200, no 11.

9. It was first published by P. Collart, «Une réfection de la "Via Egnatia" sous Trajan», *BCH 59* (1935) 395-415 and republished in the *IG X 2, 1, 1012* and by the first editor himself in the article cited in the previous note pp. 197-98, no 2.

10. Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* vol. I (Oxford 1972) 195-96; Fanoula Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (Athens - Paris 1988) 219-20.

modern times. Now, there exist several relations of travellers who journeyed in this area from the end of the XVIth century to the end of the Ottoman rule in Macedonia and it is indeed striking that not even one followed or considered following the course of the modern national road.

On 31 May 1591, two hours after lunch, Lorenzo Bernardo, on an official mission for the Republic of Venice, left Thessalonike with six carriages and, after covering eight miles, arrived at the village of Langazada (= Langadas and not Langadikia), where he spent the night¹¹. The next day, leaving Langadas at the first hour of the day, he arrived at Genibazar (= Pazarouda, modern Apollonia) in the afternoon. Bernardo states that he travelled between two lakes, two miles distant from each other, and describes the amenities he found at Genibazar. On 2 June, at the first hour of the day, he left Genibazar and, travelling for two hours along the lake of the same name, he arrived at the defile of Redema (Rendina). Thence he proceeded to Constantinople through Kavala, Komotini and Raides-tos.

In 1667 Evliya Celebi, travelling from Constantinople to Thessalonike, passed through the *aulon* of Rendina and, moving along the northern shore of lake Bolbe (Beshik Giol), visited the town Greater Beshik (Megale Bolbe), then crossed, probably through Giolbashi, to Yeni Bazar (Pazarouda = Apollonia) on the southern shore of the lake. After a visit to the mining district of Siderokausia, he proceeded, probably through Pazarouda, to Langadas¹².

In June 1705 Paul Lucas, coming from Constantinople, entered Mygdonia through the pass of Rendina (Rondine) and following the northern shores of lakes *Boujoubachy* (Bolbe) and *Couchoubechy* (Koroneia) arrived at Langaze (Langadas). From there he travelled for three hours round the shore of lake Koroneia, noting: «comme il (le lac) fait quantité de marêts, les chemins nous parurent extrêmement difficiles et lassans». Finally he reached Thessalonike either through Derveni or (less probably) across Mt Chortiatis, his description not being very clear at that point. («ensuite pendant une heure nous montâmes une montagne assez rude; de son sommet nous descendîmes toujours jusqu'à la Ville de Salonik»¹³). Nine years later, in January 1714, the same P. Lucas made a journey in the opposite direction. Starting from Thessalonike, he crossed Mt Chortiatis and reached the

11. G. Cavazza, «Relazione del viaggio fatto da Lorenzo Bernardo etc.» published in *Monumenti Storici pubblicati della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria. Serie Quarta: Miscellanea*, vol. IV (Venice 1887) and also under the title of «Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano di Lorenzo Bernardo, 1592», in E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Alberi*, Serie III, vol. II (Florence 1844) 321-426. This relation has been translated into Greek by K. Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη 1947) and had been discussed by St. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman XVe-XVIe siècles* (Ankara 1991) 407-409, who erroneously identifies «Langazada» with Langadikia and Ioli Vingopoulou-Papazotou, «Η χρονολόγηση του ὀθωμανικοῦ συγκροτήματος στὴν Ἀπολλωνία (1566-1574)», *Μακεδονικά* 27 (1989-1990) 409-411.

