

ran all across the plain, and probably from Ilium, it is very likely indeed, that there might be another barrow near it. Wherever Ilium was, the tomb of Æsyetes was not more than two miles from the port of the Greeks; probably it was less, but U'djek-Tepe is more than nine from the shore of the strait. This lofty tumulus may be the Homeric tomb of Æsyetes. Of this we can know nothing, but it is not that of Strabo. There are two or three barrows which answer better to that tomb, and especially one between the village of Koum-Keui and Callifatli, noticed in Mr. Gell's map, not as a barrow but as a mount. It is in the plain near the Mendere, and about half a mile from the projecting eminence of Palaio-Callifatli, to the west. Two other barrows have been noticed in this quarter: one is on a plot of rising ground, which projects south-westward from the chain of eminences between Palaio-Callifatli and Tchiblak, but is rather to the south of the first place, and about two miles and a half from the last: the other is at the western extremity of the hills which form the northern boundary of the plain of Atche-Keui, and two miles on the left of the road to that place from the village of Callifatli. Under Atche-Keui, and nearly opposite to Bournabashi, is a low natural hillock, called in Mr. Gell's map Baticia.

As Strabo gives us no assistance whatever in identifying either of these barrows with his tomb of Ilus, or the Baticia, but only mentions those objects as being in the plain of Troy properly so called, and that only in the one passage above quoted, it would be useless for one who is not perfectly persuaded that the scene of the Iliad can be fixed upon with precision, and has been actually discovered, to make any essay towards an arrangement of these ancient monuments on a modern map. As presumptuous might it

be thought to fix upon any hill, or natural eminence, the name of the Homeric *Thrôsmos*, on which the army of the Trojans was stationed, more particularly as we cannot be sure that the *Thrôsmos* was a hill*.

* The grammarians have supposed this word, which, as Mr. Bryant mentions, (*Observations*, p. 10) occurs only three times in Homer and twice in Apollonius Rhodius, to signify a *high place*.

Θρωσμός—ύψηλὸς τόπος Βουνοειδής, ἀφ' οὗ καταβαίνοντα θορεῖν ἐστὶ.
Hesych. in v. p. 1738, Albert. edit. 1766.

Θρομβός—ύψηλὸς τόπος idem quod Θρωσμός.
Is. Vossii, not. in v. *Θρομβοί*, Hesych. p. 1736, ib.

Ἐπὶ Θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο—Ὅδ' πεδίο μὴ ἐπιθρόμῳ.
Ibid. p. 1355.

The Scholiast on Homer, Il. K. ver. 160, and Il. A. ver. 56, Suidas, and the Etymologicon Magnum in voc. *Θρωσμός*, make it to be near the Callicolone—"Erat autem Callicolone locus excelsus in campo Trojano, ab isto non longe remotus qui Homero *Θρωσμός* dicitur," note 1, p. 1707, Hesych. *ibid.* which can not be collected either from Homer or Strabo. The first places the Callicolone near the Simois (*Iliad*, γ. ver. 53), and the latter ten stadia above his site of Troy; but the *Θρωσμός* was near the ships of the Greeks, and separated from them but by a very small interval—

Οὐκ αἰεὶς, ὡς τρώες ἐπὶ Θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο
Εἵεται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χῶρος ἐρύκει.
Il. K. l. 160,

Mr. Le Chevalier, with just as little reason, fancied that, "like Batleia and the tomb of the nimble Myrinna, the *Throsmos* and the tomb of *Ilus* were the same. *Descrip.* p. 112.—The only difference between the two cases is, that Homer says the first was the same, but gives no such hint as to the latter. We may see from the poet, that they were not the same, although perhaps not

We are now arrived at Bournabashi, the Troy of Mr. Le Chevalier. It is a Turkish village, situated on some rising ground, at the head of the great marsh. All travellers have with justice

far from each other; for Hector, and the other chiefs, retired from the camp to the Thrôsmos, to the tomb of Ilus, to hold a council—

Θείου παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου
Νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβου·

Il. K. ver. 415.

Mr. Bryant (Dissert. p. 37) makes Batieia and Callicolone the same, but without giving any reason for such a conjecture. The probable vicinity of the tomb of Ilus to the Thrôsmos, may help to shew us that Homer never meant a hill or mound by the latter word, for he makes Agamemnon pursue the Trojans from the neighbourhood of the ships, to which they had advanced, by the tomb of Ilus, through the middle of the plain,

Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο
Μέσσον καππεδῖον παρ' ἐρινέον ἐσσεύοντο
Ἰεμενοὶ πόλεως.

Il. A. ver. 166.

and not over any hill, which must have been the case if the Thrôsmos had been high ground, as the Trojan station was between the place of action and the city. In the two places of Apollonius, *Θρωσμός* does not seem to mean an eminence. Jason and his companions conceal themselves, and hold a council under cover of the high reeds and shrubs in the bed of a river in Chalcis, and then quit their concealment for a place in the plain above, named Circæum, which the poet calls the Thrôsmos of that plain.

Ἄφαρ δ' ἀνὰ νηὸς ὑπὲρ δόνακας τε καὶ ὕδωρ
Χέρσονδ' ἐξάπβησαν ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο.
Κιρκᾶιον τόδε περικλήσκεται, ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰ
Ἐξείης προμάδαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἐκπεφύασιν.

Argon. lib. iii. ver. 199.

lavished their encomiums on the beauty of its situation, which commands an extensive prospect of the whole plain, both to the

We see that on this Thrōsmos there were willows growing (although some, instead of πρόμαδοι, have read, without assigning any reason, προμάλοι, a sort of wild oak)—trees not so likely to flourish on a hill as on the meadowy banks of rivers. The Scholiast commenting on the passage, calls this Thrōsmos a place overhanging the river—Τῷ υπερκαίμενου τῷ ποταμῷ τόπου, ὅπου ἐστὶ θορεῖν καὶ πηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς, p. 276, edit. Shaw; and the translator has it “in editiorem locum campi.” The Argonauts, when they proceed from this Thrōsmos of Circaëum (ver. 219) are only said to go *from the plain*, ἐκ πεδίου, not from any height.

The other passage in which the disputed word occurs, does not convey the notion of a Thrōsmos being any thing else than a spot with an open space, where there was room to move about. It is not here the Thrōsmos of the plain, but the Thrōsmoi of the river—

Αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἰλυόντες ἀνὰ θρωσμοῖς ποταμοῖο.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 825.

“Per limosi salebras fluvii,” are the words of the translator; and the Scholiast interprets it, ἀντὶ τῷ, κατὰ τὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ ἀναβάσεις, καὶ καθόδους, p. 219, edit. Shaw.—Supposing the word to be derived from θρωσκεῖν, or θορεῖν, to leap, there seems no necessity for having the ἀφ’ οὗ καταβαίνοντα θορεῖν ἐστὶ, the “descending leap” of Hesychius: a level spot is more fit for leaping or exercise than any high ground. When Homer mentions Batieia, on, or at, which the Trojans were drawn out in array, he describes it as a bill, and if the θρωσμος, where the Trojans were also stationed, had been a hill, it is likely he would have likewise described it as such. We may be inclined, then, to submit to Mr. Bryant’s opinion, that the θρωσμοῖς of Homer should be rendered *saltus campestris* and not the mound of the plain. The preposition *up* (ἀνὰ), with which it is connected in the passages above quoted, may perhaps persuade us that a gentle ascent is expressed, unless it only conveys the meaning of our phrase *up the country, up to town*.

shores of the strait and to the open sea, and gives a nearer view to the north of low undulating hills, whose slopes are adorned with frequent villages, and backed with a dark line of forest scenery. To the right, at about half a mile distance, the Menderes flows through a green flat, winding from behind a rocky hill, called Balli-Dahi, or the Honey Mountain, which rises at the back (the south-east) of the eminence of Bournabashi, and is separated from it only by a narrow woody dell.—Immediately below the village is the path which crosses the country from the north to the south towards Alexandria Troas, and on the other side of this path is a slope of hard rugged ground, covered with Turkish tombstones, chiefly granite, and having the appearance of being taken from some ancient structure. Below this to the south, less than a quarter of a mile from the houses, is one of those beautiful springs from which the village takes its name of the Fountain-Head. The principal basin is ornamented by a rectangular margin of white marble slabs and the fragments of two granite pilasters; and the water gushing copiously from below, slides over the smooth brink, and moistens a flat plot of green sward, which is shaded by a line of weeping willows rising from a shrubbery of evergreens.

The temperature of this spring has been found to be sixty-four of Farenheit's scale, and we learnt that in the winter a steam arises from it, which altogether conceals the source and the surrounding grove. It felt tepid in April, but was not so warm as to be unpleasant to the taste. The head of the marsh, obscured by tall reeds, commences a little to the west of the fountain. Walking for three minutes to the south, and keeping by the side of some pools of water, interspersed with brushwood, you come to a

strong spring, bubbling up from beneath a rocky hillock, and flowing off, dispersed in several pebbly channels, into the marsh and through a line of gardens belonging to the Turks of Bournabashi. The Aga, a considerable person in this part of the country, has a kiosk in one of them between the two springs, which is surrounded by an orangery, and sheltered by a grove of ashes and poplars and other tall trees. On one of my visits to the spot, our party, who had been on a shooting excursion in the marshes, and were somewhat fatigued after a hot walk of five hours, took some refreshment under a spreading walnut-tree, on the brink of a rivulet running round the Aga's garden, which supplied us with water-cresses.

As we were rising to depart, a tall fair complexioned Turk, half wrapped in a tattered garment, having every mark of extreme poverty, but with an easy graceful mien, walked over the little plank laid across the brook from the garden, and accosted me first in Italian, and afterwards, seeing my surprise at hearing any thing but Turkish from a Turk, in Latin, enquiring if I understood that language—" *Domine scis linguam Latinam?*" He added a few sentences, in a manner which shewed he had once been accustomed to converse. He was asked where he had learnt his Latin. He said at home. Had he ever received any public instruction? "*Vidi etiam academiam sed non frequentavi,*" was his reply. He had seen the English at Alexandria. When questioned as to the place of his birth, and his country, he answered, "*Sum civis mundi*"—"I am a citizen of the world;" and smiling, put an end to our interrogatories, by asking me if I wished to see the garden belonging to his master: "*Visne videre hunc hortum, mei magistri est.*" At this instant a Turk richly dressed came up, and

accosting him with great kindness and familiarity by the name of Selim, they both walked away to the village.

The singularity of meeting a Turk talking Latin in a solitary garden in the Troad, although not so agreeable an adventure as that which befell the friend of *Æschines*, and (as Mr. Le Chevalier thought) on this very spot*, engaged our thoughts for some time, and we could only conclude him to be one of the many prisoners or deserters from the French Egyptian army who embraced Islamism, some, as it was reported in France at the time, from inclination, others to save their lives.

The springs and the pool of water unite their streams, which are partly lost in the marsh, and partly flow into the channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, and the whole fountain is called *Saranda Ochia*—the Forty Eyes. The last mentioned source is thought by the people of the place to be cold, but is in fact of the same temperature as the tepid fountain, although, as it does not rise and settle in a basin, but flows off into the pools, its warmth is not so easily perceived as that of the other springs. To the taste they appeared to me exactly the same, and only not chill; a fact, which, considering the number of warm sources in this part of the country, it would not be worth while to mention, if Mr. Le Cheva-

* Mr. Le Chevalier commenting seriously on the accident of *Callisthoe*, calls it “a circumstance ever to be regretted, as it prevented *Æschines* from entering into a minute examination of the plain of Troy, and from giving the result of his enquiries to the world.” La Fontaine thought otherwise, and made somewhat better use of *Cimon*’s adventure than Mr. Le C., who really believed that *Æschines* came to Trous to write such a piece of topography as his own. One circumstance has as usual escaped or been unnoticed by him, although his editor has been more explicit: the letters of *Æschines* are thought to be spurious.

lier and his disciples had not positively pronounced them to be the two fountains of the Scamander, the *Δοιαί πηγαί* of Homer, one of which was enveloped in smoke, as of a burning fire, whilst the other in the summer rushed forth cold as the hail, the chill snow, and the ice†.

My last visit was paid to these springs on the last day of April, which was more sultry than an English midsummer, and might therefore have shown the freezing faculty of the cold spring to advantage. I repeat, however, that no difference was perceptible between the temperature of the fountains. Yet Mr. Le Chevalier, comparing it with the other, says it is "always cold*;" when, however, he could see the broad, the angry Scamander in a rivulet, in spite of all ancient authority, whether of poetry or prose, it is not surprising that he should reject the evidence of his senses, and find the warm and freezing sources of that river in the tepid fountains of Bournabashi. Demetrius of Scepsis confessed that the Scamander rose in the hill Cotylus from one source; and Strabo endeavoured to explain away the difficulty, by suggesting that the hot spring may have failed, or that the two sources may have been those of some tributary stream, which might therefore be fairly called springs of the Scamander. This must be allowed, and was so by Mr. Bryant, to be a very reasonable account; and those believers in the *Iliad* who can reconcile one hot and one icy fountain with many tepid springs, may be willing to adopt the latter suggestion, and suppose the sources at Bournabashi to be those to which Hector was pursued by Achilles. It must, however, be observed, that the explanation

* *Iliad*, X. v. 147.

† 127 Descript. Plain of Troy.

can hardly be applied to springs supplying a rivulet which does not fall into the main river till within a mile and a half of its mouth; and, moreover, that if Demetrius or Strabo had thought these Bournabashi fountains to have been the *Δοιαὶ πηγαί*, or if they had been commonly so called and noticed amongst the other Homeric objects, it is next to an impossibility, that after having made the remark and particularly discussed the difficulty, the author should not have mentioned their existence in the Trojan plain. Let me add, that those who believe in the fountains, may as well believe Bournabashi to be Troy; for if Achilles and Hector fought on this spot, the great difficulty of the distance of the city from the sea is removed; indeed they are almost bound to believe it, since the Scamandrian springs were in sight of, and not far from, the city.

There are at Bournabashi several traces of some ancient town having stood in the vicinity, and the situation of the village is such, as I have observed the Greeks generally choose for their cities; blocks of carved marble and granite, one or two containing inscriptions which throw no light on the subject, are to be found in the houses, and particularly in the Aga's court-yard: vestiges of a paved way are also discernible. But it is on the hill Balli-Dahi, a quarter of a mile to the south-south-east, that the citadel of Priam and the tombs of his sons have been at last discovered. Above the first rugged flat there is a second eminence, the highest summit of the hill; on this are three barrows, not so large as those on the shore of the strait, but similar to them in every respect, except that one, like the cairns of Scotland, is chiefly composed of stones thrown loosely together. It is possible that the covering of turf may have been worn away by expo-

sure to the wind and rain. Mr. Le Chevalier chose to call it the tomb of Hector, and found a wonderful similarity between its position and that of the imitative sepulchre which Andromache raised to the memory of her hero on the shores of Epirus*. The cenotaph however was before the city, in a grove, on the banks of the feigned Simois.

“ Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam.”

Æn. iii. v. 300.

This barrow is in Mr. Le Chevalier's city, and no more on the banks of the Simois, than Blaize Castle near Bristol is on the banks of the Avon. It stands near the brink of a steep precipice, very high above the Mendere. If Virgil had any particular spot in view, we may find something full as likely to have been the prototype of his description, for we see in Strabo†, that at a place called Ophrynium, they showed the *grove of Hector*; but this was on the banks of the strait, twenty-five miles at the least from Bournabashi. We do not know, in fact, that the sepulchre was in that grove, or on any other spot; for an oracle preserved amongst the Thebans, related that the ashes of Hector had been conveyed from Troy to their city, and his tomb was shown at the fountain of Œdipus‡. If any inference is to be drawn from the lines in the Pharsalia, in which the Phrygian tells Cæsar not to tread on the ashes of Hector, it is, that no such barrow as is

* “ Virgil takes a very ingenious method of pointing out the true situation of Hector's tomb.”—Descript. of Plain of Troy, p. 123.

† Lib. xiii. p. 595.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορος Θηβαίαις τάφος τῇ Πριάμῃ πρὸς Ὀιδιποδία καλεμένη κρήνῃ.—Paus. lib. ix. 569, edit. Hanov.

now seen on Balli-Dahi, was ever called the tomb of that warrior *

Another of the tumuli is the tomb of Paris, but which of them has not been as yet determined: Strabo, however, relates that his monument was at Cebrene-†. On the surface of the summit of Balli-Dahi are some flat stones regularly disposed, the vestiges of two pits or cisterns, and near the edge of the precipice above the river where it is four hundred feet high, the foundation stones of massive uncemented walls.

A most correct view of these relics is given in the thirty-seventh plate of the *Topography of Troy*, the author of which, has never called his pencil to the aid of his pen; but with a candour and ingenuity very rarely to be met with in a theorist, has, in the fidelity of his representations, furnished us with competent means of disproving his system. Those who look at the vestiges on Balli-Dahi in his plate, may be assured that such are the actual appearances on that hill; but enough may have been already said

* “ —————Securus in alto

Gramine ponebat gressus, Phryx incola manes

Hectorcos calcare vetat.”

Pharsal. ix. v. 975.

Thus rendered by Mr. Le C. “Cæsar, in traversing the plain of Troy, was walking inadvertently *over a heap of stones and of turf*, which no longer retained the shape of a tomb:” “Stop, Cæsar,” cried his guide, “you are treading upon the ashes of Hector,” p. 122. Let me ask whether the original, or even this strange translation, gives a picture of any one climbing on a rugged precipice, amongst ruins, and over the summits of actual tombs? For either Mr. Le C. must believe that Lucan really alludes to the barrow on Balli-Dahi, or the reference is altogether inapplicable and futile; but the poet could never have said that there were no ruins on this hill.

† Lib. xiii. p. 596.

to convince them, that some scope has been given to the imagination, in calling two or three lines of single flat stones the ruins of the *palace of Priam, the palace of Hector, the palace of Alexander, the temple of Apollo, the temple of Minerva, and the temple of Jupiter.*

The same author of course is not deterred by the ancient authorities who mention that no vestige was left of Troy, but quotes Babylon as an instance, that ruins long thought to have perished may be at last discovered. He might have added Baalbek, the finding of whose remains by Mr. Wood was ridiculed as a chimerical invention; but was Babylon at any time sought after as was Troy? were its ruins in the midst of the most polite and learned people in the world, who for a succession of ages desired and tried in vain to discover its site? I see no parity whatever in the two cases, and I must add, that it is not to be credited that Demetrius of Scepsis, and other enquirers living on the spot, would overlook any part of the Trojan plain on the banks of the Scamander containing the ruins of palaces and temples, which must necessarily have been twenty times more considerable in those days than they are at present.

The real Trojan palaces, if they ever existed, must have been erected in the very infancy of architecture, and what excellence could have been attained in this art, when letters had not been invented, when commerce was a change of commodities, arithmetical counting on the fingers, and when carpenters built ships with a brazen hatchet*? The greater part of the houses of the royal

* Wood's Essay on Homer, 1 p. 268, 274. That such must have been the state of society when even Homer wrote, may be deduced from his poems. Mr. W. observes, that the poet does not talk of sculpture with admiration.

city of Sardis, when it was destroyed by the Ionians, were either of reeds, or brick thatched with reeds, and of this material we may suppose the temple of Cybele to have been made, which was burnt with the other buildings*. The walls of the citadel were of course more durably constructed, but the interior buildings could hardly have answered to any thing like our notion of a palace, nor can we think that the Pergamus of Priam was composed of edifices so constructed as to leave remains discernible after a period of three thousand years.

The oldest statues of the gods were blocks of wood scarcely cut; the temples, the *κλυτὰ δώματα* of those ages may, however mean and simple, have been decent enough for such divinities. The poet, when describing the celestial habitations, says nothing of their size or construction, but confines himself to the costliness of their materials. Agamemnon's palace, or the treasury of Atreus, lately discovered at Mycenæ, is, it is true, a durable fabric, as also is the treasury of Myneus at Orchomeno; but we cannot be sure that those buildings did exist in the times alledged; we can only know that they were very ancient, and had those particular denominations amongst the Greeks of after ages.

* "Ἔσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδεσι οἰκίαι, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες, καλάμιναι. Ὅσαι δὲ αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἔσαν, καλάμοδ' εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 101, p. 242, edit. Edinb. 1806.

LETTER XLII.

The District of the Troad—Ene—Eski-Scupthu—Bairam-itché—Kas-daghy, the Cotylus of Ida—Argument against the identity of that Summit with the Homeric Gargarus—and against that of Rhatéum and Sigéum with the Promontories bounding the Grecian Camp, mentioned in the Iliad—The Authority of Virgil quoted—The Homeric Troy in front of Tenedos—The Geographical Plain of Troy probably not that of the Iliad—The Homeric Landmarks invented by the Greeks after the Age of the Poet—No inference to be drawn from casual Resemblances between the Descriptions of them, and the actual Landscape near the Banks of the Mendere—The endeavours of Writers to adjust the Poetical to the present Positions entirely unsuccessful—Mr. Pope's Map, and the unaccountable Remarks upon it by Mr. Le Chevalier—Conclusion of Observations on the Troad, with an Enquiry into the limits of the ancient Hellespont.

THE remains on Balli-Dahi have been referred to a very late period, but when we know that the Troad was full of towns, of which Strabo enumerates twenty, we shall not be at

a loss to account for antiquities, either on this spot, or in any other portion of the same region. At Erkissi-Keui and Bos-Keui, villages on the ridge stretching south-westward from Bournabashi, on which stands Udjek-Tepe, there are also many fragments of marble and granite ruins: part of these were thought by Dr. Pococke to belong to Ilium.

The expectation that the frigate would sail immediately up the straits, prevented us from proceeding above Bournabashi along the banks of the Mendere, to the summit of the highest hill of the Idæan chain, Kas-daghy. But as no one ever thought of searching for Troy above the point to which we confined our researches, we were the less anxious to prosecute our journey in that quarter. Travelling in the Troad is at present not only safe, but perfectly agreeable, for Englishmen especially, owing to the good disposition of the governors of the district. The whole Idæan territory, nearly that of the lesser Phrygia, is under the power of Hadoum Oglou, or Hadgi Osman Bey; but the more immediate jurisdiction of the Troad is in the hands of his son, Hadoum Zade, or Hadji Achmet Bey. The latter of these resides at Ene, a town on the banks of a rivulet which falls into the Mendere about twelve miles above Bournabashi, and which is named in the maps the Andrius, a river flowing from the country called anciently Carasena.

It has been thought probable, that Ene may be on the site of the town *Ænéa*, which the ancient inhabitants alledged was the royal seat of *Æneas*. The account of the tradition is from Strabo, but he says nothing of a large barrow which there is near the modern town called Sovran-Tepe—the *Sovereign's Tomb*, or Ene-Tepe—the *Tomb of Ene*, and which, if it stood in ancient times, was perhaps, as were many other similar monuments in diffe-

rent parts of the world, shown as the tomb of Æneas. Whatever weight is derived from the similarity of the ancient and modern names will be lessened by observing that there is another Ene on the shore of the Adramyttian gulf above Bairam, the ancient Assos. A village to the south is called Eski-Scupthu, which, as it corresponds in its site, and partly in its name, with Palæ-Scepsis, fifty stadia from Ænéa, may be on the position of that ancient town. It would be hopeless to enquire, by what good fortune Ænéa, and Palæ-Scepsis, which was a decayed place in Strabo's time, should alone (if we except the doubtful Thymbrek), of all the spots in the Troad, have preserved nearly their ancient names. The case of the last may be thought more remarkable, when the latter city of Scepsis, sixty stadia below the old site, has been entirely lost*.

* Eski in Turkish is equivalent to the *παλαι* in Greek.—Palæ-Scepsis was fifty stadia from Ænéa. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 603. It was near the highest part of Ida, *κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἰδῆς*, Strab. *ibid.* p. 607. It will be as well to look at Kauffer's map, and see how the site of Eski-Scupthu will answer to this description: if Eski-Scupthu is Palæ-Scepsis, Strabo could not say it was near Cotylus, where the Scamander rises, or in other words, his *Ida Proper* could not be Cotylus. Again, Palæ-Scepsis was above Cebrene, *ἐπάνω Κεβρήνης*, and sixty stadia above New Scepsis—*ὑστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκηψίν μετωκίσθησαν*—but the Scamander flowed between the territory of Scepsis and Cebrene—*τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκηψίας*. "*Ὅριον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα*, *ibid.* p. 597. According to this account, Scepsis should be on the north bank of the Scamander; yet how will this answer with what Strabo says in another place, that the plain country of the Troad, in the narrow part towards the mountains, stretched as far to the south as the neighbourhood of Scepsis, *ibid.* p. 506. The confusion of confusions is seen in Mr. Barbiè du Boccage's map of Troas, attached to Anacharsis, and may convince any one of the extreme difficulty of restoring the ancient geography of this celebrated region.

Hadoum Oglou lives at the large town of Bairam-itché, which gives its name to a long plain, extending on the banks of the Menderé, between twelve and thirteen miles towards the roots of Kasdaghy : it is nine or ten from Ene. From the neighbourhood of Bairam-itché, were brought two of the marbles in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge*. The whole district of Ida was held in much veneration, and it is probable that an inquisitive traveller would find remnants of the ancient superstition which sanctified this poetic region, in the most remote solitudes, in the deep recesses of the forests and the summits of the highest hills.

The source of the Menderé, a cataract, commonly called the falls of Megara, is at the foot of Kasdaghy, about six hours above Bairam-itché, and not only the written narrations of travellers, but the account of a friend who visited the spot whilst we were in Turkey, make me lament that any incident should have occurred to prevent our enjoying a spectacle more magnificent, as I understand, than the brightest conception can anticipate. The ascent to the top of Kasdaghy is an object which I must also regret that we omitted to accomplish. If however we had gained the eminence, it would not have been, on my part, with the persuasion that we were scaling the terrestrial heaven of the Idæan Jove.

There appears to me no way of getting over Mr. Bryant's arguments in favour of Troy, as described by the poet, being under the most southern parts of Ida, and near those mountains of Troas, called Lectum and Gargarus†; and I shall observe, that what

* No. XVI. No. XXVI. Clarke's Greek Marbles.

† See Dissertation, p. 134, and p. 136, to the end.

Mr. Wood calls the machinery *, and may be denominated the celestial topography of Homer, can be adduced as a proof of this supposition.

That which the ancient geographers called Ida, is a chain of hills extending north-north-east from Baba, or Lectum, and divided into several ridges, two summits of which (exactly given in the fifteenth plate of the Topography of Troy) overlook the whole sloping country towards Tenedos. The highest point of these ranges, once called Cotylus, now Kas-daghy, will be seen by looking at Kauffer's map, to be at a vast distance, both from Lectum and Sigéum, and to be near the sea on no side, except that of the Adramyttian gulf, where the Grecian fleet could not have been stationed, or it would not have been visible from the top of Samothrace, as in the thirteenth book of the Iliad it is said to have been. The plain of the Mendere towards Cape Janissary, is distant from Mount Cotylus, or Kas-daghy, thirty-five miles at the least, and separated from it by a ridge of low brown hills, and a large tract of plain country. But Gargarus and Lectum were immediately above the scene of action in the Iliad, not figuratively, but actually. The king of gods and men might have remained in the Thessalian Olympus† to have seen the ships of the Greeks,

* Essay on Homer, p. 133.

† This mountain Mr. Bryant calls the heavenly Olympus, and does not imagine it to be a hill upon earth (Dissertation, &c. p. 143). His chief reason is adduced from the circumstance, that Jupiter, in going thence from Ida, is said to fly "*between the earth and the starry sky*" (Il. ☉. ver. 46); but it appears that Juno is standing on this same Olympus in the fourteenth book, and in that place it is evidently the Thessalian Olympus, for her route is traced from the mountain over Æmathea, or the plain of Thessaly, thence over the hills of Thrace to Athos, Lemnos, and Lectum (Il. ☿. ver. 225 to 285). This seat of the gods,

and the city of Troy, unless he had wished to be near the plain; nor would he have poured a cloud round his horses and chariot, to render them invisible*, if the combatants, and the whole scene of action, had been thirty miles distant from his station. When the gods held a council to favour the Trojans, it was on a mount in the plain; and when Jupiter quitted the heavens to watch over their interests, the summits whence he launched his lightnings against the Greeks were not, it is probable, divided from Troy by intervening hills and plains. In the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*, it is said, that from the position of Neptune on the woody Samothrace, *the whole of Ida appeared, and the city of Priam, and the ships of the Greeks*; and the vicinity of the objects may perhaps be collected by their being mentioned together †.

although described by the poet as in the heavens, at an immeasurable height above the rest of the earth, was still on the actual summit of the many-headed Olympus—

Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδείρδος Ὀλύμπιο—

in order to scale which, the giants heaped Ossa on Pelion, two mountains also in Thessaly. Even the celestial properties of Olympus were those of a mountain, not of any region in the sky detached from the earth. “It was never shaken by the wind, nor hidden by the tempest, nor approached by the snow, but was in a cloudless atmosphere, encircled with a pure splendour.” I find the variety in the Homeric descriptions of Olympus, noticed by Mr. R. P. Knight in his *Carmina Homérica*, p. 26, not after Mr. Bryant’s manner, but as a proof that in the inventive parts of poetry congruity is not to be expected.

