Tenedos partook of the fame attached to every thing connected with the Trojan war, and has to this day preserved its name, in order, as it were, to identify the alledged site of that ancient event. Italian and other Frank navigators have in this, as in many instances, by their ignorance of the language, exaggerated the corruption of the ancient names; for the island is TENEDO, and not DENETHO, according to the modern Greeks, notwithstanding that they pronounce the Δ softly, and call it Tenedtho. It has retained, however, nothing except its name; for no remnant of its ancient capital, Æolica, nor of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, for which it was once celebrated, and which was plundered by Verres, is now to be seen.

The large granite sarcophagus, with the inscription ΑΤΤΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑ* . . . referring to the father of the Atticus Herodes, so often before mentioned, was not shown to me; indeed, visiting the place accidentally, I had not informed myself of its existence, and not having looked for it, I cannot say that it is not to be found.

Tenedos has always derived an importance from its situation †,

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of this coin is given, from one in the Emperor of Austria's collection, in Riga's map for the Romaïc Anacharsis, published at Vienna in 1797; and a dissertation on the Τενεδιος πελεκυς may be seen in Tournefort (p. 393, tom. i.) who has extracted the principal fable from Pausanias (Ὁ δὲ πελεκυς Περικλύτῳ, Phoc. p. 634.)

* See Chandler's Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 4.

† Tenedos is fifty miles from Mytelene, about five from the opposite Asiatic coast, and twelve and a half from the mouth of the Dardanelles, although in De La Mottraye's Travels, vol. i. fol. it is made twenty miles. In the latter periods of the empire, it was in the hands of pirates, until taken by Othman.

as its possessor may at any time blockade the Straits, and command the northern gulfs of the Archipelago. There were formerly six hundred Turkish families, and half as many Greek, on the island, although there were, besides the capital, only two or three hamlets. It is probable, that it will soon recover from its last great calamity; for, as it is the station of the vessels detained by the winds, both going to and returning from the Dardanelles, it will always support a considerable population.

The morning after our coming to an anchor off Tenedos, a large party of us left the ship in two boats, to visit the ruins of Alexandria Troas. We sailed over to the coast not immediately opposite to our station, but lower down to the south, a distance between six and seven miles, and landed in an open port, where there was a small vessel at anchor. We saw the road from the Dardanelles, running along the coast close to the shore, and a string of loaded camels, on their way to the south, were resting themselves on the sands. Several large cannon-balls, of granite, were lying scattered about on the sides of the path. The ruins of Alexandria have supplied the fortresses of the Dardanelles with balls, ever since the time of the famous Gazi Hassan Pasha, who having a chiflik, or country-house, at Erkissi-Keui, a village in the Troad, was well acquainted with a vast fund of materials to be found in his neighbourhood, and completed the destruction of many columns, some fragments of which, as yet not consumed, are now seen in different parts of this coast. If I mistake not, stone was used for this purpose previously to iron, or at least promiscuously with that metal, on the first invention of cannons, not only by the Turks, but the nations of Christendom.

If our countrymen were not, by experience, unfortunately too well acquainted with the dimensions of these balls, I might hesitate to state, that the weight of those which are made for the largest guns is between seven and eight hundred pounds*. It is not, however, to be supposed, that the remains of this city have been applied merely to purposes of destruction, or that the Turks were the first who commenced the dilapidation of Alexandria: several edifices in Constantinople owed their ornaments, if not their structure, to the ruins of a city, the treasures of which lay so convenient for transportation, and which, as it was exposed to the ravages of the pirates who infested the seas during the latter ages of the Greek empire, was probably deserted at an early period, and left without an inhabitant to protect its palaces and baths of marble, its spacious theatres and stately porticoes. Indeed, it is likely that the rapine was begun at the foundation of Constantinople, and that it contributed, with Rome, Sicily, Antioch, and Athens, to the splendour of a capital adorned by the denudation of almost every other city—"*pene omnium urbium nuditate*†." A vast quantity of materials were carried off at once, by command of the Grand Signor, at the earlier part of the last century‡. At present, the Turks and Greeks of the country seldom point at a fragment of granite, or porphyry, an inscribed marble, or carved pillar, inserted in the walls of the moscks and churches in the neighbouring villages, without informing you, that it was brought from Eski-Stambol, the name given to a col-

* Two of them may be seen over the gate of the entrance to Sir J. T. Duckworth's house, near Plymouth.

† Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 14.

‡ Pococke, p. 110, vol. ii. Descrip. of the East.

lection of huts amongst the ruins of Troas. The traveller therefore must not expect to find all those remains of antiquity which are noted by early travellers, and of which plans and written details have been given by Pococke and others.

We had with us a guide from Tenedos, but as we had landed on the coast too much to the north, and he was acquainted only with the usual route, we rambled some time through the woods of vallonea, or low ilex, with which this country is covered, before we arrived at the ruins. We struck down to the south, at first, near the shore, towards the point of land with a house upon it, which we had seen the day before, and then turned up into the country, by the advice of a peasant whom we found working in a small vineyard in the middle of the woods.—As we were pushing through a tangly path, something which I had taken for the root of a tree, slid along by my feet into the bushes. Dervish, our Albanian, who saw me jump back, and had observed the cause of my surprise, hallooed out, a serpent (φειδι) and fired his gun, "which he would ne'er forsake," after the animal at a venture, but of course without effect. Our guide told me, that there were many much larger in the country (although this, to me, had appeared of an unusual magnitude) and that in the hotter summer months they might be very frequently seen basking in the woods, and on the sands near the sea. The thermometer was at seventy on the day of our excursion.

The first vestiges of antiquity which we saw, were two large granite sarcophagi: one of them was in the bushes, and the other by the side of a hedge, surrounding a plot which had been cleared, and turned into a vineyard. The pains taken to excavate these blocks of granite, which are of one piece, and were

covered also by a single slab, must have been considerable, and it is probable, that none but persons of some distinction were buried in such sepulchres. They were, indeed, rather family-vaults than single tombs, as might be conjectured by their size, and as we learn from their inscriptions, which seem also to hint, that they were receptacles either for corpses, or the bones of the dead; for the fine was incurred by putting into them NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.—a dead body, or bones, of any one except the owners. The name itself is sufficient proof that bodies were buried whole in these exposed vaults*. A little beyond the sarcophagi, we found two or three fragments of granite pillars, more massy than any we had yet seen. One of them, inaccurately measured with a handkerchief, was no less than twenty-five in length, and at least five feet in diameter.

We soon came to a flat inclosure (still in the woods, as are all the ruins of Troas) where there were two poor-looking huts, and some goats feeding on a tangly green, half overrun with briars. Getting over the inclosure, which was formed in part of granite pillars, we saw arches, half subterraneous, of brick-work, the foundation probably of some large building. Almost immediately at the back (the east) of this spot, are those magnificent remains,

* It does not appear that the name *Sarcophagus*, however, was in use amongst the Greeks; the word in the inscription at Pasha-Chiflik, or Erkissi-Keui, (a village we visited in the Troad) of which there is a copy given in "Constantinople, Ancient and Modern," p. 331, is Soros—THN ΣOPON. I presume, that all that can be said on the subject of these sepulchres, has been said in Dr. Clarke's Dissertation on the Tomb of Alexander, which I never have had the good fortune to see—χλίος οἷον ἀκούομεν. The inscription of Julius Atticus has also the NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.

called by early travellers the Palace of Priam, and, as Pococke mentions, by the peasants "Baluke Serai"—the Palace of Honey; possibly from the appearance of many of the masses, the stones of which are studded with petrifactions of cockle-shells, looking like the white cavities of a honeycomb. Mr. Bryant, however, approves of Pococke's suggestion, that the denomination may be derived from Baal, the Eastern name of Apollo. The last opinion of Mr. Le Chevalier, that these ruins are the remains of the public baths, is confirmed by the earthen pipes still visible on the cornices of the building, and also, as that traveller has observed, by the aqueduct of Atticus Herodes, of which there are remains crossing the valley to the north-east of the ruins, and which these Balneæ may have been intended to terminate. Those who are acquainted with the public buildings of the ancients, are aware that the word "bath," in our acceptation of the term, gives but a very inadequate notion of those spacious and splendid edifices so called by the ancients, and designed not merely for the purposes of ablution, but as places of instruction and exercise.—The earthquake of the last winter had thrown down large portions of the remains, and the whole interior of the edifice was choked up with fragments of wall and vast pieces of fallen marbles.

Entering through a gap, and leaping from one mass of fallen fragments to another, we found ourselves in the midst of an ample ruin, inclosed on two sides: to the north and east by stupendous walls raised on arches, and blocked up on the south by a line of irregular fragments of stone-work, some standing, some lying in heaps on the ground. The fallen blocks were of an enormous size, and showed that no cement had been used in the construction of an edifice which was thought sufficiently stable

from the weight of its massy materials. In the middle of the remains, and fronting the west, were three lofty portals or open arches; the principal feature in the ruins, and that part of them, as I suppose, which is seen afar off at sea. Pedestals of monstrous columns, and broken steps, were lying amongst the fragments below. A strip of marble cornice, highly finished, was visible in the front and side, and projecting from the spring, of the middle arch.

Our guide told us, that in this quarter the earthquake had been most destructive; and, indeed, on comparing the description of former travellers with what we saw, I am at a loss to find several portions of the stately ruins which have been mentioned by those who preceded us, and must suppose that time and violence have, within the last twenty years, produced a very material change in their appearance. No common observer would, I believe, recognize Pococke's plan in the present appearance of his Gymnasium; an artist, however, would find but little difficulty in restoring the building, as the ground-plan is descernible, and enough of it yet stands to enable him to form a judgment of the entire structure. The angle at the north-east of the inclosure is preserved. The north side presents a view of twelve open arches, for the most part unbroken, and the eastern front has twelve closed arches in the substructure of the wall, which, together with an open space in the middle of them, probably occupied by an arcade of entrance, was, it should seem, the whole length of the building.

From the baths, the distance from the sea has been computed three miles; it is probably not much more than two. To the west and south-west, the ground falls in a gentle declivity down

to the shore, covered with low woods, and partially interspersed with spots of cultivated ground. On this slope the ancient city was built. To the east of the ruins there is a deep valley, separating the site of Troas from the roots of Ida, and widening as it approaches the shore, beyond the village of Neshrah-Keui, into a spacious plain. Through this valley flows a small river, which we had seen from the frigate, and which rises in the hills near a village called Bairam-Keui. On the slope of the eminence, eastward from the ruins, are the hot-baths of Lidgah Hammam. The spring, at a short distance from its source, falls into two stone basins, one of which is covered in under a casupolo, or hut of boughs, and appropriated to the women. Overflowing the basins, the stream, called Aiyah-su, trickles through a pebbly channel into the river in the valley. An English gentleman, who preceded us in our tour, and whom we saw at Smyrna, informed me, that his thermometer had risen to one hundred and forty of Fahrenheit's scale, at the head of the spring. The people of the country resort to Lidgah Hammam for the cure of elephantiasis and other cases of leprosy. Hot springs abound on the western side of Æolia; an author has remarked, that the steam arising from them casts a mist over the whole country at the bottom of the Adramyttian Gulf.

To the north of Troas is a wide flat valley, or rather plain, with a marsh, through which runs the rivulet Sudlu-su.

Part of the walls of Alexandria are to be met within the woods to the west and north of the Great Baths, and can be traced, although with some difficulty, nearly to the shore. They have been computed to be a mile in length from east to west, and as

much from north to south*; but they must be considerably more extensive, especially in the latter direction. The remains of the theatre are to the south, below the Baths, in the side of the hill fronting the sea, with the view of Tenedos, Lemnos, and the whole expanse of the Ægean.

We did not return to the shore by the path which we had taken to arrive at the ruins, but went towards the point of land to the south; desiring, by a message, the boatmen to row down the coast, and wait our arrival. We came to the ancient port of Troas, a small circular basin, half choked up and stagnate, communicating with an outer harbour or bay, also very shallow, by a narrow canal. The hollow sides of the hill, down to the basin, were covered with brambles and brushwood, and in parts with crumbled rubbish; and near the water were many small granite pillars, about the size of sepulchral stelæ, which, it has been thought, were used to make fast the vessels by ropes to the shore†. Yet from the secure position of this basin, one might think it had been like that harbour in the Odyssey,

. . . . . λιμὴν εὔορμος, ἵν' ὅ χρεὼ πείσματος ἔστιν.

Walking a little way higher up than the port, we came to a narrow flat valley, looking like a dry canal, or an artificial exca-

* Pococke, p. 110, book ii. Description of the East.

† The Greeks, besides πείσματα called these ropes πρυμνήσια, ἀπογάια, and ἀπογεία; hence τὰ ἀπογέια λυσάσθαι, in the Hermotimus of Lucian The Latins gave them the name of *ora*. Vixdum omnes conscenderunt cum alii resolvunt oras, alii anchoram vellunt.—Liv. Hist. dec. iii. lib. ii. See Car. Stephan. Libell. de re Navali ex Bayfii. Vigili. excerpt. Ludg. 1537.

vation, which may have once been joined to the harbour, and have served as a dock for the construction or careening of ships. In this direction travellers have met with the site of the Stadium, which, however, escaped our observation. Above the valley to the west, was a considerable fragment of the city-wall, and a large pillar of granite broken in half.—Some of our party wandering in the woods in this spot, were assailed by the dogs of two goat-herds, whose charge must stand in need of very powerful protection, as they were guarded by seven of these fierce animals.

In the villages near Troas, ancient remains have been discovered wherever the country has been explored, which it has been only partially. Chemali, three or four miles to the north, has several fragments of marble and granite, with a few inscriptions. It was supposed by Chandler to be the Colonæ of the ancients; but that town was, most probably, nearer to the shore exactly opposite to Tenedos*. Perhaps, as a late traveller has conjectured†, the eminence on which this town was situated, and which gave it the name of "*The Hills*," was the large mount now thought to be artificial, and called Liman-Tepe.

Of the country at the bottom and the north side of the Adramyttian Gulf, anciently called Cilicia, and divided, according to the Homeric geography, between Thebe and Lyrnessus, we have very little actual knowledge. This is the assertion of D'Anville‡, which was repeated many years afterwards, and with

* Ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Τρωάδι αἱ κολώναι κατὰ νῆσον κεῖνται Λευκοφρυν.—Pausan. Phoc. p. 634.

† Topog. of Troy, p. 19.

‡ *Géographie Ancienne*, abrégée, Paris, 1768, tom. ii. p. 19; Dissertation concerning the War of Troy, 2d edit. London, 1799, p. 144.

justice, by Mr. Bryant; yet Edremit, and (if the maps are not conjectural) Antandro and Asso, indicate the site of the towns, the ancient names of which they so very nearly preserve.

Pliny, who proceeds from the south-eastern point of the Troad, begins with Hamaxitus, mentions Cebrenia next, and then comes to Troas itself, called Antigonia, and afterwards Alexandria *. Hence, and especially from his expression "*ipsaque Troas*," it seems that this city, which was indeed inferior to none of its name, except the Egyptian Alexandria, was the capital of the province, and that it acquired the appellation before attached to the whole district. The citizens were by distinction *Troadenses*, as appears by their medals, and by inscriptions discovered on the spot; and that the city was called Troas without any adjunct, is seen by its being expressly so designated in ancient authors †. It was not, therefore, very surprising, that this Troas should be supposed by the common people of the country, and by those who had not looked narrowly into the ancient geographers, to have some connexion with the city of Homer. Meletius asserts, that in his time it was yet called TROADA ‡, as it is by the

* Troadis primus locus Amaxitus, dein Cebrenia; ipsaque Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria, colonia Ro.—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. XXX.