12. N. Moschopoulos, «Ἡ Ἑλλάς κατὰ τὸν Ἐβλιᾶ Τσελεμπή», *EEBS* 14 (1938) 495-507.

13. P. Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*, tome I (Paris 1712) 258.

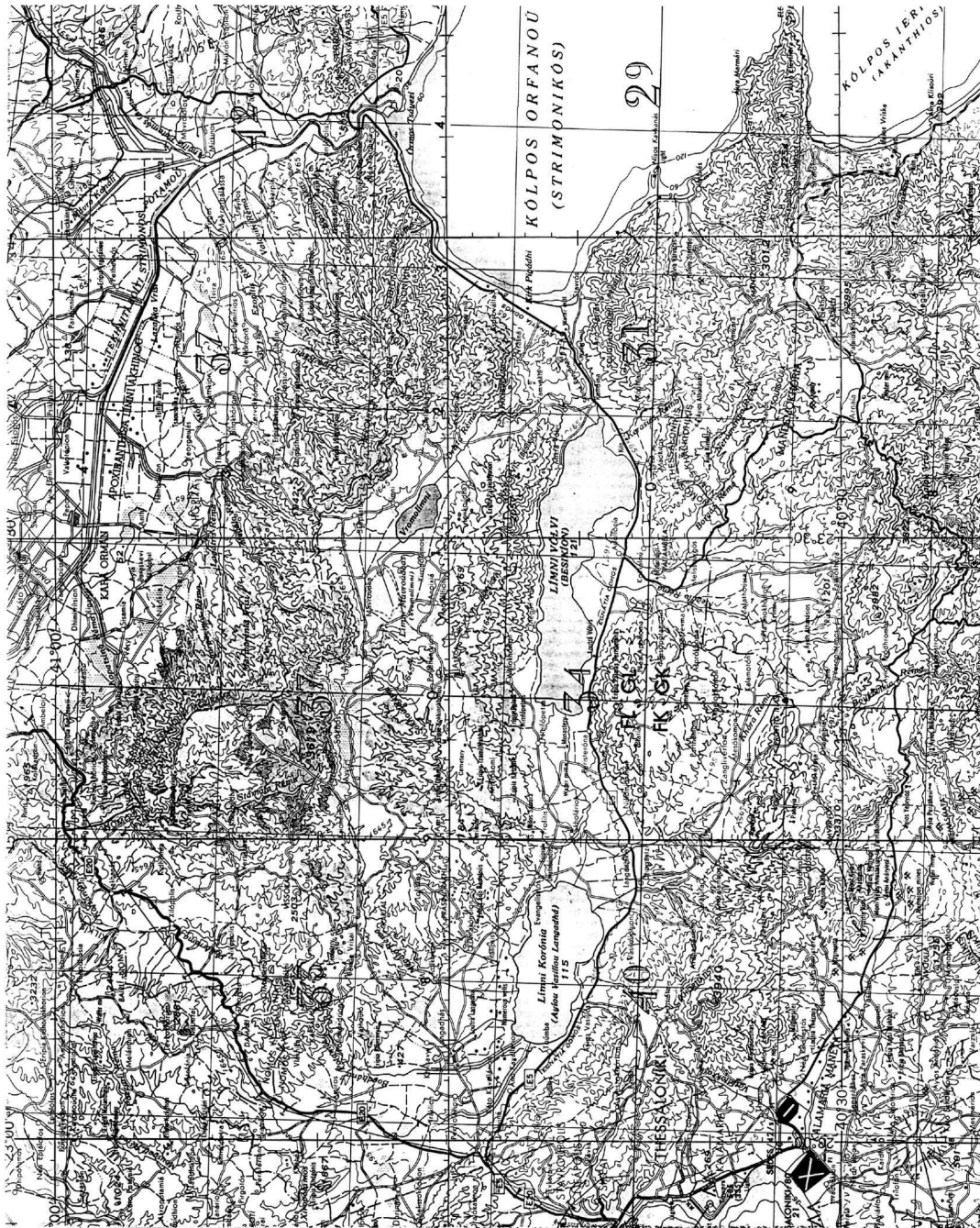


Fig. 1. The lake district between Thessalonike and the Strymonic Gulf.

plain by the southern shore of Lake Koroneia. As he mentions then the «Rocks of the Bride»¹⁴ near Prophetes and the baths of Langadas, it seems that he crossed the narrow corridor between Lake Koroneia and Lake Bolbe and followed a route north of the latter lake to Rendina¹⁵.

At the end of the XVIIIth century, R. Walpole, travelling from Thessalonike eastwards, followed the northern shores of lakes Koroneia and Bolbe, stopping at Klissala (Prophetes) seven hours after his departure¹⁶.

In mid-winter of 1801 F. D. Clarke left Thessalonike for Constantinople. The very detailed description of his journey allows us to follow his route through the Derveni pass to the plain of Langadas (Lagadno) and Kolchikon (Baleftchino) and along the western and northern shore of Lake Koroneia, where he notes that the land was «low and marshy» and the air «very bad». Clarke claims that he saw there «little *tumuli* close to the road, marking the distances». He adds that they occur in pairs on either side of the way in the whole route to Constantinople and that having measured them repeatedly he ascertained that the distance between each of them was equal to two Roman miles. Like Walpole, Clarke arrived after seven hours at Clissele (Prophetes) and spent the night there. The next day he travelled along the northern shore of lake Bolbe through the plain of Seraivashtchi (Scholarion) and Gûlvashtchi (Akrolimnia), Greater and Lesser Beshek (Megale and Mikra Bolbe) to the pass of Rendina, which he reached five hours after leaving Clissele¹⁷.

His contemporary and fellow-countryman W. M. Leake followed roughly the same itinerary in late autumn 1806, only that, coming from Sochos, he reached the depression of the lakes at Klisali (Prophetes), «a post station on the main route to Constantinople», where he changed horses. Two hours and 45 minutes later, riding on marshy ground he reached the area of Langadas at the north-western extremity of lake Koroneia and passing through Khaïvât (Lete) and the Derveni pass he reached Thessalonike. Leake, although he followed the same route as Clarke, mentions no *tumuli* marking the distances along the road¹⁸. In his discussion of the course of the Via Egnatia, he considers that the route from Constantinople to Thessalonike, which he had followed along the northern shore of the lakes, was a creation of «the modern barbarians» and that the ancient road crossed Mt Chortiatiss and ran along the southern shore of the lakes.

Furthermore, he believed that the *Itinerarium Antoninum* (and the *Peutinger Table*) and the *Bordeaux Itinerary* represented different courses, the former crossing the western slopes of Mt Chortiatiss and running along the shore of the lakes through Milissurgi to

14. On the Πέτραις τῆς νύμφης, see D. Feissel - M. Sève, «La Chalcidique vue par Ch. Avezou», *BCH* 103 (1979) 238 and fig. 5.