* Κατὰ δ’ ἤερα πολὺν ἔχευεν—Il. Θ. l. 46, 52.

† I see that in the Observations on Mr. Le Chevalier’s Treatise (p. 22), this passage is adduced in proof of the same point. The sentence does not, how-

The part of *Ida* called *Lectum*, stretched down to the sea, for there *Juno* and *Somnus*, on their passage from *Leninos*, first left the waves.

Ἰδὴν δ' ἐκέσθην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν
Λεκτόν· Ὅθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλα.

II. E. 283.

But not only the promontory, but part of the hill towards the summits of the mountain was so called; since *the woods of Lectum trembled under the feet of the deities as they ascended*; and these woods were not far beneath *Gargarus*, for in them *Somnus* concealed himself on a pine-tree, to assist the machinations of the goddess, who advanced swiftly to the seat of *Jupiter*.

Ἥρῃ δὲ κραιωνῶς προσεβήσατο Γάργαρον ἄκρον
Ἰδῆς ὑψηλῆς.

II. E. 292.

Somnus may be supposed to have been at hand, and not far from the top of *Ida*.

Now would *Juno* have gone from *Imbros* to *Lectum*, in order to arrive at the seat of *Jupiter*, who was looking down upon the plain of *Troy*, if that plain had been near *Sigéum*, which is almost as far from the promontory *Lectum*, as it is from the mountain which is the summit of the *Idæan* range? *Strabo* indeed calls *Gargarus* the top of *Ida**, notwithstanding he gives the name of *Cotylus* to the hill where the *Scamander*, together with the *Granicus* and *Æse-*

ever, admit solely of such an interpretation: it may imply, that the god could see the whole range of *Ida*, and could see also the city of *Priam* and the ships of the *Greeks*.

* Lib. xiii. p. 583.

pus*, has its source, which is found by actual observation to be the highest point of the whole Idæan chain, and about seven hundred and seventy-five toises above the level of the sea. The town Gargara was on a high promontory, twenty-seven Roman miles from Lectum, and at the mouth of the Adramyttian gulf, properly so called. The summit Gargarus may have been above it, on the ridges either to the north-north-east in the direction of Cotylus, or to the north-west towards Lectum. Antandros, the town, was not far from Gargara, for it was only thirty-five Roman miles from Alexandria Troas; but a mountain called Cilleum was between the height Gargarus and Antandros†; so that Cilleum most probably may have been the ridge in the northern direction from Gargara, and Gargarus the north-western summits.

On the whole, there seems no positive authority for supposing Cotylus and Gargarus to be the same mountain‡, notwithstanding the decisions of Hesychius, Vibius Sequester, and Macrobius, and the dreams of the grammarians, who, to strengthen their hypothesis, had recourse to the last resource of criticism, an absurd etymological conjecture §.

Lib. xiii. p. 602.

Lib. xiii. p. 612.

† Pococke says, that "Gargarum was another summit of Mount Ida, probably more to the south than Cotylus."—*Observations in Asia Minor*, p. 107.

§ Vid. not. Phil. Jac. Mausacci. in *Plutarchi Fluv.* p. 76, vol. ii. *Plut. Op. Om.* edit. Paris, 1624. "Γαργαρον, ita dictum quasi Καρχαρον caput capitis ut somniant grammatici."

Another passage of the same annotator, quotes Vibius Sequester, the author of the *Treatise de Montibus*, mentioned above, as saying that the Xanthus or Scamander flows into the Propontis (Xanthus Troas, Illo proximus. ex Ida

Again—Jupiter seated on Ida, turns his eyes from the scene of action towards the land of the Thracians and Mysians. By which, as Strabo in his seventh book observes*, Homer must be understood to mean the *Thracians separated from the Troad by the Hellespont, and the European Mysians.*

'Αυτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινὰ
 Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθοράμενος ἄϊαν
 Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων Il. N. ver. 3.

Under correction from better judgments, I venture, however, to hint, that when the geographer explained πάλιν, *back*, by ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Τρώων) *behind*, or *at the back of the Trojans*, it was in conformity with his notion of the site of Troy, but that the more apparent interpretation of the passage is, that Jupiter looked *back, behind him*, or at least in a direction entirely different from that of his usual object. The expression τρέπεν ὅσσε, “*he turned his eyes*,” the word πάλιν, “*back*,” and νόσφιν, in the Latin version *scorsum*†, and in our translation “*apart*,” will be hardly thought to signify that he “*lifted his eyes and looked over and beyond the Trojan plain* ;” which must have been the case if the scene of action was on the shore of the straits. But

monte defluens Simoenti junctus in Propontidem funditur—not: ad Scamandrum, *ibid.*); by which a judgment may be formed of the reliance to be placed on his decisions in any topographical nicety. He may possibly mean what is called the Propontic Hellespont, above Abydus, but is wrong even in that case.

* Page 295.

† “*Se versum.*”—See Dr. Clarke’s note to verse 349, Il. A.

supposing the god to be looking towards Lectum, he must then have turned his eyes *back*, and *apart* from Troy, in order to take a view of Thrace and Mysia. This consideration, if it had been suggested by any better authority than my own, I should regard as decisive of the conclusion that Homer's plain of Troy cannot have been farther north than the country near Alexandria Troas, and that it lay a little to the south of west from Cotylus, beneath Gargarus, a height of Ida, the roots of which formed the promontory Lectum.

Let me add that, whatever was commonly thought respecting the pretensions of the Rhætean shores, we find a trace of the main Grecian army having been near Lectum; for an altar to the twelve gods, raised by Agamemnon, was shown on that promontory*; and as the king of kings remained stationary before Troy, and did not undertake any expeditions against the tributary cities†, it is not likely that his altar should be at Lectum if his troops were at Sigéum. It may be asked, if the Scamander of Strabo is not the Scamander of Homer, why should his Lectum be the promontory of that name in the Iliad? I do not see how this question is to be answered; but the conclusion cannot establish any thing in favour of the river, although it may destroy the pretensions of the mountain. The arrangements of the Hæliadian Greeks, in fixing the scenes of the Homeric poems, were extremely fanciful: for example, Æge, where was the palace of

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 605.

† "For the chief expeditions made to other places were under Achilles, which are mentioned Iliad, I. 326, Odys. T. 105; and at these times we are told in express terms, that Agamemnon, and consequently the main army, remained before Troy."—Bryant, Observations, p. 6.

Neptune, and from which some thought the Ægean took its name, according to them was in Eubœa, at the place afterwards called Carystus*; so that the god of the sea, when he took four strides from Samothrace to Æge†, went fifty leagues out of his way to mount his chariot, since he might have reached the deep cave between Imbros and Tenedos, where he left his horses, in one-fourth of that distance, and by going in a direct line from his station on the mountain towards Troy.

Notwithstanding the objections which have been made to the citation of Virgil by Mr. Bryant‡, as an evidence in this inves-

* Strab. lib. viii. p. 386.

† Iliad, N. ver. 15—35.

‡ It does not seem a necessary consequence, as that learned person thought, that Virgil's city was immediately under Antandros, because Æneas built his ships in that situation—

sub ipsa

Antandro et Phrygiæ . . . montibus Idæ.

If it had been any where in the district of Antandros (for I do not find there was, as Mr. Bryant asserts, a mountain of that name*), it would have been to the south-east of Læctum; nor could it be in face of Tenedos, nor burnish the Sigæan straits with its flames. Virgil expressly informs us, that at the destruction of the city the Trojans were dispersed; and that a number of fugitives collected under Anchises, who, when the fleet was ready, set sail at the beginning of summer. That Æneas and his Trojans did not depart from Troy, but from a post which they occupied on one of the summits of Ida, is part of the story which Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought most probable, and which the ancient writer Hellanicus followed in his history of the Trojans†; and there is no incongruity in supposing that, flying from the burning city, he went towards a region in a different quarter from that which was the station of the Grecian fleet

* See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 606.

† Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 40.

tigation, from the supposition that he was never on the spot, I cannot but consider the authority of the Latin poet as deriving the more weight from the very circumstance, on account of which it has been so much disregarded. Had he ever visited the shores of the Hellespont, it is probable that he would have followed the commonly-received opinion of the Greeks of Phrygia, and that, besides Sigéum and Rhætéum, he would have introduced their positions and notorious objects. As it is, we must conclude that he supposed himself following his great prototype, in placing his Troy and Trojan plain opposite to Tenedos; and we may fairly think it of some importance to be supported by so great a name, in preferring the country about Alexandria Troas to that near Ilium, for the site of the Homeric city and the scene of the war.

and army, and embarked at some distance from Troy. In the interpretation of the words of Æneas, "I leave the port and the fields where Troy stood"—

Portusque relinquo
Et campos ubi Troja fuit;

we may reduce them to the language of prose, and understand the hero simply to say, "I set sail, and quit my country." There is by no means any necessity for connecting the "port" with "the fields where Troy stood." How Æneas came to raise a large tomb for Deiphobus on the Rhætæan shore, unless that shore was near his Troy, is indeed a question not easily to be answered; nor can it be very well accounted for, why the spot chosen for this monument was the very station of the Greeks, who might be supposed to interrupt the pious labours of the hero. According, however, to the compact between the Greeks and the Trojans under Æneas, the conquerors were to facilitate the evacuation of the country by the latter*, and might not have forbidden the funeral rites: or Virgil may have used the epithet Rhætæan, to signify the shores of the Trojan plain.

* Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 39.

A very general persuasion in favour of this position obtained amongst the learned of modern times. Casaubon, in his commentary on Strabo, evidently shows that he thought the shores of the identical Trojan plain to be the land on the continent nearest to Tenedos; for he remarks, that Strabo gives a shorter distance between the main land and the island than Pliny, which, as the latter is talking of Sigéum, is perfectly reconcileable with fact, and would not have been noticed by any one who did not conceive Sigéum in front of Tenedos*. Indeed, the Sigean shore, although not Sigéum, is said by Pliny to be opposite to Tenedos†; and the spot occupied afterwards by Alexandria Troas was named, so we learn from Strabo, Sigia‡. A town, or district, between the Sigean and the Alexandrian territory, and in face of Tenedos, was called Achæum§; and Dr. Pococke conceived the port of the Greeks to be in that quarter: Mr. Bryant does indeed affirm, that it was so denominated from being the supposed station of the Grecian ships, and the place of the encampment, quoting Strabo as his authority||. Here, however, it does not appear that he is held out by the geographer; at least I have not been able to fix upon any thing in the three places where it is mentioned in his thirteenth book, conveying such a meaning. Strabo does seem to make it the boundary of the plain country of the Troad to the

* 'Ου πλείους τῶν τετταράκοντα σταδίων διέχουσα τῆς ἡπέιρου. Plinius ait abesse Tenedum a Sigæo XII. M et D pass: quæ stadia sunt aliquanto plura." —P. 226, Comment. et Castig.

† "Adversa Sigæo littori adjacet Tenedus."—Lib. v. cap. 30.

‡ Σιγία.—Lib. xiii. 604.

§ Αχαιοον.—Sic leg. Casaub. Com. et Castig. in lib. xiii. pp. 596, 604.

|| Observations on a Treatise, p. 24.

south* ; but having placed the port of the Greeks before the Sigeon promontory, expressly puts Achæum after that headland†.

It has been shown, I believe, that the ancient topographers looked for the scene of the Iliad on the shores of the straits; and that the present face of the country corresponds sufficiently with their accounts, to enable us not only to understand, but to form a judgment on the accuracy of, their conclusions respecting the city of Priam and the plain of Troy. Whether the fable of the poet was founded on fact, or was altogether fiction (a point which it has been my wish entirely to leave out of this enquiry), I see no necessity for allowing, with Mr. Blackwell‡, that Homer, although he may have been acquainted with Phrygia, had a personal knowledge of the precise site of his war, or had fixed upon any distinct spot for the scene of his action. It is true, indeed, that an inimitable air of truth is to be found in his description; that he is simple, distinct, and every where consistent with himself; but this is a portion of his art, this is the characteristic of his genius: it is an excellence less likely perhaps to be found in a painter of real scenery, than in one who trusts altogether to his invention and is not encumbered with an adjustment of actual localities; and the poet is equally minute, particular, and, it may be almost said, credible in his detail, when he conducts his delighted guests into the coral caves of the ocean, or the silver palaces of Olympus. It is hardly necessary to add, that he cannot be affected by any of the difficulties attendant upon the examination of the question, and that there is no confusion in the

* Lib. xiii. p. 516.

† Ibid. pp. 603, 604.

‡ An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Sect. xii. p. 267.

descriptions of the *Iliad*, except when they are compared with the topography of the Troad.

This confusion began to arise the moment a question was instituted on the actual identity of the plain before Ilium with the plain of Troy. The first enquirers were the first to start objections. The conjectures of all were combated, and if Demetrius of Scepsis attacked the claims of Ilium, doubtless some critic of that town showed those of his Village of the Iliæans to be equally unfounded.

The author of the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, talking of Demetrius's commentary, says, "there he ascertained the real places of Homer's descriptions, and pointed out the scenes of the remarkable actions. He showed where the Greeks had drawn up their ships; where Achilles encamped with his Myrmidons; where Hector drew up the Trojans; and from what country came the auxiliaries*." It is astonishing with what boldness these things are said, and with what facility they are admitted. If any judgment is to be formed of Demetrius's whole work from the allusions to, and extracts from, it in Strabo, he destroyed rather than established the received opinions on this subject, and as for the particular points above mentioned, excepting the last, we have no hint that he touched upon them at all, but may rather conclude that he did not, since they are not noticed by the geographer as being topics of controversy. The last seems to have been the sole object of his thirty books, although it is here put at the end of, and as a secondary adjunct to, the other parts of the detail.

Those who have seen the plains near Cape Janissary, or even have looked at the map of the country, may, with Homer before them be able to find objections to the supposed site of the war which have escaped Mr. Bryant and other enquirers, but they may perhaps be inclined to think, that if the Greeks of Phrygia were wrong in their conjectures, no such discovery will be ever made of the true positions as shall be allowed on all hands to be unobjectionable. The present plain of the Mendere towards Cape Janissary, is certainly the plain of Troy of those Greeks; but the only resemblance which a three weeks residence on the spot, with the poet in my hand, enabled me to find out between that plain and Homer's scene, was that which in the eyes of Fluellen, made the native country of Alexander so like the birth-place of Henry the Fifth—"There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth.*." Yet the river, whose doubtful fountain makes us hesitate before we follow its course, after appearing to guide us in its progress, runs us into a labyrinth just as we come to the end of the clue: for the same description of its mouth which shows that the Mendere is the Scamander of Strabo, convinces us that the Scamander of Strabo was not the Xanthus of Homer, or that the Rhœtean promontory was not the station of Ajax†. But notwithstanding this insuperable discrepancy, the Greeks, as we have seen, pointed out not only the port of Agamemnon's army, but their naval station and the place

* Henry V. act iv. scene vii.