† The votive tablet to Drusus Cæsar, in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge, contains the words, COL. AVG. TROADENS; and the coin of the city, with the Silenus on the reverse, has also the legend COL. AVG. TROAD. The TR.A. on the exergue of the medal of Trajan found by Chandler (Travels in Asia Minor, cap. x.) must be a part of the same word, and not, I should think, of TROAS, as he has supposed.

In the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx., verse 5 and 6, and in the Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. verse 13, the town is called distinctly *Troas*.

‡ Καλεῖται ὁμως ἀκόμη Τρωάδα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τέρκων Ἐσχὶ-Σταμπούλι.—Melet. Geog. Venice, p. 455, article Φρυγια.

Greeks at this day. This general persuasion made Belon take the ruins of Eski-Stamboul for the remains of the city of Priam, and conceive, that the river in the vale of Nesrah-Keui, was the actual Xanthus of the poet. The little stream of Lidgah Hammam may have supplied him with a Simois. That this mistake (if a mistake it is) was not made by every one who saw the country, may, however, be proved, by the account of a Voyage in the Levant, written by an Englishman, so far back as the year 1593; who says, that he came down the Straits, "and so by the Sigean promontory, now called Cape Janissary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, *where* TROY *stood*, where are yet ruins of olde walles to be sceene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax." Adding, "from thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left*."

Sandys also, who began his journey in 1610, objected particularly to Belon's account, and asserts, that "*in all likelihood*" he had mistaken the site of ancient Troy†. At the same time, however, it is a little difficult to understand the whole of his narrative, taken together, as it relates to Troas; for his phrase is somewhat at variance with his meaning, and would almost make us suppose that he had adopted the very notion of Belon's which he appeared at first willing to controvert.

The error into which Sandys certainly fell, was mistaking the remains at Eski-Stamboul for those of Ilium—the Ilium of Lysimachus. Pococke, who followed the text of Strabo, knew that

* This is from the journal of one Richard Wrag, who accompanied Edward Barton, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte.—Hakluyt, 2d vol. p. 308, edit. London, 1599.

† A Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p 22, edit. London, 1627.

what he had said of the site of Ilium would not apply to Eski-Stamboul; but Mr. Wood has been accused of that inaccuracy, and of confounding two towns which were sixteen miles apart*: yet I believe he will not be found speaking so decisively, as to make it clear that he committed that considerable mistake†.

It seems to me a much more unaccountable error, to confound Troas with Ilium than with Troy; for Strabo, to mention no other authority, when he described Ilium, described a town which was in a flourishing condition in his day, and so particularized its site, as to identify it with a spot not much more than a mile from the shore of the Hellespont; but he spoke of Troy as of a city of which not a vestige was left, and the site of which, as it had ever been a subject of dispute, he was able to fix where he pleased, but without depriving succeeding writers of the same freedom of conjecture. In fact, we see that a late celebrated authority has sent us to look for the city of Priam, even more to the south than Alex-

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. xi. 4to. p. 8.

† I recollect nothing upon which the charge is grounded, except that, after saying that the present town is not the Troy of Homer, he adds, "that was higher up." Now Strabo having placed the site of Troy above the new Ilium, it must seem that the traveller supposed the ruins of Eski-Stamboul to be those of that second town. He asserts, in the same place, that the situation of the Scamander is likewise changed; and that the hot spring is below the source, and does not communicate with the river, the fountains of which are in the mountains, where no town could have stood," (Essay on the Original Genius of Homer, p. 329.) But the Scamander of Mr. Wood flows so many miles to the north-east of Eski-Stamboul, that he could not well allude to the baths of Lidgah Hammam, when he talks of the hot spring of the river. It is true, that a map made, as Chandler supposed, by a Frenchman, in 1726, and belonging to Mr. Wood, did seem to admit the supposition, that Troas was either Troy or Ilium.

andria, between Lectum and Antandros*. Mr. Bryant founded his argument not a little on the position of Tenedos, which he conceived should be in front of Troy; and had he seen that the island is placed too low in the maps, and that beyond Lectum to the south the coast is rocky and precipitous, he might have altered his opinion: but it is not at all improbable, that he would have fixed upon the plain of Ghiole, just to the north of Troas, as the country in which (if in any) the poet meant to lay the scene of his Iliad. He would not, indeed have found the Sudlu rivulet so large as the Scamander of the Iliad; but with his general scepticism on the subject, he might not have been disturbed by such a dissimilarity, especially as he would have seen some other requisite points of resemblance to the Trojan plain of Homer, not to that of Strabo, which it would be in vain to look for near the Sigean promontory, and in the plain watered by the Mendere-su.

* See from page 133 to page 118, of Mr. Bryant's Dissertation concerning the War of Troy.

LETTER XXXIX.

Frigate anchors off Sigéum—The Troad of Strabo—Ilium—its History—Not Troy—Nor on the site of it—No Vestiges of Troy ever seen—Modern Travellers—No pretended Discovery of the Site until the time of Le Chevalier—Description of the Coast from Stamboul-Douk to Cape Janissary—Yeni-Keui—Beshik-Tepe—Elles-Bournou—Mouth of the Dardanelles—Ancient Geography of the Coast—Amnis Navigabilis of Pliny—Sigean Promontory—Giaur-Keui—Sigean Marbles—Sigéum—Elæus—Elles Baba-Tepe—The Protesiléum—Koum-Kale—Mouth of the Mendere River—The Thymbrek River—In-Tepe Gheulu—Valley of Thymbrek-Dere—Marshes of the Plain—Rivulet of Bournabashi—Udjek-Tepe—Bournabashi—Course of the Mendere—Callifatli Village and Brook—Banks of the Mendere.

EARLY on the morning of the 14th of April, the frigate got under weigh, and going on deck, we found ourselves at anchor, not, as before, in the channel of Tenedos, but at a little more than a mile and a half from Cape Janissary, where we

found H.M.S. the Bustard, brig of war, and an English transport laden with gunpowder for the Turks, which had been there several days waiting for a firman to pass the castles of the Dardanelles. No ship of war belonging to any foreign power, is now allowed to enter the straits, without such an imperial order directed to the Pashas of the several forts commanding the passage; and we were detained in expectation of receiving this permission until the 1st of May. Such was the jealous caution of the Porte, that it would not allow two British ships of war to proceed at the same time to Constantinople; and the Bustard having resigned her charge to the Salsette, departed on the 18th for Malta. Whilst the frigate was at this anchorage, and during nearly another subsequent fortnight, I had an opportunity of surveying the whole of that plain which for 3000 years has attracted the attention of the civilized world, and which the ingenuity of our own age has illustrated by discoveries so singular, that whether fanciful or not, they must increase the interest of visiting these celebrated regions. For some find it most agreeably congenial with all their early prepossessions, to credit the conjectures of those who recognize on this spot every vestige of the poetic landscape; whilst others experience not a little satisfaction in detecting the futility of former schemes, and in furnishing themselves with arguments in favour either of more probable arrangements, or of a general scepticism respecting the whole Homeric topography.

We may expect to find the account given by Strabo of this part of Asia, equally correct with the other descriptions of that invaluable writer; and we may at least hope to see his plain of Troy, with the Simois and Scamander, the stations of Achilles and Ajax, the harbour of the Greeks, and many of those

celebrated objects which, on whatever foundation, were identified in very early ages with the scenes of the Iliad. If the country bordering on these famous straits does not correspond with the descriptions of the poet, it may be found, perhaps, to agree with those of the geographer; and with this resemblance a prudent traveller should, according to my humble judgment, be content, without attempting to find those evident vestiges of the Trojan war, which all the investigation of the ancients was so utterly unable to discover, that the words of the poet himself were quoted to prove that some of them, as the rampart of the Greeks, had perhaps never existed, and that others, amongst which was reckoned Troy itself, had been destroyed by the event to which they owed their celebrity.

Plutarch informs us, that Alexander the Great performed sacrifices at Ilium*; and Arrian adds, that he carried away from the place some arms which were said to have been used in the Trojan war, and ordered them to be borne before him in his battles†. But this Ilium, which, from a village with a single temple, was converted by his order into a considerable town, is proved by the many arguments adduced in the treatise on the Troad, contained in the thirteenth book of Strabo, to have not

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* Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἰλιον, ἔθυσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.—In vit. Alex. p. 674, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Ἀνελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θύσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτῆ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεών, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ τούτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὅπλων ἔτι ἐκ τῶ Τρωϊκῶ ἔργα σωζόμενα· Καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι αἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας.—Arriani, de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714 It will be observed, that the annalist uses throughout, the phrase "it is reported."

been the Ilium of Homer, although the vanity of its inhabitants induced them, long previously to the Macedonian invasion, to call it by that name, and to show their Acropolis to Xerxes as the Pergamus of Priam*.

It is related of the new city, that the old site not being chosen on account of Agamemnon's supposed imprecation, the Astypalæans, who inhabited Rhœtéum, built a little town, called in the Augustan age Polisma, in a marshy spot, which was soon deserted. Ilium was then founded by the Lydians, but did not arrive at any prosperity until a long time afterwards; when Lysimachus, to fulfil a promise made by Alexander, took it under his protection, and surrounded it with a wall of forty stadia in circumference. When, however, the Romans came into Asia, it was more like a village than a town, and at the passage of the Gauls from Europe, it had no walls. It afterwards recovered itself, was created a free city by the Romans when they made peace with Antiochus†, and stood an eleven days siege against the Quæstor Fimbria, the murderer of Valerius Flaccus, by whom it was razed to the ground‡.

Sylla having destroyed Fimbria, favoured Ilium, as also did Julius Cæsar in a more especial manner, and it's immunity from

* Ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap 43.

† Liv. Hist. lib. xxxviii.; Casaub. Comm. et Castig. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

‡ Caius Fimbria . . . . urbem Ilion quæ se potestati Syllæ reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit.—Liv. epit. in lib. lxxxiii. Appian, who gives a detailed account of the cruelties of Fimbria, adds, that this calamity happened CICL years after the taking of Ilium by Agamemon.—Vide Casaub. Com. et Castig. in Strab. lib. xiii. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

tribute was afterwards confirmed by the Emperors Claudius* and Nero†.

The love of proving an illustrious ancestry, common to the two great nations of antiquity, made the Romans wish to believe the Iliéans the actual descendants of the true Trojans, and to call their town, as they generally did, by the name of Troy, which was one of its Homeric appellations, but was obsolete with the Phrygian Greeks‡.

A proof of this persuasion may be adduced from the story told of Tiberius, who, to reproach the Iliéans for their late condolence for the death of Drusus, informed them, that he also sympathized with them for the loss of Hector§. But the well-known lines of Lucan, inform us with what success Julius Cæsar searched for the vestiges of the Trojan wall‖; and that the verses of the

* "Iliensibus quasi Romani generis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit."—Suet. in vit. Tib. Claud. Cæs. p. 513, edit. qt. Schildii.

† "Impetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur."—Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 58, p. 88, edit. Glasg. 1753. "Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque ludit."—Sueton. in vit. Neron. Claud. Cæs. cap. 7, p. 578, edit. qu. sup.

‡ Dissertation concerning the war of Troy, edit. 2, p. 39; see also the commentary on verse 817, Perieg. Dionys., in which the Latins are censured for calling Ilium Troy, p. 285, edit. Lond. 1679. It seems strange that Mr. Bryant should be the first to remark, that the Τροια of Homer is sometimes the city as well as the district.—Dissert. Append. p. 132, 2d edit. To prevent the necessity of adding an epithet to Ilium Immune, I shall distinguish the Homeric city by the name of Troy.

§ Suet. in vit. Tib. cap. 52, p. 388. The reader may recollect how happily this story is introduced in one of Dr. Swift's letters to Mr. Pope.

‖ Mr. Le Chevalier, in alluding to the lines of Lucan, with a singular disingenuity, and confidence in the ignorance of his readers, only quoted the first

poet were founded on fact, is fully proved by the testimony of Strabo, and the decisive evidence of the author, to whose assistance he had recourse in describing the Hellespontine Phrygia.

We do not know that Strabo had not himself been in the Troad, but we are sure that no person could speak more to the purpose than Demetrius, who was a native of Scepsis, a town not far from Ilium, and who wrote thirty books on sixty lines of Homer's Trojan Catalogue. From this authority we know, that not a vestige was left of the ancient city*.

Neither Julius Cæsar, nor Demetrius, nor Strabo, had any doubt of the former existence of the city of Priam; and the orator Lycurgus, quoted by the latter author, at the same time that he declared the total desolation, and as it were death of Troy, to be known to all the world, spoke of its destruction as of a fact equally notorious†. These authorities therefore are to be acknowledged as

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three lines of the description, beginning "Sigæasque petit famæ mirator arenas," as the five following verses were fatal to his hypothesis. The author of the Topography of Troy, is much fairer in his notice of the passage, if he does notice it when he attributes the prevailing error respecting the non-existence of any Trojan remains, to the "etiam periere ruinæ" of *Virgil*.

* Οὐδὲν δὲ ἴχνος σώζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595. These words, and the general tenour of the whole argument, may be quoted as decisive against those places, where the words ἡ παλαιὰ, or ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα, are introduced to signify either Troy, or the supposed site of it, at the Pagus Hiensium.

† See Casaubon. Comm. in Strab. lib. xiii. p. 601. Τὴν Τροίαν τις ἀκμάσαι φησὶ μεγίστη γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων, καὶ πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ασίας, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ελλήνων κατεσκάφη, ἀπο τὸν αἰῶνα ἀοικητός ἐστίν. Strabo relates, that Thucydides speaks of *Troy* being taken by the Athenians; but on referring to

complete evidence against the remains of Troy having ever been recognized by any credible witnesses amongst the ancients, and are to be received with none of that distrust with which we may hear the arguments of those who have in our times been arrayed, to prove that such a place as Troy did never exist, and that consequently the Trojan war was a mere fiction of poetry. The geography of the Troad cannot be affected by any decisions on this latter question, nor by those disquisitions which have lately increased our doubts on all points relative to Homer, and have made us uncertain not only of the productions and the name, but even of the actual existence, of the poet.

The learned world may decide that the Odyssey and the Iliad were not productions of the same person or period; and Mr. Heyne, annulling the labour and dissolving the union of Pistratus, may disperse the two epics into their primitive rhapsodies. It is enough for the traveller to be aware, that not only not a vestige of Troy was ever seen, but that no ancient author ever pretended to have ascertained with precision its actual site. It may be observed, that in the forgeries of Dictys Cretensis* and Dares Phry-

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the historian, we see that he does not mention Troy, but only, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίσματα—the towns in the interior, or on the main-land, lib. iii. See Casaubon's note to p. 600 of Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 226, edit. Xyland.

