II. *M. CHEVALIER'S TABLEAU de la PLAINE de TROYE illustrated and confirmed, from the OBSERVATIONS of subsequent TRAVELLERS, and others. By ANDREW DALZEL, M. A. F. R. S. EDIN. Professor of Greek, and Secretary and Librarian in the University of Edinburgh.*

[Read Sept. 4. 1797.]

AS the Members of this Society afforded to M. CHEVALIER an early and warm encouragement and patronage, and readily gave his *Tableau de la Plaine de Troye* a place in their Transactions*, as well as admitted the author to a seat among their number; and as that paper, since the time of its publication, has excited a good deal of interest and speculation, they will, no doubt, hear with pleasure, that it has now received, at least in all its material circumstances, a most ample and satisfactory confirmation.

THE author, previous to his departure from England, in May 1796, had expressed an anxious desire that a second edition of the English version of his Essay should be published, improved from some materials I had collected, and by such amendments as he should communicate. But as this could not be done,
without

* See Vol. III. Lit. Cl. p. 1, &c.

without a new arrangement with the booksellers, and as an obstacle occurred which rendered a delay necessary, I have thought that it would, in the mean time, be agreeable to the Society to have a short Abstract of the most material contents of the Essay, as now confirmed by subsequent travellers, laid before them, preceded by an account of the manner of its first reception, of the communications of those travellers, and of certain objections that have been made to it; and followed by an Appendix, containing the papers and letters referred to in the foregoing detail.

Account of the Reception which the Description of the Plain of Troy at first met with.

M. CHEVALIER, after his return from the East, and before he came to Edinburgh, visited Paris, where he found the late M. l'Abbé BARTHELEMY, author of the *Travels of the Young Anacharsis*, to whom he gave some account of his excursions into the Troad. That celebrated and respectable scholar was so much pleased with the light he received, on this occasion, concerning that famous classical region, that he introduced M. CHEVALIER to a party of his friends by the title of *le Restaurateur de la Troade*: and it is probable that, if he had been favoured with M. CHEVALIER's information previous to the publication of his great work, he would have embellished his book with a more satisfactory description of the Troad, than he found himself able to do from the imperfect and inaccurate accounts formerly given of it.

IN the year 1792, when the Dissertation in question, which the author had read in French before this Society, was published in the English translation of it, which, at his own desire, and with the approbation of the Council of the Society, I had made, it seemed to give great satisfaction to classical readers in general.

ral. In Germany, even before it was published, it had found a warm supporter in the celebrated Professor HEYNE of Göttingen, with whom the author became acquainted, in a tour he made in that country, soon after he had read the original of his paper in the meetings of this Society. Having no copy along with him, when he went into Germany, he endeavoured to give Mr HEYNE an idea of his researches in the Troad, as distinctly as he could from recollection, aided by some travelling journals which he had retained in his custody. He found the subject extremely interesting to Mr HEYNE, whose attention had been for some time particularly turned to the poems of HOMER, of which he had projected a new edition upon the plan of his Virgil, so favourably received by the Public. At the united desire of the author and Mr HEYNE, with the approbation of the Council of this Society, I first transmitted a printed copy of the translation, with notes, to Göttingen, before the work could be published here, and afterwards a copy of the maps, immediately upon their being finished by the engraver.

MR HEYNE was highly gratified with M. CHEVALIER's discoveries, and pleased with what he considered as the very liberal manner in which they had been conveyed to him. That his countrymen might partake of the satisfaction he had received, he employed Mr DORNEDDAN, a young promising scholar, to translate into German the *Description of the Plain of Troy* from the English version. The greatest part of the notes, which I had subjoined, were also translated by the same ingenious scholar; a preface and further illustrations by Mr HEYNE himself, with an Essay on the Topography of the Iliad, and a Dissertation by Mr KAESTNER on the Height and Shadow of Mount Athos, were added; and the whole published in Germany in an octavo volume, almost as soon as the English version, with notes, appeared in England*.

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* See Appendix, No. I.

IT had been perused also, before publication, by several gentlemen of learning and taste in this place, who had desired to see it; some of whom expressed their satisfaction in conversation, and others in writing: and, after publication, I received letters from several eminent classical scholars in England, by whom M. CHEVALIER's labours were highly approved of. Some of these testimonies I have happened to preserve*.

BUT though M. CHEVALIER's researches, thus given to the public in English and in German, and afterwards in the French original in the third volume of the Transactions of this Society, were received in the most favourable manner by classical scholars in general; yet some, who had long before acquiesced in the account of the present appearance of this classical region given by the late Mr WOOD, could not conceive how that ingenious observer should have gone so completely astray on the ground as had been alleged; and were disposed to think, that an enthusiastic admiration of HOMER, common to M. CHEVALIER with many persons of sensibility and taste, might have presented to his fancy circumstances, and scenes and appearances, of which a cool and unbiassed examiner might not have perceived the reality.

Of the Communications of subsequent Travellers, and of certain Objections that have been made.

I HAD reason, therefore, to consider it as a fortunate circumstance, that, towards the end of the year 1793, Mr ROBERT LISTON, my own most intimate friend ever since a very early period

* IN a card from Mr HOME, author of *Douglas*, &c. (who still takes great delight in studying his favourite poet HOMER, particularly the *Odyssey*), I find the following expression: "I have read over your translation of M. CHEVALIER's Discourse, "which is the most satisfactory investigation and criticism I ever read." See Appendix, No. IV.

period of life, was, after being employed in various honourable public missions, appointed by his Majesty Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Having the pleasure of meeting with him previous to his departure for Constantinople, I requested that he would endeavour to find an opportunity of paying a visit to the Troad, with M. CHEVALIER's book in his hand. This I found to be already his own inclination, as he still retained a fondness for classical learning, in which he had greatly distinguished himself, when a student formerly at this University. I only regretted that my own situation rendered it impracticable for me to accept of a most kind and tempting invitation to be the companion of his voyage. In the course of our correspondence, after he had been some time at Constantinople, I had the satisfaction to receive from him a short letter, inclosing two others from Dr SIBTHORPE and Mr HAWKINS, written immediately after an excursion they had made to the plain of Troy, and confirming the principal circumstances of M. CHEVALIER's discoveries. He afterwards transmitted extracts from another letter of Mr HAWKINS relative to the same subject, to all of which I shall have occasion to refer*.

IN the beginning of last year Mr BRYANT published his *Observations upon a Treatise entitled, A Description of the Plain of Troy, by M. CHEVALIER*, of which he did me the honour to send me a copy, accompanied with a letter. It appeared that this learned gentleman had, antecedently to the publication of M. CHEVALIER's Essay, been engaged in the composition of a *Dissertation concerning the War of Troy, and the Expedition of the Grecians, as described by HOMER, shewing that no such Expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such City of Phrygia existed*: but finding that the new *Description of the Plain of Troy*, by gaining credit in the world, might be likely to prevent the success of his learned labours, he deemed it advisable to employ his ta-

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See Appendix, No. V.

lents in an attempt to invalidate and remove this obstruction, in order to pave the way for his *Dissertation*; which now at length has likewise made its appearance, and of which I have also received a copy from the learned author.

I AM now ready to admit (as, in a short correspondence with Mr BRYANT, on the first glance of the former of these productions, I promised to do, if afterwards, upon a careful perusal of that pamphlet, I should see good cause), that he has discovered what now appear to me to be inaccuracies and inadvertencies in several parts of M. CHEVALIER's performance, and some errors in the notes which I had written. For, upon topics and investigations, where hypothesis must sometimes take place, and where arguments may not always be conclusive, it is not to be wondered at if a person of Mr BRYANT's learning and sagacity should have detected a few improprieties and inaccuracies. But after a careful perusal, which I have now given both to his *Observations*, and his *Dissertation*, I cannot bring myself to go along with him in his views of this subject; nor can I be persuaded, by any thing Mr BRYANT has written, to give up the pleasure received from remarking the striking similarity between those scenes, which still exist, and the descriptions which occur in the poems of HOMER. This similarity has been traced by Mr HEYNE, in a most convincing manner, in his *Essay on the Topography of the Iliad*; a valuable piece of investigation, which of itself appears to me completely to refute all Mr BRYANT's radical objections to M. CHEVALIER's Essay*. I shall therefore decline following the learned gentleman through the minute parts of his elaborate performances, which indeed I want time as well as inclination to do: but shall content myself with introducing a few remarks upon his *Observations*. I most readily resign every attempt at framing an answer to his *Dissertation*; as I find he has met with two antagonists much better qualified to enter the lists with him

* See Appendix, No. III.

him than I am, the acute and ingenious Mr WAKEFIELD*, and a learned anonymous reviewer in the *British Critic* †.

MR LISTON being to return from his embassy at the Porte, towards the conclusion of the year 1795, I was glad to find, by a short letter, that he himself had made an excursion to the Troad; and understanding that a new edition of M. CHEVALIER's Essay was projected, he desired it might be deferred till he should come home, as he had some observations to communicate which would render the work more perfect. When I met with him at Edinburgh he was very much hurried, owing to his being under the necessity of setting off soon for America, as his Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the United States. He nevertheless devoted a few hours to the revival of M. CHEVALIER's Essay, whilst I sat by him and took notes of his remarks. As a great many of these consisted of small alterations of various parts of M. CHEVALIER's descriptions, with a view to condense them where they seemed too diffuse, and to correct them where they seemed inaccurate, it would be tedious at present to enter into a particular detail. But, in the case of a new edition of the Essay, I am persuaded that they would be extremely useful. It may be sufficient, here in this Introduction, to say in general, that Mr LISTON confirmed, from his own inspection, all the great points of M. CHEVALIER's researches and discoveries, after spending many hours in walking over the ground. He saw the supposed site of Ancient Troy, the sources of the Scamander, and the place where that river is now diverted into its new channel. In short, I found that Mr LISTON, along with a great desire to render every thing as exact and accurate as possible, had also caught that sort of interest in the subject, which is so

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natural

* See "A Letter to JACOB BRYANT, Esq; concerning his Dissertation on the War of Troy: by GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A. Lond. 1797. 26 pp. 4to.

† For May and June 1797, vol. ix.

natural to a classical mind, when engaged in surveying or describing such pleasing scenes.

IN some parts of M. CHEVALIER's map, also, he found some inaccuracies, which he was enabled to rectify, both from his own observation, and from another map with which he had been furnished. This last he expected to be sent after him from Constantinople, and intended it should contribute to the improvement of M. CHEVALIER's in the new edition of the Essay*. Of all this I apprized M. CHEVALIER, in a letter directed to him in London, which found him about to set off for the Continent. Previous to his departure, I received from him two letters in answer; extracts from which will be found in the Appendix †.

BUT one of the chief inducements for bringing the subject before the Society at this time, is the recent publication of a very ingenious work, entitled, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago, and to the Troad*. By JAMES DALLAWAY, M. B. F. S. A. late Chaplain and Physician of the British Embassy to the Porte. This learned author has been at great pains in ascertaining the topography of the Troad; and the result of his investigations there has produced the fullest confirmation of all the material parts of M. CHEVALIER's Essay, and a total but respectful dissent on the part of the author from Mr BRYANT's scepticism on this subject. To this book, therefore, I shall, in the ensuing paper, have frequent occasion to appeal.

ABSTRACT

* THIS map I have never received, owing to some omission which I cannot explain. In the mean time, this paper is accompanied with a small one, somewhat amended, chiefly from that given by Dr DALLAWAY, the author of the book presently to be mentioned.

† No. VI.

ABSTRACT of the most material Parts of M. CHEVALIER'S Essay, with the Confirmation of subsequent Travellers.

IN giving a short Abstract of M. CHEVALIER'S investigations I shall not follow the order in which he himself proceeded, but that which seems to convey the clearest idea of his discoveries and observations, now that they have been made. For the case is quite different with a person, who gives a detail of the manner in which he himself advanced in the course of investigating objects, of which he had at first but an imperfect notion, where the direct path leading to them was yet obscure and unknown, and where he had to form conjectures that were sometimes erroneous; and with one who points out or elucidates such objects after they have been discovered, and their relative situations ascertained.

AFTER M. CHEVALIER had formed the resolution of exploring the Asiatic coast, where the Hellespont unites with the Ægean Sea, with a view to ascertain the true topography of the Iliad, he happened to land first at *Cape Baba*, the ancient promontory of Lectos. Thence he proceeded to Alexandria Troas, the ruins of which he examined, and has given an account of; and this account Mr LISTON in conversation, and Dr DALLAWAY in his book, (p. 326.), have agreed in confirming; but of which a particular detail would be here unnecessary*.

The

* THE Turkish name *Eski Stamboul*; the warm baths called *Lidga Hamam*; the hill on whose declivity these are situated, and which is covered with tombs, whose sarcophagi of white marble the Turks break down and make bullets of, for supplying

The Plain.

IN advancing from Alexandria Troas, along the coast, M. CHEVALIER's attention was particularly attracted by a *tumulus*, or barrow of immense size, at a considerable distance*. This is now called *Udjek Tepè*, from *Udjek*, the name of the adjacent village. From the top of this at noon, (Ch. III.), he took a retrospect of the ruins of Alexandria, now at the distance of more than four leagues; towards the north he saw a large plain, encompassed with delightful hills; to the east the foot of the mountains of Ida; and to the west the Ægean Sea, the islands of Tenedos, Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos, and all the way to the summit of Mount Athos.

DR DALLAWAY remarks, that "from the high ground near Alexandria Troas, the view of Tenedos, and of the sea, with *Udjek Tepè*, a vast tumulus above the plain of Troy, on the right under the horizontal line, is particularly pleasing." (p. 326.). And that "in the progress the country soon becomes less woody, and spreads into a wide heath, from whence the whole plain of Troy is seen."

WHEN M. CHEVALIER, in the course of his investigation, arrived at the eastern extremity of this extensive plain, on the eminence above the modern Turkish village called *Bounar-bashi*, and where he at last concluded the citadel of ancient Troy to have been placed, he obtained a view of the whole extent of it; and it seemed to him of a semicircular shape†. "Of the two chains
" of

ing the Castles of the *Dardanelles*; the aqueduct of HERODES ATTICUS; the circuit of the wall still almost entire; the thickets of *Valonea* trees; are all likewise remarked by DR DALLAWAY, or were mentioned to me by MR LISTON. The former observes, that "the whole site is now a thick forest of *Valonea*, or dwarf oak, "peculiar to the Levant." Of this shrub the latter brought away some seeds.

* See the Map.

† MR LISTON adds, "on each side."

“ of hills which embrace it, one appeared to run in a direction “ towards the promontory of *Yeni-cheybr*,” (or Sigeum), “ and “ the other towards the point of *Yn-Tépé-Gheulu*,” (or Rhœteum). The part of the hills to the right, reaching between the villages of *Atché* and *Tchiblac*, appeared more cheerful than the rest, and which he had no doubt composed the Callicoloné of HOMER. From this station he descried “ the islands of Tenedos and Imbros, Samothrace and Lemnos, the high top of “ Mount Athos, and the Thracian Chersonesus beyond the Hellespont.” (Ch. IV.). As to the soil of the plain, he observed it to be “ of a rich and blackish colour, and of great fertility.” The village of *Bounar-bashi* he reckoned to be “ at the distance “ of four leagues from the sea.” (Ch. XVII.).

MR HAWKINS and DR SIBTHORPE took horses at *Koum-kaleb* on the coast, and crossed the plain to the village of *Bounar-bashi*, in three hours, “ an extent,” says DR SIBTHORPE, “ of nine “ miles*.” MR HAWKINS, in his second letter to MR LISTON, assures him that Tenedos is to be seen from the hill of Troy, and that even “ the whole coast of the island is visible, from the “ northern to the southern point.”

DR DALLAWAY remarks, that “ the whole plain of Troy, “ from the height said to have been the citadel, is of uninterrupted extent.” (p. 346.). From the promontory also of *Yeni-cheybr*, or Sigeum, at its lower extremity, the same intelligent traveller looked over the plain, the whole scope of which he commanded. “ Its broadest diameter,” says he “ may be five “ or six, and its longest twelve miles to *Atché-keuy*. It is naturally verdant and fertile, and now very generally cultivated, “ excepting near the marsh, which occupies a fifth part.” (p. 347.). This I take to be the marsh at the mouth of the Simois, of which afterwards.

The

* See their Letters, Appendix, No. V.

The Site of Ancient Troy.

NEAR the eastern extremity of the plain, upon a gentle acclivity, is situated, as has been said, the Turkish village of *Bounar-bashi*. While M. CHEVALIER advanced upwards to this village, by a pleasant and easy ascent, rising gradually from the plain, he passed through a spacious cemetery, where each of the tombs is adorned with a fragment of marble or of granite. Passing the village he continued to ascend for near a mile, till he arrived at the borders of a precipice of great height. (Ch. IV.). Beneath this precipice a torrent, coming down from the mountains above the plain, (but whose bed in the summer is commonly dry), runs in a curve direction toward the north; and, bending its course along the northern side of the plain, flows down through the whole length of it, and discharges itself into the Hellespont, betwixt the modern Turkish fort called *Koum-kaleb* on the south, and a fort of haven called *Karanlik-limani* on the north, near Rhœteum. This river is undoubtedly the Simois. And upon the rising ground extending upwards from the village of *Bounar-bashi* to the abrupt precipice encompassed by rocks above and the river below, on every side, except that which opens upon the village, and where the Scæan Gate may be supposed to have been, M. CHEVALIER concludes, that the ancient city of Troy was placed. From the summit of this high ground, where he supposes the citadel to have been, and which the Turks now call *Ballidabi, mountain of honey*, he had a view, as has been said, of the whole extent of the plain. This being an airy situation, justifies, in his opinion, HOMER's epithet of *ἡνεμόεσσα*, so often applied to Troy. (Ch. XVII.). The precipices which skirt this eminence, and the Simois which runs at the foot of them, render the place impracticable to be assailed from any other quarter than from the side towards the village. (*Ibid.*).

Mr

M. CHEVALIER further remarked, on this high situation, four barrows or *tumuli*, three of which are similar to those on the shore of the Hellespont, (which shall be afterwards mentioned), and the fourth consists of an enormous mass of stones. This he conjectured to be the monument of HECTOR; and thought it the remains of a demolished structure. (Ch. XVII.).

MR HAWKINS and Dr SIBTHORPE "spent a day in visiting the hill supposed by M. CHEVALIER to have been the site of Troy; and the springs of water, which he considers as the fountains of the Scamander*." Mr HAWKINS thought, that the place pitched upon for the site of the city has much natural strength to recommend it, particularly the easternmost angle of the hill, which, from its height above the Simois, and its perpendicular form, must have been considered as a very strong natural fastness in those times of warfare, and could have been easily rendered an impregnable citadel; for it is not large enough for the site of the whole city."—"Some *tumuli*," adds he, "near the spot, are certainly strong indices." Dr SIBTHORPE observed, that "the situation, where the citadel is supposed to have been, is particularly steep and rocky:" and that "it is covered with prickly barnet, and a few thorny shrubs. The almond tree," adds he, "which grows wild, is not without its thorns. It has even more pleasing plants, the yellow jasmine and the wild olive."

MR LISTON took particular notice of a contiguous place, where the stones of what is called the tomb of HECTOR seemed to have been dug; and he remarked a fort of hollow all around the city, except some part, which is rocky.