† "Homer intimates very clearly and repeatedly, that it (the river) was to the left, and served as a barrier to the north." "Whoever, therefore, places Achilles upon the Scamander, and Ajax and his troops at a distance from it, is greatly mistaken."—Bryant's Dissertation, pp. 148, 149, 150.

of their encampment*; the last of which at least was a landmark that one might have thought would have disappeared, when the seven rivers overwhelmed the Grecian intrenchment. These objects were created by the same enthusiasm which believed that the *beech-tree* near the tomb of Ilus was still to be seen more than a thousand years after the Trojan war; and there is no reason why we should join with the Phrygian Greeks in their belief in the one instance rather than in the other. Throughout the whole of this region, there was not, as Lucan tells us, a rock without a name.

. Nullum est sine nomine Saxum. Pharsal. Lib. ix.

Whatever could bear the least resemblance to any object of the Homeric landscape, became at once a distinguished feature in the future delineations of the Troad; and thus there was given a locality to all the transactions of that grand event, in the establishment of which the Greeks of every succeeding age were so much interested, that almost the last of their countrymen, when recording the real victories of Salamis and Plataea, still persevered in calling it the most glorious and the greatest deed of Greece—*κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔργον*†. These resemblances might be found in almost any part of the Hellespontine Phrygia, and no conclusion can be drawn from any such accidental coincidences.

When Mr. Horace Walpole had finished the story of his famous romance, he looked into the map of the kingdom of Na-

* Ἐπὶ καὶ τὸ ναῖσαθρον, καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν, καὶ τὸ Ἀχαιῶν στρατόπεδον. Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Plutarch. See *Censura*, &c. Observations on the Author, prefixed to *Dictys Cretensis de Bello Trojano*.

ples for a well-sounding name, whence it should take its title, and fixed upon Otranto. Some time after the appearance of the book, a lady who had travelled in Italy, sent him a picture of the castle at Otranto, in which there were two small windows one over the other and looking into the country that suited exactly to the small chambers from one of which his heroine Matilda heard the young peasant singing beneath her. Now Mr. Walpole had not been aware that there was any castle at Otranto*.

A little ingenuity and a good deal of enthusiasm would find the wished-for objects in any spot where there was a wide plain, extending to the shore backed by high mountains, and watered by two streams. In the present case, points of resemblance are triumphantly noticed and insisted upon, whilst irreconcilable diversities are easily explained away, and referred to the change caused by the revolution of ages. The modern supporters of the hypothesis make the sea feel their power, and roll obedient rivers through new channels, with greater facility than Cyrus or the soldiers of Alaric. Mr. Wood finding none of the scenes of the *Iliad* below Bournabashi, adds nearly twelve miles of solid land to Phrygia†; and a late author marks out the bed in which the Menderes once flowed, being pushed by the rivulet of Bournabashi towards the Rhoetean promontory, and not as it now does, and did in Strabo's time, near the Sigeon side of the plain‡.

Not less liberty has been taken with the human frame than

* Lord Orford's Works, Miscellaneous Letters, No. 15, to Lady Craven vol. v. p. 665.

† Great part of the plain below Bournabashi must have been created since Homer's time.—Description of the Troad, p. 340.

‡ Topography of Troy, pp. 42, 43.

with the land and sea; and the modern topographers appear to feel the same as the artist Bouchardon, who told Count Caylus, that after reading Homer men seemed to him to be fifteen feet high, and all nature enlarged*. Lycophron confined the stature of the hero of the Iliad to nine cubits, and in Quintus Calaber†, Achilles was the only giant of the Greeks; yet not only this warrior, but the whole of the army have, like the spectre which appeared to Apollonius‡, grown upon the moderns, and become capable of fighting over a distance of at least forty miles in a day: an astonishing faculty in our eyes—*οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσὶν ἐπιχθόνιοι*—but only in proportion with the other physical powers of those who could make their exhortations heard distinctly one mile off, and could distinguish a man's voice at three §.

* Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, et de l'Odyssée d'Homer, p. 227. Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. i. sect. vi. p. 365.

† *Ὅσις ὑπερφιάλος Τιτυὸς πίσειν*.—Lib. iii. ver. 391.

‡ Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius (lib. iv. cap. 5) relates, that the spectre of Achilles appeared to that sophist, and was at first five, but grew to twelve cubits high.—See Bayle, article Achilles, note N.

§ These difficulties were first started by Mr. Bryant, and have been since unrelentingly followed up by the author of an essay in the Edinburgh Review, No. xii. July 1803, p. 237, Vol. 6. In the day on which Patroclus was killed, the Greeks passed four times over the space between Troy and their camp.—(Observat. on a Treatise, pp. 2, 3, 4.) Mr. Le Chevalier's Bournabashi or Troy, is at least twelve miles from his naval station,—multiply that distance by four, and we have forty-eight miles—deduct the eight, “not to overrate the distance, and the Greek and Trojan armies fought over a space of forty miles in one day.” Now it is not saying too much to aver, that no whole army of one hundred thousand men ever actually fought over half of that distance in a day; and it is needless to add another word against the pretensions

It has been remarked as a singular fact, that the map which Mr. Pope composed, merely from the perusal of the Iliad, is no

of Bournabashi.—Pausanias indeed relates (lib. i. p. 66), that when the sea broke into the tomb of Ajax, the knee-pan of that hero was found to be as big as a quoit or discus, yet these Greeks were nothing to those with whom Nestor fought. Every thing has been undergoing a continued degeneracy since the creation, and well did Gil Blas' master, Don Pacheco, observe—*Les pêches du tems d'Adam devoient être d'une grosseur merveilleuse*. Attempts have been made to render the account of Agamemnon's voice being heard from the centre to the two extremities of the camp, and of Achilles distinguishing Hector's voice at his station of Ajax (Il. \odot . v. 222, and Il. v. 127), somewhat probable by contracting the breadth of the supposed place of encampment; but wherever the ships of Ulysses were, we are told that the reputed station of Ajax was at Rhœtœum (stad. xxx. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso in statione classis suæ, Plin. cap. xxx. l. 5), and that of Achilles at Sigæum (*ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo*, Plin. *ibid.*) and no contraction of the Port of the Greeks will affect the distance between the stations of the two heroes on the promontories, which, it is allowed, have not altered their positions since Pliny wrote. If any accretion of soil has been caused by the river, the distance from the middle of the bay to the two extremities was, as the essay in the above-mentioned Review observes (p. 264), of course greater formerly than now; and the power of Agamemnon's voice more extraordinary than even present appearances would suggest. After every possible shuffling of the positions, the Scamander will flow into the port of the Greeks, making first a marsh (*Dein Portus Achivorum, in quem influat Xanthus Simoenti junctus Stagnum prius faciens*, Plin. *ibid.*) between the two promontories, and consequently through some part of the station of the Greek army, which can never be reconciled with any thing said by Homer of that river. It is with no less dismay than astonishment, that I find in the *Carmina Homerica* (p. 52) a direct eulogy of Le Chevalier, Morritt, and Gell, somewhat at the expence of the ancient geographers, and to the utter discomfiture of those "*hawkers of trifles*" (*ugarum venditoribus*) Bryant and Richardson. For noticing this opinion of Mr. R. P. Knight's, I should perhaps be coupled with "*the fairest of critics*," did I not hint

bad representation of the plain of the Mendere. It would be singular if it was a fact, but it is not. The author of the Topography of Troy* says he has not "*erred much*" in placing his Callicolone near Tchiblak; but Mr. Pope's map has no modern names; and if he did not make any considerable mistake, why do we find the Callicolone of Mr. Gell at Atche-Keui, four miles from Tchiblak by his own map? The fact is, that Mr. Pope's picture (for it is not a map) bears not the least resemblance to the spot in question. Mr. Wood thought the change of position between Sigéum and Rhétéum, must have been caused by the inversion of the engraver's plate; but there is no necessity for adopting such a notion. Our great poet was not sensible of the difficulty or objection, which, as there was a consistency of error in his plan, was of so little importance, that he explained his own descriptions to the perfect satisfaction of himself, and also of his readers until the discovery made by Mr. Wood.

This is a sufficient proof, in my mind, of the facility with which these plausible arrangements may be made, and is an argument against the ready adoption of any theories applied to the spot in question, however ingenious, and at first sight satisfactory. If Mr. Pope's chart answers to the descriptive part of the Iliad, without having the least likeness to the Trojan plain of Strabo and the moderns, the consequent inference must be more fa-

at the same time, that were my conclusions drawn solely from an investigation of the subject in a library, and not from an actual survey of the disputed country, I should not of course presume to set them in contrast with the decision of that distinguished critic.

* P. 55.

vourable to the ingenuity of our poet than to the conjectures of the topographers. The praise and the blame bestowed upon him by Mr. Le Chevalier, who has devoted a chapter to the examination of his map, are equally futile and unfounded. He censures him for not having given a good representation of the plain of the Mendere, when Mr. Pope had only endeavoured to follow Homer. He praises him, by saying "his notion is perfectly right respecting the situation of the Grecian camp between the two promontories, the confluence of the two rivers at no great distance from the ships, the general shape of the plain; the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander, the distance of the city from the sea, and the two sources of the Scamander in the neighbourhood of the city*."

Now it is really laughable to observe, that in the map the camp is not between the two promontories; that there is in the actual plain no confluence of two such rivers as are traced by Mr. Pope; that the general shape of the plain is nothing like that in the plate; that in making the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander he was entirely wrong; that as to the distance of the city from the sea, the translator's plan gives no scale, but represents it not far from the shore; and Mr. Le Chevalier could know as little about its actual site as Mr. Pope; and lastly, that the poet, as well as the traveller, having, if the plain of the Mendere is the plain of Troy, mistaken the comparative length of the Simois and Scamander, was consequently quite erroneous in his delineation of the sources of the latter river.

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 170.

It may fairly move our spleen to behold the author of the English Iliad, the model of severe taste and just criticism, enlisted by a French enthusiast, to fight under the banners of ignorance and presumption.

Lady M. W. Montague declared, that, viewing from Sigéunt the celebrated plains and rivers, she admired “the exact geography of Homer, whom she had in her hand;” she found “almost every epithet he gives to a mountain, or a plain, still just for it* ;” and “passed several hours in as agreeable cogitations as ever Don Quixote had on Mount Montesinos.” We may by this passage form an estimate of this pleasing writer’s actual knowledge of Homer, and appreciate the real value of her testimony in favour of these famous plains. Had, however, every subsequent traveller contented himself with such cogitations, and launched into these elegant and indefinite encomiums on the poet, without endeavouring by researches and surveys, to illustrate, and, if I may use the expression, authenticate the Iliad, the doubts of the learned had never been awakened; Bryant had never written.

Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres.

Having ventured upon debateable ground, I beg leave to conclude these remarks by touching upon a question so much connected with the subject in hand, that a satisfactory decision of it would be of the utmost importance, in arranging a chart of the ancient Troad. Much of the whole question relative to Homer’s Hellespont, (which has been as grievous and bitter a river to the topographers, as it was to Xerxes—*δολερὸς καὶ ἀλγυρὸς*

ποταμὸς) must be necessarily affected by, and indeed depend upon, the spot which we may suppose he chose for his plain of Troy. If the stations of Ajax and Achilles were intended by him to be on the promontories afterwards called Rhœtéum and Sigéum, the "broad," the "boundless," the "rushing" Hellespont, was the embouchure of the straits of the Dardanelles, and the view of the expanse of waters from the station of Achilles, might justify all the above epithets. However we may attempt to dispose of the word ΠΛΑΤΥΣ, "broad," which has been considered the great difficulty, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΝ, "boundless," will still remain, and it is worth while to observe, that Virgil saw no reason for altering the common signification of the first word, which he appears to have translated when he calls the very sea in question the "*broad Sigean straits*"—

. Sigea igni freta lata relucet. Æn. lib. ii.

Mr. Bryant asserts, that "in none of the instances (quoted by him) in which the word Hellespont is used in Homer, did the poet allude to the canal of Abydus*." Perhaps he did not allude to the strait between Abydus and Sestos; but when, in a passage not referred to by that author†, he calls "*the rushing Hellespont the boundary of the Thracians whom Acamas and Peirōs led to Troy*," the canal does seem to be referred to; for that is the only portion of the sea which, with a reference to Asia, can

* Dissertation, p. 134.

† Ἀυτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀχάμας καὶ Πείρωσ ἦρωσ
Ὅσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἔεργει.

Il. B. ver. 845.

be properly said to *confine* Thrace; and in this sense it is understood by Strabo, in his seventh book*, who uses the very epithet so much canvassed, in the following sentence: "*The Mysians (the Asiatic)—being in the quarter of the Troad—and separated from Thrace by the "broad" Hellespont†.*" This seems to show that the canal of Abydus was the Hellespont, and that it was thought worthy of the appellation given to it by the poet, but it does not fix the termination of that canal, or sea, at Sigéum. It does appear that in latter times, the strait beginning from Sestos and Abydus, and extending towards the Propontis as far as Callipolis on one hand, and Lampsacus on the other, was called the Hellespont, and in this sense it is always taken by Pliny‡.

According to this arrangement, the Ægean sea would come up as high as Abydus. Herodotus gives a length of four hundred stadia to the Hellespont, and appears to allude to the canal only§; but although in one place he talks of that one of Xerxes' bridges *which was towards the Ægean*||, yet he does not say that the strait did not reach below Abydus; nor do I find that Thucydides un-

* Page 295.

† Μυσῶν . . . ὁμόρων τῇ Τρωάδι . . . διεργομένων ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης πλατῆι Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

‡ Primas angustias Hellespontum vocant. Hac Xerxes Persarum rex, constrato in navibus ponte, duxit exercitum.—Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 58. E' Hellespontum, septem ut diximus stadiis Europam ab Asia dividens, quatuor illic inter se contrarias urbes habet. In Europá Callipolim et Seston, in Asia Lampsacum et Abydon.—Lib. iv. cap. 11, p. 55; see also lib. vi. cap. 32; p. 80.

§ Lib. iv. cap. 85; lib. vii. cap. 35, 36.

|| Κατὰ δὲ τῇν πρὸς τὸ Ἀιγαῖον.—Hist. lib. vii. cap. 55.

derstood that city to be at the mouth of the Ægean, and consequently the south-western boundary of the strait*.

From several places in the first book of Xenophon's Hellenics, and particularly in the opening of it, the mouth of the Hellespont seems to have been at least as low down as Rhortéum†: for after Dorieus had entered the Hellespont, the battle between him and the Athenian Triremes was fought in sight of Mindarus, who was at Ilium.