* In Dictys Cretensis the Scamander is mentioned only once (p. 99, edit. Amstlea, 1730), the Simois not at all; the river ("flumen, p. 88, and fluvius, p. 99") is noticed but twice; Ilium is once named, p. 108; the tomb of Achilles once, p. 109; Sigéum once, p. 132; and the tomb of Ajax, on the Rhœtéum promontory, also once, p. 137. The author says of Troy, "urbs incendiis complanata"—"the city was burnt to the ground," p. 134; but he makes Antenor, and Æneas and Antenor, inhabit it afterwards. He

gius*, no attempt is made at local description, and that this would hardly have been the case if the site of the Phrygian capital, and consequently the exact scene of the memorable events which they recorded, had been universally known to the Greeks of the age of Constantine.

The uncertainty respecting Troy must necessarily have increased rather than diminished by the progress of time, and I do not find that any judicious person amongst the early travellers, ever thought of discovering the vestiges or the site of the city of Priam. Dr. Pococke did not attempt to find any thing undiscovered by Demetrius and Strabo, and spoke with great hesitation even of conjectures founded on their descriptions. Mr. Wood, in the essay which he wrote "to do justice to Homer," wisely reserved a "thorough examination of the poet's geography to a

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every where calls the Trojans "Barbarians;" a distinction, as Mr. Wood observed on another occasion, not to be found in Homer, and only once used in Virgil (Essay on the Genius, &c. p. 504): Tzetzes (Chil. 5, Hist. 30, as I found him quoted in some notes on Ælian) averred, that Homer followed this history; but the learned Isaac Vossius thought the book was not the composition of a Greek even so late as the time of Constantine, but that the Latin, now called the translation of Septimius, was the original work.

* Dares Phrygius, who differs from Homer in very many particulars, for which the letter from Cornelius Nepos to Sallust, prefixed to the treatise (p. 154, ibi), asserts that he was much extolled at Athens, mentions scarcely a single place by name except the Scæan gate, and the tomb of Achilles. The Phrygian Iliad, which was the foundation of this imposture, inferior both in antiquity and elegance to Dictys Cretensis, was said to be in existence in the time of Ælian; that author, however, does not say that he ever saw it, but only, that he believed it to be yet preserved—Καὶ τὸν Φρύγα Δαρήτα, τὸν Φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα.—Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 11.

more enlarged plan of his work;" and notwithstanding a singular hint, that the country was more like Homer's landscape in his time than it had been in that of Strabo*, and some general praise of Homer's accuracy, yet in his description of the Troad, he notices rather the changes that must have taken place in the face of the country, than the resemblance it bears to the picture given of it in the Iliad; and he does not hazard a single conjecture as to the actual site of the ancient city, except that it stood above Alexandria Troas: an omission caused not by ignorance or carelessness, but, it is probable, by a thorough knowledge of the insurmountable difficulties attending the enquiry.

Chandler, in his account of the Plain, followed Strabo and the geographers; he attempted no discoveries as to Troy, and although he spoke with more decision respecting other points, he thought proper to make an excuse in his Preface, for hazarding such assertions†. What he might have done in his announced work, relative to the topography of the Troad, cannot be known, as it never was published, or transmitted to the press. But the world has become much wiser than formerly, especially, as Dr. Swift observed, within these ten years. Mr. Le Chevalier determined upon the discovery of Troy, and succeeded. The Pergamus of

* Essay on the Genius and Writings of Homer, p. 76.

"When we look on the regions of Troas, as represented in my map, it will be found, I believe, to differ from the history of the country as exhibited by Homer," p. 328.

"There is no trace in Homer of the progress of the Scamander, from the ruined bridge to Bournabashi; and yet this is the only part of the channel which is precisely the same as anciently," p. 329.

† He speaks of the barrows as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. His History of Ilium I have not been able to procure.

Priam, ruins of temples, foundations of walls, the Scæan gate, the hot and cold source of the Scamander, the station of the Greeks, the tombs of heroes, were ascertained, laid down, and irrevocably named. The ancients were accused of ignorance, the moderns of diffidence; the former, in the instance of Strabo and Demetrius, for not knowing their own Scamander when they saw it before their eyes; the latter, such as Dr. Pococke, for not finding the ashes of Achilles in the hillocks on the banks of the Mendere. The discovery was hailed with enthusiasm by the Parisian antiquaries, and all the learned bodies in Europe were, as the author predicted would be the case, eager to adopt the improved geography of Phrygia. Even the sober scepticism of English scholars gave way before the torrent of asserted proofs. It was not until five years subsequently to the publication of Mr. Le Chevalier's extraordinary success, that Mr. Bryant, without travelling beyond his library, and rather impeded than assisted by a wretched chart of the disputed country, raised such objections (not all, it must be owned, of equal validity) to the new map of the Troad, as no criticisms, either of the travelled or the learned, have been able to remove. Yet a gentleman who had visited the spot, vindicated Homer and Mr. Le Chevalier: another of our countrymen, who travelled in 1796, acknowledged the recent scheme sufficiently ingenious and plausible*; and the author of the Topography of Troy, not only concurred in most points in the invention, but in 1802 found several additional Homeric vestiges to support the happy hypothesis. Another

* "Mr. Chevalier's topography and general idea, after a fair investigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plausible."—Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 347.

traveller, however, apparently of a totally different complexion*, and who lent an academic faith to the whole superstition, restored us to our ancient uncertainty; and when we travelled, the village of Bournabashi was no longer Troy; the springs of the Scamander and the Simois had disappeared, and the encampment of the Greeks had again sunk into the nonentity to which it was before reduced, by the trident of Neptune and the streams of seven rivers.

We repeatedly traversed the whole of that part of the Troad, which is usually called the Plain of Troy. The frigate was anchored a little above one of those singular tumuli, four of which are ranged near the shore of the Archipelago. Liman-Tepe, and Stamboul-Douk, have been already noticed. From the flat point Bournou, beyond Alexandria Troas, the coast, for four or five miles, is a sandy flat, and a shrubby plain, divided by a small rivulet, spreads from some inland eminences to the sea. About a mile from the succeeding promontory, called in the maps the Cape of Troy, another stream flows through a narrow but deep channel into the sea. About a mile from its mouth, it is joined by a small rivulet flowing from the south; and to this rivulet that channel of a mile in length formerly belonged, and not to the stream now running from the north-east, which has within the memory of man been let into it through an artificial cut. From this point the shore becomes less level; and the Cape of Troy is a sandy promontory, terminated by a mass of shapeless rocks. Half a mile inland, and to the north of the Cape, is the third large barrow, Beshik-Tepe. The coast above is exceedingly

* See an Essay in the Edinburgh Review, July, 1805, No. XII. Franklin and others have also written on the Troad; but the general outline of the progress of the question is given above.

abrupt, composed of high chalky cliffs, and on the flat of the hills not far beyond the barrow, stands the town of Yeni-Keui, containing perhaps two hundred houses, inhabited chiefly by Greeks. Immediately below it is a circular part or basin, to which the communication with the town is by a path winding down a steep precipice. Beyond Yeni-Keui, the coast still continues abrupt and high; but a little before, to the south of the fourth barrow, there is a deep chasm in the coast. The path on each side is made more easy by steps cut in the hill. At the bottom is a stone fountain, and between the hollow, a small stream trickles through the sandy beach, projecting in a thin strip at the foot of the rocks. The fourth barrow rises from the hilly coast, immediately above the chasm. To Cape Janissary, a mile and a half to the north, the coast is a line of steep craggy rocks. Opposite to our anchorage, a steep and difficult path ascends the hill: this was our often-trodden route into the plains, and part of the ship's company were daily employed in watering at two springs near the landing place. From the top of the cliff the path turns northwards near the edge of the precipice, and leading at first down a slope, ascends some gently-rising ground, until it arrives at the flat summit on which stands the town of Yeni-Cher, or Giaur-Keui. From this point the Cape stretches off half a mile beyond, to the north-north-west. On a flat above the town are eight or nine windmills, which when the pilot sees in a line with the tongue of the promontory he makes directly for the mouth of the straits. From the ship we had a distinct view of Elles-Bournou, or Cape Greco, the extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, of Cahim-Kalessi, the new fort built by De Tott on the hill, two miles within the Cape, and of Eski-Kalessi, the old castle

a mile farther in the mouth of the strait: a barrow, called Elles Baba-Tepe, was discernible on the hills above Cahim-Kalessi. From Cape Janissary to Cahim-Kalessi the distance is about three miles and a half; but as the angle formed at that point is very obtuse, the straits seem to commence from Elles-Bornou; and thus having a width of five or six miles, sweep round the high cliffs on either side into the expanded sea, with all the grandeur of an American river.

The usual place of anchorage for the vessels detained in their passage to Constantinople, is under the hills near Cahim-Kalessi, or in a small inlet under Cape Janissary; where, however, they are not always secure from the violence of the Etesian gales. On the 24th of April, many ships of different sizes, bursting from their moorings, and borne down as upon a rapid torrent, shot swiftly by us under bare poles, and were unable to bring up until they got shelter behind Tenedos. The boundless sea prospect from the heights on the Asiatic side of the straits, is broken by Imbros to the west, and to the north of that island by Lemnos, whose high rocks are, as it were, capped by the fainter peaks of Samothrace. Athos itself is said to be sometimes visible in the utmost distance, but it was not discernible during our stay on the spot.

The whole length of the coast from Koum-Bornou to Cape Janissary is about eleven miles, in a direction due north. Its ancient geography has not been determined very precisely. The headlands Koum-Bornou, and the cape of Troy, appear to have received no distinct names. Pococke says, that Achæum may have been near Yeni-Keui; but Chandler * assigns Nea or Nee

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxii.

to this spot, as being more agreeable to the detail of Pliny, and as it seems to preserve its old name in a Turkish translation. He gives a Latin sepulchral inscription, taken from a stone in the village*. The land near the town is bleak and bare, but in the slopes under the hill there are some extensive gardens, in which the fig and mulberry tree are cultivated in luxuriant abundance. Strabo, whose notice of this coast is by no means in detail, says, that Achæum was opposite to Tenedos, and that its district was next to that of Alexandria Troas, not far from Larissa†.

If Yeni-Keui, and the vicinity of the barrow Beshik-Tepe, be near the site of Nee, we should look for the "Scamander Amnis Navigabilis" of Pliny between that spot and Cape Janissary‡. But there is no river between the two points, and the stream nearest to Yeni-Keui is that which flows into the sea, a mile to the south, where the continent, agreeably to the site of Achæum, is opposite to Tenedos, at least to the north end of that island. The stream in question is not noticed by Strabo, but it does, indeed, seem to be the navigable river Scamander of Pliny; and as it is larger than the other rivulets below to the south, it may have been so characterized, to show its comparative importance. It is certainly not the great Trojan Scamander of which the naturalist here speaks, for he mentions that river immediately afterwards, and in the position given to it by every other writer, calling it the Xanthus: I shall leave it, however, to the etymologists to determine, whether a stream, not capable even at its mouth of admitting a

* Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 4.

† Lib. xiii. p. 605, 596.

‡ "Oppidum Nee, Scamander amnis navigabilis, et in promontorio quodam Sigæum oppidum."—Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30.

Thames wherry, and having all the characteristics of a mountain torrent, could have been ever designated by the epithet navigable. Perhaps the ships navigating this Scamander were like those river boats (πλοῖα ποτάμια) which, according to Diodorus, were made by the orders of Stabobrates, King of India, out of a single reed*

Every ancient mention of the Sigean promontory seems to identify it with Cape Janissary, and the remains discovered in Giaur-Keui, show that the town Sigéum was built on or near the site of the present village. The Sigean decree in honour of Antiochus, was removed in 1708 by Mr. E. W. Montague, and the Boustrophedon, which is called the famous Sigean inscription by Pococke, and has had that epithet attached to it by every succeeding traveller, was removed by Lord Elgin. From the inscriptions, a fac-simile of which is given in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities, and in Mr. Payne Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet†, it appears that the method of writing or graving, from left to right, and from right to left, alternately, "as an ox ploughs," continued after the adoption of the long vowels generally supposed to have been invented by Simonides,

* Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆ καλάμια κατεσκέυασε πλοῖα ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια . . . ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρά τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑλώδεις τόπους φέρει καλάμια πλῆθους ὃυ τὸ πάχος οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἄνθρωπος παραλάβοι . . .—Hist. lib. ii. p. 74, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ex uno arundinis trunco μονοξυλα," says Wesseling. These boats were manned to resist the invasion of Semiramis; but the streams which they navigated cannot be supposed of the same sort as those on which the expedition of Nearchus sailed, and which Arrian does not call πλοιμοι, navigable by boats, but ναυσιποροι, navigable by ships.—Hist. Ind. cap. iv. pp. 317, 318, cap. v. p. 318, edit. Gronov.

† Plate II.

but prevalent in Asia, it is probable, prior to the time of that poet. The upper inscription contains the additional characters, although the one below uses only the alphabet of Cadmus and Palamedes. The earlier Sigean inscription was written, it is thought, six hundred years before the Christian era, and the second, which is nearly a copy of the first six lines of the other, seventy-seven years subsequently to the first*. Phanodicus, the son of Hermocrates of Proconesus, who gave the bowl and cover (**ΚΡΗΤΗΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΚΡΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ**) which are the subjects of the record, to the Sigean Prytaneum, is supposed by Chishull to be the historical writer of that name mentioned by the Scholiast in Apollonius, and the same person who is more than once commended by Laertius as the author of a treatise on the *Tripod of the Sage*, and concerning Thales and Bias†. Yet this biography, which is conjectural, does not fix the precise date of the marble.

The Montague marble was in the wall of a small church dedicated to St. Demetrius, and the pilaster containing the Boustrophedon was in the same church, and served as a seat. The pedestal, with the piece of sculpture described by Lady M. W. Montague‡, and explained by Dr. Chandler§, was opposite to the pilaster; but whether it is still left, I know not, for the Greeks of the village telling me that the marbles had been removed, I did not enter the church. Several fragments still remain scattered about near that building, which may be on the site of the Athenéum. Such was the opinion of the last-mentioned traveller, who adds also, that the flat on which the

* Analytical Essay, p. 18.

† Inscriptio Sigea, p. 32, see Appendix, Lond. 1728.

‡ Letter XLIV. p. 152, edit. London, 1790.

§ Cap. xii. p. 36, Travels in Asia Minor.

village stands, was the Acropolis, and that the ancient town occupied a slope on the descent towards the mouth of the straits.

The village of Yeni-Cher, or Giaur-Keui, is inhabited by Greeks only, some of whom are of the better sort. They cultivate the cotton grounds and vineyards on the sides of their hills, and are, in part, owners of the flocks of broad-tailed sheep which swarm over the neighbouring plains. We found that several houses contained a stock of wine sufficient to furnish a considerable quantity for the use of our ship's company.

