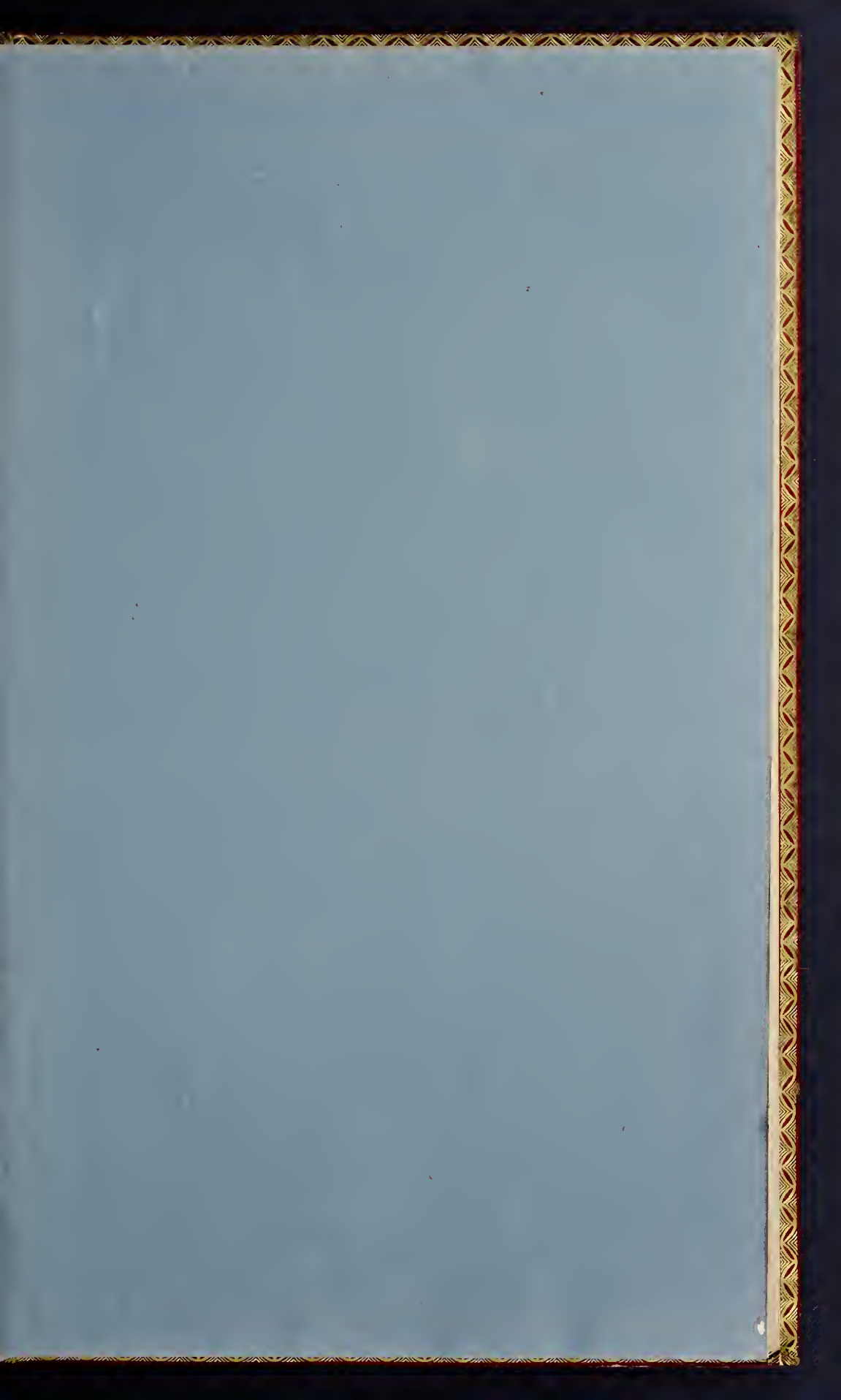
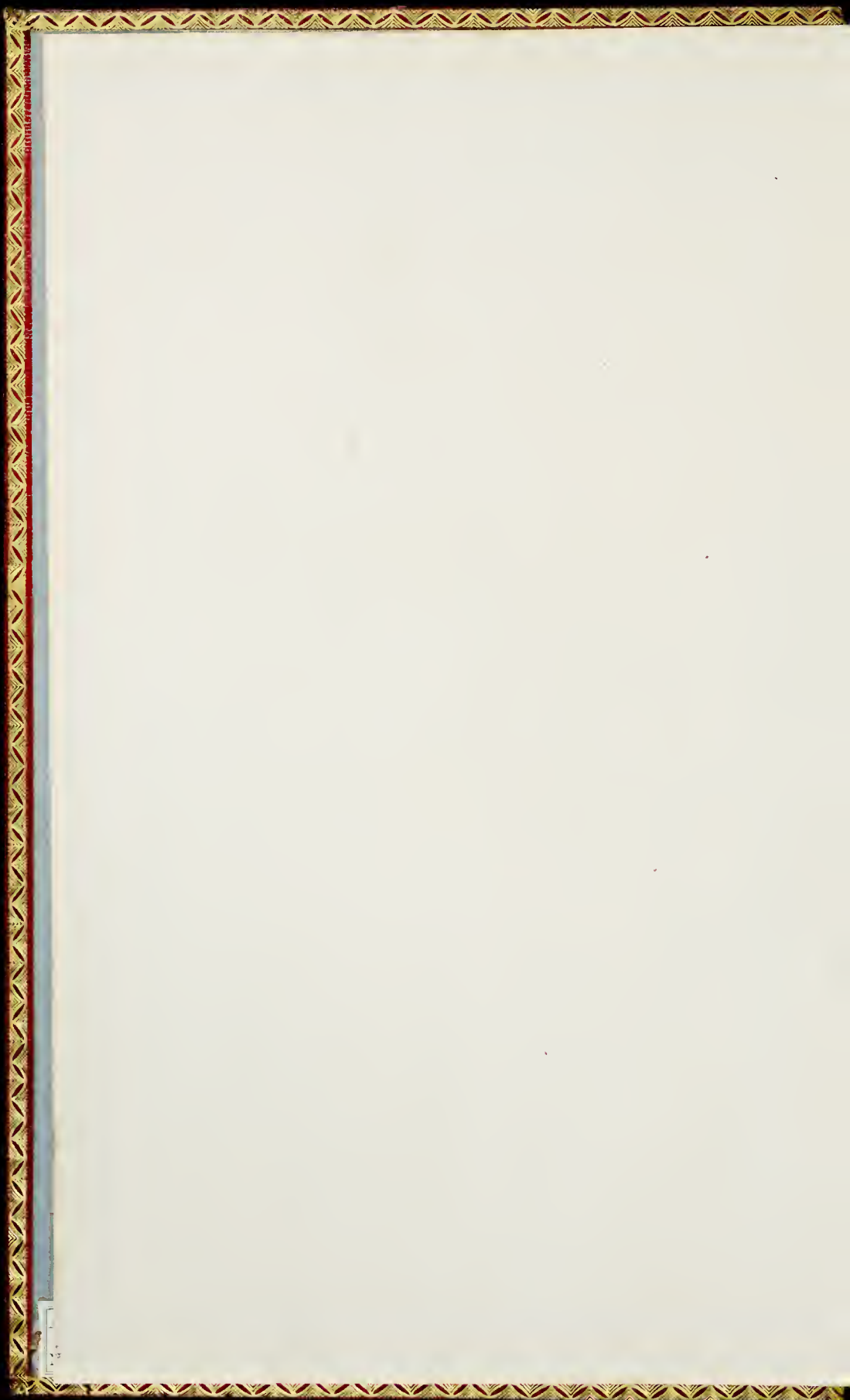


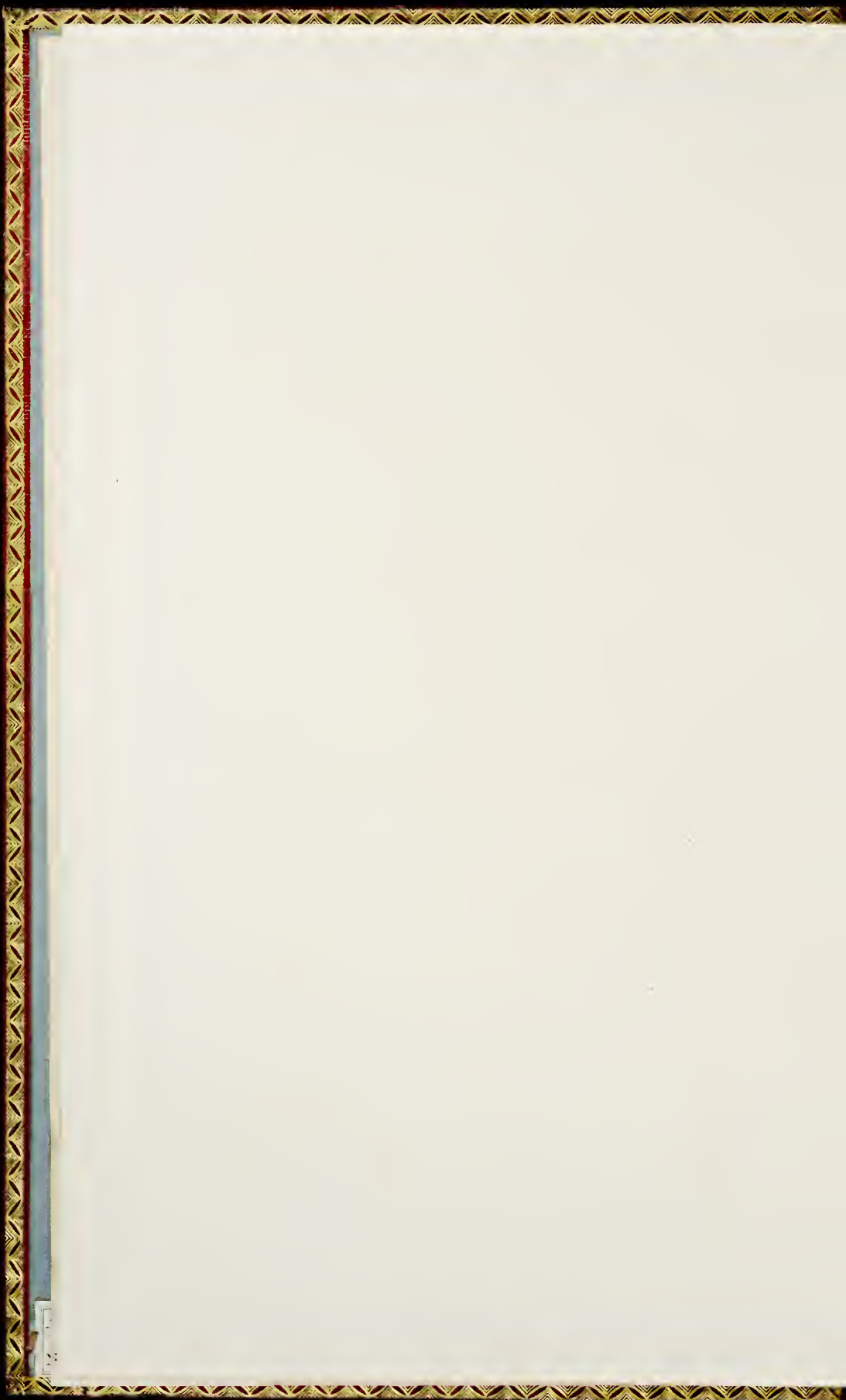


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THE
TOPOGRAPHY OF TROY,
AND ITS VICINITY;

ILLUSTRATED AND EXPLAINED

BY

DRAWINGS AND DESCRIPTIONS.

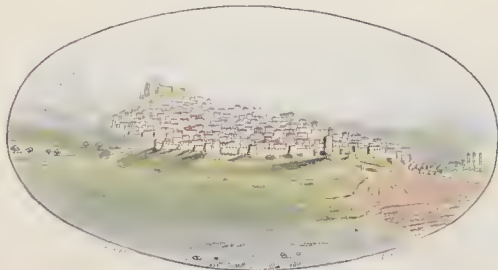
DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

TO

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

BY

W. GELL, ESQ. OF JESUS COLLEGE, M.A. F.A.S.
AND LATE FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



ΕΚΚΕΤΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ὅΤΑΝ ΠΟΤ' ὈΛΩΑΜΙ ΙΛΙΟΣ ἼΡΗ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΑΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΛΙΩ ΠΡΙΑΜΟΙΟ.
ΙΑ. Α. ΡΣΔ.

LONDON:

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FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. REES, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1804.



TO
HER GRACE
THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

MADAM,

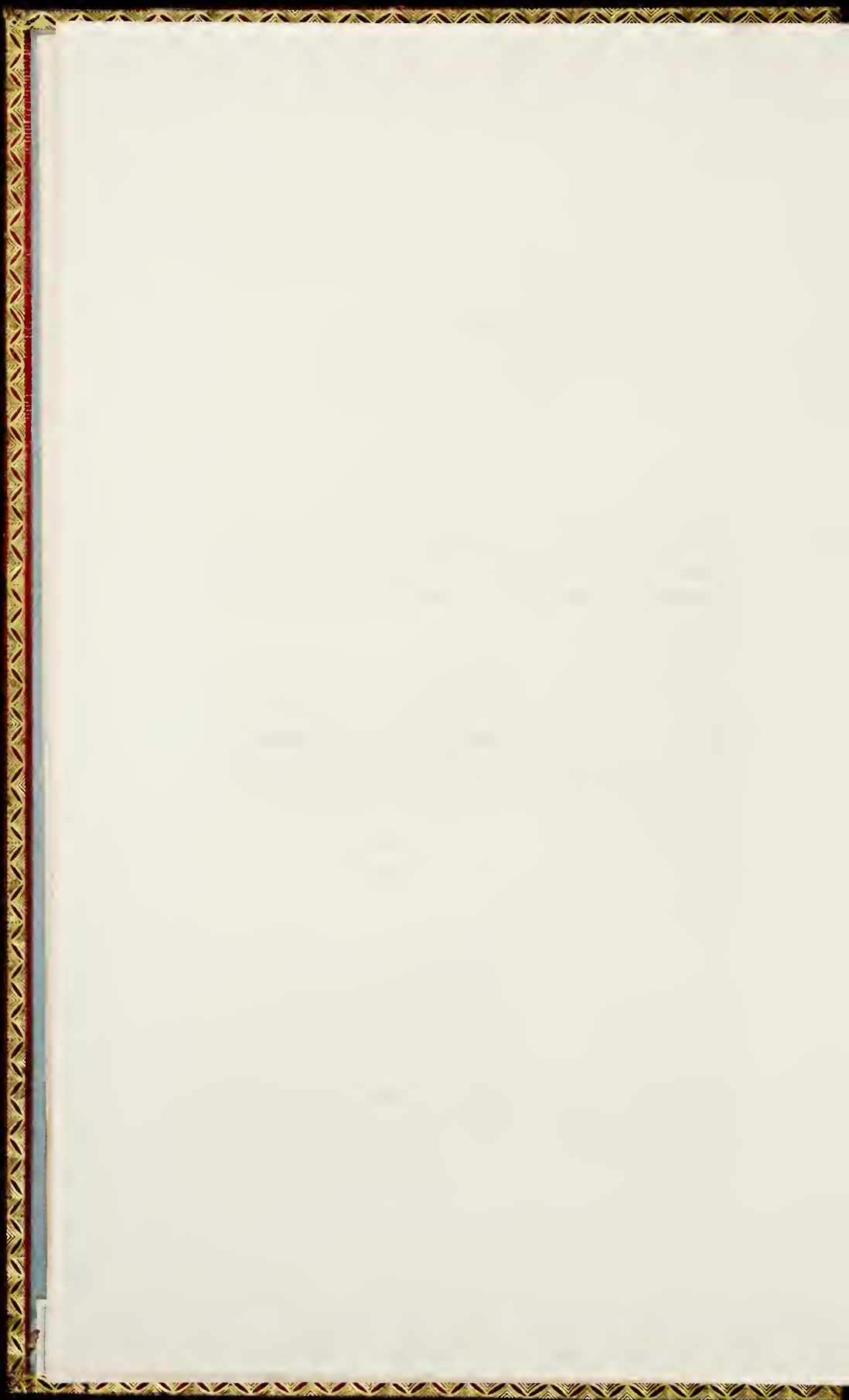
It is with great satisfaction that I am enabled to send you some description of a country, on the subject of which you were pleased to express an interest highly gratifying to my mind.

To have succeeded in pointing out a close connexion between the Poem and the Scene of the Iliad, and thereby contributed towards the amusement of those leisure hours, which you are sometimes enabled to borrow from the more serious duties of life, and the charms of polished society, is the sincere wish of,

MADAM,

Your Grace's
Most obliged
and devoted Servant,

WILLIAM GELL.



INTRODUCTION.

THE Voyage, of which the following pages are the result, had for its principal object, the examination of that part of the Troad, which is more particularly connected with the Iliad of Homer.

The controversy on the subject of Troy, which had long employed the ingenuity and abilities of some of the most learned men in Europe, imparted new charms and increasing interest, to the contemplation of scenes already made sufficiently engaging by the writings of the poet and historian. To assert that there existed on my part no disposition to credit the veracity of Homer, both as an historian and topographer, would be useless; yet I can say with truth, that prejudice has never induced me to deviate from the strictest regard to fidelity, either in delineating or describing. I had been accustomed, during a long voyage in the Levant, to sketch every scene, which was remarkable for singularity of feature, or as the theatre of events recorded in history; and I was prepared with copious notes, from every work antient and modern, which tended to illustrate the history or topography of the country, while I examined every interesting spot, with a delight increasing as the truth and consistency of the Iliad became more and more apparent.

In approaching the Troad, each bay, mountain, and promontory, presented something new to the eye, and excited the most agreeable reflections in the mind—so that in a few days, I found myself in possession of a number of observations and drawings, taken in a part of the world concerning which, although much has been written, there still existed a great deficiency of those materials which might enable the reader to form a satisfactory opinion, without encountering the difficulties of a

tedious voyage. I thought that such information would gratify men of literature and enquiry.—I was confident, that delineations and descriptions of a fertile plain, watered by abundant and perennial streams, affording almost impregnable positions, and so situated, as to command one of the most important passes in the world, must be interesting, not to say valuable, to politicians and statesmen. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that I was not without the hope of convincing others, as I had been myself convinced, that the history, as related by Homer, is confirmed by the fullest testimony, which a perfect correspondence between the present face of the country and the description of the poet can possibly give to it.

To attempt elegance of style in a work of mere description, would be so much out of place, that I am persuaded an apology will not be required for such imperfections of language as may be found in this volume. I am well aware, that my anxiety to give the reader a thorough knowledge of the country, may in some cases have led me into useless repetitions, while, in others, the mention of many particulars may be omitted, which I have falsely imagined were generally known. In regard to the plates, I can truly aver that they are accurate copies of faithful drawings made by myself on the spot, and I think I am justified in observing, that those who are interested in the subject, by a careful examination of them may acquire as clear a conception of the plain and its environs, as a traveller who is not a draughtsman, could obtain in the country itself. In the description of the plates, I have confined myself for the most part to the single object of illustrating the topography of the *Hiad*; yet as the relation of the few occurrences we met with during our short journey, may not be entirely uninteresting to some of my readers, I have not omitted to insert it.

After a residence at Mitylene during the greater part of November, 1801, I sailed, in company with another English gentleman, in a small open vessel of the country, intending to touch at the town of Mulliva for a third companion, who, with our dragoman, proceeded by land through the centre of the island to the most northern point. The channel between the island of Lesbos and the main land appears to be nearly twelve miles in breadth. To the north the prospect is bounded by the chain of *Ida*, below which are seen the little islands anciently

called Hecatonisi, (from their number,) and at present Muskonisi, projecting from the Asiatic coast. The woods of Lesbos on the left, interspersed with villages and scattered habitations, have a pleasing effect, while on the right the kingdom of Attalus and the Æolian coast present an agreeable variety of plains and mountains.

Our vessel was manned by four or five Turks from the city of Mitylene, and we found in their order and cleanliness an agreeable contrast to the slovenly conduct and ungovernable clamour of the Greek mariners. We were compelled to anchor during the night in a little bay, in one of the Muskonisi, where our Turks raised an awning over us upon poles, and left the whole of it to ourselves; the crew retired to a kind of cabin in the bow of the vessel, while the master or Carabucero as he is termed, kept watch all night at the helm. When day light returned we again set sail, leaving behind us the gulph of Adramyrium, and coasting the Phrygian shore in a direction nearly west. As we advanced, the common duties of an English morning toilette attracted the notice of our conductors, who, surprised at seeing us perform our ablutions with a scrupulousness worthy of Mussulmen, expressed the greatest satisfaction, and one of them spread his cloak as a carpet for us to sit upon. The ceremony of the tooth-brush did not excite less astonishment, for they had no idea that there existed Christians of any nation, who thought washing an indispensable duty. The wind becoming unfair, we had an opportunity of taking the outlines of the coast with some degree of accuracy, while the Turks, who had a taste sufficient to discover that the shore of Lesbos was far more inviting, asked, with surprise, why we did not write about their country as well as the other. We told them that in ancient times the Troad had been the seat of a great kingdom, which made it more interesting to us, though we allowed that Lesbos was infinitely more beautiful. In the evening we arrived at Mulliva, a town of considerable extent, seated on the sides of a steep declivity, and crowned with a large castle. Here we found our dragoman, and our companion, and were detained for a short time by adverse winds, wishing in vain for a passage to the little town on Cape Baba, (the ancient promontory of Lectum,) and only twelve or fourteen miles distant from the northern extremity of Lesbos. Mulliva seems to have been the Poliba of the ancients, for the situation is correspondent, and the name has undergone but little alteration;

the port is very small and much exposed. We found here an officer of no great dignity, but exceedingly useful: he is termed the Kiaia, and his duty is to procure lodging and accommodations for strangers. The Turks of this country are so scrupulous in rendering these services, that we found on the terra firma the owner of a house who quitted it entirely that we might be more conveniently lodged, and that for a very inconsiderable remuneration. Near Mulliva is Petra, not far from the port of the same name, which is derived from a large rock in the village. The port of Baba being unsafe during the prevalence of a south wind, we were compelled, as soon as we could set sail, to pass close to that town without landing, and make the best of our way for the harbour of Tenedos. In the course of the voyage, which did not exceed the distance of twenty-four miles, we had a good opportunity of observing the coast, which lay not far on our right. The ruins of the baths of Alexandria Troas are visible on arriving between Tenedos and the Trojan coast, but the entrance of the port being entirely filled with sand, it cannot at present be conveniently approached by sea. Tenedos is a bare rough rock, not more than three miles long, rising toward the north-east into a round hill, under which, upon the canal between the island and the main land, is the little port and the town. Before we entered the harbour, we observed a small rock on our right, on which was a fragment of white marble. Our Turks assured us that it was a Christian church, and wondered that we did not cross ourselves as the Greeks did. It is probably the tomb of some provincial saint. We found the port defended on the south by a small castle, and on the north by one of superior dimensions, erected by the Genoese or Venetians during their wars with the Turks. From the southern castle a long line of windmills extends to the town, which forms one side of a spacious square, connecting it with the sea. Tenedos is infested by an innumerable race of dogs, of a light brown colour, who attack strangers immediately on landing, but they are easily driven off by stones. The Russian agent here procured us a bad house, in which we passed the night. In the morning of the second of December we hired a boat of singular construction, being long and narrow, yet high out of the water, and in which either oars or sails were used as circumstances permitted. We left our heavy baggage at Tenedos with our cook, with orders to conduct it to the Dardenelles: and we set out upon our

expedition with our dragoman, and a single Greek servant, providing ourselves only with linen, and absolute necessaries for a few days. We did not omit to reckon among the necessaries, a large bottle of Muscatel white wine from Tenedos; which, as the Turkish peasants do not keep liquor, we found a good precaution, besides which, we had discovered that the flavour was delicious. The canal being only five miles in breadth, our boat quickly left us on the sandy shore of the Troad, a little south of the cape Koum-bournou, where we had not walked many minutes before we discovered a person in the brown habit of the country, driving a couple of oxen in one of those carts to which some English travellers have given the name of Sigæan. He readily enlisted in our service, and carried our bundles to the village of Ghiclé or Geiklé, where we remained during the night. We passed over a bridge, and entered a country exhibiting to us an entirely novel appearance, being divided into fields by hedge-rows, and interspersed with trees, as in England. What surprised us more was, that we found the laues in good order, and bordered with grass, to the sight of which we had been strangers since we left Trieste in the month of March. We passed many wells on the road, a proof that the country was once more populous than at present. When we arrived at Ghiclé, our conductor, instead of insisting on a larger sum, as had been always the custom of the Greeks, was contented with less money than the dragoman intended to give him, and set out in search of the Kiaia who was working in the fields. We found the village, consisting of a few houses, not widely scattered, but having a large plat of grass in the centre, a sight so pleasing to us, that we sate down upon it, and dined, congratulating ourselves on being able to repose on the ground, at a season, when our English friends were shivering with cold. What gratified us still more, was, that the people appeared to have no impertinent curiosity; for though in the centre of the village, not one came to disturb us, but, on application, readily furnished us with what we wanted. In the evening we walked up a hill, and observed the country, catching from its summit the first sight of the tumulus of Udjek, which only served to increase our eagerness for a view of the plain which lay behind it. On descending, we found the Kiaia had given up his house to us, and provided horses for the next day, when we visited the ruins of Alexandrian Troy, distant about five miles toward the south. We rode through a well wooded

country, some of the trees however appeared to have been burned. In our way we met several camels feeding at large. They approached us without fear, and stalked after us with great composure for some distance. About a mile north of Alexandria, we found great heaps of granite balls, which had been cut from the fallen columns of the city, and are still used by the Turks for those guns of enormous calibre on the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, which could not be supplied with iron, but at an immense expence. Many indeed of a less considerable size are used in the Turkish dominions. A little hamlet, apparently deserted, stands near the sea, not far from the northern wall of Alexandria; the name of it is Tolian Kevi. The approach to the ruins is announced by the vestiges of shattered temples, which however do not bespeak great magnificence; as the colonnades have never consisted of any thing more than ill designed granite pillars, of inconsiderable magnitude, and inferior workmanship. The ground, once occupied by the city, is covered by innumerable oaks, so that it would take much time to examine every part of it with minuteness. The wall, which is placed on a bank, appears to have been strong, but the situation in many parts is not such as to add to its strength. The port, which was without the western walls, and of inconsiderable extent, is now choked up by the accumulation of sand. There are many ruined temples near it, the remains of which consist of small pillars of granite; they were evidently erected when the arts had so much declined, that I am not certain they were ever appropriated to heathen worship. I saw nothing which could give any hint to a traveller that this had been a Greek city, though it is well known that Alexander enlarged the town, and, after honouring it with his name, granted many immunities to the inhabitants; and that the designs of that conqueror were afterwards completed by Lysimachus. The materials are not such as were generally applied by the Greeks to public edifices, nor is the style or workmanship of any of the ruins at all comparable to the works of the Grecians in other countries.