The naval actions mentioned in this book, which took place after the twenty-first year of the Peloponesian war, are generally allowed to have been fought in the Hellespont; and in one of them, when Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus beat Mindarus, the Athenian fleet manœuvred along the shore from Eleus to Sestos, and the Lacedemonian from Sigæum to Abydus.

A later author, Diodorus Siculus, although he calls the strait where the armies of Xerxes and Alexander crossed, the Hellespont †,

* Ἀβυδὸς ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.—Thucyd. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 62, p. 94, vol. v. Bipont. edit.

Σηστὸν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τῇ παντὸς Ἑλλησπόντου.—Ibid. p. 95.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι.—Lib. i. cap. 89, p. 124, vol. i.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (taking Sestos) ἀπεπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου.—Lib. i. cap. 9, p. 16, vol. i.

† Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. i. p. 428, et seq. edit. Leunclav.

‡ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον διεβίβασε τὴν δύναμιν.—Lib. xvii. cap. i. p. 570.

Χέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐζεύχθαι and just afterwards, ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος.—Lib. ii. p. 243.

does not determine any thing as to the length or boundaries of the canal. Arrian's Hellespont was near Arisbe*.

The authorities here quoted do perhaps appear to confine the extremity of the Hellespont to the Sigean canal; but a good deal may be said to show, that it was the part of the *Ægean* sea which washed the shores of Phrygia Minor, beginning from Abydus and ending at Lectum. We cannot suppose with Mr. Wood, that Homer thought the Hellespont to be actually a river, any more than Xerxes who called it so.

In the account of *Æneas*, copied from Hellanicus, a very ancient historian, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus†, that hero is said to sail from the Trojan shores *over the Hellespont* to the peninsula of Pallene in Thrace. In after times he would have been said to sail over the *Ægean* sea, or the gulf Melas. Some of the Mysians were called Hellespontine‡. Mysia was not near the canal of Abydus, but to the south-east of the Troad; so that when any of its people were called Hellespontine, it was, probably, because they lived towards the shore of that sea afterwards named the *Ægean*. The passage quoted below from Pliny, may have been the reason why Macrobius, in a sentence given by Mr. Bryant§, calls Mysia a province of the Hellespont. “Gargara sunt in Mysia, quæ est Hellespontii Provincia||.”

Let us appeal to Strabo. I am surprised to find Mr. Bryan-

* 'Εξ 'Ιλίου δὲ εἰς Ἀρίσβην ἦκεν, ἥ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβιβηκῦν τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐστρατοπεδεύκει.—Lib. i. cap. 12, p. 27.

† Lib. i. cap. 39.

‡ “In Mysia Abretini et Hellespontii appellati.”—Plin. lib. v. cap. 78.

§ Dissert. p. 134.

|| L. v. c. xx. p. 362.

allowing, that this geographer favoured the opinion of the Hellespont being the canal from Abydus to Lampsacus*; for it will appear by the following passages that he, on the contrary, makes Abydus the boundary towards the Propontis, and not towards the Ægean. “*It lies (Abydus) on the mouth of the Propontis and the Hellespont†.*”

“*It is that part of the coast of the Propontis from the straits of Abydus to the Æsepus‡.*”

“*In this quarter (the Thracian Chersonese) is the strait of seven stadia at Sestos and Abydus, through which the Ægean and the Hellespont empty themselves to the north into another sea called the Propontis§.*”

It will be seen also from these passages, that the Hellespont is not solely the Abydean strait, but that it is a sea which has one of its outlets through that strait. This notion is further supported by the following places in the same author. Talking of an opinion of Strato, the geographer says that naturalist thought that the Fœnix had burst its way through an isthmus to Byzantium ||, “*and had thence fallen into the Propontis and*

* Dissert. p. 133.

† Ἐπικείται δὲ τῷ στόματι τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.—Lib. xiii. p. 594.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη (subaud. παραλία) μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀβυδὸν στενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄϊσηπον.—Lib. xiii. p. 583. See also lib. xiii. pp. 581, 584, where the same coast is decisively called the coast of the Propontis.

§ Κατὰ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπτασάδιον τὸ κατὰ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν, δι’ ἃ τὸ Ἀἰγαῖον καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς ἄρκτον εἰς ἄλλα πέρατος, ὃ καλεῖται Προποντίδα.—Lib. ii. p. 124.

|| Ἔτι ἐκπεσεῖν τὰ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον.—Lib. i p. 49.

Hellespont." If the Hellespont had been the strait or canal, it would probably have been said, "into the Propontis, and *through*, or *by* the Hellespont into the Ægean." In his second book, p. 124, enumerating the seas, he has these words: "*The next is the Ægean, with the gulf Melas and the Hellespont*.*" By a passage in page 92 of the same book we learn, that the gulf Melas was that northern end of the sea loosely called the Ægean, included by a line drawn from the Sunian promontory to Cape Mastusia, the point of the Thracian Chersonese, which did not consequently take in any of the sea that washed the shores of Phrygia Minor. The division of the sea Melas from the sea Hellespont, may be collected also from the excerpts of the seventh book: "*The Thracian Chersonese makes (or is bounded by) three seas, the Propontis to the north-east, the Hellespont to the east, and the gulf Melas to the south-west†.*" Now that the canal of Abydus is not here alluded to, will be seen by looking at the map, for that canal is in the same line with the Propontis, and would not therefore be put in a different quarter of the compass. We may add also, that the Hellespont of Strabo was the western limit, or, as has been said above, the sea that washed the shores of the lesser Phrygia, which was on that account called the Hellespontine. Mentioning the boundaries of Troas, he says, "*But the sea to the west is the Hellespont, in which quarter is also the Ægean‡.*" It is clear that no one could call the canal of Aby-

* Τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς τὸ Ἀιγαῖον ἐστὶν ἤδη σὺν τῷ Μέλαινι κόλπῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

† Ἡ ἐν Θράκῃ χερρόνησος τρεῖς ποιεῖ θαλάσσας, Προποντίδα ἐκ βορρᾶς, Ἑλλησπόντον ἐξ ἀνατολῶν, καὶ τὸν Μέλαινα κόλπον ἐκ νότου.

‡ Ἡ δὲ ἐσπέρια θάλαττα, ὃ τε Ἑλλήσποντος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ Ἀιγαῖον πέλαγος.—Lib. xiii. p. 583.

duſ the ſea to the weſt of Phrygia. In another place he is enumerating the diſtricts of Aſia within the Halys, which he ſays contain towards the Pontus and the Propontis, the Paphlagonians, Bythinians, and Myſians; “*and Phrygia, called Phrygia on the Hellespont, in which is the Troad; and Æolia and Ionia, upon the Ægean and the following ſea**.” By which it appears, that the Hellespont is brought as low down as Lectum, the northern boundary of Æolia; and (unleſs any contradictory paſſage has been overlooked) that the whole line of coaſt to this point from Abydus, was conſidered by Strabo as being the ſhores of the Hellespont, not of the Ægean: which was what was undertaken to be proved.

Dionyſius Periegetes ſupports this notion: he puts the mouths of the ſtrait or Hellespont between Imbros and Tenedos†; and he conveys the ſame meaning in verſes 536, 537, 538, and expreſſly in verſes 820, 821, and calls the Hellespont *great*‡. The ancients ſeem to have overlooked the angle of Phrygia at the Sigean promontory; for Strabo § talks of the ſhore from Abydus to Lectum, as if it had been from one end to the other entirely in the ſame direction. This will, in ſome meaſure, account for the uncertainty reſpecting the ſouthern limits of the Hellespont.

Τὴν ἐφ’ Ἑλλήσποντῳ λεγομένην Φρυγίαν, ἥς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Τροάς: πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀιγαίῳ καὶ τῇ ἐφεξῆς θαλάττῃ τὴν τε Ἀιολίδαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.—
Lib. ii. p. 129.

† Οὗρον δ’ ἐς Τένεδον τεκμαίρεται ἐσχατόωσαν

Ἰμβρον ἔχων ἐτέρωθεν ὅθεν στενὸς ἔργεται ἀυλὼν.

Ver. 138, p. 8, edit. Hillam, Lond. 1679.

‡ Τὴν δὲ μέτ’ Ἀιολίδος παραπέπταται ἡδεα γαίης

Ἀιγαίῳ παρὰ χεῖλος ὑπὲρ μέγαν Ἑλλήσποντον.

§ Lib. xiii. p. 581.

LETTER XLIII.

The Frigate leaves Cape Janissary—Sails into the Mouth of the Straits—The Port of Eleus—Cape Berbieri—An English Country-House in the Chersonese—Attempt to pass the Dardanelles—Anchor in the Bay below Chanak-Kalessi—The old Castles of Roumelia and Natolia—The Town of the Dardanelles—A remarkable Superstition—Nagara-Bornou—The Bridge of Xerxes—Abydus and Sestos—Swimming across the Hellespont—The Current—The Frigate passes the Dardanelles—The Passage of the English Fleet in 1807—Ak-Bashi Liman—Zemenic—The Practius and Percotas—Ægos-Potamos—Note on the Meteoric Stone—Lampsacus—Gallipoli—The Island of Marmora—Approach to Constantinople—Anchor under the Walls.

OUR Firman arrived from Constantinople on the 30th of April, on which day the frigate, by the advice of two Greek pilots who were on board, changed her anchorage to a mile further from the shore to the north-west. At ten o'clock on the 1st of May, we weighed anchor, and, after beating up near the island of Imbros, in order to take the best advantage of the wind, which was northerly, passed close under the castle

on the European side of the strait. We saw the entrance of a little circular port, scooped out as it were from the foot of the hill, which was probably the ancient harbour of Eleus, and which, although now admitting only the small caiques or trading boats of the islands, received the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, six days before the battle of Ægos-Potamos *. As we advanced, the bleak white cliffs of the Chersonese diminished in height, and presented a succession of hanging woods and hedge-row fields cultivated to the water's edge.

On the Asiatic side, the banks beyond the barrow In-Tepe appeared more high and abrupt, but occasionally interspersed with retreating bays of flat sandy soil. About nine miles from Koum-Kale, the shore became again flat, and swelled forward into the strait, forming a large circular projection, called by the Turks Kepos-Bornou, and by the Frank navigators Cape Berbieri.

The road from Koum-Kale to the Dardanelles, which we once traversed, after winding amongst woody precipices for two hours beyond In-Tepe, leads along the base of this flat promontory. There are no villages on the route, except a small hamlet near the point of the Cape; yet the country where it is cleared is divided into corn fields, cotton lands, and green pastures abounding in flocks. A stream issuing from the roots of the great Idæan chain which project towards the strait, and in some places border upon the shore, runs through the flat, and falls into the sea near the village on the Cape. A small farm-house further inland towards the Dardanelles, was pointed out to me as the place where the preliminaries of the late peace between Great Britain and the

Grand Signior were signed by his Excellency Mr. Adair and the Minister of the Porte. The Mahometan Plenipotentiary was not, we may suspect, aware that Sylla and Mithridates had concluded a similar treaty on the same spot* ; for he could not have known that Berbieri is the ancient Dardanian promontory. A little before we approached the Cape, we passed some marshes which, in all probability, are those formerly called Pteleos, near the town Ophrynum, and the grove of Hector†. The strait at Berbieri has the appearance of being narrower than at the Dardanelles.

At three o'clock the breeze failed us, and we were obliged to anchor in a bay, off a narrow valley in Thrace, about eight miles from the Dardanelles. We remained there the whole of the night, and part of the next day, during which time we took the opportunity of going on shore. We proceeded up the valley on a beaten path by the side of a brook, through a grove of thickset trees, the hills impending on each side, and with their woody summits almost closing over our heads. After a short walk, we came in sight of a chiflik or country-house, surrounded by a small pleasure-ground and gardens, laid out in the Frank taste and adorned with clumps of trees evidently not the natives of the soil. On approaching the spot, our surprise was increased by the sight of a neat building, with attached offices and a court-yard, fitted up with many of the implements and appurtenances of an English farm ; and we were at a loss to account for so many exotic elegancies, until we learnt that the place had been made by Mr. Richard Willis, an English gentleman, who, having chosen this valley for his retreat, purchased the land, and at the expence of

* Strabon. lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Strabon. ibid.

transporting some fruit and garden trees from England, and of employing an English gardener, created on the shores of the Hellespont, a country seat not to be rivalled by any villa on the banks of the Thames. We were farther informed, that neither his attachment to the spot, nor the pains bestowed upon its embellishment, prevented the Turks, who did not choose to have a Frank landholder amongst them, from obliging Mr. Willis to part with his purchase; and some signs of approaching waste and desolation were sufficient to show us that it had reverted to a Mahometan master.

At two o'clock we weighed, hoping that a slight breeze which blew from the high lands of Thrace, would be strong enough to carry us through the strait of the Dardanelles. We were obliged, however, to drop anchor about a mile below the European fort, but made another effort at five in the evening, which was not more successful than the first, as it only drifted us over to the other side. We were not the only persons disappointed on the occasion, for the shores were lined with spectators; the Pasha of the Dardanelles, accompanied by his chief officers, was seated on the wooden projection of the battlements, and the guns of the battery were primed and manned to salute us as we passed. Every strip of canvas was set, and the breeze brought us more than once to the very lips of the strait. The stern of the frigate was already in a line with the castles, and our first gun was on the point of being fired, when the sails began to flap; the spectators on the walls diminished to our view, the castle and the town seemed gradually to recede, and we shortly found that we were dropping down towards Berbieri point. Having our hopes renewed by some faint rippling on the surface of the water, which

seemed to agitate every spot except where we were struggling with the current, and to die away just as it reached the ship, we anchored at last within the sweep of a wide sandy bay, about a mile below the Asiatic castle and town.

During our unavailing effort, a large Turkish frigate passed us under crouded sail, in her passage down the strait, and our sailors were not a little amused to observe, that for the sake of showing the good trim of the vessel, and the smartness of the crew, the flag-staff of the maintop gallant-mast-head was manned by a Turk, whose sole occupation it was to keep the pendant clear.

The castles Chanàk-Kalessi or Sultanie-Kalessi, on the Asiatic side, and Chelit-Bawri or Kelidir-Bahar, "*The Lock of the Sea*," on the European shore, are called by the Turks Bogaz-Hessarleri*, and by the Franks, the old castles of Natolia and Roumelia. The town of Chanàk-Kalessi is the place properly called the Dardanelles, which name has been extended to the strait itself. Chelit-Bawri is but a small town, inconveniently built on the side of a jutting hill, nor is the castle considered of such importance as that of Chanàk-Kalessi, although the cannon of its batteries are as numerous, and of the same enormous bore. The barrow of Hecuba is a hillock not very distinguishable, in the high ground above the town, but within the walls. Chanàk-Kalessi castle is on a flat point, immediately opposite to the European fort; so that the two batteries, as the guns are immoveable, and are laid on each side at right angles with the strait, must, in the time of action, bombard each other, and I was indeed shown in the streets of the Asiatic town, and in the neighbouring fields, seve-

ral of the granite masses which had been discharged from Chelit-Bawri during the passage of the English fleet. The interior castle was built by the Greeks. Above the fortress there is a battery of German field-pieces, behind a redoubt of earth and fascines erected by French engineers. These guns are used in saluting, and would be more serviceable than the monsters of the castle.