15. P. Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait en 1714 par ordre du Roy Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, Syrie, Palestine, Haute et Basse Egypte etc.* (Amsterdam 1720) 40-41.

16. R. Walpole cited in a note of E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, vol. III (London 1818) 6-7.

17. E. D. Clarke in the work cited in the previous note, pp. 2-17.

18. W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. III (London 1835) 230-35.

Apollonia, the latter leaving the summit of Mt Chortiatis to the right and following higher ground through Heracleustibus, near modern Ravana (Marathousa) to Apollonia, as one surmises from his map¹⁹.

L. A. F. Beaujour, writing at the same period on the basis of informations collected during the years 1794-1799, when he was French consul in Salonica, describes three routes from Thessalonike to the Strymonic Gulf. The first along the ancient Anthemous through Vasilica, Galatsida (Galatista) and Larigovi (Arnaia) to Mount Athos; the second through Langadah (probably a mistake), Ravanah (Marathousa) and Bazar-Djédid (Pazarouda-Apollonia) to the head of the Strymonic Gulf and the ruins of Arethousa; and the third, which he considers as the main road, through the Derveni pass, Langadas, Clisséli (Prophetes) and Betchik, along the northern shores of the lakes, to the head of the Strymonic Gulf²⁰.

E. M. Cousinéry, who toured extensively in Macedonia during the end of the XVIIIth and the beginning of the XIXth century has also left a detailed description of one of his trips from Thessalonike to the head of the Strymonic Gulf. Leaving the Macedonian capital from the gate of its acropolis, he ascended the western slopes of Mt Chortiatis, which he erroneously calls Mt Dysoron, to Urendjik (Pevka) and spent the night at the village Corthiat (Chortiatis). The next day he descended to the depression of the lakes (which he erroneously calls Anthemous) «par un chemin pierreux et pénible», crossed the plain of Clisseli, noting that «dès qu'on a atteint la partie gauche du grand lac (Bolbè), il devient parfois impraticable, à cause des torrens que l'on rencontre à chaque pas», and following the northern shore of the lakes went through the villages of Greater and lesser Beshik in order to reach the *aulon* of Rendina. On this occasion Cousinéry discusses the course of the Via Egnatia (which he erroneously calls Appia). His discussion cannot be understood without the help of his map. On this he traces two main roads from Thessalonike to the Rendina pass. The first is the well known Ottoman road to Constantinople along the northern shore of the lakes, through the Derveni pass, Langadas, Clisséli, Greater and Lesser Beshik. The second, after the Derveni pass, runs through Laina, follows the southern shore of lake Koroneia to near Langadikia and then across the valley of Chora Reuma to Ravania (Marathousa); from there it continues to Pazarouda, where it reaches the southern shore of Lake Bolbe, which it follows to the *aulon* of Rendina. The French diplomat also shows his own itinerary described above across Mt Chortiatis to the northern shore of Lake Bolbe. One important point is that on his map ancient Apollonia is situated several kilometres south of Pazarouda at a site which roughly corresponds to the modern village of Palaiochora. Cousinéry wonders whether the Roman way, after Polina (ancient Apollonia) followed a course south of what he calls Mt Dysoron (= Mt Chortiatis) or bypassed this mountain from the east, where Pazarouda lay. He concludes that it followed the former course, since, if the road had run along the shore of Lake Bolbe, it would have been pointless to have it pass through Apollonia, which, according to him, was situated several

19. In the work cited in the previous note, pp. 458-61.

20. L. A. F. Beaujour, *Voyage militaire dans l'Empire ottoman*, vol. I (Paris 1829) 213-14.

kilometres south of that lake. He justified the choice of the Roman engineers on the grounds that a road along the lakes would be often under water or cut off by torrents²¹.

The inappropriateness of the lake district for the construction and maintenance of an all-season communication axis is confirmed by F. C. H. L. Pouqueville in a letter that he sent to T. L. F. Tafel in 1833: «La route de Thessalonique jusqu'à Amphipolis et au passage du Strymon suit le tracé de la Voie Egnatienne qui est couverte d'eau en hiver»²².

In late spring 1838 Zachariä von Lingenthal travelled from Thessalonike to Mt Athos. Following the same route as Cousinéry, he left the city from the gate of its acropolis and spent the night at the village of Chortiatsch (Chortiatis). The next day he descended to the depression of Lake Koroneia and then turning southwards he followed the valley of Chora Revma to Zangliveri, where he spent the night. Thence he proceeded to Laringovi²³.

Tafel, writing in 1842, made use of most of these descriptions in order to determine the course of the Via Egnatia in that part of Macedonia. In his turn, he wondered whether the Roman road followed the northern shores of the lakes or crossed Mt Chortiatis and descended to the southern shore of Lake Bolbe in order to reach the head of the Strymonic Gulf. His preference lay with the former course in spite of the marshiness of the ground and of the great number of torrents cutting the northern shores of the lakes and concluded that the via Egnatia, through the Derveni pass, reached the western shore of Lake Koroneia and followed the northern shores of the lakes to the Strymonic Gulf. Tafel's choice was decisively influenced by Clarke's description of the ancient *tumuli* marking the distances along the road. Accordingly, he placed Apollonia at Clissele (Prophetes)²⁴.