Several Roman inscriptions are found among the ruins, and the word *DIVO* at the commencement, sufficiently demonstrates that such marbles must have a later origin than the first of the emperors. The most considerable ruin is that called by the vulgar Priam's palace, by some the Gymnasium, and now found to be the baths of the city, built

by Herodes Atticus, at a great expence. The best proof of it is that the stone pipes for the conveyance of the water are scattered about various parts of the edifice. Engravings of it have been published, which are correct. What remains is well built, but without an attempt at any thing more than the accomodation of the bathers. To the west, the entrance, consisting of a large arch with one on each side of smaller dimensions, constitutes the most striking feature of the ruin. South of this is the semicircular end of some edifice, with niches for statues. We found a breach in the wall toward the east, through which we went down a steep bank into a thicket, once the burial place of some of the inhabitants. Here we found a sepulchre covered with the opus reticulatum of the Romans, and the remains of two columnar monuments of great size. Near them were the covers of sarcophagi of white marble; and I was informed that a granite column, inferior only to that called Pompey's pillar, exists among the woods in the neighbourhood. Not far distant was a tumulus shaded with trees, from whence was a fine view of a plain on the south of Alexandria. We returned to Ghiclé to dinner, and in the evening recommenced our journey on horseback toward Bounarbashi, the presumed situation of Homeric Troy. The country was agreeably varied with woods and fields, and we passed near a village, which, we were told, was called Dähri Kevi, but which I find in many maps styled Bos. The distance is about five miles. Near the road is the village of Arabler, after passing which, a defile, between the hills bounding the plain of Troy on the west, conducted us to Bounarbashi. One of the first objects which attracted our notice was the hill of Atché Kevi in front, and we soon discovered a tumulus on the hills to the right, which I was afterwards induced to believe was that of Paris. In a short time we crossed a narrow valley, and found ourselves on the hill of Bounarbashi, a village consisting of about twenty-five houses, with a neat mosque, and a large house, the residence of the Aga, who is the principal person of the place. On entering we saw two tumuli on the summit of the hill behind the village, beside one which we had seen in our way. Looking toward the plain we saw other tumuli on the shore, beyond which the sea, decorated with the islands of Imbros and Samothrace, terminated the scene. The European coast was visible beyond the Hellespont, and the fleet of the Captain Pacha, returning from the Egyptian expedition, was readily descried between

Koum Kalé and the opposite castle. Two rivers were discernible, flowing in circuitous courses along the plain, and toward the sea they appeared to unite. One of them nearly encompassed the hill of Bounarbashi, while the other arose at the foot of some trees which surrounded the gardens of the inhabitants. We had no sooner arranged our plans for passing the night at Bounarbashi, than we walked out to examine the place. The Aga himself was absent on the Egyptian coast: but another Aga, his friend or deputy, was left in the house, and supplied his place. We were introduced through an open gallery on the first floor, into a good room, well fitted up in the Turkish taste, with handsome divan cushions round three of its sides. We walked downwards from the village into the nearest part of the plain, and came to a neat square cistern, surrounded by willows, and formed by several pieces of white marble, and two blocks of granite, within which a copious spring boiled up with considerable force. I was warm with riding, and naturally took some of the water in my hand to drink; not having at that moment a thought of Homer in my mind. I was surprised to find that the water was too warm to relieve thirst. My surprise however was quickly dissipated, as I concluded that this must be the warm source of the Scamander, and having found that, I knew from the accounts of other travellers, in what direction to look for the cooler sources. We accordingly proceeded to the west, in our way meeting with a second cistern very near the other, and of modern workmanship, scarcely to be called a separate source. The water was equally warm, or even more so. At the distance of one hundred and seventy yards we came to a splash of water, from which a rapid brook took its rise, and on the opposite side of it saw the water rising in large quantities from a perforated rock. I perceived a very considerable difference in the nature of the two springs, for this was cold and refreshing. One of my companions, however, was not affected by the same sensations, as he thought both of an equal temperature. This I attributed at the time to a difference only in the habit of body; if both the springs gave the sensation of cold to the hand, a slight degree of difference would not be distinctly felt, and the same might be said if the hand found warmth in both. I was certainly warm when I tasted of the first spring, yet I found the water also warm; and though I was become much cooler before I went to the second source, I found that so cold as to leave no doubt in my mind. Unfortunately we had no instrument,

by which we could determine the point with precision, a horse having fallen with part of our baggage, and broken it, some time before. I am now, however, able to account for the difference in our sensations; for it has been ascertained by the thermometer that both are warm, yet, as the receptacle of the second is large, while that of the former is confined, the evaporation from the surface alone would be sufficient to lower the temperature very considerably. In fact, it is probable that my friend made trial of the water of the second spring, much nearer to the place where it first issues from the rock, than myself. At all events, the spring passes, among the inhabitants of Bounarbashi, for a cold one, while the other is regarded as warm, and that alone is sufficient to determine the point. The water abounds with little fish, and is exceedingly clear. The springs being at the distance of one hundred and seventy yards from each other, run in separate channels for three or four hundred yards, and serve to water some pretty gardens which occupy the ground between them. In one of these is a cottage, inhabited by a gardener and his family, who shewed me a large fragment of white marble, decorated with antique sculpture. It appeared like the metope of Doric structure. At the further extremity of the gardens the rivulets unite, and form a copious stream. Having examined the springs, which are yet used for washing, as they were by the maidens of Troy in the early ages of antiquity, we returned to the house of the Aga to supper. While the preparations were going on, we observed that the room was scarcely of a size sufficient to allow of our sleeping comfortably, and seeing a door fastened only by a leathern thong wound round a nail, we entered with our interpreter the room into which it opened, with an intention of discovering another apartment, in which we might pass the night. The house being very large, we found several good rooms, painted in lively colours, and at last fixed upon one which we thought more comfortable than the rest; but as the whole were fitted up in a style we had not before seen, we proceeded, on our return, into a kind of hall near the centre, to examine the other wing, beginning by opening a door with a key we found in the lock. As we advanced with only a single lamp, we heard the sound of laughter, and the footsteps of persons retreating from us. I do not know how it happened that we did not recollect that we were in the apartments of the women, for had we done so, regard both for propriety and personal safety would have suggested the necessity of

retreating; but we examined the place with some composure, and we penetrated even into a chamber which the females had that moment quitted on our approach. The room was surrounded with a handsome divan sofa, and on the floor were many cushions, on which the ladies had been sitting before a good fire. From the four corners of the room, as many ropes covered with red cloth served to suspend in the centre a small cradle, much like those used in England; but there was no child in it when we entered. We began, however, at length, to suspect that we were not in our proper situation, and returned to our room, when we found the Aga himself advancing to meet us, pale with rage, and his lips quivering with such violence that he could scarcely speak. I told the Greek servant, who spoke Turkish, to ask him, whether we could not have another room, on which he turned away without speaking. The dragoman began to commiserate his situation, as he would become the scorn of every body for suffering the intrusion of strangers into his haram. In the course of the evening we sent to inform him what was the truth, that we had only been in search of another chamber, being totally ignorant of the use of those apartments. He was so well satisfied with our message, that he shortly after made his appearance with a large water melon, which he begged us to accept, and thus terminated an affair which might have been productive of serious consequences to our party, if the Aga had not been a rational man. I got up at an early hour in the morning, and walked to the top of the hill of Bounarbashi, not a little delighted to imagine myself in the Pergama of Priam. I found my expectations and wishes most amply gratified. Foundations of walls, and perhaps temples, were visible, and three tumuli, of the species which Homer describes, bore testimony to the former existence of inhabitants on this spot, very different from the Turks of Bounarbashi. Nearer the summit, the foundation of a thick wall is visible, extending across a narrow part of the hill, bounded on each side by a steep precipice. Beyond the wall the ground rises still higher, and swells out into an oval shape, while one of the rivers, which flow through the plain, almost encircles the foot of the rocks at its base. On the top of this hill, which seems to have been the Citadel or Pergama of Troy, more foundations are discoverable, and a surrounding wall may be traced in almost every part. On the highest point is a little mound hollowed out in the centre, round it is a circular foundation, on the north side of which is a block of squared

stone. Near this a steep precipice falls almost perpendicularly toward the river below, and the recollection of that rock, from which the Trojans once thought of precipitating the horse, presented to them by the Greeks, immediately suggested itself to my mind. From this summit of the rock is a beautiful prospect of a vale, watered by the Simoeis, which runs through the deep glen almost surrounding the Pergama. To the west the isle of Tenedos is visible in its whole extent, while the plain, with its two rivers, and its numerous tumuli, is terminated to the north by the Archipelago and the Hellespont. The view being so extensive from this spot, I took the opportunity of observing such points as might most effectually conduce to a thorough knowledge of the plain; and these I visited after breakfast in a regular manner, taking, in my way, drawings of every thing, which I thought capable of throwing any light on the subject of the situation of Troy. In my way to Bonnarbashi, I measured, with a pedometer, the distances between the most remarkable points of the hill. I found my companions at breakfast, and observed with pleasure that we were arrived in a climate which produced not only grass in December, but even milk, to which we had been strangers in our journey through Greece. After breakfast I again visited the springs of Seamander with my friend, and after drawing them, recommenced an examination of the environs of Bonnarbashi. The first objects which caught my attention were the marble capitals of columns of no great size, but of workmanship like that in many of the English churches. In the whole course of our tour we had never seen any fragments which did not seem to be the production of an artist of the most refined taste, a circumstance which made these the more singular, and almost persuaded us, that we had found some of the original marbles of Troy, for certainly the arts had not arrived at perfection when these capitals were formed. They were not all alike; but that they were not of Turkish sculpture appears from the ignorance of that nation in regard to such ornaments; for some handsome capitals of the Ionic order, and about the same dimensions, are turned upside down in the walls of the buildings which surround the Aga's house; a proof that the Turks of this country would never have thought of carving capitals, when they could find them ready near the spot. We proceeded to the summit of a hill, which lies between Bonnarbashi and the Simoeis on the east; after which we descended into a narrow glen between the hill of

Boumarbashi and the chain of Ida. This glen is watered by the broad and rapid Simoeis, the banks of which are shaded with willows and tamarisks, while the stream is here and there decorated with little islands full of bushes. The lower part of the hill is laid out in small inclosures, while the sides are clothed with rough wood, climbing to the rocky summit.

The precipices of the hill of Boumarbashi are covered with an infinite number of loose stones, which may have been used for the building of ordinary houses, and such as we had before seen used for that purpose in the ruins of the city in Delos. In a short time we turned toward the west, still continuing with the river on our left, and the rocks of the citadel on the right, which here arose to the height of about four hundred feet. The dell soon after assumed the form of a fertile vale, interspersed with corn fields and meadows, and wanting nothing but a clearer stream than the Simoeis to render it perfectly beautiful. We had heard so much in England of the insignificance of the Simoeis and the Xanthus, that we were amazed to find the former running with a stream that would have been called considerable, even in our own country, while we had seen the latter a violent torrent almost at its source. If Homer had been accustomed, as we had, to the sight of such rivers as the Ilissus, Cephissus, Asopus, Ismenus, or Inopus, or of such fountains as those of Dirce, Enneaeuronus, Arethusa, or even Castalia itself, the sources of Scamander and the floods of Simoeis must have appeared miraculous indeed; so that there would have been nothing wonderful if his description had appeared somewhat exaggerated, in the estimation of an English reader. It is but fair, however, to observe, that Homer describes even the eddying Scamander, as of such inconsiderable dimensions, that a fallen tree extended as a bridge across the stream. The ancients also have described the Xanthus as yellow, a circumstance which has persuaded some of the moderns, that the Xanthus was on the east, and the Simoeis on the west of the plain; but it is evident that they only speak of the mouth of the river, where the sand of Simoeis had as much corrupted the waters of the Scamander, as the clearness of the Rhine is destroyed by its junction with the Aar. After remaining some time in the vale, we determined to ascend to the summit of the Acropolis, in spite of a hot sun and a very steep precipice, which opposed itself; for we had

discovered a cave in the solid rock at a great height. After climbing to it, we found that it appeared perfectly natural, and only penetrated to the depth of a few feet. Arriving near the summit, we discovered the foundations of walls in the most defensible part of the rock, and soon after gained the highest point of the Pergama, where we remained some time for the purpose of taking sketches, and resting after our fatigue. We returned to Bomarbashi, only distant about one mile, to dinner. The evening was spent in examining and delineating the hill, as was the greater part of the following day, in the course of which, though it rained, I visited the citadel again, in order to complete my designs. After dinner we took leave of the resident Aga, having, by his interest, supplied ourselves at a very moderate price with two carts, each drawn by a pair of oxen. It is but justice to the people of the country, to say that a more quiet and obliging race never existed, and that we found in every transaction with them an honesty and fair dealing, very agreeable after our experience of the hard bargains and knavery of the Greeks. The Aga seemed much pleased with the present of a sequin of the value of ten shillings, at our departure; but had the real Aga of Bomarbashi been at home, we should probably have been lodged and accommodated without reward, as he is a rich man, and a Hadjee of a very hospitable disposition. I observed one of his greyhounds covered up with a fine Turkey carpet, which was kept on by a strap; and on enquiring the reason, was informed that they imagined such additional clothing was of great advantage to the training of those animals in winter. We walked by the side of our carts till we came to the ford of Simoeis, in the way to Koum Kale on the Hellespont. Here we mounted those vehicles, and with much difficulty passed over, the river being very rapid, and more than one hundred yards in breadth. I was, during the passage, in danger of losing the fruits of my journey; for the water rising above the wheels of the cart, I was compelled to stand up with my papers to secure them from injury. Unfortunately the oxen became unruly, and in my endeavours to assist the driver, all my treasures fell into the stream. I had, however, the good fortune to recover them before they received any material damage, but they yet retain many marks of the sandy hue of the flood. We proceeded along the Simoesian plain to Kallifalli, a large populous village; after passing which, the people ran out after us, bringing ancient medals of the country, which we

had asked for in our way. We found them to be those of Alexandria, stamped with the figure of a horse feeding, the usual symbol of that city. In a short time we found ourselves again on the banks of the Simoeis, after which the vale of Thymbrae, anciently decorated with the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo, began to appear. On the hill which bounds that vale on the south, once stood the city of New Himm.

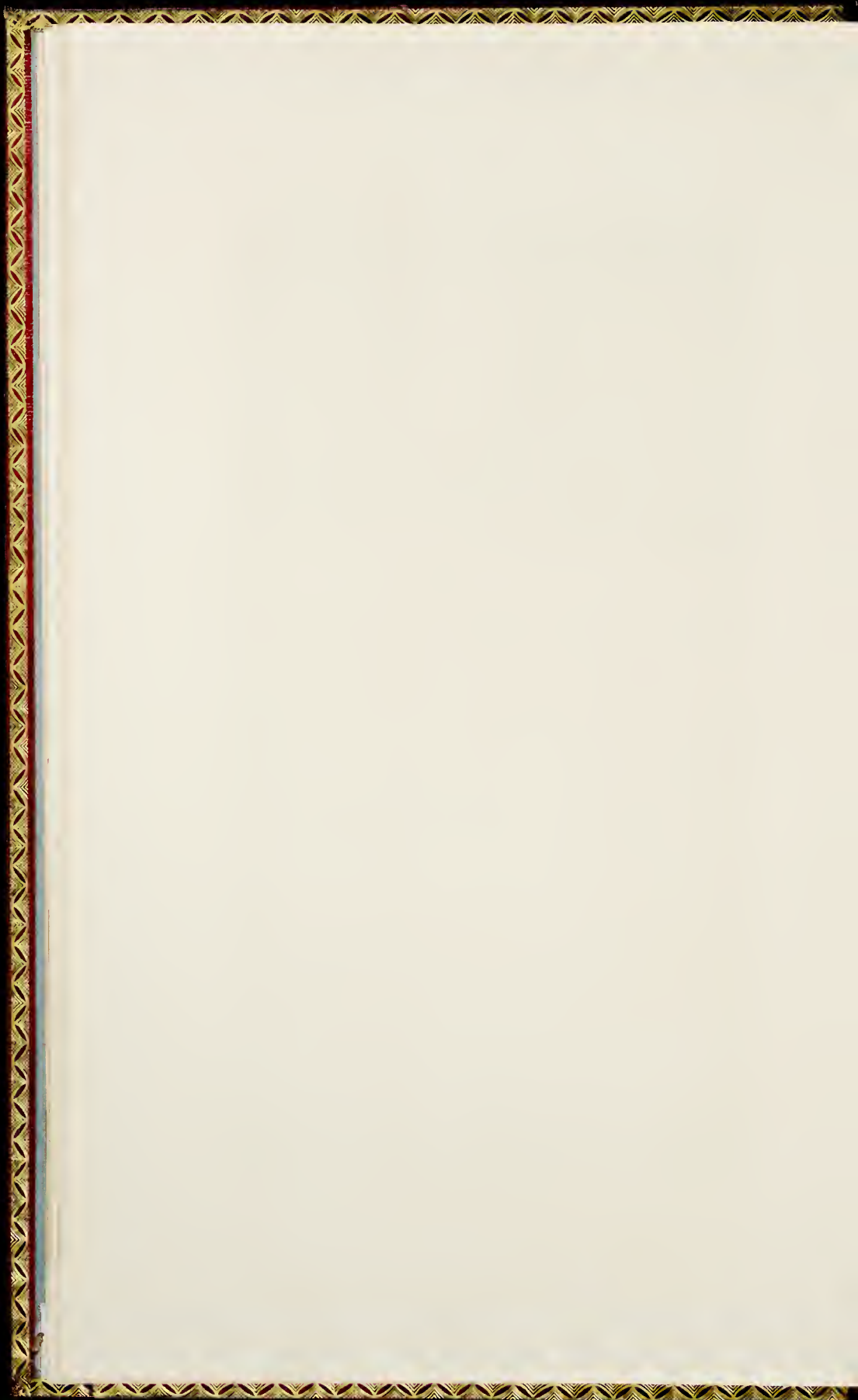
As the day began to close, we found ourselves at the little village of Koum Kevi; at one extremity of which, after crossing a channel, perhaps that of the brook Thymbrius, we observed a large but not lofty mound, on which were the remains of columns similar to those at Alexandria Troas. We found nothing remarkable between this village and Koum Kale, except that our road frequently passed through certain splashes of water, which we should have taken for rivers, but that we observed they did not extend far, and had no communication with each other. I found reason afterwards to suspect that these pits indicated the ancient course of the Scamander. The road to Koum Kale conducted us once more to the banks of the united Simoeis and Xanthus, which we crossed by means of a wooden bridge of uncommon length. We found a tumulus, used as a Turkish burial ground, on the further side, ornamented with cypresses, but as the night was coming on we proceeded to the village, where, having discovered a coffee-house under the walls of the castle, we passed the night. We found the house filled with Turkish officers, couriers, and sailors returning from Egypt to Constantinople; and a party who were just going to sit down, asked us to sup with them, which, however, we declined, as we were somewhat fatigued, though we had only performed a journey of nine miles on that day. In the morning we were entertained by the sight of the Turkish method of paying compliments; for the forts of the European and Asiatic sides saluted the Captain Pacha, and his fleet, each vying with the other in the art of directing the ordnance, so that the balls just passed without touching the bowsprit of the flag ship, the Sultan Selim. The salute was returned with equal vivacity, and I had frequent opportunities of seeing the balls from the opposite shores cross each other in the water. When this ceremony was finished, the fleet sailed for Constantinople, and we set out on foot to explore the lower part of the plain. We visited the tumulus, near

the bridge, and proceeded along fields, which occupied the left bank of the rivers, till the enclosures ceased. In a short time we arrived at a little garden, where we found the stream again, and advancing, found a channel, which we passed with some difficulty. This cut formed a communication between the river and a marsh which lay on our right, and on its banks were the marble capitals of Corinthian columns, of considerable size and elegant design. Soon after we saw more capitals and a mount, which appeared artificial, and on which were scattered large blocks of stone. In the river we observed the piers of an antique bridge, which was in the road between New Ilium and Alexandria Troas. On the south side of the mount, a little rivulet running in a channel of some breadth, joined the Simocis, and this we found to be the remains of the Scamander, the waters of which are now turned into the sea by a canal. We traversed the brook on foot, and walked on the plain between the two rivers. I got wet in so doing, and was looking for some better point at which I might repass, when one of my companions discovered, at a short distance, a man riding on horseback over a bridge, to which we immediately directed our steps. On the other side we walked up a circular knoll, whence we had a good view of the plain. On the side next the sea, a large tumulus, which we visited, attracted our attention. From its summit we enjoyed a most extensive prospect over the whole country, as far as Bounarbashi and the summit of Ida on one side, while the white top of Athos might be clearly distinguished on the other. We had also the advantage of observing the canal which carried off the waters of Scamander, and of tracing with the eye the scanty brook which remains in the ancient bed, down to its junction with the Simocis. After remaining on this tumulus for some time, we returned by the village of Jeni Chehr to Koum Kevi, in our way passing two other tumuli, one of which is of considerable magnitude. We slept at the coffee-house, and in the morning of the following day, hired one of the little boats, called *pieli*, and which abound in the Hellespont. As the day was rough and stormy, we had not much opportunity of observing the shore; however, I saw on the east of the plain, another tumulus near the sea, after passing which, the coast became rugged and mountainous, till we arrived within a mile of the Asiatic castle of the Dardanelles.

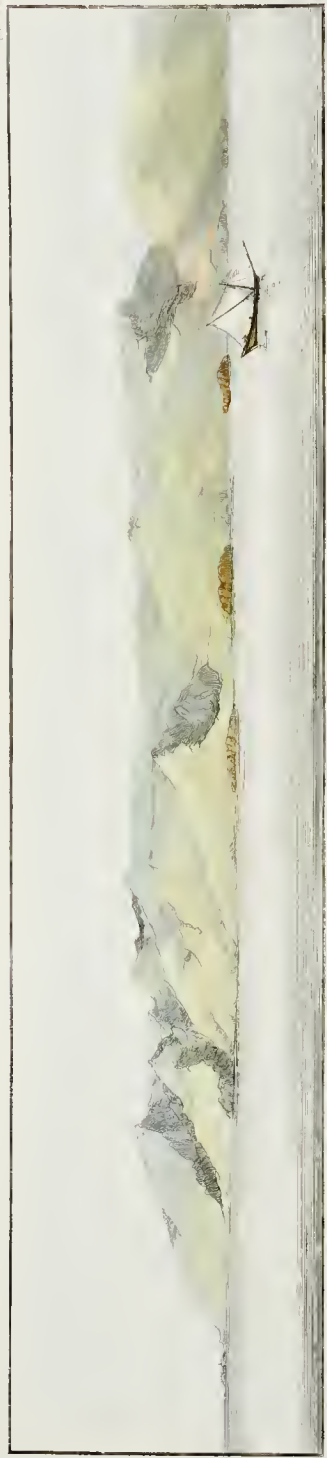
Here the shores of the Hellespont begin to assume a very engaging aspect, on the Thracian side presenting a castle overlooked by a pretty

town, ornamented with cypresses, and backed by beautiful hills; while the Asiatic coast, which is in this part a delightful and fertile plain, is decorated by the town and fortress which guard the streight, above which the promontory of Abydos appears to close the passage. On landing at the Asiatic town, we found it in the utmost confusion; for the governor was at that time giving a superb fete, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter with the Aga of Lampsacus. We found out the English Consul with some difficulty, for the town is large. He was a Jew; as his own house had been lately burned down, he provided us with a lodging. The festival commenced in the evening with fire-works; during the exhibition of which the Turks formed a very extensive ring, and the Aga and his friends sate on one side of it on carpets and cushions. The exhibition was similar to those of our country; and we began to be heartily tired, when a curious scene was presented. Two men appeared, dressed like devils, with torches in their hands; each fixed himself in a frame of wood, not very much resembling, but intending to represent, the body of a horse. To the front of this frame was fixed a long moveable neck with a head, which was elevated or depressed by means of a bridle, at the pleasure of the supposed rider, on whose legs only the figure was supported. Thus equipped, they rushed into the centre of the circle with a loud noise and brandishing of torches; till coming before the seat of the Aga, they commenced a most furious battle, carried on by means of a tripple row of fire-works, representing cannon, and disposed on their sides; while at proper intervals a ball of fire, of more than ordinary magnitude, was discharged at the enemy, by means of that which served for the representation of the tail, to the great delight of the spectators, who on this occasion allowed themselves some relaxation from their accustomed gravity. When the combat was over, a species of opera, consisting of music, singing, and dancing, was exhibited by the first performers of the Sultan, who came from Constantinople for the purpose, at an enormous expence. The music was dull and monotonous, and the dance consisted in awkward squaring of the elbows, accompanied by still more disagreeable motions of the body, while the performer turned slowly round, singing at intervals. The evening concluded with this representation, and the following morning was appointed for wrestling. Such inhabitants of the town as were disposed to shew either strength or activity were the competitors for the prize; and many of them stepped forth in white drawers, and

oiled like the champions of Greece. The reward of prowess was a very long piece of coloured silk, given by order of the Aga, and presented to the conqueror, who came with the gift hanging over his shoulder to thank the donor. A hideous African black carried off many trophies and great applause. The next day was appointed for a boat race on the Hellespont; but the wind being fair we set sail for Gallipoli and Constantinople, leaving the Troad, till our return from the capital enabled me to make sketches of the coast from Rhætum to Alexandria Troas. I then found myself in possession of materials for the following pages, in which, all the merit I can claim to myself is that of having exhibited with fidelity the details of an interesting country, the grand outlines of which had been already made known to the public by the learning and abilities of Le Chevalier Dalziel and Morrit.







THE
TOPOGRAPHY OF TROY.

PLATE I.

THE southern coast of Phrygia, bordering on the gulph of Adramyttium, presents a continued chain of elevated mountains, gradually increasing in magnitude, as they recede from Cape Baba, and approach the summit of Mount Ida. The most lofty point of this celebrated mountain is distinguished in the Iliad, by the name of Gargarus, and according to the best observations, has four thousand six hundred and fifty feet of perpendicular elevation¹ above the level of the sea².

A spacious vale succeeds Gargarus toward the east, once the Thebe Hypoplacia of Homer, and by him recorded as the territory of Ætion³ and the birth place of Andromache.

During a residence of an entire month at Mytilene, I observed that the whole country of Cilicia, from Gargarus to Adramyttium, was continually obscured by a dense and gloomy atmosphere, and even when at a short distance from the coast, I never was enabled to complete any design, from which an accurate idea of its outlines might be obtained.

¹ Choiseul Gouffier.

² Ben Nevis, the highest mountain of Great Britain, is about 4370 feet above the western ocean.

³ End of the sixth book.

The first sketch therefore, has *Ida Gargaris*, (Vid. Pl. 1. A.) on the right or eastern extremity, and may be useful in demonstrating the real position of a mountain, the situation of which has not hitherto been generally known⁴. On the sea shore, near the foot of this mountain, lies the small village of *Antandros*. The distant summits B, are those to the east of *Alexandria Troas*. The opposite side of them will be shewn in a succeeding view.

The second is a continuation of the former, and some judgment may be formed from it, of the elevation of the coast, as far as *Cape Baba*, (Vid. Pl. C.) or *Lectum*. On an eminence about twelve miles eastward from *Baba*, lies *Bairam Kevi*, where are many ruins. It is universally supposed to be the *Assos* of *Strabo*. That geographer mentions it as a city fortified by nature and art⁵, having a long and difficult ascent from the sea and port. The point of *Lesbos* or *Mytilene* appears in the west. (Vid. D.)

The third sketch (Pl. 2.) is a nearer view of the rugged promontory of *Lectum*, and has the same character as all this portion of the coast of *Phrygia*. It must occur to every one, that in a country of defiles and precipices like this, the search for the plain of *Troy*, as described by *Homer*, is unnecessary, yet as it has been surmised that *Troy* stood in the country⁶ near *Lectum*, these outlines may suffice to convince us that a plain, capable of containing 150,000 men in battle array, cannot exist between the promontory of *Lectum* and the village of *Antandros*.

⁴ It was not ascertained, till the voyage of *Kauffer* the engineer, with the learned *Count Ludolf*, as is evident from the maps of *D'Anville*, and others. *Dr. Chandler* places the sources of his *Xanthus*, which is the river generally known as the *Simois*, more than twenty-five miles distant from the town *Antandros*, whereas the true distance does not exceed twelve. A difference of great importance in the survey of so confined a territory. The map was published in *May*, 1802.

⁵ *Strabo*, book 13.

⁶ The dissertations of the learned *Bryant*, accompanied by a map.

PL. IV



W. J. G. 1842

PL. V



B C

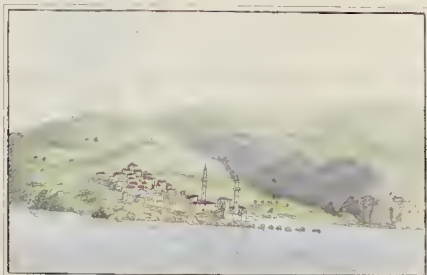
A



D

E





THE vignette (Pl. 3.) represents the modern village of Baba, or St. Mary, situated on the extremity of Lectum, and is seen in this view from the west. The principal buildings are the mosques and castle. The houses being built of unbaked brick, have a mean appearance. The little port formed of massive fragments of rock, is only capable of receiving the small fishing boats of the country, and is untenable even by these during a storm from the west or south. The inhabitants are celebrated in the Levant for their skill in the manufacture of knives.