We landed several times at the Dardanelles, and were hospitably received by Signor Tarragona, a Jew, whose family have for a century been in possession of the English Consulate. The language spoken in his family and familiar to all those of his nation in this part of the country, which was a mixed Spanish, informed us that he was descended from one of the families who settled in Turkey after the impolitic expulsion of their nation from Spain. The principal inhabitants of the place are also Jews, trading chiefly in wine supplied by the neighbouring vineyards, which are in much repute.

Chanàk-Kalessi has been thought to have about two thousand houses, and is a very miserable town: but a large pottery which is on the east of the suburbs, supplies not only Constantinople but Alexandria with earthen-ware. We were led through the various sheds (for such they are) appropriated to the different branches of the preparation; and when we saw the warehouse of the finished jars and other vessels, I cannot say that we discovered them, with Dr. Chandler*, to retain the old shape, or that they were formed on ancient models.—A river, a considerable stream, which, from its situation between the Dardanian pro-

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. 4.

montory and Abydus, has been thought to be the ancient Rhodius, washes the western suburbs of Chanàk-Kalessi, and near its mouth, not far from the castle, is crossed by a long wooden bridge.

At the back of the town there are many cemeteries belonging to the Turks, Jews, and Christians; and further inland there is a tract of enclosed country extending to the Idæan mountains, in a high state of cultivation. In a pleasant shady green near the burying-ground, I remember to have remarked a low stunted tree, enclosed within a wall, the boughs of which were hung round with little shreds or bags of cloth and cotton, enclosing each a single para. On enquiry, it appeared that the tree was considered sacred to some demon, the inflictor of diseases; that the appendages were either votive offerings, or charms by which the malady was transferred from the patient to the shrub; and that Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, alike resorted to this magical remedy. Another instance of this union of religions has been before mentioned.—It may appear at first singular, that sects, whose separate faiths constitute their chief national distinctions, should ever amalgamate, and be united in any belief or practice; but the coincidence is by no means strange; nor need we be surprised that, having sprung from the same source, they should revert to their common principle, and combine in doing homage to Fear, the cause and origin of every superstition.

To the north-east of the town is a long retreating bay, taking a sweep of three or four miles, and terminated on the other horn by Nagara-Bornou, or Pesquies Point, a promontory of low land, which Sir George Wheeler, rectifying the mistake of Sandys, and those who had called the castle of Natolia, Abydus, supposed

to be the site of that celebrated city*. Near this spot he saw some considerable ruins, as also did Mr. Tournefort†, but some way within the Cape on the road to Chanàk-Kalessi, and even at this day there are a few scattered vestiges of an ancient town. A fort has been raised near the point of land.—Mr. Le Chevalier, who seems to have measured the distance between Cape Berbieri and Nagara-Bornou, pronounces it to be seventy stadia; precisely that assigned by Strabo between Dardanus and Abydos‡.

The Thracian side of the strait, immediately opposite to Nagara, is a strip of stony shore projecting from between two high cliffs§; and to this spot, it seems, the European extremity of Xerxes' bridges must have been applied; for the height of the neighbouring cliffs would have prevented the Persian monarch from adjusting them to any other position. There is certainly some ground to believe this to have been the exact point of the shore called from that circumstance *Apobathra*||; since there is, within any probable distance, no other flat land on the Thracian side except at the bottom of deep bays, the choice of which would have doubled the width of the passage. Here the strait appeared to us to be narrower than in any other part, although to those on board our frigate, who might be supposed skilled in judging of distances, it nowhere seemed to be less than a mile across: the ancient measure-

* A Voyage, &c. book i. p. 74.

† Voyage au Levant, lettre xi. p. 456, edit. Paris, 1717.

‡ Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, chap. iii. p. 16, vol. i.

§ Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστῇ τε πόλει με-
ταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, Ἀβύδῳ κατα-
τίον.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

|| Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

ments, however, give only seven stadia, or eight hundred and seventy-five paces. — Sestos was not opposite to the Asiatic town, nor was the Hellespont in this place called the straits of Sestos and Abydus, but the straits of Abydus. Sestos was so much nearer the Propontis than the other town, that the ports of the two places were thirty stadia, more than three miles and a half, from each other*. The bridges were on the Propontic side of Abydus, but on the opposite quarter of Sestos; that is to say, they were on the coasts between the two cities, but nearer to the first than to the last; and supposing the few ruins before-mentioned about a mile from Nagara to belong to Abydus, that point answers sufficiently to the spot on the Asiatic coast to which the pontoons were affixed.

The passage of Xerxes is not more suggested to the traveller who sails through these straits, than the enterprise of Leander. It was the custom for those who would cross from Abydus to Sestos to incline a mile out of the direct line, and those making the contrary voyage were obliged to have recourse to a similar plan, in order to take advantage of the current. The lover, therefore, had a perilous adventure to perform, who swam at least four miles to meet his mistress, and returned the same distance in the same night; and Mr. Tournefort had good reason to allude to the story with some little levity. His countryman Le Chevalier, asserts that the exploit is looked upon by the inhabitants of the Dardanelles as nothing extraordinary†; but the young Jew, whom he mentions as having traversed the strait to obtain the

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

† Voyage du Levant, lettre xi. p. 455; Voyage de la Propontide, &c. chap. iii. p. 18.

hand of his mistress, is already forgotten. We could hear nothing of him in the year 1810; and, on the contrary, we were told that no such deed had ever been done. It is very possible, however, to swim across the Hellespont without being the rival, or having the motive, of Leander. My fellow-traveller was determined to attempt the passage, and the ride from Koum-Kale to the Dardanelles on the 16th of April, before alluded to, was undertaken for that purpose.

Having crossed from the castle of Chanak Kalesi in a boat manned by four Turks, and accompanied by the Secretary of the Signor Tarragona, we landed at five o'clock in the evening, half a mile above the castle of Chelit-Bawri, and my friend, together with an officer of the frigate, depositing their clothes in the boat, began their passage. We kept near them, and the boatmen gave them such instruction from time to time as appeared necessary for them in taking advantage of the current. For the first half hour they swam obliquely upwards, rather towards Nagara point than the Dardanelles, and, notwithstanding all their skill and efforts, made but little progress. Finding it useless to struggle with the current, they then went rather with the stream, but still attempting to cross. We lay upon our oars, and in a few minutes were between the castles. The swimmers were close to us. We were not then half over the passage, and were every moment falling into a wider part of the channel, but notwithstanding the exclamations of our Turks the effort was still continued, and it was not until the swimmers had been an hour in the water and found themselves in the middle of the strait, about a mile and a half below the castles, that they consented to be taken into the boat.

Although the excessive chillness of the water had so benumbed

all their limbs, that they were at first unable to stand, and were otherwise much exhausted, yet they were determined to make another attempt in warmer weather, and accordingly on the third of May following, at a little past ten in the morning, having left the frigate at her anchorage below the Asiatic castle, they got into the water nearly a mile and a half above Chelit-Bawri, at a point of land forming the western bank of the deep bay or inlet in which stands the town of Maito, on the site of the ancient Madytus. I did not accompany them in the boat, but watched their progress from the frigate. They swam upwards, as before, but not for so long a time, and in less than half an hour came floating down the current close to the ship. They then swam strongly to get within the bay behind the castle, and soon succeeding, reached the still water, and landed about a mile and a half below our anchorage. Lord Byron was one hour and ten minutes in the water, his companion, Mr. Ekenhead, five minutes less.

I see by a note in my journal, in my Friend's hand-writing, "that they found the current very strong, and the water cold; that some large fish passed them in the middle of the channel; that they were not fatigued although a little chilled, and performed the feat with little difficulty."

My fellow-traveller had before made a more perilous, but less celebrated passage, for I recollect that when we were in Portugal, he swam from Old Lisbon to Belem Castle, and having to contend with a tide and counter current, the wind blowing freshly, was but little less than two hours in crossing the river.

The strait between the castles is computed to be about a mile and a quarter in breadth, yet our four boatmen were twenty-five

minutes in pulling us across from point to point. Pietro Della Valle, surnamed *The Illustrious Traveller* *, asserted that the current in the Hellespont flowed both ways, for which he is corrected by Wheler; who observes, what is the fact, that "the current is indeed stronger when the north wind blows, than when the south, or when it is calm; but still it cometh out of the Black Sea by the Bosphorus, into the Mare Marmora, and thence into the Archipelago †". It is true that the stream, setting as in other straits in a direct line from point to point, and not following the waving line of the passage, is not perceived in every part of the channel, nor always in the same part of it. At the Dardanelles, where it runs in mid-channel obliquely towards Berbieri Point, it forms what is technically called a back-water on the Thracian side below Chelit-Bawri, which, when aided by a south wind, has itself the appearance, and somewhat the power of a current. The same effect is produced in other parts of the strait; and the boatmen of the Hellespont, by taking advantage of this circumstance, contrive to cross it at almost every season of the year.

The north-east wind blows down the strait for nearly eight out of the twelve months, and in the summer lasts sometimes nine or ten weeks without intermission. We thought we had arrived at that period, and began to despair of reaching Constantinople in the frigate. On the third of May, the wind was foul; on the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, it was still from the north-east; on the eighth there was a calm; on the next day the Etesians again blew, and we had a gale of wind. The current rushed round the

* His book is entitled "*Les fameux Voyages de Pietro Della Valle Gentilhomme Romain, surnommé l'Illustre Voyageur.*" Paris, 1670.

† A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. pp. 74, 75.

stem of the frigate with the rapidity of the stream at London-bridge, and the foaming spray was scattered by the hurricane on either shore of Asia and of Thrace. The fruit-boats from the Dardanelles, which plied round our sides on other days, did not dare to approach us; for we were riding in so rough a sea, that we should have dashed them to pieces. Expecting that the ship would drive from her moorings, we lengthened our cables, and let go another anchor.

The next day the stormy weather was much abated, but it still blew very freshly from the same quarter. We went on shore in one of the ship's boats, and in returning, as our coxswain would not haul down our sail until we were nearly alongside of the frigate, we had so much weigh, both from the current and the breeze, that in attempting to grapple we lost our boat-hook, carried away our bowsprit, and breaking through some fruit-boats, were borne off in an instant so far astern, that we were an hour rowing up to the frigate, which we should not have gained so soon, had not a towing line been floated down to us from on board. This may show the actual rapidity of the torrent. The south winds also blow very violently up the straits, and the English fleet passed the castles at the rate of eleven knots within the hour.

We had nearly given up all hope of proceeding through the straits, when, on the evening of our accident, it began to rain and our pilots predicted a change of weather. We had heavy showers all night, and in the morning a drizzling mist. The wind blew gently from the south. We weighed anchor, and at ten o'clock sailed at last slowly between the castles, which we saluted with seventeen guns, and had the compliment returned to us by the battery at Chanàk-Kalessi, where the red standard of

Turkey was unfurled to receive our homage. We stood over to the coast of Thrace, and passed by the mouth of the bay of Maito, and afterwards in view of another deeper inlet called Koilia, which is most probably the Cœlos of the ancients. We sailed close under the cliffs, and came opposite to Nagara-Bornou.

In the bay within the point, we were shown a large wreck a little above water. This was the remains of a Turkish sixty-four destroyed by the *Repulse*, and the boats of the *Pompée*, during the passage of the Dardanelles on the 19th of February, 1807. Sir S. Smith in the *Pompée*, with the *Thunderer*, *Standard*, and *Active*, brought up in the bay within Chanak-Kalessi, where the sixty-four, four frigates, four corvettes, one brig, and three gun-boats were at anchor, and in four hours destroyed or captured the whole squadron. The sixty-four ran on shore on Pesquies Point, and a frigate drifted over towards the Thracian coast, where she was blown up by Captain Mowbray in the *Active*. A battery of thirty guns, and a redoubt on the Point, were carried and destroyed by the marines of the *Standard*.

One other vestige of this memorable expedition was pointed out to us; this was a cannon shot-hole in the front of the house at the Dardanelles belonging to the French Consul, who, during the second passage of the fleet, hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and received that attention from our gunners, which he had, it seemed, intended to attract.

Even when we travelled, the events of the two actions were fresh in the memory, and were still in the mouths of the inhabitants of the Dardanelles. The Turks, notwithstanding the warning which the Captain Pasha had received six days before from His Majesty's Ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, that the at-

tempt would certainly be made, could not at first believe their senses, when they saw the approach of the fleet round Berbieri Point; and when the van ship, the *Canopus*, passed between the castles, were altogether stupified, and looked upon the adventure as the fatal breaking of a charm which had hitherto bound them in security, and protected the holy city from the insults of the infidels. The burning of the flotilla filled them with consternation and rage. A person attached to our Consulate at the Dardanelles was concealed in an outer room of a house at Chana-k-Kalessi, which was entered by an officer of a Turkish frigate, who had just lost his ship. He informed me, that the Turk raved for an hour at the English dogs. The woman of the house did not let slip a word of her guest in the next room, who lay concealed under some rubbish, and although a jackass tied up in the shed, trod and kept his foot for some time on his finger, did not, like the citizen of Perugia* under similar circumstances, cry out and discover his retreat†.

No considerable opposition was made to the advance of the

* Boccac. Decamer. Giornata Quintâ. Novella Decima.

† Lest such a forbearance in a suffering by no means trifling though ridiculous, should appear improbable, I beg leave to insert a most extraordinary instance, in another inhabitant of Turkey, of patience under acute pain. A *Capidgy* or porter belonging to the seraglio, opening hastily the small iron grating of a door-way through which the Sultan was to pass, caught his hand in the hinges between the wicket and the wall. The *Bostandgys* and other attendants immediately formed a line with their backs against the grating, and during the passage of the Sultan and of all his suite, the *Capidgy* suffered not a murmur or a sigh to escape him, but fainted immediately afterwards, when on closing the door-way, his four fingers dropped to the ground.—Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, &c. Paris, 1809, page 67.

fleet*, nor to the destruction of the flotilla. The material injury sustained by the English, was, as is well known, received on their retreat, when the batteries, some of which had been repaired, and others been recently constructed at every turn of the straits, were superintended by French officers belonging to General Sebastiani's suite. Yet even at that time the Turks at the castles were thrown into the utmost terror and confusion; and an inhabitant of Chanak-Kalessi informed me, that when one of our three-deckers, instead of passing through at once, hauled up a little, and bringing her whole broadside full on the fort of Asia, opened all her batteries at once, she appeared like a vast body of flaming fire, and showering upon the walls and mounds a storm of shot, drove the garrison at once from their guns. The women and children and all the unarmed population of the town fled to the foot of the mountains, five miles distant from the strait, yet some cannon-balls fell near them in the villages to which they had retired. This report I received not as a fact, but an evidence of their fear. Notwithstanding common opinion, it is not true that the English character suffered on that day. The Turks were astonished at the cool valour and undaunted skill of our sailors, nor did they know the disastrous effects of their granite globes.