After the publication of Tafel's monograph on the via Egnatia, two other travellers explored the routes of this part of Macedonia. The first one was N. Th. Schinas, who published his notes in 1887. Besides the main Ottoman road through Langadas to Serres²⁵, he describes a mule track from Thessalonike to Pazaroudi (Apollonia) and beyond²⁶. Starting from the Macedonian capital, it reaches after 2½ hours the pass of Derveni, after another hour Laina, after another half hour Kavalari and Toumba and three quarters of an hour later Hagios Basileios. Leaving on its right the chiftliks Leveni and Vore it turns southwards, moving away from the lake shore, and enters the defile of Dokuz Dere, which leads to Zangliveri 8¾ hours after the departure from Thessalonike. At an hour's distance from Zangliveri, Schinas mentions another village which he calls Dangeli, but is otherwise unknown. It has been rightly suggested that there is some confusion with the name of the nearby lake Ada Gölü and that the actual name of the village Schinas had in mind was

21. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. I (Paris 1831) 106-116.

22. T. L. F. Tafel, *De via militari romanorum Egnatia qua Illyricum Macedonia et Thracia iungebantur. Pars occidentalis* (Tübingen 1841) 12.

23. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Reise in den Orient* (Heidelberg 1840) 212-15.

24. T. L. F. Tafel, *De viae Romanorum Egnatiae, qua Illyricum Macedonia et Thracia iungebantur, parte orientali dissertatio geographica* (Tübingen 1841) 4-5.

25. N. Th. Schinas, *Ὀδοπορικαὶ σημειώσεις* (Athens 1866) 390-92.

26. In the same work pp. 499-504.

Kizeli (Parthenion)²⁷. After an hour, the road reaches Gribozaki (Nea Apollonia) and half an hour later Pazaroudi (Apollonia) at a distance of 11¼ hours from Thessalonike²⁸. The rest of the road is described in another section of Schinas' notes on the mule track leading in 8 hours, from Tsiagiazi, on the mouth of the Strymon, to Pazaroudi through Asprovalta, Vrasna, the *aulon* of Rendina and Hagia Marina²⁹.

We owe the last description of the road system of this area in Ottoman times to A. Struck, who toured there in late spring of 1901. Starting from Pasarkia (Pazarouda-Apollonia), he reached Sagliveri (Zangliveri) after 5¾ hours, passing through Gribusaki (Nea Apollonia), Oledschik (Melissourgos), Sufilar (Angelochorion) and Kari (Kalamoton). Two hours later he arrived at Ardameri passing through Sarakina. From Ardameri he reached Chortiatis in 2¼ hours, where he spent the night. The following morning, he travelled through Asvestochori to Thessalonike in 4 hours. The whole trip from Pazarouda had taken him 14 hours³⁰.

We can now sum up the evidence for the road system between the head of the Thermaic and the head of the Strymonic Gulf in Ottoman times. The main Ottoman road ran from Thessalonike through the Derveni pass and Langadas along the northern shore of lakes Koroneia and Bolbe to Rendina. The principal post station was at Klisseli (Prophetes), at a distance of seven hours from the Macedonian capital. This road was used by Lucas in his first journey, Walpole, Clarke and Leake; it is mentioned by Beaujour, depicted in Cousinéry's map and considered by Tafel as following a course identical to that of the Via Egnatia. A variant of this road, used by Lucas in his second journey and by Cousinéry, crossed Mt Chortiatis through the village of the same name and the narrow corridor between Lake Koroneia and Lake Bolbe and, following the northern shore of the latter, reached the Rendina pass.

A second road, which was only a mule track in Ottoman times, ran from Thessalonike through the Derveni pass to the southern shore of Lake Koroneia, which it followed until Hagios Basileios, whence it turned southwards and along the Dokuz Dere reached Zangliveri. From there it continued to Kari (Kalamoton) or Kizeli (Parthenion) and Pazarouda (Apollonia), where it reached the southern shore of Lake Bolbe, and ran along this shore through Hagia Marina to Rendina. This road is fully described by Schinas and is depicted in Cousinéry's map. A variant of it, across Mt Chortiatis and through the homonymous village, Ardameri and Sarakina to the Dokuz Dere, is described by Zachariä von Lingenthal and Struck and is also depicted on Leake's map as the course of the Bordeaux Itinerary.

Lorenzo Bernardo's itinerary from Thessalonike to Langadas and thence to Pazarouda along the corridor between the two lakes is unique, if we except Evliya Celebi's rather confused description. It is all the more remarkable, since in Bernardo's days it

27. J. Lefort (ed.), *Paysages de Macédoine* (Paris 1986) 219.

28. Schinas (note 25) 499-504.

29. Schinas (note 25) 509-512.

30. A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten. I. Chalkidike* (Vienna and Leipzig 1907) 76-82.

followed not a mere mule track but a cart road. Its importance is confirmed by the care taken by the Ottoman government to endow Pazarouda (Geni Bazar) with all the amenities necessary to travellers³¹. The decline of Pazarouda after the middle of the XVIth century, when it is mentioned by Evliya Celebi, must be linked to the increasing disrepair of the road along the southern shore of Lake Bolbe.