The traveller before quoted out of Hakluyt saw some remains on this spot, as also did Belon, who took them for the relics of the structure consecrated to Achilles. Sandys* talks of the Promontory being "crowned with a ruinous city, whose imperfect walls do show to the sea their antiquity." Some remnants appear to have been seen by Lady M. W. Montague; but they are not noticed, that I am aware, by any subsequent traveller, and at present there is not a vestige of them to be found. Whether they belonged to the unfinished city of Constantine, as Sandys conjectured, or were relics of Sigéum, has not been determined. The remains of Constantine's design, were visible on the right hand entering the straits, but not, in all likelihood, on the Promontory itself; since the gates, which were conspicuously seen by those who sailed along the coast, were in the plain before Ilium, near the shore, and above or beyond the tomb of Ajax †. The same fatality seemed to attend the attempt at fixing the seat of empire

Page 19, lib. i.

† Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίον παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἴαντος τάφον.—Zozom. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. iii. Decline and Fall, vol. ii. cap. 17, p. 9, 4to.

in the kingdom of Priam, as we are told prevented the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem; and the perseverance of Constantine was of little longer duration than the inauspicious resolves of Julius Cæsar and of Augustus. The gates were all that was finished of the intended work, and cannot have left behind them relics sufficient to be called the ruins of a city; yet Kauffer, in his map, has laid down "Ville de Constantin," on a site which, it must be confessed, answers better than Giaur-Keui to that of the designed capital.

Sigéum was built by Archæanax of Mitylene, and, as was said, out of the ruins of Troy; a report which, although entirely unfounded, was a proof of its extreme antiquity. After a variety of fortunes*, it was destroyed by the people of Ilium, who from the age of Antiochus, became masters of the greater part of the Troad, as far as Dardanus, and retained it when Strabo wrote. It was a ruin in his time, and the walls seen by modern travellers can have no reference to Sigéum. They may have been the remnants of some fort or watch-tower built in a much later period.

* We find in Strabo, that the town was taken from the Mitylenæans by Phryno the Athenian, and that Pittacus, endeavouring to recover it, several battles were fought, in one of which the poet Alcæus lost his shield. Herodotus (lib. v. cap. 94, 95) relates that it was taken by Pisistratus, who left his illegitimate son Hegesistratus governor, and that the latter was unable to retain it without repeated contests with the Mitylenæans of the neighbouring fortress Achilléum. He makes Alcæus' loss of his shield occur in one of these battles, and mentions, that the place came into the final possession of the Athenians by the award of Periander, the son of Cypselus; a circumstance which, in Strabo's account, happened previously to the time of Pisistratus. Dr. Chandler (cap. xii. p. 37, Travels, &c. &c.), to reconcile the statements, puts the conquest of Pisistratus after that of Phryno and the other events mentioned by the geographer. Chares the Athenian was governor of the town when Alexander landed in Asia. Arriani, de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. 2, p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714.

If any argument were wanting, to show that Cape Janissary is the Sigean Promontory, its situation opposite to the point of the Thracian Chersonese, might be adduced in proof. Near that point, called formerly Mastusia, was the town Eleus, a little to the north, on a precipice above Eski-Kalessi, and a mean village now occupies its site*. The Protesiléum, or sacred portion of Protesilaus, who was worshipped at Eleus, where he was supposed to be buried, was near the barrow Elles Baba-Tepe, and the barrow itself may have been called the tomb of that hero†. To the Protesiléum there is a history attached: it was laid waste and defiled by Artayctes, the governor of Sestos, to deter the Greeks, as he told Xerxes, from again invading Asia; but the Persian was severely punished for having revenged upon the people of Eleus the crimes of Agamemnon's army; for, being taken alive by Xanthippus the Athenian, he was himself impaled alive‡, whilst his son was stoned to death before his face §. Alexander the Great having left his main army near Sestos, marched to the point of the Chersonese, on purpose to visit the spot, and sacrificed on the tomb to the manes of the warrior who first landed in Asia, and was the first victim of the Trojan war ‖. The barrow

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἔνθα ἦεν χρήματα πολλά.—Herod. Hist. lib. ix. p 116.

‡ Ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδας διεπασσάλευσαν.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

§ Herod. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 120.

‖ Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα, θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον

is no longer sheltered by the elms, whose ephemeral leaves dropped off every morning from the branches looking towards Troy, and presented a mournful type of the premature fate of the youthful hero: but, although nothing but a bare hillock, it is sufficiently remarkable to attract attention, and still retains the venerable name of tomb. Another smaller mount has been lately discovered near Elles Baba-Tepe; but travellers, with a very unusual forbearance, have not as yet assigned it to any ancient hero.

Having determined that the site of the Sigean Promontory coincides with Cape Janissary (a fact which Mr. Bryant thought had been arbitrarily assumed), and being acquainted with the point anciently reputed to be one of those anonymous headlands*, which were boundaries of the line of coast occupied by the Grecian ships, we may expect to receive some help in our future progress from the detail of the geographers. On the descent from Giaur-Keui to the left of the road leading to the first castle on the Asiatic side of the strait, called Koum-Kale, in less than half a mile from the village, there is a barrow, which is not conspicuous from any quarter, as it is attached to the root of the hill above, and has also a tekeh, or Dervishes' chapel, built against its side. There is a vineyard hedge round the bottom of the mount, and

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στρατευσάντων.—Arriani de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 24, edit. Gronov. 1714. "Ipse cum reliquis Eleuntem proficiscitur, Protesilao sacrum, cujus ibi sepulchrum adjesto tumulo tegitur," &c. &c.—Suppl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 99, edit. Lugd. Bat.

*. Ἠιόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνέγραθον ἄκραι. Il. Ξ. v. 36

the top, which is used for a cemetery, has on it some broken remnants of modern stone-work. It is very inferior in size to Beshik-Tepe and the other barrows before-mentioned, to which it does not bear so great a proportion as the mount at Marlborough to that at Sidbury. To the east of this barrow, at a little distance, and in the road to Koum-Kale, there is another similar mount, but smaller, although more observable than the first. Immediately below it, the road turns northwards, and leads down a descent into a sandy triangular flat, about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, at the extremity of which is the town of Koum-Kale. The approach to it is through gardens and vineyards, separated by low enclosures. On the road we observed some singular constructions for forcing water. The stream from a spring at the foot of the hill of Giaur-Keui is conveyed in an earthen pipe, which is carried over several pieces of wall, perhaps twenty feet high, about three hundred paces from each other, across the flat to the reservoirs and fountains in the town and castle. The source is considerably above the level of Koum-Kale, so that the Turks, by this contrivance, show their perfect ignorance of the first principles of hydraulics, and put it in the power of any enemy to cut off their supply at once, by knocking down one of these walls.

The town of Koum-Kale is exceedingly clean and well-built, with one wide street containing several neat shops and coffee-houses. It has two moscks, whose white minarets are seen at some distance from the inland villages and from the sea. The number of inhabitants may be about six hundred, chiefly the families of the Turks who garrison the fortress. The castle, built by Sultan Solyman in the year 1659, is ill-constructed, being a hollow square of massive walls, with towers at the angles, pro-

tected at the back by a single moat. The battery ranges along the northern and western walls, and the embrasures, with the mouths of their enormous cannons, look like the entrances of small caverns to those sailing through the Straits.

The eastern bank of the neck of land on which Koum-Kale is built, is a bay or marsh, bounded on the other side by another flat sandy projection. It is about half a mile in breadth, and being extremely shallow, is covered in part with high reeds. It may be called the mouth of the Mendere, for into it that river discharges itself under a wooden bridge three hundred feet long, a mile above the town. A yellow tinge, similar to that observable at the mouth of all streams which deposit sand-banks, spreads in a circular line beyond the point, into the waters of the strait. The banks of the river near its mouth are adorned with frequent clumps of garden and forest trees. A little above the bridge there is a low barrow enclosed in a Turkish cemetery, and shaded by poplars and cypresses.

On the east side of the Mendere is an extensive plain, (Pococke calls it two miles broad and four long*), well cultivated in some parts, but in others a black swamp, and, near the shore, a sandy marsh. It is so intersected with dykes, that on passing it on our route to the Dardanelles, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of a peasant who was working in the corn fields. A broad ditch stream, which is lost in the marshes, flows from the east, in a line nearly parallel with the strait, at the distance of a mile from the shore. It is called the Thymbrek. Koum-Keui is a village a mile and a half from the bridge between the Mendere and the Thymbrek. The coast is still flat and sandy for two

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

miles to the east of Koum-Kale, as far as a projecting point of land, where the ground becomes high and rocky. On the slope of this point is a barrow, called In-Tepe Gheulu, "The barrow of the marsh." A neck of sand divides the coast between In-Tepe and the mouth of the Mendere, into two bays; the higher one of which, near the barrow, is at the bottom almost choaked with reeds, and is called Karanlik-Liman, "The shut port." Into this basin there runs a deep brook, Gheulu-Su, "The water of the marsh." A little above In-Tepe the road to the Dardanelles winds round the foot of some low hills, which project from the east into the great plain of Koum-Keui, having the shore on the north, and on their southern declivity the beautiful valley of Thymbrek-Dere, so called from the stream that runs through its whole length. The southern bank of the valley is formed by another root of the mountains, which spread in successive chains from the south-east to the north-west over the whole of the eastern portion of the Troad. On this root is the village of Tchiblak, and at the extremity of it is a barrow. About four miles in the valley of Thymbrek, on the north bank of the river, is the village Hallil-Elly, and two miles higher up another village, Thymbrek-Keui.

The course of the Mendere from the bridge, is for two miles in nearly a straight line to the south, through a vale, bleak and uncultivated to the west, under the hill of Giaur-Keui, but divided into green pastures and corn-fields on the side towards the plain of Koum-Keui. The banks are high and sandy, but the depth of water in the channel varies with the season. We crossed at a ford a mile above the bridge resorted to by the peasants of Giaur-Keui, in their way to Koum-Keui and the villages to the south, and, in the month of April, found the stream as high as

the saddle-girts. Two miles from the bridge a small rivulet, running in a channel which has once been supplied with more copious waters, flows into the Mendere from the south. A mount of some dimensions is close to the junction of, and between, the streams, near two piers of a fallen bridge crossing the rivulet. Some carved stones, and two capitals of the Corinthian order, were found on this mount by the author of the Topography of Troy. A quarter of a mile farther, the rivulet creeping through sedges, winds round a low long eminence, which being nearly surrounded by a tract of marsh land, is approachable only over a stony ridge stretching towards it from the south. From the great barrow, opposite to which our frigate was anchored, to the marsh, is a walk of half an hour, the whole way on a descent over corn-fields and heathy lands. The marsh runs to the south-south-east, on both sides of the rivulet, for a mile and a half, then turns off to the east, and with a few intervals of meadow land, covers an expanse of flat country seven or eight miles in length, and two or three in breadth, spreading itself over the southern portion of the plain between the Mendere and the rivulet. It is in many parts choked up with tall reeds, the covert of innumerable flocks of wild fowl of every description. From the turn of the marsh to the east, the rivulet may be called its boundary, although there are here and there some tracts of cultivated land between the morass and the banks of the stream. Immediately from that angle commences the new cut, which has diverted some of the water from its former channel, and has served also partially to drain the marsh It is deep, like a mill-course, but in no part more than fifteen feet broad. It runs in a south-south-westerly direction, and in something more

than three miles, joins the rivulet conjectured to be the Navigable Scamander of Pliny. Beyond this canal to the east, there is a succession of low eminences, and the country is covered with brown heath and stunted bushes, except in some few cultivated spots. On a slope above the commencement of the new channel, is the village of Erkessi-Keui, or, as it is more usually called, Pasha-Chiflik, from a country-house in that quarter built by the famous Hassan Capudan Pasha, who either originally formed, or deepened and widened the artificial cut. A mile to the south of Pasha-Chiflik, and, as I found by frequent walks, about six from the barrow opposite to our station, and three from the mouth of the new channel, is the great barrow, called from a neighbouring village, Udjek-Tepe, which towers above all the surrounding eminences, and from the summit of which there is a complete view of the whole plain of the Mendere, and of that which slopes down to the flat sandy shores in front of the island of Tenedos. Udjek-Tepe is as large as the barrow at Sidbury, but from being placed in the midst and on the summit of some gradually-rising ground, is much more conspicuous than that mount. It is in shape a peaked cone, and has a few bushes on its sides, but is bare on the top. The road to Alexandria Troas passes near it on the right.

Bos-Keui is a village on the same line of low hills, three quarters of an hour east-south-east of Udjek-Tepe. From the barrow to the sources of the rivulet, near the far-famed Bournabashi, is a walk of two hours, over hilly uneven ground, in a direction nearly due east. It may be as well to mention here, although with some anticipation of a future topic, that this line of low hills, whose extremity reaches to the angle formed by the

new and old channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, is the southern boundary of the great plain of the Mendere, and has been thought, as may hereafter appear erroneously, to be that elbow of high land (αγκων) which Strabo mentions as stretching from the roots of Mount Ida towards the Sigean Promontory. Were it continued, it would reach rather to Yeni-Keui than to Cape Janissary.

Having traced the course of the Bournabashi rivulet to its spring, let us follow the Mendere upwards from its junction with that stream. It turns off at first a little to the east. Its southern bank for a mile and a half, is an open flat of green sward, interspersed with a few bushes, and to the north, the land is cultivated, and partly enclosed. Two miles above the junction, a streamlet from the eastward falls into the river, near a village called Callifatli which lies south of Koum-Keui, on the road from the castle to Bournabashi. The vale through which runs the Callifath rivulet, is the next in succession to that of Thymbrek Dere, from which it is separated by the low eminences of Tchiblak. In the direction from this last village to Callifatli is a barrow, from which there is a line of elevated ground projecting towards the west-south-west into the plain of Koum-Keui. East-south-east, a mile from Callifatli, is another low barrow, and a third chain of low woody hills bounds the valley of Callifatli to the south, approaching near the banks of the river. The succeeding valley is watered by a rivulet, which runs from the hills near the village of Atche-Keui, three miles to the east of the Mendere. Between the village and the river, but nearer the latter, is a large irregularly-shaped mount, and near this a ford crosses the river to Bournabashi, which is a mile distant on an eminence at the head, as it were, of the whole plain of the marsh. The river from this

point to Callifatli flows through a highly cultivated country, forming woody aits, now concealed amidst groves of cornel and wild-almond trees, and now glittering through open tracts of corn-lands. I traced all its windings, startling young broods of wild ducks and flocks of turtle doves out of every brake, from the vicinity of Bournabashi to where the path led me across the plain and the rivulet towards the frigate, and found I had walked for three hours; but the direct road, even to Callifatli, is not, I should think, more than seven miles.

Nothing could be more agreeable than our frequent rambles along the banks of this beautiful stream. The peasants of the numerous villages, whom we frequently encountered ploughing with their buffaloes, or driving their creaking wicker cars, laden with faggots from the mountains, whether Greeks or Turks, showed no inclination to interrupt our pursuits. The whole region was, in a manner, in possession of the Salsette's crew, parties of whom, in their white summer dresses, might be seen scattered over the plain collecting the tortoises which swarm on the sides of the rivulets, and are found under every furze-bush

LETTER XL.

Barrows—Short Account of those ancient Mounts—Probably not all of them actual Sepulchres—Barrows of Celtic or Scythian Origin—as well in Phrygia as in Britain—The Phrygian Barrows appropriated by the Greeks—Barrow-Burial adopted by the Greeks, but not prevalent in the later periods of their History—The present Barrows of the Troad—Liman-Tepe, Stamboul-Douk, Beshik-Tepe, Udjek-Tepe, &c. not mentioned in Strabo—Supposed Tomb of Achilles—Account of its Excavation by De Choiseul Gouffier—Absolute uncertainty respecting the real Monument—Arbitrary adoption of Names for the other Barrows—In-Tepe possibly the Æantéum—Rhœtean Promontory.