Having now doubled the Cape, the western coast though rude and uncultivated, nevertheless assumes a more smiling aspect than the southern, and is totally different from it in character and formation. The little isle of Tenedos is seen from Baba, while Lemnos, which is not more distant, is not sufficiently elevated to be visible, unless while the atmosphere is clear.

The first outline therefore on the western coast (Pl. 4.) represents the village of Baba in profile toward the south, having the mountains of Mitylene, at the distance of fourteen or fifteen miles, in the back ground.

Proceeding northward from Lectum, I have been particularly cautious in representing with fidelity every inequality of the soil, and have not even omitted a tree, where such an object could be discerned. In the first view of the western coast nothing occurs worthy of remark, but in the second (Pl. 5.) we find the hills begin to lose their

abruptness, and that they are here and there separated by narrow vallies.

Near the centre of the second view, a village is perceived situated on a rising ground A. This I take to be Kourali Kevi, or Kura Kevi, a neighbouring hamlet.

The next cape to the left is Jughlan Bourroun, B, beyond it is an extensive bay, and behind is seen the pointed summit of the mountain to the east of Alexandria Troas, C. The view of the continent is terminated on the north, by a point D, under the ruins of that city, and Tenedos, E, is seen on the west, in the lower portion of the plate.

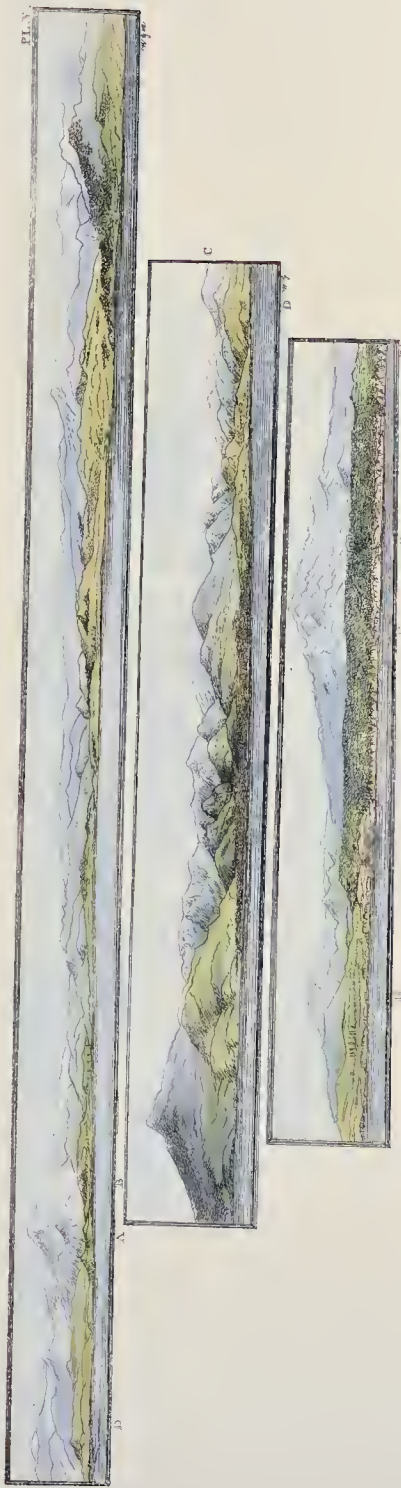
On passing Jughlan Bourroun¹ the shores recede, and a vale of some extent is perceived (Pl. 6.) bounded on the north by a lofty range of hills, A, and on the coast by a line of inconsiderable eminences, which prevent the view of the interior.

Near the base of the conical hill on the north, A, is a little village, bearing the name of Nesrach Kevi, and at a short distance from it a river discharges itself into the sea.

Here then we arrive at the first plain in the Troad where the traveller could, with any prospect of success, commence his researches for the Troy of Homer. A river falls into the sea after uniting with a second stream about two miles above its mouth; they flow conjointly through a plain, and the larger torrent, which runs near Bairam Kevi, has its source on the summit of Ida Gargarus.

The Hellespont, however, is far distant, and the tombs are wanting, which by their testimony were to have marked for ever the scene of the encampment of the Greeks, and the vicinity of Troy. The learned Mr. Bryant, in his observations on the work of Le Chevalier, has represented the city of Troy in the centre of this plain, and has accommodated, with great ingenuity, the situation of Tenedos to such a

¹ Bourroun is a name commonly applied to all promontories by the Turks.





disposition of the continent; but as the junction of two streams in this plain is the only point in which it corresponds with the plain of the Iliad, such a coincidence is insufficient to support the idea².

The mountain, C, (in the second view of Pl. 6.) represents the same object as that on the left side of the preceding sketch (A) but it is seen at a more considerable distance, and the low hills, D, intervening at its base, are the same as those marked D in that outline. The great plain in the centre is covered with a thick forest of oaks, of the species called *Ilex*, which is common in the country. The pyramidal hill E produces a singular effect, from its form and insulated situation. The mountain F, is that seen in Pl. 5. B, the summits of which are perceived in the gulph of Adramyttium.

The lowest of the outlines in Pl. 6, presents the mountain F in full view. In the midst of an extensive grove are the ruins of the baths of Alexandria, G. The trees mark, with tolerable accuracy, the site of that ancient city. From this point the summit of Ida, H, is visible in the distance.

² In the map alluded to, the island of Tenedos is placed near the promontory of Lectum or Baba; and the isle of Mytilene, together with the whole group of the Muskonisi or Hecatonisi have been displaced for the purpose of introducing a southern coast of the gulph of Adramyttium, which projects nearly as far to the westward as Cape Lectum itself.

PLATE VII.

IN order to give a more complete idea of this region, I have added to the coast-views a representation of a plain, situated to the south of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, which from its little elevation could not be well delineated from the level of the water. It was necessary, on this account, to take the drawing from a station more distant from the sea, than the ruins of the city, where a considerable elevation afforded a more ample prospect, not wanting even in picturesque effect. Plate 7, therefore, exhibits a plain, in which the greater number of the early travellers to the Levant imagined they had discovered the real plain of Troy, acknowledging at the same time, that the channel of a brook which might be perceived in it, was insufficient for the support of a loach or minnow, though Homer had described the Scamander and Simois as copious, and even overflowing rivers. The plain has not an extent capable of containing the armies, nor can a city within one hundred yards of the sea ever have been the Troy of the *Iliad*, where mention is so often made of the intervening space. The soil is prettily divided by trees and hedges, much in the English method. The mount near the shore is called *Liman Tepe*, a name which signifies the hill of the port. The size of this mount is so enormous, that if it be the work of art, which is highly improbable, it may have served the Turkish army for the erection of the consecrated banner, as was their custom on various occasions, and particularly during the residence of Soliman, who was detained for a time in the Troad, previous to his attack on the castles of the Thracian Chersonesus¹. The tumulus in the foreground, now shaded by trees, appears to be of ancient date, and has on its summit the fragments of sepulchral marbles. The two ruins on the right seem to have been intended as memorials of the dead, and to have been erected after the restoration of the city of Alexandria by the Roman em-

¹ It seems that the village of Colone was anciently situated in the vicinity of this hill. It is not impossible that the village derived its name from its situation on the mount.



View of the ...



perors. A sepulchre of a different form, distant only a few paces from these, but concealed by trees from the observer, is evidently of Roman workmanship, as may be proved by the opus reticulatum with which it is encrusted. A marble sarcophagus, with its cover, lies on the ground between these remains and the walls of the city, which occupied the high bank on the right, now overgrown with trees of considerable magnitude.

PLATE VIII.

THE coast extending northward, from the ruins of Alexandria, is low and sandy, in a degree that would render a view of it from the sea a mere line, backed by a distant range of mountains. I have therefore chosen an elevation near the little village of Ghieli, as a station, whence the whole of the coast between Alexandria Troas and the hill Udjek Tepe, or the tumulus of *Æsyetes*, may be easily surveyed. In the Plate numbered VIII. may be seen the hill *Stamboul Douk*¹, situated on the shore. It is of a magnitude so superior to the tumuli of the heroes of Homer, that if it be not natural, it may have been another of the situations where the banner of Mahomet was displayed, preparatory to the conquest of the Greek empire. The isle of Tenedos is seen in the distance, and the modern castle, with the little port, is discernible. Still following the coast, a small rivulet², destitute of fresh water in the month of December, is perceived; but a bridge is rendered necessary by the salt marshes which abound at its entrance into the sea.

Farther on, toward the north, is the low cape *Konn Bourom*, beyond which, PL. IX. exhibits the appearance of the rugged mountains of *Sauothrace* and *Imbros*, and a long line of elevated ground forms the southern boundary of the plain, which modern, as well as ancient travellers, have judged to have been the theatre of the Trojan battles. The tumulus visible on this eminence, is not far from the small village of *Udjek*, from which place it takes the name of *Udjek Tepe*. From the summit is a fine prospect of the plain, as well as of the adjacent country in every direction.

¹ *Stamboul*, is a name applied by the Turks both to Constantinople and Alexandria Troas. The latter has the addition of *Eski*, which signifies ancient.

² Called *Sudhison* by Le Chevalier.













PLATE X.

HAVING now shown from the land every portion of the shore which could not be represented from the sea, we have at length reached a point where the coast becomes more conspicuous, and every step more interesting from the vicinity of the Hellespont and the plain of Troy. In Plate X the lowest sketch has Mount Ida at a distance on the right or southern extremity. Proceeding northward, the tumulus of *Æsycetes* is a conspicuous object in the centre, and though considerably remote from the shore, some idea may be formed of the commanding prospect which its summit must afford. The country below it is laid out in small patches of corn and fallow land.

The eye is next arrested by the village of *Erkissi Kevi*, under which the waters of a canal unite with the sea. This canal runs between the hill of *Erkissi Kevi* and an eminence on the left, where a few poplars are distinguishable, and is not unworthy of remark, as it now takes off nearly all the water of the *Scamander*, and reduces the lower part of that river to a mere brook, previous to its junction with the *Simois*. The distant mountains are beyond the plain of Troy.

The last object is a tumulus bearing the name of *Behik Tepe*, standing at an inconsiderable distance from the shore, which here runs out into a cape terminated by a rock, which is foreshortened in this view. This tumulus has been termed that of *Protesilaus*, a name evidently misapplied, as the situation of the tomb of that hero was well known by the ancients, on the Thracian Chersonesus. It has with better reason been called the Tomb of *Penelus*, and is situated on a point called by *Kauffer*, in his map of the Troad, the promontory of Troy.

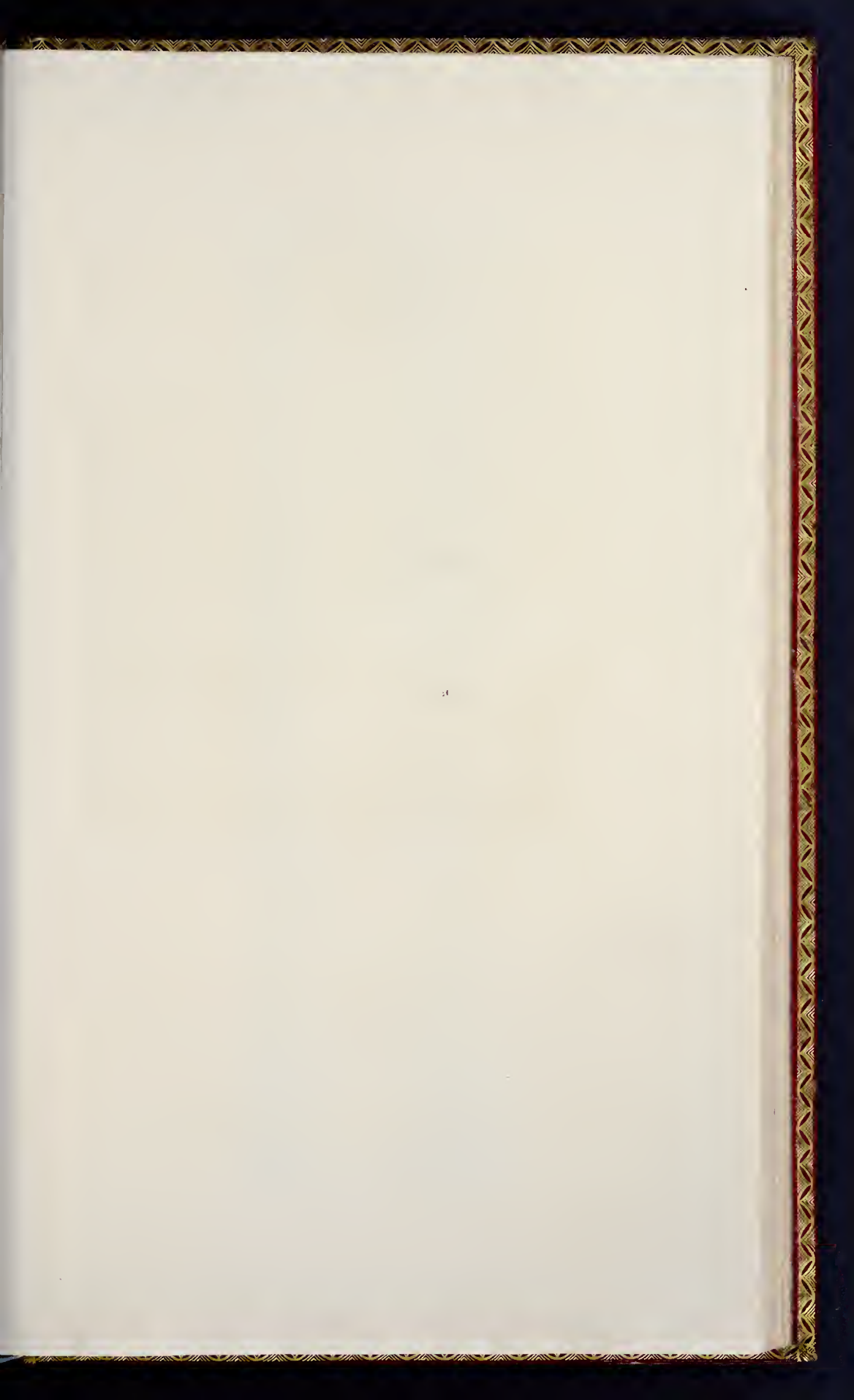
The sketch occupying the centre of Plate X, has the rock of Cape Troy on the right, and near it the tumulus of *Penelus*, or *Behik Tepe*, is again represented.

The mountain near Alexandria Troas is seen in the distance, after which the coast rises with such abruptness, that the range of hills extending from Gargarus to Lectum is excluded. At the extremity of this view on the left, the summit of Ida¹ again becomes a distinguishing feature, and the village of Jeni Kevi introduces itself between that mountain and the observer.

The upper line of coast in Plate X. contains the remaining part of Jeni Kevi, with the little thickets on the slope beneath. Far to the left of this village, a small summer-house, or wind-mill without sails, overlooking the plain as well as the sea, is just discernible on a rising ground behind the rocks of the shore. Again proceeding in the same direction, a small chasm is found, which some have imagined to have been anciently formed by art, for the purpose of draining the plain, which was frequently inundated by the waters of the Seamaner.

The view is terminated by the second tumulus in the vicinity of the plain, which is more known by the name of the Tomb of Antiochus, than by any other appellation. The application, however, of this name is unsupported by any authority, and is in some measure contradictory to the evidence of Homer.

¹ It must occur to any person, that in representing a coast, the objects in the back ground must continually change their positions, in regard to such as are near the draughtsman. Ida therefore is seen over different parts of the coast, as the ship whence these sketches were taken proceeded on its voyage.





L. A.

W. J. C.

A.

B.

PLATE XI.

THE lower division of the Eleventh Plate contains a delineation of the coast from the promontory of Troy, (A) nearly as far as the village of Jeni Chehr. The tumulus of Peneleus is also visible, (B) and the eminence on which Jeni Kevi is situated lies to the left of that monument. The tumulus of Antilochus occupies the centre of the view, seated on a lofty bank, presenting a surface, partly composed of soft sandy rock, and partly of verdure. To the left of it is seen the summer-house or kiosk mentioned in the preceding description. The distant mountains form part of the chain which extends from Gargarus to Cape Lectum.

The upper portion exhibits the rocks of Cape Janissary, above which is placed the village of Jeni Chehr, now inhabited by Greeks and occupying the site of the ancient Sigæum. The wind-mills on the summit of the hill, are used as a sea mark by the pilots of the Archipelago, who steer directly for the entrance of the Hellespont, when the nearest of those objects is in a line with the most remote. It is somewhat remarkable that the town of Sigæum, with its promontory, and that of Rhæteum have been so much insisted upon by writers on the subject of the Troad, although Homer mentions neither by name; signifying only, that two prominences existed, between which the army of the Greeks was encamped¹.

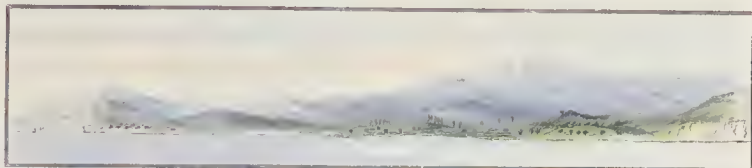
In this village the famous Sigæan inscription was discovered². Proceeding northward from Jeni Chehr, the range of elevations, which exclude the sight of the plain from the sea, begins gradually to decline; and on the northern extremity of the hill, the great tumulus, usually called that of Achilles, attracts the eye by its magnitude, and situation. On the right, adjoining to it, is a little convent of Turkish

¹ *Axçai*, Iliad, book xiv. 34. 36.

² The French ministers at Constantinople had made many fruitless attempts to rescue this inscription, but it was at length secured by the care of Lord Elgin, and transported to England.

derives. Below this sepulchre, towards the left, the summit of a fourth mount is perceptible, which has been termed by travellers the tumulus of Patroclus. Having passed these tombs, the bank or hill of Jeni Chehr becomes so far reduced in height, as to be marked only by the few poplars it produces. It is observable, that the rising ground so pointed out, recedes from the modern shore, which is here flat, and almost on a level with the sea. It has been imagined, and not without every degree of probability, that this low coast has been produced by an accumulation of sand, brought down from the mountains by the Simois, and that the rising ground indicates, at least, a part of the most ancient boundary of the ocean.

PLATE XII.



THIS small sketch comprises a part of the coast, about a mile in extent, from the tumulus of Achilles on the right, to the castle of Koum Kale on the left. Mount Ida is seen over the tumulus of Achilles, nearly in the same direction, as in the preceding Plate. The summit of the tumulus of Patroelus is also distinguishable; and between the high poplars and the village of Koum Kale some rocks are discoverable, which seem more positively to determine the original shore. The village stands on a long point of sand terminated by the fortress, which is often named the Castle of the Sand, in allusion to its situation. The mountain, seen over the village, is that which divides the vale of Thymbra from the Hellespont, and is a continuation of an extensive chain, reaching from Gargarus to the sea, and forming the northern and eastern boundary of the plain of Troy. Beyond the point of the castle the shores again recede, and a shallow bay affords an anchorage to the small vessels of the country.

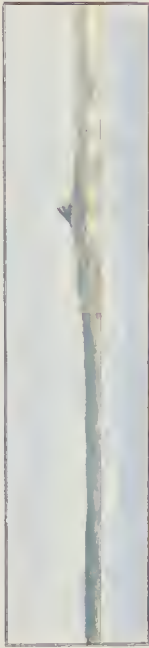
PLATE XIII.

THE point of the Thracian Chersonesus becomes visible, after passing the rocks of the promontory of Troy. It is here represented as it appeared from a vessel at sea, when not far distant from the tumulus of Antilochus. The hill and promontory of Jeni Chehr are seen in profile, excluding by their position the view of the tumulus of Achilles. The castle of Kohn Kale is seen, as it was in the preceding sketch, on the Asiatic side, and with De Tott's castle on the opposite coast, contributes to the defence of the Hellespont.

On the summit of the hill, which terminates the peninsula of Thrace, is seen a tumulus, similar in form to those on the Asiatic shore; and it is perhaps determined, with as much precision, that this is the tomb of Protesilaus, as that any of those in the vicinity are the assured tumuli of the heroes to whom they have been assigned. Homer, however, has left us no account of the spot where the tomb was constructed; but he has afforded some documents, whence it may be inferred, that the tumulus of Protesilaus should be sought on the European side of the Hellespont.

The territories of Ilium had been ravaged by the army of the Greeks before they attempted to land near the capital¹. Thrace was a kingdom either dependent on, or in alliance with Priam, and had therefore either been compelled to submit, or was bound by more recent treaties to the conquerors. Protesilaus was slain, landing on the Trojan coast, long before the rest of the army²; and we find innumerable instances, that the funeral rites were performed with all possible dispatch, after the decease of the hero for whom they were celebrated. The idea, that the spirit wandered naked and mournful, and incapable of enjoying the tranquillity of Elysium previous to the sepulture of the body,

¹ See the speech of Achilles during his contest with Agamemnon in the beginning of the *Iliad*, &c. *Iliad* ii. 698.





was an inducement to the compassionate survivors to expedite the work³.

The Greeks having failed in the attempt to land, which was conducted by Protesilaus, must have had recourse to the nearest shore for the construction of his tumulus, where they had no enemy to encounter; and such a shore the European coast alone afforded them. Hence it is just to conclude, that the natives of this portion of Thrace were not without authority, even from Homer, for assigning this tumulus to Protesilaus. The honours that were paid to the hero in succeeding ages are sufficiently known; but it is not the less interesting to observe the apparent correspondence of the poem with the testimonies of a more recent date.

Of the ancient authors, many have mentioned the tumulus of Protesilaus, situated near the town of Eleum. The cape is yet called Elles Bourroun, and near it Mr. Le Chevalier discovered the traces of the city.

Pliny, as well as Quintus Curtius, informs us, that the trees which grew round the tomb of Protesilaus were observed to wither as soon as they were grown high enough to be seen from Ilium⁴; but that they shot up again till they arrived at the same height; a circumstance at that time thought miraculously emblematic of the fate of the hero⁵, but, in fact, naturally produced by the cold winds from the summit of Ida, the effect of which had been broken, to a certain elevation, by the intervening hill, on which the city of New Ilium was built.

Quintus Curtius also relates, that Alexander, preparing to attack the Persians, sent his army into Asia from Sestos to Abydos, but proceeded himself to Eleum, sacred to Protesilaus (where he sacrificed

³ The climate also rendered the immediate performance of these obsequies necessary. We find, that the preservation of the body of Hector is attributed to supernatural influence, toward the end of the Iliad.

⁴ Meaning, however, New Ilium.

⁵ It is pretended by one author on this subject, that the trees of a garden inclosing this tumulus grew as tall as in other situations, excepting only those encircling the tomb. This spot, however, is the most elevated of the promontory, and much exposed. Dr. Chandler has mentioned many particulars of the Protesileon, and of the vineyard.

to that hero) and thence passed over to Sigæum. A temple had existed here previous to the expedition of Xerxes, whose lieutenant, Artayetes destroyed the edifice, under pretence that Protesilaus was the first Greek who attacked the Persians⁶. There is a second tumulus not far distant from this of Protesilaus, but not easily discoverable from the sea. Further on is a third, which authors have unanimously agreed to call the Cynossema, or Tomb of Hecuba.

The Asiatic shore, which, from the ruins of Alexandria to the entrance of the Hellespont, has generally a northern direction, takes a new inclination after reaching the castle of Koum Kale; and though much indented by the sea, runs eastward as far as the tumulus of Ajax, and the Rhætean promontory.

⁶ The modern name of the tumulus is "Elias Baba Tepe," possibly some analogy may exist between the names Elias and Eleus.

PLATE XIV.



THIS little view is taken from a point where the rivers Scamander and Simois, united, flow into the Hellespont, at the distance of two or three hundred yards from the castle of Koum Kale. It contributes to the demonstration of a necessity, on the part of Priam, to send out a person from the city to watch the motions of the Greeks, who seem to have been encamped upon the low lands, which are more distant from Koum Kale than the present mouth of the rivers. This mouth also appears to have been changed since the time of Homer; and for such a change, a probable reason can be assigned. Polites, the son of the Trojan king, was posted on the tumulus of *Æsytetes*, that he might give early notice to the city of the movements of the enemy¹. It is evident, that the son of Priam would not have been sent on a dangerous service, which required that he should trust to his swiftness of foot, if the object of such a mission could have been attained by remaining in the city.

The hill, approaching to the centre of the design, is the southern boundary of the vale of *Thymbra*, and on, or near it, is situated the village of *Tehiblak*, which is supposed to occupy a spot not far from the site of *New Ilium*.

¹ *Iliad* ii. line 794, &c.

This hill of Tehiblak is so prominent as almost to exclude the sight of the hill of Bomarbashi, which Mr. Le Chevalier, and others after him, have imagined to be the site of Troy. It follows, that if the camp extended more toward the east, it must have been still more concealed from the city by the hill, and though that part must have been visible which lay near the Sigæan promontory, yet that was the quarter allotted to Achilles, of whose determination to remain inactive the Trojans were probably aware. On the hill of Tehiblak is a tumulus which I could not discover from this station. This has been taken for that of Æsyetes by one author, and by another for that of Ilus. The latter is too discordant from the evidence of Homer to need any comment; the former opinion is perhaps just, though the tumulus of Udjek is the only existing monument of that species, from which Polites could have executed his commission, and yet have been in fear of interception. Homer says, the encampment of the Greeks was on the curved shore, between the two promontories. No promontories exist as boundaries of any extensive plain on the Hellespont, excepting those called in after times the Rhætean and Sigæan; consequently the camp was here, extending over a part of the flat ground, the coast of which will be in the succeeding plate more clearly exhibited. If then the camp was upon the present coast, the tumulus near Tehiblak could not have been that of Æsyetes, for the tomb of the hill of Tehiblak lies much nearer to the presumed situation of Troy at Bomarbashi than does the camp; so that Polites would have been almost three miles nearer to Troy than the enemy, and might have returned quietly without fear of being intercepted; his swiftness on this supposition would have been totally unnecessary. It would be still more absurd to suppose the tumulus near Tehiblak was that of Æsyetes, if New Ilium was found to be the Troy of Homer; for the tumulus is so near that town, and comparatively so far distant from the camp, that swiftness of foot would have been a useless quality in the scout.

Strabo justly observes, what could induce the Trojans to send a scout to the tumulus of Æsyetes, when the view from the Acropolis of New Troy was so much preferable? Now the view from New Troy, or Ilium, is not preferable to the view from this tumulus, but is somewhat less extensive, though on the same range of hills, and con-





sequently the tumulus near Tchiblak is not that which Strabo took for that of Æsyetes.

At the same time it must be allowed that Strabo might call a view preferable, as being safer and within the walls. The hill of Tchiblak is also in a direct line between Troy and the camp, and we have the authority of that geographer, in proof that the sea in his time was only twelve stadia distant from that eminence. He even adds, that the water had receded six stadia between the æra of the Trojan war and the reign of Tiberius, in which case the Greeks would certainly have been so near to the hill of Tchiblak as to render the swiftness of Polites very necessary. It is to be regretted that Homer has not informed us on which side of the plain the tumulus of Æsyetes stood. If the sea was within six stadia of New Ilium, the tumuli of Tchiblak and Udjek have an equal claim to the appellation, one only having a more close view of the camp, while the other had a prospect over the land and sea to a very great extent.

PLATE XV.

THE tumulus of Udjek occupies a commanding elevation in the centre of the upper portion of this plate. It is seated on a low branch of Ida, which forms the western boundary of the plain of Troy, and is perhaps one of the best situations from which Polites would have the advantage of completely overlooking the camp, and at the same time be under the necessity of making a speedy retreat, in case of a movement on the part of the enemy. Udjek is not so far from Troy as the camp, but the way from it being rough and uneven, while that from the ships was smooth and in the plain, the swiftness of Polites would have been necessary to save himself by entering the city before the enemy should arrive at the gates. Of all the monuments therefore now existing, Udjek has the best title to the name of Æsyetes according to Homer, if that near Tehiblak be excepted, and it is certainly not easy to determine to which station Polites was sent.