DR DALLAWAY, who advanced towards the village from the northern side, thus describes his approach: "As the setting sun was more brilliant than for many days past, the village of

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Bounar-

* See their Letters, Appendix, No. V.

“ *Bounar-basbi* opened upon us very pleasantly from the ford of
 “ the Simois, which we passed within a furlong of the chiftlik
 “ of HADGÌ MEHMET Agha, the present proprietor of a do-
 “ main producing near L. 5000 Sterling *per annum*, and inclu-
 “ ding little less space, and the identical ground of the kingdom
 “ of old PRIAM*. His house is mean, but many columns were
 “ dispersed about it, which had been collected from the sites of
 “ adjacent cities. From the village,” adds he, “ the hill rises
 “ rapidly, and soon becomes an insulated mountain. The lofty
 “ wall of Troy, and the Scæan Gate, intersected the modern
 “ village of *Bounar-basbi*. Ascending the hill, thickly strewn
 “ with loose stones for the space of a mile, the first object on the
 “ brow is a stony hillock, which CHEVALIER, with no apparent
 “ reason, calls the tomb of HECTOR. It has been opened and
 “ examined, but we could not learn the result. There are others
 “ covered with grass, appropriated likewise to Trojan heroes.”
 Dr DALLAWAY has given a beautiful design and engraving of
 the *tumulus* said to be HECTOR’s. This learned traveller is of
 opinion, that “ upon the area and the intermediate ground
 “ from the village of *Bounar-basbi*, there is undoubtedly space
 “ enough for such a city as Troy is described to have been.”
 (p. 345.). And he observes, that “ the level falls abruptly on
 “ the south, with a precipitate cliff, into a deep ravine, forming
 “ a mural rock, now almost covered at its base by the stream
 “ and sands of the Simois, for the length of forty or fifty yards,
 “ and completing a fortification rendered impregnable by na-
 ture ;

* M. CHEVALIER had said, (Ch. XVII.) that “ near the hill were situate the
 “ gardens of PRIAM, where LYCAON, when cutting wood, was surpris’d by ACHIL-
 “ LES; and on that spot are still situate the gardens of the Agha of Bounar-basbi,
 “ who, after *forty* centuries, succeeds to the king of the Trojans, &c. (*Forty*,
 among the *Errata*, is corrected *thirty*: which Dr DALLAWAY, not observing, has
 supposed the author guilty of a mistake). Mr LISTON told me that he ate grapes in
 this very place.

“ ture ; and that the face of the ground exhibits nothing worthy
 “ of remark ; bushes and huge unhewn stones only being to be
 “ seen.”

The Sources of the Scamander.

BUT the chief circumstance which ascertains the position of the city is the sources of the Scamander. These M. CHEVALIER was so fortunate as to discover, and describes as still to be seen, a little below the village to the south, and as consisting :
 1. Of a solitary copious spring, rising from the bottom of a basin, bordered with pillars of marble and granite ; of which spring, in the month of September, he felt the water to be tepid ; but was assured that it is much warmer about the middle of winter ; 2dly, Several small springs of cold and limpid water gushing forth from crevices in the rock, at the bottom of the low hills at the head of the plain, and which uniting into one stream, a little below, receive also the first mentioned fountain, and thus form the Scamander*. (Ch. IV. xix.).

“ We slept,” says Dr SIBTHORPE, “ at *Bounar-bashi*, a little below which rises the Scamander, fed by numerous springs of a pure crystalline water. One of these is said to be warm in winter ; it communicated to us no sensation of heat.” This was about the middle of September. Dr DALLAWAY, who was there in November 1795, speaking of the hot spring, expressly says : “ It is at least tepid ; and the Agha (in the front of whose house it is to be seen, at a little distance) told us, that, in the winter months, especially during frost, it is hot and smokes.”—“ HOMER,” adds he, “ must be allowed the privilege of a hot spring, and a river full to the brink, if they happen once with-
 f 2 “ in

* Compare Iliad, xxii. 14.

“in the year.” (p. 344.). M. CHEVALIER found the Turkish women of the village of *Bounar-basbi* washing their garments at the sources of the Scamander, as the wives and daughters of the Trojans were wont to do when they enjoyed the sweets of peace, before the arrival of the Greeks*. I repeat this circumstance, because Mr LISTON assured me that, when he was there, he made the very same remark.

The Course of the Scamander.

M. CHEVALIER examined the two rivers, the Simois and the Scamander, by tracing them upwards; the latter from the place where it now discharges itself into the Archipelago, by a new canal; and the former from its mouth upon the Hellespont, a little to the north of *Koum-kaleh*. The new canal of the Scamander had been first observed by him, on his way from Alexandria Troas, as he came down from *Udjék-Tépé*, or monument of *ÆSYETES*. About a mile to the northward of this monument, as you pass the village of *Erkeffighi*, and near an elegant Kiosk, or reposeing place, constructed by HASSAN, the Turkish Captain Pascha, a considerable stream flowing down upon the south side of the plain, and then bending towards the Simois, takes a sudden direction to the south, being plainly diverted into an artificial canal, which carries it a considerable way, in a sloping course through a valley, and conveys its waters into the *Ægean Sea*. (Ch. III.). This new canal made a strong impression on M. CHEVALIER's mind; and induced him afterwards to search for the ancient bed of this beautiful stream, which he at length found, and traced, as marked on his map. (Ch. IV.). This was a most important discovery; and when, in the investigation,

* See *Iliad*, xxii. 154.

gation, he came again to the stream, where it turns into the new canal, and traced it up to its sources already mentioned, near *Bounar-basbi*, no doubt any longer remained on his mind, that this was the true Scamander, which had formerly united its water with the Simois.

SUCCESSFUL travellers have, in the most liberal and decided manner, confirmed the genuineness of these investigations, and acceded to M. CHEVALIER's conclusions.

"WE saw the place," says Mr HAWKINS, in his first letter to Mr LISTON, "where the course of this river was diverted by "an artificial canal to the Archipelago." And he adds, more explicitly in his second letter: "The most essential point in "substantiating the evidence of CHEVALIER is that of the canal, "made to divert the waters of the Scamander from their original course towards the Simois. This canal we can bear testimony to. The errors of WOOD seem to arise from the overlooking this circumstance. As for STRABO, he had never "visited the spot in all probability, and relied on the authority "of DEMETRIUS of Scepsis*." Mr LISTON himself afterwards examined the river with the greatest care, and particularly the new canal, and the old bed. This last he crossed on bridges in different places, and was convinced, that when, occasionally, the stream of the Scamander is more copious, part of it still flows into the Simois by this ancient channel. For he differed in opinion from M. CHEVALIER in the idea, that the Scamander is never subject to any increase or diminution; (Ch. IV. xi.); and saw no reason why it should not occasionally swell in the case of long continued and heavy rains; though by no means to such a degree as the Simois, which is sometimes dried up, and sometimes comes down with the utmost magnitude and impetuosity.

* See Appendix, No. V.

impetuosity *. Moreover, Mr LISTON assured me, that from M. CHEVALIER's description, the Scamander seems to be a more diminutive water than it really is †.

"FOR several hours," says Dr DALLAWAY, "we traced, with the utmost attention the course of the Scamander from the cold or second source, which is a collection of small springs, through the morasses, where for some miles it is positively hid, till we reached the new canal, and saw plainly the ancient bed. The banks of this river, where exposed, are verdant and beautiful, and watered to the brink. M. CHEVALIER's topography and general idea, after a fair investigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plausible." (p. 347.).

IN characterising the Scamander, M. CHEVALIER mentions particularly "the transparency of the water, which runs upon a bottom of sand and round pebbles, betwixt two verdant banks."

DR DALLAWAY says of the two rivers: "Simois has broad sands, with a sudden and rapid current; Scamander is transparent and regularly full, within a narrow channel, and so they continue to be till their junction, before they reach the sea." (p. 348.).

M. CHEVALIER further describes his having passed the Scamander upon an old willow stretched across, near a mill. Mr LISTON also mentioned to me this mill, and his having crossed the current in a similar manner.

The

* IF this hypothesis of Mr LISTON be well founded, perhaps it may be inferred that the Scamander remains in the same state in which it was in the days of HOMER, occasionally flowing into the Simois, but commonly, by what is thought a new canal, into the Ægean Sea. And if this is admitted, it may assist Mr HEYNE in obviating a difficulty which occurs to him in his Essay on the Topography of the Iliad. See Appendix, No. III.

† PERHAPS I may be partly to blame for this, by calling it, in the translation, a *rivulet*, (p. 13. 15.), and once a *rill*, (p. 25.). The original is *ruisseau*, which might have been rendered a *stream*.

The Course of the Simois.

FROM *Yeni-cheyr*, which is the Sigeon promontory, and which commands an extensive view of the plain, M. CHEVALIER particularly observed the Simois, which intersects the plain along the north side. "Its waters were then dried up; but the width and irregularity of its channel sufficiently demonstrated the nature of its devastations, and its rapidity," (Ch. III.). The Turks call it *Menderé*. An extensive marsh occupies the ground at the place of its discharge on both sides, and reaches almost to the fortress called *Koum-kaleb*. This marsh is taken notice of by STRABO by the name of *Στομαλίμνη*, *the mouth lake*. On his way from this place, M. CHEVALIER passed the Simois near its mouth, and found it to be more than 300 feet broad. In the marsh, on its banks, he observed certain small lakes of fresh and of salt water, and was struck with the prodigious quantity of reeds and tamarisks he met with, as he proceeded along the coast. (Ch. IV.). He travelled onwards for half an hour, and saw a large barrow, the monument of AJAX, which he examined, as we shall by and by mention. Having then proceeded as far as *It-Guelmes* or *Erin-keu*, he returned, and resolved to ascend towards the source of the Simois; and had not proceeded far, when he was so fortunate as to discover, to the right, the bed of a smaller river, at that time dry, and covered with plants and turf. This proved, on a nearer investigation, to be the old bed of the Scamander. If Mr WOOD had adverted to this, instead of still searching higher up for the confluence of the two rivers, he probably would have given a more rational account than he has done of the present state of the scene of the Iliad.

AFTERWARDS, when M. CHEVALIER had examined the Scamander, its sources, and the situation of ancient Troy, as already mentioned, he resumed the design of tracing the Simois still
higher;

higher; and went down to its banks, from the village of *Arabler*, about half a mile to the south-east of *Bounar-basbi*. The torrent being then dried up, he resolved to ascend within its channel, scrambling over trunks of trees and rocks borne down by the impetuosity of the current. (Ch. IV.). He walked for five hours between two chains of abrupt rocks, which border the valley, and came into a plain, with a village at its entry, called *Iné* or *Ené*. Here he found that a river discharges itself into the Simois, and that it takes its rise near a village called *Babar-lar*, to which he proceeded in five hours journey to the southward, through a rugged and mountainous country. This stream he found to be the supposed Scamander of Mr Wood. Returning to *Ené* he continued to trace the Simois, now the *Menderé*, up to the high mountain, whence he was assured it issued. This proved to be Mount Côtylus, now called *Cas-dabi*, *the mountain of the goose*, from which, misled by DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, STRABO makes the Scamander to flow down, confounding it with the Simois. M. CHEVALIER resolved to ascend to the summit of the mountain, which, after being hindered from doing for some days, in consequence of a great fall of rain, he at last effected; of which expedition he gives an interesting description, particularly of the sublime prospects he obtained.

It does not appear that any of the subsequent travellers I have mentioned, went to the source of the Simois, or the summit of Mount Côtylus, as M. CHEVALIER did: but Dr SIBTHORPE remarks, that the situation, where they supposed the citadel of Troy to have been, is particularly steep and rocky, and is girt by the Simois, "which is now," says he, "entirely dry: but perhaps the winter torrents may raise it into a considerable river. Its banks are fringed with plants, *agnus castus*, and *tamarisk* *."

DR

* See his Letter, Appendix, No. V.

DR DALLAWAY crossed the Simois three times: 1. On his way from *Udjek-tepé*, or the monument of *ÆSYETES*; and after he had rested during a tempestuous night at the *Chiftlik*, built by the famous HASSAN Pasha, formerly mentioned, on the 5th of November he crossed both the Scamander and the Simois, the latter of which the rains had increased to a considerable river; the bed being from forty to fifty yards wide; though it is frequently almost dry, especially in the midst of summer. This was on his way to the village of *Thimbrek-keuy*, and the temple of *APOLLO* Thymbræus; which he passed and descended to the shore, and proceeded as far as Cape *Berbier*; and after exploring the shores of the Hellespont, he returned by sea to *Koum-kaleb*. Here having landed, he again crossed the Simois over a wooden bridge, near its *embouchure*; (p. 338.); and advancing upwards on the northern side of that river, he repassed it within a furlong of the *Chiftlik* of HADGI MEHMÈT Agha, at *Bounar-basbi*. (p. 343.). In viewing the situation of the citadel, where the Simois runs under the rock, he says, "That the division of the rifted rock " from the groupe of forest mountains, does not exceed 150 " yards, and is scarcely farther asunder at the top, sinking as " perpendicularly as an artificial channel."

The Monument of ÆSYETES.

M. CHEVALIER, as has been said, began his researches in Asia at Cape *Baba*, the ancient promontory of *Lectos*. From thence he proceeded to the ruins of *Alexandria Troas*; his account of which has been minutely confirmed by DR DALLAWAY. But though the narrative of both travellers be very agreeable and interesting, we did not before, nor do we now, think it necessary to detail the particulars. On advancing, his notice was particularly attracted by *Udjek-tepé*, a barrow of an extraordi-

nary size, which already has been mentioned *. He had no notion at first that this was the same with the monument of *ÆSYETES*. He contented himself with measuring its dimensions, and enjoying the magnificent prospect from the top of it. Its height he found to be not less than 100 feet, and its outline to be 400 paces. He remarked it to be of a conic shape, and quite regular. After his third journey to the Troad, he had no hesitation in concluding it to be the monument of *ÆSYETES*. (Ch. III. XII.).

DR DALLAWAY says, that “ the tomb of *ÆSYETES*, according to POCOCKE, or, as it is now called, from the adjacent village, “ *Udjek-Tepee*, is a barrow of extraordinary height and smooth surface, and was the situation from whence *POLITES*, the son of “ *PRIAM*, reconnoitred the Grecian camp, and the opposite island “ of Tenedos, with its harbour and promontory †.”

Five other Tumuli.

AFTER M. CHEVALIER had examined the new canal of the Scamander, he proceeded, from the place of its discharge into the *Ægean Sea*, along the coast, towards the village of *Yeni-cheyr*, in order to have a nearer view of several high mounds of earth, which had attracted his attention from the top of *Udjek-tepé*, or monument of *ÆSYETES*. The first he arrived at, called *Beshik-tepé*, is not by any means so high as that last mentioned. He next came to that, which, upon the map, he has called *Antilochi tumulus*, not finding any Turkish name for it, and which seemed to be of the same dimension with *Beshik-tepé*. He then proceeded to the village called *Yeni-cheyr*, still inhabited by Greeks, and situate upon the extremity of the famous Sigean promontory.

* See above. p. 38.

† *Iliad*, II. 792, seq.

promontory, where, just as he was entering the Church, he saw the Sigeian inscription, so well known to the learned ; and opposite to it the bas relief of marble, of the finest workmanship, of which Dr CHANDLER has given an exact account ; and there is an elegant engraving of it in *Ionian Antiquities*.

DR DALLAWAY, too, saw this bas relief, as well as the Sigeian inscription ; which last, he observes, is now placed at the door of a low hut, consecrated as a chapel : and the letters are nearly worn out, the marble having been so long used as a bench to sit on. Mr LISTON told me, that the effacing seems to be promoted by a drop which falls from the eaves of the chapel.

FROM the top of the promontory M. CHEVALIER had another extensive view of the plain of Troy, and saw particularly the mouth of the Simois, as already mentioned ; also the Turkish castle of *Koum-kaleb*, mentioned by all the subsequent travellers. At the foot of the promontory he remarked two other *tumuli*, of which the nearest is understood to be the monument of ACHILLES ; and the more distant one M. CHEVALIER supposed to be that of PATROCLUS. Others take it for that of PENELEUS ; the ashes of PATROCLUS having been deposited in the same monument with those of ACHILLES.

“ ADVANCING some furlongs over the promontory,” says Dr DALLAWAY, “ we saw the barrow (*besbik-tepè*) called the “ tomb of ANTILOCHUS by STRABO. On the other side of the “ village, under the brow of the hill, crowned by half a dozen “ windmills, near the sea, are two smaller *tumuli*, generally supposed to be those, one of which is attributed, by the ancient “ geographers, to the illustrious friends ACHILLES and PATRO- “ CLUS, and the other to PENELEUS the Bœotian.” (p. 350.).

AFTER remaining some days near *Koum-kaleb*, M. CHEVALIER passed the Simois ; and, travelling for half an hour, came to a fifth *tumulus* of the same kind with the rest, having a large aperture in its side, which he entered. The monument being de-

molished from top to bottom, its whole interior structure was to be discerned. This is supposed to be the monument of AJAX, and is called by the Turks *In-tepé-Gbeuleu*, the monument of the marsh. It is situated at Rhœteum, a promontory or tongue of land advancing into the plain opposite to the Sigean promontory. (Ch. IV. XIV.).

DR DALLAWAY, after crossing the Simois the second time, passed over an extensive level of ploughed fields, and *Goulu-sui*, a brook, which empties itself into the sea near *Jn-tepè*, or the tomb of AJAX Telamonius. "This *tumulus*," says he, "is now irregularly shaped. Near the top is a small arched way almost choked up with earth, which was the entrance into the vault, and over it a broken wall, where was once a small sepulchral fane called *Aiantéum*." He thinks the whole to be of a much more modern date than the death of AJAX.

DR SIBTHORPE, in his letter to Mr LISTON, writes thus: "I write to your Excellency in haste, our vessel tossing about opposite the tomb of AJAX, where it has been just drove by a hard gale of wind*."

THESE monuments, with the others formerly mentioned upon the hill of Troy, appear to have made a strong impression on M. CHEVALIER's mind; and many of the Members of this Society will recollect, that, in conversation, he used to lay great stress on them. They are objects very conspicuous and striking to those who sail along the coast, near the entrance to the Hellespont, as Mr LISTON particularly informed me. They seem to have made a strong impression likewise on Dr DALLAWAY, who, on viewing them from *Halileli*, near the village of *Thimbrek-keuy*, (p. 340.), remarks, that the succession of the five *tumuli*, under the distant horizon, tend more than any other proof to ascertain the Trojan war. He says afterwards, (p. 349.): "Of all the proofs advanced by M. CHEVALIER, the *tumuli*, so connected
" with

* See Appendix, No. V.

“ with the Sigean and Rhœtean promontories, and the outposts
 “ of the Grecian camp, are the most satisfactory. The site is
 “ likewise confirmed by four others, which, to whatever heroes
 “ they may be conjecturally attributed, with no additional
 “ weight to the argument, give a certain degree of internal evi-
 “ dence, and ascertain the scene of great military transactions,
 “ or vicinity to a large city.”

The Valley of Thymbra.