The most striking aspect of the evidence from later Ottoman times is that until the construction of the modern Thessalonike-Kavala road in the late twenties and the thirties, no road worth mentioning followed the southern shores of Lake Koroneia and Lake Bolbe from Hagios Vasileios to Pazarouda. The reason is obvious. Unless important works were carried out, not only once for all but also periodically, such a road would have been flooded half of the year. Were conditions different in antiquity? To answer this question we shall have to reconsider the ancient evidence.

The earliest evidence concerning communications in this area dates from the time of Xerxes' campaign against Greece. A section of the Persian army may have used the lake corridor on its way to Greece, but Herodotus' description is too imprecise on this point³². More interesting is Aeschylus' testimony on the flight of Xerxes after the defeat of the Persian fleet at Salamis: «We came to the land of the Magnetes and to the land of the Macedones to the ford of the Axios and to the reedy marshland of Bolbe and the mountain Pangaion the Edonian land»³³. The Athenian poet gives no details about the course of the route, but he does not leave any doubt either that the shores of Lake Bolbe did not present a different picture in antiquity from that of modern times.

We find the next indication about communications in this area in the mid IVth century B.C. list of the Epidaurian *thearodokoi*³⁴. As I argue elsewhere, the route which they followed connected Kalindoia at Kalamoton to Arethousa on the *aulon* of Rendina through Apollonia³⁵. This stretch belongs to the second Ottoman road described above. The mention of Amphipolis, Lete and Allanteion in the *thearodokoi* list of Nema dated by its editor in 323 B.C. suggests that the Nemean *theoroi* proceeded from the first to the second city through the lake district³⁶. The list of the Delphic *thearodokoi* from the eighth decade of the IInd century is remarkable for totally ignoring this area³⁷. The *theoroi* of Apollo, after Thessalonike proceed northwards to Idomenai and Astraia, then return

31. Besides the description of Bernardo, see the important remains which have been uncovered there: Evangelia Chatzityphonos, «Ὄθωμανικὸ λουτρό στὴν Ἀπολλωνία τῆς Βόλβης», *Μακεδονικά* 26 (1987-1988) 139-168 and Ioli Vingoroulou-Papazotou, «Ἡ χρονολόγηση τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ συγκροτήματος στὴν Ἀπολλωνία (1566-1574)», *Μακεδονικά* 27 (1989-1990) 409-411.

32. Herod. 7.121.

33. Aesch. *Pers.* 492-95, translation adapted from N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Macedonia*, vol. II (Oxford 1979) 61.

34. IG IV 1, 94/95.

35. M. B. Hatzopoulos, «Apollonia hellenis» *Ventures into Greek History* (Cambridge 1993) 188.

36. The list was published by S. G. Miller, «The Theorodokoi of the Nemean Games», *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 147-63. Its geographical implications are discussed by L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héradée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique*, «ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ» 1; (Athens 1985) 57-59.

37. For the date of the list, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, «Un prêtre d'Amphipolis dans la grande liste des théarodokes des Delphes», *BCH* 115 (1991) 345-47.

through Bragylai. Charakoma and Lete, only to continue along the western coast of the Chalcidic peninsula to Aineia, Antigoneia and Kassandreia. From there they took the boat to Amphipolis, bypassing completely the lake district between the latter city and Thessalonike, although in a different trip they visited Morrylos and Klitai and, presumably by sea, Akanthos on their way to Thasos³⁸. We can only surmise the reason of that omission: the presence of only one city, Apollonia, in this area did not make worthwhile the undertaking of a two days journey through difficult ground.

A passage from Livy leaves no doubt that already in pre-Roman times the Macedonian road from Amphipolis to Thessalonike went through Apollonia and that the latter city was at a day's distance from Amphipolis³⁹. That the Via Egnatia followed the same course already in the first half of the first century A.D. is confirmed by the acts of the Apostles⁴⁰. But, though there is no doubt about the course of the section of the road from Amphipolis to Apollonia, the uncertainty remains concerning the course of the Roman road from the latter city to Thessalonike. The answer must be sought in the evidence not only of the milestones and of the Roman Itineraries, but also of the other archaeological remains considered as a whole.

Unfortunately, the two milestones of the 1st and 5th mile from Thessalonike offer no answer to our query, for they tell us nothing about the course of the Via Egnatia beyond the modern village of Evkarpia, near which the second of them was discovered, although they do seem to vindicate Makaronas' thesis that the Roman road did not go through the city of Thessalonike and did not cross Mt Chortiatis. They also suggest that it went through the Derveni pass and reached the south-western shore of Lake Koroneia, but they have nothing to offer concerning the stretch between that point and Apollonia, which is in dispute.