IT must have been observed, that frequent mention has been made of barrows, on the coast and in the plain of Phrygia. The precise origin of these singular mounts has never been determined; for, whilst some have supposed that all of them are specimens of the most ancient kind of sepulchre, there are others who think that they may have been raised on other occasions, and are not to be invariably regarded as memorials of the

dead*. It would, perhaps, be proceeding too far to suppose every artificial heap of earth, even when found in countries where such tombs abound, and although generally considered an ancient tomb, to be an actual sepulchre. Mounts were raised by the Egyptians sometimes to support a sacred building, and sometimes to serve, without any superstructure, as objects of veneration. In this manner hills were accounted holy by the ancient Persians, as they are by the modern Japannese; and amongst the Jews, temples or other places of worship were, from the practice of the idolaters, denominated High Places†. From the hillocks of the Egyptians, Taphos, one of the Greek words signifying a tomb, may be derived‡, which can be accounted for by supposing, that many of these were in truth the tombs of their princes, and perhaps the archetypes of their pyramids, and that the worship of the dead was the origin of the sanctity attached to their supposed sepulchres.

In flat countries a mount was raised, but in other situations, either the foot, or the summit of a natural eminence, was selected for the place of burial. We have the testimony of Homer himself to prove, that hills, the size of which precluded almost the possibility

* Dr. Borlase, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 211, edit. 2d (quoted in Dalzel's Notes on Le Chevalier) finds fault with the appellation, which being usually *barrow*, and not, as in Cornwall, *burrow*, gives, as he conceives, too great a latitude to that which should always signify a sepulchre. It is possible, however, that our word is not derived from the Saxon byrig, to bury, but beorg, or beorh, signifying "oppidum," a fortress or little hill, which is pronounced gutturally, like berch, and (as talch is changed into tallow) becomes in English, barrow. See note to page 20, of the Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, where both roots seem to be admitted.

† Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, pp. 80, 81.

‡ Bryant's Mythology, vol. i. p. 449. Less curious etymologists may be contented with the derivation from ἔταφον, the aor. sec. indic. of θάπτω, sepelio.

of their being artificial, were called tombs. This was the case with Batieia, named by the Immortals, or, *in early ages*, the tomb of Myrinna*, where the Trojan army of fifty thousand men was drawn out in battle array, which could not have been effected even if the hill had been equal in size to the tomb of Ninus, the largest barrow in the world†. King Dercennus was buried under a hill‡, and Cinethes, one of the companions of Æneas, on the top of a mountain on the shores of Peloponesus§. The prevalence of the superstition above alluded to, which has been denominated hero worship, although it may militate against Mr. Bryant's general assertion, that all ancient barrows were not sepulchral, and may induce us to think that if they were not really tombs they were at least supposed to be so, may yet serve to convince us that many of these mounts, whether natural or artificial, did not actually contain the ashes of the dead. In proof of this, it is observed by the above author, that the tombs shown in Greece "were some of them those of gods themselves‖;" and Dr. Borlase has remarked, that ancient writers use that word for

* Il. B. v. 811. See the Scholiast to verse 403, and Camerarius, who give an easier explanation of the double appellations in Homer than either Eustathius or Dr. Clarke. The second names of inanimate objects, it should be observed, are not to be confounded (although the annotators have not remarked the difference) with those of men derived from any exploit, of which Homer gives an example in Astyanax, the agnomen of Hector's son Scamander—

Δῖος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ.—Il. vi. v. 403.

† It was nine stadia (more than a mile) from the bottom to the top, and ten stadia in breadth, and was to be seen in the time of Diodorus, who says of it, Τὸν δὲ Νῖνον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἔθαψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χῶμα παμμέγεθες, οὗ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐννέα ἦν σταδίων τὸ δὲ εὖρος ὡς φήσιν Κτησίας δέκα.—Lib. i. p. 67, edit. Steph. 1714.

‡ Virg. Æn. xi. 850.

§ Dion. Halic. lib. i. cap. 42.

‖ Observations on a Treatise, pp. 44, 45.

a temple, which signified properly a sepulchre*. The same may be said of the monumental hillocks in our own country. The barrow on Cotley Hill, and that in Elder Valley, in Wiltshire, on being excavated, discovered no signs of an interment, although there were sufficient proofs to show that they had been devoted to religious purposes; and the black earth generally found on digging into these eminences, which was once thought a decomposition of carcasses, has been pronounced by competent judges to be nothing but vegetable matter†.

It would not, indeed, be saying too much to affirm, that the same judgment which we form of the barrows in our own country, may be applied to those found in the north of Europe, in Tartary, and in whatever part of the world was at any time peopled by the Celtic race of mankind. The Nomades or the Scythians of the early Greeks and Romans, and the Celto-Scythæ of later periods, have been recognized in every region of Europe and Asia, and were discovered under different denominations in Britain, in Germany, and in Gaul‡. Not only the manners, but the name of Scythians, was found, in the age of Pliny, amongst the Sarmatians and Germans§, who supplied the first population of our island; and we need not be surprised at beholding vestiges of the same customs on the downs of Wiltshire and the plains of Troy. The

* Τύμβος, Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 613; "tumulum antiquæ Cereris," Virg. Æn. ii. 742; Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 222; Descript. of the Plain of Troy, p. 93.

† See Sir R. Hoare's Wiltshire, pp. 71, 82, 92, vol. i.

‡ See the authorities on this head, collected in Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Introd. pp. 8, 9, &c.

§ 'Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos."—Hist. lib. iv. cap 12, p. 59, edit. Paris, M.DXXXJI.

Thracians and Mysians of Homer, as well as the Hippomulgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, may be said to be of Scythian origin, and tribes of that wandering people were mixed with the nations south of the Ister in the time of Augustus*. The Thracians of Herodotus have many points of resemblance with the Scythians of that historian, amongst which may be remarked the practice of barrow-burial. The latter nation constructed earthen sepulchres of an enormous size over their kings†; and the Thracians, after burning or interring their corpses, heaped a mount over them, and performed funeral games‡: it appears also, that they sacrificed victims of all kinds at the funerals of their chief men§. Now the early inhabitants of Phrygia were from Thrace; and Strabo asserts, that many Trojan names were Thracian: they were, therefore, a Scythian people, and may have constructed the barrows on the south side of the Hellespont previously to the Homeric æra. It is not getting over a single step to say, that these monuments are Phrygian, and not, as Mr. Bryant asserted, Thracian; since the Phrygians are allowed to have been originally from Thrace.

A gentleman, more practically acquainted with the subject of barrows than any other enquirer, no sooner saw the first description and representation of the tumuli on the plain of Troy, than he pronounced that they were exactly similar to those seen in Great

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 296.

† Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλεόμενοι, καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον τοῖησαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 71, p. 251, edit. Edinb. 1806.

‡ Ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακάυσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως γῆ κρύψαντες χῶμα δὲ χέαντες, ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον.—Herod. lib. v. cap. 8, &c.

§ Παντοῖα σφάξαντες ἱρήια. Ibid.

Britain; that they were the tombs of the Celts of Thrace, and of a date prior to that assigned to the Trojan war. He was not at all aware that Mr. Bryant had made a precisely similar remark, but came to the same conclusion by actual observation, which that learned person had derived from his books*. Repeated experiments have proved, that the English barrows are of the most remote antiquity; for frequently, after finding a Roman or Saxon burial near the summit of the mount, the excavators have arrived at the original British interment in the cist on the floor of the tomb; and in the very old British sepulchres, stags' horns, and bones of various animals, have been often found, together with other vestiges of the Celtic practice of sacrificing, before remarked in the Thraco-Scythians†.

The Phrygian barrows were most probably then, as Mr. Bryant has observed, appropriated by the Greeks to people of their own nation, just as fancy directed. It was the common custom for those amongst them, who pretended that their ancestors had received the benefits, or witnessed the exploits, of an hero, to show his tomb as the best memorial to keep alive their gratitude. This remark, by which Dionysius of Halicarnassus‡ accounted for

* The late Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, Wilts, stated this opinion in presence of B. A. Lambert, Esq. F.R.S. to whom I am indebted for the anecdote.

† Amongst other curious articles (some of which, although ancient British, are very similar to the trinkets found in the tombs in Greece) there was discovered in a barrow in Wiltshire, a piece of woven cloth, the web very coarse, but exactly the same as that for the invention of which a patent has lately been obtained. so that what Horace said of words, in his epistle to the Pisos, may be applied to the arts—

"Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere . . . . ."

‡ Lib. i. cap. 46.

finding several tombs of Æneas, should make us hesitate to decide any ancient facts by the appearance of these tumuli; and it may be observed, that when Virgil described the spots where the trumpeter and the nurse of Æneas had been buried, it was not from the supposition that their bones were actually deposited in Italy, but only to introduce a popular superstition into his poem. Yet why should we not look for the ashes of Cajeta and Misenus, as well as for those of Achilles and Ajax? Mr. Bryant's opinion respecting the Thracian, or (as I have ventured to call it) the Scythian origin of the Phrygian barrows, would have been much strengthened, if he had had an opportunity of seeing, with myself, that these artificial hills abound on the European side of the strait, especially in the vicinity of Gallipoli; where, two hundred years ago a superstition prevailed, that they were the sepulchres of Thracian kings *; and his argument may, perhaps, receive some little accession by the remark, that one of the words used by Homer to signify a barrow, appears altogether of Celtic origin; so that the poet, in celebrating the great and superemminent tomb of Achilles †, did not even change the name of that monument, which long before the days of his hero may have been the sepulchre of some Scythian warrior. *Tumba* is the Celtic root; hence the *tombeau* of the French, and the *tomb* of the English ‡, whose church-yards still display a specimen of the same humble sepulchre which contented their ancestors.

It is not to be denied indeed, that the Greeks adopted the same method of denoting the site of their primitive under-ground graves (ὑπόγαια). Not to mention the χυτὴ γαῖα, the heaped earth

* Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 26, edit. Lond. 1627.

† Μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον. Odyss. Ω. 80.

‡ Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, note ‡, p. 20.

of Homer, their sign (σῆμα), burial-place (τάφος), and monument (μνῆμα), were raised mounts. The sign of Hecuba (κυνὸς σῆμα), is a barrow still seen on the shore of the Thracian Chersonese. The burial-place of the Athenians, was a mount, since that or the similar tomb of some of the heroes who conquered with Miltiades, is at this day visible on the plain of Marathon*; and the monument of Panthea and Abradates † was a hillock, for it was heaped up ‡. The custom, however, of raising a mount only, does not appear to have generally obtained after the early periods of Grecian history. On the Marathonian barrow, and that of Panthea, there were inscribed stelæ; and even in Homer's time, that refinement had begun to prevail, for the horses of Achilles, when they wept for the death of Patroclus, stood fixed to the spot, *like a pillar on a tomb* §. The Scythians raised no other memorials of their dead in the vast plains on which they settled their temporary dwellings ‖; but these monuments were too bulky for the

* Τάφος καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν. Paus. Attic. p. 60.

† Cyrop. lib. vii. cap. 11, τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμεγέθες ἐχώσθη.

‡ Ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφου. Eurip. Hecub. v. 225.
Ὑπερθ' ἐπὶ σῆμα χεῦσθαι. Apoll. Rhod. Argon. lib. iii. v. 208; as well as many other passages might be adduced, in proof that the early Greek monument was a heap of earth.

§ Iliad. P. v. 434.

‖ It seems likely, that at the time the English barrows were constructed, not only those who died in battle, but every person of distinction, was buried under one of these conspicuous mounts, some of which appear to have been family mausolea, as they contain several skeletons of both sexes ranged in order. The weapons frequently found in the tombs, may not have pointed out that the deceased died in battle, but only have shown what was the profession, or perhaps the sex, of the corpse, at a time when all men wore arms. None of the barrows in England appear to have been raised promiscuously over the soldiers slain in battle; but some of those opened in America, have been found to contain as many as a thousand skeletons.—See Jefferson's State of Virginia, p. 174,

precincts of cities, and with the civilized Greeks, the very large mount was the sepulchre of those only who were slain in battle, and were buried where they fell; or of such as died on a military expedition, as was the case with Demeratus the Corinthian, to whose memory the army of Alexander heaped up an earthen cenotaph eighty cubits high *. Although earthen substructures were used in the time of Demetrius Phalereus †, and probably in much later periods, yet the monuments of which such frequent mention is made in Pausanias, are generally understood to have been of polished stone ‡. The old appellation of the Greek sepulchres became almost obsolete; and we may collect from a passage in Cicero, either that its meaning was in his time not distinctly understood, or that there was some difficulty in giving a precise translation of it in the Latin language §. Except at Marathon, and the hillocks near Phalerum, I do not recollect to have seen any barrows in Greece conjectured to be sepulchral.

After this general view of the subject, and of the probable history of any monumental mounts, however ancient, which may be seen in these parts of the world, we may proceed to examine the particular specimens of the supposed tombs which are found on the shore of the plain, and in the plain itself, watered by the

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quoted in Dalzel's note to p. 88, Description of the Plain of Troy, and in the Encyclop. Britt. article Barrow.

* Καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.—Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 696, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Sepulchris autem novis finivit modum, nam *super terræ tumulum* noluit quid statui nisi columellam, &c.—Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

‡ Τύμβος ἔστι λίθου-Τάφος ἔστος.

§ Pænaque est, *si quis bustum* (nam id puto appellari τύμβον) *aut monumentum*, inquit, *aut columnam violaverit, dejecerit, fregerit.*—De Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

Mendere. It may have been observed, that they still bear the name of tomb, for the Turkish Tepe is reasonably supposed a derivation from the Greek Taphos. The largest of the Tepes already noticed is Stamboul-Douk, the next Liman-Tepe, the third Udjek-Tepe; the fourth and fifth, Beshik-Tepe and the barrow next to Cape Janissary, are of nearly an equal size. The whole of these are of such dimensions, that they might be, by those who are unused to such appearances, considered natural eminences; and the two last are so situated on the summits of rising ground, as to make it doubtful where the artificial mount begins. Dr. Pococke mentions a chain of low hills running south-east from the Sigean Promontory, divided by small vales or rather hollow grounds. On the first he places the town of Giaur-Keui, on the next the first barrow, on the third the town of Yeni-Keui, and on the north-eastern end of the fourth, which he says extends to the south-east, another barrow *. It will be seen he does not notice Beshik-Tepe. The singular appearance of four large barrows ranged along the shore at regular distances, and of the conspicuous Udjek-Tepe, cannot fail of attracting the attention of the most unobservant traveller, although "the succession of these five tumuli" has not, in my humble judgment, the least tendency "to ascertain the Trojan war†." They have been supposed the work of the early Mahometan invaders, and are referred by the present inhabitants to the Sultans, who at every considerable sta-

* Pococke, Observations on Asia Minor, page 106.