ON quitting the monument of AJAX at the Rhœtean promontory, and after taking a view of a small adjacent harbour called *Karanlik-limani*, the *shut haven*, M. CHEVALIER continued his journey to the village of *It-Guelmes* or *Erin-keuy*. It appeared to be of no consequence to the end in view to proceed in that direction any farther, and he returned, in order to trace the circumference of the great plain. On his way back, he soon descended into a delightful valley, called *Thimbrek-déré*, the valley of *Thimbrek*, or *Thymbra*. On beginning to ascend towards the source of a rivulet, which runs through it, he was stopped on its left bank, opposite to the village of *Halileli*, by a heap of ruins, among which were some bas reliefs, columns, capitals, entablatures, and inscriptions. He took them for the ruins of the temple of APOLLO Thymbræus, and copied some of the inscriptions, which are now published in the third volume of our Transactions.

Mr LISTON saw these ruins, and told me that they are very considerable; some fragments of marble ones still remaining. Every year the inhabitants carry pieces of these to place over the dead in the adjoining cemetery, near the ruins of an old mosque; so that soon nothing will remain but the large pieces. M. CHEVALIER, in his map, has, in Mr LISTON's opinion, placed

ced them too far up. They are at least half a mile from the village of *Halileli*, on the opposite side of the rivulet. Dr DALLAWAY has given an elegant engraving of them, and says, that he "passed the village of *Thimbrek-keuy*, and a dilapidated mosque, "with a cemetery full of parts of fluted columns and cornices, "set up as memorials, the probable site of the temple and city "sacred to APOLLO Thymbræus." (p. 331.).

The Promontories.

M. CHEVALIER agrees with all preceding travellers, in holding the promontory of Sigeum to be at the modern village of *Yeni-cheyr*. That of Rhœteum he has no doubt in fixing at *In-tepè-Gbeuleu*, near the harbour called *Karanlik-limani*, where the barrow, supposed to be the monument of AJAX, is still to be seen. He concludes, with the greatest reason, that M. d'ANVILLE and Mr WOOD are mistaken in placing the Rhœtean promontory at Cape *Berbier*, which, according to the latter, lies about 12 miles from the Cape of *Yeni-cheyr* or Sigean promontory. (Ch. XIII.). He was at the pains to measure the distance betwixt what he thinks the two promontories, and found it to be 3000 fathoms, which agrees with PLINY's account, who says it is 30 stadia. M. CHEVALIER thinks STRABO mistaken when he reckons it at 60 stadia.

Dr DALLAWAY observes, that "the entrance into the great "plain is formed by the Sigean promontory, and that called "Rhœteum, about four English miles asunder, through which "the two rivers Simois and Scamander at length took an united "course. Between these promontories the Grecian fleet was "drawn up on dry ground, and probably remained so during "the whole war." (p. 336, note.). "WOOD," adds he, "mistakes Cape *Berbier* for the Rhœtean promontory, which
"STRABO

“STRABO makes to be 60 stadia, SOLINUS, 26, and PLINY, 30, from the Sigeon; the latter is the true distance. (p. 337. note.). The city of Sigeum covered the shore between the *tumulus* and a bay, in which I anchored for a week, (Nov. 1795), and re-surveyed the whole with attention.”

Some Mistakes admitted, and corrected.

AFTER what has been stated, and thus confirmed by such respectable authorities as have been adduced, no reasonable person can now doubt that M. CHEVALIER has given a true and distinct account of the present state of the Troad. But as he has had occasion to offer various hypotheses, and to make various observations and inferences, during the course of his Essay, it is not to be wondered at that a few mistakes should have been committed, and some unnecessary animadversions introduced. The author was himself sensible of this, as appears from the late letters I received from him*. In the notes, too, which accompany the English version, I now perceive there are some errors, which I wish to take the first opportunity of correcting.

The Map.

M. CHEVALIER, upon information being communicated to him that Mr LISTON, as well as Mr HAWKINS*, had found some inaccuracies in his map, answered as follows: “There is nothing I desire so much as to have any mistakes, that have been committed in my map, rectified; and I most cordially give my aid to every improvement of which that performance
“is

* See his first Letter, Appendix, No. VI.

“ is fufceptible. But I will venture to affure you before hand,
 “ that the alterations which may be made will not extend to the
 “ monuments effential to the underftanding of the Iliad ; fuch
 “ as the fite of ancient Troy, the fources of the Scamander,
 “ the tombs of the warriors, the promontories, &c. All thefe
 “ points are fixed relatively to one another, with a degree of
 “ precision fufficient to prevent any change that may be made
 “ upon them from materially affecting my work. As to mo-
 “ dern monuments, fuch as Alexandria Troas, &c. I own that I
 “ did not think it neceffary to pay fuch a fcrupulous attention
 “ to them. The line of the coaft was done with the greateft
 “ exactnefs, as well as the mouth of the Hellespont and the
 “ ifland of Tenedos ; and therefore I fufpect that upon this the
 “ new map will make no alteration*.”

DR DALLAWAY obferves, that M. CHEVALIER has defcribed the artifi-
 cal canal in his map of the Troad as having much too
 ftraight a direction. It is conducted round the hill upon which
 the *Chiftlik* of HASSAN Pafha is built. (p. 347.).

The Monument of ILUS.

ABOUT an hundred paces up the Simois, from the plate where
 it is joined by the old bed of the Scamander, and near the place
 where the city called *New Ilium* is fupposed to have been fitua-
 ted, M. CHEVALIER had obferved the ruins of a bridge, which
 had been built of hewn ftone, and of exquisite workmanfhip.
 Fronting thefe remains, on the right of the river, he faw a fort
 of rifing ground, which he took to be a demolished barrow.
 This he afterwards fancied to be the monument of ILUS, and
 probably the fame with HOMER'S *Θρωσμός πεδίοιο*. In thefe con-
 jections,

* See Appendix, No. VI.

jectures, however, he was, after a conversation with Professor HEYNE, convinced he was mistaken; and readily admitted, that his whole XVIth chapter, which is upon this subject, is good for nothing*. After that conversation, also, he was disposed to think that this barrow might probably be that mentioned by HOMER, (Iliad, VII. 337.), which was to be destined as a common one for the warriors who had fallen in battle; ἀριστον ἐν πεδίῳ.

Situation of the Grecian Camp.

CHAPTER XIII, where the author treats of the situation of the Grecian camp, now appears to me to require much amendment. That the camp was situated somewhere betwixt the Sigeon and Rhœtean promontories is generally agreed; but that it occupied the whole space or line of coast in that interval, as M. CHEVALIER has supposed, cannot be admitted. This would have made it necessary for the camp, which consisted of the tents, with the ships drawn out upon the dry land, as was the ancient custom, to occupy the place on both sides of the mouth of the Simois, which M. CHEVALIER, and the other travellers, as well as STRABO, describe as being an extensive marsh. M. CHEVALIER was evidently aware of this inconvenience; and therefore supposes that the Greeks, in the course of the war, frequently shifted their station; and that, at last, in the tenth year, during the summer season, they encamped, in full force, at the mouth of the Scamander, or Simois, for, at the mouth, they were united.

I REGRET that, in the note, I have endeavoured to support this idea, by supposing, that “ the Scamander, even in the summer,
VOL. IV. *b* “ mer,

* See his Letters, Appendix, No. VI.

“mer, when the Simois was dry, continued to convey its pure
 “and perennial, though less copious, stream through the midst
 “of the camp, in the same channel through which the Simois,
 “after having joined it, discharged its winter torrents.” (p. 104.).
 Ever since I read Mr HEYNE’s Essay, I have given up this hypothesis, and willingly accede to his idea, which supposes, that the camp only stretched on both sides *towards* the promontories Rhœteum and Sigeum; and that on the north-east it extended no farther than the Simois*. In this way the whole is rendered clear, and free from every objection. This, however, makes nothing against M. CHEVALIER, but that he was not so fortunate in his hypothesis as Mr HEYNE, on this occasion, which I am sure he himself would have been the first to admit.

MR HEYNE’s notion of the situation of the camp is confirmed by Dr DALLAWAY; and the more strongly, as the latter does not appear to have seen the former’s Essay on the Topography of the Iliad, or to have known any thing of the coincidence of Mr HEYNE’s opinion with his own. In a very distinct note on this subject, (p. 336.), he observes, that “between these promontories the Grecian fleet was drawn up on dry ground, “and probably remained so during the whole war.” And he concludes the note thus: “The pursuit of the Trojans by “ACHILLES, fixes the situation of the Grecian camp between “the confluence of the rivers and Sigeum, for they retreated “over the Scamander to gain Troy, and he kills many of them “in the river.”

Of some other Mistakes, and erroneous Criticisms.

THE author, in speaking of the two *tumuli* near the Sigean promontory, (Ch. IV. XXI.), says, that “he was informed by
 “a Greek inhabitant of the place, that the name given to the
 “more

* See Appendix, No. III.

"more considerable of the two was *Dios-tapé*, which he interprets *the divine Tomb*." Mr LISTON observed, that the inhabitants spoke of both monuments by the appellation of *dtbeo tepé*, which, in their language, has no other meaning than *the two tombs*. He therefore concluded, that M. CHEVALIER had been deceived by the similitude of the found. This is also noted in Dr DALLAWAY's book, with an assertion, (but not of Dr DALLAWAY himself), that the mistake proceeded from M. CHEVALIER's ignorance of modern Greek; which I have the greatest reason to believe to be without foundation.

IN examining carefully the surface of the rock of *Balli-dabi*, M. CHEVALIER thought he "distinguished foundations of ancient buildings, the masonry of which had assumed the consistency of the rock itself." Mr LISTON, on a narrow inspection, was convinced that nothing could be discerned but the real substance of the rock, which is indeed rough, of a chalky appearance, and, at first sight, seems as if there was mortar adhering to it. He brought away a fragment of it, which I have here in my custody; and the gentlemen present may judge.

IT seems surprising that there should be a total disappearance of every ruin or vestige of a building, to mark the site of so famous a city. STRABO, however, gives a good reason for this, as follows: 'Ὅτε γὰρ ἐκπεπορθημένων τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων, οὐ τελέως δὲ κατεσπασμένων, ταύτης δ' ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατετραμμένης, οἱ λίθοι πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάληψιν μετενέχθησαν. Αρχαϊάνακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείθεν λίθων τὸ Σίγειον ἐκτείχισαι. (L. XIII. p. 895.). For when all the cities around were laid waste, but not entirely demolished; and while this one was totally overturned, all the stones were carried off from it to rebuild those others. Accordingly, they say, that ARCHÆANAX of Mitylené with the stones taken from thence fortified Sigeum. Dr DALLAWAY, speaking of the city of Ilium, once situated near the junction of the Scamander and Simois, and which owed its origin to ALEXANDER and LYSIMACHUS, says,

(p. 338.), “ It excites no wonder, that, after so long possession of
 “ it by the Turks, not a stone should remain ; yet some con-
 “ tend against the existence of Troy, because no vestiges were
 “ discoverable when ALEXANDER founded the second city,
 “ whilst they admit the latter fact equally unauthorised by pre-
 “ sent appearances*.”

IN a passage quoted from HERODOTUS, in which an account is given of the march of XERXES's army from Sardes to Abydos, the expression—*τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα*, is translated *advancing towards the left branch of Mount Ida*, different from the common way of rendering it, *having Ida on the left*. As this interpretation is disapproved of both by Mr HEYNE and Mr BRYANT, I have no inclination to dispute the point with such learned antagonists, provided they can make it appear, that XERXES could and did proceed, with Ida on his left. “ Ida,” says Mr HEYNE, “ has many branches and ridges. The army
 “ may have gone round one of these outskirts of the mountain
 “ approaching towards the sea, in such a manner as to leave it
 “ on the left †.”

FROM M. CHEVALIER's letters, it appears that he was sensible that he had at times introduced unnecessary or inaccurate reflections ; of which kind are those in Chap. VI. respecting
 travellers

* SEE, in Mr WAKEFIELD's letter to Mr BRYANT, (p. 11, 12.), a remarkable fact respecting the total disappearance of *Flaxford Church*, about five miles from Nottingham.

† I OBSERVE, too, that this notion is supported in a paper in the sixth volume of *Commentt. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting.* Ann. 1783, 1784 ; entitled, *HERODOTI ac THUCYDIDIS Thracia*, JOS. CHRISTOPH. GATTERERI : with a map, where XERXES's march is traced accordingly. Mr BRYANT enters into a long discussion upon the subject, through which I have no inclination to follow him now, nor shall I afterwards, I suppose, when I come to take more particular notice of his *Observations* ; but will freely confess myself responsible for the whole blame of this mistake, having suggested the culpable interpretation to M. CHEVALIER, on my first reading his paper ; and I am anxious that he should here be censured only for paying so much deference to my judgment as to introduce an equivalent expression into the French original.

travellers of high distinction, and the priests in the early ages of Christianity : both of which he desires may be struck out in a new edition. The former, I observe, has already been omitted in the German translation ; and the latter, which begins thus : “ But why did not the priests of the lower empire demolish “ those monuments ? ”—has given great offence to, and has been censured and reprobated with uncommon asperity by, Mr BRYANT, in his *Observations*. (p. 42. 43.).

Of the Notice that has been taken of STRABO.

IN giving a description of the Troad, it was necessary to advert particularly to what a geographer so respectable as STRABO has said upon that subject. This M. CHEVALIER has done in his VIIth and VIIIth chapters. STRABO derived the greatest part of his information, relating to the Troad, from DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, who, though he had his residence in those parts, was evidently deceived respecting the true source of the Scamander, and has led STRABO into the same error. They suppose that this river takes its rise in Mount Cotylus, far beyond the place where ancient Troy was situated. M. CHEVALIER has shewn this to be a gross mistake ; and it is evident that it was likewise the chief cause of Mr WOOD’s errors. STRABO saw and frankly admitted the difficulty of reconciling this with HOMER’s account in the XXIIId book of the Iliad, where the two sources are explicitly mentioned, the one a hot and the other a cold spring, and both as being in the vicinity of the Scæan Gate ; but STRABO has not been successful in his attempt to obviate this difficulty*.

M.

* MR HEYNE, in a note on the German version, (p. 85.), as well as in the preface to the same work, (See App. No. I.), thinks it evident that DEMETRIUS set out on a wrong hypothesis, in consequence of misunderstanding a passage of the Iliad, (XII. 19.). This passage I had quoted and explained in a note. (p. 59. of the English Translation.).

M. CHEVALIER being clearly convinced of this error of DEMETRIUS and STRABO, and struck with the confusion to which it has given rise, has perhaps shewn too great a degree of suspicion of the latter, in respect to some other passages of his account of the Troad ; and may have censured him somewhat too keenly. Wherever this seems to be the case, Mr HEYNE, in his notes on the German version, has taken the part of the ancient geographer, to whom scholars have been so long accustomed to look up with the greatest respect : and if I were to publish a second edition of the English, I should certainly, in consequence of *carte blanche* given by the author*, avail myself of Mr HEYNE'S assistance to obviate, as far as possible, every objection made to STRABO, except upon the great and fundamental error respecting the source of the Scamander. For this I take to be altogether untenable. "In general," says Mr HEYNE, in one of his notes, "nothing can be objected against STRABO, but in "the single case where he has allowed himself to be seduced by "DEMETRIUS, and changed the sources of the Simois and the "Scamander." M. CHEVALIER perhaps should have been satisfied with gaining this point.

BUT though it should appear, that the author or his editor had, in one or two instances, misconceived or misinterpreted STRABO, where the text is acknowledged to be obscure, not yet having been properly elucidated by any able editor or commentator, this surely would furnish no argument for setting aside M. CHEVALIER'S account of the Troad, founded on the author's actual observation, supported by so many subsequent respectable travellers. In the VIIIth chapter he has, with due respect, taken occasion to quote and comment upon some passages of STRABO ; from which it is clear, that the plain of Troy has not changed its appearance since the days of that learned writer.

The

* See his Letters, Appendix, No. VI.

The opening of ACHILLES's Monument.

THE XXIst chapter contains a number of pleasing remarks on the subject of the *tumuli* to be seen on the shores of the Hellespont ; and any person of sensibility must, on the perusal, feel his mind affected with a soothing, though solemn, sensation ; and be ready to confess, that M. CHEVALIER has there expressed himself in a most elegant and interesting manner. Inaccuracies, however, and redundancies, may now and then be perceived, some of which were pointed out to me by Mr LISTON, and they ought to be corrected in a new edition.

It appears, in particular, that M. CHEVALIER had not received very accurate information respecting what was found in the tomb of ACHILLES, in consequence of the operation of digging into it, which had been performed after his departure from Constantinople, by the direction of Count DE CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, the French Ambassador. He had been told, that towards the centre of the pile were found “ two large stones leaning at an angle the one against the other, and forming a sort of tent, under which was discovered a small statue of MINERVA, seated in a chariot with four horses ; and an urn of metal filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones ; which urn was encircled in sculpture, with a vine branch, from which were suspended bunches of grapes done with exquisite art.”

THERE does not appear to have been any foundation for the figure of a chariot. There were however some curious reliques found there. Mr LISTON saw at Constantinople the very person who had been employed to conduct the operation of digging ; and who had retained some of the fragments in his own custody, which he offered to dispose of. It appears from a letter, published in a note by Dr DALLAWAY, and giving a very particular account of this affair, that this person was the Signior

SOLOMON.

SOLOMON GHORMEZANO, son of the late French Consul. After immense labour, he at last discovered the place where the reliques were deposited. When collected, they filled a large chest. He delivered them to his employer M. CHOISEUL, who repaid his trouble with thanks only: but he reserved several specimens, which he afterwards shewed and explained, when the Count was no longer formidable. Of these a list is given in the letter; such as, pieces of burnt bones; pieces of a metal vase; charcoal of vine branches; a piece of mortar and stone; a piece of metal of a triangular shape; pieces of very fine pottery, well painted with wreaths of flowers of a dark olive colour, &c. An account is then given of the strata of earth dug through. Dr DALLAWAY, in the text, says, that "extreme age, and the pressure of the ground, had crumbled into atoms of rust all the metallic substances. The *urn* or *vase*, M. FAUVAL, an ingenious artist, now residing at Athens, received from M. CHOISEUL in its decayed form, and made a model from it, which has been exhibited to several connoisseurs, as much to their surprise as satisfaction." Dr DALLAWAY adds: "And *the goddess, with her chariot and four horses*, seems to prove that the Troad continues to be the land of invention." Yet it is very remarkable that Mr HAWKINS, who saw M. FAUVAL at Athens, expressly says, that this last mentioned gentleman denied the existence of an urn, but spoke of a small bronze image of MINERVA, of which he shewed them a cast. "At Athens," says Mr HAWKINS in his second letter to Mr LISTON, "we fell in with M. FAUVAL, a very ingenious artist, long in the service of M. DE CHOISEUL, who assured us, that M. CHEVALIER's account of the goblet, discovered in the tomb of ACHILLES, is perfectly fabulous. It originated, it seems, from the fragment of a small bronze figure, which, when he had cleaned, and put together, proved to be a very curious image of MINERVA. He shewed us a cast which he had made of it in
"plaster,

“plaster of Paris *.” According to M. CHEVALIER, then, there were both an urn and a figure of MINERVA; according to Dr DALLAWAY an urn, but no figure or statue; and according to Mr HAWKINS a small statue, but no goblet or urn. It should seem, therefore, that this affair still stands in need of further elucidation †.