I was informed by the second in command, that when he was blowing up their flotilla at anchor, some of the captains, as their ships struck, came on board, and being served with coffee in his cabin, made excuses for being so easily taken—"Hussein," they said, "is dead; Snit-Bey is gone—what can we do?" They

* The only spars that were injured, were the sprit-sail yard of the Royal George, the gaff of the Canopus, and the main-top-sail yard of the Standard.

alluded to the famous Capudan Pasha, and to himself who had fought with them in Egypt.

The breeze freshened, and the current was scarcely perceptible when we passed the point of Nagara. We skirted the mouth of a bay, Ak-Bashi Liman, reasonably conjectured the ancient port of Sestos, and a little farther saw a hill crowned with a scanty ruin called Zemenic, where (without taking into account the passage of the eight thousand Turks in the reign of Othman) the standard of the Ottomans was, for the first time, raised in Europe by Solymán, son of Sultan Orcan, in the year 1356*.

A rocky strand or mole two or three miles farther down the strait, preserves also under the name of Gaziler-Iskelessi—"The Victor's Harbour," the memory of the landing of the Mahometan invaders. Zemenic is called also Choiridocastron, or Pig's Fort. *The besotted Grecians*, says Sandys, *jested at the loss, and said they had but taken a hog-stye* †. At this point, Leunclavius asserts that the Hellespont is evidently narrower than in any other part ‡. From beyond Nagara we had entered into that part of the strait which it seems was properly called the Propontic Hellespont. For several miles the channel did not appear to widen. Cultivated hedge-row fields, green with high corn and flourishing vineyards, and enlivened by frequent villages, presented, on either side, a succession of scenery altogether enchanting, but rather rich than romantic, and of which those who have visited

* Voyage au Levant, lett. xi. p. 457, edit. Paris, 1717.

† Lib. i. p. 26, *A Relation of a Journey, &c.* It was said by John Paleologus, and, according to Tournefort, applied to the magazines of Gallipoli.

‡ Ad Chiridocastron quo loco . . . plane angustissimus est Hellespontus latitudine sua Græcum unum miliare non superat. not. E. p. 1066, edit. Leunclav. in Append. Xenophont.

the banks of the Menai have seen an exact, perhaps a flattering resemblance. The imposing presence of Penmaun-Mawr more than compensates for the distant prospect of Ida. We glided past headlands and bays on both shores, each of them rendered memorable by the poets, or illustrated by the historians of antiquity; and we passed without attention the mouths of two streams, which are now the Bourghas-Su, and the Moussa-Keui-Su, but were the river of Percote* once, and the Practius.

Above them, dividing the higher shores of the Chersonese, we skirted the outlet of a stream, the Kara-Ova-Su, which, although now undistinguished, would, if called as in former days, the *Ægos-Potamos*, be never passed without notice: the name alone is a history. The naturalist might assist the topographer in identifying the site of that memorable stream, by discovering on its banks the monstrous stone foretold by Anaxagoras, and remaining in the days of Pliny, which fell from the sky, and the existence of which, although it would have been denied by the inexperienced scepticism of former times, the occurrence of similar prodigies in our own age, would very much incline us to believe †.

Le Chevalier supposes Percote the name of a river (*Voyage de la Propontide*, &c. p. 19, vol. i.); but it was a town, or region, near the more modern Parium. See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 590; and Plin. lib. vi. cap. 32.

+ “Celebrant Græci Anaxagoram Clazomenium, olympiadis septuagesimæ octavæ secundo anno, prædixisse cœlestium literarum scientia, quibus diebus saxum casurum esset e sole. Taleque factum interdiu in Thraciæ parte ad *Ægos* flumen. Qui lapis etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudinis vehis, colore adusto, comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante. Plin. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 58, page 18, edit. Paris, 1532. The naturalist adds, that there was a small one at the Gymnasium at Abydus, which was worshipped, foretold also by Anaxagoras. Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, has dwelt somewhat more at large on this extraordinary stone, which was, as he tells us, considered by some as porten-

At Ægos-Potamos the Hellespont, according to Xeno-

tous of the fatal battle of Ægos-Potamos—κατηνέχθη, γὰρ ὡς ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ οὐρανὸ παμμεγέθους λίθος ὡς αἰγὸς ποταμὸς. κ. τ. λ. in vit. Lysand. p. 439, op. om. "There fell from the heavens (as many believe) a large stone at Ægos-Potamos, which is even yet shown as an object of veneration by the people of the Chersonese." The comet mentioned by Pliny is, on the authority of Damachus, called by Plutarch "a large body of fire like a blazing cloud," seen for seventy-five days previously to the fall of the stone. The like meteoric appearances have attended the descent of stones from the sky in modern times, and the phenomenon seen in 1620 in the Punjab, one hundred miles east of Lahore, answers in description very exactly with the detail in Plutarch. In that instance, "a luminous body was observed to fall from above on the earth, suggesting to the beholders the idea that the firmament was raining fire." A cursory inspection would inform any mineralogist whether this specimen, if such should be discovered at Ægos-Potamos, is of true celestial origin: since all those hitherto seen, in whatever part of the world, have been found of the same composition. The stones from Benares, from Vienna, from Bohemia, and the one found in Yorkshire, "all contained pyrites of a peculiar character; they had all a coating of black oxyde of iron; they all contained an alloy of iron and nickel; and the earths which serve to them as a sort of connecting medium, corresponded in their nature, and nearly in their proportions*."

Although we may believe these stones to be meteoric formations, yet the prediction, or rather the solution, of the phenomenon by Anaxagoras, by the supposition that the sun and stars were ponderous bodies, revolving in a luminous atmosphere; and that one, or part of one, of these bodies might fall to the earth, is a most extraordinary anticipation of modern systems and hypotheses. The discovery that the sun was as big as Peloponesus (mentioned before, in note, p. 611 of this volume), to our ears may have a ridiculous sound, but it was making a vast step beyond the bounds of former ignorance; and to this great philosopher may be applied the converse of what was said of Milton—"He was a modern born two thousand years before his time."

* See an Account of some Stones said to have fallen on the Earth in France, &c. &c. Phil. Trans 1803, part i. paper vi. p. 200.

phon*, is about a mile and three quarters wide. A little way above the mouth of the river, on the opposite shore, we saw the town of Lamsaki, on a tongue of low land which seems to be the promontory called Abarnis, whence Conon the Athenian set sail with nine ships after the fatal battle†, having seized the sails belonging to the Lacedemonian fleet. The modern Lampsacus, although but a small town of two hundred houses, with one handsome mosck, would still be a present worthy of a king. Its territory is rich at this day in vineyards of a superior quality, inclosed in hedges of pomegranate trees, and, as far as could be judged by a transient view, there is nothing wanting to complete the beauty of its situation. The mountains approach within a few miles of the back of the town, and their sides are clothed with woods, which shelter the villages and kiosks of the inhabitants of Lampsaki. Inscribed marbles, and other remains, were found in the town by Sir G. Wheler, which, together with its name, show it to stand on the ancient site‡. It was five o'clock when we passed this place. Our pilot informed us that a shoal runs out from this part of the Asiatic shore, and we stood nearer to the Thracian side.

Two miles farther on we had the large town of Gallipoli on our left. The channel seemed about five miles wide from this part of the Chersonese to Chardac, a headland in the region of Lamsaki; but beyond this point the receding shores of Asia opened to our view the expanse of the sea of Marmora. Gallipoli, the

* Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 455, edit. Leuncl.

† Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν.—Xenop. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 457, edit. Leunclav.

‡ A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. p. 75.

Callipolis of ancient geography, which was an important position after the transfer of the empire to Byzantium, and was taken by the Turks nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople*, is still a very considerable town, containing perhaps fifteen thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Turks, and the remainder divided between Greeks and Jews. The latter people have been established in the place since the twelfth century†. It has given a name to the Hellespont, which the Turks call the sea of Gallipoli (Galiboli Denghizzi), and is the chief station of the Capudan Pasha‡. Standing in a peninsula, it forms two harbours, and not unfrequently receives the imperial fleets§.

A little beyond the town we noticed some perpendicular rocks, having the appearance of regular fortifications, surmounted by an old tower; and still farther on passed by a light-house, placed to point out the mouth of the strait, and the position of a long shoal which runs towards the Asiatic coast. As we advanced through the broad entrance of the straits, the breeze died away, and the minarets of Gallipoli were but just out of sight when the sun sank behind the hills, and closed a day which had been passed in viewing a succession of prospects, more interesting by their natural and associated attractions, than are perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world.

* Voyage au Levant, pp. 461, 462, 463, lett. xi. edit. Paris, 1717.

† Voyage de Benjamin fils de Jonas, p. 14; Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. edit. The Hague, 1735.

‡ D'Herbelot Bibliothéque Orient. Galipoli.

§ Gallipoli, after the Latin conquest, fell to the share of the Venetians, but was retaken by Vataces in 1235, and possessed by the Catalans in 1306, who raised the fortifications, after being besieged by Antony Spinola, in 1307. The Turks took it in 1357.—Tournefort, letter xi. vol. i. pp. 461, 462.

We made very little progress during the night, but found ourselves in the sea of Marmora, yet not far from the coast of Thrace, which was here a line of high lands, more barren than the borders of the Hellespont, but in many parts verdant with pastures and vineyards. We discovered many villages in the nooks near the water's edge and on the side of the hills. We had light and baffling airs through the whole of the day, and had not advanced by half after five farther than to be off the rocky island Proconesus, whose modern name of Marmora has been extended to the surrounding sea.—The marble quarries which supplied many of the public buildings in Constantinople, and furnished the great mosck of Sultan Achmet with all its ornamental architecture, are now no longer worked; the population of slaves formerly employed in those labours has, therefore, been withdrawn. Passing to the north, we saw the only town now to be found in the island. The general appearance of Marmora is barren, but we discerned a few spots of vine and corn lands, with heathy downs, affording a scanty pasturage to a few goats. A little to the west is a long low island, apparently uninhabited, and round it there are two or three rocks, which are sometimes, together with Proconesus, called the Isles of Marmora.

About eight o'clock in the evening a breeze sprung up, which carried us five knots within the hour during the whole night, and in the morning of Sunday, May 13th, we found ourselves near the low green land of Thrace, with a view of three long bridges over a marsh, called Buyuk Chekmedjee, or Ponte Grande, six hours by land from the capital.

The mountains of Asia were just apparent in the farthest distance, and, in fact, the shore on every side is said to be visible from

the middle of this Mediterranean sea. We looked out eagerly to catch the first view of Constantinople, and at two o'clock saw some white columns, arranged much in the same order, and having the same appearance, as the distant turrets of King's College Chapel at Cambridge. These we were told were the minarets of the great moscks of Sultan Achmet and of Santa Sophia.—It now came on to blow hard from the north, and as we were obliged to beat up against the wind, we approached the city but slowly. The weather became very hazy, and obscured the surrounding view; but object after object dropped into the prospect; and the endless dwellings of a vast capital, rising from forests of cypresses, and overtopped with innumerable domes and slender spires, were indistinctly shown behind the clouds of driving mist.

In the course of our tacking we were sometimes at no great distance from Princes' Islands in the sea of Marmora, and at others we had a glimpse of the Seven Towers—a name formidable to the ears of Christians, and coasted under the gloomy walls of the eastern Cæsars, which seemed to inclose the fabled city of the dead, as no distant hum or murmur was heard from within, and not a human being could be seen without their solitary circuit. At sunset the frigate anchored near the headland immediately preceding the Seraglio point; and as no lights were visible, the silence and, in a short time, the darkness, were so complete, that we might have believed ourselves moored in the lonely cove of some desert island, and not at the foot of a city which, for its vast extent and countless population, is fondly imagined by its present masters to be worthy of being called *the Refuge of the World**.

Alempena.

LETTER XLIV.

Difficulty of obtaining information concerning the Turks, even in Constantinople—Separation of the City and the Suburbs—Foreign Missions at Pera—Departure from the Frigate—Land at Tophana—Ascent to Pera—Dogs—The Hotel—City Watchmen—Police of Pera—The Custom of Parading the Streets incognito—Palaces of Ambassadors—Inglese Sarai—The Armenian Cemetery—The Amusements there—Customs called Oriental—in great measure those of the Ancient World—Seclusion and Treatment of Women—Coincidence of Turkish Manners with those of the Byzantine Greeks—Principal Difference between Ancient and Modern Manners—State of Turkish Women—Female Slaves, or Odalisques, of the Imperial Harem.

I HAD at one time resolved to make my chapter on Constantinople much the same as that called in Hakluyt **The Voyage of William Sandeville to Jerusalem**, the sum of which is this—“**William Sandeville, Earl of Essex, with divers English Lords and Knights, went to the Holy Land in the 24 yere of Henry the Second***. For without having recourse to the expedient of the Earl's namesake, I despaired of

* The English Voyages, &c. p. 17, vol. ii. edit. 1599

telling any thing not before too well known to require repetition. Thinking, however, that each person must see some objects, or views of objects, not noticed by preceding, or even contemporary travellers, and that to dilate on various parts of Turkey, and to say nothing of its famous capital, would scarcely be forgiven, I shall endeavour to prepare some remarks, which, although not altogether a new composition, will not be the contents of one phial poured into another. It is not my intention, however, to portray the general appearance, or the several quarters, of Constantinople; innumerable plans and pictures, and two lively representations, which have amused the inhabitants of our principal English towns, have rendered the first attempt unnecessary; whilst the many travels, surveys, and itineraries, descriptive of the Turkish capital, with which every one at all in the habit of investigating the countries of the east must be already acquainted, cannot but dissuade me from hazarding a new topographical detail of this celebrated city. Enough, and perhaps too much, will be said on the subject, by extracting from my journal, in the manner before followed, a narrative of the manner in which our time was passed during the two months of our residence at Pera; since such an account will necessarily include a notice of several interesting objects to be met with in the capital and its environs.

One of the chief advantages which every man proposes to himself by travelling, especially by visiting large towns, must be to mix with the best native society to which he can have access, or, as Mr. Locke has it, "to get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition*." But it is in vain to expect that

benefit in the Levant, where the traveller has little employment left except that which (although Lord Hardwicke pronounced it a charming exercise, subservient to morality) has, methinks, when unmixed with other matter, no very great attractions either for writers or readers, namely, "to draw just conclusions concerning the uncertainty of human things from the ruinous alterations time and barbarity have brought upon so many palaces, cities, and whole countries, which make such a figure in history*."