The testimony of Strabo may also help to prove that one of these is the tumulus of Æsyetes. That author saw the tomb near the road leading from New Ilium to Alexandria. The tumulus near Tehiblak, as well as that of Udjek, is near that road, and it has been shown that it has a correspondence with the tumulus of the Iliad, while any other tumulus between the two now existing, must have been seated in a low part of the plain, and have afforded no prospect.

The other objects illustrated by this engraving, are the plain extending in a long unvaried line to the promontory of Sigæum, and the situation of the tumulus of Ajax on the opposite cape. At the extremity of the plain toward the right is the little village and castle of Koum Kale. Over one of the mosques the tumulus of Achilles is visible, and above it are discovered the wind-mills of Jeni Chehr.

The chain of elevations to the left of Jeni Chehr, are those which have been exhibited from the sea, and on which are situated the

tumulus of Antilochus and the village of Jeni Kevi. To the right of the tumulus of Udjek, the other opening of the plain toward the sea is perceived, through which flows the canal forming the new mouth of the Scamander. This has been shown from the sea in the lowest division of the tenth plate. Proceeding again toward the left from the tomb of Udjek, the pointed summits of the hill above Alexandria are discovered in the distance, in a situation whence it would be easy to overlook the plain, the navy, and the bay. It is not improbable that this may have been the summit of *Ida Lectum*, being, in fact, the most elevated of the chain extending toward Cape Baba. These points are observable from Mitylene¹ as well as from the Hellespont². The nearest hill on the left is the promontory which formed one of the boundaries of the Grecian camp, and on the point is seen a tumulus, A, which, from its position, is probably that of Ajax. This in the time of Strabo was called *Aianteum*, and was contiguous to the town of *Rhæteum*, whence the name of the promontory was derived. We are certain that Ajax was entombed before Troy; for Homer introduces Nestor in the *Odyssey*, observing to Telemachus, that under the spacious walls of Priam, lie warlike Ajax, Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus. That here was the tomb of Ajax is to be deduced also from Homer himself by a parallel instance; as we are informed in the *Odyssey*, that the tumulus of Achilles was near the station he occupied in the camp, and we find that the tumulus of Patroclus was so from the *Iliad*. Hence it is a reasonable inference, that the sepulchre of Ajax was near his station, and that station was on the left of the Grecian ships when drawn up on the shore³.

An additional reason is also given by Sophocles for the situation of the sepulchre of Ajax, near, and to the left of the camp. In the tragedy of Ajax, the chorus observing the approach of Menelaus, who was hostile to the interment of that hero, says, "Haste, Teucer, make a hollow foss for the remains of Ajax, and raise over him a tomb never to be forgotten." Now Menelaus being encamped on the right of

¹ Plate I, letter B.

² This is a point so much more lofty than the ridges mentioned by Strabo, quoted by Mr. Morrit and Mr. Bryant, that it is only necessary to look at the plate to be convinced that though the country was separated by ridges, they did not prevent all distant views.

³ *Iliad* xiii. 118. Ajax and Idomeneus were *ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀριστερά*.

Ajax, those who were to make haste must necessarily have retreated toward the left, in order to perform the ceremonies. The tumulus is at present called *In Tepe Ghelu*.

The shore of the plain is so nearly on a level with the sea, that it is scarcely possible to give any idea of it from a vessel; and it was this flatness which occasioned the marsh called by the ancients *Stomalimne*. *Heraclides* observed, that the allegory of the pestilence sent by *Apollo*, in the first book of the *Iliad*, alluded to the plague produced by the noxious vapours of the marsh when excited by the heat of a scorching sun.

It becomes necessary, in this place, to particularize the present appearance of the station of the Greeks, and to compare it with the accounts left us by the ancients. Beyond the point of *Rhæteum* (A) is a deep inlet of the sea, having the resemblance of a considerable river. This is now called *Karanlık Liman*, or the closed port. There are two similar creeks between the tumulus of *Ajax* and *Koum Kale*, into each of which the rivers *Simois* and *Scamander* may have successively discharged their waters. The tongues of land between these inlets have probably encroached upon the sea, and occupy the space where once was the port of the Greeks, as the name *Karanlık Liman* implies that such a port existed in this quarter.

That the Trojan rivers fell into the Hellespont near the site of the tomb of *Ajax*, at the time of the encampment of the Greeks, appears probable from *Homer*, for if the streams had passed the camp near the station of *Achilles*, the fords of *Simois* only (if such existed) would have been in the road to *Troy*. No such fords are however mentioned, nor does it any where appear that the river passed through the camp. If again, the rivers formed the boundary of the camp on the side of *Achilles*, the united streams must have been first crossed, and afterwards the *Scamander* or *Xanthus* alone, in the way to *Troy*,⁴ for it is evident the fords of *Xanthus* were in the direct road, being passed by *Priam* in his journey to the camp, and by the Trojans when flying before *Achilles*.

⁴ This may be seen by consulting the map.

We find no mention of the two fords, those only of Xanthus occurring in the *Iliad*. These fords of the Scamauder were also above the junction, as will be shown at a future opportunity⁵. That the rivers did not divide the station of the Greeks may be collected from the circumstance of the mart, the places of worship, and courts of justice, having been placed in the centre of the camp. These, added to the communication necessary for the opposite quarters of the encampment, are sufficient reasons for supposing that places of such general resort were not in a position liable to be rendered very difficult of access by the sudden increase of a gulphy and rapid river.

Moreover, at the present day, the Simois, when deprived of almost the whole tribute of the Xanthus, has a channel one hundred yards in breadth and three feet in depth, it must often have become a most inconvenient separation to the encampment, particularly as it runs with great rapidity, and if it be objected that the Simois during the summer is only an inconsiderable stream, yet it should be observed that the armies could not have supported such a separation as the river must at times have occasioned, without manifest disadvantage, for so short a space as a month. The people of the country said, that the rains in the first week of November, previous to my visit to the Troad, had filled the channel of the Simois; in the beginning of December I saw it full and rapid; and I saw it in the last week of January equally violent, though the melting of the snow had not then commenced on *Ida*, which has been generally supposed to be the only supply of this river. If then we are tolerably certain that the Simois is not only a river, but a large one during three or four of the winter months, it ought not to be considered merely as an occasional torrent, or an immortal rivulet. Having observed that the river could not have terminated the camp on the right, and that it is highly improbable it should have passed through the camp, it remains to be shown, that the left was bounded by the stream. Homer introduces *Achilles* saying, that *Hector* would never attack the camp on the quarter where he commanded⁶. We also find, that when the camp was stormed, it was at the station of *Ajax*. Now *Ajax* defended the ship of *Protesilaus*⁷, which was near his own⁸. *Patroclus* came to his assistance and

⁵ See dissertation on Plate 19.

⁶ *Il.* ix. 650.

⁷ *Il.* xxv.

⁸ *Il.* xiii. 681.

drove off the Trojans, who were pursued to a little distance⁹. That hero returning to the ships, met the Lycian auxiliaries, who had not fled as soon as the Trojans, and their leader Sarpedon was slain. Hence it is evident, that the Lycians were engaged at the left of the Greek camp when Patroclus arrived at the ship of Protesilaus, and even more to the left than that ship, for otherwise they would have escaped prior to the flight of Hector, as all who saw the armour of Achilles fled.

The intercepted Lycians were slaughtered between the ships, the wall of the camp, and the river; consequently the river must have been on the left of the camp, and near the station of Ajax.

This also proves that the stream was at that time copious and rapid, for if not, it would have been incapable of presenting an impassible barrier to the Lycians, who doubtless would have crossed it if that method of saving themselves had been practicable¹⁰.

The Greeks, when drawn up in battle array, overspread the Scamandrian plain¹¹. It will be shown in the dissertation on Plate 17. that the portion distinguished by that name lay on the left bank of the Scamander, a circumstance almost decisive with regard to the position of the camp.

The opinion of Sophocles is not of much weight; yet that poet certainly thought, that the Scamander ran near the tents of Ajax, who is introduced making an address to the neighbouring Scamander, which is styled by the hero, "beneficent to the Greeks," as if that river had supplied the camp with water, which was possibly the case.

A few observations made on the map may help to confirm this idea of the position of the river: by referring to which it may be seen,

⁹ Il. xxvi.

¹⁰ I am happy to call to my assistance on this occasion the opinion of the learned Bryant, who observes that, "Such, according to the Poet, is the situation of the Scamander and the disposition of the Grecian army, which to the left was bounded by it." *Vide Expostulation addressed to the British Critic.*

¹¹ Iliad ii. 465.

that the Scamander, before its diversion, would probably, by its never failing stream, have caused the bed of the united rivers to incline toward the tumulus of Ajax, as much as the Simois when unresisted by the waters of the Scamander, has in later times inclined to the station of Achilles. Indeed on the road between Koum Kevi and the bridge of Koum Kale many cavities are found, sometimes containing water, and generally pointing toward the Rhætean promontory. These have every resemblance to a decayed channel, and if they did not originally convey the rivers to the sea, the use of them will not be easily discovered. Such are the arguments deduced from the Poet and from personal observation, which seem clearly to demonstrate, that the ancient mouth of the Scamander was on the left of the camp.

The following are among the natural causes, added to the diversion of the Xanthus, which may account for the present outlet of the Simois near Koum Kale.

The current of the Hellespont runs with rapidity from the Rhætean to the Sigæan promontory. The sand brought down by the Simois, which even discolours the sea, is by this forced upon the left bank of the river, which of course increases in time to such a degree as to block up the stream. Now the plain is so flat in this part, that the smallest obstruction in one quarter would divert the stream to another, and the river could not change toward the east, for there the Rhætean hill would oppose it. The bank of sand thrown up at the mouth must therefore occasion a removal of the bed of the river toward the west; and thus it has continually approached nearer to Sigæum. It may be added, that the eastern part of the coast being the first covered with sand and earthy depositions was also the first to produce vegetations, and must consequently increase in elevation sufficiently to promote this gradual movement of the river toward the west. The proof is, that the rivers continue to advance nearer to Koum Kale at the present day; and that the left, or western bank of the river is a heap of sand, yearly increasing and running out in a point toward the right; while the latter is a compact solid plain covered with verdure, and scarcely to be called a marsh at the time of my visit. The river must, however, be nearly arrived at its last station; as the commencement of

the hill of Sigæum or Jeni Chehr will prevent its further progress to the west.

The lower part of this plate represents the view from the mouth of the rivers Simois and Scamander, looking toward the Archipelago. On the right is seen the bank of sand formed by the Simois, which is still the station of little boats called *Piedi*, a species of vessel much used in the Hellespont. The castle of Koun Kale and the public coffee-house of the town terminate the view on the left. The island of Imbros occupies the centre of the plate, and the mountains of Samothrace are also visible when the atmosphere is clear. They are not represented, as they were not seen during the time employed on the design. The coast on the right is that of the Chersonesus, of which a sufficient account has already been given.





PLATE XVI.

I HAVE hitherto confined the description of the Troad to the coast; the rivers Scamander and Simois may now be traced toward their respective sources, and such places in the vicinity pointed out, as appear to have any connection with the battles and events of the Iliad.

At the distance of about one mile from the castle of Koum Kale, the road leading to the fortress of the Dardanelles, to Lampsacus, Koum Kevi, Kalifatli, and Bounarbashi, crosses the Simois, and traverses the marshy portion of the plain. In this Plate (No. XVI.) the long wooden bridge over the river is exhibited; and will be sufficient to contradict the prevailing idea of the insignificance of the stream, which is at least one hundred yards broad. The ground on the right bank is low, and covered with turf and rushes. That on the left is higher near the bridge, and laid out in small enclosures, which are terminated toward the sea by the sand thrown up by the Simois. Between the trees the mosque of Koum Kale is visible. The European shore is also seen beyond the Hellespont. On the Asiatic side, the castle of the Dardanelles occupies a point near the centre of the view; and the hills, extending from it toward the right, are those which terminate at the tumulus of Ajax. The mount from which this view is taken is now used as a Turkish burying ground, and is prettily planted with young cypresses, like almost every other place of that description in the East. The insulated situation of this eminence is such, that it is scarcely possible to imagine it natural; yet I do not recollect to have seen or heard, that a hill of this kind was ever thrown up by the Turks, before they appropriated the ground to the uses of sepulture. If then this monument be neither natural nor of Turkish origin, we must examine the Iliad till some part of the poem points out a tumulus, in, or near, the situation. It is related at the close of the seventh book, that the Greeks constructed a common sepulchre, over those who had been slain in the preceding engagements, and near, or upon it, they erected

walls and turrets to defend the ships and camp; making gates, and a broad ditch thickly set with stakes, to complete the fortification. It is plain therefore, that such a monument might even yet exist, especially as it is not mentioned in the relation of the deluge, which was destined by Jupiter and Neptune for the destruction of the walls; nor indeed would a tumulus, from its natural durability, be liable to be overthrown by the same flood, which was sufficient to sweep away a rampart composed of wood and stones, the work of a single night.

The battle, which occasioned the erection of this tumulus, had taken place on the banks of Scamander, where many Greeks lay dead¹, and the armies were on that occasion drawn up between the Sinois and that river². Now the Greeks selected their own people from the heap of slain, and removed them to the vicinity of the camp where the pyre was erected.

The bodies coming from the Trojan plain between the rivers, yet also from the banks of Scamander, must have passed the Scamandrian fords, and it is reasonable to conclude, that they would not be carried to a greater distance than was necessary from the place where they fell. By consulting the map it will be observed, that such a situation is that of the present tumulus; and it seems to have been mentioned by Homer with the walls of the camp, as if the mount had formed part of the defence, or perhaps an angle of the fortification. Hence it seems probable, that the enclosures between the present bed of the river and the village of Jenu Chehr occupy the station of Achilles; for the walls of the Greek camp do not appear to have included the troops of that hero, whose superior valour created such respect for his neutrality in the minds of the enemy.

The funeral monuments which now overspread this mount are of marble. The males are honoured with a turban carved and painted after the manner of those they wore when living, while the females are only distinguished by the pointed pillars at each extremity of their graves.

¹ Iliad vii. 329.

² Iliad vi. 4.



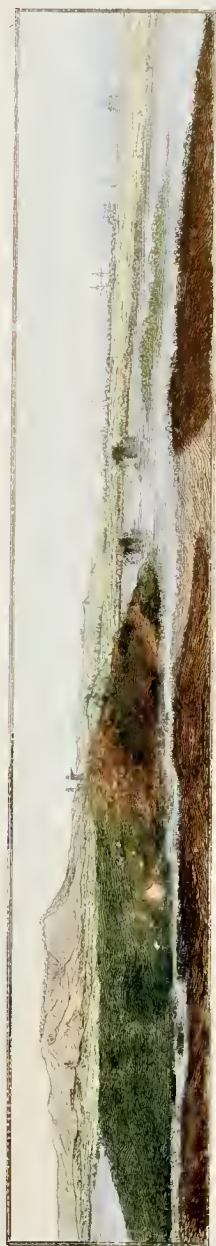


PLATE XVII.

THE junction of the rivers Scamander and Simois in the plain between the city Troy and the sea, is mentioned by Homer¹. Juno and Pallas are said to alight on that spot when they descended to aid the Greeks. The streams, thus united, separated the plain into three portions. The central division was called the Trojan, and sometimes the Illician Field². That part which extended along the left bank of Scamander was called the Scamandrian Field³, and although we find no mention in the Iliad of that portion of the plain, situated on the right bank of the Simois, it is a natural inference that it received its name from the neighbouring stream, and indeed we have the authority of Strabo for calling it the Simoisian Field⁴ ⁵.

¹ Il. v. 774.² Il. x. 11. πεδιον Τρωικον and πεδιον Ιλικιον.³ πεδιον Σκαμανδριον, Il. ii. 465.⁴ xxi. 557.

⁵ It has been doubted whether the names of the two rivers have not been mistaken by Mr. Le Chevalier. Dr. Chandler, speaking of the French account, says, "reader, believe it not." It may be useful to give some of the reasons which appear to place the Scamander on the left of the plain, when the observer is at Bonnarbashi, although I am well aware that such reasons have often been stated by writers on the Plain of Troy.

Hector is described in one of the battles coming down from Troy, and combating on the left of the battle is on the banks of Scamander. Homer also mentions the two sources of Scamander near together, and at a little distance from the Scaean gate of Troy, which gate opened upon the plain and ships. The characteristics of the river termed Scamander by Le Chevalier are so precisely those described by Homer, as to leave no room to suppose the springs should be sought on the summit of Gargarus. Homer implies, in one passage, the descent of this stream from Ida; but Ida with its branches intersects the whole of Phrygia, and under one of these branches of the mountain, the springs of Scamander are found at this day. The authority of Pliny also will add greatly to the proof. That naturalist came from Alexandria Troas on the south, and proceeding toward the north, found in his way, first, the Scamander, a navigable stream. This seems to have been the canal which now continues to divert the greater part of the water of the river. Continuing his course northward he came to Sigæum, and the port of the Grecians, into which the Xanthus and Simois flowed, making a marsh called the Old Scamander. It is not improbable that Pliny was acquainted with the original bed of the river, but the similitude between the *παλαίαι* of the Greeks and of the *palus* of the Romans is such as to account for the neglect of a traveller in entering into a more particular detail. Those who are fond of allegory imagine the combat of Achilles with Scamander to have signified the turning that river into the present canal, in order to drain the marshes it occasioned near that hero's camp, which is well known to have been on the left when seen from Troy. To those who have been influenced by the present name of the Simois, Mindere Su, it may be observed, that the united rivers were generally termed Scamander only, and that at any rate the name is allusive merely to the winding of its course. The Meander is still called Βοίαιε Mindere for the same reason.

In this view the observer stands in the Trojan plain, at the precise point where the rivers Simois on the right, and Scamander on the left, are united. The high ground in the distance toward the left is the hill now occupied by the village of Jem Chehr, and the site of the ancient Sigæum. The eye continuing along this range toward the right, catches the tumulus of Achilles, and at a short distance from it the tumulus of Patroclus is just discernible. The Chersonesus is also seen beyond the flat line of the plain, and is separated from the Asiatic shore by the Hellespont, which is pointed out by the masts of vessels. To the left of these the mosques of Konm Kale, and a long line of trees, demonstrate the course of the united rivers to the sea. The mount covered with scattered fragments, distinguishable by the two figures, has the appearance of a ruined tumulus. On the left of it is a marsh. The decayed piers of a bridge, conspicuous in the midst of the rivers and centre of the view, are the remnants which indicate the point where the road from New Ilium to Alexandrian Troas crossed the stream. The Scamander is here reduced to the size of a small rivulet, such as may be passed by a person on foot, though not without some difficulty. This is accounted for by the circumstance that a canal cut from that river, at a greater distance from the Hellespont, has diverted the water from its natural course, and left only a small quantity in the ancient bed ⁶.

The mount which is seen across the Scamander, is in a situation in every respect so correspondent to the tomb of Ilus, described in the Iliad, that there can be little doubt of its identity. The arguments in favour of this position will be found in the dissertation on the succeeding plate; for the situation of the tomb of Ilus is necessarily connected with those of the mount Throsmos and the fords of Scamander. A distinguishing feature of this tomb, as described by the poet, is that it was a great one⁷, probably of such dimensions on account of the great renown of the monarch whose ashes it contained. A pillar was erected upon it, behind the shaft of which a person might stand in security, for Paris was concealed by it when he wounded the foot of Diomed with an arrow⁸. The tumulus here represented is larger than

⁶ This will be shown in Plate xix. and may be also seen in the map.

⁷ *Μεγα Κύμα.*

⁸ Il. xi. 371.

any other in the vicinity. The column has of course yielded to the attacks of time and human malice. The large stones which overspread the soil, seem to have belonged to some edifice erected in later times, and have possibly contributed to the building of a temple of the Corinthian order; a mutilated but well designed capital of which lies on the western side of the monument.

The heap of earth of which the tumulus is composed, appears to have been destroyed by art, and the centre is excavated in such a manner, as to leave two almost separate summits, which are distinguishable in this and the succeeding plate. On the left is a little marsh, and beyond the tumulus is a channel which seems to have once served for the discharge of its waters into the Simois⁹. By the side of this channel lies a second capital, similar to that before mentioned. It is worthy of remark, that those who have sought for the tumulus of Ilus, have confined their researches to the point of land between the two rivers. They may have been influenced by the translation of the word $\omega\alpha\sigma\epsilon\zeta$, in the account of the journey of Priam; and of which more will be said in the account of the following view. If such a position were necessary, the marsh seen on the left, with the channel connecting it with the Simois may have been the original bed of the Scamander.

In Plate XVIII. it may be observed, that the perfect flatness of the ground immediately under the tomb of Ilus, renders it possible that the Scamander anciently joined the Simois about one hundred yards lower than at present, leaving the tomb of Ilus, where it has been so often sought, exactly on the point of the Trojan field.

⁹ This channel may be discovered by those who visit the spot, by walking from a small insulated garden on the left bank of the rivers to the tumulus at the junction. The mouth of it is choked with sand, by which it may be passed.

PLATE XVIII.

THIS plate is rendered interesting by the consideration, that it exhibits the original bed of the Scamander, with every angle formed by that winding stream near its junction with the Simois. The existence of such a junction having been doubted, I have been particularly cautious to trace with fidelity every part of the course. The sea visible on the left is the Hellespont, which is terminated on the right by the hill and promontory occupied by the tumulus of Ajax. Toward the centre of the view, proceeding from that tumulus toward the right, is the little village of Konna Kevi, the vale of Thymbra, and at the extremity the calicolone of Pope, or hill of Tehiblak. The Simoisian field occupies the whole of the centre of the view from left to right, and the Simois itself is observable, flowing between that division and the Trojan or Illician field. The nearer river is the Scamander, and the whole foreground is in the Scamandrian plain. At the confluence of the streams the tumulus of Ilus with its two tops is seen. The nearest part of the foreground is a portion of a round knowl, which answers to the description of the Thrōsmos or mount of the plain.

The bridge over the Scamander, consisting of four arches, is a convincing proof, that even at the time of its erection, that river was more copious than at present¹.

The tomb of Ilus and the mount of the plain are points concerning which a variety of opposite sentiments has arisen. The poet has, however, left many indications of the real position of these monuments.

¹ Since my return to England I have heard it asserted, that the little bridge here represented on the right, was situated close to the junction of the rivers. It is a matter of little consequence, except as to my accuracy as a draughtsman. I can, however, appeal to my companions as to the fact, when we were upon the spot. Having finished our sketches of the tumulus of Ilus, we were at a loss where to repass the Scamander with dry shoes, when by chance, a man on horseback rode over the bridge, and discovered that path to us. A proof that the bridge was not very near to the confluence of the streams.



PLATE I

1894



and such as appear to fix them on the banks of Xanthus, and near the confluence of the rivers. The Thrōsmos or elevation of the plain was in the neighbourhood of Scamander², and between that river and the ships³. It was also so near the ships that the tumult of the Trojan camp was heard by the Greeks on the shore⁴. The elevation, a segment of which forms the nearest part of the foreground of this plate, corresponds with the situation and character of the Thrōsmos of the Iliad. If it can be shown that Thrōsmos was near the tumulus of Ilus, that the tumulus of Ilus was near the ford of Scamander, and that the ford was near, yet a little above the confluence of the rivers, it cannot be denied that the subjects represented in the present view, are the Thrōsmos, ford, and tumulus described by the poet. That Thrōsmos was near the tomb of Ilus may be learned from the circumstance, that when the Trojans were encamped upon the mount, Hector called a council upon the tumulus of that king. Now the tomb of Ilus was in such a situation with regard to the Trojan camp, that the tumult of the soldiery did not interrupt the debates⁵. Also it could not have been far from the camp, if advanced before it, for that would have been impossible when the enemy were so near; and if it be objected, that the tomb of Ilus might have been nearer to the town than the Thrōsmos, and consequently that a council would have been secure even at a great distance from the Trojan camp, yet such a supposition is inconsistent with the custom of the times; when military councils seem to have been held beyond the lines of a camp, and advanced toward the enemy. In compliance with this system, Agamemnon called a council of war while Hector was stationed on the monument of Ilus, and though the Greeks were in the utmost consternation after their late defeat, yet the monarch and his associates passed the foss and rampart of their own camp, and chose a place for the council on the field of battle, advanced toward the Trojans, where there remained a small space unincumbered with the slain.

It may be added in confirmation of this argument, that Agamemnon had on that evening convened the Greek princes to supper in his own tent; where, if it had not been the custom to pass the lines of the encampment in order to hold a council, every thing relating to the embassy to Achilles might easily have been arranged.

² Il. viii. line 556 and 490.

³ 556.

⁴ x. 160.

⁵ x. 416.

If then the Greeks, dismayed and defeated as they were, held their council advanced before their camp, the Trojan chief, flushed with victory, would have little to fear on the monument of Ilius.

It seems from these circumstances that this tumulus must have been very near the Thrōsmos, and that it might have been somewhat nearer to the Greek camp than that elevation. Homer himself has informed us that the tomb of Ilius was near the ford of Scamander, for he relates, that Priam, going from the city with the herald Idæus to redeem the body of Hector, met the god Mercury, after he had stayed near the sepulchre of Ilius, that his horses and mules might drink of the river⁶. Here it may be objected that the poet says, the horses were allowed to drink after they had passed the tomb of Ilius, and consequently that the tumulus in question would be on the wrong side of the water. But the Greek will equally admit of the translation by the tomb or on one side of it. The word *παρὰ* is used in this instance and occurs in another place⁷, in a way that cannot be mistaken; for Dolon being perceived by Diomed and Ulysses, the latter conceal themselves (*παρὰ δὲ*) so as to suffer the spy to pass them in order to intercept his retreat⁸.

It remains to be shown that the ford of Scamander was above, yet near to the confluence of that river with the Simois. The Trojans, flying from the fury of Achilles in the battle of the twenty-first book, arrived at the fords of the Xanthus⁹. There the routed army separated into two divisions. One plunged into the river in the vain hope to reach the town, and there a great slaughter was made by Achilles. The divinity of the Scamander, incensed at the pollution of his waters by the bleeding carcasses of his votaries, poured a deluge on the hero who was scarce able to withstand the stream. At that time also Xanthus with a loud voice called his brother Simois to his aid, an invocation which would have been unnecessary, had the Simois been flowing in the same bed¹⁰.

⁶ xxiv. 349. ⁷ x. 349.

⁸ The concluding passages of the dissertation on Plate xvii. will perhaps be satisfactory to those who wish to see the tomb of Ilius on the right bank of the Scamander. ⁹ xxi. 2.

¹⁰ Major Helvig, a learned Swede, has observed in his remarks on this circumstance, that the rivers never united in the plain, for if they did, whence proceeded this application to the Simois? Now it appears that this gentleman had forgotten the line 774 of the fifth book of the Iliad, which informs us that they did join, and that he had overlooked the spot exhibited in this plate. The arguments of Major Helvig therefore tend only to prove that the Scamander and Simois were not united at the fords, which is the fact I endeavour to ascertain.

Another argument in favour of this position is, that two fords are never mentioned in the *Iliad* between the city Troy and the camp of the Greeks. Now if the rivers under the name of Scamander ran into the Hellespont near the post of Ajax, a person going in a direct line from Troy to the camp must have traversed, first, the Simois, and secondly, the united streams. But there is no mention of the fords of Simois, nor of any two fords in succession, and consequently the road could not have been on that side of the plain. Again, if the rivers entered the Hellespont, as at present, near the station of Achilles, it would have been absolutely absurd to cross the river at any other place than that now occupied by the bridge.

By observing the course of the rivers in a map it will appear, that no place could exist below the point of confluence, by which a person, traversing one ford only, could arrive at Troy from the camp. This observation is equally just, whether the rivers ran toward the east or the west after their junction, and will, perhaps, be thought decisive. Having thus given the reasons for the connexion of the tomb of Ilius with the fords of Xanthus and the mount Thrösmos, it only remains to be observed, that the situation of this mount is perfectly adapted to the disposition of the Trojans and their allies, as described by Dolon. Extending toward the sea, between the mount and the hill now occupied by the tumulus of Antilochus, were stationed the Leleges, Caeones, Carians, Pæonians, and Pelasgi¹¹. On the other side, the Lyeians, Mysians, Phrygian cavalry, Mæonians, and newly arrived Thracians, were encamped on the plain toward the town of Thymbra.