BUT whatever may be thought of these barrows; “supposing,” says Mr HEYNE, “that M. CHEVALIER was mistaken, and that the eminences were not at all tombs, the main point remains what it was. The sources of the Scamander are near *Bounar-bashi*, and in that neighbourhood is the site of Troy ‡.”

Of the Objections made by Mr BRYANT.

MR BRYANT, whose name has been long so well known in the learned world, has, in the warfare he has thought fit to wage with M. CHEVALIER, been, no doubt, pretty successful in several assaults, where the latter has laid himself somewhat open; (as we have admitted to be sometimes the case); but he has totally failed in obtaining any thing like a decisive victory.

THIS learned gentleman having, thirty years ago, embraced an opinion, not a new one indeed, but, I believe, almost generally esteemed very extravagant and paradoxical, that no Trojan war, such as forms the foundation of the poems of HOMER, was

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* Appendix, No. V.

† IN the above-mentioned letter, quoted by Dr DALLAWAY, an instance of a very strange pitch of arrogance is recorded. It is there said, that “when the barrows were closed up, Count CHOISEUL caused a sheet of lead to be placed on the bottom, inscribed, *Ouvrage fait par le Comte DE CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, l’an 1787*.”

‡ CONCLUSION of his preface to the German version. See Appendix, No. I.

ever carried on *, and that even no such city as Troy ever existed, had employed himself occasionally, during that long period, in an attempt to establish the truth of this odd opinion. The subject had grown a favourite one ; and the author seemed to himself to be upon the point of achieving his great undertaking ; when M. CHEVALIER's performance appeared. This obliged him to stop short for a little, and to pause. He took his resolution. Encouraged, by observing some slips committed by an author, as yet raw in the art of systematizing, it seemed more eligible to him to endeavour to reduce the obstructing fabric to a heap of ruins, than to demolish and suppress his own occasional labour of thirty years. The avowed object, then, of Mr BRYANT's pamphlet, is to set aside M. CHEVALIER's *Description*, as unsound and fanciful. I once indeed heard, that, after the *Observations* had come out, the author met with some travellers, who assured him, that M. CHEVALIER's account of the present state of the Troad was a fair and true one ; in consequence of which, it was reported, that he had renounced his heretical opinion upon the subject, and was to suppress his *Dissertation*. This I was very glad to hear, as I thought the so doing would have redounded very much to Mr BRYANT's honour. But I was soon convinced that this information was premature, by my receiving a printed copy of the *Dissertation*, in a present, from the learned author himself ; in the perusal of which, one, every now and then, regrets (at least this was the case with me) that Mr BRYANT had ever undertaken such a toilsome investigation, employed so much learning, and wasted so much ingenuity, which the appearance of M. CHEVALIER's work, thirty years sooner, might have prevented ; and perhaps might have engaged those very talents to assist in supporting and illuminating a system, which

* SEE Mr MACLAURIN's Dissertation, to prove that Troy was not taken by the Greeks. Vol. I. p. 43, &c. Lit. Cl. of Transactions of this Society.

which they have now been employed to puzzle, perplex, and obscure. After all, if the learned veteran had seen Mr HEYNE'S Essay on the Topography of the Iliad*, and Dr DALLAWAY'S late publication, in both of which M. CHEVALIER is so ably supported, I imagine he would have been deterred from publishing his grand sceptical work, notwithstanding the great labour it had cost him.

MR BRYANT, in the introduction to his *Observations*, charges the author and his editor with indulging in severe critical censure against Dr POCOCKE, Mr WOOD, Dr CHANDLER, and STRABO. But I can't help thinking that the accusation is too strongly stated. I hope it was not with an intention to create an early prejudice in the mind of the reader against the persons animadverted upon, and in favour of what was to follow.

WITH respect to the first of the above-mentioned authors, M. CHEVALIER had said, that "his account of Troas, though full of errors, and in every respect obscure, yet proved to him a very useful guide in his researches." (Ch. VI.). He, no doubt, found considerable obscurity, and a number of errors, in Dr POCOCKE'S account; and where was the harm in saying so? But Mr BRYANT, in his complaint that Dr POCOCKE has been unjustly accused, does not subjoin the qualifying clause of the sentence, viz. that "notwithstanding these defects, the work proved a very useful guide;" but he reserves this latter part of the expression, till he find an opportunity of introducing it with more effect, and more fitly for his own purpose afterwards. I am not sure if this way of dismembering expressions, and exposing them in disjointed morsels, should be considered as a very fair mode of attack. If M. CHEVALIER was convinced that Dr POCOCKE was misled by STRABO, and regrets that he did not rather "trust to his own observation, which probably would

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"have

* See Appendix, No. III.

“ have brought him to agree with HOMER,” I cannot perceive any very severe censure in this: On the contrary, M. CHEVALIER finds out, and adds a very good excuse for Pococke, which is, that he could not, at that time, have the assistance of a geometrical apparatus in his observations, as it was then hazardous to produce any such to the view of the Turks. On other occasions, M. CHEVALIER pays compliments to Dr Pococke, calling him, in one place, “ that excellent traveller,” inasmuch, that he appeared to me to have even over-rated his merit. In a note, therefore, (p. 100.), I have ventured to say as much, in as far as related to the art of composition. For, on reading Pococke’s travels, I certainly thought him very deficient in point of arrangement, and very confused in the communication of his ideas. This, however, was expressed with all due deference to his veracity, which I believed to be quite unimpeachable. But, if it will give any satisfaction to Mr BRYANT, I am ready to admit, that I may have been mistaken in thinking Dr Pococke a confused and inelegant writer. And yet the late Mr GIBBON, whose acuteness nobody will deny, when he pays a compliment to Dr Pococke’s plan of the seven hills of Constantinople, adds, “ that this traveller is seldom so “ satisfactory.”

As to the manner in which Mr Wood is treated, it will no doubt seem very disrespectful in the eyes of those who are disposed to believe in his doctrine concerning the source of the Scamander; but to M. CHEVALIER this appeared so palpably untenable and absurd, and he was so conscious of his victory, that he has, no doubt, pursued his triumph with a great deal of vivacity and pleasantry. Where Mr Wood appeared to have merit, it has been allowed him; but because he viewed the Troad erroneously, Mr BRYANT thinks it inconsistent to admit that his description of the coast is exact; and smartly says, (with
what

what reason I leave others to judge), “ a man so erroneous, and “ so exact, was never before seen.”

DR CHANDLER, in one passage, is blamed for giving his readers too much credit ; but a good reason for this is assigned in the note. In another place, he is noted as having once inadvertently spoken of the rivers, repugnantly to his own right notion of them. I have not had time to examine what foundation M. CHEVALIER had for this remark. Perhaps it might as well have been spared. I find it is omitted in the German edition : very probably at the author’s own desire. Of Dr CHANDLER, M. CHEVALIER speaks elsewhere with the greatest deference and respect ; and I question, if Dr CHANDLER will thank Mr BRYANT for coming forward as his champion, where he had not himself observed any antagonist on the field.

It is surprising that Mr BRYANT, in his zeal for the reputation of STRABO, did not perceive that he himself is as guilty of rejecting the testimony of that admired geographer as M. CHEVALIER, when it happens to disagree with his own ideas. An instance of which we find in his *Dissertation*. (p. 44.). “ Of “ Troy,” says he, “ there is no sign : no remainder : nor was “ there ever any upon record.”—“ STRABO endeavours to give a “ reason for this : but I believe that it will not be deemed satisfactory.” And so he produces the passage which we had occasion to quote above. (p. 59.).

MR BRYANT employs the first three pages immediately succeeding his introduction, in endeavouring to prove that the city of Troy, as described by HOMER, must have been much nearer the sea than the situation assigned to it by M. CHEVALIER, which is asserted to be contrary to the very evidence of the poet himself.

I AM glad I have it in my power to give a very short, and, I think, a very satisfactory answer to this objection ; and I feel the more so, because Mr BRYANT’s arguments have, in this particular,

ticular, brought over to his side a very learned and intelligent Reviewer in the *British Critic*, (May and June 1797); insomuch that, after combating Mr BRYANT successfully in the other parts of *the Observations*, he at last feels himself under the necessity of seeking for the site of Troy farther down the plain, in which I am sorry I cannot go along with him. The answer alluded to is furnished in a few words by Dr DALLAWAY; and coming from one who has been upon the ground, must have more weight than any thing which could be said on the subject by a person who has not had that advantage. "The distance from the Grecian camp to the site of Troy," says this accurate observer, "has supplied those who contend against its existence with many plausible objections. It is, however, certain, that the present village of *Koum-kaleb* is situate on a sand-bank more than a mile in extent, which will reduce the distance, supposing it to be an accretion from the Hellespont, to less than eight English miles from *Bounar-bashi*, where the Scæan Gate once stood. The advanced works, both of the Greeks and Trojans, lessened the intermediate space. The distance of the most advanced rank of ships from the sea is not mentioned; perhaps we might not be far from the truth in supposing it half a mile, and a quarter of a mile farther from thence to the sea. Allowing the first circumstance of the accretion at *Koum-kaleb*, and the Grecian camp having been advanced into the plain, the distance of Troy is perfectly reconcileable with every incident mentioned by HOMER. It is likewise evident from the circumstances of the war. Had the city been very near, the first work of the Grecians must have been a strong fortification to prevent sudden attacks; without it, their destruction must be inevitable. Besides, there had not been a theatre large enough for the actions of the war." (p. 336, 337.)

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MR BRYANT afterwards, (p. 14.), argues from a passage of HOMER, (Iliad, XX. 216.),—ἐπεὶ ἔπω Ιλίου ἱστὴ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπóλις, —that Troy must have been situated in the plain, much nearer the ships than M. CHEVALIER imagines. To this Dr DALLAWAY also gives the following satisfactory answer: “The most elevated ground on the edge of a precipice was the Acropolis, otherwise called Pergamus, (Iliad, IV. 507. V. 460. and XXIV. 700.). Ilion was lofty enough to be called *windy*, (*passim*), yet it was lower than Pergamus, (XXIV. 700.); so that it is once said to be in the plain, ἐν πεδίῳ, (XX. 216.), as standing at the head of the plain on an easier acclivity, and being lower than the mountains of Ida. It is, notwithstanding, incontrovertible, that Troy stood on the ascent, (VI. 74. XXIV. 390.); and the ἐξινεὸς, which was without the town, has the same epithet *windy*, (XXII. 145.), from its unsheltered situation. The wall extended only in the front of the plain, the natural fortification of cliffs above the Simois rendering its continuance unnecessary. Mr BRYANT lays much stress on the expression ἐν πεδίῳ, which might have been used comparatively, and in contradiction to higher acclivities, and not positively.” (p. 349.).

WHAT Mr BRYANT says of the distance between the promontories, the situation of the Grecian camp, and of the θρωσμοὶ πεδίοιο; (p. 4. to p. 13.); also his criticisms relating to STRABO, and upon a passage of HERODOTUS, (p. 15.—28.), do not here require a particular answer or discussion, after the concessions already made, and the amendments which have been proposed. In the case of a new edition of M. CHEVALIER’s *Treatise*, it is admitted that several of Mr BRYANT’s remarks might furnish assistance in the correction of some errors and inaccuracies, and would merit a tribute of praise to the learned author’s acuteness; but they can have no effect in subverting the great and essential articles of M. CHEVALIER’s investigations and discoveries.

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NOR will I enter any further into what is objected to the account of the Scamander, taken from the diminutive size of the river; enough having been already said upon that subject to convince any unprejudiced person that the stream, which has its sources at *Bounar-bajbi*, and which has been explored and described by other respectable travellers, as well as M. CHEVALIER, answers perfectly to all the descriptions and hints to be found in the *Iliad*; allowance being always to be made for the poetic way of representing such things*. Enough too has been already said concerning the tombs.

THE passage in the description, where M. CHEVALIER has exposed himself most to the power of Mr BRYANT, is contained in two paragraphs in the VIth chapter, where CLEMENS Alexandrinus is referred to, and where the priests of the lower empire are mentioned. The observations there made are evidently ill digested, and rashly thrown out. This the author has frankly admitted, by directing them to be totally rejected in the case of his book's being reprinted†. But still this does not in the least affect the material parts of the *Treatise*; and such diminutive or partial victories as this will scarcely entitle Mr BRYANT to the honour of an ovation, far less to the glory of a triumph.

MR BRYANT, I find, willingly allows the author and the editor some praise for exploding the idle notion of HECTOR's flight three times round the city of Troy; and supports them in their endeavour to show the absurdity of such a supposition. At first I was afraid there might be some sort of decoy in this, some contrivance, like that of the wooden horse, for destroying us; especially as this was a quarter (—*ἔνθα μάλιστα Ἀμβατός ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ ἐπιδρομοὶ ἐπλετο τεῖχος*—) where I never had felt very bold, having still had my doubts about the poet's acceptance of *πρί*.

But

* See Mr HEYNE's Preface, Appendix, No. I.

† See Appendix, No. VI.

But I was soon convinced that Mr BRYANT had no treacherous design in making this concession; and the hypothesis having also the strong support of Mr HEYNE*, there is now good reason to be confident that it is well founded.

M. CHEVALIER, in the beginning of his XIIth chapter, had remarked, that Mr BRYANT has endeavoured to prove "that the Greeks were mistaken in supposing those to be the tombs of heroes, which were in reality consecrated mounds." This observation, it seems, was of too general a nature. Mr BRYANT meant what he said to be taken in a limited, not a general, sense; and thinks himself much injured by this misrepresentation. He wishes, therefore, that M. CHEVALIER had passed him by unregarded; and in this wish I heartily concur: for I am sure M. CHEVALIER will sincerely regret that he should have written any thing that could be construed into a design to injure Mr BRYANT's reputation; which I am as much convinced he never intended, as I am conscious that I never meant, by the long unfortunate note subjoined on the subject of barrows, to support him in any such design.

BUT in following Mr BRYANT any further, I am afraid I should trespass on the indulgence of the Society. I did formerly, and do now, entertain a high respect for that gentleman's talents, learning, and character: at the same time, I cannot help lamenting, that he should ever have misemployed those talents, and that learning, in a laborious attempt which can never enlighten the mind with any cheerful rays of conviction; nor ever reach beyond a dreary and disgusting state of obscurity and doubt, tending to blunt or extinguish those pleasing sensations which the poems of HOMER excite in every breast qualified to feel their genuine spirit; and for a diminution of which, the efforts of a frigid and phlegmatic erudition, even if successful in proving them to have been derived entirely from fiction, would scarcely be able to compensate. But that "the war on which

* See his Note, Appendix, No. II.

“HOMER founded his famous poems was never carried on, and
“that, if the city called Troy ever existed, it must have been in
“Egypt, and not in Phrygia ;—nay, that HOMER himself, un-
“der the name of ULYSSES, was the hero of his own Odyfsey,”
are paradoxes, I should think, too whimsical, too violent, and too
repugnant to the best authorities of antiquity, ever to admit of
any thing like a proof.

ON the other hand, that the scene of the Iliad has derived
great light from the laudable researches and fortunate disco-
veries of M. CHEVALIER must be allowed; and therefore he de-
serves the thanks of every admirer of the works of the great
poet. This is the decided opinion of many; and particularly
of one, whom the world allows to be qualified in an eminent
degree to judge of this subject, the learned and sagacious Pro-
fessor HEYNE; to whose Essay on the Topography of the Iliad,
which is annexed in the Appendix*, I beg leave to direct your
attention.

APPEN-

* No. III.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of the PLAIN of TROY.

*APPENDIX, containing Papers and Letters referred
to in the foregoing Detail.*

No. I. (p. 31.).

*From Professor HEYNE's Preface to the German Translation of M.
CHEVALIER's Treatise **

TO penetrate, at least with the mind's eye, beyond the narrow circle to which life is bounded, and to study nature on a large scale, is a propensity in the constitution of man. From this principle arises the pleasure which we receive from the description of foreign lands, and in the representation of natural scenes and prospects. In the case of celebrated places, this pleasure is enhanced, when, in countries well known to fame, the remembrance of illustrious actions is before us. The interest rises still higher, if the spot be what is termed classic ground, the mention of which in ancient authors is connected with important events; or where the topography is doubtful, and has become a subject of controversy.

THIS is the case with the Troad. HOMER furnishes us with so much accurate observation, that we are ready to imagine ourselves

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* I AM indebted for the translation of the following Extracts, from the German of Mr HEYNE's Preface and Notes, and of the Essay on the Topography of the Iliad, to a very ingenious young gentleman, now the Reverend ALEXANDER BRUNTON, minister of Bolton in East Lothian; formerly educated at this University, and who resided some time at Berlin, as private secretary to the late JOSEPH EWART, Esq; British minister at that court. My learned friend, Mr JAMES BONAR of the Excise, took the trouble of revising and preparing it for the press. D.

felves able to make a visible representation of the country. But if we try to complete the picture in all its parts, we shall meet with gaps and with places which do not coincide with the rest of the design. Accurate descriptions of this district have not been obtained.

STRABO is the only author who has furnished us with a minute account of the Troad, composed not from the personal observations of this great geographer, but borrowed from DEMETRIUS of Scepsis. DEMETRIUS seems indeed to have a just title to belief and respect, as he was born in the neighbourhood of the Troad, and had in all probability surveyed it himself. Our good opinion of him is confirmed by the accuracy with which particular places are laid down, and by their coincidence with the descriptions of the ancient poets.

THIS author, however, gives rise to a still greater embarrassment, not so much respecting the situation of Troy, for it is assigned to what, in all probability, is its exact place, as in regard to the river Scamander and its sources, which are thrown far back in the mountainous region behind Troy.

SUCCESSING travellers have thrown little light on the Troad. WOOD, alone, made it a serious object to explore this classic ground, and to form an accurate idea of it. He was prepared for the investigation by classical erudition. He travelled, he says, with his *Homer* in his hand, but he seems to have had STRABO alone in his eye. Without attending to so many other circumstances, which might have directed his view, the sources of the Scamander were his only point, from which he surveyed every thing else; and as he was mistaken in the situation of these, every thing else must have received from him a false position and appearance*.

To

* AN ingenious criticism on WOOD's *Essay on HOMER*, which appears in the original of this preface, is here omitted, as not immediately connected with the present subject. D.

To the edition in 1775 of WOOD's *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of HOMER*, was added his *Comparative View of the ancient and present State of the Troad*. Some years afterwards, I read in the Society a paper attempting to explain the military transactions in the Iliad, according to the topography of the country*. Had I kept by HOMER I should have fallen into fewer mistakes: but, unfortunately, from confidence in such a man as WOOD, who had visited the country with his *Homer* in his hand, I took him and his chart of the Troad for my guides, and thus allowed myself to be entangled in such a labyrinth of errors, that I strove in vain to extricate myself.

THE main blunder in WOOD is the alteration of the sources of the Scamander, and the consequent placing of ancient Troy deep in the mountainous region of Ida. Every thing else was now confounded. WOOD did not perceive that DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, whom STRABO follows, builds, in this instance, on a mere hypothesis. DEMETRIUS, I imagine, founded it on an erroneous interpretation of Iliad, XII. 18, &c. †, which he understood geographically, without considering that he had before him a poet, not a geographer. WOOD, indeed, traced the course of a stream, till at last he found another that flowed into it: he then sought the sources of this new stream, and discovered them. Thus far, all is accurately observed, and coincides with DEMETRIUS's assertion. But was this stream of course the Scamander? and was Troy to be immediately transferred to that spot? Had not STRABO preceded him with a multitude of doubts? WOOD helped himself out with changes of nature, which must have taken place here, and have altered of consequence the face of the country. But such changes history knows of only upon the coast, or when occasioned by the overflow of rivers:

* THIS paper is published in *Commentat. Soc. Reg. Scientiarum Gottingensis*, tom. VI. under the title of *De acie Homerica, et de oppugnatione castrorum a Trojanis facta*.