A stranger at Constantinople would naturally wish to live amongst the Turks, as he would amongst the French at Paris and the Austrians at Vienna; but the differences of manner, custom, and language, render it absolutely impossible to become domesticated in a Mahometan family, or, at a short residence, even to join in the very little social intercourse enjoyed amongst the natives themselves. Thus those varieties, and nice distinctions of character, which must subsist in some degree between the individuals of every nation, and which a more intimate scrutiny might discover, cannot be noticed by passing travellers in their partial communications with the Turks, who seem to them to have so entire a monotony, not only of manner but of mind, as to induce a belief, that he who has observed one amongst them has seen the whole people, and may form an estimate of them nearly as well by the inspection of a week as by the acquaintance of a year. With this persuasion, a traveller passes through the country without forming an intimacy, or even an acquaintance, with a single Turk; and there is no part of the empire in which he will find himself less inclined to make such an attempt than at the capital

itself.—The water of the Golden Horn, which flows between the city and the suburbs, is a line of separation seldom transgressed by the Frank residents; and an English stranger, if he waited for the suggestions of his fellow-countrymen of the Levant Company, would pass many weeks at Pera without paying one visit to Constantinople.

No foreigner is now allowed to reside in the city itself, not even the minister of a friendly nation; a regulation which does not arise from any ancient usage, but from the policy of later times. In the days of Busbek, the King of Hungary's minister resided within the walls, and Eltchi Han (the Ambassador's Inn) is shown as the place in which that accomplished scholar is said to have written his letters. Notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, on which he dwells with much complacency, he seems to have considered it a sort of state-prison, and complains of not being permitted to purchase a house and garden at his own expence*."

So late as the beginning of the last century†, the Hungarian minister, and those of Poland and Ragusa, lived in Constantinople; but in the reign of Achmet the Third, who mounted the throne in 1703, a proposal was made to the Divan, to confine all the Ambassadors to Princes' Islands. Such is the dislike of the hat, the distinction of the Frank, that the prudent always think fit, and in our time it was absolutely necessary, in visiting the city, to procure the protection of a Janissary. An English gentleman who, contrary to advice, whilst we were at Pera, ventured across

* *Cum vero me tæderet inclusionis in eodem diversorio, &c.*—Epist. iii. p. 97, edit. Oxon. 1660.

† *Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. p. 508, vol. i.*

the water accompanied only by his servant, was, for some unintentional offence, immediately knocked down, and his attendant coming to his assistance, met with the same maltreatment. No person interfered, and the strangers thought it advisable to return to Pera. It is an offence against the state to insult any one protected by a Janissary; and it is so much expected that each visitor will avail himself of their service, that a complaint from an unattended person would be productive of no redress.—The distinction between the Mahometan and the Christian resident or settler, is perhaps no where so decided as at Constantinople; and it has of late years, since the wars with France and England, become somewhat dangerous to have an open intimacy with the agents or merchants of any foreign power.

After such a preliminary, it will not be expected that a traveller should insinuate himself into any Turkish company, or enjoy any other society than that which is to be found at Pera. The Franks have, as it were, engrafted themselves on that limb of the capital, and the shoot has many more characteristics of the exotic than of the parent plant.

I shall, before we leave the frigate, take some notice of this portion of the inhabitants of Pera. There were formerly twelve missions in Pera, which, with their respective diplomatic courts and their attached families, together with the visiting guests, formed a society not to be expected in the heart of Turkey; but the new order of things established in Christendom, has materially detracted from the comforts of the Frank residents. The absorption of so many European states by the power of France, is sensibly felt at Pera, where several of those governments whose former importance rendered the presence of a respectable agent ne-

cessary, having now no longer any independent interests to maintain, are in fact represented by the Envoy of the Emperor Napoleon, although they allow a certain number of Greeks in the quality of dragomans and physicians, still to avail themselves of the privileges of those attached to foreign embassies. As the present diplomatic ceremonial does not admit of mutual civilities between the English and French ministers, the former, and those belonging to his nation (that is to say, those protected by him), are in a manner excluded from every other company at Pera except that of their countrymen.

The ministers, the interpreters, and the merchants, some time ago formed three distinct classes of society. The first of these, under the above disadvantages, has been disunited and broken in upon by the second and the third description of persons, who, however, do not mutually amalgamate. I speak not of our own legation, which, with the exception of a few gala days, seeks no other company than those travellers whom its hospitality domesticates at the English palace.

There has been, for more than a century, an establishment belonging to the French embassy, and there is one protected by the Austrian Internuncio, for the education of young persons of the nation in the oriental languages, and such qualifications as may enable them to take situations in the Levantine consulates; and, within a few years, the former power has employed these *Giovanni di Lingua* (for so they are called) as interpreters at the *Divan*. There was some remonstrance on the part of the *Porte*; but it was firmly advanced on the other hand, that the Emperor Napoleon did not choose to employ any agents whose very dress showed they were subjects of the Ottoman government; and that,

as he did not desire the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, or any of his suite, to change their costume, so he would not suffer any persons attached to his representative at Constantinople to wear any other dress than that of his own court. This is not the first time that the French have made a stand on a similar point of etiquette. The Marquis de Ferriol, after a long struggle, minutely detailed by Tournetort, quitted the Seraglio just as he was about to have his audience of the Sultan, who had come fifteen leagues on purpose, because they would not suffer him to enter the presence-chamber with his sword, which he said constituted a part of a Frenchman's dress, and should not be taken from him but with his life*.

The French have doubtless gained a great point in thus putting the executive part of their intercourse with the Porte into the hands of persons who, at the same time that an education in the country teaches them how to deal with the Turks, so as to advance the interests of their employers, are, by their condition as Franks, totally divested of the timidity and submissive habits inherent in the Greeks, or any subjects of the Turks. A rayah or subject, wearing with his robes the badge of slavery, dares not to utter the sentiments put into his mouth, and discharge the duties intrusted to him by a foreign minister. A decisive sentiment, even when he is backed by the presence of his ambassador, can scarcely, or only with a pale face and trembling limbs, be forced from his lips. Most of the minor concerns of the embassies are carried on by the dragomans solely; yet even in these it not unfrequently happens, that after many provoking delays and incon-

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. pp. 539, 540, 541, 542, Paris, 1717.

clusive answers on the part of the Turks, the matter cannot be arranged without the personal application of the minister himself.

There are four dragomans attached to the English embassy. Mr. Pisani, descended, I believe, from an ancient Venetian family of Galata, is the chief interpreter: he speaks the English language with the utmost purity, an accomplishment I never met with in any other native of the Levant. It would be difficult, except perhaps from too minute and attentive a correctness and precision, to discover that he is not talking his mother-tongue. He enjoys no little consideration on both sides of the water, and has the manners of a man of ability and address.

The resident members of the Levant Company at Pera, have lately much diminished in number; as far as I recollect, they do not possess at this time more than five or six mercantile establishments. I presume that the number of persons protected by the English ambassador, does not in the whole amount to one hundred; whilst the French minister has, it is said, between two and three thousand dependants. On days of rejoicing and church festivals, the streets of Pera and the catholic chapel are crowded with his tumultuous train. Since the departure of General Sebastiani, the government of Paris have maintained only a *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Porte, Mons. Latour Maubourg, the brother of the general of that name.

Something has been before said of the singular regulation by which the Turks permit the existence of independent jurisdictions in their ports and principal towns, in a greater degree perhaps than the Greek emperors admitted the interference of the magistrates deputed by the powerful republic of Genoa to watch over their trading colony of Galata. The privileges granted in the year 1580

by the Sultan Amurath to the English merchants and their consuls and governors, give an entire controul over all those of his nation, to the minister, who is to protect them and settle all their differences, without the interference of the Turkish police or courts of justice*. For the purpose of their security and dignity, a large body of the Janissaries, who nearly three centuries ago were at the same time the formidable foes and the delegated protectors of the Christians†, is put under the orders of every minister. The duty has attached a disgraceful name to these Janissaries, who are sometimes called, by way of derision, the Christian pig-keepers, as Pera goes by the name of the Pig quarter‡. The French and the English have each a whole *oda*, or chamber of Janissaries, set apart for their service; and although there are not more than four or five in constant attendance, yet the whole body is always at hand, and can be assembled upon any requisite emergency. The *oda* of the British embassy is the fortieth, consisting of about two hundred men.

A disturbance taking place one evening whilst we were at Pera, between some English and Genoese sailors, which the patrolle endeavoured to allay, by knocking both parties down with their long clubs, fifty of the English Janissaries being dispatched to the spot, immediately secured the parties, with the exception of the

* See the Charter of the Privileges granted to the English, and the League of the Great Turk with the Queen's Majestie, in respect of traffique, dated in June 1588.—Hakluyt, *English Voy.* vol. ii. p. 141, edit. 1599.

† *Per omnes fere ejus imperii fines, vel præsidio munitionibus adversus hostem, vel tutelæ Christianis Judæisque adversus injurias multitudinis, sparguntur.*—Aug. Busbeq. *epist.* 1, p. 9, edit. Oxon. 1660.

‡ Reidesel, *Voyage au Levant*, p. 347.

offender, who having stabbed a marine of the Salsette, had fled to the French palace, and they also apprehended the whole guard; one of whom, but for the interference of the Captain of the frigate, would have lost his head for his indiscriminate assault, and, as it was, received a severe bastinado. Pera may thus be said to be abandoned to the foreign ministers, in whose favour even hogs (the abhorrence of the Mussulmans) are admitted once a year, during carnival, into the suburbs; and yet these ministers experience on their visits to the other side of the water, every humiliation which Ottoman pride can contrive to inflict. Nothing is more true than that the Turks are a people of Antithesis*, and they show the contradiction of their character as much in their commerce with the Franks, as in their behaviour amongst themselves and to their own subjects. Although the most haughty, and, in their own eyes, still the most powerful nation in the world, they consent to see, in the suburbs of their very capital, the ministers of foreign powers exercising an authority which the most petty potentate in Christendom would consider as a surrender of his sovereign rights, and they require at the same time, from these same representatives of the first monarchs in Europe, certain other submissions in point of conduct, which no other people but themselves would demand even from the agents of the most inconsiderable states. Some change, however, must have taken place in the feelings of the Turks since Prince Repnin, in 1774, rode through the city, attended by six hundred men with drawn swords, after the signing of the treaty between the Empress Catharine and the Porte†.

* Voyage au Constantinople, chap. xvi. p. 143, edit. Paris, 1805.

† Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 73.



At twelve o'clock, on Monday the 14th of May, we left the Salsette in the Captain's boat, and rowed against the stream until we came near Yeni-Kiosk, or the New Kiosk, on the next point of land, where some sturdy fellows, who are always in waiting, threw a couple of rope-lines into the boat, and towed us for at least a mile under the walls of the Seraglio. The wind blew strongly from the north-east, and the current rushing violently down the Bosphorus, we had some difficulty to prevent being dashed against the rocky projections of the shore. The entrance of the port and the mouth of the straits, which in fine weather is covered with boats, was whitened with breakers, and showed only a solitary skiff driving across us towards the sea of Marmora. The sensations produced by the state of the weather, and leaving a comfortable cabin, were in unison with the impressions which we felt, when, passing under the palace of the Sultans, and gazing at the gloomy cypresses which rise above the walls, we saw two dogs gnawing a dead body. When we had got beyond the immediate influence of the current, we pulled across the mouth of the harbour to the principal stairs leading to Pera, which are at Tophana, a suburb so denominated from a cannon-foundry and artillery ground. Several horses are kept ready saddled, and attended by boys, under the shade of a large Chinese fountain, near the landing-place; some of which we mounted, and rode up a steep hill to the part of the town in which we intended to lodge. The streets through which we passed were as narrow as those of Ioannina, and not so clean. At the corners of them were heaps of dust and filth, the refuse of the quarter, on which several thin gaunt dogs were lying asleep.

These animals abound in every region of the capital; and, though not admitted into any house, and considered unclean, are never destroyed by the Turks. On the contrary, their multiplication is rather encouraged than checked, for I have more than once seen a litter of puppies warmly nestled in a mat or rug, placed for the purpose of their protection by some charitable inhabitant of the neighbourhood. They render a walk by night not a little perilous. It is allowable to beat them off with sticks, but not to use any other weapon; for a formal complaint was made, that the dogs near Tophana had been wounded by some persons going in the evening to the English frigate.

Nassuff Pasha, Grand Vizier to Achmet the First, had the courage not only to repress the violence of the Janissaries, amongst whom he used to walk with a head in one hand and a drawn scimitar in the other, but in the year 1613 transported all the dogs over to Asia. He would have destroyed them, but the Mufti, on being consulted, told the Sultan that every dog had a soul*. Whether it is from this supposition, and the prohibition of the Koran, or from the notion that they clear the streets of the filth and offal which is thrown before the butchers' houses, they are still as much protected as at Lisbon, where one of the complaints I heard made against the French was, that they had killed ten thousand dogs, and supplied their office by night-carts. There seems a prejudice against cleanliness in the peninsula. Those attached offices, which are thought indispensable in England, are not to be found at Lisbon; nor were they introduced until 1760 at Madrid, when the physicians petitioned against the inno-

vation, as prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants. The bettermost Turks, however, never neglect the construction of such appurtenances to all their dwellings, and have not therefore the same reason as the Portugeze for fondness to their dogs.—It has been observed*, that these animals have divided the city into districts; and that they deliver an intruder from one to another quarter, as an English beggar is transmitted from parish to parish. I did not ascertain the existence of this precise regulation, but I have been frequently disturbed at night by their howling, and have seen a pack of them hunting a strange dog beyond their boundaries.

We had not much less than a mile to ride, the whole way on an ascent, before we came to our inn. This was situated at the corner of the main street of Pera, where four ways meet; all of which were not less mean and dirty than the lanes of Wapping. The hotel, however, (kept by a Mons. Marchand) was a very comfortable mansion, containing many chambers handsomely furnished, and a large billiard-room, which is the resort of all the idle young men of the place. Our dinners there were better served, and composed of meats more to the English taste than we had seen at any tavern since our departure from Falmouth; and the butter of Belgrade (perfectly fresh, though not of a proper consistency) was a delicacy to which we had long been unaccustomed. The best London porter, and nearly every species of wine, except port, were also to be procured in any quantity. To this eulogy cannot be added the material recommendation of cheapness.—There is another Frank hotel at a little distance in the same street, which in this respect is preferable, but is in every other point of view inferior to that of Mons. Marchand.

* *Present State of Turkey*, p. 288, 4to. edit.