The Thracians also are found at the extremity of the right wing, in the exact position that the troops coming from Thraee must have occupied.

¹¹ *Il.* x. 430.

PLATE XIX.

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE TOMB OF ANTILOCHUS.

THIS very extensive view is taken from the tumulus of Antilochus, and the curved summit of that monument forms the foreground to the picture¹.

In the description of this plate I will begin on the left, where the sea appears terminated on the horizon by the Thracian Chersonesus, on the summit of which the tumulus of Protesilans is visible. The view of the European coast is interrupted by the bill of Jeni Chehr, or Sigann, and some of the houses are discernible. The castle of the Dardanelles is seen in the distance, a little to the right of that village; and the channel of the Hellespont, (below which appears that portion of the plain once occupied by the Greek camp) is marked by two ships. The Hellespont is bounded on the right by a range of hills, near the projecting point of one of which is the tumulus of Ajax. The Rhætean promontory, on which that monument is situated, is well defined in this view, and the creek, which washes the base of the hill, marks the ancient port of the Greeks. It has been asserted, that there yet remain ruins on the range of hills near the tumulus of

¹ The necessity of a general view is such, that without it no very correct idea could be formed of the appearance of the plain. I have here taken the liberty, which I have used on many other occasions, of extending the drawing on each side, till all the interesting objects of the country are included. The plate is of a sufficient magnitude to permit the observer to elevate the extremities of the paper on the right and left, so that, by placing the eye in the centre, and turning the head toward such parts as he wishes to examine, he will have the objects in the exact direction in which they appear to a person on the spot. It will be necessary for those, who find a difficulty in comprehending with the eye more than sixty degrees at the same time, to consider this view, as composed of three separate pictures; as by the map it may be seen, that it includes somewhat more than one hundred and eighty degrees. The battle of Lodi, and some other pictures, have been exhibited in London under the same circumstances. The whole being taken with the help of a protractor, the distances are almost mathematically exact. It should be observed, that the foreground represents merely the conic summit of the tumulus, the base of which, in its proper proportion, would be at least six feet in diameter, and a figure standing on it would be eight or nine inches in height. None, however, is introduced, as it would have excluded some of the mountains, or part of the plain. The portion of the tumulus here shown is not, in fact, more than six or seven yards in diameter.



View of Plains of 1849 from the Front of Antelope



Ajax; and some have affirmed, that Constantine had actually commenced the erection of his intended city in this situation. There were however two towns in this vicinity, Rhæteum and Æanteum. The ruins in question may be the remnant of one of those stations.

Proceeding toward the right, the vale of Thymbra, now Thymbreck, appears, with the little village of Koum Kevi almost in the centre. The towns of Thymbreck and Halil Eli, where are the ruins of the temple of Apollo Thymbræus, are situated nearer to the upper extremity of the vale. Dares Phrygius and Diety's Cretensis seem to think, that the temple of Apollo Thymbræus and its precinct were accounted inviolable by the Greek and Trojan armies; individuals of those nations often meeting, without committing acts of hostility, in a spot esteemed equally sacred by each, before the death of Achilles. To the right of the vale of Thymbra is seen a line of eminences terminating in a point, which projects toward the spectator far into the Simoisian plain. This appears to be the situation chosen by Mr. Pope for the Callieolone, or beautiful hill, where the divinities who favoured Troy held their councils²: nor has he erred widely from the truth. The tumulus which some take for that of Æsytetes is situated either on this or a neighbouring hill.

To the right of this eminence a small opening in the hills is discovered, and on one of the hills surrounding that valley, the Ilium Reeens was situated, not very far from the spot now occupied by the village of Tehiblak. Some inscriptions, which have been discovered in the vicinity of that hamlet, have tended to confirm the opinion. The projecting eminence was in all probability the acropolis of the new city. Dr. Chandler has given a long account of Ilium, its privileges under the Roman Emperors, and the dispute which took place, in those times, as to its identity with the capital of Priam. It was plainly shown, that the situation does not resemble that described by Homer, and among other arguments it was urged, that Troy was at a greater distance from the sea than Ilium Reeens; for Ulysses observes, that when he was

² It is worthy of remark, that although Mr. Pope never visited the spot, and his map was entirely constructed on the authority of Homer, it is, notwithstanding, found to be a very tolerable representation of the country, as it now appears.

near the city, he was far from the camp³; and Polidamas, when at the Greek camp, remarks the distance from the city⁴. Now the city of Ilium Recens, says Strabo, is much too near the sea to justify such expressions. In the time of that geographer, the sea flowed nearer to Ilium than at present. It was distant only twelve stadia, or one mile and a half, so that it must have occupied the greater portion of the space now converted into land, between the tomb of Ajax and the village of Koum Kevi; a circumstance which would render it impossible to be near the ships and far from the walls at the same instant. Strabo thought also that the land had encroached upon the sea to the extent of six stadia since the war of Troy. Another proof is added by Strabo, who observes the absurdity of sending Polites to the tumulus of Æsyetes to watch the Greeks, when he could have seen them so much better from the citadel, if New Ilium had been the city of Priam.

The projecting hill which succeeds the acropolis of New Ilium, and forms the other boundary of the little valley running up to Tchiblak, has near its base some extensive ruins, which are not distinguishable in this view, but which seem to have been the fortifications within which Constantine purposed to have erected his city: for it is not probable that the Pagus Iliensium was ever surrounded by a wall, although the distance from New Ilium sufficiently corresponds with the measurement of Strabo.

A tumulus also exists in this part of the plain, which, from great distance, or want of elevation, is not discernible from the tomb of Antilochus. I have no doubt that it is the monument of Myrinne, for it must have been somewhere in that direction. This tumulus is connected with a rising ground of easy ascent, and is insulated with regard to other eminences in the vicinity. The description given by Homer of this tomb is perfectly correspondent with the tumulus which now exists. The mount, according to the poet, was called Baticia, but the gods stiled it the sepulchre of the swift Myrinna. It was an elevation in the plain before the city, separated from all other hills, and of such easy access and ascent on every side, that part of the

³ Odys. iii. 496.

⁴ Iliad ii. 256.

Trojan army could be drawn out upon it in battle array, previous to the first engagement of the *Iliad*⁵. This was one of the monuments of remote antiquity, which existed prior to the era of the war of Troy, and its origin was even in those days so little understood, that it was known by two different names⁶.

The little village on the plain is called Kallifatli; it is situated near the banks of the Simois, and the inhabitants think that the city of Priam once decorated the spot now occupied by their huts. In effect, it is highly probable that the Pagus Iliensium, or village of the Heians, was not more than three miles distant from, and in a direct line beyond, Kallifatli: for Strabo informs us that it was situated thirty stadia, or about three miles and a half, higher up the country than New Ilium.

Above the village of Kallifatli is seen a beautiful and singular hill, now crowned with the little hamlet of Atche Kevi. By an examination of the map it may be observed, that it is before the city Troy in the plain, and before the city in the same direction, or nearly so, as the sepulchre of Myrinna, to which a similar situation is assigned by the poet⁷. The formation of this eminence, as well as its peculiar position, detached from the other hills which surround the plain, render it

⁵ Il. ii. 811.

⁶ Some authors have asserted, that the names which the gods were supposed to apply to terrestrial objects, were merely those given by the more ancient inhabitants of the soil. If such an idea be just, Diodorus informs us, on the authority of Thymetes, a contemporary of Orpheus, that the Egyptian Bacchus had Lybian women in his retinue, and that one was called Minerva or Myrinna, who had been Queen of the Amazons in Lybia. This Queen, with many of her followers, was slain in the attempt to pass into Thrace, by the king of that country, and the remainder of her army fled toward the river Thermodon, near Colchis, where they were established long before the reign of Priam. It is not improbable that this may be the Myrinna on whose tomb the Trojan army was marshalled. The other name, Bateia, was given by those who thought that the tumulus was raised in honour of Bateia, who, as we are informed by Stephanus Byzantinus, was the daughter of Teucer, and wife of Dardanus, who built the city bearing his own name, and Thymbra, which is not very far distant from the mount described.

⁷ The learned Bryant, to whose authority almost every opinion must yield, with the exception of such as are founded on absolute examination of the spot, has, in one of his works, pointed out an apparent disagreement between the face of the country and the description of Strabo. That geographer observes, that Kallicolone, the beautiful hill, still retained its name in his time, and that it was the real Kallicolone of Homer. It was ten stadia higher up the country than the Pagus Iliensium, and the Simois ran near it. The mount or hill was about five stadia in circuit. Strabo also

worthy of the name Kallicolone, and it appears astonishing to me, that none of the authors I have consulted on the subject have even suspected that Atche Kevi was seated on the summit of the beautiful hill. Nearer views of it will be found in those plates more immediately connected with the city, and the reader will have many other opportunities of observing that the Simois flows at its base, so that this mount agrees with the descriptions both of Homer and Strabo⁶. The distance also from New Hium to Atche Kevi is very agreeable to that assigned by Strabo, who fixes it at forty stadia, or five miles.

The villages of Kallifatli and Atche Kevi lie in such a position with regard to the tomb of Antilochus, that a line drawn through those points would also pass through the summit of Ida, which appears towering above such of its branches as immediately encircle the plain. If then the mountain can be so plainly discovered from the shore, it was no great stretch of imagination in the poet to represent the most powerful of the gods as looking down from thence on the battles of Troy; nor is this less allowable with regard to the summit near the promontory of Lectos.

The situation of the city Troy may be discovered by carrying the eye from the summit of Ida toward the right, till the view of the distant mountains becomes for a short space intercepted by a more lofty point of the nearer hills. This point will be easily distinguished by a few trees on its summit, and immediately below it is the hill on which the city was erected. The little village and mosque of Bomarbashi, now standing near the site of the Scean gate, are perceptible, and above them the houses seem to have risen gradually upon the slope of the hill, where the Acropolis or Pergama is known by two tumuli, which occupy the summit. The Simois, after rising in the heights of Ida, at a considerable distance from the Hellespont, flows

thought that Troy might be discovered somewhere in this vicinity. Whoever will take the trouble to look at the view, will see that nothing can be more faithful than the account of the geographer, and that the remark of Mr. Bryant, who cites Homer to prove that the hill lay before the city, and not nearer to Ida, only shows that the Pagus was not the Troy of Priam, which Strabo decidedly delivers as his own sentiment; observing that the real Troy lay somewhere in the neighbourhood, an opinion equally agreeable to truth.

⁶ Il. xx. 151. and xx. 53.

through a vale, extending between the mountain and the hills bounding the plain of Troy on that side, but on approaching Bounarbashi, the stream turns toward the left, and passes between the Acropolis and the point which overlooks it. After winding through a defile, the river enters the plain at an equal distance from Bounarbashi and Atche Kevi.

The eye proceeding toward the right from Bounarbashi, is next arrested by a little village bearing the name of Erkissi Kevi, not far from which, upon the eminence to the right, the great tumulus of *Æsyetes* is seen in a most commanding situation, overlooking the *Ægean* sea on the one side, with the plain and Hellespont on the other. The distant mountain with its serrated top, which is seen beyond the tumulus, is that branch of *Ida* which appears near *Alexandria Troas*, and either that or the succeeding height is probably the summit called *Lectos* by *Homer*. From either of them the view of the plain could never be intercepted by the smaller eminences; a circumstance concerning which, those who contend against the identity of this plain with that of the *Homeric Troy*, do not seem to have possessed correct information.

Having now endeavoured to explain such objects as occur in the range of hills encompassing the plain on the further side, I will describe such positions as are nearer to the eye. The village of *Jeni Kevi* is seen on the high land on the right, and on the left of the same eminence is a summer-house or ruined wind-mill, which was visible from the sea in the first division of *Plate 10*.

In that plate is also seen the mouth of a deep foss, which is in this view concealed behind the nearest point of land, and was evidently intended to drain the great marsh in the centre of the picture. That plan does not appear to have succeeded, for a canal, carrying off the water of the *Scamander* much nearer to its source, may be traced at the base of the hill, on which stands the tumulus of *Æsyetes*. The *Scamander* rises at the foot of the hill of *Bounarbashi*, and after a variety of windings through the plain, becomes visible near *Erkissi Kevi*, where a cut has been formed by art to carry off the water by

a quicker passage. The mouth of the canal is concealed by the hill of Jeni Kevi, but the direction of it is seen over the tops of a long line of willows or tamarisks running from Erkissi toward the nearest sea.

Notwithstanding the many attempts which have been made to free the plain from the inundations of the river, the Seamander still continues to pay a scanty tribute to the Simois. By looking below the village of Erkissi, the original bed of that river may be traced, wandering over the plain in a thousand directions, from the junction of the canal till it is concealed behind a brown knowl, which projects from the hill of Jeni Kevi into the marsh near the tomb of Antilochus. At the extremity of this knowl, proceeding toward the left, the Seamander reappears, forming, as it passes, the marsh, after which it is lost behind a second brown hill on the left, which I have called Thrōsmos in the description of the eighteenth plate, and near this unites with the Simois. It has been before observed that the canal which commences near Erkissi Kevi was known to Pliny, who mentions it as a navigable stream, although he afterwards describes the outlet of the Simois and Xanthus united.

The course of the Simois has been described from its source to the vicinity of Atehe Kevi, a little to the right of which village the water first appears in this view. A second portion of it is seen near Kallifathi, and a third nearer the observer than that hamlet; after which its winding current is almost unseen, till it is discovered flowing below the projecting boundary of the vale of Thymbra, in the centre of the plate.

The Seamander and Simois, united a little beyond the Thrōsmos, are concealed from sight by the hill of Jeni Chehr from the confluence to their junction with the Hellespont.

The little ruin on the left, in the foreground, is merely that of a miserable hovel, which has once been dedicated to some of the Greek saints. It is perhaps useless to add, that if the Greeks were encamped on the green plain, near the Hellespont, the Trojans could have taken

no better position to prevent their escape, than that in which their left wing occupied the heights from Thrōsmos to the sea, by Jeni Chehr or the tomb of Antilochus, while the Phrygian cavalry extended over the plain on the right, toward the elevations which surround the vale of Thymbra. The sight of the village of Koum Kale, of the mouth of the rivers, and the tumuli of Achilles and Patroclus, is intercepted by the hill of Jeni Chehr on the left.

PLATE XX.



THE view exhibited in the former Plate was taken from the summit of a tumulus which is generally, though without any apparent reason, known by the name of Antilochus. It is acknowledged that after the death of Patroclus, the friendship between Antilochus and Achilles became more intimate, so that the Greeks wishing to perform every right which they thought might be grateful to the manes of their hero, placed the ashes of Patroclus with those of Achilles in a common urn, while those of Antilochus, who had been slain by Memnon¹, were deposited in a separate vase, and placed by the side of the other, after which a common tumulus was erected.

At the same time it is certain that a tumulus or cenotaph was often left as a memorial of illustrious persons, and we are assured by Pausanias, that Memnon himself, who slew Antilochus, was honoured after death by a cenotaph in the Troad, near the banks of the Esopus. This tumulus of Antilochus seems to be of that description, but as I had neither instruments nor permission to excavate, I could not decide whether the soil or stone of which it consists be natural or artificial. The formation of the monument however is indisputably the work of

¹ *Odyss.* iv. 187.

art, and there is every probability that it may really be the cenotaph of Antilochus.

The testimony of several ancient authors might be added to prove, that there existed in the Troad the tumuli of other heroes, as well as of Achilles, Patroclus, and Ajax, who, like them, had fallen in the war of Troy; but it is to be lamented that they are not particularized by name. The tumulus is seated on a high cliff near the sea, beyond which the island of Imbros is seen, overtopped by the mountains of Samothrace. I have remarked that Lemnos is rarely or never seen from this coast; but Athos, now called Agios Oros, or the Holy Mountain, from the number of monasteries which decorate its sides, is often distinguishable, though at a far greater distance. Its pointed summit, called the Acro Athos, appears shooting into the air with a bolder outline than that of any of the Alps. The vapour arising from the sea concealed the base of the mountain while I was employed on the sketch, which is a faithful representation of the objects as they actually appeared ².

² It gave me great pleasure on showing my port folio to M. Le Chevalier, to hear him express his satisfaction on seeing this testimony of the possibility of discovering Athos from the Asiatic coast, a circumstance, the truth of which he assured me had been more disputed than any thing in his work.

PLATE XXI.



WE have the authority of Homer for the sepulture of Achilles on the Phrygian shore. In the *Odyssey*¹ Agamemnon relates to the shade of that hero an account of the ceremonies which were performed at his funeral. Agamemnon says on that occasion, " Fallen at Ilium, far from Argos, many Trojan and Grecian chiefs perished in the contest for your body, which was disfigured with dust. The Greeks fought during the whole day, in the course of which a tempest took place, but they succeeding, bore off the corpse to the fleet. There they washed it with warm water, anointed the body, and placed it upon a bier. Thetis came with her train of sea nymphs, producing so dreadful a sound upon the waves, that the affrighted Greeks would have fled, had not Nestor interposed. The nymphs covered the body with robes, and the Nine Muses mourned in choir. This lasted seventeen days. On the eighteenth they burned the corpse, and slew fat sheep and horned oxen around. The flames were fed with honey and oil. The Greek cavalry and infantry encompassed the pile, clashing their shields. The fire being extinguished in the morning, the bones were selected, washed with unguents and wine, and placed in a golden vase given by Thetis. In the same urn are the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus, but those of Antilochus had a separate one. Around both urns a noble tomb was raised on a

¹ Book xxiv.

high promontory shooting far into the broad Hellespont, that all who live, or hereafter shall live, may view thy monument even from the distant waves."

We have in this passage so circumstantial an account of the funeral of Achilles, that there cannot exist a doubt that the tomb of that hero was in the very near neighbourhood of the tumulus represented in this view. This being once determined, no further proof is required, unless it could be shown, that the monument is the work of a later period. The first account we have in history of this country after the age of Homer, mentions a fort called Achillaëum, on or near the sepulchre of that hero. It was a station held by the Lesbians, for the purpose of annoying the Athenians, who had occupied Sigæum by force of arms. In succeeding ages the testimonies are innumerable of the existence of this sepulchre.

Apollonius pretended to have conversed with the shade of Achilles upon the tumulus, and to have asked him many curious questions, while Tertullian taxes the greatest of heathen heroes with effeminaey in dress, from the circumstance of ear-rings being found on the statue in the temple at the Aehillaëum. The temple was circular, like that upon the tomb of Ajax, and some large stones, which appear to have been foundations, yet remain on the summit of the tumulus.

The succeeding view, which was taken from this tomb, will give some idea of the distance between the tumuli, as they are generally called, of Achilles and Patroclus. Without permission to excavate, it is impossible to decide which of the two is the real tumulus of Achilles, for Patroclus might have been honoured by a separate cenotaph, though his ashes were afterwards placed with those of his friend.

A reason might be given in support of the opinion, that the smaller tumulus, generally bearing the name of Patroclus, was absolutely the tomb of that hero, for the greater monument forming the subject of Plate 27, is so attached to the extremity of the hill, that it would have been exceedingly difficult for the chariot of Achilles to have

encircled it, dragging behind the body of Hector. At the same time it is true, that the chariots of early times must have been capable of passing over very uneven ground, nor would the difficulty of conducting the car with safety render the attempt inconsistent with the character of Achilles. We find also that the Myrmidons, with their leader, went thrice round the pile with their chariots, the number of which still increases the difficulty, though not in such a degree as to render the execution impossible². We are informed by Homer, that the tomb of Patroclus was near the sea, for the wood cutters had orders to place their burthens near the shore, where Achilles had designed a great monument for himself and his friend³. The pyre was one hundred feet in diameter⁴, although Achilles had commanded that it should be a tumulus of moderate size till himself should be dead, when it should be made both lofty and magnificent⁵.

The tumulus of Patroclus was formed by laying circular foundations round the pyre, on which light earth was heaped⁷. It is not impossible that the smaller tumulus may have been that originally constructed for Patroclus, and the greater, that which was afterwards constructed over the ashes of the three heroes, according to the common opinion of travellers; yet it is easy to account in another way for the appearance of two tumuli so near together. Caracalla, who like other princes had the folly to attempt an imitation of Achilles, is supposed to have poisoned his favourite Festus, merely for the purpose of conferring on him the same honours as Achilles had bestowed on Patroclus. It is however certain, that Festus died just at the convenient time for the display of the imperial magnificence, during a journey through this country, and the laughter of the spectators at the sight of the bald emperor, who endeavoured to find a lock of hair on his head which might be consecrated to his friend, after the example of Achilles, has been often cited from the uncommon absurdity of the circumstance. That emperor must have erected a tumulus, but it admits of a doubt, whether it is one of these near Jeni Chehr, or that called Behik Tepe or the tomb of Peneleus. On the right of the tumulus of Achilles

² Il. xxiv. 16.

Il. xxiii. 13.

⁴ Il. xxiii. 125.

⁵ Il. xxiii. 164.

⁶ Il. xxiii. 245.

⁷ Il. xxiii. 255.

is a small convent of Turkish dervises, and a few large stones, lying nearly in a circle, are visible to a person on the summit^a.

^a A Jew acting as Consul of the French nation at the Dardanelles, was ordered by the ambassador Choiseul Gouffier to make excavations in the greater of these tumuli; but it is not easy to discover whether he ever commenced the operation, as no appearance now remains of any such research, nor is there any trace left of human labour, except a small hollow among the circular foundations at the summit. The Jew is said to have sent a small piece of metallic substance, about the size of the hilt of a sword, to Constantinople, for the inspection of the ambassador. The figure of a man whose feet rested on the backs of two small horses was discovered, and the fragments of human legs on their sides showed that there had been originally a rider upon each. The head of the principal figure was supported by two sphinxes. The same Jew sent the fragments of two vases of the most ancient Greek pottery, which, he said, were found in the tumulus. It is to be observed, that the Jew could not have known that the ashes of the three heroes were placed in two urns, and so far there is an appearance of credibility in his discoveries, particularly as a golden vase would have been so tempting an article, that it is not impossible that of earthen ware might have been substituted as soon as the funeral ceremonies were performed; a circumstance which the poet would always avoid mentioning. Vases have also been found containing smaller urns, and supposing that such were used at the time of the Trojan war, the number of centuries that have elapsed might well account for the complete destruction of any metallic substance; added to which, an urn called golden by the poet might have consisted of gilded copper or iron, for gold was not plentiful in Greece till her commerce became more extended. Some have supposed that the figure mentioned above might have been one of the handles of the golden urn; but it was so mutilated and decayed that it required all the ingenuity of all the French in Constantinople to make any thing intelligible from the fragments. The authenticity of these productions was even at the time much disputed, and some persons went so far as to affirm that the antiquities were manufactured in Paris. It may be added, that a person who began to excavate in the tumulus of Achilles, near the summit, where are now the only traces, would not find the ashes of the hero, according to Homer, till he had cleared away the earth nearly to the natural level of the soil; and that if any urn was found near the top, it must have been placed there in aftertimes. This, however, might have been the case without disturbing the ashes of the original possessor. To my own enquiries I have never procured any satisfactory account of these relics, even from those who were concerned in the production of them to the world; and when I have requested information from French gentlemen of character, who knew the truth, I have always found them impenetrably silent.

PLATE XXII.

THIS view is taken from the summit of the tumulus of Achilles, and exhibits the lower portion of the plain bordering on the Hellespont. On the right, the tumulus of Patroclus is seen, and beyond it the vale of Thyndra and the village of Koum Kevi, above which is the hill of Telhiblak and situation of Ilium Recens. Beyond the tumulus of Patroclus, and toward its base, the united streams are discernible flowing between banks clothed with trees. In the centre of the view the tumulus of Ajax is perceived on the further side of the plain, and on the coast of the Hellespont. The tomb may be found by observing two clumps of poplars not far from the foreground, between which, and almost on a level with their tops, the little mount is seen. The long projections of the shore, which are seen below the tumulus of Ajax, are those which now occupy portions of the Greek haven. (See dissertation on Plate 15.) The camp appears to have overspread the shore, from the tumuli on this side of the plain to the tomb of Ajax on the other. The village of Koum Kale is distinguished by its three mosques, and the towers of the castle projecting into the sea. The mouth of the Simois is seen near and above the houses of that place. The marsh, extending from the castle to the tomb of Achilles, has no connection with the river. Beyond the Hellespont the Thracian Chersonesus appears crowned with the tumulus of Protesilaus. On that coast also is seen the castle of Europe, the work of the celebrated Baron De Tott.

Over the central mosque of Koum Kale is seen the fortress on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, erected on a narrow part of the Hellespont, between the ancient Dardanus and Abydos.



View of the Valley of the Nile



PLATE XXIII.



THIS view, which was taken higher up in the plain, and almost in its centre, where the road from Kallifatli to Koum Kevi approaches the banks of the Simois, is merely intended to give some idea of those gentle elevations, which form the boundary of the plain on the west. The tumulus of Æsyetes appears on the left in a conspicuous situation, and the village of Erkissi Kevi is visible toward the centre, with its mosque, and a summer residence of the most celebrated of the Turkish admirals, the late Hassan Pasha. The stile of building is similar to that of the Aga's house at Bounarbashi. The Simois is seen in the foreground, flowing between banks formed of sand, and producing little shrubs. The Scamander flows still nearer to Erkissi Kevi and winds round the base of the hill on which that village is situated. It is probable that the small pyramidal elevation, seen a little to the right of the spot where the hill of Erkissi joins the plain, is the tumulus called Behik Tepe, for it is through that opening between the hills, that the new canal from the Scamander is conducted to the sea.

PLATE XXIV.



THE river Simois has been already described as descending from mount Ida, and having almost encircled the Acropolis of Troy, entering the plain. Above the village of Kallifalli, is a ford now frequented by the natives, which is represented in this view. Over the heads of the figures in the nearest cart may be distinguished, on the top of the hill, the two tumuli of the Pergama, and the glen, through which the Simois rolls, is on the left of these monuments. The range of hills on the left are spotted with underwood, and form a fine boundary to the plain. The houses and mosque which compose the village of Bounarbashi are seen, and will hereafter be shewn to stand near the spot once occupied by the Scæan gate, above which the city rose to the Acropolis. On the right, at the base of the hill of Bounarbashi, a clump of trees marks the warm sources of the Scamander, while a few poplars beyond them point out the cold springs of that river. On the nearest hill, exactly above the trees which mark the sources, may be perceived a tumulus, which is found to be of considerable magnitude on a nearer approach.

Strabo informs us, that Cebrenia, a district in Phrygia Minor, once belonged to the Trojans, and that in his time the Scamander

formed the boundary between Skepsis and that province. Now the city of Skepsis, afterwards called Palæ Skepsis, and now the village of Eskiptsehu, became, after the destruction of the Homeric Troy, the metropolis of that part of the country. There is authority for believing that Æneas, after becoming accessory to the extinction of the family of Priam, and the plunder of Troy, received from the Greeks the sovereignty of the territory of Skepsis, which became the seat of his government, and was subjected to his descendants for many generations. Homer may be brought in proof of this, who, during the contest of Æneas with Achilles, observes by the mouth of one of the deities, that Æneas and his family shall reign in Troy in succeeding ages. It is hence highly probable that the site of the ruined Troy belonged to the Skepsians, whose territory must have terminated somewhere on or near the plain, and perhaps was confined in this part to the Ileian plain, for that on the banks of Simois belonged to Ilium Immune, while the Scamandrian formed a portion of Cebrenia in the time of Strabo. That geographer says, Cebrenia belonged to Troy, in the time of Priam; for the tombs of Paris and Cœnone were shewn there¹; and Aristotle says, on the authority of a more ancient writer, that the tomb of Paris is on the summit of the hills; so that having found Cebrenia divided from Skepsis by the Seamander, and a tumulus near the city Troy on the summit of the hills, it is not improbable that this may be the tomb of the seducer of Helen.

The city must have made a noble appearance, from the present ford of the Simois covering the hill behind Bounarbashi, and crowned by the towers of the citadel. The river is in this part at least one hundred yards in breadth, and flowed at the time I was there with a very strong current, so as to render the passage difficult. The depth was in general about two feet and a half; but in some places considerably greater. The carts of the country are here seen, which have been termed by some writers Sigæan earts, from the number employed at the village of Jeni Chehr. They certainly resemble in shape the chariots of the ancient heroes, though the wheels are made of heavy masses of wood, and the body of the vehicle is formed merely of wicker-work.