† See above, p. 61.

rivers: and such HOMER himself describes, *Iliad*, VII. 459, &c. XII. 13—33.

THE transference of Rhoeteum to Cape *Berbier* is an error not peculiar to WOOD: but the Grecian camp derives from thence an extent which again does not accord with HOMER's description. The poet is not indeed to be a geographer; but he must not feign any thing which contradicts the first glance at nature, or clashes with the known accounts of the topography of the country. The epic poet must represent nature as certain leading circumstances require. The main circumstance here is the general chart of the face of the country, and an establishment of certain principal spots. As to the rest of the scene, fancy must have full play in suggesting its greatness and extent. The epic poet's chief engine is the marvellous. By an accurate determination of every particular, the illusion would quickly vanish. Much must appear only in great masses. Some things must be and must remain in obscurity, that the fancy of the hearers or readers may have room to work, to form to itself an idea of greatness and power. HOMER therefore does not give an accurate determination of the Grecian camp, or of the field of battle. Here the fancy of the reader has room to operate, as that of the poet himself has been engaged in working up every thing into the great and wonderful. Every thing appears to him many degrees higher than it is in real nature. Must he not raise the reader to the same pitch? "I see gods arising" is the language of the poet; and when he is read as a poet ought to be, it will be the language of the reader also. If we are at any time to figure to ourselves the Scamander as a tremendous torrent, which, as a god, fights with ACHILLES, and threatens to bury him in its waves, HOMER must not inform us how diminutive its real size is. He must leave us, by association with the greatness of the effect, to give it all the bulk our fancy can grasp. He in no place gives the exact dimensions of the town and fortrefs of Troy. This is quite

quite natural; for such accuracy could in no respect have had an advantageous effect. The combat of *ACHILLES* and *HECTOR* is filled with the *wonderful*. The race of both heroes is traced by means of points, which the fancy of the reader may extend as far as it can; the walls, the wild fig tree, the watch-tower, the sources of the Scamander. But it may be premised, that to a person who knew the topography of the country in the days of *HOMER*, nothing would be represented, which he would have recognised and declared to be false and erroneous, else the effect of the poem would have been lost.

WHEN we speak of the Troad, it may be viewed in various lights. What is the present appearance of that country? What was it formerly, at different times, particularly in the days of *HOMER*? and how can its present appearance be reconciled with the descriptions of that poet? Or, again; in *HOMER* there is a certain appearance of the country described. How far does this actually accord with nature? Each of these views and questions it is rather the province of the geographer and historical critic to answer. There is still another view of the subject. As the poet cannot be read with pleasure, without a sensible representation, what is the representation he gives of the face of the country? To what extent does he give it? and how much of this kind of knowledge must accompany or precede the reading of the *Iliad*?

THE explainer of *HOMER* is properly bound to discharge only the last task. With this view I had entirely new modelled the above mentioned Memoir, according to *HOMER*, and had taken no further assistance from *STRABO* than coincided with and illustrated *HOMER*'s account. So much the more lively was my pleasure, when I perceived, in the paper of M. *CHEVALLIER*, a greater coincidence with my ideas than I had found in *WOOD*, or in any other work. This induced me to annex to
this

this publication my Memoir in a new dress, in order, at least, to remedy the errors it may have formerly occasioned.

THAT the sources of the Scamander are still found near *Bounar-basbi*;—that of its junction with the Simois the ancient channel still remains, as the stream is now diverted into a canal, which falls into the sea below Sigeum;—that the stream which comes down from the hills is the Simois, and not the Scamander;—and, also, that the other stream, which the former receives, is no Scamander;—that *Bounar-basbi* exhibits the site and vestiges of ancient Troy;—that even the citadel is still distinguished by its abrupt precipice:—all these are leading remarks and observations which we owe to M. CHEVALIER. The coast, the promontories, the tombs, the temple of APOLLO at *Thymbra*, *Callicoloné*, and other places, receive from him all the distinctions that readers of HOMER can wish.

M. CHEVALIER visited the country about the year 1787. He was at that time attached to the embassy of M. DE CHOISEUL GOUFFIER at Constantinople. The occasion both of his drawing up the paper, of its being read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and afterwards published by Mr DALZEL, are detailed in the preface of this last gentleman*.

I HAD the pleasure of M. CHEVALIER's acquaintance during his short residence at Gottingen. The perusal of parts of his travelling journals made me desirous to communicate to my countrymen the whole work. This proposal, however, was attended with several difficulties, particularly, that the paper was the property of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and that it was assigned to a place in the third Volume of their *Transactions*, which was not to be published for a twelvemonth.

IN the mean time, upon signifying my wishes, I experienced a complaisance and readiness to oblige, which calls for the warmest

* See the Preface to the English Translation.

warmest and most grateful acknowledgment on my part. Not only M. CHEVALIER gave me every assistance, but, on the part of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, I was anticipated with assurances which shew the liberal sentiments of those *Literati*, who are far superior to any little selfish vanity. I had even immediate access to a translation of the Paper before it had appeared in the Society's *Transactions*. A copy of this translation was sent to me before its publication, and the earliest impressions of the maps were communicated to me. If ever the occupations of learned men merited the title of the studies of humanity, it was in the present instance. To the exertions of Professor DALZEL, I am particularly indebted. He preserved, on this occasion, his character, already high in my estimation, by shewing himself in no ways actuated by envy, or by any little jealousy, towards a professor in his own line.

I COMMITTED the German translation to a young promising scholar, Mr CHARLES FREDERIC DORNEDDEN. According to the permission which I received from Edinburgh, and from the author, I have added some remarks, which are chiefly critical, or relate to the interpretation, particularly of STRABO, or refer to a comparison of passages in HOMER. On different points I have received from the author written explanations, and have, by his permission, made some changes and additions. The particular state of literature in Germany would perhaps have required other changes, omissions, and abbreviations; but the work was not my property.

THE author sets out always from tombs, and seems to lay the greatest stress on the observations he has made respecting these. There may have been particular reasons for this. For us they decide little. Supposing that M. CHEVALIER was mistaken, and that the eminences were not at all tombs, the main point remains what it was; the sources of the Scamander are near *Bounar-bashi*; and in that neighbourhood is the site of Troy.

No. II. (p. 73.).

Mr HEYNE's Note, additional to Mr DALZEL's, on ACHILLES's Pursuit of HECTOR. (Iliad, XXII. 165.).

LONG as this note has been *, I find it necessary still to subjoin another. We ought, I think, to take up the subject in this way. Here, as frequently happens in regard to HOMER, two distinct questions occur: 1. How the Ancients understood HOMER? 2. How he *may* and *should* be understood?

UNQUESTIONABLY the ancients often understood their *Hom*er surprisingly ill; and in the instance before us it may very well have happened that they mistook his meaning. His commentators have constantly been deficient in point of acquaintance with the topography of the Troad. Seldom was this rugged coast visited by travellers, as no great road either led to or run through it. Over the precipices of Mount Ida it was hardly possible that there should lie any much frequented path. To the present hour this coast continues to be but rarely visited. Those tracts only are known to us through which caravans travel. Even where an accurate acquaintance with the topography of the country might have been most confidently looked for, in STRABO for instance, we find nothing more than an abridgment of the accounts of DEMETRIUS of Scepsis; and that this last mentioned author, in his examination of the ground, carried throughout in his mind a preconceived hypothesis, is evident in what relates to the fountains of the Simois and Scamander. This may perhaps have been the case too, when he asserted

* SEE the English Translation of M. CHEVALIER's Essay, p. 135, &c.; and the German, p. 206, &c. D.

ed, as follows, of the place which he had rightly marked out as the site of ancient Troy, "HECTOR could not possibly have "been pursued round about New Ilium, but he might very "well have been so round ancient Troy,"—*ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομὴν*. (STRABO, p. 895. A.). In QUINTUS of Smyrna, who, as well as DEMETRIUS, resided just upon the western coast of Asia, we find a similar deficiency in point of local knowledge. No wonder, then, that even he makes HECTOR be dragged around the walls, *ἀμφὶ πόλιν*. (I. 111. XIV. 132.)

VIRGIL's imitation of this incident, in the combat between ÆNEAS and TURNUS before Laurentum, (quoted and referred to in the Essay), can prove nothing more than that VIRGIL either adopted in his narrative a different plan from HOMER, or endeavoured to give somewhat more probability to his story; just as in another passage we find him substituting, for the triple chace of the combatants, the more probable incident of dragging the dead body of HECTOR round the city ;

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat HECTORA muros.

He observed, in this, the same rule by which he conducted himself on other occasions, not always to be anxious to tread in the very steps of HOMER, but, where a different delineation should offer more poetical beauties, to carry his imitation at large through the whole circle of poets, epic or dramatic. In this particular, of the dragging of HECTOR's body, he followed some other poet, probably EURIPIDES. (See Excurs. XVIII. ad Æn. I.).

If it is to be maintained, that the passage in HOMER, respecting this pursuit of the combatants, cannot mean that it was actually round about the city, and that such a pursuit could not possibly have taken place, the main proof must be drawn from the topographical situation of the country. Ancient Troy was accessible only on the side next the sea. On the quarter of the

Acropolis it was furrounded by abrupt precipices, and deep ravines ; and at the bottom lay the rocky bed of the Simois, as M. CHEVALIER, an eye witness, assures us. His testimony, by the by, affords a solution why the Greeks, numerous as they were, never completely invested the city, though this would have been a natural and effectual plan of operation. It explains, too, why they did not cut off all approach to the place ; for we find fresh supplies and provisions received without interruption from Phrygia ; allies and auxiliaries arriving constantly at Troy. On the side next the mountains there must therefore have been a free access to the town. Hence, too, it is no less evident, that HOMER, intimately acquainted as he was with the ground, never could have said what has been ascribed to him, that ACHILLES chased HECTOR thrice *round* the walls. Still less can this be supposed, when what the poet is thus made to say is palpably absurd in itself, that two combatants should run three times round the walls of a city. For either, if we should reckon the thing possible, our idea of the city must be diminutive and contemptible ; or, should we suppose the city to be large, the improbability becomes obvious, and we are struck with the absurdity of the army's standing idle, waiting for the re-appearance of the runners from the opposite side of the walls. Add to this, that such an absurdity is by no means necessarily implied in the words ; nor would it at all occur, were the passage read without prejudice, and with proper attention to its meaning. All the combats take place before the Scæan Gate. Thus far had PATROCLUS, the preceding day, driven back the flying Trojans. (XVIII. 453. XVI. 712.). No battle, no transaction, is mentioned, as happening in any other quarter, or on the opposite side of the town. It is on the Scæan Gate that PRIAM and his Trojans stand, to be spectators of the fight. (Iliad, III. 145—154. XXII. 25. 462.). Even during the flight of HECTOR, we do not find PRIAM running from one gate to another, from one
side

fide of the walls to the other; he continues standing on the Scæan Gate.—The whole narrative of the transaction in question is as follows:—

HECTOR at first takes his station before the Scæan Gate, waiting on foot the approach of ACHILLES, (XXII. 96.); but as ACHILLES draws near, he is seized with a panic. To escape from him, he takes his flight along the foot of the wall, (τείχος ὑπὸ Τρώων. XXII. 144.), partly with the view of being protected from the walls, partly, perhaps, in order to get away towards the mountains. ACHILLES gets between him and the wall, and drives him to the opposite side against the Grecian army. This track brings HECTOR to the watch-tower, the wild fig-tree, and the sources of the Scamander. Here he finds an opportunity to wheel round, and again approach the walls. ACHILLES, once more, interposes betwixt him and the city, and drives him back towards the sources of the Scamander; and this is repeated four times, (v. 157. 165. 188. 194. Ὀσσάκι—). On this spot, at a distance from the walls, near the sources of the Scamander, HECTOR at length makes a stand, and the last combat, with his death, ensues.

WHEN the subject is taken up in this point of view, the word *περὶ*, in the phrases *περὶ πόλιν*, *περὶ ἄστυ*, *περὶ τεῖχος*, can be understood in no other sense, than “*about—before* the city,” without any idea of its meaning “*round about* the city itself.” Even the 165th line, Ὡς τὰ τρεῖς Πριάμοιο πόλιν περιδινηθήτην, (or rather *περὶ δινηθήτην*), proceeds expressly upon the notion, that the flight was directed away from the city towards the sources of the Scamander; so that no idea of a *round about* can be admitted. The matter is completely cleared up by verses 194—208. The circle of the flight is there accurately marked out, as extending merely from the walls towards the sources of the Scamander; consequently verses 230, and 251, cannot be understood in any other sense.

As ACHILLES flew HECTOR before the Scæan Gate, so it was decreed that he himself should one day fall before the same gate, (Iliad, XXII. 359. and 360.), ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι. This is expressed by QUINTUS, III. 82. Σκαιῇσι ἀμφὶ πύλῃσι.

AFTER HECTOR is killed, ACHILLES expresses the idea,—worthy of a warrior; but which would have embarrassed the poet in the execution, by giving the Iliad at once an inconvenient termination,—the idea of hazarding immediately, while the panic of the Trojans was fresh, an assault upon the city; v. 381. Εἰδ' ἄγετ', ἀμφὶ πόλιν σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθῶμεν. Here, also, it is not necessary to suppose, that the troops were to advance towards the wall round about on every side. The expression implies only something indeterminate in regard to the place, provided other circumstances do not more accurately mark it out. In QUINTUS, (IV. 86. and 87.), DIOMEDE says,

Ἄλλ' ἄγε, σὺν τεύχεσι καὶ ἄρμασιν, ἥδ' ἐ καὶ ἵπποις
 Ἴομεν ἀμφὶ πόλιν.

Let us assault the city itself,—On one side, is understood,—in one place, where an assault is practicable. On the contrary, when ACHILLES drags the body of HECTOR round the tomb of ACHILLES, Τεῖς δ' ἐρύσας περὶ σῆμα, (Iliad, XXIV. 16.), it seems clear, from the nature of the thing, that, in this passage, the expression may signify *round about*.

UPON the whole, one must here call to mind the remark, which I have elsewhere introduced,—What other poets do by art, in throwing into the shade certain parts of their story, that the effect of the whole may be more forcible, HOMER does here, certainly not from theoretical notions, but by the guidance of true feeling, and in the glow of imagination. The poet was now arrived at the great, the decisive moment, when his hero ought to appear with the highest lustre. The combat itself is raised to the marvellous; even deities must take a part in it, and
 contribute

contribute to the wonders of the scene. So terrible is the look of ACHILLES, that HECTOR, prepared as he was to stand the conflict, loses courage at his approach. The race of the two heroes goes far beyond human force; but how far,—over that the poet throws a veil. Fancy has now room to work, and may represent every thing as far beyond what is common and natural as she will or can. They run three times round at the city,—the space, the distance, may be conceived as great as we choose; but the poet neither does nor ought to determine them. Such determination would fall either into the gigantic or the diminutive. The case is different, when, by means of a comparison, an idea and image can be enlarged or extended. The poet then makes use of what is defined, to render the undefined object more distinct, and to throw light on what is obscure. That however is not the case here.

No. III. (p. 34. 67. 74.).

ESSAY on the Topography of the Iliad *. By Professor HEYNE of Gottingen, Aulic Counsellor to His Britannic Majesty, &c.

FOR nine years had the war between the Greeks and Trojans been carried on. The former now lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Troy, when the quarrel between ACHILLES and AGAMEMNON, occasioned a division in the army.

AGAMEMNON,

*. THE present Essay follows out the train of ideas, suggested in a Paper read before the Royal Society of Sciences at Gottingen, *De acie Homericæ, et oppugnatione a Trojanis facta*, in the year 1783, published in the sixth volume of their Transactions. All the disquisitions, there introduced, respecting the origin of military tactics, the manner of drawing up an army, and giving battle, and the art of fortifying and attacking a post, as described in the Iliad, are here omitted; many topics, on the other hand, are now corrected and enlarged. That Essay was my first on the Topography of the Iliad; a subject involved in so much difficulty. I allowed myself

AGAMEMNON, to convince ACHILLES that, even without his assistance, victory might be obtained, causes the army to march out of the camp, and advance towards the city. Hitherto the Trojans had kept close within their walls, following the advice of their old men*, who saw plainly, that, if a siege should actually take place, the Greeks could make little impression on the town: for the first rudiments of the arts of attack were then hardly known. Encouraged, however, it should seem, by intelligence of the division in the Grecian army, the Trojans quitted the city, and met the Greeks in the field;—a new gratification to the proud spirit of ACHILLES, that now, for the first time, when it was known he was not with the army, the Trojans should venture out into the plain †.

THE two armies met. Four principal battles are described in the Iliad. The first, (the subject of our present investigation), on the
the

self then to be misled by respect for POPE and WOOD, so far as to renounce my own ideas, and to mould, according to the representations of these gentlemen, the views I had drawn from HOMER himself. I soon found, however, that I had trusted to bad guides, and at once resolved, laying aside all secondary aids, to attempt, from the descriptions given in the poem itself, a sketch of the Topography of the Iliad, such as HOMER exhibits it. This Essay I now present to the public. I had for a long time thrown it aside, when its coincidence with the information collected by M. CHEVALIER on the subject, induced me to revise it, and now inclines me to submit it, for further investigation, to the friends of the poet. Amendment after this will be an easy task. H.

* ILIAD, XV. 721, &c. The sage POLYDAMAS, afterwards, likewise, when the design of an attack upon the camp seemed likely to misgive, gave his advice rather to retire again within the city, and take refuge, as formerly, behind the walls. But the rash HECTOR would not consent, (XVIII. 266. &c.). Unquestionably the long siege must have proved extremely harrassing. The provisions, as well as the treasure, of PRIAM were exhausted, as HECTOR himself urges. (Ibid. 288.). H.

† ONCE only HECTOR had ventured beyond the Scæan Gate, as far as the beech tree; but on that occasion he with difficulty escaped from ACHILLES. (Il. IX. 352, &c.). H.

the plain between the camp and the city, (Il. IV. 422. VI. 306.);—the second, when the Greeks were driven back to their camp, (Iliad, VIII. 55—213.);—the third, which extends not only to the flight of the Grecians into their camp, but likewise to the storming of the camp itself by the Trojans, who break in and set fire to a ship, till at length they are repulsed, and pursued almost to the city by PATROCLUS. Here PATROCLUS falls; and the Greeks, put to flight, are once more driven back to their camp. (Iliad, XI—XVIII.). In the fourth battle, ACHILLES beats back the Trojans again to the city, and crowns his victory by the fall of HECTOR.

No lively idea can be formed, either of these battles, or of the storming of the camp, without some general conception of the environs of Troy.