† "The succession of five tumuli, under the distant horizon, tends more than any other proof to ascertain the Trojan war."—Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 340.

tion raised a mount, on which they erected the standard of Mahomet's, a custom still observed, as an eye-witness informed me, by the Tartar princes whenever they pitch their tents. There is such a similarity of size and form, which is conoidal, in all of these five barrows, that the same opinion must be formed of one as of the other mount; and if Udjek-Tepe is, as late writers have pretended, in reality the tomb of Æsyetes mentioned by Strabo, we cannot but suppose that the other tepes are also Homeric land-marks, or at least were so considered in former times, and we must expect to see some ancient notice of their remarkable appearance. Yet I find not the least allusion to either of these immense tombs on the Phrygian coast, in the long and minute detail of Strabo, nor in any other ancient authority, except we conclude (which no arrangement will, I fear, justify), that the Greek sepulchres, which have always been hitherto put within the mouth of the strait, were in reality on the shore of the open sea.

Whoever should sail towards the Hellespont with the expectation of finding the tomb of Achilles on the jutting promontory (a beacon to the sailor afar off at sea), would fix at once upon the great barrow next to Sigeum, as the monument of that hero, and Beshik-Tepe would supply him with a tomb for Ajax. These, indeed, I take to be "the two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be those of Achilles and Ajax," seen by the traveller in Hakluyt. Dr. Pococke, sailing from Tenedos to Alexandria Troas, and having before made some conjectures respecting the barrows on the other side of Cape Janissary, did think that this barrow, or Beshik-Tepe, "as it was very much exposed to view from the sea," might more

Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

probably be the tomb of Achilles*. Other travellers, without a shadow of support from any authority whatever, have called the barrow near Cape Janissary the tomb of Antilochus, and Beshik-Tepe that of Peneleus. They are so noted in Olivier's map. We have heard also, that "it admits of doubt whether Beshik-Tepe is not the tomb erected by Caracalla over his friend Festus†."

Whether the Achillean tomb of Homer was that next to Sigeum, can never be determined; and those who consider the action of the Iliad as a fiction, will not be affected by the uncertainty; but it must be interesting to know, whether any vestige remains of that barrow round which Alexander ran, and which received the homage of so many succeeding ages.

According to Herodotus, there was a place on the right bank of the river Hypacyris, in the Scythian region Hylœa, called the Course of Achilles‡, near which Anacharsis sacrificed, on his return to his country. This spot is noticed by all the geographers; and Pliny§ adds, that the *tomb* of Achilles was shown on the opposite island of Leuce or Macaron, about which so many strange stories were related by the ancient navigators of the Black Sea‖. There

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 110. It is difficult to say to which of the two Tepes he alludes.

† Topography of Troy.

‡ Τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον καλεομένον Δρόμον.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 76.

§ Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 59, edit. Paris. In lib. x. cap. x. p. 177, he has these words, more decisive of the supposition: Perdices non transvolant Bœotiæ fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponti insulâ, *quâ sepultus est Achilles*, sacratam ei ædem.

‖ Pausanias, lib. iii. p. 200, relates, that Leonymus of Crotona found Achilles and the two Ajaxes, together with Antilochus and Patroclus, upon the island, and Achilles married to Helena. They were departed spirits. According to other accounts, Achilles, sailing towards Taurica for the love of Iphige-

was a cenotaph of Achilles at Elis *. Whoever would see the importance attached to every particular relative to this early hero, may look at the discussion in Note A, to the article Achilles, in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in which eleven authorities are quoted, to settle whether the son of Peleus was actually fed on lion's marrow; and a perusal of the whole article, which is taken from the learned treatise on Achilles by Drelincourt, may show us, that notwithstanding this attention, the death and burial, as well as the life and exploits of the hero of the Iliad, are not to be settled by a reference to any credible history.

It would be superfluous to quote the Greek poets, to show that a pretended tomb of Achilles near Sigéum, is celebrated in very early periods, but it is as well to mention that a town or fortress was built round it, not, as Timæus reported †, by Periander, nor out of the ruins of Troy, but by the Mitylenæans of Sigéum, who, when expelled by the Athenians from the latter place, retained the town Achilléum ‡. The Athenians possessed it after the Mitylenæans. In the time of Strabo it was a small village, and Pliny mentions it as having once existed §. Sigéum and the tomb

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nia, stopped at this island, and there died, and was worshipped. He used to wander upon the promontory at the mouth of the Borysthenes, called the Course of Achilles; a name which was, as some have thought, indiscriminately given to many shores with a wide range of beach—"Dionysius Albinus ut refert Apollonii interpres ἱστορεῖ τὰς εὐρείας ῥῖόνας λέγεσθαι Ἀχιλλέως δρόμον."—Casaub. Comm. in lib. vii. Strab. p. 140.

* Paus. lib. vi. p. 389.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 600.

‡ Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

§ *Fuit* et Achilléum, oppidum juxta Tumulum Achillis, conditum a Mitylœneis, et mox Atheniensibus, ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo.

are so connected in the mention made of them by Strabo*, as to show their vicinity to each other†; and the expression of Pliny in the passage quoted above, points out that the tomb was near the shore where the fleet of the hero was supposed to have been stationed. There was a circular temple, containing an image of Achilles, upon or near his tomb; and the barrow itself must have been very conspicuous on a headland immediately overlooking the naval station. A fragment of the Polyxena of Sophocles, preserved out of Porphyry, in Stobæus, gives three lines of a speech addressed to the Greeks as they were sailing from the harbour, by the spectre of Achilles from the summit of his tomb‡.

But not only were the temple and the tomb of Achilles at the Sigean Promontory, but the sepulchres of Patroclus and Antilochus were seen in the same quarter §; and with these monuments, the three barrows mentioned on the route from Giaur-Keui to Koum-Kale, have been thought to coincide. Pococke, before whom no one, that I am aware, ever noticed them, said "they might possibly be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity." Chandler more decisively called the barrow next to Giaur-Keui the tomb of Achilles, and the following one that of Peneleus, but offered an excuse for the assertion in his Preface. Since the visit of the last traveller the first barrow has been opened, but with such myste-

* Lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris.

† Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ροιτείου μέχρι Σιγείου καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος.—Lib. xiii. p. 593.

‡ Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀποπλουν τῶν Ελλήνων ἐπὶ τ' Αχιλλέως προσφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομίνοις ὑπὲρ τᾶ τάφα.—Longin. sect. xiii. Vid. Runkken. not. in Long sect. xv. p. 255, edit. Toup. 2d edit.

§ Τᾶ μὲν οὖν Αχιλλέως καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ μνῆμα, πρὸς τῷ Σιγείῳ. Πατρόκλα δὲ καὶ Αντιλόχα μνήματα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

rious caution, that the world has a right to doubt the account of the persons concerned in the transaction. With what unfairness the researches of the French dilletanti had been conducted previously to Mr. Le Chevalier's tour, may be understood by reverting to the unwarrantable expedient in which the Abbé Fourmont was detected by Mr. Stuart*. The detail of the opening of the supposed tomb of Achilles, may incline us to suspect that the loss of the Abbé Fourmont need not have been regretted in France, whilst a Choiseul Gouffier, or a Le Chevalier, were to be found amongst their living antiquaries. The son of Signor Solomon Ghormezano, French Consul at the Dardanelles, was employed for two months, in the year 1787, in opening the barrow, and worked at it alone, and by night, saying that he was looking for a spring of water, "so necessary to the inhabitants of Giaur-Keui." At length he discovered the place where the relics were deposited. He immediately collected the whole, and communicated his success to his employer, filling a large chest with what he had found. This consisted of pieces of burned bones, pieces of a large broken metal vase, with a small ornament round the rim; some charcoal; a piece of calcined mortar of triangularly shaped metal; pieces of fine pottery, well painted with wreaths of

* It is well known in the learned world, that Fourmont returning from Greece, asserted that he had got an ancient copy of the laws of Solon, and had found amongst the ruins of Amyclæ, written monuments of higher antiquity than any before discovered. Of these he published specimens in the year 1740. The originals have never been shown; and our learned countryman who followed him, learnt that the Abbé had employed many persons in the Peloponesus, not in finding inscriptions, but in destroying those before discovered, to prevent the detection of his frauds. See Mr. R. P. Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, p. 112.

flowers, some bits of large vases; small cups, some of them entire; a fragment of brass a foot and a half long, and in circumference as big as a quart bottle, weighing seven or eight pounds, which "was at first called the hilt of a sword, but afterwards by Mr. Le Choiseul declared to be the statue of a man, with a lion under each foot!!! And lastly, a small transparent piece of tube, a foot long and two inches in diameter, ornamented with chased or embossed branches, in good preservation.

"At the foundation of the barrow was a large slab, extending, as he supposed, over the whole surface, as, wherever he dug, he still found it: in the middle was a hole, twelve feet square, around which was raised a wall three feet high, which was the sepulchre containing the relics; on the outside of this stone was strewed a quantity of lime, and of charcoal, supposed to be the ashes of the funeral pile."

Now this is extracted from the account of the person who opened the barrow*; but Mr. Le Chevalier says, "towards the centre of the monument, two large stones were found leaning at an angle, the one against the other, and forming a sort of tent, under which was presently discovered a small statue of Minerva, seated in a chariot with four horses, and an urn of metal, filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones. This urn, which is now in the possession of the Comte de Choiseul, is encircled in sculpture with a vine-branch, from which are suspended branches of grapes, done with exquisite art†."

Let me request attention to these two statements. The first

* See Constantinople Ancient and Modern, pp. 351, 352.

† Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 149.

is the least singular, and comes in the least questionable shape. Yet why should Signor Ghormezano work by night, when he had deceived the people, by telling them he was looking for a spring of water? The conducting of his operations in such a manner could only have made the Turks suspicious; and how could he be two months discovering the relics, when he confesses that the foundation, that is, the surface of the barrow on a level with the ground, was covered with a slab, which he found wherever he dug, and that in the middle of it was the sepulchre? One would think he might have come to this by digging straight downwards at once. The slab may very likely have been found. A similar artificial floor has been discovered in excavating the English barrows; and the cist, or stone coffin, has always been seen upon or in this floor. The other articles are also such as have been met with in our tumuli, and although the preservation of the metal after so many centuries is extraordinary, it is not impossible; the whole interior relics being, as it were, hermetically sealed by many strata of light dry earth, pressed down by an intermixture of large loose stones. The pottery might have been also found; for every traveller must have seen proofs of the durability and high state of preservation of the terra cotta specimens found in the ancient tombs of Greece. Mr. De Choiseul's *man with two lions* requires no comment. Finally, we have only the word of the Jew for the whole story; if, however, his account is true, the wonders of Mr. Le Chevalier must be fictions. The Minerva has, indeed, been modelled by Mr. Fauvel of Athens, and other specimens have been handed about, which have an appearance of extreme antiquity, but may have been found elsewhere, or have been manufactured at Paris. Both of the details can-

not be correct; either the Jew is not to be believed, or Mr. Le Chevalier must have ventured at an imposture; for it is impossible to suppose, that the fragments found by Ghormezano could have been metamorphosed by the heated imagination even of the most zealous antiquary, into the Minerva and sepulchral urn of Mr. De Choiseul. It is now almost impracticable to collect any information on the subject at the spot; for the same secresy is observed respecting the discovery at this time as at the period of the transaction.

Supposing this tumulus to be the tomb alluded to by Strabo, Achilléum, the town, must have been on the spot, or close to it. Dr. Chandler says, he was eight minutes walking to it from Giaur-Keui, and that the town Sigéum was on the slope leading to it. To this slope, in fact, the barrow is attached. But the Mitylenæans of Achilléum, and the Athenians of Sigéum, carried on a long war with each other from these respective places*; and allowing the first to be only a fortress (oppidum), the two rival armies must have always lived within nearly a stone's-throw of each other. Beshik-Tepe, or either of the other tumuli before noticed, is three times as large, and incomparably more conspicuous from every point of view than this barrow; a circumstance which struck me so forcibly, that I could not forbear, when on the spot, from suggesting to myself, that the site of the Achilléan tomb must have been on the summit of the peaked hill on which Giaur-Keui stands; and that the town Sigéum was nearer Koum-Kale, on the slope of the hill. Herodotus calls it "Sigéum

* Ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληΐτεω πόλεος ὁρμεόμενοι καὶ Σιγείου.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

on the Scamander*." Perhaps it may be thought some slight confirmation of this opinion to observe, that when, in two places, Strabo proceeding southwards, that is, towards Lectum, names Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles, and puts Sigéum before the tomb†, he may mean to identify the relative situations of the two spots; but, at any rate, the region opposite Tenedos does not come immediately after the site of the present tomb; it is at least six miles lower down.

The supposed tomb is not on a promontory, where Homer placed that of Achilles; but under and on the side of a hill; and if it has been always so attached to that hill as it is at present, Alexander would never have been said to run round it. It may be added, that there was evidently some structure upon the ancient tomb; Strabo mentions a temple. That which was anointed and crowned by Alexander, could not be a barrow only‡: Plutarch§ calls it a pillar. How has it happened, that no vestiges of any building, or ancient stone-work of any kind, have been discovered near or on this barrow? The sepulchre was existing

* Μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σιγεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ.—Lib. v. cap. 64, edit. Edinb. p. 190.

† "After the Sigean promontory and the Achilléum, is the region opposite Tenedos," (lib. xiii. p. 604). "From Rhœtéum to Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles," (ibid. p. 595).

‡ Nam Achillem cujus origine gloriabatur, imprimis mirari solitus, etiam circum cippum ejus cum amicis nudus decucurrit, unctoque coronam imposuit. —Suppl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 99, edit. Lug. Bat.

§ Τὴν Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων συναδραμὼν γυμνὸς, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν, ἐστεφάνωσεν.—Plut. in vit. Alexand. p. 672, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

in the time of Caracalla; for, according to Herodian *, he adorned it with crowns and flowers previously to the funeral of his Patroclus, the freedman Festus; and it is told, that the Emperor Julian long afterwards passed by the sepulchres of Achilles and Ajax, on his way to Dardanus and Abydus †. Now there are remains in the barrow In-Tepe Gheulu, which have been pronounced to be par's of the Æantéum, and whoever thinks he has discovered the tomb of Achilles, might expect to find remnants of a similar structure—a small shrine, partly inclosed in the hillock.

As to the other two barrows on the path towards Koum-Kale, it is possible Strabo may allude to them, when he talks of the tombs of Antilochus and Patroclus. Notwithstanding Homer precisely said, *that one urn contained the mixed ashes of Achilles and Patroclus, and also, but apart, the ashes of Antilochus, and that the sons of the Greeks raised for them a tomb;* so that there was only one barrow to cover the remains of the three heroes; yet the Greeks showed Alexander the tomb of Patroclus, and it was crowned by his friend Hephæstion ‡. The tomb of

* Ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πολεως λείψανα, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνοις τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Αχιλλέα ἐμιμεῖτο.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14.

† Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 8; Const. Anc. Mod. 345.

‡ Οἶδε ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστέφανωσεν, Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστέφανωσε.—Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. 12, p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714.

Αλέξανδρος τὸν Αχιλλέως τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ Ἡφαιστιων τὸν τῷ Πατρόκλε. —Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 7. p. 561, edit. Lederlin, 1713.

Odyss. Ω. v. 74, et seq.

Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν . . . . . .

Antilochus is not mentioned by any author except Strabo; yet it is likely that all the tumuli on the plain were known under some heroic title; and, in truth, Diodorus hints as much, by telling us, that Alexander performed ceremonies at the tombs of Achilles, Ajax, and *the other heroes* *.

It would be superfluous to comment at any length upon that arbitrary adoption of names for these barrows, in which late travellers have so wantonly indulged. It has, I trust, been seen, that the authority which enables us to fix the Achilléum on either of them, is but very doubtful; and that there is no ground whatever for giving the preference to one rather than to the other of the mounts. Nothing can explain why Mr. Le Chevalier should call the Tepe next, on the south side, to Giaur-Keui, the tomb of Antilochus, and at the same time suppose another, not

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If we suppose, according to the hypothesis of Mr. R. P. Knight, contained in his unpublished treatise, "Carmina Homerica, &c." that the Odyssey is the production of an age subsequent to that of the Iliad, or following the opinion of the grammarians Aristophanes and Aristarchus, conclude the Homeric Odyssey at the two hundred and ninety-sixth verse of the twenty-third book, the authority of these lines is still preferable to that of any following author; and that αὐτοῖσι was not thought to mean Patroclus and Antilochus by the latter Greeks, we may safely assert; for they showed a tomb of each of them. It may be deduced also, from the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 249, that Achilles and Patroclus were buried under the same barrow, for Achilles desires the Greeks to refrain from raising a large tomb over his friend, since they might afterwards make it broad and lofty when he himself should die.

* Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τάφους τῶν ἡρώων Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναγίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐνδοξίαν ἥκουσιν ἐτίμησιν.—Lib. xvii. cap. i. p. 570, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ceteris etiam heroibus quorum iis in terris osenduntur sepulchra parentavit."—Freinsh. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. Suppl. edit. qu. sup.

one-third as large, to be that of the great Achilles himself. There was, indeed, something like an authority for his presumption, arising out of a curious mistake of his own. The native Greeks call the neighbouring barrows under Giaur-Keui Δυο Τεπε, pronounced Dthio Tepe—*The two Tombs.* This the traveller metamorphosed at once into Dios-Tepe, and to show that a remnant of ancient superstition was still attached to the once hallowed spot, rendered it "*The Divine Tomb.*" This is sufficiently strange, but no less singular is it, that the intelligent author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern, who detected this mistake, should have quoted Strabo, as fixing the tomb of Antilochus on Beshik-Tepe, and have found the ashes of Peneleus the Bœotian, in the small barrow next to the supposed Achillean sepulchre*.

There are some circumstances which show the coincidence of In-Tepe Gheulu with the reputed tomb of Ajax. This monument was, as Pliny relates, on the other horn of the Greek naval station opposite to Sigæum †. That author has been accused of putting it on the Sigean promontory, owing, I presume, to a mistake in the punctuation of the text ‡. But he, with every

* "Advancing some furlongs over the promontory, we saw the barrow (Beshik-Tepe) called the tomb of Antilochus by Strabo."—Const. Ancient and Modern, p. 350. In the map, however, accompanying the work, Antilochus is again removed to the barrow next to Cape Janissary.

† Fuit et Æantion a Rhodiis conditum in altero cornu, Ajace ibi sepulto xxx. stad. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso in statione classis suæ.—Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

‡ By Vossius—The words "in Sigæo," which belong to the former sentence, are usually put with the passage above quoted; so that the text runs thus: "In Sigæo fuit et Æantion:" an evident error. I find that Mr. Bayle, article

other writer, proves that this famous tomb, where so many miracles were wrought, and of which so many curious tales are related*, was on the Rhœtean promontory. It was also so close to the shore, that the sea broke a passage into the sepulchre†.

In-Tepe is on a headland, which forms the eastern boundary of the bay or marsh Karanlik-Liman, and which appears like a promontory to those who are sailing up the Dardanelles, but not to those coming down the straits. Its exact distance from Cape Janissary, was found by Mr. Le Chevalier to be three thousand fathoms; a measurement very nearly coinciding with the thirty stadia (three R. miles and three quarters) assigned by Pliny to the interval between the two promontories. The tumulus is less conical than those before mentioned, and is of the form called the Bell Barrow, although not so regularly shaped. It is conspicuous from the strait, but is not on high ground, nor of a size to be compared with that of Beshik and Udjek Tepe. Near its summit are the

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Achilles, note K, censures Solinus, because in his verses, attached to the emblems of Alciatus, he places the tomb of Achilles on the Rhœtean shore—

"Æacidis tumulum Rhœteo in littore cernis:"

but the Rhœtean shore is only a general term, applied not to the station of Ajax only, but to the coast within Sigéum; as that without the promontory is called the Sigean shore. Thus Virgil uses the expression:

"Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem
"Constitui." Æn. lib. vi.

and Pliny also has the words "Rhœtea littora" (lib. v. cap. 30).

* They are collected in Bayle's Dictionary, article Ajax.

† Pausan. lib. i. p. 66; Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

ruins of a stone arch, and the crumbling fragments of some wall-work. The masonry has been judged to be of a "much more modern date than the death of Ajax*;" an opinion in which, without knowing the precise period of that event, we may safely concur. It may, however, be a part of that shrine called the Æantéum, which was despoiled of its statue by Marc Antony, who carried it to Egypt, but which recovered its treasure by the bounty of Augustus Cæsar†. It was under the especial care of the people of Rhœtéum, a town on an eminence above the tomb. The Æantéum rivalled in celebrity the tomb of Achilles, and was perhaps, by the Athenian Greeks, regarded with greater veneration. It was not to be expected that Alexander, who sacrificed to Priam, should neglect the hero who, next to his own great prototype, was the best of the Greeks both in form and stature—

ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε
Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πελείωνα.
ΟΔΥΣΣ. Λ. 468. Ω. 17.

Diodorus, although other writers are silent, mentions the Æantéum amongst those heroic monuments visited by the Macedonian conqueror. The ancient notices of the sepulchre of Achilles, include also that of Ajax; but it has been the fate of In-Tepe to be neglected until very lately, whilst the barrows near Sigéum have for some time attracted the attention of travellers. This may be attributed in some measure to the different accounts in the ancient geographers relative to the site of Rhœtéum, which

* Constantinople Ancient and Modern, p. 338.
† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

Mr. Wood, preferring the measurement of Strabo (sixty stadia) to that of Solinus (forty-five stadia) and of Pliny, has assigned to Cape Berbieri, a point at least eight miles from Cape Janissary. This was certainly a singular notion, for one who believed that the Grecian fleet was actually drawn up on these shores, but, in a matter of this kind, not sufficiently "culpable and unjustifiable*," to call forth such grave censures as those of Mr. Le Chevalier, who has himself fallen into so many inconceivable absurdities.

It seems impossible to touch upon this debated point without committing a mistake; or to correct one error, without being involved in some other misapprehension. Leunclavius, the editor of Xenophon, who had himself sailed through the Dardanelles, fixed Rhœtéum at Pefkia, a place four miles from Cape Janissary, and near In-Tepe, but at the same time placed the Æantéum on the Sigean Promontory, and called Alexandria Troas. Troy†.

Pococke saw some broken pieces of marble about the barrow, and thought Rhœtéum to have been in this quarter, but spoke very indecisively about its identity with the Æantéum‡. The French tourist so often mentioned, expostulated with this

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 100.

† Heic Rhœteum promontorium Troadis, et Sigéum, monumentis Achillis et Ajacis nobile. . . . . Pefkia distat a capo Jenitzari, hoc est, a Sigeo, milliaribus quatuor; unde colligi videtur, Pefkiam esse Rhœteum . . . . . A capo Jenitzari ad Tenedum milliarum sunt xii. a Tenedo ad Trojæ ruinas, milliaria x. note B, to the first book of the Hellenics, p 1062, of Leunclavius's edition of Xenophon. Frankfort, A.D. 1596

‡ "But whether this was the tomb of Ajax, would be difficult to determine." —Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

traveller for his diffidence, but gives him some credit, which his learned editor seems willing to abridge. He had no doubt whatever that In-Tepe was the tumulus of the Æantéum, and accounted for not finding the ashes of the hero, by supposing they had been carried away, together with the statue, into Egypt *. Of all that gentleman's conjectures, perhaps that respecting this barrow is one of the least objectionable; and those who, on visiting the Troad, are determined not to be disappointed of their due share of enthusiasm, should select the summit of In-Tepe, as the spot on which their local emotions may most legitimately be indulged. The sober visitor, without believing in Ajax, may be delighted in thinking he has found the Æantéum; but the man of warmer fancies, as, undisturbed with doubt, he surveys the swift-flowing Hellespont, the station of Agamemnon and his heroes, and the plain impressed with the footsteps of the immortals themselves, will feel a thousand lively sensations, and at every glance of the imposing prospect, experience an increase of his satisfaction and a confirmation of his faith.

* He adds, "by Pompey the Great" Mr. Dalzel, in his note, informs us, that for "Pompey the Great," we should in this passage, and in page 48, read "Marc Antony," as if the other reading had been an error of the press.

LETTER XLI.

The supposed Port of Agamemnon's Fleet—The Naval Station of the Greeks—The Mouth of the Scamander—The Site of Ilium—The Confluence of the Simois and Scamander not precisely known—Streams falling into the Mendere—The Thymbrek—The Water of Callifatli and Atche-Keui, and the Bournabashi Rivulet—Mr. Le Chevalier's Pseudo-Xanthus—The Identity of the Mendere and the Scamander of Strabo—The ancient Confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander—The Thymbrek not corresponding with the former, but answering better to the Simois—Uncertainty respecting that River—Palaio-Callifatli, possibly the Position of Ilium—Site of the Iliéan Village—Not at Hallil-Elly, but perhaps at or near Tchiblak—Remains on a neighbouring Mount—The Calli-Colone of Strabo—The Vale and Brook of Atche-Keui—The latter conjectured to be the River Thymbrius—The Erineus, the Tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia, the Tomb of Ilus not now to be discovered—Udjek-Tepe not the Tomb of Æsyetes, as described by Strabo—Note on the Homeric Thrôsmos—Bournabashi—Tepid Sources of the Bournabashi Rivulet—Errors respecting them—Balli-Dahi—The Pergamus of Mr.

Le Chevalier—Unfounded Conjectures respecting the Tomb of Hector, and the Remains on Balli-Dahi.

ALL ancient accounts agree in placing the mouth of the Scamander, and the port of the Greeks, that is, the supposed station of Agamemnon's fleet, between the Sigean and Rhœtean promontories. The river is described by Strabo and Pliny, as forming near its mouth a marsh, called by the first Stoma-Limne, and by the latter author Palæ-Scamander. Present appearances coincide very exactly with this description; for from the Mendere to In-Tepe, immediately within the sandy projections, there is a line of reedy swamps, to which most probably the Greek geographer alludes, when he says, that the "Simois and Scamander joining in the plain, and carrying down with them much slime, create a new line of coast, and form a blind mouth with salt lakes and marshes*." This accretion of sandy soil, which may have been augmented since the days of Augustus, most probably has worked some change in the appearance of the bay, which was called the Port of the Achæans. It may be collected from several passages of the above author, that next to Sigéum was the mouth of the Scamander†, twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half from Ilium‡; that what was called the Naval Station, that is, where the Grecian fleet was drawn up on land, was near the mouth of the river; and that the port of the Achæans followed, at a dis-

* Συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὅ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμάνδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλὺν, προσχοῦσι τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας καὶ ἕλη ποιοῦσι.—Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Lib. xiii. p. 597.

‡ Ibid. p. 598.

tance of only twelve stadia of flat plain from Ilium By this order, it should seem that the port of the Achæans was not the whole circular bay between the two promontories Rhœtéum and Sigéum, but an interior inlet on the Rhœtean side of the river. Yet Pliny mentions, that the Scamander flowed into the port, and favours the contrary opinion †. It is probable, however, that anciently some recess may have been pointed out, which is now choked up or covered with marshes, at the site of Karanlik-Liman, or the inlet nearer to the mouth of the Mendere ‡. Some alteration may have been effected in the appearance of the coast, even in latter times, although not so much as we might think from looking at the account of Sandys, who says that the mouth of the Simois, meaning, it appears, the Mendere, is nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigéum §; a manifest error, as it was not so when Strabo wrote. In saying the river Simois was nearer Rhœtéum, Sandys followed Strabo; but in asserting that it discharged itself into the Hellespont, nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigeum, he could have consulted neither the authority of Strabo

Lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Dein portus Achæorum in quem influxit Xanthus Simoenti junctus stagnumque prius faciens Palæ-Scamander.—Lib. v. cap. xxx. p. 78, influxit. leg. influit.

‡ An error has prevailed respecting the Port and the Naval Station, which have been considered the same, notwithstanding the express words of Strabo, p. 598. That Λιμὴν and ναύσταθμον are not to be confounded, will be seen very clearly from the following passage of the same author, who, talking of Adramyttium, says it is an Athenian colony, having a port and naval station: ἔχουσα λιμένα καὶ ναύσταθμον.—Lib. xiii. p. 606.

§ "Nearer Sigeum was the station of the Grecian navy; but nearer Rhœtéum, the river Simois (now called Simores) dischargeth itself into the Hellespont."—Relation of a Journey, &c.

nor of his own journal. There may have been some addition of new land since the beginning of the Christian æra; but it is impossible to say how great, for it is allowed, that the torrent of the Straits will prevent any future accretion, and we cannot tell how long the coast may have assumed its present form. The mouth of the Mendere has been shifted more than once in modern maps; but there is every reason to think that it is not far from the ancient outlet, for Herodotus, in the place before quoted, describing the site of Sigéum, says it was above the Scamander. This may assist us in our search after the site of the Ilium of Lysimachus, with the attempted discovery of which, being warned by former examples not to look for the Troy of Homer in explaining the Troad of Strabo, we may rest satisfied and content.

Ilium was twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half, from the mouth of the Scamander, and twelve from the port of the Achæans; consequently, it was on the eastern side of the river, and not on the western, where it is placed by Mr. Le Chevalier; for had it been on the western or Sigean side, it would have been nearer to the mouth of the Scamander than to the port of the Achæans. It was on the slope of a hill, so that there was no free course round it, and its citadel was on a considerable eminence*; and it was between the extremities of these two roots or elbows of Mount Ida, one of which pointed towards Sigéum, and the other in the direction of Rhœtéum. Besides these circumstances, the high

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599. I beg leave to notice a mistake in Mr. Bryant, who, in order to show that a general misconception had prevailed relative to the flight of Hector *round* the walls of Troy, quotes these words from Strabo—οὐδ' ἡ τὲ Εκτορος δὲ περίδρομος ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τὶ ἔυλογον, and translates them thus: "Nor is the flight of Hector attended with the least show of probability." Observat. p. 35.—But the geographer is only arguing against the claims of Ilium Immune; and amongst other reasons why it could not be on

ground on which stood its citadel, stretched like a neck of land, through the plain to the point whence the elbows of Ida branched off, so as to form a Greek Upsilon, or, as may be thought from putting together this description, a figure like our representation of the sign Aries*. Lastly, Ilium was a little above the confluence of the Simois and Scamander. The discovery of this confluence would be of the utmost importance to the enquiry.