¹ Cœnone was the lawful wife of Paris, and is said to have died of grief when he was slain, notwithstanding his infidelities.

PLATE XXV.



THIS view, which was taken from the spot where the road from Bounarbashi to Kallifatli first touches upon the banks of the Simois, is so similar to that represented in Plate 24, that it would not have been desirable to introduce it, had not a more distinct view of the city Troy been obtained. I will venture from this station to point out some of the particular objects connected with the city, reserving the reasons which render such disposition of them probable till a future opportunity, when they will be more clearly illustrated. It is supposed that the wall defending the city on the side of the plain, ran nearly in the line now marked by the hedge immediately below Bounarbashi. If the observer will carry his eye toward the right, from the mosque, along the same line of hill, it will be perceived that there are two different descents between the village and the trees which surround the Scamandrian springs.

On the top of the higher, the wall of the city may have passed, while the lower seems to be the Erineos, or hill of the wild fig-tree, whence the wall was most assailable by an enemy. The eminence seen behind, and near the Erineos, appears to have formed part of the city, and the Scæan gate might have been placed between that

knowl and the present village of Bounarbashi, in which case an approaching enemy might be effectually assailed from the walls, which stood on each side, forming an angle, in which the gate was erected. The tumulus on the hill above the springs is better seen in this than in the former view.

PLATE XXVI.

PLATE 26 exhibits the present appearance of the warm springs of Scamander, distant about five hundred yards from the Aga's house at Boumarbashi, which is seen on the eminence to the left, inclosed by a wall, and the various buildings necessary for the purposes of husbandry. The hill in the centre, and which forms part of the ground once occupied by the city, is so much elevated as to intercept the view of the tumuli of the Acropolis, which are exactly behind it, so that from the tops of the willows they might be seen. Below this hill is seen a knowl distinguishable by a lighter tint, projecting toward the fountain, and the Scæan gate seems to have stood in a recess behind the third willow on the left, flanked by that knowl and the mount of Boumarbashi. The Erineos is not discoverable in this view, being a little beyond the border of the picture to the left. The water of the spring is used by the inhabitants of Boumarbashi for domestic purposes, consequently they have made roads from all parts of the village to this point, and the overflow of the water occasioning a swamp, the people have paved the way for a short distance toward the village.

The fountain is surrounded by fragments of white marble, some of which appear to have been connected with other blocks by iron cramps, the holes for the insertion of which are still visible. These are regularly disposed in a quadrangular form, and are on two sides bounded by a couple of square granite columns, one of which seems to have been broken in its fall. It is not impossible that such columns may have once supported some kind of covering to the fountain, particularly as it was much frequented, for the purpose of washing, by the Trojan women¹.

¹ Iliad xxii. 153, &c.



Scene at W'ood

Engraved by T. Medland

Warm Seats of the Acornards

John G. Chapman, Esq., Acornards, 1840



The fount was also distinguished by having a marble cistern, and the fragments of ancient masonry still existing, seem peculiar to these sources. The women of Bounarbashi yet frequent the spring, as their predecessors, the Trojan virgins, did before the invasion by the Greeks. The convenience afforded by the blocks of marble and granite to the women of the country, who always beat their linen on stones or boards during the time they are washing, added to the sensible warmth of the water, has in all probability continued the practice of resorting to this spring, in preference to any other. The Count de Choiseul Gouffier was informed by the Aga of Bounarbashi, that the water threw up a very perceptible steam in the winter; and later experiments, made with the thermometer, prove beyond doubt that this is a warm source.

In the spring of the year 1801, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Cripps, of Jesus College, in Cambridge, ascertained with a thermometer, to which was affixed the scale of Celsius, the exact temperature of the water. It is to the liberality with which these gentlemen communicate the result of their observations that I am indebted for a correct statement of the fact. The mercury stood at sixteen degrees and a quarter above the freezing point, during the coldest weather of that year². The experiment has since been repeated at different hours, and in the depth of winter, yet no alteration has been observed.

It being perfectly established that this is a warm spring, it will be easily admitted, that the Scæan gate cannot be far distant from it; for Priam and Hecuba, who were near that entrance, saw the body of Hector attached to the chariot of Achilles; and Hector in his dying speech, after his combat with that hero near the springs, threatens him with a similar fate, "to fall by the hands of Paris and Phæbus before the Scæan gate³." At the distance of a few yards toward the right of the picture, a second small source is concealed behind the hedge, which is surrounded by a low wall of coarse modern workmanship, and is evidently nothing more than a small branch of the greater spring.

² Seventeen degrees and three-quarters of Celsius equal sixty-four degrees on the scale of Fahrenheit.

³ Il. xxii. 360.

PLATE XXVII.

ABOUT one hundred and seventy yards distant from the warm springs of the Scamander, toward the west, the cold sources are found, throwing out a considerable quantity of water from many openings in the rock. It has been discovered by the help of a thermometer, which was thrust into the fissure as far as the arm would permit it to go, that this spring is equally warm with the former. The pool, however, which receives the water, being of so considerable a size as to suffer it immediately to acquire the temperature of the atmosphere, it must undoubtedly have appeared cold before the invention of an instrument for ascertaining the real degree of heat. It would therefore have been thought cold in the days of Homer, and the poet is not incorrect, who describes places and scenes as they appear to the generality of mankind. Several other sources contribute to swell this division of the stream of Scamander, before its junction with the rivulet which proceeds from the warm springs. The Turks say, these are forty in number, and give the place a name expressive of the circumstance. The source represented in this view is on the right, near the observer, and has, on its first appearance above ground, a rock in front, which may have been cut into its present shape in ancient times. The quantity of water thrown out by the springs, which are apparently cold, is greater, and ejected with more violence than that of the warmer source. Each however is sufficient to form a rapid brook, and after running for about two hundred yards on each side of some pretty gardens, surrounded with high poplars, they unite, and form a clear, perennial, and copious river. The abundance of water occasions a marsh, as soon as the flood arrives at the flat part of the plain; and near that marsh, Ulysses informs us in the *Odyssey*, that he had passed the night before the walls of Troy. The ancients observed, that the waters of Xanthus had the property of imparting a yellow tint to wool, a circumstance probably arising from their chalybeate nature.



Cold Spring of the Mammoth

PLATE 11

PLATE 11



The willows which overhang the warm spring are visible on the left, and above them is the village of Bounarbashi. The tumuli of the Acropolis are also seen. The hollow on the right seems to have bounded the city on the western side. The foot path, which passes by the spring on the right, leads from Bounarbashi to Erkissi Kevi.

PLATE XXVIII.

This view is taken from a hill on the west of Bounarbashi, and will give an idea of the whole extent of the hill on which the city was erected. The mount distinguished by trees near the centre of the view is beyond the Simois, as is the whole of the distant country on the left of the village.

To the left, and in the back ground, is seen the little village of Atche Kevi, which I take to be situated on the Kallicolone, or beautiful hill.

The summit on the right crowned with two tumuli, is that of the Acropolis or Pergama, and behind it is a steep precipice washed by the Simois at its base. Below the tumuli, and nearer the observer, on the right and left are two knowls, between which Choiseul Gouffier thought the Scam gate might have stood; but I think such a disposition would not allow of sufficient space for the city. The Count thought that the hill now occupied by the house of the Aga was the Erineos of Homer, which, if his first supposition was correct, might possibly have been the case; but I am inclined to think from many circumstances, that the hill on the left, now covered with the monuments of the Turks, is the real Erineos. Below that eminence are the willows which overhang the warm springs, and the poplars on the left are not far from the cold sources of Scamander.

On the right a causey is seen, which forms part of the road to Glielé and Alexandria Troas. A narrow flat, similar in extent to the ploughed field in the foreground, separates the hill of Bounarbashi from the neighbouring heights on the western side, while the eastern and southern boundaries consist of rugged precipices and almost inaccessible rocks.



111. 50







PLATE XXIX.

THIS view was taken from a point very near to that whence the former was designed, and is intended principally to show the situation of the springs, the Erineos, the lower part of the city, and the Scæan gate. The warm sources of the Seamander are marked by the clump of willows toward the left, while the cold are not represented, though in the same direction, being somewhat beyond the limits of the picture. The warm springs may serve as a guide to the other objects, if attention be paid to the many documents which the poet has left on the subject. It has already been observed that the springs were not far from the Scæan gate, and by examining the account of the flight of Hector from Achilles, under the wall of Troy, and at the same time noting the disposition of intermediate objects, the Scæan gate must be discovered. Hector having fled before Achilles, at length resolved to await his arrival, and accordingly placed himself before the Scæan gate¹, resting his shield against a projecting tower². On the approach of Achilles he ran toward the springs, passing in his way the watch tower, the Erineos, or hill of the wild fig-tree, and the chariot road.

The springs were either very near or close to this chariot road, which must have been that leading to the port, to Thymbra, and Dardanos. The chariot road also was crossed by the heroes near the city, which is evident from the course of Hector being always near the wall³. Above the willows which overhang the warm source of Seamander, a rising mount will be perceived, now covered with the tombstones of the Turks of Bounarbashi, and this I presume to be the Erineos. On the brow of the hill below the Aga's house, running between the mosque and the observer, was in all probability the

¹ Il. xxii. 5.² Il. xxii. 97. *αὐτὸς ἐπὶ πύργῳ.*³ Il. xxii.

wall of the city, and just below the nearest house in Bounarbashi was the projecting tower against which Hector was leaning, and which was near, and before, the Scæan gate⁴.

The description of Homer corresponding perfectly with the present disposition of the ground, the Scæan gate must have been in the angle formed by the dark projection of the hill near the foreground, with the knowl of Bounarbashi, the precise spot being concealed by the height of the nearer elevation.

If this disposition of the principal objects be just, the road leading from the Scæan gate toward the Hellespont must have passed along the ploughed fields in the centre of the view, and have separated the hot springs from the Erineos in its course. It is not improbable that a second road branched off toward Thymbra, passing between the Erineos and Bounarbashi, but we have no authority for it. If however two roads united here, the beech tree might have stood near their junction, and perhaps grew not far from the little triangular patch of grass visible in this view. If otherwise, it might have stood in any part of the ploughed field in the centre, and indeed such a position is more probable, as it is not mentioned in the flight of Hector, and is constantly described as close to the Scæan gate⁵. By referring to the map it will be seen, that the idea of the gate having been called Scæan in allusion to its situation on the left of the city, is perfectly reconcilable to this spot, which is placed as much as possible on the left of the city. The gate seems to have been surmounted with a tower, for Priam, Panthus, Thymætes, Antenor, and others, were found sitting upon the Scæan gate, when Helen came to see the fight between Paris and Menelaus⁶, and they are said to be on a tower only four lines after. The names Scæan and Dardan seem to have been applied promiscuously to this entrance⁷.

Near the Scæan gate, and on the right hand of a person entering the plain, was a great and lofty tower, called the great tower of Ilion⁸, seemingly constructed in so superior a manner, on account of the

⁴ Il. xxii. 5. and xxii. 97.

⁵ Il. xi. 170.

⁶ Il. iii. 149.

⁷ Il. xxii. 194.

⁸ Il. vi. 373. *τῆς πόλεως Ἰλίου*. 6386.

natural weakness of the situation, which possessed scarcely any advantage in point of elevation, and was endangered by the near neighbourhood of the Erineos.

It will be evident at first sight, that the ground between the nearest house in Bounarbashi and the observer, affords but little defence to a fortification, the slope being too gradual to be of material advantage, while the elevation of the Turkish burying-ground or Erineos would contribute to render strong towers absolutely necessary in that part of the wall. In confirmation of this idea, Andromache observed to Hector, that some adverse deity had provoked the Greeks to attack the city in the weakest part, by the Erineos, where the ascent was easy, and consequently the walls less difficult to scale⁹. This tower was in the wall, and made a part of it¹⁰, and was at a somewhat greater distance from the Pergama than was the Scaean gate, for Hector having entered at that point, and visited the Acropolis, where he had heard that Andromache was at the great tower of Ilium, retraced his way through the whole extent of the city to find her, and met her returning home when he arrived at the gate¹¹.

On this, which seems to have been sometimes stiled the projecting, and the sacred tower, Priam stood when he discovered Achilles approaching the city¹², on which occasion he descended from it, and went to the keeper of the gate, giving orders that it should be set wide open till the flying Trojans were safe within the wall¹³. Having performed this task, the king returned to the tower; for it was from such a situation that he endeavoured to dissuade Hector from the combat; and Andromache hearing lamentations from the tower, ran to that building, and the wall, where she found Hecuba and the other Trojans in despair. It may be added that Priam and his queen endeavoured to persuade Hector to make a timely retreat, while he was leaning against the projecting tower¹⁴, consequently he must have been very near them, and the wall and tower must have advanced forwards from the Scaean gate, for Hector was before it. Again, if the projecting tower and the great tower of Ilium were not the same,

⁹ Il. vi. 493.

¹² Il. xxi. 526.

¹⁰ Il. vi. 388. *ἄρος τεύχος.*

¹³ Il. xxi. 530.

¹¹ Il. vi. 394, &c.

¹⁴ Il. xxii. 97.

they were very close together, for the same description is given of the relative situation of each.

The watch tower is the first object passed by Hector in his flight toward the springs¹⁵, and it must have been either attached to the great tower, or very near the Erineos, unless it be supposed to have stood on one side of the way to the gate, as the tower of Ilion did on the other. That it was near the Erineos, however, is more probable, for it is mentioned with that hill, as the beech tree is with the Scæan gate.

The Erineos, or hill of the wild fig-tree, next occurs. This spot has long been sought by the writers upon the topography of Troy, and some have represented the springs of Scamander at a much greater distance from Bounarbashi than they really are, for the sake of bringing in the hill to the west of the village under the name of Erineos. The true characteristics of Erineos are, that it was near the Scæan gate, for the springs were near that entrance, yet the Erineos was passed in the way to them. The Erineos was also in the direct road from the tomb of Bus and the fords of Xanthus to the Scæan gate, for some of the Trojans being routed, in the battle of the eleventh book, fled before Agamemnon, through the middle of the plain, past the Erineos, halting when they had reached the beech tree and the Scæan gate. Homer adds, that the fugitives were very anxious to reach the city¹⁶, consequently they took the nearest way, and Erineos must be in the direct line between the fords of Xanthus and the Scæan gate. It was also not distant, and in the plain, as some have supposed it, but close to the city, so that the wall was thrice in danger of being scaled from it. It was ornamented by a wild fig-tree, and was an eminence, for the wind is said to beat upon it¹⁷. In all these respects, no spot could correspond better with the description, than the Turkish burial ground does with the Erineos of Homer, as may be seen in the general map. The chariot-road succeeded the Erineos in the flight of Hector. Now the chariot road led from the gate toward the sea and camp of the Greeks, at least we read of no other in the Iliad; and the proof is that Hector meets in his way some

¹⁵ Il. xxii. 145.

¹⁶ Il. xi. 168.

¹⁷ Il. xxii. 145.

of the Greek troops who came from the camp, and who are commanded by Achilles not to discharge their weapons at him. Having passed the road, he came to the springs. Now had not the Erineos, the projecting tower, and the great tower of Ilion been on the right of the road, coming from Troy, the chariot road would not have been in the way of a person running toward the springs, and without such a disposition the track of Hector would be incomprehensible. Achilles approached from the banks of Scamander on the left of the road from Troy, whither he had been led by Apollo under the disguise of Agenor¹⁸. Hector was leaning against a tower on the right of the road, and suffered Achilles to get nearer the Scæan gate than himself, before his courage forsook him, and had not this been the case, the way to security in the city must always have been open to the Trojan chief. Achilles in this pursuit having once placed himself nearer the wall than his opponent, had a smaller circle to move in, and consequently easily prevented the approach of Hector to the walls, which he attempted three times, in hopes that his friends would be able to pierce Achilles with missile weapons from the battlements. It is necessary to observe, that according to the poet, Hector did not turn till he had passed the springs the first time, when directing his course toward the wall he was prevented by Achilles, who obliged him to retrace his steps. On the approach of Hector to the walls in the second circuit, Achilles intercepted him again. Being thus compelled to pursue his original course, Hector passed the fountains a third time, and after making a third and fruitless essay to place himself under the protection of the fortification he returned to the springs, resolved to try the fortune of a combat with the enemy. It has been generally supposed that Hector was pursued by Achilles thrice round the walls of Troy, and was afterwards dragged three times round the whole circle of the fortifications by the enraged conqueror. Achilles, however, having slain his adversary, considered for a moment whether he should not at that instant attack the city, and endeavour to take it while the Trojans were in the greatest consternation; but having quickly recollected that the manes of Patroclus were unappeased, he gave up all idea of immediate conquest, and hastened back to the fleet, dragging after him the body of the Trojan chief. The testimony of

¹⁸ Il. xxi. 558.

Homer therefore is positively contradictory to the prevailing idea. It seems equally contrary to probability that the heroes should have run thrice round the city, for such a flight must at the least have employed two hours, as the city cannot be supposed to have been less than four miles in circumference on account of the population, and Achilles must have passed over a space equal to twenty-four miles, if the fact were true. It is also highly improbable that the Trojans should have neglected to intercept Achilles, alone and unattended by his myrmidons, as he must have been, during the pursuit round three sides of the city, when a thousand men might have been detached on the service without the possibility of failure. Achilles too must have been possessed of less swiftness or less wisdom than he is allowed by Homer, if being nearer the fortifications than Hector, and having the power of turning him from the wall, the Trojan was ever permitted to leave that side of the city next the plain. Homer makes use of the word *ἄσπετος*, which is the only authority for the flight of Hector round the city. Now Hector was thrice turned round by Achilles under the walls, as has been before shewn, and without dwelling on the very great resemblance between the words around and near in the Greek language, it is fair to state that the *ἄσπετος* in the flight of Hector, no more signifies round about, than it does in the sixth book of the Iliad, where the Greeks are said to be fighting "*ἄσπετος ἀσπίδων*," around the city while they are positively and confessedly in the plain¹.

Above the hot springs, is seen at a distance, and beyond the Simois, Atehe Kevi, or Kallicolone. The hill on the right of the village, spotted with trees, is nearer to the observer than that river. The two hills beyond Bonmarbashi, the summits of which are also decorated with a line of trees, are part of the forest of Ida, and with the hills of Bonmarbashi, form the ravine through which the Simois enters the plain.

¹ Il. vi. 256, and vi. 327, *ἄσπετος ἀσπίδων*.





PLATE XXX.

THIS view was taken from an open gallery in the house of the Aga of Bounarbashi, the court of which is surrounded by a wall composed of wood and bad plaister, and is the resort of camel drivers, who pass this way from all parts of Southern Asia, as far as Lampsacus on the Hellespont; where their manufactures are put on board little boats, and carried into Europe. Several small columns of granite, as well as Ionic capitals of white marble, are found in different parts of the house and out buildings; they were probably brought from the ruins of Alexandrian Troy. On the left of this picture is perceived an opening in the hills, through which the road to Alexandria is carried. On the hill where the road is seen, the tumulus, which may perhaps be that of Paris, is situated. Between that hill and the eminence which intercepts the sight of its base is a narrow valley, and the houses of Troy must have covered the eminence which formed one of the projecting parts of the city, and which flanked and defended the way to the Scæan gate. The other side of the hollow was defended by the hill on which the mosque is now situated, while the road itself ran along the ploughed field into the plain, between the two elevations. The fields are seen over the top of the mosque, as the observer is on a height, and is supposed to be looking downward toward the springs. The warm springs, or the willows which surround them, will be easily distinguished, and on the right very near them, is the tree which marks the cold sources. A foot path leads over the hill above the warm springs to Udjek. The poplars shew the situation of the gardens of Scamander, which extend from them in a direction nearly north, till they are terminated near the next clump of the same species of tree to the right. Beyond the gardens, in the same direction, is the marsh made by the Scamander, in which Ulysses tells Eunnæus in the *Odyssey* he had passed the night. The ground near the gardens seems to have preserved, in some degree, the same appearance as in the time of Homer, who observes that there was a fallow field in this situation. The Scamander winds along the plain, and is only rendered visible by

a few splashes of water, till it arrives near the tumulus of Udjek. That tumulus will be distinguished by its size and situation appearing below the centre of the island of Imbros in the distance, which is again overtopped by the more lofty mountains of Samothrace. Carrying the eye to the right from the tumulus of Udjek, the opening through which the new mouth of Scamander is conducted, is caught, with the tomb of Peuceus, or Belück Tepe, in the centre. The succeeding hill on the coast is that of Jeni Kevi. The tumulus of Antiochus follows, and the view is terminated on the right by the hill of Jeni Chehr, or Sigamm, the tumulus of Achilles scarcely discernible, the village of Koum Kale, and the point of the Thracian Chersonesus. The reader must be aware of the difficulty of representing objects from an eminence, for which reason the situation of the Erincos will be scarcely intelligible from this view, though I hope sufficiently so from the two last. The summit of that mount covered with the tombstones of the former inhabitants of the village of Bonnarbashi is visible, directly above the fire wood in the corner of the farm yard in the foreground.





PLATE XXXI.

THIS view will exhibit more clearly that part of the country which extends between Bounarbashi and Koum Kale, as well as the eastern side of the plain toward Kallifali, and that boundary of the vale of Thymbra on which the Ilium immune was situated. The Simois is seen winding along the level on the right, and its banks are fringed with willows and tamarisks. It will be observed that the view is taken from so inconsiderable an elevation, that a very narrow line of sea only is visible in the distance, and the channel of the Hellespont is scarcely distinguishable. The projecting hill in the vale of Thymbra, on which Ilium Recens is supposed to have stood, is very evident, though far distant, and it may be found by carrying the eye upwards from the angle formed by the fence in the foreground. It may be observed that almost any number of the Grecian troops might be placed behind that eminence, so as to render it necessary for the Trojans to send a spy to some part, either to the eastern or western side of the plain, in order to observe the first movements of the enemy. Strabo has been cited on a former occasion to shew, that the Greek encampment must have been almost as far advanced into the plain as this hill of New Ilium; for in his time the port of the Greeks was only distant twelve stadia from that hill, and he thought, that the sea had been at least six stadia nearer in the age of Priam. That the idea of that geographer is just, may be proved from the certainty, that a proportional increase of land has taken place between the age of Tiberius and the present day. It must be allowed also, that owing to the distance of the city from the sea, the Trojans must have been compelled to send a messenger for intelligence concerning the number and motions of their enemies, to some eminence not far from the shore.

As the present view exhibits the relative situations of the hill of New Ilium on one side, and that of Udjek on the other, the reader will be enabled to form his own opinion on the subject of the tomb of Æsyetes, for on one of these eminences it must have been placed. The tumuli near Tehiblak are not easily discernible from Bounarbashi, and therefore are not represented.





PLATE XXXII.

THIS drawing has nothing to recommend it except the assistance it affords to the general plan for the illustration of every part of the hill of Bounarbashi, no portion of which can be totally uninteresting to the curious. The view was taken from a window in the back part of the Aga's house looking nearly south. The two tumuli in the Acropolis are discoverable at the summit of the highest hill. Beyond the most distant house on the left, the ground falls very quickly toward the river. The city appears to have entirely covered the rising ground, and if so, must have produced a noble effect.

The modern houses in the foreground are exact portraits of those which now exist at Bounarbashi, and will give an idea of such as are generally found throughout the country. I have been informed that the streets, if indeed they are worthy of that name, are paved with a species of lava, but I am not able to speak from my own knowledge on the subject.

PLATE XXXIII.

NEAR the centre of the preceding plate a road is seen leading toward the summit of the hill, and on the right of it is the tree from whence the present view was taken. On the right are seen the two tumuli in the Acropolis, and the rapid descent from these monuments to the Simois is perceived. The river is not however discernible, but flows through the glen between the citadel and the hills in the distance. A green hill rises in the centre of the view, decorated at its summit with a number of trees, beyond which the descent is exceedingly rapid to the Simois, which runs at the eastern base of that eminence. This hill is situated on the east of Bomarbashi, and as it may possibly be the opinion of some, that it was once included in the city, I have given this representation. The beautiful hill of Atche Kevi or Kallicolone is seen above the heads of the oxen in the foreground, and beyond it to the left is the situation of the Pagus Hiensium.



View N.E. from the Hill of Waverley

W. P. 1840

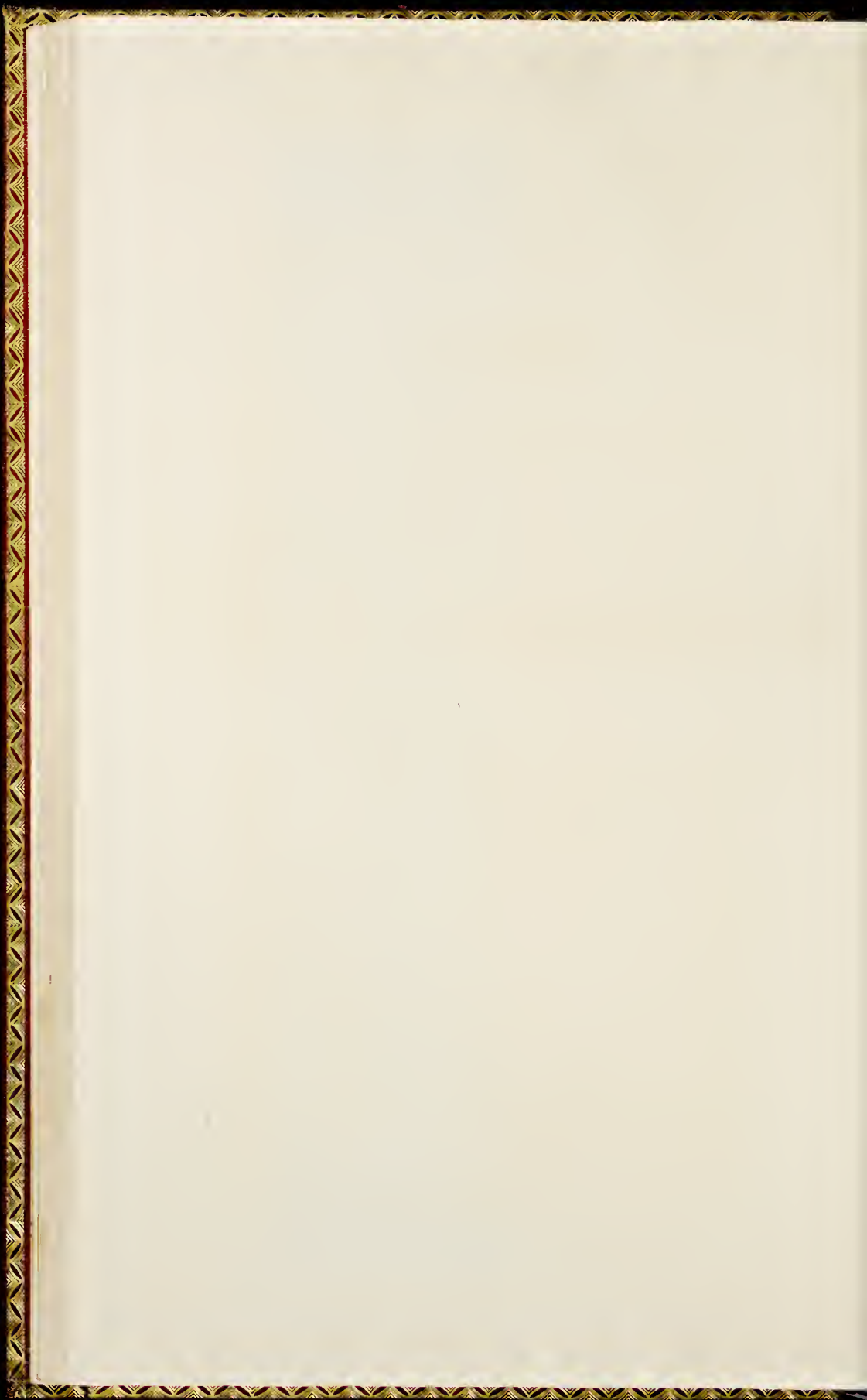
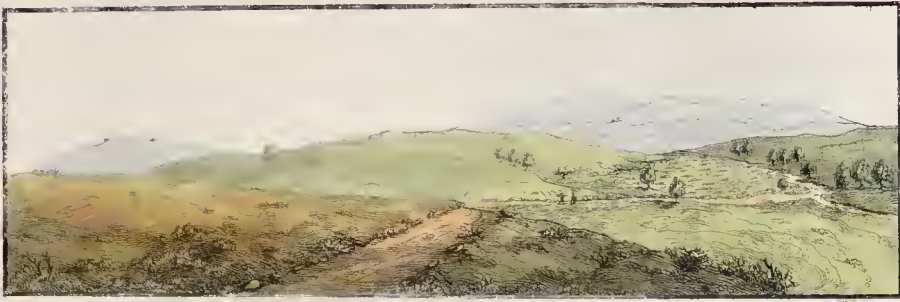


PLATE XXXIV.