The Roman Itineraries are not of great help either, for there exist no certain identifications of the intermediate stations between Thessalonike and Apollonia, which they mention: Melissurgin on the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table, Duodea and Heracleustibus in the Bordeaux Itinerary. If we discard Tafel's obsolete identifications, since he placed Apollonia at Klisseli (Prophetes)⁴¹, more recently K. Miller puts Melissurgin at a modern village called Melissurgus, Duodeae at Aivasali (Hagios Basileios) and Heracleustibus at Konios⁴². The first identification rests on the erroneous information of Leake that such a village existed in his times⁴³. (The existence of the modern village of Melissourgos just south of the ancient site of Apollonia is irrelevant, since in Leake's time it was called Lountziki and has only been recently renamed)⁴⁴. Konios is only known

38. For a discussion of this part of the list, see M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos, cité de la Crestonie* («ΜΕΛΑΕΘΜΑΤΑ» 7; Athens 1989) 84-85 and 110.

39. T. L. 45.28.8.

40. *Acts of the Apostles* 17.1.

41. Tafel (note 24) 5-7.

42. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart 1916) 522.

43. Leake (note 18) 461.

44. Lefort (note 27) 186.

from Belon, who writes that Lake Bolbe (Peschar = Beshik) is also called Conios, Beshik being the Turkish translation of the Greek word κούβια (= cradle). But the village Beshik lay on the northern shore of lake Bolbe⁴⁵; Cousinéry, on his map, mistakenly placed a village of that name on the south-western shore of lake Bolbe and the information was repeated by Tafel. Finally the distance of Hagios Basileios from Thessalonike along the modern national is 27 km and thus exceeds the XIII m.p. (*circa* 19.5 km) of distance between the Macedonian capital and Duodeae given by the Bordeaux Itinerary.

Hammond too puts Duodeae at Hagios Basileios, but prefers to locate Melissurgin at Gerakarou and Heracleustibus at Stivos. He also mentions a river Kois at Apollonia, which is otherwise unknown, unless it is an avatar of Belon's Conios⁴⁶. His identifications also suffer from a partly inaccurate calculation of distances, since Hagios Basileios is not 20.7 km but 27 km distant from Thessalonike, Yerakarou is not 29.6 but 38 km distant from the Macedonian capital and Stivos is not 37 but 46 km distant from the same city. Moreover, Stivos is a very recent name of the village Kioumenits, which has nothing to do with ancient Heracleustibus⁴⁷.

In my opinion, the first question to be answered, before any identification is attempted, is whether the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table on the one hand and the Bordeaux Itinerary on the other follow the same course or two different courses, as Leake had suggested⁴⁸. The Roman Itineraries present two striking features in this stretch of the Via Egnatia. First, they mention no cities between Thessalonike and Apollonia, and, second, the intermediate stations do not coincide. The first feature need not astonish us. As I have tried to show elsewhere, after the foundation of Thessalonike and the refoundation of Kalindoia, there were only two autonomous cities between Thessalonike and Apollonia: Lete and Kalindoia itself⁴⁹. Their absence from the Roman Itineraries can be explained by their proximity (about 12 km or 8 m.p.) to Thessalonike and to Apollonia respectively. The diversity of the intermediate stations is a different matter, directly connected to the problem of the identity or diversity of the course followed by the itineraries. One might hope that the overall distances from Thessalonike to Apollonia might offer a clue, since different courses would be expected to entail different distances, which could be verified on the ground. This is unfortunately not the case. The Peutinger Table gives 38 m.p. and the two versions of the Antonine Itinerary 37 and 36 m.p. respectively⁵⁰. The Bordeaux Itinerary has a total of 38 m.p.⁵¹. All these distances fall short from 5 to 8 km of the real distance along the modern road, which is 62 km to the modern

45. P. Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables etc.* (Paris 1555) 52.

46. N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. I (Oxford 1972) 195-96.

47. I have been unable to verify the information about the discovery at Stivos, among other antiquities, of a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Amysia (*sic*), which was reported in the newspaper Φῶς of Thessalonike on 22 December 1937.

48. Leake (note 18) 461.

49. M. B. Hatzopoulos - Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides (Anthémonte-Kalindoia) Ière Partie* («ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ» 11: Athens 1992) 123-45.

50. *Itin. Ant* 320 and 330, 7-8.

51. *It. Burg.* 605.

village of Apollonia and a little more to the actual site of ancient Apollonia. With the help of maps and the kind assistance of Nikolaos and Alexandros Kyriazides of Kalamotou, I have tried to convert into kilometres the distance covered by Schinas in 11¹/₄ hours along the Ottoman road from Thessalonike to Pazarouda and I arrive at approximately 60 km, that is to say to the same total. I conclude that the estimation of distances cannot solve our problem⁵².