Four streams fall into the Mendere in its course below Bournabashi. The Thymbrek mingles with it, or at least with the marshes at its mouth, near the wooden bridge; the water of Callifatli runs into it near the village of that name; the stream from Atche-Keui, a mile and a half below Bournabashi; and the rivulet from Bournabashi, as has been seen, about two miles from its

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the site of Troy, says, "if it were, Hector never could have fled round Troy"—οὐ γὰρ ἔχει περιδρομὸν ἡ νῦν διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ ῥᾶχιν . . . . . ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομὸν—"for there is no course round the present city, on account of the attached root of the hill; *but the old site has such a course.*" It is curious to observe, that in the only instance in which Mr. Bryant acquiesced in the interpretations of Le Chevalier, namely, that Hector did not run, and was not dragged *round* the walls, and that περὶ in this place does not mean *round*, but *at* or *near*, he seems to have fallen into an error; for, not to consult the grammarians, Strabo in the above passage, evidently shows that he thought the περὶ did mean *round about*. Virgil was the first who drew Hector thrice round the walls of Troy; but no less than fourteen authorities mention the circuit, without the number of turns: their names are given in note H to Bayle's "Achilles:" Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, Statius, Dictys, Plato, Cicero, Hyginus, Philostratus, Libanius, Servius, Tzetzes, and Eustathius.

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597. It does seem that this description answers better to the shape of a barb ⋀ than of a Υ. Perhaps Strabo does not speak of the figure formed by the elbows and the neck of land conjointly, but only by the latter, which, as it approached the mountains, branched off on both sides.

mouth. It was at the sight of this last streamlet that Mr. Le Chevalier exclaimed, like La Fontaine's Callirhoe, "Ah! voilà le fleuve Scamandre*!" But the question has been completely decided against this pleasant discovery, and the Mendere restored to the title which it possessed as far back as the time of Xerxes, who found it, as he would at this day, the first river to be met with in the road from Sardis to the Iliéan plain†.

A writer and traveller (Castaldus) is quoted by Mons. Morin, to prove that the Scamander in latter ages was called the Simois; but Ortellius, in his geographical Thesaurus, adduces the same authority, to show its modern name to be Simores‡. The Mendere is so called by Lady M. W. Montague§, and, as it appears, by Sandys‖; but none of the inhabitants of the country at this time, are acquainted with such an appellation. The topographical picture given by the last-named traveller shows two distinct rivers, but both, in this and every other respect, is a fancy piece. The Simois, in Dr. Chandler's map, corresponds with the rivulet of Bournabashi. Pococke¶ mentions Udjek-Tepe as being above the conflux of the rivers, and talks of the Simois as if it were decidedly known, but I have not been able to discover whether or not he alluded to the same stream. The Simois is noted in Homer amongst the rivers running from Ida, and is more than once called the Idæan

* One may apply the beginning of the next line, and of that next but two, to the progress of this disclosure—"On s'etonne . . . . . on en rit." Contes de la Fontaine, Le Fleuve Scamandre.

† Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 42, p. 224, vol. v. edit. Edinb.

‡ Bayle's Dict. article Scamander.

§ Letter XLIV.

‖ Lib. i. p. 21, Relation of a Journey, 1627.

¶ Observations on Asia Minor, p. 107.

Simois by the poetical geographer Dionysius*; it could not, therefore, be the stream which rises under the village of Bournabashi.

The Thymbrek bears so great an affinity to the Thymbrius in name, that little doubt has been entertained of their identity. Hesychius, on what authority I know not, says, that Thymbra, or the river so called, where there is a temple of the Thymbrean Apollo, was ten stadia from the ancient city of Troy†. I confess myself, however, entirely at a loss in reconciling what Strabo says of the Thymbrius with the present state of this stream. It is lost in the marshes near the mouth of the Mendere; for we crossed it near those marshes in our way towards In-Tepe and the Dardanelles. Its actual point of confluence cannot be discerned, or rather, it has none. One thing, however, is quite clear, that the ruins on the side of the hill at Hallil-Elly, four miles above the valley of Thymbrek-Dere, are not, as they are laid down in Kauffer and every other map, those of the Temple of Apollo Thymbrius; for Strabo says precisely, that that temple was near the confluence of the streams‡. The confluence of Thymbrius and Scamander was also fifty stadia from Ilium§, if I understand the

* Ξάνθῳ ἐπ' ἐυρὺ ῥεοντι καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμοέντι. V. 819.
And in another place,
Τούς ποτ' ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο καὶ Ἰδαίης Σιμοέντος. V. 683.

† Θύμβρα τόπος τῆς Ἰλίου, περὶ τὸν Θύμβρον λεγόμενον ποταμὸν, οὕτως ὀνομασθεντα, τῆς ἀρχαίας πολίως ἀπέχοντα σταδίους δέκα, ὅπουγε καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Θυμβραίου.—Hesych. in v. Thymbra, p. 1742, edit. Albert. 1766. Vide Schol. in Homer, Il. κ. line 430.

‡ Κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν—most *audaciously* translated by Le Chevalier as if it were τὸ Θυμβραίης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἔστι κάτα, or rather κάτω.

§ Γῆ δὲ νὺν Ἰλίη, καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει. Lib. xiii. p. 598.

author correctly; of which, although assisted in this translation by Mr. Bryant*, I am by no means sure†. The confluence could not, then, have been between Ilium and the mouth of the Scamander; for the mouth was only twenty stadia from the city, and the confluence was fifty. It must, therefore, have been above Ilium towards the mountains, and not below it towards the shore.

The Thymbrek corresponds rather with the Simois, and Ptolemy seems to put that river near the coast, by placing it, in his notice of Phrygia, between Dardanum and Scamander‡. It is larger than the other streams which fall into the Mendere; and no one accustomed to see the small torrents which acquired notoriety by being attached to the exploits of the Greeks, will be surprised at beholding the diminutiveness of this Simois, if the Thymbrek may be so called. We learn§, that the Simois approached, or had a direction towards, the Rhœtean promontory, before its confluence with the Scamander; and I did certainly find by experience, that this stream, running from the valley of Thymbrek, turns a little to the north towards In-Tepe, before it resumes its western course and is lost in the marsh. When Strabo‖ says, that the Astypaléans inhabiting Rhœtéum built a small town, called in his time Polisma, near the Simois, in a place which was not

* P. 19, Observations.

† Mr. Le Chevalier says in this place—"The opening into the valley of Thymbra is betwixt new and old Troy; and whatever it be that Strabo is pleased to say of it (for it is again difficult to discover his real meaning), it was nearer the former than the latter of those cities."—Descrip. of the Plain of Troy, p. 66.

‡ Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanum, Simoeis, Scamander, Sigeum.—Geog. p. 137. Bryant, p. 31, Observat.

§ Strab. lib. xii., p. 597. ‖ Page 601.

sufficiently firm, the marshes near the Thymbrek seem to be alluded to, rather than any spot farther up the country.

The water of Callifatli, which is less than either the Thymbrek or the Bournabashi rivulet, and might very easily be overlooked, has no direction towards Rhœtéum that I could discover, but falls with a course due west into the Mendere, four miles from the shore, at a distance too considerable to have been the confluence of the two Trojan rivers, which being a little before Ilium, could not have been farther than that city from the port, namely, twelve stadia, one Roman mile and a half.—Whether the Thymbrek or the Callifatli be the Simois, Ilium must have been somewhere between these two brooks; but in the first supposition, the little before (μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν) must mean a little to the north; and in the other case, a little to the west. Some ruins of massive foundation-stones have been dug from an eminence near the termination of a suite of hills, corresponding sufficiently with the description of Strabo, to answer to the neck of land (αὐχὴν) which stretched from Ilium towards the mountains. They are noted in Kauffer's map, as the ruins of the town begun by Constantine; and it is not impossible that the walls and towers erected by command of that Emperor, may have been built near the site, and perhaps from the stones, of Ilium. The spot is called Palaio-Callifatli; and as the walls of Ilium were forty stadia in circumference, that city, if on this hill, was near enough to the confluence either of the Thymbrek or the Callifatli water, to agree with what Strabo mentions respecting the vicinity of the town to the junction of the Simois and Scamander.

In the same line of hilly ground which separates the vale of the Thymbrek from that of the Callifatli water, is the village of

Tchiblak, an hour distant. Supposing Palaio-Callifatli to be Ilium, the view on every side towards the rivers, answers to the description of Strabo's plain of Troy, properly so called *, composed of the Simoisian plain towards the Thymbrek and the Scamandrian towards the Mendere, which was broader than that higher up, and in which the battles of the Iliad were supposed to have been fought. The plain country of the Troad, which I so call, to distinguish it from the "Trojan Plain," reached from the line of shore between Sigéum and Achéum, for many stadia to the east, as far as Mount Ida, bounded to the south by the district of Scepsis, and to the north by the Lycian territory and Zeleia †.

Ilium is the best centre whence the topographer may direct his enquiries on every side; and hence, to strain the words of Pliny a little beyond their meaning, there is an opportunity of illustrating many other celebrated objects—*unde omnis rerum claritas* ‡.—As the progress of Strabo's description seems to proceed from east to west, from the mountains to the plain, we may guess where to look for the Pagus Iliensium, which, although he no where speaks decisively, and expressly asserts that no remains were to be seen, he considered as having much better pretensions to be on the site of Troy than the new city, and does in more than one place distinguish it as the old Iliéan town §. The ruins near Hallil-Elly are very considerable, and from them was taken the inscribed marble recording a Phrontistes of Drusus Cæsar, the son of Germanicus, now in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge ‖. It cannot be supposed that there were any large buildings or temples at this

* Ἰδίως Τρωϊκὸν.—Lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

‡ Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

§ Ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα, p. 598; ἡ παλαιὰ, p. 599, lib. xiii.

‖ P. 43, n. 21, Clarke's Greek Marbles.

village of the Iliéans, sufficient to account for these remains, which may rather be referred to one of the many cities of the Troad which are mentioned by geographers, but not in such an order as to enable us to discover their respective sites. There are a few fragments of carved marble at Thymbrek-Keui and above Tchiblak, besides many remains of pillars on a hill near the latter village: nor are we to be surprised at these vestiges in a country, every region of which was regarded with peculiar sanctity. The Iléan village was but little more than a mile (most probably westward) from the eminence, five stadia in circumference, called Callicolone, "*The Beautiful Hill*," under which flowed the Simois*. Tchiblak might be considered nearly on the site of the village, and the hill where are the ruins thought to be the Callicolone. Hesychius calls it a place remarkable for its sanctity, and the ruins on the mount above Tchiblak may be the remains of its temples†. The distance between Tchiblak and Palaio-Callifatli, will pretty well correspond with the three Roman miles and three quarters which were between Ilium and the village; and the town and the hill are near enough to the Thymbrek or the Callifatli water (whichever of these streams was the Simois) to have been spoken of as being in the Simoisian plain, where the Pagus Ilensium and the Callicolone are placed by the geographer. The hills close behind Tchiblak to the east, may likewise be the commencement of those two elbows of Mount Ida (ἀγκῶνες) so often before mentioned, which were in the vicinity of the village‡.

* Ὑπερ᾽ δὲ τῆς Ιλίων κώμης, δέκα σταδιούς ἐστὶν ἡ Καλὴ Κολώνη, λόφος τὶς, πάρ᾽ ὃν ὁ Σιμόεις ῥει, πεντεστάδιον ἔχων.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Καλλι-Κολώνη——χωρίον ἱεροπρεπές.—P. 125, tom. ii. edit. Albert.

‡ Τουτὸ μὲν δὴ μεταξὺ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν λεχθέντων ἀγκώνων εἶναι, τὰ

The country in the direction immediately eastward above Tchiblak, has many inequalities of surface, and is rough and hilly; but on the sôuth side of the chain of eminences on which it is placed is a fine undulating plain. In this stands Atche-Keui, and from near that village a brook runs into the Mendere, a mile to the north-east of Bournabashi. There is no end of conjecturing on these subjects: but the distance between Palaio-Callifatli and this stream agrees with that between Ilium and the confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander*; and as the valley of Atche-Keui runs up to the spot near which the Pagus Iliensium may be fairly supposed to have been placed, it may be the plain of Thymbra, which was in the vicinity of that village†.

In the wide plain properly called the Trojan, some of those objects were shown which are mentioned in the Iliad: the wild fig-tree, or hill of wild fig-trees; the tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia (or the tomb of Myrinna); and the tomb of Ilus‡. The Erineus was some rugged ground, shaded with fig-trees, under the Ilićan

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δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς.—Lib. xiii. 597. Whether the παλαιὸν κτίσμα here means the village of the Ilićans or the actual Troy, the point is the same, for Strabo thought there was a correspondence in the site of the two.

* Fifty stadia, six R. miles and a quarter.

† Πλησίον γὰρ ἔστι τὸ πεδιόν ἡ Θύμβρα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p 598.

‡ Πλατύτερον γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνυμένους ὁρῶμεν, τὸν Ἐρινεὸν, τὸν τῆ Αἰσυήτε τάφον, τὴν Βατίειαν, τὸ τῆ Ιλε σῆμα. "For here it is more extensive (the plain, πεδίον Τρωϊκὸν), and we see those places pointed out which are recorded by the poet—The Fig-tree Hill, the tomb of Æsyetes, Batieia, and the tomb of Ilus" . . . . . Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

village*. I need not say that I was unable to fix upon the Erineus: it will be as well, indeed, to avow that I made no effort to find either that or the beech-tree mentioned by Achilles, which the geographer informs us was a little below†. The tomb shown for that of Æsyetes was five stadia (something more than half a mile) from Ilium, and not so high as the Acropolis of that city‡. If the meaning of the text in Strabo is at all understood, Udjek-Tepe cannot be the tomb of Æsyetes; for that barrow is at least seven miles in a straight line from the supposed site of Ilium, and in order to get to it, you have to cross two, if not three rivers, the latter part of the way through a morass, and over hilly ground. Besides, Polites, in running to Udjek-Tepe, would be going from, not towards, the Grecian camp, and had, therefore, no cause of fear; he would, indeed, have had a much better view than from the Acropolis (if we have found it) of Ilium; but this is the very advantage which Strabo says he would not have had. There is only one point of resemblance between the barrow and the tomb: Udjek-Tepe is near the road to Alexandria Troas; but, allowing the present path to be in the line of the ancient road, as that road

* Ὁ τε Ερινεὸς τραχύς τίς τόπος, καὶ ἐρινεώδης, τῷ μὲν ἀρχαίῳ κτίσματι ὑποπέπτωκεν.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Καὶ ὁ φηγὸς δὲ μικρὸν κατωτέρω ἔστι τῆ ἐρινεοῦ, ἐφ ᾧ φησιν ὁ Αχιλλεύς. —Ibid.

‡ "And (if Ilium were Troy) Polites also, '*who being a spy from Troy, trusting to his speed, sat on the very summit of the tomb of the ancient Æsyetes*,' he must have been improvident even if he did sit on the very summit; for he might have had a much higher look-out from the citadel, and at much the same distance: nor could he at all want his speed; for that which is now shown for *the tomb of Æsyetes, is* five stadia distant towards the road to Alexandria."—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599.