FROM Mount Ida, run two hilly ridges from the east down to the sea, where two promontories bound a jutting beach. The promontory on the north is Rhœteum; that on the south Sigeum. Within these two ridges lies a plain, sloping down to the shore, and inclosed within their semicircular compass. (STRABO, XVIII. p. 892. B.). In this plain run two rivers: on the north side the Simois; on the south the Scamander, called also the Xanthus. The latter now discharges itself into the sea to the south, below Sigeum, but formerly, before approaching the shore, it must have united with the Simois, so that both rivers had a common outlet into the sea, above or to the north of Sigeum. This *embouchure* was surrounded with many marshes, and hence was called *Stomalimné*; a name which occurs but once in HOMER, in an interpolated passage. (Iliad, VI. 4.). The exact situation is laid down by STRABO, (XIII. p. 890. A. PLINY, V. 20. 33*.).

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THE

* OF all these places, the charts of POPE and WOOD give very different views; that of M. CHEVALIER, however, accords exactly with what is said by STRABO and PLINY.

THE Grecian fleet was drawn on shore at a place between the two promontories. The distance betwixt the two, according to STRABO, (p. 890. B. 891. A.), was 60 stadia, (about two German or nine English miles), in a direct course by sea. The curvature of the land, however, would increase the distance in keeping along the shore*.

It is generally supposed, that the Grecian camp extended from cape to cape. This notion involves very considerable difficulty. Had it done so, the camp must have reached beyond the Simois, and the marshes on both sides of it; a circumstance by no means probable, particularly as the stream is so apt to overflow; and not the smallest trace occurs in HOMER, either of the river running through the camp, or of the left wing being stationed beyond the river. When HOMER, therefore, says, that the ships occupied the whole shore † between the two promontories, he probably speaks in a poetical style, to convey a magnificent idea; and it is more likely that the camp only stretched on both sides *towards* the promontories Rhœteum and Sigeum, and that on the north-east it extended to the Simois ‡.

WITHIN this space were the ships of the Greeks hawled up on the land, at a considerable distance from the shore, with their sterns towards the land, and arranged in several rows ||. The

rows,

* D'ANVILLE, in his description of the Hellespont, (*Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. XXIV. p. 329.), allows only half the distance; M. CHEVALIER does the same, (Ch. VIII.), on the authority of the passage in PLINY, (V. 33.), where the distance is reckoned from Æeunteum. Still, however, it is a contested point, what part of the coast must properly be regarded as Rhœteum.

† ILIAD, XIV. 35. ————— καὶ πλησαν ἀπώσης
 Ἡϊόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνέργητον ἄκραι.

He does not expressly name either Sigeum or Rhœteum; on the contrary, he always places the camp on the Hellespont, in the more extensive signification of that term, as meaning the northern part of the Ægean Sea.

‡ See above, p. 57, 58. D.

|| THE ships are therefore said to have stood *πρόκρουσαι*, (XIV. 35.), parallel and behind one another, like the steps of a ladder. That this is the meaning we learn from HERODOTUS, (VII. 188.).

rows, however, must have been drawn backwards, according to the oblique direction of the whole camp, from the north towards Sigeum. Behind the foremost row of the ships the troops were encamped, so that the ships themselves must have served for a kind of rampart, as is plain from a comparison of different passages*. In the rear of the left wing must have been the marshes called *Stomalimné*. STRABO assigns particular names to several parts of the coast, though he has not put them down in geographical order†. As only one part of the coast bears the name of *Station of the fleet*, it may perhaps be inferred from this, that the Grecian camp occupied only a part of the beach.

THE ships stood in the order in which they had been drawn ashore. The vessels of PROTESILAUS, accordingly, occupied the foremost place; and next to them were the ships of AJAX, the son of TELAMON. (*Iliad*, XIII. 681. XV. 706, &c.). AJAX was stationed towards Rhœteum, consequently on the left wing of the camp; ACHILLES, with his Myrmidons, on the right towards Sigeum‡. In regard to the two extremities there is no doubt; but the arrangement in the intermediate space cannot be so exactly ascertained; unless, perhaps, thus far: Near to AJAX, and farther to the right, lay IDOMENEUS, with the Cretans,

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(*Iliad*,

* *ILIAD*, XV. 653, &c. 408. 426. XIV. 34.

† STRABO, (XIII. 890. A.). "After Rhœteum follows Sigeum, a town in ruins, then the station of the fleet, (*το Ναυσταθμον*), and the harbour of the Greeks, (*ὁ Αἰαίων λιμὴν*), and the Grecian camp, (*το Αἰαίων στρατόπεδον*), and *Stomalimné*, "and the mouth of the Scamander, (viz. of the Scamander united with the Simois), "then the promontory of Sigeum." Compare MELA, I. 19. PLINY, V. 30. 33.

‡ *ILIAD*, XI. ad init. It is true that in XVII. 432. it is said, that the horses of ACHILLES would not return without PATROCLUS to the Hellespont, ἀψ' ἐπὶ νῆας ἐπὶ πλάτῳ Ἑλλήσποντον. But this whole northern arm of the Ægean Sea, before the entrance of the strait, is more than once called the Hellespont. (*Iliad*, XVIII.

(*Iliad*, X. 112.) ; beside him NESTOR, with his Pylians ; then followed MENESTHEUS, with the Athenians ; next to him was ULYSSES ; near to whom were stationed the Argives, Mycæneans, and Lacedæmonians ; after these came several other corps ; and, lastly, on the right wing were the Myrmidons, with whom, it should seem, the other Thessalian tribes (the troops of PROTESILAUS excepted) were united.

By this arrangement, the following passages appear both to be cleared up themselves, and to throw light on others in their turn. The post of AJAX is all along the most important. Towards this wing the main assault upon the camp takes place. To that side also the battles tend. When NESTOR conducts the wounded MACHAON into his own tent, ACHILLES is at such a distance that he sees only his back, and cannot distinctly recognise his person, (XI. 596. 610. et seq.). PATROCLUS, dispatched by ACHILLES to make inquiry, in returning from NESTOR passes the place where the ships of ULYSSES are lying. (XI. 805.). Just at this spot he finds EURPYLUS, who was coming back from the engagement at the left wing wounded, and was going, it would appear, to the right wing, where probably his Thessalians were stationed. MACHAON, though a Thessalian, was conducted by NESTOR into *his* tent, probably because he was too much exhausted to be able to reach the right wing. The ships of ULYSSES lay in the centre, so that, from thence, the shout, which called the troops to arms, could be heard on both wings*. To this the form of the camp, which, from its position, extended more in depth than in length, probably contributed. Hard
by

150. XXIV. 346. *Odyss.* XXIV. 82. also *Iliad*, VII. 86. XII. 30. XV. 233. XXIII. 2.). And hence must be derived the explanation of the epithets *πλατὺς* and *ἀπὸ γωνίης*, which do not seem well applied to the proper Hellespont ; though, indeed, *broad* and *narrow* are relative terms.

* *ILIAD*, XI. 5. These verses are likewise inserted, though rather awkwardly ; lib. VIII. 222. et seq.

by these ships of ULYSSES, and consequently behind the foremost row, was the place for holding the public assemblies, and for the altars for the sacrifices. (Iliad, XI. 806-7.). One of these, it should seem, was the altar of JUPITER Panomphæus*.

THE order of the ships in the catalogue, (Iliad, II.), appears to have some connection with this arrangement in the camp, so that the Bœotians, and those after them, as far on as the Salaminians, under AJAX, belonged to the left wing. The Argives, and those next in order, as far as the Cretans, Rhodians, and other Islanders, composed the centre. The Thessalians, with the Myrmidons, formed the right wing.

THE succession and order of the troops, when afterwards drawn up in the field of battle, is somewhat different. AGAMEMNON runs through the midst of the battle; and after passing some, who are not named, he comes to IDOMENEUS with the Cretans, to AJAX and the Salaminians, to NESTOR with his Pylians, to the Athenians under MENESTHEUS, to ULYSSES, and lastly to DIOMEDE†.

AGAMEMNON, it appears, went from the left to the right wing. ULYSSES was at such a distance from the spot where the Trojans were pressing on to the assault, that he as yet knew nothing of their approach. (IV. 331.). In the battle itself all order

* ILIAD, VIII. 249. 250. OVID. Met. XI. 197. APOLLO stands on the Trojan shore,

*Dextera Sigei, Rhoetæ læva profundi
Ara Panomphæo vetus est sacrata Tonanti.*

What notion the editors have had of this passage, it is not easy to divine. At all events, a point must be put after *profundi*, and that line must be understood as a complete sentence.

† ILIAD, IV. 231, &c. The leaders and the corps are by no means all particularised by name. Thus, it appears from lib. XI. 808. II. 736. that the Thessalians, commanded by EURYPYLUS, were there.

der is loft; and the combatants, individuals as well as squadrons, are confusedly mixed with one another. (IV. 457, &c.).

THE ground in this neighbourhood must have experienced alterations by the overflowing of the rivers, as well as by the operation of the Simois at its mouth. HOMER himself intimates this, when he takes notice, that not a trace of the wall of the Grecian camp was remaining. (Iliad, XII. ad init.). HERODOTUS also quotes the shore of Troy as an instance of such changes. (lib. II. 10.). And should we even incline to reject the testimony of STRABO, (lib. XIII. p. 890. A.), the fact may be regarded as certain. Whether the alterations of the ground, however, have been so great as WOOD supposes, is a different question*.

BEFORE the camp, as already mentioned, a plain, gradually rising, stretched towards Troy, diversified, it should seem, with several little eminences†. That the two rivers Simois and Scamander inclosed this plain, and that farther down they united with each other, HOMER expressly testifies‡; but he furnishes us with no further or more accurate information||. The field of battle lies in the neighbourhood of the Scamander§, and is called likewise the Scamandrian Plain¶, though it also receives,

* M. CHEVALIER answers this question.

† OF this kind was one immediately in front of the camp, the *ἑρωςμὸς πεδίου*. (Iliad, X. 160. XI. 56.). It lay just before the place for crossing the Scamander, in going from the camp, on the road towards Troy; for in the last battle the Trojans had taken post *ἐπὶ θρασυμῶ πεδίοιο*, (XX. 3.), and from thence they came, in the course of their flight, to the passage of the Xanthus, *πρὸς ἑλάνθου*. (XXI. 2.). In so far the delineation, on M. CHEVALIER's map, is erroneous. H. See above, p. 56, 57. D.

‡ ILIAD, V. 713. et seq. Vid. STRABO, XIII. p. 890. A. 892. C.

|| STRABO says: "A little way before New Ilium the streams unite." It is doubtful, however, whether by this expression he means between Ilium and the sea, or on the inland side of the town.

§ ILIAD V. 36. VII. 329. XI. 498-9.

¶ Iliad, II. 465. 467.

ceives, at least in the more immediate vicinity of the city, the epithet of Trojan*. More precisely still it is said, (Iliad, VI. 1, &c.), "the battle raged between Simois and Xanthus." The latter must have been nearest the Grecian camp; for when the Trojans had advanced very nigh the rampart, and lay a night in the field before it, they are said to be between the camp and the Scamander. (Iliad, VIII. 556.). At the Scamander † HECTOR holds a council of war; and when the Trojans are compelled to retire from before the camp, the wounded HECTOR is laid down at the side of the Scamander. (Iliad, XIV. 433.). When, again, PATROCLUS drives the Trojans finally from the camp, he cuts off the retreat of a part of the fugitives to the city, forces them back towards the camp, and falls on them betwixt the station of the ships, the river and the city ‡. ACHILLES, in advancing from the camp to the Xanthus, drives a part of the flying enemy into the river; the rest escape to the town. (Iliad, XXI. 1. et seq.). Here it seems to be plainly intimated, that, on the way between the camp and the city, the river must be passed. And this is confirmed by several passages in the last book, where PRIAM, in going from the city to the Grecian camp, after passing the tomb of ILUS, arrives at the river,—undoubtedly the Scamander. Here he waters his horses. (Iliad, XXIV. 349.). In returning, he comes again to the same spot, (v. 692.); and here there

* ILIAD, X. II. XXIII. 464. STRABO, p. 892. C.

† For this must be the ποταμὸν ἐπὶ δινύεντι of Iliad, VIII. 490.

‡ ————— Μεσσηγὺ
Νηῶν καὶ ποταμῷ καὶ τειχεὶς ὑψηλοῦ. Iliad, XVI. 397.

Here it is difficult to form a distinct idea of the topographical situation, unless we understand it thus: First, between the ships and the river; and farther on, between the river and the town.

there was a place for crossing the river *. HOMER guides us no farther.

I FORMERLY thought it probable that HOMER meant only a near approach of the two rivers, not an entire confluence of their streams ; but this opinion I have long since abandoned. The Scholiasts, and even EUSTATHIUS, give us no aid here ; they rather mislead ; they themselves had probably no ocular knowledge of the place. The Scholia, however, on Iliad, II. 465. say, “ the Scamander comes from Ida, divides in the “ midst the plain that stretches to the shore, and discharges it- “ self, on the left hand, into the sea.” But how is this to be understood ? If the left hand *from Troy* is spoken of, the present mouth, to the southward of Sigeum, must be intended ; and on that supposition this mouth would be of considerable antiquity. If the commentator, however, means on the left hand going *from the shore* to Mount Ida, it is then the united stream of the Scamander and Simois, that is said to fall into the sea at this place †.

EVEN

* Ἄλλ' ὅτι δὴ πόρην ἔξεν ὑπερείς ποταμοῖο. —692.

It is here that M. CHEVALIER's observations on the spot, and his delineation upon the map, give us so much light. The Scamander, as it came near the shore, directing its course obliquely over the plain, approached the Simois, and run into it, exactly as described in STRABO. At present the Scamander is conducted into a canal, and discharges itself into the sea below Sigeum. This is one important observation made by M. CHEVALIER. There is another, also, relating to the sources of the Scamander. Still it is a perplexing circumstance, that, neither in the advancing, nor in the retreat, of the armies, is any express mention made of so important a circumstance as crossing the river. Almost all the passages, except perhaps the last, rather imply that the rivers run on each side. H. See above, p. 46. Note *. D.

† I DOUBT whether any of the poets, QUINTUS of Smyrna, TRYPHIODORUS, or COLUTHUS, had an accurate knowledge of this neighbourhood. TRYPHIODORUS, for instance, says, (lin. 316.),

Ἰαχὲ καὶ Ξάνθος ποταμὸς κυκλούμενον ὕδαρ
καὶ στόμα κελήγας Σιμοίσιον.

“ Loud

EVEN in STRABO's time the site of Old Ilium was unknown, and was a subject of dispute; but he marks out distinctly a *new* Ilium. Alexandria Troas was a different place from both, and lay more to the southward. New Ilium was twelve stadia (three-eighths of a German mile, somewhat less than two English miles) from the Grecian harbour. Thirty stadia (almost a German mile, or about four English miles and an half) higher up, eastward from New Ilium, and nearer Mount Ida, was situate Old Ilium, on a spot where then stood a village named Ilium*.

THE road from the city of Troy to the sea shore ran from the Scæan Gate, past a beech tree, to the tomb of ILUS, on which stood a pillar †. Another monument was called Batiæia, or the tomb of the Amazon Myrinna, an insulated hillock, where the Trojans took post in the first battle. (Iliad, II. 811—15.). Upon another tomb, that of ÆSYETES, son of POLITES, as a scout on behalf of the Trojans. (Iliad, II. 793.). The Sca-

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mander

"Loud roar'd the Xanthus, and the mouth of the Simois;" so they were not then united at the mouth. A little after, (lin. 319.), "They were dragging the wooden horse, but were retarded, the way being intersected by rivers, and very uneven."

Ὀδὸς δ' ἐβαρύνετο μακρὴ,
Σχιζομένη ποταμοῖσι, καὶ ἔ' πεδίοισιν ὁμοίῃ.

* STRABO, XIII. p. 889. Ὅπου γὰρ (ILUS) ἵσταυθα ἴδρυσεν τὴν πόλιν οὗ νῦν ἔστιν (New Ilium), ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τί τριάκοντα ἀνωτέρω πρὸς ἑω καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰδην, καὶ τὴν Δαρδανίαν, (as this old habitation of DARDANUS lay still deeper in the mountains II. XX. 216, 217. northward from Old Ilium, STRABO, XIII. p. 891. D.) κατὰ τὴν νῦν καλεμμένην Ἰλίαν ἡμῶν. Compare p. 891. A. 892. D. When HOMER says of Ilium ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, this is said in respect to Dardania, which lay among the mountains. Troy, however, actually stood at the *foot of the hill*, at the entrance of the valley or the plain.

† ILIAD XI. 166. 371. Here HECTOR had his post, on the night when he encamped before the Grecian camp. (X. 415.). Here PARIS stood behind the pillar, when he wounded DIOMEDE with an arrow. (XI. 372.). Just by the beech APOLLO stood near the city, and the place must likewise have commanded a view of the country. (XXI. 549.).

mander could not be far from the hillock where the tomb of ILIUS was. (XXIV. 349. 350. Compare 692, 693.). Nearer the city, on the south-west side, and just under the walls, the Watch-tower must have stood, where the deities resorted*. Next to it was the wild fig-tree †, and the sources of the Scamander; and then the place where clothes were commonly washed ‡. Before the city, on the north side, was Callicoloné (καλὴ πολώνη), a pleasant hill upon the Simois, five stadia in circumference, and ten stadia from the village Ilium ||.

THAT it should still be possible, after such a lapse of time, to recognise all these places, is not to be expected; but there is one of them which we should think could even yet be traced, and which, if discovered, would furnish at once the most certain direction for all the rest, and even for the site of ancient Troy itself;—that is, the sources of the Scamander, so accurately and circumstantially described by HOMER, (XXII. 147. et seq.), the one of them a warm and smoking fountain, the other, even
in

* Σκοπιὸν. (XX. 136.).

† Εἰρινός. (XXII. 146. XI. 167.). Quite close upon the walls, and at the place where they were so low that the Greeks had once attempted to force their way into the city from that quarter. (VI. 433—9.).

‡ See above, p. 44. D.

|| ACCORDING TO STRABO, (p. 802. D.), who borrowed this information from DEMETRIUS of Scepsis. The Venetian Scholiast A, upon Iliad, XX. 3, quotes the passage respecting Callicoloné, as if taken from the latter; but he mistakes this hillock for the *ῥασιμὸς πεδίον* on the Scamander. He adds also, “Here it was that PARIS saw the three goddesses.” At v. 53. the observation is repeated, more justly indeed, but in a mutilated form. In all other respects, the places hitherto mentioned are determined by M. CHEVALIER with great plausibility and distinctness. I find upon the map, which I had not an opportunity of seeing till too late, the hill Callicoloné more rightly laid down, than, from the words of the Memoir, I had supposed; (see p. 94.); and I retract what I there advanced. The passages respecting Callicoloné (XX. 53. 151.) are not, as I imagined, contradictory.

in the middle of summer, of an icy coldness. Yet even here there is a very great chasm in our topographical knowledge. At the place, where (according to DEMETRIUS of Scepsis, whom STRABO follows), the Scamander had its rise, one spring only was to be met with; and WOOD, with STRABO in his hand, fought and found this spring, and this alone*.

AFTER this preliminary sketch of the Topography of the Troad, let us now try whether it be possible to get a clear idea of the battles of the Greeks and Trojans.