THIS plate is introduced in order to give a more perfect idea of the circuit of the walls of Troy. On the west the hill of Bounarbashi is separated from the neighbouring heights by the narrow hollow, down which the road is carried toward Eski Skuptshu and Enai. The eastern boundary of the city, as well as the south, being amply guarded by rugged precipices and the river, will be found sufficiently secure against the attacks of such unskilful warriors as those of the æra of Priam, but the western side is less elevated, though sufficiently so for every purpose of defence. The road in the foreground is a branch of that noticed in the preceding views, and the projecting eminence over which it is conducted, as well as the two hills beyond it, form part of the ground once occupied by the city. On the left is seen the Acropolis with its tumuli, and in the distance toward the right, the tumulus, which I have stated my reason for believing was that of Paris, is visible on the summit of the hill.

PLATE XXXV.

THE scene, represented in this plate, is perhaps one of the most singular, as well as the most interesting that can be found in any part of the Troad. The spectator is supposed to look toward the south and to turn his back on Boumarbashi and the Hellespont. The two tumuli on the summit of the hill behind the village have been observed from the ford of the Simois, and many other situations in the plain below; but the curvature of the hill prevented the sight of the third monument from the lower grounds. From the Aga's house a steep and rugged ascent extends to the nearest tumulus, which is about one thousand four hundred and eighty yards distant, and is of a very different construction from the other sepulchres of the country. It consists of a large conic heap of stones, apparently thrown together without any order or regularity, and on the top of it is a small patch of earth, producing long grass and weeds. On the left or east of this monument, the hill declines abruptly toward the Simois, which flows in the deep glen at its base. Proceeding in a direction nearly south from the first tumulus, the traces of a wall are perceptible among the bushes on the right, at the distance of about thirty yards. Its course and situation may be seen by referring to the map, where a small portion of it is laid down. At the distance of one hundred and twenty yards from the first tumulus, a second of superior dimensions is observed, standing like the former on the edge of the precipice, but differing in construction, being composed of a mixture of earth and stones, in some parts covered with turf, and producing bushes of considerable size. Beyond this two pits are discovered, excavated in the solid rock, and distant about fifty yards from the second tumulus. Still pursuing the same course, a third tomb is perceived of considerable size, but destroyed toward the top by time or violence. It is distant about one hundred yards from the second. On the right or western side of this the ground again falls with a very precipitous descent into a vale, watered like the glen on the left by the Simois.



View of the



At the base of the third tumulus, the ruins of a thick wall, now only traced by the heap of stones, which once served for its erection, may be seen, crossing the hill in the narrowest part from that monument toward the left. The whole breadth of the hill, and consequently length of the wall, is not more than two hundred yards.

The heap of rubbish is greater toward the left than in other places, and loose stones have rolled down the precipice in great quantities from that part into the dell below. Beyond the wall the hill rises and again spreads out into an oval of considerable size. The precipices which surround it are of course more profound, and in some parts, particularly at the south eastern extremity, more perpendicular. On the summit are several foundations, which will be noticed on a future occasion. Between the second and third tumuli are also many traces which indicate the situation of temples or habitations. The more distant mountains form the opposite side of the glen, through which the Simois flows at the base of the southern extremity of the hill of Boumarbashi. Having thus described the plate, it remains to be shown, that the objects delineated have an obvious connection with some part of the scenery of the Iliad. The first tumulus seems unquestionably to be that of Hector; for though innumerable instances may be brought to prove, that the custom of raising sepulchres within the walls of cities was not at all general during the more remote ages, yet examples are not wanting to shew that an occasional deviation from the ordinary method sometimes took place. Among others the tumulus of Autonous at Delphi, and of Canathus at Thebes may be mentioned. The latter, which is of a date antecedent to the war of Troy, and coeval, or nearly so, with the settlement of Cadmus in Greece, yet remains a testimony of this fact, and no mistake can possibly have arisen in so circumscribed a situation as the Cadmeia. We have however in this instance a more positive argument in favour of the tumulus in question; for Homer himself informs us, that the tomb of Hector was within the walls of Troy, or at least, what is equivalent, Priam tells Achilles that it shall be so¹. The tomb was erected, as we are informed in the last book of the Iliad, in the following manner. The body being burned on a funeral pile, the bones, collected in a

¹ Il. xxiv. 662.

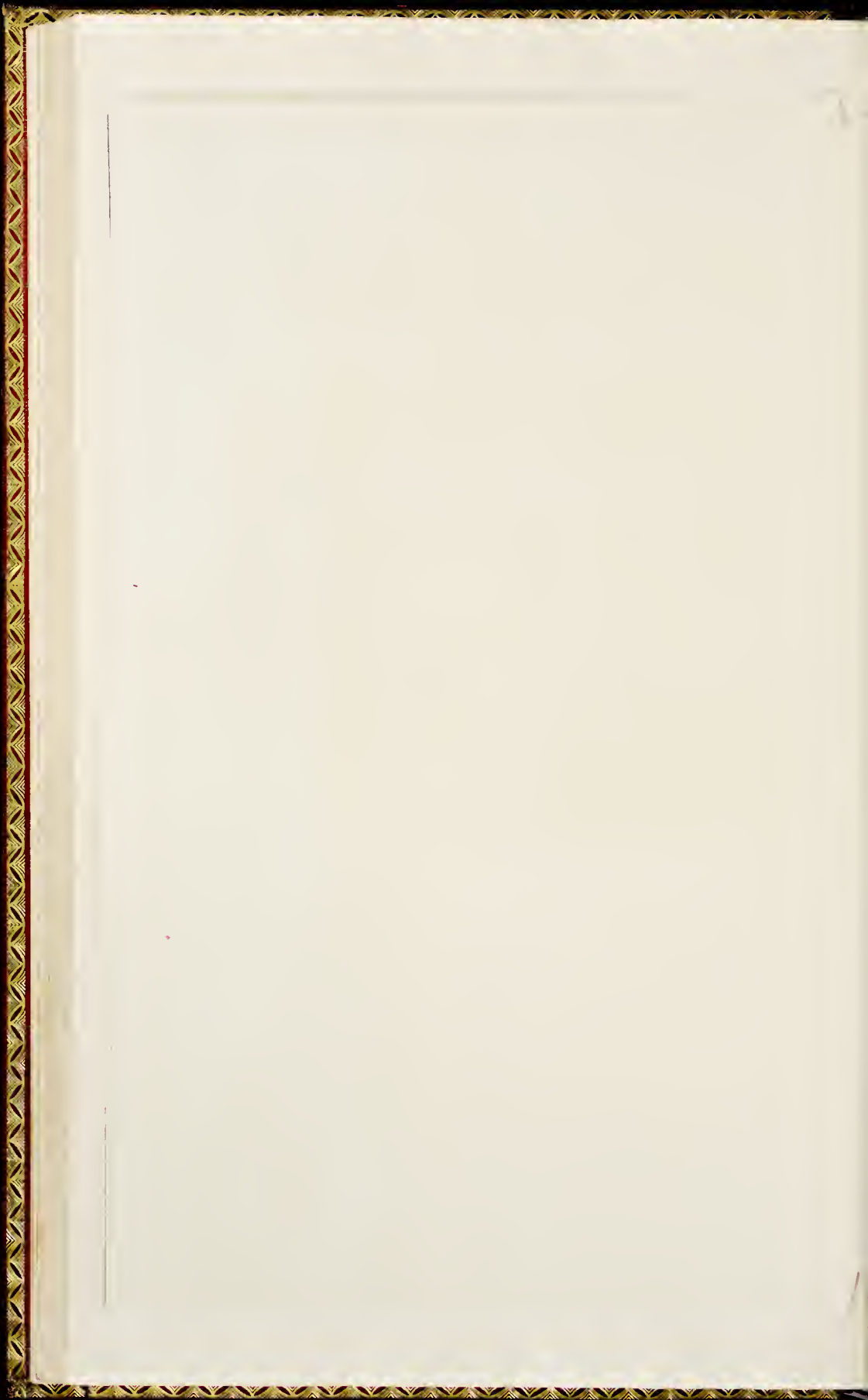
PLATE XXXVI.

THIS view, which includes an angle of about one hundred and thirty-five degrees, is calculated to give a comprehensive view of the scene of the Iliad, as it appears from the summit of the second tumulus of the Acropolis, which is known by the name of Priam. In the centre of the view is seen the village of Bonarbashi, situated at the foot of the hill, and about one mile distant. To the right of this a hill rises gently to a considerable elevation, after which it falls quickly to the Sinois, which washes its base. It seems probable that this was not included within the walls.

Nearer to the observer is the tumulus of Hector, on the east of which the hill of the Acropolis falls likewise in abrupt precipices to the river. The Sinois is seen winding at the bottom of the dell, and is again caught in the plain a little to the right of Bonarbashi, after which its meandering course is not easily distinguished, uniting itself with the Xanthus opposite Jeni Chehr, and discharging itself into the Hellespont at Koum Kale. The pretty village of Atehe Kevi, situated on the Kallicolone, is visible above the first angle formed by the river, and at a short distance to the left of it is seen the country of the Pagus Iliensium. The eye carried along that range of eminences beyond Atehe Kevi toward the left, will observe them terminating in the hill of Ilium Recens, beyond which, the vale of Thymbra and the hills of the Rhætan promontory extend to the Hellespont. On the right, or most northern part of that channel, the castles of the European and Asiatic Dardanelles are descried. Beyond the Hellespont the Thracian Chersonesus is seen with its tumuli, and the castle of Baron De Tott. Three ships, belonging to the fleet of the Captain Pasha, point out the anchorage when the wind blows from the north. Near them, on the Asiatic shore, is the castle of Koum Kale, to the left of which, on the coast, is the tumulus of Achilles. Still proceeding to the left, the hill of Sigæum, and village of Jeni Chehr are perceived; above which is the northern extremity of Imbros. The isle Samothrace

HOINAKHSHI
View from the "Koyuk"
Painted by J. W. B. Smith, Esq., in the "Koyuk" Bay





is yet more distant. The tumulus of Antiochus is seen nearly in the centre of the plate; and on the next eminence to the left is the village of Jeni Kevi. To the left of that village, the tumulus called Behick Tepe is perceived on the flat through which the new mouth of the Scamander is directed.

The marshes formed by that river may be caught occasionally in a line between Behick Tepe and the village of Koum Kale; while the sources of it will be known by the poplars on the left of Bounarbashi, and the tops of the willows seen over the first eminence on the left of that village.

To the left of Behick Tepe the tumulus of Udjek or Æsytetes is seen on an eminence, and the village near it is also discernible. The little isle of Rabbits is seen beyond these.

That chain of eminences terminating at Udjek forms the western boundary of the plain, and the Scamander washes its base. The isle and castle of Tenedos are plainly and completely seen on the left. On the continent, below its northern point, is a village, probably that called Udjek, and to the left of it, that plain which lies between Ghiele and Bounarbashi. The hill of Bounarbashi, and presumed site of Troy, is distinguished by a lighter tint than the neighbouring eminences. Above the first tree, near the left of the picture, the tumulus, which I have called that of Paris, may be distinguished.

PLATE XXXVII.

It has been asserted, and confidently maintained, that there does not exist the smallest vestige of the ancient city of Priam, and it is not the only capital concerning which the same erroneous idea has prevailed. The “*etiam periere ruinae*” of Virgil seems to have been the foundation of this opinion; and it is not wonderful that it should maintain its ground until the truth was investigated, when we recollect that the ignorance of travellers for a long time countenanced the idea, that not the smallest trace of the great and powerful Babylon remained, though destroyed at a period when the credibility of history is universally admitted. The existence however, of the ruins of Babylon is now perfectly established; and if the situation of the most magnificent capital of one of the four great monarchies of the world could have so long escaped the researches of modern enquirers, it will be granted that the vestiges of a city, comparatively inconsiderable, the capital but of a small territory, and destroyed in a very remote age, might be easily overlooked. The foundations exhibited in this view are such as are observable on many parts of the hill of Bounarbashi, particularly on the summit, and they were designed on the spot without exaggeration or addition. The situation of these relics is nearly on the highest point of the hill, which was seen beyond the tumuli and the wall, in Plate 35, and which appears to have been the Pergama or Acropolis of Troy. That fortress was situated on a high pointed hill¹. It was necessary to pass through the whole length of the city in order to arrive at it from the Scæan gate², which was near the springs of Scæmauder³. By looking at the map it will immediately be seen that this description perfectly coincides with the summit of the hill of Bounarbashi. The citadel was called Pergamos, or Pergama, and was decorated with many palaces and temples. Among others was the palace of Hector⁴. The royal palace also stood in the for-

¹ Il. xx. 52.² Il. vi. 399.³ Il. xxiv. &c.⁴ Il. vi. 317



Faint, illegible text, possibly a signature or inscription.



tress, and must have been an edifice of considerable magnitude, for it was built round a court, and ornamented with colonnades. On one side were fifty chambers, appropriated to the princes, and on the other twelve lodgings, occupied by the ladies of the reigning family. The fabric was built with polished stone. The palace of Alexander was also in the Acropolis, and was a magnificent structure, erected, under the direction of that prince, by architects of the greatest skill⁵. It was situated near those of Priam and Hector⁶.

It is remarkable that these architects are said by Homer to have been at that time dwelling in Troy. They were in all probability Sidonians; for we find on another occasion, that when robes of the most beautiful workmanship are required, recourse is had to such as were painted by the skilful hands of the Sidonian women, whom Alexander himself had brought by sea from that country⁷. There was also a temple of Minerva in the citadel, with a statue of the goddess in a sitting posture; for Hecuba is described in the sixth book as placing a rich veil on her knees. There was a sumptuous temple of Apollo, the tutelary deity of Ilium, believed to have been built by the god himself⁸. There is reason to suppose that there was also a temple of Jupiter, much frequented by Hector. If it should be objected that such a multiplicity of edifices could never have existed in so small a space as the summit of the hill of Bounarbashi, it will only be necessary to give an example in the Acropolis or Cecropia of Athens, where a much greater proportion of edifices might be found, some of them beyond all comparison more magnificent and extensive than those of Troy. These were inclosed within an ellipse, eight hundred feet in length, and not half that number of feet in breadth, and consisted of the hall of paintings, the Propylæa, the temple of Victory, the magnificent temple of Minerva Parthenos, more than two hundred feet in length, the temples of Neptune, Minerva Polias, and Pandrosa, to which may be added those of Venus and Agraulos, the daughter of one of the Athenian kings. It is evident therefore, that the edifices mentioned by Homer, or indeed twice their number, might have been placed on the ground in question, which is of much greater extent than the Cecropia. The length of the Pergama, from east to west, is not far

⁵ Il. vi. 314.⁶ Il. vi. 317.⁷ Il. vi. 290.⁸ Il. v. 446.

short of four hundred yards, and the breadth is about half that number. The hill, however, is so completely covered with thorns in some parts, that I found it impossible, without assistance, to be accurate in the measurement of it. To the eastward of the foundations seen in this view, is a small pit, and round it are other stones, evidently not disposed by chance. It will be observed, that the foreground rises a little on the left, and the summit of that elevation will be shewn in a succeeding view. On the right the Pergama is fringed with bushes, over the tops of which is seen the rugged mountain beyond the Simois, and still more distant, the Kallicolone or hill of Atche Kevi.

Proceeding toward the right, the Simois, spotted with islands, is easily known; and above it the hill of Ilium Recens with the villages Koum Kevi and Koum Kale, the Hellespont, and Thracian Chersonesus, appear. Toward the centre of the view is the tumulus of Hector. That of Priam is to the left of it, and the third is just caught where the foreground begins to rise. The village of Boumarbashi and the springs of Scamander are excluded from sight by the isthmus which contains the three tumuli. The objects on the coast are familiar to the reader. Tenedos is seen on the left, and the isles of Samothrace and Imbros would have been visible had the atmosphere been clear at the time when this view was designed.

If they are not inserted, it is from a wish to represent every thing as it appeared on the spot; for it would be easy to delineate those islands as they must appear in nature from other drawings taken at a more favourable opportunity.





PLATE XXXVIII.

THIS view is taken from the summit of the hill of Bounarbashi, where the highest tower of the Pergama must have been erected, and the spectator is supposed to be looking toward the west. In the foreground is a large conical mount of earth, the centre of which is excavated. A circular foundation of stones, not visible from this point, encompasses the mount, and is probably the remnant of a tower of considerable dimensions, with a door on the south western side. On the right, among the bushes, lies one of the very few pieces of squared marble now existing on the hill. Beyond the mount, the vestiges of the wall which encircled the Acropolis may be traced, and I have exhibited a part of it in a succeeding view. The foundations are on the verge of the precipice. On the left is a rock, forming the south western angle of the Pergama. On the sight of it, the recollection of that crag, down which the Trojans once thought of precipitating the wooden horse, whatever it might be, suggests itself strongly to the mind. The surface of it presents an appearance somewhat similar to the Basaltes of Staffa, portions of the rock being separated by narrow perpendicular fissures.

The foreground is elevated to the height of about four hundred feet above the beautiful vale, ornamented with enclosures and watered by the Simois, which lies at the base of the precipice. The mountains on the left of the river form part of the chain of Ida. That on the right is part of the site of Troy, and the wall seems to have been excellently placed in this quarter on the brink of the precipice. On that hill may be perceived a heap not unlike a ruined tumulus, which I did not examine. The view, however, from that spot is very extensive toward the summit of Ida, and the vales of Enai and Bairamitche.

Between the city and the sea are the plains near Ghiclé and Alexandria Troas; and the isle of Tenedos is visible in the distance.

PLATE XXXIX.



IT has been observed, that after passing that species of isthmus, on which the three tumuli are situated, the hill of the Pergama spreads out toward the east and the west. The view now represented is taken from the eastern side, and not from the summit, but about half way between that point and the river, on the declivity of the hill.

The design of this sketch is to exhibit the disposition of those precipices which must have rendered the eastern fortifications of the Pergama inaccessible, and which are similar to those which almost environ the fortress. On the left, at the summit of that part of the hill here shewn, is the tumulus of Hector, and some idea of the elevation of the whole may be formed from a sight of those precipices which lie between that monument and the river.

It appears from this view how little the Simois deserved the name of an inconsiderable brook, for it flows with great rapidity through the dell below, forming in its course a number of pretty islands, often covered with wood.

The willows and tamarisks are sometimes carried away by the violence of the stream, while the snow is dissolving, or after the rain has fallen on Ida, and in that respect as well as others still retains the character given by the poet, of bringing down the trunks of trees from the hills.

As the view was merely intended to show the nature of the narrow valley which almost surrounds the Acropolis, very little attention has been paid to the more distant parts of the landscape. The Hellespont, however, and the European coast may be distinguished.

PLATE XL.



THIS little sketch contains an accurate delineation of the foundations of walls, the vestiges of which appear in many parts of the Acropolis of Troy. This small portion of them was only selected on account of the two ranges of stone, which may possibly indicate the thickness of the wall in this quarter. A figure is represented in order to give some idea of the dimensions and distances of the objects from each other.

These relics are on the south eastern angle of the hill, and are exactly in the position which would naturally be chosen for the erection of fortifications for the defence of the summit. Such vestiges may be traced on almost every side of the Pergama, and I have no doubt that the foundations might also be discovered in other places in the upper part of the city. I do not recollect to have seen any edifice of remote antiquity, in the construction of which mortar has been employed, nor has any cement been used in this instance. Among the most ancient examples of fortification now existing in the south of Europe, are the walls of the citadel of Tyrinthus, those of Argos, and those of the fortress vulgarly called the castle of Ulysses in the island of Ithica. In none of these, however, has mortar been employed, and the latter do not appear to have exceeded those near Bounarbashi in thickness.

The Simois is perceived in the glen below, at that point where it suddenly changes its course from an eastern to a northern direction.



View of the Hill of Chinnabach, from the State of the Snow.



View of the Hill of Chinnabach, from the State of the Snow.

London: Published by J. G. & J. S. 1840.

Printed by J. G. & J. S.

PLATE XLI.

THIS view is calculated to give an idea of the height of the Pergama from the dell at its base near the banks of the Simois. It will be seen that the precipices rise to a very considerable elevation. The hill on the left is that of the Acropolis, and is composed of rocks of whitish marble veined with red and blue, which takes a good polish. Not far from the summit is a little cavern, and at a short distance from the cave but above it, are the walls described in the preceding plate. The rock would have been terminated on the left by the precipice which is noticed in Plate 38, had the view been continued.

PLATES XLII. AND XLIII.



THE basso relievo here represented is now in one of the gardens at the sources of the Scamander, and is given merely for the sake of preserving a relic, found in so interesting a country. It appears to have been the metope of a Doric temple, and is of white marble.

Plate 43 represents the capital of a column, not unlike those sometimes found in the Saxon churches of Great Britain, but which may perhaps have been sculptured in times of the most remote antiquity, for the Greeks both of Asia and Europe were able at a very early period to form a capital, in a style infinitely superior to this. It is found on the hill, which is described, under the name of Erineos, in the twenty-ninth Plate.





PLATE XLIV.

THIS Map represents the hill of Bounarbashi and its vicinity, and exhibits, if not a perfect, yet a very tolerable sketch of the geography of the place, although the deficiency of instruments necessary for a very accurate survey of the spot may be matter of regret. I employed, however, a pedometer, a compass, and a wooden quadrant, which, though broken, was of great assistance; and as the result of my attempt agrees in every respect with the views, it cannot deviate materially from the truth.

The reader must imagine a gradual slope, extending from the hill marked Pergama, on the south, to a short distance below Bounarbashi, on the north. The Pergama is elevated about four hundred feet above the nearest vale at its base, and the isthmus, which succeeds it, may be about fifty feet lower. The ground throughout is spotted with short bushes, except on the part near Bounarbashi, where it produces grass. The upper portion is in many parts almost covered with loose stones, between which the brushwood springs up, finding a sufficient quantity of earth in the fissures of the rock, which forms the basis of the whole.

The extremities of the hill are on all sides exceedingly rugged and precipitous, except near the village, where the descent into the plain is not very rapid, although in most places sufficiently so to render great assistance in the defence of the place. In one part, however, a circular knoll appears, which was probably without the walls, and which I have termed the Erincos, finding that there was no other hill attached to that of Bounarbashi, which answered the description given by the poet. It was an eminence very near to the walls, so situated as to be the most favourable point for the attack of an enemy, for its elevation entirely removed that difficulty in approaching the fortifications, which the ruggedness of their situation opposed to a

besieging army in other places'. It was also on that side of the city which projected toward the sea; and as it was the last object passed by Hector in his flight toward the springs, it must consequently have been situated on one side of the road leading from the city to the fountains. The hill of Boumarbashi is not in fact joined by any other eminence, and the cart roads which pass round it are in almost all parts very nearly upon a level. The springs and gardens of Scamander are laid down on the north west. The Simois is also seen flowing at the base of the hill, on its southern and eastern extremities.

That point of the hill touching the Simois on the south west, is much elevated, and may be seen in the thirty-eighth plate. To the east of the village a road passes along a valley, which divides the hill of Boumarbashi from an eminence extending to the Simois. There is not I think reason to believe that this eminence formed part of the city, for there appears without it a sufficient space for the dwellings of that number of inhabitants which Troy may be supposed to have contained. Agamemnon in the second book of the *Iliad* asserts, that the Trojans were so few in number, that if the Greeks could have made slaves of them, there would not have been found a sufficient quantity of captives to have allowed one to wait at every table where ten Greeks might dine. Now the number of the Greeks at the commencement of the expedition was about 150,000, which may be found by adding together the forces of the different leaders enumerated in the catalogue of the ships. At the time, however, when Agamemnon spoke, the Greek forces must have been considerably diminished by a series of battles fought at Lyrnessus, at Thebes, and other cities of the Asiatic continent, as well as by a long protracted war, and a pestilence which had recently carried off great numbers of the people. Their army is generally conceived to have consisted of about 120,000 men, and that estimate does not allow of more than 12,000 to the Trojans. Suppose then 12,000 men, as many women, and by the usual rough mode of calculation, twice that number of aged persons and children, there would be at last a population only of 48,000 souls in Troy, and that number might easily inhabit a space not greater than that of the hill of Boumarbashi. Many instances might be given from the com-

¹ *Il.* vi. 453.

parison of other ancient cities, to prove that the population was almost invariably compressed into a very limited compass. Among others, Rome, which cannot be supposed to have contained less than a million of souls, was never, within the walls, more than twelve or fourteen miles in circumference, and Syracuse, which had 800,000 inhabitants, was included within a triangle, the sides of which were not at most four miles in length. Supposing, however, that every side of the triangle were four miles long, the area included would be only eight times greater than that of Troy, though the number of inhabitants was in the proportion of sixteen to one. That the population of ancient cities in fact occupied a much smaller extent of ground than is usual in those of modern times, may be seen by comparing the ancient with the present state of Athens; for though the buildings yet cover a tenth part of the space within the original walls, it does not contain 10,000 souls: whereas the same extent of soil must have afforded room, in the flourishing times of the republic, for at least 30,000; for the lowest calculation gives 300,000 inhabitants to that city². Another argument, in favour of this idea, may be deduced from the description of the royal palace itself; where we find the younger princes of the house lodged under the same roof with the king, though almost all were grown up, and many were married. Should it be objected, that a state, the capital of which could not muster 50,000 inhabitants, was incapable of maintaining a protracted war against such numerous and powerful enemies as the confederate Greeks, the answer is obvious. The Trojans were certainly unable to keep the field for any length of time; and nothing but an impregnable fortress, defended by a numerous garrison, preserved them during so severe a contest. In fact, a city containing 50,000 inhabitants, must have been in those days worthy of the epithets bestowed on it by the poet. Compare it with the well-built Athens³: that city must have been, in the time of the Trojan war, much inferior to Ilion in extent, consisting of nothing more than the Cecropia, and a very small enclosure surrounding the base of the hill. Troy, with its spacious streets⁴, must have been truly magnificent when compared to such a town, and it is only by comparison that epithets expressive of beauty and magnificence can be understood.

² See Hume's Essay on the Population of Ancient Cities. ³ Il. ii. 53. ⁴ Il. ii. 141.

It is even said, that the whole naval force of Athens could ride in the little harbour of Phalerum; and surely Troy might with justice be stiled powerful in opposition to any of the states of Greece at that period. It is fair to take Athens as an example, for that city had, at an earlier æra, enjoyed a very distinguished rank and celebrity under the auspices of Theseus. The extent and grandeur of Ilion is merely comparative, and ought not to be measured by our present ideas of magnificence, but by the insignificance of contemporary cities. Though Priam could not bring into the field a greater force than 12,000 Trojans, yet the allies and relations of his family supplied him with a powerful force, drawn from the neighbouring shores of Asia and Europe. These were sufficient to enable him to defend a well fortified town against an enemy, who, though superior in the field, possessed nothing similar to those machines which were invented in later times for the destruction of artificial bulwarks. The allies added to the Trojan force amounted not to half the number of the Greeks, for when the whole army was encamped on the Throsmos, and none but the aged were left to defend the city, a thousand fires were lighted in the plain, and around each fifty men were stationed⁵. Yet though inferior in number they might easily defend the town against an enemy for whom they were not a match in the field, or might protract the siege to any length of time, for the city was well stored with provisions, and we have no hint that it was closely invested.