If we now consider the overall archaeological evidence from this area, we can but remark the extraordinary development of Kalindoia in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial period as well as the precocious and numerous presence of Roman citizens of Italian origin⁵³. It is also striking that this remarkable prosperity of the city seems to suddenly come to an end at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. As my friend and colleague Louisa Loukopoulou has already observed, this must have been the result of the refoundation of Apollonia as a Roman *municipium* in the beginning of the second century A.D., which according to a very attractive hypothesis of G. Souris, is directly linked to the reconstruction of the Via Egnatia «*longa intermissione neglect (am)*» by the Emperor Trajan between 107 and 112. Indeed two imperial letters, one of Hadrian and the other probably of Trajan, and an honorary inscription discovered recently there concern the execution of works, such as water adduction and the construction of an inn, in direct relation with the activity of the Via Egnatia⁵⁴. My conclusion is that one of the consequences of the reconstruction of the road was the laying out of a new course along the shores of Lake Koroneia and Lake Bolbe, bypassing Kalindoia. The new course, although not shorter, had the advantage, once it had overcome the problems posed by the marshes, to avoid the defile of Dokuz Dere and running on even ground to shorten the time necessary for travelling between Thessalonike and Apollonia.

Now that we have established as a likely hypothesis that in Roman times the Via Egnatia had known two different courses between Thessalonike and Apollonia, we can return to the problem whether the Bordeaux Itinerary represented another course from the similar Roman documents. Once again our enquiry shall be guided by the archaeological finds in this area. West of Kalindoia, Roman remains have mainly come to light in the areas of Sarakina-Ardameri and Hagios Basileios⁵⁵. These two places on the older course of the Via Egnatia are *circa* 19 and 38 km distant respectively from Apollonia and can well correspond to the stations of Heracleustibus and Duodeae distant 11 and 25 m.p. respectively from the same city. Moreover, an information of Byzantine sources which was first noticed by Tafel, mentions Ardameri «formerly Herkoula» (or Herkoulia)

52. If the ancient road passed through Kalindoia itself, instead of Parthenion, the itinerary would be lengthened by some 4 or 5 km, but this is not necessary.

53. Besides the monograph cited in note 46, see Louisa D. Loukopoulou, «Ένας νέος θησαυρός ονομάτων από τη Μακεδονία», *Ancient Macedonia V* (forthcoming) and *eiusdem*, «Η ρωμαϊκή παρουσία στην νοτιο-ανατολική Θράκη», *Ile Symposium International des Études Thraciennes* (forthcoming).

54. G. Souris, «Αὐτοκρατορικές ἐπιστολές πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνία τῆς Μυθονίας: μία νέα ἐπιγραφή», *Ancient Macedonia V*; cf. Hatzopoulos (note 33) 199. On the reconstruction of the Via Egnatia by Trajan, see P. Collart, «Une réfection de la "Via Egnatia" sous Trajan», *BCH* 59 (1935) 395-415.

55. Cf. Hatzopoulos - Loukopoulou (note 49) 28, n. 4 and 29, n. 6.

among the bishoprics of the diocese of Thessalonike⁵⁶. It signifies either that Herkoula is the older name of Ardameri or that the see of the bishop had moved to Ardameri after Herkoula had been abandoned. In either case it is reasonable not to dismiss this onomastic and geographical coincidence as merely fortuitous and to search the station of Heracleous Stibos in the vicinity of Sarakina-Ardameri.

The identification of Melissourgin poses far greater problems. It is highly improbable that too it lay on the older course of the Via Egnatia and it should be sought somewhere between Sarakina-Ardameri and Hagios Basileios, where no ancient remains have ever been reported. One would expect that it was located on the new course of the Roman road. If one counts 17 or 18 m.p. (= 25.5-27 km) from Apollonia (Pazarouda) along the modern national road, he comes to the vicinity of Gerakarou, but no significant ancient remains have been found in this area⁵⁷. A count of 20 m.p. from Thessalonike does not prove more promising, for it brings merely three km to the east of Hagios Basileios and it is highly unlikely that two different stations had been set up at such a small distance. Thus, in spite of the absence of archaeological finds we have to accept the Gerakarou area as the most probable location of the station Melissourgin.

There remains another problem without solution. Whether we count distances from Hagios Basileios or from Gerakarou and we compare them with those given by the Bordeaux and the Antonine Itinerary (or the Peutinger Table), respectively, the measurements provided by all the Roman itineraries fall four or five m.p. short of the distances measured on the ground. Only an alternative route from Hagios Basileios across Mt Chortiatis through Exochi, Asvestochori and Pevka such as the one used by Lucas, Cousinéry or Zachariä von Lingenthal could account for this difference, but I hesitate to suggest it, for it contradicts the evidence of the milestones.

It is time to conclude. The communications between the head of the Thermaic and the head of the Strymonic Gulf always presented great difficulties because of the presence of extensive marshes along the shores of the lakes. In ancient times, as opposed to the later Ottoman period, the main road followed the southern edge of the lakes depression, but not the shores of the lakes themselves all the way. In particular, after Hagios Basileios (Duodeae) it left the shore of lake Koroneia, turned southwards and through Sarakina-Ardameri (Heracleustibus) and Kalindoia it reached Apollonia and the shore of Lake Bolbe. Only the major reconstruction of the Egnatian Way by Trajan permitted a new course which run continuously along the shores of both lakes. This new course is illustrated in the Peutinger Table and lies behind the Antonine Itinerary. Nevertheless, the old course was not abandoned and it seems to have been used by the Bordeaux traveller in 333 A.D. The progressive weakening of the central authorities and the consequent neglect of the communications system could not leave the Via Egnatia unaffected. The new course,

56. T. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro dissertatio geographica* (Berlin 1839) 62-63. The Byzantine sources are now collected and discussed by A. Glavinis, «Ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἀρδαμερίου», *Μακεδονικά* 20 (1980) 9-29, as my friend and colleague I. Papangelos has kindly informed me.