THE first battle took place on the plain between Troy and the Grecian camp. The Greeks were drawn out in the Scamandrian plain. (*Iliad*, II. 467.). The Trojans, on the other hand, had taken post on the hill Baticia. (*Iliad*, II. 811. The engagement commences. PARIS and MENELAUS soon descry each other. HECTOR negotiates a combat between them, which is not attended with any decisive consequences. The armies must have been posted at no great distance from the city, for PRIAM, with his old men, sees from the walls the Grecian chiefs, and learns their names from HELEN †. The treacherous PANDARUS,

11 2

by

* STRABO, p. 898 9. WOOD, p. 323-4. (98. of the German translation). And yet Mr WOOD did meet with a hot spring, but in a place where he was not looking for the Scamander. (p. 329.). M. CHEVALIER was more fortunate in this respect. He searched for and discovered the sources of the Scamander precisely at the hot spring; and thus cleared up the whole matter in doubt.

† THE distance, formerly stated, of the city from the shore, or more accurately from the harbour of the Greeks, making in all forty-two stadia, (one and one-fourth German, nearly five and one-half English miles), and the high commanding situation of the town, render this circumstance by no means improbable.

by discharging an arrow, brings on a general action. The Trojans attack the Greeks, (IV. 221.), and at length the armies close. (446.). The poet describes, as a poet must, individual combats only. (457, &c.). These however must have taken place in the neighbourhood of the city; for APOLLO surveys the combatants from Pergamos, and animates them by his shout. (IV. 507. V. 460. VII. 20.). For a long time the two armies alternately advance and retreat between the Simois and Scamander, (VI. 2, 3.), till AJAX at last makes the Trojans give way. When near the gate of the city, and not till then, they are rallied by the exertions of ÆNEAS and HECTOR, and again make a stand. (VI. 73, &c.). HECTOR, by the advice of HELENUS, and on account of the impending danger, as may be conjectured, has recourse to religious rites. He goes into the city, and gives directions for a female procession to the temple of MINERVA. In the mean time, a single combat between GLAUCUS and DIOMEDE terminates in a friendly parley. Upon the return of HECTOR, the battle is renewed. At length a single combat between HECTOR and AJAX is proposed. With this the narrative of the day closes. (VII. 1—306.). Both parties retire, the one into the city, the other to their camp. (VII. 310, &c.).

THE following day an armistice is agreed upon for burying the dead. The Greeks avail themselves of this interval, and rear in haste a rampart round their camp. (VII. 325, &c.). Of this more will be said by and by.

NEXT morning, by break of day, a new battle ensues; the second, on the plain between the city and the camp. (VIII. 60, &c.). Towards noon a panic spreads among the Greeks. They flee, and retreat in disorder to the very camp. (VIII. 68. &c. 139, &c. 213, &c.). At one time, indeed, they again advance to the charge; but still they are forced to give way; and at last shut themselves up in their camp. (336—343.). Fortunately for them night intervenes. (485, &c.).

HECTOR,

HECTOR, on this occasion, does not draw off his troops into the city, but makes them pass the night at the river, in the open air, at some distance from the camp*, and orders them to kindle watch-fires. By the advice of NESTOR, the Greeks likewise set a watch †. The same night a deputation is sent by the Greeks to ACHILLES, and ULYSSES and DIOMEDE set out on a scouting party. The situation of the Trojan encampment, at this juncture, is accurately delineated. (X. 415. 428.). HECTOR had assembled the chiefs at the tomb of ILIUS. The watch-fires, like the soldiers, were scattered over the field without any order. The troops extended themselves down to the sea, (probably the right wing of the Trojans pointed on the north towards Rhœteum, beyond the Simois), and some of their posts reached as far as Thymbra. At the outermost extremity lay the new arrived Thracians and RHESUS. (434.). This must have been towards the sea or the mouth of the Simois, and farther out before the Trojan army towards the Grecian camp; for ULYSSES and DIOMEDE, who surprised them, went along the stream of the Simois ‡. The distance cannot have been great, for they set off a good while after midnight, and had returned to the camp by day-break.

NEXT

* Νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγὼν ποταμῷ ἐπὶ δινῇντι. (VIII. 490.).

What river now could this be? The Scamander is termed δινῆις, eddying. The Simois, however, was still more so. Yet if the Scamander had its course obliquely thro' the plain, it must be the river here intended.

† IX. 67. Out at the tomb, λίσσασθαι παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν τεύχεος ἐκτός. It is more distinctly said afterwards, (v. 87.), between the tomb and the wall, καὶ δὲ μέσον τάφρον καὶ τεύχεος. Compare 180. 194. 198.

‡ HENCE we find mention made of the heron, (Iliad, X. 274.); of the tamarisks, (μερίκη), and of the sedges, (466-7.). HOMER does not take notice of their passing the river. This, however, they must have done.

NEXT day the Trojans assault the Grecian camp. And here it becomes necessary to have some idea of the newly constructed fortification of the camp.

THE situation has been generally described already. The camp, according to my supposition, did not occupy the whole intermediate space, but only a part of the ground, between the two promontories Sigeum on the south, and Rhœteum to the north. Perhaps on this side it went no farther than to the Simois. By all appearances the camp must have had an oblique front, the right wing receding towards Sigeum, the left bending forwards, and hence more exposed to the enemy's attacks *.

As the Greeks in the first battle had not been successful, NESTOR proposes, during the truce agreed upon for burying the dead, to fortify the open camp. Such a precaution was before unnecessary; the Trojans having till now kept themselves shut up within their walls. NESTOR must now have been terrified at the superiority of the Trojans, and the valour of HECTOR particularly, when there was no ACHILLES to oppose him †. The idea of fortifying

* THIS representation seems to be corroborated by M. CHEVALIER's map.

† To give a historical probability to the circumstance of the Greeks having now, for the first time, thought of fortifying the camp, we must suppose, with THUCYDIDES, (I. 11.), that immediately upon their first landing they had beat back the Trojans, or, at least, that the latter sought their safety by remaining within their walls, while the Greeks were unacquainted with any means for carrying on a siege. In the above quoted passage of THUCYDIDES, I may observe, in passing, there is something which seems to contradict this explanation, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενον μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν*, (ὁῦλοι δὲ τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἔκ αὐτῶν ἐτιχίσαντο), &c. One should think the *ἐκ* must be erased. Should it be said, THUCYDIDES may have understood the matter in a different light; the Greeks would not have been able to fortify their camp, had they not remained masters of the field. This is contradicted, first, by the time of their fortifying the camp, which took place in the tenth year; and, next, by the occasion of its being done: for it was when they were defeated that they first thought of fortification. The Scholiast says: This is to be understood of a former slight fortification. But that is a creature of his own fancy, which only serves to prove, that, even then, when he wrote, the *ἐκ* was to be found in the MS.

tifying the camp was then entirely new, and the plan for accomplishing it was singular enough. NESTOR advises to rear, for burning the dead, a common pile on the outside of the ships, and upon and round this pile to throw up a hillock, from which a wall and ditch should be drawn in front of the camp. The proposal is agreed to, (*Iliad*, VII. 327—343. 434, &c.), the pile is erected, the mound thrown up, and beside it a rampart constructed, (*Iliad*, XII. 29. 255, &c.), which the poet terms a wall, (*τείχος* and *πύργος*). (VII. 338. 436. et al.). It had battlements and breastworks, and was provided with gates, bastions, and turrets*. That all this was a very slight piece of work, may be supposed from the shortness of the time in which it was constructed. No wonder, then, if, in a short time, no trace of it remained. HOMER, by an ingenious and highly epic turn, ascribes its annihilation to NEPTUNE and APOLLO. (XII. 1, &c. 459, &c.). It was, however, the first attempt we know of to fortify a camp; and, in so far, is sufficiently remarkable to merit some attention.

A FEW elucidations respecting the work of this fortification may be added. That the mound was raised to the north-east, in front of the camp, can scarcely be doubted. Its position must therefore have been on the left wing, to which it must have served for a protection; and it may be supposed, that NESTOR, in proposing it, had this very end in view. But, as the river Simois ran on the same side, it is not clear what was the position of the mound in relation to the river, and what was the situation of the left wing, and particularly what was the position of the ships and of the post of AJAX with respect to both. In the assault on the camp, which took place on this wing, no mention is made either of the river or the mound. We only see that the rampart must have been constructed at a considerable distance before the ships; for here, between the ships
and

* Στήλαι προβλήτες. (XII. 259.). Compare LYCOPHRON, 291. and the Scholiast.

and the rampart, a severe engagement ensued. (XIII. 136, &c. XIV. 30, &c.)*.

THE mound terminated in the rampart, properly a fence of earth, upon which turrets were erected, composed of beams and stones. (XII. 29.). That the rampart was low is clear, from the circumstance of SARPEDON's being able to catch hold, with his hand, of the battlements of the breast-work. The side on which the ships of AJAX were placed, is described as the lowest. (XIII. 682-3.). What QUINTUS says, (VII. 474.), has a reference to this circumstance.

THROUGH the rampart gates led into the plain†. Among these, it should seem, there was one principal gate, at the extremity of the left wing of the camp. Through it the Greeks marched out to battle. (XII. 118. Compare XIII. 326.).

ON the outside of the rampart, towards the plain, a ditch was drawn (VII. 341.) to break the first onset of the Trojans. In the ditch palisades were fixed‡.

THE fortification seems not to have extended along the whole front of the camp. We do not find, at least, that it reached to the

* THE poet indeed says, The mound was thrown up in the field, not far before the ships. (VII. 334. 433, &c.), *τυτθὸν ἀπο πρὸ νεῶν, — τύμβον ἀμφὶ πύργῳ, — ἐν πεδίῳ ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν, — πύργους ὑψηλὰς εἶλαρ ἡῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.*

THE mound must have been thrown up *upon* and *round* the spot where the burning took place. Compare XXIII. 255, &c. and VIRGIL, *sepulchrum imponit*, VI. 292. in like manner upon the spot where the funeral pile had been erected; which is precisely what HOMER means by *ἀμφὶ πύργῳ*. In QUINTUS of Smyrna we find, in like manner, *πυρκαϊὴν καὶ τάφρον*, (read *τάφον*). XII. 163, 164.

† Πύλαι. (VII. 339, 340. 438.). The Scholiast on v. 339. seems to be in the right, when he says, "On the left hand of the ship-station (*ναύσταθμος*) was a large gate, besides which several other gates were constructed."

‡ VII. 441. XII. 54. 63, &c. Between the ditch and the wall no intermediate space was left, as may be inferred from VIII. 2, 3; *τάφρος πύργῳ* must be united.

the quarter where ACHILLES was stationed. The oblique position of the camp must have been the cause of this. To the same circumstance we must have recourse to explain how, from the spot where the Trojans made a breach in the rampart, and at length set fire to a ship, the distance could be so great to the tents of AGAMEMNON, and the quarter where the remaining vessels were hauled up on the land*.

WE now come back to the assault of the camp. At day break the Greeks, leaving their chariots behind them, (XI. 48.), marched out from the camp. The Trojans had taken post on the field of battle, which had an acclivity towards Troy †. Till about noon the fate of the day was equivocal; but then the Greeks made the Trojans give way. The Trojans fled, past the tomb of ILUS, (XI. 166, &c.), through the midst of the plain, towards the wild fig-tree, (XI. 167.), and never stopped their flight till they had reached the beech tree and the Scæan Gate. (XI. 170.). Here the battle is renewed. (211, &c.). During all this day AGAMEMNON distinguishes himself, till he is wounded. On this the Trojans take fresh courage, repulse the Greeks, drive them back again past the tomb of ILUS, where PARIS lies in ambush, and wounds DIOMEDE with an arrow. (XI. 369, &c.). The combat spreads to a great distance over the plain, for HECTOR fought on the left wing, towards the Scamander, (XI. 498, &c.), against NESTOR and IDOMENEUS, and knew nothing of the defeat which DIOMEDE, ULYSSES and AJAX had given the Trojans towards the Simois. HECTOR flies to that quarter, and AJAX himself is now forced to fall back. (521, &c.). The Greeks flee to their camp, and shut themselves up in it. HECTOR pursues, and resolves to attack them in the camp, to

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* SEE Iliad, XIV. 30, &c.; a passage which I know not how to explain.

† *Ἐπὶ θωρηκῶν πεδίοισι.* (XI. 56.); of which we have spoken already.

break in, set the ships on fire, and annihilate the whole Grecian army.

THIS operation was so new to the Trojans, that they did not know how to conduct the attack, so as to make themselves masters of the camp. At length, by the advice of POLYDAMAS, (*Iliad*, XII. 75.), the chiefs dismount from their chariots, and bring the infantry in five columns over the ditch. ASIUS alone remains in his chariot. He observes, upon the left wing of the ships *, the gate open, through which the Greeks had passed to and from the field. He makes an attack here, but with an unfortunate issue. (XII. 110, &c.). The other divisions assault at different points the rampart and the entrances. (175, &c.). As there were five columns of the Trojans, it is commonly supposed that the gates of the fortification must have also been five in number. HECTOR's division exert themselves to the utmost to demolish the rampart, (251.), particularly around and near one of the gates. (291.). SARPEDON assaults the rampart at the quarter defended by MENESTHEUS, leader of the Athenians. (331.). MENESTHEUS finds himself worsted, and calls for assistance to AJAX and TEUCER, who were engaged with HECTOR. By the absence of these two, HECTOR is left at liberty to act. He bursts the gate with a piece of rock, and forces his way into the camp. (437. et seq.).

THE terrified Greeks retreat towards their ships. Here the two AJAXES had joined. They rally the fugitives, and lead them on again against the enemy. This column of the Greeks appears to have some resemblance to a phalanx, the first outlines of which it is believed may be found here; for the bravest troops, we are told, drew up in thick closed ranks, and waited for the approaching foe. (XIII. 126, &c.). The enemy, by this manœuvre, is quickly repulsed.

WHILE

* Νῆες ἐν' ἀπώρτῳ. (XII. 119.).

WHILE the battle rages here among the ships *, IDOMENEUS, accompanied by MERION, repairs to the left wing †, and there, with the vessels in his rear, makes head against the troops of ASIUS. The division commanded by ÆNEAS must have joined the column of ASIUS, and the troops of PARIS united with these two. At least, all the three detachments, as well as several others after them, must have formed a junction to oppose IDOMENEUS, in the place mentioned above. (XIII. 490.).

THE Trojans, in the mean time, began to crowd in on all sides round the place where HECTOR was engaged: By the advice of POLYDAMAS, (Ib. 726. et seq.), HECTOR calls the chiefs together to a council. He himself goes off, (Ib. 674. et seq. ‡. 754. et seq.), collects the bravest of the chiefs, with their battalions, and advances with them against AJAX. (789.).

O 2

MATTERS

* XIII. 312. *Εν μέσσοις νηυσί.*

† IBID. 326. *Επ' ἀριστερὰ στρατῶ.* AJAX, as afterwards appears, fought in front of his own ships. The left wing of the camp, therefore, must have extended beyond the station of AJAX. Compare 679, &c. At that quarter, too, there were ships lying; for IDOMENEUS fought *ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσι νηυσί.* (Ibid. 333.).

‡ A PASSAGE of considerable difficulty, in respect of the topography, occurs here. It is said, (XIII. 675.): "HECTOR knew not yet that, on the *left* hand of the ships, " *τηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ*, his Trojans were suffering so much; but he still kept the place " where he had first penetrated into the camp, beside the quarter where the ships of " AJAX and PROTESILAUS were hauled up." (679—682.) The rampart, in front of the ships, was lowest at this spot. Here the action was sharpest. (v. 684.).

ἔνθα μαλιστα

Ζηχρεῖς γίνοντο μάχη αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἵπποι.

This last expression embarrasses me. How could chariots be of any use in the narrow space between the ships and the rampart? HOMER says further: "Here fought " the Bœotians, the Ionians, (Athenians), the Locrians, the Phthians," not those subject to ACHILLES, but those who had come with PROTESILAUS, out of Phylace in Thessaly, (II. 695.), but at this time fought under the command of PODARGES, (XIII. 693.), "the Epeans." I hardly think the ships of these people lay there,

but

MATTERS had now advanced so far, that HECTOR thought the completion of his wishes at hand, when the Grecian chiefs, after getting their wounds dressed, return to the combat. (XIV. 128. 365—387.). HECTOR is wounded, and the Trojans driven from the rampart to the outside of the ditch. (XVI. 1.).

HECTOR recovers again, rallies the Trojans, assaults the rampart once more, fills up the ditch, (Ibid. 355. et seq.), and renews the battle between the ships and the tents. (367. 384. et seq.). The Greeks beaten back take shelter behind and between the foremost row of the ships on the beach, and with their ship-poles ward off the Trojans as they press on. (Ib. 653. et seq.). AJAX boldly encounters HECTOR. At length HECTOR catches hold of the stern of a ship, belonging to the squadron of PROTESILAUS, and sets it on fire. (Ib. 704. et seq. XVI. 124. et seq.).

HERE the success of the Trojans stopped. PATROCLUS came forward to the combat. The Myrmidons, to the number of 2500, advanced in five divisions, drawn up in close columns*. The Trojans are defeated, and forced to retreat to the outside of the ditch. (XVI. 366. et seq.). There a complete flight ensues. PATROCLUS cuts off one part from the city, and destroys them betwixt the ships, the river, and the town†. Intoxicated with success, he pursues the fugitives, contrary to the orders of ACHILLES, to the very walls, and even attempts an assault upon the

but that the troops happened to come together in that place. Besides, so far as I can find, throughout this whole passage, even where HECTOR is spoken of, the *left* side must be understood as referring to the Grecian camp. It is so, where mention is made of PARIS, (v. 765.), as well as, in a preceding passage (v. 326.), of IDOMENEUS.

* XVI. 212. ACHILLES and his soldiers, we find, evidently excelled the rest of the Greeks in military skill. Writers on the art of war, PUYSEGUR for example, discover, in this arrangement of the troops led on by PATROCLUS, the first rudiments of cohorts.

† HERE occurs the remarkable expression formerly adverted to, *Μισσηγὺ νηῶν καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ τείχεος ὑπερλοῖσθαι*. (XVI. 396. et seq.).

the city. (698—710.). HECTOR, having halted at the Scæan Gate, rushes again upon the Greeks and slays PATROCLUS. He pursues the flying Greeks to their camp; they bring off with them, however, the body of PATROCLUS. (XVII. 736.). The fight of ACHILLES, though unarmed, deters the Trojans from advancing farther.

THIS time too the Trojans pass the night in the open plain before the camp. (XVIII. 243. et seq.). HECTOR opposes the sage advice of POLYDAMAS, to retire into the city, and defend themselves behind the walls. (Ib. 274. et seq.). At day-break ACHILLES, clothed in new armour, comes out from the camp. (XX. 1. et seq.). The Trojans draw up on the rising ground* before the camp. This is the fourth and last battle. At first both armies display equal valour; but at length the Trojans give way, and fall back upon the Scamander. (Ib. 494. et seq.). Here ACHILLES separates the flying army. (XXI. 1. et seq.). One part are fortunate enough to effect their escape across the plain to the city. The remaining part he drives into the river, which, being choked in its course, swells and overflows its banks. ACHILLES now comes close up to the city, (Ib. 520.), which the flying Trojans had already entered by the Scæan Gate. (Ib. 526.). HECTOR alone remains before the town; and then ensues the single combat, in which HECTOR is slain by ACHILLES.

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* *Επὶ θρωσκῶν πείλοιο*; before the camp. (XX. 3.).

No. IV. (p. 32.).