The result of these enquiries seems to be, that Troy might contain between forty and fifty thousand souls, and that such a number might with great ease inhabit the hill of Bounarbashi. Much has been said of the gates of the city, and their number has been usually esteemed six or seven. The Scæan was certainly that which opened toward the nearest part of the Hellespont. The situation was not naturally very strong, but the magnificence of the walls and towers near or upon it amply supplied the defect. It has been presumed that the Dardanian and Scæan were the same, for when Hector was slain before the latter, Priam was with difficulty restrained from rushing out of the Dardanian gates. If they were not the same, then the

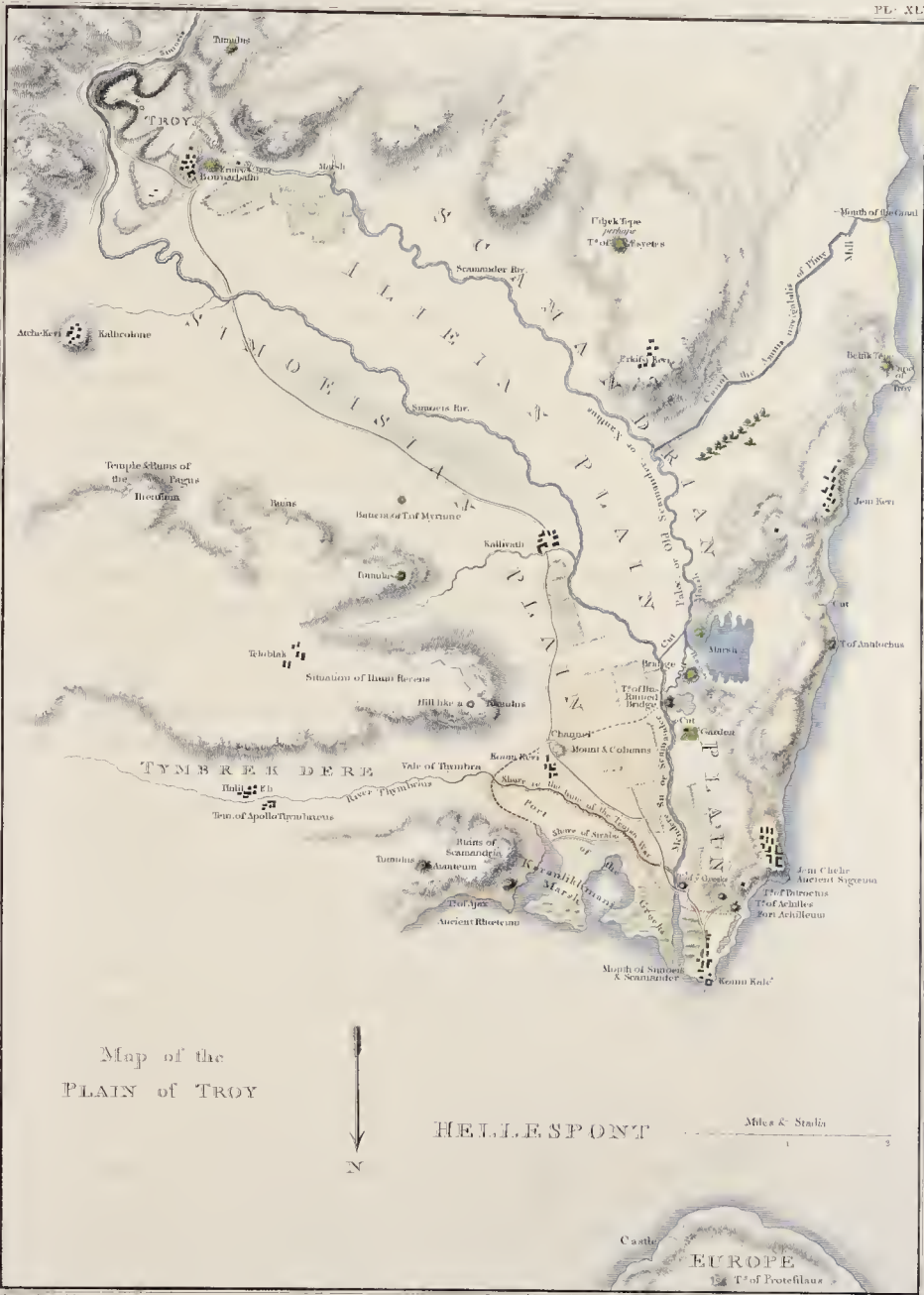
⁵ Il. ix. 558.

Dardanian were in all probability situated in the next recess, south of Bounarbashi, at the spot marked A in the map, for that part of the city is opposite to Dardanus, which city was more ancient than Ilium. If however the hill B was within the city, the second gate might have been between Bounarbashi and that eminence at W. The third would of course be at the point C, and the fourth at D. The fifth must have been placed at E, and there was in all probability one at F, as well as a seventh fronting the hollow, which unites the country about Ghiclé and Alexandria Troas to the plain of Troy, and where the road yet passes. Either the history given under the name of Dictis Cretensis or of Dares Phrygius mentions a gate Hamaxitus, and as Hamaxitus was a city on the western coast, it is probable that one of the last named gates was so called from that circumstance. An exceedingly ingenious conjecture of the learned Mr. Bryant gives room to suppose that Hector ran on the road to Hamaxitus in his flight before Achilles. Now Hector began to fly while near the Scæan gate; and it is evident that a person going from that part of the town toward the road to Hamaxitus, must pass by the springs of Scamander. The idea therefore only tends to establish the claim of the hill of Bounarbashi. The numbers in the map point out the stations whence the corresponding views were taken.

PLATE XLV.

THE general map of the country in the immediate vicinity of Troy, though perhaps imperfect in its construction, may nevertheless suffice to convey a tolerably faithful idea of the respective positions of the most remarkable objects. There is reason to hope that it is nearly correct, as it corresponds in all particulars with the whole series of views; a coincidence, which would be impossible, were it not so. Many maps of this district have already been laid before the public, all of which have given, with sufficient accuracy, and very little deviation from each other, the general features of the country. That of Mr. Wood has very considerable merit; yet he has followed the course of the Simois, to the distance of twenty miles from the coast, in search of the site of Troy, without having discovered the slightest vestige of antiquity till he arrived at Eski Skuptchu, the Palæ Skepsis of Strabo. It is singular that he has laid down the Seamauder exactly in its true situation, without ever examining the sources of that stream, which he must have known to be the best guide to the city itself. What is more singular is, that any one should search for Troy through a deep glen, instead of at the extremity of a plain; when no hint of a defile is given by Homer, to whom it would have afforded such an excellent opportunity of varying his scene, had such a spot existed.

The map of M. Le Chevalier, published in the last edition of his work, appears to be very correct, and is confined to the most interesting part of the country. That of Mr. Morrit corresponds with the former. A large map of the whole of Phrygia Minor, by the engineer Kauffer, lately published by Messrs. Clarke and Cripps, would have been invaluable, had not the previous appearance of a spurious copy induced those gentlemen to engrave a *fac simile* of the original, and thus prevented them from employing the knowledge acquired by their talents and industry, in the correction of some trifling errors which Kauffer himself had overlooked. One mistake, which seems particularly to require attention, is the insertion of a hill between the tomb



Map of the PLAIN of TROY



HELLESPONT

Miles & Stadia

EUROPE

Es. T. of Proteflaux



of Ajax and the town of Koum Kale on the coast, whereas that part is a low, sandy, and marshy flat, scarcely rising above the level of the water. This is of consequence, because the flat space between the tumuli of Achilles and Ajax, on which the Greek army was encamped, is by this hill reduced to an extent short of 1200 yards; whereas the real distance between those objects is not less than two miles and an half. Another inaccuracy of Kauffer, though not of equal importance, should yet be noticed; I mean the prolongation of the hill of the city of Constantine, or Ilim Recens, westward, till it absolutely meets the banks of the Simois: this is incorrect; for a line, drawn from Kallifatli to Koum Kevi, would leave that hill more than a mile to the east. The truth is, that a line drawn from the mouth of the rivers to the tumuli of Bounarhashi, passes through the western point of the hill where Kauffer places the city of Constantine, between which and the Simois is a wide plain. It may be added, that the range of hills on which Tehiblak is situated, does not in any part project so far to the south as to interfere with a right line, drawn from the tomb of Antilochus to Atehe Kevi; for if it did, then would the latter of these places be seen over the top of the points marked by a tumulus, and the ruins of a temple, in the map of Kauffer; a circumstance which a reference to Plate 19 will shew not to exist. The map here given varies accordingly from the plan of Kauffer in these particulars. The situation of Kallifatli is in the direct line between the tumulus of Antilochus and Atehe Kevi, and the same line cuts almost through the highest point of Ida; but if it were possible to judge from appearance, I should have placed the former village at least a mile and a half higher up the country, than it now stands in the map. The plan here given differs also from those which have preceded it, in having the hill of Bounarhashi more distinctly and accurately laid down; a circumstance which seems very necessary, as that is in fact the most interesting part of the district.

In regard to the brooks, as none of them contained any water during the time of my visit to the Troad, I cannot vouch even for the general correctness, with which they are introduced. Even the Thymbrius was nearly dry in the month of December; and I am doubtful whether it falls into the Scamander above or below the

bridge, or whether it is not lost in the marsh near the Karanlik Limani. That part of the coast, which lies at the mouth of the rivers, is coloured in such a manner as to demonstrate the present form, as well as the increase of the sands, since the æra of the war of Troy. The most northern of the dotted lines points out the coast, as it appeared in the time of Strabo, while the more southern, on the banks of the Thymbrius, is the boundary of the bay, which sheltered the fleet of Agamemnon.

That such a disposition of the country is correct, may be inferred from the testimony of Strabo. That geographer affirms that the distance from the sea to the city of New Ilium was in his time twelve stadia, or one mile and an half. Now the situation of Ilium Recens being ascertained by inscriptions found on the spot, it will be acknowledged that the nearest part of the sea must have flowed at the point, where are the vestiges of Seamandria, a town placed by Pliny at the outlet of the Seamauder; for the measurement of twelve stadia corresponds with the real distance between the ruins of the two places. Strabo further calculates, that the land had increased six stadia between the time of the Trojan war and the reign of Tiberius. By proceeding six stadia in a right line from the traces of Seamandria toward New Ilium, a point in the coast, as it existed in the days of Agamemnon, will be found, and that point is marked in the map, by the spot where the dotted line crosses the river Thymbrius. The idea of Strabo is just in regard to the incroachment upon the sea, which the accumulation of sand has occasioned at the mouth of the river; for if the land had advanced six stadia during the 1200 years which intervened between the æras of Agamemnon and Tiberius, by a proportionate increase nine stadia would be added between the age of Tiberius and the year 1800. The fact is, that very little is wanting to render the calculation perfectly accurate, and the deficiency is easily accounted for by the exposure of the sands to the violent current of the Hellespont, which has at present a more powerful action upon them than when they projected no further than the Rhætean Cape. It appears from Homer, that the coast receded between the two promontories¹,

¹ Il. xiv. 36.

in such a manner as to form a spacious port, and this affords another argument if such were necessary, in proof of the alteration which has taken place in the shore.

The river Seamander, united with the Simois, flowed, even in the time of Strabo, into the port of the Achæans, as it was then called, at the place indicated by a dotted line from Koum Kevi. The remains of the ancient channel may yet be found at that village, and may be traced toward the junction of the rivers at the tomb of Ilus. Scamandria was at the spot where the Seamander fell into the sea, as Pliny informs us. Now Scamandria was only twelve stadia from New Ilium, according to the same author, and the more any place lay to the westward of the vestiges called Scamandria in the map, the more would the distance from New Ilium be increased beyond that measurement, while on the east a rocky hill must have set bounds to the wandering of Seamander on that side. Perhaps the differences of opinion on the subject of the ancient mouth of the river have been owing to the importance of the town of Sigæum, when compared to the insignificance of the miserable village of Scamandria; an importance which has induced some authors to say, that the outlet was near Sigæum, being a place so much better known to the world. It was however near Sigæum, not being more than two miles and an half distant. If then it be clear, that the Seamander fell into the Karanlic Limani, in the time of Strabo, at the ruins of Scamandria, and in the time of Agamemnon at the point where the dotted line crosses the stream Thymbrins, it will be allowed that the Greek encampment must have occupied a curved shore on the southern bank of that brook, flanked on the south east by the river or dotted line, and on the north west by the station of Achilles, which was near the spot now marked by the common tumulus of the Greeks. It has been previously stated, that before the new canal near Erkissi Kevi deprived the Seamander of its waters, that river must have imparted its own direction to the Simois, for its stream was not only more copious but perennial, and this circumstance would bring it, in conformity with the testimonies of Strabo and Pliny, to its junction with the sea, at the distance of only six stadia from New Ilium, not far from the modern village of Koum Kevi. On the other hand, the canal having reduced the Seamander, before its junc-

tion with the Simois, to a mere brook, the latter has continued its progress without interruption to Koum Kale.

The next object worthy of notice is a mount of considerable magnitude on the south of the village of Koum Kevi. There is every reason to suppose it artificial, for it is perfectly insulated, and stands on a dead flat, near the dry channel. The heap is not lofty, and appears to have been levelled, for the purpose of placing on its summit some kind of edifice, of which two or three marble columns are the remains. The building was, probably, a small Ionic temple, but perhaps the columns may have been brought as grave-stones from the ruins of Alexandria Troas or New Hium. The mount seems too extensive to have been designed for a tumulus, and if it be coeval with the war of Troy, must have been either the Agora of the Greeks, which is mentioned by Homer as the place where the marts and places of worship were erected, or the Thrōsmos, which was so inconveniently situated for the invaders, while the Trojans were encamped upon it. The Baticia, or tomb of Myrine, it could not be; for when the enemy was advancing on a plain, from a camp only seven miles distant from the city, it would have been absurd and impossible for Hector to have marched more than six miles to meet them, before he marshalled his army. The Agora was in the open space between the ships and the wall of the Greek camp, so that the intrenchments might possibly have extended southward as far as Koum Kevi. No objection however can be made to placing the Thrōsmos here, for that was confessedly near the camp. The arguments in favour of the mount near the modern bridge of Scamander have been already detailed; the reader may be guided by his own judgment in forming his opinion. It should be remembered that the Thrōsmos was positively by the Nautins, which the mount at Koum Kevi must have been, when that river emptied itself at Scamandria.

In retreating also from this mount, the Trojans must have fled past the tomb of Ilus, which was in the direct road to the ford, and this circumstance seems to agree with the situation of the mount of Koum

Kevi. Pliny assigns a distance of thirty stadia between the Rhætean and Sigæan promontories, a number exactly correspondent with truth, if the measurement be made along the line of coast which existed in his time.

The discovery of inscriptions ascertaining the site of New Ilium is of great importance in proceeding to the examination of the other parts of the plain. Strabo says that the Pagus Iliensium was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters, higher up the country than New Ilium, and at such a distance ruins indicative of the habitations and the temple of that village may yet be found. The exact situation of the mount which I have called the tomb of Myrinne or Batieia was not, I believe, ascertained by Messrs. Clarke and Cripps; but their authority for the existence of such a mount with a tumulus on one extremity, in the vicinity of Kallifatli, is indisputable. One of the Byzantine historians relates that Constantine began to erect a city in the plain, but that it was never completed. As there is no authority for ascertaining the position of the intended city, some trenches and dilapidated walls found in the neighbourhood have been called the remnants of that undertaking. Some again have supposed that the walls of Hercules³, where the gods of Greece influenced the army of that nation, were in this part of the plain; but as they were built for the purpose of attacking a sea monster, they were probably on the shore of the Ægean sea, near the present village of Jeni Kevi. Such a situation also would place the tutelary deities of Greece on the right of their own army, as those of Troy would be on the right of the Trojans on Kallicolone. That beautiful hill is mentioned by Strabo as the true Kallicolone of Homer, and he adds, that it was ten stadia, or one mile and a quarter, higher up the plain than the Pagus Iliensium. At that distance the singular hill of Atehe Kevi is found, not far from the banks of the Simois.

Mr. Bryant observes, that Kallicolone should lie before the city, and at a distance in the plain, and so in fact it is. Batieia is said by Homer to be so situated, and separated from all other mounts, and accordingly Batieia, or the tomb of Myrinne, is discovered in a situation, with

³ Il. xx. 145.

respect to Troy, very similar to the Kallieolone. The hill of the city itself has been described in the dissertation accompanying the preceding plate; but it may be added, that the habitations extended from the Acropolis, which was high and pointed⁴, down to the plain, in the age of Priam, though before the time of Ilus, the city of the Trojans had been built on the rocky branches of Ida⁵, a circumstance which accounts for the different epithets which the poet bestows on the place, sometimes allusive to its vicinity to the plain, and in other instances to the lofty situation and weather beaten turrets of the citadel above. The only object which remains to be noticed is the tumulus of Æsyetes, which was seen by Strabo, near the road from New Ilium to Alexandria Troas. It is very disputable whether the mount on the hill of Ilium Recens is a tumulus, though some writers have asserted it. Either the tomb between Tchiblak and Kallifatli, or that near Erkissi Kevi, might have been on the road, yet the latter seems to have been fixed upon by Strabo, as the bridge near the tomb of Ilus was the place for crossing the river, and the road must necessarily have passed very near the tumulus of Erkissi. It is perhaps a point not easily ascertained, but the reader will have the opportunity of forming an opinion from the examination of the map and the plates connected with the subject. It should however always be remembered that the hill of Tchiblak lies between Troy and the Grecian port, so that the tumulus of Udjek is in fact the nearest point to the city, as well as the best for obtaining a knowledge of the motions of an enemy in that quarter. It is unnecessary to add, that the distance between Troy and the camp was not more than seven miles, and that a march of three or even four times that distance might be performed in a single day, without very great difficulty. Since my return from the Troad I was favoured with the following particulars by Mr. I. L. Foster, who examined the country with great judgment and attention. That gentleman observed, that the canal of the Scamander did not run at the base of the hill of Udjek, but was carried between two banks, which rise to it on each side, and which pass along the slope of the eminence: an incontestible proof that the canal is artificial, as the water would naturally have sought the vale below.

⁴ Il. xx. 52.

Il. xx. 216

Mr. Foster observed a cut, to the south of the natural junction of the Simois and Scamander, through which a stream was flowing into the former with considerable rapidity. The water in the ancient bed of the Scamander was about one foot and a half in depth and fifteen in breadth, and the bridge over it, consisting of four arches, near sixty feet long. I am indebted also to Mr. Foster for the insertion of a tumulus which I had sketched without having noticed in Plate 15.

The account of the territory of Troy being thus completed, it will perhaps be necessary to make a few observations on the inhabitants, at the time of the invasion of the Greeks. The learned Mr. Bryant informs us in the third volume of his *Mythology*, p. 439, that the Trojans came originally from Egypt; for they were of one family with the Titaniaus and the Meropians. Thus is distinguished as a Merop Atlantian, and he was of the race of the Trojan kings, consequently they were all Merop Atlantians. Herodotus also observes, that the Atlantians of Phrygia were skilled in the sciences, and Diodorus says, that they were allied to the gods and heroes, a circumstance which may account for the difference of language which existed between the gods and men, of which Homer takes notice. Dardanus is said by Homer to have been the son of Jupiter; he is called Arcas by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and is said by him to have come from Arcadia, after a deluge, with Corybas his nephew, to Samothrace, whence he passed over into Phrygia. Mr. Bryant observes that they introduced rites in memory of the ark in Phrygia, and from the names of cities in that country, such as Theba and Larissa, which signify the Ark, the fact is extremely probable. Dardanus is said to have built a city bearing his name, on the Hellespont; and by Stephanus Byzantinus to have married Baticia, Asia, or Arisbe, the daughter of Teucer, who was the son of Scamander and Ida, and from whom a Phrygian dynasty received its name. The city Arisbe was probably named from her, and from her ancestors the mountain Ida and the river Scamander seem to have been called.

That river had, however, either received the name of Xanthus in earlier times, for Scamander was the name used by mortals in the age of Priam, or Xanthus was applied to it by the colony introduced by

Dardanus, who was the reputed son of Jupiter, or rather who introduced the worship of that deity. Eriethonius, the issue of that marriage, became the possessor, not only of Dardanus, but of the plain, afterwards called the plain of Troy, for he is said to have kept 3000 mares grazing in the marsh. It appears that these might be the priestesses of the goddess Hippa, who were figuratively so called, as Mr. Bryant informs us. Of Baticia, Asia, or Arisbe, the daughter of Teucer, it may be observed, that she was of a family, or was herself the leader of a people, who originally came from Africa. The gods, says Homer, called her Myrinne, and Diodorus thought she was contemporary with Isis and Osiris. She was allied to Orus, and passed through Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia, in her way to Phrygia, building the cities of Cuma, Pitane, and Priene, on her route, and taking possession of Leshos and Samothrace, in the latter of which she for some time took up her residence. The two colonies led by Dardanus and Myrinne are thus brought from Egypt to Samothrace, and it is not improbable that they might in fact have formed one and the same people. Myrinne however was the leader of a powerful army, and seems to have been more warlike or more unfortunate than her husband, for not content with the continent of Phrygia, she attacked Thrace at the instigation of the augur Mopsus, and was slain. Her tomb has often been mentioned, and is particularized by Homer as a mount of earth, which some have supposed to have been covered with brambles from the resemblance it bears to the Greek word, *καρσος*, a bramble, yet if so, it would not have been selected for marshalling an army.

The Atlantians appear to have been settled in Phrygia before the time of Dardanus and Baticia, and she seems to have been called Myrinne, as Scamander was Xanthus, in their language.

The son of Baticia, Eriethonius, was a rich and powerful monarch, and is said to have discovered the mines of precious metals, with which the country abounded, and of which the traces are yet visible in the vicinity of Skepsis.

In the reign of Eriethonius, the city of the Trojans was either in another situation, or covered only the upper part of the hill, as the

city of Cecrops did the rock of the Acropolis at Athens; but when Tros, his son, ascended the throne, the people were so multiplied that they began to overspread the declivity, and the additional town was called Troy, in honour of that prince. The original fortress, or citadel, was probably stiled Dardania, the town of Tros succeeded, and at length in the time of Ilus his son, the habitations occupied the whole of the hill. Ilus gave his own name Ilion to the city, or at least to that part of it which had been added in his reign; and the kingdom was at that time become so potent, that the monarch found means to expel Tantalus and his son Pelops from Asia. These princes appear to have possessed a portion of the country by descent from its more ancient sovereigns, yet they were barbarians in comparison with the king of Troy; and Sophocles introduces the lesser Ajax insulting Menelaus on account of his descent from so disreputable a stock. Pelops being the grandfather of the Atridæ, and Ilus of Priam, it is not wonderful if the kings of Peloponnesus, who were also related to the principal families of Greece, should be eager to seize any pretence for revenging themselves on the nation who had so recently driven their ancestor from Asia.

Ilus had two brothers, Assaracus and Ganymedes, and his son Laomedon became famous for his magnificence, in surrounding the whole city of Troy with a wall, of such strength and dimensions, as procured for it the reputation of having been built by Apollo and Neptune. Hercules is reported to have slain three of the sons of Laomedon, and Priam, the fourth of them, whose history is so well known, lost his life and kingdom at the close of the Grecian expedition.

Æneas, who was descended from Assaracus, seems to have been permitted by the Greeks to remain in the country after the destruction of the city. He is said to have retired to Skepsis, and he certainly left a line of successors in the throne; for Homer, by the mouth of one of the deities, observes, that, had Æneas been slain by Achilles, the succession could not have continued. Their power seems however to have been much broken, and they never rose to eminence. The tomb of Æneas was shewn in the city Berecynthia,

near the river Nolos, in Phrygia, not far from Troy, and Festus observes that there are many testimonies of it. It is remarkable that not far from Skepsis is a place named *Ænai*, and near it a large mount, which has been thought to be the tomb in question, and certainly the similarity between the names of the village and the hero is worthy of notice. The mount is yet called *Sovrau Tepe*, or the King's Tomb.

Mr. Bryant, with wonderful learning and ingenuity, has traced many colonies from the shores of the Nile to their arrival in Greece and Asia. That of the Atlantians in Phrygia was dispossessed by Myrime; and a second colony of Egyptian extraction was expelled by Ilus under Tantalus and Pelops. That the Atridae were of Egyptian origin may be inferred from their names, according to Mr. Bryant, who specifies particularly, and with great judgment, that of Menelaus. The tumulus of Agamemnon also, in the Peloponnesus, is said to contain figures sculptured on huge blocks of stone, nearly resembling the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The numerous colonies, which settled in Greece and Lesser Asia, were then almost entirely derived from Egypt; a circumstance which, as Mr. Bryant says, accounts for the ease with which the Greeks and Trojans reciprocally understood each other when meeting in battle. It is not singular that such frequent allusion should be made to the mother country, as we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer; for even in the time of that poet, Egypt was considered, as it really was, the fountain of knowledge. It is probable too that Homer lived at a period not very remote from the age he celebrates. He would have put a prophecy concerning the return of the Heraclidae into Peloponnesus, and the ruin of the Atridae, into the mouth of some one of his heroes, had he written after that event, for he has not omitted any circumstance of that nature.

Mr. Bryant, in his admirable *System of Mythology*, has given the derivation of many names of cities, mountains, and rivers, both in Greece and Asia, from the Ammonian tongue, with which those in Phrygia were particularly connected; a circumstance not surprising, as a very great proportion of the colonies which peopled Europe seem to have passed through it. The earliest conquerors also are said to have taken possession of that territory. Nimrod, Semiramis, Sesostris, the

Atlantians, Meropians, Myrinne, and, even in the memory of Priam, the Amazons, are at different periods recorded as the inhabitants of Phrygia, and all of them were of Ammonian extraction. A few of the names given by Mr. Bryant from the mother tongue will suffice to shew this intimate connection. That author informs us that Il and El signify the sun, (p. 463, vol. 2.) and in page 464, we find Elion, the most high, applied to that luminary. We have here the city of Ilium, and accordingly we find Apollo, or the deity of the sun, is the guardian of Ilium. It is remarkable that Homer has often adapted the introduction of that divinity to the situation of the armies on the field of combat. We find more than once, that the Trojans conquered while the sun ascended toward the meridian, but when he began to decline, the Greeks obtained an advantage which the dazzling splendor of his rays had rendered them incapable of obtaining in the morning.

Mr. Bryant says, that almost all salt or warm springs were dedicated to the sun in early ages, when that luminary was considered as the greatest of the deities. The Troad abounded with such fountains. Zeleia was the capital of a Phrygian province, and this name is particularized as connected with salt springs. The name *Æneas* seems to be derived from a fountain sacred to the solar divinity, and Mr. Bryant mentions a spring in Thrace of that name, dedicated to the god. The same may be said of *Cenone*, the wife of Paris, whose name was a compound of *Ain*, a fountain, and *On*, the sun. *Xanthus* may be derived from the words *Zan* and *Thoth*, both of which are given by Mr. Bryant as titles of the sun, and *Scamander*, the other name of that stream, seems to have been of similar signification, being a compound of *Cham*, the sun or heat, and *An*, a fountain. The warmth of the spring also justifies such an appellation. Many other instances might be added, to shew the intimate connection between the names of places and the deities to which they were consecrated. The whole history of Troy seems exceedingly reconcilable to the system of Mr. Bryant, from whom, indeed, almost every circumstance here mentioned is borrowed. I shall conclude with an observation of that author, that the Egyptians sent colonies into Epirus, and the countries on the western coast of Greece. The great similarity of names is adduced as a proof. That there was some connection between Epirus

and Phrygia after the destruction of Troy, is manifest not only from the authority of Virgil, but from the wonderful and truly singular correspondence of the plain of Buthrotum or Butrinto with that of Troy. It seems impossible to produce a more unequivocal proof that the plain near Bounarbashi is the real plain of Troy, than that of finding, in a distant country, its exact counterpart, chosen by the wife of Hector, on account of a similitude of which she was competent to judge, and retaining to this day its original aspect.

A feeling of that respect which is due to the public from every candidate for its approbation, induces me to add, that if any inaccuracies or omissions remain in the work, they are not to be attributed to any negligence on my part, but to the duties of a military occupation; the whole of this tract having been written at the distance of three hundred miles from the metropolis, without the possibility of obtaining access to libraries or the assistance of literary friends.

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