57. Cf. Ph. Petsas, «Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1966-1967», *Μακεδονικά* 9 (1969) 169, no 75 and pl. 76γ; *eiusdem*, «Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά 1968-1970», *Μακεδονικά* 15 (1975) 181, no 75.

which needed constant care in order to maintain its causeway unflooded by the marshes, was the first to be abandoned, although part of it was still used in early Ottoman times. The older course survived until the end of the Ottoman period as a mule track, while the main traffic followed a new axis along the northern shores of lakes Koroneia and Bolbe. Only the dramatic improvement of human control over the environment after the overthrow of Ottoman rule permitted the restauration of the road system prevailing at the heyday of the Roman Empire.

Addendum: This paper was submitted for publication in 1993. Since then several contributions pertaining to its subject have been published:

1) On Apollonia and the Via Egnatia: N. K. Moutsopoulos, «Ἡ θέσις τῆς μυγδονικῆς Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἡ παραλίμνια (;) χάραξις τῆς Ἑγνατίας Ὀδοῦ», *Ancient Macedonia V* (Thessalonike 1993) 999-1110; eiusdem, *Πεντίνα I: οἱ μυγδονικῆς πόλεις Αὐλών, Βρομίσκος, Ἀρέθουσα καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Εὐριπίδη* (Thessalonike 1993).

2) On the Roman presence at Kalindoia and Apollonia: M. B. Hatzopoulos - Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides IIe partie* («ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ» 11; Athens 1996). On the other hand, G. Souris' communication was not published in the proceedings of *Ancient Macedonia V* (cf. note 54, *supra*).

Η ΕΓΝΑΤΙΑ ΟΔΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΣ

Η εξέταση όλων των μαρτυριών, τόσο των αρχαίων χρόνων όσο και της οθωμανικής περιόδου, οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι οδικές επικοινωνίες μεταξύ του μυχού του Θερμαϊκού και του μυχού του Στρουμονικού κόλπου παρουσίαζαν πάντοτε μεγάλες δυσκολίες, λόγω της παρουσίας εκτεταμένων ελών κατά μήκος των λιμνών Κορωνείας και Βόλβης. Κατά την αρχαιότητα, όπως και κατά την οθωμανική περίοδο, η κυρία οδική αρτηρία ακολουθούσε τις νότιες παρυφές της λεκάνης των λιμνών, αλλά όχι και τις όχθες τους καθ' όλη τη διαδρομή της. Συγκεκριμένα, αμέσως μετά τον Άγιο Βασίλειο (Duodeae) εγκατέλειπε τις όχθες της λίμνης Κορωνείας, έστρεψε προς Νότον και διά της Σαρακίνας-Αρδαμερίου (Heracleustibus) και των Καλινδοίων έφθανε στην Απολλωνία επί της όχθης της λίμνης Βόλβης. Μόνον η μεγάλη ανακατασκευή της Εγνατίας Οδού από τον Τραϊανό επέτρεψε την διάνοιξη μιας νέας διαδρομής κατά μήκος και των δύο λιμνών. Η νέα αυτή διαδρομή εικονίζεται στον Πευτιγγεριανό Πίνακα και αντικατοπτρίζεται στο Itinerarium Antoninum. Εν τούτοις, η παλαιά διαδρομή δεν εγκαταλείφθηκε, φαίνεται δε ότι ακολουθήθηκε από τον «Οδοίπορο των Βουρδιγάλων» το 333 μ.Χ. Η προϊούσα εξασθένηση της κεντρικής εξουσίας και η συνακόλουθη εγκατάλειψη του οδικού δικτύου δεν άφησαν ανέπαφη και την Εγνατία. Η νέα διαδρομή, η οποία απαιτούσε συνεχή φροντίδα, ώστε να μη πλημμυρίζει από τα έλη, εγκαταλείφθηκε πρώτη, αν και χρησιμοποιείτο ευκαιριακά μέχρι τους πρώιμους οθωμανικούς χρόνους. Η παλαιότερη διαδρομή εξακολούθησε να είναι σε χρήση έως το τέλος της Τουρκοκρατίας, αλλά ως απλή ημιονική οδός, ενώ η κυρία οδική αρτηρία ακολουθούσε τις βόρειες όχθες των λιμνών Κορωνείας και Βόλβης. Μόνον η δραστική βελτίωση του ανθρώπινου ελέγχου επί του περιβάλλοντος μετά την απόσχιση του οθωμανικού ζυγού, επέτρεψε την αποκατάσταση του οδικού δικτύου που ήταν σε χρήση κατά το απόγειο της ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας.