*The Reverend Dr JACKSON, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, to
Mr DALZEL *.*

I CANNOT permit myself to leave Oxford for the summer, without paying you my very sincere thanks for the obliging manner in which you transmitted to me the present of M. CHEVALIER'S Essay; and I beg you, when you have an opportunity, to present my acknowledgments to M. CHEVALIER himself: accompanied, however, with a little reproach, for his having forgotten the promise he made me, of calling at Oxford whenever he came to the south of England.

I HAVE had a very particular pleasure from the perusal of the work itself. No reader of HOMER could possibly be satisfied with the accounts we had before of the Troad; and Mr Wood's book, in particular, was idle and childish in the extreme.

It was impossible, also, for the reader of HOMER to doubt of the situation of Troy, and the adjacent country, as described in the Iliad; and I had always, therefore, heard, from the few men who understood HOMER, one and the same language;—a language which I thoroughly adopted, that we were misinformed and mistaken as to the Scamander. And when I had the pleasure of meeting a set of friends, a few weeks ago, at Lord STORMONT'S in London, I was not surprised to find that we all agreed in the
same

* AT M. CHEVALIER'S desire, Mr DALZEL sent a copy of the Essay to the learned and respectable Dean of Christ Church, (to whom M. CHEVALIER was known), and received the above answer.

same opinion, that M. CHEVALIER had cleared up our difficulties, and brought every thing into its right place, by discovering the true Scamander.—I have the honour to be, with perfect esteem and regard, &c.

CYR. JACKSON.

CHRIST CHURCH, }
July 7. 1792. }

The late Earl of MANSFIELD, (formerly Lord STORMONT), to Mr DALZEL.

I MUST not omit repeating my thanks for the Dissertation you were so good as to send me, which is upon a subject that has always interested my curiosity, and which I read twice in the course of last summer. [After a compliment to the Translation and Notes, his Lordship adds]:—I understand that you may soon expect an answer from a very ingenious gentleman*, but one who doubts even of the existence of the Trojan war. I can venture to foretel that he will not shake my faith, which is, and long has been, that HOMER rested upon historical tradition, not only for the principal facts, but also for the leading differences in the characters of his heroes; and that they know little of his real excellence, who ascribe to him that sort of invention, which is the paltry merit of a modern writer of romance.—I am, with great esteem, &c.

MANSFIELD.

PORTLAND-PLACE, }
June 17. 1793. }

No. V.

* THIS proved to be the learned Mr BRYANT.

No. V. (p. 33. 39. 41. 45. 48. 52. 65.).

ROBERT LISTON, *Esq; His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople*, to Mr DALZEL, *Greek Professor in the University of Edinburgh.*

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Constantinople, Sept. 25. 1794.*

To day I have not time to say a single word with regard to myself: but I cannot avoid the temptation of sending you copies of letters from gentlemen who lately left me, and at my request promised to inspect the Troad with attention. They are both ingenious men. Dr. SIBTHORPE is Professor of Botany in Oxford: The other, noted for his knowledge in mineralogy, and his geographical researches, a brother of Sir CHRISTOPHER HAWKINS.

You will be glad to see their observations tend to confirm M. CHEVALIER's system. I ever am most cordially yours,

ROBERT LISTON.

J. HAWKINS, *Esq; to his Excellency ROBERT LISTON, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.*

*At Anchor, opposite Karanlik-limani,
Sept. 15. 1794. Monday Eve.*

I SEIZE the first opportunity of giving your Excellency some account of our expedition to the Troad, but the time will not permit to enter into particulars.

WE

WE cast anchor at *Koum-kaleb*, about mid-day, on Saturday, engaged horses, and crossed the plain in three hours to the village of *Bounar-basbi*, where we slept. We spent the whole of the next day in visiting the hill, which M. CHEVALIER supposes to have been the site of Troy, and the springs of water, which he considers as the fountains of the Scamander. A day, I think, is fully sufficient for this purpose, unless the traveller means to make topographical observations, which was the case with me.

WE were well lodged and entertained in a *Cbiftlik* at *Bounar-basbi*, belonging to HADGI MEHEMET BEY, a person of some consequence, who actually resides at the Dardanelles, but is now on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His substitute or steward received us in a manner which left us nothing to wish for; and our arrival there seemed to cause no surprise, as they were accustomed to *frank* visitors. We returned by a different rout this day, visiting the tomb of *ÆSYETES*, (see CHEVALIER's map), and those near Cape *Jenitcheri*, supposed to be of *ACHILLES* and *PATROCLUS*.

YOUR Excellency naturally wishes to hear our present sentiments respecting the hypothesis of M. CHEVALIER. We still think it a very plausible one; and although his map is incorrect in the detail, it gives a pretty good idea of the Troad in general. He has certainly pitched upon a place for the site of old Troy, which has much natural strength to recommend it, particularly the easternmost angle of the hill, which, from its height above the Simois, and its peninsular form, must have been considered as a very strong natural fastness in those times of warfare, and could have been easily rendered an impregnable citadel; for it is not large enough for the site of the whole city. Some *umuli* near this spot are certainly strong indices.

THERE are two places distant from each other about two hundred yards, in which the supposed Scamander issues out of the
 VOL. IV. p earth;

earth ; in each, however, by many mouths. The water proved equally cold in them all : nevertheless in winter one is said to be warm.

WE saw the place where the course of this river is diverted by an artificial canal to the Archipelago. We are now about to shape our course for *Samothraki*. The bearer, our janissary, sets out also on his return to the Dardanelles, where he will consign this to the care of our Consul, to whose great attention and civilities, as well as to those of his uncle Mr KAIM, we are much indebted.

I BEG leave to add, how much I am flattered by the civilities paid me at Constantinople, and with what truth I have the honour to be, &c.

J. HAWKINS.

Dr JOHN SIBTHORPE, Professor of Botany in the University of Oxford, to his Excellency ROBERT LISTON, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

DEAR SIR,

Troy, Sept. 15. 1794.

I AM just returned from Troy, as persuaded as a faithful Mussulman who has made his pilgrimage to Mecca, or as a pious crusader who has been at Jerusalem, that my eyes have beheld the tombs of those mighty heroes HOMER has sung near two thousand years since. It was the "*Campus ubi Troja fuit.*" The piety of former ages raised tombs more lasting than marble or brass, which time has not destroyed. Troy and its temples have been so completely rased, that not a column, or even a stone that has been used in architecture, remains to tell its site ; and it is from the *tumuli* only, with their relative situation to the Simois and Scamander, that we are to learn where it once stood.

flood. The situation where we suppose the citadel to be, is particularly steep and rocky. It is girt by the Simois, the bed of which is now entirely dry. Perhaps the winter torrents might raise it into a considerable river. Its banks are fringed with planes, agnus castus, and tamarisk. We slept at *Bounar-basbi*, a little below which rises the Scamander, fed by numerous springs of a pure crystalline water. One of those is said to be warm in winter. At present it communicated to us no sensation of heat. The course of the Scamander is often interrupted and choked up. It had overflowed the adjacent lands, which were become reedy, and offered a favourable situation to wild ducks, snipes, and coots. The plain of Troy is rich and fertile. We traversed it from *Koum-kaleb* to *Bounar-basbi*, an extent of nine miles, and slept at the house of the Aga. He was himself gone to Mecca, but his *homme-d'affaires*, or steward, received us with much hospitality. Your Excellency will find it the best situation to sleep at, when you visit the Troad. Troy seems to have been built on a most rocky spot. We could not find on it even a spring of water. It is covered with prickly barnet, and a few thorny shrubs. The almond tree, which grows wild, is not without its thorns. It has even more pleasing plants, the yellow jasmine and the wild olive.

I WRITE to your Excellency in haste, our vessel tossing about at anchor opposite the tomb of AJAX, where it has been just drove by a hard gale of wind. The janissary, who accompanied us from the Dardanelles, is waiting for my letter. He was recommended to us by our Consul, and has done credit to the recommendation. In appointing Signior TARAGANO, your Excellency has nominated a Consul very desirous to oblige and render every service to his countrymen. &c.

JOHN SIBTHORPE.

*A second Letter on the Subject of the Troad, from his Excellency
ROBERT LISTON, LL. D. F. R. S. EDIN. His Britannic Ma-
jesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, to Mr DALZEL, Professor of
Greek in the University of Edinburgh.*

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Constantinople, April 25. 1795.*

YOUR letter of the 28th of December reached me after a long delay, occasioned by the interruption of the communication through Holland.

IT gives me pleasure to observe, that the circumstances I transcribed for you, on the subject of the Troad, appeared interesting. I have since had another letter from Mr HAWKINS, which confirms still more perfectly the topography of CHEVALIER, by removing the only difficulty that could possibly cause hesitation; a difficulty which had been proposed to me in so positive a manner, as to make an impression on my mind, deeper (it seems) than it ought to have done. As I have not as yet any near prospect of visiting the spot myself, I will once more copy from Mr HAWKINS.

“ I AM extremely happy” (says he) “ that our communications
“ respecting the Troad proved so satisfactory; and I am happy
“ that it is in my power to remove the only remaining doubt
“ expressed in your letter, by assuring your Excellency, that Te-
“ nedos is really to be seen from the hill of Troy; even the whole
“ coast of the island is visible from the northern to the southern
“ point.

“ THE most essential point, in substantiating the evidence of
“ CHEVALIER, is that of the canal made to divert the waters of
“ the Scamander from their original course towards the Simois.

“ This

“ This canal we can bear testimony to. The errors of WOOD
“ seem to arise from the overlooking this circumstance. As for
“ STRABO, he had never visited the spot in all probability, and
“ relied on the authority of DEMETRIUS of Scepsis.

“ AT Athens we fell in with Mr FAUVAL, a very ingenious
“ artist, long in the service of M. DE CHOISEUL, who assured us,
“ that M. CHEVALIER’s account of the goblet, discovered in the
“ tomb of ACHILLES, is perfectly fabulous. It originated, it
“ seems, from the fragments of a small bronze figure, which,
“ when he had cleaned, and put together, proved to be a very
“ curious image of MINERVA. He shewed us a cast which he
“ had made of it in plaster of Paris.

“ THIS gentleman shewed us some *genuine* Etruscan vases,
“ discovered in *tumuli* he had opened in Attica. This will throw
“ new light on the history of art. For my own part, I consider
“ the Etruscan as nothing else than the early Greek style.”

I HAVE copied more than I intended when I took Mr HAWKINS’s letter into my hand; but you will think probably that the whole is interesting. Ever most truly and cordially yours,

ROBERT LISTON.

No. VI. (36. 55, 56, 57. 62. 72.).

M. CHEVALIER to Mr DALZEL.

MONSIEUR ET CHER AMI, *Londres, ce 11 Avril 1796.*

J’AI reçu votre réponse du 2, et j’ai été enchanté d’apprendre
que M. l’Ambassadeur LISTON avoit prit la peine d’aller vérifier
lui-

lui-même mes observations sur la plaine de Troye. Son témoignage fera du plus grand poids dans la dispute qui s'élève entre le Dr BRYANT et nous. Quant aux fautes qu'il a trouvées dans la Carte, je ne demande pas mieux qu'on les corrige, et je prête de tout mon cœur les mains à toutes les améliorations dont cet ouvrage est susceptible ; mais je ne crains pas de vous assurer d'avance, que les changemens qu'on pourra faire ne fauroient tomber sur des monumens essentiels à l'intelligence de l'Iliade, tels que la situation de l'ancienne Troye, les sources du Scamandre, les tombeaux des guerriers, les caps, &c. Tous ces points sont fixés relativement les uns aux autres, avec assez de précision pour que les changemens qu'on y fera ne puissent pas affecter sensiblement mon ouvrage. Quant aux monumens modernes, tels qu'Alexandria Troas, &c. j'avoue que je n'ai pas cru qu'il fut nécessaire de les traiter avec une aussi scrupuleuse attention. La ligne de la côte a été faite avec la plus grande exactitude ; ainsi que l'embouchure de l'Helléspont et l'île de Ténédos. Je doute, en conséquence, que la nouvelle carte y fasse aucun alteration.

Au reste : encore une fois je vous donne carte blanche, et de tout mon cœur. Vous pouvez couper, tailler, rogner à votre fantaisie.

LORSQUE vous publiez la seconde édition, mon ami, vous m'obligerez beaucoup de vous souvenir du petit nombre d'observations que je vais vous faire ; ou plutôt, que je crois déjà vous avoir faites.

Je desiré, d'abord, que vous supprimiez ma tirade contre les princes et les femmes voyageurs. Je desiré, en seconde lieu, que l'autre tirade contre les prêtres des premiers Chrétiens soit aussi supprimée ; et Mr BRYANT vous en a dit la raison. 3^o, Tout le chapitre du *throsmos*, et du tombeau d'ILUS, ne vaut rien. Mr HEYNE m'a suggéré autrefois une très excellent idée sur ce *barrow* qu'on voit sur les bords du Simois, en avant le
camp

camp des Grecs. Ce monument est certainement le *tombeau commun* que les Grecs éleverent à leur soldats tués dans le combat. Vous voudrez bien profiter de cette idée, et l'arranger à votre façon. Un tombeau si voisin du camp des Grecs ne pouvoit pas être un tombeau Troyen.—

ADIEU, mon ami, vous aurez encore une fois des mes nouvelles avant mon départ.

LE CHEVALIER.

M. CHEVALIER to Mr DALZEL.

MONSIEUR ET CHER AMI, *Londres, ce 5 Mai 1796.*

* * * * * JE joins ici les corrections que vous m'avez demandées, et qui sont beaucoup trop longues pour être écrites à la marge d'un de nos livres, comme vous aviez paru le desirer.

1^{mo}, J'insiste surtout sur la suppression totale du Chapitre 16. page 112. de la traduction Angloise, qui traite du tombeau d'ILUS. Il est évident que je me suis grossièrement trompé ; premièrement, en confondant le *Σῆμα κοινὸν* avec le tombeau d'ILUS ; et secondement, le tombeau d'ILUS avec le monument que j'ai decouvert près des ruines du pont, à peu de distance de l'embouchure du Simois. Mr HEYNE, qui fait beaucoup mieux l'Iliade que moi, avoit soupçonné que ce monument pouvoit bien être le *tombeau qu'on éleva en commun* aux soldats Grecs après le premier combat, et dont il est question dans le 7^e livre, vers. 334, &c. Il me fit part de ses idées, que j'adoptai sur le champ, et c'est ce qui lui a fait dire, page 168. de sa traduction Allemande, dans une des notes, *que M. LE CHEVALIER, n'étoit pas éloigné de croire que ce tombeau, au lieu d'être celui d'ILUS, étoit vraisemblablement*

blement le tombeau commun. En effet ce tombeau commun n'étoit pas loin des vaisseaux, puisqu' HOMERE le place,

Τυτθὸν ἀπὸ πρὸ νεῶν, — Iliad, VII. 334.

et que le retranchement fut bati tout près de lui. Ces circonstances s'accordent fort bien avec la situation du monument decouvert près des ruines du pont.

2^{DO}, Je desirerois aussi que vous supprimassiez tout-à-fait le passage qui a rapport aux princes voyageurs; vous n'imaginerez jamais qu'il y a eu des personnes assez malveillants pour m'accuser d'avoir voulu faire des applications auxquelles vous savez que je n'ai jamais songé.

3^{TIO}, J'ai dit, à la page 12, que du sommet d'*Udjek-tepè* j'avois apperçu à l'ouest la mer Egée, les îles de Tenédos, d'Imbros, de Samothrace, et de Lemnos; j'ai dit, de plus, à la page 36. qu'en arrivant à *Koum-kalè* avec M. CASAS, j'avois encore remarqué les mêmes pics d'Imbros et de Samothrace, &c. Lorsque je faisois cette observation, j'ignoroit entièrement qu'HOMERE l'avoit justifier dans le 13^e livre de l'Iliade, vers. 11, &c. où il représente NEPTUNE observant les combats du haut du pic de Samothrace; Car de là, dit il, on apperçoit toute la chaîne de l'Ida;

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θαυμάζων ἦτο πτόλεμόν τε μάχην τε
'Υψὲ ἐπ' ἀκρότατης κορυφῆς Σάμῃς ὑλήεσσης
Θρηϊκίης· ἐνθεν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο πᾶσα μὲν Ἴδη, —

La marche de NEPTUNE, quand il quitte Samothrace pour se rendre au camp des Grecs, s'accorde aussi très bien avec mon observation; car il laisse ses chevaux à moitié chemin, entre Imbros et Tenédos:

Μεσσηγύς Τενέδοιο καὶ Ἰμβρῶν παιπαλοέσσης. Ibid. 33.

4^{to}, Du moment où nous supprimons entièrement le chapitre qui traite du tombeau d'ILUS, je n'ai pas besoin de vous avertir qu'il faut supprimer le même tombeau, encore mentionné à la page 63. comme faisant encore aujourd'hui partie des monumens cités par STRABON.

VOILÀ, mon ami, tout ce que je puis vous dire en poste pour le moment. Recevez, pour la dernière fois, mes sinceres remercimens pour toutes les marques d'amitié que vous m'avez données ; et comptez sur la mienne à la vie à la mort. J'attends de jour en jour mon passeport ; aussitôt qu'il arrive je me mets en route. Mes complimens à tous nos amis. Adieu.

LE CHEVALIER.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

HISTORY.

Page 17. line 12. for *flots*, read *floats*.

30. line last, for last Article, Part II. read last Art. Phys. Cl. Part II.

PART II. PHYS. PAPERS.

Page 111. line 4. from the bottom, for M, read N.

12. from the bottom, for Join AH, read Join EH.

119. 4. from the bottom, for APPOLLONIUS read APOLLONIUS.

120. 11. from the bottom, for hence the quadrilateral, read hence, if AG, GK be joined, the quadrilateral, &c.

132. 6. from the top, for fig. 20. Pl. IV. read fig. 13. Pl. II.

N. B. In Pl. IV. fig. 18. the points B and K must be joined by a straight line.

135. This Paper is by mistake numbered V. instead of VI. and the same error is continued in numbering the remaining Papers of the Phys. Cl.

138. line last, for the latitude here given, viz. $57^{\circ}. 9'. 1''$, read $57^{\circ}. 8' 59\frac{1}{2}''$, the sun's semidiameter, used in the reduction of the observations, having been $1\frac{1}{2}''$ too great.

178. 6. instead of the term $\frac{1^2}{2} \cdot e$, read $\frac{1^2}{2} \cdot e^2$.

193. 4. from the bottom, for quilt-like read quill-like

PART. III. LIT. PAPERS.

Page 86. line 21. for ACHILLES, read PATROCLUS,

101. 5. from the bottom; Notes, for tomb read trench

DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.

THE Binder is desired to observe, that this VOL. consists of Four Sets of Pages, to be arranged, after the TABLE OF CONTENTS, in the following Order, viz. : PART I. containing the HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY, with the Pages regularly numbered as far as 40; and afterwards going on with the numbers included between parenthesis, thus (1), &c. to the end of PART I. Then follows PART II. consisting, 1st, Of PAPERS OF THE PHYSICAL CLASS, with the Pages numbered in one Series; and, 2dly, PAPERS OF THE LITERARY CLASS, with the Pages numbered in another Series. The Binder will also observe, that there are in all 13 PLATES, 6 for the PHYSICAL CLASS, and 7 for the LITERARY, which are to be placed exactly according to the references marked on the margin of each.